

**Alla Kyrydon
Viktor Troyan**

**EUROPEAN IDENTITY IN THE DIMENSION
OF ULRICH BECK'S COSMOPOLITAN CONCEPT**

Introduction

Total cross-dependence of the modern world, cultural dynamics, communications intensification, changes in European dimension structure, as well as in the social communities' functional principles demand revision of political and social, cultural processes in the modern Europe. One of the complex modern scientific discourse problems is the problem of identity. As the German researcher A. Neumann put it, this problem is not a given one; it's a relationship constantly under construction and reconstruction in terms of specific discourse. The identity markers are mobile, outlined by many aspects. These are the cultural areas geography, social, political units' historical borders, society marginalization or nationalization, transformations in any element of social, political system etc.

Denying the one-way determination interpretation of the world and an interest toward the identity problem, as well as an urgency in rethinking the processes of European identity creation led to choosing the stated research problem. The proposed research deals with forming/constructing the "new regional identity" phenomenon – the European national identity in terms of cosmopolitan concept of U. Beck. With that, the transnational European identity is viewed as a constructed phenomenon proving the birth of a new collective identity (existing along with other collective identities) within the European Union (EU). So here we deal with transnational European identity as one of the space/territorial dimensions of identification co-existing with national, regional and local identi-

ties. At the same time, the author is aware of the fact, that the problem of the very existence of European identity remains unsolved or, at least, much disputable, dividing the scientific society into Euro-optimists (support the European identity existence) and Euro-skeptics (deny its existence).

The discussion on the European identity problems has added urgency due to the following processes:

- development of the world and regional integration and economic globalization, strengthening of transnational corporations' role on the world stage, erodes national borders between countries, leading to erosion of strict internationally acknowledged national borders;
- changing of the essence, structure and form of modern countries, inability of nation-states to self-resolving the global problems (economy regulations, combating terrorism and sea pirates, human rights protection etc.);
- spreading the new types and conditions of different communication levels (both state and civil);
- changing the national and political systems' dynamics;
- urgent need to rethink and review the objective reality;
- gradual growth of mass migration, transforming the "alien" concept;
- changes in civilization threats character, etc.

Symbolic is the fact that at the dawn of national identity problem research an interest in its core forming and strategical development prevailed, but further on the critical vector of the very phenomenon evaluation, stressing the crisis events or its mythological character has been outlined. Robert Szwed notes: "Many researchers, for whom the reality of Europe as a continent and space of cultural and political society is undoubtful, at the same time conclude that European identity is a fiction".

Ukrainian researcher N. Pelagesha explains this difference in views as an attempt of the authors to choose – "either the European integration processes crossed the line where for an average citizen, distant from international relations, they become an integral part of his (her) life, influencing personality, world vision and views of everyday life". At the same time the author stresses that "the idea of Europe is conceptualized through identity".

Urgency of the researched problem demands deeper analysis of a number of aspects, which combine into concentrated field containing the core of identity construction, and in the context of the stated problem we talk about enabling the formation/preservation of regional identity in terms of Europe cosmopolitization: the problem of identity and European identity concept; cosmopolitan Europe; homogeneity and variety of cultures, their conflicts or interaction; cosmopolitism and the crisis of European culture, values orientation crisis; search for new relations system; meeting the "others" (friend-foe-other), forming the "new regional identity" etc.

Scientific actualization of the problem

The aim of the proposed report is to outline common features of the problem of forming European identity in terms of cosmopolitan Europe in terms of cosmopolitan concept of U. Beck. Scientific realization of cosmopolitanism problem was founded by Western (D. Archibugi, R. Brubaker, G. Besier, G. Brunn, M. Bruter, G. Delanty, R. Elm, M. Guibernau, H. Kaeble, I. Neumann, F. Pichler, T. Risse, E. Smith etc.)¹ and Polish (J. Gałkowski, A. Ostrowska, D. Wojakowski, J. Siewierski, A. Nowak, R. Szwed, S. Cieśla etc.)² researchers, building own understanding of the idea and its argumentation. Beck's ideas, in the context of modern methodological research in world sociology, in particular in the sense of actualiza-

¹ G. Delanty, *The idea of Cosmopolitan Europe: On the Cultural Significance of Europeanization*, „International Review of Sociology” 2005, nr 15 (3), p. 405–421; D. Archibugi, D. Held, *Cosmopolitan Democracy*, Agenda for a New World Order 1995, 200 p.; M. Bruter, *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York 2005, 221 p.; G. Besier, *Das Europa der Diktatoren. Eine neue Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, München 2006, 879 s.; R. Elm, *Europäische Identität: Paradigmen und Methodenfragen*, Nomos Verlag, Berlin 2002, 318 s.; H. Kaeble, *Europäer über Europa. Die Entstehung des europäischen Selbstverständlichen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 2001, 268 s.; G. Brunn, *Die europäische Einigung von 1945 bis Heute*, Verlag Philipp Reclam, Stuttgart 2009, 339 s.; T. Risse, *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York 2010, 272 p.; F. Pichler, *European Identity: Conceptual Approaches*: <http://www.cinefogo.cuni.cz> [dostęp: 2.05.2020]; E. Сміт, *Національна ідентичність*, пер. з англ. П.Тарашука, Основи, Київ 1994, 224 с.; И. Нойманн, *Использование «Другого»: Образы Востока в формировании европейских идентичностей*, пер. с англ. В.Б. Литвинова и И.А. Пильщикова, предисл. А.И. Миллера, Новое издательство, Москва 2004, 336 с.; Р. Брюбейкер, *Переображений націоналізм: статус нації та національне питання у новій Європі*, пер. з англ. О. Рябова, Кальварія, Львів 2006, 280 с.; М. Гібернау, *Ідентичність нації*, Темпора, Київ 2012, 304 с.; М. Напс, *Тренд и модусы космополитизма*, „Тренды и управление” 2019, № 2, с. 19–26.

² J. Gałkowski, *Jedność świata: Ulricha Becka socjologia kosmopolityzmu*, Wyd. Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów 2019, 187 s.; A. Ostrowska, *Tożsamość europejska w kryzysie – stan badań i perspektywy dalszego rozwoju*, „Studia Europejskie” 2016, nr 4, s. 17–40; Д. Вояковський, *Ментальні кордони в Європі без кордонів*, пер. В.Ф. Сагана. Ніка-Центр, Київ 2015, 320 с.; J. Siewierski, *Tożsamość europejska jako problem historii i współczesności*, „Kwartalnik Kolegium Ekonomiczno-Społeczne Studia i Prace”, Szkoła Główna Handlowa, 2013, nr 2, s. 9–30; A. Nowak, *Europejska nowoczesność i jej wyparte konstytuujące „zewnętrzne”*, „Nowa Krytyka” 2011, nr. 26–27, s. 261–289; K. Gawron, *O tożsamość europejską – spór Habermasa i Ratzingera*: <http://www.psz.pl/117-polityka/karolina-maria-gawron-o-tozsamosc-europejska-spor-habermasa-i-ratzingera> [dostęp: 3.05.2020]; *Tożsamość pogranicza – tożsamość narodowa – tożsamość europejska. Na marginesie rozważań nad tożsamością ukraińską, polską i europejską*, red. R. Szwed, Wyd. KUL, Lublin 2007; S. Cieśla, *Ulrich Beck – socjolog społeczeństwa globalnego*, „Roczniki Nauk Społecznych” 2002, t. XXX, t. 1, s. 147–150.

tion of the discourse of European identity, have become the subject of scientific research of Ukrainian scientists, including the authors of this article³.

For instance, J. Delanti explains the cosmopolitanism idea as not so much a contradiction to the “national Europe” idea, as a similarity of “globalized Europe” idea, playing an outstanding role in the modern world, represented by an international European Union (EU)⁴. Italian researcher D. Archibugi defines modern EU as a “cosmopolitan democracy laboratory”⁵. D. Robertson studies specifics of globalization processes influence on national and religious national identities. U. Beck supports the “cosmopolitan Europe” concept with viewing cosmopolitization as an inside globalization underway within national societies. It is worth mentioning that most researchers define cosmopolitanism as an ideology of the so-called “world citizenship”.

The debate about the problems of European identity in relation to new lines of separation (the boundaries), today is a consequence of changes in the overall picture of the world:

- changed the nature, structure and form of the modern state;
- break down rigid boundaries between countries;
- there are new conditions for communication between states and citizens at various levels;
- changed the dynamics of national and political systems;
- previous approaches and benchmarks are no longer active;

³ І. Кононов, *Ідеї Ульріха Бека в контексті сучасних методологічних пошуків у світовій соціології*, „Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В.Н. Каразіна”, Серія „Соціологічні дослідження сучасного суспільства: методологія, теорія, методи” 2019, вип. 42, с. 20–34; А. Киридон, *Європейська ідентичність: оприявлення в умовах глобалізації* [w:] «Глобалізований світ: випробування людського буття»: Міжнародна науково-теоретична конференція, 6–7 жовтня 2017 р.: [матеріали доповідей та виступів], редкол. М.А. Козловець [та ін.], Вид-во Євенок О.О., Житомир 2017, с. 35–42; Л. Саракун, В. Драпогуз, *Космополітизм як альтернативна світоглядна парадигма усвідомлення світоустрою XXI сторіччя*, „Totallogy-XXI. Постнекласичні дослідження” 2017, № 34, с. 119–131; А. Пасісниченко, *Європейська ідентичність в академічному дискурсі: конструювання космополітичного образу Європи*, „Український соціологічний журнал” 2015, № 1–2, с. 56–60; А. Киридон, *Європейська ідентичність: космополітична концепція Ульріха Бека*, „Зовнішні справи” 2015, nr 9, с. 52–55; А. Киридон, С. Троян, *Пошук ідентичності в «Європі без кордонів»: між націоналізмом та космополітизмом* [w:] Д. Вояковський, *Ментальні кордони в Європі без кордонів*, Ніка-Центр, Київ 2012, с. 9–40; В. Троян, *Особливості та основні тенденції сучасного українського регіоналізму*, „Наукові записки національного університету «Острозька академія»”, Серія „Культурологія” 2012, вип. 9, с. 84–92; М. Козловець, *Європейська ідентичність: уніфікація чи «єдність в розмаїтті»?*, „Гуманітарний вісник Запорізької державної інженерної академії” 2009, вип. 37, с. 72–86; Є. Тихомирова, *Формування європейської ідентичності як чинник європейської інтеграції*, „Наукові записки”, т. 45, Політичні науки, 2005, с. 56–60.

⁴ G. Delanty, *The idea of Cosmopolitan Europe: On the Cultural Significance...*

⁵ D. Archibugi, D. Held, *Cosmopolitan Democracy*, Agenda for a New World Order 1995, 200 p.

- transformed “the term alien”;
- changed the nature of civilizational threat etc.;
- the identity is transformed under the influence of domestic, regional and global factors.

Features of the “second modernity”⁶ is leveling the boundaries between nation states. According to Manuel Castells, the institutions of nation-states are no longer legal, and today can be represented as non-functional structures⁷. Power is concentrated in each subject separately, which gives the subject the ability to independently determine their own identity.

These processes require reformatting the relationships between different local groups and identities. As emphasized by Doctor of Economic Sciences, Director, Center for Post-Industrial Studies, Professor at the Higher School of Economics. V.L. Inozemcev, a concept based on the identification of differences between peoples and communities, can no longer specify the correct path, as it implies the existence of rigid boundaries between countries, as they are destroyed⁸.

Not surprisingly, the problems of European identity, become of great interest. Their relevance precisely noticed Ralf Dahrendorf: “In recent years, we just swept the shaft of literature about the idea and identity of Europe”⁹. The original scientific approach to the problem of European identity in the context of globalization offered by German philosopher and sociologist Ulrich Beck.

The cosmopolitan concept Ulrich Beck: The Challenges of Globalization and Regionalization

Ulrich Beck – scientist, known for his works such as the Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity (1992), Reflexive Modernisation. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order (1994), The Reinvention of Politics. Rethinking Modernity in the Global Social Order (1997), Democracy Without Enemies (1998), What Is Globalization? (2000) – assesses the impact that globalization has had on contemporary society, reveals the associated problems are discussed and attempts to answer the question, what can replace the nationalist ideologies of the era of modernity.

⁶ У. Бек, *Общество риска. На пути к другому модерну*, Прогресс-Традиция, Москва 2000, с. 383.

⁷ М. Кастельс, *Становление общества сетевых структур* [w:] Новая постиндустриальная волна на Западе. Антология, под ред. В.Л. Иноземцева, Academia, Москва 1999, с. 494–505.

⁸ Д. Белл, В. Иноземцев, *Эпоха разобщенности: Размышления о мире XXI века*, Центр исследований постиндустриального общества, Москва 2007, с. 67–118.

⁹ Р. Дарендорф, *Объединенная или открытая? Европейская альтернатива*: http://news.students.ru/2007/11/24/obedinennaja_ili_otkrytaja_evropejskaja_alternativa.html [dostęp: 2.05.2020].

Globalization means the destruction of the unity of the nation state and national society; the formation of new power and competitive relationships, conflicts and intersections between the national government of unity and actors, on the one hand, and transnational actors, identities, social space, situations and processes – on the other.

U. Beck believes that one of the political responses to the challenges of globalization can be “cosmopolitan state”¹⁰. It will be based on the indifference of the State of nationality and permitting the coexistence of national identities in accordance with the constitutional principle of tolerance.

U. Beck proposes one of many possible ways of common European social and cultural space creation – the concept of cosmopolitan Europe. Let us generally characterize the main elements of U. Beck’s cosmopolitanism concept. Unlike modernists – an old school representatives (considering that only the wholesale national project supported by language, military service and patriotism provides and secures social integration), the researcher stresses that “with the spread of cosmopolitanism the *national-national* relations change into national-global and global-global ones”¹¹. Nowadays author claims that the term “cosmopolitan Europe” can be understand exactly as a denial to territorial-social ontology, directed at blocking all paths to the future¹².

Viewing cosmopolitan project, it seems logical to stress two symbolic dimensions – the outside one, influenced by world integrational and globalizational processes, and the inside one, tied to deep structural and personal transformations. Considering this fact, the German sociologist focuses on the need to consider an “inside cosmopolitization of Europe”¹³ and defines the spread of cosmopolitization both on the microlevel (day-to day life, activity forms and social institutions’ – schools, inhabited regions – routine), and on the macrolevel (not only through global market, but also within the network of international and national institutions)¹⁴. Under such conditions inevitable raises the question of the regional identities’ new dimensions.

Researcher considers Europeanization and cosmopolitization practically equal, stressing an inevitable, uninterrupted progress. Correspondingly, modern European identity from its construction point of view can be built as a cosmopolitan identity, inevitably reflexing the globalized world processes. The Ger-

¹⁰ У. Бек, *Трансформация политики и государства в эпоху глобализации*: <http://old.belintellectuals.eu/library/book.php?id=29> [dostep: 2.05.2020].

¹¹ У. Бек, *Космополитическое мировоззрение* [Вступит. ст. В. Иноземцева], Центр исследований постиндустриального общества, Москва 2008, с. 115.

¹² *Ibidem*, с. 245.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, с. 141.

man researcher considers that the future Europe is a cosmopolitan Europe, “struggling morally, politically, economically and historically for peace”.

We should consider the fact that the disintegration of nation-states allows relatively free movement between countries. Modern Western society is not homogeneous, and it represented from different nationalities and cultural contexts. Accordingly, changes the constitution of each other in everyday life, which today is still going on in terms of first modernity. Furthermore, the author focuses on the nature of the threats facing nations today and in the foreseeable future: “They have two effects: blur the boundaries between national and international spheres, while smoothing the asymmetry in power between countries”¹⁵.

This view is shared by other Western sociologists¹⁶. H. Schrader, for example writes: “... would like to state: some aspects of the nation-state because of its links with the international system, states retain their value and lead to the strengthening of nationalist sentiments. Other aspects of the nation state and its identity lost its power”¹⁷.

Ulrich Beck points out that the cosmopolitan outlook of lives in the expansion of the intermediate states, which are blurred and disappear seemingly eternal tenets, boundaries, and differences. The crisis of nation-states has led us to exactly cosmopolitan society as a daily reality of the constructed¹⁸. According to U. Beck, the reality is that there are many nations cannot replace a single large nation. Europe can be realized only in a cosmopolitan recognition of the unity and reconciliation in many national and regional histories – no other way: “Cosmopolitan Europe does not involve destruction or dissolution of nations ... In contrast, cosmopolitanism means institutionalize, preserve, and safeguard the principles of national, cultural, ethnic and religious tolerance”¹⁹.

As Martha Nussbaum says, the basis for the recognition of national, ethnic, religious, class, race and gender identity of another is the adoption of another on the moral level and the rejection of nationalism: individuals should think themselves primarily as “world citizens”, but not as belonging some exceptional country²⁰.

Cultural globalization, according to U. Beck suggests ethnonational variety²¹. It can only be achieved post-national, multi-ethnic country, indifferent to the nationality and tolerant towards members of different nationalities. Such a state derives

¹⁵ У. Бек, *Космополитическое мировоззрение...*, с. 261.

¹⁶ A. Giddens, *Die Konsequenzen der Moderne*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Meine 1995, s. 86, 96.

¹⁷ Х. Шрадер, *Глобализация, (де)цивилизация и мораль*: <http://www.nationalism.org/library/science/globalisation/schrader/6schrader.htm> [dostęp: 2.05.2020].

¹⁸ У. Бек, *Космополитическое общество и его враги*, „Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии” 2003, т. 6, № 1, с. 24–53.

¹⁹ У. Бек, *Космополитическое мировоззрение...*, с. 260.

²⁰ М. Нуссбаум, *Патриотизм и космополитизм*, „Логос” 2006, № 2, с. 110–119.

²¹ У. Бек, *Трансформация политики и государства в эпоху глобализации...*

its legitimacy from the national traditions, rethinking and reformed cosmopolitan way. This can be achieved only through a cosmopolitan sovereignty, which is:

- 1) takes into account the accelerating global interdependence;
- 2) understands and develops joint sovereignty for the sake of solving problems of global and national character;
- 3) support the differences and overcome the conflicts between different ethnic and national groups.

However, the alignment of European identity based on certain cultural community of European nations is a complex matter.

On the one hand, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of cultural factors in the formation of European identity. Even one of the founders of the European Community, Jean Monnet admitted that if he had the opportunity to re-start the process of European integration, it would start it's not the economy, but with culture. On the other hand, real ways of making culture in cementing a component of European unity are viewed with great difficulty.

This, of course, is not that such a strategy would involve ignoring the national identity of European cultures. In contrast, cultural pluralism of the continent is one of the distinguishing features and advantages of European culture ("unity in diversity"). Here we should underline the commitment of Europeans to such common human values – freedom, respect for individual rights, rule of law, tolerance, social justice.

But one should not underestimate the potential of a certain disintegration of today's cultural landscape of Europe:

- 1) the identity of the pan-European nature of the persistent blurred national identities, they rely on the unique historical experiences and cultural values in different countries;
- 2) many components of national cultures imbued with a stable memory of inter-ethnic conflicts and tragedies in European history (including, and not so far away);
- 3) the cultural diversity of Europe today increasingly turns cultural incompatibility, and even hostility from various national and ethnic groups in the population of the European Union.

Assessing the overall current nature of the European cultural landscape, U. Beck notes: "The more we are eyeing the empirical reality, the clearer it becomes that the notion of cultural homogeneity in Europe is actually a denial of reality". He was echoed and R. Dahrendorf: "Europe – above all diversity. Recognition of diversity does not necessarily mean the need for unity, but unity does not mean limited diversity. This also applies to diversity in the context of what concretization of the European identity is the slogan of the European social model"²².

²² Р. Дарендорф, *Объединенная или открытая? Европейская альтернатива...*

Consequently, “to be cosmopolitan in this case means both to recognize the equality and difference and feel committed to the welfare of all mankind”²³.

The challenge is to overcome the ethno-nationalism and nation-state not their condemnation, and by guaranteeing the conditions for maintaining their cultural identity. On this basis we can construct a unified “political Europe” as a cosmopolitan alliance. In this sense, according to U. Beck, you can create and intermediate mobile forms of supranational or cosmopolitan federated architecture²⁴. It is through large and small steps will gradually overcome the current anticipated strong unity of nation and state through the transnationalization that brings positive results, while avoiding the formation of a power vacuum.

In this case, the cosmopolitan tendencies opposed to ethnic, religious and nationalist fundamentalism. Consequently, the assimilation of the idea of gaining national states cosmopolitan nature could lead to the formation of a new strategy to resolve chronic ethnic conflict and to overcome vestiges of imperial dependencies.

Specific feature of European project, according to U. Beck, is a “radical openness”²⁵, considering strengthening transnational ties and obligations. Hence, “in terms of the XXI cent., there is no more closed space called “The Christian West”... Europe becomes an open network with mobile borders, where all outside things already exist within”²⁶.

At the same time, the German researcher realizes complexity and contradictions of moral-ethical, legal, political processes, stressing that “European cosmopolitanism means regular reevaluation of its own way... Cosmopolitan Europe parts with its own history, but feeds up with it; it experiments *selfcritically*... We talk about modernization of Europe, when discussed are the principles, borders and basic ideas of national policy and society”²⁷. The researcher stresses that “cosmopolitan Europe can be realized only through denial, which means by radical self-criticism of modern views on politics and state”²⁸.

The concept of Ulrich Beck proves cosmopolitanism as a project aimed at transforming international relations and the establishment of a new European identity. At the same time, on the one hand, the phenomenon of the identity of the Europeans is the phenomenon of highly ambiguous. The current difficulties with the identification of specific European identity caused by: 1) the impact of globalization on it, and 2) a tendency of Europeans to focus on its difference from “oth-

²³ У. Бек, *Трансформация политики и государства в эпоху глобализации...*

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, с. 247.

²⁶ У. Бек, *Космополитическое мировоззрение...*, с. 246.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, с. 253.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, с. 257.

er” and 3) introduction into the consciousness of Europeans, their sense of belonging to a supranational community.

Conclusion

Thus, the approach to the problems U. Beck, “European construction” and “European regional policy” more objective account of modern European trends. It comes from the political emancipation of the regions and the formation of national-regional identities in Europe. However, the implementation of this project as a modern European state and regional structure is inherently very complex and contradictory. To reserve by the middle of this century a leading position in the international arena, the Old World required the concentration of economic, technological, geopolitical, and cultural resources.

R. Dahrendorf, said: “Europe is important to me only insofar as it extends the path to freedom. Closer union in Europe is desirable only in an open Europe. Therefore, the cosmopolitan idea of universal freedom is a litmus test for all European politicians”²⁹. Only such a Europe will be a model, which will be equal to the whole world. Only in this case we can speak of a European identity in the new globalized world.

In the long run, the possibility of forming a European identity results from the existence of EU borders, as behind them there is an image of “something else”, which is a necessary prerequisite for the emergence of any type of identity. At the same time, the difficult history of the European Union, the existence of internal problems and historical images complicate the process of formatting the European identity. In practice, this requires Europeans to adhere both to the principle of tolerance and to work diligently in constructing a model of a pan-European space based on collective identity.

The results of sociological research also testify to a kind of lukewarm attitude towards European identity. Thus, according to the Eurobarometer, the most important thing for EU residents is national identity (46%) and national in combination with European identity (41%), but only 7% consider themselves first Europeans and then representatives of national identity, and only 3% exclusively Europeans. Of all, citizens of Luxembourg most often declare exclusively European identity – 16%, first European and then national – in Romania (13%), Luxembourg (12%), Belgium and Slovakia (10 % each)³⁰. According to a survey

²⁹ Р. Дарендорф, *Объединенная или открытая? Европейская альтернатива...*

³⁰ *Public Opinion in the European Union*, „Standard Eurobarometer” November 2010, 73, vol. 2: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb73/eb73_vol2_en.pdf [dostęp: 2.05.2020].

conducted in the spring of 2019, for the 15th anniversary of the membership in EU, more than half of Poles (56%) said they feel European, and 52% pointed to a pan-European identity as second after the national identity. At the same time, only 4% of Poles consider it the most important³¹.

European identity is a special cultural marker that captures or gives a special symbolic form to distinction or identification in the context of social communication. The specificity of European identity is to express a kind of dual characteristic: on the one hand – national identity with appropriate values and normative features and national determinism of cultural space, on the other – supranational community with the formation of a kind of socio-cultural space. Obviously, such a combination/subordination provokes a mutation of the deep structures of national identity and the originality of the construction of European identity.

It is also worth mentioning that at the present stage it is possible to talk about the existence of European identity only in the sense of construct, but not practical realities. The emergence of a single European identity is, at best, a matter of the distant future. At least a few factors are the evidence, among which the presence of interstate borders and national identities, lack of unified socio-cultural and symbolic space, erosion of traditions, intensification of migration processes, and, finally, centrifugal tendencies in the European Union (as Brexit).

References

- 15 lat członkostwa Polski w Unii Europejskiej*, komunikat z badań, nr 59/2019, Centrum Badań Społecznych, kwiecień 2019.
- Archibugi D., Held D., *Cosmopolitan Democracy*, Agenda for a New World Order 1995, 200 p.
- Besier G., *Das Europa der Diktatoren. Eine neue Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, München 2006.
- Brunn G., *Die europäische Einigung von 1945 bis Heute*, Verlag Philipp Reclam, Stuttgart 2009.
- Bruter M., *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York 2005.
- Cieśla S., *Ulrich Beck – socjolog społeczeństwa globalnego*, „Roczniki Nauk Społecznych” 2002, t. XXX, t. 1, s. 147–150.
- Delanty G., *The idea of Cosmopolitan Europe: On the Cultural Significance of Euronpeanization*, „International Review of Sociology” 2005, nr 15 (3), p. 405–421.
- Elm R., *Europäische Identität: Paradigmen und Methodenfragen*, Nomos Verlag, Berlin 2002.
- Gałkowski J., *Jedność świata: Ulricha Becka socjologia kosmopolityzmu*, Wyd. Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów 2019.
- Gawron K., *O tożsamość europejską – spór Habermasa i Ratzingera*: <http://www.psz.pl/117-polityka/karolina-maria-gawron-o-tozsamosc-europejska-spor-habermasa-i-ratzingera> [dostęp: 3.05.2020].

³¹ *15 lat członkostwa Polski w Unii Europejskiej*, komunikat z badań, nr 59/2019, Centrum Badań Społecznych, kwiecień 2019, s. 22.

- Giddens A., *Die Konsequenzen der Moderne*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Meine 1995.
- Kaeble H., *Europäer über Europa. Die Entstehung des europäischen Selbstverständlichen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt am Meine 2001.
- Nowak A., *Europejska nowoczesność i jej wyparte konstytuujące „zewnętrze”*, „Nowa Krytyka” 2011, nr. 26–27, s. 261–289.
- Ostrowska A., *Tożsamość europejska w kryzysie – stan badań i perspektywy dalszego rozwoju*, „Studia Europejskie”, 2016, nr 4, s. 17–40.
- Pichler F., *European Identity: Conceptual Approaches*: <http://www.cinefogo.cuni.cz> [dostęp: 2.05.2020].
- Public Opinion in the European Union*, „Standard Eurobarometer” November 2010, 73, vol. 2: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb73/eb73_vol2_en.pdf [dostęp: 2.05.2020].
- Risse T., *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York 2010.
- Siewierski J., *Tożsamość europejska jako problem historii i współczesności*, „Kwartalnik Kolegium Ekonomiczno-Społecznego Studia i Prace”, Szkoła Główna Handlowa, 2013, nr 2, s. 9–30.
- Szwed R., *Konstruowanie tożsamości europejskiej* [w:] *Dylematy tożsamości zbiorowych. Przyczynek do rozważań nad tożsamością ukraińską, polską i europejską*, red. R. Szwed, Wyd. KUL, Lublin 2007, s. 158–175.
- Tożsamość pogranicza – tożsamość narodowa – tożsamość europejska. Na marginesie rozważań nad tożsamością ukraińską, polską i europejską*, red. R. Szwed, Wyd. KUL, Lublin 2007.
- Бек У., *Космополитическое мировоззрение* [Вступит. ст. В. Иноземцева], Центр исследований постиндустриального общества, Москва 2008.
- Бек У., *Космополитическое общество и его враги*, „Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии” 2003, т. 6, № 1, с. 24–53.
- Бек У., *Общество риска. На пути к другому модерну*, Прогресс-Традиция, Москва 2000.
- Бек У., *Трансформация политики и государства в эпоху глобализации*: <http://old.belintellectua.ls.eu/library/book.php?id=29> [dostęp: 2.05.2020].
- Белл Д., Иноземцев В., *Эпоха разобщенности. Размышления о мире XXI века*, Центр исследований постиндустриального общества, Москва 2007.
- Брюбейкер Р., *Переображений націоналізм: статус нації та національне питання у новій Європі*, пер. з англ. О. Рябова, Кальварія, Львів 2006.
- Вояковский Д., *Ментальні кордони в Європі без кордонів*, пер. В.Ф. Сагана, Ніка-Центр, Київ 2015.
- Гібернау М., *Ідентичність нації*, Темпора, Київ 2012.
- Дарендорф Р., *Объединенная или открытая? Европейская альтернатива*: http://news.students.ru/2007/11/24/obedinennaja_ili_otkrytaja_evropejskaja_alternativa.html [dostęp: 2.05.2020].
- Кастельс М., *Становление общества сетевых структур* [w:] *Новая постиндустриальная волна на Западе. Антология*, под ред. В.Л. Иноземцева, Academia, Москва 1999, с. 494–505.
- Киридон А., *Європейська ідентичність: оприявлення в умовах глобалізації* [w:] «Глобалізований світ: випробування людського буття»: Міжнародна науково-теоретична конференція, 6–7 жовтня 2017 р.: [матеріали доповідей та виступів], редкол. М.А. Козловець [та ін.], Вид-во Євенок О.О., Житомир 2017, с. 35–42.
- Киридон А., Троян С., *Пошук ідентичності в «Європі без кордонів»: між націоналізмом та космополітизмом* [w:] Вояковский Д., *Ментальні кордони в Європі без кордонів*, Ніка-Центр, Київ 2012, с. 9–40.
- Киридон А., *Європейська ідентичність: космополітична концепція Ульріха Бека*, „Зовнішні справи” 2015, nr 9, с. 52–55.

- Козловець М., *Європейська ідентичність: уніфікація чи «єдність в розмаїтті»?*, „Гуманітарний вісник Запорізької державної інженерної академії” 2009, вип. 37, с. 72–86.
- Кононов І., *Ідеї Ульріха Бека в контексті сучасних методологічних пошуків у світовій соціології*, „Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В.Н. Каразіна”, Серія „Соціологічні дослідження сучасного суспільства: методологія, теорія, методи” 2019, вип. 42, с. 20–34.
- Напсо М., *Тренд и модулы космополитизма*, „Тренды и управление” 2019, № 2, с. 19–26.
- Нойманн И., *Использование «Другого»: Образы Востока в формировании европейских идентичностей*, пер. с англ. В.Б. Литвинова и И.А. Пильщикова, предисл. А.И. Миллера, Новое издательство, Москва 2004.
- Нуссбаум М., *Патриотизм и космополитизм*, „Логос” 2006, № 2, с. 110–119.
- Пасісниченко А., *Європейська ідентичність в академічному дискурсі: конструювання космополітичного образу Європи*, „Український соціологічний журнал” 2015, № 1–2, с. 56–60.
- Пеллагеша Н., *Україна у смислових війнах постмодерну: трансформація української національної ідентичності в умовах глобалізації*: монографія, НІСД, Київ 2008.
- Саракун Л., Драпогуз В., *Космополітизм як альтернативна світоглядна парадигма усвідомлення світоустрою ХХІ сторіччя*, „Totallogy-XXI. Постнекласичні дослідження” 2017, № 34, с. 119–131.
- Сміт Е., *Національна ідентичність*, пер. з англ. П.Тарашука, Основи, Київ 1994.
- Тихомирова Є., *Формування європейської ідентичності як чинник європейської інтеграції*, „Наукові записки”, т. 45, Політичні науки, 2005, с. 56–60.
- Троян В., *Особливості та основні тенденції сучасного українського регіоналізму*, „Наукові записки національного університету «Острозька академія»”, Серія „Культурологія” 2012, вип. 9, с. 84–92.
- Шрадер Х., *Глобализация, (де)цивилизация и мораль*: <http://www.nationalism.org/library/science/globalisation/schrader/6schrader.htm> [dostęp: 2.05.2020].

EUROPEJSKA TOŻSAMOŚĆ W WYMIARZE KONCEPCJI KOSMOPOLITYCZNEJ ULRICHA BECKA

Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiono główne postanowienia koncepcji kosmopolitycznej Europy słynnego niemieckiego socjologa i filozofa politycznego Ulricha Becka. Rozważana jest możliwość/niemożność zbudowania nowego rodzaju tożsamości zbiorowej – ponadnarodowej tożsamości europejskiej. Unia Europejska jest uważana za warunkowy model nowej tożsamości regionalnej.

Koncepcja Ulricha Becka potwierdza kosmopolityzm jako projekt mający na celu transformację stosunków międzynarodowych i ustanowienie nowej tożsamości europejskiej. Jednocześnie zagadnienie tożsamości Europejczyków jest zjawiskiem wysoce niejednoznacznym. Obecne trudności z identyfikacją konkretnej tożsamości europejskiej spowodowane są: 1) wpływem globalizacji na nią, 2) tendencją Europejczyków do skupiania się na swojej odmienności od „innych” oraz 3) wprowadzaniem do świadomości Europejczyków poczucia przynależności do wspólnoty ponadnarodowej.

Słowa kluczowe: kosmopolityczna Europa, Ulrich Beck, tożsamość, nowa tożsamość regionalna, Unia Europejska, tożsamość europejska

EUROPEAN IDENTITY IN THE DIMENSION OF ULRICH BECK'S COSMOPOLITAN CONCEPT

Abstract

The main provisions of the concept of cosmopolitan Europe of the famous German sociologist and political philosopher Ulrich Beck are outlined. The possibility/impossibility of constructing a new type of collective identity – super-national European identity is considered. The European Union is considered as a conditional model of a new regional identity.

The concept of Ulrich Beck proves cosmopolitanism as a project aimed at transforming international relations and the establishment of a new European identity. At the same time, on the one hand, the phenomenon of the identity of the Europeans is the phenomenon of highly ambiguous. The current difficulties with the identification of specific European identity caused by: 1) the impact of globalization on it, and 2) a tendency of Europeans to focus on its difference from “other” and 3) introduction into the consciousness of Europeans, their sense of belonging to a supranational community.

Keywords: cosmopolitan Europe, Ulrich Beck, identity, new regional identity, European Union, European identity