Reinventing European identity: globalization, glocalization and the 
new politics of borderlands

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Abstract. This research proposal intends to analyze the process of reconstructing the European identity through the intervention of a set of key factors such as the globalization process and its subsidiary effect, the glocalization response. The new politics of borderlands is strongly marked by the presence of a dual phenomenon. The reconfiguration of the European cartography was conditioned by the presence of multiple identities and alternative societal models. In this context, the study is build around two major hypotheses. The first one sustains the fact that European identity supported an essential influence under the process of East European integration, while the second work hypothesis claims that East European members are confronting with some unfinished political processes, which transformed them in periphery actors. The study uses the term of “border” in a metaphorical sense and remains essentially connected with the dimension of a conceptual reconstruction. Assuming the existence of some symbolic limitations inside the European identity is an intermediary step in explaining the presence of multiple shades and frames inside a complex construction, which generates some unexpected contemporary dilemmas.

Keywords: European identity, borderlands, globalization, glocalization, transitional societies.

JEL Codes: F01, F02.

1. European project, between conflicted memory and multiple identities

The history of the European project was strongly influenced by the presence of several tensional lines which engraved its identity and cultural memory with multiple shades. The evolution of the European concept is complex and multivalent. Nevertheless, there are some essential stages that could be indentified as triggering vectors for its present configurations and contours. An important moment for the contemporary definition of the European project is related with the phenomenon of border renegotiations. In this very case, the concept of identity is connected with an extended sphere of significations, reuniting elements such as collective representations, contemporary cultural frames or ideological and argumentative discourses. Beyond all, the European identity can be considered as a multivalent construct, difficult to frame, but benefiting from an intense justificative and cohesive vocation.

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The extension of the European structures, institutions and culture to the East created the presuppositions for a major change in the field of identities. Also, this historical breach generated an internal fracture which proved its relevance in the present evolutions. The apparition of a symbolic cleavage between the East European entities of the project and the old Western landmarks is responsible for a set of contemporary malfunctions. The process of integration become a challenge and raised difficult questions regarding the status and role of new members admitted into the European structure. The expansion of the European border to the East was often labeled as an incomplete process, the new states entered into the project being isolated at the economical and political periphery of the Union\(^2\).

The visible fractures sketch inside the European political, economical and cultural map need to be understood in a dynamic perspective. The changing patterns of the East and the disparities between the two layers of the European project become the sources of multiple risks.\(^3\) The acute misbalances formulated between these two dimensions were rotten in a substantial different historical legacy. Western European core of civilization and the continental peripheries of the East Europe did not share the same constitutive prospects\(^4\) in the field of societal structure, political culture nor even in collective benchmarks and values.

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The East European space bears the burden of a complicated political heritage, left behind by the communist era. The insertion of an oppressive political pattern at the begging of the 60’s inaugurated a historical shift inside the European configuration. The East Europe become politically isolated and accumulated a crucial deficit of modernity. The parallel evolutions of these two encapsulated dimensions of the European map could not be surmounted by the slow changes operated trough the transitional era and so, this difficulty in managing the historical heritage was transferred to the extended European map, nowadays.

The tension raised by the renegotiations of borders politics inside the European project can be decrypted only through the lent of multiple dependencies. One key aspect that needs to be analyzed in order to obtain a better understanding of contradictory European identities is linked with the subject of post totalitarian legacy. The former socialist archipelago of the East had experience a set of major social and political phenomena, at the begging of the 90, but the changing mechanism did not inaugurated a simple and uniform evolutionary pattern. The general picture of East European transitional epoch is marked by the presence of at least three fundamental axes of development: a democratic layer, an authoritarian sphere and a hybrid category, which was reuniting features from the first two directions, mentioned above\(^5\). This spectrum of changing axes evolving between two essential referential points, authoritarian continuity and emerging democracy, influenced in an essential manner the reconfiguration and reconstruction of the European

\(^3\) *Idem*, p. 19.
\(^4\) *Idem*, p. 19.
identity. During the Cold War, the limits of the European identity were trapped in a contradictory movement. The East Europe was crossed by a political and cultural fracture which pressed the socialist states to create an alternative identity, in some of the cases, with a strong isolationist character. In the same time, the Western Europe evolved in a parallel paradigm, assuming the East as an external space, fundamentally different through its general cultural and geopolitical landmarks. The presence of a tensional line inside the European map becomes the sources of a conflicted memory.\(^6\) Thereby, the attempt to recollect the European identity in a cohesive matrix after the fall of the communist was confronted with major cultural limitations. The problem of multiple identities revealed by the dissolution of totalitarian orders was doubled by the influence of a tensional memory.

The problem of multiple identities revealed by the dissolution of totalitarian orders was doubled by the influence of a tensional memory. Created initially as an economic cooperation structure, the project of the European Union develops its institutional scaffolding in a historical horizon dominated by strong geo-political cleavages. At the beginning of the 60's, the European map was divided in two encapsulated political spheres. These economical, cultural and ideological contradictions became the sources of an influential post-confliction map, which remained essential stratified in multiple layers. The attempts of reconciliation between the Eastern Europe and the Western model were inaugurated at the middle of the 80's, but this complicated process did not cease even after the fall of the Iron Curtain, in the 90's. The tension between the two Europes, the western culture and the isolated Eastern sphere, had escalated after the Second World War. The reconfiguration of the geopolitical picture was opposing two massive political and cultural blocks which pressed the European space to adapt in a tensional cartography of borderlands. In the light of this consideration, the creation of first institutional structures which will become the precursors of the European Union was producing as a corrective reaction to the new militant identity of the communist East.\(^7\)

Communization of the Eastern Europe required a reactive restructuration of the democratic Western world. Thus, the European project was inaugurated as a political, cultural and economical reply to the evolutions triggered by the Communist rule in the East. This aspect remains crucial for understanding the strong tension raised inside the European identity and memory through the symbolic borderline placed on the axis East-West. This demarcation line is an important proof of the complicated legacy regarding the subject of identity reconstruction. The evolutions of the former communist states inside the European structures are strongly engraven by the presence of multiple internal cleavages. The consequences raised by this type of geopolitical fragmentation were complex and they propagate in a various range of fields. As already was mentioned

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\(^7\) The European post-war reactions in tandem with the American foreign policy were strongly influenced by the evolution appeared inside the communist space, Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia*, Simon & Shuster, 2008, p. 3.
before, the demarcation raised inside the European identity at the beginning of the 60's, was the subject of multiple renegotiations.

The politics of borderlines practiced by the Soviet Union in the 80's supported a startling reorientation, simultaneous with the Gorbachev doctrine. When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power the intensity of the conflict between the East and the West was reaching acute notes\(^8\). The change of geopolitical climate triggered by the Gorbachev doctrine produced not only a restructuration of the economical and political interaction inside the socialist sisterhood, but also a reconsideration of the fracture line which was separating Eastern Europe from the democratic world and implicitly from the West side of the continent. The key concepts of Gorbachev doctrine, Glasnost and Perestroika\(^9\), were aiming to defuse the internal malfunctions of the planned economy and in the same to permit a re-evaluation of the geopolitical status of the communist world. The effects propagated by the Gorbachev attempt of reformation could not be analyzed in a unique matrix. The reactions of the communist states were contradictory and they also induce an essential reorganization of the geopolitical map. Some of the socialist actors engaged themselves on the road to liberalization and adopted a set of economic policies which became the basis for reconciliation with the western models, while others remain in a frozen ideological pattern. The reformation wave triggered by the Gorbachev doctrine was propagating its effects inside a geopolitical model which brings back in discussion the hypothesis of tensional borderlands. The socialist group which manifested permeability to the major reforms proposed by the Gorbachev doctrine was sharing a proximity condition. The most intense effects of the reformation policies were experienced in countries as Poland, Czech Republic, while states such as Romania or Bulgaria remained incarcerated in an anachronistic form of communism, often labeled as late Stalinism. The fracture line generated by the Gorbachev doctrine inside the communist archipelago became responsible for the apparition of secondary border configurations. The evolution of the socialist states after the 80's could be shaded in two major directions. An integrative approach, which included a slow transformation of the economical and political institutions and an isolationist response, characterized by a regression movement to personalized dictatorship patterns.

The shifts operated inside the Eastern Europe political and economical map in the 80’s become the source of new type of political border. The reformed communist systems which engaged themselves to the reformatations become gradually more similar with the western countries, while the isolated forms of communism remained some dysfunctional political enclaves. The initial border, separating Western European countries from the communist camp was slowly sublimated and the new emerged border transformed itself in a new limit of the European project. The initial function of the European mechanism


\(^9\) Openness and Restructuration, Idem, p. 21.
created in the 60’s was to build an economical and political equilibrium to the Communized East. Still, the disappearance of the communist systems in the 90’s disclosed a set of secondary borders. Some countries of the East Europe were already gliding to the core Western identity, and other significant parts of the former communist archipelago were trapped in a historical blockage. The relevance of the secondary breech produced by the Gorbachev doctrine in the 80’s was divulged at the begging of the transitional era. The evolutions of the East European space were dependent on a radial model. The Western Europe remained a political centre which progressively absorbs its proximal borderlands. The cultural diffusion of the western values into the European space became a determinant factor for the future institutional and political evolution. The process of integration of the new members inside the European Union conserved with great accuracy the contours of a symbolic cartography. The East - West tensional breech was replaced with a new set of restrictive landmarks. The diffusion of the European culture in its proximal spaces created the presupposition for a functional integration of the new members. Thus, the participation of the reformed communist countries inside the European Union was seen very often as a natural evolution of the reforms triggered in the 80’s. Still, some dysfunctional layers of the former communist system were gradually accepted inside the European project. It is the very case of Romania and other hybrid transitional regimes.

The argumentation for European project extension to the East is a complex one and covers not only economical aspects, but even an important geopolitical burden. The concentric configuration of the European project did not genuinely change during the extension of the European borders, and the new members were sharing a depreciative status. The pending membership is a characteristic of the late stages of the integration process, and concomitantly become the symptom of an authentic crisis inside the European Union. The central question raised by this evolutionary picture is referring to the profound changes operated inside the European identity, subsequent of the Eastern integration.

One first explanatory hypothesis raised by the previous interrogation leads to a cultural argument. Great majority of approaches regarding European identity are sharing a simple centric vision of expansion around a political and economical core model. Still, the symbolic borders and the presence of a marginal culture influenced in a major key the structural and institutional evolution of the European project. It remains important to underline that the creation of the European concept, especially in the first decades after the Second World War, was produced under the pressure of an external model. The existence of a significant alternative in the Eastern space induced inside the European identity a conflicting vocation. The

11 Idem, p. 33
13 Idem, p. 113.
disappearance of the bipolar equation, opposing communized East to the democratic tradition of the West did not suppress the tensional memory of the European project. The prospects of evolution for the Union were dependent by the process of reconfigurations and reconsiderations of the borders, but those changes did not imply the dissolution of the “marginal” identities. The expansion of the European model was nowadays recreating the radial format of the communist transformations. The historical border sketched by the Gorbachev doctrine in the 80's became the new limit of the European identity. The status of structural periphery experienced by the East Europe had some interesting historical antecedents, but after the end of the “era of superpowers”, their political, economical and identity background suffered some serious degradation. The former Warsaw Pact territory failed in reaching levels of development congruent with the central nucleus of the western project, but this evolutionary error seemed to represent an accepted limit for the European oikumena. As a conclusion, Eastern Europe could be described as a proximal border for the concept of “wider Europe” and not as a constitutive part of a project which reformed genuinely its previous limitations. The participation of the East European countries inside the European institutional scaffolding represented of course, a change inside the identity pattern, but the reformation of cultural landmarks did not function as a dissolving mechanism for the antecedent symbolic cartography. The presence of a confliction argument inside the European project remained an important argument for refusing the full integration of the East European space.

Another important argument in explaining the malfunctions generated by the integration of the former communist entities to the European project is connected with an evolutionary hypothesis. In this case, the communist heritage played a substantial role in defining the frames of development for the transitional era. At the beginning of the 90's, the sudden collapse of communist regimes triggered a complex phenomena, with was reissuing in great lines the processes of transformations experienced by Western Europe after Second World War. The phenomenon of democratization was also disclosing a hidden modernization process, inherently determined by the change of the political order. The explanation for this anachronistic evolutionary move is connected with the subject of communist legacy. The communization process operated in the 50's all over the East European space did not involve an authentically modernization. The installation of modernity towards a traditional societal structure implies the cohesive and simultaneous manifestation of a collection of interdependent vectors such as: industrialization, urbanization, secularization, increasing literacy, democratization and growing political activism. At a first glimpse,

14 Renata Dawn, Building security in Europe’s New Borderlands: Subregional cooperation in the Wider Europe, M. E. Sharp, 1999, p. 6
15 Idem, p. 6.
16 Idem, p. 7.
communist regimes apparently provided some of the items of the equation, but failed in completing the last two mandatory conditions. Without democratization and by delaying the political activism of new social vectors, communism maintained East Europe under the auspices of a fragmented modernity. The emergence of a modernization process concomitantly with the change of the political order determined a set of adjacent processes which engravened with a particular societal configuration the great majority of the East European actors. The modernization movement implied a resurrection of an instability climate, mostly nourished by the disparities appeared between the political institutions and the social forces. Lacking a culture of political association, democratization inaugurated a set of mass pathologies which complicated the evolutions of transitional societies. The vulnerabilities of new born democracies in the East Europe required to be understood in the light of their communist legacy. Once again, the Gorbachev doctrine becomes responsible for the apparition of a subsidiary border inside the East European identity.

The reformation process initiated in the 80's triggered important consequences inside the institutional scaffolding of the communist states. Through the acceptance of perestroika, some of the communist entities engaged themselves not only in a slow reformations process, but also on the path of modernization. The gradually changes operated inside the reformed communism reduced the historical disparity in the sphere of modernization. That also implied a rehash of the borders map, gliding some of the communist entities in a more suitable proximity of the European project. The deficit of modernity that affected the states of isolated communism was not totally overpasses during the transitional period also due to some derived phenomena. The modernization formula of the post communist world was in fact a hybrid process, implying the conservation of dysfunctional institutional layers, doubled by the apparently insertion of a genuine democratic patterns. In this context, the evolution of the East European space divulge the presence of a set of multiple borders, with cultural and systemic causes, that make difficult, or almost impossible, to surmount. Starting from the moment of emergence of the initial European structure, in the 60's, the European project was build as a compensatory entity to the Eastern ideological block. The present transformation of the former communist states in “marginal peripheries” demonstrates the lack of efficiency of European politics of borderlands. The different shades of identity existing inside the European map are doubled by different shades of modernity. The apparition of a symbolic, political and economical limit inside the official contours of the Union is a hardly to litigate diagnostic and require some substantial reconsideration of the future development strategies.

The integration crisis raised by the East European extension is also doubled by the emergence of local responses to the central economical, political and cultural model. The European formula functioned in the last two decades as a melting pot, but this absorbing movement tends to show its limitation. The

The apparition of euro-skepticism and the resurrection of some forms of militant nationalism generate some complicated questions in the field of European extended cartography. European project was also assimilated to the globalization phenomenon and this peculiar implication produced some major consequences. The glocalization\textsuperscript{20} reaction to the European extension was in fact the result of an accumulation of systemic tensions. The lack of permeability of the East to the western model created a historical gap. The societal structure and institutions of this neglected part of Europe almost crushed under the pressure of the political change and its adaptive response was sometimes refractory to the core model. The glissade of the East Europe between globalization of institutions and identities and a glocalization response is an ongoing dynamic and its final results remain cast in shadow, despite the optimistic prospects of the European proximal agenda\textsuperscript{21}.

2. European project: globalization, glocalization and new politics of borderlands

One of the declared aims of the European project, since its inception, was to create the basis for an extension of democratic climate in its proximal environment\textsuperscript{22}. At a first analysis, this central purpose was realized, at least concerning the general frames. Thus, the European project extension can be labeled as “one of the most effective democracy promotion mechanisms”\textsuperscript{23} developed and applied in the contemporary word. Still, this positive democratization movement conceals some major internal borders and cleavages, whose source still remained very little analyzed. The existence of a cultural gap between the two realms of the former Soviet block is certitude, but the influence and the relevance of this European breech are not yet fully understood. The mandatory condition for the participation inside the European political and economical cartography was referring to the presence of a genuine democratic engagement. This exclusive condition was created as a protective mechanism of the core structure that proved its efficiency during the first decades of European extension. Still, the process of Eastern integration triggered some contradictory evolutions inside the European project, mostly generated by the interference of a political pressure, which exceeded the initial conditions. The European extension to the former communist camp was justified not only through the democratization quest, but also by the interventions of other subsequent arguments. The increasing geopolitical tension forced the European project to renegotiate its borderlands strategy in an accelerated

\textsuperscript{20} Globalization can be defined as a hybridization of the global trends with local cultural models and patterns, George Ritzer, \textit{Globalization: A Basic text}, John Wiley & Sons, 2009, p. 255.

\textsuperscript{21} The enlargements from 2004 and 2007 were often seen as a successful step in reaching a re-unification of the European space. ed. Graham Avery, Anne Faber, Anne Schmidt, \textit{Enlarging the European Union: Effects on the new member states and the EU}, Tran European Policy Study Association, Brussels, 2009, p. 16.


\textsuperscript{23} Idem, p. 1.
calendar. The effects of this reconstruction of paradigm are enormous and they can be considered as triggering vectors for the present disparities and malfunctions inside the European structures.

Established in 1957, the Treaty of Rome opened the possibility for any European entity to adhere to the EC project, if two essential demands were satisfied: the agreement of the present members of the community and the guarantee for a democratic development. Despite this apparent openness to the renegotiations of the borders and to the extension of the common identities, in its early stages the European community conserved a major exclusive vocation. The isolation of the East block and the refusal for dialog with the authoritarian regimes from Spain and Portugal were motivated by the lack of democratic prospects of evolutions for those external spaces\textsuperscript{24}. In this case, the European project was oriented to the inclusion of its proximal neighborhoods, the affinity being established through a cultural restrictive grid. The roots of the globalized vocation of the European project can be identified only appealing the subsequent evolutions, in this initial stage the border configurations the project remaining attached to a very intuitive limitation. Also, the glocalization response will enter the European scene only after the extension of the natural border to the East, bringing in discussion an interesting hypothesis regarding the reconstruction of the argumentative scaffolding. The intermediary enlargement regarding the Iberian Peninsula will play in important role in the direction of renegotiation of the European identity landmarks, preparing a re-tailoring of the European concept.

The emergence of a Mediterranean enlargement in the 60's had evolved in a contradictory manner, the negotiations with Greece failing after the authoritarian slippage from the 1967\textsuperscript{25}. Spain situation also remained unclear, the European structure avoiding any dialog with Salazar regime, even after the official request of negotiation released in the 1962. The enlargement from 1973, when three important states become members of the community, Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark\textsuperscript{26}, did not affect in an essential manner the identity of the European project. At this point, the mandatory condition of the democratic path was functioning accurately. The integration of the classical benchmarks of the European culture inside the institutional and political project of the community was exploiting a natural cultural empathy. At this foundational stage, the European project was only recollecting the parts of a previous symbolic community, which started its existence after the Cultural Revolution initiated at the end of the Second World War\textsuperscript{27}. The first phase of enlargement did not produce any cultural or institutional malfunctions, mainly because it was respecting the initial contours of a well established European map. The progressive expansion of the European borders was at that stage only an integration of spaces with similar historical and institutional background, and their immersion inside the projects was not problematically at all.

\textsuperscript{24} Idem, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{25} Idem, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{26} Idem, p. 2.
The clash of the authoritarian regimes 1970 created a new evolutionary direction for the European project, the Iberian countries being recuperated through new reformations of the politics of borderlands. It remains important to underline that the Mediterranean expansion had as a central argument the urgent need of the European project to limit the possible contamination of those proximal spaces with communist ideological vectors. The urge in building a solid community configuration, which assured the isolation of the Eastern block, stimulated the European project to invest strategically in the direction of an extended identity. The expansion movement encountered after the moment of the Mediterranean openness is characterized by the apparition of a dual selection mechanism. The reconstruction of the European space was evolving in a conflicting logic and not only through the application of the “democratic grid”. The arguments for European expansion were over passing the initial proximal and emphatic condition and the community projected entered in a new developing stage. The collapse of the Iron Curtain in the early 90’s changed in a profound manner the geopolitical frames which had previously motivated the evolutions of the European project. The dissolution of the bi-polar formula of the East / West axis pressed the European identity to reconstruct its foundations. The gradually extension of the borders in the direction of the former Soviet space become the emerging point of a reconversion process, that started at the beginning of the 90’s and did not yet reached its final line. The European organism exerted a major influence over the former communist countries, but concomitantly, the dialogue with the Eastern entities changes the core representations and landmarks of the initial European project. After the communist clash, the European mechanisms were slowly adapted in order to support the transformation of the East European space. From the proximal paradigm of the first stages of extension to the adjuvant policies of the 90’s, the European agenda and aims were supporting some startling reconfigurations. At the begging of 1990, EU signed association agreement with ten former communist states. This pre-adherence pact marked the begging of a process of “anticipatory adaptation” for the future members of the community and also reignited the complicated subject of the borders strategy. Only five of the former communist states were admitted in the first wave of enlargement: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia.

This type of decoupage is justified mainly by the presence of some previous societal and institutional changes inside these emergent changing societies. The option for limited or selective enlargement of the European project was motivated by the need to conserve the internal coherence and stability of the community. Through the renegotiations of the Eastern border, the European identity was forcing its limits and inner cohesion. The former socialist states located at the Eastern border had engaged themselves to the road to democratization, but the systemic disparities remained strong. The intensive investment of the Union

28 Ibidem, p. 2.
30 Idem, p. 104.
regarding these proximal borderlands shows ones again the presence of an adjacent motivation, beside the
democratic evolutions or prospects. Still, between East European candidates countries to the Union there
were subsisting profound asymmetries in the field of democratic potential. The enlargement from the 1995,
when Finland, Austria and Sweden joined the European project can be considered as non problematic in the
subject of borders renegotiations. Those three countries mentioned below were fitting perfectly inside the
European frame, trough their societal configuration, economic development and even cultural memory. This
type of restructuration of the borders can be seen as predictable and apparently did not announce the major
change of path generated by the admission of the Eastern space. The pending membership of the former
communist states did not initially created manifest concerns regarding the unity and the reliability of the
European project. The negotiations between the core Western structures and the former communist
archipelago were seen as a natural consequence of the deconstruction of the former bi-polar logic of the Cold
War. The European project was acting as unifying identity frame, promoting democracy, free market and
rule of the law. The formalization of the admission mechanism after the Copenhagen criteria\textsuperscript{31} seemed to act
as a guarantee for the genuine commitment of the Eastern space to the European identities and values, but
those initially expectations were soon contradicted by the fragmentary evolutions of the new admitted
members.

After the slow reconsideration of the borders strategy determined by the Mediterranean extension, in
2004 the European project choose to change in a fundamental manner its identity limits. The major
reconfiguration triggered by the enlargement from 2004 and 2007 created an important pressure against the
traditional contours. The central issue of the process of enlargement is referring to the transgression of the
intuitive limits of the European identity. In its median and eastern part, Europe had experienced a substantial
different legacy in the field of societal evolutions, institutional dynamic and cultural sedimentation. Under
those auspices, the process of extension of the European frame to the East generated also critique remarks –
the new cartography of the European project was sometimes labeled as a form of neo-colonialism\textsuperscript{32}, raising
complicated reactions, both from the East and from the West. The stage of the eastern enlargement can be
considered as a crucial moment for the renegotiation of the European identities. The pressure created by the
new admitted members was not only structural and institutional, but also cultural. Exceeding the initial
border, the Union project became an expression of a globalized type of political order. Also, the major
change operated inside the sphere of European project became the source of a major reconfiguration of the
local and regional political evolutions. The globalization phenomenon was doubled by a “vernacular

\textsuperscript{31} European Council from 1993, \textit{op. cit.} Grezegorz Ekiert, \textit{Dilemmas of Europeanization: Eastern and Central Europe
after EU Enlargement.}, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Idem}, p. 4.
reaction\textsuperscript{33} that transformed all the previous landmarks. The glocalization response to the European enlargement was concerning two major types of arguments. One first category of reactive symptomatology was motivated by the dysfunctional identity of the new born post communist democracies. Benefiting from an ambiguous image, the former soviet archipelago reactivated a major breech inside the European identity. The reserve manifested by the main entities of the Western Europe to this new layer of the project can be consider as a protective reaction against a destabilization of the initial arguments and motivations of the project. Through the eastern expansion, the central idea of the European structure evolved from a proximity equation to an inclusive formula. The roots of this transformation are complex, but still it is possible to isolate some determinant aspects. The glissade of the European identity from a solid and uniform community to a radial structure, with a core centre and concentric circles of gradual peripheries, was motivated by the ascension of a political argument that put in shadow some of the economic and societal conditions.

This work hypothesis is also advocated by the reactive responses produced inside the extended European map. The former communist states manifested an intense interest in adopting the European cultural frame, in many cases in a more accelerated manner that it was initially estimated. The positive climate towards integrations was not, at least in the first stages, confronting with isolationist responses, similar with those offered by the core entities of the West. This type of positive mythology of integration can still be subsumed to a special type of glocalization response. The East European identities were aiming to sublimate the border that was separating them as an exclusion line from the Western world. Nevertheless, this overbid of the enlargement process consequences produced some paradoxically outcomes. The incomplete development of the democratic frames and institutional culture of the East European space created a fragmentary integration. The European project map did not genuinely exceeded is limits, it only partially diminished the exclusion contours. The incomplete integration of the East European space had some influential historical roots, a determinant moment remaining the Gorbachev schismatic move.

3. Conclusions

In order to formulate some final considerations, it is necessary to admit the presence of a complex heritage in the subject of European identity. The process of border renegotiations represents an ongoing dynamic, and the final fruits of this complex process could be very different from the ones placed in the pipeline. The European map is still engraved by the presence of multiple symbolic borders and the general evolutions of the European project can’t ignore the presence of this internal stratification. The historic legacy of Eastern Europe is substantially different from the one of the West world and the cultural gap can not be solved under

\textsuperscript{33} The local reactions to the dominant cultural pattern are often conflictual, Will Kymlika, \textit{Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship}, Oxford University Press, 2001. 12.
the present conditions. Bridging the gap requires a profound reconsideration of the foundational arguments of the European identity and not only an intense cultural and ideological missioner practice.

As a final conclusion, the reconstruction of the European identity in the general context of reconfigurations of borderlands is influenced by the presence of set of essential phenomena. One essential theme that solicits a broader analysis is referring to the presence of a complex societal crisis regarding modernity. As it was discussed previously, the eastern space is confronting with some unfinished political evolutions. Thereby, the existence of a fragmented modernity influenced in a crucial manner the process of integration. The interactions between the democratization quest and the equation of modernity are fundamental, especially in a space strongly engraved by the presence of multiple identities. The evolutions of former communist countries trough modernity is hybridized by the cryptic survival of the scaffolding of the totalitarian structure. The presence of strong social cleavages and the resurrection of local symbolic vulnerabilities generate important questions regarding the future evolutions of the European project. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, Eastern Europe endured the apparition of an influential “invented tradition”. The present glocalization responses are strong connected with local phenomena such as apparition of militant nationalism and threaten of authoritarian slippages. The apparition of multiple shades of modernity is triggering also multiple identities. Modernization can not always be assimilated with “westernization” and this tensional relation also brings in discussion the subject of the internal cultural borders. Despite the fact that the modernity project started in a common and apparently uniform frame, the local evolutions produced a multiplication of the original pattern. The glocalization reaction and the globalization quest can’t be isolated from the general project of modernity. Inherently those two interconnected phenomena solicit a major reconstruction in the field of collective identities, and the politics of borderland has a central role inside this process of cultural reconfiguration.

36 Shmuei Noah Eisenstad, Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities, BRILL, 2003, p. 536.
37 Idem, p. 517.
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5. References