EUROPEANIZATION OF MINORITIES VS. MINORITIES OF
EUROPEANIZATION: HISTORICIZING EUROPEAN IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

EUROPEANIZATION OF MINORITIES VS. MINORITIES OF
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The purpose of this dissertation is to answer 'if we can live together?', through establishing a historical approach towards the concepts of Europeanization, European identity and the rights of minorities. The main argument reads that within the historical understanding of Europeanization, it is theoretically impossible to speak of a common European identity that European peoples and societies could agree upon. The problem is that such impossibility cannot be explained by the mainstream political identity and Europeanization literature. In this thesis, in order to account for the late-modern European self-definition which is distinguished with its banal character that carries elements from post-modernity yet at the same time is situated on the modern necessities and inventions, 'social identity' and 'social categorization' conceptualizations of Henri Tajfel are addressed. The aim is to communicate between the studies of Europeanization and European identity and the Social Identity Theory that proposes an instant gathering of people through social

ingrouping without developing a certain sense of common culture, identity or belongingness. Having set the theoretical ground, the practical consequences of European ingrouping are examined by employing a historical perception of the development of the idea of minorities in Europe. Minorities are the traditional others of European nation-states and they are the outgroups of any social ingrouping for that matter. There are observed two fundamental results of the current European ingrouping-outgrouping on the development of minority right regimes in Europe. On the one hand, there is still the traditional security-oriented perception of national minorities in Europe that is simultaneously exposed to Europeanization and some level of improvement; yet, on the other hand, the European ingrouping itself is causing the minoritization of certain groups, excluding them from the very agenda of Europeanization.

Keywords: Europeanization, European Identity, Social Identity Theory, Issue of Minorities

ÖZ

AZINLIKLARIN AVRUPALILAŞMASI'NA KARŞI AVRUPALILAŞMA'NIN AZINLIKLARI: AVRUPA KİMLİĞİNİ TARİHSELLEŞTİRMEK

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Bu tezin amacı 'bir arada yaşayabilir miyiz?' sorusuna, Avrupalılaşma, Avrupa kimliği ve azınlık hakları çerçevesinde, tarihsel bir bakış açısı ile yanıt aramaktır. Burada öne sürülen ana sav, Avrupalılaşma'nın tarihsel algılanışı dahilinde, Avrupalı toplulukların ya da bireylerin üzerinde anlaşabilecekleri bir 'ortak Avrupa kimliği'nden söz etmenin imkansızlığıdır. Ancak, bu imkansızlık, genelgeçer kimlik kuramları veya Avrupalılaşma literatürü ile açıklanamaz. Bu tezde, Banal bir karakterde oluşu ile benzerlerinden ayrılan, içine bazı postmodern elementleri entegre etmeyi başarmışsa da halihazırda modern gereksinimler ve icatlar üzerinde duran, bu nedenle de geç-modern olarak tanımlanmayı gerektiren 'Avrupalı kendi-tanımlaması'nı anlamak için, Henri Tajfel'in 'sosyal kimlik' ve 'sosyal kategorizasyon' kavramlarından yararlanılmaktadır. Amaç, üzerinde anlaşılacak ortak bir kültür, kimlik veya aidiyet duygusu olmadan da bireylerin ve toplulukların bir araya gelebileceğini öne süren Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı'nı, Avrupalılaşma ve

Avrupa kimliği kavramları ile tanıştırmaktır. Bu hedefe kuramsal çerçevede ulaşıldıktan sonra, pratikteki olası yansımaları, Avrupa'da tarih içerisinde gelişen azınlıklar anlayışı üzerinden incelenmiştir. Buna göre, azınlıklar, modern sistemin üzerine kurulduğu milliyetçilik ve ulus devlet projelerinin, geleneksel 'ötekileri', sosyal kimlik kuramlarına göre ise, 'dışgruplarıdır'. Avrupa'da bugün gelişmekte olan içgrup-dışgrup ayrımının, azınlıklar meselesinde iki temel sonucu saptanmıştır. Bir tarafta, bugünün Avrupalı devletlerinin geleneksel, savunma-odaklı ulusal azınlık anlayışları devam etmekte ve Avrupalılaşma süreci bu azınlıklara verilen hakları ve korunmayı bir ölçüde geliştirmekteyken; diğer tarafta, oluşmakta olan Avrupa içgrubunun kendi ötekilerini ve azınlıklarını yaratmakta ve bu grupları Avrupalılaşma sürecinden dışlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupalılaşma, Avrupa Kimliği, Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı, Azınlıklar Meselesi

To all minorities

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And to my superhero, for saving me every single day.

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CEEC: Central and Eastern Europe Country

CFSP: Common Foreign and Security Policy

CoE: Council of Europe

CSCE: Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe

EC: European Communities

ECHR: Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

ECM: European Common Market

ECOSOC: Economic and Social Council

ECRML: European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

EDC: European Defence Community

EEC: European Economic Community

EFTA: European Free Trade Area

EMS: European Monetary System

EMU: European Monetary Union

ESDP: European Security and Defence Policy

EU: European Union

Euratom: European Atomic Energy Community

FCPNM: Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

FYROM: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

GCIM: Global Commission on International Migration

ICCPR: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IOM: International Organization for Migration

IT: Identity Theory

LoN: League of Nations

MRGI: Minority Rights Group International

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

ODIHR: Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

OEEC: Organization for European Economic Co-operation

OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

SDR: Right of Self-Determination

SEA: Single European Act

SCT: Self-Categorization Theory

SIT: Social Identity Theory

TEU: Treaty Establishing the European Union

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UK: United Kingdom

UN: United Nations

UNCHR: United Nations Commission on Human Rights

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USA: United States of America

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WEU: Western European Union

WTO: World Trade Organization

WWI: World War I

WWII: World War II

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"High culture is nothing but a child of that European perversion called history, the obsession we have with going forward, with considering the sequence of generations a relay race in which everyone surpasses his predecessor, only to be surpassed by his successor... Robespierre, Napoleon, Beethoven, Stalin, Picasso, they're all runners in the relay race, they all belong to the same stadium." (Kundera 1999: 122)

International relations is an inherently social phenomenon, no matter how separated the people of the twenty-first century have become, or how overtly individualistic people are programmed/trained/educated to live their lives today. The discipline of International Relations, therefore, has to be about 'the social', as well. The problem with this, however, is that 'the social' changes. It changes constantly, perpetually, and ceaselessly. At times, these changes are epiphenomenal, in the sense that understanding social intercourse does not require major adaptations; yet, at other times, they are so fundamental that it needs almost a whole new set of tools, skills, conceptions, and perspectives to have even the slightest idea about what this new nature of social connections has brought. In the Kuhnian sense, some changes need shifts in paradigm, involving the practices of scientists, the scientific knowledge, and the scientific community which demands new constellations of assumptions, values, standards, models, programs, and conceptions for comprehending the social environment (Kuhn 1996: 43-52).

Not only have the sudden and unexpected demise of the Cold War, but also the unpredictably transmuting events of September 11, 2001, however, resulted in the study of International Relations that

"… most orthodox approaches have been put into question, and [yet] no coherent, new paradigm for explaining and understanding daunting recent political phenomena seems to emerge. Absolute and *bona fide* scientific/ideological maxims about what the world is, how it should be understood and where it is heading for, have lost their credibility… [T]he central metanarratives for the West has collapsed. Globalization and the promise of a more cosmopolitan world based on a postperspectivalist compression of time/space has provoked a general crisis in the strategic discourse in the West, challenging the piety of conventional thought and politics" (Van Ham 2001: 1).

The study of European integration after the 1990s has emerged as almost like a new breath to the discipline of International Relations, as an anchor for emancipating it from the crisis that the Western political discourse has been suffering, for at least three reasons. First, if Rosenau is right and the world politics have really evolved since the end of World War II from state-centrism to the bifurcation between state-centric and multi-centric systems (Rosenau, J. 1990: 3-20), the process called the European integration, representing the regional clustering of several European nation-states for establishing a multilevel, economic, social, and political supra-national polity with an exclusive identity of its own, should utterly be a nourishing field of study (a microcosm) that help figure out the current, and possibly future, nature of international relations from a much broader perspective.

Second, since its very beginning, scholars or political elites contemplating over the process and utility of European integration have managed to envision new political tools, vocabulary, and sets of new conceptualizations that helped significantly conceive the post-war relationship between European states and European societies (Smith, S. 2000: 33-57). In the meantime, theorists of European integration have come up with fresh concepts and perspectives, including 'spill-over', 'intergovernmentalism', 'supranationalism', 'multilevel governance', 'conditionality', 'actorness', 'Europeanization', 'new institutionalism', 'new regionalism', 'democratic deficit', 'rhetorical action', and many others. On the other

hand, the European political elites, too, have introduced a new political lexicon that primarily appealed both to the members of and the candidate countries for membership in the EU. 'Membership criteria', 'absorption capacity', 'subsidiarity', 'European citizenship', 'European identity', 'acquis communautaire', 'common market', 'harmonization', 'emblem/anthem/flag/ currency/motto/ constitution of a non-national polity', 'European values', and so forth, have been articulated by the bureaucrats and elites of several European institutions. The introduction of new concepts not only is helpful for enriching the International Relations' vocabulary, hence the ontological repertoire of the discipline, but also might be proposed as a remedy for preventing the 'failure of the International Relations as an intellectual project' (Buzan and Little 2001). As put by Buzan and Little, the International Relations discipline has been known for its frequent borrowing from and being influenced by other social disciplines, such as sociology, economics, political science, history, and philosophy, yet it rarely happens that other disciplines utilize from what International Relations has brought about. Studies on European integration, in that sense, might become the principal harbor of the discipline through which its accumulation could be exported to other disciplines.

Finally, another contribution of the study of European integration to International Relations comes from the fact that it helps inter-nationalize the sources of International Relations theory and the development of a more inter-national scientific community for the field. To be more specific, as Wæver criticizes fairly (1998b), the discipline is under heavy influence of American social scientific tradition, including positivism, rationalism, statism, and realism. Born as an American social science (Hoffmann, S. 1977), International Relations, however, must break its American-ties, and develop as a more global field of study, particularly because of the rising multilateralism in world politics after the 1980s. Obviously, the study of European integration could help with these purposes by unifying the European International Relations scholars from different countries on this certain topic, broadening the agenda of the field by introducing essentially normative, constructivist, and post-modernist accounts, rather than rational-choice models only, to the study of International Relations (Risse 2008). This dissertation will hopefully be classified as an example to this third proposition, regarding the

idea that studying European integration will attract theoretical contributions to the study of International Relations from all around the world.

In order to extrapolate what this dissertation will be about, it would be better to start with what it does not intend to provide. First, it is not a detailed overview of theoretical approaches to the study of European integration. It does make use of them where it is necessary, but discussion of European integration theories is not in the agenda of this thesis. Second, it does not provide a case study about a chosen subject matter which explains its relationship with or position within the process of European integration, although, a separate chapter will be devoted completely to the issue of minorities. Third, the main interest of this thesis is neither the discursive nor the materialistic construction of the ultimate European product, the EU, or its evolution from an economic collaboration to a political 'giant'. As will be pointed out in Chapter II, employment of a much broader historical perspective is defended here for a better comprehension of European integration, in which the so-called EU-ization process happens only to be a small fragment of the whole (hi)story. Finally, this dissertation does not intend to provide a rhetorical deconstruction of the European unity, but it rather provides a historical analysis of this rhetoric, and aims at coming up with a clearer picture of its current condition instead of the conceptual ambiguity and complexity with which it is mostly associated.

Then, what is this study all about? Simply put, it is about Europe. It takes European integration/unification/identification as a historical process that traces back to Ancient Greece, going through numerous incidents, including the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution, the two world wars, and many others, and eventually producing its latest product, the economically, socially, and politically accoutered EU. This whole process is called 'Europeanization', representing the cross-border connections among European states, and peoples. At that point, the main question of this present essay emerges: Do these historical cross-border connections among Europeans create a common European identity? The question begs, first, for a coherent understanding of the term 'identity'. Unlike modernist, nationalistic, and therefore, conventional comprehensions of an identity that is expected to evolve from a common culture, this thesis introduces the concept of 'social identity',

borrowing from Henri Tajfel's Social Identity Theory, and asserts that even without sharing a common culture, a common history, or a common set of traditions, values and aspirations, people might – discursively or practically – form 'ingroups' which temporarily allow constructing a social identity, which is in fact more than enough to indulge social comparisons with other social ingroups, making them 'outgroups' and some of them 'Other-ed'. If one is to consider European integration from this perspective, the study of minorities, which are the traditional outgroups of nation-states and become constantly transformed according to the social identity of the European ingroup which also changes perpetually, provides a valuable case for analysis and speculation, as well as a fruitful device to question if 'we can live together with our equalities and differences' (Touraine 2000).

The general purpose of this thesis is to come up with a theoretical study that would situate the discussions over minorities into one of the most prominent examples of living-togetherness in the last half a century, that is the process of Europeanization, and to argue over the success of the European model as a claimed form of living together in peace, respecting the rights of all individuals, peoples and societies.

A five-fold contribution of this study might be noticed. First, it is claimed here that a great percent of the studies of Europeanization in the mainstream literature lacks the necessary historicity in their theory-making that is in fact needed substantially for further discussions of a projected European identity. Second, only after historicizing the concept of a common identity for the European should result in methodological accuracy that would help answer if a historical accumulation of cross-border connections among European individuals, peoples and societies has led to construct a common European culture that a common identity would then be situated upon. Third, it is propelled that it is highly questionable to mention a common sense of both culture and identity for today's Europe, but there is rather a need to simplify the requirements of European getting-togetherness which might be found in the realm of Social Identity Theory. Having set the theoretical background for identity discussions via introducing social identity for Europe, fourth, it is argued in this dissertation that throughout history there has been a certain sense of common outgrouping for all European ingroups that has made some outgroups

othered, some other groups enviable, and some of them minoritized. Locating minorities into this discussion of European ingrouping-outgrouping, finally, this thesis reveals that whereas the latest phase of Europeanization that is currently operating has been causing a certain level of progress towards the treatment of traditional minorities of European history – who are mostly the national minorities – , it has at the same time been creating its own minorities by simply excluding them from the agenda of post-war European unification process and by putting barriers via the discourse of a common identity in front of their integration into 'being European'.

Chapter II is devoted to set the theoretical background behind the concept of Europeanization. Since there is no agreed definition for the concept, the scholarly research mostly opts for either administrative or normative implications of Europeanization and conducts case studies for special instances. Having established those implications at the onset, the chapter suggests the use of a third implication, which is particularly evolved around a historical analysis that takes Europeanization beyond its conventional timeframe, stuck into the period after 1945, and proposes a scheme of historical stages of Europeanization – inspired by the study of Flockhart, only the latest stage of which hosts the process called EU-ization. Cross-border connections between Europeans are highlighted as the main determinants of the process of Europeanization; however, the direction of these connections should also be relevant.

Chapter III looks for the answer to the fundamental question of this dissertation: Do the historical cross-border connections among Europeans create a common European identity? In order to do that, what Europe is, or what is meant by Europe, has to be elaborated first. Instead of drawing geographical borders, however, a culturalist approach is taken, and the analysis is conducted to answer whether or not the historical connections between Europeans in centuries have managed to produce – at least – a 'family of European cultures', and if so, how it is possible to link such a structure with the notion of 'European identity' that is frequently heralded today. At that part, the 'identity' concept will be questioned. Clarifying what is meant by identity helps distinguish between modernist European identity accounts, on the one hand, which envisage a European society that

resembles and goes through similar stages with the construction of traditional nation-states, and hence create a state-like European phenomenon at the end, and postmodernist European identity accounts, on the other, which predict a less essentialist, more utilitarian convergence between plural societies of Europe based on a common set of values and aspirations, and hence create a civic-individualistic political entity of Europe. In that sense, the discussions over individual loyalty and Euro-citizenship must also be elucidated. The efforts of European institutions on constructing a Europe-wide loyalty are tested, however, through an analysis of the degree of popular public support towards these efforts.

Chapter IV begins with the argument over whether Europe today has been able to come together around a postmodern conceptualization that calls for a European identity. To put it another way, has the process of Europeanization managed to wish away the small-multiple Gemeinschafts in the individual nation-states of Europe, and to substitute them with one big European-Gesellschaft? The chapter also questions the sources of the – either modern or postmodern – European identity, including what makes it 'identified' as a separate phenomenon as well as what 'identifiers', 'Others', accept it as such. Billig's famous concept 'banal nationalism' is also utilized in this part, applied – as Cram did – particularly to the European case. The second part of Chapter IV is devoted to the introduction of Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity and Social Categorization theories, their possible adaptation to the study of International Relations, and the discussions over European identity. Several related concepts such as 'social identity', 'ingroups', 'outgroups', 'Significant We', 'Other', and 'minimal group paradigm' are elucidated by making use of Flockhart's study that links the social identity research with European integration.

The last chapter, Chapter V, is devoted particularly to the issue of minorities and its historical development through the stages of Europeanization, introduced in the previous chapters. This chapter is, in other words, planned to showcase what is discussed in the dissertation up to that point by utilizing the example of the historical, legal, cultural, political, and identity-related (dis-)placement of minorities throughout European history. The argument over minorities is chosen for three related reasons. First, the issue of minorities is among the most neglected subject

matters both in the studies of International Relations and in European studies. Mostly, the legal and historical aspects of the issue are examined, but the political-social dimension is overlooked. However, as will be shown in the chapter, both the formation and maintenance of minority groups have social and political grounds, almost perfectly fitting the discussions of politicization of identity. This also links the discussion to the Social Identity Theory, and to the second reason why minorities were selected as a subject matter in this thesis, about the formation of social ingroups and outgroups, through which a thorough study of minorities might be appropriately conducted, but has not yet been attempted by other scholars. How European social identity has evolved and reached its current form might be examined also for examining how minorities in the European continent have found themselves positioned vis-à-vis that social identity and how they react (form their own 'ingroups') against it. The third reason, finally, is related to one of the primary aims of this study, demonstrating that while some minority ingroups in Europe have been favored by and accepted to the process of Europeanization, others have been disfavored and excluded to take part in the newly established European ingroup. The chapter is divided in between certain critical, historical turning points with regard to minorities and the way they have been treated in European history. For instance, the first part of the chapter considers the era between the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and the failure of the League of Nations as the incubation period for the development and disappointment of a Europe-wide minorities regime; the second part deals with the period of silent treatment in minorities (their becoming involved in the broader agenda of Human Rights), comprising the timeframe between the end of World War II and the end of the Cold War; and the third part concentrates on the developments after the beginning of 1990s through pioneering European institutions, particularly the involvement of the EU into the issue of minorities, as part of its external policy towards the countries of Eastern and Central Europe and also as part of its aspiration for the philosophy of multiculturalism that was taken into practice via multicultural citizenship in the New World since the 1970s.

In each separate section divided throughout Chapter V, the main task of the author is to observe how distinguished European social identities manage to take

form and how each of them either includes or excludes minority identities from the Europeanization process. By this way, not only the issue of minorities is Europeanized in a given manner, but also the very process of Europeanization, by shaping different European social identities, produces its own minorities in each stage examined. 'Minorities of Europeanization' and 'Europeanization of minorities' will be highlighted as an ongoing dichotomy, an inevitable consequence of constant and continuous European ingrouping. The concluding chapter will both wrap up the arguments presented throughout the thesis and propound further comments on this dichotomy, and comment on its possible implications for the Turkish-European relations in the future briefly.

This dissertation is sheer speculation over Europe. It is to provide a fresh point of view for future studies, to propose a new way of looking at what is going on in Europe, and while doing this, to benefit from some rarely used means of social sciences. The introduction of the Social Identity Theory to the study of International Relations, and to one of its poorly endeavored subjects, minorities, is rewarding in the sense that both the notion of European identity and the process of European integration may be moved beyond their limited timeframe, ahistorical perspectives, and the cliché dichotomies, between modernity and postmodernity, between old and new Europe, between economics and politics, between nationalism and supranationalism, and between East and West.

CHAPTER 2

EUROPEANIZATION: TECHNICAL, NORMATIVE, HISTORICAL

"Beginning in 1490, a new epidemic spread across Europe… The first symptom was a small ulcer at the site of infection, which disappeared after three to eight weeks, leaving a faint scar. Within a few weeks, the victim appeared free of infection… To the French, it was the 'Spanish disease'. To the English, it was the 'French pox'. The modern name is derived from a shepherd imagined in 1530 by [Venetian] Girolamo Frascatoro in his poem 'Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus'" (Palahniuk 2007: 188).

2.1. Europeanization - A Solution or A New Problem?

'Europeanization' is currently among the most fashionable terms employed in Political Science and International Relations research, particularly dealing with the subject of Europe. Mair, for instance, speaks highly of this exciting new field of research as "some of the very best and most innovative and challenging work in political science" (2004: 346). The concept of Europeanization is "under the ownership of history" (quoted in Adorno and Horkheimer 2010: 29), as Nietzsche puts it, and this is why definitional problems persist. Europeanization is either not defined, defined problematically (Kassim and Peters 2000), or considered 'indefinable' (Börzel and Risse 2007). What processes should be understood as Europeanization; whether it is itself a theory, or other theories are needed to expound it; and "what kind of change" (Vink 2002: 4) Europeanization will bring about are all among the heavily contested questions relative to Europeanization research (Falkner 2003). This is why Radaelli (2004) questions whether Europeanization is a *solution* that provides solid conceptual explanations or whether it is a new *problem* for researchers.

Ontologically, the term 'Europeanization' does not have a precisely defined dimension (Knill and Lehmkuhl 2002: 255-256). Instead, it is usually used in reference to a wide range of concepts, including globalization, nationalization, localization, regionalization etc. Some scholars utilize Europeanization to mean a process having a direct link to European Integration or the EU (EU-ization), while others see it as a wider historical phenomenon that goes far beyond a fifty-something-year-old process. The only thing that can be taken for granted with regard to Europeanization is that it irrefutably has been among the most popular fields of research in politics in the 1990s and 2000s. Therefore, it is a successor to initial theoretical attempts for understanding European integration (whether the end product, the EC, is intergovernmental or supranational in character), to further attempts to theorize the governance around Europe (in various policy areas), and to critical perspectives (social constructivism) in European studies. It might be "conceptualized as a meso (middle range) theory and aspects of [it] as substantive theory" (Howell 2004a: 1).

Because of the conceptual challenge it poses, it makes more sense, then, to initiate a discussion of Europeanization by specifying what it is not. Vink delicately points out that "Europeanization should not be confused with convergence, neither with harmonization, nor with political integration" (2002: 5). First of all, 'convergence' is more a consequence of a process such as Europeanization, rather than the process itself. In other words, there has to be something beforehand that results in the convergence of two sides. For instance, Europeanization may result in the convergence of the nationalistic politics of German and Italian governments in the first half of the twentieth century, but this convergence is not the equivalent of the Europeanization process. 'Harmonization', too, has a similar nature. The idea of harmonizing national tariff policies as a result of a customs union might be the result of the Europeanization process, but it certainly cannot be generalized as the whole explanation of Europeanization. Again, it is a result of a process, and not the process itself. Furthermore, Heritiér, Kerwer and Knill (2001) show empirically that Europeanization tends to manifest itself in a differential – rather than a harmonizing – "impact of European requirements on national policies" (quoted in Vink 2002: 5). When it comes to 'political integration', Europeanization is still a much broader

concept than that can be demoted into a kind of political integration. For one thing, for something to be Europeanized, it does not have to be integrating. Europeanization also comprises the processes of disintegration, such as wars. Because in a continuum, each and every action and reaction cause some sort of proximity between the actors. Therefore, even if restricted to integration, it covers more than politics, including economics, culture, military, society, arts, sports and religion. To add into Vink's (2002) list of what-is-not-Europeanization, it is also distinguished from processes of globalization, regionalization, Westernization and EU-ization.

In scholarly research, the main value of the term Europeanization is highlighted when the changes in domestic political settings are affected by 'something European' (read: 'not national'). In such a definition, critical terms include 'change' and, of course, 'European'. Goetz regards Europeanization to be "a process, not an event," and he adds that "to the extent that change in national executive practice can be attributed to the European integration process, this change has been gradual and cumulative, rather than sudden and dichotomous" (Goetz 2001: 223). In one of the earlier, pioneering definitions, Ladrech had a similar insight on the term: "an incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that the EC political and economic dynamics became part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making" (quoted in Bache and George 2006: 59-60). Such a consideration also fits how Europeanization is conceptualized by Radaelli, referring to

> "processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ways of doing things and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourses, identities, political structures and public policies" (2000: 4; also quoted in Vink 2002: 5).

Although Radaelli's definition touches on the normative dimension of Europeanization, it demonstrates that Europeanization has more than one

dimension, and from that, it is resilient enough to change meanings in different contexts. Following Hall and Taylor's (1996) study, the 'new institutionalism' may work well here to differentiate those meanings of Europeanization. As Pollack (2001) once put it, given the need to rescue the European Integration study from the hegemony of intergovernmentalist vs. supranationalist debate, three forms of institutionalism might be employed. Hall and Taylor (1996) specify these three institutionalisms as: 'rational-choice institutionalism', emphasizing the materialistic efficiency of transactions between institutions and those that are affected by them; 'sociological institutionalism', emphasizing the cultural practices between institutions and those that are affected by them; and 'historical institutionalism', emphasizing the overall system of the interacting parts and its impact on institution-building and those that are affected by them. Below, the rationale behind this separation will be applied to differentiate between the uses of Europeanization, including its technical (rational-choice), normative (sociological) and historical uses.

2.2. Technical Uses of Europeanization

'Technical' here refers to regulatory, administrative, and policy-related uses of the term, with no special emphasis on norms, rules, discourses, history or any other social constructivist dimensions. In that sense, Olsen's study is intriguing, since it makes a distinguishable assumption that Europeanization as a concept is not a unique or a *sui generis* one, still being in a period of transformation; hence "Europeanization may be less useful as an explanatory concept than as an attention-directing device and a starting point for further explanation" (2002: 921). In other words, instead of attempting to put up with a singular definition, Europeanization requires a combination of definitions. Olsen argues that Europeanization can be understood in terms of some processes of change so quotidian that they should be reminiscent of those of other institutional organizations. Therefore, he distinguishes five possible uses of the term Europeanization that are linked with the institutional processes of change (Olsen 2002: 923-924):

- Changes in external boundaries (relevant to increasing territorial reach via enlargement),
- Developing institutions at the European level (relevant to increasing collective action capacity, coordination and coherence) (Börzel 2001),
- Central penetration of national systems of governance (relevant to the division of powers across different systems of governance, local, national or regional) (criticized by Wessels, Maurer and Mittag 2003),
- Exporting forms of political organization (relevant to the increasing relations with non-European actors, ranging from neighborhood policies to the relations with the WTO), and
- A political unification project (relevant to unification across different European systems of governance in order to build a politically stronger Europe – a Habermasian blueprint (1995b)).

Apart from Olsen, several scholars have made use of the term Europeanization in separate studies. As challenging a job as it is, as well as a risky one, it is worthwhile attempting to specify other technical uses of Europeanization here. Thus far, only the studies of Buller and Gamble (2002), and Bache and Jordan (2004) have tried to come up with practical lists of the uses of the term (Bache and George 2006: 59-60). Hence, different – technical – uses of Europeanization can be said to be used by scholars as either:

- Development of governmental institutions at the European level; horizontal transfer of policies between EU member states (e.g., Hanf and Soetendorp 1998),
- Exportation of certain European forms of organization and governance outside Europe's territorial boundaries, or the third countries (e.g., Radaelli and Lucarelli 2005; Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005),
- Political unification of European systems of governance and policies including environment, security, political parties, etc. (e.g., Radaelli and Featherstone 2003; Poguntke 2007; Rieker 2006; Jordan and Liefferink 2004),

- Process whereby national politics become subject to European policy-making; vertical, or two-way, interaction between EU policy-makers and member states (e.g., Börzel 2002; Bomberg and Peterson 2000; e.g., Ladrech 2010),
- A smokescreen for domestic political maneuvers (e.g., Dyson and Featherstone 2000),
- A top-down process of domestic change imposed by the EU policy-makers (e.g., Heritiér 2007),
- The creation of new European powers through the process of European integration (e.g., Cowles, Caporaso and Risse 2001a), and
- A new research agenda for the European integration studies (e.g., Graziano and Vink 2008; Headley 2008; Delanty and Rumford 2005).

Graziano and Vink's study shows how far the research on Europeanization has come and what it can grow into, by having a reference index over two thousand pieces of work. Brink reviews this book as a great attempt to deal with such controversial issues, yet cannot help but point out the massive amount of related research that has been left out (2008: 477). This shows how difficult it is to review Europeanization literature (Lehmkuhl 2008).

Just to name a few, this short summary above did not include – for instance – Bache's (2008) study on 'Europeanization and cohesion policy'; Leibfried and Pierson's (1995) study on 'social policy'; Dyson's (2008), Risse's (1998) and Martin and Ross's (2004) studies on 'Euro'; Lipgens and Loth's (1988) and Faist and Ette's (2007) studies on 'European political parties' and 'pressure groups'; De Bardeleben and Hurrelmann's (2007) study on 'multilevel governance and legitimacy'; Laird's (1991), Gross' (2009), and Tocci's (2007) studies on 'national and international security'; Grabbe's (2006), and Hughes, Sasse and Gordon's (2004) studies on 'conditionality'; Dell'Olio's (2005) study on 'citizenship'; Menz's (2005) study on 'varieties of capitalism'; Jordan and Liefferink's (2004), and Barry, Baxter and Dunphy's (2004) studies on 'environmental policy'; Howell's (2004b) study on 'finance'; or Pareskevopoulos' (2001) study on 'social learning'. Further, there is yet another – unclassifiable – set of studies that deal with

the relationship between Europeanization and how it affects particular countries' particular politics, or, in other words, the relationship between Europeanization and domestic-level politics. There are examples of how Europeanization shapes, re-shapes, constructs and modifies, e.g., German politics (Hellmann 2006; Zaborowski 2004; Dyson and Goetz 2003; Katzenstein 1997a), French politics (Wong 2005; Gueldry 2001; Milner and Parsons 2004; Keeller and Schain 1996; Ladrech 1994), Greek and Cypriot politics (Featherstone and Papdimitriou 2008; Featherstone, K. 2001; Sepos 2008; Anastassiou 2008), British politics (Dover 2007; Bulmer and Burch 2005; Bulmer, Burch, Carter, Hogwood and Scott 2002; Bache and Jordan 2006), Nordic politics (Jacobsson, Lægreid and Pedersen 2003), Central and Eastern European politics (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005; Bafoil 2009; Zubek 2008; Johnson 2001), and Turkish politics (Grigoriadis 2008; Çarkoğlu and Rubin 2003; Lake 2005; LaGro and Jørgensen 2007; Akçapar 2007; Karaosmanoğlu and Taşhan 2004).

Instead of being drowned in the pool of different uses, a few words must be said about the issues of 'downloading' and 'uploading' of the European politics, designed to be used as a metaphor for the two-way interactive relationship between member states and the EU. The reason for downloading is obvious – in order to fulfill the 'criteria' that the EU expects from its members, they basically integrate the supra-level policies into their own domestic structures –, but it is not so apparent in the case of uploading. The answer necessitates the knowledge about the existing domestic political actions and preferences of the states. Here, the emphasis is obviously on their actions – and not on normative dimension. The rationale behind uploading, then, is to turn the flow of imposition the other way around, from the national (or governmental) to the supra-national (or inter-governmental) account, either for making adapting to the higher system easier or making others to adapt unique political actions in turn for higher (political, economic, social or security-related) profits: as "the most effective results are achieved through controlling the initial stages of the development of a policy" (Meny, Muller and Quermonne 1996: 5). Therefore, Europeanization, here, is used to demonstrate the power-play between actors through an institutionalist perspective.

Cowles, Caporaso and Risse take a different approach to this two-way interaction process, focusing on the level of tension between the EU politics and the domestic ones (or, in their terminology, 'pressure from the EU'). The authors refer to a 'degree of fit' between EU-level changes and pre-existing domestic political structures, which would cause higher tension if weak, and lower tension if strong (Cowles, Caporaso and Risse 2001b). Manipulating the fit, in this case, results in either downloading or uploading, triggered by the strongest of the actors, following intergovernmentalist logic of Moravcsik (1998).

The two-way interaction process has been theorized in more detail by Börzel (2002). Her study is specifically interested in how national or domestic political settings react to the process of Europeanization that leads either to uploading or downloading with respect to the individual political cultures. Accordingly, Europeanization is a two-way process, entailing a bottom-up ("the evolution of European institutions as a set of new norms, rules and practices") and a top-down ("the impact of these new institutions on political structures and processes of the Member States") dimension (Börzel 2002: 193). Cost minimization is still the main incentive in the decision of either uploading or downloading; hence, due also to the different pre-existing national institutions and cultures, three domestic strategies can be distinguished for the Europeanized states:

(i) *Pace-setting*: "the active shaping of European policies according to domestic preferences" (Börzel 2002: 197), applied mainly by highly-regulating states including Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Austria, Sweden, or Finland

(ii) *Foot-dragging*: the exact opposite of pace-setting; aiming at delaying or stopping costly policies at the European level, "obtaining some compensation in the form of side-payments or package deals" (Börzel 2002: 203), applied mainly by industrial latecomers ('laggards') including Portugal, Greece, Spain, Italy, or Ireland

(iii) *Fence-sitting*: aiming "neither at initiating or promoting specific policies at the European level, nor at preventing the attempts of others to do so" (Börzel 2002: 206); building tactical coalitions between the pace-setting

and the foot-dragging strategies, preferred mainly by Belgium, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, or the UK.

As understood from the summary, Börzel's study is almost purely economically-driven, meaning that choosing a strategy represents an economic decision that changes from time to time as well as from one case to another. In that sense, it is reminiscent of Putnam's (1988) 'two-level game theory', and lacks high-political incentives that may play a significant role in the decision-making.

Though in a similar vein, an institutionalist interpretation of the divergent domestic effects of Europeanization across different dimensions has also been made by Olsen. Accordingly, Europeanization works at its best in circumstances where there is a more precise legal foundation, based on hard law, when the constituent units are involved in the development of the arrangements, and when the secretariat has a single voice, rather than independent multiple voices. Yet, even if these conditions are met perfectly, there should, and will, be divergences, according to Olsen, since "the (West) European political order is characterized by long, strong and varied institutional histories, with different trajectories of state-and nation-building, resources and capabilities" (quoted in Bache and George 2006: 63).

At this point, Europeanization discussions meet institutionalist perspectives, which would produce a valuable critique of the 'technical' uses of Europeanization, and hence, deserve a rather elaborated debate here. What is meant by 'institution' is another contested issue, for it may refer to any social sort of establishment, ranging from a political entity to a norm, or from an international initiative, like the United Nations, to an inter-individual arrangement, such as marriage. Therefore, to narrow down the research area, and for the purposes of this thesis, it is wiser to stick to the 'international' dimension. Keohane is among the pioneers who have dealt with the place of institutions in the study of International Relations, and he comes up with a rather compact definition of an institution, referring to "a general pattern or categorization of activity or to a particular human-constructed arrangement, formally or informally organized" (1988: 383). His definition of international institutions reinforces, not only Bull's (1977) 'institutions of international society', but even more. Whether it would lead to cooperation, reciprocity, or conflict,

Keohane's study particularly focuses on the policy-transfer between institutions and the possibility of preventing war.

Yet, as Bulmer and Padgett (2004) demonstrate, the literature on institutions and policy transfer tend to neglect the European integration process and thus the Europeanization literature. With the co-existence of at least three types of governance structures in the EU (hierarchy, negotiation and 'facilitated utilitarianism'[1]), the authors empower the relevance of the works of Radaelli or Bomberg and Peterson on Europeanization for the neo-institutionalist research field.

In his study conducted with Jupille and Caporaso, Checkel (2003) dwells on the necessity of shifting from meta-theoretical debate about institutions to theoretical, methodological and empirical dialogue in European integration studies. His aim is, first, to criticize the constructivist accounts of the European studies for their neglect of 'agency' (hence, overemphasis of 'structure')[2], which therefore causes two primary weaknesses: first, they do not answer how international norms are reached or permeated into member states, and second, they do not explore how and why same norms have different impacts in different states. "Cultural match" (Checkel 1999: 86) should be the field of research that would correct both problems; this almost perfectly fits to the assumptions made by Smith, Cowles, Caporaso and Risse, and even Börzel – although her research is primarily economic – while discussing why Europeanization is differently 'received' and 'projected' by different actors. Therefore, it must be safe to inquire whether the so-called 'technical' uses of Europeanization follow the same logic appointed by the studies arranged for international institutions; or, in other words, whether Europeanization emerges as another institutional category for the field of political research.

But how is Europeanization 'internalized' by the actors with different degrees of 'cultural match'? Checkel studies the socializing role of institutions in Europe via three distinct mechanisms (2005: 808): first, 'strategic calculation' (used by rationalist social theory (Hooghe 2001), referring to social and materials rewards, incentives or conditionality); second, 'role playing' (used by organization theory or

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[1] By 'facilitated utilitarianism', it is meant a unilateral and voluntary exchange of policies facilitated by the EU, such as the Justice and Home Affairs pillar (Bulmer and Padgett 2004: 106, 110-111).
[2] For the so-called ideational turn, emphasizing the role of principles and norms, is perhaps a re-turn to traditional concerns of the International Relations discipline via the help of constructivism, see also (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998).

social psychology (Beyers and Guido 1997), referring to organizations' ability to provide shortcuts, cues and buffers for adaptation); and third, 'normative suasion' (used by constructivism, and Habermasian social theory (Katzenstein 1997b), referring to adaptation by persuading actors whose interests are changeable and beyond rational calculations). It is remarkable to predict the possible uses for these mechanisms on Europeanization studies, or the comparability of the ones mentioned earlier with Checkel's list. Even the conclusion of Checkel on the dynamics of European integration is similar to that of the intergovernmentalist logic of the 'technical' uses of the Europeanization. International socialization is defined by him as "the process of inducting actors into the norms and rules of a given community" (Checkel 2005: 807). "Socialization of individual actors in the direction of Europeanization can also take place at the national level" and "dynamics at this level often seem to dominate those within European institutions" (Checkel and Zürn 2005: 1056). In other words, from a much more general perspective, Zürn and Checkel conclude that "socialization dynamics may well take us beyond the nation-state, but their legitimacy and governance implications bring us back forcefully to it" (2005: 1047).

Uğur's (2004) study of the 'anchoring capacity' of Europeanization is similar to Checkel's conclusion, as well; hence, it presents another technical use of the concept. Accordingly, European integration can only be considered an 'anchor' for those who have trouble making economic or political decisions, or implementing those decisions by themselves, if both the level of 'societal assertiveness' (the intensity of the ability of civilian powers to affect the governmental decisions) and the degree of 'transparency/divisibility' of the decisions (how much transparent the political issues are to the public and how divisible they are among the different walks of society in terms of how the public is going to be affected by those issues) are high (Uğur 2004: 46-55). However, for Uğur, unlike Checkel and others who use Europeanization as a technical policy transfer, if both of the conditions are met, i.e., both the level of 'societal assertiveness' and the degree of 'transparence/divisibility' are high, the result would not be the product of intergovernmentalism, but that of supranationalism. With such a strong cultural and public 'match', there is no need for governments to debate policies; yet, in the case

where one of the axes are low and the other is high (or if both axes are low), the results will still be attributed to intergovernmentalism (Uğur 2004: 53). Following Putnam's game theoretical logic, Uğur here provides a valuable case that demonstrates that technical uses of Europeanization might also end up having non-intergovernmental (i.e., supranational) consequences.

Schmidt's (2007) study virtually rounds up what is argued hitherto for the technical uses of Europeanization, and makes a valuable addition to the table. She first argues that the EU scholarship has moved from European integration ('bottom-up' influence of the member states on the EU) to Europeanization ('top-down' influence of the EU on the member states). This is mainly due to the simultaneous growth in the Union's size and scope (with new borders), in its impact (through enlargement and conditionality) and its competencies (all the new policies and politics, including the Single Market, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the Barcelona Process etc.), the combination of which challenges the national-level ideas about sovereignty, democracy and identity. Hence, in addition to studying 'the drivers of European integration' ('bottom-up' – neofunctionalism vs. intergovernmentalism; liberal intergovernmentalism vs. supranationalism) and studying 'the design of the EU' ('bottom-up' – sui generis? post-modern? quasi-federal? neo-medieval?), two further research strategies should be evolved. 'Europeanization of national politics', i.e., the top-down approach to the institutions and policy-making, should be adopted, which refers to the technical uses discussed up until now. Another top-down approach should be employed that would study the Europeanization of national policies or the so-called 'interaction effects'. Therefore, Schmidt once again clarifies the virtue of the Europeanization research in European studies, and points to the two-way interactive relationship between the European Union and its member states that is located in Europeanization.

Up to this point, technical uses of the concept of Europeanization have been analyzed, and their close connection with the institutionalist approaches has been shown. What remains unanswered is, however, whether there is absolutely no use of constructivism and, thus, normative dimension in the discussions regarding Europeanization.

2.3. Normative Uses of Europeanization

Checkel and Zürn direct attention to the necessity of bridging – establishing a dialogue between – both constructivism and rationalism to fully perceive the process of Europeanization (2005: 1046). To establish such a dialogue, a separation must first be made. Remembering the institutional approaches to Europeanization, the process of transferring policies is the key. A policy transfer between the EU and its member states, either downloaded or uploaded, is established through Europeanization. However, it is more problematic to identify the means by which norms could be transferred. Such a transfer would change the patterns of behavior of actors and would have considerable impact. Can Europeanization cause changes in actors' interests, behaviors, attitudes or identity? If so, how effective are the changes, and how long do they persist?

Dyson and Goetz identify this separation with "first-generation" and "second-generation" Europeanization studies that are distinguished by the stress on formal, observable consequences of getting involved in European integration, on the one hand, and informal, or less observable changes, on the other (Dyson and Goetz 2003). While first-generation Europeanization studies, dating back to the 1970s, are limited to changes in political–administrative structures and particularly in policy transfer, the second-generation studies, launched after the 1990s, extend beyond these 'technical' uses, and begin to focus also on ideas, discourses, and identities, or essentially the normative dimension (Bache and George 2006: 63).

Bache and Marshall summarize the differences between first-generation (technical-based) and second-generation (norms-based) studies as the following (2004: 5):

Table 2. 1 Comparison between Technical Uses and Normative Uses of Europeanization

Technical-Based Europeanization Studies	Norms-Based Europeanization Studies
top-down perspective, seeking to explain domestic reactions to pressures from above	emphasizes both top-down and bottom-up, vertical and horizontal dimensions
assumed 'mismatch' between European and domestic levels – particularly legal, institutional and procedural	greater emphasis on interests, beliefs, values and ideas: the 'political' dynamics of fit
emphasized reactive and involuntary nature of adaptation	greater emphasis on voluntary adaptation through policy transfer and learning
focused on policy and polity dimensions	greater emphasis on politics, e.g., identities, electoral behavior, parties and party systems
expected increasing cross-national convergence	emphasizes differential impact of Europe
defined Europeanization in substantive terms – focus on the 'end state' effects	emphasizes impact of Europeanization on domestic political, institutional and policy dynamics

Source: (Bache and George 2006: 65)

Normative uses of Europeanization have three interdependent ingredients: domestic interests, institutions and ideas (Bache and George 2006: 63-64). A long quote, from Anderson, is worthwhile here:

"Interests are typically formulated in material terms… but also by the realm of the possible, which is itself a function of the institutional context in which actors operate. Similarly, ideas are bound up with both interests and institutions…. Over time, though, the belief system may begin to serve as an independent rationale for choice, and even to reshape the very interests that originally propelled it into prominence. Moreover, once an ascendant idea

emerges through political competition, it is very likely to become institutionalized... Ideational effects, mediated by institutions, will often persist long past the point where the idea ceases to command broader support and legitimacy" (Anderson, J. 2003: 44).

Hix, furthermore, mentions what he calls the 'shape of the EU political space', which refers to "the normative, cognitive and ideational constraints on the political process" (1999: 71) of European integration. He adds that this is what is missing from the Europeanization study that is formerly conducted within the 'politics-polity-policy triad', respectively referring to studies of interest group organization and representation in the EU, the legislative-executive process, and the nature of the EU community. How such a constructivist account will help improve the level of Europeanization study lies in the assumption that putting those constraints within the agenda of research will make it no longer feasible to demote European integration into the state, where members wanting 'more integration' and those that want 'less integration' clash, since there are now more dimensions characterizing the reasons why actors behave in their own ways.

Koslowski (1999), too, affirms the use of normative Europeanization, though from a different perspective. Accordingly, the very nature of the EU is contested. Especially after the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), the Union is no longer an inter-national or a supranational entity, but it has been evolving into a form of federalism. Therefore, the interacting collection of constraints that affect the process of Europeanization has been widening, assuming more and more a normative dimension, having an impact on "human practice, the contingency of practice and mutual relationship between agents and structures" (Koslowski 1999: 565). Institutionalization here is based on the idea that institutions are regulated by norms (Kratochwil 1989: 1-20), and not only the states but also the EU itself are institutions whose existence depends on the reproduction of changing patterns of practices; therefore, the interaction between these agents (i.e., the Europeanization) has also to be analyzed within these constraints.

What constructivism offers to the study of Europeanization is a way to broaden its research agenda with phenomena that can have a direct impact on

decision-making, including norms, identities, interests, perception etc (Hall and Taylor 1996: 939). It is definitely helpful for escaping from the realm of pure policy discussions and including other facilitators of the decision-making mechanism. For that, however, Radaelli has a disclaimer worth being mentioned here. According to him, Europeanization is a fertile ground for examining the dynamics of European integration, but only if future research rejuvenate "the dynamic relations between policy change and macro-institutional structures" (Radaelli 2004: 7). Constructivist accounts are said to cause the risk of 'concept stretching' (Radaelli 2000), meaning the risk of missing the main focus in Europeanization research, i.e., how to explain the policy-making dynamics of the EU and its member states. Instead of focusing on the question of 'why' ('why does institutional change occur as a result of interaction between the parties?'), the main question of the Europeanization research should be 'how' ('how to improve/trigger/stimulate policy transfer taking place in the European integration process?').

Still, Radaelli does not dismiss the importance of constructivist accounts in Europeanization research. Instead, he and Bulmer insist on the necessity of combining both the technical and normative pillars for a better comprehension of European integration. It actually adds up to put it this way, since Radaelli himself mentions the phenomenon of, Börzel's, 'clustered convergence' as a result of Europeanization, referring to the fact that "countries with the same structural characteristics respond with similar strategies to the opportunities and constraints provided by Europeanization" (Radaelli 2004: 14). Normative uses of the term would definitely help explain these 'similar' preferences and responses.

It should be noted, lastly, that there are not only differences between first-generation and second-generation studies of Europeanization, but also astonishing similarities. This is why Radaelli and Checkel are both right to insist on establishing a dialogue between these two branches. For one similarity, they both are intended for the same – short – time frame of analysis, i.e., from the beginnings of the EU to the current day. In other words, the Europeanization phenomenon analyzed by first- and second-generation studies can also be labeled (and are indeed labeled) as 'EU-ization'. They deal with very up-to-date circumstances, covering maybe slightly more than a fifty-year period, where the EU as a political entity is taken for granted

(or in Drulak's (2006) terminology, as a 'container'). In that sense, they both can be regarded as ahistorical, with very short memories. Vink, for instance, criticizes this approach to Europeanization being labeled as EU-ization, as for him, it also covers studies of the EFTA, the CoE, or the OSCE (2002: 6-7). Yet, he does not elucidate how one can distinguish clearly between the European integration process (which in many Europeanization studies refers specifically to the development of the EC into the EU) and the establishment of these European institutions after the debris of WWII. The 'Europeanness' of Europeanization, for both first- and second-generation studies, has a limited range of meanings, and may be referred to as a child of post-war European history. In this sense, the influence of American academics should also be stressed out, as seen from the heavy influence of institutionalist studies on Europeanization research. Both generations of researchers are studying with a positivist epistemology, even though the second group is considered constructivist. Keohane's institutionalism and Moravcsik's liberal intergovernmentalism (or Putnam's game theory) have had a profound impact on these Europeanization studies, as shown earlier. The common emphasis on institutionalism is useful in that it significantly challenges the traditional unit of analysis in international politics, i.e., the nation-state, and demonstrates the necessity of change in the mindsets of researchers on European studies (Rhodes, Bache and George 1996; Biersteker 1999; Kahler 2002). As an upshot, it can be stated that first- and second-generation studies take Europeanization from very similar perspectives, yet they differ in their choices of inquiry (questions) while studying it.

Normative approaches to Europeanization studies, it has implied thus far, are useful but limited, not only because there are also methodological problems underlying those, but also because they have a lot in common with the technical approaches as it is rather difficult to recognize differences between preferences and calculated actions of actors once they are put into practice. In the next section, a third approach to studying Europeanization will be offered that seems to be more promising to solve these mentioned problems of the traditional uses.

2.4. Historical Uses of Europeanization

As noted, even after weighing all these different approaches, some questions still remain in abeyance: what if the phenomenon of Europeanization is not limited to the EU? What if both technical and normative uses of the phenomenon are both mistakenly framed in a period shorter than it must have? What if Europeanization is not only a phenomenon that occurs beyond the EU, but also beyond the European integration process? What if turning the lenses the other way round, i.e., to imply that the European integration is a part of Europeanization, works better for the purposes of study? What if there is much more history in Europeanization than that the mainstream studies usually prefer attributing to it? What if Europeanization can be defined historically?

In his 1937 article, Kohn became the first scholar who talked about the 'Europeanization of the Orient'. He defined the process as a phase of adoption and adaptation of 'modern civilization', whose forms of adaptation "vary from country to country and from class to class: it is fastest where national governments promote it; it is slowest where colonial governments try to impede its development" (1937: 260). Deconstructing the definition, Kohn makes three assumptions: first, there is a modern civilization that emerged out of Europe; second, such a civilization may also be referred as a Western one (including the USA along with European continent); and, third, it is not only advisable for the Orient (or those that 'civilizationally' left behind) to adapt this European commonality, but also it is – almost like Kipling's (1899) 'White Man's Burden' – a responsibility of Europe (the West) to civilize the Orient. The rationale behind this third assumption is taken from an economic perspective (that of Gregory (2000) – the Orient needs Europe for production and Europe needs the Orient for consuming the overproduction). Yet, it is shown to be a historical necessity to Europeanize the Orient, in a very similar process to what Europeans went through in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, understanding the processes of industrialization, individualism, urbanization, modern education, rationalism, etc (Kohn 1937: 261).

As intriguing as it is, however, Kohn's attempt to utilize the phenomenon of Europeanization as a historical civilizing project is a bit misleading. With the words

of a prominent Young Turk Cevdet, Kohn finishes his essay by saying: "There is only one civilization and that is the patrimony of the great human family" (quoted in Kohn 1937: 270). Only a sentence before, he says: "Modern civilization has encompassed the earth" (1937: 270). It is clear that what Kohn refers to as Europeanization is a wider phenomenon than that which has been discussed up to this point. More importantly, it is used almost as a euphemism for what today is called the process of 'globalization'.

Even though the world phased out the extravagant popularity of the term during the 1990s, where every little single thing was to be interpreted by it, globalization is still one of the most popular concepts of current scholarship. Phrases like 'we are living in a global world', 'in these global times' and such are frequently borrowed in almost all walks of life. Surprisingly though, coming up with a proper definition for the concept of globalization is still unexpectedly difficult. As Held and McGrew pointed out, the term reflects the "worldwide interconnectedness" (2003: 3) and the growing magnitude and speed of global flows. Flows of trade, capital, mobile labor, international finance, and social interaction between and within states are all among the auxiliary and, at the same time, compulsory, terms to explain globalization. The fast progress in communication, data processing and technology over the past twenty or thirty years has, furthermore, created another definition that reconciles a kind of "compression of time and space" (Harvey 1990: 147) with the process of globalization.

To set forth the process behind such a compression, referring to Kohn's list of processes that lead to Europeanization, encompassing industrialization, individualism, urbanization, modern education, etc., would not be a waste of time. On the contrary, it would lead to the detection of the similarities between what Kohn refers to as Europeanization and what is today called globalization. What is needed here, however, is a concept of much narrower magnitude to apprehend specifically what relates to Europe. The aim is not to exempt Europe from the worldwide process of globalization, but to differentiate what is unique about Europeanization. Hence, what is needed is a less compact, more specific, and precise concept.

Can this be found in regionalism? Payne (2000) defines regionalism as the primary state-led response to globalization in the contemporary period; and, in that sense, the EU might be regarded as an instance of regionalism. As a regional variant of globalization, Europeanization, then, might be considered as generating a transformation for the members of the EU in their economies, institutions and, to some extent, the citizens' identity. This transformation, further, makes the European integration into a process that cannot be generalized as an ordinary regional integration, with its 'longevity' and 'institutionalization' (Rosamond 2002a: 3). In other words, Europeanization implies a regional compression of time and space which reflects not only an economic change in the defined borders, but also political and identity-based changes in the member states of the EU. Yet, these definitions, too, succumb to miss what is genuinely needed, for they are restricted to the technical or normative (but eventually institutionalist) uses of the term, which were discussed previously. They also fail to incorporate the historical element into defining Europeanization or to help it escape from the field of EU-ization.

What is expected from a historical use of Europeanization is that it will be an organizing force for both 'territoriality' and 'people-hood' over a longer time period than that, which is addressed with the so-called EU-ization – as it claims to be a substitute for nationalization. Here, Borneman and Fowler's study is worth mentioning as it does 'historicize Europeanization' (1997: 489-493), analyzing it from the fourteenth century to the present by differentiating the forms of nationalization and EU-ization as other successful organizing forces. Their study starts with the reason why the consciousness of 'the European' emerged. According to Hay (1957), the answer lies in the weakening of the Christendom at the end of the Middle Ages, a perspective also supported by Huizinga in describing the 'depiction of the sacred' (1996: 173-202), which would eventually lead to the change in the so-called 'cohesion ideology', from *cuius regio eius religio* (whose rule, his religion) to *cuius regio eius lingua* (whose rule, his language) (Preece 1997: 75). In terms of political organization, therefore, the 'European' became known within the realms of 'nation-states', linking territorial organizations (states) with a particular group of people (nation) (Gellner 1983). Stateness was to be completed through the developing stages of military machines, taxation, and other

controlling devices of the societies since the fourteenth century (Tilly 1992: 127-160). The 'Europeanness', as a form of political unity, however, did not become a phenomenon until the seventeenth century; as a cultural unity not until the end of both the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution (Den Boer, Bugge and Wæver 1995: 23-26, 43-45), hence not before the eighteenth century; and, for Burke, as a civilization, with its values of liberty, progress and freedom, not until the nineteenth century[3]. Ironically, at the end of this process of 'civilizing', Europe would be shaken by two world-scale wars and significant loss of those 'values'[4].

The period between the end of the nineteenth century and the aftermath of WWII was shaped by notions of nationalism and statehood, which defined the qualities of being 'European' at that time. Territoriality remained the most critical issue among nation-states; only this time, the Western European states transferred the values of territoriality and nationhood to their Southern and Central counterparts, which then spread to the whole continent (Arendt 1968: 3-38). The issue of minorities, thereafter, became a territorial matter (and a 'Southern European question') after the WWI. Yet at the same time, with the establishment of the LoN (and given the experiences of the nineteenth century congresses), international institutionalization was brought into the agenda of Europeans. This was obviously influenced by ideas promoted by the so-called 'triad of Wilson' (Mandelbaum 2004: 17-45) – peace, democracy and free-markets.

Then the Cold War came, which was considered to be the simultaneous 'Americanization' and 'Sovietization' of the world, out of which the 'adolescent' Europe was reborn with, what called, a new organizing and administrative tool, i.e., 'EU-ization' (Flockhart 2010). Although disaggregating the 'European' ingredients from both 'Americanization' and 'Sovietization' processes is questionable, Flockhart's contribution smoothly depicts the process that Europeanization went through in the twentieth century, putting the EU in charge of organizing/administrating the very process of Europeanization, both as a cause and effect of it. Having said that, the authors also point out two opposing directions that Europeanization has taken after the end of the Cold War (under the leadership of the

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[3] "No European can be a complete exile in any part of Europe" (Burke quoted in Hay 1957: 123).
[4] For an argument that rejects altogether the presence of such 'Western/European values', see (Russell 2009: 86).

EU): first, the supranational, unifying processes on economic, military and even political matters; and second, "the reaffirmation of nation-state sovereignty and national group differences among EU members" (Borneman and Fowler 1997: 493). In other words, from a historical viewpoint, Europeanization has not changed its 'cohesion ideology' since the sixteenth century from the dominance of nation-states to something beyond their connotations, including sovereignty, territoriality, and identity (D'Appollonia 2002).

A third possible direction for the process of Europeanization is transnationalism. The study of Wallace (Wallace, H. 2000) draws a picture for this third option. For her, Europeanization is not only a response by Europe after the Cold War to globalization, but it is also a historical experience of Europe-wide cross-border connections; and, hence, it has to be evaluated from a historical perspective. She first defines the Europeanization process as "the development and sustaining of systemic European arrangements to manage cross-border connections, such that a European dimension becomes an embedded feature which frames politics and policy within the European states" (Wallace, H. 2000: 370). Hence, it does not aim to exclude the national, it is not a feature of the European integration process, and it does not contradict with globalization. Europeanization, further, dates back to the point in time where any cross-border connection began. These connections may include commercial activities, trading, cooperation, conflict, lingual-religious-organizational-artistic-legal-scientific or any other kinds of transfers, communication, and even the plague. In that sense, in terms of the development of commerce, economics, trade and politics, it goes back to Ancient Greece (BC 1200) (Davies 1998: 95-148); in terms of akin languages, legal codes, literature, arts, engineering, medicine, sports, or even the idea of humanism (Eliade 2009a: 130-131), it dates to the Roman Empire (BC 27 to AD 476) (Jenkyns 1992); in terms of cognitive, philosophical, rationalistic, secular, and democratic cultural heritage, it dates back to the Enlightenment period (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) (Rietbergen 2006: 314-336); or, in terms of scientific, industrial breakthroughs, and modern market economies, it goes to the Industrial Revolution (the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) (Rifkin 2009: 256-364).

Based on all these historical experiences and many others, Europeanization first puts claims on geographical borders of the continent. Then, it produces specifically 'European' features for shaping 'European' responses to the cross-border connections within these borders. The 'European' responses, in turn, end up differentiating both the geography and the people of Europe from other regions and organizations. In that sense, the most revealing assertion of Wallace's study emerges: the EU as a product of the Europeanization processes (Wallace, H. 2000: 371). Different from what Flockhart (2010) claimed earlier, Wallace's EU is not an administrative force of the process, either. It is a response to Europeanization, and is what was needed after the world wars of the twentieth century: just another example of European transnational regimes. It is, in other words, a stage of Europeanization; hence, it is dynamic, changeable, permeable, amorphous, and definitely not given, or permanent. EU-ization is, therefore, only a part of the whole process, contrary to what technical and normative uses of Europeanization attested.

Up to this point, the historical use of Europeanization has revealed that the process itself cannot be restricted to the twentieth century integration within a limited number of nation-states and their varying attempts to supranationalize the governance in the continent. Rather, Europeanization is an ongoing historical process, emphasizing the quality and the quantity of the ever-occurring cross-border connections not only between geographical borders, but also between peoples of Europe. It cannot be confined to solely political encounters of recent date, but it also comprehends much broader cultural encounters of many centuries. Further, and even more importantly, the Europeanization process occurs both *within* and *extends from* Europe; i.e., Europeans have not only "Europeanized" themselves with increasing connections, but they have also spread these connections outside their borders[5]. The remaining task is, now, to schematize this diffusion over history, by chiefly detecting the stages of Europeanization.

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[5] Here, the idea of putting the task of Europeanization into a directional structure ('within', 'out of', 'from', 'into' etc.) in a historical manner is borrowed from (Flockhart 2008).

2.4.1. Historical Stages of Europeanization

Under the light of information accumulated in this study, the table below presents five stages of Europeanization:

Table 2. 2 Historical Stages of Europeanization, Characteristics, and Directions

Stages of Europeanization	Features	Direction of Europeanization
(Until the 15th cc) *The Period of Incubation*	• Cross-border connections by Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire • Christendom > Europeanness (Christian = Roman) • Eastern and Islamic encounters	within
(15th cc – 17th cc) *The Period of Growth*	• Renaissance and Reformation • Capitalistic production • Overseas expansion • The first steps of 'European Civilization'	within & from
(17th cc – 20th cc) *The Period of Glory*	• The Enlightenment • Industrial Revolution • Secularization • Democracy (self-government) • Nationalism • The Eastern Question and the Great Powers	within & from
(20th cc – 1945) *The Period of Decline*	• The end of European hegemony • Fascism and Nazism • World Wars • 'Wilsonian triad' • Failed institutionalism	within
(1945 - …) *The Period of Re-Integration*	• Americanization vs. Sovietization (the Cold War) • International institutionalization • European integration • EU-ization	within & from & into

Source: (Flockhart 2008: 22)

The ups and downs of the Europeanization process look like the graph of sine function in calculus. In the 'period of incubation', the onset of the parabola slightly elevates to the point where the phenomenon of 'being European' began to be realized. The decline of Christian thought in the mindset of the European societies (which were by then only geographical configurations) (Hay 1957: 23), was ironically combined with the Islamic and Eastern encounters (thanks to the Crusades between the eleventh and thirteen centuries), (Hobson 2004) and the combination not only boosted the scientific and cultural accumulation of Europe (Saliba 2007), but also sowed the very first seeds of the sense of distinctiveness as a civilization. Europeanization then was incubating itself *within* the European regions, upon the political and cultural heritage of Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire.

In the first rising part of the parabola, the 'period of growth' came with the help of the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation, which took place between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Europe was reevaluating and reshaping itself with the help of the rise in artistic freedom and humanism (replacement of the centrality of God by the centrality of humans) (Burke 1998: 1-18), and with the birth of Protestant thought, which would, in Weber's (1930) perspective, give rise to capitalistic production very soon and destroy the feudal calamity of the earlier periods. While these events affected Europe from *within*, Europeanization also began to be transferred *from* Europe to the outside world by the general process called the Overseas Expansion. As McNeill puts it, 'the rise of Europe' was intimately connected to those expansions, and the discoveries of the New World (1974: 133-142). Delanty points out that the discoveries would also change the discourse of Europeanization from the Middle Ages' clash of religions to the early modern period, where the new enemies became 'civilization' and 'barbarians'/'nature' (1995: 95-120).

The 'period of glory', the vertex of the parabola, was reached out during the times of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. The humanism of the Renaissance was transferred by the Enlightenment to rationality and reason; with the help of industrial (machinery, technology, armament, transportation,

manufacturing, etc.) growth after the eighteenth century revolutions, Europeanization constructed a European hegemony all around the world (Hobsbawm 1996b: 27-53). *Within* the European continent, the ideas of secularism, self-government (democracy) and nationalism were boosted, particularly after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era (Burleigh 2007: 1-22): new states (Germany and Italy, especially) were founded, a new set of great powers emerged (the UK, France, Germany, Austria, and Russia) (Ranke 1965) and economics "changed gear" (Hobsbawm 1989: 34), leading to the proclamation of the working class and class politics. On the dark side, though, as Delanty puts it, the 'Europeanized' enlightenment and industrialization were simultaneously constructing the racist ideology: this led to the perception that "Europeans were a superior race" (Delanty 1995: 95), which justified not only colonialism outside but also fascism and Nazism inside. It became the 'white man's burden' to 'civilize' the 'barbarian'/'non-European'[6]; and this idea spread *from* Europe to shape the colonized/un(der)-civilized world. The Eastern Question, as well, contributed to the idea of the superiority of Europeans, for it bore evidence that the once-greatest enemy had become moribund at the gates of European civilization (Anderson, M. 1966). The Eastern Question for the West, in other words, became the Western Question for the East (or the colonized world): "the problem of what to do in response to the rising power of Europe" (Yurdusev 2005: 325).

Hubris, 'the pride that blinds', stultified Europeanization at the 'period of decline', the decreasing curve of the parabola, for Europe was about to be drowned in the vicious circle of Fascism and Nazism, which would lead to two world wars and the political, economic and social destruction of the European hegemony (Hobsbawm 1996a: 21-224). The WWI was a subtle clue of the decline of European powers, as the Wilsonian triad (peace-democracy-free markets) was the main motto of the LoN era between 1919 and 1946 (first signals of Americanization). The acceleration of Europeanization could not be restored because of the *hubris* kept alive: "so many countries nursed ambitions to revise the peace treaties [of the WWI], or at least contained important minorities wishing to do so" (Roberts 1996: 527). After the attempts of international institutionalism failed, WWII literally cut

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[6] The term is borrowed from (Said 2003).

the European continent into two halves, one to be nurtured by Americanization, and the other by Sovietization. Thus, before the Cold War, Europeanization (of nationalism, Fascism and Nazism) affected Europe from *within*, and eventually led to other currents gaining ascendancy over the continent.

Until the 1970s, the 're-integration period' of Europeanization witnessed two parallel processes: under the heavy influence of Americanization (on Western Europe) and Sovietization (on Eastern Europe), the continent was divided into two halves with minimal cross-border connections. At the same time, Americanization paved the way for Westerners to re-integrate *within* themselves for the recovery from the world wars. The main aim was to establish healthier, more fundamental and, this time, peaceful connections between Germany and France (Milward 1984: 1-9). The Truman Doctrine of the U.S. government was designed to help economic recovery of the continent (from the European Recovery Programme to the Marshall Plan in 1947), but the establishment of both the CoE (1949) and the OEEC (1948) had the aim of launching the political and economic incentives for the European integration. The membership in the UN (1945) and the establishment of the WEU (1948) were also valuable in reintegrating the European countries. The Schuman Declaration in 1950, prepared by Monnet, demonstrated the urgent need to have an interdependent Europe to ensure an economic progress in the continent and compete worldwide. This led to the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1952), among France, Germany, Italy, and three Benelux countries (the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg), which established the ECSC in the same year (Monnet 1962). The ECSC gave the Europeanization process the necessary acceleration it desperately needed. It was so refreshing that several utopian – for that time – attempts were made as well to speed up Europeanization, such as the EDC. Eventually, the Rome Treaties (1957), however, were signed that would broaden the agenda of the ECSC with common economic policies, policies regarding the nuclear power (the Euratom), and a customs union, by establishing the EEC. In 1967, the Treaty of Brussels merged these three institutions (the ECSC, the EEC and the Euratom) under the name of EC. Using Milward's terminology, these were the fundamental attempts of the new Europeanization to 'rescue Europe from the nation-state' (Milward 1992).

The 1970s came as a shock not only to the European continent but also to the whole world. The oil crises, the breakdown of the Bretton-Woods systems, and the deterioration in the American hegemony (Wallerstein 2003) all led to the changes in the logic of Europeanization after 1945. Before the 1970s, the re-integration process in Europe focused particularly on the economic recovery. However, after that point, both the Americanization and the political integration became dwelled upon and questioned throughout the old continent (Middlemass 1995: 73-110). Europeanization, in other words, had a dilemma: whether it was going to keep its economic edge with the heavy American influence, or alter its direction to make Europe a more politically-driven, powerful actor of the world order. Although the 1970s flew by with minimal integration, the dilemma was made clear by the introduction of the new members (the UK, Denmark, and Ireland) as well as the prospective members (Spain, Portugal and Greece) of the EC. Not only did Europeanization broaden the new geography of Europe into peripheries, but it also signaled further integration on wider levels.

The 1980s, hence, came with the discussions of setting up a ECM and the peripheral enlargement. The SEA (1985) established that common market (and the ideal of the monetary union (Dyson 1994)), empowered the supranational institutions of the EC, and, more importantly, incorporated European-level political co-operation into a treaty text for the first time (Moravcsik 1991). After the SEA, Europeanization and the term EU-ization appear to be virtually overlapping. In other words, the SEA, and the political direction that the European integration took thereafter, gave rise to the technical and normative uses of Europeanization discussed earlier. No doubt, the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), just after the end of the Cold War (and the direct impact of both Americanization and Sovietization), which founded the EU as an institution, is another stepping stone in the EU-ization studies, and the related uses of Europeanization for it stressed and clarified the 'high' political direction taken by the new Europeanization flow (Baun 1996; Anderson, J. 1995). Later known as the TEU, the Treaty of Maastricht was designed to set the principles and direction of the EU in the forthcoming century, such as: "promoting economic and social progress"; "strengthening the protection of rights and interests of the nationals of the member states through the introduction of a citizenship of the

Union"; "developing close cooperation on justice and home affairs"; and "asserting the Union's identity on the international scene through the implementation of a [CFSP]" (EU Document 1992b: Article B[7]). It was apparent then that the new product of Europeanization, i.e., the EU, had wide-ranging goals to be accomplished, from economic to social, political to security-related, and citizenship to assertion of a new identity.

The consecutive treaties of Amsterdam (1997), Nice (2000) and Lisbon (2007), as well as the failed attempt to construct a European constitution, supported this new trend of Europeanization to politically, economically and even socially integrate the whole European continent (Church and Phinnemore 2009). Moreover, even more importantly, the twenty-first century experienced the definitive re-union of the two halves of Europe, by integrating twelve former countries of the Soviet bloc (of the CEECs) into the EU, in 2004 and 2007. Europeanization, in other words, finally managed to rule out the old map of the Cold War and to re-integrate the East with the West.

The remaining question, however, is about the direction of the last sixty years' process of Europeanization: whether is it from *within* Europe, *from* Europe, or both? The answer should be found by determining what distinguishes this latest process from the other stages of Europeanization. Yet, one significant separation has to be made first. What is here called the 'period of re-integration' should not be confused with the process called the EU-ization, which is only a part of this period and began in its full course when the European integration took its political direction in the late 1970s – or maybe even in the 1980s with the introduction of the SEA. Unfortunately, most of the technical and normative uses of Europeanization do not only mistakenly consider the process of Europeanization as the equivalent of EU-ization, but they also have EU-ization launched in the immediate aftermath of the world wars.

Having made this clear, it is safe to turn to the initial question now: which direction has the latest stage of Europeanization taken after 1945? Thus far, two directions have been considered influential. First, Europeanization *within* Europe,

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[7] Available from the World Wide Web: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html

which depicts Europe as shaped by what happens between its borders (e.g., the Enlightenment brought about rationalism in European cross-border connections); and second, Europeanization *from* Europe, which signifies the transfer of European values, norms, practices and such across European borders (e.g., the Overseas Expansion brought nationalism to the outside world). At first glance, Europeanization in its period of re-integration seems to be an insider event. All in all, new European institutions are flourishing, the EU is taken as the device to drive European integration – "[hovering] between politics and diplomacy, between states and markets, and between government and governance" (Laffan 1998: 235)–, and the values of democracy, human rights, and free markets are promoted *within* the European borders. On the other hand, however, these borders are also broadened by the inclusion of the Eastern hemisphere into the Western (the process of enlargement), and such values, too, are following the path of increasing borders (devices like 'conditionality' are specifically designed by the EU decision-makers for completing this task). Even further, the so-called 'candidate countries' (those that wish to join the EU) or those 'neighbors' are given certain criteria by the EU (the Copenhagen Criteria in 1993), and their fulfillments are monitored by some specific EU institutions for either membership prospects or technical/financial assistance; hence, another process of transferring values, policies and practices is carried out *from* Europe to other places of the world. Therefore, it can be asserted that two simultaneous movements, both *within* and *from* Europe, have characterized the direction of Europeanization since 1945.

Such an explanation is correct, but incomplete. This time, for the second time in the historical journey of Europeanization, the process of Europeanization is expected to give birth to a permanent identity of 'the European'. Previously, during the incubation period, the identity of 'the Christian' was surely peddled by the higher powers to provide the unity of purpose (a sense of togetherness) for the Crusaders. However, by then, it was not 'the European' that was welcomed to celebrate the interdependence of the Christian entities, nor was it a permanent task with the aim of perpetual peace. Besides, the 'idea of European unity' had been pronounced by several philosophers and politicians like Rousseau, Abbe Saint-Pierre, Kant, Montesquieu, Coudenhove-Kalergi, and Hugo. Their aim was not to

establish this unity *because of* a common European identity, but *in spite of* the lack of it, and their efforts were never systemtacially promoted by a legitimate European political entity. As detected from the provisions of the TEU, however, Europeanization currently directs attention to the common European identity, which is expected to represent the continent in international arena and to the citizenship of the EU. In that sense, Europeanization, today, is flowing both *within* and *from* Europe, but it is also injected "*into*" (Flockhart 2008: 14) Europe consciously and manipulatively.

2.5. Europeanization Assessed

This chapter deals specifically with the possible definition and the uses of the highly contested phenomenon of Europeanization. Having clarified that the definition of the term alters by how it is intended to be used, the three most common uses of Europeanization have been specified following the institutionalist rationale: (i) technical uses – that comprise the institutionalist policy transfers both between EU member states and between the EU and its member states (download-able, upload-able); (ii) normative uses – that comprise the institutionalist norm transfers both between EU member states and between the EU and its member states (download-able, upload-able); and (iii) historical uses – that comprise any kind of historical cross-border connections both *within* Europe and *from* Europe to outside the borders (as well as *into* Europe) between societies, institutions, norms, practices and values. While the first two are restricted within the period after 1945 to the current day (and often equated Europeanization with the process of EU-ization mistakenly), the third one embraces the history as known (a much broader phenomenon, in which the EU-ization is only a part of the story).

In the following chapters, Europeanization will be used as in the third form, i.e., from a historical perspective. The main purpose of the research is to locate the idea of European identity at the center of the inquiry, which is precisely accomplished by employing the latest stage of Europeanization, the period of re-integration, in its historical use. The focus of the next chapter, therefore, will be to provide a deeper comprehension of the European identity, by highlighting some

valuable questions, including: why has a notion of Europe identity been the main drive underlying the re-integration process? How has it been operating – and is it successful, or operable? What is the role of European institutions, and especially the EU, in the efforts to establish it? Why now – and not in the earlier stages of Europeanization? Finally, what can be the pros and cons of carrying out a common identity in Europe?

CHAPTER 3

FROM EUROPEAN UNITY TO EUROPEAN IDENTITY

"… Vincent: You know what the funniest thing about Europe is? / Jules: What? / Vincent: It's the little differences. I mean, they got the same [thing] over there that we got here, but it's just – there, it's a little different. / Jules: Example? / Vincent: All right. Well, you can walk into a movie theater in Amsterdam and buy a beer. And I don't mean just like in no paper cup, I'm talking about a glass of beer. And in Paris, you can buy a beer at McDonald's. And you know what they call a Quarter Pounder with Cheese in Paris? / Jules: They don't call it a Quarter Pounder with Cheese? / Vincent: Nah, man, they got the metric system, they wouldn't know what... a Quarter Pounder is. / Jules: What do they call it? / Vincent: They call it 'Royale with Cheese'. / Jules: 'Royale with Cheese'. / Vincent: That's right. / Jules: What do they call a Big Mac? / Vincent: A Big Mac's a Big Mac, but they call it 'Le Big Mac'... You know what they put on French fries in Holland instead of ketchup? / Jules: What? / Vincent: Mayonnaise. / Jules: Goddamn!"[8]

3.1. Europæ

In ancient Greek mythology, *Europa*, the beautiful daughter of the King of Sidon, is the princess with whom Zeus fell in love and abducted after appearing in the form of a white bull (Wintle 2009: 102-114). He took her to the Island of Crete, where she bore their three children, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon (Berot 2004: iii-iv). The etymology of the name *Europa*, however, is uncertain (Wintle 2009: 87-89). There are two theories competing to explain it (West 1997: 451-453): the first theory suggests that it is driven by the Ancient Greek language, meaning

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[8] The dialogue between John Travolta and Samuel L. Jackson from the movie *Pulp Fiction* (1994), written and directed by Quentin Tarantino, produced by Lawrence Bender (USA: A Band Apart).

'broad' (*eur-*) and 'eye' (*op-, opt-*), hence "broad of aspect" or "wide-gazing"; the second theory, on the other hand, holds that it is based on a Semitic word, *erebu*, meaning 'to go down, set', or *ereb*, 'evening', 'west', or *ma'ariv*, 'darkness', symbolizing the sun setting from the West. However, neither theory has been proven correct.

The geographical meaning of the term, *Europe*, began to have a meaning in antiquity (Wintle 2009: 89-96). The Greek historian Herodotus claimed that people tended to divide the world into three parts: Europe, Asia and Libya (Africa), where the River Nile and the River Phasis (or for some, the River Don) established boundaries in between (Herodotus 2003: 240-310). The Jewish Leptogenesis, *The Book of Jubilees*, on the other hand, uses another tripartite division, as continents were the lands given by Noah to his three sons Shem (Asia), Ham (Africa) and Japheth (Europe), locating Europe between the Pillars of Hercules at Cadiz and the River Don (Charles 2006: 83-84). This separation had in reality been considered precise, until the age of Overseas Expansion, or until the eastern boundaries of the continent were no longer defined by its neighbors (particularly the arch-rival Ottoman Empire), but the growth of Europe began to penetrate into the Eastern hemisphere of the world as well (Davies 1998: 472). Indeed, the problem with the geography of Europe had always been about the Eastern boundaries, as the Western, Southern and Northern boundaries were naturally depicted (by the Atlantic Ocean, the Strait of Gibraltar, and by the Arctic Ocean). It was in 1730 when the Swedish geographer von Strahlenberg proposed a solution to the Eastern boundaries issue by having the Ural Mountains separate Europe from Asia, a proposal which then found favor both throughout Europe and in Russia (Lewis and Wigen 1997: 27-28).

Today, though still contested, Europe is mostly considered to be the western peninsula of Eurasia, separated from the Asian continent by the Ural Mountains, the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus Mountains, and the Black Sea. However, the post-war institutions of Europe, such as the CoE, accept members from much wider geographies, including Armenia, Azerbaijan, the Russian Federation, and Turkey. The so-called Neighborhood Policy, or the Union for the Mediterranean, of the EU further aims to establish ties with neighboring Asian, Middle Eastern, Caribbean,

and African countries (former colonies of European states), and broaden the area of impact outside its geographical borders (Emerson 2004).

3. 2. From European Culture to Unity?

This, however, brings the question of cultural boundaries of Europe to mind. What is meant by the term 'culture' is critical here, for it may denote contested meanings depending on how it is used. For instance, in their 1952 book, Kroeber and Kluckhohn came up with a list of one hundred and sixty-four different definitions of culture (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952: 291). Stemming from the Latin word, *cultura*, meaning to cultivate, the concept first emerged in eighteenth-century Europe, initially connoting a process of improvement (Geertz 2002: 3-32). As a result of the developments in English and American romanticism, anthropology, archeology, and political psychology; the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed the multiplication of the uses of the term, ranging from individual self-fulfillment (through education) to universal human capacity, or from anthropological genetic characteristics to civilization (Wintle 2009: 53-58). Since the end of WWII, 'culture' is distinctively used in several disciplines, such as sociology, political science, organizational management and social psychology.

In his study of European identity, Erdenir borrows from Mishler and Pollack the notion of 'neo-cultural synthesis' (Mishler and Pollack 2003)[9] that combines the conceptions of 'thick' and 'thin' cultures in order to come up with a general theory that would underlie the study of political culture (Erdenir 2005: 25-41). According to Tylor, a thick culture is a "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society" (quoted in Mishler and Pollack 2003: 2). It is, in other words, an essential culture (real), which is fundamental, exogenous, holistic, externally bounded, internally homogeneous, and durable. A thin culture, which does not exist independently from a thick culture, on the other hand, is "in the middle of a continuum between thick culture and no culture at all" (Mishler and Pollack 2003:

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[9] The idea to use Mishler and Pollack's study on culture for European identity discussions is borrowed from (Erdenir 2005: 28).

4). It is empirically driven (may not be real), constructivist and rational, endogenous, individualist, relatively unbounded, heterogeneous, and dynamic. In Erdenir's study, the development of European identity is examined within the continuum of the growing culture from thin to thick forms. Identity is defined based on a cultural approach, in which culture becomes the prerequisite of recognition and the existence of an individual, hence of a society (Bader 1997). European culture, by this logic, constructs the foundations of European identity through an evolutionary process.

However, this rationale seems to be flawed for the reason that the so-called European culture is very doubtfully an example of a thick culture. In order to elaborate on this assertion, what is meant by European culture first has to be defined. In the previous chapter, it was made clear that Europeanization is a historical phenomenon that stands for the cross-border connections that occurred throughout European history within and from Europe to the outside world. European culture, in that sense, should comprehend the cultural connections that have an impact on the nature, direction, duration and content of the Europeanization process. This can also be explained using the very basis of the term culture: European culture must 'cultivate' the Europeanization process in a very unique, European way. It should also be noted that it is not a completed process; i.e., European culture is still being constructed, and it is still constructing the Europeanization process.

As previously mentioned, the concept of culture appeared first in the eighteenth century. However, this should not mean that the cultural accumulation of Europe dated precisely from that time. On the contrary, it has a much earlier history. With each event that results in the processes of communication and connection across European societies, some sort of common culture is accumulated. It does not have to be always cooperative (like the early gathering of Crusaders), but examples of conflict and contestation (such as wars) – even shared experiences of epidemics – also help accumulate that culture. The relationship between European culture and the process of unification is another side of the medal, for it is almost taken for granted that with each attempt of unification around Europe, a step towards a European culture, in the modern sense of the word, has been taken. For

that matter, European unity and European culture have been considered hand in hand, for the latter being the justifier of the former, and for the former being the result of the latter. The ideal of European unity, in other words, is regarded as a projection of the ideal of European culture. This is not a completely falsifiable argument, as will be shown below; yet, it will also be argued that, most of the time, the positive correlation between the two – the culture, and the unification/'engagement' (Anderson, P. 1992) – is not obligatory, if not indeed an exception.

As shown in the previous chapter, the very first attempts to create unification Europe-wide were made in the name of religion[10]. After the decline of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century and with the birth of the new religion, Islam, in the seventh century, the European peninsula became threatened by Islamic flows that began diffusing into Mediterranean Europe from the Iberian region, under the rule of the Umayyad Caliphate (661-750) (Hodges and Whitehouse 1983: 20-53). Islam was not only a new monolithic religion, and a competition/rival of Christianity, the dominant religion in Europe, but it was also a political movement with legal and administrative structures given as sacred orders. Hence, it necessitated both a religious and a political figure to re-establish/guarantee the rule of the Christ in the region. It was only after the reign of Charlemagne (Charles the Great, 768-814) began that the Islamic threat was kept under control, resulting in Europe becoming known as 'the land of Christendom' (Pirenne 2001: 147-186). The land of Charlemagne, from today's France to Germany, was also the land of Christendom, and it was the term 'Europe' that was chosen to represent this political entity; i.e., the Holy Roman Empire (Brague 2009[11]). This is why Charlemagne is still known as the *pater Europae* ('the father of Europe'), and why the Carolingian Renaissance represents the very foundations of a common European identity, established by improving communication among European peoples

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[10] Here, religion should not be solely understood as a way of transcendental salvation, but also in terms of the politics of power, especially during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; see (Moore, R. 2005: 23-45).

[11] For Eliade, however, the real impact of converting to Christianity on the pre-Christian traditions of European societies is exaggregated and varies greatly from one European society to another; hence, the link between the 'European' identity and the 'Christian' identity must be carefully constructed even on the discursive level (2009b: 252).

through developing Medieval Latin and the Carolingian miniscule, a common language and a writing style.

Another religion-led attempt to unify Europe came during the years of the Crusades, between 1095 and 1291. They originally had aimed to recapture the 'Holy Land', Jerusalem, from the Muslim rule of the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258), and were launched in response to the call from the Byzantine Empire for help against the Muslim (Seljuk) expansion into Asia Minor. However, several other campaigns, too, were waged against pagan Slavs, Jews, Orthodox Christians, Mongols, etc (Riley-Smith 2005: xxix). The contribution of the Crusades to the earlier unification of Europe should not be dismissed, for the reason that religion, as an objective element of culture, gained higher ground during the process.

Two centuries later, around the Hussite Wars (1420–1434), an early simulation of the Reformation period was being carried out. On the one side, the Crusaders were fighting a war against followers of Jan Hus (1372–1415) in Bohemia. Inspired by the doctrines of John Wycliffe (1320–1384) against monastic clergy, they aimed to reform the hierarchical and liturgical order of the Church, which signaled the forthcoming break-up in Christianity in Europe. On the other side, an inspirational Hussite, the King of Bohemia, George of Podiebrad (1458–1471), was proposing a treaty among all Christian powers, including Hispanics as well, to make peace with each other, by establishing a common parliament and other common supranational institutions. His proposal did not mention 'Europe', but a gathering of Christian powers against the 'abominable Turk' (Le Goff 2005: 186-187) that conquered Constantinople in 1453, putting an end to the Byzantine Empire. The power of religion was still apparent in the endeavors at unification in Europe, but it was not going to be accomplished soon.

Beginning with the fourteenth century, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Overseas Expansion contributed tremendously to a common European culture. The Renaissance was the first time (except for a brief Carolingian break) since Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire that such an enormous cultural movement was spreading all over Europe, affecting several areas, from arts to literature, from science to education, as well as the freedom of expression. The Reformation, bringing out several new principles and new forms of administration throughout the

continent, was the latest, and the most powerful, nail to be driven into the coffin of the Church as the sole organizer of societal and political life. Pluralism was a by-product of the Protestant Reformation, which would change the European culture fundamentally. The Overseas Expansion brought about the "culture" of colonialism as well as imperialism that would shape the next four or five hundred years of European history.

While the European culture was augmented by new elements, however, the idea of European unity started to founder. Admittedly, that happened after the decline of the Church's impact on societal and political matters. The sixteenth century also introduced the spark of capitalism, which promoted the notion of competition, not only among individuals, but also among societies – it, in other words, became a cultural factor (Wallerstein 1990). In spite of all those contributions to the common culture, the modern era, which overtly refers to the period after the Middle Ages, therefore, was going to be more about competition, and less about cooperation, or unification, for Europe. Even the cultural accumulation after the seventeenth century Enlightenment (the glorification of the human mind, science, rationality, reason, secularism, and inquiry) or the eighteenth century Industrial Revolution (modern technology, mechanization, industrialization, manufacturing, and worldwide free-trade) did not soften but, indeed, fortified the cruel competition among European societies.

Unity was no longer an aspiration of the common culture, which had not been so 'common' in the history of the continent anyway. No doubt, there had been previous developments other than those that occurred in the sixteenth century onwards, that choked off the ways towards European unity, including the Great Schism in the eleventh century that divided medieval Christianity into Eastern (Orthodox) and Western (Catholic/Latin) branches (Yumul 2003). However, none of them had ailed the idea of European unity than the rise of nationalism between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries in Europe (Wintle 2009: 377-390). The Treaty of Augsburg (1555) had already made it official that the administrative and political power of the Church were delegated to certain princes, but it was after the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) that the 'cohesion ideology' of *cuius regio eius religio* (whose rule, his religion) was spread throughout the European powers at that time.

This was exclusively a paradigm shift in the people's sense of belonging to a political entity; for it had been directed to the Church in the last ten centuries and now it was the local princes that took this power over their own people. While the small peasants of previous societies had not been able to identify with the magnitude of the Church, now it became much easier to identify with smaller polities. This is why for the first time in European history, European people finally had found something to be associated with, to identify with, and to die for, wholeheartedly (Den Boer, Bugge and Wæver 1995: 12-21).

The emergence of nation-states, and the idea of nationalism, became significant features of European politics, hence that of the European common culture, especially after the French Revolution (1789) (Hobsbawm 2004). The existence of nation-states and nationalism is so powerfully embedded within the European mindset that Hobsbawm and Ranger would argue later that the history of European cultural politics provides a case study of 'invented traditions' and manufactured heritage, and they presume nation-states are examples of those invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Anderson (Anderson, B. 1991) would go one step further, by referring to nation-states as 'imagined communities', i.e., the communities that neither essentially exist nor are invented by political trends, but are so eagerly felt/imbued into people's minds (and cultures) that they are easily imagined to be a matter of reality. Apart from those modernist scholars, like Hobsbawm, Gellner and Anderson, who claim that nationalism and nation-states are modern phenomena, designed by profit/power-seekers of the industrial societies, the critical approaches agree on the valid connection between nationalism and European culture/mind (Greenfeld 2006; Smith, A. 2009: 3-22).

The irony is that nationalism execarbated the cultural accumulation of the European people and societies while it simultaneously divided Europe into series of nation-states, consequently vitiating the idea of European unity. As an outcome of this picture, two conclusions can be drawn about culture and unity: first, accumulation of culture does not always produce unification among societies; and second, the nature of the addition to culture, regardless of whether it promotes division (like nationalism) or cooperation (like waging a war towards a common enemy), is divisive with respect to the culture–unity relationship. In basic terms,

therefore, the approach that expects European unity to be formed due to a common European culture is false. No matter how much commonality was signaled by hundreds of years of communication across European borders, the main drive of modern European culture, i.e., nationalism, produced numerous separate states with different political, economic, societal and security-related national cultures. To put this in Mishler and Pollack's terms, centuries of cultural accumulation in Europe resulted in a thin common European culture overfloating above the several national thin cultures of nation-states, which, however, could not rescue the continent from being drawn into the forthcoming world wars after all.

The nineteenth century is only another example of European cultural accumulation, which, however, did not result in a sort of unification continent-wide. Following the fall of the dream that Napoleonic France (with all the ties of kinship among other European aristocrats created through marriages and conquests (Arendt 1968: 43)) was going to unify the continent under the French rule in 1815 (Horne 2006: 153-168), this century was characterized by the absence of major wars among the great powers, as well as the new trend of international conference-makings between nation states. Hence it was roughly considered 'a century of peace' (Salmi 2008: 1-12). Maybe there were no political attempts to unify Europe, but it seemed at that time that nationalism had brought about long-wanted peace to Europe, and for Davies, the nineteenth century was the first time that Christianity was supplanted by the idea of 'Europe' among Europeans (1998: 7; Delanty 1995: 65). During the negotiations for either the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) or the Congress of Berlin (1878), what 'Europe' meant for Metternich, however, was not what it meant for Bismarck, nor what it meant for Disraeli (Kissinger 1995: 78-137). What the century of congresses taught Europe was that 'nationness' came before 'Europeanness'. As a result, the 'cohesion ideology' of that time was going to change from *cuius regio eius religio* (whose rule, his religion) to *cuius regio eius lingua* (whose rule, his language). On philosophical ground, the nineteenth-century German Romanticism, with the leading figure of Fichte, was paving the intellectual way to Bismarck's German unification (1871) (Ateşoğlu 2006), while Mazzini, 'the Moses of Italian unity' (Sullam 2008), played an active role in *Risorgimento* (1815–1871) in Italy.

European minds were confused by the emergent picture (McNeill 1974: 184). As Heater points out, there were some counter-philosophical calls for the unification of Europe, based on the projects for a federal union/unification in Europe by Rousseau (hugely influenced by the religiously-inspired ideas of Abbé de Saint-Pierre in the seventeenth century (Yalvaç 2007: 44-56)), de Béthune (the Duke of Sully), Abbé de Mably, Voltaire, or Kantian ideas of perpetual peace (Heater 1992: 35-40). French poet Victor Hugo predicted in 1849:

"A day will come when all the nations of this continent, without losing their distinct qualities or their glorious individuality, will fuse together in a higher unity and form the European brotherhood. A day will come when the only battlefield will be the marketplace for competing ideas. A day will come when bullets and bombs will be replaced by votes" (1849: 488[12]).

A French historian, at that time, made a study on the common historical origins of 'representative governance' in Europe (Guizot 2002). Furthermore, an English historian followed a similar path in 1886 asserting the historical roots of European societies, by, for the first time, referring to Ancient Greece, the Roman Empire and Christendom as the foundations of Europe (Freeman 1886). Nostalgia towards the pre-French Revolution Europe was the common theme in these (romanticist) accounts. However, as the twentieth century arrived, nineteenth-century Europe was going to be longed after even more.

3.3. The Twentieth Century: A Short Break on 'Unity'

When the twentieth century arrived, two great paradigms were going hand in hand. On the one hand, the construction of the free market by the UK after the Corn Laws (1815 and 1846), reducing the foreign tariff rates, and the repealing of the Navigation Act under the principle of *laissez-faire* (1849) led to almost a century of British hegemony all over the world (Ferguson 2004: 1-44). The production and the financial (banking, accounting, haute finance, and monetary) centers of the world

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[12] Available from the World Wide Web: http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_12/index_en.htm

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were transferred to London, where the very first emergence of social democracy was going to appear soon (Berman 2006: 96-124). The Great Depression in the economy between 1873 and 1896 let begin the expansion of financial capital out of England throughout the world, which necessitated an international standard in trade that would be found in gold (Eichengreen and Flandreau 1997). At the same time, in Europe, not only the emergence of great powers and newly founded states was realized, but also the second waves of industrial revolution and colonization made an actual inter-national competition possible. The second paradigm, nationalism, was hovering over all these developments, influencing them greatly. Particularly, the newly unified German and Italian nation-states were impatiently seeking new areas, markets, to make profits, and, simultaneously, developing their mechanical, industrial and military resources. The growth in military technology and the hunger for colonies, the particles of the Second Industrial Revolution, sometimes even threatened the peace in Europe; for instance, Bismarck "demanded that France concede the region of Alsace-Lorraine, a potentially important industrial area which contained huge reserves of phosphoric iron ore" (Weightman 2007: 281).

European culture in the twentieth century comprised, therefore, an inter-European-national competition, nationalism, a liberal market economy, and the balance of power between the major actors. Obviously, this formula was doomed to crash due to the ever-increasing competition involved in it. First, obverse of what was expected, the market did not self-regulate (Polanyi 2001: 3-21). Then, the gold standard fell off (Keynes 1997: 95-100). As expected, the British hegemony began to discomfort other powers, and international conflicts originated (Kennedy 1989: 256-273). Imperialistic foreign policies started to cause alignments between the industrialized and the industrializing, which turn out to lead major armament in all countries (Williamson 1989). After the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by an irredentist Serbian, Gavrilo Princip, in 1914 (Henig 2002: 23), the trigger that would cause the death of over fifteen million people in four years was pulled. The European culture that had accumulated for centuries looked at that time so thin that it was almost non-existent, except for the military technology it initiated a few centuries prior. The grouping between the Triple Entente (the UK, France and the Russian Empire) and the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy)

divided Europe into two halves (Henig 2002: 12-13). Joined later by people from all over the world, the so-called unity of Europe was now leading the whole world into devastation. Nationalism and economic/imperialistic/political competition together racked societies that were supposed to share common cultural elements like 'liberty, fraternity and equality'[13]. Ironically, it was the competitive, nationalistic culture grown carefully for centuries that brought about the end to those ideals.

In one sentence, the twentieth century began with the death of European dreams of unity. Even worse, during the post-WWI period, the alignment within this European disunity was kept alive. As noted previously, 1919–1939 was a period of international institutionalization, with the attempts to operate the LoN effectively. For that reason, the Western Europeans borrowed the ideals of peace, democracy and free-market economy from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Unfortunately, the debt did not pay off well. First, the Entente forced the defeated nations of WWI to sign punitive agreements. After the Paris Conference (1919), the Treaty of Versailles (1919 – with Germany), the Treaty of St. Germain (1919 – with the Austrian Republic), the Treaty of Neuilly (1919 – with Bulgaria), the Treaty of Trianon (1920 – with Hungary), and the Treaty of Sevres (1920 – with the Ottoman Empire; which would be replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) signed with the Turkish Republic) were signed. The treaties dealt with the issues of borders, status of refugees, debts, access to resources, and sanctions in case of unilateral rescinds; they were designed in favor of the victorious parties (Roberts 1996: 521-523). While the Russian Empire was going through an inner (Bolshevik) revolution and re-integrating itself, after WWI, the European empires dissolved into nation-states. Combined with the SDR guaranteed by the LoN, the 'winds of nationalism' were blowing harder than ever before (Moore, M. 1998: 1-13). The new map of the continent was now disintegrated into small nation-states, most of which were involved in great disputes over borders with neighboring countries (Zimmer 2003: xiii, 59-71).

Attempts to internationalize the European matters with the LoN failed dramatically and quickly, mostly because of the LoN's inability to subject or even monitor the national governments which, contrary to the mandates of the

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[13] A slogan used frequently during the French Revolution.

agreement, dismissed disarmament and pacifism, and ignored efforts towards collective security. Furthermore, because of the exclusion of the United States and Russia from the League (Henig 2005: 3-11), another strong movement was empowering in the most wounded ally, Germany: the Nazis and their national socialist ideology. The fascistic discourse of the movement was also supported by the Great Depression of the 1930s, which bolstered the faith up in national governments to escape from political and economic turmoil, and dismissed the trust in internationalization. European culture was once again filled with hope in nationalism. Yet, this time, even nationalism had "gone wild" (Zimmer 2003: 80). Hitler's recovery program was working so perfectly that in only a few years, German industry began operating even better than it had been before WWI (Henig 2005: 11-43). National growth in the mechanization and improvements in military technology were signaling the footsteps of another catastrophe, but even the most pessimistic minds would not have expected anything near what was going to happen between the years 1939 and 1945. European culture was planning to come up with something so disastrous that history had never imagined.

Unresolved tension after the peace settlements, resentment and economic depression were considered the primary causes of WWII. Yet, at the center was nationalism. The dynamics of Europeanization, during its periods of glory and decline, were so powerfully promoting national identifications that the ideas of European unity were long forgotten even in the philosophical debates during the early twentieth century (with the possible exceptions of Voegelin, Hayek, Russell (1936) etc.). The war once again divided the continent into two halves; this time between the Allies (the UK, France, the United States and the USSR) and the Axis powers (until broken up, Germany, Italy, and Japan). Because of the improved technology and the outrageous level of resentment, the consequences of WWII outpaced its predecessor, with devastated regions, over fifty million dead people (approximately sixty percent of which was from Europe), and a destroyed continent. The accumulation into a European common culture was continuing, but this time, with a culture of war, which caused nothing like unity but the dogs of war. This is probably why Roberts called the entire first half of the twentieth century for Europe "the last years of European illusion" (Roberts 1996: 551-576).

During and after the war, however, efforts to re-unify Europe were distinctly enhanced. Back in 1922, an Austrian philosopher and politician, von Coudenhove-Kalergi, had co-founded the Pan-European Union as "the only way of guarding against the eventual world hegemony by Russia" (quoted in Dorril 2000: 165) and, a year later, he published a manifesto entitled *Paneuropa,* presenting the idea of a unified European State based on four basic principles: liberalism, Christianity, social aristocracy and pro-Europeanism (Rosamond 2000b: 21-22). The end of war led him to revive these ideas. In 1947, he founded the European Parliamentary Union; at its first meeting in July that year; he made a speech on the need to draft a Europe-wide constitution based on the ideals of a common market with a stable currency, a concert of nations, as well as "a revival of Charlemagne's empire" (quoted in Schumacher 1988: 537). The European Parliamentary Union held its last meeting in 1950, and joined in 1952 to the *European Movement* (1948), championed by Sandys with the desire to coordinate the efforts towards the construction of a federal Europe. In terms of federalist ideas to be established in Europe, Spinelli and Rossi's *Ventotene Manifesto* (1941) became one of the cornerstones. The manifesto had aimed at restoring the fascist-led old European system of sovereign national states and changing alliances, by a European federation of states. This movement was so intensely against the nation-states that in the founding meeting of the – successive – European Federalist Movement, it was stated:

"If a post war order is established in which each State retains its complete national sovereignty, the basis for a Third World War would still exist even after the Nazi attempt to establish the domination of the German race in Europe has been frustrated" (Spinelli 1944: 167-168).

Until 1950s, the idea of a federal Europe had been kept alive, with the surprising contributions from critical figures in Europe, such as Churchill, Adenauer, Macmillan, Mitterrand, etc. The Hague Congress in May 1948, however, made it apparent that the only supranational entity that could come up from these good intensions was going to be the CoE, at least for that moment in time.

To sum up, until this point, it is clear that Europeanization has set out a cultural background behind European history. Cultural accumulation involved uniting components (such as the Latin language, Roman law, diplomacy) and divisive components (such as nationalism, wars), as well as other components that are easily shifted from their unifying uses to distractions (such as scientific revolution, which provided technological advancements used in improving inter-societal communication or in armament). In other words, it would be a mistake only to count unifying elements as parts of a common culture, and to dismiss separating ones. Wars, for instance, are as much cultural components of European culture as free market liberalism. It is particularly misleading to focus on Christianity as a part of the European culture and ignore the lingering religious wars between the Catholics and the Protestants, or between the Catholics and the Orthodox Christian. Making symbols of a European culture out of a temporary gathering against a common enemy (such as the Ottoman Empire during the fifteenth or the sixteenth century) should not lead one mistakenly to overlook the tension between European powers during the Eastern Question. All in all, a common history should naturally lead to a pool of common experiences and a common learning; yet, constructing a culture out of it is surely another matter.

European societies have so far managed to accumulate a common pool of experiences that is used on a consequential basis at some moments in time. They had enough resources, enough access to that pool, to detect the Eastern Question as a matter of common concern in the nineteenth century. They knew that the 1848 revolutions would be a concern for all European societies in the near future; they had a common memory of revolts back in the times of the Reformation. Irrefutably, they knew that nationalism had been spreading throughout the country so powerfully that there was now a need to take an action against or towards it. However, the action chosen by European societies was not a product of a common European culture, for each individual society/nation/peoplehood replied to those events in their own specific, and ironically cultural, ways. Yet, these common experiences carried European societies to the twentieth century, in which all of them, without exception, chose to deal with problems in national terms, by means of newly emphasized national identities.

The so-called European culture, a pool of common components, has been so "thin" that there have even been times upon the thick-culture to no-culture continuum when it had been shifted to the latter end, such as during the 1914-1944 period. Yet, such a common culture did exist, or at least that pool of cultural components was always available and accumulating, such that even coming out of those deadly experiences did not avert future reference to that culture in order for a recovery. However, it is historically proven that Europeanization has never been able to construct a European culture with a "thick core," but instead it has constructed a thin culture, a pool of common memories, experiences, and learning accumulated throughout history. Looking at the late stages of Europeanization, comprising the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, particularly, what is remarkable is that that thin culture has promoted not a unity between Europeans, but rather the victory of national identities.

3. 4. Towards a European Identity?

If Europeanization is – mistakenly – understood as depicting a policy or norm transfer between European nation states in the last fifty to sixty years, or basically as an impact of European integration during that short period, an analysis of European identity should start with a condemnation of nationalism and its warring agents of nation-states. This is why the previously mentioned studies of Spinelli or von Coudenhove-Kalergi picked up nation-states as their scapegoats, proposing a system that would overpower their legitimacy (Meny 2001). However, if Europeanization is understood from a historical perspective, as this thesis has done hitherto, such an analysis of the attempts to construct a European identity should originate from questioning why Europeanization would now bring out a common European identity, and undermine a two-centuries-old system of nation-states it, itself, had brought about earlier. More importantly, how such a shift from nation-state identities to one common identity across Europe could happen should be a matter of concern. Before asking these questions, however, a discursive shift from European culture to European identity should be highlighted first.

Remembering Mishler and Pollack's study, what is implied there is essentially that once a common culture, having a thick cultural core and several thin cultural components, is established, it is expected to become transferred to a common identity. As shown in the above paragraphs, however, not only whether such an expectation is plausible is highly contested, but also whether such a European common culture, which would pave the way to a European identity, has been accumulated is specifically uncertain, if not absurd. The link between culture and identity can be valid and expected, but this does not necessarily cause a positive correlation between them, as the history of Europe shows unreservedly. Then why are people talking about a European identity today? Why are statements made arguing about the great foundations of Europe and European culture with certain positive values attached to it? Why are several books and articles written on the subject of European identity? Finally, why do recent EU treaties specifically touch upon the concept of common European identity?

For Ifversen (2002), in history there have been four models of conceptualizing European culture. First, European culture has been equated with a national culture, including the traditional hybrid of territory, history, memories, and people, referring to their roots in Ancient Greece, Rome and Christianity (Prodi 2000). Second, European culture is taken as a civilization, following Spengler (1996), which is higher than a single culture, referring to common values with universal status, a transnational culture (Morin 1997). Third, European culture is taken as constructed discursively, and through the efforts of European citizenship, during the EU integration for gaining legitimacy towards supranational organizations and as a remedy to the so-called 'democratic deficit' in the EU decision-making (Habermas 1996). Finally, there are attempts to deconstruct this discourse on European culture, equating it with identity, or *to de-ideologize* the term 'identity' (Stråth 2000: 21-22, 38). In this study, in order to answer the questions above, the third and the fourth models will be taken as standpoints and a further discussion will be elaborated on the Europeanization and the validity of European identity.

3.5. Construction of European Identity

Beginning with the construction of the discourse on a European identity, it must be noted first that, before the recent process of European integration since the 1950s, or before the 'period of re-integration' of Europeanization, the word 'identity' had not been pronounced to depict a commonality among Europeans. Back then, it was only a common European culture, or at most a European unity, among different segments, people, societies, and nations of the European continent that was being promoted. Wording with 'identity', therefore, is a post-war conceptualizing used frequently by the EU-ization genre, and therefore an ahistorical phenomenon, as shown up to this point. The discursive analysis from now on will focus on how EU-ization specifies the concept of identity and attaches it to the so-called European values/culture.

The period between the late 1950s and the early 1980s is often considered lacking a political integration around Europe, and rather as a period of economic integration (Jovanovic 1997: 1-42). However, such a sharp separation between political and economic integration could be misleading. Even at the beginning, the ECSC was founded on coal and steel because they were politically critical, rather than profitable. Only a few years later, EURATOM was designed to retain a possible nuclear conflict within the borders of Europe, hence regarding a high-political issue. Though unsuccessful, the attempts to establish a European Defence Community or a European Political Union have already been mentioned. Haas, one of the pioneering theoreticians on the subject of European integration, modified Mitrany's (1943) idea of 'ramification' into 'the spill-over effect' in order to simulate a wanted shift in the direction of economic integration towards political and social integration throughout the European continent (Haas 1958). For Tranholm-Mikelsen, neo-functionalism had already detected the forthcoming direction of the European integration in the late-1950s, and even then warned about the possible problems regarding the democratic 'culture' of Europe inside a political union (1991: 4). Although it is contested, there is a rumor that the founding father of the EU, Monnet, once said that if he were to begin constructing Europe today, he

would prioritize culture above everything else (Pieterse 1994: 130; criticized by Wagner 2007: 171).

Inglehart's (1977) exceptional study about the mass support for European unification shows, further, that even during the *Eurosclerosis* – the term coined to symbolize the remarkably slow growth in European integration in the 1970s (Awesti 2006) – integration studies forecasted a political and social unity coming for the future decades of Europe. Accordingly, because of the 1950s' zealousness for the recovery of Europe as well as the 1960s' activism, the structure of European politics altered in two ways: first, material and physical security started to lose their priority over intangible aspects of life (such as freedom of speech, human rights, democratic pluralism); and second, the political skills of the European publics mounted up so that they are enabled, in Inglehart's words, "to play a more active role in making important political decisions" (quoted in Hardy 1981: 14). Although from a different perspective, Rosenau, too, would support the more active role to be played by future generations in politics and decision-making because of the new set of skills (Rosenau, J. 1990: 114-141). Both scholars were influenced by Deutsch's (1966) studies on 'social mobilization', an increased level of cross-border communications which promote integration policies in between. In that sense, since Europeanization is here also defined as cross-border connections, it might be safe to say that Europeanization in the 1970s creates a momentum for not only individuals' contribution to politics, but also necessitates the inquiry of the individual within the political studies, as well as policy-making.

When the individual is brought into politics, there appears the question of identity. This was exactly what happened in the European integration during and after the 1970s. In 1973, for the first time in the EC, the term 'European identity' was mentioned at the Copenhagen European Summit by the Heads of States (then nine members) or governments. The resulting Declaration on European Identity (1973) touched on 'principles of the unity of the nine', 'common responsibilities with regard to the world', 'the dynamic nature of the construction of Europe', and 'a

basic necessity to ensure the survival of the civilization which the member states have in common' (EC Document 1973: 118-122[14]). Passerini summarizes such that

> "… the identity of Europe, according to this document, should be based on a common heritage: identical attitudes toward life, converging on a creation of a society responding to the needs of individuals; the principals of representative democracy, the rule of law, social justice, and respect for human rights" (2002: 194).

Those ideals, of the so-called common heritage, as well as the term 'European identity' will be echoed in the successive debates. By this declaration, however, they became not only a 'political resource' but also a part of 'the strategy' of the European integration process (Schlesinger, P. 2007). Two years later, for instance, the Tindemans Report, prepared in response to a call from the Paris Summit in 1974, repeated the necessity of 'European unity in all areas' (including security, military issues, politics and culture) against the outside world, although it did not refer to the word 'identity' (Thomson 1976).

Born in the 1970s, *A People's Europe,* as a campaign promoted by the Commission, had its heyday in the 1980s (Vink 2005: 43-48). At the end of the Fontainebleau Summit in 1985, the heads of governments declared the necessity to reinforce Europe's identity and image both among citizens of the member states and throughout the world, and an *ad hoc* working group on *A People's Europe* was established. Chaired by Adonnino, the working group aimed to 'promote Europe without internal borders' (Bernard 1999: 5-18), by introducing a manual of things-to-be-done, including improvement in the free movement of persons, mutual recognition in diplomas, European vocational training certificates, a right of petition for European citizens, cooperation between European universities, and most importantly, the use of common European symbols: the blue flag with gold stars, a European anthem, postage stamps with European emblems, standard postal rates,

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[14] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.ena.lu/declaration_european_identity_copenhagen_14_december_1973-020002278.html

the removal of 'customs' signs from internal frontiers, etc (EC Document 1985[15]). In the following year, first the European driving licenses, then the European flag were made official by the EC (Welsh 1993).

The breakthrough in the construction of European identity came in the early 1990s. The end of the Cold War, i.e., the end of the bipolar world system, necessitated the European integration to go publicly political. That was why, at the Dublin European Council in 1990, two Intergovernmental Conferences were convened, one about the economic and monetary matters, and the other on the prospect of a political union. A year later, at the Maastricht European Council, an agreement was reached on the new treaty. The TEU was signed in 1992 and came into force in 1993. The new institutional framework was represented in the form of a Greek temple with three pillars, representing the European Communities, the CFSP and the JHA. Among all the expected economic and social progress from the members under the roof of this new Union, two points stood out with greater emphasis than others: the members were expected to cement the protection of the rights and interests of their nationals through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union, and the Union as a whole was anticipated to assert a common identity on the international scene (EU Document 1992b: Preamble).

It was officialized that the transition from the EC to the EU was to be made through the political notion of a common European identity. The 'political order' (Laffan 1996) was now to be decided by the 'citizens' of Europe, who were claimed to be sharing a common European identity (Kraus 2001). In the Preamble of the TEU, 'an ever closer union' (EU Document 1992b: Preamble) was set as a goal to which every 'European' should have been committed, for they were now docile citizens of the same political entity with 'common values' to be safeguarded by themselves as a whole. While setting such values, however, there were "no formal or informal norms requiring the EU citizens to transfer their loyalties to the EU instead of or in conjunction with the nation-state" (Risse 2001: 200). In the Article F(1), it was ironically stated that "[t]he Union [should] respect the national identities of its Member States, whose systems of government [were] founded on

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[15] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://aei.pitt.edu/992/01/andonnino_report_peoples_europe.pdf

the principles of democracy" (EU Document 1992b). What should be understood from 'European identity' was left "blank" (Kantner 2006: 501). The common values were touched upon, like a scratch on the surface, referring to some loaded concepts of 'liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law', accepted to be common for all members, and repeated by elites frequently (Rehn 2006). Goldstein (1993) sums up that Maastricht was the pioneering attempt to lay the foundations of 'an embryonic European-state'.

The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) amended the TEU, "reinforcing the European identity and its independence in order to promote peace, security and progress in Europe and in the world" (EU Document 1997c: Article 1(3)[16]). The Nice European Council in 2000 adopted the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, which did not refer to the term 'identity' specifically, but insisted that "[t]he peoples of Europe, in creating an ever closer union among them, [were] resolved to share a peaceful future based on common values" (EU Document 2000a: Preamble[17]).

The efforts to establish a common constitution for the EU were probably the most visible attempts for entrenching the issue of European citizenship. Mayer and Palmowski (2004), for instance, name five categories of identity to be affected by the European integration process, and along with history, culture, and institutions, there are law and constitution. Lindahl (2000), on the other hand, calls attention to the productive and reproductive impact of EU-level law-making on identity: a European constitution leads to a European identity, just like a European identity leads to a European constitution; at least, there is supposed to be a link in between.

The talks over a European constitution officially began at the Laeken European Council in 2001. The resulting Laeken Declaration on the Future of the European Union was a plain review of the European integration process as well as a future projection. It affirmed that

> "[f]or centuries, peoples and states have taken up arms and waged war to win control of the European continent. The debilitating effects of two bloody

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[16] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/treaty/pdf/amst-en.pdf
[17] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf

wars and the weakening of Europe's position in the world brought a growing realization that only peace and concerted action could make the dream of a strong, unified Europe come true" (EU Document 2001b: 19[18]).

Further, it pointed to the new conjuncture after what happened to the World Trade Center, New York, in September 11, 2001, and defined what Europe should mean to this changing world:

"Europe as the continent of humane values, the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the French Revolution and the fall of the Berlin Wall; the continent of liberty, solidarity and above all diversity, meaning respect for others' languages, cultures and traditions. The European Union's one boundary is democracy and human rights. The Union is open only to countries which uphold basic values such as free elections, respect for minorities and respect for the rule of law" (EU Document 2001b: 20).

A separate section was reserved for the 'admirable match between the Union's and its citizens' in the document, and as a result of this, it was agreed to establish a European convention for proposing a European constitution for European citizens. Presided over by the former President of France, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the convention was tasked with drafting the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe (European Constitution), aiming to combine the previous four treaties of the EU within one, simplified and transparent text; incorporating the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU as a legal pillar of the integration; and expanding the Qualified Majority Voting procedure to areas in which decisions had been taken previously on unanimity among member governments.

In 2004, the European Constitution was signed in Rome by twenty-five member states, including the CEECs who had recently become members of the Union. The geography of the Union had reached its widest extent, the population boosted to over four hundred and fifty million people, and, oddly enough, the so-

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[18] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://ec.europa.eu/governance/impact/background/docs/laeken_concl_en.pdf

called "deepening" process of the European integration roofed at the top. As stated, the Union and its member states are said to share the common values of "respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights", and in the societies of the member states, the values of "pluralism, tolerance, justice, solidarity and non-discrimination" (EU Document 2003: Article 2[19]) were said to prevail. In the following article, the aim of the Union was set to promote and safeguard those values (EU Document 2003: Article 3(1)).

"Drawing inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, the values of which, still present in its heritage, have embedded within the life of society the central role of the human person and his or her inviolable and inalienable rights, and respect for law" (EU Document 2003: Preamble) was a remarkable note in that culture, religion and humanism were set forth as the foundations of those common values mentioned earlier. It was further stated that "[e]very national of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union", but it was also harped on that "the citizenship of the Union shall be additional to national citizenship; it shall not replace it" (EU Document 2003: Article 8). To note, intriguingly, the word 'identity' was used in the text only two times, without any attachment to 'European identity', which had been pronounced proudly and frequently since the TEU discourse had begun. Common values, ostensibly, gained more popularity during the debates in the convention. In the final part of General Provisions, however, under the title 'the symbols of the Union', it was presented that "the flag of the Union shall be a circle of twelve golden stars on a blue background", "the anthem of the Union shall be based on the Ode to Joy from the Ninth Symphony by Ludwig van Beethoven", "the motto of the Union shall be: United in diversity", "the currency of the Union shall be the euro", and "9 May shall be celebrated throughout the Union as Europe day" (EU Document 2003: Article IV – I). The text of the Draft Constitution almost carried the talks of European identity from its modernist sources (culture, unity, identity) to the so-called 'post-modern' grounds (shared values, such as democracy, the rule of law, human rights, minority rights, fundamental freedoms, and liberal market economy).

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[19] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://european-convention.eu.int/docs/Treaty/cv00850.en03.pdf

Though signed by the heads of member states, the Constitution was only ratified by thirteen states (O'Neill 2008: 329-331). The negative results of the successive referenda held in France and Holland in 2005, however, put an end to other ratification processes throughout the EU, and hence, the European Constitution never entered into force. Looking at the reasons for the rejections in both countries, 'nationalistic concerns', 'politics of identity', 'the fear of immigration', and possible 'integration of Turkey into the Union' were uttered frequently (Hussain, Hudson and Whitman 2005). It was paradoxical though, since the wording of the Constitution text had been carefully selected, without giving place to screening terms, like 'identity', or even 'unity' (even the traditional motto of the European integration, 'unity in diversity' had been changed to 'united in diversity'). The rejections, then, led to the so-called 'period of reflection'[20] in the EU for deciding what to do next. First, a working group, later known as the Amato Group, was established to pursue a possible course of action. Then, on June 2007, the group presented their report, proposing a new intergovernmental conference for writing a new treaty that would amend the TEU, based on the first and fourth parts of the rejected Constitution. After a series of discussions, the heads of the twenty-seven EU states agreed to amend the existing treaties with a Reform Treaty (2009), which was signed in Lisbon at the end of that year, and became known as the Treaty of Lisbon.

The Laeken Declaration's emphasis on the 'admirable match between the Union and its citizens' was frankly lost during the talks of the Constitution as well as the ratification process for the Treaty of Lisbon. Veritably, the latest treaty was even a further step-back in the Maastricht-esque insistence on common identity, with the changes and extractions done in the already light text of the Draft Constitution: the so-called common values were left untouched; "cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe" (EU Document 2007: Article 1, 1, a[21]) was again emphasized as the core of the common values; the words 'identity' and 'unity' were not inscribed; any reference that might recall a 'state-like' terminology or symbols were abandoned ('rules' became 'provisions', 'regulations' and

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[20] The term was adopted by the officers in the EU institutions based on (Wintour 2005).
[21] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/cg00014.en07.pdf

'directives' became 'laws') (Honor 2007); the opt-outs from the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU were made optional (Barnard 2008); or 'the symbols of the Union' (flag, motto, anthem, etc.) section was entirely dropped (Petersman 2008: 352). The text of the Reform Treaty, hence, is now more moderate than ever in the history of the European integration.

For Bode, however, the difference between the Reform Treaty and European Constitution is rhetorical. He supports his argument with the words of d'Estaing, stating that "the Treaty of Lisbon is the same as the rejected constitution. Only the format has been changed to avoid referendums" (quoted in Bode 2008: 1). It has been shown with emphasis, up to this point, that discourse is important all through the European integration process, if not for all the stages of Europeanization. Besides, there are clear changes on the inscription between two texts, for the Reform Treaty had a lighter touch on 'sensitive' issues. Thus, the question is, what makes d'Estaing, the president of the convention that prepared the rejected Constitution, claim that there is no difference between the Constitution and Lisbon Treaty? To answer this, below, the discourse of this latest stage Europeanization will be deconstructed.

3.6. Deconstruction of European Identity

Thus far, two main points have been highlighted: first, since 1945, Europeanization has been in its period of re-integrating Europe in terms of increasing the frequency and content of the cross-border connections among European societies by benefiting from constructed agencies, the EU being the pioneer. Second, in this latest stage of Europeanization, traditional discourses of unity and culture have been supplanted by claims of a common, European, identity. To put this in terms of cultural neo-synthesis, the traditional accumulation of thin culture now is being augmented by constructing a thick, European culture, feeding the notion of European identity. Since 1945, in other words, the hypothetical core of a European culture has been planted, constructing a common identity – at least in a discursive manner. In this section, this particular process will be analyzed.

At its very core, what is 'identity'? The concept has a controversial background and breeds a vast literature. In the 1950s and 1960s, those sociologists who were part of the phenomenological and interactionist tradition, such as Strauss (1997), attempted to come up with a conceptualization of personal and social identities. After Erikson (1956), who was the first scholar that systematically used the term 'identity' for a theory of personal development, identity became "a sociological equivalent for much of the psychological concept of the 'self', and of the psychoanalytic concept of the 'I'" (Kohli 2000: 115). For Joas, the 'self' is "one of the greatest discoveries in the history of the social sciences" (Joas 2000: 2), from which identity also becomes a center-piece of the social scientific research. Connolly questions the identification process within the context of what he calls 'paradox of difference': as the self searches for differences to distinguish itself from the 'Other', then it creates an 'Other', where those differences become threatening to its own existence (2002: 64-95). Traditional understandings of identity use 'social cognition' and 'symbolic interaction' to construct theoretical underpinnings of a political identity theory (Howard 2000). Within the post-modernist tradition, Derrida steps up with his assertion that "an identity is never given, received or attained; only the interminable and indefinitely phantasmatic process of identification endures" (1998: 28). Hence, for him, "there is no identity. There is identification" (Derrida 2001a: 28). "[T]he subject attempts to fill out its constitutive lack [of identity] by means of identification, by identifying itself with some mastersignifier guaranteeing its place in the symbolic network" (Žižek 1992: 163). As much as it makes sense to put identity construction in an endless continuum, Derrida possibly goes a bit too far, by ignoring the identities in a given time. Since in an instance everybody has and is given an identity, if he or she is involved in a social connection, instant identities do exist, although attained only to change frequently.

The role of the 'Other', therefore, is critical for constructing identities. Identification is a social phenomenon; it must involve a human connection. "Our identities", in other words, "are partly shaped by recognition or its absence" (Taylor: 98) in the eyes of others. For Derrida, it must also involve what he calls *différence*, meaning that a word or a sign can never fully summon forth what it

means (2001b). Hence it always needs an additional word or a sign from which it differs, and finding differentiating elements between things generates binary opposition and hierarchies for meanings. Thus, applying this textual deconstruction to inter-personal identification, the process of identification necessitates an 'Other' from which one differs, and this will inevitably bring about hierarchy between the two identified, by means of the identification process itself. It might still be questioned, though, whether all identification involve hierarchy. Take, for instance, identifying someone with his or her brown hair. The color of the hair could be just an identifier for that person in a crowded room, with absolutely no valuation or hierarchy involved, but it does need 'Other' people with different-colored hair. Hence, the existence of an 'Other', possessing something to be differenced, is an irreplaceable part of an identification process, but the binary oppositions are only manipulable – and this is probably why not only the politics, but also the study, of identity is so appealing.

Being social brings about identification. The question is, on which levels? For Yurdusev, there are three levels of identification (2003: 77). First, there are individual identifications in cases where a person has a unique, idiosyncratic characteristic that is shared by nobody else in a given environment. Second, there are group identifications, referring to defining a group of persons sharing similar characteristics, commonalities that differentiate them(selves) from other groups with other sets of unique characteristics. Finally, there are 'common identifications', which comprises universally shared traits, as of the characteristics of species, by which, for instance, humans are separated from the other living creatures.

If an identification process occurs on the individual basis, the result will be an individual or a personal identity. A name on an identity card, a pair of blue eyes, gender, marital status, parenthood, religious affiliations, political tendencies, beliefs or any kind of information that can be found on a curriculum vitae complement that sort of an identity (Güvenç 2006: 17). Universal identities, on the other hand, comprise characteristics that are common to all, claiming to be for everyone, such as to be a human being (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Collective identities, erected from group-level identifications, are particularly critical to this study, and will be

dealt with in detail in the following chapter. Here, it is safe to say that collective identities are products of social encounters of the people who share certain elements in common which differentiate them from other people, and who thereby form certain collectivities/groups to fulfill their social needs. Why such collectivities/groups are formed might be related to the aim for physical security (Adler and Barnett 1998), group interests (Wendt 1994), 'behavioral interaction' (Axelrod 1984), or calculated cost-benefit analysis ('rational-choice' (Miller 1992)). The common elements, supposedly shared by a collectivity, are usually divided into objective elements (such as language, common descent, customs, history, institutions, myths, religion, and territory) and subjective elements (consciousness of belonging to a collective identity) (Kohn 2008: 1-24). Post-Marxist accounts call attention to the 'totality' element apparent in collective identification (Laclau 1995) while the post-modernists locate the politics of identity (or the establishment of group identification) within the Foucaldian power–knowledge nexus (Foucault 1980), rejecting the actual existence of collective identities, but focusing on the narration of them (Anthias 2002).

3.6.1. European Identity Construction by Eurocrats

Under the light of this information, can a European identity be constructed as an example of a collective identity? To the European Commission, the answer is affirmative, for they claimed in 1992 that:

> "The term 'Europe' has not been officially defined. It combines geographical, historical, and cultural elements which all contribute to the European identity. The shared experience of proximity, ideas, values, and historical interaction cannot be condensed into a simple formula, and is subject to review by each succeeding generation" (EU Document 1992a: 53[22]).

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[22] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://aei.pitt.edu/1573/1/challenge_of_enlargement_June_92.pdf

Green (2007: 43-44) questions if there are some common 'elements' of a European identity. Accordingly, Wintle agrees with the Commission because, for him, 'the Roman Empire', 'Christianity', 'the Enlightenment', 'industrialization', 'a common physical environment', and 'a shared knowledge of language' might establish the necessary common elements for becoming of a collective identity (1996: 13-16). Garcia contributes to Wintle's list by adding the elements of 'Hellenism', 'Roman law and institutions', 'the Renaissance', 'Romanticism', 'welfare society', and 'the cross-fertilization of diversity' (1993: 7-9). In these two accounts, what Gress (1998) calls 'from Plato to NATO-togetherness' within European societies is being brought out, as the foundations of Europe. Mikkeli says even the whole idea of 'Orientalism' (Said 1979) is a common heritage of Europeans for they have found their identifying 'others' in non-Europeans (1998: 230-234). By a similar logic, Eurocentrism (Amin 1989), too, might be considered as a common element of the European collective identity. De Villepin regards all these elements as 'the roots of Europe' (2006: 3-17).

Labeling the nation-state as only one type of polity, which obviously has dominated the world-system since the seventeenth century, Jørgensen (1995) argues that just as the system of nation-states rules out the medieval system of empires, it will be outdone by another system. In that sense, national identification will inevitably be altered by some other form (or forms) of identification. Why should it *not* be a European identification? Macdonald, further, calls attention to the fact that social sciences were born in Western Europe during the late eighteenth century, which particularly coincided with the dominance of nationalist ideologies. Hence, it is normal to pay more attention to national collective identifications (Macdonald 1997). However, none of this should be taken as given. It can, and as a matter of fact, it must change. Kroes (1995) supports the idea that the twentieth century had already taught Europe about supranational identifications through the experiences with Americanization and Sovietization: especially, the American project demonstrated to Europeans the need of 'openness over exclusiveness', 'consent over descent', and 'civilian over ethnic citizenship'.

What Havel (1996) argues is not at all different than applying this 'civilian' side of the American political culture to Europe. He argues that it indeed should be

easy, because European core values are committed to three virtues: an undivided continent, individual freedom and universalism of humanity. Combining Garcia's insistence on 'diversity' and Havel's commitment to 'universalism of humanity', Laffan advocates a European identity based on a combination of 'shared destiny', 'diversity' and 'civic dimension of nationality' instead of "myths of dubious historical validity" (1996: 99). Here, what is needed for a functioning European identity is a sense of solidarity rather than common elements of nation-building.

Just as Laffan discusses the need to come up with a post-national identity for Europe (i.e., a European identity that does not refer to a nation-state-like common elements), post-national or postmodern collective identities are hailed in today's academia, and there are multiple attempts to construct a post-modern/post-national European identity (Habermas and Pensky 2001; Hedetoft and Mette 2002; Matustik 1993). Green proposes, for instance, that a postmodern European identity is (or shall be) constructively driven for different instances (a European set of multiple identities); that it calls for a proliferation of polities and dispersion of power (like Bull's 'neo-medievalism' (Bull 1977: 255; Wæver 1997; Zielonka 2007: 164-191)); that it should be based on a set of civic norms, values rather than essential or primordial characteristics; that the most prominent among these values (such as democracy, respect for human rights, etc.) is the celebration of diversity; and that a European identity is (shall be) a product of an 'instrumental quid pro quo' relationship (as opposed to socialized emotional responses of tribes) (Green 2007: 157-159).

On the pessimistic side, however, there are other views that do not see a European identity as a possibility. Rousseau and Van der Veen's computer-based simulation remarks, first of all, that for a shared identity to emerge, four conditions have to be apparent. First, there is a "curvilinear relationship between the complexity of agents' views and the emergence of shared identity"; second, "highly unstable environments encourage the emergence of a shared identity"; third, "the presence of leaders in the neighborhood decreases shared identity"; and fourth, "the interaction of complexity, stability and leadership produces extremely polarized societies" (Rousseau and Van der Veen 2005: 686). In the case of post-war Europe, the conditions seem not to fit. The agents of European identity (i.e., the so-called

'citizens' of the EU) do have diverging positions on the past, the current, and the possible future of Europeanization, as will be shown in the following sections. The stability in the environment, on the other hand, is highly valid while the presence of the powerful leading figures in the neighboring states or regions is very indeterminate, especially after the fall of the Soviet Union. Polarization of societies, lastly, may seem to fit the European case, but it is especially arguable, after WWII, to refer to post-war Europe as polarized, for there was never a time like today that the governance, administration, jurisdiction and even security in the continent have been so intermingled in its history.

Modernist insight of collective identities, i.e., those that construct collective identities with traditional, materialized common elements, are among the Euro-pessimists, too. Schlesinger, for instance, argues that, "given Europe's diversity", a European identity "cannot be readily built upon the classic simplifying nationalist criteria of ethnicity, consanguinity, language, or religion" (Schlesinger, P. 1994: 32). This diversity inevitably brings out ambiguity, which cannot be easily tolerated throughout the construction of a collective identity. Keane (1992), rightly, considers the need of communication in establishing a collectivity and questions how Europeans, lacking a common language (with over fifty languages spoken all over the continent) or a sense of national or religious identity, would make communication possible. Emphasis on the lack of a common language and a 'tripartite religious division' – which indeed counts only for Christianity, excluding other religious divisions – is also echoed by other scholars (Haller 1994; Kazancıgil 1993; Howe 1995).

Shore's pessimism regarding a possible European identity emerges from the statement that expresses the Commission's optimism about it. He criticizes the already quoted passage from the Commission that rationalizes why Europe or its identity do not require an official definition. More importantly, he says that even 'not defining' Europe is in effect defining it, using perilous identification with respect to constructed others. Quoting from Shore:

"While the Commission dismisses the notion of an 'official' category of 'European', evidence of a more coherent 'applied' definition can be seen emerging at the borders and boundaries of the new Europe, particularly in the spheres of immigration control and external custom barriers… [T]erms 'non EC-nationals', 'third countries', and 'non-Europeans' are being defined with increasing precision and thus, as if by default, an 'official' definition of European is being constructed" (1993: 786).

By this way, the European Commission is at bottom 'inventing a tradition' to first, "furnish institutions with legitimacy and authority"; second, "provide a charter for action, and for those in positions of power and authority, ideological support for the status quo", and, third, define "social boundaries of inclusion and exclusion" (Shore 1996: 475). Shore's rationale is directly influenced by that of Hobsbawm and Ranger discussed earlier, and is an attempt to make a connection between nation-building (through nationalism) and EU-building (through EU-ization); the latter, however, is an extreme method for forging a cultural heritage (Bannus 2002).

One possible danger of building a state-like European identity is that all the initiatives aiming at providing basis for a European identity (including declarations on European identity, groups to construct one, or the Commission's verbal commitments to cultural/identical roots) are not only operating as if subjugated by the nineteenth-century mindset of nationalism, but are also re-emphasizing the symbolic terrain of nation-states, with flags, anthem, maps, coins, or passports (Shore 1996: 481). The introduction of common currency ('euro') in the year 2002, for instance, provides an intriguing case for examining the relationship between identity, currency and the issue of trust among citizens. For Kælberer (2004), it was the most powerful symbolization by the EU officials in their way to code a European identity. Rosamond (2002b) agrees that not only as a political entity, but also as an economic transnational entity, Europe is discursively constructed; furthermore, not even the agents of this process are 'evidently Europeans'. He calls this process "a cultivated spillover", stating that "the project of economic integration cannot be accomplished without intensive activism on behalf of the generation of mass loyalties to 'Europe'" (Rosamond 2002b: 160). The danger

behind it, however, is that it is also a sign that "the EC in fact continues the nationalistic project of colonialism – only this time it is an imperialistic attempt to achieve collectively what the individual empires of Europe's nation-states failed to do alone: namely, a dominant position in the world economic system" (Shore 1996: 481). In Nairn's words, the whole process of European integration is being constructed as a "super-nation-state founded on European chauvinism" (1977: 317), instead of nationalistic chauvinism(s). On the other side of the story, not only this 'Europeanness' is first felt among Eurocrats – the would-be architects of the European identity in Brussels– and not just among ordinary national citizens, but it also triggers xenophobia and racism in Europe (Shore and Black 1992) (which will be discussed in detail later on). This is also why Spiering (1996) worries that 'a reinforced European identity' may cause only change in whose hands 'coercion', or 'violence', will be utilized, transferred from national to European representatives.

Constructing a European identity is also visible in the EU's external relations. The implications of the CFSP and the ESDP, having a separate chair in the WTO, publishing declarations on the world events (such as the September 11 (9/11) events (EU Document 2001c[23])), establishing a Europe-wide military or a Rapid Reaction Force, and sending troops for peace-keeping operations are among the attempts of the EU to gain an external common identity (Cederman 2000). Manners and Whitman (2003) call these attempts of Eurocrats to assert a European international identity a form of 'difference engineering'. However, this identity "is not a multiplier of difference, exaggerating the dissimilarities between the EU and the rest of the world through the generation of a new supranational identity. Instead… the international identity functions solely on the basis of addition – by adding an EU element in Europeans' complex and multifaceted identities" (Manners and Whitman 2003: 380-381). In turn, however, the 'role representations' of the EU increase in magnitude (with civilian, military and normative aspects), and the constructed material becomes too complex to function properly.

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[23] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.europa-eu-un.org/articles/en/article_56_en.htm

3.6.2. Obstacles for Constructing A Collective European Identity

As mentioned before, associating identity with culture is a common mistake, one that is frequently committed by the EU 'engineers' – to quote Manners and Whitman – as well. Sassatelli (2002) argues that this accounts for the fact that the EU's symbolic initiatives (flag, anthem, calendar) as well as the Culture-2000 programme that allocates funds for sponsorships, media initiatives, cinemas, subsidiary campaigns, student exchange programmes and so forth, are all confusingly referred to as the 'cultural policy' of the EU, which in reality does not exist. The Article 128 of the TEU reads: "The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore" (EU Document 1992b: Article 128(1)). The statement surely does not give a way to the establishment of a common cultural policy, and as usual, brings out the 'respect to the national cultures' clause up front. Orchard, too, dwells on that "theorization of identity as culture has occurred almost by default" (2002: 419), yet culture is not an all-inclusive category, unlike identity. Besides, referring to a European identity as a historical and cultural identity only enables 'the confrontation of culturally different national identities', and at that point any attempt at constructing a European identity would fail. Delanty, for instance, in order to hinder confusion, refers to a hypothetical European culture as a 'high-culture', which is highly politically coded and idealistically constructed (1995: 31). Stråth and Malmborg (2002) argue, for instance, that even the introduction of the European identity discourse in the EU institutions means the acquiesence of its non-existence, and the 'necessary' reinforcement of it by discursive construction or nurturing. According to the authors, European identity is "always fluid and contextual, contested and contingent, and discursively shaped under various forms of inclusion and exclusion" (quoted in Molho 2007: 7).

Apart from these constructivist critiques, two contradictory trends are worth also mentioning here, as obstacles to a collective European identity. The first one is related to globalization. Let us posit a hypothetical post-national European collective identity. It is based on the so-called 'civic norms', ranging from freedom

to pluralism to democracy, from free market economy to respect for human rights. It embraces multiple languages, multiple religions (or sects), multiple colors, races; all in all, diversity is appreciated and protected by law. Flexibility, solidarity and humanity are echoed in its motto. In this case, what separates such European identity from the American identity? From the Canadian identity? From the Australian identity? From, simply, a Western identity? Even in a 'Kaganian' world (Kagan 2002), some parts of Europe fit perfectly into the American identity. In the terminology of former U.S. Secretary of Defense, Rumsfeld, how is it possible to separate the 'new Europe' (referring to countries such as the CEECs and the UK) from the United States, except for the geography? (Uricchio 2008) By the winds of globalization, those so-called values of Europe are now trans(-Western-)national values; more importantly, a global culture raises today's generations with particular American influence, with its consumption products (Ritzer 1983; Van Ham 2010: 55-59). In the infamous hypothesis of Huntington (1993), no European civilization but a Western one was referred to, and this was one of the least criticized parts of his whole idea (Said 2001).

The study of Andretta and Mosca (2001) approaches the relationship between the Europeanization (read: European identity) and globalization (read: a globally acknowledged Western identity) from a different perspective. By analyzing three selected *Euromarches* transnational movements/campaigns (the 1997 Amsterdam meeting on European unemployment, the 2000 Nice meeting against the European Charter of Fundamental Rights, and the 2001 Genoa protests against the G-8 meeting), the researchers conducted surveys of the participants to see whether the difference between Europeanization and globalization substantially matters to the sensitive side of the 'European society' (the activists from different but European nationalities). The Amsterdam meeting was relevant to a particularly European issue while the Nice meeting had participants coming from other Western countries, and the Genoa meeting was targeted at a global response to global issues ranging from free trade to the starvation of the poor. At the end, the results obtained show more or less a stable response, obverse of the fluctuating character of the meetings. It is stated that "*Euromarches* leaders are usually favorable to build a different social and political European system... Far from being anti-European, Marches

movement aims, on the contrary, to a different Europe... The campaign aspires to play a significant role in giving a different orientation to European construction" (Andretta and Mosca 2001: 12). The difference, however, should come from casting down the bridges between Europeanization and neo-liberal globalization. The European Commission was seen only as another 'ultra-liberal' institution of globalization. In other words, "Europeanization and globalization [were] more and more interpreted as two sides of the same medal" (Andretta and Mosca 2001: 20). The result also fits to the idea that "there is a global pattern in public attitudes toward supranational identity" (Jung, J. 2008: 578). The question, however, is what kind of a supranational identity – global or European?

From a directly opposite perspective, the study of Downey and Koenig (2004) analyzes the relationship between Europeanization and its impact on immediate national identities. The study was conducted on the so-called 'Berlusconi-Schulz Case', which caused international strife when German Social Democrat deputy Schulz claimed that Berlusconi, the Italian President and then President of the Council of Ministers, took the Italian interests before European ones. Berlusconi responded to Schulz's criticism with those 'carefully' selected words: "Mr. Schulz, I know, a producer in Italy who is making a film about Nazi concentration camps. I will suggest you for the role of a *kapo*. You would be perfect!" (translated and quoted in Downey and Keonig 2004: 6) Referring to a European diplomat as a *kapo*, a camp prisoner with privileges chosen by the SS to command the work of other prisoners, or a Nazi camp guard, surely led to an international crisis. Downey and Koenig dealt, however, with how this crisis had been handled by nationals separately, and throughout Europe generally. The researchers went through a media coverage analysis (also see, De Vreese and Boomgaarden 2006), comprising six EU countries, Switzerland, Canada and the United States, to test their hypothesis that "intra-European variances were larger than the variances between European and non-European, or EU and non-EU countries. Thus, if there existed any transcendence of national public sphere, it appeared more as a move towards a Western, or even global, public sphere than one that was European" (Downey and Koenig 2004: 1). Briefly, it was expected that media responses to Europe-related issues would be evenly distributed throughout the European continent. The results,

however, denied the expectations. Accordingly, a particular 'European' incident about two EU executive members, carrying a claim from the 'European' history, gained attention across the EU media, but in a very similar frequency with that of the North American and Swiss media. More importantly, the national media in Italy and Germany covered the issue with more frequency and numbers of articles. Berlusconi and Schulz were portrayed as representatives of their national pride and well-being (Downey and Koenig 2004: 23). Surprisingly, moreover, the Swiss media paid more attention to the events and their follow-up than did the media of the other EU countries (Downey and Koenig 2004: 8). In a nutshell, it can be concluded that, as much as Schulz's criticism to Berlusconi had been about a 'European' issue, which caused trouble in the executive dimension of the EU, the European public denied the so-called 'European identity' of the trouble, and instead tended to focus on the 'national' side of it. To put it in other way, a European issue was *demoted* to the national level even if there was no national concern attached to it[24].

Remember the comments of Macmillan on de Gaulle in 1961? "He speaks of Europe, and means France" (quoted in Lacouture 1991: 345).

An even more serious obstacle for the European identity comes from somewhere more local, from the nations (Carey 2002). Recalling that Europeanization had a full stage of promoting nationalism and building of nation-states between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, it would hardly be expected that those identities would have disappeared. On the contrary, to put it in Huntington's (1993) terms, what is seen today is a 'clash' between what Europeanization had brought about and what it is trying to bring, or between national identities and a collective European identity. A lengthy quote from Wallace summarizes pretty much what is meant by this:

> "The nineteenth century nation-state in Western Europe successfully resolved the political problem of reconciling political community with the framework of law-making and enforcing power, thus providing a secure sense

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[24] A comparison between the studies of Andretta and Mosca and of Downey and Koenig appeared earlier in (Ongur 2009).

of identity and status for the former and legitimacy for the latter. Identity was strengthened by emphasizing the characteristics which distinguished members of each national community from outsiders; indeed by exaggerating the differences between the stereotypical members of each national community and their neighbours. Visible symbols of national unity reinforced the sense of solidarity. Heads of states were surrounded with pomp and ceremony; national monuments were erected; national parliaments and the judicial system were dignified with splendid buildings to reinforce their authority… [On the other hand, t]he Community system has no comparable symbolic or financial resources at its disposal, nor has it any prospect. Sources of legitimacy remain firmly at the national level, the visible involvement of national ministers in Community bargaining still providing much greater popular reassurance of accountability than the fledgling activities of the European parliament" (Wallace, W. 1990: 103-104).

For Smith, collective cultural identities have three elements: first, "a sense of shared continuity on the part of successive generations of a given unit of population"; second, "shared memories of earlier periods, events and personages in the history of the unit"; and third, "the collective belief in a common destiny of that unit and its culture" (Smith, A. 1992: 58). Furthermore, he defines nation as "a named human population sharing a historical territory, common memories and myths of origin, a mass, standardized public culture, a common economy and territorial mobility, and common legal rights and duties for all members of the collectivity" (Smith, A. 1992: 60). From this definition, it is derived that national identifications have multiple dimensions, including ethnic, territorial, economic, cultural, political and legal components. What unites those dimensions is called the 'nationalist ideology' (preferably, nationalism), which apparently is a product of the post-sixteenth century, or modernism (Smith, A. 1991: 71-98). The dilemma of today's European nations, because of the anti-nationalistic character of this stage of Europeanization, is that "on the one hand, these nations seek to transcend their ethnic origins, which are usually the myths and memories of the dominant ethnic community…; on the other hand, in a world of growing interdependence, they very

often feel the need to revert to them to sustain community as well as to justify their differences" (Smith, A. 1992: 62). Since the advantage seems to be in the hands of the latter (Jenkins, B. 2000; criticized by Wilson, T. 2000), Europe is advised by Smith to find a middle-way between "unacceptable historical myths and memories" and "a patchwork, memoryless scientific 'culture' held together solely by the political will and economic interest that are so often subject to change", and hence, to discover the idea of "family of cultures" (Smith, A. 1992: 74). Influenced by Wittgenstein's terminology, a "European family" (Wintle 2009: 390) of cultures is presented as a better-fitting concept than 'unity in diversity' to symbolize the common heritage that is shared by European societies, including the Roman law, democracy, 'Judeo-Christian ethics', the Renaissance, humanism, rationalism, industrialization, etc. Europe as a 'super-nation/power' (Galtung 1973) and Europe as a 'supra-nation' both seem to be too strong concepts to represent the current state in European identification.

Smith's allusion of Europe as a family of cultures might also fit well with the separation being made in this chapter between thick and thin cultures; whereas the former might be associated with national culture with more essential or primordial elements attached, the latter might create a pool (or family) of cultures for future generations to pick up from to form their own (multiple) identities. Another advantage of this use of the concept is that it gives the ability of national identities and what is called European identity to co-exist as if in, with Coleman's words, "concentric circles of allegiance" (quoted in Smith, A. 1993: 134). In today's world of interdependence, such co-existence is probably more convenable than ever before. An overdose of creating "national or supra-national facts" (Smith, A. 1993: 134) might only ruin this chance. Multiple-identification with nation-states as well as not-culturally-forged Europe seems to work better (Opp 2005).

The study of Medrano and Gutiérrez (2001) fits perfectly with this point of discussion. Their major assumption is that people have multiple identities. Following Brewer, who claims that "the superordinate identity satisfies the need for secure inclusion in a large collective, while a sub-group identity serves the need for distinctiveness within the larger social category" (quoted in Medrano and Gutierrez 2001: 759), they further postulate that these identities may be *nested* such that even

two collective identities may co-exist. Nested identities, in that sense, are "lower- and higher-order identities such that the latter encompass the former. My identity as a resident in city 'a' is nested in my identity as resident of region 'A' – which includes city 'a' – which is in turn nested in my identity as resident of country 'Alpha', and so on" (Medrano and Gutierrez 2001: 757). Applying this to a European identity, for instance, a resident in the Basque region of Spain has three nested identities: Basque, Spanish, and European. The problem with this scheme, however, comes out when the existence of each identity within one group is dependent on each other's existence. Think of another alternative scheme: a Kven person residing in Finnmark of Norway. Those of the Kven ethnic origin have been identified as being opposed to the Norwegian identity (due to years of assimilation and the process of 'Norwegianization') since at least the sixteenth century (Hannikainen and Akermark 2003). Furthermore, it is questionable whether or not Norwegians are European. It is both an issue of demographics as well as an issue of identification. Neumann (2002), for instance, discusses the role of Europe as an 'Other' in the development of the Norwegian identity, while Wæver reminds readers of the Cold War attempts to establish a Nordic identity (including mostly Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, and Norway), which was "about being *better* than Europe" (1992: 77). In this case, identities may still be nested, but the result is not as productive, if not destructive. A similar argument is also echoed for the British identity and its Europeanness (Ash 2001; Jones 2009).

The position of the CEECs in the 'new Europe', and European identity, is another problem for the nested identities argument. The visible problem regarding the CEECs' enlargement is the reshaping of the borders of the new 'Europe(an space')' (Hellström 2003). However, indeed, the main question regarding the relationship between the East and the West Europe is about the Europeanness of the former. Perhaps today, already twelve CEECs (and Croatia in the waiting room) have been accepted as the members of the EU, but ironically, as shown previously, the language of the official documents and treaties published by the Union have been as well lightened up with regards to references to identity, culture and unity. During the negotiations of accession, however, those elements were of utmost importance and discussed fervently – not to mention the fact that the individual

differences among the CEECs and their nationals were once again concealed (Judson 2009). Schimmelfennig calls this whole process as a 'rhetorical action' – "the strategic use of norm-based arguments" (2001: 48). The EU, on the one hand, set out economic, political and administrative conditions to be fulfilled by the candidate countries in 1993 in order for possible membership; the political criteria, being normative, necessitated "stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities" (EU Document 1993b: Article 7(iii)[25]). The CEECs, on the other hand, used a three-dimensional 'return to Europe' rhetoric (Schimmelfennig 2003: 172). The CEEC representatives, first, associated the enlargement process with the 'East's return to Europe' (e.g., "Romania has always been part of West European traditions" (quoted in Schimmelfennig 2003: 172)). Second, they labeled the enlargement issue as part of the EU's values and identity, an aim of its founding fathers, and beyond rational cost-benefit calculations (e.g., "the technocratic approach is not enough in these negotiations, which have a historic goal: Give Europe back to Poland and Poland back to Europe" (quoted in Schimmelfennig 2003: 172)). Finally, they appealed to the historical consciousness of the West, and accused the EU acting as if it was forming 'the New Yalta' or 'the New Iron Curtain'. Frankly, the rhetorical action worked so that the CEECs became members of the EU starting from 2004.

Yet, after the enlargement, "[t]he shared-heritage argument citing common cultural and historical roots, proposed by conventional wisdom and used by many EU politicians as a means to construct European identity, [became] of limited use in a political Union trying to cope with 25 or more member states that might be considered remotely European" (Thiel 2005: 6). The upsurge in membership and population in the Union is also expected to lead more heterogeneity with national identities (Fuchs and Klingemann 2002) and, hence, disarrange the 'nesting' of identities. With every new political division, definition and identification, what is meant by 'European' gets even more complicated (Heffernan 1998). (Re-)introducing the concept of *Mitteleuropa*, i.e., the reconstruction of the destroyed center of Europe around the unified Germany, Betz offers a model for ruling out the East–West Europe(s) identity crisis (1990: 173-174). However, the model itself

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[25] Available from the World Wide Web: http://ec.europa.eu/bulgaria/documents/abc/72921_en.pdf

even uses a narrative that disintegrates the continent into a tripartite division: the East, the West, and, at the center, a German 'post-modern' Reich.

To this point, it has been attempted to discuss how European identity is rhetorically constructed and how it is possible to deconstruct it. On the one hand, it is undeniable that a common identity for a selective group of Europeans has been heralded by the technocrats of post-war European unification; yet, on the other hand, there are still plenty of set-backs underlying its successful implementation.

3.7. Citizenship: An Issue for Europeanization in the Period of Re-Integration

"Can one build a civil society?" Dahrendorf asks himself, and answers immediately: "We must try. Citizenship certainly can be built" (1990: 103).The gap between the rhetorical Europe and the practical Europe, for many, is derived from the 'democratic deficit', and thus the 'legitimation crisis' (Habermas 1975), in the execution of the EU policy-making. This particular subject is severely influenced by the association of the Europeanization process with the EU-ization; hence, its foundation is flawed. Yet, on the other hand, since it also carries the citizenship issue with itself, it is too important just to ignore. As shown previously, 'democracy' is one of the frequently pronounced 'values' of European integration. In principle, it is not only a value of the reinforced European culture, but it is among the primary conditions to be fulfilled by the candidate states in order for membership. The problem with the concept, however, is revealed once a quick etymological study is conducted. From the Greek language, democracy is a hybrid word, composed of the words, *demos* ('people') and *kratos* ('power'), meaning, in sheer words, the 'power of people'. In order to have democracy, it immediately necessitates a *demos*, or a people, citizens, to have the ultimate authority (power) in governance. Without a *demos*, there is no democracy, but only *kratos*. Therefore, citizenship is crucial for the construction of a European identity, which is based on non-essential grounds, such as democratic elements (Cram and Richardson 1994).

The whole idea of the European integration process, hence Europeanization-since 1945, can be found in the continuum from *Gesellschaft* ('civil society') to

Gemeinschaft ('traditional community'). While the latter stands for a community of individuals, who are, of their own volition, regulated by common mores and beliefs about the appropriate social conduct and association, the former is based more on individual self-interest rather than familial or communal ties (Tönnies 2001: 22-92). Van Ham argues that

> "EU member states have over the decades built a European *Gesellschaft*, but that the EU still does not have the flesh-and-blood characteristics of an internal, living and organic entity. It is, in other words, not (yet?) a truly European *Gemeinschaft*" (2001: 59).

Putting the European integration into a historical institutional analysis, Van Ham, however, seems to miss the point. Although these models are the opposing sides of two extremes, and perhaps no association purely symbolizes either, it is safe to claim that traditional European nation-states are more associated with *Gemeinschaft* (because of the primordial ties involved) individually. Until the mid-1990s, the actual purpose of the European 'project' was to establish a *European-Gemeinschaft* with all the necessary references to culture, unity, identity, and even the historical ties that bound up the European peoples, nations, states, countries, or any other 'superficial' boundaries. However, after the new millennium, particularly, the proposed model of European unity is perhaps much closer to a *European-Gesellschaft* with less essentialist, less primordialist, less culturalist, but more utilitarian, more value-based and, no doubt, more post-modern ties involved. In other words, it is realized at some point that "democracy is definitely bound up with *Gesellschaft*; it literally lives on the split between the 'public' and 'private', it is possible only within the framework of what was once, when the voice of Marxism was still heard, called 'alienation'" (Žižek 1992: 164). One of the primary problems of the *European-Gesellschaft* model, however, is about loyalty and legitimacy (Horeth 1999). In other words, since the ties that bond people (*demos*) and society are not essential, the existence of the society as a whole may become questionable at a given time or under a particular circumstance.

Participation in the decision-making mechanism within the society is one way to eliminate this problem. Democratic governance is, at least from this point, critical in EU-like entities. Democracy brings out legitimacy, without which the existence of a *Gesellschaft* becomes manifest impossibility (Geuss 2001: 31-37). In this vein, Wallace and Smith name three dimensions of the legitimacy of the European unity: democracy, integration, and member state autonomy (Wallace and Smith 1995: 137). However, the problem appears once European *demos* is identified, or indeed cannot be identified. As Chryssochoou (2001) argues, European integration has first attempted to establish a democratic polity, even with a democratically elected Parliament, and then realized the lack of necessary 'people' for the working of democracy. This is why the Common Assembly (later to be named as the European Parliamentary Assembly in 1958, then as the European Parliament in 1962) was established in 1952, yet its first elections were held in 1979 (Wessels and Diedrichs 1999). How low the turnout rates of the elections for the European Parliament, how disinterested the European voters are towards those elections, or how European Parliament is dormant as a legislating power aside (Schimtter and Karl 1991), *demos* cannot be established by giving voting power to randomly selected groups. Clearly, such a group would not be any different than an audience in a movie theater given questionnaires to fill out about the quality of the cinema. In *demos*, some level of belongingness and a 'we-feeling' – to "carry the weight of effective and democratic governance" (Cederman 2001: 157) – have to be apparent which later should be added with the ultimate power/authority in decision-making, for a functioning democracy to blossom.

Looking at from this perspective, the closest thing in the EU to *demos* is the institution of citizenship. It is essentially a form of 'new citizenship' (Brubaker 1989; Meeham 1993), which breaks the link between being a citizen of a polity and being a national of a state. Using Greenfeld's argument, it is more of an 'individualistic-civic' citizenship, rather than a 'collectivistic-ethnic/political/national' one (1992: 9-11). This new citizenship is more economic and social in character, which results in appreciation of those rights as the true rights of individuals (Schnapper 2002: 5). Applying this concept to the European integration process, a European citizenship might have two meanings. On the one

hand, as Lehning puts it, an 'objective European citizenship' points out "a condition by which people from different nations should have similar rights to be asserted vis-à-vis the European public courts and public officials" (2001: 239). With the introduction of the European Court of Justice, EU passports, standardized driving licenses, working permissions, mutually accepted training and vocational certificates, even a social policy (Cram 1997: 23-60), and so forth, it may be safe to admit that this kind of a citizenship has been accomplished by the EU, since the mid-1980s particularly. On the other hand, however, a 'subjective European citizenship' may stand for a conception in which individuals have an immediate attachment with the European integration, and its agent, the EU, by sharing a common identity, having future responsibilities and duties (Anderson, P. 1997), and the "anticipation of future common endeavor" (Pérez-Diaz 1998: 235). While the former conception allows for a European citizenship along with national citizenships, the latter one causes confusion among them. In that sense, the EU has not yet achieved the construction of such an identity-based citizenship, as also demonstrated in this thesis[26]. This means, however, that the problem of democracy (or the problem of 'democratic deficit') has not been solved through the European integration process (criticized by Moravcsik 2002).

The Rawlsian theory of 'liberal democratic citizenship', although inscripted for modern nation-states, acknowledges the problem of pluralism in societies, and offers a solution based on the satisfaction of four conditions: the protection of fundamental freedoms, respect for the rule of law, protection of property rights, and the guaranteed majority rule in public policy-making (1971: 221-243). However, for the EU, the problem is not limited to the plural character of a society, but the plurality of societies. As van Parijs (1998) puts it brilliantly, even a quintessential European democracy would only be a European *demoi*-cracy. All these attempts at constructing a European identity, then, are induced for a possible shift from *demoi*-

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[26] Here the study of Hansen and Williams (1999) should also be noted. The authors present a different approach from a completely opposing perspective to those introduced here already. Accordingly, it is not the myths, identity or other normative elements that raises questions about legitimacy in the EU; on the contrary, it is the early functionalist logic of integration, relying on a certan set of utilitarian, liberal, economic and rationalizing, myths, which successfully managed to brand the integration as non-political, functional or purely economic, that causes the problem of legitimacy with the introduction of political, cultural and social myths.

cracy to *demo(s-)*cracy. De Beus lists the characteristics of such a European identity that would lead to this shift as: a sense of equality among all individuals, a civic interpretation of national identities to be promoted by national governments, enlargement of the elites to all classes, a sense of nested identities (no pan-European identity but an articulation of super-, and sub- level identities), and an awareness of a 'European character' rather than a 'European identity' (2001: 292-295). Unfortunate as it is, neither such an identity nor such a shift has been prevalent (Milward 1997: 15).

Despite that, however, there are still a considerable number of theoretical attempts that aim at constructing European citizenship for solving the problems of democratic deficit and legitimacy, just like the reminiscent attempts to construct a European identity. The next section will deal with them.

3.7.1. Theoretical Attempts to Construct A European Citizenship

Prentoulis (2001) has made an excellent summary for the five major theoretical conceptualizations regarding the construction of European citizenship.

- *Constitutional Patriotism:* Introduced to the European integration studies by Habermas, the idea of constitutional patriotism is grounded on the separation between *ethnos* and *demos*. Therefore, instead of designating a pre-political entity, nation becomes "something that [is] supposed to play a constitutive role in defining the political identity of the citizen within a democratic polity" (Habermas 1992: 3). In that sense, what is expected from citizens in a given polity is only a loyalty to the principles of a democratic constitution, not to a common culture or identity. What is expected is a fluid communication between different traditions and norms on the verge of a common ideal. By this means, Anderson's (Anderson, B. 1991) famous question, 'who is going to die for' Europe, is supposedly answered. However, this approach has three possible deficiencies if applied to the European integration: first, the EU does not have, or seem to have coming in the near future, a constitution, but an awful load of legal mechanisms (sometimes even causing

'dilemmas' (Van Roermund 1997)), documents and systems; second, the idea of civil loyalty to a neutral constitution is highly contested (Bowman 2007), and ironically would work better if applied to a polity framed in ethnic/national boundaries (Bauböck 1997; Prentoulis 2001: 204); and third, the whole idea cannot differentiate between similar constitutional systems, or overall it does not answer why one should feel loyal to Europe and not to Canada, as it neither establishes any (geographical) boundaries nor answers questions with regards to immigration (Kostakopolou 2000).

- *European Commonwealth:* MacCormick's (1997) idea of applying the term 'commonwealth', in the sense Hume (2008) uses it, to the EU is very similar to that of Habermas. He describes the commonwealth as comprising "a group of people to whom can reasonably be imputed some consciousness that they have a 'common weal', something which really is a common good, and who are able to envisage themselves or their political representatives and governing authorities realizing this… through some form of organized political structure, embodied in some common constitutional arrangements" (MacCormick 1997: 339). By this definition, the EU does really seem to be a commonwealth, with all the institutions, legal arrangements and treaties already settled in. Different from Habermas' idea, further, MacCormick suggests that once a civic *demos* is established (at least discursively), a European identity may be realized afterwards. The problem with this model, however, is the link between the construction of *demos* and identity, as well as, the fact that it still depends on an initial identification by the pre-existing nation-states (Prentoulis 2001: 206).

- *Supranational Citizenship:* Weiler begins his theory of supranational citizenship by making two assumptions. First, the problem of Europe is not one of constitutionalism without a constitution, but indeed a constitution without constitutionalism (Weiler 1996: 517). Second, he

assumes that Europe has and will never have *demos* in the ethnic/cultural sense; any effort to establish one is only absurd (Weiler 1997). Europeans (in a geographical sense) have their own ethnic, national and cultural identities with which they have been traditionally attached their political preferences. Hence, what needs to be done is to change this tradition. Supranationalism here refers not to a unity, but to a community; i.e., it does not reject state boundaries, or between-state differences (Prentoulis 2001: 207). The aim is only to rise the consciousness of individuals about their being in a supranational polity, and having some citizen-like rights and responsibilities, by empowering them through necessary tools, including 'the European legislative ballot', 'Lexcalibur'– the European public sphere (Curtin 1997: 45-61) (like Leibniz's 'Respublica Christiana' (Ward 2001)), 'the European Constitutional Council', and 'taxation and horizontal human rights' (Weiler 1996: 513-517). As promising as it is, the model of Weiler does not seem to be able to shift from theoretical logic to practical appropriateness, for its suggestions are left in the air.

- *Postnational Constitutionalism:* In a similar vein as the idea of Closa (1995) about 'social citizenship', based on the idea of participatory democracy, Shaw favors postnational constitutionalism for the EU, implying "more than designing a good EU constitution, but rather a reconceptualization of the key principles and processes which constitutionalism must reside" (Shaw, J. 1999: 579). She names four dimensions to post-nationalism: institutional (the involving states are highly socially and economically interdependent), structural (plurality of local, linguistic, cultural, regional, national and supra-national identities), geographical (shifting non-state territorialities), and legal (legal pluralism) (Shaw, J. 1999: 587-589). The appropriate constitution for the post-national EU, further, is perfectly described by Tully: "a constitution should be seen as a form of activity, an intercultural dialogue in which the culturally diverse sovereign citizens of

contemporary societies negotiate agreements on their forms of association over time in accordance with three conventions of mutual recognition, consent and cultural continuity" (quoted in Shaw, J. 1999: 590). Accordingly, the elements of the EU constitutionalism include 'a set of ground rules' to govern inter-governmental functions and powers, a distinction between 'formal–legal' and 'real' elements of a constitution, flexibility, and certain common norms, such as non-discrimination (Shaw, J. 2000: 11-19).

- *Multicultural Citizenship:* Studies of multiculturalism are not specifically directed to the process of European integration, but have generally been used as models of national integration since the 1970s, particularly for describing the models of living-together pursued in Australia, Canada and the United States (Walzer 1997: 14-36). Distinguished by modern conceptualization of pluralism in societies, multiculturalism is grounded on the twentieth century's idealization of democracy, individualism, and universal equality of people *with* (not *in spite of)* their diversities (Glazer 1998: 1-22). The main purpose is to make sure of the living on equal grounds of multiple cultures, ethnicities, languages, traditions, religions, and other diversifying qualities in a given society (Kymlicka 1995). Applied to the European integration case, multiculturalism at once accepts the differences among European people with regards to multiple subjects (hence, rejecting the ideas of cultural unity or identity), and offers a legal-institutional solution/arrangement for managing the apparent diversity (Kastoryano 2009). Bearing in mind the level of diversity (tried to be) handled in the EU and the level of immigration, the multiculturalist recipe seems to be a bit weaker than those managed above. However, in Chapter V, multiculturalism will be re-visited in a greater detail.

3.8. Public Opinion on A European Identity

One topic remains untouched in the analysis of European identity construction, regarding whether it has been considered a success or a failure in European peoples' minds. As a matter of fact, it is not a very recent topic, for, as it was shown earlier, even back in the late-1970s, Inglehart (1970) conducted a study on whether European integration was successfully transforming the nationally-constructed minds of Europeans. In 1973, an EC institution, *Eurobarometer*, was founded on behalf of the European Commission to regularly perform surveys about public opinion, not only in member states but also in the candidate and third countries as well. Individual studies, too, continue analyzing the public responses to the attempts made in the name of European integration. The importance of public opinion lies in the character of the late-stage Europeanization which necessitates individual attachment to the assembling of countries that is planned later to be felt as gathering of individuals, citizens, for the sake of peace across the continent.

At the initial stage, however, the plan seems to be failing. Hooghe (2003), for instance, demonstrates the situation in Europe where public opinion and the elite opinion clash. Accordingly, while the whole idea of European integration seems more appealing to the elite than to the public, when it comes to which kind of policies for which national or European institutions should be responsible, the public seems to be more courageous than the elites. The interesting results convey, for example, that the Commission elites want to prioritize those five matters to be *Europeanized* in this order: monetary issues, Third World aid, foreign policy, immigration, and environment. The top-five priority of the issues to be *Europeanized* for the national elites, on the other hand, reads: monetary issues, environment, Third World aid, immigration, and research and development. The public, however, seems to have a different priority-agenda: foreign policy, research and development, regional policy, Third World aid, and social inclusion. In other words, the 'higher' the political issue, the more favorable is the public to have them *Europeanized* whereas the 'lower' the political issue, the more inclined are the elites for the European integration (Hoffmann, S. 1966). Fundamentally, therefore, the public and the elite opinions on Europeanization diverge; whereas the former

follows "market-flanking policies", the latter cares for the ones "predicted by functionalism" (Hooghe 2003: 296).

From a very similar logic, Magnette (2003) makes probably the most severe criticism for the discussions of the European citizenship. For him, no matter which model of citizenship is injected to the EU, or no matter how effective a model it can possibly be, the democratic deficit in the European integration process is unlikely to be remedied because there is a deficiency lying at the very foundations of the integration. The whole process, the EU participatory mechanism, is particularly underpinned by an elitist and functionalist philosophy, which does not account for what the ordinary citizens prioritize for Europe; hence, it is unable to produce the conditions in which the so-called citizens may be able to mobilize cognitively or morally towards what is expected by the elites. Magnette's argument does not only propose a dramatic criticism for the European construction of citizenship but also indicates that what Inglehart foresaw back in the 1970s, i.e., the cognitive mobilization of the European people (wide distribution of political skills of the individuals "necessary to cope with an extensive political community" (Inglehart 1970: 47)), either due to the amelioration in Europe-wide mass communication, or formal education, was ill-tailored. Today, what is to be seen is not the cognitively mobilized European public(s) favoring the European identification or citizenship, but rather European nationals suffering from the elitist logic embedded in the European constructions.

Du Bois-Reymond (1998) approaches Inglehart's formal education-thesis by observing the image of European identity on the minds of Dutch college students, particularly for degrees in education and social work (future educators of the EU). The results of the survey support the argument of Magnette, and diverge from that of Inglehart. The overall impression of the data collected by her is not very promising for the idea of European identity. Accordingly, three conclusions are drawn: first, the distance of European politics from students' own experiences are highlighted as the most problematic issue, i.e., the impact of the European politics on the immediate life of the students is distant, if not non-existent; second, the data shows that the levels of racism and xenophobia are adamantly increasing against the Third World nationals (especially, immigrants) and the students indicate how

frustrated they are when Europe does nothing to prevent it; and third, surprisingly supporting the thesis of Andretta and Mosca, the students show tendencies to raise the Europe-wide issues into the global scene, i.e., they tend to skip Europe and jump directly to global experiences, particularly regarding the issues of environment, global emancipation, neo-liberalism, etc.

It is not very difficult observing an upswing in the popular opposition to European integration, particularly after the signing of the TEU, which, for the first time, officially injected the topics of citizenship, identity, culture and unity into the agenda of the European integration. One explanation for that is related to the fact that the TEU pushed the limits of what Lindberg and Scheingold (1970) called 'permissive consensus' for the integration, i.e., the Treaty deepened the integration just too far in the eyes of the European public(s). Franklin, Marsh and McLaren (1994) rejects this explanation, however, on three grounds: first, it is not very clear how much the public(s) got informed about the Maastricht process, and thus a reliable data for their attitude-change is highly questionable; second, since there is not enough participation in the European-level democracy, the European Parliament's election results cannot possibly provide sufficient information about the attitudes of the European public(s); and third, the results of the national elections seem to be too vague for making a possible projection on support for the integration. However, the researchers claim that the TEU referenda results can lead the way in exploring why European support for the integration was lowered after the TEU. The no-campaigns for the TEU in national referenda perhaps did not successfully manage to use it, but they plainly did have the advantage of the presence of more symbolic resources that did the yes-campaign. This advantage, however, turned out to be successfully used in the constitutional referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005, as shown previously. The European project, in other words, is fed by the national campaigns, and national politics do have the voice on the popular support or opposition levels for the European integration.

Deflem and Pampel, too, argue that the problem with the support for the European project is about the plurality of nations: "the legitimation of the [EU] is not secured, not only because anti-European citizens do not support unification, but also because pro-Europeans do so out of concerns related to their own countries.

Both anti-Europeans and pro-Europeans are nationals, not Europeans" (1996: 138). Eichenberg and Dalton (1993), however, insist that a study of popular support for a supranational formation must, in addition to national considerations, cover the 'international political analysis' dimension, which must account for both economic and political factors. As a result, three specific attitudes toward the European integration project in public might be derived: *Europhiles* are positive about all aspects of the integration while *Euroskeptics* consider suspiciously the events occurring on the European-level; the *Instrumental Europeans* in the middle, however, regard the integration positively on some subjects and negatively on others (Haesly 2001). The common ground between the Euroskeptics and Instrumental Europeans is their attachment to the national considerations, myths and symbols. The possible loss of sovereignty, strong attachment to national currency, anthem, flag, or history, and the imposed construction of European identity are among those sensitive areas touched by the groups with negative or conservative attitudes about the European integration (Baker, Gamble and Ludlam 1994; Szczerbiak and Taggart 2008).

An analysis of the Eurobarometer surveys would prove this argument as well. However, two problems with the Eurobarometer analysis must be highlighted first. One problem is about the 'language' of the surveys. It is not whether the questions are asked in native languages or another, since native languages are used solely, but it is rather related to the presentation of some concepts. As Bruter argues, identification with Europe and support for the integration are completely different matters: for instance, a question asking about 'feeling European' "might mean totally different things in terms of both the intensity of the feeling… and the imagined political community… referred to" (2003: 1154). The second problem, on the other hand, rises because the questions selected for Eurobarometer surveys are not constantly repeated annually or in any other recurring pattern. One question asked one year generally does not appear in the following questionnaire, which results in the difficulty of drawing a trend-line about a subject. Consider, for instance, the question "[d]o you ever think of yourself as not only (nationality), but also European? Does this happen often, sometimes or never?" It was only asked four times in two years between 1992 and 1994, after which it never appeared in

any of the successive questionnaires. Substituting, for example, "in the near future, do you see yourself as: (nationality) only, (nationality) and European, European and (nationality), European only?" surely does not convey the same meaning, for the latter involves some sort of a direction. It also appeared in 1992 and 1994 questionnaires along with the former question. This mismatch is especially true for the questions related to the issues of culture, unity, and identity. The inconsistency in the data collection further results in the fact that the newcomers to the EU after 2004 have little, if any, chance to give their opinions on the issues.

Several significant results coming out of the Eurobarometer surveys are worth mentioning here though. First of all, according to four semi-annually conducted surveys, more than half of the EU-15 (EU member states before 2004 enlargement) citizens feel 'very or fairly attached to being European' while forty percent of them feel 'not very or not at all attached to it' (EU Document 2001a: 10[27]). In a similar vein, forty-five percent of the participants describe themselves with their nationalities alone, whereas only four percent describe themselves without any reference to their nationalities, but as 'Europeans' alone (EU Document 2001a: 11). The same survey reveals, however, a more interesting result since, accordingly, while forty-eight percent of the people use both their nationalities and Europeanness in defining themselves, forty-two percent of them put the nationality before Europe. In sum, nationalities continue to dominate the self definition by comprising ninety-four percent[28]. The results, therefore, support the scholarly work that shows the dominance of national identities over the attempts to construct a European identity, but more importantly, the relevance of the 'nested identities' argument.

When it comes to the sources of a European identity, first, a shared European culture is not a very welcomed idea. Accordingly, forty-nine percent of the participants slightly or completely disagree with the presupposition that 'there is a European cultural identity shared by all Europeans' (EU Document 2001a: 12). Thirty-nine percent, however, agrees slightly or completely that there is such an identity. The second source of a European identity, the so-called values of Europe,

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[27] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_documentation/05/txt_en.pdf
[28] In 2004, another set of survey was conducted on the very same issues, and the results did not seem to have changed (EU Document 2004b); available from the World Wide Web:
http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/nationoutput_en.cfm

are vaguely defined in the questionnaires, as in 'to help others', 'to value people for who they are', or 'to make a lot of money' (EU Document 2001a: 8); yet, the level of satisfaction in the EU-level democracy, which is one of the highly proclaimed values, turns out to be quite low. Even among those who are in favor of the European unification, one third of the people are dissatisfied with it while two thirds of the people who are already opponents of the EU indicate as such (EU Document 2001a: 14).

Lastly, in a relatively recent study conducted by *EURONAT* (EU Document 2004a[29]), nine countries were selected for observing, among other things, how their nationals react to the European identification process. Among three Southern European countries, there were Greece, Italy and Spain. The Greek people, first, turned out to be highly committed to their national identities; they were highly interested in European issues and wanted the so-called 'European standards' (democracy, fair justice, etc.) to apply to domestic politics (EU Document 2004a: 26). In Italy, second, "feelings of closeness to the nation, region, city or village and to Europe or the EU [were] compatible" (EU Document 2004a: 27). Nonetheless, the primacy of national identity over higher-level identities ('Europeanness') was also emphasized by the Italian participants. Spain, third, showed a rather different picture, for the survey results indicated that the majority of Spanish nationals feel both Spanish and European at the same time; however, the higher the contact with other Europeans, the more they felt notably Spanish (EU Document 2004a: 27). This result consequently supports the 'nested identities' argument of Medrano and Gutierrez (2001), specifically for enabling local (say Basque, Catalan, etc.) identities, a Spanish identity and a European identity at the same time. It, thus, might better be applied to the Spain-case particularly.

Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary comprised the CEECs-set of the research. Note that at the time they were not yet members of the EU. The Czechs revealed a tendency to attach feelings both for being Czech and European. However, the cultural dimension prevailed in either categorization; hence, nationality still dominated the 'Europeanness'. The historical ties with Germans

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[29] Available from the World Wide Web:
ftp://ftp.cordis.europa.eu/pub/citizens/docs/eur22009_euronat.pdf

(both positively and mostly negatively) as well as the presence of Romany minorities also potentially affected the image of Europe in the minds of the Czech people (EU Document 2004a: 27-28). The Polish, however, revealed more closeness to the other CEECs, and even Russia, than to the Western Europe. The 'fear of subjugation' and historical memories seemingly had not yet been erased from the Polish nationals' minds. While national symbols, language, ancestry, history, and Catholicism appeared to be significant identifiers (with national identity), "the identification with the European society [was] based on the instrumental values of common law, institutions, social security and economy" (EU Document 2004a: 29). Hungarians, on the other hand, seemed to identify with nationalities primarily, while they regarded "EU citizens as a reference group that [was] positively distinguished from any other social groups" (EU Document 2004a: 28). The presence of Hungarian minorities in the other CEECs resulted in valuing the European unification very much, but not in the sense of identifying equally with other Europeans. The functional logic appeared to dominate (Elgün and Tillman 2007).

When it comes to Western Europe, surveys were conducted in Austria, Germany, and the UK. Approaching it from the 'nested identities' perspective, Austrians declared a tripartite identification: the most important being the local identities, the national coming at second, and the European identity being the least important. Ethnic/cultural identification seemed to have the priority over national or 'civilizational' identification with Europe (EU Document 2004a: 29-30). Inglehart's formal education-thesis is also proven correctly by the Austrian research, for the more educated the segment of the Austrian society, the more supportive they became. The data collected from the German participants resembled to those collected from the CEECs. One notable difference is that, for Germans, regional identities (not local) seemed to be more conclusive. The legacy of the Cold War felt between the Western and the Eastern Germans was revealed as continuing, though today the groups are more compatible. Yet, the national identification still came at the second place, while Europeanness appeared to be the least important (EU Document 2004a: 31). Besides, the education argument frankly also applied to the German case. The UK seemed to be the most diverging example among the West

Europeans. Accordingly, "the British respondents [felt] closest to the inhabitants of their locality, followed by fellow Britons; [they felt] closer to people from the dominions and to the US citizens than to the EU citizens;… language, common border and common culture [were] the three most important elements of British national identity;… sixty-two percent of the respondents said they did not feel European; British and European identities [were] not mutually exclusive" (EU Document 2004a: 30). Both alienation from and appreciation for Europe were existent, but the British identity claimed to have a dominance over Europeanness. The British example seems to be problematic for the 'nested identities' argument; or even for Smith's 'Europe as family of cultures'.

3.9. European Identity Assessed

In this chapter, a historical analysis of the phenomenon 'European unification' has been conducted. The idea of Europe reveals a much longer history than today's arguments over European identity, dating back to the Ancient Greeks, Romans, Charlemagne, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and so forth. For centuries, Europeans have accumulated pleasant and unpleasant memories, traditions, myths; they have created paradigms that had great impacts on worldwide developments or setbacks; they have fought or united with each other; they have made enough cross-border connections to mention different stages of Europeanization, as Chapter II foreshadowed already; and consequently they have obtained an ever-enlarging pool (or in Smith's terminology, 'family') of cultures. However, none of these has turned out to be adequate for naturally forging a common culture for the Europeans. Their linguistic differences, varying religious beliefs, the role of one another in the construction of their identities, histories of internal and external large-scale fighting, or a couple of centuries-old nationalistic waves eventually put them apart from each other. To put those in the vocabulary of cultural neo-synthesis, as much as the 'thin' elements in the continuum from culture to no-culture have been acquired by Europeans, the 'thick' part remained missing.

When Europeanization took on its re-integration phase after the world wars, initially, the economic and administrative unification gained pace to recover war

injuries. Once the mission was completed, then came the time of the cultural turn. Europeanization, in other words, now wanted to construct the 'thick' elements that would initiate a European identity to promote similarities among Europeans, instead of differences and revenge. The construction of a European identity was a task of the newly-founded European institutions and post-war initiatives. Under the motto of 'unity in diversity', a flag, an anthem, standardization of driving licenses, passports, and harmonization in education programs were utilized for the construction. The initiation of the concept of 'European citizenship' in the early 1990s was another device to promote the unity within national identities. Even a European Constitution was drafted for the citizens of the new/future Europe. The results, however, proved disappointing.

One might talk of two stages of the construction of the European identity. In the first stage, emphasis was placed on a common culture shared by all Europeans. 'Europeanness' was shown to be an essential/primordial feature for every 'citizen' of Europe; hence, it was promoted that blossoming from that culture, a European identity might and should be developed to overcome nationalistic (re-)grouping of the European people. This idea of European-Gemeinschaft, however, did not gather much prospect for the future because of several reasons indicated in the previous sections. The second stage of the European identity construction began especially after the failure of the European Constitution by the hands of public, when the emphases on a common culture, identity or unity were exclusively left out from the official documentation, and instead certain common values to be shared by the EU-citizens became promoted. Some scholars regard these efforts as the initiation of the post-modern European identity, unlike the modernist version, based on the values of democracy, the rule of law, respect for human and minority rights, liberal market economy and fundamental freedoms, rather than primordial characteristics including culture, ethnicity, tradition, myths, etc. The whole process might as well be considered as the new phase when Eurocrats are this time determined to produce a European-Gesellschaft.

In the following chapter, this post-modern identity/Gesellschaft of Europe will be put on the table. What distinguishes the post-modern identity from other kinds of identity-building? Can values lead to the construction of an identity? What could be

the 'Other' for a post-modern identity? How does it fit to Tajfel's Social Identity Theory, and how might this theory be elaborated specifically for the European studies? Is this post-modern European identity inclusive or exclusive? If the latter is correct, who are the excluded? Is there a future for the post-modern identity in Europe? The next chapter will attempt to answer these questions.

CHAPTER 4

LATE-MODERN EUROPEAN SELF-DEFINITION, THE OTHER, AND THE SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

"The possibility has been established for the production of… a Master Race, the future 'masters of the earth'… made to endure for millennia – a higher kind of men who… employ democratic Europe as their most pliant and supple instrument for getting hold of the destinies of the earth" (Nietzsche 1968: 498).

4.1. A European Identity: From Modern to Post-Modern?

As shown in the preceding chapter, the main differentiating feature of the latest stage of Europeanization is the inclusion of (European) identity construction to create an anchor between the peoples of the European continent to surpass possible future wars with the idea of unity among them. Such an identity construction, however, has been divided into two phases with a very blurry time-line in between. Roughly, the period between the 1980s and the 2000s saw attempts to ground this unity, which was expected to pave the way for a common identity, upon mostly cultural, essentialist and primordial ties (history, traditions, myths, symbols) that were supposedly shared by Europeans. After the 2000s, however, the idea of unity slipped away from the culturalist perspective to more value-based arguments on unity, including freedom, democracy, the rule of law, the respect for human and minority rights, and so forth.

The line in between was blurry not only because the timing of the shift was unclear, but also because in the latter phase, the representatives of European integration ('Brussels') were not exactly and unerringly conclusive on the direction of that shift. During his famous speech in 2000, for instance, in defense of a European Federal State, Fischer seems to be confused, for he claims that:

"Europe is not a new continent, so the criticism goes, but full of different peoples, cultures, languages and histories. The nation-states are realities that cannot simply be erased, and the more globalization and Europeanization create superstructures and anonymous actors remote from the citizens, the more the people will cling on to the nation-states that give them comfort and security. Now I share all these objections, because they are correct. That is why it would be an irreparable mistake in the construction of Europe if one were to try to complete political integration against the existing national institutions and traditions rather than by involving them. Any such endeavor would be doomed to failure by the historical and cultural environment in Europe... However, increasing differentiation will also entail new problems: a loss of European identity, of internal coherence, as well as the danger of an internal erosion of the EU, should ever larger areas of intergovernmental co-operation loosen the nexus of integration" (2000: 6).

Fischer is frankly worried about a loss of European identity, which purportedly cannot exist because of the non-presence of common culture, language, history, and closeness, as well as the heavy dominance of nation-states in Europe. The solution that would allow escape from this worry, or confusion, comes from the political scholarship. The concept of 'post-modern' arrives just when it is a necessity to overcome a modern dilemma with something that has not yet been proven correct, but is highly regarded as worth a shot. What can possibly be better at explaining what has been going on in Europe since the 1950s than a post-modern narrative?

Seriously, what can it be?

A proper answer should begin with a discussion about what is meant by postmodernity. It is a well-known cliché, but has to be repeated here as well, that first, a postmodern condition means many different things for many different people. It is inherently ambiguous and contested. However, while trying to 'confront international relations with humanity' (Rosenau, P. 1990), Rosenau manages to highlight one common aspect in all those contestations about

postmodernity; that it is an offer for coping with all the dubiousness (be it intellectual, moral, artistic, or scientific) that modernity has produced for the traditional model of society, i.e., the totality. Accordingly, while the modernity interprets the world in universal terminology, perfectly applicable for all circumstances, postmodernity aims at stultifying such totality or universalism. Knowledge is no longer purely cognitive, but it has political and normative/lingual dimensions (Shapiro 1992: 1-17). Hence, epistemology, which has direct ontological consequences, is no longer positivist or empiricist (Smith, S. 1996). Modern concepts of linear history (progress), rationality, accumulation of scientific knowledge, and objective reality are rejected by postmodernity. For Lyotard, postmodernity finally achieves "incredulity toward metanarratives" (quoted in Van Ham 2001: 9) of modernity, for it now rejects 'Big Stories', constructive oversimplifications (by other individuals or governments, those who have the 'power' to make others believe), and encourages personalized, individual short stories/imaginations.

The biggest impact of the postmodern condition, then, is on politics. As Ashley (1988) notes, the study of 'international' relations suddenly became nation-less, state-less and border-less. Walker, further, divulges the disappearance of the dichotomy between inside/outside, or between the domestic politics and the foreign politics, which used to establish the 'horizons of modern political theory' (Walker, R. 1992: 15-20). In turn, the traditional questions of nation-states, sovereignty, anarchy and power change their faces, if not altogether disappearing (Wallace, W. 1997). Bearing those in mind, Ruggie says that the EU, as a product of the latest stage of Europeanization, represents "the first truly postmodern international political form" (Ruggie 1993: 140).

Europeanization now – at least allegedly – demands the transfer of sovereignty into a common form of governance among 'formerly' sovereign states: replacement of international anarchy as the defining feature of the international order since Hobbes' *Leviathan* with unity among powers; and the shift in power from the state heads to ordinary citizens (i.e., democracy). It wishes away the small-multiple *Gemeinschaft*s in the individual nation-states, and urges substitution with one big European-*Gesellschaft* (or as discussed earlier, for some scholars, one big

European-*Gemeinschaft*) based on those demands. Or does it? To put the question another way, does the European integration really produce something that fits into the category of post-modernity?

The answer is half-yes and half-no. Postmodernism symbolizes a breaking away from modernity, not only in terms of apprehension of, or approaching in science, but also in spatial-temporal reality. In other words, as its prefix implies, *post*-modernity denotes a condition *after* modernity. For a political entity, such as the EU, to be 'truly postmodern', in Ruggie's words, it must break away from all its connections with modernity, such as nationality, sovereignty, international order of anarchy, the politically and normatively driven power-knowledge nexus, and of course, the related scientific research on it. In this case, the EU is definitely a *non-post-modern* entity. It is composed of several sovereign nation-states, whose sovereignty, independence and nationality (security and territoriality) are confirmed and guaranteed by the law made specifically for the existence of this very entity[30]. Yet even further, as shown previously, especially after the new millennium, the essentialist elements, primordial references and culturalist wishful-thinking at the Brussels-level have also been eliminated from the 'textuality' (DerDerian 1989) (or 'textual reality') of the European integration. The discourse over a European-Gesellschaft began overpowering the discourse over a European-Gemeinschaft lately. These clearly make the 'no' half of the answer[31].

On the 'yes' half, however, there are also noticeable grounds. In Europe today, even intergovernmentalists (Milner 2009), or Marxists (Carchedi 2001: 1-6) admit that nation-states willingly transfer some of their (mostly 'softer') powers to international or supra-national organizations. Although "Europeanization is often accompanied by a certain sense of dislocation, displacement and puzzlement… [and] it certainly problematizes [the] national identity" (Van Ham 2001: 69), nation-

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[30] The Treaty of Lisbon reads: "The Union shall respect the equality of Member States before the Treaties as well as their *national identities*, *inherent* in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, inclusive of regional and local self-government. It shall respect their *essential* State functions, including ensuring the *territorial integrity* of the State, maintaining law and order and safeguarding *national security*" (EU Document 2007: Article 3a(2)) (emphases added in *italics*).
[31] If Jameson's understanding of postmodernism as "an age that has forgotten how to think historically in the first place" (2001: ix) could be held reliable, it would be absurd to use the term 'European post-modern identity' in this dissertation that has been taking a historical approach to study European identity.

states value welfare over warfare for their societies today (Van Ham and Grudzinski 1999). There are free movements of goods, capital, services and (though still strictly for some) workers/people in Europe. The Schengen Agreement makes cross-national transshipment and travels fluid and non-bureaucratic. Borders within Europe, in other words, are getting 'fuzzier' (Christiansen, Petito and Tonra 2000) since the integration process has been launched. The principle of *subsidiarity* paves the way for further decentralization in governance, and lets the small, local democratic authorities be involved in decision-making ('the governmentalization of culture' (Barnett 2001)). No matter if used efficiently or even taken seriously, there are a flag, a motto, an anthem, and common passports and driving licenses printed by the European Commission, as well as a common currency in circulation all through the EU states, which makes an analysis of inscription for Europeanization possible as much as social construction or deconstruction might apply (Walters 2002). In this case, Zielonka argues, it must be acknowledged that "the new European order is neither anarchy nor hierarchy, that its organization map is multi-layered and not state-centric, that governance is less a matter of engineering than of gardening" (2001: 530).

If Zielonka is correct, then it needs also to be acquiesced that what Europeanization produces (be it the EU) is neither a modern nor a postmodern phenomenon. There are intrinsically both modern and post-modern aspects to it, and it more resembles something in between. Modernity has already had its positivist epistemology dominating the nation-state discourse, the impact of which is still recognizable in the new European environment. Yet, postmodernity's expected courage in passing over, or breaking away from, all modernity's mistakes has not yet arrived. There are no post-modern nation-states (if it makes any sense) yet, but today's nation-states are not at all what the nineteenth century expected them to be, either. Today is a late stage in modernity. Why should the identity be any different? The nineteenth century cohesion ideology needed the culturalist, essentialist aspects to survive the national identities, and its influence is still undeniably robust. Yet, today, traditional concerns about sovereignty, territorial integrity, or national identity have found their counterparts in the pursuit of democracy, prosperity, individual freedom and well-being, the rule of law, respect for human and minority

rights, etc. Perhaps in the future, one of the sides may overweigh the other, but it is not happening today. Hence, from this point on, the identity of the late-phase European integration will be referred as a *late-modern*[32] phenomenon, 'bifurcated'[33] into both modern and post-modern aspects involved in the process.

4.2. The European Late-Modern Self-Definition and Its Others

"The late-modern world is now variously understood to be composed of interpenetrating and multiple realities, where complexity in social, economic and political relationships is further compounded by a multitude of electronic images, disparate cultural influences, and changes in the dimensional referents of time and space due to advances in transportations and communications" (Jarvis quoted in Van Ham 2001: 12).

The second half of the above statement is noticeably reminiscent of how globalization is defined – as shown in Chapter II. What is wanted here, however, is how to integrate Europeanization into this picture. It has already been stated that, from a historical perspective, Europeanization has to be among the primary causes of what today is called the process of globalization, since the fundamentals of it – i.e., industrialization, rationality, overseas expansion, imperialism, or technology – are rooted in European experience spread throughout history. In other words, without Europeanization, there would be no globalization.

In the literature, however, Europeanization is mostly regarded as a response to globalization (Graziano 2003; Rosamond 2000a; Ladi 2007; Dolowitz and Marsh 1996). It is as if Europeanization has been constructed in the post-Cold War period both for sharing certain elements with globalization (such as capitalism, free trade, liberal democracy etc.), yet at the same time also for differing from it by its unique

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[32] The term 'late-modern' is used in the sense that it was conceptualized by Giddens (1991).

[33] The reference here is made to Rosenau's concept of 'bifurcation of global structures', in which "a multi-centric macro world composed of a wide variety of nongovernmental, transnational, and subnational actors... has evolved to cooperate, compete or otherwise interact with a state-centric world that consists of collectivities increasingly active on local stages" (Rosenau, J. 2003: 62). The multi-centric world in Rosenau's terminology is a metaphor for what here is referred as a postmodern condition while the state-centric world for the modern condition.

characteristics (such as free flow of factors of production, people, common policies – including that of security and defence, competition – and an individual representation on the world scene). However, this dichotomy is rather limited, and most importantly, anachronistic. This thesis has already predicated that Europeanization has a much broader history behind it. What is contrasted here with globalization by many scholars is essentially the latest phase of the whole Europeanization process only, or what others call the EU-ization (even a limited part of that, since the end of the Cold War is selected as the turning point).

Making this separation between Europeanization and EU-ization is critical, and frankly the main reason why most scholars neglect the modern elements of European identity construction, and take it as a post-modern phenomenon. Three words here are indeed overemphasized. First, speaking of *modernity* cannot successfully accomplish defining the current environment with all the (non-modern) emphases upon the transfer of sovereignty, the establishment of institutions guaranteeing democracy, respect for fundamental rights and freedoms, or individual self-improvement. Second, speaking of a *post*-anything related to modernity, which has purportedly left out the modern traditions of Europe, ranging from nation-states to state ideologies, from territorial sensitiveness to linguistic/religious roots, or to an incomplete shift from industrial to post-industrial societies (Gellner 1983: 20-38), seems to be a bit premature. Finally, speaking of any kind of *identity* for Europe, at least for now, is a speculation, if not a highly optimistic intellectual guess (see Chapter III). More importantly, does this imagination/construction of European 'identity' truly stand for a regular identity?

In its basic mechanics,

$$Identity = Identifier + Identified$$

In the European case, it is not only questionable what 'the identified' is, but also who the identifier is. The European Commission? Elites? European heads of state(s)? European people? If the identifier is the same as the identified, can there be an identity? A person's identity gains meaning only when some 'Other' person/people/group(s) identify that individual in some way unique to them. A

Frenchman is 'someone' for 'someone' German. An Italian pizza is delicious in comparison with some pizza non-Italian. Otherwise, that would be only the pizza that is delicious. The 'whites' killed thousands of 'blacks' in South Africa in the name of Apartheid (Clark and Worger 2004); while 'Hutus' killed 'Tutsis' in Rwanda (Mushikiwabo and Kramer 2006) – the blackness of the Tutsi is not an issue for identification. Turks were 'Turks' for the Chinese once called them as such. Being Jewish makes sense only when compared to pagans or polytheists; just as being Christian makes sense only when compared to those, as well as Jews. Even the presence of an omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient God makes sense when His creatures identify Him. "The 'You'", in other words, "is older than the 'I'" (Nietzsche 1969: 86).

Then, what makes Europe so special that it is allowed to identify itself? The answer is, by and large, nothing. In Europe's case, what 'identity' designates has only been a manifest imagination for how Eurocrats wanted to manipulate the latest stage of Europeanization since WWII ended. There have been modern as well as post-modern elements attached to the perception of this 'European image', which makes it a late-modern phenomenon, standing for a continuation of national allegiances with specific dimensions of national/sovereign power transferred to common administrative organs which were founded as elitist initiatives, but paradoxically demanding democratic participation of the European publics in order to render transforming the whole system into a totalistic tyranny invalid.

Neumann and Welsh (1991) refer to this self-image of Europe as 'European self-definition' (also used in Van Ham 2001: 188). It is a brilliant choice of wording, for the purposes of this dissertation as well, for it distinguishes 'identification' from 'self-definition'[34] and directs attention to the opposite-direction in construction of the 'Other' in self-definition. While the presence of an 'Other' is a prerequisite for identification, self-definition has the advantage to choose its own 'Others' in any time or place it demands to separate itself from the targeted objects. Thus, it also solves the problem associated with how Derrida

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[34] Žižek makes a distinction between imaginary and symbolic identification, in the former of which the subject/identifier appropriates a rather positive image or identity for itself. Bearing this in mind, therefore, the term 'imaginary identification' might also be suitable for describing the European self-definition process (Žižek 1989: 104-110). However, throughout this study, Neumann and Welsh's choice of wording ('self-definition') will be applied.

(2001a) stressed on the non-existence of identity but instead the endless process of identification by inserting the element of 'necessary time and place' in which the self-definition requires an 'Other' in order to dissociate itself.

4.2.1. (Western) European Self-Definition Until the End of the Cold War

In this case, European late-modern self-definition relies heavily upon the legacy of the Cold War, and the associated dichotomy between the West and the East. In reality, just in between the two world wars, the Wilsonian 'peace', so to speak, had already introduced the liberal concepts of democracy, free markets and international institutionalization to the traditional realist view in inter-national relations. Although it is highly equivocal that the interwar period can be construed as purely idealist in character (which is often – mistakenly (Wilson, P. 1998) – highlighted in the First Great Debate of the International Relations discipline between realism and idealism), it would still be inaccurate to repudiate the idealist momentum with the establishment of the LoN and the greater importance given to the co-operation between great powers at that time (Osiander 1998). What WWII and the succeeding Cold War ('the era of anxiety' (Holsti 1998)) brought to this realist-idealist mixture in politics were the re-turn to the cold, realistic political culture, and the re-emphasis on the so-called 'anarchy problematique' and raison d'étre. The key variable in the Cold War politics was the nature of the world system, which was bipolar (Waltz 1979: 102-129). The systemic bipolarity inevitably reflected upon the Western/Eastern perceptions of identity.

Examining the international treaties signed during the Cold War reveals some of the values, norms and principles that the Western periphery began to realize were important, for sustainable peace throughout the world, and later helps define what being 'Western' meant. The United Nations Charter (1945), though a joint effort of countries from both the West and the East, reaffirmed faith in "fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small"; "tolerance and liv[ing] together in peace" (UN Document 1945: Preamble[35]); the maintenance of "international peace and

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[35] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml

security"; "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples"; "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (UN Document 1945: Article 1), and the principle of the "sovereign equality of all" (UN Document 1945: Article 2) member countries. The Treaty of London (1949), which established the CoE, a rather more regional organization particularly for Europe, mentioned the importance of the pursuit of peace, "justice and international co-operation", "democracy", "a closer unity between all like-minded countries of Europe" (CoE Document 1949: Preamble[36]), and "human rights and fundamental freedoms" (CoE Document 1949: Article 1).

The International Bill of Human Rights consists of one UN General Assembly resolution and two international covenants. The former, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), was adopted in spite of abstentions from the General Assembly (all the Soviet Union states), and hence could be considered the first official document that revealed the differences in perceptions regarding human rights between the West and the East. All seven paragraphs in the Preamble section explained why the Declaration was adopted, and clarified why human rights were so essential in the post-war (or Cold War) Western part of the world (UN Document 1948a: Preamble[37]). The first paragraph established the link between recognition of human dignity of all people and justice and peace in the world. The second paragraph proclaimed four freedoms – freedom of speech, freedom of belief, freedom from want, and freedom from fear – as the highest aspiration of the people. The third paragraph made human rights subject to and protected by the rule of law. The fourth paragraph asserted that once human rights were protected, then friendly relations between nations could be developed. The fifth paragraph linked the Declaration to the United Nations Charter and its related articles about human rights and fundamental freedoms. The sixth paragraph made it a duty of all members of the UN to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Finally, the seventh paragraph reaffirmed that a common interpretation of such rights and freedoms was of the greatest importance for the full realization of international peace. In the following articles, those principles were set

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[36] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/HTML/001.htm
[37] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/

out as the fundamentals of human rights: equality, non-discrimination on any grounds, right to life, non-slavery, anti-torture, right to remedy, non-exile, privacy, freedom of movement, right to nationality, right to possess property, freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, right to work, social security, right to education, and duties to community. All of these would later represent the features of European 'identity'.

The ICESCR (signed in 1966, entered into force in 1976) and the ICCPR (signed in 1966, entered into force in 1976), also referred to as the 'twin covenants on human rights', were more specifically designed parts of the International Bill of Human Rights. The former committed its signatory parties to grant all individuals economic, social, and cultural rights, including labor rights and rights to education, health, and a proper standard of living (UN Document 1966b[38]); the latter committed them to respect the civil and political rights of all individuals, such as the right to life, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, rights to due process and a fair trial, and electoral rights (UN Document 1966a[39]). Although several reservations were attached to the implication of the covenants by signatory states (which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter), the twin covenants contribute to the definition of the European 'self' in terms of its inevitable respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

What is today known as the OSCE – the world's largest security-oriented international organization – had its roots in the 1973 CSCE. The idea of a European security grouping had been alive, since the 1950s; however, the paranoid environment of the Cold War did not allow further progress until the 1972 Helsinki talks. Frankly, it was the then leader of the Soviet Union, Brezhnev, who wanted to hold such a security-oriented conference, for maintaining control over the Eastern European people, who had already suffered enough under the tyranny in the Stalin era, and had recently witnessed the development around the human rights and fundamental freedoms in the Western sphere. For the Western part, the conference became an opportunity to further economic influence as well as promote

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[38] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm
[39] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm

humanitarian conditions over the Communist bloc (Gaddis 2005: 186-193). The Helsinki Final Act (1975), the most important product of the Conference, had a suspicious tone in itself, for it put recurring stress upon the 'sovereign equality of participating states', 'inviolability of frontiers', 'territorial integrity of states', and 'non-intervention in internal affairs'; however, the Act also ventilated, for the first time since the Cold War began, the 'indivisibility of security and peace in the whole European continent'; 'respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief'[40]; 'equal rights and self-determination of peoples'; and 'peaceful settlement of disputes' (CSCE Document 1975[41]).

The CSCE was the primary signal of *détente*, the new direction the Cold War had then gained. One of the pioneering features of the Western 'identity', i.e., the respect for human rights, entered into the agenda of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union such that the Moscow Helsinki Group, an independent non-governmental organization to monitor the condition of human rights on all participant countries, with a special attention on the Soviet bloc, had been established, and more importantly initiated/accepted by the East. The Helsinki Final Act, in other words, made it public that the Cold War bipolarity was sliding away from the equilibrium to the Western side, and what shifted the balance was now the 'Western system' (Walker, M. 1993: 230-250). Van Ham brilliantly summarizes that:

> "Through the Cold War, western liberal states have constructed their identity as the heroes and saviors of 'freedom' and 'democracy', as the ultimate voice of the 'international community', based on the assumption that capitalism and democracy are universal circumstances superior to all others. This cosmopolitan provincialism has dichotomized a particularistic representation of western selfhood and legitimized the economic and political *status quo* of western society. As a result of the Cold War, the West has

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[40] The Soviet leadership, despite that they accepted certain human rights and freedoms, found the so-called 'Basket-III' unacceptable, including the freedom of speech and information, as well as the freedom of movement for both people and capital (McMahon 2003: 122-142).
[41] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/1975/08/4044_en.pdf

acquired a position of leadership and global hegemony whose power resources and dynamic are now being questioned" (2001: 188-189).

4.2.2. European Self-Definition Towards the End of and After the Cold War

The end of the Cold War revealed two problems. The first one was about how to differentiate self-definitions among the West. How could what was unique to Europeans, or characterized by the other Westerners, be detected? The rise of globalization, as well, complicated the situation with increasing 'interconnectedness' in worldwide economics, governance, politics and culture (Held and McGrew 2003). As stated earlier, the roots of globalization had been seeded in the first stages of Europeanization, but now it was driven by the Americans. During the 1970s, the collapse of the Bretton-Woods system and its institutions, the dollar and oil crises and the defeat in the Vietnam War put the post-war U.S. hegemony into what Harvey called 'the switching crises' (Harvey 2003: 121-123), which made its absolute hegemony questionable, and probably awoke Europeans to the necessity of taking a different stance in the world order. The American 'fix' to these crises was the introduction of the concept of globalization (Arrighi 2006: 201-212). Associated with free markets, the emergence and expansion of finance capital, the Reagan–Thatcher-motivated 'neoliberal agenda', and new roles attributed to the economic agencies – the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO – globalization became a phenomenon that met the end of the Cold War and increased the high hopes for the recovered U.S. hegemony.

Then, what happened to Europe? Evidently, the European economics did not have satisfactory resources or tools to cope with, or present an alternative to, the rising trend of the neo-liberal agenda, which resulted in the bandwagoning of Europe into the global economy/capitalism. As a matter of fact, even the competing models of European capitalism were melted into the neo-liberal pot by the victory of the Anglo-American laissez-faire model (Bieler 2005). Yet, this time, wary of future crises, Europeans knew that they would be alone, and hence must take care of their economics all by themselves. European governments negotiated over the creation of the EMS in March 1979, in order to stabilize exchange rates among themselves. "Each new step in the construction of the monetary union of Europe

was made in the direction of complete free mobility of capital flows" (Dumenil and Levy 2002: 31). The EMS would, in a very short time period, evolve into a monetary union, but more important than that, it represented the ability of Europeans to institutionalize European integration on their own. The 'political dynamics of European economic integration' were now emerging from where they had hidden, just as Lindberg (1968) had predicted earlier. As noted before (see Chapter III), the 1980s was the incubation period of the political direction that the European integration would eventually take in the 1990s, with the SEA, the peripheral widening of the EC with its new members, *A People's Europe* movement, and the introduction of European symbols (flag, anthem, motto, calendar, etc.). The 1980s, in other words, represented an emerging 'rift' between the West and Europe, in terms of Europe's breaking away from the Cold War discourse, the Western identity, and attempts to embrace one of its own.

The second problem that the end of the Cold War made Europe face was related to the sudden disappearance of its fifty-year-old 'Other', the Soviet/Communist threat from its Eastern frontier. The dichotomy of the Cold War between the East and the West did truly help both sides identify themselves against each other. For one thing, it was a battle between two different brands of economic development, the East representing the fortress of socialism and the West representing that of capitalism. The end of the era, with the West's victory, first, crashed the socialist boundaries and let the capitalist flow pour into the East. Now, there was no socialist/capitalist divergence anymore. The break-up of the Berlin Wall represented not only the re-unification of Germany, but also of the two sides of the European continent. The realist tradition that took for granted the continuity of the bipolar world order and the expectation, in case of its absence, of hegemonic wars proved dead wrong (Koslowski and Kratochwil 1994). Instead, it was time for Europe to relocate itself in the new world order of multi-polarity and globalization. A European polity, with regulative, normative and cognitive pillars (Laffan 2001), as well as combining both the Western and the Eastern parts, therefore, had to be evolved as a 'security community of practice', which stood for the

"… like-minded groups of [actors] who [were] bound, both informally and contextually, by a shared interest in learning and applying a common practice… rest[ing] in part on the sharing of rational and moral expectations and dispositions of self-restraint" (Adler 2008: 195).

In its search for a new 'Other', for "making an Order is making an Other" (Latham quoted in Van Ham 2001: 191), Europe went into crisis. By the early 1990s, Europeanization had already produced its late-modern product, the EU, in its highly political, aspiring also to be cultural and, as always, economic form. However, it was not clear "who [were] EU?" (Strange 1998) The introduction of the concept of European citizenship showed that European elites were supporting Havel, for he thinks that "[t]he greatness in the idea of European integration on democratic foundations consists in its capacity to overcome the old Herderian idea of the nation-state as the highest expression of national life" (quoted in Lebow 1994: 250). The EU narrative did try to 'promote' nationalism as its 'Other' (see Chapter III). It might be good for some 'nations' (read: Germany), to trade (some of) their national identity with being European to escape the burden of their "own past of wars and nationalist excesses" (Risse quoted in Van Ham 2001: 192). Yet, for other nations, and perhaps a couple of years later for Germany as well, the idea of such a trade-off would be doomed to fail. Therefore, different sources for 'Other(s)' had to be found.

Wæver claims that since the end of WWII, "Europe's other is Europe's own past", and apparently it "should not be allowed to become its future" (1998a: 90). This way of thinking does not resemble the post-modern tradition of seeing the process of self-identification as relying on (if not obliged to) the presence of 'Others' (Ricoeur 1992; Reagan 1993). Instead, in Wæver's account, both the self and the other represent a break in a continuum. Once Derrida noted "[w]hat is Europe was nothing but the opening, the beginning of a history, for which the change of course, the change of the heading, the relation to the other heading or to the other of the heading, would become a continuously existing possibility" (quoted in Diez 2004: 324). Setting its own warring, destructive, poignant past as the 'Other' might perhaps have proven Derrida correct. It breaks the continuity of

history (one of the aims of post-modernity) and puts forth a temporal difference in European self-identity. Welsh too associates the employment of a temporal difference – as finding 'the resident 'Other'' within itself – with European self-definition (Welsh 1994).

Soysal (2002) agrees with Wæver in terms of the necessity of Europe to re-position itself against the mistakes made in the past, but from a different perspective. She claims that the context of European identity-making has to be future-oriented (instead of the past), involving human rights, democracy, progress, and equality. In this way, constructing a European identity will not need an 'Other' against which to define itself. However, in order to get rid of the presence of an 'Other' in identity construction, some collective memory must also be oblitarated. National uprisings, wars among Europeans, traditional 'otherings', or the resource of all past reciprocal repugnance must be erased from the collective consciousness among the European nationals. Revising the history textbooks to be taught in primary or higher levels of education, which aims to create a 'positive collective past', is among those actions designed specifically for this purpose (Sénécheau 2006; Soysal 2001; Soysal and Schissler 2005). To read an identity dependent completely on the 'us construction' (Bawn 1999), independent of an 'Other', or a(n actual) past, had been proposed before, and it is reminiscent of the post-modern manifestations; however, Soysal seems to be very well aware of the danger underlying it. Specifying an identity based on future prospects, and concepts so loosely defined or vaguely discoursed, brings about the infamous question about the (non-)existence of the European *demos* – or the existence of European *telos* (Ash 1998: 59). The people in identification are not only being manipulated by but also are themselves manipulating that identity for future generations and providing its continuation. Without the people, de Swaan argues, the European identity is "the European void" (quoted in Soysal 2002: 280)[42].

"As such, Europe is a space for participation but it does not imply the existence of a European demos or polity in the conventional sense – based on

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[42] De Swaan, Abram (2002) "The European Void: The Democratic Deficit as A Cultural Lack", *European Studies Newsletter*, vol. 31, no. 5, pp. 5-6.

consensus and uniformity. European public space is open to conflict and creates its own conflicts. Its inception, existence, and its eventual progress, however much it relies on or proceeds from models of rational communicative process… [do] not necessarily bring reason and will together to create agreeable positions" (Soysal 2002: 281).

Ironically, though, such a Europe, with no national affiliations, still needs national identification to fulfill its 'void'.

Does self-defining Europe as a temporal continuum where, say, the Holocaust will never happen again create an identity? More importantly, would it solve the current problems? For instance, what did the European identity tell Europeans to act during the War in Yugoslavia? In Kosovo? When Rwanda's massacre killed hundreds of thousands of people? Or is the identity operating in a more local environment? In that case, what was commanded by the new European self-definition when Madrid and London were bombed by 'terrorists' in 2004 and 2005, respectively? What kind of an 'othering' made them terrorists, anyway?

It has been quite a while since the slogans hailing 'the end of history' (Fukuyama 1992) were removed from the scholarly agenda (Zakaria 2001). The Yugoslavian War at the heart of Europe, the protests in Seattle against the WTO meeting in 1999, the attacks of September 11 (9/11), the ongoing poverty and civil wars in the African continent, the new rising powers (China, India, Russia) and the problem of over-consumption (Pieterse 2008), struggling global economy and crises, the unilateral invasion of Iraq in 2003, the 'resource wars' (Klare 2002), and many other incidents all around the world showed that the end of the Cold War opened up a new era, through which geopolitics have already made its 'revival' (Sicherman 2002). The discussions of European identity, too, have been seized by this revival. Security and the CFSP have become one of the key identifiers for the identity discourse in Europe, especially after the CEECs enlargement was assured (Higashino 2004). Diez asserts that "[t]he effort of this discourse was not only to legitimize and push forward enlargement, but also to reinforce both the power of the EU to prescribe a particular future for CEE and the self-image of a region as having overcome the dangers of war and acting as a force for peace" (2004: 326). Pace

(2006: 89-121) adds to the security discourse of the EU the region of the Mediterranean, and refers to the Neighborhood Policy as a tool for self-identification on security lines, being the 'promoter of peace' or the 'financial assistance-provider', of the region.

The position of Europe in the politics, for which the geopolitics is back at the center, is highly contested not only from a security-related perspective, but also from an identity-related one. Particularly after the events of 9/11, the unilateralism pushed by the United States had the European countries question their role in worldly matters, and caused the so-called 'rift' between the two sides of the Atlantic (Sloan 2003). Even inside the EU, discussions with regards to the possible joint action by the member states against the new U.S. attempt for world hegemony resulted in frictions not only between the traditional partner of America, the UK, and the rest, but also among the so-called Big Three (Germany, France, and the UK) and the smaller member states, which put the – already indisposed – foreign 'identity' of the European integration into jeopardy (Walker, M. 2002). The 'Transatlantic Rift' was probably the most noticeable sign of the different directions taken by the former partners of the Cold War. Kagan pointed out that "it [was] time to stop pretending that Europeans and Americans share[d] a common view of the world, or even that they occup[ied] the same world. On the all-important question of power – the efficacy of power, the morality of power, the desirability of power – American and European perspectives [were] diverging" (2002: 1). Accordingly, this divergence was mostly reasoned by 'Europe's post-war brand' (Van Ham 2010: 145-149) being the pioneer of a new security identity embedded in more diplomacy, more persuasion, more patience in taking action, more tolerance and humanitarianism, more international institutions and law, and more cooperation among world powers whereas Americans had long been the champions of the classic quick diplomacy, good-vs.-evil approach, coercion, unilateralism, and search for finality. The twenty-first-century American way of thinking was now an 'Other' of this late-modern European 'identity'.

Another source of Europe's spatial self-identification comes from one of its traditional 'Others' and inveterate neighbor, Russia (Van Ham 2001: 205-209). The post-Cold War relationship between Europe and Russia is based on two grounds: on

the one hand, there is the 'ghost' of their troubling past, re-introduced, particularly, after the accession negotiations and becoming members of the CEECs – the ex-Soviet Union countries (Youngs 2004: 424-425); on the other hand, during the past two decades, it has not only been Europe that is searching for its own identity, but Russia, as well, has been trying to establish a unique national identity in spite of its federal administration (Tolz 1998). Hence, European–Russian identifications might be regarded as parallel processes with certain elements shared in common (Baranovsky 2000). Three of those elements are significant, for they indeed determine the basic qualities for each identification. First comes the issue of security. Long past the paranoid, nuclear, zero-sum security games of the Cold War era, the main security dilemma of the Northern hemisphere has not yet been resolved, for the relationship between Russia and NATO has not yet been clarified. Especially after the establishment of NATO, security "came to be re-envisioned in cultural terms. Positively, security is identified with the cultural and civilizational principles now held to be the foundation of NATO itself. Negatively, threats are seen as emerging from the absence of such conditions" (Williams and Neumann 2000: 369). The disaccord between Russia and NATO members over the U.S.–Polish plan to place a missile defence shield in Poland (2008), the Georgia-Russia War (2008), or the independence of Kosovo (2008) – which has not yet been recognized by Russia – are among the many instances that indicate a major rift between how the matters of security, and hence the cultures of security, are perceived differently by the parties, and how this might be effectively used in a national (or European) rhetoric for defining one another's 'Other'. The culture of security, secondly, might also be explained by how the two sides construe the concept of democracy, and how this might be affecting their identities. Europe, being the champion of the post-war, world-wide 'democratic re-organization' (Sørensen 2009), used the non-democratic, non-humanitarian practices of the Soviet Union as a mirror for developing its own self-identification. After the Berlin Wall broke down, however, the flows of democracy also took the direction of Moscow, making 'being democratic' not unique to the West. The *différence* between European democracy and Russian democracy (called 'sovereign democracy' or 'managed democracy' (Krastev 2007)), today, help shape the self-identification.

Whereas the former brings out transparency, accountability, and mutual benefit between the ruled and the rulers (a liberal discourse); the latter prioritizes national interests, hence manipulating ideologies and determining the image of Russia "as a 'besieged fortress'" (Okara 2007: 11) (a realist discourse). For Europe 'to other' Russia, however, becomes problematic when it comes to the third element of the post-Cold War Russia-Europe relations, i.e., energy. The presence of the natural resources of oil and gas within the borders of the Russian Federation turns the liberal democracy vs. sovereign (realist) democracy argument upside down for the Europeans, making them choose the 'realist discourse' and declare that Russia is a 'strategic partner' for the EU on political, social and economic grounds (Pankov 2008). Under those circumstances, Russia represents for the EU almost a half-an-other, whose otherness is buried deep within the position of ex-Communist states, yet who is too valuable (Stroupe (2006) calls this 'Russia's attack to its Achilles' Heel') just 'to be other-ed' for all the energy-related and economic ties positioned strategically in between. In that sense, Russia is probably a 'functional' other for the Europeans; any time it is needed, it is ready for easing the process of self-definition.

4.3. Banal Europeanism

Filtering the information accumulated in the above section, a tentative statement might be generalized: while the American identity represents a future potential 'Other' of the late-modern European self-identification, the Russian identity today stands for Europe's very own past which it is urgently avoiding. Both are problematic though. In the America vs. Europe case, the legacy of the Cold War, which only until a couple of decades ago was bonding the two sides of the Atlantic, sharing one common civilization as well as historical ties, is still so powerfully present that seeing the 'American way' as an 'Other' for self-defining Europe should be restricted exclusively to the foreign policy issues. Foreign policy is just too far away from the already missing *demos* of Europe for people to identify with it. The problem with the Russian identity, on the other hand, is more of an administrative and strategic one. The Russians had previously been chosen as an 'Other', so doing the same is very much open to manipulation. However, this time,

with all the matters of security and energy kept alive and of utmost importance, setting barriers between Russian and European forms of governance does not seem to be a rational move for either side. Furthermore, whichever way is to be chosen, whether modifying the past or speculating about the future, the concern will still be defining what Europe itself should 'represent', instead of what Europe should 'be' with respect to an 'Other'. In other words, regardless of the existence of a European *demos*, Europeanization is today operating to define what Europe should represent for the people living in a restricted (say, the EU) territory; and since this process is not yet an identification, but only a self-definition, instead of the need for the everlasting presence of 'Others', it rather concentrates on defining the characteristics of the Self.

Cram (2001) calls this process *banal Europeanism*, borrowing the term directly from Billig's (1995) famous concept of 'banal nationalism'. The underlying rationale of Billig's argument reads:

> "In so many different ways, the citizenry are daily reminded of their national place in a world of nations. However, this reminding is so familiar, so continual, that it is not consciously registered as reminding. The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building" (quoted in Cram 2001: 101).

In this sense, it is not what is dictated that establishes the sense of (national) identity in the minds of a people, but instead, it is the constant presence of national symbols, or what is unconsciously reminded to citizens. Setting the environment inundated with national reminders (a flag, a heroic picture from the past, an anthem, a success in an international competition, etc.) is more powerful, for instance, than telling people astutely of their national pride. Therefore, identification with nationality, for Billig, does not always have to be passionate or heroic – there does not have to be someone to die for a nation – but the very process might be mundane, or banal.

What Cram does is to supplant the nationalistic images in the above paragraph with the European ones. Accordingly,

> "[f]or EU citizens, identification may equally be based on daily low-level engagement in unremarkable ways (carrying passports or driving licenses, conforming with legislation, walking past EU flags) which nevertheless remind citizens of their involvement in the larger EU system" (Cram 2009b: 104-105).

Making this analogy, she further draws two conclusions. First, if Billig's banality-thesis may be applied to Europe, then, the contestation over the existence of a European *demos* will not anymore be required, since even only the presence of enough 'social communication' (Deutsch 1966) among people – which is already provided by the EU – will sufficiently elicit the necessary environment to banalize. Second, once established, the banality of European identity will not be perceived as threatening national identifications; hence, the relationship between national and European identity will be "synergistic. As the EU impacts upon national identity, a view of the EU and the role it plays is created at the national level, and this in turn will impact upon the process of European integration" (Cram 2009b: 106).

There are indeed two extra aspects of Cram's banal Europeanism, as well. On the one hand, by ruling out the heroic aspects of identity building, Cram also rules out the need for an 'Other', to be 'heroic' against, in the process. Further, borrowing Billig's concept of 'enhabitation' (the process of collective forgetting, by making social life "habitual or routine, and in so doing embody the past" (quoted in Cram 2009a: 114)), she argues that banal Europeanism makes the EU "enhabited as individuals forget to remember that the current situation is not how things always were" (Cram 2009a: 114). In that sense, there is no need for a historical 'Other' and no need for a heroic past. On the other hand, banal Europeanism encourages diversity as a vital source of the dynamism of the ever-evolving European integration process. Neither national nor European identity is static; rather, they both are contingent and contextual, and hence open for manipulation. This means,

however paradoxically, that once it needs the presence of an 'Other', banal Europeanism chooses one for itself, or, perhaps better, promotes one of its own.

If Checkel, whose institutionalist-constructivist logic has a direct influence on Cram's arguments, is right, and if agents (the supposed citizens of the EU) truly "comply with the norms embedded in regimes and international institutions" (2001: 553), the question remained in abeyance is about the adjustment of the level of diversity inside Europe. The European integration process has already illustrated that, as Mercer – who is one of the pioneer scholars introducing the concept of 'social identity' to the political sciences – notes, "states can cooperate with one another. It may even illustrate how states can come to identify with each other" (1995: 249). Hence, as agents, they can also modify the level of diversity needed among each other. Yet, if this applies, there is a chance that they may identify with each other, as already happened in the past, and this may create a danger for the operating European system (say, banal Europeanism). The system itself, therefore, has to introduce the agents with whom to identify and who is to be chosen as the 'Other' of the whole group of agents. In order to accomplish this task, however, a sense of 'being a group' has to be established among Europeans. To observe how this is going to (or is already) happen(ing), the remarkable theory of Tajfel, called the SIT, should be explored[43].

4.4. The Social Identity Theory and Definition of the 'Self'

Tajfel introduced the concept of 'social identity' in his 1974 article, stating that his primary aim was to "emphasize the role of 'men in groups' rather than men *tout court* in the study of the psychological aspects of intergroup behavior" (Tajfel 1974: 65). He, however, did not prioritize the study of social psychological explanations of intergroup behavior; instead, he argued that the effects of the social psychological variables were "determined by the previous social, economic, and political processes, so they also acquire[d] in their turn an *autonomous* function which enable[d] them to deflect in one direction or another the subsequent

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[43] A condensed version of the information given in the following parts appeared earlier in (Ongur 2010).

functioning of these processes" (Tajfel 1974: 65). In that sense, Tajfel can be considered among the pioneers of those who claim that social, economic, and political processes may have influence upon the identity and behavior of the groups in their relations with each other.

In 1978, Tajfel edited some selected studies with regard to intergroup relations, and had the chance to elaborate upon the fundamentals of his theory, which he would then call the SIT. In the introduction, he explicates the world in which they live at that time as a place where "the processes of unification and diversification proceed apace, both of them faster than ever before. In some ways, large-scale human groups communicate with each other more than ever; know about each other more than ever; and have become increasingly interdependent. At the same time, there is a powerful trend, to be seen virtually all over the world, aiming at the preservation or the achievement of diversity, of one's own special characteristics and 'identity'" (Tajfel 1978b: 1-2). For many, the world today is still how Tajfel described it before, if the pace mentioned by him is not now even at higher levels. Considering the more territorially-restricted, yet more intimately-closer EU, processes of unification and diversification gain much more interest than any other cultural, inter-national grouping. Putting the social dimension into the forefront of the agenda of scientific research, SIT was a (genealogically European) response to the Cold War American social psychology, evolved around and restricted to the fear of Communism, born in Bristol, the UK (Abrams and Hogg 1999: 7-9).

The SIT begins with questioning under what conditions the intercourse between individuals ('inter-individual behavior') is determined by their membership in different social groups ('intergroup behavior'), rather than their personal relationships or individual characteristics. Accordingly, a description of a group may include one or more of these three components:

"A cognitive component, in the sense of the knowledge that one belongs to a group; an evaluative [component], in the sense that the notion of the group and/or of one's membership of it may have a positive or a negative value connotation; and an emotional component in the sense that the cognitive

and evaluative aspects of the group and one's membership of it may be accompanied by emotions (such as love or hatred, like or dislike) directed towards one's own group and towards others which stand in certain relations to it" (Tajfel 1978a: 28-29).

However, Tajfel's study, at least at the onset, does not differentiate between groups who possess a limited number of or all of those elements. Some social, economic or political processes are expected to have categorized the groups as they are. It uses, however, the so-called 'minimal group paradigm', which "demonstrates that mere categorization of people into an ingroup ('us') and an outgroup ('them') is sufficient to elicit attempts to positively differentiate the in-group from the out-group along available dimensions" (Ford and Tonander 1998: 373).

The differentiation between an ingroup and an outgroup is fundamental for comprehending Tajfel's theory. At the very core, Tajfel does not even inform members of one group about the existence of the other groups, or does not let the two sides interact. He analyzes what will happen when only a sense of membership to one group is provided for the participants. Still though, under such minimally informed membership and group categorization, the results are intriguing: first, "most of the subjects act very consistently in the direction of favoring in their decisions anonymous members of their own 'groups' at the expense of the anonymous members of the 'outgroups'" (Tajfel 1978a: 34), and then, "the subjects act in terms of the intergroup categorization provided or imposed by the experimenters, not necessarily because this has been successful in inducing any genuine awareness of membership in separate and distinct groups, but probably because they felt that this kind of behavior [is] expected of them by the experimenters; and therefore they conform to this expectation" (Tajfel 1978a: 35).

Group membership, in the SIT, then, is confirmed to be contextual, i.e., prone to change with respect to the extent to which the awareness of being a member is clarified, or of the positive or negative evaluations of other groups are associated with the membership, or of the feedback the members receive for their behavior in turn. The importance of group membership, therefore, lies in its ability to by-pass the inter-individual differences in social groupings as well as in social identification

processes ('depersonalization', or "deindividuation" (Abrams and Brown 1989: 311; Reicher, Spears and Postmes 1995)). The major common determining factors of social behavior, further, include: "a shared ingroup affiliation of the individuals concerned…; and a shared interpretation of the relations between the ingroup and the outgroup as applied to a particular social situation or to a series of such situations" (Tajfel 1978a: 44).

4.4.1. Social Identification through the Social Identity Theory

The SIT infers, moreover, that in the post-war societies, four linked concepts are at work for the process of identification. The process of *social categorization*, first, represents a guide for social action of the individuals for it orders the "social environment in terms of groupings of persons in a manner which makes sense to the individual" (Tajfel 1978c: 61). The *social identity*, secondly, is understood "as that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1978c: 63). Combining the first and the second concepts, social categorization might also be perceived as a system that defines the individual's place in society organized into groups. Once a social categorization into groups, which gives social identities for individuals, is set up, there begins an inevitable process of *social comparison*, thirdly, in which "a group becomes a group in the sense of being perceived as having common characteristics or a common fate mainly because other groups are present in the environment" (Tajfel 1978c: 66-67); hence, it has to compare itself with other groups for verifying its own existence. Derrida's *différence*, an inevitable component of social identifications, makes the comparison available, or vice versa. Lastly, once intergroup social comparisons are confirmed, which in turn affect the intergroup behaviors; *psychological group distinctiveness* pushes the necessity of positive ingroup images (the so-called 'ingroup bias') as well as the necessity of limits of intergroup similarities, or at worse, exaggerates intergroup differences. The concept of social identity, here, "is linked to the need for positive and distinctive image of the ingroup; this is why the perceived illegitimacy of an intergroup relationship transcends the limits of intergroup similarity in the relevant social comparisons and

reaches out wherever the causes of illegitimacy are thought to reside" (Tajfel 1978c: 74-75). Therefore, in the case of a 'secure social identity', as Tajfel calls it, the relationship between two (or more) groups resembles the relationship between 'inherently' superior vs. inferior groups, and it is virtually an empirical impossibility. In the case of an 'insecure social identity', such an inherent psychological distinctiveness (superior or inferior) does not exist, which is what happens in the real world. Hence, groups are encouraged either to become more like whatever group they consider superior at a given time, or to positively revalue their 'inferior' characteristics, or to establish new group characteristics distinct from (not necessarily superior to) other groups (Tajfel 1978d: 93-94).

Social identity answers to what Jenkins calls a 'popular concern about' the concept of identity, which is

"… a reflection of the uncertainty produced by rapid change and cultural contact: our social maps no longer fit our social landscapes. We encounter others whose identity and nature are not clear to us. We are no longer even sure about ourselves; the future is no longer so predictable as it seems to have been for previous generations. But change – the confrontation of languages, traditions and ways of life; the transformation of divisions of labor; demographic flux; catastrophe and calamity – is not in any sense modern" (Jenkins, R. 1996: 9).

The social identity, here, does not only tidy up all this mess (about self-identity) by eliminating the individual from the process of identification (depersonalization), but also makes it easier for people to find predictable, change-averse (or harder to change) identities within social groups for these late-modern times. Social identity is considered to create a bridge between "collective phenomena and individual social cognition and behavior" (Hogg and Ridgeway 2003: 97).

Theorizing social identity, however, differs from theorizing individual identity. The IT, usually associated with Stryker (1968), is "principally a microsociological theory that sets out to explain individuals' role-related behaviors,

while [SIT] is a social psychological theory that sets out to explain group processes and intergroup relations" (Hogg, Terry and White 1995: 255). Both of the theories accept a 'reflexive self', who, in a relation to other social selves, is capable of categorizing, classifying and naming itself. Whereas the SIT depersonalizes the self, i.e., sees it as an 'embodiment of the ingroup prototype' (Hogg and Hardie 1992); the IT self-verifies, i.e., sees the self in terms of the role in the given identity standard (Burke and Reitzes 1981). The SIT calls this process 'self-categorization', while in the IT, it is referred to as 'identification'. It supposedly represents an internal-external dialectic of identification: "collective internal identification is 'group identification'; collective external definition is social categorization" (Jenkins, R. 1996: 87). However, instead of such dialectic, "group identification always implies social categorization. The reverse is not always the case. Social categorization, however, at least creates group identification as an immanent possibility" (Jenkins, R. 1996: 89). Identification, here, has the potential to explain the rationale behind the grouping, before social identity is activated in comparison to other group or groupings. Therefore, Burke and Stets (2000) advance linking both theories for full apprehension of social behavior.

The motivation for getting involved in a particular group is one of the most highly criticized dimensions of the SIT. The so-called 'minimal group paradigm' is found to be too plain for explaining the complexity of social behavior. Huddy, for instance, finds the SIT faulty for ignoring the existence of individual identities that cause inner-group conflicts of interests, and overlooking "the difference between nominal identity based on a name and virtual membership based on an experience" (2001: 141). Deaux (2000), on the other hand, calls for attention on the unique qualities and idiosyncratic meanings that one specific ingroup might circumscribe; in other words, she assumes that variations in meanings attached to social identities might change from one involving (individual) identity to another. Nationality, culture, ethnicity, or temporal dimensions should be considered in evaluating the construction of social identities, as well. Deaux even broadens the aspects of variations from attached meanings to different models or types of social identities (why one single type of social identity?) and to different motivations for claiming or

maintaining a social identity for individuals. The IT might here be used to provide these grounds to amplify the model driven by the SIT (Deaux and Martin 2003).

4.4.2. Collective Categorization of the 'Self' and the 'Other'

The most far-reaching conceptual advancement in the SIT research, however, did not occur as a combination of the SIT and the IT, but found its form in Turner's SCT. For Abrams and Hogg, SCT represents an "aspect of the [SIT] that specifies in detail the cognitive underpinnings of social identity processes" (Abrams and Hogg 1999: 11). Turner constructs his theory based on the hypothesis that "to achieve positive social identity, ingroup-outgroup comparisons must yield perceived differences which favor the ingroup" (Turner 1978: 236). It is presumed at the onset that social identity-building begins with categorizing the social world into ingroup(s) and outgroup(s). The group behavior is only possible once such a cognitive mechanism is established (Turner 1984). The basic process of self-categorization is best described by Turner himself as follows:

"[W]here people define themselves in terms of a shared social category membership; there is a perceptual accentuation of intragroup similarities and intergroup differences on relevant correlated dimensions. People stereotype themselves and others in terms of salient social categorizations, leading to an enhanced perceptual identity between self and ingroup members and an enhanced perceptual contrast between ingroup and outgroup members. Where social identity becomes relatively more salient than personal identity, people see themselves less as differing individual persons and more as the similar, prototypical representatives of their ingroup category. There is a depersonalization of the self… and it is this process that transforms individual into collective behavior as people perceive and act in terms of a shared, collective conception of self" (1999: 11).

The source of the saliency of the social identity, however, is not clear in the quote above. In other words, the motivations for constructing a social identity, and maintaining one, are missing from this definition. Oldmeadow, Platow, Foddy and

Anderson (2003) detect three possible sources of motivation in the SIT/SCT research. First, according to the SIT, "one important reason why people display ingroup bias is that this enhances positive group distinctiveness and social identity, thereby elevating the *self-esteem* [emphasis included] of these group members" (Long and Spears 1997: 296). Second, the SCT argues that "as designated by what is termed the meta-contrast ratio, individuals will identify with a category to the extent that it provides *maximal differentiation* between members of one group and members of another" (Deaux 2000: 10). These two sources, i.e., the self-esteem hypothesis and the intergroup discrimination argument, however, have been tested either insufficiently or by using solely the minimal group paradigm; hence, the validity of both is questionable (Abrams and Hogg 1988). A third source, on the other hand, seems to be more appropriate. This explanation bears, initially, that interpreting the world is a challenging task for individuals, which creates a level of uncertainty. Identifying with a social category, thus, might be utilized to override this uncertainty. Hogg and Mullin summarize that

"[P]eople have a fundamental need to feel certain about their world and their place within it – subjective certainty renders existence meaningful and thus gives one confidence about how to behave, and what to expect from the physical and social environment within which one finds oneself… People join or form groups to reduce uncertainty; they join or form one group rather than another group because it is more relevant to uncertainty reduction for that person in that context… and specific groups become contextually salient because they reduce uncertainty in that context" (1999: 254-255).

Elaborating from the reduction of uncertainty argument, Oldmeadow, Platow, Foddy and Anderson explain how the nature of social influence is described by the SCT. Accordingly, the social influence

"… derives from the cognitive process of self-categorization together with motivations associated with group membership. Because people derive many of their attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of prototypical ingroup

members and expect them to be shared by the ingroup as a whole… Subjective uncertainty is a central part of group-based influence because it leads people towards social comparison and renders them open to influence from others" (Oldmeadow, Platow, Foddy and Anderson 2003: 140).

The saliency of the social identity is critical because it affects how much that (in)group is capable of influencing the outgroups, and hence the social life altogether. Worchel, Iuzzini, Coutant and Ivaldi suggest also that "one's identity is affected by one's position within the group as well as the position of one's group. Both are equally 'social' in nature, and involve social comparisons" (2000: 24). This suggestion might be interpreted in such a way that even if an individual is not satisfied with his/her own identity, group identities give him/her another opportunity to be satisfied in comparison with other individuals/groupings by being a member of one group. In a foreign country, for example, a person who is not completely satisfied with his own personal identity (say, with his level of education in a conference he attends) might feel the comfort in positioning himself with his national (group) identity (say, with the score of a national football game). The number, and the content, of examples might easily be multiplied.

In the continuum from 'who am I' to 'who are we', the theoretical combining of the SIT and the SCT also elucidates why people choose to identify with multiple-identity organizations/groups. Foreman and Whetten propose that "a member compares his or her perceptions of an organization's *current identity* (beliefs about the existing character of the organization) with his or her expectations for its *ideal identity* (beliefs about what is desirable, informed by the member's sense of self); and the resulting *identity gap/congruence* (the cognitive distance between the current and ideal identity claims) significantly affects a member's level of involvement with the organization" (2002: 620). The higher the level of 'group status' (a group's "position in the political and socio-economic structure of society" (Turner and Brown 1978: 201)), thus, the greater is the likelihood that individuals identify themselves with that particular group (in a given context). Once such a salient identification with a group is established, then begins the process called stereotyping.

As pointed out earlier, "self-categorization reduces uncertainty by transforming self-conception and assimilating self to a prototype that describes and prescribes perceptions, attitudes, feelings and behaviors. Because prototypes are relatively consensual, they also furnish moral support and consensual validation for one's self-concept and attendant cognitions and behaviors. It is the prototype that actually reduces uncertainty" (Hogg and Terry 2002: 6). A prototype of the self reflects a stereotype on the 'Other'. The process of stereotyping, which is not necessarily always deemed negative, is primarily a shortcut belief regarding specific social groups, or types of other individuals (Stangor and Schaller 1996). The basic function of stereotypes is to provide information about individuals based on their membership into groups, hence to streamline the process of social communication. The amount of information needed in a social intercourse, in other words, is reduced significantly by stereotyping. Ford and Tonander argue, by using the SIT/SCT literature, that "when there exist real intergroup differences that negatively distinguish the ingroup from some relevant outgroup, motivation to attain a positive social identity will influence the structure of emerging stereotypes by biasing the strength with which positively and negatively differentiating attribute dimensions become associated with the ingroup and the outgroup in memory" (1998: 374). When social identity is somehow threatened or manipulated appropriately, in other words, the social perceiver (either individuals or groups) will form stereotypes of the ingroup and the outgroup. Since social identity is not fixed but there is 'a repertoire of social identities' for an individual, which is contextually established and utilized, McNamara (1997) reminds, stereotyping is a recurrent process, changing form and its content with given circumstances.

Though barely explored, the SIT/SCT research is able to provide many political, social, organizational and cultural applications that could benefit from the idea of categorization of groups in daily life. To name a few, Hogg (2002) uses the SIT for organizational-managerial contexts; Kaarbo and Gruenfeld (1998) extrapolate on how the SIT might provide valuable grounds for analyzing inter or intra-group conflicts in governmental politics; Theiler (2003) links societal security and social psychology via the SIT/SCT; and Cote and Levine (2002) establish a link between identity and culture by utilizing the SIT, while Nicholson (2008) discusses

the role of culture in the established social identities ('do we have identity politics before our identities?'). In the name of international politics, though limited, there are also studies that would fit perfectly to the main topics of this dissertation. Druckman (1994), for instance, conducts a remarkable study in which he attempts to combine the SIT/SCT and the process of nationalism. The key variable in this study is the 'loyalty' that individuals develop towards a grouping. Traditionally, social, political and economic grounds for nationalism are analyzed, whereas Druckman goes with the social psychological roots of the concept. He argues that

> "… [a]t the level of the nation, the group fulfills economic, sociocultural, and political needs, giving individuals a sense of security, a feeling of belonging, and prestige… These needs are not limited to national identifications but have been found to be the basis for group identification in general… [T]he nation achieves personal relevance for individuals when they become sentimentally attached to the homeland (affectively involved), motivated to help their country (goal-oriented), and gain a sense of identity and self-esteem through their national identification (ego involved)" (Druckman 1994: 44).

The studies of Tajfel and Turner come into the picture at this point, because even if there are no negative feelings against other nations, or people from other nationalities, just the knowledge of being involved in one group (the nation) provides ingroup bias and hence makes everyone ready for the process of stereotyping for the other (out)groups. Nationalism, as an ideology, is manipulated, in other words, to link "individuals' self-esteem to the esteem in which the nation is held" (Druckman 1994: 48-49). Being a member of a nation, which "finds its sense of self-identity by… discovering itself as already present in its tradition" (Žižek 1993: 148), both provides people with a *comme il faut* identity and helps them organize their lives and their world, which in turn enhances both their self-esteem and attachment to their nation (the process becomes self-fulfilling). The stereotyped others, thus, become labeled as outgroups, as long as this self-fulfilling process changes at some point in time.

If nationalism "has been constructed exclusively, not according to fixed categories but instead demarcated by [nation-]states seeking to manage diversity by manipulating and reinforcing difference" (Marx 2002: 103), the excluded by the nation-states can as well be explained by the SIT/SCT. Regarding nation-states as exclusively constructed/imagined agents infers that their 'Others' are not essentially predisposed, not given, but rather selected on some arbitrary agenda. The SIT "assumes that humans are innately predisposed to define themselves in terms of group identity, but it does not claim that any particular identity is inherently preferred or psychologically required; indeed, people can possess multiple identities" (Sears, Henry, But and Fu 2003: 421), and, therefore, multiple outgroups. Following Tajfel, once nation-states are established – once the sense of being a group on given 'nationalistic' grounds is confirmed – determining the outgroups is only a matter of interest, power games, historical calculations or rational choice, depending on whichever theory of politics is chosen. A lengthy quote by Marx explains that:

"Nationalism is not an imagined community of inclusion, as a sort of literary trope, nor an institutionalized process toward inclusion propelled by economic development and modernization. Instead, nationalism is often purposefully exclusive, with such exclusion emerging in fits and starts but encouraged or encoded to serve the explicit requirements for solidifying core loyalty to the nation. Rather than diversity precluding cohesion, diversity and selective allocations of nationalism and related rights may be the tools for building cohesion among the core that is included and demarcated" (2002: 107).

The construction of an outgroup does not necessarily transfer into negative feelings or aggression against it (Brewer 1999). There must, instead, be a need for manipulating that difference between ingroup and outgroup to produce such feelings. Besides, as Tajfel and Turner point out, "ingroups do not compare themselves with every cognitively available outgroup; the outgroup must be perceived as a relevant comparison group" (1979: 41). This clearly says that in the

SIT/SCT, not all outgroups are considered as 'Other(s)', in a sense that identification with them are encouraged and necessary for, say, a nation's existence (the construction of national minorities should be a fitting example to this discussion, and will be explored in the following chapter).

4.5. How to Apply the Social Identity Theory to Europeanization?

The remaining question is how it is possible to import the SIT/SCT research to European studies, and specifically to Europeanization. The answer lies in the phenomenon of 'European identity'. First, let us make it clear that the latest stage of Europeanization can be perfectly utilized as a primary example of grouping of states for several purposes; be they political (e.g., the establishment of the ECSC), economic (e.g., the membership of the EFTA countries in the 1970s), strategic (e.g., the peripheral enlargement in the early 1980s), security-related (e.g., the application of the ex-Communist states for the membership to the EU after the end of the Cold War), or a combination of two (or more) of those, serving the 'zeitgeist' (e.g., the accession of the CEECs in 2004 and 2007). The common point for all of these states to become involved in a group of other states might be found in how Turner defines a social group as a group that is "psychologically significant for the members, to which they relate themselves subjectively for social comparison and the acquisition of norms and values" (Turner 1987: 1). What the EU offers for its member states is actually all of those.

Take a CEEC, say Slovenia, as an example. On the material side, just by entering into the EU, Slovenia becomes a (though small) part of a (big) power in the world economy, having, for instance, practically two seats in the WTO meetings. It is now militarily and security-wise immune to almost any possible threat, because there will be some big armies (even at some point possibly a European army) and intelligence services to protect Slovenia from serious damage. Slovenian nationals now have EU passports that enable them to travel freely all around Europe, and very soon, they will be able to reside and work in other European countries as well. They are today using probably the strongest currency in the world for shopping bread from the closest market. On the normative side, being a part of the EU makes

Slovenia, which less than two decades ago was involved in a well-known 'tyranny of Communism', taken for granted as a democratic country with respect for human and minority rights' regimes, the implications of the rule of law, and the liberal market economy. Besides, perhaps more importantly, Slovenia is a 'justified' 'European country' today. What does Slovenia give in return for all of those? For a famous Slovenian, the answer is – in capitals – "NOTHING" (Žižek 2004). Joining to the EU, therefore, overwhelms Slovenia into self-esteem.

A similar scenario might be extended to any other EU member states, regardless of their entrance date. From the dogs of (the second world) war to the ECSC; from an economic club to a political 'giant' (Leonard 2005); from Rome to Lisbon; from Portugal to Cyprus; from a collection of nation-states to the biggest regional entity in the world, the EU, as a product of Europeanization, represents today an enlarged 'ingroup', in the SIT terminology, for a selected number of individuals from the European continent, no matter how they identify themselves with the Union, or no matter how the Union attempts to identify itself with them. The EU, in other words, is a group today.

This group is no different from any other groups, in the matters of identification/self-definition. Though limiting the timeframe into the post-Maastricht era, Flockhart (2006) makes an excellent contribution to apprehending how the so-called EU-ization process 'defines'[44] the EU in terms of the SIT/SCT data. She reads the SIT/SCT that:

> "Within the identity literature of IR… primary attention seems to be directed towards the role of the 'Other' in relation to the 'Self'/'We'. However, identities cannot be constructed purely in relation to the 'Other'. What actually happens is that identities are constructed through complex constellations of 'we-groups' in a system of social groups consisting of the 'Self'/'We', placed in a hierarchical system between the 'Other' and what I call the 'Significant We'. The 'Other' defines what the 'Self'/'We' is *not* and what it seeks to distance itself from,

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[44] Here, Flockhart actually uses the term 'identification'; however, as told in the previous section, this dissertation does not take the process that is usually referred as 'European identification' as a process of traditional identification, but rather as a self-definition.

whereas the 'Significant We' defines what the 'Self'/'We' admires and strives to become. The 'Significant We' is as important (perhaps even more so) for the construction of identities, as is the 'Other'" (Flockhart 2006: 94).

In this model proposed by Flockhart, it is clear that the latest product of Europeanization, i.e., the EU, represents an ingroup (i.e., the 'Self'/'We'). The latest flow of Europeanization, since 1945, has been constructing the EU as an ingroup for a selected number of states and individuals from the European continent, as set forth in Chapter II and Chapter III. Following the minimal group paradigm that Tajfel used effectively, those states and individuals, either discursively or practically, have been taken into the spiral of forming an ingroup in Europe, which has positively provided its members with higher self-esteem (either in the form of a better/more powerful place in world politics, or in the form of material richness), a better cognitive point of social comparison (e.g., Slovenia as a member of the EU vs. Slovenia) and a form of higher-level (social) identity (e.g., a European identity).

What Europeanization has left questionable – because it has overwhelmingly been engaged in defining what EU, its norms, its presence, its discourse, or its values should represent ('the process of banal Europeanism') – is about the construction of the outgroups of that ingroup (the EU); i.e., 'Other's and 'Significant We's of the Europeanization process in its latest stage. The trick here is differentiating between those two outgroups. Following this chapter, an answer might be elaborated. It has already been stated that there are two opposite explanations that have been made by those who study the European identity phenomenon and its 'Other's. First, there are the followers of Wæver (1998a) who claims that a conception of the 'Other' for what is today being constructed as a European identity might be found in its past. Europe, in other words, tries to identify itself with its non-past, representing the absence of wars, nationalism, sovereignty-obsessed nation-states, security paranoia, zero-sum power games, and calls for world-wide hegemony. Even Russia today (and its so-called 'sovereign democracy') has been interpreted as a part of 'former-Europe' that should represent

something to avoid for the states that are inclined to be parts of European integration. There is another strain of thought on the opposite end, following Soysal (2002), that asserts that European identity should be future-oriented, valuing the implications of democracy, respect for human and minority rights, the rule of law, individual freedoms and liberal market economy, hence devaluing (or simply 'othering') the exact opposite implications of those. Therefore, the EU's 'Others' ought to be anti-democratic, anti-liberal nation-states/entities with no respect for human or minority rights, the rule of law, or fundamental freedoms. Both of these views, when put into Flockhart's (2006) model, however, represent not the 'Others', but what is called the 'Significant We's of Europeanization.

The process of European integration aspires to be the carrier of all of these appreciated values, and wants not to fall into the mistakes of its own past. The self-definition of Europeanization, in other words, does not only dictate what the EU ingroup ('Self'/'We') should represent, but it also sets its goals to reach for what it should and should not become via establishing 'Significant We's. What it leaves blank, however, is particularly the definition of its 'Others'. In a recurrent process of the self-defining of the EU, with the banal aspects attached indistinctly, 'othering' has been arbitrarily determined by contextually, environmentally, and temporally altering parameters. Once de Gaulle comes into charge, the UK becomes an 'Other', representing the American interests instead of 'une Europe européenne' (Vaisse 1997). Once the oil prices goes up to the roof in the 1970s, the U.S. economic interests become the 'Other', Nixon is suited for the role of 'arch-nemesis', and the UK is welcomed to the European ingroup (Akins 1973). Once Thatcher appears on the scene, the SEA and all of its representing the managed economy become evil; a couple of years later, however, the more radical EMU is embraced passionately (Sbragia 1993). Once Germany is re-unified, previously non-Europeans become the 'forgotten cousins'; those against any more widening/enlargement in the EU become 'betrayers' (Haugevik 2005: 39). Once the events of 9/11 occur, terrorism and terrorist groups become an 'Other' for the EU (Gnesetto and Grevi 2006: 121-122).

To picture this very resiliently constructed ingroup–outgroup microcosm that Europeanization has created for the Europeans, Flockhart's proposed figure might

be modified. In the figure below, Europeanization represents what Turner would call 'the provider of common evaluative dimension for social comparisons'. The EU, on the other hand, is the ingroup that emerged out of such a social comparison, and bearing a common social identity, which is at times secure (when the process of European integration goes without either deepening or widening processes), and at other times insecure (when it is prone to changes through deepening or widening measurements). The ingroup is, unequivocally, flexibly constructed. There is an irrefutable 'thin culture' manipulated highly by the carriers of the Europeanization process, but most of the grouping is at the discursive level, backed up by the process of institutionalization. Europe's non-past and its post-modern future represent the outgroups called the 'Significant We's. They are as well open to constant modifications and alterations, yet they are represented as if they are resistant to change, for there is a limited number of imaginations that Europeanization has so far proved to be able to provide for them. Finally, the outgroups called 'Other's are almost consistency-aversive; i.e., they are constructed in a rapid flux with regard to contextual or discursive vicissitudes occurring not only at the European level but also at the worldwide scene.

Europeanization

'Significant
We'
Norms,Values

European
Ingroup

The
'Other's
of the
European
Ingroup
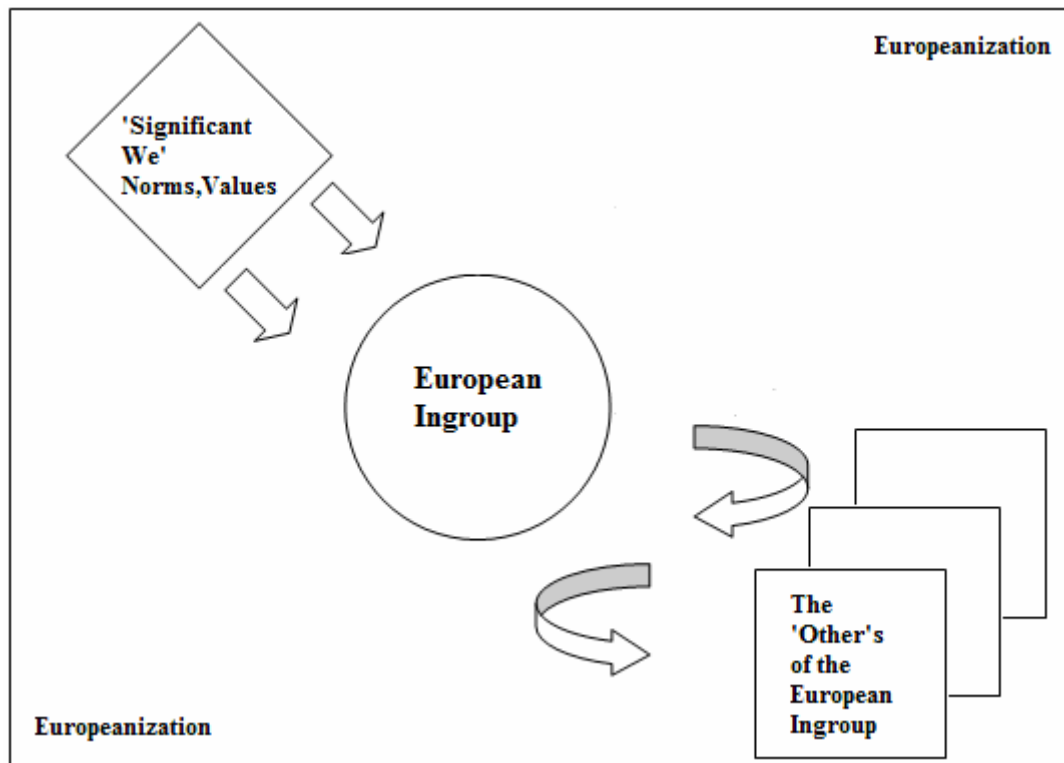
Europeanization

Figure 4. 1 The Social Identity Formation for the European Ingroup

4.6. European Late-Modern Self-Definition Assessed

In this chapter, a decoding analysis of the phenomenon 'European identity' has been conducted. At first, it was made clear that, rather than being a post-modern one, the so-called European identity might be better regarded as a late-modern concept, for it included both traditionally modern and utopically post-modern dimensions at the same time. Secondly, it was argued that since the identification process was mainly accomplished with reference to some form of built-in 'Other', and the late stage Europeanization specifically lacked such a figure, it would make more sense to call this process a 'European self-definition', as a desired self-construction, instead of a 'European identity'. In turn, the major characteristic, i.e., being banal, of late-modern European self-definition was discussed. Then, following Tajfel and Turner's SIT/SCT research, it was pointed out that after WWII, Europeanization took the role of the provider of a common evaluative dimension, a social identity-construction reference point, for a selected number of

European states and individuals, which, as a result, construed the EU as the ingroup of Europeanization to carry that social identity. The European non-past and the post-modern Europe imagination, on the other hand, were picked up as 'Significant We's of that social identity, whereas the construction of 'Others' was left, to some extent, as blank. In other words, European late-modern self-definition is now being carried out against tentatively selected 'Other's that change from time to time, context to context, and according to social, political, economic or security-related discourses.

In the following two chapters, a special case will be represented to test this model of 'European identity'. The major topic will be the issue of minorities, which have been on the agenda of Europe since the beginning of modern times. By analyzing how treatment and prehension of minorities have developed over time (covering three succeeding stages of Europeanization), the arguments posited hitherto will be discussed and elicited. Why did Europeanization need to make minorities an 'issue' in the first place? How did the treatment of minorities evolve during the age of nationalism? What happened to minorities when Europeanization altered during the years of war? How has late-stage Europeanization been dealing with minorities? Was there a change in the definition, treatment and prehension of minorities between the two phases of Europeanization? Who were the minorities then, and who are they now? Finally, how are they outgrouped against the European ingroup today?

CHAPTER 5

EUROPEANIZATION OF MINORITIES: FROM WESTPHALIA TO MAASTRICHT

"How a minority, reaching majority, seizing authority, hates a minority!" (Robbins quoted in Wilkoszewski 2008: 175)

5.1. Europeanization of Minorities during the Period of Glory

Europeanization, in Chapter II, is defined as any sort of cross-border connections within, from (to the outside world) and into Europe, among societies, institutions, norms, practices and values. Although the definition involves an explicit form of 'border' (i.e., in the borders of however Europe is defined or delineated), it also involves an implicit and – still – flexible conception of 'border', which represents the implicit frontiers of ingroups within the explicit borders of Europe. The formation of this second kind of border is very much dependent on the direction that Europeanization has taken for a given period of time. Today, for example, ingroups of Europe are inclusive of the integrated institution of the EU, as well as European nation-states, connection among which can be analyzed under the aegis of Europeanization. Though still viable, especially with the beginning of the modern times, the frontiers of ingroups were drawn by referring solely to the frontiers of cohesive universal or consolidated polities, such as great empires or newly-born nation-states.

The process of nationalism is about assigning borders between people based on selective criteria. The universalism of the medieval times in Europe put (or even encouraged) no borders for the conquered areas. What characterized the medieval system was the unity that "was formed through the sense of being part of the united Christendom and also by the existence of authority centers claiming universal jurisdiction all over Christendom, in fact, all over the world" (Yurdusev 2003: 113).

Most possibly, such a unity was only valid in theory since it did not lead to an integrated or centralized Christendom in politics, and there were multiple governmental units in local areas. Yet, this does not rule out the fact that the transition from medieval to modern times was triggered by the abandoning of such an idea of unity and the appraisal for a greater multitude of more decentralized, more disintegrated, and smaller polities. It was a shift in the mindset, as well as in the direction of, Europeanization in roughly the seventeenth century from effective universalism (the slow dismemberment of Great Empires) to excessive particularism (the rapid rise in the number of national, sovereign states) in polity-building.

More particularism led to more borders, and the borders were now 'nationally driven'. As pointed out previously, following Gellner (1983), nation-states were the symbols of a fit between the ruled and the ruler, as well as the territory and the people, which in turn caused what Walker (Walker, R. 1992) called the 'inside/outside dichotomy' in the International Relations discourse (a modern phenomenon). The sovereignty and the legitimacy came from such a fit for the nation-states; hence, it was conceivably inevitable for their existence. Minorities, in this picture, have been playing the role of the political outsiders, living inside, "whose identities do not fit the criteria defining political membership in the sovereign jurisdiction on whose territory they reside" (Preece 1997: 75). The presence of minorities, therefore, is caused by the mere fact that the boundaries and the identity that is supposedly always present within those boundaries are rarely (if at all?) coinciding. Minorities, in other words, are theoretical anomalies of the nation-building.

The question of minorities "is both intellectually created and historically situated" (Preece 2005: 3). It dates back to the transition of Europe from the medieval times to the modern times, and approximately subsumes the period between the late-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries. It was born as a European question, and then spread throughout the world because of the Europeanization-from (to the *outside*). In that sense, a historical study of the minorities should comprise an analysis of Europeanization, including its Period of Glory, Period of Decline and ongoing Period of Re-integration, as named in Chapter

II[45]. The issue of minorities has political, social, security-related, economic and legal aspects, which are usually observed in the discussion topics of either protection of minorities or minority rights. There are numerous adjectives attributed to the character of minorities under question, such as national, linguistic, religious, racial, indigenous and so forth; however, any kind of categorical definition for them is highly arguable, and there is no one legitimate definition accepted as universal for all minorities even in legal contexts (Thio 2005: 1-15). Furthermore, unlike many other similar concepts that are short of an accepted definition, attempts to theorize the issue of minorities are also very limited in numbers, if at all present (Blalock 1967; Dahl 1971; Kymlicka 1995). Minorities, in simple words, have had hard times in both theory and practice, representing the long-forgotten children of modernity.

5.1.1. From Westphalia to Vienna – Religious Grouping of Minorities

To discern the historical background of the minorities issue, the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which is considered to be the dividing line between (medieval) universalism and (modern) particularism in politics (Watson 1992: 182-197; criticized by Osiander 2001), should be a good starting point. The term, Peace of Westphalia, in truth denotes two peace treaties of Osnabück (1648) and Münster (1648), which put an end to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) in the Holy Roman Empire and the unresolved wars between Spain and the Netherlands (1568–1609). Among the participants to the treaties, there were the Holy Roman Empire, its principalities and free-cities, Spain, France, Sweden, and the Dutch Republic. The heavy influence of both the processes of the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation on the treaties was undeniable. Watson asserted that "the effect of Renaissance ideas in Europe north of the Alps was to push the area from the loose unities of medieval Christendom towards a new European system fragmented into territorial *statos* that acknowledged no general authority [Church or monarchs]" (1992: 168). About the Reformation, Philpott maintained that "had the Reformation not occurred, a system of sovereign states would not have developed, at least not in

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[45] In this Chapter, the historical presentation of the development of minority rights and protection follows the outline presented earlier in (Preece 1997)

the same form… as it did" (2000: 214). The major political consequences of the treaties, on the other hand, involved the decline in the power of the Holy Roman emperor, the right of German princes to determine the religions of their ruling territories, the legal equality of Catholics and Protestants, and the given legal recognition of Calvinism.

What Thomas (2000) calls the 'Westphalian presumption', or Philpott (2002) calls the 'Westphalian synthesis', had four components; in other words, after the Peace of Westphalia, the international system began to go through four major changes. First, sovereign (not necessarily national, yet) states became the new dominant polity in world politics (the decline of the Church); second, the newly established authorities (over their own territories) lost the possibility of enforcement of religion anywhere outside their boundaries (*cuius regio eius religio*); third, temporal prerogatives of the religious authorities in Europe went into decline (such as the power to collect taxes, temporal possessions, renting, etc.); and, finally, a separation between politics and religion (the process of secularization) became comprehensible (the idea of religious freedom as a fundamental right of men). As a combination of all of those components, as the fifth component, minorities became for the first time in history recognized as an international question.

The minority-related articles of the Peace of Westphalia referred explicitly to the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which

"… authorized suzerains of the numerous imperial estates or stateless to determine (through the so-called *ius reformandi*) whether the inhabitants of their domain were to be Catholic or Lutheran. There were certain allowances and exceptions: religious dissidents could emigrate freely during a stipulated period; ecclesiastical principalities were to remain Catholic which meant that a prince-bishop who converted to Lutheranism had to relinquish his lordship. Barring such specific reservations, the rights of rulers over their subjects were not constrained by the requirement that they respected the faith of a religious minority among their subjects" (Liebich 2008: 249).

Whereas the Peace of Augsburg granted tolerance to Lutherans in the Holy Roman Empire, the Peace of Westphalia "extended this tolerance to the [Calvinist] Church. Thus, by 1648, tolerance applied to the three great religious communities of the Empire – Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism" (Barro and McCleary 2005: 1335). The signatories of the peace treaties agreed, all in all, to respect freedom of conscience, private worship, and rights of im/migration for minorities and dissidents within their territories (Lee 2001: 60-71).

Indeed, similar provisions had already been issued in the Edict of Nantes (1598), by which France granted the Calvinist Protestants in its own territory (also known as the Huguenots) substantial rights in an essentially Catholic society, as well as in the commercial agreements signed between France and the Ottoman Empire in 1535 (Baird 2009). However, the importance of the Peace of Westphalia was derived from its tenets that made the entire issue of minorities an international question. Deets puts it thoroughly that:

"Arguably the implicit grand bargain of Westphalian sovereignty is that states are recognized as independent entities with power over their people to the extent that they do not violate certain rights of minorities. If norms are violated, the international community has the collective right to intervene. This grand bargain is clearly rooted in fears of prolonged violence, and while not consistently applied, the mere fact that it has endured 350 years is rather remarkable" (2006: 421-422).

A major tenet of the Peace of Westphalia was not only about granting special rights to minorities and guaranteeing them international protection, but also about differentiating minorities from the majority by referring solely to their religious attributes (Krasner 1996). As the 'cohesion ideology' of that time, *cuius regio eius religio* qualified the group to be given special rights as 'religious' minorities. This also was reflected in the drawing of pre-modern state borders, which were marked as the boundaries of religious identity communities/ingroups (Smith, A. 1996; Hobsbawm 2004: 80-100). The Peace of Westphalia did not change the determination of ingroups (or their territories), in other words, but it was principally

"a return to a territorial and religious *status quo*. It was not entirely a *status quo ante bellum* but, for some purposes, it was a *status quo ante* set, after long disputes that prolonged the hostilities, at a time point chosen in the course of the [Thirty Years'] War" (Liebich 2008: 250). The purpose was to enjoy an internationally stable peaceful environment by putting restraints on the rule of the sovereign authorities. Indeed, the mission was successfully accomplished, for only within a few years the Westphalian settlement began to have gotten echoed in reminiscent treaties. Europeanization in its period of glory, in other words, leaned its back against the Peace of Westphalia. The Treaty of Oliva (1660 – signed between Sweden, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Habsburgs, and Brandenburg-Prussia), the Treaty of Nijmegen (1679 – signed between France and the Dutch Republic), the Treaty of Ryswick (1697 – signed between France and the Grand Alliance of England, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Dutch Republic), the Treaty of Dresden (1745 – signed between Austria, Saxony and Prussia), the Treaty of Paris (1763 – signed between England, France, Spain and Portugal), the Treaty of Hubertusburg (1763 – signed between Austria, Saxony and Prussia), and the Treaty of Warsaw (1772 – signed between Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Russian Empire, Prussia, Austria – for the first partition of Poland) all had similar stipulations about granting rights to religious minorities.

5.1.2. The Congress of Vienna, National Grouping of Minorities, and the Example of the Ottoman Millet System

As demonstrated in Chapter III, by the time the nineteenth century emerged out of the French Revolution (1789) and the Napoleonic Era in Europe, the 'cohesion ideology' of Europe had been going through a transformation from *cuius regio eius religio* to *cuius regio eius lingua* under the heavy influence of the rising nationalism. This new 'restoration of the world' (Kissinger 1957) was evident primarily in the Congress of Vienna (1815), a pioneering multi-national gatherings in Europe with the aim to settle several issues including the post-Napoleonic balance in the continent, the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and the new map of Europe (Blanning 2007: 611-672; Preece 1998: 58-61). The most important innovation at Vienna, however, was regarding the change in the character of

minority rights, switching from religion to nationality. The political formulation of minority rights, in other words, was adjusted to the flows of Europeanization that utterly promoted national identities and drew national barriers between societies (i.e., the new inside/outside dichotomy was separated by national frontiers). Therefore, minorities too were defined as national groups instead of as religious communities[46]; and the source of sovereignty of states (which were not at that time 'nation-states', as evidenced by the presence of dynasties in the Congress) began to include civil and political as well as religious rights and freedoms of peoples.

Viault asserts that it was the influence of the Austrian Chancellor Metternich that explains why the negotiations in the Congress of Vienna held such sensitivity to the issues of nationality, as well as why they were kept so conservative in nature (1990: 209-210). However, it would be mistaken to degrade the national flavor at Vienna to one political figure, no matter how influential he in reality was. It was, instead, the very process of Europeanization that was responsible for the direct and indirect consequences of the nationalistically derived decisions made in the Congress. This might also be understood from the fact that although religious minorities were replaced by national ones, the logic of the process was identical to the past: the victorious parties were still able to *assimilate* their own minorities (as would be proven by the Polish revolt against Russia in 1830), and perhaps more importantly, those that were not on the victorious side were *imposed upon* to grant liberating rights to their minorities. The Ottoman Empire, for instance, was the primary example of this latter situation.

Van Dyke underlines a problem in the liberal orthodox view of minorities before the nineteenth century: at that time, societies subsumed multiple ethno-cultural communities, within a single state that ignored minority groups' influence in political life and stood blind to the injustices suffered by minorities (1977: 343). The Congress of Vienna, in that sense, symbolized a supposed change in that situation. In the Ottoman Empire, however, drawing such a clear-cut picture was more difficult.

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[46] For instance, Article I of the General Agreement at the Congress granted the Polish (not religiously but nationally defined group) the right to maintain their 'national' institutions in their transferred territories (either in Russia, Austria or Prussia) (Fink 2000: 386).

The Ottoman Empire had been following its own minority policy since 1454, a year after the conquest of Istanbul. Instituted on the initiative of Mehmed II, the so-called *millet system* remained in place until the nineteenth century. The Ottoman system was effective for managing the different religious communities of the Empire. The meaning of the word *millet* (community) implied the process by which Ottoman residents identified themselves with a community on the basis of religion or sect. The millet system allowed each of these religious communities to set up different sub-systems in which their traditions, customs and religious acts could be freely exercised under the legal, administrative, educational, communication, and financial structures determined by their own people (Apostolov 2003: 31). The exceptions were taxation and defense, which were organized by the Empire itself. The law of the Quran could not be applied to non-Muslim communities in the conquered places, and these communities created separate systems, living their own ways of life. *Millet*s, in a way, were granted a great deal of autonomy over their members, especially on non-secular matters (Shaw, S. 1977: 151-153). 'Tolerance' might be too strong a word for explaining the attitude towards minorities in the Ottoman Empire; however, 'recognition', which was way ahead of the situation in Europe at that time, was definitive.

The impact of the Congress of Vienna over the *millet* system was indirect. The capitulation agreements signed in 1535 with France had already granted commercial minority rights; the Peace of Zsitvatorok (1606 – signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire), the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699 – signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League), and the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718 – signed between the Ottoman Empire, Austria and the Republic of Venice) had granted Catholics in the Ottoman land substantial rights; and the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji (1774 – signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire; the introduction of the Eastern Question) had extended those rights to the Orthodox Christians. After the Congress of Vienna, however, the minorities in the land of the Ottoman Empire began to revolt against the central power, i.e., the Empire. The Serbian revolt (1815–1833) was followed by the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832), which was going to lead other Balkan peoples (Romanian, Bulgarian, Macedonia) to rise against the Sultan in the near future. The

Edict of Tanzimat (1839) was an attempt by the Sultan to get rid of the *millet* system and to control all the Ottoman *millet*s as if they were equal citizens regardless of their religious affiliations (Stamatapoulos 2006: 256).

The Crimean War (1853–1856) between the Russian Empire on the one side, and the alliance of the Ottoman Empire, the British Empire and France on the other, was lost by the Russian side, and the resulting Treaty of Paris (1856) not only made this loss public, but also made the Ottoman Empire a part of the European states system. The importance of this treaty, however, was lying under the fact that, from then on, the whole Ottoman minority system came to be determined by multilateral agreements and was no longer left in the hands of the Ottoman monarchy. In addition, this would later be interpreted as a right of intervention into the Empire's internal affairs (Evans, M. 1997: 59-73). Therefore, it is difficult to see what benefit the Ottomans acquired by not participating in the Vienna Congress. Instead, they were obliged to revolutionize their legislation concerning minorities under the Edict of Tanzimat and its supplement, the Edict of Islahat (1856), which the Ottomans had to enact to comply with the new European order – the so-called European Concert – developed after the Congress. The backbone of the two edicts was to provide the Ottoman subjects with some basic citizenship rights, including

> "equality before law, irrespective of one's social status and religion; supremacy of law over the acts and decisions of the political authority; security of life, property and honor of all citizens; regulation of taxation and putting an end to the arbitrary confiscations of property. [The Edict of Islahat also] brought special new rights and privileges to the Christian subjects of the Empire, including freedom of prayer; the right to establish their own educational institutions; the right to enter into the military service; and equal taxation" (Yılmaz 2006: 32).

As mentioned previously, the applied sanctions of the minority-related decisions taken from the Congress of Vienna did not result in commensurate consequences for the great powers and for the small powers (even for the Ottoman Empire, which did not attend the congress anyway). The nineteenth century, to put

it another way, was shaped considerably by the minority regimes that were restored, renovated, or obliterated by the multilateral agreements and law. Associating this with the 'White Man's Burden', Preece asserts that

> "… [p]urportedly 'barbarous countries' like the Ottoman Empire, China, Siam and Japan were understood to possess a 'kind of civilization', albeit of a non-European variety, but one as yet insufficient for the full satisfaction of international law. These 'semi-civilized' states thus found themselves in an anomalous position where they were expected to comply with some principles of international law but did not benefit from its full protection – hence they often became subjects to 'unequal treaties', capitulations, or protectorates" (2005: 82).

The same trend carried Europeanization to the Congress of Berlin (1878), as well (Preece 1998: 61-66). In the wake of the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), which re-balanced the relations between the Russian and the Ottoman empires in favor of the Russian side, the aim of the Congress (or the European powers that held the Congress to limit the Russian power) was to draw the new map of the Balkans, hence that of Europe. Denying the independence of Bulgarians (though recognized a Bulgarian principality) and Macedonians, the Treaty of Berlin (1878), signed at the end of the Congress of Berlin, completed the process of the separation of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania from the Ottoman authority. The importance of the treaty with regard to minority rights and protection was that in the treaties until 1878,

> "… [t]he question of minorities had become a corollary of the rise of the new nation-states outside Western Europe. As international society expanded eastwards by adding new members, particularly in the Balkan peninsula, the right of minorities to civil and politics liberties as well as religious freedoms came to be the price exacted by the great powers for their acquiescence in border changes affecting new nation-states such as Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Romania and Bulgaria. There was in these treaties, however, unlike those of earlier periods, a

substantial element of unequal sovereignty imposed on new states by existing powers. As a condition of their international recognition such as states had to demonstrate a willingness to comply with a 'standard of civilization' (defined by, for example, adherence to the rule of law, respect for civil liberties and minority guarantees) which went beyond the traditional, minimalist criteria for establishing sovereign independence that historically concerned only the effective control of territory and people. Thus, minority undertakings included in international treaties from the late nineteenth century onwards were no longer voluntarily assumed by states as gestures of international goodwill as they had been in earlier periods, but were externally dictated preconditions for the new nation-states' membership in international society" (Preece 1997: 79-80).

The answer found for the Eastern Question was more nation-states in the Balkan area, which were to be 'civilized' by their connection with the Western Europe (Glenny 2001: 1-69). The question of minorities as well continued to dominate the mind-set of the nineteenth century. The Treaty of Berlin granted minority rights (of religious freedom and non-discrimination for civil and political rights) to Muslims residing in the territories of Serbia and Montenegro and to all national groups (Turks, Romanians and Greeks) in Bulgaria, and, most importantly, made respect for minorities as a precondition for international recognition of the newly founded nation-states (Medlicott 1963). In this juncture, Macartney called the Berlin settlement "the most important of all international bodies concerned with minority rights prior to 1919" (Macartney 1960: 166). Nevertheless, even such a significant treaty did not change the fact that the great powers were, in a way, still immune to the minority arrangements, and they still did consider the Treaty of Berlin as giving them the right to intervene into the internal affairs of the small powers (Krasner 2002: 155). This, however, would prove to be a mistake soon.

To summarize the argument hitherto, the question of minorities had gained recognition as a non-binding (though anachronistic) international norm in the mid-sixteenth century, defining minorities in terms of their religious affiliations and their

positions in cross-border exchanges. The process of nationalism and the minorities issue have fed off each other afterwards. The Peace of Westphalia was critical to the modern age as the convergence point of state sovereignty and the fundamental rights of people. By the early nineteenth century, the Congress of Vienna switched the character of minority rights from religious to national points of reference (Gilbert 1999). However, as the century progressed and the Eastern Question began to threaten the balance among European powers, the issue of minorities reached out to its highest level of importance in (this time literally) inter-national affairs, evincing the guarantee of civil and political rights of minorities as a precondition of international recognition of the newly-born nation-states in the Eastern Europe, specifically in the former Ottoman lands.

5.2. Europeanization of Minorities during the Period of Decline

Two elements, however, were missing from this picture: first, there were no guarantees or rights whatsoever regarding the (possible) minorities in the West (including the Russian Empire too); second, there was no consensus between these great powers about how to react in case of a possible conflict among the Eastern European states. The former point remained unresolved up until at least the 1980s (if at all?), whereas the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) proved this latter point most immediately (Glenny 2001: 249-306). By establishing the Balkan League (1912), Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece had already made it known that they were unsatisfied with the condition that they still had their ethnic populations living in the borders of the Ottoman Empire. The Treaty of London (1912) was designed to end the First Balkan War (1912) by adjusting necessary territorial arrangement among those countries, but the impossibly mixed nature of the Balkan area in terms of a definitive ethnic-proportioning led to the Second Balkan War (1913) when dissatisfied Bulgaria attacked its former allies Greece and Serbia, which, however, turned out to be a greater loss for the Bulgarian side, this time having to abnegate further lands to Romania and to the Ottoman Empire, as well (Schurman 2011: 110-113). The positions of the great powers during the Balkan Wars were also critical, as the disputes over the ethnic/minority issues (especially the position of Serbia)

fortified the level of strain between Russia and Austria-Hungary (as well as Germany), and eventually led to the outbreak of WWI (Tucker 1998: 1-16).

WWI changed the map of Europe. With new borders and new states, new minorities also emerged. Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, Hungarians in Germany, Slovenes and Croats in Yugoslavia were among the namable few regarded as minorities. When the Allies and the Central Powers came together in the Paris Conference (1919) for a postwar settlement, therefore, the issue of minorities needed to be at the top of the agenda. Yet, it was not. Liebich puts it fairly:

> "When the statesmen finally addressed the question in the course of clearing up 'small matters', they were utterly unprepared for the complexity of the issue. Wilson with his rhetoric of self-determination had not foreseen the problem of minorities and the other victors had not devised new ways of dealing with it. The decision-makers in Paris therefore felt back on the established patterns that had developed in the course of the preceding two and a half centuries and in particular those applied with respect to the Eastern Question. They included in the peace settlements a set of identical 'Minority Treaties' that defined an extensive minority rights regime in each of the countries concerned" (2008: 262).

The atmosphere of the post-WWI demonstrated to the political elites that it was impossible to create homogeneous nation-states in the East or Central Europe. In order to solve the minority problem, they also followed a familiar pattern when they transferred the guarantee of protection of minorities to the LoN[47] – the international institution intended to provide post-war peace and stability, particularly in Europe. The victorious parties (as well as the defeated Germany), however, once again, did not touch upon the minorities issues in the LoN arrangements for themselves.

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[47] The Treaty of Versailles (1919) guaranteed the conditions of minorities under the LoN provisions for Poland; the Treaty of St. Germain (1919) did likewise for Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Austria; the Treaty of Neuilly (1919) for Bulgaria; the Treaty of Paris (1919) for Romania; the Treaty of Trianon for Hungary; and the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) for Turkey and Greece.

The liberal idealistic notions of Wilson made the LoN-era contribute to the issue of minorities in at least three aspects: first, the protection of minorities was for the first time guaranteed by an international organization; second, although there were no official attempts to define what a minority group should comprise in order to be differentiated, the character of national minorities was supplemented by linguistic differences and an inevitable degree of cultural autonomy (Oldrich 1989); and third, if such differences occurred, their 'freedom of choice' (Pomerance 1982: 120) was made a right under the term of self-determination. Unfortunately, all three aspects were troubling. First of all, the whole LoN regime was a failure (Oppenheim 2009). Regarding the minorities issue, the League Council failed to act upon the calls or complaints from minorities, caught in the middle of the concepts of state sovereignty and the SDR; further, even if this were not so, there was no proper monitoring, arrangement, or implementation of those given minority rights to blossom in the CEECs (Musgrave 2000: 22-24). Secondly, the lack of an internationally recognized definition of minorities inevitably resulted in favor of the sovereign states. As Roach (2004) argues, the definition problem led to varying conditions for establishing cultural autonomies; for instance, the Alands people in Finland gained a certain level of autonomy (e.g., education in mother tongue), whereas Slovaks in Czechoslovakia who spoke a dialect of the same language as Czechs were repudiated such autonomy, even though they were named as 'co-founders' of the state. Finally, as there was no definition of the SDR either, the self-determination of minority groups (along with however they were differentiated) was left to the hands of the sovereign states. Preece argued that

"… minority questions degenerated into a political struggle between, on the one hand, minorities and kin-states with revisionist aims towards the international boundaries set by the treaties of 1919 and, on the other hand, those treaty-bound states that wished to preserve the territorial *status quo* where it was to their advantage, e.g., Germany vs. Poland, Germany vs. Czechoslovakia, Poland vs. Lithuania, Hungary vs. Romania, Austria vs. Yugoslavia, Bulgaria vs. Greece, Greece vs. Turkey, and Greece vs. Albania. Consequently, and ironically, the [LoN] System of Minority Guarantees, with

few exceptions, ultimately became an instrument for fomenting international rivalry and discontent" (1997: 83).

It was Hitler who in 1933 declared that "our boundless love for and loyalty to our own national traditions made us respect the national claims of others, and made us desire from the bottom of our hearts to live with them in peace and friendship" (quoted in Cobban 1970: 95), and it was the government of Poland that denounced the treaty obligations and left the LoN system for the first time. Europeanization did really run amok in its period of decline. Among the reasons for this was the inability of the European nation-states, as well as of the transferred 'mind of reason' from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, to handle the arrangement, rights and protection of minorities. WWII was the blood-thirstiest price of the rapid nationalization in Europe, and of the great powers' reckless imperialist motives that transferred those nationalistic ideas to the ethnically heterogeneous structure of Central and Eastern Europe. The question of minorities was at the center of both processes. Would getting rid of both also mean getting rid of minorities? The post-1945 period, or the period of re-integration of Europeanization, would answer this.

5.3. Europeanization of Minorities during the Period of Re-Integration

5.3.1. 1945–1970: Individualization of Minorities (Eastern vs. Western Europe)

Two succeeding periods of Europeanization, in its glory and decline, brought minority issues into the urgent agenda of world politics. The political decision-makers and elites in those periods discovered that the question of minorities had to be dealt with internationally, and for this purpose, it had to get beyond domestic borders. The more international the question became, however, the more visible and serious the problems it caused, which eventually resulted in major warfare. In 1945, as a result, the whole issue of minorities seemed to be haunted. This was why the solution proposed to end the worldwide war and suffering, i.e., the international institutionalization, skipped the issue altogether, and left the fate of minorities in the hands of domestic politics. Neither the Western nor the Eastern part of the European

continent was considered prepared to deal with the problems of minorities internationally.

In order to compass how Europeanization shaped Europe in the immediate aftermath of WWII, the figure below might be helpful.
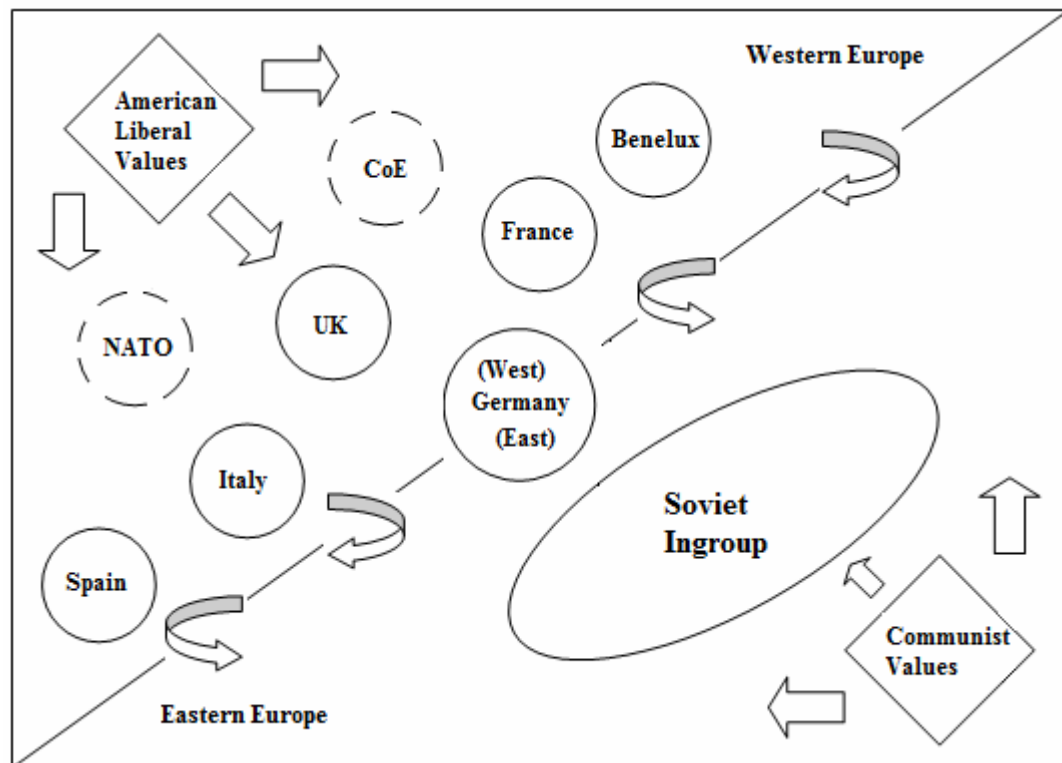
Figure 5. 1 The Social Identity Formation in Eastern and Western Europe during 1945-1950

The most visible feature of the picture of Europe in 1945–1950 was the dividing line that cut across the Western and Eastern halves of the continent, symbolically passing above the Berlin Wall. The basic characteristic of both halves, however, was the presence of nation-states as separate ingroups. The exception to this nation-statism came from Germany when it was divided in 1949 into West Germany and East Germany along the lines of Allied occupation (Thomaneck and Niven 2001: 11-30). This division not only separated the flows of Europeanization (as a matter of fact, choked up the flow to the East for a while), but also re-arranged the 'Significant We's for each half. Obviously, Americanization was the main motive for Western Europe, whereas Sovietization was envied by the Eastern part. Thus, the American aid (in the name of the Marshall Plan (1947)) inaugurated to re-

shape Western Europe in accordance with American ideals of democracy, free-market economy and federalism. In parallel, however, Sovietization proved to be stronger for the Eastern Europeans than the American impact on the Westerners, as the aid of the Soviet Union for reconstruction soon turned the Eastern and Central European states into Soviet satellites and bearers of Soviet ideals such as Bolshevism, socialist economy and unity of workers, which would later established the Warsaw Pact in 1955 (Suny 1998: 337-362). Drawing such a line also defined the 'Other's for the ingroups quickly and easily: the countries on the other side of the line, and their ideals, constituted the 'Other'.

The position of minorities in this picture, however, is not that obvious, and requires detailed explanation. One thing that has to be evinced at the very beginning is that the perception of minorities in Western and Eastern Europe differs. Liberal theory, in this case representing Western Europe – which will be discussed in more detail later on – might seem both suspicious and encouraging in terms of minority issues and draws a confused path for its followers (for instance, it classifies minorities on religious or ethnic lines, but mostly refuses to grant autonomy specifically for those religious or ethnic groups (Nagel 1973)). However, Marxist-socialist theory, representing Eastern Europe is very clear-cut about it. Hence, it would make more sense to start with how the question of minorities was perceived and committed to in Eastern Europe.

"The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality. The workers have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got… National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing…" (Marx and Engels 2008: 35)

How Marxism sees nationalism can be found in between these lines; since in 1848 the primary differentiating characteristic of minorities was nationality, it might be plainly stated that the Marxist theory is indifferent, if not hostile, to the concept of minorities (Nimni 1989). Workers had no nationality; hence, they could not be differentiated on the basis of their nationality (Szoporluk 1988: 169-192). Among the pioneering Marxists, Luxembourg and Kautsky took an internationalist

stand in terms of conceptualizing minorities, and saw assimilation as progressing in an economic form (Seymour 2009). The problem with such a view, however, lay in its possible application to the multinational empires. The Bolsheviks, in that sense, developed their own – though still Marxist – positions, which recognized the cultural autonomy of all nations (including those that might be considered as minorities) as collective communities, hence, granting some augmented form of the right of self-determination (Stalin 1935; Lenin 1977). Austro-Marxists, such as Bauer (2000), however, proposed a more complex system for the nationals of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, establishing a non-territorial (cultural) autonomy for them all. For both Lenin and Stalin, Bauer's solution to the minorities problem was far away from the internationalism as well as the centralism necessary for the well-being of the proletariat, and severely open to bourgeois manipulation (Seymour 2009). A system of 'republics', therefore, was preferred by the Bolsheviks over Bauer's model of non-territorial autonomy.

The Soviet Union and its relationship with the Eastern and Central European countries more or less bolstered this theoretical approach into practice. "In general, the minorities who mobilized and were recognized as national minorities in the early years of the century were recognized under Soviet policy as having a clear collective identity with certain rights to be treated as collectivities" (Deets 2006: 426). Minority-language education and some minority organizations were – though unevenly – allowed throughout the Soviet Union; unequivocally, however, some non-national minorities, such as the Roma, the Hutul, or the Aromanian, were ignored or even encouraged to be assimilated while the treatment of the Jewish people varied significantly from one republic to another (Goldhagen 1968).

Perhaps the whole idea was to eliminate the national differences, but it would be unfair to claim that the Soviet Union encouraged its republics (or satellites) to assimilate their own minorities. On the contrary, even during the Stalinist era, treatment for minorities was predicated upon their recognition and being granted with certain rights. This picture, however, changed during the 1960s, as the Eastern Europeans began to feel the effects of economic deterioration at the center of the Soviet Union (Rozek 1976). Combined with the détente politics in the course of the Cold War, the economic problems triggered the nationalist reflex in the Communist

European states. The Hungarian initiative of 'Bridges of Friendship', developing ties with other ethnic Hungarians in neighboring countries (such as Romania, Czechoslovakia, etc.), was among the pioneering attempts in the ex-Communist states of Europe to recover from the economic hazard at that time (Heraclides 1992).

The downside of the nationalist reflex is that there is almost always a comeback (or a counter-reflex). The situation in Eastern Europe was no exception. The stronger the nationalist Hungarian position developed, for instance, the more assimilation was promoted by the neighboring states whose territory spaned ethnic Hungarian minorities. Educational as well as administrative rights that used to be obtained by the Hungarians were no longer available to them in, say, Romania or Czechoslovakia (Schöpflin 1996). The same nationalist greed grew up around the whole region, which in turn crumbled the republican logic of the Soviet Union from the inside (Wolff 2006: 141-148). Nationalism did not only alter the fate of the Soviet Union, but also made the Eastern European states closer to Western Europe and its ideals. In other words, yesterday's 'Other's became today's 'SignificantWe's, and yesterday's 'Significant We' was about to turn into the 'Other', unfortunately, making neighboring Eastern nationals, hence national minorities, also the 'Others'. Minorities, thereafter, once again became the victims of the nationalist reign re-occurring throughout the region. Coming closer to the end of the 1970s, as the Cold War began to phase out, the situation in Eastern Europe could be schematized as below:
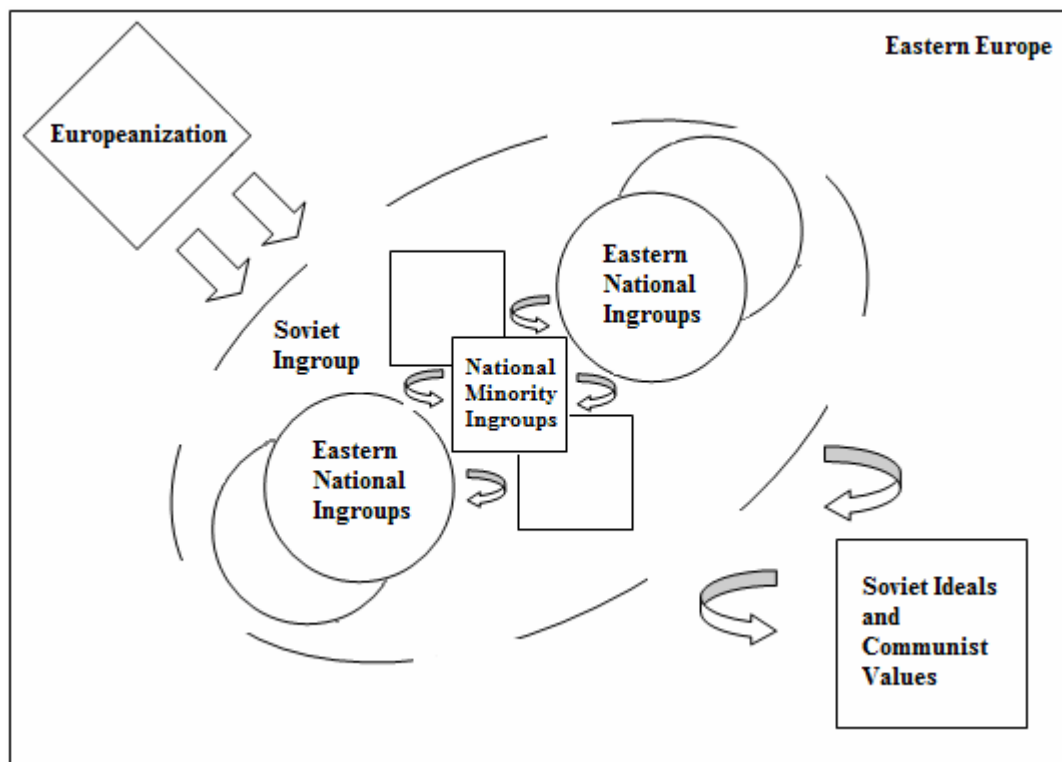
Figure 5. 2 The Social Identity Formation in Eastern Europe in the 1970s

In parallel, Western Europe approached the question of minorities, during the period from 1945 to the late 1970s, at a certain distance. Deets illuminates this, by asserting that

> "While the East was busy institutionalizing titular and minority nations, the West was moving in the opposite direction. In light of the horrors of the [WWII] and the League system, many concluded the critical failure of the interwar period was the fuzziness of minority norms. At the same time, there was fear that any codification of minority rights would be a source of continued instability as minorities asserted collective rights, particularly with the encouragement of 'mother states'" (2006: 427).

One productive way to search for the post-war Western European contact with minorities is to study the decisions taken on the international (legal) level by the Westerners regarding minority rights or protection of minorities. Yet before that, Deet's argument about the hesitation regarding the minorities issue in 1945 should

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be elaborated. To recall, whenever a boundary change occurred in Europe, minority issues were pushed to the forefront of the international agenda, as in the cases after the Thirty Years' War, the Napoleonic Wars, and WWI. The reason for this might be linked to the fact that changing boundaries automatically caused new minority problems, as well as the fact that minorities were mostly among the immediate victims of the warfare who inevitably demanded some international assistance. WWII proved not to be an exception to those facts: among the most tragic sides of the Nazi regime, for instance, there were Jewish minorities in Germany. From an opposite viewpoint, German minorities in other places of Europe were also used as an excuse for Hitler's masterplan, *Lebensraum*, the living space specifically arranged for the diversified German population throughout the continent. The Jews, the Polish, or the Slavs represented minorities in that *Lebensraum*, whom the Germans wanted to get rid of as soon as possible. Some nationals (such as the Croats, the Slovaks, and the Hungarians), who held the status of minorities due to where they resided at that particular period, even supported the Nazi regime in exchange for their future 'nation-states', to be located outside the *Lebensraum* at the end of the war (Armstrong 1968).

Despite (or, paradoxically, because of) the fact that minority issues were at the very core of the course of WWII, as well as among the reasons for its outbreak, the boundary changes at the end of the war did not lead to another version of a minority rights regime in Europe. Population transfers among the newly arranged boundaries of the post-war nation-states were encouraged by the great powers – resembling a solution (?) acquired by the Turkish-Greek population transfer legitimated by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) – in the name of easing the self-determination of nations (Horowitz 2000: 601-652; Huntington 1971). Ironically, nationalism, the main motivation behind the outbreak of two world wars, was appeased by the decision taken at the end of those wars that resulted in favor of nation-states and nationalism. The realization of the majority groups' self-determination right outweighed the efforts spent on correcting the corrupted regime of minorities. Its price, however, would be paid at the end of the Cold War (Sambanis 2000; Kaufmann, C. 1998) (especially in the land of ex-Yugoslavia (Burg and Shoup 1999: 37-40)).

The San Francisco Conference (1945), which resulted in the creation of the United Nations Charter (1945), intentionally skipped making a reference to either minority rights or to the protection of minorities. As previously mentioned, the Charter was a reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and, specifically, of nations whether they were large or small. International peace and security, the self-determination of peoples, and the respect for 'human rights' and 'fundamental freedoms' with no basis for discrimination were named particularly along with the 'sovereign equality' of the member (nation-)states. Concerning especially with the transfer of populations in those countries, the Treaties of the Paris Peace Conference (1946–1947) with Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary did not store the word 'minority', though implicitly favoring (if not encouraging) the process of assimilation (Kertesz 1999: 29-46). The emphasis upon the word 'human rights', however, was apparent in this series of treaties, as well.

The fear of repeating the same mistakes of 1919 made the Western Europeans content to merge minority rights into the broader category of 'human rights' from 1945 onwards. Therefore, the attempts during the LoN era providing the (though still undefined) minorities with language rights or a certain level of cultural autonomy atrophied. The closest provision to a separate minorities international regime was the shared respect and (a degree of) international guarantee for the granting of human rights based on the principle of non-discrimination on any grounds, including religion, language, culture, race or sex. Although self-determination of nations was still applauded by the UN and its human rights instruments, including the non-binding documents published by the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities (Humphrey 1968), established in 1947 under the UNCHR and the ECOSOC, or the UDHR (1948) – which did not include any references to minorities (Gibson 2008) – ; the language of the international law regarding human rights began speaking for 'individuals', instead of 'groups' of minorities.

Morsink (1999) gives two clear examples that demonstrate the individualization of the minorities issue (from a group to persons belonging to a group). Accordingly, around the time the UN Sub-Commission for minorities was

first established, Director of the Secretariat Humphrey was given the task to come up with a proper definition of the concept of minority. His definition in 1947 was modest in a sense that he later would attach the protection of minorities as both protection from discrimination and protection against discrimination, without specifying which acts were to be regarded as discrimination or specifying any other instances from which to protect minorities. Humphrey defined minorities as "groups within a country that differ from the dominant group in their culture, religion or language, and which usually desire to maintain and foster their cultural, linguistic, and religious identity" (quoted in Morsink 1999: 1013). The group concept in minority protection was used purposefully, and as a continuation of the same purview from the LoN era. In the same year, however, when the Sub-Commission published its official report about minorities, under the directorship of Cassin, who was asked to do a re-write of Humphrey's version, the definition of minorities was wriggled out of the group conception clearly. The Sub-Commission's official statement for the protection of minorities read as follows:

> "In States inhabited by a substantial number of persons of a race, language or religion other than those of the majority of the population, persons belonging to such ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities shall have the right, as far as compatible with public order and security to establish and maintain schools and cultural or religious institutions and to use their own language in the Press, in-public assembly and before the courts and other authorities" (quoted in Morsink 1999: 1017-1018).

Minorities were suddenly switched from forming groups to being those persons belonging to different-than-majority groups; their existence was left to be decided by states; and their protection was determined legal only when it did not ravage the public order or security. This perception of minorities remained in force for at least thirty more years.

The discourse of the more regional, specifically Western European, international institutions seemed, on the other hand, to be more enthusiastic about minorities. In 1950, the CoE members signed the ECHR, in order to protect the

conditions of human rights and freedoms in the European continent. Although the Convention was designed specifically for dealing with the human rights issues, in its Article 14 ('Prohibition of Discrimination'), a subtle reference to minorities was made. The Article 14 read:

"The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, color, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status" (CoE Document 1950: Article 14[48]).

The text of Article 14 strictly prohibited any form of discrimination against individuals, and mentioned an 'association with a national minority' as a possible ground for such discrimination; however, it did not define what a national minority might represent. In that sense, it was no different than any other international instrument dealing with the minorities issue (Packer 1993). For Gilbert, therefore, "there is no direct way for members of minority groups to claim minority rights at the [European Court of Human Rights], although the Court has held that 'member states are under an obligation to uphold international standards in the field of the protection of human and minority rights" (2002: 737). "It is contrary to the European Convention", he continues, "to treat 'any person, nongovernmental organization or group of individuals' in discriminatory fashion with respect to one of the listed ground without reasonable and objective justification, although the applicant has to prove that case beyond reasonable doubt" (Gilbert 2002: 738-739). Through the Article 14, the ECHR creates a – though indirect – mechanism to control over the protection of minorities, as it allows opening of legal cases by persons and individual organizations against the CoE members.

The European Cultural Convention, set up in 1954 by the CoE, was another instrument which might be labeled as an implicit attempt to protect 'differences between people'. Although there was no direct reference to either minority or human rights, an emphasis was placed on the different 'languages' and

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[48] Available from the World Wide Web: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/005.htm

'civilizations' of Europe that were seen as contributors to the 'common heritage' of the continent (CoE Document 1954: Article 1-2[49]). It was hoped that inter-state cultural cooperation might be extended into minorities; however, the Convention itself was not clear on this possible aspiration. The overwhelming paranoia over the discourse of minorities was obviously reflected in the text of the Convention.

Meanwhile, apart from multilateral treaties, certain members of the UN and CoE entered into bilateral minority agreements in order to solve reciprocal problems over their own minorities (Defeis 1999). The De Gasperi–Gruber Agreement (1946), signed between Italy and Austria, for instance, allowed German-speaking minorities in the Italian regions of Bolzano and Trento to remain part of Italy, while ensuring their autonomy. The Copenhagen–Bonn Declarations (1955), further, guaranteed the rights of the two minorities residing in the north and the south regions of Schleswig, was signed between Denmark and the Federal Republic of Germany. Finally, the Austrian State Treaty (1955) is also worth mentioning for it also granted certain rights to Slovene and Croat minorities in Carinthia, Burgeland and Styria within the borders of Austria.

Until the 1970s, as an upshot, the process of Europeanization at the onset of the Cold War might be said to have brought about two broad consequences for the rights and protection of minorities: first, although the right of self-determination of nations was still available and encouraged by the post-war international institutions, the subject of the rights of minorities, who were in possible need for protection, was no longer focused on 'groups', but 'individuals' belonging to minorities; and second, the definition or categorization of minorities, on the other hand, was no longer a matter of high-priority international concern, and was left practically to the decision-makers of the nation-states. Minorities, to put this into the SIT/SCT terminology, were no longer important enough to establish 'groups' for themselves in the Western European set-up; they were, instead, problems of nation-states' as ingroups. The EU-ization process was not mature enough to handle the minorities issue on behalf of Europeans yet. Minorities, in basic words, were out of the political picture of Western Europe in the aftermath of WWII and its succeeding

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[49] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/HTML/018.htm

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twenty-five years. However, from the 1970s and onwards, both at the practical, as well as at the theoretical levels, the minorities issue made a strong comeback. The picture of social identity formation in 1970s, Western Europe, might be drawn as follows:
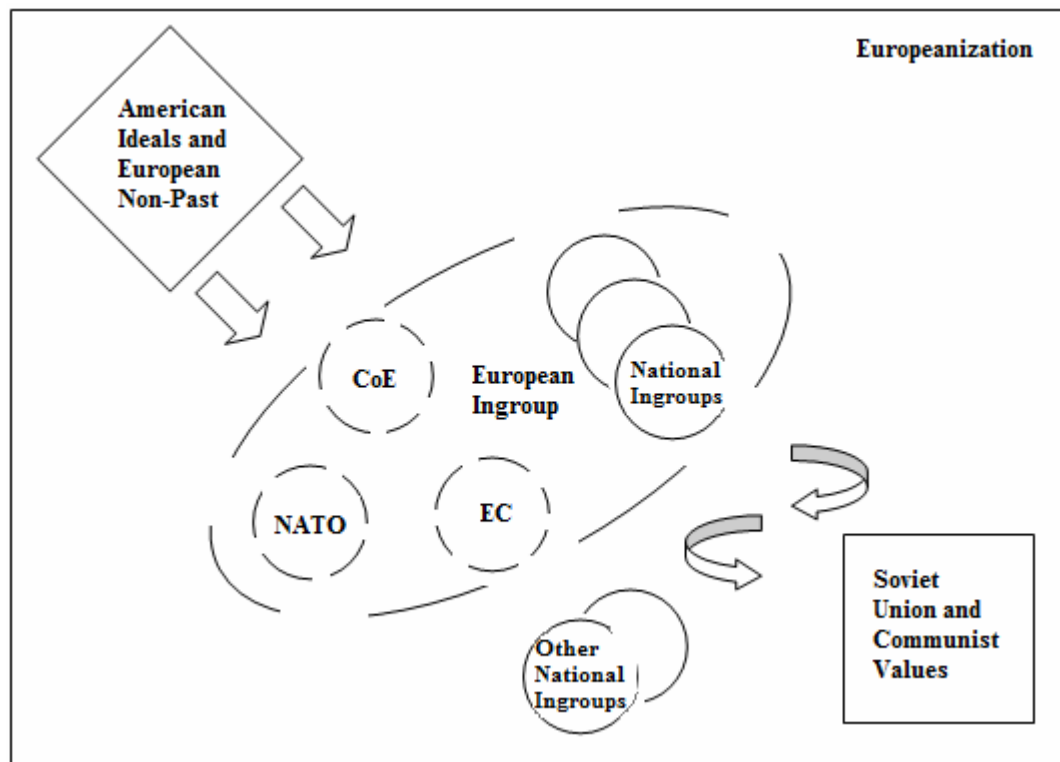
Figure 5. 3 The Social Identity Formation in Western Europe in the 1970s

5.3.2. 1970–1992: Re-Securitization of Minorities (inside Europe)

Practically, an effective post-war European minorities regime was grown upon the particular reference to Article 27 of the UN's ICCPR (signed in 1966, entered into effect in 1976). As mentioned earlier, being a part of the Universal Bill of Rights as well as the twin agreement to the ICESCR, the ICCPR commits its signatories to respect the civil and political rights of all individuals, such as the right to life, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, rights to due process and a fair trial, and electoral rights. Article 27 of the Covenant, however, deals specifically with the protection of minorities. To quote:

"In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language" (UN Document 1966a: Article 27).

An organic link of Article 27 might be found with its predecessor about non-discrimination on any possible grounds such that:

"All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status" (UN Document 1966a: Article 26).

Together, these two articles construct the only legally-binding instrument in the international law that regards the rights and protection of minorities (Arsava 1993). Accordingly, the ICCPR differentiates minorities from the majority with reference to their ethnic, religious and linguistic characteristics. Here, ethnicity is defined almost in definite association with culture, whereas religion and language already speak for themselves. According to Arsava, a legal reading of the ICCPR would also necessitate considering a 'minority' only when there is a stable unity within a group represented by moral values, differentiating characteristics, and non-territorial unity, as well as the consciousness of identity, with willingness to maintain those prevailing differences, group dynamics, and common reaction to external factors and to the threat of assimilation (1993: 46-53). Citizenship, therefore, is not an explicit prerequisite for the minority definition since the Article uses the term 'persons' instead of 'citizens' in the wording (Arsava 1993: 53).

The role of the state in minority definition might also be decoded by further analysis of the ICCPR document. Since Article 27 only specifies which criteria to

be used in minority definition, as long as there is no detectable violation of rights or fundamental freedoms in which the international society might be involved for resolution, the recognition of minorities is legally left to the states. The state sovereignty is, in other words, still valued over the protection of minorities in international law. This might also be deduced from the fact that, although the Covenant is legally binding, there is this widely used option of putting reservations on the national amendment of the ICCPR, as France, Greece, Italy, and many other European nation-states have preferred to use in the immediate aftermath of the signing of the document.

One more notable problem with the ICCPR and the protection of minorities is related to the fact that the Covenant does not guarantee minority rights for the use of minority 'groups' but rather, they are granted to the 'persons belonging to minorities'. In legal terms, the subjects to those rights are not collectivities/groups (in this sense, they are not collective-rights), but instead individuals. At best, in other words, minority rights may be quoted as individual rights with a certain collective dimension, since the subjects are entitled to these rights mainly because of their membership in minority collectivities (O'Nions 2007: 26-28). The interchangeable use of national minorities and ethnic groups, in that sense, does not matter much for the international law, as the relevant states, and their decision-making bodies, are solely in charge of determining their status as minorities. Only after a group is determined by its residing state to be minorities are its members granted the opportunity to look for further rights. Immigrants, indigenous people, or guest workers, hence, cannot be evaluated under the criteria given by the ICCPR document (Gudmundur and Ferrer 1998: 4-11).

Article 27 of the ICCPR became then – in spite of its state-centric perspective – the primary device of Europeanization that aimed to establish a minority rights regime in Europe. The 1970 UN Resolution, entitled 'Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the UN', putting a special emphasis on the "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" (UN Document 1970[50]),

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[50] Available from the World Wide Web: http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/348/90/IMG/NR034890.pdf?OpenElement

for instance, followed the rationale of the ICCPR, and unlike previous documents that were concerned mainly with the right of self-determination, it also considered the equality of rights among peoples. In 1981, further, the UN Economic and Social Council appointed a Special Rapporteur, Martinez-Cobo, in order to observe the worldwide discrimination against indigenous people (UN Document 1981b[51]).

The Helsinki Final Act (1975) by the CSCE, on the other hand, was heavily influenced both by the 1970 UN resolution as well as the ICCPR. Its main purpose, however, was to publish an enhanced version of those documents in order to improve humanitarian and minority-related conditions throughout the whole continent (both East and West). The act had three specific considerations regarding the minorities. First, as a 'principle guiding relations between participating states', it was stated that:

> "The participating States on whose territory national minorities exist will respect the right of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will, in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this sphere" (CSCE Document 1975: Chapter (a) I.VII).

Different from the text of Article 27 of the ICCPR, the Act did not clearly maintain a set of criteria that might be applied for defining minorities. Instead, the existence of the minorities was left entirely to the interests of the participatory states. However, though not legally binding, the participants were entitled to protect the well-being of their minorities according to the internationally accepted human rights and fundamental freedoms. International law, additionally, was called upon to guarantee these rights of minorities, and the accountability of the states was determined by the legal measurements.

Secondly, under the heading of 'Co-Operation and Exchanges in the Field of Culture', a special paragraph was devoted to national minorities and regional cultures, asserting that:

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[51] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/spdaip.html

"The participating States, recognizing the contribution that national minorities or regional cultures can make to co-operation among them in various fields of culture, intend, when such minorities or cultures exist within their territory, to facilitate this contribution, taking into account the legitimate interests of their members" (CSCE Document 1975: Chapter (3)).

Similarly, and finally, under the heading of 'Co-Operation and Exchanges in the Field of Education', the document replaced the wording where it reads 'culture' with 'education', such that:

"The participating States, recognizing the contribution that national minorities or regional cultures can make to co-operation among them in various fields of education, intend, when such minorities or cultures exist within their territory, to facilitate this contribution, taking into account the legitimate interests of their members" (CSCE Document 1975: Chapter (4)).

The content of the provisions of the Act, however, was still confined to non-discriminatory measures and substantially was states-friendly, allowing them to decide what kind of actions could be undertaken with respect to handling the question of minorities. Oddly enough, this initial interest of the CSCE in the protection of minorities was not maintained in the follow-up meetings until 1989. The Moscow Helsinki Group, for instance, was established as an independent monitoring mechanism only for the violation of universal human rights particularly within the borders of the Soviet Union (Goldberg 1974). Minorities were seen to be out of the agenda, once again.

However, the silence of the CSCE might be interpreted from a different perspective, as well. What the CSCE accomplished for the minority issues in Europe was derived from the main purpose of the Conference, which was chiefly to rewake the talks of security matters among the (two) regions of Europe. The Helsinki Final Act was designed to provide fertile grounds for improving the conditions of security in the continent. The contents of the Act, in that sense, reflected matters for security, including the matters regarding minorities. Minority

issues were *securitized*, in other words, by the Helsinki Final Act, and by all other international instruments employed in the 1970s that preceded the Act itself.

Wæver defines security as a 'speech act' (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 26), in which

> "… security is not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real; the utterance itself is the act. By saying it, something is done (as in betting, giving a promise, naming a ship). By uttering 'security', a state representative moves a particular development into a specific area, and thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it" (Wæver 1995: 55).

It is a constructivist critique of traditional realist approaches to security, which prioritizes security over all other political matters. Once security is seen not just as the survival of nation-states, then it becomes possible to broaden its agenda with the security of societal (or collective) identities.

Approaching from the societal security perspective, then, minority issues might be perceived as a traditionally securitized matter. To recall, the first international arrangement regarding the minorities was signed after excruciating warfare, in order to bring about peace and stability to the international society. The nineteenth century, as a whole, has been described by many as a hundred years of 'peaceful stability' (Schroeder 1986: 1), and at the core of its diplomacy lay the matter of minorities, as shown previously. In an immediate past, the reason why the post-WWII peace negotiations excluded the questions regarding minorities was associated with brutality due to the inchoate minority provisions of the LoN system. In a nutshell, whenever the international security was damaged or in jeopardy, certain arrangements regarding minorities came to the forefront of the international decision-making; hence the issue of minorities has been securitized discursively.

Jutila (2006) asserts also, in a supportive manner, that the issue of minorities has always been construed by dynamics that are rather easy to get securitized. The main reason for that is its organic link with nationalist ideologies. The image, or the use, of nation is so powerful that it finding someone to die for it is rather easy, as

Anderson (Anderson, B. 1991) claims. Brubaker describes three types of nationalisms, closely connected to each other (1996: 63-67). 'Nationalizing nationalisms', first, are based on the discursive acts made in the name of a core nation, defined in ethnic, cultural measures. 'Minority nationalisms', secondly, have been constructed as the very opposite of the nationalizing nationalisms, based on whatever means make those minorities differentiated from the rest of the co-residing society (the majority)[52]. 'Homeland nationalism', thirdly, is particularly linked to the minority nationalisms, making the claim that the kin-state has a duty (and from a legal perspective, also a right) to protect the interests of its ethnically, culturally, or otherwise bonded compatriots in other states or territories, in order to rescue them from discriminatory, assimilationist, or even genocidal behavior. The dynamics to be manipulated into the discourse of security, or speech acts, are prepared, once those ideologies manage to establish themselves successfully.

The Helsinki Final Act, in that sense, at first glance, seems to represent a return to the traditional way of handling minorities for the Europeans. It indeed makes sense since the process of Europeanization at that time (in the mid-1970s) had begun to take a direction of its own, leaving the 'American way' in politics behind – for identity-related reasons discussed in Chapter III. However, at the intellectual level, this direction of Europeanization might have reminded Europeans of past mistakes which had already provided them with that toilsome environment. Hence, in the 1970s there appeared a dilemma with regard to the issue of minorities. Securitize, or desecuritize? That was the question of Europeanization.

5.3.3. 1970-1992: Re-Grouping of Minorities via Multiculturalism (outside Europe)

In the desecuritization part, the main challenge to securitize minority issues came from a new liberal philosophy, called multiculturalism. Since securitizing minorities is necessitated by traditional, nationalizing, mono-cultural practices, desecuritization must shift from those practices to multi-cultural (lingual, religious,

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[52] As discussed in Chapter IV, Tajfel infers that sometimes ingroups are constructed only for differentiating themselves from some chosen outgroup(s) (Tajfel 1978: 93-94).. Brubaker's definition of minority nationalism corresponds to Tajfel's argument quite well.

educational, political) policies and a lenient identity discourse. The basic idea behind the multicultural discourse then is to break away from the traditional identity discourse that preaches the impracticality of the coexistence of multiple cultures within given (national) territories. As Williams (2003) points out, only when identities allow their negotiability and flexibility to go unchallenged, unsuppressed and un-denied is it possible to talk about desecuritization of minorities.

Here, a more detailed look at the concept of multiculturalism is necessary[53]. It generally passes for that the word 'multicultural' entered into the scholarly genre following its appearance in a 1941 *Herald Tribune* book review, when the reviewer assessed Edward Haskell's *Lance: A Novel About Multicultural Men* as a "fervent sermon against nationalism, national prejudice and behavior in favor of a 'multicultural' way of life and a new social outlook more suited to the present era of rapid transport and shifting populations" (quoted in Sollors 1998: 64). Its development into an '–ism', however, would wait a while, at least until the 1970s, when the Commonwealth countries, Canada and Australia, which had considerable immigrant populations, began to adopt the 'multicultural' dimension into their perceptions/practice of citizenship.

The boost in the level of immigration to the 'new world' countries during the wars in Europe in the twentieth century derived the basic rationale behind the multiculturalist theory. It was based on the fact that the supposed homogeneity found in nations could not be kept untouched once those nations founded their political entities, states. Homogeneity among nationals, in other words, could not be transferred to the governmental or institutional level. Multiple cultures, languages, religions, and traditions, which formed the basis of inevitably plural societies, hence, had to coexist within political unities. In that sense, multiculturalism might be defined as "a philosophical position and movement that assume[d] that the gender, ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity of a pluralistic society should be reflected in all of the institutionalized structures" (Banks and Banks 2010: 447). Multiculturalism was a call for public and political recognition of the differences in a given society, including a variety of minority ethnic, cultural, linguistic, racial, and/or religious identities. These identities needed not to be represented within

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[53] A condensed version of the information given in this section appeared earlier in (Ongur 2011)

minority groups, but individuals (e.g., women, homosexuals) too might have needed multiculturalist treatments.

The reason why multiculturalism began in Canada and Australia might be linked to the fact that those were very young and considerably isolated (from the madness of the Cold War) countries founded by immigrants that did not go through a national independence or salvation movements, wars, before their foundations. It was, hence, easier for them to dismiss the conventional practices of the nineteenth century's assimilationist propaganda (Doran 1971), or of the 1960s' ethnic revival in the United States, because of the 'American dilemma' (Myrdal 1944), which preached America's being a 'melting pot' while denouncing civil and political rights of its African-American citizens. Blalock's (1967) 'theory of middlemen minorities', for instance, dwelling on the economic role played by a number of ethnic groups like Japanese, Greeks and Armenians in the United States, instead of the lower-status that was assigned to them in American society, aimed primarily to demonstrate the importance of minorities in the well-being of multicultural societies. At its very core, multicultural citizenship involved "a departure from traditional notions of citizenship, which abstract[ed] from the cultural, ethnic, and other subnational identities of individuals, and view[ed] individuals solely as members of a given political community" (Soutphommasane 2005: 402-403). Both the cultural difference among citizens and their unique identities as individuals were deemed to be recognized[54].

The practical use of multiculturalism in liberal democratic societies, such as Canada, Australia, and later on in the United States, however, brought about a theoretical question regarding the political philosophy, inviting the two opposing axes of a currently ongoing debate in political theory (Joppke 2001; Tok 2003: 42-45). On the one hand, there were the so-called 'orthodox/conservative liberals' (Porter 1965; Rawls 1971; Glazer 1975; Dworkin 1978; Nagel 1979; Schlesinger, A. 1991), who argued that only the post-war organization of nation-states, which was represented by the neutrality of the civic realm, could ensure the optimum personal autonomy, equality and individual citizenship. For them, what was

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[54] See the paper published by the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council in 1977 about the advantegous position of Australian democracy for adapting the multiculturalist stand (Zubrzycki 1977).

promoted by multiculturalism, in contrast, was "inherently destabilizing and destructive of the common bonds of nationhood"; therefore, it was "an approach which replace[d] universalism with particularism and which introduce[d] ethnicity unnecessarily an unhelpfully into the civic realm – that is 'civil society' in Gramsci's sense of the term" (May 1999: 11). On the other hand, there were the so-called 'communitarians' (Taylor 1979; MacIntyre 1981; Sandel 1982; Walzer 1983), who criticized the 'atomistic' view of liberalism that put priority on the individual – presumed always to be free, self-interested and rational – and his/her rights over society, arguing for the primacy of the community in which rights of men brought about their responsibilities and obligation towards society that enabled them to develop (Gutmann 1985). Communitarians seem closer to multiculturalist ideas, but there are mentionable differences: in the communitarian view, society is deliberately divided into communities and each community is granted positive rights, for which group-wide responsibilities are then charged; whereas in multicultural citizenship, such a division into communities is not necessary, but applicable only when there are societal differences between the majority of society, minority groups and/or individuals. Furthermore, unlike communitarianism, in multiculturalism, responsibilities of the citizens do not change depending on whether they belong to (are) a minority or the majority. In other words, whereas in the communitarian view, every person belongs to one community, in the multicultural perspective, citizens may belong also to a minority (group).

The debates around multiculturalism have contributed to the question of minorities in two important ways: first, almost after twenty-five years of apathy, a political theory finally remembered the existence of minorities in inevitably pluralist societies and discussed their protection as well as the positive rights to be given to them. Second, despite the fact that the post-war Western European attitude tended to see minorities in individual terms (as 'persons belonging to minorities'), multiculturalism (re-)brought the group concept into the perception of minorities. Both contributions should be elaborated though.

For Habermas (1995a), the main task of multiculturalism was to recall the tie between the integrity of the individual and the variety of social and cultural contexts in which that individuality was formed. Kymlicka (1995), further, constructs a

whole new (liberal) theory on the rights of minorities based on this tie. Kymlicka's theory is important not only for being the pioneering theory about minorities and their treatment in liberal societies of the upcoming twenty-first century, but also for providing a bridge between multiculturalist movements in the new world and a possible minority regime in the unifying Europe at the beginning of the 1990s, putting an end to the silent and at best securitized minorities perception, and making an inquiry into their treatment as a civil and political matter.

Kymlicka's multiculturalist liberal theory holds a place in the middle of the communitarian and liberal orthodox views. He rejects both Taylor's idea that only communitarianism is able to defend the special rights for groups (and liberalist atomism cannot), and the orthodox liberal view that individual freedom can be developed in isolation from the groups to which individuals belong (Kymlicka 1991: 47-73 and 135-161). Accordingly, the traditional Western neglect of minority rights and their protection is derived from what Kymlicka likes to refer to as 'modernization' (Kymlicka and Marin 1999: 134-135). Whereas Western liberals have postulated that individual freedom and equality will best be achieved within the majority culture of nation-states, in which, minority cultures should dissolve into majority's common identity (*individualism*) in time, Western Marxists saw division into nations or cultures as a temporary stopping-point on the way to world citizenship, hence rejecting the minorities on the basis of nationality (or culture, ethnicity, language, etc.) altogether (*internationalism*). The common ground between these two competing views is referred to by Kymlicka as modernization, i.e., the insistence on progress and civilization, requiring an assimilation of 'backward' minorities to 'energetic' majorities.

History, however, has proven both modernist perspectives wrong. Minorities do still have strong presence even in virtually all of the liberal democratic nation-states of today's world. Therefore, what has to be done is to discuss how to integrate their protection into a multicultural, pluralist liberal theory and practice. Securitizing them, taken within international institutions, has already caused several international problems, including warfare. Instead, therefore, institutionalizing a multicultural (supra-)state structure, including special rights granted to minority groups, is highlighted by Kymlicka (2004). In this structure, group rights are not

designed either to supplement individual rights or to restrict them. Ethnocultural minorities have already been protected by nation-states and the international law from discrimination on some grounds; their maintenance and reproduction, however, is left to the free choices of individuals of those minorities (Kymlicka 1997: 72). The state-driven minority rights must also be involved in the maintenance and reproduction of those groups since without them (without cultural membership), individuals' 'self-esteem' (thus, the value of life) would be endangered (Réaume 2000).

The consistency of granting group rights with liberal values begs for an explanation. For that, Kymlicka makes a separation between the group rights against its own members and group rights against the larger society (majority) (Kymlicka and Marin 1999: 136-137). The first kind, called 'internal restrictions', for protection of the group from being destabilized due an internal dissent, might be inconsistent with liberalism. For instance, a group might be willing to sacrifice young girls for religious matters, but because of the universal principle of the sanctity of life, a democratic society cannot allow this to happen. Hence, such internal restrictions are not involved in the content of the group rights Kymlicka mentions. The second kind of group rights, on the other hand, called 'external protections', for protection of the group from external pressures are fully consistent with the liberal perspective. They may involve territorial, educational, religious, linguistic, monetary (tax-related), and/or political and governmental (administrative) rights. The only obligation in determining what kinds of rights are to be specialized for minority groups is to consider their consistency with the universally accepted, democratic principles and the guarantee of individual freedom.

At the core of the multiculturalist minority model is a critique against the so-called 'ethnocultural neutrality myth' of conventional liberal theories, which assume that ethnocultural differences in a given society result either from incomplete democratization and rule of law, economic degradation, foreign interventions to domestic politics, or from irrational personal stereotypes, all of which, however, must be subject to recovery if a prosperous democracy, both institutionally and culturally, is once established (Kymlicka 2000b).

Multiculturalism, in contrast, rejects such predictions and begins with the acceptance that there are firm, persistent and significant differences between identities of ethnically or culturally diversified groups. Democracy does not 'solve' these differences, but it is only possible to talk of a working democracy once these differences are institutionally acknowledged. The experiences with the Quebecois in Canada, Scots in the UK, Flanders in Belgium, or Catalans in Spain, which are economically secure minorities in their own societies, must have already taught the liberal democratic (Western) world that multicultural citizenship based on minority rights and protection should be the ground for democratic progress (Young 1990; Tamir 1993; Bauböck 1994). *Deep diversity*, in Taylor's words, should be no longer seen as a source of societal disunity, but as the essence of social unity (Redhead 2002: 21-44).

However, although the rights of minorities are considered as one of the primary conditions of a proper democracy, not only the content of those rights but also to whom they are to be granted should still be argued. Multiculturalism does not give a working definition for minorities either. Kymlicka, for instance, favors granting group rights to those who possess the so-called 'societal culture', by which he means "a territorially-concentrated culture, centered on a shared language which is used in a wide range of societal institutions, in both public and private life (schools, media, law, economy, government, etc.)": he calls those groups who possess societal cultures as 'national minorities', providing "a context within which individual and political choice become meaningful" (Kymlicka and Marin 1999: 138). As Tok remarks, by linking individual and political choice with societal culture, Kymlicka establishes a bond between individual freedom and equal opportunity (the main purposes of liberalism), on the one hand, and belonging to a distinguished society, on the other (2003: 42-68). "In short", Kymlicka asserts, "a liberal view requires *freedom within* the minority group, and *equality between* the minority and majority groups" (1995: 152). Thereafter, recognition of minority groups and designating special rights for their protection becomes a cornerstone in liberal theory. However, Kymlicka demonstrates sensitivity in selecting which groups should be determined to be national minorities. He excludes migrant groups or guest workers in foreign countries from the list of national minorities on the basis

of the argument that their migration has a 'voluntary' aspect, which necessitates another voluntarism for integrating into the majority's societal culture, and for being satisfied with individual rights assorted by a properly functioning democracy (Kymlicka 2001b: 28-29). Non-migrant minorities, on the other hand, such as indigeneous groups or any others who have been conquered, colonized, or historically settled, are accepted typically to carry their own societal cultures, and deserve to maintain institutional, linguistic, religious, social, political, administrative, economic or even recreational privileges (Kymlicka 2000a).

Objections to Kymlicka's presentation about multicultural citizenship and minority rights are plenty (Tok 2003: 46). On the one hand, there are conventional liberals who claim that how Kymlicka perceives the link between individual freedom and group membership is faulty because his assumption about the unchanging nature of group membership cannot be verified (Kukathas 1992). Since ethnic identities are not static and they change with the environment, ethnicity and culture cannot be interchangeably used for each other, and group identities are said to have a tendency to change with shifts in political contexts (Horowitz 2000: 3-54). Therefore, if groups are given special rights only for their affiliations (as Kymlicka advocates), then those rights become subjected to constant re-considerations, which would hurt the balance in multicultural societies. On the other hand, there are anti-liberal claims that question the presupposition in multicultural politics that liberalism provides better grounds for managing ethnocultural relations. Parekh (1997) rejects Kymlicka's liberal view that group memberships feed individual freedom, for all groups do not necessarily promote democracy, individual freedom or even human rights in their administrative structures. Moreover, restricting groups (whether they pursue a 'societal culture' or not) and their rights to govern their own lives, even within the borders of a functioning democracy, is at best a form of Eurocentrism, if not a new version of colonialism. As long as liberalism 'tolerates' minority differences (Gray 2000: 1-34), the demanded equality between the majority and minority can never be realized. Thus, the title of 'minority rights', in that sense, represents nothing but a nice package for conventional European imperialism and it has nothing to do with 'multicultural justice' (Forst 1997). Thirdly, there are also objections regarding the categorization made by

multiculturalism about the content and addressee of the minority rights. The exclusion of the (legal and illegal) immigrants, guest workers, racial minorities (e.g., African Americans in the United States (Thomas-Woolley and Keller 1994)) and/or sexual minorities from the 'cultural' aspect of multi-cultural societies is severely criticized by many (Lenihan 1991; Tomasi 1995; Carens 1997; Galenkamp 1998; O'Neill 1999; Castles 2000: 1-25), and even acknowledged by Kymlicka himself (2001a: 49-68).

What multiculturalism introduced, or re-introduced, to world politics at the end of the 1970s was not only minority issues in democratic liberal structures (Kymlicka 2007: 27-60), but also was the group concept and the politics of identity re-integrated into minority discussions (Spencer 1994). It was almost like a proposal for abandoning the individualist, humanist insight of minority rights, strongly clinched to the postwar human rights environment, by the multiculturalist movements occurring in the (new) new world. Plog (2003), for instance, argues that the connection between democracy and the protection of minorities established one of the fundamental principles of what he calls 'global democracy' that has been spreading throughout the world since the 1970s. Following Held and Archibugi's (1995) concept of 'cosmopolitan democracy', Plog asserts that the recent democratic theory "requires a certain set of group rights within states, referred to as *internal group rights*", and it needs to involve "the establishment of democratic institutions at regional and global levels… [which] must allow vulnerable and marginalized groups to participate in international decision-making that affects their lives and existence [*external group rights*]" (2003: 56). Oestreich (1999) also advances that the post-1970s showed both the gap in the post-war human rights regime in terms of group rights and the demand of minority groups within national and federal states for their inclusion into politics, culture, and social life, which has already been globalized and de-centralized.

The rising awareness of regarding minorities as groups, instead of persons belonging to minorities, however, was not a direct answer to the relativity of the concept of minority; i.e., how to define minorities or, principally, to whom to grant the minority rights. In reality, defining minorities has always been a question of concern both from political as well as legal perspectives during the twentieth

century (Pejic 1997). The LoN era did not propose a definition for minorities and instead left definitions to vary from one state to another. The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the UN General Assembly switched strictly to the human rights genre, which was reflected also in the wording of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) (UN Document 1948b[55]). Article 27 of the ICCPR (UN Document 1966a) mentioned 'persons belonging to minorities', without specifying which minorities were under consideration. A similar, individualist, approach was also taken by the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education (1960) (UN Document 1960[56]) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) (UN Document 1965[57]). However, by the time multicultural liberalism was spread around the non-European West, the group concept in minorities discussions started to appear in the international discourse as well. In 1977, the famous Capotorti-definition proposed by the UN Sub-Commission, for the first time, introduced the group concept into the legal minorities formula:

> "A group of numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members- being nationals of the State- possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language." (UN Document 1979: 96)

A year later, the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice (1978) referred specifically to 'all peoples and all human groups', prohibiting any sort of discrimination among them based on their ethnic, religious, linguistic, and racial differentiations, although it did not refer to the word 'minority' (UN Document

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[55] Available from the World Wide Web: http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/pdf/ha/cppcg/cppcg_e.pdf
[56] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/DISCRI_E.PDF
[57] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm

1978[58]). In 1981, the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination based on Religion or Belief (1981) also utilized a collectivist tone in its wording, forbidding discriminatory behavior on the bases of religion and belief (UN Document 1981a[59]). In 1985, the Sub-Commission published another study, attempting to make another definition for minorities. The so-called Déchenes report defined minorities as:

> "A group of citizens of a State constituting a numerical minority and in a non-dominant position in that State, endowed with ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics which differ from those of the majority of the population, having a sense of solidarity with another, motivated, if only implicitly, by a collective will to survive and whose aim is to achieve equality with the majority in fact and law" (UN Document 1985: 30).

The group concept in minority definition made its entrance into political and legal discourse, therefore, in the mid-1980s. The connection between the rise of multiculturalism and such a development is hard to miss. Ramaga (1993) insists, for instance, that although the minority-shy UN era until the 1980s had bashfully approached the group issue, Article 27 of the ICCPR might even be adapted to involve the group concept because of the late-noticed nature of minority rights and their manner of enforcement, which should be understood as collective. It is understood that this collectivity inherent within the minority concept has been accepted also by the UN, since in the 1993 Sub-Commission report on the definition of minorities, a similar trend would be continued, defining a minority as:

> "For the purpose of this study, a minority is any group of persons resident within a sovereign State, which constitutes less than half the population of the national society and whose members share common

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[58] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.unesco.org/education/information/nfsunesco/pdf/RACE_E.PDF
[59] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/36/a36r055.htm

characteristics of an ethnic, religious or linguistic nature that distinguish them from the rest of the population" (UN Document 1993: 7[60]).

When the 1980s came to the end, with the additional and surprising impact of the end of the Cold War, the concept of minorities had finally broken loose from the individualist human rights discourse, and regained (the awareness over) its collective nature. Unfortunately, the relativity of the concept of minority was still unresolved, for although there was an increase in theoretical attempts, a consensus upon the definition of minorities had not been reached out. 'Numerical inferiority' was often propounded as the essential requirement of being a minority; however, the brutal experience with the Apartheid in South Africa had already taught that sometimes numerically inferior groups could also be majority in decision-making (Henrard 2002: 39-68). Therefore, along with quantitative measures, qualitative factors too came forward in the minority discussions. The 'non-dominant status' of the groups within the larger society then was heralded in addition to the presence of identifiable differences from the majority (ethnic, religious, linguistic, racial), and the availability of identity/group consciousness (Ramaga 1992).

Even though the definition of minorities, or how to separate a minority group from the majority, has been doomed to be relative, the developments during the 1970s and 1980s could be said to have resulted in reintegrating the group concept in minority protection, hence de-individualizing the minorities and putting them into groups again, as in the discourse of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Grouping minorities, in turn, might have two broad consequences. First of all, the rights to be associated with them, or by and large the mechanics of their protection (both internally and externally), became a matter of collective concern and necessitated going beyond the conventional liberal–nationalist agenda (Kaufmann, E. 2000). Second, and more importantly for this thesis, recognizing minorities as groups differentiated from the majority brought about a blow to the traditional understanding of nation-states and nationalism, and thus to the cohesion ideology of the twentieth century, which purposefully necessitated re-designing the grouping of

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[60] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/0/1d7c8013d362299580256778002f5271?Opendocument

identities in relevant societies, as Tajfel and Turner predicted in their studies mentioned in Chapter IV.

To elaborate on this second dimension, the SIT should be applied to the relationship between minority and majority groups. The SIT, as pointed out previously, was designed as a theory to study the social psychological aspect of intergroup behavior between ingroups and outgroups. The social identity plays a role in self-identification, on the one hand, and in the process of self-categorization (of both individuals and groups), on the other, in cases where multiple identities coexisted. It, in other words, helps find answers for the questions, 'who am I?' and 'who are we?', as well as 'who are they?'. In that sense, the social identity is a critical parameter for the process of nationalism and other sources of identification. At the level of the nation, for instance, belonging to a group provides a social, political, economic and cultural sense of security for the individuals. Therefore, the nation manages to bond with individuals once it establishes the sentimental attachment to homeland, a sense of a common faith, identity and self-esteem via national identification (Druckman 1994: 44).

The case for minorities should not be different from this process of national grouping when it comes to their internal bonding, or sense of belongingness. Minorities, in other words, are not exceptional when they form ingroups, compared to the national gatherings. The basic difference between minority formation and national formation, however, emerges during the establishment of ingroups. As told earlier, nation states are founded, on the philosophical level, either against their traditional rivals as other nation-states (*ressentiment*), such as France vs. England (Greenfeld 1992: 177-184), or against the empires that they were a part of, such as the former minorities of the Ottoman Empire (Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, etc.) (Greene 2005). The case for outgroups of minorities, however, are different. If the minority groups have achieved independence (if they become nation states), say in the case of Serbs within the Ottoman Empire, their outgroup selection becomes dependent on current politics. Turks, for instance, had been moved away from being immediate outgroups for the Serbian nation in the twentieth century, and instead, former Yugoslavian republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Croatia) were situated to the outgroup positions. If, however, minority groups could not gain their

independence, and continue to be located within the lands of their residing nation-states, then their outgroups inevitably are chosen as the majority of other nationals.

The study of Verkuyten and Yıldız focuses on the ingroup-outgroup relationship between the majority and minority groups. Accordingly,

"… [t]he more minority group people identify with their ethnic ingroup, the more likely they are to consider it important to preserve their own culture and to participate as group members in social and political life. The endorsement of minority rights can be seen as a collective strategy for dealing with a negative group identity and for challenging group based hierarchy and domination" (2006: 531).

Regarding minorities as groups to be protected from the malign societal consequences of nation-state structure has had an impact on the collective strategy the authors refer to, and most importantly, has altered the traditional ingroup-outgroup relations between the majority and the minority. Speaking from the multicultural perspective, neither is there a (-n ethnically, linguistically, religiously) homogenous ingroup of the majority nor is there a historical or liberal necessity for the minority to situate itself as an outgroup of that ingroup, or to be situated as such.

Unfortunately, a direct application of the multiculturalist perception over minorities could not be transferred right away to the European continent. Before 1990, the paranoid atmosphere of the Cold War perhaps was 'contaminated' a little, yet it was still overwhelming in both halves of Europe. However, as soon as the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union broke down into pieces, a proper management and a new perspective on the minorities immediately became urgent. The former minorities of the Soviet era took over their independence, new frontiers were drawn, and new minorities emerged in East and Central Europe[61]. Since democracy – which indeed had no cure for minority problems anyway – had not yet arrived at the region, violence and brutality spread all over Europe, which resulted in more people transfers, migration, suffering and wars (Van Evera 1991). A

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[61] A Macedonian politician, Vladimir Gligorov, drew the chaotic picture of the post-Cold War Europe and its connection with the issue of minorities, by famously asking "why should I be a minority in your state when you can be a minority in mine?" (quoted in Woodward 1995: xvi).

democratically driven, proper minorities solution was demanded from Europeanization. No doubt, Americanization continued its impact on Europeanization about that time, but multiculturalism grew as, in terms of the SIT, the new 'Significant We' for the European integration and for the core European ingroups. By the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the ingroup-outgroup schema might be drawn as shown below for the continent.
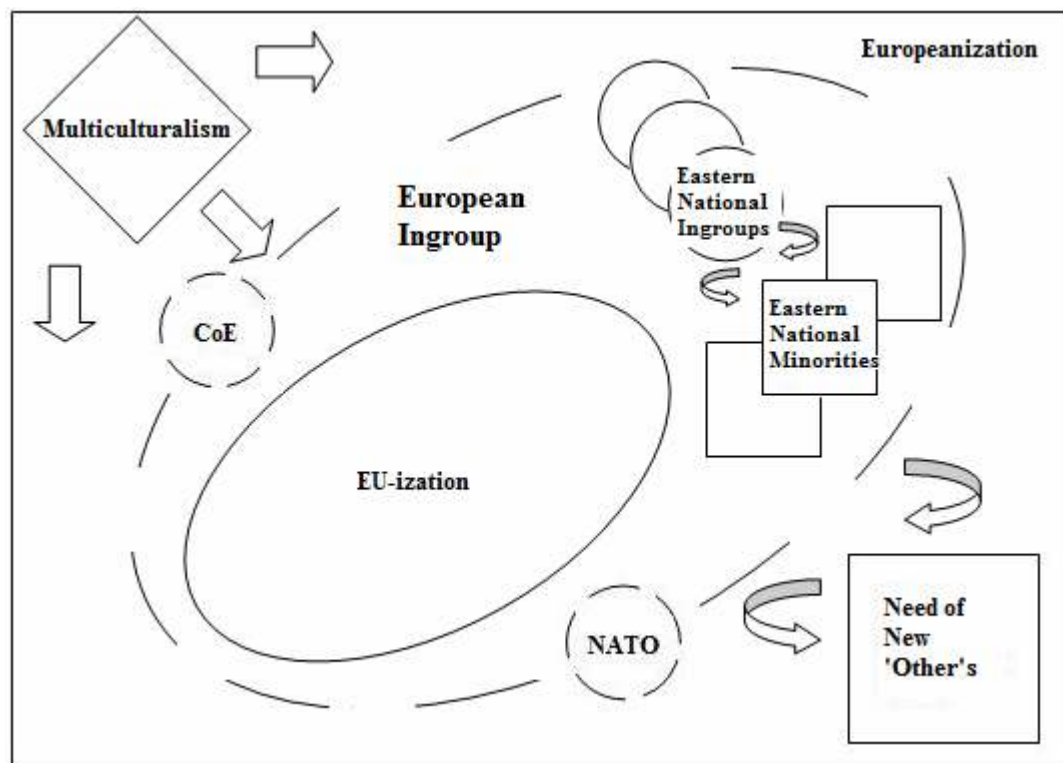
Figure 5. 4 The Social Identity Formation in Europe at the End of the Cold War

This chapter introduced two critical concepts regarding the position of minorities worldwide: (de-)securitization and grouping. Accordingly, the multicultural tendencies that began to take pace in the 'new world' by the 1970s fostered both concepts and resulted in the eventual remission of the apathy towards the existence and rights of minorities after 1945. However, recognizing a direct impact of de-securitization of the minorities issue and grouping of minorities is extremely difficult, as well as diversed between the Western and Eastern halves of Europe. To put it into the SIT/SCT terminology, by the end of the Cold War, whereas certain groups of minorities achieved to enter the Western European

ingroup, the situation in the East was rather convoluted. In the next chapter, this picture will be re-visited in accordance with how the unification between Western and Eastern Europe is developing and the post-Maastricht rhetoric influences the situation over minorities in Europe.

CHAPTER 6

EUROPEANIZATION OF MINORITIES vs. MINORITIES OF EUROPEANIZATION: POST-MAASTRICHT EUROPE

"What characterizes a member of a minority group is that he is forced to see himself as both exceptional and insignificant, marvelous and awful, good and evil." (Mailer quoted in Cohen 1979: 68)

6.1. Post-Maastricht Europe: Re-Grouping of Minorities via EU-ization

A direct transfer of the practice of multiculturalism to the process of European integration was not possibly conceived, even after the troubling atmosphere of the 1970s. Unlike Canada, Australia, or the United States, the European Communities (have) had the difficulty of consisting of multiple sovereign states and much higher levels of (religious, linguistic, ethnic) diversity. The Western European nation-states indeed were sending large numbers of emigrants to today's multiculturalist countries during the wartime. It was easier for yesterday's emigrants and today's multicultural citizens to voluntarily cast down traditional national ties and come up with the multicultural citizenry. However, the Western European concept of nation in the 1970s still implied "a state with a homogeneous population, sharing a common history, a sense of common descent from revered ancestors, common institutions, generally a common language" (Glazer 1983: 294).

An indirect contribution of multicultural practice and theory to the European perception of minorities, however, might be the idea that the post-Cold War would not be about the securitization of minorities (unlike depicted in the Helsinki Final Act), and instead would be about the integration of minorities into the concept of citizenship (Gülalp 2006). The direction in Europeanization during the 1980s could be framed within the *A People's Europe* movement, and, perhaps for the first time

in the history of Europe, 'people' were including minorities, as well (Parekh 1998). The task of Europeanization, therefore, was to deal with the challenge of how to reconcile multiculturalism, the idea of citizenship and the need for a social identity for the European integration (Delgado-Moreira 2000: 135-153). In other words, by the 1990s, the process of Europeanization had gone through a paradigm shift upon the concept of minorities, mainly because of the multiculturalist trend happening outside the borders of Europe, which transformed the status of minorities from the securitized matter of high politics to the humanitarian matter of identity politics.

6.1.1. From the CSCE to the OSCE: Minorities on the Top of the Agenda

In order to fulfill this task, what had been done first was to adapt the institutional, legal settings to this new perception of minorities (Henrard and Dunbar 2008). The CSCE took the lead here. After the Vienna Conference (1989), the concluding remarks published touched upon the 'ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity', 'the group-wise (collective) rights' and the need for protection of minorities, and offered a new control mechanism for the misdemeanor (CSCE Document 1989: 6-7[62]). The following Copenhagen Document (1990) reconfirmed the increasing interest in the group rights and protection of minorities. Three main motivations of the CSCE were said to have emanated from the fall of Communism in the Eastern Europe: the Europe-wide implication of fundamental human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law (Arsava 1993: 95). As a consequence of those, minorities issue needed to be handled carefully. Therefore, between Articles 30 and 40, the signatory states agreed that

> "anti-discrimination [was] a prerequisite for all minority arrangements; national minorities must be entitled not to be assimilated; governments must create opportunities to create and develop minorities; an arrangement must be done about education of mother-tongue languages; minorities must be entitled to public rights; all minority rights must be along with national unity principle; states [were] encouraged to participate into both related international agreements and to the Council of Europe Conferences; and

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[62] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.osce.org/mc/16262

special rights must be granted to Roma people." (CSCE Document 1990b:
Article 30-40[63])

Particularly the provision that encouraged government to create opportunities
for the 'creation' and 'development' of minorities was among the boldest moves
with regards to the issue in European history.

In 1990, the CSCE published the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, putting
an end to the discrepancy between two security pacts, NATO and the Warsaw Pact.
The combined memorandum declared the highlighted policy of the Conference to
protect the ethnic, linguistic, and religious cultures of national minorities with the
close cooperation of participatory states and non-governmental organizations
(CSCE Document 1990a[64]). The following Geneva Document (1991) set out the
role of states of Europe in terms of providing rights for and protection of minorities,
stating that "[i]ssues concerning national minorities, as well as compliance with
international obligations and commitments concerning the rights of persons
belonging to them, are matters of legitimate international concern and consequently
do not constitute exclusively an internal affair of the respective State." (CSCE
Document 1991: Chapter III (Par. 3)[65]) By these two later documents, the CSCE
clearly demonstrated the new path taken by Europeanization that separated itself
from the traditional state-centric approach towards minorities and focused on the
role of international institutions and civil society upon the execution of a minority
rights regime.

The CSCE established the High Commissioner on National Minorities by the
Helsinki Document (1992). The High Commissioner was established to provide
"'early warning' and, as appropriate, 'early action' at the earliest possible stage in
regard to tensions involving national minority issues that have the potential to
develop into a conflict within the CSCE area, affecting peace, stability, or relations
between participating States. The High Commissioner [would also] draw upon the
facilities of the ODIHR in Warsaw." (CSCE Document 1992: Article 3[66]) The

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[63] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.osce.org/odihr/19394
[64] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.osce.org/mc/39516
[65] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.osce.org/hcnm/14588
[66] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.osce.org/mc/39530

establishment of the High Commissioner was significant as it altered the control mechanism from being left to the humanitarian measures to a specified mechanism for the minorities (Kurubaş 2004: 77). The CSCE (known as the OSCE since 1995) continued to be involved in Europe-wide minority issues with recommendations and guidelines published, such as the Hague Recommendations regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities (1996), the Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities (1999), and the Guidelines on the use of Minority Languages in the Broadcast Media (2003). Although they have had no binding status upon their signatory parties, the C/OSCE documents have been critically indicating the improvement of European approach towards minorities because of the strong ties they have had with binding documents and institutional arrangements provided by the CoE and the EU.

6.1.2. Council of Europe and the Legally Binding Instrumentalization of Minorities

With the participation of the CEECs during the course of the 1990s, the CoE was naturally bound to deal with the development of the minorities regime throughout the European continent. In 1990, the European Commission for Democracy through Law, better known as the Venice Commission, was set up by the CoE as an advisory body on constitutional matters; in 1991, the Commission prepared a proposal for a European Convention for the Protection of Minorities.

> "Besides defining minority in keeping with the Capotorti definition, the Venice Commission's draft convention even enshrine truly group rights, namely the right of minorities to be protected against any activity capable of threatening their existence…, and to the respect, safeguard and development of their identity" (Pentassuglia 2007: 129).

Another fundamental difference of the proposal was its 'aggressive' character, significantly deviating from the traditional discourse that preferred cutting corners when it came to minorities.

In 1992, an even more aggressive move came from the CoE with the production of the ECRML in order for protecting and enabling the survival of minority languages, which were assumed to be among the fundamental reasons for the existence of the identity of minorities. By 1998, when the ECRML came into force, six countries (Croatia, Finland, Hungary, Liechtenstein, the Netherlands, and Norway) had ratified the Charter, and as of 2010, fourteen more countries have ratified the ECRML (yet, only Luxembourg added neither reservations nor declarations upon the Charter) while eleven countries have only signed it. Another fourteen of the CoE members (eight of them are also EU member states) have not yet signed the Charter. The countries that have signed, ratified, or put declarations/reservations/communication/territorial application on the ECRML are listed in Table 6.1.

Table 6. 1 Signatory Council of Europe Members to the ECRML (CoE Document 1992[67])

Country	Signature	Ratification
Armenia		X (d)
Austria (EU)		X (d)
Azerbaijan	X (d)	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	X	
Croatia		X (r) (d)
Cyprus (EU)		X (d)
Czech Republic (EU)	X (d)	
Denmark (EU)		X (d) (c)
Finland (EU)		X (d)
France (EU)	X (d)	
Germany (EU)		X (d)
Hungary (EU)		X (d)
Iceland	X	
Italy (EU)	X	
Liechtenstein		X (d)
Luxembourg (EU)		X
Malta	X	
Moldova	X	
Montenegro		X (note)
The Netherlands (EU)		X (d) (t)
Norway		X (d)
Poland (EU)		X (d)
Romania (EU)		X (d)
Russia	X	
Serbia		X (note) (r) (d)
Slovakia (EU)		X (d)
Slovenia (EU)		X (d)
Spain (EU)		X (d)
Sweden (EU)		X (d)
Switzerland		X (d)
FYROM	X	
Ukraine		X (d)
United Kingdom (EU)		X (d) (t)

*** r: reservations; d: declarations; c: communication; t: territorial application

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[67] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ChercheSig.asp?NT=148&CM=8&DF=&CL=ENG

Referring particularly to the CSCE Helsinki Final Act (1975) and Copenhagen Document (1990), the Charter legally bound its signatory parties to consider that

"the protection of the historical regional or minority languages of Europe, some of which [were] in danger of eventual extinction, contribute[d] to the maintenance and development of Europe's cultural wealth and traditions; that the right to use a regional or minority language in private and public life [was] an inalienable right conforming to the principles embodied in the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and according to the spirit of the Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; [s]tressing the value of interculturalism and multilingualism and considering that the protection and encouragement of regional or minority languages should not be to the detriment of the official languages and the need to learn them; [and r]ealising that the protection and promotion of regional or minority languages in the different countries and regions of Europe represent an important contribution to the building of a Europe based on the principles of democracy and cultural diversity within the framework of national sovereignty and territorial integrity." (CoE Document 1992: Preamble[68])

Although a regional/minority language was defined as "traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller then the rest of the State's population and different from the official languages of that State" (CoE Document 1992: Article 1 (a) and (b)); oddly, the term 'linguistic minorities' does not appear in this charter about language, in order, some said, not to activate or cause a linguistic separation among nations (CoE Document 1992: Explanatory Report (Par. 17)). Further, the monitoring mechanism of the Charter remained quite weak and highly politicized, since it was left to the consideration of the Committee of Ministers of the Council. Still though, the ECRML must be highlighted as one of the pioneering (legal) moves of

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[68] Available from the World Wide Web: http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm

Europeanization that integrated the multiculturalist agenda into the European view of minorities.

When the heads of state and governments of the member states of the CoE met in Vienna in 1993, their agenda was proposingg an elaboration on the human rights field with the introduction of new guidelines. However, due to the lack of political will, no concrete action was taken. Instead, it was decided to draft a framework convention establishing principles for the protection and rights of national minorities, and to set up an Ad Hoc Committee of Experts on Minorities for that end. After the Committee's 1994 draft, the FCPNM opened into signature in 1995, and came into force in 1998. By 2010, twenty-one countries have ratified the Convention as it is; eighteen of them have ratified by putting reservations, declarations, territorial application or notes on it; and four countries have only signed it. Four CoE members (including France, also an EU member) have not yet signed the Convention. Table 6.2 demonstrates the signature/ratification status of the CoE members to the FCPNM.

Table 6. 2 Signatory Council of Europe Members to the FCPNM (CoE Document 1995[69])

Country	Signature	Ratification
Albania		X
Armenia		X
Austria		X (d)
Azerbaijan		X (d)
Belgium	X	
Bosnia and Herzegovina		X
Bulgaria		X (d)
Croatia		X
Cyprus		X
Czech Republic		X
Denmark		X (d)
Estonia		X (d)
Finland		X
Georgia		X
Germany		X (d)
Greece	X	
Hungary		X
Iceland	X	
Ireland		X
Italy		X
Latvia		X (d)
Liechtenstein		X (d)
Luthiania		X
Luxembourg	X	
Malta		X (r) (d)
Moldova		X
Montenegro		X (note)
The Netherlands		X (d) (t)
Norway		X
Poland		X (d)
Portugal		X
Romania		X
Russia		X (d)
San Marino		X
Serbia		X (note)
Slovakia		X
Slovenia		X (d)
Spain		X
Sweden		X (d)
Switzerland		X (d)
FYROM		X (d)
Ukraine		X
United Kingdom		X

*** r: reservations; d: declarations; c: communication; t: territorial application

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The FCPNM has proved to be the very first multilateral and legally binding document with a direct reference to 'national minorities'.

> "In this context, the concept of 'framework convention' designates a set of principles, the clarification and realization of which are to be fundamentally achieved at the domestic level. The last paragraph of the preamble to the Framework Convention confirms this last approach by stating that states parties are "determined to implement the principles set out in this Framework Convention through national legislation and appropriate governmental policies" (Pentassuglia 2007: 132).

In other words, since the convention is still a framework, domestic (governmental) regulations are the sole means for the FCPNM to come into effect. The same also applies when it comes to defining, or distinguishing, the national minorities; i.e., states are left unbounded with regard to which groups they declare as national minorities, or whether they declare any group as such. Unlike the ECRML, therefore, the FCPNM does not make a definition for minority groups and clarify their existence. Still, the Framework Convention acknowledges the importance of the protection of minorities for restoring the order and stability in Europe, and promotes pluralist, democratically governed minority regimes in both halves of the continent. In the preamble, it is stated that

> "…the upheavals of European history have shown that the protection of national minorities is essential to stability, democratic security and peace in this continent; a pluralist and genuinely democratic society should not only respect the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of each person belonging to a national minority, but also create appropriate conditions enabling them to express, preserve and develop this identity; the creation of a climate of tolerance and dialogue is necessary to enable cultural diversity to be a source and a factor, not of division, but of enrichment for each society; [and] the realization of a tolerant and prosperous Europe does not depend

solely on co-operation between States but also requires transfrontier co-operation between local and regional authorities without prejudice to the constitution and territorial integrity of each State" (CoE Document 1995: Preamble[70]).

Although being the first legally binding text devoted to minority rights and protection in Europe, the FCPNM has been heavily criticized on at least four grounds: first, it did not give a definition of a national minority (only vaguely defined principles and objects were included in the text); second, it did not clarify how the rights of national minorities would protect the minority group; third, it set up a control mechanism with minimal means and very large monitoring process (states were obliged to report only in every five years); and lastly, it left the monitoring issue in the hands of governments (even the non-legally binding OSCE's Copenhagen Document [1990] provided better mechanisms such as individual petition) (Gilbert 1996; Gál 2000).

The FCPNM, however, was significant for it was thereafter legally guaranteed that in the newly formed identity of Europe, protection of minorities would also have a critical place (Weller 2005). It was pointed out that among the cornerstones of 'democratic security', there would be the treatment and rights of national minority groups and their ability to pursue and develop their culturally, religiously, linguistically and traditionally diverse identities (CoE Document 1995: Article 5). Europeanization, therefore, by the mid-1990s, added the issue of minorities (their protection and special rights) into its agenda. However, it was still to be determined how to establish a truly multicultural framework in domestic societies because of the lack of sincere political will, and issues of domestic concern (Hoffmann, R. 1999).

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[70] Available from the World Wide Web: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/html/157.htm

The 1990s also recognized the entrance of a third actor into the European minorities discussions, i.e., the EU (Shoraka 2010: 91-166). "European international politics of accommodation of national minorities", in Malloy's words, combined "three approaches, security, democratization, and integration" (Malloy 2005: 3). In the post-Maastricht era, as pointed out several times earlier, the Union began to reconstruct itself as more of a political actor, than as an economic regional organization, and placed democracy, the rule of law, and respect for fundamental rights and freedoms into the front of this newly forming political identity. Article F(2) of the TEU stated clearly that

> "The Union shall respect fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed in Rome on 4 November 1950 and as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the Member States, as general principles of Community law" (EU Document 1992b: Article F(2)).

The text of the treaty did not make a direct reference to minorities. This was not unexpected, since the only document published by a European organ on behalf of the European integration that had ever touched upon the issue of minorities was a resolution of the European Parliament, which included a comprehensive list of fundamental rights with a slight reference to non-discrimination, also against 'national minorities' (EP Document 1989[71]). The pre-1990s European integration was substantially blind to the protection or rights of minorities, leaving the whole matter in the hands of domestic powers.

The 1990s, however, began with the political recognition of the issue of minorities by the EU, as after the Luxembourg European Council, it was declared officially that

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[71] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/docs/pdf/a2_0003_89_en_en.pdf

"The protection of minorities is ensured in the first place by the effective establishment of democracy. The European Council recalls the fundamental nature of the principle of non-discrimination. It stresses the need to protect human rights whether or not the persons concerned belonging to minorities. The European Council reiterates the importance of respecting the cultural identity as well as rights enjoyed by members of minorities which such persons should be able to exercise in common with other members of their group. Respect for this principle will favor political, social and economic development." (EC Document 1991[72])

Because of this direct reference in the Presidency Conclusions, some scholars read some of the articles of the TEU as if they could be extended to include minorities. For instance, according to Estebanez, Article A of the TEU, stating that "[t]his treaty marks a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe (…) in a manner demonstrating consistency and solidarity" (EU Document 1992b: Article A), could (and should) also be extended to minorities (Estebanez 1995: 134-135). Furthermore, Article 128(1), declaring that "[t]he Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore" (EU Document 1992b: Article 128(1)), might be interpreted as a hint about the 'multicultural agenda' of the Union for the post-Maastricht era.

Whereas these provisions were amended and re-confirmed by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997[73], the European Council kept on publishing certain measures for assisting the minorities and the development of their cultures. For instance, through Regulations 975 and 976, both in 1999, the Council encouraged financial and administrative promotions for the minorities residing in member countries (Pentassuglia 2001: 8). Council Directive 2000/34, further, implemented the equal

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[72] For related European Council decisions, see (Thornberry and Estebanez 2002: 195-268). Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/luxembourg/lu1_en.pdf
[73] In fact, the Treaty of Amsterdam also introduced the concept of 'subsidiarity' which further emphasized the administrational and governmental power of the peoples in the local areas, perhaps not specifically arranged for minorities, but if broadly interpreted might also extend to them; see (Follesdal 1999; Pernice 1999: Toggenburg 2000).

treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, both within the member countries of the Union as well as for third-country citizens (EU Document 2000b: 22-26[74]). After the implementations of Council Directive 2000/78 (about the equal treatment in employment and occupation (EU Document 2000c: 16-22[75])) and Council Directive 2000/750 (setting forth the Action Programme to Combat Discrimination 2001–2006 (EU Document 2000d: 23-28[76])), Bell argued that all these actions of the EU foreshadowed a tendency to reconcile freedom of movement for workers and new forms of governance with respect to immigration, non-discrimination and ethnic or national minority rights (2002: 80-87). Article 21(1) of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, on the other hand, specified the non-discrimination bases, reading "[a]ny discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, color, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, languages, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited" (EU Document 2000a: Article 21(1)). Those improvements were heralded particularly under the heading of 'human rights', and the Charter was non-binding, but it was still clear that Europeanization did make attempts to be sensitive to minority issues.

6.1.4. Minorities and the EU-15: Minimal Europeanization 'Into'

How such sensitivity on minorities worked for the EU member states (or led to changes in domestic laws) is a curious question, an answer for which is tremendously hard to find. The main reason for that is related to the diversity of the identities, hence the attitude towards minorities, of the European nation-states. For instance, better alignment with this new trend of Europeanization towards the democratic participation of minorities is expected from multilingual/multiethnic (or what Greenfeld defined as 'individualistic') states (such as the UK), whereas more

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[74] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/combating_discrimination/l33114_en.htm
[75] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/employment_rights_and_work_organisation/c10823_en.htm
[76] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/combating_discrimination/l33113_en.htm

hesitation is expected from traditionally 'civic' nation-states (such as France). Kurubaş benefits from the information on the signatory statuses of European states to a number of minority-related international documents as a source of evaluating their level of sensitivity towards minority issues (2004: 123-124). Table 6.3 adapts his idea to the discussion here, demonstrating the ratification/signature statuses of the so-called EU-15 member states (those states who had been members of the Union until the eastern enlargement in 2004) with respect to their participation to major minorities-related international documents, including the ICCPR, the ECHR, the ECRML, and the FCPNM.

Table 6. 3 Signatory European Union-15 Member States to the Major Minorities-Related Documents[77]

EU-15 Member States	UN- ICCPR	CoE- ECHR	CoE- ECRML	CoE- FCPNM
Austria	rat. (d) (o)	rat. (r)	rat. (d)	rat. (d)
Belgium	rat. (r) (o)	rat.	did not sign	rat. (r)
Denmark	rat. (d) (o)	rat.	rat. (d) (c)	rat. (d)
Finland	rat. (r) (o)	rat. (r)	rat. (d)	rat.
France	rat. (d) (r) (o)	rat. (d) (r) (t)	did not ratify (d)	did not sign
Germany	rat. (d) (o)	rat.(note) (r)(t)	rat. (d)	rat. (d)
Greece	rat. (d) (r) (o)	rat. (note)	did not sign	did not ratify
Ireland	rat. (d) (r) (o)	rat. (r)	did not sign	rat.
Italy	rat. (d) (o)	rat.	did not ratify	rat.
Luxembourg	rat. (d)	rat.	rat.	did not ratify (d)
The Netherlands	rat. (r) (o) (t)	rat. (t)	rat. (d) (t)	rat. (d) (t)
Portugal	rat. (o) (t)	rat. (r)	did not sign	rat.
Spain	rat. (d) (o)	rat. (d) (r)	rat. (d)	rat.
Sweden	rat. (r) (o)	rat.	rat. (d)	rat. (d)
United Kingdom	rat. (d) (r) (o)(t)	rat. (t) (c)	rat. (d) (t)	rat.

*** rat: ratified; r.: reservations; d: declarations; c: communication; t: territorial application; o: objections

What Table 6.3 gives is a considerably messy picture: despite the fact that all the EU-15 members have ratified the documents, their preferences have proved to make declarations, to put reservations, or to showcase overtly their unique interpretations of the texts. The ICCPR (indeed its Article 27) is ratified by all, though with hesitation. The states feel more comfortable specifying which 'ethnic,

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[77] In this table, information regarding the ICCPR is available from the World Wide Web: http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-4&chapter=4&lang=en ; information regarding the ECHR, the ECRML, and the FCPNM is available from the World Wide Web: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ListeTraites.asp?CM=8&CL=ENG

religious or linguistic minorities' (as written in the text of the Covenant) they refer to, or they prefer not to refer to. The ECHR is mostly associated with an anti-discrimination clause (Article 14); however, the reference to the existence of 'national minority', based on which any sort of discrimination is forbidden, seemingly alerts the signatory states, and they prefer putting reservations with regards to the status of national minorities on their land. The ECRML was not ratified by France and Italy, whereas Belgium, Greece, Ireland and Portugal did not sign the Charter at all. As a matter of fact, only the government of Luxembourg ratified it without putting any further restrictions on the interpretation of the document. The FCPNM, too, has been approached cautiously by the EU-15 member states. France did not at all sign the Convention; Greece and Luxembourg did not ratify it. Finland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the UK, however, have ratified the document with no reservations, declarations, etc. attached. It must also be noted that all EU-15 countries are signatories to the CSCE/OSCE documents related to minority rights and protection – bearing in mind, however, that some reservations have also been attached to those documents and the legal status of them is non-binding.

Three groups of the EU-15 countries might be sub-divided as those that are enthusiastic about the minority rights, those that are reluctant about the minority rights, and those that are indifferent. In the enthusiastic group, there are Spain, Italy, the UK and Sweden (Kurubaş 2004: 201-260). The Constitution of Spain of 1978, first, divides the country into seventeen autonomous regions based on different nationalities, historical and territorial characteristics, such as the Basque, Catalonia, Galicia, Foral Community of Navarre, Valencian Community, Aragon, Andalusia, etc. The Spanish Constitution reads: "The Constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish Nation, the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards; it recognizes and guarantees the right to self-government of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed and the solidarity among them all" (Constitution of Spain: Preliminary Title, Section 2[78]). Within these regions, mother-tongues are freely used in every aspect of life (education, administration, business), along with

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[78] Constitution of Spain, as amended in 1978; available from the World Wide Web: http://www.congreso.es/constitucion/ficheros/c78/cons_ingl.pdf

the official language of the country, Castilian. Although the Spanish model has been heralded as one of the leading pluralist liberal models that encourage the co-existence of multilingual and multiethnic peoples in a given state, separatist-terrorist movements (especially those of the Basque and Catalan groups) have been causing problems for the 'indissoluble unity' of the nation, as it is credited in the constitutional text (Özçer 2006). During late 2009, as a recent example, the Catalan nationalists organized public meetings (including symbolic referenda) and demonstrations in Brussels that clearly sought assurance from the EU organs by showcasing the willingness of the participants to found the Catalan country, separated from Spain (Govan 2009). Hence, the validity of the Spanish model with regards to the minority treatment seemingly raises doubts and threatens the link between the unity of the state and the multiculturalist developments. The Constitution of Italy, secondly, recognizes and protects linguistic minorities (such as German, Franco-Provencal, Slovene, Friulian, and Serbo-Croatian), specifically reading that "[t]he Republic safeguards linguistic minorities by means of appropriate measures" (Constitution of Italy: Article 6[79]). It was also guaranteed that minorities will be represented in elections (Italian Constitution: Article 83). Confusingly though, despite the fact that Italian linguistic minorities are granted certain constitutional privileges, the only international document that is related particularly to the linguistic rights of minorities, i.e., the ECRML, has not yet been ratified by Italian governments to date. Nevertheless, the fact that Italy has already ratified the other three minority-related texts, with no reservations attached, clearly demonstrates the country's willingness to take action towards its linguistic minorities. Coming from a long tradition of ethnic terror, thirdly, the United Kingdom (made up of four nations: England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland) is commonly known to be sensitive towards human rights and racism. The Irish, the Scotch, the Welsh, the Cornish and several other minority communities have been granted some rights and autonomies in their administration. However, as the CoE Committee of Ministers also put through in the 2002 Report, the United Kingdom is still invited to put a wider interpretation on minority issues such that the

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[79] Constitution of Italy, as amended in 1947; available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.senato.it/documenti/repository/istituzione/costituzione_inglese.pdf

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privileges must also be broadened to cover ethnic minorities accumulated mainly due to migration over years into the country (CoE Document 2002: 2[80]). Finally, in 2003, the same Committee published a report on the admirable progress of Sweden towards the development and implementation of rights for both linguistic and national minorities of the country, applied to the indigeneous people of Sámi, the ethnic Finns, the Jews, and the people of Roma (CoE Document 2003: 2[81]).

The reluctant group of EU-15 countries towards the development of a European minority regime is comprised of France, Greece, Ireland, Belgium and the Netherlands (Kurubaş 2004: 260-294). The Constitution of France sets out the (nonexistent) policy towards minorities by stating, "France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion. It shall respect all beliefs. It shall be organized on a decentralized basis" (Constitution of France: Article 1[82]). Thus, the French Republic does not recognize any minorities, but foreigners (who do not have French nationality – either born with, or gained afterwards through immigration), and hence, does not grant any cultural, linguistic, legal, administrative, educational or religious rights to other groups but to its citizens, individually. The civic-societal prehension makes French citizens also French nationals, and any other logic is considered dangerous to the indivisibility of the French land and French people (Jackson 1995). In recent years, however, there has been a tendency of the French State to loosen up the interpretation of the no-minorities clause, in the area of languages. For instance, the amended Constitution declares that "[r]egional languages are part of France's heritage" (Constitution of France: Article 75(1)). Though not officially recognized, Catalan, Corsican, Franco-Provencal, Occitan, Italian, Breton, Basque, Alsatian, Dutch and Franconian-German might be named among those regional languages. However, the non-ratification of the ECRML, and the traditional resistance for signing the FCPNM, as well as the disheartening intolerance of the French State and police towards

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[80] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_1st_CM_Res_UK_en.pdf
[81] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_fcnmdocs/PDF_1st_CM_Res_Sweden_en.pdf
[82] Constitution of France, as amended in 2008; available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/english/8ab.asp

immigrants, still indicate that France stands as the champion of reluctance about the formation of the Europe-wide minorities regime. Greece follows France here quite closely. The Treaty of Lausanne is still the only reference point that domestic Greek law recognizes in terms of the protection and rights of minorities, which sets out only the Muslims of the Western Thrace, mostly the Turks and Pomaks, as religious minorities. For instance, the infamous Article 19 of the Greek Citizenship Code initially deprived those individuals who were not ethnically Greek (targeting Slavic speakers, Jews, and Albanian Muslims), or who left the country with no intention of returning, of their citizenship (Anagnostou 2005: 337-338). However, by the year 1998, due to the critical stand of the EU institutions, Anagnostou claims, Article 19 was abolished and the definition of the 'Muslim minorities' was extended also to the Pomaks, ethnic Turks, and the Gypsies (2005: 352). Still, Greece is hesitant to sign or ratify the international documents related to the status of minorities, and Tocci admits that this is mainly due to the lack of EU internal law as well as the ongoing paranoia between Greece/Cyprus and Turkey, which has resulted in the 'negative reciprocity' perspective and prejudice towards the minorities (Tocci 2008). The situation in Ireland, too, has its roots in history, particularly in the gruelling past with the English and the ongoing dispute with Northern Ireland. Ethnicity and Catholicism vs. Protestantism separation have traditionally alerted the Irish about the integrity of their country land, and have caused such reluctance towards an internationally acknowledged minorities administration. The reluctance, however, has been increasingly criticized by the CoE Committee of Ministers, as the dynamics of globalization are working in favor of Ireland and the country receives more and more immigrants from a variety of countries all around the world, and the level of racism in the island is also simultaneously increasing (CoE Document 2004: 2[83]). The reluctance of Belgium, on the other hand, is reasoned from a completely different perspective, which is based mainly on the structure of the Belgian State. The system in Belgium is called 'Consociationalism', a form of governance guaranteeing group representation and based on the idea of power-

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[83] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/minorities/2._FRAMEWORK_CONVENTION_(MONITORIN G)/2._Monitoring_mechanism/6._Resolutions_of_the_Committee_of_Ministers/1._Country-specific_resolutions/1._First_cycle/PDF_1st_CM_Res_Ireland_en.pdf

sharing among the divided regions of a state (Lijphart 2004), which in the Belgian case is represented by the division of the country into three regions (the Walloon Region, the Flemish Region, and the Brussels-Capital Region) among four communities (the French Community, the Flemish Community, the Flemish and French Community, and the German-Speaking Community). The consociational system already grants broadened regional rights to its citizens in terms of administration, education, language, religion, and the government(s) does not prefer jeopardizing the 'power balance' between the national communities (Jacobs 2000) by complicating the system with further additions, including internationally binding standards (Pas 2004). The Netherlands, lastly, shows also a reluctant stand about a Europe-wide minorities regime, due particularly to two reasons (Kurubaş 2004: 276-278). The first one is connected to the foundations of the country as an 'immigration country'. Large numbers of immigrants have been received by the Netherlands from every corner of the world, and following Kymlicka's (1995) point in not 'privileging the immigrants with the status of minorities', the Dutch governments choose broadening individual rights and freedoms with respect to diversified requirements of the population instead of discriminating certain groups positively (except for the Frisians, the only official minority group in the country). The second reason is similar to that of the Belgium case. The rights granted to individuals by the Dutch Constitution already outrank those granted to regional, linguistic or national minorities by the international standards. Hence, in other words, by keeping the reluctance, the Netherlands inhibits from a sort of a setback in its liberal agenda. Kurubaş summarizes this point by asserting that the Netherlands does not *de jure* recognize minorities, but gives them rights on a *de facto* basis (2004: 278). However, it must still be noted that, according to the study conducted by Scholten and Holzhacker (2009), the general attitude of the Netherlands' position towards minorities indicated a clear shift from the integrationist politics during the 1990s to the assimilationist politics in the 2000s, due mostly to the rising popularity of the concept of the 'clash of civilizations' and its practical results.

The third group of the EU-15 countries is consisted of Austria, Germany, Finland, Portugal and Luxembourg, and these countries are seemingly indifferent

about whether a Europe-wide minorities regime should be established, either because their federal systems have already solved the problems that could be possibly associated with the protection of minorities (as in the cases of Austria and Germany), or because they are rather homogeneously nationalized at their foundations (as in the cases of Finland, Portugal and Luxembourg). In Austria, six ethnic groups (Croatian, Slovenian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovakian, and the Roma) are officially recognized as minorities, and they are granted privileges regarding their education, administration and practices of worship (Gamper 2004). A similar picture is also realized in Germany for four ethnic groups (the Danish minority, the Frisian ethnic minority, the German Sinti and Roma, and the Sorbs) (Weiss 2004). Although it has been reported that the German government conducted involuntary genetic testing on the people of Roma, the main question for Germany and minority politics rises rather about the position of the immigrants and guest workers, or predominantly about the 'foreigner problem' (Chapin 1997: 53-64) – which will be discussed on the following.

The general picture drawn for the position of minorities within the EU-15 member states gives two possible conclusions. On the one hand, it might be interpreted that since the 1990s, there has been a growing concern over the rights and protection of minority groups expressed by the leading European institutions, the OSCE, the CoE, and the EU. However, this concern has yet to establish a Europe-wide internal legal setting regarding the minorities issue, and the final say is still being left to the domestic politics of the European countries, which is reflected in the reluctance to establish the European minorities regime, as well as in the clash of perceptions (e.g., French vs. Spanish, Greek vs. British, etc.) across European countries regarding the treatment of minorities. On the other hand, even if it is possible to speak of a growing concern and awareness of the problem of minorities, because of the lack of a common legal position/policy, a valid control mechanism over the well-being of minorities cannot be applied in the European case when it comes to the core countries of the European integration. Europeanization, in other words, might be said to have brought about a general upsurge in the awareness of the critical position of minorities in a working, pluralistic, democratic way of

governance, yet to have lacked the necessary means to subject, to monitor, and to develop a common minorities regime for the Western Europeans.

6.1.5. Minorities and the CEECs: A Different Europeanization Into through Conditionality

When it comes to the Eastern part of the continent, however, things change dramatically. The whole issue of minorities suddenly becomes an external policy of the EU, and an important part of the Europeanization of the ex-Communist East. Before dealing with the reasons for this transformation, Table 6.4 demonstrates the ratification/signature statuses of those EU member states who gained the membership status after the eastern enlargement in 2004, as well as those of the candidate countries and potential candidates for the EU accession, with respect to their participation to major minorities-related international documents, including the ICCPR, the ECHR, the ECRML, and the FCPNM (also see, Kurubaş 2004: 154).

Table 6. 4 Signatory European Union Member States after 2004, Candidate Countries for Accession, and Potential Candidates to the Major Minorities-Related Documents[84]

EU Member States and (Potential) Candidates	UN- ICCPR	CoE- ECHR	CoE- ECRML	CoE- FCPNM
Bulgaria	rat. (d)	rat.	did not sign	rat. (d)
Cyprus	rat. (o)	rat.	rat. (d)	rat.
Czech Republic	rat. (note)	rat. (note) (r)	rat. (d)	rat.
Estonia	rat. (note) (o)	rat. (r)	did not sign	rat. (d)
Hungary	rat. (note) (o)	rat.	rat. (d)	rat.
Latvia	rat. (note) (o)	rat.	did not sign	rat. (d)
Lithuania	rat.	rat. (r)	did not sign	rat.
Malta	rat. (d) (r)	rat. (r) (d)	signed	rat. (d) (r)
Poland	rat. (note) (d) (o)	rat.	rat. (d)	rat. (d)
Romania	rat. (d)	rat. (r)	rat. (d)	rat.
Slovakia	rat. (d) (o)	rat. (note) (r)	rat. (d)	rat.
Slovenia	rat. (d)	rat.	rat. (d)	rat. (d)
Candidate Countries				
Croatia	rat. (d)	rat. (r)	rat. (d) (r)	rat.
FYROM	rat.	rat.	signed	rat. (d)
Iceland	rat.(note)(d)(r)	rat.	signed	signed
Montenegro	rat.	rat. (note) (r) (d)	rat. (note)	rat. (note)
Turkey	rat. (d) (r)	rat.	did not sign	did not sign
Potential Candidates				
Albania	rat.	rat.	did not sign	rat.
Bosnia&Herzegovina	rat. (d)	rat.	signed	rat.
Kosovo	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Serbia	rat. (note)	rat. (note) (r) (d)	rat.(note)(d)(r)	rat. (note)

*** rat: ratified; r.: reservations; d: declarations; c: communication; o: objections

For Wallace, who commented on the relationship between the EU and the rest of Europe in the post-Cold War environment, the engagement of the Union was

"… both explicitly through its external policies and implicitly by seeking to export its own internal regimes to neighbors and partners… It consist[ed] not only of the direct instance that candidate countries should adopt the acquis communautaire but also of a more dynamic process of attempting to spread

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[84] In this table, information regarding the ICCPR is available from the World Wide Web: http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-4&chapter=4&lang=en ; information regarding the ECHR, the ECRML, and the FCPNM is available from the World Wide Web: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ListeTraites.asp?CM=8&CL=ENG

the process of Europeanization across the continent" (quoted in Dobre 2003: 56).

It is already stated in this thesis that Europeanization is understood as any sort of cross-border connections (exchanges of any kind, including policy transfers) *within* Europe, *from* Europe and *into* Europe between societies, institutions, norms, practices and values (see Chapter II). It is those connections that may or may not give Europe – however it is defined or outlined – its identity. The development of the minorities regime, or a lack of one, is no different than any other connection, and may fit perfectly to such an understanding of Europeanization. In the above section, dealing with the status of the minorities issue throughout Western Europe, it is made clear that it is hard to speak of an internal European minorities regime developed in the Western region. There is, further, no common policy or position taken in harmony by the Western European nation-states, or by the EU, as a political entity. Hence, it barely makes sense to mention a process of Europeanization *within* for the issue of minorities. Once there is no internal policy or regime, furthermore, it is also absurd to think about a process of Europeanization *from*, there is nothing to transfer into the East from the West. In other words, to borrow from Wallace, when it comes to the development of Europe-wide standards for better protection and rights designed for minorities, there has been no export of an internal regime to the Eastern part.

What has been experienced in the Eastern side of the minorities story instead is twofolded. On the first level, because of the increasing awareness of the importance of minorities in the liberal, democratic societies (thanks to multiculturalism), the Western European states (or the EU-15) begin interpreting their conventional, nationalistically driven, attitude towards minorities more loosely, although the level of this loosening changes from one country to another, and is not yet enough to construct a European minorities regime within the politics of the European integration process. This is a clear example of the process called the Europeanization *into*, and is still continuing as already demonstrated in the previous paragraphs above. On the second level, however, the direction of the

Europeanization *into* is diverted, if not peddled, a little by the EU-15, hence showcases a sort of bifurcation for the CEECs. The question is, how?

On the one hand, after the break-up of the Communist bloc and the emergence of newly-founded nation-states, as well as displaced minorities in the region, not only the Western governments, civil society or academics, but also the Eastern Europeans too were aware of the necessity for the adaptation of generous minority practices in the name of 'ethnic reconciliation', and for the institutionalization of minority protection (Deets 2002). The immediate remedy for minorities problems was found in the ultimate 'Significant We'; i.e., the liberal democracy of the West, the EU. As shown in Chapter III, Easterners were desperately looking for a European identity, which was considered reminiscent of their Western counterparts' identity, and at the onset of this identity-building process adopted the liberal, democratic principles designed and implemented by the West, particularly by the EU. The TEU, for instance, declared specifically a three-footed value-system, including a functioning system of democracy, the promotion of a European identity, and the respect and development of human rights and fundamental freedoms (EU Document 1992b: Preamble), that might roughly be represented as in Figure 6.1.
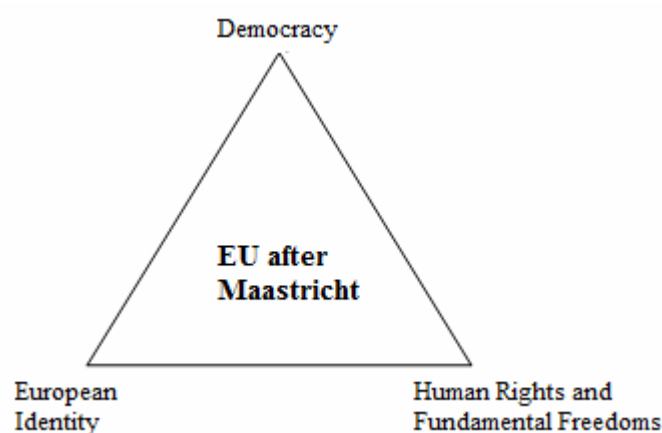
Figure 6. 1 Three-Footed Value-System of EU-ization at Maastricht

All three goals set out by the EU were suitable to the agenda of the ex-Communist CEECs as they were well aware of the fact that, with a domestically corrupted administrative system, there was altogether no way for integration with

the West, hence never a chance to get rid of the Communist past. Pentassuglia elaborates on this suitability by saying that "the more the Eastern Europe resemble[d] the 'civilized' West, the more [was going to be] offered by the EU" (2001: 11). However, the recipe offered by the Union to the CEECs was not exactly that of this Europeanized liberal democracy, but instead, was evidently a multiculturalist one. In 1993, the European Council meeting in Copenhagen set out the accession criteria for the Easterners, which had to be followed if they expected to be a part of 'Europe'. There were three headings: political, economic, and administrative (acquis communautaire) criteria. For the first one, the EU made clear that a membership in the Union would require "stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for protection of minorities" (EU Document 1993b). Democracy, the rule of law and human rights were already involved in the three-footed value-system designed for the Westerners in Maastricht. It was also made clear that the EU would only consider membership of countries that were accepted to be European, or, employing a very vague interpretation, possessing a European identity. However, there had never been before the clear inscription of the protection of minorities as one of the fundamental values of the European integration. In Denmark, the European value-system was augmented by a fourth foot, the protection of minorities, which however would only make a condition for the Eastern part. The Figure 6.2 demonstrates this new picture.
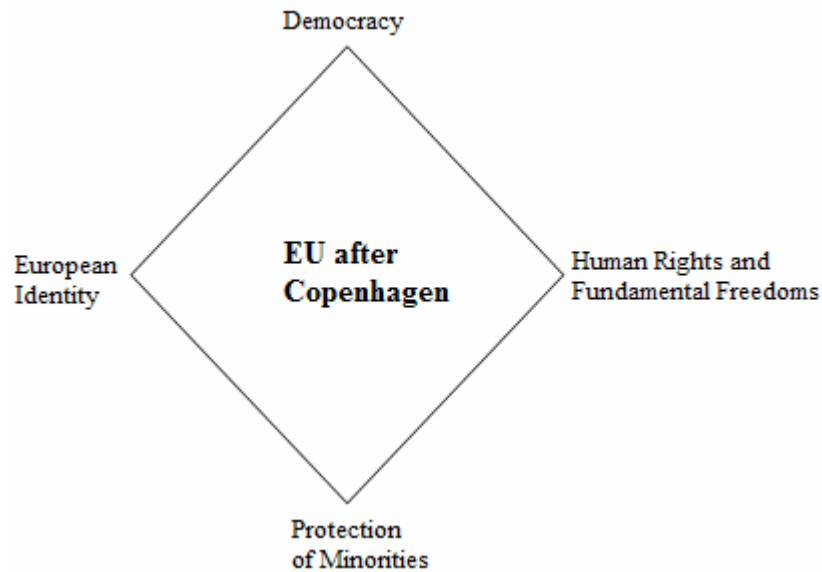
Figure 6. 2 Four-Footed Value System for the Central and Eastern European Countries at Copenhagen

Smith sees 'conditionality' as a primary means of the promotion of democracy in the CEECs, and hence, that of the process of EU-ization (Smith, K. 2001: 31). It is clearly one of the most effective tools of the EU external policy. Based on the need for an incentive for restructuring of the candidate countries and the obvious power-asymmetry between the EU and the accession states, conditionality gives the Western Europeans the ability to shape the design of policy structures and process in the CEECs. The political criterion of the Copenhagen Document defines one of the basic characteristics of conditionality, which may impose duties or responsibilities on the accession countries without an internal consensus on a specific practice in any field, such as the protection of minorities. Such an ambiguity, or double-standard, so to speak, was reflected well in the wording of the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) which "expressly excluded 'respect for and protection of minorities'" (Sasse 2005: 4) from the Copenhagen agenda, though keeping the rest of the criterion – democracy, human rights, the rule of law – exactly the same. More interestingly, although the 'protection of minorities' had been highlighted two years before the 1995 enlargement (Austria, Sweden, Finland), it was never made an issue before the actual accession of those countries, and rather propounded for the CEECs particularly (Hughes and Sasse 2003).

Conditionality based upon minority protection also posed several problems (Sasse 2005: 5). First, there was no legitimate, legal foundation in the EU regarding the position of minorities, and it was left entirely to the hands of the member state legislations. Second, the prioritization of the minorities issue was specifically promoted as an external policy, and had never been considered as an internal problem. Third, in what way minorities conceived their 'minority status' was left open for discussion and as a decision for the states to make. Fourth, the addressee of the protection or the rights to be granted, or whether minorities should have been considered as groups or individuals, was not made clear by the European institutions. The monitoring process by the EU showed the lack of dedication to the policies regarding the minorities, as the only means of monitoring was the annual reports prepared for each accession country, which referred principally to the signing of certain international documents that many countries of the EU-15 did not ratify, and nothing else. Finally, the CEECs were not only expected, but demanded to fulfill their responsibility to 'protect their minorities' in order to gain the right for accession to the EU without subsequent clarity, assistance, or goals to be determined/granted by the Union. Ad hoc-ery was expected to fulfill the mission, and revolutionize the statuses of minorities in the CEECs.

Why did the minority issues attract the interest of the newly politicized EU, and make them take action towards the protection of minorities, particularly that of the CEECs? An answer for both questions lies in the field of security, and it is reflected in the text of the Brussels European Council (1993) Presidency Conclusions. Accordingly,

"… [i]n the CFSP framework, the draft Pact on Stability in Europe is intended to promote preventive diplomacy and therefore is not concerned with countries in conflict. Initially, it will be directed at those countries of central and eastern Europe which have the prospect of becoming members of the European Union and with which the Union has concluded or negotiated agreements. The aim of the initiative is to contribute to stability by averting tension and political conflicts in Europe, fostering neighborly relations and

encouraging countries to consolidate borders and to resolve problems of national minorities" (EU Document 1993a: Part III[85]).

The Stability Pact for Europe was adopted in 1995, which became not only the EU's first joint action of preventive diplomacy in Central and Eastern Europe, but also the concrete outcome of the re-securitization of the minorities issue in Europe. Under the CFSP, conflict in the continent was directly linked to the instability in the central and eastern regions, whose border non-disturbance was particularly associated with the resolution of the problems of national minorities. It was stated clearly in the Pact that "[a] stable Europe is one in which peoples democratically express their will, in which human rights, including those of persons belonging to national minorities, are respected", and Europe was committed to combat "all manifestations of intolerance, and especially of aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia and anti-semitism, as well as between persons and persecution on religious and ideological grounds" (EU Document 1995: Declaration 4-5[86]).

The link between stability and the protection of minorities in the CEECs was indeed contradictory to the multiculturalist agenda, supposedly pursued by the EU for internal and external relations. It was, instead, a clear separation between (lack of) an internal regime for West European minorities and an (imposed) external agenda for the CEECs and East European minorities. While the former was a slight nudge towards liberal multiculturalism, the latter became a sharp return to the securitization of the minorities issue. Nevertheless, the Union did not pursue its insistence upon prioritizing the protection of minorities as a *sine qua non* for the membership talks. The Agenda 2000, published in 1997, for instance, did not make a direct reference at all to minorities, and explicitly excluded the protection of them from the membership criteria, while keeping the items of 'democracy', 'the rule of law', 'a functioning market economy', and full implementation of the 'acquis

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[85] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/brussels1/de1_en.pdf
[86] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.ena.lu/stability_pact_europe_initiative_european_union_paris_20_21_march_1995-020005539.html

communautaire' (EU Document 1997a[87]). Instead, the evaluation of the four political Copenhagen criteria, including the protection of minorities, was left to the individual opinions (later to be known as Regular Progress Reports) for the accessing countries. The importance of the Agenda 2000, hence, lies in the fact that, by offering evaluation reports on the issue of minorities in those countries, even the external policy of the EU regarding their well-being was made no longer a common policy, but an *ad hoc* criterion applied on a country-specific basis. By the 1999 European Council in Cologne, when the initiative for establishing A Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe (from 2008 onwards known as the Regional Cooperation Council) was taken (EU Document 1999a: Article 71[88]), the EU primarily entrusted its task regarding the protection of minorities, as part of a security policy, to a separate institution, at least for the most problematic region, the Balkans (Vucetic 2001). The alleviated 'condition' regarding minorities was felt visibly when eight CEECs in 2004, and two more of them in 2007, were accepted as members of the EU with no direct consequence of these countries' political actions related to minorities that was mentioned or made an issue on the negotiation rounds (Hillion 2004).

In his 1996 book, Brubaker pictured the destabilizing character of the minority issues in the CEE region by making a tripartite division among three major actors (1996: 67-68). His 'triadic nexus' might be schematized as follows:
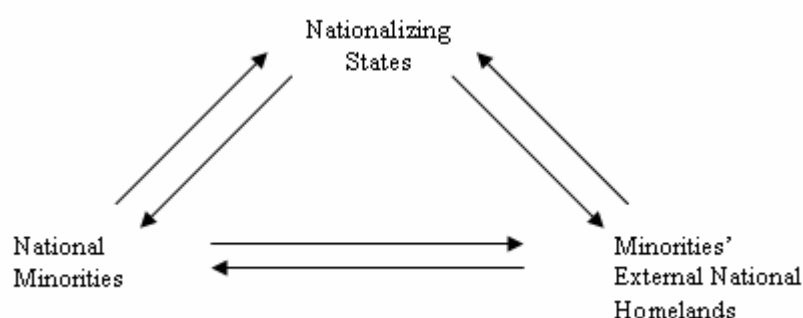
Figure 6. 3 Brubaker's Triadic Nexus for the Central and Eastern European Countries

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[87] Available from the World Wide Web: http://ec.europa.eu/agenda2000/public_en.pdf
[88] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/kolnen.htm

The diagram described the relationship between the three core actors of the minorities issue, particularly in the Eastern part of Europe. On the one hand, there were national elites, symbolized by the 'nationalizing state', who attempted to establish/promote a national culture, politics, education, economy and civil life in a recently nationalized state out of the Soviet regime. On the other hand, there were 'national minorities' separated from the majority in ethnic, linguistic, religious or any other way, who were unfavored by the national elites, yet demanded greater autonomy and anti-discriminatory behavior from the nation-state they resided. On the third dimension, there were kin-states (or mother-states) of those national minorities, represented as 'minorities' external national homelands', which were either as well newly nationalized (like Hungary) or were already nation-states (like Germany), whose certain amounts of ethnically-relevant populations were located in newly nationalized states and demonstrably needed their protection from being assimilated or discriminated. The relationship between these three dimensions provided the story of the national minorities, whether or not they were displaced, assimilated, or even slaughtered by their residing states.

Brubaker's comprehensive explanation of the East European minorities in the post-Cold War environment clearly comes from a statist perspective, or an intergovernmentalist one, to follow the European integration genre. Accordingly, domestic politics of the newly founded nation-states in the region draw the faith of minorities, and the level of tolerance towards them is a geopolitical matter. What Tesser (2003) adds to Brubaker's diagram, however, comes from a more supranationalist approach, and perhaps contributes to the comprehension of the post-Cold War minorities issue in Europe with a valuable perspective. For her, international norms and standards, especially the 'conditionality' offered by the EU, also have a say on the fate of minorities and should be taken into consideration (Tesser 2003: 490-495). If Brubaker's diagram is modified to accommodate this perspective, the scheme should resemble the figure below.
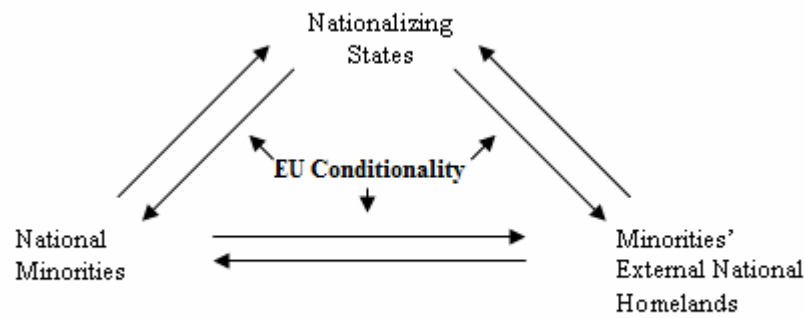
Figure 6. 4 Brubaker's Triadic Nexus Augmented by the EU Conditionality

The impact of the EU conditionality on the treatment of minorities in the CEECs is severely arbitrary, clearly left upon the domestic powers, imposed strictly on an *ad hoc* basis, and felt in significantly varying degrees, yet none of those reasons may dismiss the presence of such an impact. The violent and relentless disintegration of Yugoslavia, the war in Kosovo, or the citizenship exams dictated by some Baltic countries on the Russophones diminish the EU's external power, its being an effective international actor. The EU, besides, does not even encourage good treatment of minorities with a symbolic internal regime designed specifically for its Western members and their minority problems. However, as Tesser puts, the Union's

"… positive effects have indeed been visible concerning Hungarian-Slovak relations surrounding the Hungarian minority in Slovakia in East-Central Europe as well as from initially anti-Russian citizenship policies in Estonia and Latvia. Both cases demonstrate that internationalizing minority issues, particularly in a context wherein international organizations have a good deal of leverage, can lessen the potential for conflict – regardless of whether a social basis exists for them" (2003: 493).

In a nutshell, even though the protection of minorities never went further than the slightest discursive addition into Europe's 'identity talks', the conditionality

principle still has made some impact on the minority regimes of the CEECs' domestic politics.

To elaborate on this, the CEECs too might be classified, like the EU-15 member states, into three groups based on their attitudes towards minorities: the enthusiastic, the reluctant, and the indifferent (Kurubaş 2004: 147-154). Within the enthusiastic group, there are Hungary, Romania, and the Czech Republic. Hungary, first, is indeed among the most ethnically homogeneous countries in Europe. The problem with the country regarding the minorities issue, however, is about the Hungarian minorities living outside its own territories, due to borders drawn after the Treaty of Trianon (1920) at the end of WWI. Since then, improving the living conditions of the Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries (Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, Croatia, Austria, Slovenia, and Serbia) has been among the primary foreign policy motivations for the country. In other words, the foreign policy of Hungary has been designed particularly for becoming an effective kin-state (in Brubaker's terminology) in the internationalization of the protection of minorities, or minority rights. Having ratified all the related international documents, and passing a generous act (Act LXXVII of 1993 on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities) and a comprehensive status law (Act LXII of 2001) regarding minorities, Hungary both shows respect for the protection of the people of neighboring countries (German, Slovakian, Croatian, and Romanian minorities, as well as the Roma people, residing in Hungary) and hopes that a similar favor will be returned by those countries having Hungarian minorities within their own borders (Stewart 2004; Krizsa 2000). Moreover, taking such a proactive stand on the issue of minorities, Hungary also aspires to contribute to the new formulations of European minority standards, even after the accession to the EU (Deets 2004). The Romanian position with regards to minorities, second, is derived from an opposite perspective of the Hungarian case (Kelley 2004: 140-159). Instead of Romanian minorities spread elsewhere throughout the neighboring countries, almost ten percent of the Romanian population is formed by other nationals, including Hungarians, Poles, Serbs, Croats, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Turks,

Russians, and the Roma[89]. Because of this complexity, even before Romania started accession talks with the EU, Romanian governments had passed some cultural laws related to the subsidization of the national minorities (Government Decree in 1990); created a Council for National Minorities (1993), composed of representatives of each national minority group and arranged seats in the Parliament and the Chamber of Deputies (since the amendment of the Constitution in 1992); included protection and development of minority languages in the Law of Education (1995); and established a Department for the Protection of National Minorities (1997), including a National Office for Roma in the department, an Inter-Ministerial Committee for National Minorities (1998; from 2001 onwards known as the Department for Interethnic Relations), and a Council Against Discrimination (2000) (Ram 2003: 37-38). The domestic impulses here play a major role in the development of a rather tolerant minority regime in Romania. The Czech Republic, finally, did not have so many numbers of minority groups, but was criticized by the EU and OECD reports with regard to its treatment of the Roma minority (EU Document 1999b: Explanatory Statement[90]). The governmental Action Plan (1997), the establishment of the Interministerial Commission for Roma Community Affairs (1997; from 2001 known as the Council for Roma Community Issues), and the issue of the Ethnic Minorities Law (2001) have been signs of improvement in giving minorities educational, linguistic and administrative rights (Ram 2003: 36-37). Unlike Romania, it might be interpreted that a relatively positive attitude towards minority treatment has been developed in Czech Republic, significantly because of the international (specifically EU-wise) pressures, along with the domestic alignment with the international standards (Sobotka 2009).

The second group of reluctant countries involves Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia, and Bulgaria. The Slovakian case, first, is intriguing, for the country has recently been involved in severe criticism for its ongoing resistance to following the so-called 'standards' of the EU countries, even after its accession, and passed a law on September 1, 2009, regarding the restriction on the use of minority languages within

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[89] Information taken from the official web-site of the Romanian Government's Department for Interethnic Relations, available from the World Wide Web: http://www.dri.gov.ro/index.html?page=statistics

[90] Available from the World Wide Web: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1999/czech_en.pdf

the administrative and educational fields (where the percentage of minority speakers are less than twenty) (Kovacs 2009: 2). Slovakia had also been the only country that was excluded explicitly from accession negotiations on the basis of the non-fulfillment of the political criterion of the Copenhagen Document, although the exclusion was not directly linked to the infringement of minority rights, back in 1997 (EU Document 1997b: 21-22[91]). Slovakia has two major minority groups, and each covers almost ten percent of the population: the Roma and Hungarian minorities (Topidi 2003: 7). Especially under the government of Vladimir Meciar (1994–1998), the EU and other European institutions pushed for the inclusion of 'official languages' of the state into the Slovakian Constitution, and needed the country to make the minorities issues a concern of priority (Schimmelfennig, Engert and Knobel 2003: 502-506); however, even after the fall of the Meciar government, the Constitution still refrains from granting comprehensive rights for minorities and, without referring to any specific group, only recognizes the existence of national minorities, particularly on the basis of linguistic differentiation (Constitution of Slovakia: Article 33-34[92]). The assimilationist tendency of the country is still obviously continuing, and more importantly, neither the impact of the EU conditionality nor the supposedly ongoing EU-ization of the minority rights has seemingly affected this tendency into an opposing direction (Kelley 2004: 116-139). The Slovakian case, in other words, is a remarkable showcase of the limitations of Europeanization with respect to the development of an international minority regime. Estonia and Latvia, on the other hand, share a common question regarding the status of the Russophones (not ethnic Russians, but those who come from different ethnic bases, yet share a Russian language) (Taagepera 1993; Dreifelds 1996: 52-70; Kelley 2004: 73-115). Since their independence in 1991, the citizenry for the Russophones has been a concern for both countries, as the independent government tended to consider these minority groups as a consequence of illegal occupation of their territories by the Soviet Russians; hence, after the independence, they wanted them out of their borders (Galbreath 2003: 37-38).

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[91] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/slovakia/sk-op_en.pdf
[92] Constitution of Slovakia, as amended in 2004; available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.vop.gov.sk/en/legal_basis/constitution.html

Estonia, for instance, passed a citizenship law in 1992 that divided the Estonian society into two groups: those who were citizens before June 1940 (i.e., the ethnic Estonians), and those Russian-speaking Slavs (i.e., the non-citizens). Also in 1993, the country passed a law on aliens, which required applicants for new passports to pass an Estonian language exam (Galbreath 2003: 42-43). Latvia passed a similar citizenship law in 1993, dictating four requirements of citizenship: a language exam, a history and civic test, naturalization windows, and annual quotas on new citizenship applicants (Galbreath 2003: 44). The impact of the European institutions on these strict minority arrangements was, for Estonia, that they managed to extend the distribution of the new passports for another year, and, for Latvia, that they managed to drop the quotas. Even in 2009, the European Agency for Fundamental Rights published a survey that showed that nearly twenty-five percent of the Russophones in Estonia had experienced ethnic discrimination in employment and education (EU Document 2009b: 36[93]), while the numbers for the Russophones in Latvia were fifteen percent (EU Document 2009b: 50). For both countries, it might be concluded that, although there has been some level of impact of the European institutions (the OSCE being the most effective in spite of its non-binding monitoring) with regard to the minority-related policies, the last voice in those Baltic States belongs predominantly to the domestic politics (Galbreath 2004: 18-19). Bulgaria, lastly, is dealing with the status of the Roma and Turkish minorities residing in its territory, both of which are considered indigenous. Just like its immediate neighbor Greece, there has been a traditional understanding in Bulgarian nation-building that perceives minorities as threats for security. This is why no special law on minorities or a constitutional article devoted to the recognition of them has been adopted in Bulgaria (Ivanov 1999: 7). During the early stages of its independence, the so-called 'Bulgarization' process caused political friction between Turkey and Bulgaria; however, to compare, the Turkish minority nowadays has a rather advantageous position, possessing a right to organize politically, and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (a Turkish-minority dominated party) is now represented in the Bulgarian Parliament. The Roma

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[93] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/eumidis_mainreport_conference-edition_en_.pdf

minority has an unemployment rate of over thirty-three percent, and nearly thirty percent of them complain about the discrimination of the Bulgarian government in education, administration and employment (EU Document 2009b: 42). It should be noted further that the Europeanization perhaps retained the vulgar and bloody Bulgarization process of the ethnic non-Bulgarians, yet is still limited in terms of realizing an internationally anticipated minorities regime in Bulgaria (Rechel 2007).

In the third group of those that are located between enthusiasm and reluctance towards minorities (though closer to reluctance), there are Poland, Slovenia, and Lithuania. Having a mostly ethnically homogenous nation, Poland, first, had already passed legislation allowing national minorities (Ukrainians, Jews, Belarusians, and Germans) to form their private organizations back in 1989, and since then has been a party to the related international and EU documents. However, the country's recent history, having been divided between German and Russian invasions and having witnessed several population exchanges, still leaves Polish attitude towards minorities a little cautious and careful in giving more extensive rights than the right to organize, the right to be free from discrimination, or the right to keep one's cultural background (Nieuwsma 1999). Slovenia, second, officially recognizes, and constitutionally protects, three minority groups: Hungarians, Italians, and the Roma (Constitution of Slovenia: Article 64-65[94]). Even the Slovenian Constitution demonstrates concern for autochthonous Slovenian national minorities abroad and Slovenian emigrants and workers in other countries (Constitution of Slovenia: Article 5). However, when it comes to interpreting minorities' rights broadly and even to broadening the number of officially recognized minorities (since there are also other minorities in Slovenia, including Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, Hungarians, Macedonians, Albanians, Germans, and Czech), Slovenia rather prefers to restrict its policies to the limited number of minorities. Nevertheless, the country has already ratified all international documents and texts regarding the protection of minorities, and remains among the enthusiastic groups in the CEECs. In Lithuania, finally, back in 1989, a Law on National Minorities was passed and, accordingly, the Committee of Nationalities for the Government of the Republic of Lithuania

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[94] Constitution of Slovenia, as amended in 2000; available from the World Wide Web:
http://www.us-rs.si/media/full.text.of.the.constitution.pdf

(from 1999 onwards, known as the Department of National Minorities and Émigrés) was established. The Law of Education (1991) and the State Language Law (1995) were also supported by Articles 37 and 45 of the Constitution, which give the 'ethnic communities' (the word 'minority' is not used in the text of the Constitution) the right to foster their language, culture and customs, the right to manage the affairs of ethnic culture, education, charity, and mutual assistance, and the state guarantee of protection (Constitution of Lithuania: Article 37-45[95]). Officially, Poles, Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Germans, Jews, Tatars, Latvians, Armenians, and the Roma are recognized by the Lithuanian legal code, and together comprise almost fifteen percent of the whole population. However, the Lithuanian government does not recognize Samogitian ethnicity, an ethnic Baltic group inhabiting the region of Samogitia within the borders of Lithuania, as an 'ethnic community' separate from the major Lithuanian ethnicity. Since Samogitians have about half a million population, and comprise at least fifteen percent of the whole Lithuanian population, the minorities regime in Lithuania might be said to suffer from the matters of definition (Kallonen 2004: 2-3, 8).

With all their problems about and their resistance to major changes in domestic minorities regimes, the CEECs became members of the EU in 2004 and 2007. The EU conditionality, in other words, proved to remain at the discursive level, somehow consistently with the internal minorities perception of the EU (for its Western members). The picture indeed does not change when it comes to the current candidates for the EU membership either. Croatia, first, is no different than other Balkan states, having a multiethnic population. The Constitution as well recognizes the existence of Serbian, Czech, Slovak, Italian, Hungarian, Jewish, German, Austrian, Ukrainian, and Ruthenian minorities, and protects their rights of non-discrimination, election of their own representatives, to express their nationality, to use their language, and to maintain their cultural autonomy (Constitution of Croatia: Preamble, Article 15, Article 82[96]). However, according to the 2003 report of the Minority Rights Group International, the country also has

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[95] Constitution of Lithuania, as amended in 2003; available from the World Wide Web: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter2/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=211295
[96] Constitution of Croatia, as amended in 2010; available from the World Wide Web: http://www.sabor.hr/Default.aspx?art=2414

minorities of Bosnian and Roma ethnic origin – in considerably large amounts of population as well – and their non-recognition as minorities comprises a double standard (MRGI Document 2003: 12-15). The FYROM, second, demonstrates an enthusiastic attitude towards its minorities (or 'nationalities' as inscripted in the Constitution). Albanians, Vlachs, Turks and the Roma are officially recognized as minorities of the country, and the protection of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identities are guaranteed by the State (Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia: Preamble, Article 48[97]). The Hellenic minority of the country is not inscripted in the text of the Constitution – mainly because of the dispute with Greece over its name (Karakasidou 1993) – but still the Constitution refers also to 'other nationalities' except for those named in the text. The official Montenegrin approach to minority rights and protection, thirdly, showcases a text-book display of fence-sitting. It is stated by a Montenegrin Constitutional Court Advisor that "defining of the concept of national minorities has not been unified either in international, or in our law" (Budisavljevic 2002: 48). The country has a majority of Montenegrin population, as well as a total of twenty percent of Bosnian Muslims, Albanians, and Croats, who reportedly enjoy constitutional equality in education, use of language, political rights, health and social protection, etc. (Budisavljevic 2002). The development of a Ministry for Human and Minority Rights in the newly-founded country should also be considered a positive commitment to the further improvement on minority-related problems. Turkey, finally, which demonstrates the most reluctance with regard to developing an internationally anticipated minorities regime, is the only European country that has not yet signed either the ECRML or the FCPNM. The country, like Greece, abides by the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne (Articles 37–45), which recognizes only three religious groups (the Jews, the Greek Orthodox and the Armenian Orthodox) as minorities, and pursues a France-like 'civic' approach of the whole minorities issue (Schimmelfennig, Engert and Knobel 2003: 506-509). Any other types of minorities are not recognized by the Republic, and this causes some international and internal disputes over the statuses of certain groups, including the Kurds, the Alevis, or the Syriacs (EU Document

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[97] Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, as amended in 2001; available from the World Wide Web: http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/mk00000_.html

2009c: 13-31[98]). The non-existence of a Turkish minority rights regime might be explained by the inability of the Turkish elite to separate the cultural existence of minority groups and their legal recognition; hence, their position might be linked to the traditional security-minded approach of the (most) European governments towards minorities (İçduygu and Soner 2006). The role of the EU conditionality in the (possible) development of a Turkish minorities regime, however, is questionable, since, for instance, despite the fact that the Turkish-Kurdish dispute has its historical roots (Heper 2008: 1-3, 144-176) and the European institutions (particularly the European Parliament) have a tendency to keep that dispute rather alive and visible in favor of the Kurdish part (Çelik and Rumelili 2006: 209-214), some of the major developments in the so-called 'Kurdish question' have been occurring since 2003, corresponding to the time when the neo-conservative U.S. politics began dominating the Middle East region and dividing the Iraqi state into regions, one of which is separated for the ethnic Iraqi Kurds (Yıldızoğlu 2008; Mauer 2011; Larrabee 2007). In other words, the impact of Europe towards the amelioration of the 'Kurdish question' is dubious, depending rather mostly on domestic politics and some other geopolitical factors.

It is obvious that the picture regarding the issue of minorities in the Eastern Europe – in spite of the European integration process – is more convoluted and challenging than that of the West. There is historical and unresolved tension among Eastern European countries and peoples, and the highly vague rhetoric of the EU-ization remains incapable of solving it. Social identity formation in the East, in other words, is highly unlikely to ingroup minorities in the near future. Then, the question becomes whether it is possible to speak of Europeanization of minorities in both halves of Europe, or rather a different conceptualization is needed here. In the next section, a probable answer will be sought for.

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[98] Available from the World Wide Web:
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2009/tr_rapport_2009_en.pdf

6.2. Europeanization of Minorities vs. Minorities of Europeanization

The enhanced role of Europeanization in the development of international recognition for the protection of minorities since the beginning of the 1990s could be linked to two main – and connected – processes: on the one hand, there was the collapse of the Soviet Union that "reactivated and significantly empowered the pan-European institutions for regulating inter-state relations and monitoring the normative agenda defined by the Helsinki Final Accords" (Hughes and Sasse 2003: 4); and, on the other hand, there was the emergence of the late-modern European identity that necessitated more political unification among both Western and Eastern Europe, and demanded more stability in order to obtain international power status in globalized world affairs. The significance of the protection of minorities lies in its ability to foster democratization of the Central and Eastern European region, and to bring about the necessary measures for keeping the stability among the peoples (Linz and Stepan 1996: 434-458). However, the highly contested and controversial nature of the 'group-specific' policies (in terms of maintaining the culture of a given identity, its right to organize freely and to establish a socio-economic lifestyle of its own) resulted in a not-so-much intended Europe-wide regime for minorities.

It is obvious that the EU law could not be integrated into the protection of minorities and the devotion to minority rights, even before the enlargement in 2004 and 2007, and that the current EU practices with regard to minorities have proven to be divergent and ambiguous[99]. Johns describes the EU's exportation of minority rights to its former and current candidate countries as a process that incorporates a double standard with the phrase: "Do as I say, not as I do" (Johns 2003). This means that even the policy-makers of the Union find their advice to the candidate countries with respect to the protection of minorities so unfeasible and unacceptable that, when it comes to real accession, the whole issue of minorities can be easily excluded from the political criteria set out in Copenhagen. Since 2007, when the

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[99] Arsava (2010) propells, however, that signature of the Treaty of Lisbon (2007) might be understood as a step 'forward' in terms of integrating the issue of minorities into the existing EU law as its Article 23 could be broadened to the rights and protection of minorities, though mostly on the interpretative base presently.

last enlargement took place, the EU conditionality too disappeared from the relationship between the CEECs and their minorities. The ability of the actual Europeanization process alone, in which those countries are today included will be the only external determinant in minority issues over that region. The domestic policies of both the member states and the candidates, hence, remain the most effective tools in deciding the fates of minorities.

Some of the minority groups are absorbed into the Europeanization process, nevertheless, mostly because of the domestic interest in keeping up with the democratic standards and human rights in order to become a part of the democratic European identity, and perhaps because of the early insistence of the EU at the very onset of the introduction of the Copenhagen Criteria about the recovery of the statuses of the minorities within the CEECs. Even today, multiculturalism and multiethnic co-existence in societies are still cherished by some European institutions – albeit not as clear as it was in the past – as the ultimate destination of the European integration (Kastoryano 2009: 15-26). Thus, it might be interpreted that the Europeanization of minorities is still an ongoing process, though slow and mostly conducted by domestic powers in connection with some contested European standards. Nevertheless, it would not be unfair to assert that multiculturalism has been losing its robustness as the 'Significant We' of the new – political – Europe as it had in the early 1990s.

As the late-modern European identity acquiesced the integration of (some) Eastern Europeans, this process was not conducted on a state basis, but rather on a people's basis. This means that, for instance, the membership of Hungary into the EU in 2004 was the consequence of the integration of the Hungarian identity into the European identity, and therefore, not just the Hungarians in Hungarian state territory only, but indeed Hungarians all over the world became parts of the European integration, including the Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries. The situation of the Hungarian minority groups in the other EU countries, such as Slovakia, Romania, Austria, or Germany, is not different in terms of citizenship to the Union than that of the Hungarians residing in the Hungarian nation-state. The same also applies to the other EU nationals living in other EU countries (such as Romanians in Hungary, Slovakians in the Czech Republic, Italians in Slovenia,

etc.). The rationale here is quite clear, and, except for the heterogeneity, resembles the process of national minority-making: once admitted to the European identity, which is itself by all means multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural, and multi-racial, one is no longer a minority, but instead, a part of the whole. Therefore, the EU laws and legal codes are designed for remedying the damage done to European identity, and to those belonging to that identity, and do not involve a comprehensive measure for minor-identities. The domestic laws, on the other hand, are still intact and contemplating the national minorities, making the EU law silent on domestic legal actions taken against them, as in the case of the 2009 Slovakian law restricting the use of Hungarian language in places where less than twenty percent of ethnic Hungarians reside.

The sources of 'ethnic polarization', the term coined by Evans and Need (2002), in current Europe are now, therefore, bilateral. On the one hand, there are still national perceptions of threat, insecurity and difference with respect to the existence of minorities, which play the major role in the formation of social identities and ingroup-outgroup differentiation. Slovakia, to continue with that example, still feels threatened by the free execution of Hungarian language in education, and perhaps also feels insecure about the possible damage to its territorial integrity, and no matter how many international documents it has signed or whatever conditions have been completed by Slovakia in order for obtaining the EU membership in terms of the protection of minorities, the Slovakian government (on behalf of its nation) socially differentiates and categorizes ethnic Hungarians living in its own borders as the outgroup. The Catalonians, from a totally different perspective, socially categorize the idea of being a part of the Spanish state as the opposite of the 'Significant We', and try to depart from the Spanish identity as a Catalan ingroup. According to the survey conducted by Evans and Need, the same types of ethnic polarization significantly occur also in Estonia, Latvia, Romania and Lithuania (2002: 661). Europeanization undeniably vitiates the level of tension between the ethnically polarized groups, but the process of ethnic polarization (hence, the outgrouping of the minority groups on the domestic level) still continues all around Europe. The Europeanization of minorities, in other words, keeps

operating at the supra-level, as well as, to a degree, at the domestic level, yet is insufficiently progressing towards a multicultural model as expected[100].

As the second source of ethnic polarization, on the other hand, there is the supra-level polarization occurring mainly due to the rise of the late-modern European identity. Those who could not get involved (or welcomed) into the European integration process, or could not get a share within rapid cross-border connections in Europe, are automatically outgrouped by the Europeanization process as well. Those outgroups are here referred as the 'minorities of Europeanization', and are as important as those Europeanized minorities mentioned above.

Before naming a few groups that might fall into the category of 'minorities of Europeanization', it must be noted first that the concept of minority here refers particularly to those groups that are *not* necessarily outnumbered by a majority, restricted by a given territory, or having a sense of belonging to a certain group differentiated somehow (linguistically, religiously, ethnically, etc.) from the rest of a given society. The minority groups here are outgrouped by the Europeanization process in its latest stage (since the 1980s), during which a late-modern European identity, by which Europe has been banally defining itself as a separate social ingroup, has been emerging with a protean construction of (many) other(s). The outgroups, minorities, in that sense, are simply among the 'Other's of Europeanization, and are chosen specifically for playing up the united destiny and common heritage of selected European nationals. Having said that, the Russophones in the Baltic states, the Roma people all around the Eastern and Central European region, the Balkan ethnic groups of the former Yugoslavia (except for Croatians and Macedonians), the immigrants and guest workers from the third countries, and the Muslims might be considered as the minorities of Europeanization today. At this point, the social identity formation in Europe during the late 2000s might be schematized as follows.

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[100] There is a continuing debate whether the European integration has relinquished from producing a multicultural entity, however, it is hard to reach for such a conclusion at that point in time. For the opposing views, see (Wolton 2009; Modood 2008; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni and Passy 2005; Joppke 2004; Kundnani 2002).
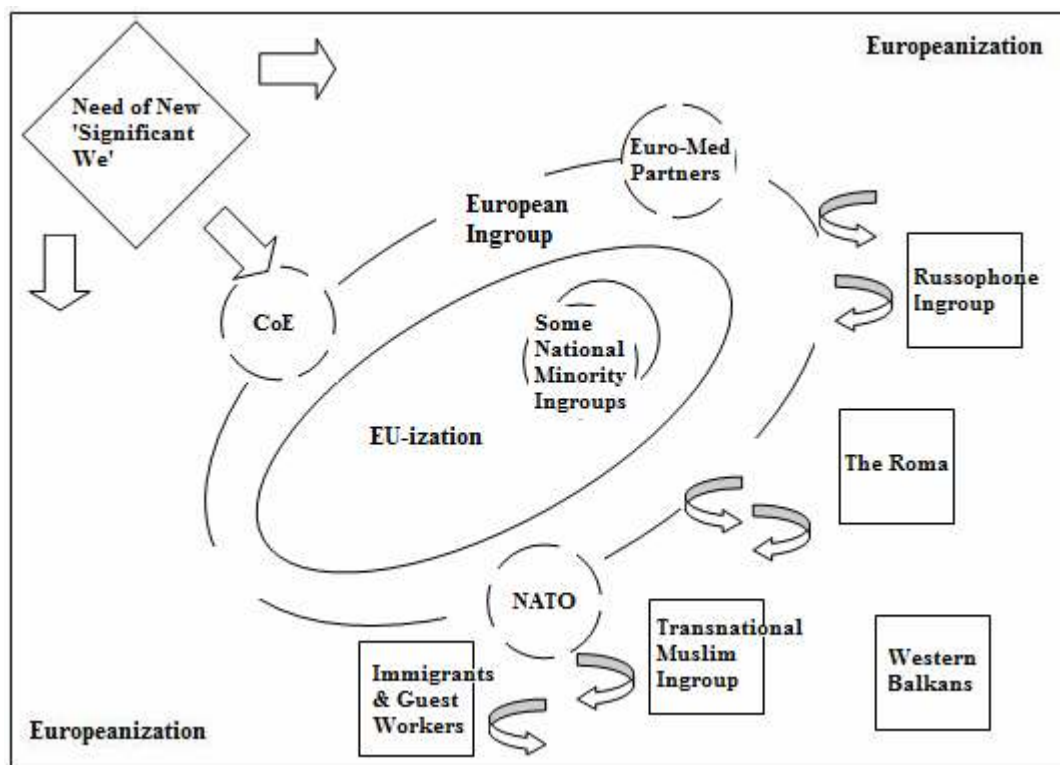
Figure 6. 5 The Social Identity Formation in Europe during the late 2000s

It has already been pointed out while analyzing the statuses of minorities in Latvia and Estonia that Russophones are not necessarily ethnic Russians, but those groups who come from different ethnic bases, yet share a Russian language. Hence, their connection with the Soviet past might be not very much different than those nationals of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, or any other country's nationals that were once parts of the Soviet dynasty. The break-up with the Soviet past for the ex-Communist states, however, discouraged the political elites of the newly independent states in terms of accepting the Russophones residing in their territories as ordinary citizens, or giving them positive group rights for maintaining their cultural, linguistic identities. Instead, they passed discriminatory laws against them, and pinned down citizenship tests in national languages for rescinding citizenship if the Russian speakers cannot pass these language examinations. These provisions are designed exclusively as a new form of naturalization politics in the name of language proficiency that is supposedly enabling a person to receive a better position on the labor market (Poleshchuk 2001). Those who cannot be 'naturalized' then become stateless people or non-citizens of a given country, and are chiefly

dismissed from governmental, municipal services (including education, healthcare, etc.) or any other citizenship rights. Including the Russophones in Finland – a country that supposedly respects human and minority rights –, the EU-MIDI Surveys show that over twenty percent of the Russian-speaking minorities feel discriminated against in education, criminal events, governmental affairs, or employment (EU Document 2009b: 176-195). There are reported cases that indicate that about seventy percent of those non-citizen Russophones were not allowed back into their residing countries once they went abroad (EU Document 2009b: 192-193). The impact of the European institutions (the OECD, the CoE, or the EU) upon the status of the Russian speakers in these countries is very limited (and clearly non-existent after the membership to the EU), ranging from delaying the citizenship examination date to extending annual quotas of citizenship (Schimmelfennig, Engert and Knobel 2003: 512). The blindness to the discriminatory treatment of the Baltic states (as well as Finland) to the Russophones is an obvious indication of the fact that these groups have become one of the minorities of Europeanization.

The situation with the Roma people in the CEECs resembles solving a really hard Rubik's cube. The Roma are a subgroup of the Romani people (Gypsies), who "first arrived in Europe at the end of the thirteenth century" (Hancock 2002: 1), who reside mostly in the CEECs. Since they usually remain on the margins of society in ghetto-like settlements, their integration into the majority of societies is very limited. Moreover, and more importantly, this separated lifestyle also hinders them from establishing a meaningful minority group with a shared culture, a dialect or common traditions altogether, even though they might comprise, with their ten to fifteen million population, the largest minority group in Europe (Nicolae and Slavik 2007: 1). The Roma is instead usually associated with unsatisfactory living conditions, chronic poverty, lack of formal (even basic) education, low levels of employment, and crime (OSCE Document 2000: 19-24[101]). The multicultural citizenship, in the sense of Kymlicka's (1995) theory, as pointed out earlier, dismisses special group rights for those who do not share a language or a religion, unable to form a meaningful separating point from any other group, and lack a collective identity. For Pogany, the European institutions after the 1990s have not

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[101] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.osce.org/documents/hcnm/2000/03/241_en.pdf

yet managed to move beyond Kymlicka's theory, and failed to elaborate on detailed norms and standards (or even citizenship) for the Roma in the CEECs (2006: 4-8). The fact that the CEECs were accepted as members of the EU, with no cause of conditionality operated on the development of the conditions of the Roma, clearly indicates insensitivity against this particular group. With no knowledge of ancestral language, culture, religion, or even the existence of ethnic counterparts in other countries/regions, therefore, the Roma is suffering from the lack of decent human rights, let alone rights specified for minorities, and from the most discrimination against all throughout Europe (EU Document 2009b: 155), and frankly is one of the minorities of Europeanization.

The war in the Balkans all through the 1990s precluded former republics of Yugoslavia (with the exception of Slovenia) from becoming involved in the accession talks with the EU with other CEECs. The integration of the Western Balkans into the European integration, in other words, has a much nearer history. This also renders speaking of the presence of the EU conditionality over the region vague, perhaps except for the official candidate country, Croatia. The Croatian and Macedonian experiences also show, as seen earlier, that the Western Balkans have never been exposed to a serious level of conditionality in terms of the protection of minorities either. This, however, has nothing to do with the fact that Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, or recently Kosovo, are free from minority problems. Quite the contrary, all countries present multiethnic, multilingual and multireligious characteristics. Serbia has Hungarian, Bosnian, Albanian, Croatian, Slovakian, Wallachian, Romanian, Macedonian, Kosovan, Ruthenian, and the Roma minorities (OSCE Document 2005[102]); Bosnia and Herzegovina has Albanian, Czech, German, Hungarian, Italian, Jewish, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Polish, Romanian, Turkish, Ruthenian, Russian, Slovenian, Slovakian, and Ukrainian minorities (Cicak and Hamzic 2006); Montenegro has Bosnian, Albanian, and Croatian minorities (Budisavljevic 2002); Albania has Greek, Macedonian, Serbian, Montenegrin, Vlach, and the Roma minorities (CoE Document 2001: 3-4[103]); and Kosovo has Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian, Turkish,

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[102] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.osce.org/documents/eea/2005/05/14663_en.pdf
[103] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4254e6c03.html

Albanian, and the Roma minorities (Baldwin 2009: 3). More importantly, there have been ongoing disputes, if not battles, among some of these minorities and the majority groups. Hence, even from the security perspective, which Europeanization should have abandoned years ago, rights and protection of minorities in the Western Balkans are perhaps more important for the future of Europe as a continent than they were in the CEECs all throughout the 1990s. As a paradox here, the role of the European institutions in restructuring the ex-Yugoslavia is yet unknown (even at the discursive level) and left particularly to the hands of European corporations, whereas the actual expectations of the ordinary people in the Balkan region is the accommodation of democracy, human rights and clearly the protection of minorities (Gökgöz and Türkeş 2006; Ralchev 2007).

The position of the immigrants or guest workers in European countries is one of the most successful real-life applications of Kymlicka's (1995) multiculturalist citizenship theory into real life. As mentioned earlier, Kymlicka's theory, and practical instances of multiculturalism in Canada and Australia, dismisses granting special rights for immigrants, refugees or guest workers in foreign countries, mainly because of the assumption that their immigration is based on a voluntary decision, which necessitates a voluntary integration into the major culture of the migrated country. From the perspective of traditional migration countries, or federal entities, such as the United States, Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, the factor of voluntarism behind the reason of abandoning a homeland country and deciding to live and to reproduce in another (foreign) one might apply logically, and a decent set of comprehensive human rights designed for all citizens (local or migrated) may solve the problems that would have been caused by the coexistence of different cultures, languages, religions, ethnicities, or races (Milligan and Conradson 2006; Evans, M. D. R. 1988). In a properly working democracy, such set of negative rights based on anti-discrimination and equality of all kinds has a reasonable chance of survival, especially when it is considered that there are no indigenous, or, in the broad sense of the word, 'national', people localized in a restricted territory. The Anglo-Saxon roots of American, Australian, or Canadian majorities may have established the grounds of federal laws and determinants of lifestyle; however, the systems operating in those societies are subject to, and even encouraged to, change

in time, in favor of other cultures, or at least not resist their flourishing as much as a regular national society would (Stanley 2006; Bloemraad 2006: 1-16; Davidson 1997; Johnston 1993).

Things, however, differ when it comes to Europe. Karapin defines immigration in Europe as "the entry into a country of people who are seen as belonging to ethnic groups distinct from the native population and who remain in the receiving country for years" (Karapin 1999: 423). The basic difference between the immigration into Europe and the immigration into the New World countries (the United States, Canada, Australia, etc.) lies in the character of the native population in European nation-states, which is commonly shared by the founders, ancestors and the current populations of countries with respect to a common culture, language, religion, sect, customs, and the sense of belongingness. Particularly due to the economic crises in the 1970s, the industrialized Western European countries needed to curb employment of foreign workers, who would be paid for basic urban services or working in factories. Stalker names four categories, including the urgency of employment, as the main reasons for immigration flows in Europe since the 1970s: first, labor migration, including "long and short-term immigrants and seasonal workers"; second, "family reunification, which usually consists of close relatives of those with long-term settlement rights"; third, "undocumented workers or 'illegal immigrants' who have either entered the country illegally or have entered on tourist visas and have overstayed, usually in order to work"; and, finally, "asylum seekers who, once granted asylum, are classified as refugees" (Stalker 2002: 151). According to the research conducted by the IOM, by 2010, Europe will have a total of almost seventy million migrants, which comprise almost ten percent of the total European population, and make the continent the leading host for immigration all around the world (IOM Document 2010[104]). The same research also shows that six European countries (four EU members (Germany, France, the UK, and Spain), the Russian Federation, and Ukraine) are among the top ten countries hosting the largest number of international migrants worldwide. Even though in some countries (e.g., Germany), the flows of receiving guest workers or immigrants

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[104] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/facts-and-figures/regional-and-country-figures

are governmentally attenuated, and now that citizens of some of the largest immigrant-sending countries in the CEECs (e.g., Poland) are equal citizens with the migration-receiving Western Europeans, the numbers of immigrants are still rising, and the management of the migration issue is getting more complicated in Europe (GCIM Document 2005[105]).

The very fundamental raison d'étre in Kymlicka's multiculturalist theory applies here in Europe too, as neither European countries nor European institutions have attempted to include migrants from the third countries in minority talks, although the problems they suffer resemble those of the minority groups. It has been reported since the 1970s that the immigrants in Europe have been suffering from disadvantages in higher education, communication (due to language barriers), employment in better occupational positions, acquiring working or living permissions, practicing their religious activities, and at heart in all possible ways of integration into the societies in which they live[106]. More importantly, the immigrants in European countries also suffer from their non-citizenship in their hosting countries, which is not an issue in the countries of immigration (Soysal 1994: 119-135). In other words, Europe, being the largest receiver of immigrants, has neither an appropriate mechanism/regime nor a common policy for handling the problems of immigration. The issue is, like the minorities issue, left to the hands of domestic governments, and even the most liberal, most industrialized countries (Germany, France, the Netherlands, the UK) are reluctant to take a progressive attitude towards the rights of immigrants and their families, except for signing some non-binding (or bilateral) arrangements (Geddes 2005: 191-200). The German and Dutch citizenship examinations targeted at the guest workers from third countries are reminiscent of the Estonian and Latvian citizenship tests for the Russophones (a new form of 'naturalization' (Diehl and Blohm 2003)), and the attitude of the European institutions against those is not different either (Etzioni 2007). According to the paper published by the EUROSTAT in 2009, with respect to population and social conditions, today forty-four percent of the non-nationals living in the territory

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[105] Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.gcim.org/attachements/RS4.pdf
[106] The similarity of the problems named with respect to the life of immigrants in Europe between two articles published in twenty-eight years is striking; see (Henzog-Punzenberger 2003; Wilkke 1975).

of the EU-27 are non-citizens; and among non-nationals from the third countries, the biggest groups are Turks (7.9% of EU total foreign population), Moroccans (5.6%), Black Africans (5.0%), Albanians (3.3%), Latin Americans (3.0%), Chinese (2.0%), and Pakistanis (2.0%) (EU Document 2009a: 3[107]).

Even the so-called Immigration Policy of the EU today has not yet changed the fact that the immigration policy is an exclusive prerogative of the domestic politics, and has done nothing beyond the national governments' priority of 'controlling' the migrating crowds, rather than coming up with a humanitarian, conflict-resolving arrangement for them (Vink 2005: 72-81). Lorentzen gives a quick summary of how Europeanization neglects (not even 'minoritizes') the foreigners on its territory, stating that

> "… [t]he idea is that we rich European countries are happy to rescind some of the more knee-jerk attitudes towards immigrants, including those that are visibly different from us in that they are not white, because we realize that we benefit economically from their presence… [b]ut we do know that immigration policy does not work" (2004: 167-168).

Last but not least, the process of Europeanization of course has its very immediate outgroup that could not be living any closer than it already is. As a matter of fact, the presence of Islam in Europe today is positively connected with the issue of immigration, discussed above. There is a considerable percentage of Muslim population residing in the great majority of European countries today who escaped from their homelands because of the world wards in the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the choice of Islam as the Europeanization's immediate other, the enemy within, is a historical one. Davies explained that since the eighth century,

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[107] Available from the World Wide Web: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-09-094/EN/KS-SF-09-094-EN.PDF

"… Islam's conquests turned Europe into Christianity's main base. At the same time the great swathe of Muslim territory cut the Christians off from virtually all direct contact with other religions and civilizations. The barrier of militant Islam turned the Peninsula in on itself, serving or transforming many of the earlier lines of commercial, intellectual, and political intercourse. In the field of religious conflict, it left Christendom with two tasks – to fight Islam and to convert the remaining pagans. It forced the Byzantine Empire to give lasting priority to the defence of its Eastern borders… It created the conditions where the other, more distant Christian states had to fend for themselves, and increasingly to adopt measures for local autonomy and economic self-sufficiency. In other words, it gave a major stimulus to feudalism" (1998: 257; also quoted in Van Ham 2001: 210).

Another feature of the Islamic–European encounters is propounded by Lewis. Accordingly,

"… [o]ne might have expected some knowledge of Western European affairs to percolate into the Muslim world through direct relations, for, after all, the two civilizations were in immediate contact all the way across the Mediterranean world from Spain through Italy to the Levant. But in fact the medieval iron curtain-if one may use the expression-between Islam and Christendom seems to have kept cultural exchanges at a minimum, and greatly restricted even commercial and diplomatic intercourse. The Muslim world, proud and confident of its superiority, and possessing its own internal lines of communication by land and sea, could afford to despise the barbarous and impoverished infidel in the cold and miserable lands of the north" (Lewis 1957: 141).

From the two extracts, it might be extrapolated that the immediate contact and, yet, the lack of communication and cross-border connections paved the historical ground for being each other's 'Other's, and enemies most of the time, for Muslims and Europeans. Furthermore, since Islam is not only a faith but also a

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political and cultural commitment among its believers (Eliade 2009b: 92-98), the interaction of the worldwide, dominating European ideologies – derived from the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, the economic crises and even wars which were felt exclusively for the Europeans, and excluded the Muslims – with Islamic political, economic, and cultural stances remained poorly endowed and precluded further connections between the two civilizations. To put this another way, Islam has shown resistance to participate, or arguably has not been welcomed, into the eagerly Europeanized world affairs, including human rights-driven politics, liberal democracy, international law, culture, technology, or virtually all aspects of modernity (Khadduri 1956; Midlarsky 1998). Even in today's globalized environment, Muslims appear to be the ones mostly resistant to worldwide inter-connectedness (Ahmed 2008: 83-126; Simmons 2003: 17-32; Featherstone, M. 2002).

Especially after the rise of militant Islam, the events of 9/11, and the 'War on Terrorism', the ability of Muslims to integrate into the Western norms and standards has been discussed in large volumes (Grillo 2004). Some authors, however, identified the roots of the recent encounter of the West and Islam in the end of the Cold War. In parallel with the Huntington's (1993) 'clash of civilizations' hypothesis, Roberson (1994), for instance, claims that Islam was given a mission at the very onset of the 1990s to fill the position made available for the perception of 'threat', born in the West after the demise of the old enemies, Communism and the Soviet Union. There have occurred many events that made Islam the new 'Other' for the West, and especially of Europe, ranging from the Iranian Revolution (1979), the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), the Rushdie affair in the UK (1989), the headscarf affair in France (1989), the First Persian Gulf War (1991), terrorist attacks in France by some Muslim militant groups during 1994 and 1995, and the millions of Muslim immigrants, refugees, and guest workers residing in European countries, which all together eased the choice of Islam as the new 'Other' of Europeanization.

As Taşpınar (2003) puts it, Islam might be a topic of external relations of the United States, but it is and has been local politics for Europeans; with almost 15

million Muslims population living within the borders of the EU member states. Europe's Muslim population is substantially diverse in terms of ethnicity,

> "… [i]ncluding immigrants and their descendants from such vastly different regions as South Asia, North Africa, and the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as historical Europeans, notably Bosnians and Albanians. Where they originate in the same state, the immigrants are often differentiated by membership in different nationalities or ethnic groups – Turks in Germany are often Kurds, Algerians in France can be Arabs or Berbers – as well as by class; they are further differentiated as the result of dispersal among distinct European hosts and the concomitant experiences of acculturation. Differing widely in somatic characteristics… Europe's Muslims also practice many versions of Islam… Yet in the eyes of the hosts, these disparate groups share an essentialized negative identity as dangerous strangers" (Zolberg and Woon 1999: 5-6).

Whether "it can be found in Islamic fundamentalism's vocal rebuttal of the very foundations of western modernity, [b]y rejecting all forms of sovereignty (individual and national) as well as the secularization of politics and public space" (Vam Ham 2001: 210) or it is turly because of the real-life encounters, the tension between Islam and the European late-modern identity is reflected directly on the European Muslims through the rise of Islamophobia[108], xenophobia, racism, and rightist politics in European countries. The exclusion of the Muslims from European societies manifests itself in the unemployment rates, the levels of education, the unhealthy living conditions, poverty, and the lack of public services deemed proper for the Muslim people residing even in the mostly industrialized EU states, such as France, Germany, the UK, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, or the Netherlands (Cesari 2007: 60-61). The exclusion continues at the bureaucratic level. The then-Secretary of Internal Affairs of France, Nicolas Sarkozy, for instance, saw no harm in describing "the Muslim suburban youth with attributes such as 'criminal',

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[108] The very first time the term 'Islamophobia' was coined was four years before the events of 9/11 occurred, see (The Runnymede Trust Document 1997).

'vagabond', 'ruffian' and 'scum', demonstrating his effort to win the support of French public opinion" (Kaya 2006) during the riots in France in 2005. A year before that, "French MPs voted 494 to 36 in favor of legislation banning ostentatious religious symbolism in schoolwear" (Amiraux 2005) – targeting mainly at the Muslim headscarves. Sweden, Germany and France passed laws banning veils and headscarves (Shadid and Van Koningsveld 2005). At the end of 2009, Swiss citizens voted against the construction of minarets all around the country, which was also supported by the current French President Sarkozy (Traynor 2009). In the year 2011, not only did the killings in the name of anti-multiculturalism/Islam in Norway of the psychopathy of Breivik shock the world (Eriksen 2011), but also the streets of London were set on fire by those – mostly Muslim – 'minorities' who craved for more multiculturalism and fair treatment from the English police (Rogers 2011). Politicians and bureaucrats from several European institutions have been dismissing the membership of Turkey, a secular country with a predominantly Muslim population, to the EU on the basis of non-compatibility of Turkey's identity, referring particularly to its Islamic character (Brusse and Schoonenboorn 2004). This is perhaps why Thiel cavalierly argues that "[c]ultural convergence with Europe is impossible in the case of Turkey" (2005: 6).

In general, it is possible to speak of two consequences of the exclusionary behavior (or what Ryan (2010) calls, 'multicultiphobia') in Europe against Islam and Muslims. On the one hand, the prospect of multiculturalism in Europe is severely damaged; in Allievi's words, "[t]he presence of Islam has not created a multicultural situation in Europe" (2003: 3). This is important at least in two ways: first, the post-Cold War–'Significant We' image for European ingroups is blurred; and second, the Muslim populations become – perhaps 'stigmatized' (Dovidio, Major and Crocker 2003) – outgroups (new minorities) of the Europeanization process. The religious (predominantly Christian) orientation, therefore, is inevitably injected into the construction of the new European late-modern identity, and religion becomes one of the factors of social identity, hence of social categorization. The minoritization of the Muslims in Europe throughout European countries is exemplified well by the actions of the French government that traditionally dismisses the categorization among its citizens (those who live in its territory) but

today attempts to exclude Islamic narratives from the ordinary French discourse in an exasperatingly fluid way (Keaton 2006: 32-57). The ban on headscarves or construction of minarets might perfectly be considered as construction of *différence* between individual European and Muslim identities, which makes it very hard for a multicultural system to operate properly (Mandel 1989). The secular, multicultural image of Europe therefore is no longer valid and is perhaps being supplanted by a multi-sectarian (Judeo-)Christian one, which questions the degree of 'unity' in the demanded 'diversity' (Zubaida 2003). European multiculturalism is still a prevailing phenomenon, no doubt; however, the position of Muslim minorities here is of great importance for it raises the awareness of the element of 'choice' in the selection of some cultures that are encouraged to become integrated into Europe or of those that are expected to become assimilated into a dominant European culture. If Davie (2006) and Fontana (1995) were right, and the religious affiliations did really matter for the late-stage Europeanization, however, the whole interpretation of the new democratic, pluralistic, liberal, humanitarian identity of Europe, which prioritized the protection of minorities, then, should be fatally problematic.

When it comes to the impact of the exclusion of Muslims from Europeanization on the cultural level upon *Realpolitik*, on the other hand, the result brings nothing but a vicious circle. Out of the 'interrupted identities'[109] (those whose culture is challenged to reinvigorate itself through determinants of another culture) of the Muslims in Europe, there emerge inter-cultural conflicts. First,

> "… [t]he growing Muslim presence in Europe has tended to cluster geographically within individual states, particularly in industrialized, urban areas within clearly defined, if not self-encapsulated, poorer neighborhoods such as Berlin's Kreuzberg district, London's Tower Hamlets, and the *banlieues* (suburbs) of major French cities, further augmenting its visibility and impact yet circumscribing day-to-day contact with the general population" (Savage 2010: 29).

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[109] The term is borrowed from (Robins 1996).

The so-called 'ghettoization' not only makes poverty and exclusion of the Muslims worse and deeper, but also stretches the distance between European and Muslim cultures. In a strong correlation with that, as a response to the situation that the different Muslim communities in Europe are increasingly seen as belonging to a single, 'excluded' group of dangerous 'foreigners', the Muslim youth rapidly associates itself more with a radical, violent, militant, and fundamentalist version of Islam (Leiken 2005). The organized rage against the Danish caricatures portraying the Islam's prophet, the killing of the Dutch director Theo Van Gogh, the bombings of the subways in Madrid and London have all been consequences of the identity-based intolerance and the transnational activism embraced by the excluded Muslims (Lindekilde 2008). The radicalization, combined with the systemic 'transnationalism' (Nielsen 2003) and the emergence of Islamic diasporas (Saint-Blancat 2002; Rahnema 2006), creates nothing but "a new type of anti-semitism" (Savage 2010: 34) in Europe against Islam. As conflict and anger rise, even higher identity barriers are erected. In addition to that, the fear of 'Islamic' terrorism or outrage triggers the notion of security of oneself, and this in turn not only makes Islam–Europe relationship a speech act, but also, even more importantly, securitizes the topic of how to handle Islam for the whole Europeanization process. The distance between Europe and multiculturalism is overall getting wider, for Europe has failed to find a proper, reasonable way to trigger 'sympathetic identification'[110] with the Muslim populations. Europeans need to revise that neither the deterritorialization of Islam at the onset of its first immigration to Europe during the 1970s, nor the re-Islamized and re-territorialized (indeed transnationalized) Islam have been products of the religion itself. As Roy puts it, the entire path followed from the immigration of different (national, ethnic) Islams to the radical, fundamentalist, transnational Islam in Europe has been a consequence of globalization, and in private, Europeanization. Therefore, a solution must come from Europe (2004: 18). Whether it is going to be a multiculturalist or Islamophobic solution will determine both the future and the real character of Europeanization[111].

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[110] Instead of 'sympathetic identification', Seltzer (2004: 572) comes up with the notion of 'referred belief', which might tone in better for this discussion.

[111] The presence of Islam and its impact on multiculturalist societies are not specifically limited to the discussions regarding Europe. Rahnema, for instance, argues that because mostly of the presence

6.3. Europeanization and Minorities Assessed

Once Europeanization is considered a historical process, its relationship with the issue of minorities begins by the period of glory when nationalism was born and spread throughout the whole European continent. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 have been devoted to this historical analysis of the relationship between Europeanization and minorities. Until the nineteenth century though, conceiving minorities was a sectarian phenomenon. The nineteenth century Europe re-shaped under the heavy influence of nationalism, then, brought about the identical correspondence between the rulers and the ruled, or between the borders of a state and its residents, that made ethnically, linguistically, or religiously diverse minorities anomaly of the nation-states, and hence that of Europeanization. The international institutionalization that speeded up during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made this anomaly one of the urgent matters of highly securitized world politics. The minority groups, however, lost their immediate urgency, ironically, after two world wars; and spent the period of the Cold War as a frequently neglected subcategory of the recently highlighted human rights, which abstracted the group phenomenon of out of the conception of minorities, and rather individualized it.

The re-grouping of minorities in the 1990s was ensued by two processes that occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. One the one hand, outside Europe, the philosophy of multiculturalism, which particularly emerged in the new world countries, embarked to reject the traditional, nationalizing, mono-cultural practices and rather to embrace the ethnic, racial, gender and cultural diversity of democratically-functioning pluralist societies of the new century. It was a call for political and public recognition of the differences in a given society, and it put forward rights and protection of minorities as the most fundamental determinant of the existing democracy. On the other hand, within (yet only Western) Europe, governments and peoples were in the influx of outgrowing from the nationalistic, sovereignty-prioritizing nature of the political entity-making to forming a European

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of the Muslim population, "the government is changing the nature of Canadian multiculturalism, turning it into a faith-based multiculturalism with serios consequences for Canadian democracy" (2006: 24). Please note the similarity between the changing nature of Canadian multiculturalism and the pessimistic arguments made about the future of European multiculturalism(s) above.

ingroup, glorifying – at least on the discursive level – the differences within a European unity, taking democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights as the fundamentals of this unity.

The end of the Cold War not only caught off guard this new European ingroup, but also resulted in the emergence of new problems regarding the minorities and integration of Eastern Europe. The answer given by the late-modern European identity to these problems was adapting the multicultural rationale to the newly emerging European legal and political set-up, established by the documents of the OSCE, the CoE, and the EU. The post-Maastricht Europe was both widening towards the East and, as the level of diversity accrued within the ingroup, and deepening by augmenting the handling of minorities as groups into its value system. Through adaptation, however, Europeanization acted bifurcatedly: on the one hand, progress towards the treatment and prehension of minorities, their rights and protection were left completely to the hands of the governments of Western Europeans (which also resulted in the non-existence of an internal minorities regime within the European ingroup), whereas, on the other hand, what was necessary to complete a full-blown minorities regime was dictated, if not imposed, upon the Eastern Europeans by the new political device, called conditionality. After the Eastern enlargement that took place in 2004 and 2007, it was made clear, however, that Europeanization has operated mainly at the discursive level in terms of minority rights and protection, and while identities of some former-minority groups were accepted to be cherished within the late-modern European identity, some others were kept still as forming outgroups of that particular social identity.

On the other hand, not only those that were left apart from the late-stage Europeanization, but also the very outgroups that were made as such by the European identity itself became the new minorities, hence outgroups of the Europeanization process. In other words, the supra-level identity-related polarization in Europe made some identities outgrouped by Europeanization, through which Europe has been banally defining itself as a separate social ingroup. The new 'Other's of Europeanization have been chosen specifically for emphasizing the united destiny and common heritage of selected European nationals. Among them, the Russophones in the Baltic states, the Roma people, the

Western Balkans, the immigrants and guest workers, and the Muslim identity residing in European countries should be highlighted.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

"Because the European does not know his own unconscious, he does not understand the East and projects into it everything he fears and despises in himself" (Jung, C. 1977: 530)

The principal motive behind writing this dissertation is to look at Europe from a different perspective. This study does not specify its research into a selected phenomenon of Europe or Europeanization, but rather wants to observe and reverberate what all its parts appear, function, and make others behave accordingly. It consists of historical, political, sociological, and philosophical research altogether, and aims at coming up with a fresh, original outlook that would also qualify for a PhD dissertation. The purpose is to bring about the exact opposite of "the static analysis of a social organism" (Comte quoted in Adorno and Horkheimer 2010: 41) and to make a contribution to the theory that *il fault défendre la société*[112] (Foucault 2002). The ideas here are a constellation of the author's educational and personal accumulation; and objectivity has always been a concern in every word presented in this study. In this final section, first, what has been claimed, supported, and connected in a certain fashion in the previous chapters will be encapsulated. Then, in the second part, some random thoughts about the possible ways to place Turkey and the Turkish identity into this picture will be briefly extrapolated for future possible studies.

This essay begins with the presentation of possible definitions and uses of the highly contested phenomenon, Europeanization, as it will be establishing the theoretical background of discussions throughout the thesis. The latest literature utilizes Europeanization in its two forms. What is here called the 'technical uses'

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[112] French: "society must be defended".

refer intrinsically to the institutionalist policy transfers both between the EU and its member states and also among the member states themselves. The policies are both downloaded to domestic legal-administrative structures and uploaded to the supranational, Europe-wide contexts. The technical uses, however, are usually confused with other processes like harmonization, convergence, and political integration, and they also cannot enunciate why such policy transfers occur, except for depending on rational-choice models. The second form of Europeanization, then, enters into the picture, as it comprises the institutionalist norm transfers both between the EU and its member states and also among the member states themselves. What is here called the 'normative uses' are, too, downloadable and uploadable, and they invalidate the problem of the inscrutable motive that drives the norm transfers, by employing notions like social learning, political cultures, and 'cultural matches'. What normative uses cannot explain, however, is mainly related to the questions why these norm transfers keep occurring over a relatively short period of time (since the end of World War II) and why there is no history behind 'cultural matches'.

Both technical and normative uses of Europeanization, indeed, lack of establishing historical linkages between the current status of Europe(an order) and its past, and they rather theorize what is known as the process called EU-ization. Therefore, this essay advocates a third use of Europeanization that is likely to encompass any sort of historical cross-border connections both *within* Europe and *from* Europe to outside the borders (as well as *into* Europe) between societies, institutions, norms, practices and values. By coming up with such a broader perspective, Europeanization covers both technical and/or normative policy transfers since 1945 (hence, considers the process of EU-ization as a historical product of itself) and any other related European developments through the course of known history. In that sense, five successive stages of Europeanization are detected, through which Europeanization has shown ups and downs, at times affecting both the European continent and the outside word (*within* and *from*), yet, at other times, struggling to re-order the content and direction of these European connections (*into*). While phenomena of nationalism, rationalism, secularism, freedom of thought and some others exemplify the former processes, what is today

referred as the Western European integration in the post-war period, and the integration of Eastern Europe to the West after the Cold War should be considered as examples to the latter.

Historicizing Europeanization inevitably leads to a historical analysis of the phenomenon of European unification. For centuries, European peoples, societies and states have accumulated pleasant and unpleasant memories, traditions, myths; they have created paradigms that had great impacts on worldwide developments or setbacks; they have fought or united with each other; and they have made enough cross-border connections to mention different stages of Europeanization. The idea of Europe must therefore be stretched into a much lengthier history than what is remarked today, dating back to the Ancient Greeks, Romans, the Charlemagne, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, the two world wars, and what is known today as the process of European unification. The following question in this study is whether these and any other cross-border connecting incidents have forged a common culture for the Europeans.

Instead of a common culture, this thesis advances an ever-enlarging 'pool of cultures' among European societies. Constant social encounters cause a sort of culture growing; but the linguistic differences, varying religious beliefs, the role of one another in the construction of individual collective identities, histories of internal and external large-scale fighting, or a couple of centuries-old nationalistic waves eventually put Europeans apart from each other. Ironically, for instance, those waves of nationalism have created a common culture for Europeans striving for nationalistic polity-makings, and this, in turn, has resulted in cultural, social, ethnic, and political divergence among them. To put those in the terminology of cultural neo-synthesis, as much as the 'thin' elements in the continuum from culture to no-culture have been acquired, the 'thick' part remained missing.

Then, how come the talks of 'European identity' appear in the recent agenda of Europe, while it was not even logical to mention a European common culture? The answer is found during the latest phase of Europeanization. When Europeanization took on its re-integration stage after the world wars; initially, the economic and administrative unification gained pace to recover war injuries. The cultural remedy for the underlying causes of the war was demanded, once the

economic goals were accomplished. Europeanization, in other words, now wanted to construct the 'thick' elements that would initiate a European common culture, which was hoped to pave the way for a European identity, by promoting similarities among Europeans, instead of differences and revenge. The construction of a European identity was a task of the newly-founded European institutions and post-war initiatives. Under the motto of 'unity in diversity', a flag, an anthem, standardization of driving licenses, passports, and harmonization in education programs were parlayed. The initiation of the concept of 'European citizenship' in the early 1990s, for instance, was designed to invoke the supposed unity among individual national identities. Even a European Constitution was drafted for the citizens of the new/future Europe in the following years.

Deconstructing the discourse of European identity though reveals two different strategic actions, and therefore, stages for the developments mentioned in the above paragraph. In the first stage, from the onset of the identity-talks to the failure of the European Constitution, a common culture shared by all Europeans was particularly accentuated. 'Europeanness' was demonstrated to be an essential/primordial element of the 'citizenry' in Europe; hence, it was promoted that blossoming from that culture, a European identity might and should be developed to supercede conventional, national (re-)grouping of the European people. This idea of European-Gemeinschaft, however, did not gather much prospect for the future, since an expectedly grounding common culture was missing in the first place. The second stage of the European identity construction began especially after the failure of the European Constitution. This new stage rather put the emphases on some common values to be shared by the EU-citizens, rather than on a common culture, identity or unity, which was promoted previously. Some scholars regard these efforts as the initiation of the 'postmodern' European identity, based on the values of democracy, the rule of law, respect for human and minority rights, liberal market economy, fundamental freedoms, and civic-individualistic citizenship, instead of the modernist/primordial characteristics including culture, ethnicity, tradition, myths, etc. The whole process might as well be considered as the new phase when Eurocrats are this time determined to produce a European-Gesellschaft.

Thereafter the question remained in abeyance is whether or not such a transition that wishes away the small-multiple Gemeinschafts in the individual nation-states and urges the substitution with one big European-Gesellschaft really took (or is still taking) place. To put it another way, does European identity reveal a transformation from being constituted with modern to postmodern elements? Or, simply, is European identity postmodern?

If modernity dictates the existence of nation-states, the primacy of sovereignty, the international order of anarchy, or, philosophically speaking, a strong connection between power and knowledge, Europe has most definitely not yet arrived at its *post*-stage. However, what European order, at least the major product of Europeanization, the EU, today strives for is a multi-layered, non-state-centric organizational map, the transfer of certain values (including sovereignty, centrality, and even some symbols of nationality) to the supranational level, and the gardening of cultures, as well. In that sense, European identity is neither a modern nor a postmodern phenomenon; principally, it is having aspects from both ends. It is, therefore, regarded in this study as a late-modern phenomenon. However, since the concept of identity is too a modern product of a process that calls for an identifier ('Other') and an identified ('Self'), and for Europe, the identifier is also the identified (there is no legitimate 'Other'); it would be a mistake regarding the endeavors of constructing a European identity as an identity-making, but rather as a self-defining/identification process.

The major characteristic of this late-modern European self-definition is its banality. Adapting the European case to Billig's famous 'banal nationalism', Cram has come up with the term 'banal Europeanism', which induces that Europe's lack of heroic processes, a European *demos*, or an immediate 'Other' does not flaw the fact that since the 1980s, European institutions and the elite have banally triggered enough communication facilities between Europeans, and that eventually these facilities will create a sense of Europeanness among European nationals. The 'Others', if necessary, might be chosen as Europe's own past (as Wæver argues), or the European self-identification might be future-oriented (as Soysal argues).

Admitting the banality of the late-modern European self-identification, this dissertation rejects linking the lack of an immediate 'Other' of the European

identity construction with its banal character though. Instead, it applies a sociological phenomenon, 'social identity', for explaining this very condition. Following Tajfel's valuable SIT, the social identity should be understood as a part of an individual's self-concept that is formed because of his membership of a social group (or groups), to which he attaches a value and emotional significance. For a social identity to emerge, the requirements are kept at minimum: only a simple gathering in a group is proved by Tajfel as sufficient for individuals to form a social identity. Hence, right after this 'minimal group paradigm' is accomplished, a social categorization (Turner) into one's ingroup(s) and outgroups occurs, which is followed respectively, first, by the confirmation of the social identity; second, by the process of social comparison between ingroup(s) and outgroups; and finally, by the attachment of psychological group distinctiveness in favor of the ingroup(s) to this social comparison process. The social identity does not only tidy up all the mess (about self-identity) by eliminating the individual from the process of identification (depersonalization), but also makes it easier for people to find predictable, change-averse identities within social groups for today's late-modern times. Agents are gathered in between ingroups and outgroups; and for one ingroup, there are usually three forms of outgroups: on the one hand, there are the immediate 'Others' – against which that ingroup imagine its own identity to an extent –, on the other hand, there are 'Significant We's – characteristics of whom that ingroup envies and urges to be alike –, and, finally, there are irrelevant, yet still separate, outgroups.

The adaptation of the SIT/SCT research to the study of International Relations is a significantly recent phenomenon, which is barely extrapolated, except for very few studies on nationalism. Creating a bridge between the social identity and the European integration process would be even more uncommon. However, this is what this essay promises. It is pointed out that after WWII, Europeanization took the role of the provider of a common evaluative dimension, a social identity-construction reference point, for a selected number of European states and individuals, which, as a result, construed the EU as 'the' ingroup of Europeanization to carry that social identity. Following the minimal group paradigm that Tajfel used effectively, certain other states and institutions, too, either

discursively or practically, have been taken into the spiral of forming an ingroup within Europe, which has positively provided its members with higher self-esteem, a better cognitive point of social comparison, and a form of higher-level social identity (e.g., a European identity). The European non-past and the post-modern Europe imagination were picked up as 'Significant We's of that social identity, whereas the construction of 'Others' was left, to some extent, as blank. In other words, European late-modern self-definition is now being carried out against tentatively selected 'Other's that change from time to time, context to context, and according to social, political, economic or security-related discourses.

Having set the theoretical background for the social identity formation in Europe, the dissertation takes on the question of minorities and its development in European history as its practical model. Once Europeanization is considered a historical process, its relationship with the issue of minorities begins in its period of glory when empires lost their powers and smaller administrative units were spread throughout the whole European continent. Between the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and the Congress of Berlin (1878), conceiving minorities was a religious practice. The nineteenth century Europe re-shaped under the heavy influence of nationalism, however, brought about the identical correspondence between the rulers and the ruled, or between the borders of a state and its residents, that made ethnically, linguistically, or religiously diverse minorities anomaly of the nation-states, and hence that of Europeanization. The international institutionalization that speeded up in the course of the next two centuries made this anomaly one of the urgent matters of world high-politics. Two consecutive world wars resulted in the increase of the numbers of both new nation-states and displaced minority groups. The LoN designed specific measures for dealing with these soared numbers, yet they turned out to be quite unsuccessful. The minority groups lost their immediate urgency, ironically, after WWII; and during the Cold War, they became a frequently neglected subcategory of the recently popularized human rights, which abstracted the group phenomenon of out of the conception of minorities, and rather individualized it.

The re-grouping of minorities in the 1990s was ensued by two processes that occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. On the one hand, outside Europe, the

philosophy of multiculturalism, which particularly emerged in the new world countries, embarked to reject the traditional, nationalizing, mono-cultural practices and rather to embrace the ethnic, racial, gender and cultural diversity of democratically-functioning pluralist societies of the new century. It was a call for political and public recognition of the differences in a given society, and it put forward rights and protection of minorities as the most fundamental determinant of the existing democracy. The debates around multiculturalism have contributed to the question of minorities in two important ways: first, almost after twenty-five years of apathy, a political theory finally remembered the existence of minorities in inevitably pluralist societies of the post-war era, and argued over their protection as well as the positive rights to be given to them. As Kymlicka puts is, democracy was not enough to solve ethnic differences, and more action had to be taken accordingly. Second, as opposite to the post-war Western European attitude tended to see minorities in individual terms, multiculturalism (re-)brought the group concept into the perception of minorities. Furthermore, a plain re-grouping was not enough either, and minority groups must be integrated into larger, societal ingroup, as well. On the other hand, within (yet only Western) Europe, governments and peoples were in the influx of outgrowing from the nationalistic, sovereignty-prioritizing nature of the political entity-making to forming a European ingroup, glorifying – at least on the discursive level – the differences within a European unity, taking democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights as the fundamentals of this unity. The protection or rights of minorities did not yet arrive at the agenda of Europe at that time, but the necessary infrastructure was emerging.

The end of the Cold War not only caught off guard the new European ingroup, but also resulted in the emergence of new problems regarding the minorities and the integration of Eastern Europe to the West. The answer given by the late-modern European self-definition to these problems was adapting the multiculturalist rationale to the newly emerging European legal and political set-up, established by the documents of the OSCE, the CoE, and the EU. The post-Maastricht Europe was both widening towards the East and, as the level of diversity accrued within the ingroup, deepening by augmenting the handling of minorities as groups into its value system. Through adaptation, however, Europeanization acted bilaterally: on

the one hand, progress towards the treatment and prehension of minorities, their rights, and protection were left completely to the hands of the governments of Western Europeans (which also resulted in the non-existence of an internal minorities regime within the European ingroup), whereas, on the other hand, what was necessary to complete a full-blown minorities regime was dictated, if not imposed, upon the Eastern Europeans by the new political device, called conditionality. Both the non-existence of an internal minorities regime in Europe and the ambiguous usage of the conditionality caused domestic politics to handle the treatment of minorities solely, or dominantly. After the Eastern enlargement that took place in 2004 and 2007, it was made clear also that Europeanization has operated mainly at the discursive level in terms of minority rights and protection, and while identities of some former-minority groups were accepted to be cherished within the late-modern European identity, some others were kept apart as still forming outgroups of that social identity.

In this picture regarding the European social identity formation, this study reveals two sources of cultural polarization for minority-construction. As one source, the situation with national minorities of Eastern Europe remains problematic in certain cases, like Hungarians in Slovakia; even though, both Hungarian and Slovakian identities have been supposedly integrated into the late-modern self-definition of Europe via Europeanization. Since national identities still persist, even more serious cases of conflict, including the secessionist Catalans and Basques of Spain, Walloons and Flanders of Belgium, and Scots of the UK, are ahead of the European agenda. As the other source, not only those that were left apart from the late-stage Europeanization, but also the very outgroups that were made as such by the European ingroup itself became the new minorities of the Europeanization process. In other words, the supra-level identity-related polarization in Europe made some identities outgrouped by Europeanization, through which Europe has been banally defining itself as a separate social ingroup. The new 'Other's of Europeanization have been chosen specifically for emphasizing the united destiny and common heritage of selected European nationals. Among them, the Russophones in the Baltic states, the Roma people, the Western Balkans, the

immigrants and guest workers, and the Muslim identity residing in European countries have already been excommunicated from the European social identity.

As an upshot, this dissertation still defends its initial argument that if Europeanization is considered a historical accumulation of cross-border connections between European peoples, societies, and states, these communications should end up with creating a pool of cultures based on a certain ingroup feeling they give to its agents, and that particular ingroup 'identity' should eventually create its own 'Others' and minorities, as it happens today. Analyzing the period over last sixty-five years, the so-called re-integration phase of Europeanization, it is found that behind the idea of European ingroup, led by Europe-wide institutions and the elites, there is a late-modern European self-definition, having both modern elements (such as national identities, sovereignty, dominance of domestic politics, etc.) and postmodern elements (such as transfer of national powers, an ideal of pluralist democracy, multiculturalism, etc.). Banality is the fundamental feature of this self-definition, along with the political and economic power of one of its major products, the EU, to attract the neighboring peoples and states to join in the European ingroup. Despite this inclusive agenda, however, some groups are struggling, if not excluded voluntarily, to take part in the European social identity, and hence, forming the minorities of Europeanization, such as the Roma identity, immigrants and guest workers, and the Muslim identity. One last feature of today's European social ingrouping is also related to its lack of a visible 'Significant We' outgroup, which is perhaps not only causing the lack of direction within the European integration in last five to ten years, but also lingering both the European ingroup and its 'Others' to change form accordingly.

One final question with regard to this study might be asked about the position of Turkey and the Turkish people within this big picture. The analysis of the relationship between Turkey and the process of European integration since 1945 has been a very popular case study in European studies, political science, and International Relations. Every year, several books and articles are published on that topic no matter how slow or fast the progress towards a prospective membership of Turkey into the EU proves, and the place of Turkey in civilizational, cultural, religious comparisons between the 'East' and the 'West' is frankly significant due

to the country's geopolitical, historical, security-related, or political position. The aim here is neither to represent the ideas of those studies nor to put another large volume of such analysis. Instead, it should be claimed that Turkish case might serve a valuable example for what this dissertation has presented so far because of its historical relationship with Europeanization, as understood in this study.

İnalcık begins his book, *Turkey and Europe in History*, with this passage:

"From the midst of the fifteenth century on the Ottoman-Turkish Empire played a crucial role in shaping European history. This factor has not been weaved into Western historiography to its detriment, because explaining concepts such as raison d'étre, Realpolitik, balance of power or even European identity remain somewhat shortchanged without according the Ottoman-Turkish Empire a role in the evolution as well as functioning of these concepts. Mutual systemic influences are a foregone conclusion however overlooked" (2006: 11).

Despite this mutually determining interaction, however, he also asserts in the following pages that "[a]lthough the Ottomans borrowed many European cultural elements [and the opposite is also true], this did not result in their assimilation to European culture, mainly because the Ottomans retained their value system which is an intrinsic principle of their culture embodied in the religion of Islam" (İnalcık 2006: 57). Both the factor of religion/Islam and the rising power of a Turkish empire between fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, which was threatening the well-being of European societies, located the Turkish image as the 'Other' of the European one, during the period of growth of Europeanization (Lewis 2005: 115-120; Soykut 2007: vii).

Obviously the religious factor, Turks being Muslims, did not change as Europeanization passed on stages from growth to glory, but as not only the power of the Ottoman Empire declined but also the European powers both nationalized and empowered themselves, they eventually made each other their immediate 'Other's, instead of fearing a long-distanced arch nemesis anymore. Turks, in other words, lost their status of being an immediate 'Other' of Europe not sooner than

when their empire started to decline. The same trend that degraded the Turkish identity from being an immediate 'Other' of the European ingroup to being one of its any other outgroups continued during the nineteenth century, even though the Ottoman Empire was accepted as a 'European state' by the Treaty of Paris (1856). The successive warfare in Europe at the onset of the twentieth century, however, excluded Turks from the discussion about European identity, and their being an 'Other' of the European ingroup altogether, not only because the newly founded Turkish Republic was too small for a fair social comparison with European powers at that time, but also there was no longer a European ingroup anyway.

Around the signing of the edicts Tanzimat and Islahat in the nineteenth century, the Turkish identity chose Western (read: European) modernity as its 'Significant We' (Ahmad 2004: 33-39). Even during the Turkish War of Independence (1918-1922), as Toynbee declared, "the Turks were fighting there with Western ideals against the West itself" (quoted in İnalcık 2006: 117). The legacy and reforms of Atatürk set the ultimate goal as to invigorate the relationship with the 'civilized', transferring the Western ideals of democracy, sovereignty of the nation, and secularism to the Turkish Republic (Polat 2006: 515). This goal was going to be pursued and even strengthened in Turkish domestic and foreign policies, especially when the Cold War began and afterwards (Hale 2002: 109-251).

Since 1959, when Turkey made the first application for joining the EC, the Turkish official foreign policy has demonstrated its willingness clearly to take part in the European integration process, also known as the EU-ization. Buzan and Diez encapsulate this 'old game' between the European post-war institutions and Turkey in three steps: first, "apparent promises of full membership to Turkey by the European Community"; second, "strong commitment to, and expectation of, eventual membership by Turkey"; and third, "slow implementation of their commitments by both sides" (Buzan and Diez 1999: 42). Until the end of the 1980s, Turkey was expected to develop mainly in economic matters in order to keep up with the European counterparts and thus to become involved in the European ingroup; yet, after that point on, as the European integration gained its political character, the country has been required to fulfill broadened criteria for an initial membership, including its improvement in human rights records, political and social

commitments, unresolved conflict with/in Cyprus, along with economic concerns. In 2005, nonetheless, Turkey was named by the EU as an accession country, although no timeline was set for the actual membership.

This switch between pure economic demands and the initiation of political concerns by the European institutions caused a bilateral division in Turkish society between 'Euroskeptics', suspicious about prioritizing political and social reservations, demanding a more gradual approach for the EU membership, based mainly for economic developments, and 'Europhiles', asking for more Euro-imposed policy changes in Turkish domestic politics, demanding an integrationist approach for the EU membership (Aydınlı and Waxman 2001). Oddly enough, while the primary actors of the former group are the traditionally Western-oriented Turkish army and central-leftist political parties, traditionally outgrouped Islamists, Kurdish political/civil entities, and the fundamentalist facets of Turkish society take place in the latter group. Since 2002, Islamist-oriented Justice and Development Party has been in power with the overwhelming majority, and the relationship with the European institutions – though slowed down in recent years – has been at its highest pace ever (Faucompret and Konings 2008: 16-18).

Then, how to place Turkey and Turkish identity into the picture of European social identity formation today? First of all, the Turkish identity is no longer an 'Other' of Europe. It had lost such a status not sooner than in the nineteenth century, once the European technology, economics, models of governance, and nationalism started to be envied by the Turkish political and social elite. An 'Other' is not envied, but despised, by the 'Self'. Once envied, it is no longer an 'Other', but the 'Significant We' itself. This, however, does not change the fact that since their very first contact, European and Turkish identities are outgroups of each other, and this is still the condition today. The critical point here is that it is no longer the Turkish identity as a comprehensive outgroup that is 'outgrouped' by the European social identity formation, but it is nowadays divided into two major 'Other's of that formation (see Figure 6.5). Turks are by far the largest group of guest workers and immigrants in Europe, which is heavily resisted to be involved in the European ingroup. In addition, Turks have their Islamic orientations – even though the Turkish state is secular – which locate the Turkish identity also within another

'Other' for Europeans (Amiraux 2003; Göle 2009: 179-187). Turks, in other words, are outgrouped, and minoritized, by the European social ingroup today.

One way to escape from that situation, if that is seen necessary, might possibly be linked to the fact that today's European social ingroup does not work as planned, or hoped, at the onset. Multiculturalism, as mentioned in Chapter V, significantly loses its status as a 'Significant We' of Europe, and this damages the image of European integration as pluralistically democratic, respecting human and minority rights, and valuing the diversity in unity. Immigrants and guest workers, as well as European Muslims, will perhaps cause the most trouble for such an image of Europe, and hurt the progress in the so-called 'European values'. The Turkish state has already been invited to take part in the European ingroup via EU-ization. Whether this is a firm offer is a discussion for another essay. Yet, the accession of Turkey into the EU would most definitely help remedy the multicultural defects of the European social identity formation, and help Europeans to prove their sincerity for their insistence in diversity. Hence, the paradigm shift in Turkish status from being involved in certain outgroups, 'Others' indeed, to taking part in the 'Significant We' of the European ingroup, could be strived for ostensibly costive relationship between Turkey and Europe.

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2. Ongur, H. Övünç (2010) "Towards A Social Identity For Europe? A Social Psychological Approach to European Identity Studies", *Review of European Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 133-143.

3. Ongur, H. Övünç (2010) "Kimlik, Uluslararası İlişkilerde Kuram Yapımı ve 11 Eylül 2011 Olayları", *İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, vol. 9, no. 17, pp. 135-163.

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TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu doktora tezinin genel amacı, 'bir arada yaşamanın mümkün olup olmadığı' sorusuna, Avrupa özelinde bir yanıt aramaktır. Bireylerin, halkların, milletlerin ve bir şekilde bir araya gelmiş tüm toplulukların, birbirleri arasındaki dinsel, dilsel, etnik ve anlayışsal farklılıklarına rağmen bir arada barış ve uyum içinde yaşamalarının bir yolunun bulunabileceği, bu uğurda atılacak adımların, birer fedakarlıktan öte, insan varoluşunun dinamiklerine pozitif birer katkı olacağı ve farklılıkların da bir araya geldiğinde insan topluluklarına yarar sağlayabilecekleri önermeleri, tez boyunca tartışılan konuların ana çerçevesini oluşturacaktır.

2009-2011 yılları arasında literatür araştırmaları ve yazım aşaması tamamlanmış olan bu tezin ana argümanı, Uluslararası İlişkiler yazınınca Avrupalılaşma adı verilen sürece tarihsel bir bakış açısından yaklaşarak, bu çeşitli aktörler arasındaki dinamiklerin ortaya bir ortak kimlik çıkarıp çıkarmadıkları sorusunu yanıtlamaktır. Elde edilen yanıtın önemi, 'Avrupa kimliği' adı verilen olgunun tarihsel gelişim sürecinin yansıtılmasında ve Avrupa'da bugün var olan ya da var olduğu iddia edilen bu kimliğin, Avrupalı azınlıklar üzerinde etkilerinin tartışılmasında öne çıkarılmıştır. Burada iddia edilen, gerek Avrupalılaşma çalışmalarının geniş araştırma çerçevesinde gerek son dönemde popülerleşen Avrupa kimliği araştırmalarında gerekse de azınlıklar meseleleri üzerine yapılan çalışmalarda tarihsel bakış açısının sağlanması gerekliliği ve ancak böyle bir bakış açısı sağlandıktan sonra, tatmin edici bir kuramsal yaklaşımın sağlanabileceğidir.

Giriş ve Sonuç kısımlarını da içeren yedi birbirine bağlı bölüm boyunca kendisine bağlı kalınan olgu 'tarihsellik'tir. Tezin içerisinde August Comte'tan alıntılandığı gibi, "sosyal organizmanın statik analizi" bilimsel ilerlemenin önünü tıkar. Bu tezde ele alınan konular arasında olan Avrupalılaşma, Avrupa kimliği, sosyal kimlik veya azınlıklar gibi kavramlar, bir fanusun içerisinde ele alınıp incelenemezler. Avrupa bütünleşmesi adı verilen ve çoğunlukla geçtiğimiz altmış yıllık dönemi ele alan süreç, bahsi geçen kavramların kuramsal veya pratik yansımalarını anlamaya, açıklamaya ve oradan da gelecek için çıkarımlar yapmaya

yeterli olamaz. Burada öne sürülen ana sav, Avrupalılaşma'nın tarihsel algılanışı dahilinde, Avrupalı toplulukların ya da bireylerin üzerinde anlaşabilecekleri bir 'ortak kimlik'ten söz etmenin imkansızlığıdır. Bu imkansızlık, genelgeçer kimlik kuramları veya çalışmaları ile yansıtılamaz. Banal bir karakterde oluşu ile benzerlerinden ayrılan, içine bazı postmodern elementleri entegre etmeyi başarmışsa da halihazırda modern gereksinimler ve icatlar üzerinde duran, bu nedenle de geç-modern olarak tanımlanmayı gerektiren 'Avrupalı kendi-tanımlaması'nı anlamak için, bu tezde, sosyal bilimlere adaptasyonu konusunda fazla çalışma yapılmamış olan, Henri Tajfel ve John Turner'ın 1970 ve 1980'li yıllarda ortaya koydukları 'sosyal kimlik' ve 'sosyal kategorizasyon' kavramlarından yararlanılmaktadır. Amaç, üzerinde anlaşılacak ortak bir kültür, kimlik veya aidiyet duygusu olmadan da bireylerin ve toplulukların bir araya gelebileceğini öneren Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı'nı Avrupalılaşma ve Avrupa kimliği kavramları ile tanıştırmaktır. Bu hedefe kuramsal çerçevede ulaşıldıktan sonra, pratikteki olası yansımalarına, Avrupa'da Otuz Yıl Savaşları'ndan beri gelişmekte olan azınlık anlayışları özelinde göz atılmıştır. Azınlıklar, modern sistemin üzerine kurulduğu milliyetçilik ve ulus devlet projelerinin, geleneksel 'ötekileridir' – yahut bunu sosyal kimlik kuramları ile açıklamaya çalışırsak 'dışgruplarıdır'. Eğer bu içgrup-dışgrup ayrımını Avrupalılaşma tarihsel çerçevesinden yansıtmak mümkün olabilecek ise, azınlıkların bu noktada oynayabilecekleri rol, bilimsel bir sosyal araştırma için oldukça değerli olacaktır.

Tezin Giriş bölümüne, bu tezin ne olmadığı ve neyi amaçlamadığı noktalarının üzerinde durmakla başlanmıştır. Buna göre bu tez, Avrupa bütünleşme sürecini ya da kuramlarını açıklama gayesinde değildir. Her ne kadar bu konularda ortaya konan araştırmalardan yararlanıyor olsa da, Avrupa bütünleşmesinin hedef aldığı altmış yıllık süreç, bu tezin tarihselliği ile uyuşmamaktadır. Aynı şekilde, bu tezde Avrupa Birliği'nin iç ya da dış politika analizleri, komşuları veya üye/aday ülkeleri ile ilişkileri gibi konuların kuramsal ya da pratik analizleri de yer almamaktadır. Bunun dışında, her ne kadar beşinci ve altıncı bölümleri kendisine ayrılmış olsa da, bu tez azınlıklar meselesini ele alan bir örnek olay incelemesi de değildir. Son olarak, bu tezin yegane amacı son dönemde popülaritesi bir hayli

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yükselen Avrupa kimliği tartışmalarını veya bu kavramın kendisini yapısöküme uğratmak da değildir.

Giriş bölümünde de belirtildiği gibi, burada amaçlanan – en genel şekliyle – Avrupa üzerine akademik bir spekülasyon şeması sunmaktır. Tarihsel, felsefi, sosyolojik ve hatta sosyal psikolojik kuramlardan ve kavramlardan yararlanılarak, Avrupa'nın bugününün üzerine kurulduğu tarihsel-toplumsal dinamikleri incelemek, bu tezin birincil hedefidir. Avrupalılaşma tartışmalarına tarihsel bir çerçeve çizerek, Avrupa ve Avrupa insanı için ne tür bir 'kimlik'ten söz etmenin daha doğru olabileceği sorusu, bu çalışmanın tüm bölümlerine yayılmıştır. Bu anlamda, Avrupalı olan ile Avrupalı olmayan arasındaki bir karşılaştırmadan çok, Avrupalı olanın inşasına önem verilmiştir. Her gün bir başka bağlamda yeniden inşa edilen ve yeniden düzenlenen Avrupa kimliğine azınlıklar açısından yaklaşmak, literatürün bu konudaki eksikliğini kapatmaya yönelik bir çaba olarak kabul edilmelidir. Burada istenilen, doğrudan bir azınlık kavramı vermek yerine, her gün yeniden meydana gelen Avrupalı olgusunun da azınlıkları şekillendirmede önemli bir rol oynadığının altını çizmektir.

Tezin ikinci bölümü Avrupalılaşma kavramına, bu kavramın yer aldığı oldukça geniş literatürün olabildiğince kapsamlı özetine ve asıl önemlisi, Avrupalılaşma üzerine yapılan çalışmaların sınıflandırılmasına ayrılmıştır. Avrupalılaşma kavramı kendisine ait bir tanımı olmayan kavramlardan biridir. Bir başka deyişle, bağlama, zamana ve kullanılan amaca göre, dinamik bir tariflendirilmesinden söz etmek mümkündür. Peter Mair, Avrupalılaşma'yı, son dönemde siyasal ve sosyal bilimler yazınına dahil olmuş en yaratıcı kavramlardan biri olarak tanıtır. Claudio Radaelli ise, henüz Avrupalılaşma kavramının, Avrupa çalışmalarının kuramsal karmaşasına sunulan bir çözüm mü, yoksa o karmaşaya katılan yeni bir sorun mu olduğundan emin değildir. Maarten Vink, Avrupalılaşma'nın 'yakınlaşma', 'uyumlaştırma' veya 'siyasal bütünleşme' gibi kavramlarla karıştırılmaması gerektiği üzerinde durur. Goetz ise, bağlama göre tanım değiştiren Avrupalılaşma kavramına atfedilebilecek tek ortak özelliğin, bahsedilen süreç veya aktörler her ne olursa olsun, içlerinde 'Avrupa'ya ait bir şey' taşıdıkları gerçeği olduğunu vurgular.

Aslında Avrupalılaşma ile kastedilen, Goetz'in mantığı içerisinde, bir şeylerin 'Avrupalı gibi' ya da 'Avrupa yolunda' değiştiği algısıdır. Değişiklik ve bu değişikliğin meydana geldiği bağlam, burada üzerinde durulması gereken kilit faktördür. Peter Hall ve Rosemary Taylor, işte bu değişikliğin meydana geldiği bağlamın üç farklı boyutundan bahseder: rasyonel tercihlerde görülen değişiklikler, toplumsal değişiklikler ve tarihsel değişiklikler. Yeni-Kurumsalcılık adı verilen bu yaklaşım, bu tezde Avrupalılaşma literatürünü sınıflandırma konusunda yardımcı olması için adapte edilmiştir.

Bu tezde öne sürüldüğü üzere, Avrupalılaşma çalışmaları üç ayrı genel boyuta odaklanmaktadırlar. 'Teknik/yönetimsel kullanımlar' olarak adlandırılan birinci kullanıma göre Avrupalılaşma, basitçe, Avrupa Birliği ile üye/aday ülkeler veya üye/aday ülkelerin kendileri arasında meydana gelen kurumsal politika transferlerini işaret etmektedir. Johan Olsen, bu kategoride sayılabilecek beş örnekten bahseder: ülke sınırlarında meydana gelen değişiklikler; Avrupa üst-özelinde inşa edilen kurumlar; yönetim ve yönetişim organlarının yakınlaşması; siyasal organizasyonların sınır-dışına transferi; ve siyasal bütünleşme. Ian Bache ve Stephen George ise bu listeyi biraz daha Avrupa özeline indirger: Avrupa Birliği üye devletlerinin arasında meydana gelen yatay politika transferleri; Avrupa Birliği karar-alıcılarının ve teknokratlarının ürettiği yeni yönetişim modellerinin üçüncü ülkelere veya Avrupa içine dağılımı; Avrupa Birliği ülkeleri içinde farklı konulardaki politik yaklaşımların ortak bir paydaya indirgenmesi veya bütünleştirilmesi; Avrupalı ulus-devletlerin karar alım süreçlerinin Avrupa'da kurulan üst bir merciye hesap verir hale getirilmesi; ulusal politikaların Avrupalı adı altında gösterilmesi; yerel politikaların yukarıdan-aşağı Avrupa dayatmasına maruz bırakılması; Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreci dahilinde yeni bir 'Avrupa gücü'nün oluşturulması; ve Avrupa çalışmaları için yeni bir araştırma alanı. Son olarak, Tanja Börzel'in çalışması ise Avrupalılaşma'nın doğrudan rasyonel tercihleri etkileyen bir süreç olduğu varsayımından hareketle, Avrupalılaşma'nın harekete geçirdiği dinamikleri değil, bu dinamiklerin Avrupa Birliği'ne üye ülkelerce nasıl karşılandığı ile ilgilenerek yeni bir sınıflandırma yapar. Buna göre, Avrupa Birliği üye ülkeleri üçe ayrılmaktadır: Avrupalılaşmanın bağlamını, hızını ve içeriğini kendi iç politik ihtiyaçlarına göre belirleyen 'hız-belirleyen ülkeler'; yine kendi iç

politik dinamiklerine göre uluslarüstü Avrupa gelişimlerini engellemeye veya sınırlandırmaya çalışan 'ayak-direyen ülkeler'; ve son olarak da, Avrupa uluslarüstü karar-alım sürecine katılmak istemeseler de, genel algıya göre hareket edip yalnızca kendi ulusal çıkarına göre adaptasyonu arzulayan 'çit-çeken ülkeler'.

Avrupalılaşma'nın ikinci kullanımı, normatif süreçlerdeki değişikliklere işaret eder. Teknik kullanımlardan başlıca farkı, Avrupa Birliği ile üye/aday ülkeler veya üye/aday ülkelerin kendileri arasında meydana gelen kurumsal norm transferlerini işaret etmeleridir. Bunun dışında – Ian Bache ve Stephen George'un işaret ettiği gibi–, teknik kullanımı ile Avrupalılaşma çoğunlukla yukarıdan-aşağı değişiklik çağrılarına karşı yerel ya da ulusal konumlanmaları açıklarken, normatif kullanım hem yukarıdan-aşağı hem de aşağıdan-yukarı, yatay ve dikey dinamiklerin üzerinde durur. Teknik kullanımlar, ulusal ile uluslarüstü seviyeler arasındaki siyasal, hukuki veya prosedürel uyuşmazlıkları verili kabul eder; normatif kullanımlar ise – Jeffrey Checkel'in ifadesiyle – 'kültürel bir uyum'un peşindedirler. Buna göre amaç, aktörler arasındaki ilgi, çıkar, inanç, değer ve ideal algısını birbirine yakınlaştırmaktır. Hal böyleyken, teknik kullanımlar, Avrupalılaşma'ya uyumu gönülsüz ve reaktif eylemler olarak algılar. Oysa, normatif kullanımlarda hedef bir 'öğrenme süreci' yaratarak, gönüllü bütünleşmeyi gerçekleştirmektir. Teknik Avrupalılaşma kullanımı politikaları ve kararları ön plana çıkarırken, normatif kullanım, kimlikler, seçmen davranışları, siyasal partiler ve seçim süreçleri gibi kurumlar üzerinde durur. Teknik yakınlaşma veya adaptasyon sınırlar-arası bir birlikteliği çağırırken, normatif yakınlaşma daha uzun vadede fark edilir değişiklikleri ister. Son olarak, teknik kullanımlar, Avrupalılaşmayı bir süreç olarak görme eğiliminde olmayıp elde edilen sonuca odaklı bir araştırma alanı kurgularken, normatif kullanımlar Avrupalılaşma sürecinin sonuçlara, aktörlere, davranışlara ve algılara etkisini öne çıkarak bir kuramsallık arar.

Birbirlerinden sayılan önemli noktalarda ayrışan bu iki kullanımın önemli ortak noktası ise, zaman algısında yatar. Her iki kullanım için de Avrupalılaşma süreci, 1945 ve iki dünya savaşının yıkıntılarının ardından başlamıştır. 1950'lerdeki bütünleşme dinamikleri, her iki kullanıma göre de, bugünün şekillenen Avrupa Birliği'ne doğru evrilmesini sağlamıştır. Bu anlamda, Avrupalılaşma göreceli olarak

genç bir süreçtir. Yaklaşık altmış yıllık bir zamana yayılmış bu süreçte ana aktörler de, doğal olarak, Avrupa bütünleşmesinin ulusal ve uluslarüstü aktörleri olagelmiştir. Her iki kullanımıyla Avrupalılaşma, bizzat bu süreci neyin tetiklediği, bu sürecin hangi dinamikler ve hareket alanları içinde devam edegeldiği veya Avrupa bütünleşmesinin ötesinde bir Avrupalılaşma'nın var olup olmadığı konularında sessizdir. Tarihsellikten ve metodolojik tutarlılıktan uzaklaşma, her iki kullanıma da temkinle yaklaşılması gerektiğini göstermiştir.

Bu tezin de üzerine kurulduğu ve ana amacı Avrupalılaşma çalışmalarını teknik ve normatif kullanımlardaki yanlışlardan uzaklaştırmak olan, üçüncü Avrupalılaşma kullanımı ise 'tarihsel' kategorisi ile tanıtılmıştır. Tezde bir kez daha tanıtılan bu kavramsallaştırmanın 'ne olmadığı' ile başlanmıştır. Buna göre, Hans Kohn'un 1937 yılında önerdiği gibi 'Doğulu olanın Avrupalılaşması' ile kastedilen kavram, bugün – bilhassa 1980'ler itibarıyla oldukça popülerleşen – 'küreselleşme' olarak bilinen olgunun bir benzerine işaret etmektedir. Oysa Avrupalılaşma bundan farklı bir süreç olarak tanımlanmak durumundadır. Avrupa'nın modern dünyanın gelişimi ve evrimindeki rolü tartışılmaz olsa da, Avrupalılaşma ile daha yerel bir sürece işaret edilmelidir. Ancak bu yerellik, günümüzde 'bölgeselcilik' olarak adlandırılan ve çoğunlukla tek bir – genellikle, ekonomik – bütünleşme sürecine yol veren NAFTA, EFTA vb. örneklerden de geniş çaplı olmalıdır. 'Ulusötesicilik' kavramı da, bugün Avrupa'nın kimi yerlerinde görülen yerelleşme-uluslarüstücülük tartışmasını aşamayacağından yeterli bir referans noktası olmayacaktır.

İşte tam da bu noktada Helen Wallace'ın geliştirdiği Avrupalılaşma kavramı tezin kuramsal altyapısını sağlamlaştırmak konusunda yardımcı olacaktır. Zira Wallace, hem bu sayılan üç bütünleşme sürecinden farklı hem de Avrupa Birliği veya bütünleşmesi tarihi ile sınırlı olmayan bir Avrupalılaşma'dan söz etmektedir. Ona göre Avrupalılaşma, Antik Yunan dönemine, Roma İmparatorluğu'na, Rönesans ve Reform hareketlerine, Aydınlanma'ya, Sanayi Devrimi'ne ve Fransız Devrimi'ne sırtını dayayan, onlardan çeşitli konularda miras kabul eden, Avrupa'ya ve Avrupa insanına özgü bir süreçtir. Antik Yunan'dan demokrasiyi, siyasal formülasyon araçlarını, ticareti ve ekonomiyi; Roma İmparatorluğu'ndan Latin dil ortaklığını, hukukun temel kodlamalarını, sanatsal-edebi-bilimsel yakınlaşmaları, sporu ve hümanizmi; Aydınlanma'dan bilişsel ve algısal bireyciliği, felsefi ve

rasyonel evrimi, seküler ve demokratik kültürel gelişimleri; Sanayi Devrimi'nden ise bilimsel ve endüstriyel gelişim ile birlikte pazar ekonomisini alan ve tüm bu ortak noktalar üzerinde bugünün Avrupası'nı inşa eden bir Avrupalılaşma süreci çizer Wallace. Bu tezde, Wallace'ın bu önermelerinden yararlanılarak, geniş kapsamlı ve tarihsel bir Avrupalılaşma tanımı da yapılmıştır. Buna göre, Avrupalılaşma, Avrupalı bireyler, halklar ve topluluklar arasında tarih boyunca meydana gelen her türlü sınırlar-arası iletişimi ve kültürel-siyasal-ahlaki birikimi tanımlayan bir süreci işaret etmektedir.

Bu tanım yapıldıktan sonra, Trine Flockhart'ın 2008 tarihli makalesinde yola çıkılmış ve bahsedilen Avrupalılaşma'nın bilinen tarih içerisinde beş safhaya ayrılabileceği önerisinde bulunulmuştur. Bu şemaya göre, Avrupalılaşma'nın tasarım safhası Antik Yunan'dan – veya bilinmeyen öncesinden – başlayıp on beşinci yüzyıla dek süren geniş bir tarihsel zaman aralığına işaret eder. Söz konusu dönemde öne çıkan özellik, Avrupa insanını bir araya getirenin 'Avrupalı' olmak olgusu yerine, Hristiyanlığın başlangıcından bu yana 'din' olgusu olması olarak gösterilmiştir. Doğulu ve yedinci yüzyıldan sonra İslami karşılaşmalar, içine kapanık gelişen bu süreci etkileyen ve sona erdiren birincil faktörler olmuştur. Bu ilk Avrupalılaşma safhası 'kendi içinden' gelişen bir süreç olarak karakterize edilmiştir. Oysa bu sürecin ardılı 'Büyüme Safhası'nda Avrupalılaşma, hem 'kendi içinde' gelişmeye devam edecek hem de Avrupa'nın 'ötesini' etkilemeye başlayacaktır. On beşinci ve on yedinci yüzyıllar arasında gösterilen bu dönemde, Rönesans ve Reform süreçleri, Avrupa'nın içine kapalılığını kıran ve ortaya 'ihraç edilebilecek' bir Avrupa ürünü koyan başat faktörler olmuştur. Kapitalist üretimin başlangıcı da hem feodaliteyi yerle bir edecek hem de denizaşırı keşiflere yol açacaktır. Avrupalı olanın ihracı hiç şüphesiz, Avrupa'ya ait bir 'medeniyet'in de varlığını tasdik edecek ve bunu dünyaya tanıtacaktır.

On yedinci yüzyıl ile yirminci yüzyıl arasını kapsayan 'Görkem Safhası', Avrupalılaşma'nın tüm dünyaya yayılımının ve başarıları karşısındaki hayranlığın artışının safhasıdır. Avrupa bir kez daha 'kendi içinde' gelişmeye yol verirken, bir yandan da sınırları 'ötesini' neredeyse tümüyle kontrolü ve etkisi altına almaya başlamıştır. Aydınlanma ve Sanayi Devrimleri hem kuramsal hem de üretimsel açıdan, Avrupa'nın mutluk üstünlüğünü dünyaya taşıyacaktır. Seküler, demokratik

ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıldan sonra da uluslaşmış Avrupalı devletler, önce Doğu Sorunu ile cebelleşmiş; neredeyse bir tam yüzyılı kendi aralarında savaşmak yerine, kendi iç meseleleri ile uğraşmaya harcamıştır. Ancak, tüm bu dinamiklerin bir araya gelmesi, rekabetçi ve yayılmacı bir ortama, sonunda da yirminci yüzyıldaki kanlı savaşlara yol açmıştır. Yirminci yüzyılın ilk kırk beş-elli yılını kapsayan 'İniş Safhası', iki dünya savaşını, Milletler Cemiyeti özelinde başarısız olmuş bir bütünleşme girişimini ve 1945 itibarıyla bitap düşmüş bir Avrupa kıtasını işaret eder. Avrupalılaşma dinamiği bir kez daha 'kendi içine' dönmüş, milletlerini birbirinden olabildiğince uzağa fırlatmış ve 'Avrupalı olan'ın iflasını işaret etmiştir. Bahsedilmesi gereken nokta ise, Avrupalılaşma'nın bu süreçte dahi işleyişine devam ediyor oluşudur. Tezde öne çıkartılan bu nokta, Flockhart'ın veya Wallace'ın çalışmalarından farklı olarak, Avrupalılaşma olarak adlandırılan sürecin illa ki birleştirici öğelerden oluşması gerektiği argümanını reddeder. Bireyleri, halkları ve toplulukları bir araya getiren etmenler kadar, onları birbirinden ayıran olaylar da Avrupalılaşma sürecine dahil edilmelidir; zira, Avrupalılaşma aşılabilen ya da aşılması gereken, bir başlangıcı ya da sonu olan bir süreç değil, sürekliliği olan, bazen yavaşlayan, bazen hızlanan, bazen inişe geçen, bazen ise çıkışları ile parlayan bir süreçtir. Nitekim 1945 yılından bugüne dek geçen süre, Avrupalılaşma'nın 'Yeniden-Bütünleşme Safhası' olarak adlandırılmış; tüm o yıkım sürecinden sonra, Avrupalılaşma dinamiğinin Avrupalı bireyleri, halkları ve toplulukları nasıl yeniden bir araya getirdiğinin araştırılmasına ayrılmıştır. Bu süreç ister Avrupa Birliği-leşme isterse de Avrupalılaşma olarak adlandırılsın, halihazırda, bilinen tarihten bugüne devam eden (Büyük) Avrupalılaşma sürecinin içerisinde yer almakta ve onun yeni ürünleri olmaktadır.

Tezin üçüncü bölümü, Avrupalılaşma'nın tarihsel olarak adlandırıldığı yerden devam eder ve basitçe şu soruya yanıt arar: Bahsi geçen bu tarihsel Avrupalılaşma süreci, Avrupalılar arasında ortak kabul edilebilecek bir 'kimliğin' ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuş mudur? Araştırma, 'Avrupa' ve 'Avrupalı' kavramları ile neyin kastedildiğinin netleştirilmesi ile açılacaktır. Avrupa'nın mitolojik kökenleri, coğrafi ve fiziksel sınırlarının muğlaklığı, ve semiyotik çalışmalar gözler önüne serildikten sonra yapılması gereken şey, bir kültürel küme olarak Avrupa'yı tanımlamaya çalışmak olarak belirlenmiştir. Burada Burak Erdenir'in çalışması ana

referans olarak alınmıştır. Erdenir çalışmasında William Mishler ve Detlef Pollack'ın 'neo-kültürel sentez'inden yararlanır. Buna göre, kültürel bir araya gelişler 'kalın' ve 'zayıf' elementlerin varlığına göre bir düzlemde oluşur. Bazı kültürler, taşıdıkları temel, dışa dönük, bütüncül ortak özellikler ve sınırları olan, içeride bir bütünlük sahibi yapıları ile uzun ömürlü, 'kalın' kültürlerdir. Buna karşılık, rasyonel bir düzlemde bir araya getirilmiş, belki de inşa edilmiş, değişmez ortak özelliklerden yoksun, bireyci, çoğunlukla sınırları olmayan, dinamik kültürler ise 'zayıf' kültürler olarak adlandırılabilir. Bu değerlendirmeye göre, Avrupa yukarıda sayılan tüm ortak noktalarına ve ortak tarihine karşı, birbirinden ayırdığı insanları ve toplumları ile, zayıf bir kültür oluşturmanın ötesinde değerlendirilmemiştir.

Bir zamanlar Avrupalıları bir araya getiren Hristiyanlık, güçlü – 'kalın' – elementleri sağlarken, on beşinci yüzyılda 'kutsal olanın çöküşü' (Johan Galtung) ile birlikte yerini var olan ortak özellikleri 'zayıflatan' yeni elementlere, milletlere ve milletlerarası savaşlara bırakmıştır. Avrupalılaşma süreci hala devam etse de, Avrupa artık kültürel olarak bir 'birliğe' sahip değildir. Avrupalılaşma, Avrupa kültürünün bir tür 'taşıyıcısı' olarak adlandırılsa, bu taşıyıcı artık 'kalın' kültürel elementleri beslemek yerine, milletleri kendi içlerinde ve birbirlerine karşı güçlendiren elementlere yol vermektedir. Onun getirdiği, bu tezde, ortak anıların, deneyimlerin ve öğrenme süreçlerinin yer aldığı ortak bir 'havuz' olarak adlandırılmıştır.

Tezin bu noktada öne sürdüğü soru şu şekilde formüle edilebilir: Eğer Avrupalılaşma'nın zayıf bir ortak kültür havuzu meydana getirdiği önermesi doğru ise, bugünün Avrupalılaşma olarak adlandırılan 1945-sonrası sürecinin ortak bir Avrupa kimliğinden bahsetmesi nasıl açıklanabilir? Ortada ortak bir Avrupa kültürü, hatta bu minvalde ortak bir Avrupa 'bütünlük isteği' dahi yokken, Avrupalı olana 'kimlik' atfetmenin altında yatan dinamikler ne olabilir?

Bu tezin söz konusu sorulara verdiği yanıt, Avrupa kimliği kavramının yeni bir icat olduğu yönündedir. Pratik çalışmalar (Ronald Inglehart) göstermiştir ki, 'Avrupa kimliği' ancak 1970'li yılların başlarında, Avrupa bütünleşme süreci tümüyle ekonomik bir istikametten, siyasal bir yola girmeye başladığında, toplumsal literatüre giriş yapmıştır. Luisa Passerini, 1973 Kopenhag Zirvesi'nde

dile getirilen 'Avrupa kimliği' kavramının, tümüyle ortak bir tarihe ve mirasa dayandırıldığını ve 1980'lerdeki Avrupa bütünleşmesi adımlarında da, aynı korelasyonun kullanılmaya devam edildiğini iddia eder. Oysa, bu tezde ortaya konulan odur ki, 1990'lardan itibaren gitgide yalnızca yüzeysel bir biçimde yapılan 'kimlik' vurgusu, Avrupa ajandasında bilhassa 2005 Avrupa Anayasası çabalarının olumsuz sonuçlarından sonra tümüyle ortadan kalkmaya başlamıştır.

Elde edilen bu bulgu, Mishler ve Pollack'ın 'zayıf' kültürler için iddia ettiği, 'inşa edilme' ve 'gelip geçici' olma özelliklerine tümüyle uymaktadır. Artık Avrupa diskurunda, ortak bir kimlik yerine, ortak kabul edilen bazı 'değerler' yer almaktadır. Bu değerler belki üstü kapalı bir kültürel birliği işaret etse de, meselenin aslını ortaya çıkarabilmek için, 'Avrupa kimliği' kavramının yapısökümüne ihtiyaç duyulacaktır.

Üçüncü bölümün ikinci kısmı, bu işe ayrılmıştır. Buna göre kimlik, zayıf bir kültürü, retorik olarak 'kalın'laştırma çabasının bir ürünüdür. Oysa kimlik kavramının altında, böylesi 'kalınlaştırıcı' bir özellikten beklenmeyecek kadar basit bir dinamik yatar. Kimlikleştirme süreci, aslında yalnızca bir kimlikleyene ve bir de kimliklenene ihtiyaç duyar. Bu noktada kimlikleyene geçmeden önce, kimliklenen – yani 'Avrupa' – üzerinde durulmuştur. David Green'in aktardığına gore, Michael Wintle, Avrupa'yı Roma mirasıyla, Hristiyanlıkla, Aydınlanmayla, endüstrileşmeyle, ortak bir fiziksel çevreyle ve ortak diller bilgisi ile özdeşleştirir. Soledad Garcia ise bu listeye Hellenizmi, Rönesansı, Romantizmi, refah devletini ve Avrupamerkezciliği ekler. Oysa Chris Shore'a göre, Avrupalı olmaya atfedilen her kimlik listesi birer 'inşa' sürecidir ve Avrupa Komisyon'u kimin Avrupalı olduğu, kimin üçüncü ülkelerden geldiği ve daha önemlisi kimin Avrupalı-olmadığı konusunda oldukça seçici ve titizdir. Öyle ki, söylemi ile modern olanı (milli kimlikleri, devletlerin egemenlik haklarını, anarşik uluslararası sistemi) aşmaya çalışma iddiasında olan Avrupa teknokratları, Avrupa kimliği meselesiyle neredeyse milli kimlikler gibi 'yeni bir icat' (Eric Hobsbawm) peşinde gözükmektedir.

Ian Manners ve Richard Whitman'ın kuramsallaştırması ile Avrupa'da inşa edilmeye çalışılan ortak kimlik, bir toplumsal mühendislik örneği olarak kabul edilebilir. Vivienne Orchard'a göre de, Avrupa'da inşa edilmeye çalışılan ortak

kimlik modeli neredeyse yeni bir kültür oluşturma çabalarına benzemektedir. Ancak bu çabaların önünde kimi engeller bulunmaktadır. Bu engellerin başında küreselleşme süreci gelir. Massimo Andretta ve Lorenzo Mosca'nın çalışması göstermiştir ki, bir zamanlar Kohn'un Avrupalılaşma olarak gördüğü, bugün "zaman ve mekan sıkışması" (David Harvey) olarak adlandırılan küreselleşme süreci, bizzat Avrupalı halklar tarafından, Avrupalılaşmanın ve Avrupa kimliğinin halihazırdaki son safhasından daha fazla güven vermekte ve hatta Avrupa'nın yanlışlarının önüne geçme yolu olarak görülmektedir. Andretta ve Mosca'nın çalışmasının tam karşısında bir perspektiften yola çıkan John Downey ve Thomas Konig ise, Avrupa kimliğinin önündeki ikinci büyük engeli yaklaşık iki yüz yıldır hüküm süren ve hala geçerliliğini koruyan milliyetçilik ve milli kimlikler olarak belirler. Son olarak Anthony Smith'in çalışması ise Avrupa kimliğinin varoluşunun önündeki en büyük engeli, ortak bir Avrupa kültürünün yokluğuna bağlar. Smith'e göre Avrupalılar arasında bir kültürden söz edilecekse, bu ancak bir 'kültür ailesine' ortaklık olmalıdır. Juan Medrano ve Paula Gutierrez, Smith'in 'kültürler ailesi' kuramını bir adım öteye götürerek, Avrupa'da sözü edilebilecek ortak 'Avrupalılığın' bir tür üst referansa tekabül ettiğini belirtir. Buna göre, Avrupalılar kendilerini tanımlayacak kültürel kimlikleri hala milli aidiyetlerinden bulmaktadır. Avrupa kimliği, bu şablonda ancak onların milliden de yerel kimliklerinden sonra gelen bir referans kimlik olabilecektir. Medrano ve Gutierrez bu tip iç içe geçmiş kimliklere 'kimlikler ağı' adını vermiştir ve Avrupa kimliği söylemsel bağlamda bir süper-kategori olarak yer almaktan öteye gidemeyecektir.

Bu noktada devreye 'vatandaşlık' tartışmaları girer. Ortak kimlik olmadan ortaya çıkan vatandaşlığın 'icadı', pratik Avrupa ile retorik Avrupa arasındaki boşluğu kapatma ihtiyacına denk getirilmiştir. Ancak burada da ortaya meşruiyet ve demokrasi sorunları çıkmıştır. Peter Van Ham'in belirttiği gibi Avrupa kimliği, Ferdinand Tönnies'in ünlü sınıflandırması ile, büyük bir Gemeinschaft üzerine kurulmaya çalışılmakta; oysa Slavoj Žižek'e göre, demokratik meşruiyet gerçekte yalnızca düzgün işleyen bir Gesselschaft'ta ortaya çıkabilmektedir. Demokrasinin 'demos'u, Yasemin Soysal'ın da belirttiği gibi, Avrupa'da mevcut değildir. Philippe van Parijs'in belirttiği – ve Anthony Smith'in kültürler ailesi tezinin desteklendiği gibi – bugünün Avrupası'nda bir 'demoi' var. Bu çoğulluğa verilmiş rastgele

haklar, pasaportlar, hukuk önüne çıkma özgürlükleri ve oy hakları, onların aidiyet duygusunu kültürel anlamda oluşturmaya yetmemektedir. Nikos Prentoulis'in de belirttiği gibi, Avrupa'da hayata geçirilmeye çalışılan vatandaşlık modelleri, bugün olsa olsa emekleme seviyesinde pratiğe dökülebilmiştir. Bu kuramsal yetersizliklerin öne sürdüğü iddialar, üçüncü bölümün son kısmında Avrupa'da yapılan ve Avrupalıların Avrupa kimliğine bağlılıklarını ölçen anketler ve sonuçlarıyla da desteklenmiştir. Buna göre, ortaya konulmuştur ki, Avrupa'da ortak bir kimliğin yansımalarından söz etmek için, aşılması gereken dil/milliyet ve daha önemlisi retorik-pratik engeller hala mevcut durumdadır.

Dördüncü bölüm, Avrupa kimliği ile ilgili çizilen bu karamsar tablonun aşılabilmesi için ne yapılabileceği sorusuna aranan cevap üzerine oluşturulmuştur. Bu bölüm öncelikle 'Avrupa kimliği inşa sürecinin' gerçekte ne olduğu ya da olageldiği üzerine bir argüman ile başlar. Buna göre, bugün Avrupa'da bir kimliklenme süreci yerine bir kendini tanımlama ya da kendi-kimliklenme sürecinden söz etmek daha anlamlı olacaktır. Zira, daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, kimlik süreci hem kimliklenen hem de kimlikleyen mekaniği üzerine kuruludur. Avrupa özelinde öne çıkansa, burada kimliklenen ile kimlikleyenin aynı olduğudur: Bugün Avrupa'yı tanımlamaya çalışman, Avrupa'nın ta kendisidir. Avrupa bu eşitlenemeyecek denklem içinde direnip durmaya 1970'lerden başlayarak 2000'li yılların ilk beş yılına kadar devam etmiştir. Bir başka deyişle, modernizm ve modern icatlar, tıpkı kötü birer ruh gibi, bugünün Avrupası'nı şekillendirmeye devam etmiştir.

Avrupa'nın kendi kendini kimlikleme arayışı, Joschka Fischer'in ünlü konuşmasında iyice gözler önüne serilmiştir. Buna göre modern icatların yol açtığı savaşlara veda etmek isteyen Avrupa, hala aynı icatlarla kendine yeni bir kimlik aramaya çalışmaktadır. Ancak 2005'ten sonra Avrupa bürokrasisinin ve teknokrasisinin içerisinden, bu moderniteyi aşmaya yönelik çabalar ortaya çıkacaktır. Ancak burada da bugünün Avrupası'nın ne kadar post-modern olduğu sorusu belirir. Bugün Avrupa'da ulus-devletlerin gücü zayıflatılmış, bazı karar alma mekanizmaları uluslarüstü kurumlara devredilmiş, devletlerin mutlak egemenliği uluslarüstü yargıya taşınmış, pasaportlar eşitlenmiş, sınırlar-arası geçiş serbestliği tanınmıştır. Ancak 'yüksek siyaset' hala modernizmin kalelerinin elinde

bulunmaktadır. Avrupalılaşma'nın teknik kullanımları, bu süreçleri hala birer güç-oyunu şeklinde algılamaktadır. Sınırlar belirsiz, milli kimlikler hala güçlü ve yetki ikamesi hala kuramsal seviyededir. Buna göre, Avrupa henüz modernitenin ötesine geçememiş; halihazırda bu yolda aşama katedebilmiş, 'geç-modern' (Peter Van Ham) bir fenomen olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Iver Neumann ve Jennifer Welsh'e göre de, Avrupa geç-modern bir araya gelişi, bir kendini-tanımlama sürecini işaret etmektedir. Bu süreç iki basamaklı değerlendirilmelidir. Soğuk Savaş'ın başlangıcından sonuna kadar geçen süreyi işaret eden ilk süreçte, Avrupa kendini-tanımlamasını Wilson ilkeleri, uluslararası kurumsallaşma, iki-kutuplu sistemin korunması ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nden alınan reçetelerin harfiyen uygulanması yönünde şekillendirmiştir. Oysa bilhassa 1970'lerde azalan Amerikan hegemonyası ve çözülen iki-kutuplu dünya, Avrupa kendini-tanımlamasında değişikliklere yol açmıştır. Bu basamakta, Avrupa'nın önünde – üstelik de bizzat kendisi çözmesi gereken – iki sorun vardır: küreselleşme ve Doğu Avrupa'nın entegrasyonu. Ole Wæver'e göre, Avrupa, önceleri Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nden ithal ettiği 'öteki'ni, ilk kez bu dönemde kendisi oluşturmuştur: Avrupa'nın kendi geçmişi. Bu öyle bir kendini-kimlikleme sürecidir ki, bir başka özelliği de, Soysal'ın belirttiği gibi, kendi geleceğini şekillendirmek üzerine kurulacaktır. Avrupa kimliğinin ortaya çıkışı tam da bu gelecek projeksiyonu altında değerlendirilmelidir. Ancak sözü edilen gelecek de bir takım ötekilere kucak açacaktır: Amerika Birleşik Devletleri artık Avrupa'nın ekonomik ve siyasal bir rakibidir; Rusya, ona geçmişini hatırlatır; ve üçüncü ülkelerde meydana gelen her tür istikrar bozucu gelişme, Avrupa'nın yeniden güçlenmesine olası birer tehdit olarak algılanır (Peter Van Ham).

Ancak, bilhassa Soğuk Savaş'tan sonra yürütülen bu kendini-tanımlama projesini, geçmişteki örneklerinden ayıran en önemli özelliği, Laura Cram'in kavramlaştırdığı şekilde, banalliği olacaktır. Avrupa'nın bu geç-modern kendini-tanımlaması her gün, her şekilde ve her bağlamda kendini hissettirmeden ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kurulan Avrupa Birliği, aslında Avrupa'nın halihazırdaki haritasının yeniden yorumlanmasıdır ama bu haritanın dışında kalanlar da bir gün 'Avrupa'ya dahil edilebilir. On iki yıldızlı bayrak bugün yirmi yedi ülkede dalgalanır. Ortak pasaportları kullanan beş yüz milyon insan vardır. Bu Avrupa'nın bir marşı, bir

sembolü, bir günü ve hatta bir seçim sistemi vardır. Michael Billig'in 'banal milliyetçilik' söylemini kullanarak bugünün Avrupası'nı açıklamaya çalışan Cram'e göre, tüm bunlar sessiz bir sembolizasyonun örnekleridir. Bu yeni bir sosyal iletişim yöntemidir ve hiç durmadan her gün kendini-tanımladığı gibi, yeni 'ötekileri' de meydana getirmektedir.

Wæver'in, Van Ham'in, Cram'in ve Neumann ile Welsh'in tanımladıkları bu 'Avrupa' hareketini ortak bir kuramsal temele oturtmak, bu tezin ana argümanlarından birini oluşturur. Bu noktaya kadar gösterilmiştir ki, Avrupa'da bugün yaşanan kimliklenme süreci, basit ve modern mekaniklerle anlaşılamayacak kadar 'yeni', post-modern kimliksizlikle tanımlanamayacak kadar da 'eski', geç-modern bir anlatıya sahiptir. İşte bu nedenle, onu açıklamak için, sosyal bilimlerin bir başka dalından, sosyal psikolojiden, yardım almak gerekecektir. Tajfel ve Turner'ın Sosyal Kimlik ve Sosyal Kategorizasyon kuramları, Avrupa'da bugün olup biten süreçleri açıklamak için yeni bir araştırma modeli sağlamaktadır.

Henri Tajfel'in 1974 yılında geliştirmeye başladığı 'sosyal kimlik' kuramına göre, bir grubu meydana getiren üç temel bileşen mevcuttur: bilişsel bileşen, değerlendiren bileşen ve duygusal bileşen. Sosyal kimlik, bir grubun oluşması için gereken bu bileşenleri sağlayan asgari şartlar üzerine kurulmuştur. Basitliği şuradan gelir: bir topluluğun sosyal bir kimliğe sahip olması ve bunu diğer gruplarla karşılaştırmak adına kullanması için, sadece belli bir zaman ve mekanda bir araya gelmesi/getirilmesi yeterli olacaktır. Bu bir millet içinde, bir orduda, bir iş yerinde, bir müzik grubunda veya bir sinema salonunda olabilir. Gereken şey, sosyal kimliğe sahip olacak bireylerin, kendilerinden ayrı olarak bir araya gelmiş bir başka topluluğun da var olduğunu bilmeleridir. İşte o anda, sosyal kimliklenme süreci başlar. Bireyler öncelikle bir içgrup-dışgrup ayrımı yaparlar – ki buna sosyal kategorizasyon adı verilir. Bu sınıflandırma yapıldığı anda, sosyal kimlik elde edilmiş olur. Kimliğin elde edilişi, gruplar arasında karşılaştırmanın başlaması anlamına gelir. Ve son olarak, bu karşılaştırma başladığı anda da, artık sosyal bir kimliğe sahip olan birey kendi içgrubuna karşı psikolojik bir pozitif ayrımcılık yaratmaya başlamış olacaktır.

Michael Hogg ve Cecilia Ridgeway'e göre Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı, sosyal olan ile bireysel olan arasında kuramsal bir köprü kurmayı başarmıştır. Michael Hogg,

Deborah Terry ve Katherine White kimliklenme süreci ile sosyal kimliklenme süreçleri arasında şu üç önemli farkı vurgular: Kimliklenme sürecinde birey, kendini-doğrulamak zorunda iken, sosyal kimlik ile birey, kendi var oluşunu ya da haklılığını doğrulama işini içgruba bırakmıştır. Bir başka deyişle, sosyal kimliğe sahip birey, 'kişiliksizleşmiş' – bireysel kişiliğinin yerini sosyal kimliğine ait olma bilincine bırakmıştır. Öte yandan, kimliklenme süreci kimlikleyen ile kimliklenen arasındaki dinamiklerde devam ederken, sosyal kimliklenme süreci doğrudan bir başka (dış)grubun varlığına karşı ve varlığından dolayı yapılmaktır. Son olarak, kimliklenme süreci için bireyler-arası farklılıklar gerekli ve ön plandayken, sosyal kimliğin var olması bu farklılıklara bağlı değildir. Bireyler kendi aralarındaki farklılıkları, kişiliksizleşme süreci ile yok etmiş, bir gruba bağlılıklarını kendi kimliklerinin tek şartı haline getirmiştir.

İşte bu özellikler sayesinde, sosyal kimlik tartışmaları yukarıda dile getirilen Avrupalılaşma ve Avrupa kimliği tartışmalarına entegre edilebilmektedir. Yukarıda da değinildiği gibi, Avrupa ortak kimliğinden söz etmenin kuramsal açıdan en büyük sorunu, Avrupalı bireyler, halklar ve topluluklar arasında halihazırda mevcut olan farklardır. Oysa olası bir 'Avrupa sosyal kimliği'nde bu farklılıklar kuramsal olarak devreden çıkar. İster Avrupa Birliği'ne üye olmak yoluyla isterse de tarihsel/coğrafi yakınlık yoluyla olsun, bugün ortaya çıkan Avrupa içgrubuna bir biçimde kabul edilmiş herkes ve her topluluk, başka hiçbir şarta bağlı olmaksızın bu sosyal kimliğin bir parçası kabul edilebilecektir.

Bu kabul edilişten sonra, sosyal kategorizasyon başlayacaktır. Pozitif özellikler Avrupa sosyal kimliğine atfedilir ve geri dönüşünde bu sosyal kimlikten 'özsaygı' (kendini dışgruplara nazaran daha avantajlı olma hissi) kazanılırsa, bu durumda, bugün Avrupa insanının kendisinden görmediği ve dahil olmak istemediği Avrupa ortak kimliğinin handikapları da ortadan kalkacaktır. Sosyal kimliği ortak kabul eden demos, artık demoi olamaz. Juliana Oldmeadow ve arkadaşlarının belirttiği gibi, 'Ben kimim?' sorusu, 'Biz kimiz?' sorusuna evrildiği noktada, artık grup içi farklılıklar ortadan kalkar. Bu sürecin devam edişi – yani sosyal kimliğin elde tutulması – sosyal kimliğin bireylere özsaygı kazandırmaya devam etmesi, dışgruplarla sürekli (banal) bir farklılığı canlı tutması ve grup içinde belirsizliği asgari düzeyde tutabilmesi ölçüsünde sürer gider. Burada, Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı,

sosyal, politik ve ekonomik düzeyleri de metodolojisine katmış olur. Bağlam güven vermeye devam ettikçe, örneğin Avrupa'da ekonomik kriz yaşanmadıkça, 'kimlik' politikaları canlı tutulabilir: Sınırlar genişler, ortak bir anayasa hazırlanmaya çalışılır, entegrasyon derinleştirilir, insan hakları tartışmaları alevlenir, Avrupa'nın hangi rakiplerle hangi bağlamlarda kapışan 'bir dev' olduğu üzerine araştırma bütçeleri ayrılır. Tersi bir durumda ise siyaset 'düşer', ekonomi yükselir; insani meseleler rafa kalkar, güvensizlik artar ve güvensizlik arttıkça da Avrupa'nın geleceği sorgulanır hale gelir. Tıpkı bugün yaşandığı gibi.

Sosyal Kimlik kuramlarının sosyal bilimler araştırmalarına konu olmaları nadir görülen bir olaydır. Şüphesiz, asgari grup şartları gibi tartışılagelen olgular, sosyal kimlik için eleştirileri de beraberinde getirmiştir. Bugüne dek, Daniel Druckman'ın milliyetçilik-milli kimlik ve sosyal kimlik arasında yaptığı karşılaştırması ve Trine Flockhart'ın Avrupa'da devletlerin sosyalizasyonunu sosyal kimlik ile bağdaştırmaya çalışan çalışması dışında genelgeçer kabul gören bir çalışma ortaya çıkmamıştır. Oysa her iki çalışma da, bu tezin şu ana dek savunduğu argümana pratik bir örnek olay incelemesi sunması öncesinde, değerli birer fikir öne sürmüştür. Druckman'ın milliyetçilik üzerine yaptığı çalışma, milletlerin geleneksel 'dışgrupları'ndan olan azınlıkların Avrupa sosyal kimliğinde oynadığı rol veya bu sosyal kimliğin gelişimi sürecinde aldığı yerin sorgulanmasını sağlamıştır. Flockhart'ın yaptığı çalışma ise sosyal kimliğin dışgruplarının kendi aralarında nasıl sınıflandığı konusunda bilgi vererek, bu tezin devamında önemli bir referans noktası olmuştur. Buna göre, dışgruplar üçe ayrılır: içgrupların kendilerini ve sosyal kimliklerini doğrudan karşısına yerleştirdikleri 'ötekiler'; içgrupların ileride dönüşmeyi arzuladıkları özelliklere sahip rol modelleri temsil eden 'önemli bizler'; ve içgrupların kendi varoluş nedenlerini sağladıkları alelade 'dışgruplar'.

Beşinci ve altıncı bölümlerde, yukarıda özetlenen Avrupa Birliği ve etrafındaki Avrupalı kurumların şekillendirdiği 'Avrupa içgrubu' ve zaman içinde değişen 'ötekileri', 'dışgrupları' ve 'önemli bizleri' şeması, Avrupa'da 1648 Vestfalya Antlaşması'ndan sonra Avrupa siyasi ajandasında önemli yer kaplayan azınlıklar meselesi dahilinde yeniden incelenmektedir. Burada amaç, Avrupalılaşma'nın, on yedinci yüzyıldan itibaren taşıyıcısı olduğu milli kimliklendirme fenomeninden, bugünün geç-modern Avrupa sosyal

kimliğine/kendini-tanımlamasına dönüşüm sürecini, Avrupa'da azınlık algısının gelişimi, azınlıkların tanınması, azınlıklara verilen haklar, azınlıkların korunması ve ortak bir Avrupa azınlıklar rejiminden söz etme olasılığı örnekleri üzerinden değerlendirmeye almaktır.

Bu tezde belli bir azınlık tanımlaması yapmaktan kaçınılmıştır. Azınlıklar, herhangi bir kritere göre ve herhangi bir yoldan, çoğunluk kabul edilen gruptan ayrıştırılan grubu veya bireyler topluluğunu temsil etmektedir. Azınlık veya çoğunluk kavramları nicel bir üstünlüğü temsil etmez. Burada yalnızca ayıran ve ayrıştırılan farkı gözetilmektedir. Siyasal hakimiyet sahibi grup, azınlık topluluğunu ona pozitif ayrıcalıklar vererek dahi sosyal bütünlükten uzaklaştırabilir. Bunun dışında, azınlıklar ve bireyler de kendilerini birer azınlık haline getirebilirler. Irk, etnisite, milliyet, din, dil, renk, cinsiyet, tercihler ve hatta fiziksel şartlar, azınlık tanımlamasının üzerine oturtulacağı farklılıklardan olabilir. Ve farklılığın olduğu her bağlam, azınlıklaştırmanın tetikleyicisi kabul edilebilir.

Azınlıklar konusunun Avrupa tarihsel ve sosyal kimliği üzerinden tartışılmasına Avrupalılaşma'nın 'Görkem Safhası'ndan başlanmıştır. Vestfalya Antlaşması'nın azınlıklar meselesindeki önemi, Jennifer Preece'e göre, bu tarihten sonra azınlık gruplarının, birer 'siyasi anomali' olarak görülecek olmalarıdır. Bu sonucu doğuran en önemli faktör, özellikle bu tarihten itibaren dünya ölçeğindeki çok-kültürlü, çok-etnili, çok-dinli ve çok-dilli imparatorluk anlayışının yerini yavaş yavaş daha tekil siyasal bütünleşmelere bırakmasıdır. Ancak, en azından 1815 Viyana Antlaşması'na kadar, azınlıkların hala 'dini' temellerde çoğunluktan ayrılmakta olduğunu belirtmek önemlidir. Oysa bu tarihten itibaren, tıpkı Avrupa'da değişen tutunum ideolojisi gibi, azınlıkların ayrışmaları da dini referanslardan milli referanslara doğru kayacaktır.

Viyana Kongresi'nin önemi, Stephen Deets'e göre, azınlıkların durumları ve kaderleri üzerindeki devlet egemenliğini – en azından kimi devletler için – uluslararası boyuta taşımasıdır. Bir başka deyişle, Avrupalı devletlerde yaşayan azınlıkların, Avrupa için önemli bir uluslararası mesele haline gelmesi on dokuzuncu yüzyıl itibarıyla başlamıştır. Bu durum, Avrupalılaşma'nın azınlıklara doğrudan etkisi olarak da anlaşılabilir. 1856 Paris Antlaşması ve özellikle 1878 Berlin Kongresi de azınlıkların uluslararasılaşması konusunda önemli

göstergelerdir. Örneğin Preece'e göre, Avrupa'da tutunum ideolojisinin 'milliyetçilik' olarak resmiyet kazanması 1878'de Berlin'de gerçekleşmiş, bunda da azınlıkların milli azınlıklar olarak tanıtılması önemli bir rol oynamıştır.

Yirminci yüzyıla gelindiğinde, milliyetçi dinamikler ve ekonomik sorunların ortaklaşa bir sonucu olarak meydana gelen savaşlar, azınlıklar meselesi üzerinde yıpratıcı etkilerde bulunmuştur. İlk olarak, Osmanlı Devleti'nin tasfiyesi, özellikle Balkanlar coğrafyasında yeni ulus devletlerin ve sonuç olarak da yeni azınlık sorunlarının ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın yeniden şekillendirdiği Avrupa haritasında yeri belli olmayan azınlıklar en önemli soru işaretlerinden olmuştur. Bu sorunlarla ilgilenmek için kurulan Milletler Cemiyeti'nin başarısızlığı ve savaşın galip devletlerini her türlü azınlık dayatmasından muaf tutması, doğal olarak azınlıklar meselesinin daha karmaşık ve içinden çıkılamaz bir hale gelmesine zemin hazırlamıştır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı ise, Avrupalılaşma'nın cinnetini, azınlıklar üzerinde de göstermesine yol açmıştır. Almanya başta olmak üzere tüm Avrupa'da başlanan cadı avının hedefinde, hemen her ülkede azınlık olarak yaşayan Yahudilerin bulunması, yalnızca bir tesadüften ibaret değildir.

1945 yılı itibarıyla Avrupalılaşma, Avrupa'da yeni bir içgruplaşmayı işaret etmiştir. Avrupa ortadan ikiye ayrılmış, Doğu tarafında 'önemli bizi'ni Sovyetler Birliği ve sosyalizmden oluşturan, bazı ulusal azınlıkları da 'öteki' olarak belirleyen bir içgruplaşma varken; Batı tarafının 'önemli bizi'ni Avrupa'yı restore eden Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve kapitalizm almış, azınlıklar meselesi ise tamamen rafa kaldırılmıştır. Batı Avrupa'da bu durum, tezde azınlıkların 'bireyselleşmesi' olarak adlandırılmıştır. Azınlık hakları, 1945'ten itibaren gelişen uluslararası kurumsallaşma sayesinde, insan haklarına indirgenmiş veya yükseltilmiştir.

1970-1992 yılları arasında Avrupa'da azınlıklar anlayışını etkileyen iki faktörden söz edilmiştir. Bunlardan ilki, dinamikleri Avrupa'nın içinden gelen, 'azınlık meselelerinin yeniden bir güvenlik meselesi haline getirilmesi'dir. Bir başka deyişle, Avrupalılaşma azınlıkların varlığını yeniden tanımaya, onları birer istikrar ve barış tehditi haline getirerek başlamıştır. Oysa Birleşmiş Milletler Siyasi ve Medeni Haklar Sözleşmesi'nin 27. maddesi, 1966 yılında cesur bir ulusal azınlıklar tanımı yapmaya girişmiş, ortaya çıkan madde fazlasıyla ucu açık olsa da,

azınlıkların varlığının yeniden-tanınması yönünde umut vermiştir. 1975 Avrupa Savunma ve Güvenlik Koferansı Helsinki Nihai Senedi ise azınlıklar meselesini, Avrupa'nın hem doğusu hem de batısı için bir güvenlik meselesine indirgemiştir. Ole Wæver'in tanımıyla bu bir 'sözeylem' örneğini teşkil eder ve bu güvenlikleştirme meselesi Soğuk Savaş'ın sonuna kadar devam edecektir.

1970-1992 arasında Avrupa'daki azınlıklar anlayışını etkileyen diğer faktör ise, Avrupa'nın dışında gerçekleşecek, Soğuk Savaş sonrası için Avrupa'nın 'önemli biz'i haline gelecektir. Bu faktör, yeni dünya ülkelerinden başta Avustralya ve Kanada olmak üzere, Yeni Zelanda ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde artarak popülerlik kazanan çokkültürlülük tartışmalarıdır. Tim Soutphommasane'ye göre bu hareketin dinamiklerinde, insanları din, dil, ırk, etnisite gibi ayrımlara dayandırarak sınıflandıran geleneksel vatandaşlık anlayışından kopuş yatmaktadır. Çoğulcu bir Gesselschaft'ta, ortak hukuksal ve insani bir takım önkoşullara saygı duyma şartı ile, dileyenin istediği biçimde ve istediği şekilde yaşayabilmesi ideali üzerine kurulu olan bu pratik, Will Kymlicka'nın 1995 kitabı ile kuramsal altyapısına da kavuşmuştur. Temelde cemaatçilik ile liberalizmin bir tür karışımından oluşan Çokkültürlü Yurttaşlık kuramı, demokrasinin farklılıklar üzerinde yeşereceği ve farklılıkların desteklenmesi argümanı üzerine kuruludur. Ancak, Kymlicka'nın kuramlaştırması, Gesselschaft'ın oluşma şartlarını, Gemeinschaft-vari bir hale getirerek, ortak kültür özelinde bir ulusal azınlık tanımı yapmaktadır. Bu tanım, ülkelerde hızla artan misafir işçi ve göçmenlere ait hakları, insan hakları düzeyine indirgemekte veya yükseltmektedir. Kuramın bu önemli zaafına rağmen, azınlıkları tekrar 'grup' halinde kabul etmesi önemli bir dönemeci işaret etmektedir.

Soğuk Savaş sona erdiğinde, Avrupa'nın yeni içgruplandırılması da devam etmektedir. Buna göre, birkaç yıl sonra Avrupa Birliği olarak adlandırılacak oluşum temellerini atmakta, NATO ve Avrupa Konseyi gibi kurumları da bu sürece entegre edip Doğu Avrupalı toplumları da etkisi altına almaktadır. 'Önemli biz' dışgrubunda neo-liberalizmin hemen yanında, çokkültürlülük durmakta; 'öteki'ler ise bağlama göre değişiklik göstermektedir. Avrupa'daki azınlık algısını bu tarihten sonra etkileyen üç aktörden söz edilmelidir: Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Teşkilatı, Avrupa Konseyi ve Avrupa Birliği. Avrupa Konseyi'nce imzaya açılan 1992

Avrupa Bölgesel ve Azınlık Dilleri Şartı ile 1995 Ulusal Azınlıklar Çerçeve Sözleşmesi bugün de hukuki bağlayıcılığı olan iki uluslararası azınlık dokümanı olarak adlandırılmaktadır.

Bu tezin altıncı bölümü, 1992 Maastricht Antlaşması sonrası Avrupası'nda ortaya çıkan, bilhassa Avrupa Birliği'ne üye ve aday ülkelerin azınlıklara bakış açıları ve onlara verdikleri haklar doğrultusunda yapılan bir sınıflandırmaya göre oluşan tabloyu incelemektedir. Buna göre, bugün Avrupa Birliği'ne üye ülkeler arasında ilk ayrım, birliğe 1995 öncesinde üye olmuş kurucu ve esas üyeler ile 2004 ve 2007 genişlemelerinden sonra üyelik hakkı kazanan Orta ve Doğu Avrupa ülkeleri arasında gerçekleşir. Bu iki grubu birbirinden ayıran en önemli özellik, özellikle 1993 Kopenhag Zirvesi ve Kriterleri'nden sonra, ilk grubun ikinci gruba azınlıklar ve onlara tanınacak ayrıcalıklar konusunda 'yol gösterici' sıfatını kendi kendine üstlenmesi olmuştur. Bir başka deyişle, Schimmelfennig'in kavramsallaştırması ile 'Avrupa'ya dönüş' retoriği, azınlıklar konusunda Orta ve Doğu Avrupa ülkeleri için, 'Batı' Avrupa'nın 'önemli biz'e dönüşme süreci haline gelmiştir.

Kopenhag Kriterleri öncesi Avrupa, demokrasi, Avrupa kimliği ve insan hak ve özgürlüklerine saygı bileşenlerini içeren üç ayaklı bir yapı üzerine inşa edilmeye çalışılırken, Kopenhag sonrasında üstlenilen 'önemli biz' görevi ile – yalnızca yeni üye ülkeler için – azınlık hakları ve korunmasını içeren dördüncü bir bileşene de ev sahipliği yapmaya başlamıştır. Rogers Brubaker'in milliyetçilik üzerine yaptığı çalışmaları azınlıklara ve Avrupa'da azınlıklar meselesine uygulayan Lynn Tesser, Kopenhag sonrası gelişmeleri, Avrupa Birliği'nin 'şartlılık ilkesinin' geniş ve biraz da kararsızca uygulanması olarak açıklamaya çalışmıştır. Zira Gwendolyn Sasse'ye göre de, 1993 yılında üzerine basa basa vurgulanan azınlık haklarına ve korunmasına saygı şartı, henüz 1997 Amsterdam Antlaşması ve Ajanda 2000 ile birlikte yavaşça ortadan kalkmaya başlamış; 2000 Nice Antlaşması'nda kendine yer bulamamış; 2004 Anayasa çalışmalarında ise bilinçli biçimde listeden çıkartılmıştır. Bu da, Kopenhag'da azınlıklara yapılan vurgunun, Avrupa'nın 1970-1992 arasında geliştirdiği 'güvenlik' eksenli azınlık anlayışının devamı olarak algılanabilmektedir. Orta ve Doğu Avrupalı ülkelerin Avrupa Birliği'ne üye olmasından sonra, azınlık hakları meselesi uluslarüstü platformda iyiden iyiye tartışılma ortamını kaybetmiş,

üyelik ve pazarlıklar sürecinde atılan kimi adımlar hariç, ulus devletin azınlıklar üzerindeki hakimiyeti ve liberal milliyetçi söylem yaşamaya devam etmiştir.

Ortaya çıkan bu tablo Avrupa'nın hem batısı hem de doğusu için, ülkeler arasındaki farklar ile oluşturulmuş, üçlü bir şemayı işaret etmektedir. Buna göre Batı Avrupalı devletler arasında, Erol Kuyubaş'ın da işaret ettiği gibi, Avrupa'da geniş çaplı bir azınlıklar rejimini ve haklarını oluşturmak isteyen devletler (İspanya, İtalya, Birleşik Krallık, İsveç), Avrupa'da kurulabilecek ortak bir azınlıklar rejimini kendi yerel-ulusal sistemlerine bir tehdit olarak algılayan devletler (Fransa, Yunanistan, İrlanda, Belçika, Hollanda) ve Avrupa'da kurulabilecek ortak bir azınlıklar rejimine tarafsız bakan, çoğunlukla homojen bir yapıdan oluşmuş devletlerden (Almanya, Avusturya, Finlandiya, Portekiz, Lüksemburg) oluşan üçlü bir dağılım gözlenmektedir. Bu tezde iddia edilen, benzer bir dağılımın, Orta ve Doğu Avrupalı devletler ve üye ülkeler için de gözlemlenebilir olduğudur. Buna göre, Macaristan, Romanya ve Çek Cumhuriyeti farklı nedenlere bağlı olsa da kendi içlerinde ve Avrupa genelinde geniş çaplı bir azınlıklar rejimini savunurken; Slovakya, Estonya, Letonya, Bulgaristan ve Türkiye ulusal azınlıklar anlayışlarının dışına çıkmayı reddetmektedir; ancak, tıpkı Avrupa'nın batısında olduğu gibi burada da kurabilecek bir azınlıklar rejimine tarafsız kalan Polonya, Slovenya, Litvanya, Hırvatistan, Makedonya ve Karadağ vardır.

Tezin bundan sonraki bölümü, sosyal kimlik tartışmalarının canlandırdığı içgrup-dışgrup ayrımının Avrupa'da oturtulmaya çalışılan azınlıklar anlayışına etkisine ayrılmıştır. Burada iddia edilen, Avrupalılaşma'nın 'Görken Safhası'ndan bugüne, Avrupalının azınlık algısının ortak istekler, tehdit algıları ve verilen-verilmeyen haklar çerçevesinde gelişmeye devam ettiğidir. Daha ayrıntılı bir biçimde açıklamak gerekirse, Avrupa, on yedinci yüzyıldan on dokuzuncu yüzyıla kadar azınlık tanımının dini referanslardan milli referanslara doğru kaymasına şahit olmuş; on dokuzuncu yüzyılda azınlıklar meselesini uluslararası bir sorun haline getirmiş; yirminci yüzyılda yapılan savaşların hem nedenleri hem de kurbanları arasında azınlıkları yerleştirmiş; yirminci yüzyılın ikinci yarısında önce azınlıkları bireyleştirip onların haklarını 'insan hakları' çerçevesine indirgemiş/yükseltmiş; yirmi birinci yüzyıl başında ise, azınlıklar konusunda doğu-batı ayrımına gitmeye çalışarak, doğudaki sorunları bir ölçüde sınırlamaya çalışmış ve bunda kısmen

başarılı olmuşsa da, sonuçta Avrupa genelinde ortak ve geniş kapsamlı, çokkültürlü bir azınlıklar rejimini oluşturmayı başaramamıştır. Michael Johns'un belirttiği gibi, Avrupalılaşmanın bu son safhasını yürüten batı Avrupa'nın doğuya verdiği mesaj "söylediğimi yap, yaptığımı yapma" olarak özetlenebilir.

Buraya kadar anlatılan, azınlıkların Avrupalılaşmasının kısa bir özetidir. Oysa, bu tezde öne sürülen en önemli sav, Avrupa kendi içgrubunu oluşturmaya devam eder ve azınlıklar algısını üstte anlatıldığı gibi şekillendirirken, bir yandan da bizzat Avrupa içgrubunun var olma dinamiklerinden kaynaklı, kendi dışgruplarını ve azınlıklarını oluşturuyor olduğudur. Bir başka deyişle, Geoffrey Evans ve Ariana Need'in kavramsallaştırması ile, bugünün Avrupası'nda iki tür 'etnik kutuplaşma'dan söz etmek mümkündür. Birinci tür etnik kutuplaşma, geleneksel ulusal azınlıklar yaratımında ortaya çıkmaya devam etmekte, ulus devletler ve onların güvenlik eksenli tehdit algılarınca şekillenmektedir. Ulusal azınlıklar ve onlara devletlerin yaklaşımı bir ölçüde Avrupalılaşmış; ancak, somut anlamda, Avrupa çapında bir rejim oluşturmayı başaramamıştır. İkinci tür etnik kutuplaşma ise, bizzat Avrupa'nın kendi içinde bütünleşme çabalarından (içgruplaşmasından) meydana gelir. Avrupa kendi içinde bir araya gelmeye çabaladıkça, geç-modern kendini-tanımlama projesi, anlık ve banal 'ötekileştirmeler' ve 'azınlıklaştırmalar' meydana getirmektedir. Artık söz konusu olan azınlıkların Avrupalılaşması değil, Avrupalılaşmanın azınlıklarının oluşmasıdır.

Yeni 'azınlıklaştırılan' dışgrupların sayısal anlamda bir azınlığa sahip olmaları, birbirleriyle ortak bir tarihe, coğrafyaya, geleneklere, ırka, dile, dine, cinsiyete veya herhangi bir ortak aidiyet hissine sahip olmaları gerekmez. Geç-modern Avrupa sosyal kimliğinin kendi karşısına konuşlandırdığı herhangi bir değere, kültüre ya da özelliğe sahip olmaları, bir dışgrubun Avrupalılaşma içinde azınlık haline gelmesi için yeterli bir önkoşul olarak kabul edilir. Banal bir biçimde ilerleyen bu gelişme ile Avrupalılaşma'nın azınlıkları her tarihte ve her bağlama göre değişiklik gösterebilir.

Bu teze göre, bugün Avrupalılaşma'nın azınlık haline getirdiği, en az beş (dış-)gruptan söz etmek mümkündür. Bunların ilki Baltık devletlerinde Rusça konuşan azınlıklardır. Estonya ve Letonya gibi ülkeler, dil ve vatandaşlık sınavları aracılığıyla, Avrupa Birliği pasaportuna sahip bu grupları Estonyalı ve Letonyalı

olmaktan dışlarlar. Bugün Rusça konuşan bu azınlıkların yüzde yetmişi, ulusal vatandaşlığa sahip değildir. Avrupalılaşma'nın bu duruma verdiği yanıt ise, Hollanda ve Almanya gibi ülkelerde görüldüğü üzere, dil ve vatandaşlık sınavlarının, bu ülkelere bizzat ihraç edilmesi olmuştur. Azınlıklaştırılan ikinci grup, Avrupa'nın dört bir yanına dağılmış Roma vatandaşlarıdır. On üçüncü yüzyıldan beri devam eden 'çingene' sorunu, çokkültürlü kriterlere uymadığı gibi, kendi içinde bir içgrup oluşturmadığından, sosyal kimlik kuramıyla da açıklanamaz. Kendi içinde bir grup oluşturmayı başaramayan Roma vatandaşları, Avrupalılaşma tarafından bir dışgrup haline getirilir ve en temel insan haklarından bile mahrum bırakılırlar. Açlık, eğitimsizlik, işsizlik ve suç, Roma ile birlikte anılır hale getirilmiştir. Avrupalılaşma'nın üçüncü azınlık grubunu, henüz Avrupa Birliği üyeliği yolunda adım atamamış olan Batı Balkan devletleri (Sırbistan, Bosna Hersek, Arnavutluk, Kosova) ve onların azınlıkları oluşturur. Avrupa 1990'larda yaşanan Yugoslav Savaşı'na müdahil olmadığı gibi, bu savaşın travmalarını da henüz atlatmayı başaramamıştır. Batı Balkan devletleri, Avrupalılaşma için halihazırda bir güvenlik sorunudur ve yüksek politika meselesi olmaktan öteye gidemediği için dışlanmaktadır.

Avrupalılaşma'nın azınlıklaştırdığı dördüncü grupta, misafir işçiler ve göçmenler yer almaktadır. Bugünün Avrupası, 'önemli biz' dışgrubundan yoksun olsa da, çokkültürlülüğün temel dışlama bileşenlerinden 'gönüllü göçe azınlık hakkı vermeme' diskurundan sonuna kadar yararlanmaktadır. Almanya, Fransa, İngiltere ve İspanya göç alma konusunda dünyada başı çeken ülkeler olmalarına, topraklarında milyonlarca göçmene ve misafir işçiye yer vermelerine karşın, bu gruplara özel haklar tanımaktan çekinmektedir. Özel hakların gönüllülük esası ile göç etmiş gruplara verilemeyeceği tezi, bu insanların emeğine ve gücüne ilk başta duyulan arzın unutulması anlamına gelir. Türkler, Faslılar, siyah Afrikalılar, Arnavutlar, Latin Amerikalılar, Çinliler ve Pakistanlılar, tüm Avrupa popülasyonunun yüzde onuna yakınını oluşturuyor olsalar da, kendi kültürlerini yaşatabilecekleri haklar ve güvencelerden yoksundurlar. Bugün çoğu ülkede üçüncü hatta dördüncü kuşaklarıyla yaşan göçmen işçiler, temel insan haklarından fazlasından mahrum bırakılmaktadırlar.

Avrupalılaşma'nın son ve belki de en sorunlu azınlıklaştırılmış grubunu ise Müslümanlar oluşturmaktadır. Avrupa ile İslam'ın karşılaşması tarihsel bir süreçte ele alınmalıdır. Bugün yaşanan ise bir karşılaştırmadan çok bir tür iç içe geçiştir. Zira bugün hemen hemen tüm Avrupa ülkelerinde Müslüman popülasyon bulunmaktadır ve bu da İslam'ı bir dış politika meselesi değil, doğrudan bir iç sorun haline getirmektedir. Öyle gözükmektedir ki, Avrupa ne kuramsal ne de pratik olarak, Müslümanların istekleri ile nasıl ilgilenebileceğini bilmemektedir. İslami sembollere karşı yasaklamalara gidilmesi, Avrupa'nın kendi özgürlükçü ve seküler yapısına darbe vurmaktadır. 'Birlik İçinde Farklılık' retoriği ve çokkültürlülük söylemi, Avrupa'nın Müslümanları azınlıklaştırıp marjinal hale gelmelerine müdahale edememesi ile oldukça sıkıntılı bir çerçeve çizmektedir. Gitgide bir güvenlik söz eylemi haline getirilen İslam, Avrupa'nın kültürel ve kimlik anlamında hoşgörü söylemlerine gölge düşürmektedir.

Tezin sonuç bölümü, bu noktaya kadar anlatılanların kısa bir özetini ve bu çalışmanın Türkiye'ye adapte edilebilmesi üzerine kısa bir tartışmayı kapsar. Buna göre, Türkler bugün Avrupalılaşma'nın 'ötekilerinden' bir grup değil; aksine, bizzat kendi içinde yaşayan ve Avrupalılaşma'nın azınlıklaştırdığı bir gruptur. Türkiye ile Avrupa arasındaki tarihsel biz-onlar ayrımı bugün ortadan kalkmıştır. Bunda, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 'önemli biz'i olarak Avrupa modelini esas alması etkili olduğu kadar, bugün Avrupa sınırları içinde yaşayan Türklerin ve Avrupa Birliği'ne üye olma çabasındaki Türk hükümetlerinin de rolü oldukça fazladır. Türkler bugün Avrupa içinde hem göçmen ve misafir işçi azınlıklaştırmasında hem de Müslüman azınlıklaştırmasında kendilerine yer bulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, sosyal kimlik kuramının Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği ilişkilerine uygulanması, ileriki akademik araştırmalar için ilgi çekici bir araştırma sahası yaratabilecektir.