

New Perspectives on Identity Processes
in Hobsbawm and Tilly:
Intellectual Foundation, Identity Formation
and Construction, and Implications for
European Identity

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Abstract

'Identity' is a frequently used concept within the field of European studies, which has resulted in a myriad of different perspectives on what its meaning entails. As such, the meaning of identity is often claimed to be ambiguous, which causes problems for methodology related issues. This thesis suggests that the field of European Studies as a research area has to adjust its approach to the concept of identity and proposes a method to analyse how the work of Eric Hobsbawm and Charles Tilly can improve our understanding of European identity.

This approach follows the postmodern notion of identity as a process, and is reinforced by the theories of social constructionism and intellectual history. In order to be able to study identity processes without excluding aspects of its fluid and mercurial nature, it is argued that splitting it into three distinguishable themes will lead to new perspectives on similar forms of identity processes, which are not directly related to European identity. The three themes are:

1. Intellectual foundation: authorial intention and epistemological standpoints
2. Identity formation: the bottom-up process of identity
3. Identity construction: the top-down process of identity

The themes work as a 'filter' to determine which parts of Hobsbawm and Tilly's work could be classified as dealing with identity processes. This produces material ranging from movements to nationalism and from the state to the citizens' perspective. The analysis is able to spot identity processes that head both up and down. Consequently, the notion of a bottom-up process can be reinterpreted as a top-down process.

Both scholars improve our understanding of European identity in two different ways. First, they directly improve our understanding by describing the processes of identity in different historical contexts along with various components that influence the identities concerned. Second, they indirectly add to our understanding by encouraging future scholars and by suggesting possible research themes. Both advocate more research on what constitutes a 'social being', which could lead to new perspectives on what goes on in the mind of the people and how they conduct and perceive their identities.

Key words: Identity, European Identity, Charles Tilly, Eric Hobsbawm, Identity Processes, Identity Construction, Identity Formation, Social Constructionism, Intellectual History

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1. Introduction

The EU's ongoing enlargement process; rising xenophobia and nationalism in Europe; minority groups seeking independence; and, even more recently, Russia's legitimization of annexing Crimea through the strong presence of ethnic Russians in the region. Regardless of one's take on these events, it is undeniable that they have caught the attention of a myriad of academics who seek to explain, discuss or expand on them in one way or another. In their bid to do so, many come across the daunting challenge of describing the pivotal academic concept of identity and the effect it has on contemporary politics.

This thesis suggests that the field of European Studies as a research area has to adjust its approach to the academic concept of identity and proposes a method of analysing Hobsbawm and Tilly's work to do so. Therefore, the goal is not to brazenly redefine identity, but rather more humbly to suggest three themes which would yield a more structured concept. This will be achieved through examining the publications of notable academics who have contributed to our understanding of identity.

As the highly polysemous word 'identity' is commonly applied in the context of various topics within European Studies, different meanings have been ascribed to it. Fluctuations in the understanding of identity have led to a considerable degree of ambiguity within its study or, as R. Brubaker and F. Cooper have argued, "social sciences and humanities have surrendered to the word "identity" and that this has both intellectual and political costs."¹ Adding to the complexity is that identities are de facto not bound to one level in society, but rather represent the individual and/or groups on the local, national and supranational level, and everything in between these rigid layers.

In the study of European identity, essentialist and non-essentialist views oppose one another in their bid to explain the relationship between European and national identity. However, mainstream thinking has shifted towards the notion that identity processes should not be regarded in zero-sum terms.² This notion is extended by the acknowledgement of identity processes crossing various layers of society, which underlines its importance as a crucial

¹ Rogers Brubaker & Frederick Cooper, "Beyond "Identity", " *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1.

² Thomas Risse, "Social Constructivism and European Integration.," in *European Integration Theory*, ed. Antje Wiener & Thomas Diez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 151.

factor for future European integration especially since the EU is increasingly viewed as 'Multi-level' polity. Furthermore, the dynamic nature of identity requires different types of perspectives on the subject, which has resulted in various multi-layered and interdisciplinary approaches being applied to its study.³ Although the definition of identity is equivocal, scholars have attempted to make it measurable by dividing it into components; for example, by analysing the fear of the loss of national identity in relation to opposition of European integration⁴ or the fear of globalisation.⁵ Others have attempted to analyse in terms of another identity from which the European political identity would be able to distance itself.⁶ What these examples all have in common is that they recognise the role of identity by relating it to a specific variable or sub-identity, but they fail to take into account the underlying mechanisms of identity. In other words, researchers have bumped into a "methodological wall".⁷

Scholars therefore describe what identity 'does' but not what it actually 'is': it is like driving a car without knowing what the engine looks like. This consequently affects scholars' ability to sufficiently pinpoint the different factors that constitute an identity, as their capacity to identify factors that might influence the consistence of an identity is impaired.

Originally, the primary aim of the thesis was to deconstruct the concept of identity through examining the core aspects that are regarded as its essential components by locating the conceptual origins in various philosophic and academic disciplines. In this regard, a withdrawal of core descriptions of identity from a chosen number of academic disciplines would have sufficed. However, the concept of identity is not fixed; it reconfigures itself after every academic debate.⁸ Instead of constructing a 'grand' theory of identity, this thesis examines the academic thought of two intellectuals that have contributed much to our understanding of identity by examining their ideas about identity processes. The thoughts of the intellectual and Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm and the versatile scholar Charles Tilly

³ Jeffrey T. Checkel & Peter J. Katzenstein, *European Identity* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 226.

⁴ Lauren M. McLaren, "Opposition to European Integration and Fear of Loss of National Identity: Debunking a Basic Assumption Regarding Hostility to the Integration Project.," *European Journal of Political Research* 43, no. 6 (2004).

⁵ Andreas Schuck et al., "The Dutch No to the Eu Constitution: Assessing the Role of Eu Skepticism and the Campaign," *Journal of Elections Public Opinion and Parties* 18, no. 1 (2008).

⁶ Rensmann Lars, "Europeanism and Americanism in the Age of Globalization: Hannah Arendt's Reflections on Europe and America and Implications for a Post-National Identity of the Eu Polity," *European Journal of Political Theory* 5, no. 2 (2006).

⁷ Michael Bruter, "Measuring the Immeasurable? - Capturing Citizens' European Identity," in *Political Science Research Methods in Action*, ed. Michael Bruter and Martin Lodge (England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 35.

⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, "From Pilgrim to Tourist - or a Short History on Identity," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2011), 18-35.

will serve as material for the analysis. Throughout their academic careers both have written extensively about various subjects, such as nationalism, revolutions and movements, which has contributed directly or indirectly to our overall contemporary understanding of identity. Therefore, this thesis derives understanding of the concept of identity processes by comparing their perspectives on identity.

In doing so, this thesis follows a combination of social constructionism and intellectual history approaches which seek to examine the ideas about identity of the two respective intellectuals. By comparing the published material of the two intellectuals, similarities and differences between the authors' views will be found. This results in a pattern of overlapping and differing thoughts which will provide an understanding of identity processes. The idea behind this approach is that it may be repeated to analyse other intellectuals' views on identity which will eventually result in a more holistic understanding of identity processes.

This thesis seeks therefore to bring insight into the metaphysical understanding of the concept of collective identity processes by proposing to divide the intellectuals' thoughts on the concept of identity into three themes. Through taking its mercurial nature into account, the research question posits identity as a process, thus embracing the postmodern notion of it as an ongoing phenomenon.⁹ In order to create a goal for the analysis of the identity processes, the material analysed will illuminate different perspectives in relation to a European identity. This specific type of identity functions as a point of destination towards which the analysis of the two intellectuals' academic works will head. This leads to the following research question:

How can Charles Tilly and Eric Hobsbawm's perspectives on collective identity processes improve our understanding of the concept of European identity?

This research question excludes identity processes that take place on the individual level. The reason for doing so is that analysis of identity processes on the collective level will already push the boundaries of this thesis. Although adding another layer would indeed result in a more exhaustive form of analysis, for the purpose of this thesis it is enough to confine the question to the level of collective identities. It is expected that in practice the analysis will mainly show insights into identity processes through differentiating the national from the

⁹ Ibid, 18-35.

supranational European identity. Other forms of collectiveness, however, are included in the analysis if encountered.

Answering the research question should contribute to our critical understanding of European identity; however, the actual aim of this thesis is to argue for the usage of a new perspective on identity processes. By splitting the analysis into three themes, each theme will cover different aspects. The first theme is the academic background of the intellectuals, which is deemed necessary in order to understand the reasoning behind their ideas. The second and third themes both entail the process of identity. The research question lends itself from or toward the supranational level i.e. the European identity. By using this point of reference, the analysis of identity processes can therefore either be described as, bottom-up, which is the second theme, or as top-down, which is the third theme.

The second chapter premises the scope for the analysis of Hobsbawm and Tilly's work on a theoretical framework. The framework, metaphorically speaking, creates the lens by explaining the basics and ambiguity of identity processes. This is followed by theories of social constructionism and intellectual history, which constitute the foundation for the analysis. This tying together of the two lines of thought justifies the use of the three suggested themes, which function as a categorisation tool. The third chapter expands on Hobsbawm and Tilly as sources and explains the three themes as a categorisation method. The fourth chapter presents the results, which consist of selected quotations from the two scholars which will be categorised along the three suggested themes. The quotations are compared, which will result in an illumination of overlaps or differences in views between Hobsbawm and Tilly on identity processes. The fifth chapter includes the external analysis which relates the results to European identity along the three themes. The sixth chapter comprises the discussion and finally the eighth chapter is the conclusion.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter premises the scope for the analysis of Hobsbawm and Tilly's work on a theoretical framework. Whereas, metaphorically speaking, the first part creates the lens, the second part will develop the reasoning of how to interpret or understand the texts for the analysis by explicating the perspectives of social constructionism and intellectual history.

2.1. Basic identity processes

In order to be able to conduct the analysis it must first be known what to look for i.e. the scope has to be defined to determine what is relevant and what is not. Therefore, a theoretical framework will function as a filter through which the academic texts of Tilly and Hobsbawm will be collected.

The origins of identity processes are found in identity theory and social identity theory. Whereas some researchers have argued for the differences between the two perspectives,¹⁰ others have argued the opposite for similarities.¹¹ For this thesis, it is not relevant whether the process is dubbed as self-categorisation or identification nor is the question whether identity is a group or a role. They are used interchangeably under the term 'identity processes' within this thesis.

Thus, regardless of the difference between the two theories, identity is at its base a cognitive mechanism constructed through an accumulated number of recognisable characteristics that separate us from others. These characteristics contain recognisable elements that are socially observable, being expressions of oneself. This self-image functions to contrast oneself from the other; it is what makes us unique.¹² Self-images usually work on the borders of the consciousness as no one is continuously thinking about their identity and can moreover even be taken for granted when one is hardly aware of them. However, this can abruptly change when someone feels misplaced, i.e. experiences a sense of not belonging, most commonly when exposed to unfamiliar or different identities. Consequently, one becomes more aware of one's identity here than during conventional moments. Zygmunt Bauman describes this as:

¹⁰ Deborah J. Terry and Katherine M. White Michael A. Hogg, "A Tale of Two Theories: A Critical Comparison of Identity Theory with Social Identity Theory," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (1995).

¹¹ Jan E. Stets & Peter J. Burke, "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory," *ibid.* 63, no. 3 (2000).

¹² Randy J. Larsen & David M. Buss, *Personality Psychology: Domains of Knowledge About Human Nature*, Third Edition ed. (New York: Mc Graw Hill, 2008), 482-483.

"[identity is] a name given to the escape sought from uncertainty."¹³ This means that identities function as labels for collectives with which we are familiar. Thus, whenever someone is unable to attribute an identity to an individual or group, then it will most probably lead to a certain degree of uncertainty. These feelings of uncertainty also show that collective identities, and thus feelings of togetherness, are often imagined¹⁴ and therefore mentally constructed. This becomes even more apparent when taken into consideration that, when uncertainty reverses into familiarity, it is solely the result of cognitive processes that adjust the perception of the self-image vis-à-vis the other.

2.2. The ambiguity issue of identity's concept

The understanding of 'group' should be taken loosely. A group can range from a small specific number of individuals to being as large as the universal level. For example, humans are universally a 'group' as most of us do not regard ourselves as animals and thus our human identity demarcates the difference. It should therefore be stressed that group identities can be shaped to an infinite amount of possibilities as long as any number of individuals are able to find, or imagine, certain cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural characteristics.¹⁵ This consequentially means that, every group is able to construct and possess a collective identity.

Moreover, groups do not necessarily need to have strictly defined habits. Some groups' boundaries of shared identities are more apparent than groups that have a more loose interpretation of what is required for one to be acknowledged as group member, and some people may even be part of a group without even knowing so. The following quotation underlines the uneasy foundation on which identity is built:

Given the great range and heterogeneity of the work done by "identity", it would be fruitless to look for a single substitute, for such a term would be as overburdened as "identity" itself. [...] "The problem is that "identity" is used to designate both such strongly groupist, exclusive, affectively charged self-understandings and much looser, more open self-understandings, involving some sense of affinity or affiliation,

¹³ Bauman, "From Pilgrim to Tourist - or a Short History on Identity." 19.

¹⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London : Verso, 2006 Rev. ed., 2006).

¹⁵ Burke, "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory."

commonality or connectedness to particular others, but lacking a sense of overriding oneness vis-à-vis some constitutive "other".¹⁶

This quotation shows that the concept of identity is vague and that its meaning can sprout in many directions. In order to deal with this problem it is necessary to think of ways of how to make identity more manageable, which is possible through unbundling the definition of identity. This can be realised through the usage of terms that highlight a specific aspect of identity. For instance, by transforming 'identity' into 'identifying', one can ask the question 'who does the identifying?' Thus, who has the power to question someone's identity or to fabricate categorical identities? An answer could be a state, an organisation or other. In addition, a follow up question would then be, how does one identify his -or herself? Different answers are possible.¹⁷

Furthermore, it is also possible to use different definitions altogether, such as self-understanding and commonality, which both highlight different aspects of identity. Whereas the first is dispositional, which can be perceived as a 'situated subjectivity', meaning one's self and who one is within a social location and how one will behave, the latter stresses connectedness and/or groupness and thus highlights the aspects of otherness, of belonging and solidarity opposed to othering, which differentiates oneself from outsiders.¹⁸ These definitions would contribute to clarifying the different aspects of identity as they demarcate the difference between internal and external mechanisms.

The idea to divide internal and external mechanisms coincides with the notion of a reciprocal relationship between the self and society.¹⁹ A reciprocal relationship means that the individual and society, effect (use) and affect (influence) each other. Society contains groups for individuals to join. These groups create feelings of 'togetherness', but at the same create boundaries that differentiate one group from the other. Thus, when an individual decides to join a group this consequently affects and possibly alters the group's identity, as the overall group identity now includes an extra individual. This indicates the reciprocal nature of the relation between the individual and groups.

¹⁶ Cooper, "Beyond "Identity".": 14, 19

¹⁷ Ibid: 14

¹⁸ Ibid: 17-19

¹⁹ Sheldon Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version*. (Menlo Park, Calif: Benjamin Cummings, 1980).

The previous theories are a basic and thus minimal description of the core mechanisms of identity processes. Created through a combination of mainly social psychological, sociological and linguistic reasoning. It has deliberately left out theories of for example political identities or nationalism as including these may limit the scope for the analysis of Hobsbawm and Tilly's work too much in the sense that it might leave out ideas that do not directly relate to these more specific forms of identity processes. The advantage of doing so is that it might lead to newfound perspectives of identity processes that might on a first glance not directly relate to these.

For now, explanations that aim to define the full concept of identity processes within the field of European studies are best avoided. Moreover, when taking into account that the study of identity processes within European studies is seldom confined to just one level, makes it even more difficult to create an overarching definition, as subjects involving identity are likely to intersect various layers. The next three themes are posed in order to fulfil the demands issued by the mercurial and transparent nature of identity processes.

2.3. How to understand knowledge

The aforementioned three themes are the 'filter' through which the selected sources will go through. The next step is to bring insight into how the filtered texts are to be understood. This understanding will be achieved through the combination of social constructionism and intellectual history approaches. While social constructionism has far reaching implications due to the claim that the way we understand something is socially constructed through communication between people, intellectual history focuses more narrowly on how the ideas of intellectuals are to be interpreted. However, as will be pointed out, the two schools of thought are profoundly compatible with one another.

2.3.1. Social constructionism

It is debatable where the roots of social constructionism lie. However, a couple of key theories have left their mark on social constructionism's development, leading to its foundation as a school of thought.

Symbolic interactionism has been fundamental to the development of social constructionism, because it created the notion that through everyday encounters, people construct their own and each other's identities.²⁰ This notion was extended by the claim that "human beings together create and then sustain all social phenomena through social practice."²¹ as quoted from Vivian Burr's: *Introduction to Social Constructionism*.²²

Furthermore, the process of externalisation, objectification and internalisation is seen as fundamental, as it explains how ideas and new perspectives become rooted in society. Whenever a new idea emerges, the creator of the idea will try to share this idea with his or her surroundings. This way the person 'externalises' the idea. When an idea is strong enough, meaning it is able to fend off criticism, it becomes accepted within society. This is dubbed 'objectification', because the idea becomes an 'object' within society. Finally, when the idea gains traction and is used over and over again, then the idea becomes 'internalised' within society. Children born within a society will grow up with the ruling paradigms created through such internalised ideas, and in turn these can become intertwined with the identity processes active within a society.²³

2.3.2. Intellectual History

"Intellectual history is an unusual discipline, eclectic in both method and subject matter and therefore resistant to any single, globalized definition."²⁴

Intellectual history focuses specifically on the development of intellectual patterns, ideas or the intellectuals themselves. Intellectual history is similar to another approach named the history of ideas, though arguably differences between the two can be found. The most profound division in standpoint present between intellectual history and the history of ideas is found between the internal and external ways of understanding ideas. Whereas intellectual history finds understanding through comparing ideas to other ideas, the history of ideas does it

²⁰ George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist* (Chicago, 1946 5. pr., 1946).

²¹ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality : A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, Anchor Books (New York : Anchor books, 1967).

²² Vivien Burr, *Social Constructionism* (London : Routledge, 2003), 10

²³ Ibid, 10

²⁴ Peter E Gordon, "What Is Intellectual History?-a Frankly Partisan Introduction to a Frequently Misunderstood Field," *Unpublished Paper. Department of History. Harvard University* (2006): 1

through studying the specific context in which the idea emerged.²⁵ Keeping in mind the research question, the best approach for this thesis would first be to internally compare the intellectual thoughts of Charles Tilly and Eric Hobsbawm, after which the results can be related to the concept of a European identity externally.

In a widely recognised and highly regarded essay, the author Quentin Skinner expresses a polemic critique of certain claims within field of intellectual history. Although the goal of the paper is to convey criticism towards the field, it also gives a clear overview of the current state of the discipline. According to Skinner, two answers to the issue of how to conceive of understanding currently prevail within the field of intellectual history. "First, [...] it is the context of 'religious, political, and economic factors' which determines the meaning of any given text and thus provides the framework for any attempt to understand it. Second, "the autonomy of the text itself is the sole necessary key to its own meaning and so dismisses any attempt to reconstitute the 'total context' as gratuitous."²⁶

Quentin Skinner makes many arguments against these two claims. One of the more significant for this thesis is the argument against the notion that the social context is a necessary condition in order to achieve an understanding of a 'classic' text, because this would be equivalent to denying that they contain any elements of timeless events and perennial interests.²⁷ Ideas are regarded as more successful when they are universal and able to stand the test of time. Therefore, this argument defends the internal approach as, indeed, for an idea to be regarded as timeless and universally relevant, it must be able to 'function' without the context it emerged in. Thus, the idea needs to be able to be exported to a contemporary setting without fundamentally changing the core dimensions of the idea.

Furthermore, Skinner notes that we have to classify in order to understand and that we are therefore limited in classifying the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar. The consequential perpetual danger is that "our expectations about what someone must be saying or doing will themselves determine that we understand the agent to be doing something which he would not - or even could not- himself have accepted as an account of what he was doing."²⁸ This relates back to the problems faced when conducting research to find out the cause of identity

²⁵ Ibid: 1-2

²⁶ Ibid: 2

²⁷ Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1969): 3

²⁸ Ibid: 5

processes. This is because various processes which are not familiar to us are being thrown together under the term 'identity'. Now that the two lines of thought have been roughly explained, it is possible to integrate them to create a holistic view of understanding that combines the broader views of social constructionism and the specific standpoints on ideas and intellectuals derived from intellectual history, and to then use these to carry out the analysis.

2.3.3. Combining intellectual history and social constructionism

An understanding of Tilly and Hobsbawm's work is found through combining the standpoints of intellectual history and social constructionism. The four positions²⁹ of social constructionism will be borrowed from Vivian Burr. These four points will be complemented with the standpoints from intellectual history.

First, there exists a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge. The philosophical origins of this stance are found in the work of Immanuel Kant, where it is argued that understanding is *a priori* determined through experience. Burr explains that this critical stance opposes the notion that conventional knowledge is gained through objective, unbiased observation of the world. i.e. "What exists is what we perceive to exist [meaning that] the categories with which we as human beings apprehend the world do not necessarily refer to real division."³⁰ This first point goes hand in hand with Skinner's point that we have to classify in order to understand. Therefore, any reader is always to a certain extent set in the way one perceives a text when first reading it.³¹ This critical stance deems it therefore impossible to read a text as a *ding an sich* (a thing as it is in itself).³²

Second, categories are defined through historical and culturally specific circumstances. This entails that how one understands the world is influenced by where one lives in the world and in which period. The way people interpret matter is "seen as products of [...] culture and history, and [they] are dependent upon the particular social and economic arrangements prevailing in [given] culture at that time."³³ This indicates that if knowledge is seen as a vessel for achieving 'truth', then every culture and period of time will find its own version of 'truth'.

²⁹ Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 3-5

³⁰ Ibid, 3

³¹ Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas.": 16

³² Immanuel Kant, *Critik Der Reinen Vernunft* (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1781).

³³ Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 4

Moreover, knowledge is constructed through various pieces of information derived from various sources. Rather than a fixed constant factor, the immeasurable consistency of knowledge is continuously transformed as new concepts and ideas are added and forgotten. Within this 'pool', some contributions made by academics are more significant than others as they support a general consensus or are considered to be closer to the 'truth' than others. However, sometimes a thinker goes against the general consensus and may cause a revolution within the pool of knowledge. It is the challenge for the intellectual historian to untangle the developments of the idea by tracing back its origins.

Third, knowledge is sustained by social processes through daily interaction between people. Language is consequently the determiner of how knowledge is created. This may seem obvious, however, when one starts to realise that knowledge is confined within the barriers of language, then language itself becomes a bias. There is no other way than through language to express oneself. Even numbers and statistics on their own are worth nothing if not put into context. When one interprets statistical results, one does so through a cognitive linguistic construction created through language. Burr explains that "our current way of understanding the world, is a product not of objective observation of the world, but of the social processes and interaction in which people are constantly engaged with each other."³⁴ It should be noted, however, that this statement can be extended to concern 'social processes and interaction', considering the functionality of books and text. These items retain knowledge, therefore there is no need for 'constant' engagement, making writing a delayed form of social process. Written sources of knowledge are available to those who wish to access it, therefore constant engagement could better be perceived as a stream of knowledge, which one can tap in and out of whenever one wishes to do so. Thus, knowledge is not only distributed through social processes, but also through pages of a book / or text, dubbed objectification.³⁵ However, the boundaries of language still apply all the same. A social constructionist would be keen to point out that the medium used for the distribution of knowledge, either vocalised or written, influences the way in which we perceive the information. Concerning discourses, it is not the task of the intellectual historian to determine what is right or wrong, but rather "to comprehend what counts as right or wrong in a particular historical and social setting".³⁶ This

³⁴ Ibid, 4

³⁵ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality : A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*.

³⁶ Gordon, "What Is Intellectual History?-a Frankly Partisan Introduction to a Frequently Misunderstood Field.":

view is often based on Michel Foucault's earlier work on the discourses of sexual pathology, criminality, and madness.

The fourth and final point that Burr makes is; "Knowledge and social actions go together: these 'negotiated' understanding could take a wide variety of different forms."³⁷ Thus, numerous social constructions are deemed possible and this consequently invites different kinds of action. This explanation indicates that constructed knowledge is the prelude to social action. If one would be aware of the knowledge applicable to a specific situation that sparks social action, then one could, to a certain extent, predict behaviour. Burr illustrates this with the following example:

Before the temperance movement, drunks were seen as entirely responsible for their behaviour, and therefore blameworthy. A typical response was therefore imprisonment. However, there has been a move away from seeing drunkenness as a crime and towards thinking of it as a sickness, a kind of addiction. 'Alcoholics' are not seen as entirely responsible for their behaviour, since they are the victim of a kind of drug addiction. The social action appropriate to understand drunkenness in this way is to give medical and psychological treatment, not imprisonment.³⁸

This example shows how lines of thought are altered through the course of time and dependent upon historical context. Therefore the social behaviour that accompanies the newfound perspective changes along with it.

³⁷ Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 5

³⁸ *Ibid*, 5

3. Sources and Methodology

This chapter will set out the methodology in two different parts. Firstly how the sources have been selected for the analysis and secondly how the analysis is structured through the usage of three themes.

3.1. Eric Hobsbawm & Charles Tilly

Why Hobsbawm and Tilly? Indeed, other scholars could just as well have been selected as valid sources. Especially since certain scholars focus their studies on European identity processes, whereas Tilly and Hobsbawm rarely explicitly write about European identity. An analysis of the ideas of other scholars would likely result in a more direct understanding of the underlying mechanisms of European identity. However, in order to sufficiently test the method, it also has to be applied to sources in which an author's ideas and perspectives on identity processes do not relate to European identity. Through analysing new perspectives on similar forms of identity processes, these can in turn be reinterpreted to improve the understanding of a European identity.

The sources analysed are a selection of texts and quotations from Charles Tilly and Eric Hobsbawm, which have been derived from their academic publications as displayed in the two tables on the next page. The years of publication of the six selected works of Tilly range from 1998 to 2008 and the seven by Hobsbawm range from 1962 to 2013. It is evident that the span of Tilly is much shorter compared to Hobsbawm's. This is explained through that the sources are selected through inductive reasoning i.e. the titles of books or papers regarded to be the most probable to include topics that relate to identity processes were chosen.

It goes without saying that including more sources would have resulted in a more holistic selection and thus a more reliable test of the method. Although inductive reasoning yields a fruitful selection of relevant sources, it does not mean that more relevant material could not have been found. Especially when considering that some topics might cover certain aspects of identity processes without explicitly mentioning them, instead relating them indirectly. This being said, every research has a limited amount of time available. Moreover, the authors' publications run into the hundreds and selecting the relevant texts from books and papers inevitably consumes a great deal of time. It would literally take years to conduct a fully holistic research which has sufficient analytical depth. Despite the sources not being

exhaustive, they do lend themselves adequately for the analysis, as enough material was collected to locate various forms of identity processes that sufficiently differ from each other. The selected quotations vary from one sentence to larger parts of texts. Whereas one sentence can sometimes get across the notion sufficiently, at other times longer texts are required to understand the ideas.

Literature overview: Charles Tilly	
Year of publication	Title
1998	Social movements and (all sorts of) other political interactions - local, national, and international - including identities ³⁹
1990	Coercion, Capital and European States AD 990-1992 ⁴⁰
2003	Political identities in Changing Politics ⁴¹
2005	Identities Boundaries & Social Ties ⁴²
2007	Contentious Politics ⁴³
2008	Contentious Performances ⁴⁴

Literature overview: Eric Hobsbawm	
Year of publication	Title
1962	The Age of Revolution, Europe 1789-1848 ⁴⁵
1975	The Age of Capital 1848-1875 ⁴⁶
1983	The Invention of Tradition ⁴⁷
1990	Nations and Nationalism since 1780 ⁴⁸
1997	On History ⁴⁹
2007	Globalisation, Democracy and Terrorism ⁵⁰
2013	Fractured Times. Culture and Society in the Twentieth Century ⁵¹

³⁹ Charles Tilly, "Social Movements and (All Sorts of) Other Political Interactions - Local, National, and International - Including Identities," *Theory and Society* 27(1998).

⁴⁰ *Coercion, Capital and European States, Ad 990-1992*, ed. Charles Tilly, Studies in Social Discontinuity (Cambridge MA & Oxford UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1990).

⁴¹ "Political Identities in Changing Politics," *Social Research* 70, no. 2 (2003).

⁴² *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties* (United States: Paradigm Publishers, 2005).

⁴³ Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics* (United States: Paradigm Publishers, 2007).

⁴⁴ Charles Tilly, *Contentious Performances*, Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics (Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008, 2008).

⁴⁵ Eric John Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution Europe 1789 - 1848*, History of Civilization (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962).

⁴⁶ *The Age of Capital 1848 - 1875*, The History of Civilization (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975).

⁴⁷ *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric John Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger, The Invention of Tradition (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁴⁸ *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth and Reality* (Great Britain: RedwoodPress Ltd, 1990).

⁴⁹ *On History*(United States: The New Press, New York, 1997).

⁵⁰ *Globalisation, Democracy and Terrorism* (Great Britain: Little, Brown, 2007).

⁵¹ *Fractured Times - Culture and Society in the Twentieth Century* (Great Britain: Little, Brown, 2013).

3.2. Three themes that divide identity processes

The analysis divides the concept of identity into three themes. These are used to categorise the ideas and perspectives of Charles Tilly and Eric Hobsbawm, which in turn can cover other subcategories. After the categorisation, it is possible to analyse where content is similar and where it is different.

The analysis will be structured according to the following themes:

1. Intellectual foundation: the intention and epistemological standpoints of the authors
2. Identity formation: the bottom-up process of identity
3. Identity construction: the top-down process of identity

The first theme, intellectual foundation, stands apart from the others as it solely deals with the intellectual background of the authors in connection with identity processes. This theme includes the school of thought which the authors represent. This does naturally not mean that all their academic contributions are to be allocated under one school of thought as self-evidently no academician sticks completely to one way of thinking. However, it does to a certain degree explain their intention i.e. what the authors set out to write about as it is the line of thinking they are most versed in. Epistemological standpoints included in this theme relate to perspectives on identity processes as whole, and thus not e.g. nationalism narrowly defined. These standpoints can therefore not be divided into the second or third theme as it is not possible to discern the particular direction the identity process moves in, such as top-down or bottom-up. This theme also includes quotations that refer to particular points of view towards an academic discipline. The second and third themes categorise the process of identity in two different directions. They do so using different classifications of social constructions such as government compared to civilian, or national compared to supranational.

The second theme, identity formation, categorises the process of identity from the bottom-up. The word formation in this case was chosen because it has a more natural tone to the arranging of collective identities. Here, topics such as the mass-participation of the people, through for instance democratisation or during revolutions, will be included. The emphasis is on identity processes that have manifested themselves at the lower end of society and aim to form identities from the bottom-up.

The third theme, identity construction, will sort identity processes that are perceived as top-down. The word construction is chosen as it has an artificial tone to it and entails a small group of elites adjusting or maintaining people's perception of themselves and the other. For example, nation building by evoking feelings of nationalism or by creating a flag that is raised during particular events, a national anthem, national art etc. Thus, through the fabrication of national habits, a country is not only able to develop a togetherness but can also distinguish itself from other countries.

Although the two themes are a necessary dichotomy to ascertain the difference between various forms of identity processes, it has to be stressed that they are more intertwined with one another in practice. For instance, a revolution does not necessarily have to find its origins from the lower end of society, as elites have most probably had their impact on it. Still, if an elite prompted a revolution, it essentially means that the present hierarchy was not the desired one, meaning that the elite held less power than the entity to be overthrown.

Nevertheless, the line of reasoning required in order to divide the quotations derived from Hobsbawm and Tilly's work is not deductive. One could easily argue to classify some of the identity processes as top-down or bottom-up. However, the reasoning used here allows the analysis to go into depth about the concepts that relate to identity processes. It is therefore not relevant whether the argumentation is correct or not, as it is the hermeneutic consistency that leads to a coherent interpretation of the texts.

4. Results

The results are presented in tables with the internal analysis located underneath. They are derived from the quotations of the two authors, and categorised along three themes: Intellectual foundation, identity formation and identity construction. Within these categories the quotations are further divided into subcategories which are structured chronologically on a source to source basis. The relevant sources presented in the subcategory explain the standpoints of Hobsbawm and Tilly. Instead of constantly interrupting the reader with a tedious grind of referencing with footnotes, it is assumed less disturbing to add the respective page number directly into the text.

It should be stressed that this chapter only compares the work of Tilly and Hobsbawm without relating it to European identity, as this will be done in the analysis in the next chapter. The presentation of results is confined to the boundaries of the literary works themselves. Also, Hobsbawm's writing follows the UK's spelling, whereas Tilly follows American spelling. The quotations presented in the tables are to be read first after which a description follows i.e. a comparison between the positions of Hobsbawm and Tilly's ideas.

4.1. Intellectual foundation

The first theme, intellectual foundation covers the intention of the authors and their epistemological standpoints.

4.1.1. The Intention of the Author

In this table, the intentions of the authors are presented through stated goals. Details about, for example, the expected target reader are found here.

EH 1962 p. XV Its ideal reader is that theoretical construct, the intelligent and educated citizen, who is not merely curious about the past, but wishes to understand how and why the world has become to be what it is today and whither it is going.

EH 1975 p. XIV For its object [this volume] is not so much to summarise the known facts, which implies guiding readers to more detailed treatments of the various topics, but rather to draw them together into a general historical synthesis, to 'make sense of' the third quarter of the nineteenth century, and to trace the roots of the present back to that period, in so far as it is reasonable to do so.
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EH 1997 p. 7 Myth and invention are essential to the politics of identity by which groups of people today, defining themselves by ethnicity, religion or the past or present borders of states, try to find some certainty in an uncertain and shaking world by saying 'We are different from and better than the other'. [...] p.8 It is very important for historians to remember their responsibility, which is above all, to stand aside from the passions of identity politics - even if we feel them also. After all, we are human beings too.

EH 1997 p. 270 Whether they like it or not, professional historians produce the raw material for the non-professionals' use or misuse

CT 2007 p. xiii We hope that students of social movements will read this book together with their studies of their favourite social movements.

The two authors differ in the goals they set out for themselves. Charles Tilly aims to illuminate methodological issues for students. However, implicitly he takes on the role of a pioneer, as he seeks to 'venture' into various conceptions of identity processes by answering questions with other questions. What is more, he specifically seeks to illuminate various issues and problems for students. Therefore, the addressed audience explains the style of Tilly, as his description of, for instance, causal boundary mechanisms (which be described in the next subcategory), are concisely written. This explains why Tilly's quotations presented in the results are much shorter compared with those of Hobsbawm.

Eric Hobsbawm's goals develop over time. His role as historian is more present in his earlier work, in which he draws together events of a time period into distinctive categories, such as nationalism and revolutions. However, in his later work he expresses his views on the methodological aspects of history and points out the significant role historians have in society along with the responsibility it brings. Overall, a strong mistrust of nations is noticeable in Hobsbawm, as he argues that people do not necessarily require a national identity, nor nationhood, and that instead a sense of togetherness would be sufficient. It should also be noted that although Hobsbawm was known as a supporter of Marxism, it does not significantly influence his writings on identity processes. References to, for instance, *The Communist Manifesto* appear occasionally in introductions and only in scattered places in later chapters.

4.1.2. Epistemological standpoints

The texts here cited are of a different nature than the quotations in the other two themes as here the views are on how identity processes are to be studied. Therefore, this table covers the epistemological standpoints of the authors.

EH 1990. p. 8 Nevertheless, to insist on consciousness or choice as the criterion of nationhood is insensibly to subordinate the complex and multiple ways in which human beings define and redefine themselves as members of groups, to a single option: the choice of belonging to a 'nation' or 'nationality' [...] Nor indeed is it possible to reduce even 'nationality' to a single dimension, whether political, cultural or otherwise. [...] p. 8 Neither objective nor subjective definitions are thus satisfactory, and both misleading. In any case, agnosticism is the best initial posture of a student in this field, and so this books assume no *a priori* definition of what constitutes a nation. p.9 Nevertheless, in approaching 'the national question' 'it is more profitable to begin with the concept of "the nation" (i.e. with "nationalism") than with the reality it represents'. For 'the "nation" as conceived by nationalism, can be recognized prospectively; the real "nation" can only be recognized *a posteriori*.

EH 1990 p.9 I do not regard the 'nation' as a primary nor as an unchanging social entity. It belongs exclusively to particular, and historically recent, period. It is a social entity only insofar as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state, p. 10 the 'nation-state', and it is pointless to discuss nation and nationality except insofar as both relate to it. [...] Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way around.

EH 1990 p. 79 [question about patriotism] One formulates such fairly absurd questions not to elicit answers or stimulate research themes, but to indicate the denseness of the fog which surrounds questions about the national consciousness of common men and women, especially in the period before modern nationalism unquestionably became a mass political force. For most nations even in western Europe this did not happen until rather late in the nineteenth century.

EH 1997 p. 277 Historians, however microcosmic, must be for universalism, not out of loyalty to an ideal to which many of us remain attached but because it is the necessary condition for understanding the history of humanity, including that of any special section of humanity. For all human collectivities necessarily are and have been part of a larger and more complex world.

CT 1998 p. 45 [...] social-movement analysts have made a net shift toward an interactional way of thinking we might summarize in the following concepts: [...]Identity: an actor's experience of a category, tie, role, network, group, or organization, coupled with a public representation of that experience; the public representation often takes the form of a shared story, a narrative. p. 457 The shift in orientation leads to an understanding of social movements as strongly-patterned transactions within interlocking networks. The networks always include actors, ties, and identities, often include roles, groups, and organizations, but never sum up to a single solitary group.

CT, 2003 p. 608 Rogers Brubaker and Fred Cooper, two students of social processes whose contributions deserve great respect, have recently proposed that we expunge "identity" from our analytic lexicon because the term has acquired too many meanings and too few specifications [...] [14]. I propose instead that we get identity right. We can escape the search for inner selves about which Brubaker and Cooper rightly complain by recognizing that people regularly negotiate and deploy socially based answers to the questions "Who are you?" "Who are we?" and "Who are they?" Those are identity questions. Their answers are identities—always assertions, always contingent, always negotiable, but also always consequential. Identities are social arrangements. Identities belong to that potent set of social arrangements in which people construct shared stories about who they are, how they are

connected, and what has happened to them. [...] Stories and identities intersect when people start deploying shared answers to the questions "Who are you?" "Who are we?" and "Who are they?"

CT, 2003 p. 611 *Generation*: What causes the processes involved to begin and then to change? How did Europeans, for example, put together the stories, relations, and boundaries that now distinguish the European Union and its members from their p. 612 continental neighbors and make crossing boundaries so desirable to outsiders? *Constraint*: Once they are in operation, how do the processes affect both small-scale and large-scale social behavior? For example, at what point and how should we expect participants in European social movements routinely to make claims on behalf of categories that span longestablished national boundaries?

CT, 2005 p. 8 Together boundary, cross-boundary relations, within-boundary relations, and stories make up collective identities. Changes in any of the elements, however they occur, affect all the others. The existence of collective identities, furthermore, shapes individual experiences, for example, by providing template for us Croats and distinguishing us from those Serbs.

CT, 2005 p.9 We can, like most analysts, treat identities as characteristics of individual consciousness: how you think of yourself. Or, with relational analysts, we can observe that:

- identities reside in relations with others: you-me and us-them
- strictly speaking, every individual, group, or social site has as many identities as it has relations with other individual, groups, or social ties
- the same individuals, groups, and social sites shift from identity to identity as the shift relations
- Every political process includes assertions of identity, including definitions of relevant us-them boundaries

The epistemological standpoints differ starkly between Hobsbawm and Tilly. The ways in which they approach the mechanisms of identity processes is relevant, because different perspectives can be derived from them. Whereas the first seeks to highlight the ambiguity surrounding nations, the latter is actively pursuing a solution to make the concept of identity processes more manageable.

Hobsbawm relates more specifically to nations and nationalism by pointing out that it is unwise to reduce the complex mechanisms of how people define themselves as group members. Identity processes, e.g. building nations through nationalism, should therefore be approached with skepticism. He urges readers to ponder first about the concept of nation before they let their minds wander towards the contemporary form of nations. He argues for this through the observation that nations are a recent historical phenomenon whereas social entities have always existed. This means that Hobsbawm stresses that the contemporary forms nations take should not be taken for granted as they are bound to change. For him, belonging,

and the identity processes associated with it, is historically fluid and the nation state need not be the ultimate manifestation of that belonging.

Tilly on the other hand suggests that people's experience of social mechanisms should be used to divide identity processes into more manageable components. The issue of the equivocal nature of identity, raised by Brubaker and Cooper, is solved by looking at people's socially based answers to questions of belonging. Furthermore, he uses the concepts of generation and constraint in an attempt to take away the vagueness. However, he does so by raising more questions but refrains from outlining a workable approach to operationalise identity processes, because he only suggests ways to treat identity, not how to measure it. For example, in the final row of the table he mentions only the basic mechanisms of 'us-them' boundaries, without suggesting means to interpret these processes. Regardless, he does provide a basic sociological explanation of the mechanisms of identity by describing the process of 'us' and 'them'.

4.2. Identity formation

The second theme of identity formation covers revolutions and movements.

4.2.1. Revolutions

This table contains information about revolutions and the incentives to start one.

EH 1962 p. 124 In the rest of revolutionary Europe, where the discontented lesser country gentry and the intellectuals formed the core of radicalism. the problem was far more serious. For the masses were the peasantry; often a peasantry belonging to a different nation from its landlords and townsmen - Slavonic and Rumanian in Hungary, Ukrainian in Eastern Poland, Slavonic in parts of Austria. And the poorest and least efficient landlords, who could least afford to abandon the status which gave them their income, were often the most radically nationalist.

EH 1962 p.125. Politically, once the peasantry reached the threshold of activity, nothing was more certain than that something would have to be done to meet its demands, at any rate in countries where revolutionaries fought against foreign rule. For if they did not attract the peasants to their side, the reactionaries would; legitimate kings, emperors and churches in any case held the tactical advantage that traditionalist peasants trusted them more than lords and were still in principle prepared to expect justice from them, And monarchs were perfectly prepared to play peasants against gentry, if necessary...

EH 1962 p.139 Even the rebellions against the Turks in the Balkans, especially among the rarely subdued mountain peoples of the south and west, should not be too readily interpreted in modern nationalist terms [...] p.140 Nothing was more natural to revolt, where necessary or desirable, against a local administration or a weakening Turkish Empire. However, little

but a common economic backwardness united what we now know as the Yugoslavs, even those in the Turkish Empire, and the very concept of Yugoslavia was the product of intellectuals, in Austro-Hungary rather than of those who actually fought for liberty.

No relevant information from Tilly's work on identity processes vis-à-vis revolutions was found. This does evidently not mean that it does not exist. Nevertheless, it falls outside the scope of this thesis.

Hobsbawm however, sees poverty as a motivator for the willingness to revolt of the middle and lower classes of society. Moreover, he stresses that not every revolt is imbued with feelings of nationalism. Material reasons, in the context of common economic backwardness, are sometimes more relevant incentives to unite and revolt, something he deems as natural. Although he does not explicitly explain why it is natural, implicitly, however, it is probably best explain this in terms of realism, as people and states tend to pursue self-interest. He also describes the growing importance of peasants due to their change of loyalty from the traditional powers towards the revolutionaries.

4.2.2. Movements

This table contains descriptions of movements that (most often) manifested themselves in the lower levels of society.

EH 1990 p.10 For the reason they are, in my view, dual phenomena, constructed essentially from above, but which cannot be understood unless also analysed from below, that is in term of the assumptions, hope, needs. longing and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist. If I have a major criticism of Gellner's work it is that his preferred p.11 perspective of modernization from above, makes it difficult to pay adequate attention from the view from below.

EH 1990 p.11 That view from below, i.e. the nation as seen not by governments and the spokesmen and activists of nationalist (or non-nationalist) movements, but by ordinary persons who are objects of their action and propaganda, is exceedingly difficult to discover. Fortunately social historians have learned how to investigate the history of ideas, opinions and feelings at the sub-literary level, so that we are today less likely to confuse, as historians once habitually did, editorials in select newspapers with public opinion.

EH 1990 p.11 [arguments for bottom-up] First, official ideologies of states and movements are not guides to what it is in the minds of even the most loyal citizens or supporters. Second, and more specifically, we cannot assume that for most people national identification - when it exists - excludes or is always or ever superior to the, remainder of the set of identifications, which constitute the social being. In fact, it is always combined with identifications of another kind, even when it is felt superior to them. Thirdly, national identification and what it is believed to imply can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short periods. In

my judgement, this is the area of national studies in which thinking and research are most urgently needed today.

EH 1997 p. 202 [...] activities of the poor did not normally threaten the social order. furthermore, mostly they were fixed at a level below that on which the top people's politics operated - for instance, locally and not nationally.

EH 1997 p. 204 Now grassroots history differs from such subjects, and indeed from most of traditional history, inasmuch as there simply is not a ready-made body of material about it.

CT 2005 p. 133 This chapter provides a preliminary inventory of robust mechanisms a) precipitating boundary change, b) consisting of boundary change, and thus producing consequences of boundary change. The inventory remains quite preliminary; despite extensive analysis of identities, nationalism, cross-boundary conversation, and relate phenomena, no one has systematically catalogued, much less verified, the crucial mechanisms of boundary change.

CT 2005 p. 133 We might therefore define a social boundary minimally as: any contiguous zone of contrasting density, rapid transition, or separation between internally connected clusters of population and/or activity.

CT 2005 p. 135 We must distinguish carefully between two clusters of mechanisms: 1) those that precipitate boundary change, and 2) those that constitute boundary and produce its direct effects. [...] Mechanisms *precipitating* boundary change singly or in combination include encounter, imposition, borrowing, conversation, and incentive shift. Mechanisms *constituting* boundary change include inscription, erasure, activation, deactivation, site transfer, and relocation.

CT 2005 p.136 [The] exact line we draw between precipitating and constitutive mechanisms is of course arbitrary. But the distinction clarifies what we must explain, and how. Future research will have to examine the interplay of precipitating and constitutive mechanisms with care. I make no claim for the exhaustiveness of the two mechanism list, but I do claim that varying sets of these mechanisms figure prominently in most or all social boundary changes. Obviously, any such claim calls for careful criticism and empirical verification. This chapter merely sets an agenda for further research and theory.

CT 2007 p. 111[A social movement is] sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organisations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities. p. 114 The distinction between a social movement base and a social movement campaign. [First,] a social movement base consists of movements organizations, networks, participants, and the accumulated cultural artifacts, memories, and traditions that contribute to social movements campaigns. [Second,] a social movement campaign is a sustained challenge to power holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power holder by the means of concerted public displays of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment, using such means as public meetings, demonstrations, petitions, and press releases.

CT 2007 p. 120 The most dramatic element in the self-representation of the Solidarity strikers was their identification with the 'martyred workers' of previous suppressed strikes, The very symbol of Solidarity - a silhouetted group of people supporting one another carrying a banner - reflected workers' unitary commitment and their ties to the general population.

CT 2007 p. 124 Social movement bases develop both within and outside institutions. Movement campaigns act within, against, and outside institutions. They can contribute to the rise of new institutions. What is more, different institutions harbor, oppose or stimulate the formation of social movement campaigns.

CT 2007 p. 126 When and under what conditions do social movement campaigns arise out of movement bases, what kinds of institutional frameworks offer them opportunities, and which ones suppress their emergence?

CT 2008 p. 118 Social movements did not yet exist anywhere in the world during the 1760s, but were then in the making. p.119 Every social movement depends on a base of connections among potential participants in the collective claims forwarded by the movement. Those connections include interpersonal networks, shared previous experiences, and formal organizations.

CT 2008 p. 120 We are seeking explanations of change and variation in contentious performances, using variable social bases of contention as part of our explanations. In this chapter, we seek an explanation of the social movement's emergence. Changes in the base help explain the emergence of social movements. The question for this chapter is how the complex of contentious performances we call social movements came into being.

Hobsbawm calls for more research into bottom-up identity processes, but at the same time notes that this might be difficult to achieve. However, he expresses confidence in the ability of future interdisciplinary historians and stresses not to underestimate the importance of what constitutes a social being as opposed to putting all the emphasis on national identification processes. This means that states' and movements' ideologies are not to be seen as what goes on in the mind of the people. Consequently, this would mean that interdisciplinary research should pursue a mix of social psychology, sociology and 'traditional' history.

Tilly, along with Hobsbawm, also notes that contemporary knowledge of social boundary mechanisms is rather limited and he therefore advocates more research into bottom-up identity processes. He suggests that research should focus on mechanisms that precipitate and constitute boundary change.

Tilly seeks to explain how collectives make claims. He explains the difference between the base and campaign. The first covers the social ties between members of a movement, which entails the binding factors that create solidarity. The latter is the expression of a claim made by a movement in terms of a campaign. The process of making a claim takes place after identity processes have formed the base of a movement. Action commences only after a base has been established. Additionally, Tilly claims that a movement's base tells us when a social movement is possible, a movement's campaign is claim making in motion. Within the base is solidarity, the binding factor of groups, which is stimulated through martyrs and visualised with banners etc. In order to gain insight into how identities manifest themselves, an

examination of the base is required, not the campaign. As the base entails how a group represents itself, whereas a campaign seeks to influence the government or other institutions.

4.3. Identity construction

The third theme, identity construction, covers language, 'othering', multiple identities and the state's perspective.

4.3.1. Language

This table contains thoughts on how language can both be a requirement of and an instrument for influencing identity processes.

EH 1962 p. 135-136 [after explaining the increase of the total number of the 'educated'] Small élites can operate in foreign languages; once the cadre of the educated becomes large enough, the national language imposes itself [...] Hence the moment when textbooks or newspapers in the national language are first written, or when that language is first used for some official purpose, measures a crucial step in the national evolution. The 1830s saw this step taken over large areas of Europe.

EH 1962 p. 136-137 Illiteracy is no bar to political consciousness, but there is, in fact, no evidence that nationalism of the modern kind was a powerful mass force. [...] To equate nationalism with the literate class is not to claim that the mass of, say, Russians, did not consider themselves 'Russian' with confronted with somebody or something that was not. However for the masses in general the test of nationality was still religion: the Spaniard was defined by being Catholic, the Russian by being Orthodox.

EH 2013 p. 147 However, a sense of collective identity in itself has no special cultural dimension, though it may use or construct some cultural signs as makers of difference, though certainly not language, which was so often identified with the basic values of a people by the intellectuals who set about constructing it for this purpose. And indeed it was not and could not be rooted in the lives of peoples who could not have understood any national language until taught it by a state education system of conscripted into a state's military forces.

EH 2013 p. 149 Education formed and still forms the major link between the two [national language and culture to the state].

EH 2013 p. 150 It is hard to deny that education (that is, in modern times state-wide public education) functions as an engine of national socialisation and identity formation.

Hobsbawm notes that language was previously one of the core components of national identity, as intellectuals sought to construct it for their own purposes. The language of the elite was different from that of the common people, who communicated in dialects. Nevertheless, the upper class imposed their language on the common people, and this went on to become the national language.

Education became the distributor of one uniform language and additionally instilled national norms and values. When education opened up to people from the lower classes it gradually became the national language. However, as foreign languages increasingly became more available to people, language gradually lost its importance as an exclusive value for groups' identities. This is because someone is able to learn foreign languages more easily in the present day, as the facilities to do so have become more accessible. Nevertheless, language is still regarded as an instrumental tool for socialisation and hence for the formation of identities.

4.3.2. Othering

In this table the identity processes that relate to the external boundaries of a group e.g. the nation are described.

EH 1975 p.85 The 'historic' criterion of nationhood thus implied the decisive importance of the institutions and culture of the ruling classes or educated elites, supposing them to be identified, or not too obviously incompatible with, those of the common people. But the *ideological* argument for nationalism was very different and much more radical, democratic and revolutionary. It rested on the fact that, whatever history or culture said, The Irish were Irish and not English [...], and no people ought to be exploited and ruled by another. p. 86 'Unification' as much as 'independence' was its principle, and where no historic arguments for unification existed - as they did for example in Italy and Germany - it was, where feasible, formulated as a programme.

EH 1983 p.274 The major difficulty in the way of achieving these objects was firstly the history of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation was difficult to fit into any nineteenth-century nationalist mould, and secondly that its history did not suggest that the denouement of 1871 was historically inevitable, or even likely. It could be linked to a modern nationalism only by two devices: by the concept of a secular national enemy against whom the German people had defined their identity and struggled to achieve unity as a state; and by the concept of conquest or cultural, political and military supremacy, by means of which the German nation, scattered across large parts of other states, mainly in central and eastern Europe, could claim the right to be united in a single Greater German state. The second concept was not one which the Bismarckian empire, specifically 'Little German', cared to stress, though Prussia itself, as its name implied, had been historically constructed largely by expansion into Slavonic and Baltic areas outside the range of the Holy Roman Empire.

CT 1990 p. 116 Externally they began to control movement across frontiers, to use tariffs and customs as instruments of economic policy, and to treat foreigners as distinctive kinds of people deserving limited rights and close surveillance.

Hobsbawm explains nationalism as a tool for the elite to identify themselves with the lower classes of society whilst they at the same time remain in power. Ideologically, nationhood is

the most prominent type of identity as people define themselves rather by referring to their nation than to their culture or history.

The example of the transformation of the Holy Roman Empire into the German nation, lends itself well to displaying the importance of the creation of external enemies from which the nation state can differentiate and then define itself. This is even more apparent in the absence of internal binding values. This notion goes hand in hand with Tilly's statement of the treatment of foreigners as different people who do not deserve the same rights as the native population. Tilly highlights the consequences of 'othering' through the usage of the word 'deserve' in order to stress that foreigners are lesser in the eyes of the native population of a country. Tilly thus implicitly describes that othering may go in tandem with condescending feelings towards others.

4.3.3. Multiple identities

This table contains thoughts on the working of multiple identities.

EH 1975 p. 93 The 'internationalism' of the left in practise meant solidarity and support for those who fought the same cause in other nations and, in the case of political refugees p. 94 the readiness to participate in the struggle wherever they found themselves. But [...] this was not incompatible with passionately nationalist beliefs.

EH 1975 p.97 The politics of the Austrian half of the Habsburg Empire were complex enough for the government to have to think multi-nationally. But what if other governments used schooling, the most powerful weapon for forming the nations upon which the purported to rest, to magyarize, germanize, or italianize systematically? The paradox of nationalism was the in forming its own nation it automatically created the counter-nationalism of those whom it now forced into the choice between assimilation and inferiority.

EH 1983 p. 279 paradoxically the most democratic and, both territorially and constitutionally, one of the most clearly defined nations faced a problem of national identity in some respects similar to imperial Germany. The basic political problem of the U.S.A., once secession had been eliminated, was how to assimilate a heterogeneous mass - towards the end of our period, an almost unmanageable influx - of people who were American not by birth but by immigration. American had to be made. The inventions of traditions of the U.S.A. in the period were primarily designed to achieve this object. On the one hand the immigrants were encouraged to accept rituals commemorating the history of the nation [...] p.280 On the other hand, the educational system was transformed into a machine for political socialization by such devices as the worship of the American flag [...] The concept of Americanism as an act of choice.

EH 1983 p. 280 [USA...] the 'nation' absorbed the collective rituals of immigrants into the fabric of American life.

EH 1997 p.273 Reading the desires of the present into the past or, in, in technical term, anachronism, is the most common and convenient technique of creating a history satisfying the need of what Benedict Anderson has called 'imagined communities' or collectives, which are by no means only national ones.

Multiple identities are possible according to Hobsbawm, however, the national identity will remain decisive in determining behaviour. That is to say, when the other identity is not national it may give rise to loyalty issues, such as in the Habsburg Empire. He uses America as an example to explain the concept of choice, which means that citizens are encouraged to follow invented traditions, regardless of whether these are anachronistic or not.-At the same time, the US absorbed other sub-identities into one national identity as citizens' traditions were adopted and merged.

4.3.4. Perspective from the state

This table contains thoughts on the state's perspective on identity processes.

EH 1975 p.94. Powerful national feelings [...] had actually to be constructed. Hence the crucial importance of the institutions which could *impose* national uniformity, which meant primarily that state, especially state education, state employment and (in countries adopting conscription) military service. p.95. [...] In the primary schools, whose purpose was by general consent not only to teach the rudiments of literacy and arithmetic but, perhaps even more, to impose the values of society (morals, patriotism, etc.), on their inmates.

EH 1983 P.1 [Invented traditions] includes both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and debatable period - a matter of few years perhaps - and establishing themselves with great rapidity. [Furthermore,] p.1 'invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and rituals or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.

EH 1983 p. 2-3 [Custom is not the same as tradition]: 1. Custom is what judges do: tradition is the wig robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualized practises surrounding their substantial action. 2. Networks of convention and routine are not invented traditions since their functions, and therefore justification, are technical rather than ideological.

EH 1983 p.9. These introductory notes may be concluded with some general observations about the invented traditions of the period since the industrial revolution. They seem to belong to three overlapping types: a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour. While traditions of types b) and c) were certainly devised (as in those symbolizing submission to authority in British India), it may be tentatively suggested that type a) was prevalent, the other

functions being regarded as implicit in or flowing from a sense of identification with a 'community' and/or the institutions representing, expressing or symbolizing it such as a 'nation'.

EH 1997 p. 270 The standard example of an identity culture which anchors itself to the past by means of myths dressed up as history is nationalism. Of this Ernest Renan observed more than a century ago, 'Forgetting, even getting history wrong, is an essential factor in the formation of a nation, which is why the progress of historical studies is often a danger to nationality.' For nations are historically novel entities pretending to have existed for a very long time. Inevitably the nationalist version of their history consists of anachronism, omission, decontextualization and in extreme cases, lies. To a lesser extent this is true of all forms of identity history, old or new.

EH 2007 p.89 [...] xenophobia, is not new, but its scale and implications were underestimated in my own work on modern nationalism. [...] the new globalisation of movement has reinforced the long tradition of popular economic hostility to mass immigration and resistance to perceived threats to group cultural identity. p.93 [...] xenophobia also reflects the crisis of a culturally defined national identity in nation-states under conditions of universal education and access to the media, and at a time when the politics of exclusive collective identity, whether ethnic, religious or of gender and lifestyle, seek a factious regeneration of *Gemeinschaft* in an increasingly remote *Gesellschaft*. The process which turned peasants into Frenchmen and immigrants into American citizens is reversing, and it crumbles larger nation-state identities into self-regarding group identities, or even into the a-national private identities of *ubi bene ibi patria*. And this in turn reflect, not least, the diminishing legitimacy of the nation-state for those who inhabit its territory and the diminishing demands it can make on its citizens.

CT 1990 p. 115 [In the 1850s] Direct rule and mass national politics grew together, and reinforced each other mightily. As direct rule expanded throughout Europe, the welfare, culture, and daily routines of ordinary Europeans came to depend as never before on which state they happened to reside in. Internally, states undertook to impose national languages, national educational systems, national military service and [more].

CT 1990 p. 116 To that degree, life homogenized within states and heterogenized among states. National symbols crystallized, national languages standardized, national labor markets organized. War itself became a homogenizing experience, as soldiers and sailors represented the entire nation and the civilian population endured common privations and responsibilities.

CT 1990 p. 116 "Nationalism in the first sense ran throughout European history, whenever and wherever rulers of a given religion or language conquered people of another religion or language. Nationalism in the sense of heightened commitment to a state's international strategy appeared rarely before the nineteenth century, and then chiefly in the heat of war. The homogenization of the population and the imposition of direct rule both encouraged this second variety of nationalism.

Hobsbawm sees military service and education as major tools of imposing values on society. Another way to do so is through invented traditions, which are rules and rituals that seek to instill values and norms of behaviour. He divides the invented traditions in three sections. The advantage of this division is that it leads to a more narrow approach to identify the e.g. legitimising effects invented traditions have. Furthermore, he stresses the difference between

an identity culture and nationalism. The first has been manipulated through the selective interpretation of history, since forgetting certain aspects of culture has helped to shape the nation through nationalism. Therefore, identity culture is neither the equivalent to nationalism nor national identity.

Hobsbawm admits that in his more recent work that he underestimated the importance of xenophobia. He describes it as a phenomenon that has appeared post-identity construction, as he observes how identities previously constructed now crumble apart. The reason for this, according to Hobsbawm, is that national identities have been culturally defined due to universal education and global access to the media. This means that states used to be able to control their people to a greater extent than they can now, which can be seen as a direct consequence of the technological developments which have made the world more accessible.

Tilly also argues for the same importance of military service, albeit from the citizens' perspective. He expands on this with the idea that war is a homogenising experience and, along with symbols and language, at the same time it heterogenises states from other states. Furthermore, Tilly discerns two forms of nationalism. The first is based on old values such as religion, whereas the second is based on the international standing of a state. Therefore, this means that other factors than a nation per se are used to determine the identity of people living in a specific territory. Tilly explains the success of the second type of nationalism due to a combination of a homogenising population and the change towards direct rule of governing.

5. Analysis

This chapter contains the external analysis, which will relate the results to European identity.

5.1. Hobsbawm and Tilly about European identity

The results sought to interpret the ideas and perspectives concerning identity processes, and divided these into three themes. The external analysis, however, reinterprets the outcomes within the three themes and relates them to the 'external' concept of European identity. The external analysis will interpret the texts through inductive reasoning and illustration. By placing Hobsbawm's or Tilly's ideas or perspectives in a specific context, it is expected that this will lead to a deeper and hopefully easier understanding of European identity. European Union and member state perspectives will be used in order to interpret the identity processes along a 'natural' line of reasoning. The EU represents the supranational level whereas the member states will represent the national level.

In the introduction it was expected that the insights gained from Hobsbawm and Tilly into identity processes would be found through differentiating the national from the supranational European identity. However, other forms of identity processes that operate under the national level have been encountered in the results, such as the peasantry and social movements and their desire to gain influence on the higher echelons of society. These particular types of identity processes have been included in the external analysis under the second theme, identity formation. The third theme, identity construction, does meet the initial expectation, as it only covers identity processes confined to the national level, for example, in the case of nationalism seen from the state's perspective. This example evidently concerns itself with collectives under the national level as it seeks to achieve homogenisation. However, it differs from the second theme's identity processes, as the features of the groups under the national level are irrelevant. What does matter, however, are the identity processes that cause the construction of a national identity.

The external analysis follows the same order as the results. Short parts of quotations which are perceived to best capture the author's line of thought are presented here. Again, this is done in order to prevent the reader from going back to the results to see how the external analysis relates to the selected work from Hobsbawm and Tilly.

5.2. Intellectual foundation regarding European identity

When relating the results to European identity, it is important to keep the intentions of Hobsbawm and Tilly in mind. Both authors are set, because of their experiences, in how they explain various forms of identity processes and this influences the way they write. It is crucial to keep in mind the social constructivist claim that knowledge derived from Hobsbawm and Tilly does not explain European identity as a '*ding an sich*'⁵² i.e. it is not possible to define a European identity through pure reasoning as it is susceptible to biases.

The epistemological standpoint of Hobsbawm towards nations suits the process of the creation of a European identity particularly well: "I do not regard the 'nation' as a primary nor as an unchanging social entity. It belongs exclusively to a particular, and historically recent, period." Nations are in their present form, for Hobsbawm, relatively new phenomena in history. The EU, in its bid to make its citizens more aware of a European identity, should make use of Hobsbawm's observation by implicitly making the citizens aware that the prominence of the national identity has not always been the status quo. If citizens would be more receptive to the idea that their given national identity is not a fixed social entity, then this could consequently open up other identity constructions. For instance, a bilateral construction of both the national and European identity.

Tilly's description of identity processes is very much in line with the theoretical framework posited in this thesis, but is supplemented by lines of thought related to political processes and stories. Tilly states that "every political process includes assertions of identity, including definitions of relevant us-them boundaries". This would mean that every political process conducted by the EU is an assertion of a European identity. An intergovernmentalist would probably argue that the EU's *raison d'être* is cooperation between member states and therefore stress the importance of national identities. Regardless, every political process derives legitimacy from the identity represented by the politicians active in it. This is because a politician is elected if enough citizens vote for him. This means the citizens place their trust in the politician to represent them, which makes the politician's actions legitimate. In turn, institutions that base their decisions on elected politicians derive legitimacy from the democratic process.

⁵² Kant, *Critik Der Reinen Vernunft*.

The EU as an institution is a problematic case with the previous reasoning in mind. This is because the EU is often described as lacking effective democracy, mainly due to the lack of democratic accountability of the executive of the European Commission.⁵³ A collective European identity would serve as a foundation from which further integration may be propelled. In order to make such an endeavour work, the EU will have to create a message that appeals to the public. In order to construct this message, the EU will have to deal with long-standing feelings of nationalism.

If such a message were to be produced, then the question of generation and constraint raised by Tilly might be a good place to start. "Generation: What causes the processes involved to begin and then to change? [...] Constraint: Once they are in operation, how do the processes affect both small-scale and large-scale social behavior?" Tilly provides insight into these questions by stating that "Stories and identities intersect when people start deploying shared answers to the questions "Who are you?" "Who are we?" and "Who are they?"" Therefore, the EU needs to spread a message of a story in which all EU citizens can feel represented. This is easier said than done. Although, Tilly does indeed posit a framework on what demands are to be fulfilled, he refrains from providing any practical suggestion on how to fill the frame. Still, Tilly made a start.

5.3. European identity formation

Hobsbawm's writing on revolutions suggests that revolts do not necessarily have to be sparked by suppressed feelings of nationalism. "Nothing was more natural to revolt, where necessary or desirable, against a local administration or a weakening Turkish Empire. However, little but a common economic backwardness united what we now know as the Yugoslavs." As people and states are, following a realist reasoning, likely to follow their own self-interest, this means that material reasons for revolt are at times more valid than the allure of nationalist sentiment. Although this notion is used to explain revolutions, this idea also applies to European identity.

Contemporary national identities are considered to be more dominant compared to the European identity, i.e. citizens of the member states are more likely to identify themselves

⁵³ B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre, "Governance Approaches," in *European Integration Theory*, ed. Antje Wiener & Thomas Diez (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009 2. ed., 2009), 96-7

with the national rather than the European identity. However, if material incentives were to be deployed in order to appeal to EU-citizens' self-interest, then loyalties could transfer from the national to the supranational European identity. This boils down to the old expression *Ubi bene ibi patria* (where I am at ease, there is my fatherland) which in this case could just as well be regarded by European citizens as the EU. The EU can achieve this by communicating a clear message in which it explains to the citizens how the EU improves their material lives. Interestingly enough, although the identity processes in this theme are classified as bottom-up, they do in this case translate to a top-down process. This is explained by the notion that identity processes are always reciprocal,⁵⁴ meaning that they therefore go up and down and vice versa.

Both Tilly and Hobsbawm suggest that more research should be conducted into what constitutes a 'social being', as explanations of social movements and states do not explain what goes on in the mind of the people, and more empirical data is required to analyse social boundary mechanisms properly. Hobsbawm writes, "Official ideologies of states and movements are not guides to what it is in the minds of even the most loyal citizens or supporters." Meanwhile Tilly states, "[after describing the suggested distinction between two types of social boundary mechanisms] any such claim calls for careful criticism and empirical verification. [...] This chapter merely sets an agenda for further research and theory. [...] no one has systematically catalogued, much less verified, the crucial mechanisms of boundary change." Although this reflects the questions raised by current scholars of identity⁵⁵, these encouragements from Tilly and Hobsbawm do not improve our understanding of a European identity. They however, deliver a strong message to where future studies should be heading if we want to understand the reciprocal nature of identity. As for now, a lack of knowledge of bottom-up identity processes is present. This in turn limits the EU's view on how to accurately address the requirements that need to be fulfilled in order for the European identity to manifest itself in the minds of the citizens of the EU.

What does add to our understanding of the European identity are the insights into movements derived from Tilly's differentiation between a movement's base and its campaign: "a social movement base consists of movements, organizations, networks, participants, and the accumulated cultural artifacts, memories, and traditions that contribute to social movements'

⁵⁴ Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version*.

⁵⁵ Bruter, "Measuring the Immeasurable? - Capturing Citizens' European Identity."

campaigns. [...] A social movement's campaign is a sustained challenge to power holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power holders." Whereas the first covers binding factors of movements through martyrs and banners, the second entails the process of making a claim from the base. This separation is of use when people are to be convinced in believing in institutions based on the supranational level. As EU policies aim to achieve cultural and political integration, they impinge upon certain areas that are affiliated with the national identity. More acknowledgement of a collective European identity could help to support further integration. In order to make such an endeavour work, the EU would have to create a message that appeals to the public. This being said, such a change of strategy needs direction, and this is one of the main problems in the progress of creating a European identity; the end product is not unambiguous. However, by closely examining the bases of various social movements in multiple member states, it might result in newfound shared components of solidarity which in turn can be used as input to construct a European identity.

Both Hobsbawm and Tilly refer to the influence mass politics has had on the development of the European political climate from the 1850s until now. Tilly points out that "Direct rule and mass national politics grew together, and reinforced each other mightily." (This quotation, CT 1990 p. 115, is actually categorised into the third theme, identity construction. However, during the external analysis the shared interest in mass politics of Hobsbawm and Tilly was discovered, as well as how it relates to movements and revolutions.) This quotation coincides with Hobsbawm's remark, "once the peasantry reached the threshold of activity, nothing was more certain than that something would have to be done to meet its demands". These two quotations explain what revolutions and movements have in common and link this to the reciprocal nature of identity processes. States sought to increase their power through ensuring the loyalty of their citizens though evoking feelings of nationalism. However, a side effect was that citizens became more aware of their political significance and therefore started demanding more from their rulers. Thus, although citizens were taking on a new collective identity, this consequently reduced the distance between the rulers and citizens, as the latter took their position on the hierarchical ladder less for granted. Rulers increased their power through nationalism, but at the same time risked revolt if the citizens' demands were not sufficiently met. Citizens became more and more aware of their power in the new society and started to group themselves into movements, opening up possibilities for more subtle approaches to put forward demands.

There are all sorts of different types of movement in present-day Europe. The EU could involve itself more in the claim making process of social movements and should ask itself the question raised by Tilly: "When and under what conditions do social movement campaigns arise out of movement bases, what kinds of institutional frameworks offer them opportunities, and which ones suppress their emergence?" For example, minorities that seek independence, such as the Catalonians and Scots can appeal to the EU instead of in this case Spain and the UK. Understanding how the movements use their base to press their claim can help the EU to link a local identity, which seeks to become national, to that of a European identity, which may result in more acknowledgement of the existence of one.

5.4. European identity construction

Language has, according to Hobsbawm, seen its purpose changed since eighteenth century Europe until now. Language has always been a feature that allows people to communicate with each other but at the same times to exclude others who do not speak it. By the usage of the word 'imposes', Hobsbawm deliberately highlights the artificial nature of national languages, " [...] once the cadre of the educated becomes large enough, the national language imposes itself". The idea in eighteenth century Europe was, and still is, that those educated in the national language will take the educational or military positions in a nation, who in turn will pass it on to students or soldiers. Through the possibility of communicating with one another, the development of a national identity is enhanced through harmonisation.

Language has, in Hobsbawm's view, lost some its importance in present-day Europe compared to the eighteenth century when relating to collective identities. "Collective identity in itself has no special cultural dimension, though it may use or construct some cultural signs as makers of difference, though certainly not language, which was so often identified with the basic values of a people by the intellectuals who set about constructing it for this purpose." As language increasingly became more available to people, it gradually lost its importance as an exclusivity, due to the increase of accessibility of foreign languages to 'common' people.

Still, Hobsbawm points out that "it is hard to deny that education (that is, in modern times state-wide public education) functions as an engine of national socialisation and identity formation'." The EU currently harbours twenty-four official languages, which evidently raises

issues concerning communication. It would seem that the EU acknowledges this problem as it employs a large contingent of translators and requires job applicants to be multilingual. By continuously translating information into the twenty-four national languages, it reduces the exclusiveness of language. Consequently, it internally lowers the 'us-them' boundary mechanisms within the EU.

However, the importance of language in eighteenth century and contemporary Europe should not be overestimated. Hobsbawm notes: "To equate nationalism with the literate class is not to claim that the mass of, say, Russians, did not consider themselves 'Russian' when confronted with somebody or something that was not. However, for the masses in general the test of nationality was still religion: the Spaniard was defined by being Catholic, the Russian by being Orthodox." Some scholars claim, especially after catholic Poland became an EU member state, that religion is making a comeback in Europe. Direct proof of this can be found in the new European constitution, which refers to the Christian heritage.⁵⁶ Although Western and Central Europe have developed their identities by including secularism, it might become more difficult to reach a consensus on how to define European identity and roots, as religion still plays a major role in some Eastern European countries. The gap between more and less secular nations mars the internal coherence of the European identity.

External identity processes are an ongoing cognitive mechanism that separate us from others. This means that it is inevitable to exclude others, whilst constituting a feeling of togetherness. Intentionally or not, the same notion applies just as much to nations and the EU as it did to nineteenth century Germany. Hobsbawm describes how the history of the Holy Roman Empire needed to be compatible with a modern German nation. "'Unification' as much as 'independence' was its principle, and where no historic arguments for unification existed - as they did for example in Italy and Germany - it was, where feasible, formulated as a programme." According to Hobsbawm, "the concept of a secular national enemy against whom the German people had defined their identity and struggled to achieve unity as a state" accomplished this. Feelings of togetherness may unintentionally create 'others' through exclusion. However, in the example of Germany the people had not enough in common to

⁵⁶ José Casanova, "Religion, European Secular Identities, and European Integration," in *Religion in an Expanding Europe*, ed. Timothy A. Byrnes and Peter J. Katzenstein (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 65

create a national identity. Therefore, another secular identity functioned for Germany to define its national identity, as the people did share the history of a shared enemy.

In the EU's case, it is debatable whether it is actively creating 'others'. However, it is undeniable that tension between Russia and the EU has risen over the last decennia. Different standpoints on homosexuality, press freedom, environmental issues and territorial disputes cause the social boundary mechanisms to intensify. Under the condition that the EU will be able to speak with a single voice in international politics, it might define itself through dialogue with Russia, as it will highlight the differences between the two.

Tilly highlights the consequences of 'othering', as "foreigners [get treated] as distinctive kinds of people deserving limited rights and close surveillance.". This coincides with how some people associate the European identity with 'fortress Europe' as they believe that Union citizenship discriminates against non-EU nationals⁵⁷ and how, especially by Euroskeptic parties, Islam and non-white foreigners are seen as 'others'.⁵⁸ Constructing identities inevitably goes in tandem with othering. Although the 'other' will always exist, it is not a requirement to treat them as lesser people. Just as two completely different individuals are able to respect each other so too should the EU respect non-EU nationals.

Identities do not necessarily exclude one another. Even more so, every person has multiple identities, which summed up defines who we are. How we think of ourselves naturally changes over time as we continuously reassess our commitment to certain groups. Identities of different categories can sometimes conflict with one another. For instance, in the example brought up by Hobsbawm: "The 'internationalism' of the left in practice meant solidarity and support for those who fought the same cause, [...] but this was not incompatible with passionately held nationalist beliefs." In this case, two types of identity processes are present, one associated with the political left and the other with nationalism. The difference between the two is that the first is able to cross borders whereas the latter is territorially determined. This notion of proletarian internationalism follows the Marxist paradigm that capitalism is to be defeated through the international cooperation of the worker class, which would eventually lead to a stateless communist world without the existence of national identities.

⁵⁷ Chris Shore, *Building Europe - the Cultural Politics of European Integration*(USA and Canada: Routledge, 2000), 79

⁵⁸ Risse, "Social Constructivism and European Integration.", 155

People that associate themselves with the left share the same political attitudes as people in other countries. Solidarity is therefore able to go beyond the national border and thus strengthen cross border identities. Although the EU does not seek to destroy capitalism, its bid to create a European identity shows similarities with proletarian internationalism. Hobsbawm reminds us that "anachronism, is the most common and convenient technique of creating a history satisfying the need of what Benedict Anderson has called 'imagined communities' or collectives⁵⁹, which are by no means only national ones." Therefore, it is not unimaginable that a European community would be able to exist in the minds of EU-citizens. The EU needs to make its citizens aware of their shared experiences in the past that do not necessarily relate to the national identity. However, as history is almost entirely written by the same elite that started the processes of nationalism, it might be difficult to cherry pick the right parts, as the selection might be rather limited. It would seem that Tilly and Hobsbawm's encouragement to prompt historians to do more research about what went on in the minds of the common people is strengthened by yet another reason to do so.

The previous paragraphs pointed out that, if the EU wants to construct a European identity it must convince the EU's citizens into believing in such a collective identity. Tilly points out that nations constructed their identity in the minds of their people in a political climate in which, "Direct rule and mass national politics grew together, and reinforced each other mightily." It was in this particular European political climate that peasants became citizens through a sequence of orchestrated events. Tilly sums them up, together with their effects, as follows: "National symbols crystallized, national languages standardized, national labor markets organized. War itself became a homogenizing experience, as soldiers and sailors represented the entire nation and the civilian population endured common privations and responsibilities." It is through these experiences that the national identity is what it is today. Although the EU has not experienced war, the EU does however, follow to some extent the same path as nations did. The EU has made powerful efforts to make the European labour market much more integrated than it was, direct examples of this are, the freedom of movement and the working time directive. Furthermore, it has created its own flag, its own commemoration day and other 'invented traditions in order to create a more cohesive Europe.

⁵⁹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

Hobsbawm explains 'invented tradition' as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and rituals or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition." As the EU seeks to 'inculcate' certain values and norms in its citizens, it juxtaposes itself with nationalistic behaviour patterns. This has provided right-populist parties with arguments against European integration, as they exploit the anxiety of people that believe the EU threatens their national identity. The anxiety of people indicates how deeply the invented traditions are rooted into citizens' mindsets. So deep in fact, that citizens are no longer aware of how artificial the norms and values are. They see them as an integral part of themselves.

Hobsbawm believes that "xenophobia [...] reflects the crisis of a culturally defined national identity in nation-states", which would explain the anxiety just described. This is because people feel their cultural identity is threatened by European integration. This is best illustrated with the possibility of integrating Turkey into the EU, which could include the potential integration of 'non-European' immigrants.⁶⁰ This has resulted in a rise of anxiety among EU-citizens. The fear that people experience is therefore found on two levels, the national and the European. First, people fear that their national identities will become too exposed to other non-national ones and secondly, the fear that including more identities in the European integration process will disassociate them even further from a European identity. These two fears are yet more proof of the success of nationalism.

⁶⁰ Casanova, "Religion, European Secular Identities, and European Integration.", 65

6. Discussion

The literature analysis had a very broad viewpoint as it aimed to analyse all sorts of different forms of identity processes, top-down and bottom-up. Therefore, it lends itself to something best dubbed as crosspollination, something best understood in the context of conducting research wherein a process with a certain direction is described. An example of research following one direction is the one that seeks to explain The Dutch (A) no to the EU constitution (B).⁶¹ This, seeks to explain why A does not trust B. Therefore, the emphasis is only on a top-down process. The analysis of Hobsbawm and Tilly's work, however, allowed itself to be open to spot identity processes that head both up and down. Consequently, a notion of a bottom-up process can be reinterpreted for application to a top-down process. For example, the idea of material incentives to revolt could be translated to the idea of finding material arguments to prompt EU-citizens to rethink their loyalties to the nation vis-à-vis the EU. In this regard, the analysis structured along the division of three themes is considered a success.

However, a disadvantage of dividing the thesis into three themes is that it impedes with comparing the quotations between Hobsbawm with Tilly. A parallel across two categories was in fact only drawn once i.e. in the case of the similar views on mass politics (p. 36). This could have been prevented by selecting the idea (or topic) first before dividing the analysis into one of the three other themes. This way, every idea can be analysed from all three perspectives and this would make it easier to draw parallels between different ideas.

The theoretical framework of identity processes here used functioned accordingly. The robust framework worked as a filter to determine which parts of Hobsbawm and Tilly's work could be classified as identity processes. Not once was a topic encountered which could have been identified as relevant but did not fit the theoretical framework. The 'filter' in this sense had the right combination of localising and filtering the relevant texts for the analysis. The combination of social constructionism and intellectual history theories constituted the theoretical foundation, which lent itself to base the three themes and suggest the way in which to interpret the selected quotations. The four points, a necessary summary of social constructionism, from Vivien Burr,⁶² were supplemented by the theory of intellectual history. Through the usage of social constructionism, it was possible to appropriately analyse identity

⁶¹ Schuck et al., "The Dutch No to the Eu Constitution: Assessing the Role of Eu Skepticism and the Campaign."

⁶² Burr, *Social Constructionism*.

processes. Social constructionism fits this type of research particularly well, because it does not regard knowledge as a product of objective observations of the world. Instead, it claims that knowledge is constructed through continuous interaction between people. This is an apt claim, as it allows the concept of identity to keep its fluid and mercurial nature. Moreover, the notion that all knowledge is constructed suits the inductive line of reasoning in the selection of quotations.

The theory defined by intellectual history was not able to fulfil all the requirements as suggested by the analysis. The problem arose with the study of overlapping and differing thoughts, which should have brought insight into the development of the ideas and perspectives over a certain period. This was particularly the case concerning Tilly's work and to a lesser extent with Hobsbawm's. Some change of views could be found in the case of Hobsbawm regarding his underestimation in earlier publications of the importance of xenophobia. However, no change in the patterns of thought could be found in Tilly's work. The direct reason for this is that the publication years of the material selected, required a larger period between the first and last publication. The material therefore suffers from some notable shortcomings, such as the omission of influential works as *The Age of Extremes* from Hobsbawm and *European Revolutions* in the case of Tilly. An indirect reason is that, in order to appropriately describe changes in the patterns of the intellectual reasoning of the authors, it would require more time to collect all the material for analysis. Furthermore, it would require a great deal of effort to find enough empirical evidence to adequately explain the change of thought. This does not mean that it is impossible, yet it would have to form a study of its own right. In short, the theory of intellectual history suits the study of identity processes, however, the time and effort required to meet the requirements were too ambitious for this thesis.

Lastly, an imbalance of selected quotations is present in the results, as more and longer quotations of Hobsbawm are present compared to Tilly. One possible reason could explain this. The style of the writer might have influenced the length of the quotations required to convey the idea of the author. Hobsbawm's writing aims to draw together a historical synthesis of a particular period. In doing so he uses many examples, which fills up more space. Tilly however, seeks to illuminate various methodological issues to students and therefore formulates his lines of thought rather concisely. Obviously, he also uses examples, however, they are not vital to understand his idea, they are more of supplementary value.

7. Conclusion

This thesis started with the following research question: How can Charles Tilly and Eric Hobsbawm's perspectives on collective identity processes improve our understanding of the concept of European identity?

It was expected that in practice the analysis would mainly show insights into identity processes through differentiating the national from the supranational European identity. However, in the results other forms of identity processes that operate under the national level were encountered, such as the peasantry activated through mass politics and social movements as a more subtle form of putting forward demands.

Both scholars improve our understanding of European identity in two different ways. First, they directly improve our understanding by describing the processes of identity in different historical contexts along with different components that influence its integrity. Most eminent are the notions that explain how European identity is able to manifest itself either by bypassing national identity through appealing to the citizens' self-interest or by taking away the anxiety that is associated with the European identity threatening the national. The latter could be achieved by the EU through delivering a clear message of what the EU does. Second, they indirectly add to our understanding by encouraging future scholars by suggesting possible research themes. Both advocate more research on what constitutes a 'social being', which could lead to new perspectives on what goes on in the mind of the people and how they conduct and perceive their identities. Such research could potentially break down the methodological wall⁶³ surrounding identity and be able to meet the demands of Brubaker and Cooper⁶⁴ who wish to see identity more narrowly defined in order to conduct more effective research.

The above conclusion explains how well the suggested methodology to analyse Hobsbawm and Tilly's work performed. The actual aim of this thesis was to argue for the usage of a new perspective on identity processes. This new perspective divided identity processes into three themes: intellectual foundation, identity formation and identity construction. The first serves to analyse the epistemological standpoints of the authors, which contributed to our scholarly understanding of how identity should be studied. However, the new perspective's proof of

⁶³ Bruter, "Measuring the Immeasurable? - Capturing Citizens' European Identity."

⁶⁴ Cooper, "Beyond "Identity".", 1

success was mostly found through the division of the second and third theme i.e. bottom-up and top-down processes. The analysis allowed itself to spot identity processes that head both up and down. Consequently, the notion of a bottom-up process could be reinterpreted and applied to a top-down process in the context of a European identity.

Following the social constructionist line of thought; that knowledge is defined through historical and culturally specific circumstances, makes ideas on identity processes from different periods and scholars reinterpretable to improve our understanding of European identity.

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