

Socially engaged art and European identity
Creating narratives of social identity through art projects

Mónika BÁLINT – Boglárka MITTICH
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

In our enquiry we are focusing on the ways contemporary, socially engaged artworks represent European identity and form the discourses related to it. At first we analyze artistic representations and the discourses they shape. Based on the experiences of the first research phase we are planning to examine the reception of some artworks and the way they are constructing identities.

To understand the connection in between individual and communal identity formation (and their theories) we apply Social Representation Theory and Discourse Analysis. We assume that art projects, by their low threshold of participation can be regarded as catalysts of public debates, and narrative means of constructing social identity. Our research is an empirical analysis of exemplary art projects which focus on European identity.

It is characteristic to late modernity that classical social categorizations and their power of identity building are weakening and the role of personal interpretation is getting more important. This is one reason why the ideas of the „entrepreneur individual” and individual identity construction become more important among identity theories. We do not contest this feature of late modern society, but we assume that new types of collectivities, multiphrene collectivities appear which are connected to different mechanisms of constructing social and communal identities.

We examine whether socially engaged art projects can be regarded as means of triggering acts of meaning formation, and stimulators of supraindividual identity construction. In the case of the artworks we are investigating, artists choose their topics from the realm of social phenomena to bring art closer to everyday life, and to a democratic ideal, where artists are not serving only some small social or intellectual elite.

Socially engaged art latches on to social communication, uses and sometimes redefines its forms. The subjects of the empirical analysis are European art projects which were created since the turn of the millennium, especially on the central-eastern side of the continent.

We regard on art projects as social representations and narratives which generate social representations. We examine the field of representation established by the project and the effect it had on the public's identity formation. By content- and discourse analysis we identify the narratives offered and mediated by the artist and also we study their reception.

Time for new patriotism?
Between the ethnic and civic understanding of the concept

Olga BRZEZIŃSKA
Jagiellonian University, Krakow

Patriotism in Poland has long been comprehended in terms of struggle for sovereignty of the country and sustaining the nation. Independent and democratic now, the nation faces the need to rethink its patriotism to meet the challenges of modern times. The discourse characterized by martyrology does not seem to provide enough energy to hold the people together and develop a feeling of responsibility for the common good. With Poland having joined the European Union, a new dimension to the significance of the concept was introduced. In contemporary debate over the significance and understanding of patriotism there have been a number of renderings of the notion. This brings us onto the consideration of what is the shape of current Polish patriotism. To this end, the paper examines different, quite often clashing threads of argument which appear in the debate. The fundamental issue appertains to the viability of European patriotism and what kind of patriotism it could be. The paper examines the possibility of creating such broader solidarity and seeks to answer the question if this is possible to reconcile national and European patriotism.

Hungarian adolescents' views on democracy

Mihály CSÁKÓ

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

In the Year of Education for Democracy (as the European Parliament named 2005) students of the 9th and 11th grades of secondary schools were surveyed in 5 counties of Hungary with a questionnaire titled „School and society”.

The study revealed that most Hungarian youth considered democracy as an umbrella or a personal shield in defending their privacy. Some traces of two special views have been found however, one stressing the values of equality and fraternity and perceiving democracy as a social safety net, and another stressing the value of liberty and expecting that democracy offers opportunity for action. Differences are clear but similarities within youth dominate over differences and no clear cut groups of polarised views can be identified however. The survey will be reiterated in 2008.

Trauma, identity, and memory
Long term psychological effects of the Holocaust

Ferenc ERÖS

Institute for Psychology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and University of Pécs

In the past decades a great number of studies have been conducted in Hungary and in other countries aiming at exploring the main features of Jewish identity and its various forms, aspects, structures and transformations. Most of these studies have been focussing on the impact of the Holocaust trauma on the survivors and their families: offspring, children and the children of their children. While some evidence suggests that traumatisation effects may gradually fade away in the subsequent generation, most of the Hungarian underline that the losses, persecutions, physical and psychical sufferings that afflicted the Hungarian Jews so tragically in the period of the Holocaust have remained the most important determinant of Jewish identity until today. The consequences of the trauma of the Holocaust include long term, trans-generational identity losses, wounds and crises on the individual as well as on the group and community level.

In our longitudinal study on Hungarian Jewish identity more than two hundred people, members of the second generation of the Holocaust survivors were interviewed. In these interviews we found a great variety of the persons' attempts to create coherent life history and identity, notwithstanding the fact that they had grown up amidst the circumstances where Holocaust memories and the sufferings of the parents were repressed, silenced or marginalised both on the levels of the family and of the society. In other words, subjects had to face with the impossible, though necessary task of transforming absence into loss. This transformation can also be interpreted as the process of creating some forms of communicative memory, in spite of the lacks in the collective memory of the family and the larger group.

**Polish pendulum migrants in Belgium
National, transnational or European?**

Marcin GALENT

Jagiellonian University, Krakow

The year 1989 and then the 2004 European enlargement sparked a new wave of East-West migration within Europe. While it is impossible to give a correct quantitative overview of this trend, it certainly concerns millions of people. Suffice it to say that only in Poland the most official estimations say that around two million people have left the country during the last four years. Many of them came back to Poland for good, but there are a huge number of migrants who keep moving between their homes and new places of work in other European countries. They are often called 'pendulum migrants'.

What is extremely important is a question about an influence of these circular migrations on their social identities. To what extent their feeling of belonging is extended to new countries, what would make them more transnational, and to what extent these paths of migration create more Europeanized framework of references, where countries of migration are treated as parts of a bigger structure. Amount and quality of social capital built in countries of immigration will serve as an indicator of changes in social identities of these migrants. It will be done so through the example of Poles living in Belgium and, more particularly, in Leuven. The paper is based on participant observation and forty in-depth interviews conducted with Poles who live there. These observations and interviews were held in the summer of 2007.

**Between national and European
The discourse about Polish foreign policy and security after EU Enlargement**

Magdalena GÓRA
Jagiellonian University, Krakow

The European Union as an emerging political system and in the future mature and complete polity will require common identification from the affected citizens. The debate about European identity is particularly visible in the sphere of foreign policy. The manifestation of the type of political identification can be detected in the discourse about political motivation for participating in the European foreign policy, especially in the EU military missions abroad. It is crucial policy as regards the change in the frame of reference from the nation-state to the broader, more universal European perspective.

The recent debate in Poland about the participation of the country and its soldiers in the EU mission in Chad can be treated as a case study. It shows the type of argumentation used by political and intellectual elite. The hypothesis is that in Poland the prevailing type of the motivation for active participation in the developments of CFSP and ESDP is connected with the strengthening of the position of Poland in the international arena, raising the capacities to defend the country and increasing the prestige and influence in the international system. It means that politicians and elites still treat the nation-state as a dominant frame of reference. On the other hand, the debate about the European missions abroad contains normative elements such as the notions of European responsibility for the international order, human rights protection as an universal obligation of states etc. This type of argumentation influences the debate in Poland. The paper will briefly present the dominant type of justifications for participation in the initiatives of European foreign policy. This analysis will contribute to the discussion about the process of change in the logic of integration with special emphasis on the third RECON model.

The European Union's enlargement process and the collective identity formation in Turkey: The interplay of multiple identities

Yaprak GÜRSOY and Meltem MÜFTÜLER-BAÇ
Sabancı University, Istanbul

This paper analyzes the impact of the EU enlargement process on Turkish collective identity formation. EU conditionality influences Turkish collective identity by bringing to the forefront issues on democracy, civilian control of the military, impartiality and independence of the judiciary, and minority rights. The paper investigates how different social and political groups in Turkey react to the reform process and looks at the current and ongoing debates on Turkish collective identity.

**Fuzzy Identity Definitions
Toward the Formation of a New Jewish Generation
(Young Jewish Associations and web-sites in Budapest after 1990)**

*Zsuzsa HETÉNYI
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest*

„Chaos is order unperceived" (Antonioni: Blow Up)

Invited to give lectures by several newly formed Jewish organisations in quality of specialist in double identity in Russian literature, suddenly I discovered that I witness a conglomerate of the same questions and problems in the present time that were in the focus of the literature of the assimilation from the mid-19th century.

A series of actualized questions was put in a survey questionnaire, some web-pages dealing with identity criteria /so difficult to define even for literature/ were reviewed, and the paper will give some crucial points of these material under analysis on its working raw stage.

Identity circles

Key words: social identity, ingroup levels, multiple categorization

Paszkál KISS

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

Identities have various grounds in personal and social life just as well as in scientific analyses. The psychological perspective to social identity develops diverse circles of interaction: self is in interaction with the group, different social affiliations of one individual may be in interaction with each other while social groups of identification themselves may also be in interaction. Multiple ingroups are organized as being related to each other on one hand and to outgroups of some sort on the other. European identity is proudly described to fit easily to national or ethnic identities, but some would say that this can only happen because Europe does not evoke all emotions and sense of attachment as a nation or an ethnic group does. This paper looks at psychological theorizing of social identification in understanding conflicting and mutually reinforced identities and intergroup relations. Consequences of exclusive national identification versus strong national identity open to Europe are examined in a comparative European survey among 9 countries. Relations to European and non-European outgroups and representation of nation and Europe were analyzed in relation to identification.

The Models of EU news domestication in Polish TV The case of Lisbon Treaty

Jacek H. KOŁODZIEJ
Jagiellonian University, Krakow

Following the rather vague assumption of national media productive role in the process of 'wishful Europeanization', a good few questions come to mind when the identity issues are at stake. First of all: is it possible, and in what form, that a European identity is construed by the indigenous, national media institutions? Does mainstream media help to construct European public sphere? If yes, in what ways? Is there a discernible, predefined, common discourse of Europeanization, represented in its core in the mainstream news media discourses? And last, but not least, is the most overwhelming process of European identity negotiating represented on the national media level? Or, perhaps, has it already shifted down to the level of regional and local media markets?

The two main paradigms of media role in the process of Europeanization (the first of political communication based on J. Habermas public sphere revised model, and the second of cultural studies and media political economy tradition) – as Tore Slaatta convincingly shows in his publications – lead to an utterly clear conclusion: the primary frame of reference in mainstream news media is the nation state. Thus, it is neither hypothetical nor even problematic to claim that the discourse of national, not European, rationale should prevail within national mainstream news media outlets.

Consequently, it is not much revealing to look in the news media outlets for the topical or agency proportions between 'national' and 'other', 'European' or 'cosmopolitic' perspectives. Rather, it seems more justified too look for significant meaning of all of the symbolic constructions and modifications of the discourse of Europeanization within the different logics of news production in divergent channels of communication. In my analysis I am trying to reconstruct national media discursive biases in the process of European news domestication in Poland. In order to reconstruct the process, a quality content analysis was carried on covering main news outlets of five TV channels (two public and three commercial) during the whole week when the Lisbon treaty was signed.

**Identities and Europe in young people's life narratives
A comparison between French and Hungarian cases**

Borbála KRIZA

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

In 2007 and 2008 a dozen of life narrative interviews were conducted at the international Sziget Festival, Budapest with French and Hungarian young people between age of 20 and 30 years. Our main focus was on how European/national identities appear in individual life story and what other sorts of identification can be detected in young people's narratives. In addition, we assumed that there would be an important East-West divide with regards to French and Hungarian identity discourses.

The interviews revealed that among the French there are much more references on collective action, participation and identification on different (subcultural, local, regional, national, international/European) level. The Hungarian young people's narratives demonstrated a serious lack of embeddedness, the Hungarian seemed to be more isolated without clear collective references and therefore these people seem to be more vulnerable, their lives are often burdened with personal traumas (missing supporting family background, profound personal relationships etc.). Their discourses on collectivities, political ideas were usually very superficial containing many stereotypical elements without real identification.

Polish nationalism between ethnic and civic

The change of a symbolic image of the Polish nation and the role of the city in this process

Paweł KUBICKI

Jagiellonian University, Krakow

In Europe, generally, we can observe two different perspectives, approaches to nationalism. The first is Western model, which is characterized by a belief in the modernity of nation and nationalism. According to Gellner, Anderson or Hobsbawm, the last three centuries have produced specific modern processes like: capitalism, industrialism, the emergence of bureaucratic state, urbanization and secularism. They stressed the role of state and citizens loyalty in modern nationalism. The second perspective – Eastern, is based rather on the role of common culture, symbols and myth, then the role of state. This approach is very characteristic for Polish sociology, represented by such scholars like: Znaniecki, Ossowski or Kłosowska. In European sociology this perspective is well known thanks to works of Armstrong and Smith, and defined as ethno-symbolist approach. In short: In Central European countries, the process of national self-determination since 19th century has been more on the ethnic and cultural side than on the civic and territorial one.

In my opinion, in the case of Poland, we could take into consideration both perspectives. On the one hand Polish national identity is strongly connected with the idea of state, especially with the Constitution of The third of May 1791 - the first European Constitution, also with the influential and large strata – gentry, who, in the period of the First Polish Republic identified themselves as “Polish nation”. But on the other hand, in 19th century – the crucial period of development of the nation in modern sense, Poland was partitioned between three Empires: Austria, Prussia and Russia. Therefore Polish nationalism was developing itself against the state. In the situation when the state, bureaucracy, education system, economy were “alien”, the fundamental role in nationalism played ethnicity. Moreover, in Polish context urban cultural and burghers – the crucial element of civic nationalism was perceive as “alien”, because at the beginning of 20th century the urban population of Polish areas was less than 17% and most of burghers were alien in ethnic sense: Germans, Jews, Russian, etc.

In my opinion, starting from the end of 20th century we can observe different process. The values of city culture gradually become perceived by the part of Polish society without negative connotation. This situation is stimulated among others by following processes:

1. De-ruralization of the Polish cities. After the II WW Polish cities developed mostly by migration from rural areas (“delayed industrialization”) or by settlement of ex-German cities (Wroclaw, Gdansk, Szczecin etc.) by resettlements from rural Eastern Poland annexed by Soviet Union. Nowadays, in these cities is growing up second and third generation, in my view the first real mass burghes class.

2. Domination of the symbolic economy, which according to Zukin is defined by three points: it is urban; it is based on the production of symbols as basic commodities; and third, it is based on the production, in a very self-conscious way, of spaces as both sites and symbols of the city and of culture.
3. Role of tourism. Tourist marketing in Poland is predominated by symbolic picture of city, especially multicultural heritage: Kraków, Wrocław or Gdańsk.

The consequence of this is a broken homogenous model of the Polish nationalism, which leads to a dichotomic division which occurs on two levels:

- Cultural - different system of meaning, style of life: city culture vs. local culture, which is still predominated by values of 19th century nationalism when urban culture is perceived as alien, and a danger for the Polish culture.
- Structural - middle class (city) vs. lower class (local), which occurs especially in political level.

Historical trajectories, narrative representations and national identities

János LÁSZLÓ

Institute for Psychology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and University of Pécs

Whereas the temporal dimension has been widely neglected in social psychology, recent developments in the social sciences open up the possibility to study “how the past weighs on the present?” (Liu and Hilton, 2005). Social psychologists now increasingly attempt to include history in their theoretical models and research designs. One of the most important characteristic of the new paradigms is their ability to take into account the dynamic nature of social- and socio-psychological phenomena. Remembering the past, living in present and projecting the future are unified by representational processes. From this perspective, as part of a burgeoning interest in studying social psychological phenomena, such as social representations, attitudes, values, intergroup relations, construction of social identity, etc., in national context, several scholars have recently turned to the study of shared historical representations. Their main assumption is that socially shared representations of history are important for creating, maintaining and changing people’s identity and their management and negotiation are central to interethnic and international relations. These researchers point out the importance of the diachronic (temporal) links between the functional (e.g., realistic conflict theory), social identity-based and cognitive perspectives on inter-group relations. The historical “charters” embedded in these representations condition nations with similar objective interests to adopt different political stances in dealing with current events, and can influence the perceived stability and legitimacy of the social order. They are also instrumental in determining social identity strategies for reacting to negative social comparisons, and can influence whether the relationship between national and ethnic identity is antagonistic or not. Using Hungarian historical material, the paper presents a new methodology how to uncover from lay and professional historical narratives those processes of identity construction, which can be related to a particular historical trajectory.

Democratic norms and conflicting models of European identity
Applying Q-methodology to students: a pilot study at two German universities

Ulrike LIEBERT – Rosemarie SACKMANN
Hansa Wissenschafts Kolleg, Bremen

This paper presents a research methodology that we think is useful for developing an empirically grounded theory of European identity and illustrate this by a pilot study conducted among students from a northern and a southern German university. In the first part, drawing on the RECON models of democracy and, more specifically, on the German intellectual debate on European identity, we define two normative models of a supranational and a transnational European identity. The second part presents our explorative study of collective identities among social science students at two German universities using Q-Methodology. Essential for the Q-Method is the idea of relatedness and interconnectedness of thematically defined statements. The statistical analysis of the empirical responses reveals six meaningful patterns which are differently structured and more or less developed. In three identity constructions the European Union is a direct object of identification of primary relevance, in the other three constructions it is of secondary relevance. Overall the findings indicate (among German students) a potential for the development of transnational rather than supranational European identifications.

Conflict and identity in the EU

Zdzisław MACH

Jagiellonian University, Krakow

Conflict is an inseparable aspect of all processes of identity construction. This is especially clear in a post-modern, complex society, in which individuals participate in a variety of groupings and freely choose among many options of active involvement in social life. On the other hand they are also subject to different social determinations which significantly limit their actual freedom of choice.

The European enlargement and processes of European integration increase the complexity of identities and social relations, offering new frames of reference for people who construct their social identity in interaction with old and new partners. As identity construction is primarily about boundaries, it needs to be remembered that new boundaries generate new conflicts and/or reformulation of old conflicts. The three Recon models of European integration present three different frameworks in which conflicts of identity may develop.

The first model of “Europe of sovereign nations” imposes on national citizens a frame of reference in which they are expected to limit their identifications to national boundaries, while delegating relations with other Europeans to national authorities. Common European institutions are not trusted for resolving conflicts between citizens and their national authorities. A loyal citizen should not appeal to supranational; authorities for justice. The typical conflict involved with this model is between national loyalty and individual interests, whether practical, economic, or ideological, and cultural, developing in the direction of cosmopolitanism. This type of conflict is especially acute if relations between nation-states are less than friendly. Other types of conflict include those between national identity and minority identities. In the first model the nation state provides and imposes the national boundaries as the only frames of reference within which identity should be constructed, developed and maintained.

The second model, that of European federation creates a new frame of reference for identity – that of integrated Europe. European boundaries create a new space within which the European collective identity so constructed, while non-European “others” are excluded. European institutions serve as authorities to which one appeals for conflict resolutions. National identities compete with regional/local identities while the European identity is offered as a collective identity for all.

The third model, that of deliberative democracy is perhaps the most difficult to build, as it refers to a highly decentralised and individualised society. This also applies to the issue of conflict of identity. Identity is created in interactions, negotiations and deliberations between individuals, who respect the negotiated rules of the game and are free to construct such a type of identity as suits them best at a given moment of life. There is no central, institutional authority to appeal to for conflict resolution when problems of identity are concerned. Traditional authorities such as nation-states or religious institutions are no longer seen as relevant for solving dilemmas of identity. Conflicts related to identity are negotiated by individuals and on their own responsibility.

Identity conflicts in Hungary today: ethnicity, folkish thinking and antisemitism

Magdalena MARSOVSZKY

University of Halle - Wittenberg

To define „antisemitism“ is one of the most important issues in Hungary today, but german researches on antisemitism aren't well known. Therefore antisemitism is often be paraphrased with the antisemitic term “the Jewish question”, even in the public media, for example. This term reflects the Hungarian population's prevailing view that antisemitism is actually the problem of a “minority” (i.e. the Jews).

It is not possible to develop anti-antisemitic strategies if we interpret antisemitism in an affirmative sence, as people usually understand it, as a discrimination against the Jews for their religion by it. Antisemitism should primarily be interpreted in an anthropological sence, as a view of the world and not as a practice. Antisemitic ideology, on the other hand, forms an indispensable base for concrete discrimination, and, it involves the potential for violence, since it is about a self-defence believed to be justifiable, in which the presupposed dangers can only be suspended by the elimination of the alleged/imaginary enemy.

In Hungary, antisemitism is not always directed at Jews or at those perceived as Jews, but against all those who personify cosmopolitanism, urbanity and intellectuality, or what we generally regard as liberal thinking as opposed to the 'blood and soil' myth (“Blut- und Bodenmythos”).

While examining the triggers of antisemitism, we need to focus on the crucial factor cultural pessimism. It is in states undergoing social transformation or some sort of social upheaval where cultural pessimism generally appears and where the process toward ethno-nationalism begins with claims that a nation's connectedness is based on ancestry and blood ties, and where it perceives that the “national identity” has reached a “higher level”; thus the “ethnic nation” gradually transfigures itself, judging itself superior. According to research on antisemitism, the process toward ethno-nationalism is conceivable as part and parcel of racially-based constructs.

According to research by antisemitism researcher Klaus Holz, modern antisemitism is the kind of ideology that cannot really be understood without the notion of ethno-nationalism. Wherever ethno-nationalism can guarantee inner security to certain social groups that – justly or without cause – feel insecure, fulfill a pseudo-religious function, and the empowered homogenous nation's ideology can promise a sense of security and progress, antisemitism has found a favorable, nourishing soil, and it manifests itself in a form where its alleged antagonists threaten “national unity.”

Patterns of thinking such as this appeared not only in pre World War II Germany, but even after Auschwitz they reappeared in Europe and in Hungary, and what is common among them is that, on the one side, the “nation's” antagonists (Jews or those perceived as Jews) appear as the culprits and, on the other, the “nation” is seen

as the “victim”, the consequence of which is that the “nation” claims it is acting in its own legitimate defense. Antisemitism is, therefore, tied to a majority ethno-nationalist society (e.g. to Hungarian society’s ethno-nationalist majority) for whom ethno-nationalism fulfills a function that encourages the representation of a nation’s culture in terms of its ethnicity.

In my presentation I focus on the structures of ethno-nationalism and völkisch thinking in Hungary which require enemy images and lead to the construction of „the other“.

**The construction of space and identity conflict
The case of pendulum migrants**

Dariusz NIEDZWIEDZKI
Jagiellonian University, Krakow

The social and cultural space is an important base for identity construction. In effect of migration this dimension of identification changes often very deeply. Unknown social and cultural space in a place of migration influences for a way in which migrants perceive themselves and the others. We can distinguish four possibilities of pendulum migrants self-identification. Being target workers the migrants are here in a place of migration, but really there neither socially and culturally. As permanent transmigrants they are neither here nor there. Denizens or dual citizens feel at home here and there. Cosmopolitans are everywhere as well as nowhere. These all types of identity are connected with the conflicts between local, national, translocal, transnational, and global elements in migrants' construction of social and cultural space. This paper shows some empirical cases of such conflicts and considers its different consequences for pendulum migrants' identity.

The role of collective memory in ethnic conflict

Jacek NOWAK

Jagiellonian University, Krakow

It is said, among other things, that uncertainty about the future makes people turn to the past. The processes of European integration and the growth in globalisation have rekindled the discussion on whether to remember or forget. Drawing from my anthropological research in Eastern Europe, I will relate to a phenomenon of the use of memory in collective identity formation. I will show selected strategies for negotiation of memory. For many years we have seen how various communities persistently rework their past so as to build their position in the new social reality on its foundation. I have noticed the appearance of new symptoms of breaking the social memory frames which have previously organised collective memory. It seems that, in the context of globalisation and organisation of a new social order, collective memory starts to undergo universalisation. This phenomenon consists of releasing collective memory from its group frames and incorporating it in the joint civil responsibility for the past. It is also becoming the basis for new identity discourses. I want to draw your attention to the fact that individual communities are constantly playing for memory, which may lead to many social conflicts.

**Reconstructing the significant other in the enlarged EU
Ethnic vs. civic contextualisation of European political identity**

Grzegorz POŻARLIK
Jagiellonian University, Krakow

Eastern enlargement of the European Union along with its major institutional reform accelerated debate over the political dimension of European identity. This debate revealed a profound division among societies of "old" and "new" Europe, which is manifested in the conflict between ethnic and civic types of political identity construction in the enlarged EU. This division leads to a radically opposite understanding of democracy and citizenship across Europe. A particularly important feature of the ethnic type of political collective identity is the idea of the nation-state as the only legitimate space where collective identity can be constructed. Here, the nation-state is defined as a community based on re-discovered and mythologised history and culture that constitute the identitarian backbone that can only be reproduced by subsequent generations. The nation-state interpreted in this perspective takes the form of a community, whose membership can only be acquired through the exclusive *ius sanguinis* principle. Finally, the nation-state is here identified as a natural framework for democracy and citizenship. The opposite side of the political collective identity continuum is filled by a civic mode of defining a sense of belonging together. This type of identity is reflected in the narrative of – as Ernest Gellner put it in *Nations and Nationalism* – “the society based upon a powerful technology and uninterrupted development, the society requiring permanent distribution of labour as well as constant, frequent and precise communication of foreign people with each other; communication that has to happen through common meanings, carried over through a uniform language and – when and where needed – through writing” (1991:46). This polarisation of perspectives on collective identity affects societal attitudes toward European political identity.

The main hypothesis of this analysis is that the EU eastern enlargement magnified deconstruction of well-established interpretation of the significant other syndrome understood as a point of reference for collective identity construction across enlarged Europe. For liberal and democratic Western Europe it is no longer the Cold War homo sovieticus who constitutes the significant other. For “new Europeans” it is not yet deliberative supranational democracy that is referred to as the foundation of European “we-identity”. Thus, the process of reconstruction of the significant other in the context of further EU enlargement may consolidate the tendency to replace previously existing geo-politicisation with geo-culturalisation of European identity. Attitudes towards democracy and citizenship among the old, the new and prospective European citizens are of particular relevance when analysing the process of reconstruction of the significant other.

East meets West in the bilingual experience

Nóra SCHLEICHER

Budapest School of Communication - ELTE

The paper examines the discursive construction of national identities of English-Hungarian bilingual speakers. 18 in-depth interviews were made with English-Hungarian bilingual speakers whose experience represent a wide variety of becoming bilingual. Among the people interviewed there were first and second generation Hungarians living in England and first and second generation English people living in Hungary, Hungarian emigrants leaving Hungary after the 1956 revolution and young Hungarian graduates working in the City of London, Hungarian women who have foreign husbands and live in England, English women, who married Hungarian men and live in Hungary, people born of mixed marriages, etc.

Based on the analysis of the interviews four different constructions of national identities emerged:

1. Emphasised and exclusive Hungarian identity where being Hungarian is a moral choice.
2. Unquestioned Hungarian identity with an emphasised loyalty toward England.
3. No strong national identity. Outsider status.
4. Dual English and Hungarian identity. The relationship between bilingualism and national identity is mediated by the different circumstances and experience that lead to the development of bilingualism. The paper sets up hypotheses about the different conditions leading to the formation of the above mentioned identity types.

The construction of ethnic identity of successful Gypsies/Travellers in England

Kinga SZABÓ-TÓTH
University of Miskolc

The aim of this qualitative study is to explore the pattern of ethnic identity of those Gypsies/Travellers who achieved more than other people from this ethnic group in their education or career. We would like to show whether there is some evidence of double binding identity in their life.

To be able to investigate the topic and to get a picture of changes in the construction of their identity and the role of acculturation/assimilation in their life, special attention is given to certain questions such as what the characteristics of the Gypsy/Traveller's ethnic identity are; whether they hide their ethnicity and if so; under what circumstances and why; whether they have to balance two cultures and to what extent. As our sampling frame consists of two types of interviewees (university students and people in professional occupation or people with degree level qualification on one hand and political leaders and activists in the Gypsy/Traveller movements on the other) we also pose the question of whether there is a crucial difference regarding ethnic identity between the two groups.

Based on interview material, it was found that the assumption of double binding identity is sound. However, especially among Gypsy/Traveller professionals. It was also indicated that the interviewees have some strategies in order to preserve an umbilical cord with their ethnic roots. The current study seems to confirm Silvermann's findings to the effect that the target group also use the non-Gypsy culture as a rich storehouse from which they can adapt some elements to their life in order to survive. It became also clear that although at the level of self-description the interviewees express a tight commitment to their ethnic roots, at the level of behaviour, norms and values their loyalty is not so apparent.

Moreover, the accommodation of the life of the professionals to the majority culture is sometimes beset with problems. We could even say that the process of balancing culture is sometimes accompanied by the feeling of imbalance.

Human Rights as a European foreign policy tool

Merzuka Selin TÜRKES

Sabanci University, Istanbul

Parallel to the EU's endeavour to establish a common foreign policy, human rights have increasingly been incorporated into the EU's external relations, while the respect for human rights has repeatedly been stressed by the EU as an important objective of its relations with third countries. However, parallel to the problems in establishing a common foreign policy, the implication of human rights in the EU's relations with third countries remained problematic. In this regard, this research aims to focus on the possible implication for human rights to be a tool for European foreign policy. Treating human rights as a European foreign policy tool, the main purpose will be to consider how foreign policy is being conducted in the EU through the instrument of human rights. The operation of human rights as a tool of European foreign policy will be tracked through the EU's foreign policy towards Turkey, particularly through the accession process. Drawing on three propositions on the nature of European foreign policy on whether it is utility, rights and/or values driven, a fourth main proposition will be put forward regarding the internal and external consistency in European human rights policies. As the consistency impacts the EU's credibility and therefore its power as an international actor on the world scene, the study will mainly be looking at the operation of European foreign policy with regard to human rights.

"I have to survive this horror so that the survivor could tell about this living hell"
Thoughts about Europeanism in connection with a survivor of the Shoah who became its "professional story teller"

Júlia VAJDA
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

As Panni remembers today, what often gave her strength in the camp to survive was her belief that she must not give up because there should be a survivor to tell later about the living hell there. At liberation, however, she decides that she would not talk, and her life takes a course that she actually manages not to talk about her camp experience for a long time. By analysing Panni's life story narrative, in my presentation I will focus on what influence the Shoah as a starting point in one's life and family history has on Europeanism and on the European identity.

**Interplay of European, national and regional identities
Nations between states along the new eastern borders of Europe**

Lili VARGHA

Tárki, ENRI-East Project

The ENRI-East project is an innovative international collaborative research project on the theme of European, national and regional identities. It is a three year project financed by the European Union within the scope of the 7th Framework Programme. The project is coordinated by the Institute of Advanced Studies in Vienna and it involves eleven European Institutions and over fifty European scholars.

The main goal of the ENRI-East project is to develop an in-depth understanding of the ways in which the modern European identities and regional cultures are formed and how these are inter-communicated in the Eastern part of the European continent. The research focuses on nations and states on both sides of the new Eastern border of the EU. This include the following countries within the border of the EU: Lithuania, Poland, Germany, Slovakia and Hungary and beyond: Russia, Belarus, Ukraine.

It is assumed that issues of identity formation and the negotiation of different identities are more salient in those complex conditions where the states and the nations don't correspond fully (i.e. the 'pure' form of the nation state, when one nation maintains its own state, is not accomplished). Therefore the main objects of ENRI-East are ethnic minorities („split nations”) living in the countries described above. Minorities contribute significantly to the multinational character of what is usually considered the nation-state of, for example, Lithuania, Slovakia, or Ukraine.

The project employs both theoretical and empirical research tools. It starts with a critical review of literature on identities and the developing of theoretical framework (Pichler 2008, Wimmer 2008), followed by the verification of existing statistical and sociological data sets. As a next step, ENRI-East designs a series of sociological surveys that should bring new knowledge to the main research themes of the project.

A wide range of different methodologies will be used, embracing altogether seven types of surveys. Among them are classical methods like a large-scale quantitative survey, and qualitative methods like expert interviews and content analysis. But analyzing essays written by teenagers and two innovative and experimental pilot studies (musical survey and musical focus groups) will be undertaken as well.

ENRI-East is an inter-disciplinary effort (sociology, political science, history, ethnography) and its methodological thrust comprises theoretical, empirical and comparative aspects.

Learn more about the project here: <http://www.enri-east.net/en/>

Conflicts and the fashion of symbolic ethnicity

Kata Zsófia VINCZE

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

In the last few years in Hungary the colors of the rainbow have become both a symbol of cultural difference, and the representative colors of minorities. These colors are used many times in opposition to the colors of king Arpad's flag (white and red stripes), which have again become the symbol of the far right wing, a nationalist symbol known for intolerance against minorities and opposing cultural differences. This conflict is carried out through demonstrations, street art stickers, online blogs, online debates, etc.

In Hungary there are currently about 40 thousand Germans, 48 thousands Roma's, 10 thousand Romanians, and many Serbs, Slovaks and Russians who respectively declare themselves German, Roma, Romanian, Serb, Slovak, and Russian. However, these numbers represent only a very small percentage of the total numbers that make up each group. Furthermore, researchers estimate the total number of Jews to be around 100 thousand, yet of them only 15 thousand have declared themselves Jews in the most recent country census.

According to certain scholars in Central and Eastern Europe, we are currently in the midst of a true ethnic renaissance. One that began following the changes in 1989 among semi assimilated ethnic groups and ethnic religions. The new trends of politically correct language, counter cultural ethnic movements, ethno music and ethno cultural resurgence, and also the works of several cultural and social centres against racism, are gradually leading to the acceptance of stigmatized minorities and have popularized the idea of positive identity, i.e. "being different is cool".

This ethnic renaissance has produced the born again Jews (not only in religious terms), and the proud Roma's who no longer hide their ethnic origins, but choose rather to emphasize them by selecting some "typical" ethnic characteristics in which they express their newly found, newly rediscovered ethnicity. They accomplish this by using, exposing, and displaying some of their individual ethnic symbols to the outside world. Being a proud Roma or a proud Jew (after hiding the Roma and Jewish origins carefully through generations) many times means the building of new communities, participation in identity building and identity straightening programs, learning about forgotten history, the relearning of language (Roma, Hebrew or other), participation in online and offline political and cultural debates, and also engaging oneself in specific conflicts between minorities and the majority, and or between the different cultures.

In many cases the definition of "US" refers to being against "others."

In order to demonstrate my point about the relationships between this ethnic renaissance and cultural conflict, I will present and analyze 2 individual case studies, along with quotes from several specifically conducted interviews.

My paper's main focus is to explore what exactly is meant by the ethnic renaissance of Roma's and Jews and how does their new beginning affect the identities of these minorities?

Additionally, using a comparative methodology based on field work and deep interviews, my paper aims to deliver responses from diverse perspectives in order to address and answer the questions:

What kind of new conflicts generate this newly found ethnicity?

What is the content of this new ethnicity and what is the content of new conflicts?

The shaman and St Stephen's holy crown

Anna WESSELY

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

On February 24, 2007, a group of about 70 persons drove to a natural gas derrick operated by the Canadian firm Falcon Oil and Gas Ltd. in the vicinity of a medium-sized Hungarian town, Makó. They held a press conference. One spokesperson, identifying himself as president of the Eger branch of the Revolutionary National Committee, declared that they (representatives of various organisations, among them well-established associations with some political weight like the World Alliance of Hungarians and never-heard-of groups with very unusual names like the Hunnic Battle Axe Alliance of Eger, etc.) had come to take possession of the gas field on behalf of the Holy Crown of Hungary. Since the native soil with the natural treasures hidden beneath were there to promote the common good of all Hungarians, the gas field was inalienable. He also added that if the hoped-for 'changes favourable to Magyardom' took place, the production licences issued to foreign companies would be annulled.

These announcements were followed by a particular string of actions. Clad in allegedly ancient Hungarian costumes, a shaman, accompanied by a drummer, stepped forward to perform a „Holy Crown Ritual”: he hammered four carved poles into the ground in a big circle around the fence protecting the gas derrick and then sprayed wine, symbolizing blood, in the four cardinal directions. The audience then sang the national anthem and listened to speeches delivered from a makeshift pulpit fixed on the top of a van.

The paper attempts to highlight, through the analysis of this particular event, the links that connect the revival of ethnicized national identities to the processes of cultural globalization and the re-stratification of Hungarian society in the wake of the transition to capitalism.

Negotiating feminist identity in Poland?

Katarzyna ZIELINSKA
Jagiellonian University, Krakow

Recent data show that a growing number of Polish women accept values and take actions which contradict the traditionalistic discourse, strongly influenced by Catholicism, defining women only as mothers, wives and preservers of community values. Despite such a turn towards what could be called feminist values and attitudes there is still reluctance among women to identify themselves as feminists. On the level of actions they contradict traditional roles, but on the level of declarations they reject being identified with feminism. The main aim of this paper will be to explore the contradiction between actions and declarations and their meaning for the construction of women's individual identity.

Roma nation-building and Roma organizations

Ferenc ZSIGÓ

Zsigmond Király, College, Budapest

Roma political access and participation require an identity framework that allows political activity to be focused toward goals that can eventually achieve consensus within the Roma community. While Roma political groups have been making use of several such frameworks, the concept of the Roma nation entails a well-known path toward recognition, access and participation. Several aspects of Roma political activity indicate the use of a national framework. However, spatial issues, historical assimilation, and cleavages among Roma political actors are challenges to the use of the Roma nation concept.