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European Identity: values, cultures and languages. General Overview of the European Identity Study and its Connection to the Study of Languages

Abstract

The preamble of Constitution of Ukraine defines irreversibility of the European and Euro-Atlantic course of Ukraine. "European Union", "European integration", "European values" and "European identity" are new and important terms in modern Ukrainian political and media discourses. Our paper presents a general theoretical overview of the European identity study and its influence on the process of European integration. We see the development of European identity as an important precondition for stable integration of new states, including Ukraine, to the European Union.

The suggested analysis of the existing approaches to the European identity study demonstrates direct connections of the European identity evolution to the new political contexts,cultures and languages of the EU. Short overviews of two linguistics projects LINEE and ELDIA show that English does not threaten EU cultural and inguistic diversity and serves as a neutral common language with only a marginal national connotation. English is seen as lingua franca in EU, and many of non-native speakers of English perceive it as an instrument of further intercultural understanding and contact.

Keywords: *European identity, European integration, European values, ligua franca, political discourse.*

Abstrakt

W preambule do Konstytucji Ukrainy zawarty jest zapis o nieodwracalności kursu strategicznego Ukrainy na uzyskanie członkostwa w Unii Europejskiej i w Organizacji Traktatu Północnoatlantyckiego. „Unia Europejska", „integracja europejskie", „wartości europejskie" i „tożsamość europejska" to nowe i ważne pojęcia, mające szerokie zastosowanie we współczesnym ukraińskim dyskursie politycznym i medialnym. W niniejszym opracowaniu zaprezentowano ogólny przegląd zagadnień teoretycznych z zakresu badań nad tożsamością europejską oraz nad jej wpływem na procesy integracji europejskiej. Uważamy, że rozwój tożsamości europejskiej jest jedną z ważnych przesłanek do stabilnej integracji nowych państw, łącznie z Ukrainą, z Unią Europejską.

Zaprezentowana analiza istniejących podejść do badania tożsamości europejskiej wskazuje na bezpośredni związek ewolucji tożsamości europejskiej z nowym politycznym kontekstem, językami i różnymi kulturami Unii Europejskiej. W wyniku krótkiego przeglądu dwóch projektów lingwistycznych LINEE i ELDIA stwierdzono, że język angielski nie zagraża różnorodności językowej i kulturowej UE i służy jako neutralny wspólny język z nieznacznymi narodowymi konotacjami. Język angielski nadal będzie pełnić rolę europejskiej lingua franca. Wielu osób, dla których język angielski nie jest językiem ojczystym, uważa, że sprzyja on relacjom międzykulturowym i porozumieniu.

Słowa kluczowe: *tożsamość europejska, integracja europejska, wartości europejskie, ligua franca, dyskurs polityczny.*

On Thursday, February 7, 2019 the Parliament of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada, passed a law amending the Constitution of Ukraine. The amendments were to set the "strategic course" of the state for acquiring full membership of Ukraine in the EU and NATO. 334 members of parliament voted in favour of the amendments (300 votes are required in the Verkhovna Rada to obtain a super-majority to pass constitutional amendments) (*Ukraine's Irreversible Course to the EU and NATO*).

The preamble of the Constitution of Ukraine now has wording on the European identity of the Ukrainian people. It also defines the irreversibility of the European and Euro-Atlantic course of Ukraine. As a result, much of modern Ukrainian political, cultural and educational discourse is dedicated to various aspects of European Union, European integration and European identity. Our research is focused on the evolution of the European identity study, its connection to the languages of the EU and new political contexts. Further investigations of the EU identity related issues in modern Ukraine

might serve as an effective instrument of Ukraine's integration to the European Union.

The European Union is a multicultural Union of 28 states that share common democratic principles – respect for human dignity and human rights, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law. The phrase "European values" arises as a political neologism in the 1980s in the context of the project of European integration and the future formation of the European Union. It was popularised by the "European Values Study", a long-term research program, aiming to document the outlook on basic human values in European populations. The "European Values Study" is a large-scale, cross-national, research program on basic human values. It provides insights into the ideas, beliefs, preferences, attitudes, values, and opinions of citizens all over Europe. It is a unique research project on how Europeans think about life, family, work, religion, politics, and society.

The "European Values Study" started in 1981 when thousands of citizens in the European Member States of that time were interviewed using standardized questionnaires. Every nine years, the survey is repeated in a variable number of countries. The fourth wave in 2008 covers no less than 47 European countries/regions, from Iceland to Georgia and from Portugal to Norway, including Ukraine (*European Values Study*). The claim that the people of Europe have a distinctive set of political, economic and social norms and values which are gradually replacing national values has been named "Europeanism" by John McCormick (McCormick, 2010).

The Treaty of Lisbon in article 2 lists a number of "Values of the Union", including "respect for freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights including the rights of persons belonging to minorities", invoking "a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail" (*Article TEU*, 2017).

"Pan-European identity", a term most commonly used in the past, has roots as far back as the Middle Ages, when poet and political advisor Dante Alighieri claimed that his country is the whole world. Much of its foundational definition emerged during the Renaissance. Artists and scholars of that period collaborated across national boundaries, travelling to centres of activity in their respective fields and believing that freedom came from common bonds and individualism in a way that transcended national allegiances" (Burckhardt, 1990).

The original proposal for a Paneuropean Union was made in 1922 by Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi. The term "Pan-European" is to be understood not as referring to the modern geographic definition of the continent

of Europe but in the historical sense of the western parts of continental Europe sharing the common history of Latin Christendom, the Carolingian Empire and the early modern Habsburg Empire. Coudenhove-Kalergi saw the Pan-European state as a future "fifth great power", in explicit opposition to the Soviet Union, "Asia", Great Britain and the United States (*Das Paneuropäische Manifest*).

Alberto Martinelli in his work "European Identity" describes the accelerating process of European integration after 1945: "The post-war decade, a sense of patriotism and common citizenship of peoples belonging to the "European family" was wished by many European leaders, beginning with Winston Churchill in his famous speech to the students of the University of Zurich in 1946. The defense of peace was the fundamental value, which subsequently became closely linked to the protection of human rights. In the post-war era, European identity was regarded as an antidote to the disastrous nationalisms that had caused the World War II catastrophe, a prerequisite for the continent'smoral and economic reconstruction and the most effective alternative to the resurgence of separate national identities and opposing nationalisms. It was believed that the stronger the sense of belonging to Europe, the more it weakened nationalist ideology" (Martinelli, 2017, p. 20).

At the beginning of the 1970s, there was a renewal of interest in the issue of European identity in order to manage the growing diversity and disparities resulting from the enlargement from six to nine member states. In 1973, with the signing of the Declaration on European Identity in Copenhagen, a change of perspective was sanctioned in the explicit expression of the compatibility of the European identity and nationalidentities (Martinelli, 2017).

With the collapse of communism across central and eastern Europe, Europeans become closer neighbours. In 1993, the Single Market was completed with the "four freedoms" of: movement of goods, services, people and money. The Maastricht Treaty on European Union signed in 1993 is the first of two treaties forming the constitutional basis of the European Union. In the period of 1995-2013, the EU has been enlarged from 12 to 28 member states. In the 1990s to 2000s, there was an active movement towards a federalisation of the European Union, with the introduction of symbols and institutions usually reserved for sovereign states, such as citizenship, a common currency, a flag, an anthem and a motto – "United in Diversity".

"The thesis of "unity in diversity" formulated at the beginning of the 1990s became a central aspect of the European project and summarizes the EU's strategy of placing itself in an intermediate position between an almost national concept of European identity and a universalistic concept.

The most advanced version of the European project requires, a subsequent step: achieving unity through diversity. The memory of a common past is not enough to create a strong sense of belonging to Europe unless it is accompanied by a sincere and active sharing of the political project of a federal union in which unity is strengthened through theenhancement of diversity. The formation of a united Europe can build itself around a concept of unity that derives from diversity and multiple citizenship. What has changed significantly during the seventy years of the history of European integration is the role attributed to European identity by European leadership classes and the intensity of identification with Europe and its own nationhoodby European citizens" (Martinelli, 2017, p. 21).

European identity is seen as aprecondition for the stable existence and further evolution of the European Union. A fresh "EconPol Policy Report" introduces its new study with a statement that "like for any othersocial group, identity of a European type would foster mutual trust of Europeans andsimplifycooperation, the search for compromises and, hence, further integration steps. Conversely, if European identity is increasingly crowded out by strong and exclusive national feelings this might fundamentally threaten the achievements of the European integration process" (Ciaglia et al., 2018).

Authors of the policy review on "The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business" single out four main theoretical concepts that drive the study of European identity:

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

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

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

Cosmopolitanism refers to actively seeking out and appreciating contact with other cultures and hence coincides with perceived European values of tolerance and equality. Such everyday practices as language use, information retrieval and communication, and the patterns of social contacts are enormously important for the reproduction and evolution of identities (*The Development ...*, 2012).

In the nineth "EconPol Policy Report" we find a brief analysis of the definitions related to the European identity (Ciaglia et al., 2018). The term "European identity" can be defined "as an integral part of one's own social identity" (Hooghe, Verhaegen, 2017, p. 163). Cram distinguishes between "identification as European" and "identification with Europe". The former refers to a more cognitive self-assessment towards specific ideas whereas the latter refers to more affective behavior that implicitly shows how honestly these "ideas are lived up to" (Cram, 2012). For Kaina this also refers to interactions of the individual with other group members, which creates a "sense of belonging together" (Kaina, 2013). Whereas "identification with Europe" is a delicate task to measure, "identification as European" can be rather easily assessed using surveys, state authors of the review (Ciaglia et al., 2018).

The Eurobarometer offers a wide range of questions to measure EU support with regard to specific policies, overall perceived benefits from EU membership, and speed of EU integration. The 2012 Eurobarometer survey reported that 49% of those surveyed described the EU member states as "close" in terms of "shared values" (down from 54% in 2008), 42% described them as "different" (up from 34% in 2008). In order to capture the concept of European identity, individuals are usually asked if they feel Europeans in their everyday life, if they feel close to the European Union project, or if they are happy to be Europeans.

Standard Eurobarometer survey 89 was carried out between 13 and 28 March 2018 in 34 countries and territories: the 28 Member States of the European Union, the five candidate countries. It analyses the opinions of European citizens on European identity and citizenship in the following areas:

1. attachment to the European Union, compared in particular with their attachment to their city, village or country;
2. perceptions of the European Union's achievements: what are the European Union's most positive results in the eyes of Europeans;
3. the concept of European citizenship: do Europeans see themselves as European citizens;
4. societal issues and values: do Europeans feel that they have a clear understanding of what is happening in today's world and what values best represent the European Union?

5. the speed of European integration: What do Europeans think is the current speed of European integration, and what speed would they like?

More than half of respondents say that they feel attached to the European Union (56%, +1), although this score remains below that for the local and national levels, especially as regards the proportion who feel very attached. Two in three respondents feel attached to Europe (65%, +1). However, only 18% feel very attached to it.

More than one half of respondents think that peace and freedom of movement are the European Union's most positive results. For Europeans, two achievements clearly stand out as the European Union's most positive results. A majority of respondents mention *"the free movement of people, goods and services within the EU"* (58%) and *"peace among the Member States of the EU"* (54%), both at least 30 percentage points higher than the other achievements tested. In joint third place, *"student exchange programmes such as ERASMUS"* (24%) and *"the euro"* (24%) are mentioned by fewer than a quarter of respondents. These are followed by *"the economic power of the EU"* (21%) and *"the political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world"* (21%), ahead of *"the level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU"* (18%) (Standard Eurobarometer, 2018).

Alternative questions propose the use of inverted scales, for example, if they feel that Europe is worthless. Many works consider the so-called Moreno question in the Eurobarometer: *"In the near future, do you see yourself as: 1). European only; 2). European and [nationality]; 3). [nationality] and European or 4). [nationality] only"*. A key advantage of Eurobarometer data is that it allows studying the identification with Europe both over time and across countries. Nevertheless, the idea of identification with Europe can be addressed from many angles. As a consequence, no measure is free of critique, as all suffer from limitations. (How ..., 2018). Its strength is that it allows for a dual national and European identity and also for an alternative ordering of national and European identity components. However, the Moreno question is contested with regard to the above mentioned conceptual distinction between identification as European and with Europe (Ciaglia et al., 2018).

A policy review on "The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business" offers two contrasting models presented by Ettore Recchifor the ways that a sense of identification with Europe and fellow Europeans could be fostered (*The Development ...*, 2012):

1. A "Culturalist" model in which an orientation to Europe derives fundamentally from core,established European values and their expression in public practices, most notably in governance and the operation of

the legal system. This viewpoint emphasizes the essentialism of Europe and posits mechanisms in which identification with Europe takes place "top down" or in which identity is internalised and comes about through the exposure to influential discourses and symbols. If the internalisation has taken place in childhood or adolescence, the primary mechanism is socialisation. If the internalisation is taking placeduring adulthood, the primary mechanism is persuasion or indoctrination.

2. A "Structuralist" model in which an orientation to Europe derives fundamentally from association with other Europeans. This viewpoint emphasizes the importance of socialinteraction and posits mechanisms in which identification with Europe takes place "from the bottom up". Identity arises from interacting or associating with others and coming to the realisation that one has much in common with them. It is most persuasive if the person is an adult or at least an adolescent old enough to conceive themselves as placed within asocial nexus with other like-situated persons. Recchi also remarks that, of the two models, until recently the Culturalist has been dominant in research on European identity (Recchi, 2012).

Summary presented in the "EconPol Policy Report" focuses on two "perceptions" of European identity – civic and cultural. "A European "civic identity" refers to the perception to be part of a European political system or even a "European state" that defines rules, laws and rights with relevance for one's own life. A focus on the civic dimension would largely equate "Europe" with "European Union". A European "cultural identity" is independent from these political perceptions and labels the perception that fellow Europeans are closer than non-Europeans because of shared culture, values or history. This distinction is important for the classification of identity-activating measures since,typically, both dimensions of identity can be triggered with different types of measures" (Ciaglia et al., 2018). "The images of Europe held by cultural identifiers had to do with peace, harmony, the fading of historical divisions and cooperation between similar people and cultures. The images of Europe held by civic identifiers had to do with borderlessness, circulation of citizens, common civic area, new policy making, and prosperity" (Bruter, 2004, p. 36).

Antonia M. Ruiz Jiménez in her research on "Cultural, Instrumental, Civic and Symbolic Components of National and European Identities in Old and New European Union Member States" has identified one more European identity – "instrumental", that would be consciously decided on, and is thus based on calculated individual self-interests. The perception of the potential gains or losses that might result from membership of a given social

group may influence peoples' identification with it. From this "instrumental" perspective, the better the citizen's evaluation of the results of European policies (compared to the results of policies pursued by national governments), the more likely s/he is to feel European (Ruiz Jimenez, 2004).

The four most significant sets of variables found by Sarah Ciaglia, Clemens Fuest and Friedrich Heinemann in literature"are cognitive mobilization (including education, knowledge, information, interestand discussing politics frequently); transnational contact as a means to broaden the personal horizonand understanding for different cultures; the socio-economic background, and, finally, age. It is generally summarized that those who are most likely to hold a European identity are young, wealthy,well-educated, and eager to travel, work or study abroad. Similarly, knowledge and information and news about the EU and politics increases the likelihood to develop a European identity" (Ciaglia et al., 2018). Language skills are one of the key resources in the process of identity formation. Language skills enable communication, personal contact and, thereby, social identification (Byram, 2000). Accordingly, it is a main objective of the European Union, *"to promote European multilingualism by promoting the early teaching of European languages, while maintaining Europe's cultural and linguistic diversity" (*see *EU Languages)*. The EU believes that people should be placed in a position to make use of all the advantages of European citizenship, including travel, study, and work abroad. The "European Year of Languages 2001" and the "Socrates" programme, among others, have been established by the European Union in order to improve foreign language skills among young people. Thereby, the EU intends to encourage an understanding between the citizens of Europe and to create a feeling of being European: "Multilingualism is part and parcel of both European identity/citizenship and the learning society" (Fuss et al., 2004, p. 273).

The special Eurobarometer Survey "Europeans and Languages" (2001) has shown that a majority of about 70% of all citizens of the European Union share the view that everyone in the European Union should be able to speak one European language in addition to their mother tongue. (Ciaglia et al., 2018). European Comission promotes language learning and linguistic diversity across Europe. Multilingualism enables intercultural communication and aids the formation of common European identity. Many EU working documents and recommendations focus on the importance of teaching and learning new European languages.

International research project exploring the multilingualism in Europe "European Language Diversity for All" (ELDIA) states that today multilingualismis established only to a very limited extent. What is usually entren-

ched is a particular language, which can be used by a particular aggregate of people in a particular territorially-defined region. While such an approach may at best support individual multilingualism within minority areas or regions where languages are spoken locally, it does not necessarily encourage a wider societalmultilingualism under conditions of mobility and globalisation (*The Development ...*, 2012).

Another European research shows that English functions as the main tool of intercultural communication in the EU, it also facilitates the study of other EU languages. This project is known as the "Languages in a Network of European Excellence" (LINEE). It is a research network, consisting of 9 Universitites that focuses on 4 main areas of analysis: 1). Language, identity and cultures; 2). Language policy and planning; 3). Multilingualism and education; 4). Language and economy.

English has emerged from the LINEE case studies as a neutral common language with only a marginal national connotation. It is also perceived as a facilitator for further language learning, intercultural understanding and contact, and as an asset on the job market. English is not necessarily a threat to linguistic diversity, quite the contrary: many non-nativespeakers of English perceive it as a facilitator for further language learning, interculturalunderstanding and contact. For example, Erasmus students who were interviewed and observed by researchers use English to gain access to a multilingual environment at schools in Hungary or the Czech Republic, where they also learn some Hungarian or Czech and other languages from their peers. Because English gives them access to environments which would be otherwise more difficult to enter, it facilitatescultural exchange and increases the motivation for language learning. In situations where English is being used as a lingua franca, it is not the native speakers of English who are necessarily seen as the most successful, but those people who are multicompetent and have a wide linguisticrepertoire to bring into communicative situations. It is important to see non native English as authentic and legitimate English which is used as a vibrant and complex lingua franca by temporary and also permanent communities in Europe (*The Development ...*, 2012).

The Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine, thousands of Ukrainian Erasmus+ students and other cultural integration projects aid better understanding of new European identity by Ukrainian citizens. Eastern Europe, many post-Soviet countries were closed from the rest of Europe for decades, but common historical past and shared democratic values return states like Ukraine back to the European family. Together with visa liberalization, economic reforms and other aspects of the Association

Agreement, learning English and other EU languages must become one of the educational priorites for Ukrainian citizens.

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