MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ
AB SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SPACE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY

DOKTORA TEZİ

FÜGEN TOKSÖZ

İSTANBUL, 2008

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ
AB SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SPACE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY

DOCTORAL THESIS

FÜGEN TOKSÖZ

Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Çiğdem Nas

İstanbul, 2008

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ
AB SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SPACE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY

DOKTORA TEZİ

FÜGEN TOKSÖZ

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Çiğdem Nas

İstanbul, 2008

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my great indebtedness to my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Çiğdem Nas for her warm support, ever-positive attitude, constant encouragement and valuable guidance during the writing process of this thesis. My gratitude extends to Assis. Prof. Armağan Çakır and Assis. Prof. Deniz Ilgaz for their constructive criticism and suggestions.

I would also like to thank my dear friends and colleagues Dr. Clare Brandabur, Sena Erkan, Bora Kurtuluş and Çiğdem Tirkeş for their technical support.

My special thanks go to my precious son Doğu Toksöz for his encouragement, motivation and faith in me.

ABSTRACT

The European integration project founded with the aim of providing a lasting peace in the Continent in 1957 has developed from an economic community of six into a union of twenty-seven member states. Today, the European Union is no more a simple free trade area or only an intergovernmental structure with limited objectives on economic issues. It has moved far beyond an international organization and evolved into a unified and unique entity over the fifty-one years that have passed since its first establishment. From a modest economic community, it has evolved into a political entity which functions by means of both intergovernmental and supranational methods.

However, the unsolved unemployment problem, which started with the economic crisis in the 70s and continued with the challenges of globalization, caused European people to be discontented with their situation. Furthermore, the steps taken for political integration has brought forth the legitimacy problem, which stems from the democratic deficit of the Union, requires the construction of a well-informed cohesive body of citizens, namely, a 'demos'. The emergence of this need has increased the necessity for the construction of European identity.

As a solution to these two crucially important issues, after the Maastricht Treaty the Union gave momentum to the developments in the field of education by expanding the cooperation between the member states and by creating a new educational space. The European Area of Higher Education, which was launched with the Bologna Declaration and continued to develop with the Bologna process, has been the most ambitious step taken in the field of education so far. Parallel to its objective of constructing a coherent and compatible European area of higher education with a view to reform and converge the existing structures while preserving the autonomy of higher education institutions and respecting national, cultural and linguistic differences, the European Area of Higher Education has improved the competency and the competitiveness of Europe and the Europeans in the global market. Furthermore, the mobility, the multicultural and multilingual spaces that it provides for the people of Europe promotes a civic dimension and a sense of belonging to Europe which is an important dimension in the construction of European identity.

Within this framework, this study explicates and exhibits the role and the impact of education and the European educational space on the construction of European identity and the development of Union citizenship from a social constructivist perspective. In order to reach a comprehensive assessment, the creation of the European educational space with its key actors and documents are examined in a historical perspective, discourse analyses of the two pivotal educational documents; the 1995 White Paper and the Bologna Declaration are made, and the concept of identity, its construction process and the role of education in this process is explored in detail. As a result of these meticulous explorations, it is concluded that the creation of the European Area of Higher Education as a part of the European educational space could play a major role in the construction of European identity and the development of Union citizenship which could be a solution for the legitimacy problem of the European Union.

ÖZET

1957'de Avrupa'da uzun süreli barışı sağlamak için başlatılan Avrupa bütünleşme projesi sadece altı üye devletten oluşan ekonomik bir topluluktan yirmi yedi üyesi olan bir birliğe dönüşmüştür. Aradan geçen 51 yıllık süre içinde Avrupa Birliği sadece bir serbest ticaret bölgesi ya da amaçları sadece ekonomik konularla sınırlı uluslararası yapıya sahip bir oluşum olmanın çok ötesinde hem uluslararası hem de uluslarüstü yöntemlerle işleyen kendine özgü siyasi bir birlik halini almıştır.

Ancak bugün, 70lerde başlayan ve küreselleşmenin getirdiği zorluklarla günümüze kadar devam eden ve hala çözümlenemeyen işsizlik problemi Avrupalıları kaygılandırmaktadır. Ayrıca siyasi bütünleşme için atılan adımlar demokrasi eksikliğinden kaynaklanan meşruiyet tartışmalarını da beraberinde getirmiştir. Birliğin demokrasi eksiğini giderebilmesi için *demos*'a, başka bir deyişle, ortak değerler üzerinde birleşmiş bir topluma ihtiyacı vardır. Bu ihtiyaç da ortak bir Avrupa kimliğinin yapılandırılması gereğini ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Avrupa Birliği, eğitimi bu iki önemli soruna çözüm olarak görmüş ve özellikle Maastricht Antlaşması sonrası üye devletlerin eğitim alanındaki işbirliğini hızlandırıp genişleterek Avrupa eğitim alanının yapılandırılmasını sağlamıştır. Bolonya Deklarasyonuyla temelleri atılan ve Bolonya süreciyle oluşumu devam eden Avrupa Yüksek Öğretim Alanı şu ana kadar bu yönde atılan en önemli adım olmuştur. Bu oluşumun temel amaçlarından biri ulusal, kültürel ve dilsel farklılıkları ve yüksek öğretim kurumlarının özerkliğini koruyarak, bu kurumların hali hazırda varolan eğitim yapılarını iyileştirerek ve birbirine yakınlaştırarak kaliteli ve bütünleşmiş bir Avrupa eğitim alanı yaratmaktır. Diğer bir amacı ise Avrupa'nın ve Avrupalıların küresel pazardaki rekabet gücünü arttırarak işsizlik sorununa çözüm bulmaktır. Ayrıca, bu alanın sağladığı hareketlilik, çok-kültürlü ve çok-dilli sosyal alanlar Avrupa bilincinin ve kimliğinin oluşturulması için gerekli 'sivik' boyutu oluşturmaktır.

Bu çerçeve içinde, eldeki çalışma Avrupa eğitim alanının, Avrupa kimliğinin oluşturulması ve Avrupa Birliği vatandaşlığının geliştirilmesi üzerindeki rolünü ve etkilerini sosyal inşacı açıdan incelemekte ve göstermektir. Kapsamlı bir sonuca varabilmek için Avrupa eğitim alanı temel oyuncuları ve belgeleriyle tarihi bir perspektif içinde incelenmiş, en önemli eğitim belgelerinden olan 1995 Beyaz Kitabı ve Bolonya Deklarasyonunun söylem analizi yapılmış, ve kimlik kavramı, gelişim süreci ve bu süreçte eğitimin rolü araştırılmıştır. Tüm bu detaylı

ve titiz çalışmaların sonucunda, Avrupa eğitim alanının bir parçası olarak oluşturulan Avrupa Yüksek Öğretim Alanının Avrupa kimliği ve Avrupa Birliği vatandaşlığının inşasında önemi yadsınamaz bir rol oynayacağı ve bunun da Avrupa Birliğinin meşruiyet sorununa çözüm getirebileceği sonucuna varılmıştır.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEPG	Broad Economic Policy Guidelines
BFUG	Bologna Follow-up Group
CEEP	European Center of Public Enterprises
CRE	Association of European Universities
ECTS	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
EES	European Employment Strategy
ENIC	European Network of Information Centers
ENQA	European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education
ESIB	National Unions of Students in Europe
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EUA	European Universities Association
EURASHE	Association of Institutions in Higher Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICE	Union of Industries of the European Community

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explicates the impact of the European educational space on the construction of European identity and Union citizenship which could play a crucial role in the political integration process of the European Union. The European Union is no more a simple free trade area or only an intergovernmental structure with limited objectives on economic issues. It has moved far beyond an international organization and evolved into a unified and unique entity over the fifty-one years that have passed since its first establishment as the European Economic Community. From a modest economic community, it has evolved into a political entity. Today, it functions by means of both intergovernmental and supranational methods. In common policy areas such as economic and monetary, there is a transfer of sovereignty from nation-states to the Union, and member states are supposed to pursue the common Union policies in these areas. Furthermore, EU law has supremacy over the domestic law of the member states, meaning that, the member states have to implement the EU law even if it contradicts their internal law. However, despite these important developments in the integration process resulting in a limited social and political cohesion, the Union has a long way to go for the deepening of the political integration and the achievement of a political union. Transformation from an economy-based integration to a politics-based one might take more effort and more time than that has been anticipated.

There are a number of causes for this long-lasting condition. First, the unsolved unemployment problem, which started with the economic crisis in the 70s and 80s and continued with the challenges of globalization, caused European people to be discontented with their situation. Second, the high cost of living stemming from transition to the Euro from national currencies created anxieties among the people of Europe. Third, the problems related to immigrant workers gave rise to xenophobia and racism in some member states, which concerns and anxieties were and still are used in the manipulation of people against wider and deeper integration of the Union by the nationalist politicians. Fourth, the problem of the democratic deficit of the Union has raised questions about the legitimacy of the Union in the recent years. This democratic deficit requires the construction of ‘demos’. However, Europe consists of a multitude of societies; therefore, the construction of a unified European society necessitates the creation of a sense of belonging to Europe and a European identity.

Before the completion of the Single Market, issues such as identity, culture and education were outside the arena of discussion. Since then, and specifically after the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty which created the citizenship of the Union, the need for a democratic political framework has emerged as 'sine qua non'. This new need increased the necessity for the construction of a European identity and it became one of the major issues of the Union. However, the concept of a European identity is still in question and one cannot give a definite answer to this question with a definite definition of a European identity.

The political and cultural dimensions of a European identity should be discussed in different terms. There are already shared but limited political traditions such as the Roman law, political democracy, and Judio-Christian ethics. Common cultural values, on the other hand, are based on a limited common European heritage which rests on shared historical experiences and influences such as Renaissance, Reform and Enlightenment. However, emphasizing even these limited common European political and cultural origins might seem to result in the exclusion of minority groups that have different political and cultural origins such as Muslims who might fear exclusion if they cannot be assured that these broad cultural values do not necessarily conflict with theirs. Furthermore, already existing national identities might create a strong resistance to the creation of an overriding post-national European identity. Therefore, the construction of European identity requires new methods such as creating new social spaces like the European educational space.

With respect to the education-identity construction relation, the educational policies that played an important role in the construction of national identities cannot directly be applied to the construction of a European identity since educational policies of the member countries are still under the authority and domain of the nation-states and are used as means to create a sense of belonging to the nation and the national identities. The European Union does not have strong instruments such as compulsory primary and secondary education based on a common curriculum implemented by central or local authorities nationwide. Instead, European educational policy has been developed to create an educational space in which the member states are involved on a voluntary basis. Over the years, the involvement of the member states in the European educational space has been enhanced. Member states began to regard education as one way of solution to problems related to unemployment, the need for

qualified workforce in the global market, and in the political sense, to the construction of the European identity.

The developments towards the construction of the European educational space gained impetus with the objective set by the Commission to create the 'learning society', followed by the Europeanization of higher education. The European Area of Higher Education, which was launched with the Bologna Declaration and continued to develop with the Bologna process, has been the most ambitious step taken in the field of education so far. Today, with its institutional, international governmental and non-governmental organizations, the Bologna process continues to develop with a faster pace than ever before. Its objective is the construction of a coherent and compatible European area of higher education with a view to reform and converge the existing structures while preserving the autonomy of higher education institutions and respecting national, cultural and linguistic differences. Furthermore, the mobility that it provides for students, academic and administrative staff promotes a civic dimension and a sense of belonging to Europe which is an indispensable factor in the construction of a European identity.

This thesis aims to explore the hypothesis that the European education space has a significant role in the construction process of European identity. Within this framework, this study explicates the impact of the European educational space on the construction of European identity and Union citizenship in four chapters. In the first chapter, the theory, namely, social constructivism and its background on which this thesis is based, is analyzed in detail. There are three reasons why the argumentation of this thesis is based on social constructivism; first, social constructivism as a theory accepts the mutual constitutiveness of agency and structure for a much deeper understanding of Europeanization. Second, it emphasizes the constitutive effects of European law, rules and policies on European integration which shapes the social identities and interests of actors. Third, it focuses on communicative practices which enable us to examine closely how the European educational space and Europeanness are constructed through discourse.

The second chapter explores the developments in the field of education at the European level from a historical perspective focusing on the construction of the European area of higher education with respect to its key actors and key documents which define the main pillars of this area. Education, central to the economic and social strategies of the Union at present, has

passed through distinct stages accelerating with the establishment of the Single Market, and gaining even more impetus after the Maastricht Treaty with the Bologna process which is considered to be the cornerstone for the construction of the European higher education area and a knowledge-based society by 2010. This process should not be considered as a path towards 'standardization' or 'uniformization' of higher education. On the contrary, the fundamental principles of autonomy and diversity of the educational systems and education institutions are respected, and the differences are considered as strength rather than a weakness which shows that the member states can improve and reform their national educational policies while they can also achieve the shared objectives at European level. By providing joint solutions to shared problems, the Bologna process sets a remarkable example for the cooperation in the field of education, as well as in other policy areas of the Union. Within this framework, this chapter also attempts to show that the building of a European educational space, specifically, the construction of the European area of higher education with the cooperation of institutions, international governmental and non-governmental organizations at regional, national and European levels have provided a social context for all the actors of this space. This social context, from a constructivist point of view, enables the interaction of the actors with each other and creates new relationships both between the actors, and between the actors and the structures providing the appropriate basis for the creation of a sense of belonging to Europe among the people of different member states, thereby, for the construction of a European identity.

In the third chapter, the concepts, developments and practices of *identity* both at national and post-national level are explicated. Furthermore, *citizenship* as a modern state citizenship and Union citizenship are analyzed in detail from a constructivist point of view. The first part of this chapter explores the concept of identity and its different types with their characteristic features. The second part, first attempts to explain what national identity is regarding its roots, the elements that constitute it, its construction, role and outcomes. It further argues that national identities, which created the 'we' and the 'others', 'we' as people who believe to have a common past and a common future, and 'others' as people who do not share this commonness, have been central to most debates on whether it will be a contradictory or complementary element in the construction of a European identity. Second, the post-national European identity as a form of identification which moves beyond the nation state is scrutinized, and judged as to whether or not it will be capable of generating a sense of belonging to Europe and the European community given the fact that at present people of

Europe already have well-defined and well-established national identities of which they are proud.

In the second part of the same chapter, the emergence of the concept of citizenship, the different shapes and definitions it has taken in its rhetoric, ideology and practice is explored from a historical perspective. Within this framework, the three historical elements of citizenship regarding a) *rights* which refer to the legal entitlements of an individual to the community, b) *access to participation* as the conditions for practicing the relationship between the citizen and community, and c) *belonging* which can be both identity and/or legal linkage based are investigated. Furthermore, the state-centric modern citizenship is analyzed with respect to the three constitutive elements of citizenship: the individual, the community, and the relation between the two. Finally, it is concluded that today the concept of citizenship includes a 'civic' dimension.

The third part of the same chapter examines and evaluates the Union citizenship introduced by the Maastricht Treaty in comparison with the national modern citizenship constructed and developed with the emergence of the nation-states. The development of the EC policy on Union citizenship is analyzed through five distinct stages which resulted in the introduction of Union citizenship and enhanced the supranational character of the Union which also extended and strengthened the competences of the Union policy areas of education, culture and development. It also stresses that the discourse on the Union citizenship practice has shifted the focus of citizenship from the historical element of belonging to establishing legal ties of belonging.

The fourth and the final chapter of the dissertation aims at analyzing the education-identity relation in detail. First, the role of mass national education in nation-building, and thereby, in the construction of national identity is examined and exemplified with the French model. Next, the educational policy of the Union and the concrete steps that have been taken to promote a feeling of belonging to Europe and Union citizenship are explored. In the last part of the chapter, the two important educational policy documents, namely, the 1995 White Paper which has started the construction of a knowledge-based society and the Bologna Declaration which has given a start to the Bologna process for the establishment of the European area of higher education are anayzed with critical discourse analysis.

The reason for the employment of critical discourse analysis as the methodology of this thesis is that, first, it is a methodology employed by social constructivism in the analysis of the interaction processes of agents. Second, it is not a practice which aims at truth claims but aims to provide an account of how social realities are constructed against a background of socially shared understandings, how they are institutionalized, become fixed and passed on as truth. Third, it considers discourse itself as a social agent and as a form of social practice which includes a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and social constructions within the same context. Therefore, an analysis of educational policy which ignores discourse risks overlooking its important role in shaping, enacting and legitimizing the policy. Within this framework, the critical discourse analysis made in this thesis attempts to illustrate how the discourses of these two main educational documents have affected the educational structures, situations, institutions and other actors of the educational field.

In brief, the argument in this chapter attempts to show that dominant educational discourses as a part of the Union's educational policy such as the discourse of the 1995 White Paper and the Bologna Declaration point towards particular courses of action with set objectives and a scope. Therefore, it is argued that discourses related to life-long learning, knowledge-based society and the notions of higher education have helped to shape the political and practical applications of the implementation of the European educational space which can have an impact on the construction of the European identity and Union citizenship which, in turn, could be a solution for the legitimacy problem of the Union in the long term.

On these grounds, this study contains a broad range of literature review on four major topics; a) social constructivism as an International Relations theory, b) the educational policy of the European Union, c) the concepts and developments of different types of identity, and citizenship, and d) the education-identity formation relation and its disursive analysis through two key educational policy documents. Within this framework, this study aims to show how social spaces, namely, educational spaces are created and how these spaces could have an impact on the construction of European identity and the development of Union citizenship from a social constructivist perspective. Ultimately, this study hopes to inspire studies on educational policies of Turkish higher education institutions regarding their broader and deeper involvement in the Bologna process.

I- A THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

> *Only by deriving hypotheses from general theories and multiplying observations, we can transcend indeterminacy and bias.*
>
> *Moravcsik*

Theories are necessary to produce ordered observations of social phenomena. Theory as Gerry Stoker puts it;[1]

> helps us to see the wood for the trees. Good theories select out certain factors as the most important or relevant if one is interested in providing an explanation of an event. Without such a shifting process no effective observation can take place. The observer would be buried under a pile of detail and be unable to weigh the influence of different factors in explaining an event. Theories are of value precisely because they structure all observations.

It is not possible to make any statement about social phenomena without a theoretical perspective. Theorizing intellectualizes perceptions. All academic work on European integration is based on a theory. Since each theory has a different perspective, each theory produces knowledge from its own perspective. As Susan Strange argues "each theory

[1] Stoker, G., 'Introduction' D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.), *Theory and Method in Political Science,* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995, qtd. in Rosamond, B. *Theories of European Integration,* NewYork: Plagrave, 2000.

begins its analysis from a particular assumption that determines the question they ask, and therefore, the answer they find".[2]

This chapter explores the theory of social constructivism in relation to International Relations and European integration. It also forms the theoretical background on which this dissertation is based since social constructivism is one of the most appropriate theories which can explain the creation of the European educational space and its impact on the construction of the European identity whose construction is social and depends on interaction processes, communicative practices and collective meanings.

1.1. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

There are different arguments in the field of IR about what social constructivism is, what constitutes it, and what makes it different from the other IR theories of integration.

The cultural and sociological approaches introduced in the 1990's are often referred to as 'social constructivism' that must be seen as "an umbrella approach under which various theoretical interests and research strategies merge".[3] It is bound up with the move towards greater meta-theoretical reflection upon international politics and the desire to interrogate established categories and concepts.[4] It represents the connection of international theory with long-standing sociological concerns with 'the social construction of reality'.[5]

Since the end of the Cold War, the theory of constructivism has gained importance in the field of international relations because rationalist theories alone could not satisfactorily explain or debate on the balance of power and the integration process. The historical context (i.e. the end of the Cold War) and the theoretical discussion between international relation scholars (especially among neorealists and liberals) helped set the stage for a

---

[2] Strange, S. *States and Markets,* 2nd ed. London: Pinter, 1994, qtd. in Rosamond, B. *Theories of European Integration,* NewYork: Plagrave, 2000.
[3] Shaw, J. and Weiner, A. 'The Paradox of the european Polity', Jean Monnet working paper, no. 10, New York University School of Law, pp.2, 1992 in Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. (ed.) *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
[4] Rosamond, B., *Theories of European Integration,* NewYork: Plagrave, 2000, pp.173
[5] Berger, P. And Luckmann, T. *The Social Construction of Reality,* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967, pp.51-55, (retrieved on 27 August 2007). http://brainwashed.bom/h3o/Dislocation/reality.html

constructivist approach. At the same time, constructivists were inspired by theoretical developments in other social science disciplines, including philosophy and sociology.[6]

Constructivism argues that a focus on thoughts and ideas leads to a better theory about anarchy and power balance than the rationalist or the neorealist theory which claims that there will always be balance of powers between states in the international system.[7] Constructivists argue that understanding how interests are constituted is very important to explain a wide range of international phenomena, therefore, the most important aspect of international relations is social, not material because "international system exists only in the awareness of people and in that sense it is made up of ideas, not by material forces. The structures of world politics are social rather than material".[8] This means that structural properties such as anarchy are not fixed and external to the interaction of states. Rather, as Wendt puts it, anarchy is a social construct, something that is intersubjectively understood by states and which is reproduced through their interaction. So state behavior does not just derive from anarchic international environment; it also helps to make it.[9] Therefore, constructivists "all agree that the structures of international politics are outcomes of social interactions, that states are not static subjects, but dynamic agents, that state identities are not given, but (re)constituted through complex, historical overlapping (often contradictory) practices – and therefore variable, unstable, constantly changing; that the distinction between domestic politics and international relations are tenuous".[10]

They add that political actors' subjective and intersubjective beliefs, including norms, identities, and cultures are the important causes of political outcomes. For Thelen and Steinmo a key constructivist claim is that political actors do not always make decisions based on calculations of individual utility or material benefit. Instead, they follow socially defined rules and norms-even when doing so may not be directly in their self-interest. The

---

[6] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.162 www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 22 August 2007).
[7] *Ibid.,* pp.163
[8] Checkel, T. J. 'Social Construction and Integration', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.
[9] Rosamond, B., *Theories of European Integration,* New York: Plagrave, 2000, pp.172.
[10] Knutsen, T.L., *A History of International Relations Theory,* 2nd ed. Manchester: Menchester University Press, 1997, pp. 281-82 qtd. in Rosamond, B., *Theories of European Integration,* NewYork: Plagrave, 2000, pp.172.

focus of constructivist research, therefore, is on the social construction of the collective rules and norms that guide political behavior.[11]

If the thoughts and ideas that enter into the existence of international relations change, then the system itself will change as well, because the system consists in thoughts and ideas. That is the insight behind the oft-repeated phrase by constructivist Wendt: "anarchy is what states make of it". With such a point of view, the world of international relations becomes less fixated in an age-old structure of anarchy; change becomes possible in a big new way because people and states can start thinking about each other in new ways and thus create new norms that may be radically different from old ones.[12]

In social theory, constructivists focus on the social construction of reality. For them, the social world is partly constructed of physical entities. However, more important than those entities are the ideas and beliefs that concern those entities and what they signify in the minds of people. The social world of people is made by people. It is a world of human thoughts and beliefs, of ideas and concepts, of understandings among human beings, especially groups of people such as nations.[13] Therefore, the social world which is a social structure is an intersubjective domain. There are no natural laws of society or economics or politics.[14]

According to sociologist Anthony Giddens who proposed the concept of structuration as a way of analyzing the relationship between structures and actors, structures such as the rules and conditions that guide social action, do not determine what actors do in any mechanical way. The relationship between structures and actors involves intersubjective understanding and meaning. Structures do constrain actors, but actors can also transform structures by thinking about them and acting on them in new ways. The notion of structuration, therefore, leads to a less rigid and more dynamic view of the relationship

---

[11] Thelen, K. And S. Steinmo, 'Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis', S. Steinmo, K. Thelen and F. Longstreth (eds.), *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis,* (eds.), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp.8 in M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.393.

[12] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.162 www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 22 August 2007).

[13] *Ibid.,* 165

[14] M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 'The Constructivist Turn in European Integration Studies', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.394

between structure and actor.[15] Constructivists use this proposition as a starting-point for suggesting a less rigid view of anarchy.[16]

For constructivists, social interaction is the mechanism for the reproduction of structures. This means that they object to the rationalism that characterizes the mainstream perspectives in international relations. This is because constructivists treat the interests and identities of actors as *endogenous* to interaction. Rationalists, including neorealists and liberal institutionalists derive their accounts of actors' interests from an analysis of their material position. For institutionalists, this usually means that institutions facilitate the procedures of bargaining by providing atmospheres of transparency and trust. Constructivists, on the other hand, treat interests as socially constructed – as derivatives of processes of social interaction. They also maintain that identities are socially constructed, that actors' accounts of self and other and of their operational context are also the products of interaction.[17]

For Thomas Risse, it is a truism that social reality does not fall from heaven, but that human agents construct and reproduce it through their daily practices - what Berger and Luckman called 'the social construction of reality'. Yet while this is a core argument of social constructivism, as a truism it does not provide us with a clear enough conceptualization. Therefore, it is probably more useful to describe constructivism as based on a social ontology which insists that human agents do not exist independently from their social environment and its collectively shared systems of meanings ('culture' in a broad sense).[18] This is in contrast to the methodological individualism of rational choice according to which "the elementary unit of social life is the individual human action".[19] The fundamental insight of the structure-agency debate, which lies at the heart of many social constructivist works, is not only that social structures and agents are

---

[15] Giddens, A. *The Consitution of Society:Outline of a Theory of Structuration.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984, qtd. in Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.163 www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 22 August 2007).

[16] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.163 www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 22 August 2007).

[17] Rosamond, B., *Theories of European Integration,* NewYork: Plagrave, 2000, pp.172-173

[18] Risse, T., 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', Wiener, A. And T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 160

[19] Elster, J., *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp.13, qtd in Risse, T., 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', *European Integration Theory,* (eds.) Wiener, A. And T. Diez, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 160

mutually co-determined. The crucial point is to insist on the mutual *constitutiveness* of (social) structures and agents.[20]

Risse explains the *constitutive* effects of social norms and institutions as many social norms not only regulate behavior, they also constitute the identity of actors in the sense of defining who 'we' are as members of a social community. The norm of sovereignty, for example, not only regulates the interactions of states in international affairs, it also defines what a state *is* in the first place. Constructivists concentrate on the social identities of actors in order to account for their interests. Constructivism maintains that collective norms and understandings define the basic 'rules of the game' in which they find themselves in their interactions. This does not mean that constitutive norms cannot be violated or never change. But the argument implies that we cannot even describe the properties of social agents without reference to the social structure in which they are embedded.[21]

John M. Hobson differentiates between three types of constructivism: international society-centric constructivism, state-centric constructivism and radical constructivism.[22]

Martha Finnemore explains international society-centric constructivism through her analysis of three case-studies: the adoption of science policy bureaucracies by states after 1955; states' acceptance of rule-governed norms of warfare; and states accepting limits to economic sovereignty by allowing redistribution to take priority over production values. The first case-study argues that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has taught states how to develop science bureaucracies. The second case-study argues that an international organization (International Committee of the Red Cross) was instrumental in promoting humanitarian norms in warfare by prescribing what was 'appropriate behavior' for civilized states involved in war. The third and final case-study concerns the acceptance by Third World states of poverty alleviation as a central norm of economic policy. She argues that the shift in economic policy from increasing production to economic redistribution in 1970s was pushed by the World Bank.

---

[20] Risse, T., 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', Wiener, A. And T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 160-61.
[21] *Ibid.,* pp.163
[22] Hobson, J.M., *The State and International Relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Finnemore thus argues that international organizations have been 'active teachers' which guide states to have policies that are in accordance with certain international norms of behavior, put differently, international norms promoted by international organizations can decisively influence national guidelines by pushing states to adopt these norms in their national policies. She adds that states may tolerate limits on their sovereignty 'as a price', that is worth paying to have the appearance of 'being civilized'. They conform to these norms because they do not want to be classified as acting against the norms of 'civilized international society'.[23] Consequently, states are socialized by the international normative structure.[24]

State-centric constructivists focus on the national domestic sphere rather than the international one. Katzenstein, Hopf and Johnston argue that the general constructivist claim that culture, norms and identity matters are also in the core area of national security. They put special emphasis on domestic norms. Katzentein claims that society-centric theorizing is inadequate because it does not sufficiently appreciate how the internal make-up of states affects their behavior in the international system. The emphasis in his analysis is on the domestic normative structure and how it influences state identity, interests and policy.[25] He argues that "we can broaden our analytical perspective to include culture as well as identity as important causal factors that help define the interests and constitute the actors that shape national security policies and global insecurities".[26]

Ted Hopf also focuses on the domestic formation of identity in order to understand how national interests are defined and what foreign policies they lead to. He seeks to provide "an account of how a state's own domestic identities constitute a social cognitive structure

---

[23] Finnemore, M., 'International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organizations and Science Policy', *International Organization,* Vol.47, No.4, Autumn 1993, pp.565-597, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on: 9 August 2007).
[24] Hobson, J.M., *The State and International Relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 149-155.
[25] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed., Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.171. www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 25 October 2007).
[26] Katzenstein, P:J., 'Introduction: Alternative perspectives on national security', P.J.Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics,* New York: Colombia University Press, 1996,

that makes threats and opportunities, enemies and allies, intelligible, thinkable and possible".[27]

Radical constructivists, on the other hand, see the construction of state identity in negative terms. For them, state identity formation process leads to exclusion, repression and marginalization of minorities because the state must stabilize domestic society with a unitary appearance. The 'self' is defined negatively against the other(s) both inside and outside society to create the appearance of unity. It is seen as necessary to construct a fixed coherent national identity. They argue that as long as states exist, violence and war will continue to constitute the normal means of IR because states have to create a 'threatening other' to construct an imaginary unified domestic political community for their existence to continue.[28]

Even though constructivists have a debate about the relative importance of domestic versus international environments, they are united by much more than divide them; they all emphasize the importance of culture and identity, as expressed in social norms, rules, and understandings. Their starting-point for analysis is that; the social and political world is made up of shared beliefs rather than by physical entities.[29]

Historically, constructivism has deep roots; it is not entirely a new approach. It also grows out of an old methodology that can be traced back at least to the eighteenth-century writings of the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico. According to Vico, the natural world is made by God, but the historical world is made by Man. History is not some kind of unfolding or evolving process that is external to human affairs. Men and women make their own history. They also make states which are historical constructs. States are artificial creations and the state system is artificial, too; it is made by men and women and if they want to, they can change it and develop it in new ways.[30]

---

[27] Hopf, 2000: 294 qtd. in Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed., Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.172. www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 25 October 2007).

[28] Hobson, J.M., *The State and International Relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 155-59.

[29] Hopf, 2000: 294 qtd. in Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed., Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.172. www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 25 October 2007).

[30] Pompa, 1982, pp. 26 qtd. in Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.164 www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 22 August 2007).

Constructivism has its origins in various types of idealisms. Hume, Berkeley and Kant argued in different ways that knowledge is shaped by experience and context. The great exponents of modern constructivism in social science were Weber and Mannheim. Mannheim, who is the founder of 'sociology of knowledge', established constructivism as one of the key methodological issues in social science. His importance in the philosophy of social science is his attempt to relate knowledge with its social producers. He argued that knowledge is produced from a specific social and historical standpoint, which reflects the interests and culture of the groups in question. So truth is a product of its social location.[31]

For Immanuel Kant, as Hacking puts it, knowledge about the world can be obtained, but it will always be subjective knowledge in the sense that it is filtered through human consciousness. Max Weber, on the other hand, emphasized that 'the social world (i.e. the world of human interaction) is fundamentally different from the natural world of physical phenomena. Human beings rely on 'understanding' of each other's actions and assigning 'meaning' to them. In order to comprehend human interaction, we cannot merely describe it in the way we describe physical phenomena. We need a different interpretive understanding. Therefore, subjective understanding is the specific characteristic of social knowledge which is fundamental for understanding and assigning meaning to actions.[32] This approach is actually where most constructivists base their theory on.

In social constructivism, social structures and agents are mutually co-determined. Wendt focus on the mutual constitutiveness of social structures and agents.[33] The social environment in which we find ourselves, defines (constitutes) who we are, our identities as social beings. 'We' are social beings embedded in various relevant social communities. At the same time, human agency creates, reproduces, and changes culture through daily practices. Thus, social constructivism occupies a 'middle ground' between individualism and structuralism by claiming that there are properties of structures and of agents that

---

[31] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.164 www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 22 August 2007).

[32] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.164 www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 22 August 2007).

[33] Wendt, A. *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 139-189.

cannot be collapsed into each other. In ontological terms, by most constructivists including Christiansen, Jorgensen, Weiner and Wendt, it is described as a 'middle ground' between rationalist and reflectivist/postmodern approaches. Complementary to agency-centered approaches, social constructivism emphasizes that the interests of actors cannot be treated exogenously given or inferred from a given material structure. Rather, political culture, discourse, and the 'social construction' of interests and preferences matter.[34]

Consequently, it can be said that social constructivism establishes a middle ground between "extreme rationalist models (whether neorealist or neoliberal) which treat norms and subjective beliefs as causally epiphenomenal to more fundamental (material) influences on state behavior",[35] and the reflective/postmodern theories "build on an interpretivist sociology of knowledge, which sees knowledge/beliefs as constitutive of the social world and argue that social facts cannot exist without subjective thoughts of individuals".[36]

Wendt emphasizes the contrast between a materialist and constructivist view. According to the materialist view, power and national interest are the driving forces in international politics. Power is ultimately military capability, supported by economic and other resources. National interest is the self-regarding desire by states of power, security or wealth.[37] Power and interest are seen as 'material' factors; they are objective entities in the sense that because of anarchy states are compelled to be preoccupied with power and interest. In this view, ideas matter little; they can be used to rationalize actions dictated by material interest.[38] In the ideational view held by social constructivists ideas always

---

[34] Risse, T., 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', Wiener, A. And T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 161.

[35] Moravcsnik, A., 'The Choice for Europe', B.F. Nelson and A. Stubb (eds.), *The European Union,* 3rd ed. The European Union Series, Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.
[36] Adler, E., 'Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics', *European Journal of International Relations,* 3(3), 1997, http://www.people.pas.harvard.edu/~olau/ir/archive.adl.pdf, (retrieved on 22 August 2007).
[37] Wendt, A. Wendt, A. *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp.92.
[38] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.165 www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 22 August 2007).

matter. "The starting premise is that the material world is indeterminate and is interpreted within a larger context of meaning. Ideas thus define the meaning of material power".[39]

This constructivist view of ideas is emphasized by Wendt as;

> The claim is not that ideas are more important than power and interest, or that they are autonomous from power and interest. The claim is rather that power and interest have the effects they do in virtue of the ideas that make them up. Power and interest explanations *presuppose* ideas, and to that extent are not rivals to ideational explanations at all…..when confronted by ostensibly 'material' explanations, always inquire into the discursive conditions which make them work. When Neorealists offer multipolarity as an explanation for war, inquire into the discursive conditions that constitute the poles as enemies rather than friends. When Liberals offer economic interdependence as an explanation for peace, inquire into the discursive conditions that constitute states with identities that care about free trade and economic growth. When Marxists offer capitalism as an explanation for state forms, inquire into the discursive conditions that constitute capitalist relations of protection. And so on.[40]

The core ideational element upon which constructivists focus is intersubjective beliefs (and ideas, conceptions and assumptions) that are widely shared among people. Ideas must be widely shared to matter; nonetheless they can be held by different groups, such as organizations, policymakers, social groups or society.[41] "Ideas are mental constructs held by individuals, sets of distinctive beliefs, principles and attitudes that provide broad orientations for behavior and policy".[42] Tannenwald identifies four major types of ideas;

---

[39] Tannenwald, N. 'The Role of Ideas and the End of the Cold War', *Special Issue of the Journal of Cold War Studies,* Vol.7 No.2, Spring 2005, pp. 19, http://muse.jhu.edu/login.uri=/journals/journal_of_cold_war_studies/v2007/7.2.tannenwald , retrieved on (2 September 2007).

[40] Wendt, A. Wendt, A. *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp.135-36.

[41] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.166, www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 2 September 2007).

[42] Tannenwald, N. 'The Role of Ideas and the End of the Cold War', *Special Issue of the Journal of Cold War Studies,* Vol.7 No.2, Spring 2005, pp. 15-6, http://muse.jhu.edu/login.uri=/journals/journal_of_cold_war_studies/v2007/7.2.tannenwald , retrieved on (3 September 2007).

ideologies or shared belief systems, normative beliefs, cause-effect beliefs, and policy prescriptions;[43]

- Ideologies or shared belief systems are systematic set of doctrines or beliefs that reflect the social needs and aspirations of a group, class, culture, or state. Examples include the Protestant ethic or political ideologies such as liberalism, Marxism, and fascism…

- Normative (or principled) beliefs are beliefs about right and wrong. They consist of values and attitudes that specify criteria for distinguishing right from wrong or just from unjust and they imply associated standards of behavior, for example, the role of human rights norms at the end of the Cold War.

- Causal beliefs are beliefs about cause-effect, or means-end relationships. They provide guidelines or strategies for individuals on how to achieve their objectives….. For example, Soviet leaders' changing beliefs about the efficacy of the use of force influenced their decision in 1989 not to use force to keep Eastern Europe under Soviet control.

- Finally, policy prescriptions are the specific programmatic ideas that facilitate policymaking by specifying how to solve particular policy problems. They are at the center of policy debates and are associated with specific strategies and policy programs.

Constructivism focuses on the intersubjective ideas that define international relations. The theory displays some distinctive research interests and approaches. Constructivists, as a rule, cannot subscribe to mechanical positivist conceptions of causality. That is because the positivists do not probe the intersubjective content of events and episodes. They fail to

[43] Tannenwald, N. 'The Role of Ideas and the End of the Cold War', *Special Issue of the Journal of Cold War Studies,* Vol.7 No.2, Spring 2005, pp. 15-6, http://muse.jhu.edu/login.uri=/journals/journal_of_cold_war_studies/v2007/7.2.tannenwald , retrieved on (3 September 2007).

reveal the thoughts, ideas, beliefs and so on of the actors involved in international conflicts.[44]

Constructivists generally agree with Max Weber that they need to employ interpretive understanding (*verstehen)* in order to analyze social action.[45] On the one hand, constructivists reject the notion of objective truth; social scientists cannot discover a 'final truth' about the world which is true across time and place. On the other hand, constructivists do make "truth claims about the subjects they have investigated …….. while admitting that their claims are always contingent and partial interpretations of a complex world".[46]

Constructivism can also be characterized *ex negative,* that is, by reference to what it is not. A starting point is the current tendency to operate with the three meta-theoretical positions of constructivism, rationalism and reflective/postmodern approaches. Christansen, Jorgensen and Weiner compare and contrast the three approaches with each other. According to them, like constructivism, both rationalism and reflectivism/postmodernism are far from coherent and fixed positions. Both include several currents of thinking. Reflectivism presents an even less coherent position. Reflectivist accounts are united more by what they reject than by what they accept. Feminist theory, normative theory, critical theory and historical sociology, all appear to be compatible with constructivism. Therefore, the definition that is based on rejection seems to be the most appropriate as reflectivism has an identity as simply the mirror-image or antithesis of rationalism.[47]

Conventional constructivist scholars such as Alexander Wendt, Peter Katzenstein, John Ruggie, Emmanuel Adler, Michael Barnett, Ted Hofp and Martha Finnemore are

---

[44] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.166, www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 3 September 2007).

[45] Ruggie, J.G., *Constructing the World Polity:Essays on International Institutionalization.* London:Routledge, 1998 in Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.166, www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 3 September 2007).

[46] Price,R. and C.Reus-Smith, 'Dangerous Liasions? Critical International Theory and Constructivism', *European Journal of International Relations,* 2001, 7:327 in Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.167, www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 3 September 2007).

[47] Christiansen, T., K.E. Jorgensen and A. Weiner, 'Introduction', Christiansen, T., K.E. Jorgensen and A. Weiner (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.4.

advocates of bridge building among different theoretical perspectives ranging from rational to postmodern. They examine the roles of norms and identity in shaping international outcomes emphasizing the importance of empirical work.[48] Critical constructivists, on the other hand, are much more skeptical about this position; they argue that 'truth claims' are not possible because there is no neutral ground where we can decide about what is true. What we call truth is always connected to different more of less dominant, ways of thinking about the world. Truth and power cannot be separated; indeed, the main task of critical constructivism is to unmask that core relationship between truth and power, to criticize those dominant versions of thinking that claim to be true of all. Moreover, they add a normative dimension by including researcher's own implication in the reproduction of the identities and the world that s/he is studying. Moreover, they focus on discourse, the mediation of meaning through language, speech acts and textual analysis.[49]

Risse explains social constructivism as "an approach based on social ontology which insists that human agents do not exist independently from their social environment and its collectively shared systems of meanings ('culture' in a broad sense)".[50] Elster also focuses on identities and cultures as important causes of political outcomes, in contrast to the materialism and methodological individualism of rationalist models which regard the elementary unity of social life as the individual human action, and points to actors' subjective and intersubjective beliefs.[51] For Thelen and Steinmo, a key constructivist claim is that political actors do not always make decisions based on calculations of individual utility or material benefit. Instead, they follow socially defined rules and norms-even when doing so may not be directly in their self-interest.[52] Consequently, it can be said that the focus of constructivist research is on the social construction of the collective rules and norms that guide political behavior.[53]

---

[48] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.167, www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 3 September 2007).
[49] *Ibid.,* pp.167-68.
[50] Risse, T., 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', Wiener, A. And T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 160.
[51] M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 'The Constructivist Turn in European Integration Studies', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.393.
[52] Thelen, K. and S.Steinmo, 'Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis' in S. Steinmo, K.Thelen and F.Longstreth (eds.), *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp.1-32.
[53] M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 'The Constructivist Turn in European Integration Studies', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.393..

Constructivists side with rationalists in accepting that social reality does not simply depend on our way of interpreting or theorizing it.[54] However, they insist that the structures of international politics are not entirely determined by material factors but depend on socially constructed norms and identities that shape the interests and identities of agents. Hence, constructivists like Adler, Katzestein, Keohane and Krasner claim that constructivism focuses on how the material and subjective worlds interact in the construction of social reality. Moreover, according to Thomas Risse, constructivists are generally skeptical of what they see as a 'positivist' striving among many rationalists toward a 'covering law' approach to social science that applies irrespective of time and space.[55] Instead they strive toward middle-range theories within carefully circumscribed domains.[56]

For Wendt, constructivism is an empirical approach in the sense that it focuses on the intersubjective ideas that define the international relations. The core of this argument is that "anarchy must necessarily lead to self-help".[57] For constructivists whether it does or not cannot be decided in advance. It depends on the interaction between states. In these processes of interaction the identities and interests of states are created. They are not given as neorealists suppose. It is the interaction that creates structure of identities and interests. 'It is collective meanings that constitute the structures which organize our actions. Actors acquire identities - relatively stable, role-specific understanding and expectations about self - by participating in such collective meaning'. For instance, end of the Cold War led to a new 'European identity' which comprises of cooperation and friendship between the European states.[58]

Wendt suggests three ideal types of anarchy: Hobbesian, Lockean, and Kantian. In the Hobbesian culture, states view each other as enemies. Its logic is 'war of all against all'. Hobbesian anarchy dominated the states system until the seventeenth century. In the Lockean culture, states consider each other rivals, but there is also restraint; states do not

---

[54] Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner, 'The Social Construction of Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy,* 6(4):535 qtd. in M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.393.
[55] Risse, T., 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', Wiener, A. And T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 160.
[56] M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 'The Constructivist Turn in European Integration Studies', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.395.
[57] Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999,pp.299.
[58] *Ibid.,* pp.397.

seek to eliminate each other, they recognize the other states' right to exist. Lockean anarchy has become a characteristic of the modern states' system after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In Kantian culture, states view each other as friends, settle disputes peacefully and support each other in the case of threat by a third party. Kantian culture has emerged among liberal democracies since the Second World War.[59]

Wendt's systemic analysis makes the point that constructivism is not merely about adding the role of ideas to existing theories of IR. Material power and state interest are fundamentally formed by ideas and social interaction. Therefore, states in an anarchic system may each possess military and other capabilities which can be seen as potentially threatening by other states; but enmity and arms races are not inevitable outcomes. Social interaction between states can also lead to more benign and friendly cultures of anarchy.[60]

1.2. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

John G. Ruggie's explanation provides the necessary basis for the study of European integration from a social constructivist point of view. According to his explanation "at bottom, constructivism concerns the issue of human consciousness: the role it plays in international relations, and the implications for the logic and methods of social inquiry of taking it seriously. Constructivists hold the view that the building blocks of international reality are ideational as well as material; that ideational factors have normative as well as instrumental dimensions; that express not only individual but also collective intentionality; and that the meaning and significance of ideational factors are not independent of time and place".[61] He thus specifies a social ontology (human consciousness and ideational factors) and argues that it has particular epistemological ramifications. It follows that at an abstract level of reasoning; constructivists merely claim that there is such a thing as socially constructed reality. The claim has five consequences.[62]

---

[59] Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999,pp.257-99.
[60] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.169, www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 5 September 2007).
[61] Ruggie, J.G., *Constructing the World Polity:Essays on International Institutionalization.* London:Routledge, 1998, pp.33 qtd. in Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner, *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.3.
[62] Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner, *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.3.

First, it needs to be recognized that social constructivism is a specific position in the philosophy of the social sciences.[63] It therefore cannot, in itself, serve as a substantive theory of European integration. It would be mistake to compare theories of European integration such as neo-functionalism to constructivism, even though there are connections between key aspects of neo-functionalist theorizing - e.g. processes of *socialization*, *learning*, transfers of *loyalty*, *redefinitions* of interest and, in general, the *transformative* perspective – and *aspects* of constructivism,[64] such overlap should not lead to a conflation between one and the other.[65]

Second, constructivism claims that in contrast to material reality social realities exist only by human agreement.[66] This accounts for social realities being potentially both 'changeable' and 'contestable' as well as durable. Furthermore, social realities tend to have a more 'local' than 'global' presence and are confined to a limited time-frame rather than to the discrete charm of timelessness. All this is most pertinent to the study of the European integration process that has as much to do with socially constructed realities as it has with material reality.[67]

Third, constructivism focuses on social ontologies including such diverse phenomena as, for example, intersubjective meanings, norms, rules, institutions, reutilized practices, discourse, constitutive and/or deliberative processes, symbolic politics, imagined and/or epistemic communities, communicative action, collective identity formation, and cultures of national security. Even if these features merely constitute a point of departure, they indicate a whole range of social constructivist features that are ready to be employed in research on European integration.[68]

---

[63] Jorgensen, K.E., 'Four Levels and a Discipline: Towards A Second Generation of IR Constructivism', K. M. Fierke and K. E.Jorgensen (eds.), *Constructing International Relations: The Next Generation,* Armonk, NewYork: M.E.Sharpe, 2001 in Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner, *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.3.
[64] See Ruggie, J.G., *Constructing the World Polity:Essays on International Institutionalization.* London:Routledge, 1998, pp.11.
[65] Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner, 'Introduction', Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.3.
[66] See Collin,F., *Social Reality,* London:Routledge, 1997; Searle, J.R., *The Construction of Social Reality,* New York: The Free Press, 1995
[67] Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner, 'Inroduction', Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.3.
[68] *Ibid.*

Forth, at the philosophical level two basic currents of constructivism can be identified. The two currents, according to Ben Ze'ev, are; "*constructive realism,* according to which the agent has an epistemic but not an ontological influence, that is, knowledge is constructive in nature, but the existence of the world does not depend on the existence of an agent….. and *constructive idealism,* according to which the agent has both an epistemic and an ontological influence on the known world".[69] Both options have profound consequences for the application of constructivism in European studies. As Kaiser states "scholars are deeply embedded in the environment in which they work and that, in turn, they somehow contribute to the creation of the object they aim at exploring".[70]

Fifth, constructivism is a social theory that reaches across disciplines which therefore helps us to transcend recurring inter-disciplinary squabbles, such as comparative politics or European studies.[71]

Based on a comparatively narrower conception of European integration, rationalists seek to *normalize* the politics of the EU.[72] Their interest in phenomena that are conceivable within rationalist assumptions contributes to their theoretical strength as well as their weaknesses. It is a strength because a reduced number of features can be investigated in a more detailed and parsimonious fashion that is underpinned by a familiar positivist epistemology. It is a weakness because causal explanation is considered the only form of explanation, thus leaving conceptions of social ontologies, i.e. identity, community and collective intentionality, largely aside.[73] Therefore, the rationalist position can easily be subsumed within a constructivist perspective which, however, can offer much more, and which is based on a deeper and broader ontology.[74]

---

[69] Ben Ze'ev, 1995:50 qtd. in Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner, *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.3.
[70] Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner, 'Introduction', Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.3.
[71] *Ibid.,* pp.4.
[72] Hix, S., 'The Study of the EuropeanCommunity II: The New Governance Agenda and Its Rival', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.342-355.
[73] Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner, 'Introduction', Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Weiner (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.4.
[74] Risse, T. 'Let's Argue! Communicative Action in World Politics', *International Organization,*2000, 54, pp. 4-5, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 September 2007).

This is contrary to many research strategies in the social sciences informed by positivism or materialist philosophies.

Rational-choice studies focus on the formal attributes of European institutions such as policy initiation and amendment rules. Constructivists, on the other hand, hold that the key to explaining policy outcomes is not the formal attributes of European institutions but rather the informal rules, norms, and shared systems of meaning, which shape the interests of actors.[75]

Secondly, whereas rational choice theories focus on how institutions (i.e. collective norms, rules and procedures) regulate or 'constrain' behavior by altering actors' cost-benefit calculations, constructivists contend that institutions are likely to alter not only material incentives but also the very identities, self-images and preferences of actors. As Sending argues, when actors act according to appropriate rules, they do so not because there are external sanctions that compel them, but rather because they have internalized the duties and obligations that define an institutional identity. Hence, institutions have not merely a regulative but *constitutive* role in politics[76].

The constitutive effects of institutions work through two main mechanisms. The first is through processes of 'socialization' by which actors internalize rules and norms, which then influence how they see themselves and what they perceive as their interests.[77] Such socialization is typically a gradual process, which alters the attitudes and beliefs of actors over time in often imperceptible ways. The second, and more direct, mechanism is via processes of 'social learning' by which actors acquire new interests through argumentation, deliberation and persuasion. When actors interact with and within European institutions they come into contact with new ideas and arguments which may change their understanding of their own roles and interests. As a result, they may alter their behavior in ways that are unexplained by material incentives. It is important to stress

---

[75] See Risse, T. 'Let's Argue! Communicative Action in World Politics', *International Organization,* 2000, 54, pp.4-5; March, J.G. and Olsen, J.P., 'The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders', *International Organization,* 1998, 52(4), pp. 943-69.

[76] See Checkel, J.T., 'The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory', *World Politics,* 1998, 50, pp. 325-27; Wendt, A. *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.165-66.

[77] Risse, T. and Wiener, A., 'The Social Construction of Social Constructivism', T. Christiansen, K.E. Jorgensen and A. Weiner (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp. 159-173.

that the idea that social interaction can cause actors to adopt new identities and interests stands in sharp contrast to rational-choice models, which treat interests and preferences as exogenous and fixed prior to interaction. On a rationalist view, social interaction may lead to changes in strategies, but identities and interests remain fixed. On a constructivist view, social interaction and argumentation is the very basis for interest and identity formation.[78]

Risse summarizes the contributions of social constructivism to a better understanding of the European Union in three ways. First, accepting the mutual constitutiveness of agency and structure allows for a much deeper understanding of Europeanization including its impact on statehood in Europe. Second and related, emphasizing the constitutive effects of European law, rules and policies enables us to study how European integration shapes social identities and interests of actors. Third, focusing on communicative practices permits us to examine more closely how Europe and the EU are constructed discursively and how actors try to come to grips with the meaning of European integration.[79]

When proposing a constructivist approach to the study of European integration, Christansen, Jorgensen and Wiener also go beyond explaining variation within a fixed setting and stress the impact of 'social ontologies' and 'social institutions' on the continuing process of European integration. They argue that finding the tools to analyze the impact of intersubjectivity and social context enhances the capacity to answer why and how European integration arrived at its current stage. Variation across policy areas is an important aspect of the integration process. However, neglecting the constructive force of the process itself, i.e. pushing intersubjective phenomena, and social context aside, lays the ground for missing out a crucial part of the process. Accordingly, what makes constructivism particularly well suited for the research on European integration is that; as a process, European integration has a *transformative* impact on the European state system and its constituent units. European integration has changed over the years and it is reasonable to assume that in the process agent's identity and subsequently their interests and behavior have equally changed. While this aspect of change can be theorized within

[78] M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 'The Constructivist Turn in European Integration Studies', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.396.
[79] Risse, T., 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', *European Integration Theory,* Wiener, A. and T. Diez (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 165-66.

constructivist perspectives, it will remain largely invisible in approaches that neglect processes of identity formation and/or assume interests to be given exogenously.[80]

Checkel proposes the variant of sociological institutionalism in constructivism. According to him, institutions constitute actors and their interests. This suggests that they can provide agents with understandings of their interests and identities. This occurs through interaction between agents and structures – mutual constitution. The effects of institutions thus reach much deeper roots; they do not simply constrain behavior. As variables, institutions become independent.[81]

Moreover, social interaction involves dynamics of learning and socialization, where the behavior of individuals and states comes to be governed by certain logics of appropriateness e.g. informal communication in working groups of the Council of Ministers, European-level policy networks centered on the Commission.[82]

Consequently, it can be said that constructivism is in a sense an argument about institutions, one which builds upon the insights of sociological institutionalism. It is thus well suited, in a conceptual sense, for expending the repertoire of institutional frameworks for explaining European integration. Moreover, modernist social constructivists claim that the study of politics – integration – is not just about agents with fixed preferences who interact via strategic exchange. Rather, they seek to explain theoretically both the content of actor identities/preferences and the modes of social interaction – so evident in everyday life – where something else aside from strategic exchange is taking place.[83]

So defined, constructivism has the potential to contribute to the study of integration in various areas. Checkel, explores the learning process within the socialization process both at the European level and the soft normative side of Europeanization at the national level. Social learning involves a process whereby actors, through interaction with broader institutional contexts (norms or discursive structures), acquire new interests and

---

[80] Christiansen T., K.E. Jorgensen and A. Weiner, 'Introduction', T. Christiansen, K.E. Jorgensen and A. Weiner, (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp. 1-2.
[81] Checkel, J.T. 'Social Construction and European Integration', *Debates on European Integration,* M.Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp. 408.
[82] *Ibid.,*
[83] *Ibid.,* pp.409

preferences – in absence of obvious material incentives. Put differently, agent interests and identities are shaped through interaction. Social learning thus involves a break with strict forms of methodological individualism. This type of learning needs to be distinguished, analytically, from the simple sort, where agents acquire new information, alter strategies, but then pursue given, fixed interests; simple learning, of course, can be captured by methodological-individualist/rationalist accounts.[84]

Constructivists and empirically oriented learning theorists have performed the following theoretical/empirical research which suggests four hypotheses on when social learning occurs and these could be translated to empirical work conducted at the European level:[85]

- Social learning is more likely in groups where individuals share common professional backgrounds.

- Social learning is more likely where the group feels itself in a crisis or is faced with clear and incontrovertible evidence of policy failure.

- Social learning is more likely where a group meets repeatedly and there is high density of interaction among participants.

- Social learning is more likely when a group is insulated from direct political pressure and exposure.

The deductions also point to a powerful role for communication underlying communication/learning arguments of persuasion and argumentation. At core, persuasion is a cognitive process that involves changing attitudes about cause and effect in the absence of overt coercion; put differently, it is a mechanism through which social learning may occur, thus leading to interest redefinition and identity change. The literature

[84] See J.Levy, 'Learning and foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield' *International Organization,* 1994, 48, 279-312.
[85] See J.Checkel, 'International Norms and domestic Politics:Bridging the Rationalist-Constructivist Divide', *European Journal of International Relations,* 1997, 3, 473-95; DiMaggio, P. and Powell, W., (eds.), *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

suggests three hypotheses about the settings where agents should be especially conductive to persuasion:[86]

- when they are in novel and uncertain environment and thus cognitively motivated to analyze new information;

- when the persuader is an authoritative member of the in-group to which the persuadee belongs or wants to belong;

- when the agent has few prior, ingrained beliefs that are inconsistent with the persuader's message.

In sum, whether in international or European politics, the key point lies where norms, discourses, language and material capabilities interact with each other creating a suitable context for social learning.

Martha Finnemore, proposes systemic analysis as another variant of constructivism in international relations. She analyses the norms of international society and the way they affect state identities and interests. Her starting point is the definition of states' identities and interests. But instead of looking at the social interaction between states, she focuses on the norms of international society and the way in which they affect state identities and interests. State behavior is defined by identity and interest. Identity and interests are defined by international forces. The norms of international society are transmitted to states through international organizations.[87]

They shape national policies by 'teaching' states what their interests should be. Therefore, it can be said that international norms promoted by international organizations can influence national guidelines by forcing states to adapt these norms in their national

[86] See Johnston, A.I. 'Socialization in International Institutions. The ASEAN Regional Forum and IR Theory' paper prsented at the Workshop on 'The Emerging International Relations of the Asia-Pasific Region' University of Pennsylvania, May 1998; Zimbardo, P. and M.Lieppe, *The Psychology of Attitude Change and Social Influence*, New York: McGrave-Hill, 1991.
[87] M., Finnemore, 'Norms, Culture and world Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism', .*International Organization*, 1996, 50, pp. 325-47 in *Debates on European Integration,* M.Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, (eds.), New York: Palgrave, 2006.

policies. And the changes caused by this force cannot be explained only by national interests and by the maximization of power.[88]

Moreover, political actions are driven by *logic of appropriateness* and by strong sense of identity. In this view, actors are thought to choose specific policies not because they maximize their calculated self-interest but rather because they resonate with deeper, collectively held norms, ideas and values. Similarly, March and Olson also claim that actors make decisions derived from logic of appropriateness which is based on what they think and feel is most appropriate given their socially defined roles, rather than their calculated self-interests. Accordingly, constructivism as a method to analyze integration, specifically European integration rests on three main claims:[89]

- institutions (understood as collective norms, rules and procedures) are constitutive for actors' identities rather than acting as constraints on behavior,

- agents and structures are mutually constitutive,

- changes in ideas and identities lead to changes in political practice.

The basic constructivist proposition, therefore as Checkel notes, is that the environment in which actors operate is given meaning through on going processes of social construction. This means that there is an inherent connection between the social construction of the 'external' environment and the interests that actors acquire.[90] Interests are best conceived of as endogenous, and not exogenous, to interaction. Constructivists attempt to dissolve the opposition between agency and structure. Agents' interests are not structured by their environment. They help to make their environment and their environment helps to make them. The environment within which actors operate is an intersubjective structure which also contributes to the creation of norms governing behavior and the boundaries of the

---

[88] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.170, www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 7 September 2007).
[89] M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 'The Constructivist Turn in European Integration Studies', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.397.
[90] Checkel, J., 'Social Construction and Integration', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.

possible. This means that not just interests but also identities are bound up with these sociological processes. "We' are what we make of ourselves, and what 'we' make of ourselves will be related to what 'we' make of our environment".[91]

1.3. EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND DISCOURSE

The emphasis on communicative and discursive practices constitutes another characteristic feature of social constructivist approaches in the study of European integration. Discourse analysis focuses on words, symbols, language and meaning, and their power and effectiveness in the interaction process of the agents.

The term discourse generally encompasses any form of language use in society. A crucial concept associated with discourse is that of social communicative event: discourse is the use that people make of language to convey ideas, thoughts or beliefs within a social context.[92]

Discourse analysis looks for structures of meaning. *Things* do not have meaning in and of themselves; they only become meaningful in discourse. Both subjects and objects are constituted discursively. It might be said that *objects* of knowledge exist independently of language, but when they enter in any meaningful way into human, social life, they enter not as name and shape but 'as something': they are necessarily categorized and conceptualized. The *subjects* of knowledge and action, similarly, are constituted in many different ways throughout history. Neither *things* nor subjects and their intentions are given by themselves. What discourse analysis does is to cut into these webs of meaning.[93]

One of the discourse analysis used by scholars is the critical discourse analysis (CDA) which goes beyond the acknowledgement of the social dimension of discourse. What distinguishes a critical from a non-critical approach to discourse is the fact that critical

---

[91] Wendt, A., 'Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization,* 1992, 46(2), pp.391-425, http://proquest.umi.com, (retrieved on 12 October 2007).
[92] Van Dijk, T.A., 'The Study of Discourse', T.A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Structure and Process. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction,* Vol. 1, London: Sage, pp.95-105, qtd. in Magistro, E., 'Promoting the European Identyity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.54.
[93] Waever, O. 'Discursive Approaches', A.Weiner and T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp.198.

discourse analysts illustrate how discourse is affected by the social and ideological *status quo* and how it, in turn, affects the construction of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. Namely, CDA attributes to discourse social agentivity and defines it 'as a form of social practice' that entails a 'dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it'.[94] This calls attention to the interaction of discourse and society: on one hand, discourse is affected by social situations, institutions and structures and adapts to, as well as perpetuates, the features of the social context in which it appears; on the other, the social context is influenced and transformed by discourse itself, which is largely responsible for the genesis, production and construction of particular social conditions.[95] Hence, discourse plays an important role in the 'constitution and reproduction of …… social identities'.[96]

According to Phillips and Jorgensen, critical discourse analysis as a method and a theoretical framework stems from the general research tradition of social constructionism and is based on the idea that social reality, that is, the everyday life with its actors and their social practices and structures, consists of shared meanings formed in interaction between actors and equally shapes the actions of those actors. Discourses, defined as particular ways of speaking which give meaning to experiences from a particular perspective, are central carriers or even definers of those socially constructed meanings. They can be collateral or competitive, and some discourses may gain hegemonic positions over other discourses, thus developing into commonly shared and taken for granted truths, which displace other, alternative truths.[97]

---

[94] Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R., 'Critical Discourse Analysis', T.A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction.* Vol.2, London: Sage, 1997, pp. 258-284 qtd. in Magistro, E., 'Promoting the European Identyity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.54.

[95] Magistro, E., 'Promoting the European Identyity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.54. www.cadaad.org/files/CADAAD1-1-Magistro-2007-Promoting-European-Identity.pdf, (retrieved on 18 November 2007).

[96] Fairclough, N., 'Critical Discourse Analysis and Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities', *Discourse and Society,* 4 (2), 1993, pp.133-168 qtd. in Magistro, E., 'Promoting the European Identyity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.55.

[97] Phillips, L., and M. W. Jorgensen, *Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method,* London*:* Sage Publications, 2002, pp.5, 66-67, 75-76.

Constructivists who take a postmodern perspective on discourse argue that reality in its objective form cannot be known or seen to exist outside human interpretation or language. Unlike natural objects, social facts are established through human agreement, which can only be achieved through language. As a result, social reality is best conceived as a linguistic construct, which can only be understood through textual and discourse analysis. The object of such analysis is to reveal how certain meanings that are assigned to material reality come to be fixed for some period of time and hence confront us as social facts.[98]

If we want to understand and explain social behavior, we need to take words, language, and communicative utterances seriously. It is through discursive practices that agents make sense of the world and attribute to their activities.[99] Moreover, as Foucault reminds us, discursive practices establish power relationships in the sense that they make us "understand certain problems in certain ways, and pose questions accordingly", and further, "although it is 'we' who impose meaning, 'we' do not act as autonomous subjects but from a subject position' made available by the discursive context in which we are situated".[100]

According to Risse, there are at least two ways in which the study of communicative practices has contributed to the understanding of the European Union. First, some scholars apply the Habermasian theory of communicative action to international relations.[101] They focus on arguing and reason-giving as an agency-centered mode of interaction which enables actors to challenge the validity claims inherent in any causal or normative statement and to seek a communicative consensus about their understanding of a situation as well as justifications for the principles and norms guiding their action, rather than acting purely on the basis of strategic calculations. It means that the participants in a discourse are open to be persuaded by the better argument and relationships of power and social hierarchies recede into the background. Here, the goal is not to attain one's fixed preferences but to seek a reasoned consensus. As Keohen puts it, persuasion 'involves changing people's choices of alternatives independently of their calculations about the

---

[98] Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 'The Constructivist Turn in European Integration Studies', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.399.
[99] Risse, T. 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', A.Weiner and T.Diez (eds.) *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 164
[100] Diez, T. ''Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', *The Social Construction of Europe,* Christiansen, T., E. Jorgensen and A. Wiener (eds.), London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp. 90.
[101] See Habermas, 1981, 1992; Müller, 1994; Risse 2000.

strategies of other players'.[102] Actors' interests, preferences and perceptions of the situation are no longer fixed, but subject to discursive challenges. This approach allows scholars to study European institutions as discourse rather than merely bargaining areas allowing for deliberative processes to establish a reasoned consensus in order to solve common problems.[103]

The second way in which discursive practices have been studied in the EU, does not so much focus on arguing and reason-giving, but on discourse as a process of construction of meaning allowing for certain interpretations while excluding others. In other words, it focuses on discursive practices as means by which power relationships are established and maintained.[104]

One of the clearest examples of a 'discursive' approach to European integration is provided by the work of Thomas Diez. He explores the role of language, that is, the politics of integration discourse in the construction of the European Union. His key proposition is that attempts by academicians and politicians to capture the nature of the EU polity are not mere descriptions of an existing reality but take part in the construction of that reality. In other words, language does not simply confirm the existence of an EU polity, it is through language that EU polity is constructed.[105]

Diez aims to lay down the theoretical groundwork that relates a constructivism focusing on language to European studies. The argument proceeds in three moves which he names as the 'Austinian Move' which introduces the notion of a performative language, second the 'Foucauldian Move' which points to the political implications of the performativity of language through the definition of meaning and third, the 'Derridarean Move' which discusses the possibilities of change, opening up space for the articulation of alternative constructions of European governance.[106]

---

[102] Keohane, R. 'Governance in a Partly Globalized World', *American Political Science Review,* 2001, 95, pp. 1-13 qtd. in Risse, T. 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', A.Weiner and T.Diez (eds.) *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 165.
[103] Risse, T. 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', A.Weiner and T.Diez (eds.) *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 165.
[104] *Ibid.*
[105] *Ibid.*
[106] Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.422.

According to the Austinian move, the common sense of language is that it describes or takes note of a reality outside language. It is, in other words, 'constative'.[107] The search for the nature of the European Union is in this tradition: European governance is something 'out there', the nature of which needs to be captured by language. But there are several cases in which language seems to go beyond its constative function. An example of it is the formulation of the Treaty of Rome through which a new political organization comes into existence.[108] According to Austin, language is not only constative but also 'performative'.[109] In the example above language is performative in the sense that it does not only take note of the founding of the European Economic Community. Instead, it is *through* language that this founding is performed. Apart from the act of speaking itself, according to Austin, in these cases it is "*in* saying something that we do something".[110] Furthermore, what we say may have an effect on other people; by saying something, we may not only act ourselves, but also force others to do so.[111]

When it comes to politics, it is probably uncontested that most articulations, in the form of negotiation statements, laws, treaties or the like, do not or at least intend to do something. Introducing speech act theory to international law, Nicholas Onuf cites the statement of rules as an example of typical illocutionary acts.[112] The signing of the treaty on the European Coal and Steel Community, for instance, founded the first European institution on the way to what is now the EU, and served France's interest of controlling an important base of German industry, while it helped Germany to return to the international scene. The system of governance established since then can be presented as a remarkable collection of

---

[107] Austin, J. L., *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955,* J.O.Urmson and M. Sbisa (eds.), London: Oxford University Press, 1975, pp.3 qtd. in Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.
[108] See Diez, T., 'Europe as a Discursive Battleground: European Integration Studies and Discorse Analysis' *Cooperation and Conflicts,* 2001, 36(1), 5-38.
[109] Austin, J. L., *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955,* J.O.Urmson and M. Sbisa (eds.), London: Oxford University Press, 1975, pp.6 qtd. in Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.
[110] *Ibid.,* pp. 94.
[111] See Diez, T., 'Europe as a Discursive Battleground: European Integration Studies and Discorse Analysis' *Cooperation and Conflicts,* 2001, 36(1), 5-38.
[112] See Onuf, N. *World of Out Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations,* Columbia, SC: University of South Caroline Press, 1989.

speech acts and their effects, be it in the form of declarations, further treaties, decisions by the European Court of Justice, or Community legal acts.[113]

In sum, an approach informed by speech act theory pays more attention to language for analyzing European governance in contrast to other attempts. Speech acts performed by a variety of actors, often with different intentions, not only led to the establishment of EU citizenship, but also to the reformulation of the concept of citizenship, with consequences for the shape of the Euro-polity. More generally speaking, the whole history of European integration can be understood as a history of speech acts establishing a system of governance. Therefore, it can be said that 'the Austinian move' helps us to understand that speaking Europe is to do something.[114]

The second move of Diez which he calls 'the Foucauldian move' helps us to understand the political force of performative language. The central proposition of Foucauldian move is that 'reality' cannot be known outside discourse, for the moment broadly defined as a set of articulations.[115] In the words of Michel Foucault:

> We must not imagine that the world turns towards us a legible face which would have only to decipher; the world is not the accomplice of our knowledge; there is no prediscursive providence which disposes the world in our favor. We must conceive discourse as a violence which we do to things, or in any case as a practice which we impose on them.[116]

In many ways, this is merely a more radical reformulation of Austin's observation that to state something is to do something. But to phrase it in such radical terms brings to the fore the political relevance of language beyond the concept of rhetoric as a means to political ends, and towards a power that rests in discourse itself. This power makes us understand certain problems in certain ways, and pose questions accordingly. It thereby limits the

---

[113] See Diez, T., 'Europe as a Discursive Battleground: European Integration Studies and Discorse Analysis' *Cooperation and Conflicts,* 2001, 36(1), 5-38.
[114] Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.422.
[115] *Ibid.,* pp. 424.
[116] Foucault, M., 'The Order of Discourse', M. J. Shapiro (ed.), *Language and Politics,* Cambridge:, MA: Blackwell, 1984, pp. 127 qtd. in Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.425.

range of alternative policy options, and enables us to take others. The contest about concepts is thus a central political struggle,[117] not only between individuals and groups defending one meaning against another, but also between different ways of constructing 'the world' through different sets of languages. These different languages are not employed by actors in a sovereign way. It is the discursive web surrounding each articulation that makes the latter possible, on the one hand, while the web itself, on the other hand, relies on its reproduction through these articulations.[118]

Discourse in this Foucauldian reformulation is thus more radical than the speech act tradition in that more emphasis is put on the context in its relation to the individual actor. Although it is 'we' who impose meaning, 'we' do not act as autonomous subjects but from a 'subject position' made available by the discursive context in which we are situated.[119] The speech act tradition emphasized the rules and contexts of speaking; the discursive tradition furthermore emphasizes the constitutive role of discourse in the production of subject identities. Discourse then takes up a life of its own. It is not pure means of politics – instead, politics is an essential part of discourse. The struggle to impose meaning on such terms as 'Europe' is not only a struggle between politicians but also between the discourses that enable actors to articulate their positions.[120]

In a way, this notion amounts to what one may call a 'linguistic structurationism' adding to Giddens' theory the crucial importance of language.[121] Giddens' central aim, shared by Foucault, was to move beyond structuralism and to reconceptualize the duality of structures and agency. His theory of structurationism, imported into international relations by Alexander Wendt,[122] argues that both structure and agency were mutually dependent on each other. The major point made by discourse analysts is that Giddens does not take

---

[117] See Connolly, W. E., *The Terms of Political Discourse,* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983, pp.30.
[118] Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.425.
[119] Foucault, M. 'Politics and the Study of Discourse', G. Burchell, C. Gordon and p. Miller (eds.), *The Foucault Effects: Studies in Governmentality,* Hemel Hempstead, Uk: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991, pp. 58, qtd in Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.426.
[120] See Larsen, H. *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis: France, Britain, and Europe,* London: Rotledge, 1997.
[121] See Giddens, A. *The Constitution of Society:Outline of a Theory of Structuration,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984.
[122] See Wendt, A., 'Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization,* 1992, 46(2), pp.391-425.

language seriously enough, whereas a focus on discourse attributes a central importance both to the practice of speaking and the linguistic context in which articulations emerge and are read.[123] In a Foucauldian perspective, on the other hand, more emphasis is put on practice in that structures are always reinterpreted and thereby transformed.[124]

Diez explains the relevance of this to European integration studies by way of some examples. When entering a different country, confronted with very 'real' physical barriers, one has to present a passport. While the Schengen agreement has eliminated borders between some of its signatory states, it has led to the intensification of such controls at the outside borders of 'Schengenland'. But there is no 'neutral language' to convey the meaning of these 'real' borders. Their construction as guarantees of welfare provisions or illegitimate walls depriving people of their right to move are both speech acts within a specific discursive context. Furthermore, discourse itself is part of reality. In that sense, discursive approaches do not fit into the old dichotomy of idealists versus realists. In fact, the example of 'Schengenland' illustrates this: it emanates from and reifies a specific discursive construction of European governance.[125]

Philippe Schmitter explicitly acknowledges the role of language in European integration. He identifies the development of a 'Euro-speak' defining the space for political action within EU, while often being hardly comprehensible to an outsider. Elements of this 'Euro-speak' range from '*acquis communautaire'* to 'co-decision', from 'subsidiarity' to '*supranationalite'*. At the same time, however, Schmitter sees a need 'for labels to identify the general configuration of authority that is emerging' in the case of EU, and doubts that this can be done by a mere aggregation of currently existing 'Euro-speak'.[126]

But following 'the Austinian and Foucauldian moves', the new vocabulary that Schmitter is looking for cannot be used simply to "pick up such developments as the emergence of a

---

[123] Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.426.
[124] See Ashley, R. K., 'Living on Border Lines: Man, Poststructuralism, and War', J. Der Derian and M.J. Shapiro (eds.) *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics,* New York, NY: Lexington Books, 1989.
[125] Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.427.
[126] Schmitter, P., 'Imagining the Future of the Euro-polity with the Help of New Concepts', G. Marks, F.Schmitter and W. Sreeck (eds.),*Governance in the European Union,* London: Sage, 1996, pp. 121-50 qtd. in Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.

new form of multi-layered governance, and to describe the process of integration".[127] Instead, such developments are only knowledgeable to us within the specific discursive contexts; we are also part of it.[128]

The conceptualization of the EU as a system of 'multi-governance' is one of a set of various separated levels of governance (local, regional, national, European) that interact with each other in some issue areas and follow their own course in others. This has, by now, become something of a 'textbook' image of the EU. It would be naïve to assume that this image directly becomes the ground on which politicians in the EU base their decisions. However, the point is that such conceptualizations are part of a wider discursive context and do not 'stand aside' from their object of analysis. They make up the claims made by German *Lander* about their role in the overall system, or by various national governments leading to the specific construction of subsidiarity in Art.3b TEC which is the Treaty establishing the European Community, as amended by the Treaty on European Union. It is these 'multi-level' representations *taken together* that reify a notion of politics working on separate planes. The development of the EU towards such a system that way becomes a self-fulfilling hypothesis.[129]

The power of discourse is that it structures our conceptualizations of European governance to some extent, rather than us simply employing a certain language to further our cause. The multi-level language gives preference to actors on various 'state' levels and is linked to an extension of the classical federalist practice of territorial representation on the 'highest' organizational level, now with three representational bodies instead of two. What happens if we employ a different language and speak of a 'network polity' instead? Our conception of the EU changes, and instead of 'levels', we find a more open political space, both geographically and functionally diversified, undermining the territorial notion of politics that is still upheld by the multiple levels concept.[130]

---

[127] *Ibid.,* pp.132-33.
[128] Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.427.
[129] *Ibid.,* pp.428.
[130] Kohler-Koch, B. 'The Evolution and Transformation of European Governance', B.Kohler-Koch and R. Eising (eds.), *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union.* New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 14-34 qtd. in Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.

In sum, 'the Foucauldian move' shows us the politics involved in discourse whether we are aware of it or not.

Finally, according to 'the Derriadarean move', within a universe of discourses, change is only possible if meaning is not eternally fixed and if the lines of contestation between various discourses are allowed to shift. Only if this is the case will there be a chance for the development of a new 'Euro-speak', and thus for the development of alternative constructions of European integration. On the other hand, the meaning of words needs to be relatively stable in a given context for communication to be possible. In his structural theory of language, Frederic de Saussure argues that "national languages 'work' because they represent crystal grids in which each word has its proper place. It takes on meaning through the firm opposition in which it stands towards another word in this grid".[131] In such a 'crystal grid' model, change is hard to conceive of. But we all know that meaning is not eternally fixed: dictionaries provide us with contested meanings of a single word, and once in a while, such entries have to be changed because the word is now used in a different or additional sense. Furthermore, we do experience breakdowns of communication.

This is the reason for a third and final move which Diez calls 'Derridarean'. In contrast to Saussure, Jacques Derrida conceptualized language not as a closed and more or less rigid grid, but as a series of open-ended chains.[132] With each articulation, there is at least a potential of adding new oppositions to the already existing chain, and thereby of altering it. However, this does not necessarily result in a breakdown of communication. In fact, communication does not have to rest on a concept of 'understanding', assuming the correspondence of what is said and received in the speaker's and receiver's minds. Instead, it can be conceived of as operating on the level of language, where the decisive factor is the affinity of discourse and thus their mutual translatability. Furthermore, change and continuity always go hand in hand with each other. Although the overall discursive space is not as volatile as Derrideans sometimes suggest, and each addition to a linguistic chain

---

[131] Frank, M., *Was ist Neostrukturalismus?,* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1983 qtd. in Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.

[132] Derrida, J. 'Limited inc. abc', *Glyph,*1977, 2, 162-254 qtd. in Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.

seems to be minor at first, it may indeed be part of a major transformation, the importance of which becomes clear only in the long run.[133]

For such a change Diez gives the example of the development of the construction of European governance as an economic community in the form of a 'common market' in the British case. There, the predominant concept of European integration in the 1950s was indeed a classic 'Eurosceptic' one of pure intergovernmental cooperation. But at the same time, economic considerations played an increasing role in the overall political debate. This led to the reformulation of co-operation as a free trade area. The language in which this area was constructed centered on economic output. Its basic mechanism was still intergovernmental, but this economic focus laid down a trace that soon made it possible to articulate supranational governance in the economic realm.[134]

In sum, by way of the three moves explained above, Diez argues that language does more than merely describe and everything including European governance is embedded in certain discourses. The meaning of words is dependent on their discursive context and this context is not rigid but in constant change and that recent transformations of the discursive context enable the construction of Europe as a 'net-work' because discursive practices enable rather than cause.

Steve Smith claims that the form of constructivism proposed by Diez which focuses on the role of language in constructing the EU is persuasive in the sense that discussions on the EU are not simply descriptions of an existing reality but are instead part of the process of constructing that reality; as such these cannot be non-political discussions.[135]

Another example of a discursive approach to European integration is provided by Elena Magistro. She shows how discursive strategies have the power to affect the readers' perceptions on the integration issue of the Union through a qualitative study on the discourse of the European Union. She investigates a small corpus of written EU texts and focuses on the discursive strategies that help sketch a new European self in Europe's social

---

[133] Diez, T., 'Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.430.
[134] *Ibid.,* pp. 431.
[135] Smith, S. 'Social Constructivism and European Studies', T. Christiansen, K.E.Jorgensen and A. Wiener (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp. 189-99.

context. Her analysis suggests that there are two main types of relational values in the EU texts that are examined. First, a relationship of closeness and cooperation: the Union repeatedly expresses a sense of togetherness and commitment to achieve goals and values that are beneficial for the common good (i.e. democracy, progress, transparency, social utility). This friendly and cooperative relationship is complemented by the attempt to convey positive feelings and a pervading sense of efficiency and reliability, which makes European membership more enviable and appealing. Hence, these texts also feature some important expressive values: the authors provide a positive and enthusiastic portrait of the EU system, resources and potential in an attempt to instill the same enthusiasm and fascination in the readers.[136]

The work of Ben Rosamond provides one other example of a 'discursive' approach to European integration. In his article 'Discourses of Globalization and European Identities', he explores the relationship between globalization discourses and European integration.

He starts his argumentation with four questions:[137]

- What sorts of knowledge about 'globalization' are at work in EU policy-making circles?

- Who uses this knowledge, how do they use it, why do they use it? Are there evident 'discursive strategies' at work?

- What role is played by rhetorics of globalization within EU policy communities? Do they sanction particular policy solutions and foreclose others? Do they help to define 'Europe' as a valid regulatory space?

- Are there discourse coalitions at work? In other words, do identifiable communities of actors within the EU polity cluster around particular conceptions of globalization and/or use the idea of globalization in distinct ways? In other words, is there 'one globalization or

[136] Magistro, E., 'Promoting the European Identyity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.66. www.cadaad.org/files/CADAAD1-1-Magistro-2007-Promoting-European-Identity.pdf, (retrieved on 18 November 2007).
[137] Rosamond, B. 'Discourses of Globalization and European Identities', T. Christiansen, K.E.Jorgensen and A. Wiener (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp. 166.

several?' in EU policy communities?

According to Rosamond, the evidence suggests that globalization appears as either/both a) a structural fact associated with the development of circuits of capital, production, trade and technology, or/and b) a set of policy preferences for economic openness and market driven policies of budgetary restrain. It is used to signify external realities which define the EU's environment. The 1993 *White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment* (CEC 1993) lays out the perceived changes to the Community's environment as 'the universality of the trends which have been shaping the global economy and their acceleration since 1970s'.[138] But at a second level of analysis, globalization is understood as having multiple and often contradictory consequences. In that sense, globalization has perhaps not acquired the status of a norm, that is, if we define norms as "collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors within a given identity".[139]

In response to the second and third questions, Rosamond states that strategically motivated actors within the EU have utilized the concept of globalization to create cognitive allegiances to the idea of 'Europe'/the EU as a valid economic space. This is more of a legitimate policy space rather than a territorial space. Moreover, the policy mode (neo-liberalism) that emerges is also bound up in complex ways with the social construction of external threat (globalization). Globalization discourse has also been used to reinforce the case for neo-liberal policy solutions, a pattern that also appears in domestic political contexts. But this pattern is not uniform and the evidence suggests that different clusters of actors can deploy the idea of globalization with quite distinct effects. There are many 'globalizations' at work within the EU polity.[140]

Consequently, it can be said that discourses of globalization with a constructivist exploration of the EU might help to understand the complex, multi-level relationships within and outside the EU.

---

[138] http://www2.uni-siegen.de/dept/fb05/vwolii/auwipol/Growth/ch0_1.html , (retrieved on 24 October 2007)
[139] Katzenstein, P.J., 'Introduction: Alternative perspectives on national security', P.J. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics,* New York: Colombia University Press, 1996, pp. 5.
[140] Rosamond, B. 'Discourses of Globalization and European Identities', T. Christiansen, K.E.Jorgensen and A. Wiener (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp. 172.

GENERAL EVALUATION

Recent reflections of theories and approaches in the International Relations have opened up new ways of thinking and new ways of perception about old concepts and 'this has provided substantial challenges to images of the world built around images of Westphalian nation-state'.[141] Social constructivism, one of the most relevant approaches to both International Relations and European integration, is one of them. It has gained importance since the end of the Cold War. It plays a connecting role between the conventional rational theories of integration and postmodern approaches. Therefore, by most constructivists, it is described as a 'middle ground'.

Constructivists focus on the social construction of reality. They claim that the social world is partly constructed of physical entities but more important than that "are the ideas and beliefs that concern those entities and what they signify in the minds of the people".[142] Accordingly, the social world is mostly our own social construction. This approach brings forth the idea that the most important aspect of International Relations is social rather than material because "international system exists only in the awareness of people and the structures of world politics are social rather than material".[143]

From a social constructivist point of view, interaction between the actors of the political arena lies in the core of International Relations because "it is the interaction that creates the structure of identities and interests of states and it is collective meanings that constitute the structures which organize actions".[144]

As an approach to European integration, there are at least three ways in which social constructivism contributes to a better understanding of the European Union. First, accepting the mutual constitutiveness of agency and structure allows for a much deeper understanding of Europeanization including its impact on statehood in Europe. Second, emphasizing the constitutive effects of European law, rules, and policies enables us to

---

[141] Rosamond, B., *Theories of European Integration,* New Yoek: Palgrave, 2000, pp. 185.
[142] Jackson, R. And G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches,* 3rd ed. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, pp.162 www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e (retrieved on 4 November 2007).
[143] Checkel, T. J. 'Social Construction and Integration', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.
[144] Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.299.

study how European integration shapes social identities and interests of actors. Third, focusing on communicative practices permits us to examine more closely how Europe and the EU are constructed discursively and how actors try to come to grips with the meaning of European integration.[145]

Within this framework, social constructivism is one of the most appropriate theories which can explain the creation of the European education space and its impact on the construction of the European identity since such an identity can only be constructed and can only exist in the awareness of the people. As social constructivism argues, identity construction is social rather than material, and depends on interaction processes, communicative practices and collective meanings.

[145] Risse, T. 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', A.Weiner and T.Diez (eds.) *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 166.

II. THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EUROPEAN EDUCATION SPACE

We must have the courage to examine everything,
discuss everything and even to teach everything.
Condorcet

The European Union's interest in education and training has passed through distinct stages, gaining impetus with the establishment of the Single Market. At the beginning, education and training were relatively minor interests. However, 1986 onwards, the Union started to show interest in education and training and they became significant areas of policy, with a stream of action programs contributing to the steady achievement of the Single Market. From 1993 onwards with the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, the EU has adopted a more radical approach to promote the concept and practice of the learning society. Since 2000, education and training are at the center of the economic and social strategy of the Union for 2010. The number of the actors that are involved in the field of European education and training has also increased with the growing interest of the Union in the field.

Today, not only institutions of the Union but also international governmental and non-governmental institutions are also involved in the process. Key documents such as the 1995 White Paper, the Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations, the Lisbon Strategy and the other related documents set the pillars in the creation of the European education space.

In this chapter, first a brief history of the development of the European education policy is given. Then, the key actors and documents of this ongoing process are explored and analyzed in detail in relation to the construction of the European educational space.

2.1. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AT COMMUNITY LEVEL

The growth of the Union's interest in education and training has passed through five distinct stages.[146] At the beginning, during the period between 1957-73 education and training were relatively minor interests. During the years 1974-1985 the Union showed some interest in education but its main concern was with vocational training. From 1986 to 1992 education and training became significant areas of policy, with a stream of action programs contributing to the steady achievement of the single market[147]. From the ratification of the Treaty on European Union in 1993 to 1999 the EU has adopted a more radical approach seeking to promote the concept and practice of the learning society. From 2000 to 2005 education and training are at the heart of the economic and social strategy of the Union for 2010[148] .

2.1.1. 1957-1973: Education and training: minor interests in the European integration process

The treaty signed in Rome in 1957 made no reference to education and very little to vocational training since the task was to deal with the consequences for employment of the application of a common market and of the principles of freedom of movement and establishment. At that time, the member states did not want the Community to intervene in the field of education. Education was a taboo at Community level. There were very few numbers of articles related with vocational training. Article 41 allowed for cooperation of vocational training activities within the Common Agricultural Policy,[149] while Article 57 referred to the 'mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualifications between member states in order to make it easier for persons to take up and persue activities as self-employed persons'.[150] Article 118 required the Commission to promote 'close cooperation between the member states in the social

[146] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006.
[147] John Field, *European Dimensions: Education, training and the European Union,* Higher Education Policy Series 39. London and Philedelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998, pp. 25.
[148] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.30.
[149] http://www.hri.org/docs/Rome57/Part3Title02.html , (retrieved on 12 September 2007)
[150] http://www.bmdf.co.uk/rometreaty.pdf , (retrieved on 12 September 2007).

field, particularly in matters relating to… basic and advanced vocational training'.[151] Article 128 foresaw a common vocational training. The most explicit statement was in Article 128, which stated that:[152]

> The Council shall, acting on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee, lay down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy capable of contributing to the harmonious development both of the national economies and of the common market.

In the field of vocational training, which was treated as an adjunct of the common economic market, the Community had quite extensive powers. However, in the field of education, it seemed to have none.

In general, the member states remained reluctant to allow a common policy to encroach upon what they regarded as discrete and autonomous fields of national policy. National resistance was evident in the field of vocational training. In effort to clear up the uncertainties over Article 128, the Council of Ministers reached a Resolution in 1963, which identified the responsibilities of member states under the Treaty of Rome as being to ensure: [153]

- access to adequate training for all workers
- access to continued training and retraining as necessary throughout the working life
- a balanced training which combines personal development with economic and technical requirements
- a smooth transition between initial general education and vocational training

---

[151] http://www.hri.org/docs/Rome57/Part3Title02.html , (retrieved on 12 September 2007)
[152] http://www.hri.org/MFA/foreign/treaties/Rome57/3title8.txt , (retrieved on 12 Setember 2007).
[153] *Official Journal of the Communities,* 2 April 1963, qtd. in John Field, *European Dimensions: Education, training and the European Union,* Higher Education Policy Series 39. London and Philedelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998, pp. 25.

- information and guidance services for workers and young people

- suitable training for teachers and trainers, especially in the least favored regions of the common market

- the provision of data to the Commission on the future need for workers in certain sectors of the economy.

As well as collecting these data, the Resolution identified the Commission's responsibilities as being to propose measures for implementing a common policy and to encourage exchanges between vocational training specialists. As a supplement to these general principles, it also established a rule which has been maintained; Community action must be concerted action within the Member States and also with the social partners. It was this goal in mind that a Council decision was taken to set up the Advisory Committee on Vocational Training which was to provide, for the next thirty years, a forum of concertation, debate, consultation on the future action and orientations proposed by the Commission. This body is one of the foundations for Community action in these fields, something which distinguishes it from the others.[154]

Towards the end of the 1960s, the field of education went through expansion and democratization in many parts of Europe, higher education experienced a period of ferment and reform, and the vision of a European Community concerned primarily with traders and farmers began to be considered to be no longer fully satisfactory. There were calls for the area of education to be taken into account as a necessary addition to Community action in economic and social matters and, in particular, as requested by the European Parliament in October 1969, for the Europeanization of universities as the foundation for a genuine cultural community.[155] The European summit meeting in the Hague in December of that year stressed the importance of preserving an exceptional center of development, progress and culture in Europe and ensuring that young people were closely involved in it. The French Minister of Education, Olivier Guichard, made a clear call for cooperation between ministers at Community level and proposed the

[154] http://www. trainingvillage.gr/etu/Upload/Information_resources/Bookshop/135/3_en_demenceau.pdf , (retrieved on 12 Setember 2007)
[155] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 23

creation of a European center for the development of education.[156] In1971, a broad outline of an action program on vocational training was finally adopted. The same year, ministers of education met for the first time at Community level.[157]

The early 1970s witnessed a sudden upturn of interest in education and training. A number of factors led to this development. First, a number of Europe's politicians saw education as a means of creating the new European citizens of the future. This view was particularly widespread among the generation who were directly, personally influenced by the experience of war in Europe. Second, growing economic uncertainity among Europe's politicians, due to the 1973 oil crises, proved a rather more influential factor. The oil shock affected their sense of economic security. Like many Western nations, the member states started to question the extent to which education and vocational training were achieving their full potential in helping sustain the levels of growth that had helped fuel the prosperity of the post-war years. Stimulated largely by these economic disturbances, the 1970s witnessed a lively international debate over the contribution of education and training towards social and economic development.[158]

In 1971, the Commission set up an internal administrative structure to work on education issues (the 'teaching and education group'), reporting directly to the then Commissioner, Altiero Spinelli.[159] In 1972 nine states agreed to create the European University Institute (EUI), which opened in Florence four years later as a center for postgraduate teaching and research concentrated exclusively in the social sciences and humanities. It was created outside the Union's framework by agreement among the member states. Therefore, it is not an EU institution. As Kreher points out, it was partly because of the legal position of education in the Treaty and partly to secure the Institute's independence; it was created outside the Union's framework by agreement among the member states.[160]

2.1.2. 1974-1984: The founding years of cooperation

---

[156] http://eur-lex-europa.eu/Notice.do?mode=dbl&lang=en&ihmlang=en&lng2 , (retrieved on 13 September 2007).
[157] http://www.wun.ac.uk/cks/teaching/horizons/documents/date/corbett.pdf , pp.6 (retrieved on 13 September 2007)
[158] John Field, *European Dimensions: Education, training and the European Union,* Higher Education Policy Series 39. London and Philedelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998, pp. 28-29.
[159] http://www.wun.ac.uk/cks/teaching/horizons/documents/date/corbett.pdf , pp.6-7 (retrieved on 13 September 2007)
[160] http://www.iue.it/About/ , (retrieved on 13 September 2007).

In 1973, the 'teaching and education group' included a specific directorate for education and training. In 1974, it adopted a communication that was the starting point for consideration of the content of the future cooperation. On this basis, ministers adopted an important resolution defining the broad outline of future areas of cooperation and, above all, the principles that should underpin them: consideration of the specific interests of the area and of the diversity of national policies and systems, the harmonization of which cannot be goal in itself. An education committee was set up with responsibility for devising the planned measures. This long process led, in December 1975, to the approval by the Council and the ministers for education meeting in the Council of the first Community action program on education. This program was formally adopted by the Council through a resolution, which is a non-binding legal instrument, but one which demonstrated the political will of the member states to cooperate.[161] This resolution laid the foundations for the 1976 Action Program, and Community cooperation in the area of education. It contained seven priority areas for action:[162]

- improved training and education for nationals of other member states and their children
- promotion of closer relations between the member states' education systems
- compilation of educational documentation and statistics
- increased cooperation in higher education
- improved recognition of academic diplomas
- encouragement of freedom of movement and mobility of teachers, students and research workers
- equal opportunity for free access to all levels of education

[161] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.24

[162] http://www.wun.ac.uk/cks/teaching/horizons/documents/date/corbett.pdf , pp.7-8 (retrieved on 13 September 2007)

School education was also taken on board, thus making it possible to develop cooperation measures in this area, in which responsibility lay with the member states, with a view to its subsequent inclusion in the treaty.[163]

In 1976 education ministers decided to set up an information network as the basis for better understanding of educational policies and structures in the then nine-nation European Community. Community action – mainly involving transnational pilot projects, study visits, exchanges of information and experience and studies – initially focused on the problems of the transition of young people to working life, cooperation and exchanges between universities (especially joint study programs, which were to form the basis for the future Erasmus program), the education of the migrant workers and the exchange of information. The importance of the 1976 Action Program was that it marked an acceptance of education as a legitimate area of policy interest for the EU.[164]

However, conditions were not easy then. The lack of legal basis in the treaty continued to cause problems, culminating in an institutional 'crisis' that paralyzed cooperation for almost three years (from 1978 to 1980), with four Commission communications being blocked at that time (the European dimension in secondary education; teaching of foreign languages; admission of students from other member states to higher education; equal opportunities in education and training for girls). However, cooperation gradually took off again at the beginning of 1980s. The matters discussed and the proposals made from then onwards focused much more on the links with the Union's economic and social objectives. It was not just a matter of finding a solution to the 'crisis' of that time but also responding to the new challenges of the moment, in the face of growing unemployment, particularly among young people. In order to mark this change of direction and this closer relationship with the Community's economic and social development, the Commission decided in 1981 to incorporate into one and the same Directorate-General, the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Education, the departments dealing with education and vocational training that had previously been separate.[165]

---

[163] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.24.
[164] http://ec.europa.eu/educationpolicies/educ/education_en.htlm , (retrieved on 14 September 2007).
[165] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.24.

In sum, the first ten years of the implementation of the action program on education (1976-1984) were an important stage in the history of Community cooperation on education, despite the legal difficulties and modest resources. They engendered an original form of cooperation within the Community framework, which, in a way, was the first application of the principle of subsidiarity before it was defined and the first demonstration that it was possible, in a community that was on the path to integration, to cooperate in areas that were fundamental to the structure of nation states while fully respecting the diversity of national situations and the powers of member states. These years created the essential conditions for more significant subsequent progress, since, through the first measures that were conducted, the process was launched, carrying with it not only policy-makers but also increasingly mobilized circles of associations and a growing number of players on the ground that were keen to see Europe become involved.[166] Eurydice, the information network on education in Europe was also founded in 1980 and since then it has been one of the most strategic mechanisms established by the European Commission and member states to boost cooperation, by improving understanding of systems and policies.[167]

Vocational training was the starting point when the first action program was adopted. The Council adopted a decision with ten general principles for the development of a common policy in 1963. The Advisory Committee on Vocational Training (ACVT), which was set up in 1963, provided a forum for close cooperation with the social partners to improve the cooperation in this area. In 1971, a broad outline of an action program on vocational training was finally adopted. The same year, ministers of education met for the first time at Community level. The oil crisis in 1973 which caused a drastic rise in unemployment especially among young people, accelerated the cooperation between countries not only in vocational training systems, but also in the field of education with the projection of a solution for the problem. 'The European Center for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop), a quadripartite body was set up in 1975 on the basis of the first social action program adopted by the Council in 1974'.[168]

---

[166] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.26.
[167] http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/eurydice/index_en.html (retrieved on 14 September 2007).
[168] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31975R0337 , (retrieved on 14 September, 2007).

2.1.3. 1985-1992: Launch of the educational programs and the path towards recognition in the treaty

An important milestone was passed in the second half of the 1980s, with the launch of programs in the field of education and training that were diversified and increasingly large in scale. Comett was the first, followed by Erasmus, PETRA, 'Youth for Europe', Lingua, Eurotecnet and FORCE. They changed the scale of cooperation and its potential for acceptance in the various member states. They owed their existence to two major factors. Firstly, a Community climate that was increasingly favorable to measures close to the citizens. Political union was on the way to being relaunched; the European Council of Milan in 1985 approved the Adonnino report on the 'people's Europe', which underlined the role of education and culture; the social dialog was relaunched;[169] the Single European Act was adopted and the creation of the single market was under way; the emphasis was placed on freedom of movement for persons and on the importance of human resources in economic success and social cohesion in the Community.[170] Secondly, by its broad interpretation of the treaty, the Court of Justice brought higher education within the scope of the treaty in 1985 (Article 128 on vocational training) and allowed the Commission to table legal acts with greater scope in these areas.[171]

The judgment of the Court of Justice over the case of Gravier was an important instance to bring higher education within the scope of the treaty. In its judgment the Court ruled that:[172]

> any form of education which prepares for a qualification for a particular profession, trade or employment or which provides the necessary training and skills for such a profession, trade or employment is vocational training, whatever the age and the level of training of the pupils or students, and even if the training program includes an element of general training.[173]

---

[169] http://www.ena.lu/mce.cfm , (retrieved on 17 September 2007).
[170] http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/acta.htm, (retrieved on 17 september 2007).
[171] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.26.
[172] http://www.ena.lu/europen-union/judgement-court-justice-gravier-case-1985.htm , (retrieved on 18 September 2007)

This judgment became the legal basis on which the Council approved the European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) program whose purpose was to encourage university students to study, and lecturers to teach for short periods in another member state.[174]

With these programs adopted on the basis of Council decisions and accompanied by budgets out of all proportion to those available for the implementation of the first action program, cooperation on education, but also on initial and continuing vocational training accelerated. For Field, to a large extent, 'this higher profile for education simply reflected the drive towards the single market – a drive which was, generally speaking, supported vigorously by all twelve member states'.[175]

For the period between 1990-94, all the programs together accounted for more than ECU 1 billion, whereas the financing that has been foreseen 10 years earlier for the implementation of the first action program for the years 1980-84 amounted to ECU 14 million. Mobility, transnational partnerships and networks in key sectors for the development of the Union's human resources (cooperation between universities and enterprises; student mobility and cooperation between universities; initial training of young people; continuing vocational training; development of foreign language learning; actions for youth) were their main features. Their strength lay in the fact that they were implemented at the closest level to the education and training players on the ground and were effective catalysts and multipliers of the European dimension in education and training. Since they were hotbeds of transnational innovation and experimentation in Europe, they were increasingly cited as an example of what the Community could best do for its citizens in response to their expectations of a Europe closer to their needs.[176] Their experience in an initial phase of implementation that was to last until 1994 was precious when, following the historic events of 1989 in central and eastern Europe which ended the divisions of the Cold War,[177] the Commission proposed the Tempus program of

---

[174] http://ec.europa.eu/education/news/erasmus20_en.html, (retrieved on 17 September 2007).
[175] John Field, *European Dimensions: Education, Training and the European Union,* Higher Education Policy Series 39. London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998, pp. 39
[176] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006 pp. 26.

[177] http://www.cee-socialscience.net/1989/conference/impact_1989_on_europe.html, (retrieved on 3 October 2007).

assistance in the development and reform of higher education in the countries concerned, which were later to join the Union.[178]

The expansion and higher profile of Community cooperation on education and training through these programs also influenced the recognition and status of these areas within the Commission. The new Delors Commission in 1989 decided to set up a separate structure, namely the Task Force on Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth. This was not yet a fully fledged Directorate-General (which would be set up in 1995), but this move towards more independent handling of these areas was a significant step forward. [179]

However, the first programs, which were focused on higher education and vocational training, did not cover all the areas of cooperation. Actions continued to be developed outside the scope of the programs, especially in the area of school education systems (the same applied to higher education with the launch of the Jean Monnet action in 1990), but also in the area of equal opportunities. The crucial issue of the recognition of the diplomas for professional purposes which was necessary for the establishment of a genuine European employment market was also given a major boost with the establishment, following the European Council of Fontainebleau in 1984, of a more flexible system based on two directives that fundamentally changed the approach in this area. A system based on the harmonization of training was replaced by a system on mutual trust and comparability of training.[180] Academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study which was crucial for facilitating the mobility of students and teachers also underwent major changes with the incorporation into the Erasmus program of an initially experimental system of transfer credits (ECTS) that made it possible for the university of origin to recognize the period of study completed in an establishment in another member state. This system subsequently expanded under the Socrates program and became a key reference instrument for the implementation of the Bologna process.[181]

---

[178] http://ec.europa.education/programmes/tempus/back_en.html, (retrieved on 3 October 2007).
[179]European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006 pp. 26.
[180] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006 pp. 26.
[181]http://ec.europa/education/programmes/socrates/ects/index_en.html#3 (retrieved on 3 October 2007).

In terms of funding, between the years 1986 and 1991 the European Commission launched nine new education and training action programs with a combined budget of over a billion ECUs (see Annex 2)**.** In addition, at least eight of the new Community Initiatives developed within the Structural Funds from 1988 until 1992 had a substantial education and training dimension (see Annex 3).[182]

In the two years before the 1992 conference at Maastricht, the Commission prepared separate policy memoranda on open learning, vocational training and higher education; it also produced discussion papers on the future of the Community Initiatives and the European dimension in education. The period between the ratification of the Single European Act and the presentation of the Treaty on European Union saw education and training continue their rise up the policy agenda, concluding with their formal inclusion into the Treaty itself. Much of this activity achieved a little of lasting value other than awareness-raising.[183] However, its value was certainly demonstrated after 1992 when the process of European integration started to permeate the farthest reaches of the education and training system.[184]

In 1992, education finally gained the status it deserved by being incorporated into the Maastricht Treaty, Chapter 3 Education, Vocational Training and Youth Article 126:[185]

> 1. The Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.
>
> 2. Community action shall be aimed at:
>
> - developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States;
> - encouraging mobility of students and teachers, inter alia encouraging the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study;

---

[182] John Field, *European Dimensions: Education, Training and the European Union*, Higher Education Policy Series 39. London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998, pp. 48
[183] *Ibid.*
[184] http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/education_en.html, (retrieved on 3 October 2007)
[185] http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf, pp.28 (retrieved on 19 September 2007).

- promoting co-operation between educational establishments;
- developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States;
- encouraging the development of youth exchanges and of exchanges of socio-educational instructors;
- encouraging the development of distance education.

3. The Community and the Member States shall foster co-operation with third countries and the competent international organizations in the field of education, in particular the Council of Europe.

4. In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, the Council:

- acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189b, after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States;
- acting by a qualified majority on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations.

This was the result of the many years of work and mobilization of the players at all levels, following the adaptation of the resolution in 1976, and of the political will to clarify, after years of legal 'disputes', an area whose link with the Union's objectives was now recognized and established. It was a major symbolic achievement that strengthened the citizenship dimension of European integration including culture for the first time, but the scope of Community action was now defined very precisely. The terms of the treaty reflected the cooperation that had prevailed until then, which meant that the action of the Community was intended to support and supplement the action of the member states. Such action fully respected the responsibility of the member states for the content of education, the organization of education systems and cultural and linguistic diversity. All harmonization was ruled out. The inclusion of school education as well was a major step forward. The fact that the Court of Justice broadly interpreted the concept of 'vocational training' under Article

128 of the Treaty of Rome also led the member states to clarify the terms of their cooperation in this area in Article 127 of the Maastricht Treaty. [186] Article 127 clearly states that: [187]

> 1. The Community shall implement a vocational training policy which shall support and supplement the action of the Member States, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content and organization of vocational training.
>
> 2. Community action shall aim to:
>
> - facilitate adaptation to industrial changes, in particular through vocational training and retraining;
> - improve initial and continuing vocational training in order to facilitate vocational integration and reintegration into the labour market;
> - facilitate access to vocational training and encourage mobility of instructors and trainees and particularly young people;
> - stimulate co-operation on training between educational or training establishments and firms;
> - develop exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the training systems of the Member States.
>
> 3. The Community and the Member States shall foster co-operation with third countries and the competent international organizations in the sphere of vocational training.
>
> 4. The Council, acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189c and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee, shall adopt measures to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, excluding any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States.

As stated definitively, there was no mentioning of a 'common policy' in Article 127. It was replaced by a Community vocational training policy which was designed to support and

---

[186] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 27.
[187] http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf , pp. 29 (retrieved on 19 September 2007).

supplement the action of the member states, while fully respecting the responsibility of the member states for the content and organization of systems, as in the case of education.

The Maastricht Treaty made the European Parliament joint decision-maker on future measures in the area of education, on an equal footing with the Council.[188] This was a major democratic step forward, which had an impact on the negotiation of future programs and their budgetary funding, since Parliament had always actively supported the development of Community cooperation on education and training.[189] In addition, a second advisory institution was set up – the Committee of the Regions – alongside the European Economic and Social Committee that had been set up in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome. Given the role of the regions in the development of education and training, this new body meant that this area was supported and represented at a greater extend at Community level. [190]

2.1.4. 1993-1999: Rise of the concepts of the knowledge-based society and streamlining of the programs

From 1993 onwards, the first year which the single market was implemented, cooperation on education and training entered a new phase. An important milestone had just been reached with the incorporation of education into the Maastricht Treaty the year before. However, the newly established Union was already faced with new challenges, which meant that it had to prepare for far-reaching changes.[191] The first challenge was internal in nature and unprecedented in scope. It was to prepare for the largest enlargement in the history of the Community, but also the most symbolic because it involved the reunification of the continent.[192] The second challenge was the rise of globalization and the development of the information society. In the 1990s, the concepts of 'knowledge-based society' and 'lifelong learning' became ever more prominent in speeches. These years of reflection on these new challenges facing the education and training systems prepared the ground for the European Council of Lisbon in March 2000. [193]

---

[188] http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf , pp. 29 (retrieved on 19 September 2007).
[189] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 27- 28.
[190] http://europa.eu/institutions/consultative/cor/index_en.htm, (retrieved on 19 september 2007).
[191] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 27- 28.
[192] http://www.politics.co.uk/issue-briefs/europe/eu-structure/eu-enlargement/eu-enlargement-$366702.htm, (retrieved on 19 September 2007)
[193] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg:

Jacques Delor's 1993 White Paper on growth, competitiveness and employment played a major role. It put considerable emphasis on education and training systems. By pointing out their twofold mission of promoting individual development and social cohesion, and of supporting employment-intensive growth, it stressed the vital role that the systems would have to play in the emergence of a new model of development in the Community.[194]

However, the emphasis on education and training systems and the changes in status did not greatly alter the EU's financial support for education and training. The proportion of total EU spending which was allocated to education, training and youth fell after 1992. Even in 1992 which witnessed both the Maastricht conference and the completion of the single market, the share devoted to education and training represented considerably less that half of one percent of the EU's total annual spending (see Annex 4).[195]

On this basis, the Commission perused the process of reflection in another White Paper entitled 'Teaching and learning – towards the learning society', which was adopted in 1995. This White Paper helped to raise the politicians' and players' awareness of the challenges that were faced by the education and training systems and what it termed 'factors of upheaval': internationalization, the information society and the scientific and technological world. It stresses the need for lifelong learning and the development of skills, and broke with the traditional division between education and training.[196] The 1990s were thus characterized by an increasingly common approach of education and training issues in order to meet the need for permanent renewal of knowledge and skills. Pilot projects such as; voluntary service for young people, second-chance schools and educational software which were developed on the basis of this White Paper were the starting point for measures that subsequently gained importance. The organization of the European Year of Lifelong Learning in 1996 was another way for the Commission to support the necessary changes. [197]

Another priority of the 1990s was to strengthen and improve the diversified programs set up in the second half of the 1980s because they were due to end in 1994. They were

---

Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 28.
[194] http://europe.eu/documentscommwhite_paperspdf, pp.5, (retrieved on 20 September 2007).
[195] John Field, *European Dimensions: Education, Training and the European Union*, Higher Education Policy Series 39. London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998, pp. 67.
[196] http://europe.eu/documentscommwhite_paperspdf, pp.5-7, (retrieved on 20 September 2007).
[197] http://europe.eu/documentscommwhite_paperspdf, pp.40-42, (retrieved on 20 September 2007).

consolidated in two stages. The first, covering the period from 1995 to 1999, was more quantitative than qualitative. The six existing programs were merged into two large programs; Socrates for education and Leonardo da Vinci for vocational training. Socrates retained the mark of the former measures as well as including new measures, especially in the area of school education (Comenius), following the incorporation of this level of education into the treaty. Preparations for the second transformation began in 1997 in order to renew Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci for the period 2000-20006. This transformation sought to respond more effectively to the challenge of the knowledge-based Europe by extending the scope of the measures (e.g. adult education through the new Grundtvig action) to promote lifelong learning and to build up a Europe of knowledge. It also provided a move towards greater consistency between education and training and simplified the management of the actions, which was requested in successive evaluations.[198] However, it was not until the fourth generation of programs that was proposed by the Commission in 2004 for (2007-2013) that more significant progress on cooperation and mobility could be envisaged so that education and training systems become a world quality reference, thus, contributing to the development of the community as an advanced knowledge-based society with sustainable economic development, more and better jobs, and greater social cohesion.[199] In the 1990s, the new programs that were set up continued to be emblematic of cooperation between the member states of the Union in the area of education and training and in the area of youth policy. These were the first Community programs to be opened up, back in 1997, to the countries of eastern and central Europe, Cyprus and Malta. It is not unimportant that it was through the programs directly targeted at the citizens that these countries developed their first forum for cooperation within the Union, which they were later to join.[200]

Political cooperation developed outside the programs as well, especially in the second half of the 1990s, following the impetus given by White Paper on the learning society in 1995 and the European Year of Lifelong Learning in 1996.[201] It gradually entered areas such as development of indicators and evaluation of quality which had previously been considered to be sensitive and sought greater continuity through better planning. The end of the decade was marked by the Sorbonne declaration of 1998, in which several ministers called for

[198] http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/generalen.pdf, (retrieved on 21 September 2007), pp.2.
[199] http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11082.htm , (retrieved on 21 September 2007).
[200] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 29.
[201] http://www.europe.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en.pdf (retrieved on 22 September 2007).

harmonization of the structures of European higher education in order to make it more compatible and competitive and to establish a genuine European higher education area. Such an intergovernmental initiative took root in the ground of more than 20 years of cooperation on higher education within the Community framework.[202] It led in the following year 1999 to launch, by 29 European countries, of the Bologna process, which was certainly the most important attempt to achieve convergence between the systems of higher education in Europe. Bologna changed the paradigm; it was no longer simply a question of mobility and cooperation, but rather of convergence between systems. [203]

The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999, adopted by 29 countries aims *inter alia* at making divergent higher education systems converge towards a more transparent system by 2010, based on three cycles: Degree/Bachelor, Master and Doctorate. It initiates the Bologna process, which is designed to introduce a system of academic degrees that easy to read and compare, to promote the mobility of students, teachers and researchers, to ensure quality in education and to take into account the European dimension of higher education. The process will end in 2010.[204]

It involves six actions relating to: [205]

- a system of academic degrees which are easy to read and compare. It includes the diploma supplement in order to improve transparency;
- a system based essentially on two cycles: first cycle geared to the employment market and lasting at least three years and a second cycle (Master) conditional upon the first cycle;
- a system of accumulation and transfer of credits of the ECTS type used in the Socrates-Erasmus exchange scheme;
- mobility of students, teachers and researchers: elimination of all obstacles to the freedom of movement;

[202] http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Sorbonne_declaration.pdf pp.1 (retrieved on 22 September 2007).
[203] http://aei.dest.gov.au/AEI/GovernmentActivities/BolognaProcess/BolognaDec_pdf.pdf , pp. 1-4, (retrieved on 22 september 2007)
[204] http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/DOCS/00-Main_doc/990719BOLOGNA_DECLARATION.PDF , (retrived on 24 July 2007)
[205] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, (retrieved on 24 July 2007).

- the European dimension of higher education: expand at all levels on modules, teaching and study areas where the content, guidance or organization has a European dimension.

The Bologna Declaration anticipated the direction of the new economic and social strategy that the Heads of State or Government were to adopt in March 2000 in Lisbon.

2.1.5. 2000-2010: Education and training and the economic and social strategy of the Union for 2010

The first five years of the new century were rich in major events for European integration. Firstly, the adoption in March 2000 of a new economic, social and environmental strategy for the Union up to 2010 (the Lisbon strategy), which put education and training at the forefront of work to achieve the Europe of knowledge, followed by enlargement of the Union in May 2004 to include 10 new member states, symbolizing the historic unification of the continent. These events made the context increasingly favourable for areas such as education and training that affect citizens' lives directly.[206] From then on, investment in human resources and knowledge was considered to be one of the essential conditions for guaranteeing the economic vitality and social cohesion of the Union. This acknowledgement was the result of a process of fine-tuning lasting several years, but also of external events such as pressure of globalization and technological development, which at the beginning of this century, required large-scale collective action. In the words of Barroso 'the EU'S raison d'etre for the 21st century is crystal clear: to equip Europe for a globalized world and the Lisbon strategy for growth and jobs is at the heart of Europe's response to globalization'.[207] Looking ahead to enlargement, the measures to bring the peoples of Europe together also took on a new meaning.

It was the strategy adopted in Lisbon in March 2000 which brought the greatest changes to cooperation in the area of education and training. For the first time, a single integrated framework for policy cooperation was adopted by the Education Council.[208] The development of this framework created the conditions for the Commission to propose, in

[206] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 30.
[207] http://ec.europa.eu/growthandjobs/index_en.htm, (retrieved on 30 October 2007).
[208] http://ec.europa/education/policies/2010/et_2010_en.html , (retrieved on 30 October 2007).

2004, that the fourth generation of Community programs stretching from 2007 to 2013 should also reflect the integration of education and training measures through a single program devoted to lifelong learning and the policy objectives established under the Lisbon Strategy. This was also the background against which a new program (Youth in action) was proposed for the area of youth policy which aims to inspire a sense of European citizenship among the youth of Europe and to involve them in constructing the future of the Community.[209] The six programs excluding Tempus in the area of education and training at the end of the 1980s were reduced to two (one for each area) in the 1990s and, finally, in 2004, to one proposal for an integrated program. In terms of the budget granted for the third generation of education programs, the percentage of the money allocated to education has reached 0.6%. The proposal put forward by the Commission for 2007-2013 should make it possible to exceed the symbolic threshold of 1% (see Annex 5) and to increase the involvement of the citizens significantly.[210]

By the impetus given by the Lisbon strategy, the area of education and training was, from then on, considered to be of key importance, alongside employment, the economy and research, for the economic and social success of the Union. Reform of the universities in the framework of the Lisbon strategy the Commission focused on three pillars:[211]

- university initiative;
- national enabling action, by urging the member states to deregulate so as to allow universities to reform;
- European support.

The Lisbon strategy was designed to make the Union the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world with sronger growth, creating jobs and favoring social and environmental policies leading to sustainable development and grater social cohision by 2010. It recommended modernizing the systems of education and training, and the Heads of State or Government pointed out that these systems had to become a world quality reference by 2010. This strategy led those responsible for cooperation in the area of education and training to agree, for the first time, on common objectives to be achieved by

[209] http://ec.europa.eu/youth/yia/index_en.html , (retrieved on 30 October 2007).
[210] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, Anex 2, pp. 368
[211] http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11078.htm (retrieved on 26 July 2007)

2010 and a work program for their implementation. The framework for policy cooperation that was set up accordingly (Education and training 2010 work program) became the reference point for all education and training actions, which from then on were tackled in an integrated manner in the name of the unifying principle of lifelong learning. The Education Council adopted five European quantified targets, which made the objectives that were fixed by common accord more concrete.[212] The area of education and training applies the new working method (the 'open method of coordination') proposed by the heads of state or government in Lisbon. It promotes convergence between systems and monitoring of progress. By counting on agreement on common objectives for the Union, translation of the EU objectives into national/regional policies, effective exchange of good learning and practices between member states, the development of indicators for measuring progress and peer learning, this method goes beyond the rolling agenda foreseen by the ministers of education in 1999. This method continues to have considerable potential to bring about greater quality and effectiveness of all the European systems of education and training in full compliance with the principle of subsidiarity.[213]

At European level, the first years of implementation of the 'Education and training 2010' work program laid the foundations for cooperation through diversified working groups bringing together national experts and the partners concerned. Practices and experience on the common objectives adopted by ministers were exchanged; indicators for monitoring progress were defined and European references for supporting national reforms on key competences, teacher competences and qualifications, efficiency of investment, lifelong guidance, and validation of non-formal learning, quality assurance and mobility were produced. Through this work, it was possible to envisage the development in 2005-2006 of a European qualifications framework, an essential instrument for supporting genuine mobility and a genuine European employment market. However, as for the Lisbon strategy as a whole, the process continued to depend largely on the willingness and commitment of the member states to take account, at national level, of the common objectives that they had fixed for themselves at European level.[214] In its communication report of November 2003, the Commission produced an initial evaluation report making the points; many reforms were conducted in all countries, but they were no match for the challenges faced; the Union

[212] http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_215_en.pdf, (retrieved on 30 October 2007), pp.4.
[213] http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/social_inclusion/index_en.htm, (retrieved on 30 October 2007).
[214] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.31.

continued to lag behind its main competitors on the international stage in the areas related to the knowledge-based society; the greater of public and private investment required in human resources was forthcoming. It stated that 'despite the growing awarness among different HE groups, the reforms have yet to reach the majority of the HE grass-roots representatives who are supposed to implement them and give them concrete meaning'.[215] The same report also noted that onl 47% of universities and only 29,5% of other HEIs have created the position of a Bologna coordinator.The Commission called on the member states to accelerate the pace of reforms.[216]

The same message was repeated in the joint report of the Council and the Commission of 2004. The report called for future action to focus on greater and more effective investment in the priority areas for the knowledge-based society, on the implementation in all the member states of comprehensive, coherent strategies for lifelong learning by 2006 and on the development of the European education and training area, especially by the establishment of a European qualifications framework and the development of the European dimension in education.[217] The report also recognized the need for closer collective monitoring of national progress towards the objectives set under the 'Education and training 2010' work program. A report was to be drawn up every two years by the Council and the Commission to the European Council, thus keeping the political focus on these areas at the highest level, highlighting their needs and their place in the process and strengthening the dialogue between decision makers and players at all levels on the development of national education and training policies within the Union.[218]

In conclusion, since the adoption of the first action program up to the present, Community cooperation on education and training has finally become an integrated program with the aim of achieving a European area of lifelong learning. However, it can be said that in order to strengthen the economic vitality of the Union as well as its social cohesion and the involvement of its citizens, investment in human resources through education and training should continue if a united, citizens' Europe is desired. Education and training, like culture, can enable the construction of common European values and ideals among its peoples. After

---

[215] http://www.eua.be/fileadmin/user_upload/files/EUA1_documents/Trends2003final.1065011164859.pdf, pp.8, (retrieved on 31 October 2007).
[216] http://www.eua.be/fileadmin/user_upload/files/EUA1_documents/Trends2003final.1065011164859.pdf, pp.25, (retrieved on 31 October 2007).
[217] http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/doc/jir_council_final.pdf, pp.4, (retrieved on 31 October 2007).
[218] http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/doc/jir_council_final.pdf, pp.6, (retrieved on 31 October 2007).

the most significant enlargement of its history in 2004, reuniting peoples of Europe is more important than ever. It can only truly happen if a feeling of belonging to Europe generates in the minds and hearts of the peoples of Europe. In this respect, the role of education and the building of a 'European education space' are vitally important. Larger numbers of young people and adults will be in contact with each other in this space and feel involved in the project.

2.2. THE KEY ACTORS OF THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SPACE

The key actors of the European education space consist of two types: institutional and international governmental and non-governmental. In this section, types of actors, their responsibilities, actions, contribution to this space as well as their cooperation with each other will be analyzed.

2.2.1. Institutions

Institutions are important actors of the 'European education space' which have played a pivotal role in the construction of this space. They take action in cooperation with the other European international governmental and non-governmental organizations that function within this area.

2.2.1.1. The Council of the European Union

In accordance with the Treaty of Rome and the Maastricht Treaty, the Council of the European Union is empowered to adopt 'incentive measures' and Recommendations in the field of education and training. [219]

Starting with the adoption of a decision establishing the 10 general principles in 1963 for the development of a common vocational training policy[220], the Council has played an important role in the development of the European education policy together with the other actors of the field such as the Parliament and the Commission up until the present. Besides the adoption of the decisions and resolutions establishing the action programs, in the declarations

[219] Bainbridge, B., *The Penguin Companion to European Union.* London: the Penguin Group, 2002, pp.48
[220] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.56

of the summits, the Council drew attention to education and the need for cooperation in the field of education.[221]

In the first years of the Community, for example, in the Bonn-Bad Godesberg summit on 18 July 1961, the Heads of State or Government spoke in their solemn declaration of 'giving shape to the wish for political union' and of the 'emergence of a true cultural community'. They pointed out that "cooperation between the Six must go beyond the political framework itself: it will in particular extend to include the fields of education, culture and research, where it will be coordinated through regular
meetings of the ministers involved".[222] In 1969 at the European summit at the Hague, the heads of state or government stressed the importance of maintaining an exceptional source of development, progress and culture in Europe and on the fact that the success of future action to foster European growth would be all the greater if young people were closely involved in it. [223]

1970s were almost a turning point in national attitudes toward the future shape of the Community and the balance between its objectives and its mandate; a shift from a common market to the much larger idea of the Community.[224] Therefore, the summit in 1972 was, in this respect, an important occasion. It focused on the human dimension of Community integration and, in particular, a decision was taken to set up the first Community social action program. Even though no reference was made to education as such, the final communiqué adopted by the Heads of State or Government underlined that economic expansion could not be an end in itself and that it must bring an improvement in citizens' living conditions. The first meeting of the ministers for education at Community level on 16 November 1971 was an important step although it was not yet a recognized configuration within the Council of the European Communities. The resolution that they adopted was simply a 'resolution of the ministers for education' approved on an intergovernmental basis by 'the ministers for

---

[221] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/cms3fo/showPage.asp?id=2428&lang=EN&mode=g, (retrieved on 1 October 2007).
[222] Gerbet, Pierre, *La construction de l'Europe,* Imprimerie nationale, Paris,1983, qtd. in European European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.55
[223] http://www.ena.lu/mce.cfm, (retrieved on 1 October 2007).
[224] Jones, Hywel Ceri, 'L'education et la Communaute europeene', *Revue d'action social,* No 2, March 1984, pp. 31, pp.61, qtd. in European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.61

education representing the member states meeting with the Council'. [225] It was only as of the first action program, formally adopted in 1976, that the Council texts bore the mark of their commitment within the Community framework: they were henceforth issued by 'the Council and the ministers for education meeting within the Council', thus reflecting the 'mixed' nature (Community and intergovernmental) of the acts adopted.[226] However, "the most important result was the confirmation of the interest in and need to establish cooperation in the field of national education and to deal with education problems at Community level and within that framework".[227] Indeed, the ministers agreed that it was important to supplement the provisions of the Treaty of Rome concerning the right of establishment and vocational training through increased cooperation in the field of education.[228]

The resolution of 1976 specified which activities should be conducted at member state level and which concerned the Community level, thus, revealing the 'mixed' nature of the cooperation and the fields of action for which cooperation was possible.[229]

Within the framework of the resolution of 1976, the Education Committee was also formally established by the Council as proposed by the Commission in its communication in 1974. The Committee worked within the framework of the Council.[230]

2.2.1.1.1. The Education Committee

The Education Committee is composed of representatives from the Member States and from the Commission and is presided over by the country which has the presidency of the Council of the European Union. Among its functions is the preparation of decisions by the EU Ministers of Education Council.[231]

---

[225] http://eur_lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!celexnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=4197X0820&model_guichett , (retrieved on 2 October 2007)

[226] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.63

[227] *Bilan et perspectives de l'activite du groupe 'Enseignement et education',* communication from Commissioner A.Spinelli to the members of the Commission, 24 November 1972, SEC(72) 4250 in European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.64

[228] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.64

[229] See pp.7.

[230] http://eurlex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=41974X0820&model=guichett, (retrieved on 1 October 2007).

[231] http://www.eu2007.min-edu.pt/np4/en/84.htlm (retrieved on 1 October 2007)

The Education Committee which was established by the Council in 1976 established the first action program. Even though it functioned from the start as any other specialized Council group, this committee was the first of its kind at Community level. Its originality was directly linked to the very 'mixed' nature of Community action in the field of education. In fact, cooperation stemmed above all from the political will of the Member States to work together within the Community framework in a non-binding manner in a field that was not then directly covered by the treaty, and for which competence remained at national level. The Education Committee was the reflection of this special situation characterizing the field of education. As Hywel Ceri Jones stated at the annual conference of the International Confederation of Public Servants in Luxembourg in 1988, it was unique in the machinery of the Community and it was the only committee under the level of the COREPER, where the Commission as well as the Member States is a member of a Council group. It was in effect designed as a structure to safeguard the rich diversity of educational systems and to avoid any notion of harmonization.[232]

The Education Committee therefore included representatives from both the Member States and the European Commission. The title chosen for the committee by the Commission was *European Committee for Cooperation in Education.* This committee was assisted in its work by officials from the Council secretariat. COREPER played the role of filter before each Council meeting, but the work of the Committee that preceded it was essential to the process of cooperation, its deepening and the move towards consensus. The Education Committee was an important forum for discussion and consultation between Member states, in close collaboration with the Commission. Its driving influence on cooperation in general was very important and deepened on the quality of the working relationship between all the parties involved.[233]

In sum, it can be said that until 1992 when the Education Committee finally found its place in the treaty, it functioned as a forum where political sensitivity related to Community intervention in education were expressed the most. It also provided a continuous and progressive cooperation in the field of education.

---

[232] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.88

[233] http://aei.pitt.edu/5593/01/002294_1.pdf, pp.18, (retrieved on 2 October 2007).

2.2.1.2. The European Commission

The European Commission has played an active and important role in the field of education by the way of its administrative, executive, legislative and judicial activities and responsibilities. It had the immediate support of the European Parliament from the start. "Very general political declarations in favor of Community-level involvement in the cultural and educational aspects of Europe would not trigger any real action if the Commission had not started to play an active role in this field".[234]

In the 1970s with the change in national attitudes towards the future shape of the Community related to its citizens' living conditions, the Commission started to draw attention to cooperation in the field of education among the Member States. In its communication to the Council of March 1974, the Commission stated that:[235]

> In all member states, education policy is of high importance both intrinsically and in relation to national economic and social development. The Commission believes that the promotion of educational cooperation within the framework of the European Community is of equal importance as an integral part of the overall development of the Community.

In the same communication, the Commission also laid emphasis on mobility, the academic recognition of diplomas, cooperation between institutions of higher education, modern languages, the exchange of information through a European network, and education for the children of the migrant workers. This communication of the Commission was the start of the political reflection on the content and methods for future Community cooperation in the field of education.[236]

In 1980s, the Commission's role in the field of education and training accelerated under the presidency of Jacques Delors. The Commission helped to raise the awareness of the decision-

---

[234] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.62
[235] http://aei.pitt.edu/5593/01/002294_1.pdf, (retrieved on 2 October 2007).
[236] http://aei.pitt.edu/5593/01/002294_1.pdf, (retrieved on 2 October 2007).

makers and the education sector about the challenges facing the Member States and the Community after completion of the single market mainly in three key areas:[237]

- open and distance learning
- higher education
- vocational training

The Commission also used the debates and their results to prepare the next generation of Community programs on education, training and youth.

However, one of the most important changes that the Commission under Jacques Delors made was the separation of the areas. From 1973 to 1981 education had been included within the remit of the Directorate-General for Research, Science and Education; in 1981 it had been incorporated, alongside vocational training and youth, into a specific Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs. In 1989, the Commission separated these areas from social affairs and employment providing them the autonomous status and a higher profile with the creation of the Task Force for Human Resources.[238]

Jacques Delors also relaunched the social dialogue at a meeting of the social partners (UNICE, CEEP and ETUC) organized by the Commission which was later adopted by all member states except the United Kingdom and annexed to the Maastricht Treaty. It gave an impetus to social dialog which led to the adoption of a joint opinion on education and training in January 1990 emphasizing the importance of high quality basic education and initial vocational training which would be accessible to all young people that would lead to recognized qualifications conductive to employment. As a result of the work of the social dialog group, three other opinions were adopted relating to the European area of freedom of professional movement, the transition of young people from school to adult and working life and ways of facilitating the broadest possible effective access to training opportunities between the years 1990-1993. On this basis, the Commission supported the implementation of a social dialog support system which immensely contributed to the cooperation in the field of education.[239]

---

[237] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg:Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.76
[238] http://www.cofund.org.pl/bkkk/eng/bkkk_eng.html, (retrieved on 2 October 2007).
[239] http://ww.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/4_8_6_en.htm, (retrieved on 1 October 2007).

The agreements concluded by the social partners opened the way for relations based on agreement at European level. The social dialog was given another boost in the Lisbon European Council in 2000.[240] The social group made life-long learning and the various forms of learning one of its main concerns which helped to further the Lisbon strategy.

The Task Force was subsequently given the status of a directorate-general in January 1995, when a new Commission took office and after the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. It had the same responsibilities and became Directorate-General (XXII) for Education, Training and Youth. The administrative strengthening at regular intervals of the education, training and youth fields within the European Commission was supported by the European Parliament. This was in line with the Commission's desire to make the role of European citizens in European integration more visible within the Commission's structure. Culture was added to the remit of Directorate-General XXII and it became the Directorate-General for Education and Culture (EAC).[241] Since then, it is the main body within the Commission which functions in the field.

2.2.1.2.1. Directorate-General for Education and Culture

Its mission is to reinforce and promote lifelong learning, linguistic and cultural diversity, mobility and the engagement of European citizens, in particular the young. It works in the fields of Education and Training, Youth, Culture, Citizenship, Multilingualism and Sport, each having its own target and actions:[242]

- Education and Training: actions aimed at supporting education and training for all age groups
- Youth: policies and programs targeted to young people

[240] http://studyvisits.cedefop.europa.eu/assets/upload/documentation/social_partners/Lisbon2006SineadTiernanETUC.pdf, (retrieved on 2 October 2007).
[241] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg:Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 107
[242] http://www.ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/index_en.html (retrieved on 2 October 2007)

- Culture: Culture Program and other actions to promote cultural area common to European peoples while preserving their national and regional diversity
- Citizenship: promoting active European citizenship and bringing Europe closer to its citizens through support to town twinning and partnerships with civil society as well as visits to the European Commission.
- Multilingualism: promoting language learning and linguistic diversity
- Sport: sport related issues and follow up of the 2004 European Year of education through sport, as well as preparation for a future European action on sport.

2.2.1.3. The European Parliament

The European Parliament is one of the key institutional actors in the development of the Community, not only on account of its elections by universal suffrage, but also because of its constantly growing participation in the EU legislative process and its budgetary authority. It is elected by the citizens of the European Union to represent their interests. Its origins go back to the 1950s and the founding treaties, and since 1979 its members have been directly elected by the people they represent.[243]

Within the framework of the annual budgetary procedures, it has consistently sought to increase the appropriations earmarked for education. It has always had a keen interest in education, particularly through its Committee on Culture, Youth, Education and the Media and its Committee on Social Affairs for issues relating to vocational training. This keen interest has always been reflected on its own initiative reports on specific or general aspects of cooperation and its opinions on proposals for action submitted by the Commission. The Maastricht Treaty strengthened the overall legislative authority of the European Parliament, which henceforth had the power of co-decision with the Council in a growing number of fields in which it had previously played only a consultative role. This was the case of education.[244]

The implementation of this new co-decision procedure, applied for the first time for the adoption of the Socrates program in 1995, was rather unwieldy. Several readings were required as well as a conciliation procedure in the event of disagreement between the two

[243] http://europa.eu/institutions/inst/pariament/index_en.htm (retrieved on 2 October 2007)
[244] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 148

parties. Nevertheless, it represented a step forward in the democratic functioning of the European Union. Indeed, co-decision helped rebalance between the Parliament and the Council and resulted in more favorable agreements, particularly financially, than if the Council were to have decided alone. The support that the Parliament had always provided in the education and training sector, combined with its newly increased decision-making powers, made it an increasingly important ally for the Commission.[245]

2.2.1.3.1. The Committee on Culture, Youth, Education and the Media

The Committee on Culture, Youth, Education and Media is a committee of the European Parliament. It aims at increasing the opportunities for education in all member states of the European Union. It mainly focuses on the safeguarding of cultural heritage, cultural exchange and the Union's education policy both in school education systems and life-long learning programs. It has developed an audio-visual policy in connection with educational information systems. Its youth policy promotes the development of sports and leisure activities among the young. It also promotes cooperation with third countries in the areas of culture and education and relations with the relevant international organizations and institutions. Major political groups such as the Part of European Socialists, the European People's Party, The European Free Alliance and Democrats for Europe are also represented in this committee.[246]

2.2.1.4. The Committee of the Regions

The Maastricht Treaty introduced another new element: the Committee of the Regions, a new consultative EU institution. The Committee of the Regions, which was established in 1994, is the voice of the regional and local authorities in the European Union and its actions therefore reflect citizens concerns and interests. The European Council and the European Commission are obliged to consult the Committee when new proposals are made in sectors that have repercussions at regional or local level. Under the terms of the Maastricht Treaty, these sectors are principally economic and social cohesion, trans-European networks, public health, and also education and culture. The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) added employment policy, social policy, the environment, vocational training and transport.[247] The Committee of

---

[245] *Ibid*
[246] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/cult_home_en.htm (retrieved on 2 October 2007)
[247] http://www.cor.europa.eu/en/presentation/fact_sheet.htm, (retrieved on 2 October 2007).

Regions can draft opinions on its own initiative. Community efforts to promote strategies for lifelong education and training in the EU are of special interests to the Committee.[248]

The involvement of the regions in this field played a crucial role in ensuring the concrete implementation of these strategies, the participation of the various stakeholders concerned and the development of partnerships. The Committee thus gave its full support to the launch of the pilot projects with the aim of developing networks between 'learning' regions and cities. It took a stance on the development of European benchmarks as part of the implementation of the Lisbon strategy and on the new programs such as the Erasmus Mundus, proposed for education and training.[249] Although the Committee welcomed the Commission's proposals in the field of education and training, it often underlined the need for greater recognition of the role of the regional and local authorities in the development of this field.[250]

2.2.2. Other European International Governmental and Non-governmental Organizations

In addition to the institutions, there are international intergovernmental and non-intergovernmental organizations functioning as important actors in the European education space. They work in cooperation with the institutions promoting the construction of the European Area of Higher Education and increasing the impetus in the field of education and training given by the institutions. The Council of Europe is specifically worth note of since it is the first organization to provide the appropriate arena for development of cooperation in the field of education, training and culture in Europe.

2.2.2.1. The Council of Europe

[248] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2002/c_278/c_27820021114en00260029.pdf, pp.1, (retrieved on 2 October 2007).
[249] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2003/c_244/c_24420031010en00500053.pdf, pp.2, (retrieved on 2 October 2007).
[250] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.149

After the World War II, the Council of Europe was considered to be the appropriate arena for the development of European cooperation in the field of education and culture. As the European Community did not in its early years take an interest in these issues, the Council of Europe remained the main player in European cooperation in education for more than 20 years. One of the first important steps was the opening for signature on December 1954 of the first European cultural convention which became the framework for all Council activities in the field of education and culture, managed by the Council of Cultural Cooperation (CDCC) that was set up in January 1962.[251]

After the first convention, several other conventions were held in the field of education dealing with the recognition of qualifications or similar matters, which will in due time all be replaced by the Lisbon Recognition Convention. These conventions are: [252]

- European Convention on the Equivalence of Diplomas leading to Admission to Universities (1953, ETS No.15) and its Protocol (1964, ETS No.49),
- European Convention the Equivalence of Periods of University Study (1956, ETS no.21),
- European Convention on the Academic Recognition of University Qualifications (1959, ETS No. 32),
- International Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in the Arab and European bordering on the Mediterranean (1976),
- Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and degrees concerning Higher Education in the States belonging to the European Region (1976),
- European Convention on the General Equivalence of Periods of University Study (1990, ETS No.138).

It was within the framework of the Council of Europe (in 1953, 1956 and 1959) that the first European conventions concerning the equivalence of university diplomas and study periods were developed.

---

[251] http://www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/PartialAgr/Html/Health6140htm, (retrieved on 27 September 2007).
[252] http://www.coe.int/T/DG4/Higher Education/Resources/Conventions_EN.asp (retrieved on 27 September 2007)

The first meeting that was extended to include all the signatory countries of the European Cultural Convention was held in Hamburg in 1961. The Standing Conference of European Ministers for Education was the first of the specialized ministerial conferences of the Council of Europe to be held on a regular basis. During these meetings, a general report on European cooperation in the field of education was presented, covering the actions carried out not only by the Council of Europe but also by UNESCO, the OECD, the Nordic Council of Ministers for Education, EFTA and the European Commission, as soon as it became involved in the field of education. [253]

Over the 20 years preceding Community involvement in the field of education, a pattern and a culture of cooperation developed within the framework of the Council of Europe between the member states and also between European experts in the field and non-governmental organizations representing the interests of the education sector and civil society. The quality of the Council of Europe's work, particularly its studies and reflection work, helped to increase mutual understanding between the stakeholders in education in Europe and to build a culture of cooperation between them that would be beneficial for the future launch of cooperation at Community level. However, its secretariat had the difficult task of carrying through an action made increasingly complex by the growing challenges for education, with the involvement of an increasing number of European countries and limited political and financial sources. Consequently, campaigns towards the end of the 1960s started for a commitment from the European Community in the field of education, so as to anchor this sector more firmly in the developments and the deepening of Europe as a community. [254]

In sum, the Council of Europe opened up several important sectors, such as adult education, lifelong learning, languages as well as higher education, fields in which the European Community became very active later. Cooperation between the Community and the Council of Europe were in the fields of languages and higher education. In order to plan and organize this cooperation, regular meetings were held between the secretariat of the Council of Europe and that of the European Commission. This cooperation was to become more politically

[253] http://www.coe.int/t/e/cultural_co-operation/education/standing_conferences/y.2ndsession_hamburg1961.asp#TopOfPage, (retrieved on 27 September 2007).
[254] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp. 50-51.

visible in the 1990s with the organization of a meeting, during several presidencies, between the Education Committee of the European Council and the Council of Europe to discuss their respective activities and fields of cooperation. It also took on a very concrete dimension in the early 2000s with the joint organization of the European Year of Languages 2001.

2.2.2.1.1. The Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe

The Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe is the Division responsible for designing and implementing initiatives for the development and analysis of language education policies aims at promoting linguistic diversity and plurilingualism. It implements intergovernmental medium-term programs with a special emphasis on policy development. Its early programmes of international co-operation focused on the democratisation of language learning for the mobility of persons and ideas, and on the promotion of the European heritage of cultural and linguistic diversity. Projects assisted member states in implementing reforms aimed at developing learners' communication skills and encouraged innovation in language teaching and teacher training, with an emphasis on a learner-centred approach. While continuing to promote innovation for successful communication and intercultural skills, more recent projects have increasingly addressed the social and political dimensions of language learning, focusing on language education for democratic citizenship, diversification in language learning, improving coherence and transparency in language provision, and the language education rights of minorities. The European Year of Languages (2001) led to further initiatives to support member states in developing policy responses to the new challenges to social cohesion and integration. [255]

Key moments in the history of the field of languages promoted by the Language Policy Division are:[256]

- First intergovernmental conference on European cooperation in language teaching
- Launch of first major Project on language teaching
- Publication of first 'Threshold Level' specification
- Join intergovernmental projects

[255] http://www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistic/Default_en.asp (retrieved on 27 September 2007)
[256] *Ibid.*, (retrieved on 27 September 2007)

- Esteblishment of the European Centre for Modern Languages
- European Year of Languages
- Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
- European Language Portfolio
- Decleration of the European Day of Languages as an annual event

2.2.2.1.2. The Higher Education and Research Division of the Council of Europe

The Higher Education and Research Division of the Council of Europe, over the past years and at present, has worked on the following issues: [257]

- Access to Higher Education
- Lifelong Learning for Equity and Social Cohesion
- European Studies for Democratic Citizenship
- Universities as Sites of Citizenship
- Heritage of European Universities
- Social Sciences and the Challenges of Transition
- Research Mission of Universities
- Student Participation in Governance in Higher Education
- Legislative Reform Programme

Activities of the Council of Europe in the field of higher education and research can be summed up as follows: [258]

Higher Education Governance

Higher education governance is an issue that is strongly connected to the Council of Europe's key missions: protection of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. It is also very much present in the discussions in the framework of the Bologna process.
The CDESR (Steering Committee for Higher Education and Research) launched a project on 'Higher education governance' in autumn 2003. The main objectives of the project are to contribute to the Council of Europe's 2005 Year of Citizenship through Education as well as to the work programme of the Bologna process in 2005-2007. The project lasted three years,

[257] http://www.coe.int/dg4/highereducation/CDESR/default_en.asp (retrieved on 28 September 2007)
[258] http://www.coe.int/dg4/highereducation/CompletedActivities/default_en.asp, (retrieved on 28 September 2007)

2004 – 2006 and aimed to strengthen the participation of students, staff and other stakeholders in higher education governance.

- Public Responsibility for Higher education and Research

In 2003, the Steering Committee for Higher Education and Research (CDESR) launched a project to contribute to the discussions on public responsibility for higher education. As has been pointed out in several discussions, higher education cannot be considered a public good in the economic sense of the term, which is the origin and also established sense of the term. While a term can of course be given a new meaning in a different context – a fairly common phenomenon in language development – it is questionable whether it is worth the effort to try to redefine this term. At any rate, the politically operational dimension of the expression used by the Ministers is the public responsibility for higher education. Therefore, the CDESR Bureau suggested that the Working Party focus on this and that it include considerations on the public responsibility for research.

- Legislative Reform Program

Between 1992 and 2000, the Council of Europe carried out a programme to assist the reform of higher education, particularly through advice in draft legislation, in its then new member states in central and eastern Europe.

- Access to Higher Education

In mid-90s the Council of Europe conducted a wide range of activities connected to access to higher education, with special attention given to the under-represented groups and articulation between secondary and higher education. A number of publications on different issues, from specific issues such as admission systems to the overviews of the overall situation concerning access to higher education, were produced.

- Lifelong Learning for Equity and Social Cohesion

In 1998 the Council of Europe started a project on lifelong learning, in line with the priorities defined by the Second Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe in 1997, which called for a ‘new strategy of social cohesion’.

- European Studies for Democratic Citizenship

In 1997 a project on European Studies for Democratic Citizenship was launched aiming to redefine European Studies as a university discipline and a field of research but also to work on concepts related to democratic citizenship.

- Universities as Sites of Citizenships

The project focused on institutions of higher education as strategic institutions in democratic political development. It was a cross-national study, comparing universities in fifteen European countries, both new and established democracies, and fifteen colleges and universities in the United States.

- Heritage of European Universities

For more than one year, from September 1999 to December 2000, more than 1000 national events as well as fifteen transnational projects were organised under the Common Heritage Campaign. Research work on the Heritage of European Universities resulted in a publication in 2002, which covers issues such as tradition and cultural heritage of universities, material heritage (museums and collections) and cultural heritage as well as the European dimension of the university heritage.

- Social Sciences and the Challenges of Transition

Following the Recommendation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on Social sciences and the challenge of transition a project was launched aiming to collect information on the current state of the social science in Central and Eastern Europe. The project resulted in the Recommendation of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers on Social Sciences and the challenge of transition, adopted in 2000.

- Research Mission of Universities

The purpose of the project was to define a European vision of university research linked to academic teaching, a research culture based on fundamental values. The project resulted in the Recommendation of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers on the Research Mission of Universities, adopted in 2000.

- Language Policies in Higher Education

To contribute to the European Year of Languages 2001 the CDESR organised a round table debate on the issue of language policies in higher education.

- Learning and Teaching in the Communication Society

ICT based education is one of the principal challenges facing future education policies. They form part of a general context of change, innovation and far-reaching transformations of the demands made by society on the education system. In 2001 the Education Committee and the Higher Education and Research Committee launched a new project entitled "Learning and teaching in the communication society".

- Student Participation in Governance in Higher Education

In 2002 and 2003 as a part of the preparation for its Bologna seminar on student participation in higher education, the Norwegian Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs commissioned a report from the Council of Europe to survey the state of affairs with regard to formal provision for student participation as well as actual practice.

- Reform of Education in South East Europe

The Council of Europe participated in numerous national seminars on various topics connected to the reform of higher education in South East Europe and in December 2003 organized a conference on the Implementation of the Bologna Process in South East Europe.

2.2.2.2. The Confederation of the European Rectors' Conference

The Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences was established in March 1973 as the *Liaison Committee of Rectors' Conferences of the Member States of the European Community*. In January 1996, it took its present title. The members of the Confederation are Rectors' Conferences of the member states of the European Union. The Confederation has associate members from countries outside the European Union which have a commitment to EU policies on university and higher education and research. The member conferences of the Confederation, both member and associate member, are entitled to express the common views of their members on higher education and research policy. In order to become eligible for membership and associate membership, a rectors' conference must be a body representing the majority of universities and/or institutions of higher education and research. The Confederation's status and authority in relation to EU policies on university and higher

education and research issues are derived from the expertise of the member conferences it represents. The range and scope of the Confederation's activities are motivated by the principles elaborated in the Mission Statement, notably:[259]

- The autonomy of universities must be safeguarded, while at the same time quality in higher education and research must be promoted and enhanced.
- Universities and other institutions of higher education and research have a major role to play in the development of Europe.

The Confederation is committed to establish linkages and co-operation with other bodies involved in higher education and research, such as CRE, EURASHE, IAU, as well as with industry, public authorities, cultural institutions and other agencies in the education sector, which are of importance to the development of policies at local, regional, national and European levels. The aims of the Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences are:[260]

- to formulate and represent the common views of its members and its associate members in order to influence the policies of the European Union on higher education and research;
- to provide information for its members and associate members on key issues and developments in higher education and research, and related matters;
- to undertake studies and projects mandated by the Assembly.

With the above mentioned aims, the Confederation has had an impact on the Europeanization of higher education via its cooperation with the European Commission, DG XII and organizing seminars and preparing reports on numerous topics relating to various themes ranging from internationalization strategies and European integration to learning structures and trends in higher education.

It has also functioned as a body to extend data to all signatory countries and to update the analysis of the main structures and trends in all countries through a survey of change and reform since the Bologna Process. Since then, the main focus of the Confederation meetings has shifted from mobility to one of 'European dimension' in quality assurance, evaluation

[259] http://www.crue.org/eurec/statutes.htm (retrieved on 3 October 2007)
[260] http://www.crue.org/eurec/statutes.htm (retrieved on 4 October 2007)

and accreditation, a coordinated approach to quality standards for transnational education and empowering Europeans to use the new learning opportunities.[261]

2.2.2.3. The National Unions of Students in Europe

The National Unions of Students in Europe (ESIB) is the umbrella organisation of 50 national unions of students (NUSes) from 37 countries. The NUSes are open to all students in the country regardless of their political conviction, religion, ethnic or cultural origin, sexual orientation or social standing. They are run and controlled by students which hold democratic elections and run the unions on democratic lines. Moreover, the NUSes are autonomous and independent in their decision-making. The aim of ESIB is to represent and promote the educational, social, economic and cultural interests of students at a European level towards all relevant bodies and in particular the European Union, the Council of Europe and UNESCO. Through its members, ESIB represents 10 million of students in Europe. ESIB is a consultative member of the Bologna Follow-up Group and the Board which oversees the work between the meetings of the Follow-up Group. For the Bergen Conference (2005), ESIB prepared the report 'Bologna with student eyes'. ESIB cooperates with ENQA, the EUA and EURASHE in the field of quality assurance.[262]

ESIB stands for 'European Student Information Bureau'. In 1982, WESIB (West European Student Information Bureau) was created as an information sharing organization. With the political changes in central and Eastern Europe, it was opened for national student unions of eastern and central European countries. Consequently, the 'W' was dropped in 1990. ESIB also changed its aim of just an information sharing organization to a political organization representing the views of students to European institutions. In 1993, the Board decided to change the name once more, this time to 'the National Unions of Students in Europe', but retaining the old and well-known abbreviation. In May 2007, at the 52nd Board Meeting, it was decided that ESIB needed change its name in order for the role of the organization to be better reflected nominatively. The name Europeans Students' Union (ESU) was accepted unanimously by the Board of members.[263]

---

[261] http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/erasmus/trends1.pdf (retrieved on 4 October 2007)
[262] http://www.uni-kassel.de/hrz/db4/extern/owwz/index.php?id=glossar&L=2&+x-sfbolognaglossar (retrieved on 4 October 2007)
[263] http://www.esib.org (retrieved on 4 October 2007)

The aim of ESU is to represent and promote the educational, social, economic and cultural interests of students at a European level towards all relevant bodies and in particular the European Union, Bologna Follow-Up Group, Council of Europe and UNESCO.[264]

2.3. THE KEY DOCUMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN EDUCATION SPACE

Key documents of the European education space provided a European dimension in the field of education. They set the basis necessary for the establishment of a system of credits and the adoption of easily readable and comparable degrees based on three cycles which play a notable role in the construction of the European Education space. They promote European cooperation in quality assurance as well as the mobility of students, academic and administrative staff. The main and common aim stated in these documents is the transition of Europe not only to a knowledge-based economy but also to a knowledge-based society. Up to the present, they have played a pivotal role in the modernization process of the European social model by investing in people and building an active welfare state.

2.3.1. White Papers

The concepts of lifelong learning and the knowledge society became increasingly important between the years 1993-2000 and reflected on the White Papers of 1993 and 1995, as well as on the conclusions of the Education Council and the communications of the Commission.

2.3.1.1. 1993 White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness, Employment: The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century

This White Paper, presented by Jacques Delors in December 1993 at the Brussels European Council, was one of the most complete and most ambitious of discussion papers which the Commission had produced up to date, both in terms of the analysis of what was at stake for the Union and in terms of the proposed approach. In its section on employment it highlighted the importance of education and training systems. Pointing out their dual task of promoting both individual fulfillment and citizenship values and also supporting job-creating economic growth, the Commission underlines the crucial part which education and training systems

[264] http://www.esib.org (retrieved on 4 October 2007)

would be required to play, provided major changes were made, in 'the emergence of a new development model in the Community'[265]

According to the White Paper, "lifelong education…is the overall objective to which the national educational communities can make their own contributions".[266] It highlighted the need to create a genuine European area and market for qualifications and occupations and to address the lack of mutual transparency and the limited recognition of qualifications and skills at Community level. It also proposed organizing a 'European Year of Education' which in 1996 became the 'European Year of Lifelong Learning'. By highlighting the development of lifelong learning, the 1993 White Paper on growth, competitiveness and employment took up once again the ideas put forward 20 years earlier by Altiero Spinelli that "school is no longer merely a period of initial training. It works towards continuing education. Coherence between school and other forms of education is not only essential but must continue

throughout life. Attention therefore must be paid to the need for coherence, which must also form a basis for education policy at all levels".[267]

With the impetus given by the White Paper in 1993, significant progress was made between 1993-2000, making it possible for community cooperation to extend its analysis to include questions related to the development of the knowledge society and lifelong learning and to prepare for their implementation, particularly following the Lisbon European Council of March 2000.[268]

2.3.1.2. 1995 White Paper on Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society

[265] European Commission White Paper on growth, competitiveness, employment, 'The Challenges and ways forward into the 21st century' 1994, pp.133 in European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.157

[266] http://www.europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm#1993 (retrieved on 7 October 2007)

[267] *Bilan et perspectives de l'activite du groupe 'Enseignement et education',* memorandum from Mr.Spinelli to Members of the Commission, 24 November 1972, SEC(/'), 1978 in European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.158

[268] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.158-159

In 1995, the Commission's White Paper on the learning society played a particularly important role in raising awareness in Europe of the challenges posed by the knowledge society, leading to the Lisbon declarations in 2000.[269]

This White Paper contended that it was by building up the learning society of Europe as quickly as possible, that the five objectives and proposals for action mentioned below could be attained:[270]

- increase the general level of knowledge by encouraging the acquisition of new knowledge and more flexible methods of recognizing skills, including non-formal competences,
- bring schools and the business sector closer together by developing all forms of apprenticeship/trainee schemes,
- combat exclusion,
- ensure proficiency in at least three Community languages,
- treate capital investment and investment in training on equal basis.

It also stated that often education and training systems mapped out career paths on a once-and-for-all basis. There was too much inflexibility, too much compartmentalisation of education and training systems and not enough bridges, or enough possibilities to let in new patterns of lifelong learning in the Community. Education and training provided the reference points needed to affirm collective identity, while at the same time permitting further advances in science and technology. The independence they give, if shared by everyone, would strengthen the sense of cohesion and anchors the feeling of belonging. Europe's cultural diversity, its long existence and the mobility between different cultures were invaluable assets for adapting to the new world on the horizon. Being European was to have the advantage of a cultural background of unparalleled variety and depth. It should also mean to have full access to knowledge and skill.[271]

It also drew attention on the fact that only with the education and training policies of its member states in conjunction, Europe could prove that it is not simply a free trade area but an

[269] http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en/pdf, (retrieved on: 7 October 2007).
[270] http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en/pdf, pp.32 (retrieved on: 7 October 2007).
[271] http://www.europe.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en.pdf, pp.3, (retrieved on 7 October 2007)

organized political entity which can successfully come to terms with internationalization, rather than being subject to it.[272]

In sum, the proposals in the White Paper directly questioned the way in which education systems worked. They led to substantive discussions and helped raise public awareness of the emergence of the knowledge economy. There were some misgivings, however. While member states did not dispute the five objectives which had been set, they did feel that the measures proposed were complex and difficult to implement and called for them to be qualified. The debate continued and the Commission introduced pilot projects for each of the five objectives in order to prove the relevance of the proposals. In 1997 The Commission adopted a communication setting out the main political messages emerging from the debates which followed the White Paper's publication. It also presented the various experiments which it had undertaken relating to the White Paper's five objectives. Some of them continued to become long-term projects, sometimes leading to an action program, as in the case of the European Voluntary Service for young people, and information and communication technologies which was highlighted as a need in the development of European education software.[273]

2.3.2. The Sorbone Declaration

In May 1998 the Ministers in charge of higher education of France, Italy, United Kingdom and Germany signed in Paris at the Sorbonne University the Sorbonne Declaration on the 'harmonization of the architecture of the European Higher Education System'. It is a declaration preceding Bologna Declaration. Other European countries joined the Declaration.[274] It also received an internationally broad support beyond the member states of the Union.[275]

In the declaration, the ministers outlined the following objectives:[276]

---

[272] *Ibid.*
[273] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.161-163
[274] http://bologna-berlin2003.de/en/basic/index.htm, (retrieved on 7 October 2007)
[275] http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/newsletter/News18/text5.html, (retrieved on 7 October 2007)
[276] *Ibid.*

- adoption of a system of clear and comparable degrees, including the adoption of a "Diploma Supplement";
- adoption of a system based on two main cycles-undergraduate and graduate;
- establishment of a system of credits-such as the European Credit Transfer System--as a means of promoting student mobility;
- promotion of mobility by overcoming obstacles to the effective exercise of free movement;
- promotion of European cooperation in quality assurance; and
- promotion of common European patterns in higher education.

The groundwork for the Bologna Declaration was laid by the Sorbonne Declaration. In this joint declaration on harmonization of the architecture of the European higher education system the ministers of four dominant countries of the European Union, statedthat:[277]

> Europe is heading for a period of major change in education and working conditions, to a diversification of courses of professional careers, with education and training throughout life becoming a clear obligation. We owe our students, and our society at large, a higher education system in which they are given the best opportunities to seek and find their own area of excellence. An open European area for higher learning carries a wealth of positive perspectives, of course respecting our diversities, but requires on the other hand continuous efforts to remove barriers and to develop a framework for teaching and learning, which would enhance mobility and an ever closer cooperation.

The Sorbonne Declaration was a French initiative based on the Attali Report, 'Pour un modèle européen d'enseignement supérieur', which compares the French system with other European systems of higher education as the basis for a reform of the French system. According to Hans de Wit, the declaration came as a surprise not only to the higher education community but also to the European Commission and the ministers of education of the other member states. It seemed rather unlikely that four countries with fundamentally different

[277] http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Sorbonne_declaration.pdf, pp.1, (retrieved on 7 October 2007)

higher education traditions would be willing to lead the way toward harmonization. Only in 1993, with the Maastricht Treaty, did education become an area in which the European Commission could take action, but only as a subsidiary focus. Thus, joint European action on higher education was not high on the agenda of the European Council of Ministers.[278]

However, it stressed the universities' central role in developing European cultural dimensions. It emphasized the creation of the European area of higher education as a key way to promote citizens' mobility and employability and Europe's overall development. Several European countries accepted the invitation to commit themselves to achieving the objectives set out in the declaration, by signing it or expressing their agreement in principle. Most importantly, it set the necessary grounds for the Bologna Declaration.

2.3.3. The Bologna Declaration

The Bologna Declaration is signed by 29 countries to reform the structures of their higher education systems in a convergent way in 19 June 1999 to lay the basis for establishing a European Higher Education Area by 2010 and promoting the European system of higher education world-wide. The Declaration is a key document which marks a turning point in the development of European higher education.[279]

All the signatory countries undertake to attain the Declaration's objectives and to engage in coordinating their policies. It is a commitment freely taken by each signatory country to reform its own higher education system or systems in order to create overall convergence at European level. The Bologna Declaration is not a reform imposed upon national governments or higher education institutions. It is a process which aims at creating convergence. It is not a path towards the 'standardisation' or 'uniformisation' of European higher education. The fundamental principles of autonomy and diversity are respected.[280]

The Declaration reflects a search for a common European answer to common European problems. The process originates from the recognition that in spite of their valuable differences, European higher education systems are facing common internal and external challenges related to the growth and diversification of higher education, the employability of

[278] http://www.bc.edu./bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/newsletter/News18/text5.htm, (retrieved on 7 October 2007)
[279] http://www.swap.ac.uk/quality/bologna.asp, (retrieved on 8 October 2007)
[280] http://www.ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf, (retrieved on 8 October 2007)

graduates, the shortage of skills in key areas, and the expansion of private and transnational education. The Declaration recognises the value of coordinated reforms, compatible systems and common action.[281]

The Bologna Declaration is not just a political statement, but a binding commitment to an action programme the *Bologna Process*. This action programme set out in the Declaration is based on a clearly defined common goal, a deadline and a set of specified objectives. The common goal is to create a European space for higher education in order to enhance the employability and mobility of citizens and to increase the international competitiveness of European higher education. The deadline that the European space for higher education should be completed is 2010.[282]

Specified objectives of the Declaration are:[283]

- the adoption of a common framework of readable and comparable degrees, also through the implementation of the Diploma Supplement;
- the introduction of undergraduate and postgraduate levels in all countries, with first degrees no shorter than 3 years and relevant to the labour market;
- ECTS-compatible credit systems also covering lifelong learning activities;
- a European dimension in quality assurance, with comparable criteria and methods;
- the elimination of remaining obstacles to the free mobility of students (as well as trainees and graduates) and teachers (as well as researchers and higher education administrators.

A follow-up group was set up to monitor its implementation. In order to maintain the initial impetus and to assess the progress made, the ministers responsible for higher education held regular meetings (in Prague in 2001; in Berlin in 2003; in Bergen in 2005, in London in 2007) prepared by a Bologna Follow-up Group. The European Commission is a full member of the follow-up group and of the group in charge of preparations for ministerial meetings. The European Universities Association (EUA), the European Association of Institutions in

[281] *Ibid.* pp.3.
[282] http://www.ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf , (retrieved on 8 October 2007), pp.3.
[283] *Ibid.* pp.8.

Higher Education (EURASHE), the National Unions of Students in Europe (ESIB), the pan-European body of Education International (EI), the European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher education (ENQA), the Union of Industries of the European Community (UNICE), the Council of Europe and UNESCO also take part as advisory members.[284]

According to the 2003 Report by the follow-up group of the Bologna Process, although the Bologna process was initiated as mainly an intergovernmental process, there was an evident and *growing convergence with EU processes* aimed at strengthening European co-operation in higher education. Decisions of the Spring European Councils, in particular of Lisbon (2000), Stockholm (2001) and Barcelona (2002) gradually altered the status of the *Bologna Declaration* from a voluntary action to a set of commitments in the framework of the follow-up of the report of the concrete future objectives of education and training systems, endorsed in Stockholm in 2001. At least from that point on, the Process was no longer merely a voluntary action for the EU Member States, or for the candidate Member States. Therefore, with the EU enlargement, the growing convergence between the Bologna process and educational policy making on the EU level has become more and more visible.[285]

In the same report the Follow-up Group stated that an important extension of the Bologna process in the period between the Prague and Berlin Summits are the "Bologna activities at national and institutional levels. A high degree of correspondence between national higher education reforms and 'Bologna' action lines were evident in almost all countries events. Reports from most countries contained information about lively activities at the institutional level and in student organizations. Partners in these activities were becoming aware that round tables, debates and communication on various 'Bologna' issues were meaningful and productive in relation to their own national and local problems. In a growing number of cases, other stakeholders – employers and social partners in particular – take part in these discussions and communications.[286]

In sum, as an intergovernmental European reform process aimed at establishing the European Higher Education Area by 2010, the Bologna process gave an important impetus to European

---

[284] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.198.
[285] http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/0309ZGAGA.PDF , pp.7, (retrieved on 11 October 2007).
[286] http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/0309ZGAGA.PDF , pp.7, (retrieved on 11 October 2007), pp.9

cooperation in the field of higher education by both laying the basis for the establishment of this education area and promoting the European system of higher education world-wide. This European Higher Education Area is designed as an open space from which both students and education staff can benefit. Mobility and equitable access to high quality higher education are the two main issues of this process. The cornerstones of this space are mutual recognition of degrees and other higher education qualifications, transparency and European cooperation in quality assurance. With the start of this process, cooperation in education at European level took a new phase. Diversity among the national education systems of the member countries started to be considered as strength rather than an obstacle. This process has strengthened the European dimension in higher education and has become the key point for the construction of European education space especially with its social dimension emphasising participative equity and employability of graduates in a lifelong learning context. It also increased the awareness of the real need for a common European Higher Education Area both at national and institutional level.

Today, the Process unites 46 countries, all party to the European Cultural Convention, that cooperate in a flexible way, involving also international organizations and European associations representing higher education institutions, students, staff and employers. The key to success of the Bologna cooperation is the underlying partnership approach, in both policy-making and implementation.[287]

2.3.4. The Lisbon Strategy

During the meeting of the European Council in Lisbon (March 2000), the Heads of State or Government launched a 'Lisbon Strategy' aimed at making the European Union (EU) the most competitive economy in the world and achieving full employment by 2010. This strategy, developed at subsequent meetings of the European Council, rests on three pillars:[288]

- An economic pillar preparing the ground for the transition to a competitive, dynamic, knowledge-based economy. Emphasis is placed on the need to adapt constantly to changes in the information society and to boost research and development.

[287] http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna , pp.1, (retrieved on 14 October 2007).
[288] http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/lisbon_strategy_en.htm, (retrieved on 8 October 2007).

- A social pillar designed to modernise the European social model by investing in human resources and combating social exclusion. The Member States are expected to invest in education and training, and to conduct an active policy for employment, making it easier to move to a knowledge economy.

- An environmental pillar, which was added at the Göteborg European Council meeting in June 2001, draws attention to the fact that economic growth must be decoupled from the use of natural resources.

A list of targets has been drawn up with a view to attaining the goals set in 2000. Given that the policies in question fall almost exclusively within the sphere of competence of the Member States, an open method of coordination (OMC) entailing the development of national action plans has been introduced.[289]

The open method of coordination that is introduced (OMC) is "eminently a legitimising discourse. It provides a community of policymakers with a common vocabulary and a legitimising project – to make Europe the most competitive knowledge society in the world. As a legitimising discourse, open coordination enables policy-makers to deal with new tasks in policy areas that are either politically sensitive or in any case not amenable to the classic Community method".[290] Like in other fields of cooperation, this working method has also brought a new dimension to education and training policy cooperation, providing a great number of options working together.

Consequently, in this context, the Lisbon European Council set the Union a very challenging objective for 2010: "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion".[291] By setting a target date of 2010, the European Council was forcing the pace and demanding effectiveness and results from all concerned. The Union had to adopt, modernize and speed up the structural reforms which would allow it to boost its innovatory capacity and competitiveness, while preserving its social cohesion.[292]

---

[289] http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/social_inclusion/index_en.htm, (retrieved on 8 October 2007).
[290] http://www.epin.org/pdf/RadaelliSIEPS.pdf , pp.7, (retrieved on 9October 2007).
[291] http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm, (retrieved on 8 October 2007).
[292] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg:Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.206.

In support of the necessary changes, the Lisbon European Council introduced a new working method called 'a new open method of coordination'. In the Presidency Conclusions of Lisbon European Council on 23-24 March 2000, it was stated that implementing this strategy would be achieved by improving the existing processes, introducing a new *open method of coordination* at all levels, coupled with a stronger guiding and coordinating role for the European Council to ensure more coherent strategic direction and effective monitoring of progress. A meeting of the European Council to be held every spring would define the relevant mandates and ensure that they were followed up.[293]

The Lisbon conclusions are more than a general policy statement. They represent a broad coherent strategy with an overall medium-term objective and a structured method for action and follow-up. This strategy seeks to underpin the process of reform and change in the member states. Its success thus largely depends on the determination shown by them in putting it into practice at national level.[294]

Previously, the main areas which had seen the development of Community-coordinated strategies for greater convergence of national policies were employment through the European employment strategy (EES) and economy through the broad economic policy guidelines (BEPGs). By making investment in knowledge one of the prime movers of renewed prosperity in the Union, the Heads of State or Government highlighted the part to be played by the education and training systems and thus, in a sense, gave them a pivotal role. The ministers for education would from now on be able to make themselves heard, more vigorously and more consistently than in the past, alongside the ministers whose portfolios are more 'dominant' in the Lisbon strategy, such as the economy and employment.[295]

2.3.4.1. Key Issues of the Lisbon Strategy

The key issues of the Lisbon strategy can be grouped into four; to prepare the transition to a knowledge-based economy, to modernize the European social model by investing in people and building an active welfare state, to put the strategy into practice and to provide better means to the Community.[296]

Prepare the transition to a knowledge-based economy;

---

[293] http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm, (retrieved on 8 October 2007).
[294] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.206-207
[295] *Ibid.*
[296] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/pressData/en/ec/00100r-1-en0.htm, (retrieved on 8 October 2007).

- Develop an information society for all
- Establish a European area of research
- Achieve a complete and fully operational internal market
- Boost competitiveness and dynamism, especially among SMEs
- Create efficient and integrated financial markets
- Coordinate macroeconomic policies

Modernize the European social model by investing in people and building an active welfare state;

- Adopt the education and training systems to the knowledge society
- Provide more and better jobs
- Modernize social protection
- Promote social inclusion

Put the strategy into practice;

- Improve the existing processes
- Implement a new open method of coordination as the means of spreading best practice and achieving greater convergence towards the main EU goals

Provide better means to the Community;

- Mobilize and optimize existing resources

In terms of funding, the Lisbon European Council set the general objective of 'a substantial annual increase in per capita investment in human resources'.[297] The other objectives set were more qualitative, but were no less important for that: developing schools and training centers into multi-purpose local learning centres accessible to all, operating in partnership with firms and research facilities; adopting a European framework which specifies the new

[297] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/pressData/en/ec/00100r-1-en0.htm, (retrieved on 8 October 2007).

basic skills to be provided through lifelong learning; introducing a European diploma for basic ICT skills.[298]

In sum, a process of modernization in education and training systems was voiced in the Lisbon strategy. Although such a move was not new in the fields of economy or employment, it was a new step in the field of education and training to attain a knowledge-based economy by 2010 to be a leading actor rather than an object within the competitive global context.

2.3.5. The Bologna Declaration Related Documents

After the start of the Bologna process in 1999 and the launch of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000, European Ministers in charge of higher education met once in every two years to evaluate the implementation of the objectives set in the Bologna Declaration and the key issues taken into consideration in the Lisbon Strategy. In these meetings they also set further goals to achieve the main objective of the process; the establishment of the European Higher Education Area. At the end of each follow-up meeting, a communiqué is published; the Prague Communique (2001), the Berlin Communique (2003), the Bergen Communique (2005) and the London Communique (2007).

2.3.5.1. The Prague Communique

Two years after signing the Bologna Declaration and three years after the Sorbonne Declaration, on 19 May 2001, European Ministers in charge of higher education, representing 32 signatories, met in Prague in order to review the process. Ministers reaffirmed their commitment to the objective of establishing the European Higher Education Area by 2010. The choice of Prague to hold this meeting was a symbol of their will to involve the whole of Europe in the process in the light of enlargement of the European Union.[299]

Ministers reviewed the report 'Furthering the Bologna Process' commissioned by the follow-up group and found that the goal laid down in the Bologna Declaration had been widely

[298] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.208
[299] http://www.cs.ubbcluj.ro/files/bologna/bologna_prag_berlin_comp.pdf , pp.2 (retrieved on 13 October 2007)

accepted and used as a base for the development of higher education by most signatories as well as by universities and other higher education institutions. Ministers reaffirmed that efforts to promote mobility must be continued to enable students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff to benefit from the richness of the European Higher Education Area including its democratic values, diversity of cultures and languages and the diversity of the higher education systems.[300]

Further Actions Following the Six Objectives of the Bologna Process

As the Bologna Declaration sets out, Ministers asserted that building the European Higher Education Area is a condition for enhancing the attractiveness and competitiveness of higher education institutions in Europe. They supported the idea that higher education should be considered a public good and is and will remain a public responsibility and that students are full members of the higher education community. From this point of view Ministers commented on the further process as follows:[301]

- **Adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees**

Ministers strongly encouraged universities and other higher education institutions to take full advantage of existing national legislation and European tools aim at facilitating academic and professional recognition of course units, degrees and othet awards, so that citizens can effectively use their qualifications, competencies and skills throughout the European Higher Education Area. Ministers called upon existing organizations and networks such as NARIC and ENIC to promote, at institutional, national and European level, simple, efficient and fair recognition reflecting the underlying diversity of qualifications.

- **Adoption of a system essentially based on two main cycles**

Ministers noted that the objective of a degree structure articulating higher education in undergraduate and graduate studies has been discussed. Accordingly, some countries have already adopted this structure and several others are considering it with great interest. It is important to note that in many countries bacholor's and master's degrees, or comparable two cycle degrees, can be obtained at universities as well as at other higher education institutions.

---

[300] *Ibid.*

[301] http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/prague_communiqueTheate.pdf , pp.1-3, (retrieved on 13 October 2007).

Programmes leading to a degreemay, and should, have different orientations and various profiles in order to accommodate a diversity of individual, academic and labor market needs as included at the Helsinki seminar on bachelor level degrees (February 2001).

- **Establishment of a system of credits**

The importance of greater flexibility in learning and qualification processes, the adoption of common cornerstones of qualifications, supported by a credit system such as ECTS or one that is ECTS-compatible, providing both transferability and accumulation functions is emphasized. Ministers agreed that together with mutually recognized quality assurance systems such as arrangements would facilitate students' access to the European labor market and enhance the compatibility, attractiveness and competitiveness of European higher education.

- **Promotion of mobility**

Ministers reaffirmed that the objective of improving the mobility of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff set out in the Bologna Declaration was of the utmost importance. Therefore, they confirmed their commitment to persue the removal of all obstacles to the free movement of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff and emphasized the social dimension of mobility. They took note of the possibilities for mobility offered by the European Community programs and the progress achieved in this field, e.g. in launching the Mobility Action Plan endorsed by the European Council in Nice in 2000.

- **Promotion of European cooperation in quality assurance**

Ministers recognized the vital role that quality assurance systems play in ensuring high quality standards and in facilitating the comparibility of qualifications throughout Europe. They also encouraged closer cooperation between recognition and quality assurance networks. They emphasized the necessity of close European cooperation and mutual trust in and acceptance of national quality assurance systems. Further they encouraged universities and other higher education institutions to disseminate examples of best practice and to design scenarios for mutual acceptance of evaluation and accreditation/certification mechanisms. Ministers called upon the universities and other higher education institutions, national agencies and the European Network of Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA), in cooperation with corresponding bodies from countries which are not members of ENQA, to collaborate in establishing a common framework of reference and to disseminate best practice.

- **Promotion of the European dimensions in higher education**

In order to further strengthen the important European dimensions of higher education and graduat employability Ministers called upon the higher education sector to increase the development of modules, courses and curricula at all levels with 'European' content, orientation and organization. This concerns particularly modules, courses and degree curricula offered in partnership by institutions from different countries and leading to a recognized joint degree.

Furthermore, Ministers emphasized that lifelong learning is essential to build a knowledge-based society economy, that the involvement of universities and other education institutions and of students as active and constructive partners in the establishment of a Higher Education Area is needed and promoting the attractiveness of the European Higher education Area to students both from Europe and other parts of the world is of great importance.

Consequently, Ministers decided to continue their cooperation based on the objectives set out in the Bologna Declaration, building on the similarities and benefiting from the differences between cultures, languages and national systems, and drawing on all possibilities of intergovernmental cooperation and the ongoing dialogue with European universities and other higher education institutions and student organizations as well as the Community programs.[302]

Ministers decided that follow-up meeting should continue to review progress and set directions and priorities for the next stages of the process towards the European Higher Education Area. They confirmed the need for a structure for the follow-up work, consisting of a follow-up group and a preparatory group. The follow-up group should be composed of representatives of all signatories, new participants and the European Commission. In order to take the process further, Ministers decided that the European University Association, the European Association of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE), the National Unions of Students in Europe and the Council of Europe should be consulted in the follow-up work.[303]

---

[302] http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/prague_communiqueTheate.pdf , pp.3-5, (retrieved on 13 October 2007).

[303] *Ibid.*

From the Turkish higher education perspective, the Prague Comminique has a special importance for its application to the European Community Programs Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci was welcomed in this meeting together with the applications of Croatia and Cyprus.

2.3.5.2. The Berlin Communique

On 19 September 2003, Ministers responsible for higher education from 33 European countries met in Berlin in order to review the progress achieved and to set priorities and new objectives for the coming years, with a view to speeding up the realisation of the European Higher Education Area. They agreed on the importance of the social dimension of the Bologna Process and the need to increase competitiveness, balanced with the objective of improving the social characteristics of the European Higher Education Area, with the aim of strengthening social cohesion and reducing social and gender inequalities both at national and at European level.[304]

In this context, Ministers took into consideration the conclusions of the European Councils in Lisbon (2000) and Barcelona (2002) aimed at making Europe 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion' and called for further actionand closer cooperation in the context of the Bologna process.[305]

In terms of quality assurance, Ministers also stressed that consistent with the principle of institutional autonomy, the primary responsibility for quality assurance in higher education lies with each institution itself and this provides the basis for real accountability of the academic system within the national quality framework. Therefore, they agreed that by 2005 national quality assurance systems should include:[306]

- a definition of the responsibilities of the bodies and institutions involved,
- evaluation of programs or institutions, including internal assessment, external review, participation of students and the publication of results,
- a system of accreditation, certification or comparable procedures,

[304] httm://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/030919Berlin_Communique.pdf , pp.1-2 (retrieved on 13 October 2007).
[305] *Ibid.*
[306] http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/en/aktuell/haupt.htm, (retrieved on 13 October 2007).

- international participation, cooperation and networking.

At the European level, Ministers called upon ENQA through its numbers, in cooperation with the EUA, EURASHE and ESIB, to develop an agreed set of standards, procedures and guidelines on quality assurance, to explore ways of ensuring an adequate peer review system for quality assurance and/or accreditation agencies or bodies, and to report back through the Follow-up Group to Ministers in 2005.[307]

In addition to promoting the objectives and guidelines set in the Bologna process and the priorities set in the Prague Communique, Ministers in Berlin decided to take further action on the two pillars of the knowledge-based society: European Higher Education Area and European Research Area. They also emphasised the importance of the promotion of the doctoral level set as the third cycle in the Bologna process.[308]

Conscious of the need to promote closer links between the EHEA and the ERA in a Europe of knowledge, and of the importance of research as an integral part of higher education across Europe, Ministers considered it necessary to go beyond the focus on two main cycles of higher education and to include the doctoral level as the third cycle in the Bologna process. They called for increased mobility at the doctoral and postdoctoral levels and encourage the institutions concerned to increase their cooperation in doctoral studies and the training of young researchers. They stated that networks at doctoral level should be given support to stimuşlate the development of excellence and to become one of the hallmarks of the European Higher Education Area.[309]

In this conference, the requests for membership of Albania, Andorra, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Holy See, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, 'the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia' were welcomed and with their inclusion as signatory countries the number of the member states expanded to 40.[310]

---

[307] httm://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/030919Berlin_Communique.pdf , pp.3-4, (retrieved on 13 October 2007).
[308] http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/en/aktuell/haupt.htm, (retrieved on 13 October 2007).
[309] httm://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/030919Berlin_Communique.pdf, pp.7 (retrieved on 13 October 2007).
[310] *Ibid.*,pp.8

2.3.5.3. The Bergen Communique

At the Bergen Conference in May 2005 the Ministers responsible for higher education in the participating countries of the Bologna Process, met for a mid-term review and for setting goals and priorities towards 2010. At this conference, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine as new participating countries are welcomed into the Bologna Process.[311]

One of the main aims of this meeting was to take note of the significant progress made towards the goals set in the Bologna Declaration and in the communiqués following it that were stated in the General Report 2003-2004 from the Follow-up Group, in EUA's *Trends IV* report, and in ESIB's report *Bologna with Student Eyes.*[312]

The General Report 2003-2005 from the Follow-up Group focuses three priorities; the degree system, quality assurance and the recognition of degrees and periods of study:[313]

- **The degree system**

The two-cycle degree system is being implemented on a large scale, with more than half of the students being enrolled in it in most countries. However, there are still some obstacles to access between cycles. Furthermore, there is a need for greater dialogue, involving Governments, institutions and social partners, to increase the employability of graduates with bachelor qualifications, including in appropriate posts within the public service.

The Ministers also decided to adopt the overarching framework for qualifications in the EHEA, comprising three cycles (including, within national contexts, the possibility of intermediate qualifications), generic descriptors for each cycle based on learning outcomes and competences, and credit ranges in the first and second cycles.

- **Quality assurance**

Almost all countries have made provision for a quality assurance system based on the criteria set out in the Berlin Communiqué and with a high degree of cooperation and networking.

---

[311] http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/050520_Bergen_Communique.pdf , pp.1, (retrieved on 14 October 2007)
[312] *Ibid.*
[313] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3

However, there is still progress to be made, in particular as regards student involvement and international cooperation. Furthermore,higher education institutions to continue their efforts to enhance the quality of their activities through the systematic introduction of internal mechanisms and their direct correlation to external quality assurance.

- **Recognition of degrees and study periods**

36 of the 45 participating countries have ratified the Lisbon Recognition Convention. Those that have not already done so should ratify the Convention without delay. The full implementation of its principles, and incorporating them in national legislation as appropriate should be accomplished.

The Ministers called on all participating countries to address recognition problems identified by the ENIC/NARIC networks and decided to draw up action plans to improve the quality of the process associated with the recognition of foreign qualifications. They stated that they regarded the development of national and European frameworks for qualifications as an opportunity to further embed lifelong learning in higher education and that they would work with higher education institutions and others to improve recognition of prior learning including, where possible, non-formal and informal learning for access to, and as elements in, higher education.[314]

They reiterated the importance of higher education in enhancing research. They noted that efforts to reform teaching in the EHEA "*should not detract from the effort to strengthen research and innovation*". Ministers agreed that doctoral level qualifications need to be fully aligned with the EHEA overarching framework for qualifications. The BFUG is charged to invite the EUA to prepare a report on the further development of the basic principles for doctoral programs to be presented to Ministers in 2007.[315]

The Ministers also acknowledged the importance of the social and the external dimension of the Process as well as the importance of mobility, and identified the need to consider the future of the European Higher Education Area.[316]

---

[314] http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/050520_Bergen_Communique.pdf , pp.1, (retrieved on 14 October 2007).
[315] http://www.europeunit.ac.uk/resources/E-05-08.doc. , pp.4, (retrieved on 14 October 2007).
[316] *Ibid.,* pp. 5-7

2.3.5.4. The London Communique

At the London Conference in May 2007, the Ministers reaffirmed their commitment to increasing the compatibility and comparability of their higher education systems, whilst at the same time respecting their diversity. They emphasized the important influence higher education institutions (HEIs) exert on developing societies, based on their traditions as centres of learning, research, creativity and knowledge transfer as well as their key role in defining and transmitting the values on which their societies are built. They stated their aim as to ensure that their HEIs have the necessary resources to continue to fulfil their full range of purposes which include: preparing students for life as active citizens in a democratic society; preparing students for their future careers and enabling their personal development; creating and maintaining a broad, advanced knowledge base; and stimulating research and innovation. Therefore, they underlined the importance of strong institutions, which are diverse, adequately funded, autonomous and accountable and the principles of non-discrimination and equitable access which should be respected and promoted throughout the EHEA. They committed to upholding these principles and to ensuring that neither students nor staff suffer discrimination of any kind.[317]

According to the stocktaking report, along with EUA's *Trend V* report, ESIB's *Bologna With Student Eyes* and Eurydice's *Focus on the Structure of Higher Education in Europe.* The Ministers confirmed that there had been a good overall progress in the last two years since the Bergen Meeting. There has been an increasing awareness that a significant outcome will be a move towards student-centered higher education and away from teacher driven provision.[318]

They decided to continue the support they give to mobility, three-cycle degree system, fair recognition of higher education qualifications, qualifications framework, lifelong learning, doctoral candidates and programs linked to the overarching qualifications framework for the EHEA and the social dimension of higher education.[319]

---

141 http://cicic.ca/docs/bologna/2007LondonCommunique.en.pdf , pp.1-2, (retrieved on 15 October 2007).
318 *Ibid.,* pp.3.
319 http://firgoa.usc.es/drupal/node/35825 pp.3-5, (retrieved on 15 October 2007).

The next meeting will be hosted by the Benelux countries in Leuven/Louvainla-Neuve on 28-29 April 2009.[320]

GENERAL EVALUATION

The European Union's interest in education and training has passed through distinct stages, accelerating with the establishment of the Single Market. At the beginning, education and training were relatively minor interests. However, 1986 onwards, the Union started to show interest in education and training and they became significant areas of policy, with a stream of action programs contributing to the steady achievement of the Single Market. From 1993 onwards with the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, the EU has adopted a more radical approach to promote the concept and practice of the learning society. Since 2000, education and training are at the center of the economic and social strategy of the Union for 2010.

The number of the actors that are involved in the field of European education and training has also increased with the growing interest of the Union in the field. Today, both institutions of the Union and international governmental and non-governmental organizations such as EUA and ESIB are involved in the process. Their involvement as actors contributes not only to the establishment of a knowledge-based economy but also to the establishment of a knowledge-based society by 2010 which is one of the main targets of the Union since the beginning of the Bologna process.

The Bologna Declaration, signed by 29 countries in 1999 to reform the structures of their higher education systems and to lay the basis for establishing a European Higher Education Area by 2010, is considered a key document and a cornerstone both for the construction of the European Higher Education Area and the promotion of the European system of higher education world-wide providing it to be an actor rather than an object of globalization. Moreover, this new area 'positions the universities vis-à-vis the larger environment to make them receptive and answerable to external messages, demands and expectations which expands the mission of the universities by including a dimension which is captured in the

[320] http://firgoa.usc.es/drupal/node/35825 pp.7, (retrieved on 15 October 2007).

notion of service as the third key component of academic work next to teaching and research'.[321]

At present, 46 countries are signatory members of the process all working with the aim of achieving the goals set in the Bologna Declaration and the Lisbon Strategy and in the communiqués that follow them. Since 1999, the status of the Bologna Declaration has gradually altered from that of a voluntary action to a set of commitments to concrete future objectives of education and training systems. However, it has not been and is not a path towards 'standardization' or 'uniformisation' of European higher education. The fundamental principles of autonomy and diversity are respected. The differences are considered strength rather than a weakness in this process. With its social dimension, it emphasizes participative equity and employability of graduates in a lifelong learning context to create the knowledge-based society that is aimed at.

The policy objectives and the ways in which cooperation is conducted in this area are no longer isolated from the main areas of the Union activity such as economy. They are the core elements of the process of building a knowledge-based economy as well as a knowledge-based society.

On the other hand, this process has also shown that while Member States improve and reform their national policies, they can as well achieve the shared objectives that they have set at European level. The subsidiarity principle introduced in the Maastricht Treaty enables Member States to remain sovereign and responsible for the content and organization of their education systems. However, in the meantime, the same principle provides a non-binding but closer transnational cooperation between Member States for a growing convergence between their national policies and systems. By providing joint solutions to shared problems, the cooperation in the field of education has set a remarkable example for cooperation in other policy areas of the Union.

Lastly, it can be said that the education and training programs may function as a catalyst between the citizens and the Union since they operate at the closest level possible to the

[321] Fried, J. 'Higher Education Governance in Europe: autonomy, ownership and accountability-A review of the literature', Kohler, J. and J. Huber (eds.), *Higher Education Governance Between Democratic Culture, Academic Aspirations andMarket Forces,* Council of Europe Publishing, 2006, pp.81

citizens. Investments in the Union's human resources and the development of lifelong learning have been a cornerstone in the building of the European Education Space.

From a social constructivist point of view, the building of the European Education Space and specifically the establishment of the European Higher Education Area with the cooperation of the institutions, international governmental and non-governmental organizations at regional, national and European levels have provided a social context for all the actors of this space. This social context enables the actors' interaction with each other more than ever with the follow-up procedures, meetings, the mobility of the students, and academic and administrative staff. This interaction creates new relationships between structures and actors. For constructivists, as stated in the first chapter of this thesis, "identities are socially constructed, that actors' accounts of self and other and of their operational context are also the products of interaction".[322] Consquently, it can be said that the increasing interaction both between the actors themselves and between the actors and the structures provided by the European education space may as well play a crucial role in building the European identity. As Risse puts it "many social norms not only regulate behaviour, they also constitute the identity of actors in the sense of defining who *we* are as members of a social community".[323]

III. THE DUAL LINK: IDENTITY AND UNION CITIZENSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

We have made Italy; now we must make Italians.
Massimo d'Azeglio

At present, the concept of *identity* and *citizenship* are at the core of debates in most disciplines. The definition of identity varies from one discipline to another because they all deal with it from their own different perspectives. Therefore, there are different argumentations about what 'identity' is and what types of identity we can talk about, whether they are compatible with each other or not. In the political field, the concept of 'identity'

[322] Wendt, A., 'Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization*, 46 (2), 1992, http://proquest.umi.com, (retrieved on 12 October 2007).
[323] Risse, T., 'Social Constructivism and European Integration', Weiner, A. and T. Diez (eds), *Eropean Integration Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press,2004, pp. 163

constructs numerous arguments on nationality, ethnicity and culture. *National identity* and *post-national identity,* their construction and the elements that comprise them play a central role in these debates and are mostly explored together with the concept of 'citizenship'. The concept of state-centric modern citizenship emerged parallel to the concept of 'national identity' which is constructed after the establishment of nation-states in the 18th century. However, the foundation of and the developments in the European Community in economic, social and political fields added a new dimension to these two well-established and already defined concepts. The construction of the *European identity* and the *Union citizenship* and its practice brought forth new questions, debates and claims to the field of IR and European studies.

In this chapter, the concepts, developments and practices of *identity* (both at national and post-national level) and *citizenship* (both as modern state citizenship and Union citizenship) are explored and analyzed in detail from a constructivist point of view.

3.1. A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY FROM A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVE

It is a common assumption that identity-formation is a universal feature of human experience.[324] It can only be used with respect to human beings.[325] In its broad sense, identity of an individual is defined as the attitudes, which form a common core of all thoughts and behavior, and differentiates that individual from the other individuals. It can be ascribed by oneself or others. Both sides can converge and diverge depending on the extent and balance of interactions.[326] Identity, therefore, is social and relational. It is related to the relationship between the 'self' and the 'other'. It shows how the individual relates to society in creating

[324] Tomlinson, J., *Globalization and Cultural Identity,* 19.3.2003, http://www.polity.co.uk/global/pdf/GTReader2eTomlinson.pdf, pp.2, (retrieved on 8 November 2007).
[325] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp. 3 (retrieved: 14 November 2007).
[326] Münch, R., *Nation and Citizenship in the Global Age: From National to Transnational Ties and Identities,* New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp.137.

his/her personal identity. Personal identity is continually constructed[327] and gives meaning to the individual's place in society.[328] It is usually 'situational', if not always optional. That is, individuals identify themselves and are identified by others in different ways according to the situations in which they find themselves.[329] It is a concept related with the feeling of belonging and it is a psychological need for people.[330]

Robert Picht compares identity to health: "one becomes aware of its disturbing elements only through the confrontation with transformations that throw into doubt its presumed normality".[331] When human beings feel unrooted, they try to reassure themselves by identifying enemies and dangers and by declaring their loyalty to collective organisms. Frequently, then, these identifications are of a regressive nature and express the need for self-protection against the unknown.[332]

In psychology, the concept of 'identity' is used to bridge the gap between the 'self' and the outside world. Individuals are unique, whose perceptions of themselves can be constructed in relation, sympathy or opposition to elements of the outside world. So identity is a "network of feelings of belonging to an exclusion from human subgroups: belonging to a gender group, age group, a family, religion, race, community, nations, and so on".[333]

James D. Fearson undertakes an ordinary language analysis of the current meanings of identity and claims that as we use it now, an 'identity' refers to either a) a social category defined by membership rules and (alleged) characteristic attributes or expected behaviors, or

---

[327] Gillespie, P. and B. Laffan, 'European Identity: Theory and Empirics', M. Cini, A.K. Bourne (eds.), *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies,* New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp.135.
[328] von Benda-Beckmann, K. & M. Verkuyten, 'Introduction: Cultural Identity and Development in Europe', Benda-Beckmann, K. & M. Verkuyten (eds.), *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity in Europe,* European Research Center on Migration and Ethic Relations, Netherland, 1995, pp.24.
[329] Smith, A.D., 'National Identity and the Idea of European Identity', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-),* Vol.68, No.1, (Jan., 1992), pp.59. http://links.jstor.org, (retrieved: 3 November 2007).
[330] Bloom, W., *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
[331] Picht, R., 'Disturbed Identities: Social and Cultural Mutations in Contemporary Europe', S. Garcia (ed.), *European Identity and the Search for Legitimacy,* London: Pinter, 1993, pp.81-94 qtd. in Passerini, L., 'From the Ironies of Identity to the Identities of Irony', A.Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe:From Antiquity to the European Union,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2002, pp.193.
[332] Passerini, L., 'From the Ironies of Identity to the Identities of Irony', A.Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe:From Antiquity to the European Union,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2002, pp.193.
[333] Mummendey, A. & S. Waldzus, 'National Differences and European Plurality: Discrimination or Tolerance Between European Countries', R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer (eds.), *Transnational Identities,* Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publications, 2004.

b) socially distinguishing features that a person takes a special pride in or views as unchangeable but socially consequential or both a) and b) at once. In the letter sense, 'identity' is modern formulation of dignity, pride, or honor that implicitly links these to social categories.[334]

According to the Identity Process Theory (IP), identity is a social dynamic product of the interaction of the capacities for memory, consciousness, and organized construal that are characteristic of the biological organism with the physical and societal structures and influence processes that constitute the social context. The IP Theory takes identity in the singular, that is, the individual is deemed to be possessed of one identity that comprises many elements-some of which are derived from category membership.[335]

Categories of identity may include gender, sporting activity, occupation, social class, ethnicity, religion, ideology, a nation, a religion, a city, and so on. The availability of a range of identity sources is not necessarily considered as challenging or destabilizing. They are usually complementary with each other.[336]

The structure of identity is regulated by the dynamic processes of *accommodation-assimilation* and evaluation, which are deemed to be universal psychological processes. Assimilation and accommodation are components of the same process. Assimilation refers to the absorption of new components into the identity structure; accommodation refers to the adjustment that occurs in the existing structure in order to find a place for new elements. Accommodation-assimilation can be conceptualized as a memory system (equivalent to an information-processing system), subject to biases in retention and recall. These biases are determined by identity principles. The process of evaluation entails the allocation of meaning and value to identity contents, new and old. The two processes interact to determine the changing content and value of identity over time, with changing patterns of assimilation requiring changes in evaluation and vice versa.[337]

---

[334] Fearson, J., 'What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?', Mimeo, Stanford University, Nov., 1999. http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon (retrieved: 4 November 2007).
[335] Breakwell, G. 'Identity Change in the Context of the Growing Influence of European Union Institutions', Herrmann, R., T. Risse, M. Brewer (eds.) *Transnational Identities.* Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publications, 2004, pp.28.
[336] Bretherton, C, and J. Vogler, *The EU as a Global Actor,* London: Routledge, 1999, pp.223-226.
[337] Breakwell, G. 'Identity Change in the Context of the Growing Influence of European Union Institutions', Herrmann, R., T. Risse, M. Brewer (eds.) *Transnational Identities.* Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publications, 2004, pp.29.

The processes of identity are said to be guided in their operation by principles that define desirable states for the structure of identity. The actual end states considered desirable, and consequently the guidance principles, may be temporally and culturally specific, but in Western industrialized cultures the current guidance principles are: continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy, and self-esteem. These four principles will vary in their relative and absolute salience over time and across situations. Their salience may also vary developmentally.[338]

In the philosophical sense, an identity is whatever makes a thing what it is. Wendt treats this definition as a property of intentional actors that generates motivational and behavioral dispositions, which means that identity is at base a subjective or unit-level quality, rooted in an actor's self-understandings. However, the meaning of those understandings will often depend on whether other actors represent an actor in the same way or not. Accordingly, two kinds of ideas can enter into identity; those held by the 'self' and those held by the 'others'. Identities are constituted by both internal and external structures.[339]

This internal-external relationship makes identity susceptible to a general definition. Therefore, identity is classified and put into different categories by different scholars.

Michel Bruter classifies identity into three categories as personal, social and political.[340] Personal identity includes references such as belonging to a family, personal and cultural characteristics. Social identity, on the other hand, includes references to pre-existing social groups such as race, gender, social class and so on.[341] A citizen's political identity is his/her sense of belonging to politically relevant human groups and political structures. Political identity of an individual may refer to an individual's identification with the state (citizenship), with the nation (national identity) or with the synthesis of these two in the institutionalized form of the nation-state.[342]

---

[338] *Ibid.*
[339] Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.224.
[340] Bruter, M., *Citizens of Europe?: The Emergence of a Mass European Identity,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp.20.
[341] Breakwell, G. 'Identity Change in the Context of the Growing Influence of European Union Institutions', Herrmann, R., T. Risse, M. Brewer (eds.) *Transnational Identities.* Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publications, 2004, pp.28.
[342] Renwick, N., 'Re-reading Europe's Identities', Krause, J. and N. Renwick (eds.), *Identities in International Relations,* London: MacMillan, 1996, pp.154.

Wendt focuses on four kinds of identity: a) personal or corporate, b) type, c) role, and d) collective.[343]

Personal-or in the case of organizations, *corporate-identities* are constituted by the self-organizing, homeostatic structures that make actors distinct entities. An actor can have only one such identity. It always has a material base, the body in the case of people, many bodies and territory in the case of states. People are distinct entities in virtue of biology, but without consciousness and memory, that is; without a sense of 'I', they are not agents, may be not even humans. Thus, the problem of explaining what personal identity is, is the problem of stating what aspects of a person refers to and precisely in what sense these are important or 'essential'. Both personal and corporate identities are constitutionally exogenous to 'otherness'. They are a site or platform for other identities.[344]

When answering the question of personal identity, Charles Taylor argues that 'the question of identity… is often spontaneously phrased by people in the form of: Who am I? What answers the question for us is an understanding of what is of crucial importance to us. My identity is defined by the commitments and identifications which provide the frame or horizon within which I can try to determine from case to case what is good , or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what endorse or oppose'.[345] Thus in Taylor's interpretation, personal identity is a personal moral code of compass, a set of moral principles, ends or goals that a person uses as a normative framework and a guide to action.[346]

For Fearson, Taylor's explanation of personal identity is too narrow because personal identity does not consist of one but a set of aspects or attributions of a person. These may be physical attributes (e.g., being tall or red-headed), membership in social categories, person-specific beliefs, goals, desires, moral principles, or matters of personal style. Furthermore, they must be aspects that the person is conscious of, and which distinguish the person from at least some others.[347]

---

[343] Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.224.
[344] *Ibid.,* pp.224-225.
[345] Taylor, C., *The Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989 qtd. in Fearson, J., 'What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?', Mimeo, Stanford University, Nov., 1999., pp.23
[346] Fearson, J., 'What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?', Mimeo, Stanford University, Nov., 1999., pp.21, http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon (retrieved: 4 November 2007).
[347] Fearson, J., 'What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?', Mimeo, Stanford University, Nov., 1999., pp.23-24, http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon (retrieved: 4 November 2007).

The term *type* identity refers to a social category or "label applied to persons who share (or are thought to share) some characteristics, in appearance, behavioral traits, attitudes, values, skills (e.g. language), knowledge, opinions, experience, historical commonalities (like region or place of birth), and so on".[348] An actor might have multiple type identities at once.[349]

The role of membership rules in transforming individual characteristics into social types means that others are involved in their construction. As such, type identities have an inherently cultural dimension which poses problems for methodological individualism. Unlike role and collective identities, however, the characteristics that underlie type identities are at base *intrinsic* to actors.[350] National identities, like American or Russian, are examples of type identities. Other social categories that are almost wholly type identities include part affiliations (e.g. Democrat or Republican), sexual identity and ethnicity.[351]

This simultaneously self-organizing and social quality can be seen clearly in the states system, where type identities correspond to 'regime types' or 'forms of state'[352] like capitalist states, fascist states, monarchial states and so on. On the other hand, forms of state are constituted by internal principles of political legitimacy that organize state society relations with respect to ownership and control of the means of production and destruction. These principles may be caused by interaction with other states, but in a constitutive sense they are exogenous to the states system because they do not depend on other states for existence. On the other hand, not all shared characteristics become type identities.[353]

Role identities refer to labels applied to people who are expected or obligated to perform some set of actions, behaviors, routines or functions in particular situations (e.g. taxi driver, mother, professor, student).[354] They also take the dependency on culture and thus 'others' one step further. Whereas the characteristics that give rise to type identities are pre-social, role

---

[348] *Ibid.*, pp.17
[349] Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.225-26.
[350] *Ibid.*
[351] Fearon, J., 'What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?', Mimeo, Stanford University, Nov., 1999. http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon (retrieved 4 November 2007).
[352] Cox, R., *Production, Power and World Order*, New York: Colombia University Press, 1987 qtd. in Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.26.
[353] Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.226.
[354] Fearon, J., 'What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?', Mimeo, Stanford University, Nov., 1999, http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon (retrieved on 4 November 2007).

identities are not based on intrinsic properties and as such exist only in relation to 'others'. One cannot enact role identities by oneself. The sharing of expectations on which role identities depend is facilitated by the fact that many roles are institutionalized in social structures that pre-date particular interactions.[355]

The concept of role identity is applied to states by 'foreign policy role theorists'. Contrary to the neorealist arguments of role identity which strip the concept of role to interests only, Wendt argues that there are three reasons why role identity exists in international relations. First, there is a tendency in literature to take certain international institutions and their associated role identities for granted. The most important example is sovereign equality. The fact that sovereign equality of the modern state is recognized by other states means that it is now a *role* identity with substantial rights and behavioral norms. Second, shared ideas can be conflictual or cooperative, which means that 'enemy' can be as much a role identity as 'friend'. Third, role identities might not be just a matter of choice that can be easily discarded, but positions forced on actors by the representations of significant 'others'. In this situation even if a state wants to abandon a role, it may be unable to do so because the 'other' resists out of a desire to maintain *its* identity.[356] For example, Turkey has the role of the 'other' and represents 'Islam' for the European Union whereas for Turkey, EU represents a democratic welfare space with functioning human rights for its citizens.

The fourth kind of identity that Wendt focuses on is the *collective* identity which takes the relationship of 'self' and 'other' to its logical conclusion, identification. Identification is a cognitive process in which the 'self-other' distinction becomes blurred and at the limit transcended altogether. As Turner puts it, self is 'categorized' *as* other. Identification is usually issue-specific and rarely total, but always involves extending the boundaries of the 'self' to include the 'other'. This process makes use of but goes beyond role and type identities. Collective identity is a distinct combination of role and type identities.[357]

Richard Münch defines collective identity as the core of attitudes which all members of a collective have in common in their thoughts and behavior and which differentiates them from other collectives. The attitudes can be ascribed internally from individual, several or all

[355] Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.227.
[356] Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 227-29.
[357] *Ibid.,* pp.229.

members and externally from individual, several or all members of another collective. In regard to convergence or divergence of these attributes, the same is true for the identity of an individual. They adjust themselves according to the extent and balance of interactions.[358]

However, Smith states that collective identities tend to be pervasive and persistent. They are less subject to rapid changes and tend to be more intense and durable, even when large numbers of individuals no longer feel their power. This is especially true of religious and ethnic identities, which even in pre-modern eras often became politicized. It is particularly true of national identities today.[359]

Soysal argues that in the postwar period with the increasing legitimacy of the right to one's own culture and identity as well as through the works of international organizations such as United Nations, UNESCO and the Council of Europe, collective identity has been redefined as a category of human rights. Codified as a right, identities have become important organizational and symbolic tools for creating new group solidarities and mobilizing resources (as in the case of women's movements, gays and lesbians, regional identities, immigrants, and so on).[360]

Wendt points out the relevance of collective identities to international politics despite the realists' objection to the idea that states could ever form collective identities. Wendt starts with William Bloom's proposition that the very possibility of the state assumes that individuals identify with an idea of the state, and as such its *corporate* identity will depend on powerful and enduring notions of *collective* identity among individuals. Of course, just because individuals are capable of forming collective identities is no guarantee that states can form them. However, Wendt focuses on a second variant. He argues that collective identity formation among states takes place against a cultural background in which egoistic identities and interests are initially dominant but this does not mean that states' resistance to collective identity formation can never be created. The stress on egoistic identities has sometimes been

---

[358] Münch, R., *Nation and Citizenship in the Global Age: From National to Transnational Ties and Identities*, New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp.137.
[359] Smith, A.D., 'National Identity and the Idea of European Identity', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol.68, No.1, (Jan., 1992), pp.59. http://links.jstor.org, (retrieved: 3 November 2007).
[360] Soysal, Y. 'Rights, Identity and Claim-Making' pp.2, http://www.brandeis.edu/ethics/international_justice/JAC_Soysal.pdf, (retrieved: 5 November 2007).

so great that states have merged their bodies in a new *corporate* identity (the US in 1789, Germany in 1871), which is a logical endpoint of the process.[361]

When exploring multiple identities, Anthony Smith claims that in the modern era of industrial capitalism and bureaucracy, the number and the scale of possible identities have increased. Gender and age, class and religious loyalties continue to exercise their influence; but today, professional, civic and ethnic allegiances have proliferated. Above all, national identification has become the cultural and political norm, transcending other loyalties in scope and power. However, dominant one identification is (e.g. national identification), human beings retain a multiplicity of allegiances in the contemporary world. They have *multiple* identities and under normal circumstances, most human beings can live happily with multiple identifications and enjoy moving between them as the situation requires. These identities may be concentric rather than conflictual.[362]

Multiple group identities might relate to each other or be configured in a system of loyalties at least in three different ways; first, identities can be *nested* like Russian Matruska dolls, one inside the next. In this configuration everyone in a smaller community is also a member of a larger community. For instance, local identities are subsumed in national identities, and national identities subsumed in Europe-wide identities. Second, identities can also be *cross-cutting*. In this configuration, some, but not all, members of one identity group are also members of another identity group. And this other group is composed of members who share identity within that group but also have identities with other groups that are not shared with the same people. Career and professional identities for instance, cross-cut religious identities. Third, identities can be *separate*. In this configuration the different groups that a person belongs to are distinct from one another, with essentially non-overlapping memberships. For example, an individual's work life may create common identities with a completely different set of people than those involved in his/her private life.[363] Another configuration is the *marble cake model.* According to this model, different components of an individual's identity cannot

---

[361] *Ibid.,* pp. 363-364.
[362] Smith, A.D., 'National Identity and the Idea of European Identity', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-),* Vol.68, No.1, (Jan., 1992), pp.59. http://links.jstor.org, (retrieved: 3 November 2007).
[363] Herrmann, R. and M. B. Brewer, 'Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU', R.K. Herrmann, T. Risse and M.B. Brewer (eds.), *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU,* New York: Rawman & Littlefield, 2004, pp.8.

be separated into different levels. Instead, they influence each other, mesh and blend into each other.[364]

Evidently, the intense interest in identity and questions concerning identity bring forth different definitions, clarifications and kinds of identity in social science discourse, and IR scholars provide different identity argumentations to the discipline. However, it can be said that there are common themes in identity from most perspectives. These common themes can be summarized as: a) identity is something dynamic and is never complete or totally stable, b) it is not a "rather loose patchwork but a more or less integrated symbolic structure with time dimensions (past, present, future), and provides important competencies to individuals such as assuring continuity and consistency",[365] and c) it has different types such as personal, role and collective identities which function at different levels.

3.1.1. The National Identity

Recently, the concepts of 'national' and 'post-national' identity are at the core of most debates related to the construction of European identity and Europeanness.

National identity has always been a constructed identity and we need to move beyond the simple explanation of historical identity to acknowledge the constancy of active formation and reformation of it. It is vital to see 'the past' as the location of dynamic processes of national identity formation. The link with an historical imagery is unavoidable to understand the concept of national identity.[366] The idea of national identity requires an idea of temporal and spatial continuity of a nation. "It is not the fact or condition of being different from other nations, but rather something about the content of the differences".[367] While national identification is still frequently the political and cultural norm that transcends and organizes

---

[364] Risse, T., 'European Institutions and Identity Change: What Have We Learned?', R.K.Herrmann, T. Risse and M.B. Brewer (eds.), *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU,* New York: Rawman & Littlefield, 2004, pp. 252-253.

[365] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp. 3 (retrieved: 14 November 2007).

[366] Lunn, K., 'Reconsidering Britishness: The construction and significance of national identity in twentieth century Britain', B., Jenkins and S.A. Sofos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe,* London: Routledge, 1996, pp.86-87.

[367] Fearon, J., 'What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?', Mimeo, Stanford University, Nov., 1999, pp. 8. http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon (retrieved on 4 November 2007).

other loyalties, human beings maintain a multiplicity of belongings that tend to push the national one into the background.[368]

The concept of national identity is both complex and highly abstract. Indeed the multiplicity of cultural identities, both now and in the past, is mirrored in the multiple dimensions of conceptions of nationhood. These dimensions include:[369]

- The territorial boundedness of separate cultural populations in their own 'homelands';
- The shared nature of myths of origin and historical memories of the community;
- The common bond of a mass, standardized culture;
- A common territorial division of labor, with mobility for all members and ownership of resources by all members in the homeland;
- The possession by all members of a unified system of common legal rights and duties under common laws and institutions.

In brief, a nation can be defined 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'[370]. The definition itself reveals that national identifications are fundamentally multidimensional. "Although they are composed of analytically separable components - ethnic, legal, territorial, economic and political - they are united by the nationalist ideology into a potent vision of human identity and community. In this respect, national identifications possess distinct advantages over the idea of a unified European identity". [371] However, the constitution of a national community cannot suppress all the differences between individuals or social groups but relativise or subordinate them so that they appear secondary or superficial because of the common 'we' which discriminates between the people and 'foreigners'.[372]

---

[368] Passerini, L., 'From the Ironies of Identity to the Identities of Irony', A.Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe:From Antiquity to the European Union,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2002, pp.199.
[369] Smith, A.D., 'National Identity and the Idea of European Identity', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-),* Vol.68, No.1, (Jan., 1992), pp.60.
[370] Smith, A.D., 'National Identity and the Idea of European Identity', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-),* Vol.68, No.1, (Jan., 1992), pp.60-61.
[371] *Ibid.*.
[372] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp. 4, (retrieved: 14 November 2007).

The primordialist approach sees national identities as the product of timeless essence. National identities are strong because they satisfy deep human psychological needs, such as the need to 'belong' somewhere and to overcome the futility and transience of human existence through the dream of collective immortality. This line of reasoning often portrays the nation as a unitary, seamless transhistorical cultural community which is imbued with timeless qualities. From the ethno-national perspective, national identities are the combination of modern socio-political conditions and the pre-modern, ethnic elements within nations.[373] This process involves both an internal homogenization and a negative exclusionary dimension which implies the exclusion of non-members.[374]

According to Risse, national identity is a social identity by its nature. Social identities contain, first, ideas describing and categorizing an individual's membership in a social group including emotional, affective, and evaluative components.[375] Groups of individuals perceive that they have something in common, on the basis of which they form an 'imagined community'.[376] Second, this commonness is accentuated by a sense of difference with regard to other communities. Individuals frequently tend to view the group with which they identify in a more positive way than the 'out-group'. This does not mean, however, that the perceived differences between the 'in-group' and the out-group are necessarily based on value judgments and that the 'other' is usually looked down at.[377] Third, national identities construct the 'imagined communities' of (mostly territorially defined) nation states and are therefore closely linked to ideas about sovereignty and statehood.[378] However, imagined should not be understood as not real, because any association is also charged with interpretations and with

---

[373] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship, Identity and Immigration in the European Union Between Past and Future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.23.
[374] Münch, R., *Nation and Citizenship in the Global Age: From National to Transnational Ties and Identities,* New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 146.
[375] Risse, T., 'A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities', M.A.Cowles, J.Caporasa and T. Risse (eds.), *Transforming Europe,* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp.201.
[376] Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* revised ed. London: Verso, 1991.
[377] Eisenstadt, S.N., and B., Giesen, 'The Construction of Collective Identity', *European Journal of Sociology,* 36, 1995, pp.72-102 in Risse, T., 'A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities', M.A.Cowles, J.Caporasa and T. Risse (eds.), *Transforming Europe,* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp.201.
[378] Bloom, W., *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

plans. These interpretations are imagined but also real.[379] National identities often contain visions of just political and social orders. Fourth, individuals hold multiple social identities, and these social identities are context bound. The context boundedness of national identities also means that different components of national identities are invoked depending on the policy area in question. National identities with regard to citizenship rules might look different from national identities concerning understandings of the state and political order. Collective identities pertaining to the nation-state, which usually take quite some time and effort to construct, are embedded in institutions and a country's political culture.[380]

The constitution of a national community cannot suppress all the differences between individuals or social groups but relativise or subordinate them so that they appear secondary or superficial because of the common 'we' which discriminates between the people and 'foreigners'. This means that the frontiers of the state will be internalized and become internal frontiers.[381] As Balibar states, one can also use a converse formulation, "the external frontiers have to be imagined constantly as a projection and protection of an internal collective personality, which each of us carries within ourselves and enables us to inhabit the space of the state where we have always been-and will be-*at home*".[382]

There are two ingredients that are generally used in the constitution of the national community; language and race. Nation-states have developed a language policy by promoting a standard language used by politicians, writers and journalists, which surpass the regional and social differences in language use. Schools are the basic institutions which contribute to the reproduction of a new form of ethnicity based on language; the national language will be the 'mother tongue'. Race in this context is an extended system of kinship relations. An

---

[379] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp. 4, (retrieved: 14 November 2007).

[380] Risse, T., 'A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities', M.A.Cowles, J.Caporasa and T. Risse (eds.), *Transforming Europe,* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp.201-202.

[381] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp. 4, (retrieved: 14 November 2007).

[382] Balibar, E. and I. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class. Ambiguous Identities,* London: Verso, 1991, pp.95 qtd. in Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp. 4, (retrieved: 14 November 2007).

individual belongs to the people because the individuals belonging to it are interrelated. This relation cannot be reduced to genealogical blood lines. It is much more abstract.[383]

Risse explains how collective nation-state identities assume their 'taken for grantedness' over time with regard to the evolution of nation-sate identities in three European countries: Britain, Germany and France.

His empirical argument starts with the 1950s. At the time, five ideal-typical identity constructions can be differentiated from one another in the various national debates on Europe and the nation-state. Their origins can be found in the inter-war period (and earlier), and these ideas were hotly debated in various trans-national European movements and organizations during the 1950s:[384]

1. *Nationalist* concepts of nation-state identity whereby the 'we' is restricted to one's own nation and 'Europe' constitutes part of the 'others': These ideas were compatible with a *Europe of nation-states* in an intergovernmentalist sense. Such a concept prevailed in Great Britain among both major parties, dominated among the French Gaullists, and was also supported by an elite minority in Germany.
2. A *Europe as a community of values* 'from the Atlantic to the Urals', embedded in geography, history, and culture: this concept gained some supporters during the early years of the Cold War, particularly in France and Germany. Its most prominent advocate was Charles de Gaulle.
3. *Europe as a 'third force'* as a democratic socialist alternative between capitalism and communism, thus overcoming the boundaries of the Cold War order: this concept originated in the transnational socialist movement, particularly among resistance circles against the Nazis. This identity construction prevailed among French Socialists and German Social Democrats during the early 1950s.
4. A *modern Europe as part of the Western community* based on liberal democracy and social market economy, in sharp contrast to communist ideas: this identity construction originated partly among transnational European movements of the

[383] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity*, Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp. 4, (retrieved: 14 November 2007).
[384] Risse, T., 'A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities', M.A.Cowles, J.Caporasa and T. Risse (eds.), *Transforming Europe*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp.203-204.

interwar period. During the 1940s and 1950s, U.S. leaders strongly promoted this particular concept of European identity. It then became salient among German and French Christian Democrats as well as among minority of the German Social Democratic Party.

5. A *Christian Europe (Abendland)* based on Christian, particularly Catholic values, including strong social obligations: This identity construction also originated in transnational European movements of the interwar period. Such ideas were widespread among Christian Democratic parties in France and Germany during the 1950s but then became increasingly amalgamated with modern, Westernized ideas of Europe.

Since 1990s, only two of the five conceptions of 'we as a nation-state' remain in the three countries: The *nationalist* idea of nation-state identity and the *modern Western* concept of Europe as a liberal community. However, the latter concept comes in distinct national colors.[385]

In sum, since its emergence, the nation-sate has produced a new form of community with a collective identity by suppressing ethnic, cultural, religious, regional and class-based differences. This state-centric identity is called *national* identity. Its outcome is 'we' and the 'others'. 'We' are the people who believe to have common characteristics going back to the past and which have a common future. The 'others', on the other hand, are people with whom we do not have any commonness. With these two main components, 'we' and the 'other', the concept of national identity and the already existing, well-defined national identities in Europe have been important for the representation of states in the international state system and central to most debates over the construction of European identity and the European Union citizenship. Whether it is and will be contradictory or a complementary element in the construction of European identity is still a question to be answered.

3.1.2. The Post-National Identity: European Identity

[385] Risse, T., 'A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities', M.A.Cowles, J.Caporasa and T. Risse (eds.), *Transforming Europe,* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp.204.

There are several forms of identification beyond and below the nation-state, which are capable of generating a sense of belonging to a community. As the social constructivist literature on identity politics has shown, "individuals inhibit multiple worlds simultaneously, interact in various contexts and grow as personalities by developing various identifications in relation to all these contexts".[386] "Individuals have a more or less extensive repertoire of identity options which they call upon or engage within different contexts and for different purposes".[387]

However, this does not mean that all identifications are equally intense and durable. Some identification will be more durable than others, but none is fixed: all are subject to negotiation and rearticulation through various narratives and specific forms of collective action. Different contexts provide different sorts of experience which in turn induce different identifications.[388]

In terms of European identity, the question whether a European identity is conceivable or not divides the scholars into two camps as primordialists and constructivists. Primordialists such as Anthony Smith argue that Europe possesses little of the shared cultural and historical artifacts from which identities have been crafted and will therefore never be able to craft one of its own because such communalities are difficult or impossible to fabricate[389] whereas constructivists believe that identities can and have been shaped into existence and thus Europe has the same prospects for forming a common European identity.[390]

Within this context, Veen argues that historically Europe has always been based on different identities. Europe is the region of the world with the highest diversity of different languages, ethnic groups and nations, cultures and forms of life. All these factors contribute and have always contributed to the shaping of European identity, sometimes in partnership, sometimes

---

[386] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship, Identity and Immigration in the European Union Between Past and Future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.24.
[387] Wallmans, S. 'Identity Options', C. Fried (ed.), *Minorities: Community and Identity,* Dahlem Konferanzen 1983, Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1983, pp.70 qtd. in Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship, Identity and Immigration in the European Union Between Past and Future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.24.
[388] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship, Identity and Immigration in the European Union Between Past and Future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.24.
[389] Smith, A. D., 'National Identity and the Idea of European Unity', P.Gowan and P. Anderson (eds.), *The Question of Europe,* London: Verso, 1997.
[390] Green, D. M., 'On Being European: The Character and Consequences of European Identity', M.G. Gowles and M. Smith (eds.), *Risks, Reforms, Resistance or Revival: The State of the EU,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 294.

in conflict. Thus from ancient times until today, Europe has always perceived itself as a unit in more than geographical terms.[391]

Accordingly, Laffan states that problems of identity are raised by the politicization of immigration, the fragmentation of the post-war order, regionalism, the revival of the ultra Right and the process of European integration itself.[392] Therefore, according to Magistro, European identity is a supranational identity, a sense of European togetherness, that seems to be among the public goods the EU needs to advertize in this crucial phase of its development; a product that, if 'consumed', can help preserve the delicate balance between nationalism and supranationalism. EU citizens' consumption of a European identity would contribute to the Union's 'profit': the success, acceptance and smooth development of Europe's integration process. Nonetheless, publicizing a supranational identity to Europeans is a challenging and delicate issue because they already have well-defined national/local identities.[393]

Jacobs and Mainer ask the following questions for the problem of the constitution of a European identity: are we in the presence of the constitution of a new 'we', a new people with the characteristics of Europeanness? Is it the constitution of Europeanness based on the already existing national identities or is it to some extend independent of these identities? Does there also emerge a new form of ethnicity which is proper to Europeans?[394] The answers of these questions lie in the formulation of Balibar. He states that "one might seriously wonder whether in regard to the production of fictive ethnicity, the 'building' of Europe – to the extend that it will seek to transfer to the 'Community' level functions and symbols of the nation-state – will orient itself *predominantly* towards the institution of a 'European co-lingualism' or *predominantly* in the direction of the idealization of 'European demographic identity' conceived mainly in opposition to the 'southern population' (Turks, Arabs, Blacks)".[395] However, for Magistro, given Europeans' national pride advertising a continental

---

[391] Veen, H., 'Towards a European Identity: Policy or Culture', J. Andrews, et. Al (eds.), *Why Europe? Problems of Culture and Identity: Political and Historical Dimensions,* Basingstoke Hampshire: Mac Millan, 2000, pp. 41.
[392] Laffan, B., 'The Politics of Identity and Political Order in Europe', *Journal of Market Studies*, Vol.34, No.1, 1996, pp.81.
[393] Magistro, E. 'Promoting the European Identity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union' *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.53., www.cadaad.org/files/CADAAD1-1-Magistro-2007-Promoting-European-Identity.pdf, (retrieved on 18 November 2007).
[394] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp. 5, (retrieved: 15 November 2007).
[395] Balibar, E. and I. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class. Ambiguous Identities,* London: Verso, 1991, pp.105, qtd. in Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A.

identity in the European context represents a high-risk taking. Any imposition on the national 'self' and 'wants' could be perceived as a threat to Europeans' national face/identity and as an attempt to replace local values and powers with European ones. Therefore, it is important that they do not perceive their national identity as being at risk.[396]

For over three decades supporters of European integration have been seeing the promotion of a European consciousness and the creation of a European identity as a crucial policy goal. In the early 70s several leading politicians ranging from social democrats to the conservatives have placed the development of a supra-national identity on top of the EC political agenda during the debates on the future European integration.[397] A common European consciousness was seen as an inevitable factor for the successful transformation of the EC into a genuine supra-national political union. In the 80s, the idea of a political union gradually lost importance in favor of the prospect of a single European economic field and single market. The goal of a strong European identity was, however, not abandoned. Within the perspective of furthering economic integration, promotion of a European consciousness among ordinary citizens remained on top of the European agenda. In the late 80s, this was translated in a large scale European public relations campaign and the introduction of a wide variety of Eurosymbolism. When in the early 90s the Single Market had actually come into effect, the call for ongoing political integration and the promotion of European identity firmly regained momentum. This was actualized in the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht and the introduction of the so-called European citizenship, a new kind of supra-national legal status.[398] A next important step in the process of mobilizing and creating European consciousness was the introduction of the common currency. As Mary O'Rourke states, "while the single currency will have the most significant impact on people's identification with the Union, there remains a pressing need to bring together European citizens on non-economic grounds. The Union must increase the level of solidarity and unity between the peoples of its member states because people need clear and tangible concepts in order to

---

(eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp. 5, (retrieved: 15 November 2007).

[396] Magistro, E. 'Promoting the European Identity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union' *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.53., www.cadaad.org/files/CADAAD1-1-Magistro-2007-Promoting-European-Identity.pdf, (retrieved on 18 November 2007).

[397] Wiener, A. And T. Diez, 'Introducing the Mosaic of Integration Theory', A. Wiener and T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp.7-8.

[398] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp.6-7, (retrieved: 15 November 2007).

develop a sense of belonging ".[399] Today, it is clear that a collective identity among Europeans could ease the integration process, could confer an unquestionable democratic authority to the Union, and could appease the sense of threat to the cultural, linguistic and ideological heritage of its members.[400]

To create a collective identity among Europeans the Forward Studies Unit of the Commission attempts to shape European identity, in part around a typology of European features which is called 'a European model of society' whose features include the democratic distribution of power and freedom of citizens vis a vis the state. In other instances, the Commission and other EU institutions construct different, more general, and in some ways more powerful models of European identity, which have remained undefined within the institutional context of the EU but which converge around the notion of a 'shared common interst'. Furthermore, European identity is also finding expression outside the EU in the notion of a common 'European external identity', based on the developing role of the EU as a solitary entity in international relations on the continental and world stages. It is the role of EU institutions in the production and perception of common or shared European identity, both within and outside of the EU.[401]

Within this framework, Fossum argues that for European post-national identity to sustain, a number of mutually supportive and converging developments have to continue and strengthen. First is the continued development and strengthening of the EU. This applies to its institutional structure, its range and depth of operations. It has to continue to expand into the realms of nation-state activity that are vital to identity formation. However, it does not need to replace those of the member states with its own. What matters most is the continued commitment to as well as a legal political entrenchment of institutions to ensure human rights and democracy. Second is the continued decline of the ability of the nation states to form exlusive and unique national identities. This does not imply that states cease to form or shape identities but that these will be more inclusive and other regarding. These two processes are clearly related. The latter will not benefit the EU unless the EU is able to fill the gaps left

[399] O'Rourke, 'The Union And Its Citizens: On the Priorities of The Irish Presidency', *Institute of European Affairs Conference,* Dublin Castle, 1996, http://gos.sbc.edu/o/orourke.htm, (retrieved on 15 November 2007).
[400] Magistro, E. 'Promoting the European Identity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union' *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.53., www.cadaad.org/files/CADAAD1-1-Magistro-2007-Promoting-European-Identity.pdf, (retrieved on 18 November 2007).
[401] Bellier, I. and T.M. Wilson, 'Building, Imagining and Experiencing Europe: Institutions and Identities in the European Union', Bellier, I. and T.M. Wilson (eds.), *An Antropology of the EU: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe,* Oxford: Berg, 2000.

open by this change. third is the continued strengthening of the international developments that are conductive to both further rights development and peaceful cooperation. Fourth is the further strengthening of a European and international civil society.[402]

According to Jacobs and Maier, three strategies have been used in creating and fostering a European identity. Firstly, effort has been made to stress and discursively construct a common, culturally defined European identity in a similar way national identities have been constructed.[403] This was done through the use of historical myths referring to a common Christian heritage,[404] a common political and legal history going back to the Roman period and the tradition of humanism. Moreover, ideologies (Europe as a peaceful and democratic project and modernizing and civilizing aspirations), the performance of secular rituals (European elections) and the use of common Eurosymbolisms (flag, anthem, format of passport, etc.[405]) were used in promoting a common cultural identity. In addition, a broad scheme of cooperation programs was introduced in European states on education and research (e.g. Erasmus and Leonardo da Vinci).[406] Moreover, since 2000 actions taken has promoted language learning within the Union. The use of single currency added an extra dimension to the economic life all over Europe**.**

Secondly, a supranational legal system was built which guaranteed inhabitants of Europe several basic rights and gave European workers specific rights (through the Treaty of Rome). This communitarian law differs from the traditional law because it applies both between individuals as between states. Through the European Court of Justice these rights are enforceable.[407]

Finally, a new form of European supranational citizenship has been introduced in a distinct and explicit 'citizenship of the Union'. This created the basis of legitimacy for individual rights, and nationhood has increasingly been replaced by the 'narrative' of human rights in

---

[402] Fossum, J.E., 'Identity-Politics in the European Union' *European Integration,* Vol.23, No.4, 2001, pp. 401-402.
[403] See Habsbaum, 1983.
[404] See Bryant, 1999, pp.199.
[405] See Shore, 1995, pp.227.
[406] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp.7, (retrieved: 15 November 2007).
[407] *Ibid.*

EU political discourse on individual rights.[408] This citizenship of the Union also confirmed the right of free movement on the territory of member states, the right to address appeals to the European Parliament and to the European ombudsman. In addition, the right of political participation to municipal and European elections in every member state under the same conditions as state citizens was introduced. And finally, to get support outside the EU by any diplomatic service of another member state as if one were an own national was installed.[409]

3.2. A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF CITIZENSHIP FROM A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVE

Since the emergence of the concept of citizenship, it has taken different shapes and definitions in its rhetoric, ideology and practice. From the early stages in its history, the term 'citizenship' contained a cluster of meanings related to a defined legal or social status, a means of political identity, a focus of loyalty, a requirement of duties, an expectation of rights and a yardstick of behavior.[410] In its primary meaning, 'citizenship' implies membership to a political society, involving the possession of legal rights, usually including the rights to vote and stand for political office.[411]

For many centuries citizenship was a privileged status given only to those fulfilling certain conditions such as owning property. However, in modern states, citizens' rights are usually considered as aspect of nationality, usually granted automatically to all those born in a particular country as well as the others in certain circumstances, such as permanent settlers. According to Jackson, citizenship is a distinctively democratic ideal. Citizens, in contrast to subjects, have legal protection against arbitrary decisions by their governments. At the same

---

[408] Soysal, Y., *Limits of Citizenship. Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe,* London: University of Chicago, 1994, pp.144 qtd. in Jacobs, D. and R. Maier., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp.7, (retrieved: 15 November 2007).

[409] Jacobs, D. and R. Maier., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf, pp.7, (retrieved: 15 November 2007).

[410] Heater, D., *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education,* London: Longman, 1990, pp.163, qtd. in Jackson, R., 'Citizenship, religious and cultural diversity and education', R. Jackson (ed.), *International Perspectives on Citizenship, Education and Religious Diversity,* London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003, pp.2.

[411] Jackson, R., 'Citizenship, religious and cultural diversity and education', R. Jackson (ed.), *International Perspectives on Citizenship, Education and Religious Diversity,* London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003, pp.2.

time, they have the opportunity to play an active role in influencing government policy. Whereas Aristotle considered citizenship (politeia) primarily in terms of duties, citizenship in modern liberal thinking, has tended to be viewed more in terms of rights. Many commentators argue that citizenship should involve a balance between rights and duties.[412]

According to Meehan, there are good grounds for treating the overlap of citizenship and nationality as a matter of historical contingency and as an analytically necessary condition. In short, nationality is a legal identity from which no rights need arise, though obligations might – as is obvious when nationals are called 'subjects'. Conversely, citizenship is a practice, or a form of belonging resting on a set of legal, social and participatory entitilements which may be conferred, and sometimes are, irrespective of nationality – or denied, as in the case of women and some religious and ethnic minorities, regardless of nationality.[413]

The conception of state-centered modern national citizenship was an invention of the French Revolution. The formal delimitation of the citizenry; the establishment of civil equality, entailing shared rights and shared obligations; the institutionalization of political rights; the legal rationalization and ideological accentuation of the distinction between citizens and foreigners; the articulation of the doctrine of national sovereignty and of the link between citizenship and nationhood; the substitution of immediate, direct relations between the citizen and the state for the mediated, indirect relations characteristic of the ancient regime – the Revolution brought all these developments together on a national level for the first time.[414]

A seminal contribution to the discussion of citizenship was made by T. H. Marshall. In his initial exploration of the topic, he defines citizenship as follows:[415]

> Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of the community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which

---

[412] *Ibid.*
[413] Meehan, E., *Citizenship and the European Union,* Center for European Integration Studies, Rheinisch Friedrich Wilhelms-Universitat, Bonn, http://www.zei.de/download/zei_dp/dp_c63_meehan.pdf, (retrieved on 17 October 2007).
[414] Brubaker, W.R., *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany,* London: Harvard University Pres, 1992, pp.35.
[415] Marshall, T.H., 'Citizenship and Social Class', *Sociology at the Cross-roads,* London: Sage, 1963, pp.87 qtd. in Stewart, A., 'Two Conceptions of Citizenship', *The British Journal of Sociolog,* Vol. 46, No.1, 1995, pp. 65.

> citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed.

He further proposes that citizenship requires a particular kind of social bond involving:[416]

> a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession. It is a loyalty of free men endowed with rights and protected by a common law. Its growth is stimulated both by the struggle to win those rights and by their enjoyment when won.

Accordingly, Marshall argues that the analysis of citizenship in the modern world would be greatly facilitated if we were to differentiate citizenship rights into three types as civil, political and social rights respectively, each type being associated with a particular institutional sphere.[417]

Since the 1980s, the question of citizenship has taken root as a major theme in the social sciences and as the focus of juridical, political, social and cultural debates in all democratic societies. "Within nation-states citizenship has been expressed in different domains extending from the national community to the civil society, even though only legal citizenship allows the full participation of individuals and groups in the political community".[418] According to Stewart, there are two different conceptions of citizenship in the contemporary discussion of citizenship; a) state-centered and emmanent, b) democratic, non-state-centered and imminent. "The former conception involves the identification of citizenship with the elaboration of a distinctive, formal legal status, which elaboration is co-terminus with the emergence of nation-states that can be defined as not only territorial but also membership organizations, in which the capacity to determine membership and to enforce the resultant decision has been fundamental to state power and diverse lineages of it"[419]. This may be identified as *state citizenship.* The second conception involves the elaboration of citizenship around *shared membership of a political community* and requires the non-identification of such political

---

[416] *Ibid.*
[417] Stewart, A., 'Two Conceptions of Citizenship', *The British Journal of Sociolog,* Vol. 46, No.1, 1995, pp. 69, http://links.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[418] Kastoryano, R., 'Citizenship, Nationhood, and Non-Territoriality: Transnational Paticipation in Europe', *Political Science and Politics,* Washington: Oct. 2005, Vol.38, Iss.4, pp. 693-698. ProQuest Social Science Journals http://proquest.umi.com, (retrieved on 17 October 2007).
[419] Stewart, A., 'Two Conceptions of Citizenship', *The British Journal of Sociolog,* Vol. 46, No.1, 1995, pp. 65.

communities and states. In this conception, citizens are political actors constituting political communities as public spaces. This may be identified as *democratic citizenship.*[420]

In the broadest terms citizenship defines a relation between the individual and the political community. It refers to a relation between a) governmental agents acting uniquely and b) whole categories of persons identified uniquely by their connection with the government in question.[421] Furthermore, it concerns the entitlement to belong to a political community, the latter having the right and the duty to represent community interests as a sovereign vis-à-vis other communities and vis-à-vis the citizens. This model of relationship between two entities, namely the individual on one side, and the representative of a larger community on the other, has provided modern history with a basic pattern of citizenship.[422] As Evans and Oliveira point out, citizenship is "a concept denoting the legal consequences which attach to the existence of a special connection between a defined category of individuals in the life of a state and thus essentially a provision which is made for participation by a defined category of individuals in the life of a state".[423] It follows from these observations that at least three elements need to be considered in the conceptualization of citizenship. These are the individual, the community, and the relation between the two, that is, the contributions of citizens to the creation of a community. These may be termed as the three *constitutive elements of citizenship.*[424]

Within the framework of a nation-state, the concept of citizenship is defined as membership in a political community. It also covers the participation of citizens to the public space, in other words, the community. Membership in a community takes shape through rights and duties

---

[420] Stewart, A., 'Two Conceptions of Citizenship', *The British Journal of Sociolog,* Vol. 46, No.1, 1995, pp. 65, http://links.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[421] Tilly, C., 'A primer on citizenship', *Theory and Society,* Vol. 26, No. 4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp.599.
[422] Weiner, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 533, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[423] Evan, A.C. and H.U. Jessurun d'Oliviera, *Nationality and Citizenship. Rapport Realise dans le cadre d'une recherche effectuee a la demande de la Communautee europeenne,* Strasbourg, 20-21 November 1989, pp.2 qtd in Weiner, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 529-560, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[424] Weiner, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 533-34, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

that are embodied in the very concept of citizenship.[425] The normative version of citizenship embodies values and action, responsibility and civic virtues.[426] Citizenship is therefore not limited to political status and rights related to national identity; it is also an identity that is developed through direct or indirect participation in the name of a shared interest for individuals and groups. It is expressed through the engagement of the individual for the common good. Such an engagement can take place within voluntary associations, through community activities (local or broader culture, ethnic, and religious activities), in short, through an engagement toward the civil society as well as the political community. Citizenship is interpreted, then, as a participation in the public space, defined as a space of communication, of shared power, as well as a space of political socialization and where a 'citizen's identity' is acquired and constitutes a political resource for action and negotiation. Therefore, a normative approach to citizenship extends its understanding and its expression in social and cultural domains to include them into the political.[427]

Citizenship designates a set of mutually enforceable claims relating categories of persons to agents of governments. Like relations between co-authors, between workers and employers, citizenship has the character of a contract: variable in range, never completely specifiable, always depending on unstated assumptions about context, modified by practice, constrained by collective memory, yet ineluctably involving rights and obligations sufficiently defined that either party is likely to express indignation and take corrective action when the other fails to meet expectations built into the relationship. It resembles the run of contracts in drawing visible lines between insiders and outsiders, yet engaging third parties to respect and even enforce its provisions. It differs from most other contracts in a) binding whole categories of persons rather than single individuals to each other, b) involving differentiation among levels and degrees of members, c) directly engaging a government's coercive power.[428]

---

[425] Kastoryano, R., 'Citizenship, Nationhood, and Non-Territoriality: Transnational Paticipation in Europe', *Political Science and Politics,* Washington: Oct. 2005, Vol.38, Iss.4, pp. 693-698. ProQuest Social Science Journals.

[426] Kymilicka, W. And W. Norman, 'Return of the Citizen: A Survey on Recent Work on Citizenship Theory', *Ethics,* Jan. 1995, pp. 352-381, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

[427] Kastoryano, R., 'Citizenship, Nationhood, and Non-Territoriality: Transnational Paticipation in Europe', *Political Science and Politics,* Washington: Oct. 2005, Vol.38, Iss.4, pp. 693-698. ProQuest Social Science Journals http://proquest.umi.com, (retrieved on 17 October 2007).

[428] Tilly, C., 'A Primer on Citizenship', *Theory and Society,* Vol. 26, No. 4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 600.

Three historical elements of citizenship allow for a conceptualization of citizenship that takes account of historical variability. These are *rights*, *access to participation*, and *belonging*. Rights refer to the legal entitlements of an individual toward the community. This element comprises various types of rights, for example civil, political, and social. The perspective of citizenship as the incremental addition of rights has been most prominently associated with T. H. Marshall. Civil rights comprised the right to liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought, and faith, to own property, to conclude valid contracts. Political rights include the right to participate in the exercise of political power. Social rights amounted, according to Marshall, to the right to a modicum of social welfare and security, to share in social heritage, and to live the life of a civilized being.[429]

However, according to Tilly, all states differentiate within their citizenries, at a minimum distinguishing between minors and adults, prisoners and free persons, naturalized and native-born. Many make finer gradations, for example by restricting suffrage or military service to adult males, imposing property qualifications for certain rights, or installing a range from temporary residents to probationary applicants for citizenship to full-fledged participants in citizenship's rights and obligations.[430]

Access as the second element of citizenship is about the conditions for practicing the relationship between citizen and community. This perspective of citizenship may be understood as access to political participation. Conditions of access are set by regulative policies including social policy, market policy, and visa policy, for example. They are crucial determinants as to whether or not individuals are fit to participate politically. Access therefore hinges on socio cultural, economic, and political mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion. That is, while rights may have been stipulated, access may be denied because the means to use citizenship rights, such as proper education, communication, and transportation may not have been sufficiently established.[431]

The third historical element encompasses two modes of *belonging* to a community. One is *identity based*, the other hinges upon *legal* linkages to an identity that are currently based on

---

[429] Weiner, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 534, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[430] Tilly, C., 'A Primer on Citizenship', *Theory and Society,* Vol. 26, No. 4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 601.
[431] *Ibid.*

either the law of soil or of blood (*ius solis* and *ius sanguinis* respectively, or, as in the European Union, on nationality of one of the member states). Every person residing within a particular area potentially has the opportunity to participate in the creation of collective identities. These identities may be created through participation at the work place, in cultural matters, or other spaces of the community. Accordingly, residence is the crucial aspect for participation. Apart from the residence criterion, the definition of a person's legal status defines whether a person is considered a full citizen. This status has always been exclusive mostly according to the criteria of gender, age, and nationality. This dimension of belonging is therefore also about borders, as citizens derive certain rights and opportunities of access based on their belonging to a bounded sphere. More specifically, this feeling of belonging depends on a previous process of 'drawing boundaries' around the terrains that are designed for those citizens who belong.[432] Kratochwill notes that "it is perhaps best to conceive of citizenship as a space within a discourse on politics that institutionalized identities and differences by drawing boundaries, both in terms of membership and in terms of the actual political practices that are connected with this membership. An explanation of the concept, therefore, is not governed by the temporal criteria of adequacy or correspondence. It necessarily becomes historical, requiring an examination of the genealogy of the concept and its temporary reconciliations".[433]

These three historical elements, *rights, access to participation* and *belonging* are always interrelated. The three aspects bear a process-oriented or dynamic notion of citizenship. They add contextualized meaning to the concept of ideal citizenship, defining citizenship as stipulating rights, providing access, and creating a feeling of belonging and identity. Beyond the creation of a concrete citizenship that is particular to each community, they contribute to the crafting of distinct institutional networks. They are hence important factors for a successful performance of governance within and among communities.[434]

---

[432] Weiner, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 534, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007). *Ibid.,* pp.535

[433] Kratchowill, 'Citizenship', pp.486 qtd in Weiner, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 534, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

[434] Weiner, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 534, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007). *Ibid.,* pp.535

For Soysal, the predominant conceptions of citizenship are predicated upon nationally defined political communities.[435] They take as axiomatic the existence of actors whose rights and identities are presaged by the boundaries of national collectives. As such, these bounded and coherent national collectives established the normative basis for rights and social solidarity, and are the 'authentic' sites for the realization of an active citizenry and integrated civil society.[436]

Soysal notes the importance of the condition of practicing the relationship between citizen and community. She argues that as well as defining certain rights and duties, citizenship denotes participatory practices and contestations in the public sphere. Through their collective associational and relational activities (formal or informal) in the public sphere, individual citizens mobilize and advance claims. In that sense, a shared public space, within which social actors interact and mobilize, is essential for the exercise of citizenship.[437]

In sum, since its emergence as a concept, citizenship contained different meanings related to status, political identity, rights and duties. Although it emerged as a state citizenship in the 18th century, today it is a concept which includes a 'civic' dimension. The prevalence of these two dimensions varies according to different contexts. Furthermore, today its practice is at the core of both political and scholarly debates since 'citizenship practice' in Wiener's words 'leads to the establishment of rights, access and belonging'[438] as three interrelated historical elements of citizenship. Recently, from a constructivist point of view, citizenship has become a 'pressing intellectual issue' due to the rights and access demands of collective identities that do not only depend on nationality because "alterations of the western policies and economies have put valued rights under threat"[439]

3.3. A POST-NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP: UNION CITIZENSHIP

---

[435] See also Soysal, Y. N., *Limits of citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
[436] Soysal, N.Y., 'Changing Parameters of Citizenship and Claims-Making: Organized Islam in European Public Spheres', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 510, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[437] *Ibid.*
[438] Weiner, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 534, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007). *Ibid.,* pp.535
[439] Tilly, C., 'A Primer on Citizenship', *Theory and Society,* Vol. 26, No. 4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 601.

The concepts, dimensions and practices of the Union citizenship which is introduced by the Maastricht Treaty and those of the modern citizenship in European nation-states have both similar and different aspects regarding different contexts.

The most striking difference between Union citizenship and modern citizenship is the missing dimension of nationality. It questions the link between the concept of nationality and that of citizenship, and hence problematizes the myth of national identity, which was crucial for erecting borders around national states.[440] While national identity was - and often still is – considered as important for the representation of states in the international state system,[441] its conceptualization as nationality needs to be clearly distinguished from the concept of citizenship. The Union citizenship calls into question the modern type of citizenship by advancing the notion of modern citizenship as constitutive for community, namely, Union citizenship includes a constructive dimension. As Carlos Closa points out it adds to the first group of nationality rights enjoyed within a Member State a second circle of new rights enjoyed in any Member State.[442]

Citizenship in the supranational realm of the European Community, and now Union became part of knowledge along three visible dimensions, namely, as 1) a political concept during the Maastricht debates, 2) a policy in the Bulletin of the European Communities in 1993 and as 3) a legal concept in Article 8 EC Treaty. The academic community and European institutions as well as a number of interest groups voice concern and curiosity about the meaning of Union citizenship, its political potential and organizational feasibility. They bring attention to the fact that this type of citizenship seems to lack crucial characteristics of modern liberal concepts of citizenship.[443]

---

[440] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 531, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[441] Wendt, A., 'Collective Identity Formation and the International State', *American Political Science Review*, 88 (2), 1994.

[442] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 532, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[443] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 529, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

Indeed, Union citizenship does not grant full rights to democratic participation or representation[444] and it is granted on the basis of Member State nationality, not European nationality. That is, specific European political and socio-cultural dimensions seem to be lacking. Beyond the political and organizational aspects, it raises questions about the community of belonging and more specifically, about how to define borders of belonging. Who has a legitimate right to belong legally to this Union has become a much debated issue mostly due to the exclusion of 'third country nationals' (i.e., individuals who live within the territory of the Union but are not a national of a Member State).[445]

Kostakopoulou states that European citizenship implies the existence of a direct legal bond between the Community and a class of persons to which certain rights and special obligations may be attached. He argues that the Treaty establishing the EEC certainly established an 'incipient form of European citizenship' for certain classes of persons and divides the development of EC policy on European identity and citizenship into five distinct phases:[446]

- 1957-72: the common market and the removal of obstacles to freedom of movement for people;
- 1972-84: the conceptual paradigm shift-political union and European identity;
- 1984-1991: a 'people's Europe' and the 'states' Europe';
- 1992-96: citizenship of the Union and 'Otherness';
- 1997- : strengthening the 'citizen dimension of the union' and security identities.

However, for Wiener citizenship became part of EC/EU political discourse in the early 1970s. Since then, policymaking towards Union citizenship has unfolded on the basis of two policy packages which entailed the policy objectives of 'special rights' for Community citizens and a 'passport union'.[447] These policy objectives have been adopted within the final communiqué

---

[444] Anderson, Svein, S.,and Kjell, A. Eliassen, 'Introduction: Dilemmas, Contradictions and the Future of European Democracy', Anderson, S. And K. Eliassen (eds.), *The European Union: How Democratic Is It?,* London: Sage, 1996, pp.1-12.

[445] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 529, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

[446] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.41.

[447] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 529, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

of the 1974 Paris summit meeting.[448] Both policy packages were central to the debates over citizenship, European identity, and political union in the Euro-polity. Union citizenship acquires a special meaning. It is thus understood as more than a status based on rights. It is conceptualized as a dynamic rather than a static concept.[449]

The Paris summit in 1972 is taken to be the starting point for the analysis of European identity and citizenship since it marks a paradigm shift from economic to political union and the emergence of European identity on the Community's policy agenda.[450] However, it can be said that the 1957-74 period is still worthy of consideration, for two main reasons. First, in this period the 'incipient form of European citizenship' was given substance through the introduction of secondary legislation. Secondly, through this legislation national executives united their conception of who the Europeans are, and passed on this conception to the emerging European institutions. This conception became conventional and has biased subsequent developments in the fields of identity and citizenship.[451]

According to Kostakopoulou, the developments in these fields can chronologically be grouped into five as follows:[452]

3.3.1. 1957-72: the removal of obstacles to freedom of movement for people

The 1957-72 period is characterized by attempts to realize the ambitions of 1958 as far as possible by removing customs duties between the Member States and establishing common external tariff (the customs union was activated on 1 July 1968); eliminating quantitative restrictions and measures having an equivalent effect; and enabling employed persons to go freely to another Member State to take a job under the same conditions as nationals of that country. Secondary legislation was introduced to implement the free movement provisions. However, national governments were free to determine unilaterally the precise scope of

---

[448] See *Final Communique of the Paris Summit: excerpt on the European Council* (9 and 10 December 1974), http://www.ena.lu/europa/european-union/paris-summit-excerpt-european-council-1974.htm, (retrieved on 24 November 2007).
[449] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 530, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[450] See Wiener, A., 1997; Wiener, A., 1998; Van den Berghe, 1982.
[451] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.41.
[452] *Ibid.*

freedom of movement of workers via their definition of nationality. Several categories of persons were excluded from the benefits of the Treaty on the basis of unilateral definitions of nationality, and the Community institutions accepted the Member States' exclusive competence in the sphere of determination of nationality.[453]

Whereas this 'foundational period' from 1958 to the mid-1970s is characterized by an inexorable dynamism toward enhanced supranationalism, from a pure political point of view, it signals a shift towards intergovernmentalism.[454] It was in this period that national governments did not only manage to institutionalize exclusion at the heart of European project, but were also free to determine unilaterally the precise scope of freedom of movement of workers via their definition of nationality. Several categories of persons were excluded from the benefits of the Treaty on the basis of unilateral definitions of nationality, and the Community institutions accepted the Member States' exclusive competence in the sphere of determination of nationality, despite the fact that the scope and application of Community rules depends on that determination.[455] During this period, by exercising hegemonic control over the scope and terms of membership in the emerging European community, the Member States thus succeeded in grafting notions of 'who the Europeans are' onto the emerging institutions.[456]

3.3.2. 1973-84: introduction of European identity as a political conception

According to Wiener, the making of the Union citizenship began in the early 1970s when Community politicians voiced the need to develop a European identity. The Community documents, which reflect the EC's political discourse at the time, demonstrate that the debate over how to achieve a European identity received central attention. Out of these debates were generated the policy objectives of 'special rights' for European citizens and a 'passport union' that both aimed at the creation of a feeling of belonging and identity. The adoption of the

---

[453] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.43-44.
[454] Weiler, J.H.H., 'The Transformation of Europe', 100 *Yale Law Journal,* 1991, qtd. in Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.42.
[455] O'Leary, S., 'Nationality Law and Community Citizenship: A Tale of Two Uneasy Bedfellows', *Yearbook of European Law,* 12, pp. 35, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[456] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.44.

1976 Council decision to implement direct universal suffrage[457] and the first European elections in 1979, on the one hand, and the adoption of a Council resolution on the creation of a single European passport in 1981[458] on the other, were crucial first steps that expanded the institutionalized *acquis.* Besides these institutional changes the *acquis* was expanded on a discursive level as the idea of 'Europeanness' that had been introduced with the document on European identity in 1973.[459] In sum, the Paris summit in 1972 pointed out to the need of the transformation of 'Europe of goods' into a 'Europe of peoples'. At the Copenhagen summit in 1973, the nine Member States adopted a 'Declaration on European Identity'. This document set out, for the first time, principles for the internal development of the Community thereby furnishing a framework for the formation of a political conception of European identity.[460]

Accordingly, European identity was defined on the basis of the principles of the rule of law, social justice, respect for human rights and democracy, and in relation to: i) the status and the responsibilities of the nine member states *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world; ii) the dynamic nature of the process of European unification. But a closer inspection reveals that the declaration on European identity comprised an 'inconsistent quintet':[461]

- special rights for Community citizens;
- references to a common European cultural heritage;
- confirmation of the Community as an entity on the international plane;
- a civic European identity in a Community of law, democracy and social justice;
- exclusion of 'non-national residents': the confinement of special rights to nationals of the member states was taken for granted.

Importantly, citizens were, for the first time, considered as participants in the process of European integration, not as consumers but as citizens. The notion of citizen thus turned into a

---

[457] Act concerning the election of the representatives of the Assembly by direct universal suffrage, *Official Journal of the European Communities, L 278, 08/10/1976,* http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriSer, (retrieved on 24 November 2007).
[458] Council resolution, *Official Journal of the European Communities, No. C 241, 19/9/1981.*
[459] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 538, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[460] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.44-45.
[461] *Ibid.,* pp.45

new informal resource of the *acquis communautaire.*[462] Yet, it was clear that the Community could never succeed in reconciling all these elements because the formation of a civic European identity was entangled in Euronationalist themes, and the exclusion of third-country nationals contradicted the ideal of democracy and social justice. This inconsistency widened the gap between declared principles and goals and the actual practices of Community institutions.[463]

Citizenship practice included the creation of further resources toward the establishment of voting rights. Thus, on 8 October 1976, the council adopted an 'Act concerning the election of the representatives of the Assembly by direct universal suffrage'.[464] The Parliament adopted a resolution on a 'draft uniform electoral procedure for the election of Members of the European Parliament' on March 1982.[465] And in 1983 the European Parliament's Legal Affairs Committee prepared a report on the right of citizens of a Member State residing in a Member State other than their own to stand for and vote in local elections.[466]

Further the policymaking within the special rights package, the passport union was developed. It entailed the adoption of a uniform passport, harmonization of the rules affecting aliens and the abolition of controls at internal frontiers. The replacement of national passports by a uniform passport was seen to symbolize a definite connection with the Community and ensure the equality of treatment for all passport holders by non-member countries irrespective of their nationality which would "confirm the Community as an entity *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world and revive the feeling of nationals of member states of belonging to that entity".[467] It was with the creation of the European passport that successful foreign and economic policy performance deepened on the acknowledgement of Europe as an actor in the global arena and

---

[462] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 540, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[463] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.45.
[464] 'Act concerning the election of the representatives of the Assembly by direct universal suffrage', *Official Journal of the European Communities, L 278, 08/10/1976,* http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriSer, (retrieved on 24 November 2007).
[465] *Official Journal of the European Communities, C 87, 05/04/1982,* pp.64.
[466] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 540, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[467] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.45.

the creation of feeling of belonging – as one aspect towards creating a European identity[468] and a Union citizenship. In the same vein, the symbolic appeal of measures, such as Community flag and a European anthem, was envisaged to increase effective and cognitive support for European integration.[469]

3.3.3. 1985-91: the duality of Europe

Citizenship practice during the next stage of Community development in the 1980s included a changed policy paradigm. European citizenship developed mainly in the economic field creating a 'welfare citizenship'.[470] The new policy paradigm involved a focus on negative integration stressing movement of worker-citizens as one basic condition for economic flexibility. Not access to the polity (i.e., the political right to vote) but access to participation in socioeconomic terms became a major aspect of citizenship practice during this period of market-making.[471] In 1984, at the European Council of Fontainebleau an *ad hoc* Committee was set up to address issues relating to a 'people's Europe. Then the Adonnino Committee published two reports concerning the enlargement of economic rights and the establishment of new rights to bring Europe closer to the citizens. In 1986, the Single European Act (Art. 8A) clearly referred to the right of free circulation of people granting European citizens some substantial rights.[472] The slogan that contributed to the dynamic of this process was Jacques Delors's 'Europe without Frontiers by 1992'.[473] Apart from abolishing internal Community frontiers, the program for Europe 92 included new strategies to make best use of Europe's human resources towards the creation of European identity.[474]

---

[468] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 541, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[469] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.46.
[470] Panebianco, S., 'European Citizenship and European Identity: From Treaty Provisions to Public Opinion Attitudes', E. Moxon-Browne (ed.), *Who Are the Europeans Now?,* Hants: Ashgate, 2004, pp.19.
[471] Wiener, A., 'From *Special* to *Specialized* Rights: the Politics of Citizenship and Identity in the European Union', 1999, http://ftp.cordis.europa.eu/pub/improving/docs/ser-citizen-wiener.pdf, (retrieved on 24 November 2007).
[472] Panebianco, S., 'European Citizenship and European Identity: From Treaty Provisions to Public Opinion Attitudes', E. Moxon-Browne (ed.), *Who Are the Europeans Now?,* Hants: Ashgate, 2004, pp.19.
[473] The History of the European Union: The European Citizenship, *The Single European Act and the Road toward the Treaty of the European Union* (1986-1992), http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/acta.htm, (retrieved on 24 November 2007).
[474] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 542, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

This access was extended as a new mobility policy targeted groups other than workers, such as, for example, young people, academics and students. Three new directives established the right of residence for workers and their families and students. Two types of special rights were now negotiated by Community policy makers and the Member States' politicians. 1) A series of social rights such as health, the right to establishment, old-age pension, and the recognition of diplomas were defined with the Social Charter. However, crossing borders to work in another Member State meant that so-called 'foreigners' and nationals shared the work spaces but remained divided in the polity. 2) This situation evoked a public awareness of a 'democratic deficit' in the European Community. The Commission identified the impact of economic integration as being a loss of political participation. To overcome this dilemma the Commission proposed the establishment of voting rights for 'foreigners' in municipal elections.[475] The absence of an integrated logic on European identity was evident prior and during the negotiations for the Intergovernmental Conference on political union which opened on 15 December 1990.[476]

3.3.4. 1992-1993: introduction of the citizenship of the Union

Demands for greater access to participation both in political and socioeconomic terms were renewed in the changed political opportunity structure of the 1990s. With the finalized Maastricht Treaty and the end of cold war politics, Union building reemerged on the agenda of the Euro-polity.[477] The Treaty gave constitutional status to Union citizenship and enhanced the supranational character of the Community. The Community's competence was extended to the areas of education, culture, consumer protection and development policy. The powers of the Parliament increased through the introduction of the co-decision procedure and the extension of the scope of application of the cooperation procedure.

In the TEU, European citizenship appears among the main objectives of the Union listed at the beginning of the treaty: "The Union shall set itself the following objectives:….. to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its Member States

[475] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 542-43, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[476] Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship ,identity and immigration in the European Union: Between past and future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.53.
[477] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 544, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union".[478] Title II Part Two of the TEU stablished the 'Citizenship of the Union' stating that: "Every person holding nationality of a Member State shall be citizen of the Union."[479] Thus the citizenship of the Union does not replace the national citizenship, because it acts at a different level – the European level – entitling Union citizens to specific EU rights. A supranational citizenship is established offering EU citizens the possibility of exerting Union's rights along with national rights. The Union citizenship as established in the TEU is not supposed to compete with national citizenship, rather the former is additional to the latter and the nationality of a member state is the *condition sine qua non* for European citizenship. The citizenship of the Union has been established in addition to national citizenship and has a different status.[480]

European citizenship as established in the TEU entitles the EU citizens to some rights which have important implications for their everyday lives. These are namely:[481] the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the member state (Art. 8a); the right to vote and to stand as a candidate at municipal elections and in elections to the European Parliament in the member state in which one resides under the same conditions as nationals of that state (Art. 8b); the diplomatic protection of any member state in a third country (Art. 8c); the right to petition to the European Parliament and the right to access to Ombudsman (Art. 8d).

The discourse on citizenship practice in the early 1990s showed that although the historical element of *belonging* was continuously addressed, the focus was shifted from creating a *feeling* of belonging to establishing the *legal ties* of belonging. These legal ties were not only important for defining the relation between citizens and the Community, they also raised questions about the political content of nationality. Importantly, citizenship could no longer be reduced to the traditional dichotomy between citizen and foreigner or to the exclusive relationship between the state and the citizens as individuals. Once individuals enjoyed different types of rights in the new world that reflected flexibility and mobility, it became

---

[478] Title I Art.B: Common Provisions, http://www.hri.org/docs/Maastricht92/mt_title1.html, (retrieved on 25 November 2007).
[479] Treaty on European Union, *Official Journal C191*, 29 July 1992, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html, (retrieved on 25 November 2007).
[480] Panebianco, S., 'European Citizenship and European Identity: From Treaty Provisions to Public Opinion Attitudes', E. Moxon-Browne (ed.), *Who Are the Europeans Now?*, Hants: Ashgate, 2004, pp.20.
[481] Treaty on European Union, *Official Journal C191*, 29 July 1992, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html, (retrieved on 25 November 2007).

increasingly difficult to define citizenship practice as based on nationality.[482] Meehan captured this fragmenting aspect of European citizenship noting that it is 'neither national nor cosmopolitan but …. multiple in the sense that the identities, rights and obligations associated … with citizenship, are expressed through an increasingly complex configuration of common Community institutions, states, national and transnational voluntary associations, regions and alliances of regions'.[483]

From another perspective, Mitchell and Russel argue that citizenship of the European Union introduced following the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty, is entirely dependent on a conception of national citizenship, since EU citizenship can only by acquired by individuals holding citizenship in one of the member states. As a result, the link between nationality and citizenship is, in the main, reproduced rather than undermined by the current conception of European citizenship.[484] Checkel notes that despite the persistent agenda-setting efforts by the Commission and the EP, the member states maintained firm control over development of the Treaty of European Union's citizenship provisions-perhaps not surprising given how national conceptions of citizenship are such a deeply rooted part of state identity in contemporary Europe. Put differently, according to Checkel, Maastricht's citizenship provisions lack any normative dimension.[485]

3.3.5. 1993- : the post-Maastricht context

Post-Maastricht, another debate about the inclusion of citizens, that is citizens who had legal ties with the Union, and the exclusion of 'third country citizens', in other words individuals who did not possess legal ties with the union but might have developed a feeling of belonging was pushed by interest groups and the European Parliament in particular. One proposition to solve this potential political problem was the establishment of place-oriented citizenship. This demand was brought into the debate by the European Parliament. It was enforced by the

---

[482] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 547, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[483] Meehan, *Citizenship and the European Union,* Center for European Integration Studies, Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms-Universitat, Bonn, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[484] Mitchell, M., and D. Russell 'Immigration, Citizenship and the Nation-State in the New Europe', B. Jenkins and S. A. Sofos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe,* London and New York: Routledge, 1996, pp. 65.
[485] Checkel, J. T., 'The Europeanization of Citizenship?', M.G. Cowles, J. Caporasa and T. Risse (eds.), *Europeanization and Domestic Change: transforming Europe,* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Pres, 2001, pp. 187.

social movements' demand to change the citizenship legislation of the Treaty. For example, instead of granting citizenship of the Union to 'every person holding the nationality of a Member State', the ARNE group requested citizenship for "every person holding the nationality of a Member State *and every person residing within the territory of the European Union*".[486] The discourse on place-oriented citizenship suggests respecting the new geography of citizenship. That is, citizenship is not built on the legal ties of belonging to the community alone but also on identity-based ties of belonging to spaces within the Community.[487]

Broadly, there is "a threefold differentiation of the population in Europe as citizens, quasi-citizens and foreigners, founded on the basis of national citizenship".[488] EU nationals who migrate to another country in the Union enjoy important employment, residence and social welfare rights, but they are not full citizens as they are granted only limited political rights. Furthermore, the position of these quasi-citizens is usually different to that of a variety of non-EU nationals, that is foreigners, resident within Europe who have far more limited citizenship rights. However, even among these 'third country' nationals, there are significant variations. For example, permanently settled foreigners or *Auslander* of Turkish nationality in Germany have acquired legal and social rights of citizenship which stop short of the entitlement to vote, whereas legally resident aliens in some countries like Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and Ireland have local voting rights, while a vast array of illegal immigrants, asylum seekers and temporary workers have few, if any rights at all.[489] Therefore, it can be said that post-Maastricht, the tension over the access of the third country nationals to political participation underlies the debates at present.

In sum, European citizenship has given a new dimension to the concept, definition, shape and practice of citizenship with its different characteristic features from those of the modern state-centered citizenship despite a number of features they have in common. Union citizenship

---

[486] See ARNE (Antiracist Network for Equality in Europe), *Modifications to the Maastricht Treaty insight of the 1996 Inter-Governmental Conference,* Rome, 14-15 July, 1995.
[487] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 547, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).
[488] Martinello, M., 'Citizenship of the European Union: a critical view', R. Bauböck (ed.), *From aliens to Citizens,* Aldershot: Avebory, 1990 qtd in Mitchell, M., and D. Russell 'Immigration, Citizenship and the Nation-State in the New Europe', B. Jenkins and S. A. Sofos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe,* London and New York: Routledge, 1996, pp. 65.
[489] Mitchell, M., and D. Russell 'Immigration, Citizenship and the Nation-State in the New Europe', B. Jenkins and S. A. Sofos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe,* London and New York: Routledge, 1996, pp. 65.

established with the Maastricht Treaty requires holding the nationality of a Member State. Therefore, it does not replace national citizenship but acts at a different level-the European Union level-entitling Union citizens to special EU rights. In this sense, it is a supranational citizenship which offers the possibility of practicing Union's rights together with national rights. However, these 'special rights and their practice'[490] have generated a fragmented type of citizenship resulting in a "threefold differentiation among the population in Europe as citizens, quasi-citizens and foreigners"[491] with different claims and demands from the Union.

GENERAL EVALUATION

The two inter-related concepts 'identity' and 'citizenship' are both at the core of debates in the field of International Relations and European Studies. This intense interest in identity and questions concerning identity has brought forth different definitions, explanations and kinds of identity with different argumentations. Despite the differences, there are some common themes regarding identity shared by the scholars of the field. These common themes can be summarized as: identity is a dynamic and symbolic structure with time and space dimensions, providing important competencies to individuals such as continuity and consistency.

The national identity as a construction of the nation-sate is a collective identity which suppresses ethic, cultural, religious, regional and class-based differences. It is embedded in a territorial boundedness, shared myths and history, a common cultural and unified system of common legal rights and duties under common laws and institutions. This commonness creates the sense of 'we' and the 'other' together, which discriminates between the people who are accepted as nationals of the community and 'foreigners'. In the international state system, it is still considered important for the representation of states.

Beyond national identity, European identity is a post-national identity which generates a sense of European togetherness. Its creation has been one of the main goals of the Union for

---

[490] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 542, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

[491] Martinello, M., 'Citizenship of the European Union: a critical view', R. Bauböck (ed.), *From aliens to Citizens,* Aldershot: Avebory, 1990 qtd in Mitchell, M., and D. Russell 'Immigration, Citizenship and the Nation-State in the New Europe', B. Jenkins and S. A. Sofos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe,* London and New York: Routledge, 1996, pp. 62.

decades. Different strategies, some of which are "the use of historical myths common to Christian heritage, common political and legal history going back to the Roman period and the tradition of humanism, the use of common Euro-symbolisms and a broad scheme of cooperation programs on education, training and languages"[492] have been used in creating and fostering it. Its internalization by the Europeans will contribute to the success and smooth development of Europe's integration process.

Another concept which developed parallel to the European identity is the Union citizenship. In its simplest term, citizenship implies "membership to a political community, involving the possession of legal rights, usually including the rights to vote and stand for political office".[493] In the modern sense, citizenship is state-centric and related to nationality. Union citizenship, on the other hand, does not have a national dimension. It advances the notion of modern citizenship as constitutive for community, namely, the European Union. "It adds to the first group of nationality rights enjoyed within Members State a second circle of new rights enjoyed in any Member State".[494] The Maastricht Treaty gave constitutional status to Union citizenship and enhanced the supranational character of the Community. This created the basis of legitimacy for individual rights and confirmed the right of free movement on the territory of member states, the right to address appeals to the European Parliament and to the European ombudsman, as well as the right of political participation to municipal and European elections in every member state under the same conditions as state citizens. Furthermore, it gave the right to get support outside the EU by any diplomatic service of another member state as if one were an own national.[495]

These two new concepts, the European identity as a post-national identity and the Union citizenship added a new dimension to the already existing concepts and practices of the state-centric national identity and the modern citizenship in the political field. For the further development and the internalization of these two new concepts by the Europeans, the

---

[492] Jacobs, D., and R., Mainer, 'European Identity: Construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe: The Quest for a Multifacetade Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker, pp.7, http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdff, (retrieved on 15 November 2007).

[493] Jackson, R., 'Citizenship, religious and cultural diversity and education', R. Jackson (ed.), *ınternational Perspectives on Citizenship, Education and Religious Diversity,* London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003, pp.2.

[494] Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society*, vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 532, http://www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 17 November 2007).

[495] Treaty on European Union, *Official Journal C191*, 29 July 1992, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html, (retrieved on 25 November 2007).

European Union uses education as an instrument. Within this framework, in the next chapter, the relation between education and identity construction is explicated mainly through the discursive analysis of the two key education documents: the 1995 White Paper *Teaching and learning: towards the society of knowledge* and the Bologna Declaration.

IV. EDUCATION AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

> *It is difficult to know how to engineer affection for a new European patria but the Union cannot just hope and pray that the identity and democracy problems will somehow go away.*
>
> *Zielonka*

The relation between education and politics and the role of education as an instrument for social change have always been important, and education has always been used as a tool in the process of collective identity construction. Since the 18th century, educational policies regarding national history, culture and language have played a crucial role in the national identity building process of nation states. States have used mass education to create awareness and a sense of belonging to the nation. Within this framework, modern social theory posits education and the creation of a homogeneously educated culture as the central structural thrust

in nation and national identity building processes.[496] Furthermore, beyond national identity building, education could also be used as an important tool for the construction of a post-national identity and the development of citizenship. Therefore, education is also of vital importance for the creation of a 'we' feeling among the people of Europe, for the construction of post-national European identity and the development of Union citizenship which consequently can be a solution to the legitimacy problem of the Union and to the fulfillment of the Union's political integration.

4.1. EDUCATION AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

The gradual development of education in Europe can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Before national education systems which were the key instruments of national identity construction, "education, specifically literacy was largely the result of a growing determination on the part of religiously minded reformers to teach the poor to read and write as a means of encouraging obedience to divine and secular authority"[497]. The first universities were founded in the 12th century. In the 15th century with the invention of printing, literacy rate increased. Furthermore, Protestantism played a considerable role on the spreading of literacy and new cathedral and municipal schools were opened besides a small number of universities which were already founded.[498] Between 1600 and 1800, European social institutions reflected the patterns of hierarchy, most apparently in the field of education. First, knowledge of Latin separated the noble and a fair number of scholars and professionals from the commercial middle ranks and second, the ability to read and write separated the middle ranks from the rest. Noblemen were generally educated by tutors, though they might attend university for a time not for preparation for a profession but to receive further educational 'finishing'. Indeed, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, universities more or less surrendered intellectual leadership to various academies established with royal patronage by European monarchs to enhance their own reputation as well as to encourage the advancement of science and the arts. Most noblemen instead of attending these universities took 'the grand

---

[496] Joseph B. Perry Jr. and Meredith D. Pugh, *Collective Behaviour-Response to Social Stress,* West Publishing, 1978, pp.25 qtd. in Bloom, W., *Personal Identity, national identity and international relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 145

[497] Coffin, J. G. et. al., *Western Civilizations,* 14th ed. New York and London: W.W.Norton and Company, 2002, pp.586.

[498] Rothman, S., *European Society and Politics,* US: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1970.

tour' to the capitals of Europe during which they acquired a kind of international politeness.[499] In some sense this grand tour gave them the acquisition of Europe as one complete space which every noblemen should know the politenesse of.

For the training of governmental elite in France, Spain, Germany and Austria colleges existed. However, the boys from the middle orders entered small private academies where the curriculum included the sort of useful instruction necessary for their family business but ignored in colleges. Girls, on the other hand, were educated at home in gentlewomanly subjects such as modern languages, literature and music.[500]

No European country provided primary education to all its citizens until the middle of the 18th century when Austria and Prussia instituted systems of compulsory attendance. However, the results were short of expectations. Yet, the literacy rates increased to a certain extent due to the religious reformers attempts to teach the poor how to read and write. Their aim was to increase obedience to divine and secular authority.[501] Therefore, it can be said that until the nation-buiding process of the states, there was no one type of mass education in any country which could have an impact on the construction of collective identities of all men and women from different classes. Instead education was both class and gender based strengthening the already existing 'type' and 'role' identities of people.

However, with the establishment of nation-states, the nature and objectives of educational systems in Europe changed dramatically when nation-building process became the central concern of the states. To build a nation, they needed to construct collective national identies and in the construction of national identities, a compulsory mass education was necessary. A sense of national awareness and belonging to the nation among the citizens of that state was created through education. Therefore, nation state building process has most of the time been parallel to the nationalization of education systems of nation states and since then, schools have always been the best places for the political identification of students with their nation. Thus, as Hobsbawm states, "the nation was constructed by means of consciously pursued policies by national elites with the help of some instruments such as state education and compulsory military service inculculating a sense of national unity into the young and general

---

[499] Coffin, J. G. et. al., *Western Civilizations,* 14th ed. New York and London: W.W.Norton and Company, 2002, pp.586.
[500] *Ibid.,* pp.587.
[501] *Ibid.*

population".[502] Consequently, it can be argued that state education has been the key instrument in the nationalization process in which ordinary people became national citizens with national identities.

Nations first realized that education could be used as a conscious instrument of social policy in the early nineteenth century, when both revolutionary France and feudal Prussia harnessed education for their own purposes. Later, America and the Soviet Union used the school system for social purposes, in the former case to mold a nation out of divergent immigrant groups and in the latter to build the bases of a socialist society.[503]

Within this framework, modern social theory posits education and the creation of a homogeneously educated culture as the central structural thrust in nation building and nationalism.[504] As Durkheim states "education assures a sufficiently common body of ideas and feelings amongst citizens without which any society is impossible".[505] Accordingly, to manipulate educational and religious structures has been the policy of the governments to bring about cultural standardization and a culturally homegenous citizenry to nation-build and to control peripheral ethnic groups. Educational policies which attempt to bring about the use of one language, the language of the power center, the adoption of one religion and the adoption of the general norms of the metropolitan culture have been pursued.[506] Central to this whole process has been the prime importance of upward social mobility. The political significance of social mobilization is that it promotes the formation of consensus at the national level by encouraging nationalism and economic and social integration, strengthening the hold of the national community over all of its citizens.[507]

The French Third Republic, for example, designed and implemented a national, secular system of education in part precisely to generate and reinforce attachments to the nation. The

---

[502] Hobsbawm, H., 'The Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', Hobsbawm, H. and Ranger, T. (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition,* England: Cambridge University Press.
[503] King, J. E., 1966 qtd. in Altbach, P.G., 'Education and Social Change', *The Journal of Human Resources,* Vol. 4, No.2, Spring, 1969, 260, www.jstor.org, (retrieved on 30 July 2007).
[504] Joseph B. Perry Jr. and Meredith D. Pugh, *Collective Behaviour-Response to Social Stress,* West Publishing, 1978, pp.25 qtd. in Bloom, W., *Personal Identity, national identity and international relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 145
[505] Durkheim, E., 1973 qtd. in Spencer, P. and Wollman, H., *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* London: Sage Publications, 2002, pp. 20.
[506] Bloom, W., *Personal Identity, national identity and international relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 143.
[507] Tilly, C., *From Mobilization to Revolution,* Addison-Wesley, 1978 qtd. in Bloom, W., *Personal Identity, national identity and international relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 146.

entire educational system was placed in the service of the nationalist cause. It was most importantly the elementary schools which served as the instrument for the re-education of France in a nationalistic spirit.[508] This national education system provided a kind of cultural cement to enforce the idea of a civic nationalism which was central to the developing French model of the nation state.[509] Besides the mass, standardized public education system which was established as one of the key instruments for unifying and creating Frenchmen, the leaders of the republic also used the teaching of a standard history through the common textbooks at various school grades to inculcate a shared sense of France's past greateness, of its heroes and virtues, and its pre-eminent place among the nations. The criterion of greateness was largely territorial; the ability to expand France's borders and integrate and unify its inhabitants.[510]

As can be seen in the case of France, history has always had a significant importance in the nation building process by creating a common past, a common memory and cultural ties among people with different origins. First, as the main part of identity, national ideologies benefit from historical events of heroism and victimhood in order to create a 'we' sense which only belongs to that group and differs from 'others'. Second, it has two functions as 'strategic' and 'unifying'. History not only unites people but also gives them clues to justify their present actions. Third, history substitutes for religion which had bound people throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. Since the nation state is secular, the main instrument to bind people together is the national history.[511]

Within this framework, Europeans have been taught to believe that each nation has its own distinctive past through history education which was formalized from a nationalistic point of view regarding content and teaching. Moreover, the links with premodern past served to dignify national characters and revitalized their heroism in each generation. This way, the ethno-history of the nation was reproduced and disseminated through rituals, history textbooks and political or cultural myths.[512]

---

[508] Schulze, H., *States, Nations and Nationalism,* Oxford: Blaclwell Publishers, 1998, pp.232.
[509] Spencer, P. and Wollman, H., *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* London: Sage Publications, 2002, pp. 20
[510] Smith, D. A., *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995, pp.91.
[511] Cohen, S., *Politics without a Past: The Absence of History in Postcommunist Nationalism,* US: Duke University Press, 1999, pp.26.
[512] Smith, D. A., 'National Identity and the Idea of European Unity', Gowan, P. and Anderson P. (eds.), *The Question of Europe,* London: Verso, 1997, pp. 319-327.

On the other hand, regarding education-national identity construction relation, Gellner argues that a shared, common culture (what he calls *high* culture) plays a central role in providing the skills and identity of members of industrialized societies. This high culture which can only be achieved by fairly monolithic education system is necessarily national and it is this homogenous culture, produced and required by the state-driven education system, which makes the nation. The state promotes the new common, high culture through a mass education system and this combination of common education and culture through the state's action produces modern nationalism and the nation state.[513] In this sense, Anthony Smith, who argues that modern nation states have their roots in premodern cultures, states that territorial or civic nationalism involves that state's vital role in educating its citizens into a homogeneous culture. He claims that public education is deemed by some theorists to be central to the production of a 'high' literate culture and hence homogenous nation. Most governments since the end of the nineteenth century have seen it as one of their prime duties to establish, fund and direct a mass system of public education - compolsary, standardized, hierarchical, academy-supervised and diploma-conferring – in order to create an efficient labor force and loyal, homogenous citizenry [514] since this type of education system has proved to be the most efficient tool to multiply nationalism mainly due to three reasons: firstly, political education reached children at an age when political consciousness is being developed; secondly, the obligation of participation which provided the system with the widest range; third, a national education system allowed central political steering for not only directly involved individuals but also shaped all other parts of society as well.[515]

Language has also been an important instrument in the nation building process, thus, in the construction of national identities. It has frequently been seen as crucial to the nationalist project. Language has been perceived as the embodiment of the national character. In this sense, it is considered as the link with the glorious past and with the authentic nature of people.[516] However, to say different language communities define or require the existence of different nations may be to make the unproblematic the problematic[517] firstly because distinctiveness is not the same as exclusiveness. Moreover, languages can be learned and texts

[513] Gellner, 1983, pp.18 qtd. in Spencer, P. and Wollman, H., *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* London: Sage Publications, 2002, pp. 34-35.
[514] Smith, D. A., *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995, pp.91.
[515] Walkenhorst, H., 'The Construction of European Identity and the Role of National Education Systems-A Case Study on Germany', Department of Government, University of Essex, May 2004, pp. 10, http://www.essex.ac.uk/government/Essex_Papers/Number_160.pdf, (retrieved on 2 January 2008).
[516] Spencer, P. and Wollman, H., *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* London: Sage Publications, 2002, pp. 76.
[517] Billing, M., *Banal Nationalism,* London: Sage Publications, 2001, pp.

can be translated. However, language was deployed in the interests of nation-state building and a common written language became functional for intra-elit communication, the conduct of public administration and a mass education system.[518] For Schöpflin, language functioned as the medium of communication through which the individual related to the state.[519] It was through a created common language which was taught by the mass education system of the state that the majority of people was related to their state and developed a sense of national identity.

Moreover, it is believed that there are emotional ties between the national language and the people who speak it. At this point, the primordialists and the constructivists show different viewpoints regarding these emotional ties. The primordialists claim that the characteristics of the people and the nature of that national language are innately coincidential whereas the constructivists state that identification with that group was taught through a common language. The common ground for both sides is their insistent on the necessity of developing a unified language for the construction of a national sense of belonging.[520] It is through the bridging function of language that the past of a nation was brought to the present which helped nation states to create a sense of national identity.

In brief, instruments of the nation state to create commonness and a sense of national identity were, as Smith puts it, "compulsory military training in the citizens' army, a unified system of public, mass education and growing state control over the press and communication."[521] However, above all it was the national mass education which played a crucial role in the construction of national identity because starting from the very early ages of children it provided common patterns of behaviour and values by the teaching of a common national heroic history and culture through a common national language, as well as creating an educational space in which people could communicate through these shared values. This also provided continuity that is, passing on of these common national behaviours and values from generation to generation. Therefore, it can be concluded that national mass education systems under state control have been an instrument of pivotal importance for the construction of national identity since the beginning of the nation building process in Europe.

---

[518] Spencer, P. and Wollman, H., *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* London: Sage Publications, 2002, pp. 77-78.
[519] Schöpflin, G., *Nations Identity Power*, London: Hurst&Company, 2000, pp.43.
[520] Caviedes, A., 'The Role of Language in Nation-building within the European Union', *Dialectical Anthropology,* 27 (3-4), 2003, pp.249-68, http://www.springerlink.com, (retrieved on 17 October 2007).
[521] Smith, D. A., *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995, pp.91.

4.2. EDUCATION AND EUROPEAN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Education is of vital importance for the development of the concepts of European identity and European citizenship, which could be a solution to the legitimacy problem of the Union and the fulfillment of its political integration because the creation of 'demos' has remained as a missing ingredient in the political integration process of the Union. Today, "the fundamental dilemma for the EU lies in the fact that the 'European public', or *demos,* barely exists as a recognizable category, and hardly at all, as a subjective or *self-recognizing* body".[522] Therefore, "the essential ingredient that is missing from the European Union is the political identification of the peoples of Europe".[523] However, creating a European body politic is not easy because to mould a 'demos' out of different nationalities is a difficult task. [524]

The European Union does not have the instruments of 'identity policy' such as state education, media and peer group which provided for the democratic state the legitimating mechanism of political education to maintain and reinvent social acceptance and active citizenship. Therefore, it is difficult for the European peoples to establish a democratic identity in the sense of supporting the EU as a legitimate political system. Moreover, the EU's claim for enhanced democratic accountability and representation may fail due to the absence of a clear people's mandate.[525]

The need and search for such enhanced 'input-legitimacy' on EU level has become apparent since the late 80s with the ultimate goal of bringing about a feeling of togetherness among the citizens of Europe and to create a form of European identity. By using the measures and instruments applied in national identity construction processes in the 18th and 19th centuries, the European Commission and the European Parliament established a basis for identity politics at integration level, introducing EU symbols, myths, language courses and an education policy. The hope was that a new feeling of togetherness which was expected to exceed the level of national identity would eventually develop into a European consciousness.

---

[522] Shore, C., *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration,* London: Routledge, 2002, pp.19.
[523] Muttimer, D., 1996 qtd. in Shore, C., *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration,* London: Routledge, 2002, pp.20.
[524] Shore, C., *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration,* London: Routledge, 2002, pp.20.
[525] Walkenhorst, H., 'The Construction of European Identity and the Role of National Education Systems-A Case Study on Germany', Department of Government, University of Essex, May 2004, pp. 5, http://www.essex.ac.uk/government/Essex_Papers/Number_160.pdf, (retrieved on 2 January 2008).

Of the various forms of collective identity, the cultural and political ones were considered most appropriate to provide the basis for a European consciousness. In 1989, for the Commission one of the major goals for the European integration was the development of a feeling of belonging to the community. In the following years, the Commission continued to use the terms 'European consciousness' and 'European identity' in its discourse. However, the development of a European identity largely depends on the degree to which EU citizens consider the EU policies successful. A feeling of being 'European' can only develop on the basis of concrete experience, knowledge and beliefs that have been gained through successful measures taken by the EU and the member states.[526]

Within this framework, the role of the education systems of the member states in the European identity construction process is important. However, since compulsory school education still plays a crucial role in shaping and strengthening the identity construction process, modern nation states mainly rely on their education systems in order to reproduce national consciousness. Therefore, they may be reluctant in supporting an education system with a European dimension. Moreover, "the slowness and inflexibility of education systems hinder efforts like the 'European dimension in education' to fully unfold on member state level".[527] In addition, the term 'Eropean dimension in education' itself partly lacks clarity.[528]

However, the EU's policy on the 'European dimension in education' reflected in the discourse of the EU documents provides a useful starting point about the ways in which a European identity might be developed through education. The Tindemans Report in 1975 stated that "EU must be experienced by the citizens in his daily life. It must make itself felt in education, culture, news and communication".[529] The second important document on education was the Resolution of the Council and the Ministers of Education on the European dimension in education. For the first time, close connection between European identity construction and educational realm was acknowledged by the ministers of education of the member states. In line with the decisions of the Resolution, it was aimed "to strengthen in young people a sense

---

[526] Walkenhorst, H., 'The Construction of European Identity and the Role of National Education Systems-A Case Study on Germany', Department of Government, University of Essex, May 2004, pp. 7-8, http://www.essex.ac.uk/government/Essex_Papers/Number_160.pdf, (retrieved on 2 January 2008).
[527] *Ibid.,* pp.21.
[528] Savvides, N., 'Investigating Education for European Identity at Three European Schools', *Research in Comperative & International Education,* Vol.1, No.2, 2006, pp.175, http://www.wwwords.co.uk/pdf, (retrieved on 2 January 2008).

[529] http://aei.pitt.edu/942/01/political_tindemans_report.pdf, (retrieved on 17 October 2007).

of European identity and make clear to them the value of European Community with other countries of Europe and the world".[530] Accordingly, member states would include the European dimension explicitly in their school curricula in all appropriate disciplines such as literature, languages, history, geography, social sciences, economis and the arts.[531]

Another major development was the inclusion of education as a European policy area in the Maastricht Treaty. However, Article 126 of the TEU underlines the supremacy of the member states in the field of education. It states that " the Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between member states and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content and teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity".[532] Similarly, Article 149 of the Amsterdam Treaty states that: "the Community shall contribute to the development of education by supporting and supplementing action taken by the Member States, while fully respecting their cultural and linguistic diversity regarding content of teaching and the organization of education systems"[533] limiting the role of the Community in the field of education to supporting and supplementing the actions taken by the member states. However, the subsidiarity principle introduced in the Maastricht Treaty provides a non-binding but closer transnational cooperation between member states for growing convergence between their national educational policies and systems while enabling Member states to remain sovereign and responsible for the content and organization of their education systems.

In brief, the attempts to add a European dimension to national education systems of the member states have not been very successful due to the national educational policies of the member states. However, there are important attempts which should not be disregarded. First, the project of rewriting history textbooks that aim at the elimination of expressions narrating hatred and hostility towards other European nations is important to construct a new understanding built on peace. Second, the language policy of the EU seeks to create a multicultural and multilinguistic space within the Union. To establish such a space the Union

---

[530] http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX.41988X0706(01).EN.html, (retrieved on 17 October 2007).
[531] *Ibid.*
[532] http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf, (retrieved on 2 December 2007).
[533] http://www.eurotreaties.com/amsterdamtext.html, (retrieved on 17 September 2007).

promotes the learning and teaching of different Community languages through the Lingua program.

Third and the most important of all, contrary to primary and secondary education, Europeanization started in higher education with the establishment of the Single Market due to the economic considerations of the member states. Since the signing of the Bologna Declaration in 1999 with the aim of establishing a European area of higher education by 2010, Europeanization of higher education has been both broadened and intensified. The establishment of the European higher education area with the cooperation of the institutions, international governmental and non-governmental organizations at regional, national and European levels have provided a social context for all the actors of this space. This social context enables the actors' interaction with each other more than ever with the follow-up procedures, meetings, and the mobility of the students, academic and administrative staff through the exchange programs such as Erasmus. This interaction creates new cultural communication and relationships between the actors and new networks between the structures and actors. From a constructivist point of view, the increasing interaction and networking both between the actors themselves and between the actors and the structures provided by the European education space intensifies the European dimension of higher education which may as well play a crucial role in the construction of European identity.

On the other hand, the important impact of the discourse of the educational policy documents on the construction of this educational space and on setting the objectives and scope of European higher education area should not be disregarded. Within this framework, the third part of this chapter aims to make a discursive analysis of the two key educational policy documents; the 1995 White Paper and the Bologna Declaration to show the impact of discourse on the construction of the European area of higher education and on the creation of a sense of belonging to Europe together with an awareness of common European values which are necessary dimensions for the European identity construction.

4.3. EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSE AND EUROPEAN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Discourse as a productive process which brings change, studies the communicative resources through which identity, role, activity, and community are reconstructed. During the interaction of discourse and society, discourse is both affected by social situations, institutions and structures and at the same time it affects and influences the social context. Hence, "discourse plays an important role in the 'constitution and reproduction of …… social identities".[534]

4.3.1. Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis can be characterized as a way of approaching and thinking about an issue. It enables to reveal the hidden motivations behind a text. Every text is conditioned and inscribes itself within a given discourse. It does not provide absolute answers to specific issues, but enables us to understand the conditions behind a specific issue and makes us realize that the essence of that issue, and its resolution, lie in its assumptions. In fact, it is the assumptions that enable the existence of that 'issue'. By enabling us to make these assumptions explicit, discourse analysis aims at allowing us to view the issue from a higher stance and to gain a comprehensive view of the issue and ourselves in relation to that issue.[535]

Accordingly, it can be said that discourse analysis is not a descriptive and explanatory practice that aims at truth claims. It is "a form of reflexive research".[536] Durrheim argues that discourse analysis aims "rather than describing and explaining the world and making truth claims, to account for how particular conceptions of the world become fixed and pass as truth" and explains that "discourse analysis is a reflexive process that aims to provide an account of how objects in the world are constructed against a background of socially shared understandings. These socially shared understandings often have become institutionalized and gained factual status".[537] It is not only a reflexive process. It is also a productive process or a process that brings change. "During discourse analysis reflexivity is employed to produce new

---

[534] Fairclough, N., 'Critical Discourse Analysis and Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities', *Discourse and Society,* 4 (2), 1993, pp.133-168 qtd. in Magistro, E., 'Promoting the European Identyity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.55.

[535] http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~palmquis/courses/discourse.htm, (retrieved on 6 Dcember 2007).

[536] Zeeman, L., Poggenpoel, M., Mybrough, C.P.H. and Van der Linde, N., 'An Introduction to a Postmodern Approach to Educational Research: Discourse Analysis', *Education,* Fall 2002, pp. 1, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3673/is_200210/ai_n9137214/pg_3, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).

[537] Durrheim, 1997, pp.181 qtd. in Zeeman, L., Poggenpoel, M., Mybrough, C.P.H. and Van der Linde, N., 'An Introduction to a Postmodern Approach to Educational Research: Discourse Analysis', *Education,* Fall 2002, pp. 1, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3673/is_200210/ai_n9137214/pg_3, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).

meanings by showing how taken-for-granted everyday and scientific objects are embedded in certain *regimes of truth*. During the reflexive process in research new meanings and ways of understanding the objects of research are generated".[538]

Discourse analysis is "one of the newest and least articulated areas in terms of its principles, methods, and objectives of inquiry".[539] In its broadest sense, it is the study of communicative resources through which identity, role, activity, community, emotion, stance, knowledge, belief and/or ideology is (re)constructed. Discourse analysts aim to explain language use in its affective, cognitive, situational, and cultural contexts. Some aspects of discourse such as grammar and cognition are more structural and static, whereas some others such as intentions and conversations are more interactional and, therefore, dynamic. However, some argue that grammar is inherently interactional because in part it is motivated and shaped by communicative needs as well as by sequential organization of talk. Similarly, cognition does not reside within the individual but rather it is socially distributed through interaction.[540]

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a form of discourse analysis and an established paradigm within social constructivism.[541] According to critical discourse analysis of Fairclough, this approach "entails working in a *transdisiplinary* way through dialogue with other disciplines and theories which are addressing contemporary processes of social change".[542] It aims at describing how claims themselves are produced, reproduced and challenged rather than aiming at contra claims about truth and certitude. Therefore, a distinction between 'whole' and 'partial' is important.[543]

---

[538] Zeeman, L., Poggenpoel, M., Mybrough, C.P.H. and Van der Linde, N., 'An Introduction to a Postmodern Approach to Educational Research: Discourse Analysis', *Education,* Fall 2002, pp. 2, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3673/is_200210/ai_n9137214/pg_3, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).
[539] He Weiyun, A., 'Discourse Studies', *Language,* Vol. 75, No. 2, June 1999, pp.354, http://links.jstor.org, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).
[540] He Weiyun, A., 'Discourse Studies', *Language,* Vol. 75, No. 2, June 1999, pp.354-55, http://links.jstor.org, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).
[541] Brodschöll, C., 'A Critical Discourse Analysis of Debates about Educational Policies', paper presented in *The Third Conference on Knowledge and Politics,* University of Bergen, May 2005, pp.4. http://ugle.svf-uib.no/sufweb1/filer/1283.pdf, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).
[542] Fairclough, N., *Critical Discourse Analysis,* http://ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/norman/critdiscanalysis.doc, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).
[543] Brodschöll, C., 'A Critical Discourse Analysis of Debates about Educational Policies', paper presented in *The Third Conference on Knowledge and Politics,* University of Bergen, May 2005, pp.5. http://ugle.svf-uib.no/sufweb1/filer/1283.pdf, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).

Within this framework, it can be said that discourse analysis goes beyond the acknowledgement of the social dimension of discourse. What distinguishes a critical from a non-critical approach to discourse is the fact that critical discourse analysts illustrate how discourse is affected by the social and ideological *status quo* and how it, in turn, affects the construction of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. In other words, "CDA attributes to discourse social agentivity" and defines it "as a form of social practice that entails a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it".[544] This calls attention to the "interaction of discourse and society: on one hand, discourse is affected by social situations, institutions and structures and adapts to, as well as perpetuates, the features of the social context in which it appears; on the other, the social context is influenced and transformed by discourse itself, which is largely responsible for the genesis, production and construction of particular social conditions".[545] Hence, discourse plays an important role in the 'constitution and reproduction of …… social identities'.[546]

According to Phillips and Jorgensen, critical discourse analysis as a method and a theoretical framework stems from the general research tradition of social constructionism and is based on the idea that social reality, that is, the everyday life with its actors and their social practices and structures, consists of shared meanings formed in interaction between actors and equally shapes the actions of those actors. Discourses, defined as particular ways of speaking which give meaning to experiences from a particular perspective, are central carriers or even definers of those socially constructed meanings. They can be parrellel and additional or competitive, and some discourses may gain

---

[544] Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R., 'Critical Discourse Analysis', T.A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction.* Vol.2, London: Sage, 1997, pp. 258-284 qtd. in Magistro, E., 'Promoting the European Identyity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.54.

[545] Magistro, E., 'Promoting the European Identyity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.54. www.cadaad.org/files/CADAAD1-1-Magistro-2007-Promoting-European-Identity.pdf, (retrieved on 18 November 2007).

[546] Fairclough, N., 'Critical Discourse Analysis and Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities', *Discourse and Society,* 4 (2), 1993, pp.133-168 qtd. in Magistro, E., 'Promoting the European Identyity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.55.

dominant positions over other discourses, thus developing into commonly shared and taken for granted truths, which displace other, alternative truths.[547]

Fairclough explains the change in social practices as follows:[548]

> Social change includes change in social practices and in the networking of social practices, how social practices are articulated together in the constitution of social fields, institutions and organizations, and in the relations between fields, institutions and organizations. This includes change in orders of discourse and relations between orders of discourse. Moreover, changes in semiosis (orders of discourse) are precondition for wider processes of social change – for example, an elaborated net work of genres is a precondition for 'globalization' if one understands the latter as including enhancement of possibilities for 'action at a distance', and the spatial 'stretching' of relations of power. Wider processes of social change can be seen as starting from change in discourse.

Accordingly, discourse-social change relation can be summed up as:[549]

- social change can be seen as changes in boundaries and relations between social practices and social structures

- social change is in part change in discourse

- changes in discourse can be 'operationalized' (materialized, enacted in new identities) in broader social change

---

[547] Phillips, L., and M. W. Jorgensen, *Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method,*London*:* Sage Publications, 2002, pp.5, 66-67, 75-76.
[548] Fairclough, N., *Critical Discourse Analysis,* pp.5, http://ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/norman/critdiscanalysis.doc, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).
[549] Zeeman, L., Poggenpoel, M., Mybrough, C.P.H. and Van der Linde, N., 'An Introduction to a Postmodern Approach to Educational Research: Discourse Analysis', *Education,* Fall 2002, pp. 2, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3673/is_200210/ai_n9137214/pg_3, (retrieved on 16 December 2007).

- change in texts, and in the longer-term changes in orders of discourse, can be seen as changes in discourse, genres and styles, and in the articulation of discourses, genres and styles.

Consequently, it can be said that the main principle of CDA is that the origins and social effects of discourse can only be understood by examining the social practices and human relations with which it is in relation. Therefore, "an analysis of education policy which ignores discourse risks overlooking its important role in shaping, enacting and legitimizing policy".[550]

Since the early 1990s the Union initiatives have increasingly placed education among the top of its strategies to achieve a successful 'knowledge-based economy' and 'knowledge-based society'. "Increasingly, investment in learning was seen as a key political mechanism for achieving both economic growth and social cohesion".[551] Thus, it is important to understand the relationship of education to its broader context. One way of doing it is analyzing the key educational documents with critical discourse analsis. Therefore, in this chapter, the two key educational documents which gave a start to the increasing investment in education in the 1990s, namely, the 1995 White Paper and the Bologna Declaration are analyzed with critical discourse analysis.

4.3.1.1. The Discursive Analysis of the 1995 White Paper

The 1995 White Paper of the European Commission on education, training and employability called *Teaching and learning: towards the society of knowledge* is the 'first official text on educational policy'.[552] It expresses a new and different position on educational matters. It supports the view that the Union has come to a point that 'the discussions on the general principles of education', more specifically, "discussions on the relationship between general education and training, on the access from school to the world of work, on the equality of opportunity and on the links between education and the information society should lead to

[550] Mulderrig, J., 'Textual Strategies of Representation and Legitimation in New Labor Policy Discourse', *Marxism and education: Renewing Dialogues,* London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, (in print), http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/view/subjects/edures.html**, (**retrieved on 16 December 2007).
[551] *Ibid.,* pp.138.
[552] Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., *Educational Effectiveness and Educational Policy Discourse of the Unesco and the European Union in a Comparative Perspective,* University of Patras, pp. 154. http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/07_publi/139-162.PDF, (retrieved on 1 December 2007).

concrete steps",[553] presenting the 'concrete steps' that should be taken as a general view of everyone.

The recommendations of the White Paper are not compulsory for the member states, however, the call for '*the society of knowledge'* could be considered an engaging factor for the policies on education because it signals both the direction and the scope of its ambition'.[554] The critical way by which the European Council accepted this text, is not based only on the economic directions found in its content, but it is also related to the powerful role it introduces for the European Commission on issues of educational policy.[555]

The 1995 White Paper builds its discourse on the assumption that needs for changes in the field of education have emerged for all the member states. These needs for changes have emerged due to the "internationalization of trade, the global context of technology and, above all, the arrival of the information society … which changed work organization and the skills learned"[556] and they require new ways "by which the structures of education can become more flexible contributing to life-long learning, to how the quality of basic education suitable for the society of knowledge might be improved, and to the best ways of funding education and training".[557] In this discourse, first, the factors that caused needs for changes are presented as threats. Second, the new ways that are recommended are given as targets. It also stresses the importance of the rational distribution of funds for education and training as an important solution even during the time of public financial constraints. Therefore, it can be said that the 1995 White Paper as the Commission's first policy statement based on the responsibilities it was given for education and training under the Maastricht Treaty is a discursive response to external economic, social and political forces which it assumes to exist.

Furthermore, the 1995 White Paper attempts to bring the logics of the economic, social and political together with the view that:[558]

---

[553] *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning*, http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[554] Field, J. *European Dimensions: Education, Training and the European Union,* London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998, pp.72.
[555] Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., *Educational Effectiveness and Educational Policy Discourse of the Unesco and the European Union in a Comparative Perspective,* University of Patras, pp. 154, http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/07_publi/139-162.PDF, (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[556] *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning,* pp.2, http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[557] *Ibid.,* pp. 2-5
[558] *Ibid.,* pp. 4.

> in modern Europe the three essential requirements of social integration, the enhancement of employability and personal fulfillment are not incompatible and they should not be brought into conflict, but should on the contrary be closely linked. Europe's assets in the area of science, the depth of its culture, the capacity of its business, industry and institutions should enable it both to pass on its fundamental values and prepare for employment.

Within this framework, the discourse of the 1995 White Paper "circumscribes the educationally possible within the parameters of what is seen to be politically and economically possible".[559] In the opening section, the basis of the 1995 White Paper is explained as the "concerns of every European citizen, young or adult, who faces the problem of adjusting to new conditions of finding a job, and changes in the nature of work" due to "internationalization of trade, the global context of technology and, above all, the arrival of the information society".[560] For these concerns, namely, unemployment and competitiveness, the construction of the 'learning society' is formulated as a response and represented as an indispensible solution. In this sense, the text closely relates the construction of welfare state and the lifelong learning society. It puts the role of education at the center of a policy to support the economy and to reduce the aforementioned challenges brought by the 'information technologies and the global information society'. However, in terms of employability, it partly transfers the responsibility to individuals stating that "the employability of a person and their capacity to adapt are linked to the way they are able to combine these different types of knowledge and build on them.[561] Yet, by employing a discourse of equal opportunity, it notes the responsibilities of the governments and the Union for being instrumental for the equal access of all, including "the most disadvantaged groups who lack the family and social environment to enable them to make the most of the general education provided by school",[562] pointing that the chance to access to 'new knowledge' should also be given to these groups.

---

[559] Mulderrig, J., 'Textual Strategies of Representation and Legitimation in New Labor Policy Discourse', *Marxism and education: Renewing Dialogues,* London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, (in print), http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/view/subjects/edures.html**, (**retrieved on 16 December 2007).
[560] *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning,* pp.2, http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm , pp. 2, (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[561] *Ibid.,* pp. 14.
[562] *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning,* pp.3, http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm , pp. 2, (retrieved on 5 December 2007).

Changing attitudes and conceptions of citizenship are also presented as centeral to the construction of a learning socity although the reasons for the development of individuals in that sense are based on 'the technological and scientific changes taking place'. These reasons require individuals "to be able to think more in ternms of systems and to position themselves both as a user and a citizen, as an individual and a member of a group".[563] Within this framework, the Paper states the importance of the cultivation of 'European citizenship' and the construction of 'social consciousness and social and personal development'. It links it with the future of the European culture - with the assumption that there is an already existing European culture - and the type of society it aims at with the following discourse:[564]

> The future of European culture depends on its capacity to equip young people to question constantly and seek new answers without prejudicing human values. This is the very foundation of citizenship and is essential if European society is to be open, multicultural and democratic.

Consequently, it can be said that the 1995 White Paper considers education and training within three contexts: economic, social and political. It represents the construction of a 'learning society' as a solution to the employment problem, as a way of personal development and as a means to passing on cultural heritage. The discourse in the text clearly expresses that "to examine education and training in the context of employment does not mean reducing them simply to a means of obtaining qualifications. The essential aim of education and training has always been personal development and the successful integration of Europeans into society through the sharing of common values, the passing on of cultural heritage and the teaching of self-reliance".[565] Once more, 'common values' and 'cultural heritage' are represented as already existing entities. Moreover, the White Paper claims that the 'European cultural heritage' and 'European civilization' are "under the risk of cultural uniformity due to the spread of new technologies, particularly from American domination of multi-media products, and educational software market".[566] 'Spread of new technologies' and 'American domination' is represented as threats, and the situation of the day is depicted in a 'language of crisis'[567]. It "describes a

---

[563] *Ibid.,* pp. 11.
[564] *Ibid.,* pp. 10.
[565] *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning,* pp.3, http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[566] *Ibid.*
[567] Field, J. *European Dimensions: Education, Training and the European Union,* London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998, pp.72.

picture of crisis for the member states"[568] as "the essential function of social integration is today under *threat* unless it is accompanied by the prospect of employment. The *devastating* personal and social effects of unemployment are uppermost in the minds of every family, every young person in initial training and everyone on the labor market'.[569] The focus of the discourse of crisis is directly related to the challenges facing both European cultural heritage and European economy.

The construction and development of the *learning society* given as a solution for the challenges sets the route towards the society of knowledge through education. This route is considered as the only way that could make EU competitive against globalization. Accordingly, EU member states will have to invest, through education and training, in their human resources for their competitiveness. The importance of 'the access of every individual to general education' and 'the acquisition of necessary skills for employment by the individual' is also underlined as a way to the society of knowledge in the text. General knowledge is explained as a type of education which is 'based on general knowledge, acquired in schools, and includes the ability to learn beyond the facts, to understand and create and to be able to make rational choices'.[570] It defines knowledge 'as an acquired body of fundamental and technical knowledge, allied to social skills'.[571] Technical knowledge is defined as 'knowledge which permits clear identification with an occupation'.[572] It is clearly stated that with the information technology, it has become a necessity to get basic training in the technologies of information. Besides the basic and technical skills, the paper draws attention to the social skills of cooperation, group work and creativity, skills that can be acquired on training.

Within this framework, for employability the text shows two routes:[573] a) the traditional route: the paper qualification, b) the modern route: integration within a network which cooperates,

---

[568] Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., *Educational Effectiveness and Educational Policy Discourse of the Unesco and the European Union in a Comparative Perspective,* University of Patras, pp. 154, http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/07_publi/139-162.PDF, (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[569] *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning,* pp.5-8, http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[570] Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., *Educational Effectiveness and Educational Policy Discourse of the Unesco and the European Union in a Comparative Perspective,* University of Patras, pp. 155. http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/07_publi/139-162.PDF, (retrieved on 1 December 2007).
[571] *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning,* pp.13. http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[572] *Ibid.*
[573] *Ibid.,* pp.14-15.

which educates, trains and learns. In addition to these routes, a third way, which already exists in some Member States, is suggested. According to this suggestion 'those rejected by the formal system of education would be encouraged to cultivate the skills they have, such as knowledge of a language, a given level in math, accounting, etc.'.[574] The Commission also argues that 'the established networks of educational institutions and enterprises will, from now on, play an important role in the production of knowledge and technology and, as a result in the production of education'.[575] This discourse represents the Commission's intention of promoting the involvement of enterprise into the field of education.

Although the 1995 White Paper emphasizes and makes references to education mostly related to the training of individuals for the competitive economic and business life as a solution to the *crisis*, and underlines 'instrumental knowledge' which is necessary for economic development, it also stresses that the 'future developments should have a distinct European dimension, placing particular emphasis on the preservation of the European social model'[576]. Here it makes the assumption that there is an already existing European model. It notes that 'Europe is not there just to make regulations, but that it is close to ordinary people and their everyday concerns'.[577] It defines the main function of school as enabling people to understand the world, the way it interacts and functions, and help them to find 'their personal direction' which is particularly "appropriate to the building of Europe, which will also lay the foundations of *European citizenship*".[578] This way it sets the necessary characteristic features of a European citizen as an individual who can understand the world and can find his/her personal way, that is, a self-reliant individual.

In the section which explains the first approach: 'focusing on a broad knowledge base', the discourse under the title of *Grasping the meaning of things* concentrates on identity, citizenship and democracy. It clearly expresses that "in an essentially universal society based on knowledge, a social and cultural identity can only be passed on in part. It has to be ***built up*****,** not only by school the role of which continues to be irreplaceable, but the individuals who draw on the collective memory while assimilating the variety of information to which they are

---

[574] *Ibid*., pp.16
[575] Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., *Educational Effectiveness and Educational Policy Discourse of the Unesco and the European Union in a Comparative Perspective,* University of Patras, pp. 155-56.
[576] *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning,* pp.7. http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[577] *Ibid.*
[578] *Ibid.*, pp.9-10.

exposed, through their involvement in different, vocational, cultural, and social circles".[579] With this discourse, the paper represents the role of the individual in the process of building social and cultural identities as equal to the role the school.

It also signifies that the 'foundations of citizenship' and 'European society to be open, multicultural and democratic' depend on 'its capacity to equip young people to question constantly and seek new answers without prejudicing human values'.[580] In this regard, the White Paper brings forth the view of the academics which stress "the importance of adequate scientific awareness – not simply in the mathematical sense – to ensure that democracy can function properly" since according to the discourse of the Paper, "democracy functions by majority decision on major issues which, because of their complexity, require an increasing amount of background knowledge".[581]

The Commission also draws attention to 'powers of judgment' and 'decision making'. They represent them as the essential skills to understand the world around us, that is, to judge and to make choices. 'Remembering the past' is reflected as necessary to judge the present. In this respect, they underline the dual function of history and geography as a 'guide in time and space' which is necessary to every person if they are 'to come to terms with *their roots*, develop a *sense of belonging* and to understand *others*'. Then, they explicitly explain the consequence of the absence of such functions as "the penalty society pays for forgetting the past is to lose a common heritage of bearings and reference points".[582] Forgetting the past is termed as a 'penalty that will be paid for'. On the hand, the discourse used here defines Europe as a space which has common roots. A sense of belonging to Europe is represented as an important concept which should be promoted through education. The phrase 'to understand others' once again represents Europe as one unity and the rest of the world as the others. Then, clear examples of European civilization such as 'Eureka', 'the judgment of Solomon', 'the tower of Babel' are given to prove that there is a common European heritage. Even though this attitude in discourse is evaluated as the 'representation of the implicit xenophobia that appears to continue to drive much of the EU's fear of Japan and the USA'[583] by John

---

[579] *Ibid.*, pp.10.
[580] *Ibid.*
[581] *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning,* pp.10. http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm (retrieved on 5 December 2007).
[582] *Ibid.*, pp.12.
[583] Field, J. *European Dimensions: Education, Training and the European Union,* London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998, pp.76.

Field in his analysis of the 1995 White Paper, it defines the role of lifelong learning as a means of promoting the feeling of belonging to Europe and citizenship.

In sum, the discourse of the 1995 White Paper highlights the 'threats' facing Europe and its education and training systems. A society of this kind is considered to be facing a dual challenge: an economic one due to internationalization which requires the strengthening of European competitiveness by drawing on its main asset, that is, its capacity to produce and use knowledge with the aid of the potential of its labor force; and the social challenge responding to the need to avoid exclusion in society between the ones who have knowledge and the ones who do not[584] and to promote common European values. Consequently, it can be said that this White Paper calls for all possible responses that education and training systems can provide for tackling with internationalization and its consequences by representing internationalization a as 'threat' and defining education and training as the most effective solution.

Despite the negative criticisms of the 1995 White Paper which regard it 'as school-centered and without specific references to those responsible to adopt the proposals in practice, namely, the teachers',[585] the developments in the following years in the field of education and training to promote economic competitiveness and active citizenship showed that the 1995 White Paper was effective enough to promote and give impetus to the developments in the field of education at the Union level. The following year 1996 was called the "year of Lifelong Education and Training which aimed at the promotion of the personal development of the individuals, of their integration in the place of work and in the society, of their participation in the democratic procedure of decision-making and of their ability to adjust to economic, technological and social changes".[586] In 1997, a report titled 'Accomplishing Europe through Education and Training' was produced by a special group, 'spoke' of a European vision to be shared by all member states.[587] Within this framework, the concept of 'Union citizenship' is placed in the center of European policy. The same year, the Amsterdam

---

[584] European Commission, *The history of European cooperation in education and training,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006, pp.161.
[585] Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., *Educational Effectiveness and Educational Policy Discourse of the Unesco and the European Union in a Comparative Perspective,* University of Patras, pp. 157. http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/07_publi/139-162.PDF, (retrieved on 1 December 2007).
[586] http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11024.htm, (retrieved on 13 December 2007).
[587] Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., *Educational Effectiveness and Educational Policy Discourse of the Unesco and the European Union in a Comparative Perspective,* University of Patras, pp. 158. http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/07_publi/139-162.PDF, (retrieved on 1 December 2007).

Treaty foresaw "the encouragement of a more active and participatory citizenship in the life of the Community, founded in an integrated approach to lifelong learning and based on the complementary of the Union citizenship and Member State citizenship".[588] In the introduction of 'Education and Active Citizenship', a text publicized by the Commission in 1998, 'bringing Europe closer to its citizens' is stated as a priority for future policy action of the union. Furthermore, the text also stated that "action in the field of education, training and youth offers a privileged vehicle for the promotion of active participation in Europe's rich diversity of cultures, economies and societies"[589] representing the cultural diversities of Europe as a richness in unity. Therefore, it can be said that the discourse of the 1995 White Paper, along with employment and economy, had an important impact on the development of the concept of 'Union citizenship' through lifelong learning which later became one of the central topics of the following White Papers and Declarations on education.

4.3.1.2. The Discursive Analysis of the Bologna Declaration

The Bologna Declaration signed on 19 June 1999 by 29 countries is a key document which marks a turning point in the construction and development of the European Area of Higher Education. It originates from 'the recognition that in spite of their valuable differences, European higher education systems are facing common internal and external challenges related to the growth and diversification of higher education, the employability of graduates, the shortage of skills in key areas and the expansion of private and transnational education'.[590] First of all, the above wording of text represents the differences between the European higher education institutions as a valuable asset. However, it then immediately draws attention to both internal and external challenges that result from these differences, referring to them as 'diversities' (not as 'differences') and presents them as reasons to start a number of reforms to make European higher education more compatible, more competitive and more attractive for students and scholars both within and out of Europe.

For a start, the Declaration shows the willingness of the signatory countries to cooperate in the field of education. It claims that the European process is 'an increasingly concrete and relevant reality for the Union and its citizens'. The Declaration shows the need for the

[588] http://www.europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/s50000.htm, (retrieved on 12 December 2007).
[589] http://ec.europa.eu/education/archive/citizen/citiz_en.html, (retrieved on 12 December 2007).
[590] http://www.ec.europa.education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf, (retrieved on 8 October 2007).

establishment of a more complete Europe as a reason to start the Bologna process. We read that "we are witnessing a growing awareness in large parts of the political and academic world and in public opinion of the need to establish a more complete and far-reaching Europe, in particular building upon and strengthening its intellectual, cultural, social and scientific and technological dimensions."[591] With this discourse, the Declaration claims a consensus on the need to establish a more complete and wider Europe. It is presented not as a need that only the Ministers see but a need felt by the politicians, scholars and the peoples of Europe. It points to these needs not only in the economic field but also in social and cultural fields. The juxtaposition of these needs as equal creates a balanced value between the economic and social needs which shows that the developments necessary for the satisfaction of the economic needs is eqally important as the developments that are necessary in social and cultural fields from perspective of the ministers.

To neutralize the possible hesitations of member states on the harmonization of education systems which brought forth conflicts after the Sorbonne Declaration, the Bologna declaration uses a more subtle discourse eliminating the use of the word 'harmonization'. Moreover, it tries to prove that the independence and autonomy of the universities will be under guarantee. To illustrate:

> European higher education institutions, for their part, have accepted the challenge and taken up a main role in constructing the European area of higher education, also in the wake of the fundamental principles laid down in the Bologna Magna Charta Universitatum of 1988. This is of the highest importance, given that Universities' independence and autonomy ensure that higher education and research systems continuously adapt to changening needs, society's demands and advances in scientific knowledge.

The first sentence rests on the assumption that all European higher education institutions have accepted that there is a challenge and have already started to play a major role in the construction of such an area. The second sentence represents the 'independence' and 'autonomy' of universities as fundamental principles which they already have and will definitely continue to have in the future. Moreover, these two principles are presented as the guarantee of the continous adaptation of higher education and research systems to changing

[591] *Ibid.*

needs and society's demands resting on the assumption that there are such demands from society. Furthermore, it presents Europe as one unified society making the same demands.

The following paragraph of the Declaration starts with the sentence 'the course has been set in the right direction and with meaningful purpose'. This articulation focuses on the rightness of the course to increase the involvement of the actors in the area of higher education and to promote cooperation between them.
The following extract articulates the importance of increasing the competitiveness of the European system of higher education:[592]

> We must in particular look at the objective of increasing the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education. The vitality and efficiency of any civilization can be measured by the appeal that its culture has for other countries. We need to ensure that the European higher education system acquires a world-wide degree of attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions.

The term 'European system of higher education' is based on the assumption that there is a common higher education system in Europe. 'Our extraordinary culture and scientific traditions' also rests on the assumption that there is a common to all European culture and scientific traditions. This culture and scientific traditions are modified with the adjective 'extraordinary' placing it over most of the other cultures and traditions and strengthens its value by modifying it with the phrase 'a world-wide degree of attraction'.

The promotion of European citizens' employability and the competitiveness of the European higher education system globally are presented as the reasons for the first objective of the Declaration;

> Adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees, also through the implementation of the Diploma Supplement, in order to promote European citizens' employability and the international competitiveness of the European higher education system;[593]

---

[592] http://www.ec.europa.education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf, (retrieved on 8 October 2007)
[593] http://www.ec.europa.education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf, (retrieved on 8 October 2007).

It discursively brings the concepts of citizenship and employability together. Moreover, the phrase 'international competitiveness of the European higher education system' claims that there is one cohesive European higher education system in one common space, namely, in Europe and aims at increasing the competitiveness of this system against the higher education systems of other countries out of Europe.

The third objective of the Declaration; 'establisment of a system of credits – such as the ECTS system – as a proper means of promoting the most widespread student mobility'[594] presents student mobility as an important contribution to the establishment of the European area of higher education. The fourth objective supports and strengthens the third objective by showing the overcoming obstacles to the effective exercise of free movement of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff as the method of promoting this mobility.

The last two objectives set two targets: first, closer cooperation to increase the quality of higher education, second, promotion of the European dimension in higher education. Although verbs like 'harmonization' or 'standardization' are not used in the text, the phrase 'promotion of the necessary European dimensions in higher education' is premised on dimensions common to all European higher education system which actually needs the harmonization of the higher education systems in member countries at least in some areas.

The following closing section illustrates the ministers of education as the enabler of the process of establishing the European higher education area, and demonstrates their respect to the sensitive issues such as diversity and autonomy.

> We hereby undertake to attain these objectives – within the framework of our institutional competencies and taking full respect of the diversity of cultures, languages, national education systems and of University autonomy – to consolidate the European area of higher education. To that end, we will pursue the ways of intergovernmental co-operation, together with those of non governmental European organizations with competence on higher education.[595]

'We' referring to the ministers of of education as the subject of the sentence employs the responsibility of the verb 'undertake', therefore, illustrates the ministers as the enablers of the action

[594] http://www.ec.europa.education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf, (retrieved on 8 October 2007)
[595] *Ibid.*

planned. The phrases 'full respect of the diversity of cultures, languages, national education systems and of University autonomy' and 'intergovernmental cooperation' in fact modify the European higher education area that is to be established.

In terms of wording, the use of lexical choices such as '*we* engage in coordinating', '*we* undertake' '*we* expect' both contribute to the style of the text and construct the identity of the ministers of education as a body. It can also be argued that it reflects a dynamic and committed identity. The text also represents ministers as serving a regulatory function. The regulatory function stems from their setting a networking of new practices and roles to universities and other actors of the field.

The texual organization of the text contributes to the presentation of global competition as an inexorable force of change. The imperative of the given objectives stems from these inevitable challenges brought by globalization not only in terms of economy but also in terms culture which forces Europe to respond. Within this framework, the discourse of the Bologna Declaration reflects a "search for common European answers to common European problems"[596] based on the assumption that Europe as a whole is faced with a common problem, that is globalization, and that there are common European answers which as Europeans they should look for and find.

The text represents a European area of higher education which can *promote, increase the quality and the international compatitiveness of Europe, achieve greater compatibility, and enrich European citizenship.* Therefore, it can be said that the discourse of the text encapsulates both the functional and socializing roles of higher education.

In sum, the Bologna Declaration redefines Europe as one cohesive entity unified in diversity. It presents 'Europe of Knowledge' as an irreplaceable factor for 'social and human growth' and as a component to consolidate and enrich the 'European citizenship'. Furthermore, it points to its capacity to give the necessary competencies to the citizens of Europe to face the challenges of the new millennium, together with an 'awareness of shared values' and 'belonging to a common social and cultural space' which underlines the importance of the development of a sense of awareness of shared European values and a feeling of belonging to Europe. It also draws attention to the importance of education and cooperation in the field of education for the development and strengthening of 'stable, peaceful and democratic societies'.

[596] http://www.ec.europa.education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf, (retrieved on 8 October 2007)

In sum, the Bologna Declaration has set the direction and scope for the higher education systems of the member countries and had an important impact on the educational policies of the member states and on the construction of the European area of higher education. The main objectives set by the Declaration are now implemented by the signatory countries within a common framework. The objectives are, first, to construct a European area of higher education with common systems and standards which will improve the quality and effectiveness of higher education institutions to be more competitive in the global market; second, to promote student mobility; and third, "to extend the notion of a European *identity* from politics and economics into the cultural and educational spheres".[597] This way the Bologna Declaration prepared the necessary grounds for the future developments in the construction of the European education space which plays an important role in creating a sense of belonging to Europe and developing self-reliant citizens who respect civic rights.

GENERAL EVALUATION

Education with respect to identity construction has always been important in Europe. Educational policies regarding the national history, culture and language played a crucial role in the national identity building process of the nation states. National mass education provided by the states was the key instrument in the nationalization process in which ordinary people became national citizens. Due to this pivotal role of education, it remained as a national priority in the Community until the Maastricht Treaty which provided a clear legal basis for making educational policies on the condition that the Community would respect 'the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversities'. Following the introduction of the Maastricht Treaty, the Union developed a number of educational and training programs which have promoted mobility, multicultural and multilingual Europe. With the signing of the Bologna Declaration which aimed at the establishment of a European higher education area by 2010, Europeanization of higher education has been broadened and intensified. The establishment of the European higher education area with the cooperation of the institutions, international governmental and non-governmental organizations at regional, national and European levels have provided a social context for all the actors of this space. This social

[597] 'Reforming European Education', *Physicsworld,* pp.1, http:/physicsworld.com/cws/article/indepth/18819, pp. 1, (retrieved on 15 December 2007).

context enables the actors' interaction with each other more than ever with the follow-up procedures, meetings, and the mobility of the students, academic and administrative staff. This interaction creates new relationships and new cultural communication between the actors and new networks between the structures and actors. From a constructivist point of view, the increasing interaction and networking both between the actors themselves and between the actors and the structures provided by the European education space intensifies the European dimension of higher education which may as well play a crucial role in the construction of European identity.

Within this context, one of the most effective elements in the construction of the European higher education space has been the educational policy documents introduced by the Union. While constructing and promoting this higher education space, these documents do not miss the socially constructive effect of education. As explicitly stated in the discourse of the Bologna Declaration, the European higher education area will function 'to consolidate and enrich the European citizenship, together with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space' giving the crucial role of 'reinforcing a common cultural and scientific European identity' to the universities. This role given to higher education institutions leads the way to the construction of a more integrated Europe with bonds of knowledge provided by education. As emphasized in the final report of the *Integrated Curricula: Implications and Prospects* seminar, "joint degree programs based on integrated curricula are one of the major priorities for the construction of the European identity within the common area of European higher education, as they provide the learners in all cycles with a coherent, recognizable and challenging experience of European diversity in unity".[598]

In brief, the European educational space with its documents, actors and networks of communication could be the key instrument for the construction of a post-national European identity just like national educational spaces which have been the major tools in the construction of national identities.

[598] The Bologna Process Seminar on 'Integrated Curricula: Implications and Prospects, Final Report, pp.4, http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Mantova_Results.pdf, (retrieved on 15 December 2007).

CONCLUSION

Since its establishment as a European Economic Community in 1957, the European Union has moved far beyond a modest organization with a simple structure and objectives limited to economic issues. Although the main reason behind the European integration was economic and associated with market unification, in time, its authority and scope have expanded significantly. Changes brought by the treaties such as the Single European Act, the Maastricht, the Amsterdam and the Nice have expanded Union authority to issues in social, cultural and political realms.

This expansion of competences of the EU into areas where nation-states held the authority before has caused the Union to be questioned in terms of democracy, legitimacy and democratic governance. The democratic deficit of the Union has raised the question of demos, namely, a community of communication, of common experience, history, and a common identity. Being a member of such a community requires subjective dimensions like a sense of social cohesion, a shared destiny with the other members of that community, and collective self-identity. These dimensions are based on a common language and history, a common ethnic origin and religion and common cultural traditions. However, European people feature such characteristics only to a very limited extent. Europe does not have a common language, a common history, and a common ethnic origin to construct a shared European identity on.

Regarding the past, what it has in common to create a European sense of social cohesion, a European collective consciousness and a European identity, is the shared political traditions such as Roman law, political democracy and Judeo-Christian ethics, and the common cultural values with respect to the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment.

However, emphasizing even these limited common European political and cultural origins might result in the exclusion of minority groups that have different political and cultural origins such as Muslims who might also have a strong sense of belonging to their own values. Furthermore, already existing national identities might create a strong resistance to the creation of an overriding post-national European identity. Any imposition on the national 'self' could be perceived as a threat to the national identity and as an attempt to replace national values and powers with the European ones. Therefore, construction of a European identity based on a common heritage like that, which underpins national identity is risky and might have only limited success since nation states and the European Union are two different political formations.

Regarding identity formation, social constructivist theory argues that identities, whether personal or collective, are socially constructed by interaction processes between the agents. Therefore, identities are social and relational, and can converge or diverge over time, that is, they are not fixed. On that ground, a European identity can theoretically be constructed based on civic values rather than common characteristics that people have or lack from birth since there are several forms of identification which are capable of generating a sense of belonging to a community. As the literature on social constructivism and identity politics has shown, individuals can have multiple worlds simultaneously, interact in different contexts and develop various identifications in relation to these different contexts for different purposes. In the European context, it can be a post-national identity: a sense of European togetherness. If people of Europe can internalize such a sense of togetherness and belonging, and develop a European identity, it will remarkably contribute to the success, acceptance and the smooth development of Europe's political integration process and will be a solution to the democratic deficit problem of the Union. In practice, such a construction needs new spaces where interaction processes can take place between the agents. Therefore, in addition to the spaces that are already created on economic grounds such as the Euro-zone, new methods creating new spaces based on non-economic grounds like the European educational space can be effective in the construction of a collective European identity.

Within this framework, the field of education and training has gained a social dimension and its importance for education-identity formation relation has increased more than ever before. The Union's minor interest in education and training at the beginning increased with the establishment of the Single Market and this increased interest due to economic reasons provided education and training to become significant areas of policy. With the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty which introduced Union citizenship, the Union adopted a more radical approach which accelerated and broadened the cooperation in the field of education between the member states, on condition that the Community would respect 'the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversities'. Furthermore, the discourse of the Maastricht Treaty which clearly states that the supremacy of member states could not be challenged in favor of the supranational policies and there could be no interference to harmonize or standardize the national educational policies, has promoted the involvement and cooperation of even the most Euro-skeptic governments among the member states. However, at this point, it should be noted that the member states which are faced with more intense global economic pressures and technological competitiveness have always been more willing to cooperate and to converge their national policies in the higher education and vocational training areas so as to improve the quality of their workforce.

This widening and deepening cooperation of the member states in the field of education was given a coherent and an ongoing framework in the mid-90s to promote the concept and practice of the knowledge-based society. Since 2000, education and training have been at the center of economic and social strategy of the Union. The growing interest of the Union in the field of education and training has increased the number of the actors that are involved in the field. At present, besides the institutions of the Union, international governmental and non-governmental organizations are also involved in the process. Their involvement as actors contributes not only to the establishment of a knowledge-based economy but also to the construction of a knowledge-based society by 2010 which is one of the main targets of the Union since the beginning of the Bologna Process.

The Bologna Declaration, signed by 29 countries in 1999 to reform the structures of their higher education systems and to lay the basis for the establishment of a European Higher Education Area by 2010, is a key document and a cornerstone not only for the establishment

of the European Higher Education area but also for the promotion of the European system of higher education world-wide making it an 'actor' rather than an 'object' of globalization. Today 46 countries are signatory members of the process, all working with the aim of achieving the goals set in the Bologna Declaration, the Lisbon Strategy and in the communiqués that followed them. The Bologna process considers the differences in the education systems of the member countries as a strength rather than a weakness and fully respects the fundamental principles of 'autonomy' and 'diversity'. With its social dimension, it emphasizes the participative equity and employability of graduates in a lifelong learning context to create a knowledge-based society.

In addition to the establishment of the European area of higher education, the second generation, integrated action programs under the names of *Socrates* for general education, *Leonardo da Vinci* for vocational training, and *Youth* for the non-educational activities of the young people of Europe are introduced under the Articles 126 and 127 of the Maastricht Treaty. These new generation programs enhance the role of both the social partners and the member states. Consequently, these new second generation action programs better promote and increase mobility, and hence create multicultural and multilingual European spaces which intensify the interactions between the different actors of this space, namely, between the people of Europe with different ethnic roots, nationalities, religions, social and cultural values and ages, and between the related institutions and governmental or non-governmental organizations.

These educational processes, on the other hand, have shown that, while member states improve and reform their national policies, they can as well achieve the shared objectives that they have set at the European level. The subsidiarity principle introduced in the Maastricht Treaty enables Member states to remain sovereign and responsible for the content and organization of their education systems. The same principle also provides a non-binding but closer transnational cooperation between the member states for growing convergence between their national policies and systems. By providing joint solutions to shared problems, the cooperation in the field of education sets a remarkable example for cooperation in other policy areas of the Union.

From a social constructivist point of view, the building of the European education space through the aforementioned cooperation between the member states which is promoted by the

Union, and specifically the construction of the European Higher Education Area with the cooperation of the institutions, international governmental and non-governmental organizations at regional, national and European levels, have provided a social context for all the actors of this space. This social context enables the actors' interaction with each other more than ever with the follow-up procedures, meetings and more importantly, with the mobility of the students, and the academic and administrative staff. These interaction processes create new relations and networks between structures and actors while intensifying the already existing ones. Since identities are socially constructed and actors' perception and assessment of self and other and of the context that they are in are the products of interaction, the increasing interaction between the actors provided by the European education space could play a crucial role in the construction of European identity.

On the other hand, the Union citizenship introduced by the Maastricht Treaty has created a transnational system of political rights to the citizens of the member states and has motivated further political integration by accelerating civic participation to the EU policies with an end result of strengthening the sense of belonging to a European polity which creates an EU consciousness. In brief, it has enhanced the supranational character of the Union. It has also extended and strengthened the competences of the Union policy areas of education and culture. Furthermore, the discourse on the Union citizenship practice has shifted the focus of citizenship from the historical element of belonging to constructing civic ties of belonging. This shift has opened up new spaces for the development of the Union citizenship that could have a positive impact on the construction of a European identity because once the Union citizens enjoy the transnational rights, they will start to develop a sense of belonging to the Union and to Europe.

In all the aforementioned political, social and educational developments, the dominant discourses employed by the Union's institutions have played an important role. Therefore, a large number of scholars and educational researchers have adopted discourse analysis in their studies.

Discourse analysis which is a methodology that stems from social constructivism is based on the idea that social reality with its actors, practices, and structures consists of shared meanings formed in interaction processes. Because it is not a descriptive and explanatory practice that aims at truth claims but aims to provide an account of how objects in the world are

constructed in a context of socially shared understandings and how they are institutionalized, become fixed and passed on as truth, more specifically, because it is reflexive and constructive, its one form, namely, the critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used as a method in this thesis for the analysis of the educational documents and their influence on the Union's educational policy and its practices.

Accordingly, critical discourse analysis, which considers discourse as a social agent and defines it as a form of social practice that includes a dialectical relationship between a particular discoursive event and social constructions within the same context, brings forth the interaction of discourse and society which is a two-way process. On one hand, discourse is affected by social situations, institutions and structures and provides continuity for the features of the social context in which it appears; on the other, the social context is influenced and transformed by discourse itself, which is largely responsible for the production and construction of particular social conditions. Therefore, an analysis of educational policy which ignores discourse risks overlooking its important role in shaping, enacting and legitimizing the policy. Consequently, the use of discourse analysis, specifically the critical discourse analysis of educational policy documents has been adopted successfully by scholars in the recent years.

In this thesis, the critical discourse analyses of the two key educational policy documents, the 1995 White Paper and the Bologna Declaration show that the discourses employed by the institutions and organizations have played a pivotal role in the implementation and development of objectives in the field of education. The dominant discourses of both texts point towards particular courses of action to create a new social space, more specifically a European educational space in which actors can develop new relations that will enable them to construct a new post-national identity, namely, European identity.

The 1995 White Paper expresses a new and different position, and a discourse on educational matters. Its discourse first conveys a picture of crisis for the then condition of Europe by employing a language of crisis to stress the importance of the implementation of the changes to move towards the 'learning society' which is proposed as a solution to the economic crisis and the risk of cultural uniformity that emerged due to globalization. To have more competitive individuals in the economic market, besides the classical way of obtaining paper qualifications, the 1995 White Paper suggests the integration of education within a network

which cooperates and educates with the involvement of enterprise in education both for the development of education according to the needs of the market and for the developments of the individuals to be more competetent, competitive and employable in the global market. According to the discourse of the paper, the Union considers the employment of its citizens as one of the most important priorities because providing employment is seen as one way of developing the concept of Union citizenship among the Europeans. Therefore, the White Paper sets the route to increase the employability of the Union citizens. Moreover, the suggested steps that should be taken for this route which is given as a way to the solution for the employment problem is presented as the general view of all the people of Europe. As one dimension of constructing the learning society which can make Europe more competitive in the global market, the 1995 White Paper brings forth the view that education should have a European dimension. This view rests on the assumption that Europe has common roots, a common to all civilization, namely, an existing European social model which has a tradition of democracy and which values rule of law and civic rights. Accordingly, the paper states that a sense of belonging to Europe should be promoted on this common European heritage through education. Even though this presentation might be considered xenophobic for some, its discourse underlines that by means of education, namely, by promoting lifelong learning, Europeanness and a sens of belonging to Europe which are indispensable elements for the construction of European identity can be developed. Therefore, after the discoursive analysis of this paper, we can state that the discourse of the 1995 White Paper puts education central to the solutions for the employment problem as well as for the construction of a feeling of Europeanness and the development of Union citizenship, bringing education, economy and politics together.

The discourse of the Bologna Declaration, first of all, shows the willingness of the signatory countries to cooperate in the field of education. It also emphasizes the need for the establishment of a more complete Europe as one broad space, and represents this need not only as a need that the education ministers see but also as a need felt by politicians, scholars and by the people of Europe which makes the construction of such a space more necessary. Moreover, it points to this need not only in the economic field but also in social and cultural fields. It underpins the indispensable importance of creating a ‘Europe of Knowledge’ for the construction of a more integrated Europe and claims that a European area of higher education will play an important role in this construction process. This discourse brings forth the view that constructing such a space is a crucial factor for ‘social and human growth’ and for the

enrichment of ‘European citizenship’. Furthermore, it points to the capacity of the area of European higher education to give the necessary competencies to the citizens of Europe to face the challenges of the new millennium, together with an ‘awareness of shared values’ and ‘belonging to a common social and cultural space’. With such a discourse, the Bologna Declaration emphsizes the importance of a common cultural and a common social space for the development of a sense of awareness of shared European values and a feeling of belonging to Europe as well as drawing attention to the dimensions which the European area of higher education could add to the development and strengthening of ‘stable, peaceful and democratic societies’. Therefore, it can be said that the discourse of the Bologna Declaration first creates this educational and social space discursively, and then opens up the way for its construction spatially.

Within this framework, the discursive analyses of the two educational documents show us the interaction of discourse and social practice, namely, the two-way relation between the 1995 White Paper and the Bologna Declaration, and the construction of the European area of higher education and the Bologna process as the end product of these documents. First, their discourses present us the conditions of the then European context which affected their discourse, namely, the economic and cultural pressures that Europe was under due to globalization, and the socially and politically conflicting issues relating to the recent introduction of Union citizenship with the Maastricht Treaty. Second, the analyses show us how that context is influenced and transformed by the discourses of these two educational documents, that is, how the discourses of the educational documents influence and transform the present context, and construct a new education-centered context and an agenda in the Union as a solution for the economic and cultural problems related to globalization and the political problems with respect to the introduction and development of Union citizenship. In addition to constructing a new education-centered, unified and common to all European space, the discourses of these two major documents set the target and the scope both for the Union and the member states in the field of education determining the agenda of the educational policy of the Union, that is, the steps that should be taken during the process.

Besides, the lexical choices in the discourses represent the willingness of the ministers and the member states to take responsibility for the developments during the process as well as for their regulatory function in setting a networking of new practices between the actors of this common educational and social space to achieve the set targets by the documents. These

targets, more specifically, the construction of an educational space with the cooperation of all the actors of the area which is also a social and cultural space providing mobility and new practices, consequently, the interaction of different cultures, values, collective identities such as national and ethnic identities and different experiences, are the important steps for the creation of a sense of belonging to Europe and a collective European consciousness among the peoples of Europe, and the development of Union citizenship based on democracy, rule of law and civic values which are the necessary elements for the construction of a post-national European identity. In sum, the discourse analyses of both documents show us that the educational policy of the Union has more than one dimension and one aim, the major two of which are; a) building a knowledge-based society for better competitive Europe in the global context, b) creation of European consciousness and a sense of belonging to Europe among the peoples of Europe, whose end-product could be the construction of a collective post-national European identity and the development of Union citizenship on civic values and democracy.

From a social constructivist point of view, then, we can conclude that, just as education at the national level played an important role in the nation-building process by creating national consciousness and thereby national identities, so the type of educational project envisioned here, based on mobility, international experience and building on civic and wider culturally-shared values, could also play an important role in the construction of a post-national European identity. Such a more cosmopolitan sense of belonging will facilitate the development of Union citizenship, providing a solution to the legitimacy problem of the European Union and increasing both the pace and the scope of the political integration process.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Svein, S.,and Kjell, A. Eliassen, 'Introduction: Dilemmas, Contradictions and the Future of European Democracy', Anderson, S. And K. Eliassen (eds.), *The European Union: How Democratic Is It?,* London: Sage, 1996.

Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* revised ed. London: Verso, 1991.

Bellier, I. and T.M. Wilson, 'Building, Imagining and Experiencing Europe: Institutions and Identities in the European Union', Bellier, I. and T.M. Wilson (eds.), *An Antropology of the EU: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe,* Oxford: Berg, 2000.

Bloom, W., *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Breakwell, G. 'Identity Change in the Context of the Growing Influence of European Union Institutions', Herrmann, R., T. Risse, M. Brewer (eds.) *Transnational Identities.* Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publications, 2004.

Brubaker, W.R., *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany,* London: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Bruter, M., *Citizens of Europe?: The Emergence of a Mass European Identity,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Checkel, J. T., 'Constructing European Institutions', Aspinwall, M. and Scheider, G. (eds.), *The Rules of Integration: The Institutionalist Approach to European Studies.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.

Checkel, J.T., 'The Europeanization of Citizenship?', M.G. Cowles, J. Caporasa and T. Risse (eds.), *Europeanization and Domestic Change: transforming Europe,* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Pres, 2001.

Checkel, J.T., 'Social Construction and European Integration', Nelsen, F.B. and A. Stubb (eds.), *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration,* The European Union Series, 2003.

Checkel, J., 'Social Construction and Integration', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.

Christiansen, T., Jorgensen, K.E. and Wiener, A., 'Introduction', *The Social Construction of Europe,* Christiansen, T., Jorgensen, K.E. and Wiener, A. (eds.), London: SAGE Publications, 2001.

Cohen, S., *Politics without a Past: The Absence of History in Postcommunist Nationalism,* US: Duke University Press, 1999.

Diez, T., 'Speaking 'Europe': The Politics of Integration Discourse'. Christiansen, T., Jorgensen, K.E. and Wiener, A. (eds). *The Social Construction of Europe.* London: SAGE Publications, 2001.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. 'The Constructivist Turn in European Integration Studies', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.

Field, J., *European Dimensions: Education, Training and the European Union.* London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998.

Fossum, J.E., 'Identity-Politics in the European Union' *European Integration,* Vol.23, No.4, 2001.

Foucault, M., 'The Order of Discourse', Michael J. Shapiro (ed.), *Language and Politics.* Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1984.

Fried, J., 'Higher Education Governance in Europe: autonomy, ownership and accountability-A review of the literature', Kohler, J. and J. Huber (eds.), *Higher Education Governance Between Democratic Culture, Academic Aspirations and Market Forces,* Council of Europe Publishing, 2006.

Gillespie, P. and B. Laffan, 'European Identity: Theory and Empirics', M. Cini, A.K. Bourne (eds.), *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.

Green, D. M., 'On Being European: The Character and Consequences of European Identity', M.G. Gowles and M. Smith (eds.), *Risks, Reforms, Resistance or Revival: The State of the EU,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Herrmann, R. And M. B. Brewer, 'Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU', R.K. Herrmann, T. Risse and M.B. Brewer (eds.), *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU,* New York: Rawman & Littlefield, 2004.

Hix, S., 'The Study of the EuropeanCommunity II: The New Governance Agenda and Its Rival', M. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, (ed.), *Debates on European Integration,* New York: Palgrave, 2006.

Hobsbawm, H., 'The Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', Hobsbawm, H. and Ranger, T. (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition,* England: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, R., 'Citizenship, religious and cultural diversity and education', R. Jackson (ed.), *International Perspectives on Citizenship, Education and Religious Diversity,* London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003.

Jorgensen, K .E., 'Four Levels and a Discipline: Towards A Second Generation of IR Constructivism'. Fierke K. M. and K. E. Jorgensen (eds.), *Constructing International Relations: The Next Generation.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

Katzenstein, P.J., 'Introduction: Alternative perspectives on national security', P.J.Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics,* New York: Colombia University Press, 1996.

Kostakopoulou, T., *Citizenship, Identity and Immigration in the European Union Between Past and Future,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001, pp.24

Laffan, B., 'The Politics of Identity and Political Order in Europe', *Journal of Market Studies*, Vol.34, No.1, 1996.

Lunn, K., 'Reconsidering Britishness: The construction and significance of national identity in twentieth century Britain', B., Jenkins and S.A. Sofos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe,* London: Routledge, 1996.

Mitchell, M., and D. Russell 'Immigration, Citizenship and the Nation-State in the New Europe', B. Jenkins and S. A. Sofos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe,* London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Mummendey, A. & S. Waldzus, 'National Differences and European Plurality: Discrimination or Tolerance between European Countries', R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer (eds.), *Transnational Identities,* Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publications, 2004.

Moravcsik, A., 'The Choice for Europe', B.F. Nelson and A.Stubb (eds.), *The European Union*, 3rd ed., The European Union Series, Palgarave MacMillan, 2003.

Moravcisk, A., 'Constructivism and European Integration: A Critique', Christiansen, T., K.E. Jorgensen and A. Weiner (eds.), *The Social Construction of Europe,* London: Sage Publications, 2001.

Münch, R., Nation and Citizenship in the Global Age: From Nation to Transnational Ties and Identities, New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Phillips, L., and M. W. Jorgensen, *Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method,* London*:* Sage Publications, 2002, pp.5, 66-67, 75-76.

Renwick, N., 'Re-reading Europe's Identities', Krause, J. and N. Renwick (eds.), *Identities in International Relations,* London: MacMillan, 1996, pp.154.

Risse, T., 'European Institutions and Identity Change: What Have We Learned?', R.K.Herrmann, T. Risse and M.B. Brewer (eds.), *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU,* New York: Rawman & Littlefield, 2004.

Risse, T., 'Social Constructivism and European Integration' in Weiner, A. and T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Risse,T. and Wiener, A., 'The Social Construction of Social Constructivism'. T. Christiansen, K. E. Jorgensen and A. Weiner (eds), *The Social Construction of Europe.* London: SAGE Publications, 2001.

Risse, T., 'A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities', M. A. Cowles, J. Caporasa and T. Risse (eds.), *Transforming Europe,* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Rosamond, B. (2000), *Theories of European Integration*. Palgrave: New York.

Rosamond, B. (2001), 'Discourses of Globalization and European Identities'. Christiansen, T., K.E.Jorgensen and A. Wiener (eds). *The Social Construction of Europe.* London: Sage Publications.

Rothman, S., *European Society and Politics,* US: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1970.

Sandholtz, W. and Stonesweet, A. (eds), *European Integration and Supranational Governance.* Oxford: Oxford Press, 1998.

Schmitter, P., 'Imagining the future of the Euro-polity with the help of new concepts'. Gary Marks *et al.* (eds.). *Governance in the European Union.* London: SAGE Publications, 1996.

Schöpflin, G., *Nations Identity Power,* London: Hurst&Company, 2000.

Schulze, H., *States, Nations and Nationalism,* Oxford: Blaclwell Publishers, 1998.

Searle, J. R., *The Construction of Social Reality.* New York: The Free Press, 1995.

Shore, C., *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration,* London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Smith, D. A., *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.

Smith, D. A., 'National Identity and the Idea of European Unity', Gowan, P. and Anderson P. (eds.), *The Question of Europe,* London: Verso, 1997.

Smith, S., 'International Theory and European Integration'. M. Kelstrup and Williams, M.C., (eds.), *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration.* London: Routledge, 2000.

Smith, S., 'Social Constructivism and European Studies'. Christansen T., K. E. Jorgensen and A. Wiener (eds.) *The Social Construction of Europe.* London: SAGE Publications, 2001.

Spencer, P. and Wollman, H., *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* London: Sage Publications, 2002.

Stoker, G., 'Introduction' D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds). *Theory and Method in Political Science.* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.

Thelen, K. and Steinmo, S. (1992), 'Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis' in S. Steinmo, K. Thelen, and F. Longstreth (eds), *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tsoukalis, L., *The New European Economy Revisited.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Von Benda-Beckmann, K. and M. Verkuyten, 'Introduction: Cultural Identity and Development in Europe', Benda-Beckmann, K. & M. Verkuyten (eds.), *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity in Europe,* European Research Center on Migration and Ethic Relations, Netherland, 1995.

Veen, H., 'Towards a European Identity: Policy or Culture', J. Andrews, et. Al (eds.), *Why Europe? Problems of Culture and Identity: Political and Historical Dimensions,* Basingstoke Hampshire: Mac Millan, 2000.

Waever, O. 'Discursive Approaches', Weiner, A. and T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Ward, Ian, 'Identity and Difference: The European Union and Postmodernism', J. Shaw and G. More (eds), *New Legal Dynamics of European Union.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Wiener, A. And T. Diez, 'Introducing the Mosaic of Integration Theory', A. Wiener and T. Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Wendt, A., *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Wind, M., 'Rediscovering Institution: A Reflectivist Critique of rational Institutionalism', K.E. Jorgensen (ed.), *Reflective Approaches to European Governance.* Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1997.

Zgaga, P., 'Four Dimensions of the Bologna Process: Many Challenges of the European Higher Education Area', *Symposium on Constructing the European Higher Education Area,* University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA, 7-9 April 2005. Retrieved: 15 December 2007. http:/www.geography.wisc.edu/CKS/documents/Zgaga-CKS_Madison.pdf. R

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

Altbach, P.G., 'Education and Social Change', *The Journal of Human Resources,* Vol. 4, No.2, Spring, 1969, 260. Retrieved: 30 July 2007. www.jstor.org.

Adler, E., 'Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics' *European Journal of International Relations* 3(3), 1997, Retrieved: 22 August 2007. http://www.people.pas.harvard.edu/~olau/ir/archive.adl.pdf.

Armbruster, C., C. Domnitz and P. Ther, 'The impact of 1989 on Europe: structural integration but ideational divergence?', Conference Paper. Florance, Sept. 2007, *Knowledge Base-Social Sciences in Eastern Europe*. Retrieved: 3 October 2007. http://www.cee-socialscience.net/1989/conference/impact_1989_on_europe.html

Berger, P. and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality.* New York: Anchor Books, 1966. Retrieved: 27 August 2007. http://brainwashed.com/h3o/Dislocation/reality.html,

Brodschöll, C., 'A Critical Discourse Analysis of Debates about Educational Policies', paper presented in *The Third Conference on Knowledge and Politics,* University of Bergen, May 2005. Retrieved: 16 December 2007. http://ugle.svf-uib.no/sufweb1/filer/1283.pdf.

Caviedes, A., 'The Role of Language in Nation-building within the European Union', *Dialectical Anthropology,* 27 (3-4), 2003, pp.249-68. Retrieved: 17 October 2007. http://www.springerlink.com.

Coffin, J. G. et. al., *Western Civilizations,* 14th ed. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2002.

Corbett, A. 'Ideas, Institutions and policy Entrepreneurs: towards a new history of higher education in the European Community', *European Journal of Education.* Retrieved: 13 September 2007. http://www.wun.ac.uk/cks/teaching/horizons/documents/dale/corbett.pdf.

Delanty, G., 'Social Theory and European Transformation: Is There a European Society?', *Social Research Online,* Vol.3, No.1. Retrieved: 17 October 2007. http://www.socresonline.org.uk/3/1/1.html#delanty1995a.

Durrheim, 1997, pp.181 qtd. in Zeeman, L., Poggenpoel, M., Mybrough, C.P.H. and Van der Linde, N., 'An Introduction to a Postmodern Approach to Educational Research: Discourse Analysis', *Education,* Fall 2002, pp. 1. Retrieved: 16 December 2007. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3673/is_200210/ai_n9137214/pg_3.

Fairclough, N., *Critical Discourse Analysis.* Retrieved: 16 December 2007. http://ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/norman/critdiscanalysis.doc.

Fearson, J., 'What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?', Mimeo, Stanford University, Nov., 1999. Retrieved: 8 October 2007. http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon.

Finnemore, M., 'International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organizations and Science Policy', *International Organization,* Vol.47, No.4, Autumn 1993, pp.565-597, Retrieved on: 9 August 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Finnemore, M. Sikkink, K., 'International Norm Dynamics and Political Change', *International Organization.* 52, 1998, pp. 887-918. Retrieved: 9 August 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Guzzini, S., 'A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations'. *European Journal of International Relations.* 6(2), 2000, pp. 147-182. Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/~courses/PoliticalScience/661B1/documents/GuzziniReconstructionofConstructivisminIR.pdf.

He Weiyun, A., 'Discourse Studies', *Language,* Vol. 75, No. 2, June 1999, pp.354, Retrieved: 16 December 2007. http://links.jstor.org.

Jacobs, D. and R. Maier, R., 'European identity: construct, fact and fiction', Gastelaars, M. & de Ruijter, A. (eds.), *A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity,* Maastricht: Shaker. pp.3, Retrieved: 14 November 2007. http://users.belgacom.net/jacobs/europa.pdf.

Jackson, R. and G. Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches.* 3rd edition. Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center, 2007, Retrieved: 8 October 2007. www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e/.

Johnston, A. I., 'Socialization in International Relations', Ch.1, *Social Stats: Chine in Intrnational Instiutions 1080-2000.*, Princeton University Press, 2007, Retrieved: 8 October 2007. http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/58559.html.

Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., *Educational Effectiveness and Educational Policy Discourse of the Unesco and the European Union in a Comparative Perspective,* University of Patras,

pp. 157. Retrieved: 1 December 2007. http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/07_publi/139-162.PDF.

Karlsen, G., *The Bologna Process-a judicial confirmation of EU's policy of education,* Paper to the Third Conference of Knowledge and Politics at the University of Bergen, May 18-20 2005, pp.4., Retrieved: 2 December 2007. http://ugle.suf.uib.no/sufweb1/filer/1290.pdf.

Katzenstein, P.J, Keohane, R.O. and Krasner, S.D., 'International Organization and the Study of World Politics', *International Organization*, 52: 645-85, 1998, Retrieved: 9 August 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Kastoryano, R., 'Citizenship, Nationhood, and Non-Territoriality: Transnational Paticipation in Europe', *Political Science and Politics,* Washington: Oct. 2005, Vol.38, Iss.4, pp. 693-698. ProQuest Social Science Journals, Retrieved: 17 October 2007. http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?ndex=3&sid=3&srchmode=1&vinst=PROD&fmt.

Kymilicka, W. and W. Norman, 'Return of the Citizen: A Survey on Recent Work on Citizenship Theory', *Ethics,* Jan. 1995, pp. 352-381. Retrieved: 17 October 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Levy, J. (1994), 'Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield'. *International Organization.* 48, No. 2, Spring 1994, pp.279-312, Retrieved: 1 October 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Magistro, E. 'Promoting the European Identity: Politeness Strategies in the Discourse of the European Union' *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines,* 1(1), pp.53., Retrieved: 18 November 2007. www.cadaad.org/files/CADAAD1-1-Magistro-2007-Promoting-European-Identity.pdf.

March, J.G. and Olsen, J.P. (1998), 'The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders'. *Arena.* Arena Working Papers WP 98/5, Retrieved: 1 October 2007. http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/wp98_5.htm.

Meehan, E., *Citizenship and the European Union,* Center for European Integration Studies, Rheinisch Friedrich Wilhelms-Universitat, Bonn. Retrieved: 17 October 2007. http://www.zei.de/download/zei_dp/dp_c63_meehan.pdf,

Nokkala, T., 'Discoursive Construction of Higher education as Public and Private Good in the Bologna Process', *Cheps,* University of Twente, pp.2, Retrieved: 6 December 2007. http://www.utwente.nl/cheps/whats_new/higher_education_events/archive.

O'Leary, S., 'Nationality Law and Community Citizenship: A Tale of Two Uneasy Bedfellows', *Yearbook of European Law,* 12, pp. 35, Retrieved 17 November 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

O'Rourke, 'The Union and Its Citizens: On the Priorities of The Irish Presidency', *Institute of European Affairs Conference,* Dublin Castle, 1996. Retrieved: 15 November 2007. http://gos.sbc.edu/o/orourke.htm.

Risse, T. 'Let's Argue! Communicative Action in World Politics', *International Organization,*2000, 54, pp. 4-5, Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Sinead, T. 'Social Dialogue in the Framework of the Lisbon Strategy: What is at Stake?' Presentation. Lisbon: 28 April 2006. Retrieved: 2 October 2007. http://studyvisits.cedefop.europa.eu/assets/upload/documentation/social_partners/Lisbon2006SineadTiernanETUC.pdf

Smith, A.D., 'National Identity and the Idea of European Identity', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-),* Vol.68, No.1, (Jan., 1992), pp.59. Retrieved: 27 September 2006. http://www.jstor.org.

Soysal, Y. 'Rights, Identity and Claim-Making' pp.2, Retrieved: 5 November 2007. http://www.brandeis.edu/ethics/international_justice/JAC_Soysal.pdf.

Soysal, N.Y., 'Changing Parameters of Citizenship and Claims-Making: Organized Islam in European Public Spheres', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on

Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 510. Retrieved on 17 November 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Stewart, A., 'Two Conseptions of Citizenship', *The British Journal of Sociology,* Vol.46, No.1., 1995, pp.64. Retrieved: 17 November 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Tannenwald, N., 'The Role of Ideas and the End of the Cold War', *Special Issue of the Cold War Studies.* Vol.7, No.2, 2005, pp. 13-42. Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://muse.jhu.edu/login.uri=/Journals/journal_of_cold_war_studies/v2007/7.2tannenwald02.pdf.

Tilly, C., 'A primer on citizenship', *Theory and Society,* Vol. 26, No. 4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp.599. Retrieved: 17 November 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Tomlinson, J., *Globalization and Cultural Identity,* 2003, pp.2. Retrieved: 8 November 2007. http://www.polity.co.uk/global/pdf/GTReader2eTomlinson.pdf.

Walkenhorst, H., 'The Construction of European Identity and the Role of National Education Systems-A Case Study on Germany', Department of Government, University of Essex, May 2004. Retrieved: 2 January 2008. http://www.essex.ac.uk/government/Essex_Papers/Number_160.pdf.

Weber, M. (1942), 'Politics as a Vocation' quoted in Jackson, R. and G. Sorensen, 2007, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches.* Oxford University Press-Online Resource Center. Retrieved: 27 September 2007. www.oxfordtextbook.co.uk/orc/Jackson_sorensen3e/.

Wendt, A., 'Collective Identity Formation and the International State', *American Political Science Review* 88 (2), 1994. Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Wendt, A., 'Anarchy is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power politics', *International Organization* 46 (2), 1992. Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://www.jstor.org.

Wiener, A., 'Making Sense of the New Geography of Citizenship: Fragmented Citizenship in the European Union', *Theory and Society,* Vol.26, No.4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, Aug. 1997, pp. 534. Retrieved: 17 November 2007. http://www.jstor.org,

Wiener, A., 'From *Special* to *Specialized* Rights: the Politics of Citizenship and Identity in the European Union', 1999. Retrieved: 24 November 2007. http://ftp.cordis.europa.eu/pub/improving/docs/ser-citizen-wiener.pdf,

Wit, H., 'The Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations on European Higher Education', *International Higher Education,* Boston College, Winter 2000. Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/newsletter/News18/text5.html.

Zeeman, L., Poggenpoel, M., Mybrough, C.P.H. and Van der Linde, N., 'An Introduction to a Postmodern Approach to Educational Research: Discourse Analysis', *Education,* Fall 2002, pp. 2, Retrieved: 16 December 2007. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3673/is_200210/ai_n9137214/pg_3.

Zgaga, P., 'Four Dimensions of the Bologna Process: Many Challenges of the European Higher Education Area', *Symposium on Constructing the European Higher Education Area,* University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA, 7-9 April 2005. Retrieved: 15 December 2007. http:/www.geography.wisc.edu/CKS/documents/Zgaga-CKS_Madison.pdf.

WEB SITES

Australian Government. Australian Education International. *The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999: Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education.* Retrieved: 23 September 2007. http://aei.dest.gov.au/AEI/Governmentactivities/BolognaProcess/BolognaDec_pdf.

BKKK. *Task Force for Training and Human Resources Cooperation Fund*. Retrieved: 2 October 2007. http://www.cofund.org.pl/bkkk/eng/bkkk_eng.htm

CICIC. Canadian Information Center for International Credentials. Bologna Process. *London Communique: Towards the European Higher Education Area: responding to challenges in a globalized world.* 18 May 2007. Retrieved: 15 October 2007. http://cicic.ca/docs/bologna/2007LondonCommunique.en.pdf.

Council of Europe. Committee of Ministers. *Resolution (61)40.* Retrieved: 27 September 2007. http://www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/PartialAgr/Html/Health6140htm

Council of Europe. Education. *The Common European Framework in Its Political and Educational Context.* Retrieved: 27 September 2007. http://www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistic/.

Council of Europe. *Europeans*. Retrieved: 27 September 2007. http://www.coe.int.

CRUE. Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences. *Statutes.* Retrieved: 4 October 2007. http://www.crue.org/eurec/statutes.htm.

Education and Culture. *Bologna Process between Prague and Berlin.* The Follow-up Group of the Bologna Process. Retrieved: 11 October. 2007. http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/0309ZGAGA.PDF.

El sitio web de la historia del siglo XX. *The Single European Act and the road toward the treaty of European Union (1986-1992).* Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/acta.htm

ESIB.*The National Unions of Students in Europe*. Retrieved: 4 October 2007. http://www.uni-kassel.de/hrz/db4/extern/owwz/index.php?id

EU Insight. Delegation of the European Commission to the USA. *Cooperation in Education: Promoting Mutual Understanding, Developing Skills for Global Economy*. European Union. Retrieved: 15 December 2007. http://www.eurunion.org.

Euro-Lex. *Act concerning the election of the representatives of the Assembly by direct universal suffrage.* Official Journal of the European Communities, L 278, 08/10/1976. Retrieved: 24 November 2007. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriSer.

Euro-Lex. *Regulation (EC) No. 45/2001*. Official Journal of the European Communities. Retrieved: 13 September 2007. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2001/l_008/l_00820010112en00010022.pdf.

Euro-Lex. *Opinion of the Committee of the Regions on the 'Communication from the Commission on European benchmarks in education and training: follow up to the Lisbon European Council'*. Official Journal of the European Communities. 10.10.2003. Retrieved: 2 October 2007. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2003/c_244/c_24420031010en00500053.pdf

Eur-Lex. *Resolution of the Ministers of Education, meeting with the Council, of 6 June 1974 on cooperation in the field of education*. Retrieved: 2 October 2007. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi.

Eur-Lex. *Treaty on European Union.* Official Journal C191, 29 July 1992. Retrieved: 25 November 2007. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html,

Eur-Lex. *Regulation (EEC) No.337/75 of the Council of 10 February 1975 establishing a European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training*. Official Journal of the Eueopean Communities. Retrieved: 14 September 2007. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri_CELEX:31975R0337.

Eur-Lex. *Resolution of the Council and the Ministers of Education meeting within the Council on the European dimension in education of 24 May 1988.* Official Journal of the European Communities, 6 July 1988. Retrieved: 17 October 2007. http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX.41988X0706(01).EN.html.

EUROPA. *Directorate-General for Education and Culture*. Retrieved: 2 October 2007. http://www.ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/index_en.html.

EUROPA. Activities of the European Union. *Education and Training: General Framework. Lifelong Learning*. Retrieved: 24 July 2007. http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11088.htm.

EUROPA. Activities of the European Union. *European Year of Lifelong Learning* (1996), Retrieved: 13 December 2007. http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11024.htm.

EUROPA. Activities of the European Union. *The Amsterdam Treaty.* Retrieved: 12 December 2007. http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/s50000.htm.

EUROPA. Activities of European Union. *Lifelong Learning Programme 2007-2013.* Retrieved: 21 September 2007. http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11082.htm

EUROPA. *Background Information to the Present Survey of Change in Higher Education from Bologna to Prague*. Retrieved: 4 October 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/erasmus/trends1.pdf.

EUROPA. Education and Training. *The Bologna Process.* Retrieved: 24 July 2007. http://www.bologna.berge2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/990719BOLOGNA_DECLARATION:PDF

EUROPA. Education and Training-INNERPAGE. *Education and Training 2010: Diverse systems, shared goals*. Retrieved: 30 October 2007. http://ec.europe/education/policies/2010/et_2010_en.html

EUROPA. Education and Training. *Tempus: The Tempus Programme Background.* Retrieved: 3 October 2007. http://ec.europa.education/programmes/tempus/back_en.html

EUROPA. Education and Training. *ECTS: European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System.* Retrieved: 3 October 2007. http://ec.europa/education/programmes/socrates/etcs/index_en.html#3

EUROPA. Education and Training. *Education and Training: Setting the Scene: EC Treaty obligations in education and training.* Retrieved: 3 October 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/education_en.html

EUROPA. Education and Training. *Erasmus.* Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/education/news/erasmus20_en.html

EUROPA. Education and Training. *Eurydice.* Retrieved: 14 September 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/eurydice/index_en.html

EUROPA. Employment and Social Affairs-Social Inclusion. *The Social Protection and Social Inclusion Process: The Open Method of Coordination.* Retrieved: 30 October 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/social_inclusion/index_en.htm

EUROPA. European Union Documents-European Commission. *White Papers*. Retrieved: 5 December 2007. http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm.

EUROPA. European Union. Institutions and other bodies. *The European Parliament*. Retrieved: 2 October 2007. http://europa.eu/institutions/inst/pariament/index_en.htm.

EUROPA. Glossary. *Lisbon Strategy*. Retrieved: 8 October. 2007. http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/lisbon_strategy_en.htm.

EUROPA. T*he Bologna Declaration on the European Space for Higher Education*. Retrieved: 8 October 2007. http://www.ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf

EUROPA. *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning Towards the learning Society.* Retrieved: 20 September 2007. http://europe.eu/documents/comm/white_papers.pdf.

EUROPARL. *Committees of the European Parliament-CULT*. Retrieved: 2 October 2007. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/cult_home_en.htm.

European Commission. Education and Training. *Learning for Active Citizenship*, Retrieved: 12 December 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/education/archive/citizen/citiz_en.html.

European Commission Education and Training. *Gateway to Education.* Retrieved: 21 September 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/generalen.pdf

European Commission. *Lisbon.* February 2005. Retrieved: 30 October 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_215_en.pdf

European Commission. Directorate-General for education and Culture. *Trends 2003: Progress towards the European Higher Education Area.* Retrieved: 31 October 2007. http://www.eua.be/fileadmin/user_upload/files/EUA1_documents/Trends2003final

European Commission. Policy Areas. *Education and Training*. Retrieved: 14 September 2007). http://ec.europa.eu/educationpolicies/educ/education_en.htlm.

European Navigator. *Final Communique of the Paris Summit: excerpt on the European Council* (9 and 10 December 1974*)*, http://www.ena.lu/europa/european-union/paris-summit-excerpt-european-council-1974.htm, Retrieved: 24 November 2007.

European Navigator. *Historical Events: The Hague Summit.* Retrieved: 1 October 2007. http://www.ena.lu/mce.cfm

European Navigator. *A People's Europe.* Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://www.ena.lu/mce.cfm.

European Nevigator. *Judgement of the Court of Justice, Gravier, Case 293/83 (13 February 1985).* Retrieved: 18 September 2007. http://www.ena.lu/europen-union/judgement-court-justice-gravier-case.1985.htm.

European Parliament. European Parliament Fact Sheets. *4.8.6 Social Dialogue: Information, consultation and participation of workers.* Retrieved on: 1 October 2007 http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/4_8_6_en.htm.

European Union Institutions and Other Bodies. *The Committee of Regions.* Retrieved: 19 September 2007. http://europa.eu/institutions/consultative/cor/index_en.htm.

European Union. Delegation of the European Commission to the USA. *Cooperation in Education: Promoting Mutual Understanding, Developing Skills for Global Economy*, Euinsight, pp.1. Retrieved on 15 December 2007. http://www.eurunion.org.

European Union. Committee of the Regions. *Commission for Culture, Education and Research*. Retrieved: 2 October 2007. http://www.cor.europa.eu/en/presentation/educ.asp.

European Union. Committee of the Regions. *Fact Sheet on the Commission of the Regions*. Retrieved: 2 October 2007. http://www.cor.europa.eu/en/presentation/fact_sheet.htm

European Union. *Background information to the Present Survey of Change in Higher education from Bologna to Prague.* Retrieved: 7 October 2007. hhttp://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/Socrates/Erasmus/trends1.pdf

European Union. Bologna Process. *Bergen 2005*: *Communique of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education: The European Higher Education Area-Achieving the Goals.* Bergen, 19-20 May 2005. Retrieved: 14 October 2007. http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00-Main_doc/050520_Bergen_Communique.pdf.

European Union. *Presidency Conclusions*. Lisbon European Council 23-24 March 2000. Retrieved: 8 October 2007. http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm.

European Union. *Towards the European Higher Education Area: Communique of the meeting of European Ministers in charge of Higher Education.* Prague, May 19 2001. Retrieved: 13 October 2007. http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/prague_communiqueTheate.pdf

European Union. *White Paper on Education and Training: Teaching and Learning Towards the Learning Society*. Retrieved: 7 October 2007 http://www.europe.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en.pdf

European Union Documents. *European Commission White Papers*. Retrieved: 7 October 2007. http://www.europe.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/index_en.htm#1993

Europe Unit. UK Higher Education Sector Paper. *UK higher education sector position paper on the Bologna Process and doctoral level qualifications.* 23 October 2006. Retrieved: 14 October 2007. http://www.europeunit.ac.uk/resources/.

European University Institute. *The European University Institute*. Florence. Retrieved: 13 September 2007. http://www.iue.it/About/.

EUROTREATIES. *Maastricht Treaty*. Retrieved: 2 December 2007. http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichttext.html.

EUROTREATIES. *Amsterdam Treaty.* Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://www.eurotreaties.com/amsterdamtext.html.

ESIB. Bologna with Student Eyes. Retrieved: 13 September 2007. http://www.esib.org/index.

ESU. European Students' Union. Retrieved: 4 October 2007. http://www.esib.org.

FIRGOA. *London Communique: Towards the European Higher Education Area.* Retrieved: 15 October 2007. http://firgoa.usc.es/drupal/node/35825.

HR-NET. Hellenic Resources Network. TITLE VIII. Social Policy, Education, Vocational Training and Youth. Retrieved: 12 September 2007. http://www.hri.org/MFA/foreign/treaties/Rome57/3title8.txt.

HR- NET. Hellenic Resources Network. *Treaty Establishing the European Community.* Retrieved: 12 September 2007. http://www.hri.org/docs/Rome57/Part3Title02.html

Historiasiglo. The History of the European Union. *The European Citizenship: The Single European Act and the Road toward the Treaty of the European Union (1986-1992).* Retrieved: 24 November 2007. http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/acta.htm,

INHEA. Publications. Private Higher Education and Privitization. Retrieved: 7 October 2007. http://www.bc.edu./bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/newsletter/News18/text5.htm

Politics. Debate-Issue-Briefs. *EU Enlargement.* Retrieved: 17 September 2007. http://www.politics.co.uk/issue-briefs/europe/eu-structure/eu-enlargement/euenlargement-$366702.htm.

Physicsworld. *Reforming European Education*. Physicsworld, pp.1. Retrieved: 15 December 2007. http:/physicsworld.com/cws/article/indepth/18819.

Romanian Ministry of National Education. *A Comparative Overview: Bologna Declaration 1999, Prague Communique 2001, Berlin Communique 2003.* Retrieved: 13 October 2007. http://www.cs.ubbcluj.ro/files/bologna/bologna_prag_berlin_comp.pdf.

Sieps. Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies. The Open Method of Coordination: The new governance architecture for the European Union. Retrieved: 9 October 2007. http://www.epin.org/pdf/RadaelliSIEPS.pdf.

Sorbonne Joint Declaration. Joint declaration on harmonization of the architecture of the European Higher education. Paris. May 25 1998. Retrieved: 7 October 2007. http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Sorbonne_declaration.pdf.

The Bologna Process Official Website 2007-2009. *The Bologna Process.* Retrieved: 8 October 2007. http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna.

The Bologna Process. Berlin Summit 2003. *Towards the European Higher Education Area*. Retrieved: 7 September 2007. http://bologna-berlin2003.de/en/basic/index.htm

The Bologna Process. Seminar. *Integrated Curricula: Implications and Prospects, Final Report*, pp.4, Retrieved: 15 December 2007. http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Mantova_Results.pdf.

The Council of the European Union. *Education and Training 2010:. The Success of the Lisbon Strategy Hinges on Urgent Reforms.* Retrieved: 31 October 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/doc/jir_council_final.pdf

The Council of the European Union. *Documents.* Retrieved: 1 October 2007. http://www.consilium.europe.eu/cmsfo/showPage.asp?id=2428&lang=EN&mode=g

The Higher Education Academy. Social Policy and Social Work. *Bologna Declaration*. Retrieved: 8 October 2007. http://www.swap.ac.uk/quality/bologna.asp

The University of Texas. *Discourse Analysis.* Retrieved: 6 December 2007. http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~palmquis/courses/discourse.htm.

Treaty of Rome. Retrieved: 12 September 2007. http://www.bmdf.co.uk/rometreaty.pdf.

University of Pittsburgh. AEI University Library System. Education in the European Community. Communication from the Commission to the Council, presented on 11 March 1974. *Bulletin of the EU Communities Supplement 3/74.* Retrieved on 1 October 2007. http://aei.pitt.edu/5593/01/002294_1.pdf

University of Pittsburg. European Union. Tindemans Report. *Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 1/76.* Retrieved: 17 October 2007. http://aei.pitt.edu/942/01/political_tindemans_report.pdf.

University of Zurich. International Relations. *Mission Statement: International Statements of the University of Zurich*, Retrieved: 15 December 2007. http://www.int.uzh.ch/aktivit/leibild_en.html.

Annex 1: Main EC Education and Training Action Programs 1986-1992

Program	Period of approval(s)	Total budget	Purpose
COMETT	1986-1995	ECU 206.6m	University-enterprise cooperation in the field of technology training
ERASMUS	1987-1994	ECU 307.5m	Mobility of university students and staff and joint curriculum projects
EUROTEC NET	1983-1994	ECU 7.0 m	Promote innovation in training in respect of the new technologies
FORCE	1991-1994	ECU 31.3m	Promote continuing vocational training
LINGUA	1990-1994	ECU 68.6m	Promote foreign language competence within teacher education, secondary and higher education and vocational training
PETRA	1988-1994	ECU 79.7m	Promote vocational training of young people and preparation for adult life
TEMPUS	1990-1994	ECU 194m	Mobility scheme for university studies between EU and central/eastern Europe
YES	1998-1994	ECU 32.2	'Youth for Europe' – exchanges of young people and centers
IRIS	1988-1995	ECU 0.75m	Networking between vocational training projects for women

Source: Various EU documents (particularly CEC 1993c, passim) in Field, J. (1998) *European Dimensions: Education, Training and the European Union.* London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, pp. 48.

Annex 2: EU Spending on Social Fund, Education and Training Programs as a Percentage of Total Yearly Expenditure, 1987 and 1992

Activity	1987	1992
Education, training, youth	0.20%	0.57%
European Social Fund	7.30%	8.10%

Source: General Reports (for 1987 and 1992) of the Activities of the European Community in Field, J. (1998) *European Dimension: Education, Training and the European Union.* London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. pp. 54.

Annex 3: Propotion of the total EU budget allocated to Education, Training, Youth 1990-1995 (based on the annual General Reports of the EU)

Year	Percentage of total budget
1990	0.32%
1991	0.39%
1992	0.46%
1993	0.42%
1994	0.43%
1995	0.40%

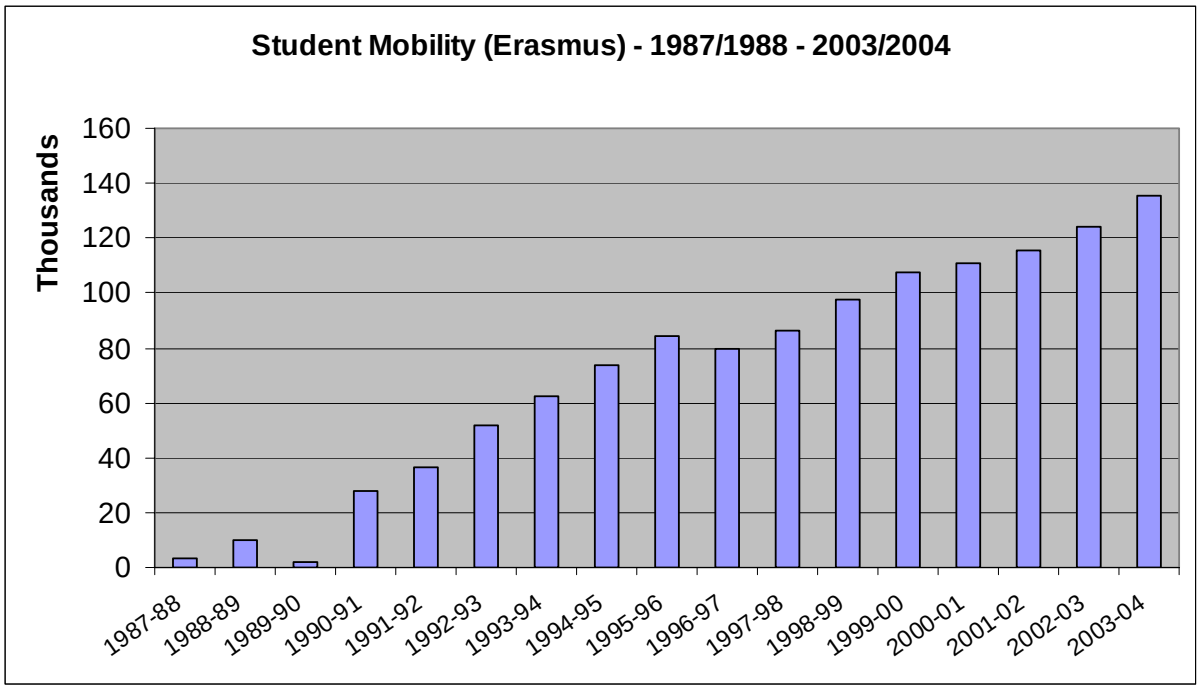
Source: General Reports of the Activities of the European Community/European Union in Field, J. (1998) *European Dimensions: Education, Training and the European Union.* London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. pp. 67.

Annex 4: Main EU Education, Training and Youth Action Programs, 2000-2006

Program	Period of approval(s)	Total budget
SOCRATES	2000-2006	2 060m
eLEARNING	2004-2006	44m
ERASMUS MUNDUS	2004-2008	230m
LEONARDO DA VINCI	2000-2006	1 255m
YOUTH	2000-2006	615M

Source: *The History of European Cooperation in Education and Training*,European Commission, pp. 268

Annex 5: Student Mobility (Erasmus)-developments 1987/1988-2003/2004



Source: *The History of European Cooperation in Education and Training.* European Commission, pp. 276