

Valeriu FRUNZARU*
Nicoleta CORBU**

In Search of a European Identity: An Instrumental Approach***

Abstract: European identity is often considered a civic identity, as opposed to a cultural one, because of the instrumental approach that people use when making estimations regarding their attitudes toward the EU. We build on Habermas' view regarding the pragmatic understanding of the impact European decisions have on people's everyday lives, and argue that the European identity is intrinsically linked to the costs-benefits paradigm of assessing the importance of European decisions. Therefore we consider the European identity must be understood as a civic identity and emphasize the need of a general profile of a citizen who consider himself a European citizen as well, in order to understand the consequences of the European integration. By means of a national survey conducted in May 2011, we show that the European citizen who acknowledges his/her European identity is highly educated, has a high income, lives in urban areas of the country, and is more convinced of the advantages of the Romanian integration in the EU than the disadvantages. In the same time, he/she is more knowledgeable in what concerns basic EU-related information. This confirms the hypothesis of the acknowledgement of the European identity by means of pragmatic identifications of the costs and benefits of the European integration.

Keywords: European identity; national identity; self vs. others; civic identity.

1. Introduction

This article aims at understanding how (and if) people in newly integrated countries, such as Romania, understand and experience the European identity. The academic literature in the field argues that the European identity has a scattered meaning and to measure such a concept needs a fair clarification of the term. Currently, there are three different mainstream currents of interpretation. The "doom and gloom" one is based on the criticism of the enlargement process and the ever-raising euroscepticism, and remains "concerned about the apparent absence of a European public sphere" (Trandafoiu, 2006, p. 91). In this context, the European identity is perceived as a rather theoretical construct, an empty shell or at best a desired ideal that may never be accomplished. The optimistic trend discusses the construction of a European identity as a continuous process whose reality is proven by various phenomena, such as migration and media coverage of European issues. The third approach focuses on Euro-

* College of Communication and Public Relations, National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest, Romania, valeriu.frunzaru@comunicare.ro.

** College of Communication and Public Relations, National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest, Romania, nicoleta.corbu@comunicare.ro.

*** This article is the result of research in the project no 1033 "The media construction of europeanization as a public problem in the context of the European integration of Romanian society" financed by the Romanian National Research University Council.

pean identities that exist in the plural, arguing that people from different parts of the European Union have different representations of the European identity and thus experience differently the common supra-national identity.

The last perspective refocuses the discussion on the distinction between cultural European identity versus civic European identity. Even if there are scholars who argue that European identity has elements of both components (Bruter, 2007, p. 3), when asked about their European identity, people usually respond in civic terms, "European" being primarily associated with European citizenship. Other researchers (Hilson, 2007) argue in favor of a civic understanding of the European identity based on the problematic of fundamental human rights and supranational polity.

In this article we consider the European identity rather as a civic one; more over, we argue that one can talk about an instrumental European identity. People consider themselves European only if they perceive the European integration as a benefic process that would positively affect their lives, and thus making them differentiate from "others", from the out-group. We argue that the out-group is not necessarily formed of non-integrated countries, but as well on a comparison that people more or less conscious make between their social lives before the European integration and after. The general purpose of this article is to identify the general "profile" of the European Romanian citizen, in order to understand how the integration (never-ending) process might influence in the future a clearer highlight of the European identity.

2. Identity, Identities: In Search of a European Identity

To clarify the concept of European identity, we need to first understand the concept of "identity" and the capacity of humans to experience more than one identity at once. The concept of identity is very broad and thus ambiguous; it covers "such a variety of things that it makes no sense to ask what it really means" (Kamphausen, 2006, p. 24), and "bears a multivalent, even contradictory theoretical burden" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 8).

Defined as "a sociocultural construct that affects how people behave and communicate" (Shin, Jackson, 2003, p. 212), identity is the one concept that provides the necessary delimitation between the self and the others, between the group and the others. Identity is the term that explains how people experience a sense of self, and a sense of belonging to a group. Gudykunst and Kim (1997) argue that identities can be grouped under three broad categories: human identity (the views of self that people share with all other humans), social identity (the views of self that people share with other members of the in-group), and the personal identity (what is unique to every human being and defines him/her as an individual personality).

When discussing identity, the concept of "self" comes into playing a key part, because personal identity is intrinsically linked to social identity. Or, as Anthony Giddens puts it, "in forging their self-identity (no matter how local their specific context of action), individuals contribute to and directly promote *social* influences that are global in their consequences and implications." (1991, p. 2).

The concept of "identity" has long been studied in the last decades in relation with the concept of "other" (Shore, 1993, Craib, 1998, Jenkins, 2000, Arts, Halman, 2006, Tiryaki, 2006, Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009). Thus, identity can be represented as a process of classification, involving boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, boundaries between *in-group* and *out-groups*. Identity "is essentially a dualistic concept: in order to define 'us', there must be a

corresponding ‘them’, against which we come to recognize ourselves as different” (Shore, 1993, p. 782). In other words, identity defines not only an in-group, but also one or several out-groups. Differently put, “our idea of who we are is usually framed as a response to some ‘other’ group” (Fligstein, 2009, p. 135).

Historically, the concept of European identity was launched at the European Community summit in Copenhagen, in 1973, in a situation of “profound crisis in national economic government” (Stråth, 2006, p. 439). Another important moment was 1984, when the European Council gathered in Fontainebleau and launched, under the lead of the Italian lawyer Pietro Adonnino, a campaign called “A People’s Europe”, “which aimed at building and further fortifying the European identity” (Tiryaki, 2006, p. 42). Thus, the European identity as a key concept came into being as counterpart to the lack of identity visible in the interpretative framework existent at the time.

European identity can be conceived as a two-face concept, built on national identity. There are two different approaches on the relationship between national and European identities: on the one hand, there is a tension, even a conflict, between dual identities that compete against each other; on the other, one could imagine harmony between them, as people would be perfectly happy with multiple identities (Arts, Halman, 2006; Dufek, 2009), just as they are with local and national ones. The trans-national identity would be thus a layer of a higher degree in the long line of social identities: group, local, ethnic, regional, national, supra-national (European).

3. The European Identity: An Instrumental Approach

Common identities, such as local, national, ethnic, etc. are said to be forged out of shared experiences, traditions, memories and myths, in relation to those of other collective identities. They are in fact often forged through opposition to the identities of significant others. Briefly, the formation of all social and cultural identities necessarily involves processes of differentiation, of separation, of delimitation, and group identity is often reinforced by the stigmatization of the “other” (Jenkins, Sofos, 1996). The European identity makes no exception.

What we call Europe today has been constituted “by an ongoing construction of difference with regard to a respective other” (Kamphausen, 2006, p. 25). Which means that the construction of Europe relies on the construction of “others” (Christiansen, Jorgensen, Wiener, 2001, Baycroft, 2004, Katzenstein, Checkel, 2009), against which a separate European identity is seen as being built, invented, created or simply taken for granted.

Different authors bring different historical arguments in delimitating among the significant *others*. And we believe that the European self is often delimited from different “others” in different contexts. But, there is one “other” that is not mentioned by the academic literature: the old “us” who has become “the other”. This is to say that for newly integrated countries, such as Romania, the main delimitation people instinctively make is between the European Romanians and the Romanians before the European integration, which means that the European identity builds a time boundary instead of a space one. Just as an old convict after being released from prison delimitate himself from his old self, as if he was reborn, Romanians make imaginary boundaries between their old selves and the new ones. And the distinction is possible through an unconscious process of assessing the “costs and benefits” of the integration at each moment.

We argue in fact, that the European identity has no other chance of survival but to reinforce its instrumental dimension, translated into what Habermas (2011) calls “the impact factor”, the extent to which people become conscious of the impact that the common European decisions has on their life standards: “the more the national populations realise, and the media help them to realise, how deeply the decisions of the European Union pervade their everyday lives, the more interested they will become in making use of their democratic rights as citizens of the union.” (Habermas, 2011)

Following this logic, the sense of being European must be perceived mostly by those on whom the impact factor is higher and who are more conscious of the (present of future) benefits they (or their country) might have as a result of being part of a trans-national state. This raises the question of who are these people who experience a sense of their European layer of identity? What differentiate them from others and what are the dominant ways in which they rely to the idea of the European Union?

We argue thus in favor of an instrumental understanding of the European identity, which involves a civic dimension of citizenship and a costs-benefits general frame of understanding.

The research questions guiding this research were:

RQ1. What is the profile of people who feel European (even if perceived as a second nature)? What are their socio-demographic characteristics?

RQ2. How people who feel European versus people who feel Romanian only perceive the costs and benefits of the European integration?

RQ3. What is the level of information about the EU of people who feel European versus people who feel Romanian only?

4. Methodology

To investigate how Romanian citizens perceive their European identity and to analyze the characteristics of the respondents who feel European, we conducted a sociological in-person survey on a national representative sample (N=1199). We used a stratified sample, on two stages, taking into consideration the population structure regarding residence and regions of development, with a sample error of 2,8%, at a 95% confidence level.

Academic debates regarding European identity raise methodological problems because if this trans-national identification is just an empty shell, a theoretical construct, then we intend to measure a reality that does not exist. From the theories that approach this topic, we used the concept of the *civic identity* because we consider that people are rather interested in the benefits of the European integration, than in sharing common symbols (such as anthem, flag etc.) or identify with a community, and are interested in how being part of the European Union might affect their daily lives. In order to identify if Romanian citizens feel Romanian and/or European, we used a multiple-choice question where the possible answers were: Romanian only, Romanian and European, European and Romanian, and European only. This kind of scale can be found in the eurobarometres as well, which makes possible a comparison between Romanians and other Member States citizens.

To test the relationship between the feeling of being European and the knowledge of basic information about the European Union we used a ten-item scale. This kind of scale was retrieved from the Eurostat surveys in 2004, and adapted to the present situation.¹ A correct

answer was awarded with 1 point, and the final score was the sum of the ten items, with 0 representing the lowest level of knowledge and 10 the highest level of knowledge.

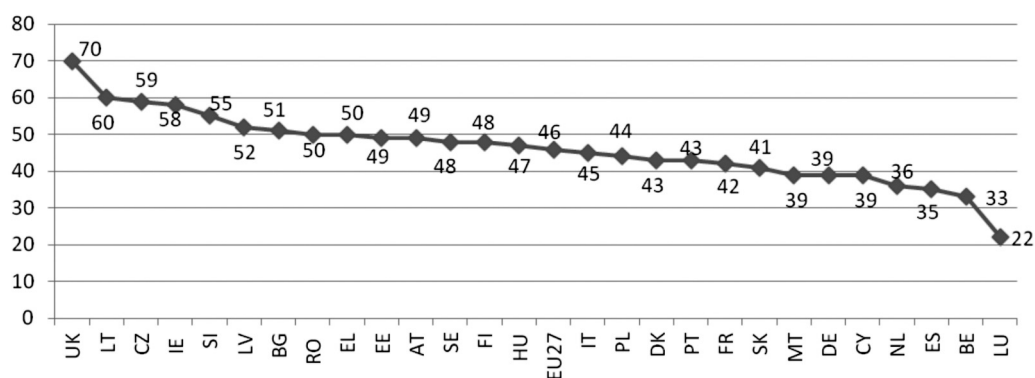
The respondents' knowledge regarding the European Union was measured using a 7 step Likert scale; this helped verify the extent to which people have a correct representation of their level of information regarding the European Union.

5. Findings

In the Romanian modern history, politicians, academics, researchers have raised the problem of Romania as a European state. Therefore joining the European Union should be an important step of clarification of our European identity both for the self-image and for the image in the eyes of Western Europeans. Being a member of this "select club" involves for Romanians and for other ex-communist New Member States a feeling of belonging to a common civilized and rich community. However, the majority of the respondents in the survey felt Romanian only (61%), about one third Romanian and European (33.7%), and just few European and Romanian (1.4%) or European only (0.4%). Few respondents (1.7%) said that they feel that they have other identity than the options offered, and the majority of them considered themselves Hungarian (1.2%).

Thus, the national layer of one's identity is much more powerfully perceived than the European one. However 35.5% of the respondents feel in a way or another that they are part of the European political system, which is to say that in Romania people experience a civic European identity and a cultural Romanian identity. According to Eurobarometer 73 from May 2010 (which served as a model in the wording of important questions in the questionnaire), in comparison with other Member States citizens, Romanians identified more than average with national state (Figure 1). In this hierarchy, citizens from United Kingdom, Lithuania, and Czech Republic felt more national and citizens from Luxembourg, Belgium, and Spain less national.

Figure 1. European citizens with only national identity.



Source: European Commission. 2010. *Eurobarometer 73. Public Opinion in the European Union*, vol. II, p. 115. (http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb73/eb73_en.htm, accessed at 11.10.2011.)

The Eurobarometer 73 (2010, p. 15) underlined that the most eurosceptic respondents are older, less educated, and with lower incomes. To see what are the characteristics of the Romanians who define themselves as European, we recoded the variable that measures Euro-

pean identification as a dichotomic variable, with "1" representing the "Europeans" (those who feel either European only, European and Romanian, or Romanian and European), and "0" the "Romanians" (all the other respondents, Romanian only and Others).

Younger people, with higher education and higher income, from urban areas identify more with the European Union than other Romanians (Figures 2-5). Therefore the European Union strategy for 2020 that focuses on the decrease of the social exclusion and on the increase of the percentage of people with higher education has as a latent function the increase of the level of identification with Europe. A more integrated Europe is not possible with poor, uneducated and eventually discriminated citizens.

Figure 2. European identity by age.

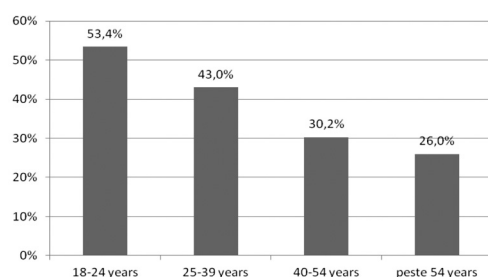


Figure 3. European identity by education.

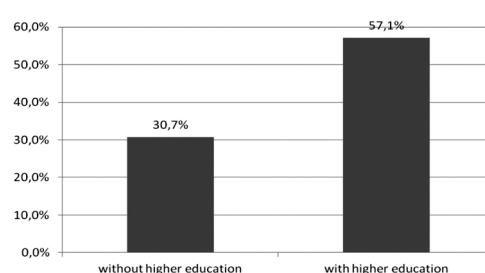


Figure 4. European identity by income.

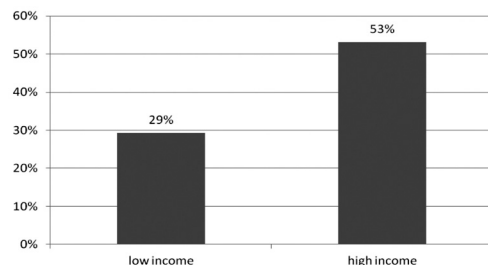
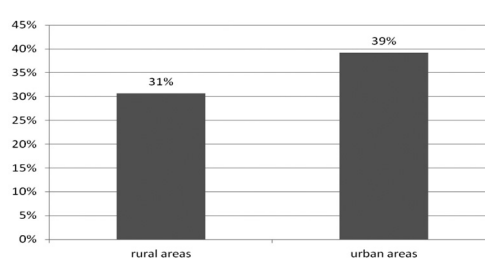


Figure 5. European identity by residence.



Because people having higher education have generally a higher income, we introduced the four variables discussed above into a logistic regression model where the dependent variable is the European identity, in order to see which independent variable has a significant impact on the dependent variable, holding all other variables constant. Two other variables were added: if the respondent visited other Member States and if the respondent considers that joining the European Union was a good thing for Romania. All the independent variables, except residence, have a significant impact on the dependent variable (Table 1). The variable "residence" is not significant in the regression model because people from urban areas compared with people from rural areas have higher education ($\chi^2 = 71.817$, $df=1$, $p<0.01$), higher income ($\chi^2 = 40.166$, $df=1$, $p<0.01$), consider that joining to the European Union was a good thing for Romania ($\chi^2 = 3.179$, $df=1$, $p<0.05$) and visited other Member States ($\chi^2 = 8.609$, $df=1$, $p<0.01$).

Table 1. Logistic regression explaining European identity.

	B	Exp(B)
Joining to the EU was a good thing	,423	1,526**
Education	,676	1,966**
Income	,688	1,990**
Age	-,010	,990*
Have visited other European Union countries	,554	1,740**
Residence (urban/rural)	,150	1,162
Constant	-,960	,383**

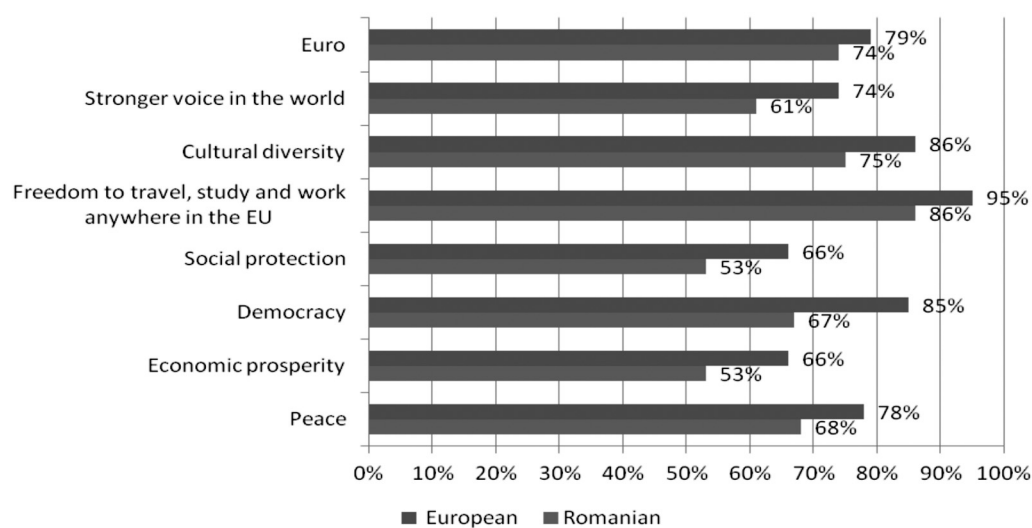
** Significant at the 0.01 level

* Significant at the 0.05 level

Nagelkerke R Square = 0,15

The chance to feel European is double the chance to feel Romanian if respondents have higher education or higher income; people feel more European if they are younger, have visited other Member States and consider that joining to the European Union was a good thing for Romania. These are arguments in favor of a pragmatic identity and confirm the thesis of Fligstein (2009, pp. 133-145) who considers that young, educated people, speaking one or more foreign languages, having higher income and the opportunity to travel and interact with similar individuals from other Member States have a higher probability to feel themselves European. The pragmatic identification to the European Union does not deny the possibility of a *cultural* identity, but stresses the fact that feeling European is not an emotional representation, but rather an identity built on awareness of costs and benefits.

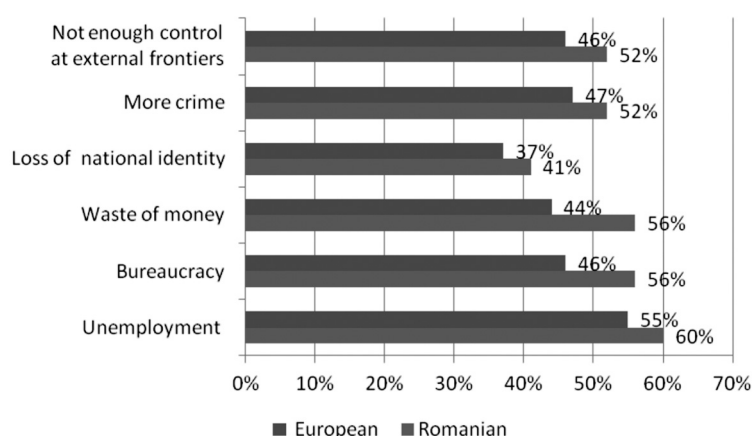
Figure 6. What does the European Union mean to you personally? (Positive aspects.)



People who feel European see not just personal benefits of being European citizens, but they also associate the European Union with positive aspects (Figure 6). The highest differences between "Europeans" and "Romanians" concern qualities associated with the European Union, such as democracy ($\chi^2 = 60.123$, $df=3$, $p<0.01$), economic prosperity ($\chi^2 = 31.329$, $df=3$, $p<0.01$) and stronger voice in the world ($\chi^2 = 57.354$, $df=3$, $p<0.01$). After the historical experience of the totalitarian communist regime, "Europeans", younger and more educated people, see the European Union as a democratic space they can identify with. Beyond economic (and social protection) prosperity that Romanians enjoy as European citizens, "Europeans" feel that they are part of a strong political system that can face the lack of power of the Member States in a global world.

If compared with "Romanians", the "Europeans" are less aware of the negative aspects regarding the European Union (Figure 7). The differences between the two groups are significant for the variables "waste of money" ($\chi^2 = 18.722$, $df=1$, $p<0.01$), bureaucracy ($\chi^2 = 7.973$, $df=1$, $p<0.01$), and "unemployment" ($\chi^2 = 60.123$, $df=3$, $p<0.05$). The lowest difference is registered for the variable "loss of national identity", ($\chi^2 = 1.466$, $df=1$, $p=0.127$), because a rather small percent of both "Romanians" (41%) and "Europeans" (37%) see it as a problem for Romania. Even when respondents were asked directly if the Romanian integration into the European Union means "a threat to the usage of the Romanian language" or "the loss of national and cultural identity", there were no significant differences between "Romanians" and "Europeans" ($\chi^2 = 0.295$, $df=1$, $p=0.316$; $\chi^2 = 1.025$, $df=1$, $p=0.172$). However, the fact that more than one out of three "Europeans" associate the negative aspect "the loss national identity" with the European Union is another argument for the idea that European identity is a civic identity. Moreover 47.6% of the "Europeans" consider that the European Union is a threat for the national and cultural identity, and therefore their identification with the European Union is mostly a pragmatic identification.

Figure 7. What does the European Union mean to you personally? (Negative aspects.)



What do "Europeans" know about the European Union? Do they identify with this political system just on the basis of positive image about the West civilized Europe? On a scale measuring knowledge about the European Union from 0 to 10, about four out of ten respondents scored more than 5 (about 45% of the "Europeans" and about 38% of the "Romanians"). There is a significant difference between the two groups regarding the level of knowledge about

the European Union ($t(1002)=-5.908$, $p<0.01$); "Europeans" were more homogeneous than "Romanians" from this point of view ($F(df=70)$ $F=6.058$, $p<0.05$). This can be explained by the fact that "Europeans" are more educated and younger, therefore more open to information regarding the European Union. As expected, respondents with higher education compared with the respondents without higher education are more informed about the European Union ($t(338)=-3.199$, $p<0.01$). Moreover there is a significant negative correlation between the level of knowledge about this political system and the age of the respondents ($r=-0.21$, $p<0.01$, $N=1104$).

There is a positive correlation between the respondents' level of information about the European Union and self-evaluations about this knowledge ($r=0.19$, $p<0.01$, $N=1104$), younger people considering correctly that they know more about the European Union than older people ($r=-0.16$, $p<0.01$, $N=1152$).

Even if the respondents evaluated fairly correctly their level of information regarding the European Union, most of them did not search for information (for example in mass media, info points, NGOs, etc.). When asked about the sources of information about the European Union, 12.7% of the respondents spontaneously answered that they do not look for this kind of information and 58.6% of them refused to respond to the question (Table 2).

Table 2. When you are looking for information about European Union, what kind of sources do you use?

I have never looked for this kind of information (spontaneously)					
	Yes	No	Do not know	Do not respond	Total
Romanian	15%	21%	6%	59%	100%
European	9%	30%	3%	58%	100%
Total	13%	24%	5%	59%	100%

A possible explanation related to the high number of non-responses is the desirability of the question; people did not want to recognize they are not interested in information regarding the European Union. "Romanians" have never looked for information about European Union to a significantly higher extent, if compared with "Europeans" ($\chi^2=21.775$, $df=3$, $p<0.01$). Therefore people who feel European know more about the European Union because they are more interested to access this kind of information.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

European identity of the Romanians has been an issue for politicians or academics in the modern history. The development of the national identity in the XIX century went together with the stressing of our Latin and European identity, therefore the national identity was built adhering to the values, norms, and institutions of the West civilized Europe. Therefore European Union has become a historical chance for Romania (and other ex-communist countries) to become member of a select club of democratic and economically developed countries. Be-

ing a Member State is a historical fulfilled goal. From this point of view, the “others”, by contrast to whom we identify ourselves as European are placed in time, not in space. They are in fact “old us”, “us” before the integration into the European Union.

Theories about European identity are scattered and inconclusive. We have chosen the concept of *civic identity* that is identification with a political system, by contrast with *cultural identity* that is conceived as citizens’ identification with a human community (Bruter, 2009, p. 150). Taking into consideration the Romanian historical context, we could expect the majority of the respondents to experience civic identification with the European Union. The findings showed that only about one out of three Romanians feels European. Moreover, according to the Eurobarometer from May 2010, Romanians consider themselves generally less European than the average at the Union level.

In this context, we built on Habermas’ (2011) idea of the impact factor as the main driver of citizens in experiencing their European identity, by considering the costs-benefits cognitive frame when assessing their own identity. That is to say that people constantly evaluate how European decisions affect their lives, in an attempt of maximizing their gains and minimizing their losses.

Our study showed that the profile of the citizen who feels European (as a second nature most of the time) takes form out of the following characteristics: highly educated young person, having a high income. He/she is more knowledgeable in what concerns basic notions about the European Union, and is more aware of the benefits than the costs of the European integration (has visited at least one other Member State and considers that the Romanian integration is rather an advantage than a disadvantage). This argues for a higher impact factor (in Habermas’ terms) that leads to an increased interest in the European affairs in general, and therefore a higher level of identification with the European identity.

One interesting finding shows that both people who feel European and those who only feel Romanian do not perceive the loss of the national cultural identity as an important threat. This is an important argument in favor of the idea of multiple identities; people can be perfectly happy with multiple identities, especially since the Romanian identity is perceived as a cultural identity, whereas the European identity is experienced as a civic one.

Rezumat: Identitatea europeană este considerată de unii autori o identitate civică, în contrast cu identitatea culturală, datorită raportării instrumentale a cetățenilor statelor membre la Uniunea Europeană. Această perspectivă este susținută teoretic de Habermas care face referire la cunoașterea pragmatică a impactului deciziilor Uniunii Europene asupra vieții de zi cu zi, identitatea europeană fiind legată intrinsec de o evaluare de tip costuri-beneficii a deciziilor de la nivel european. Prin urmare, considerăm că identitatea europeană trebuie înțeleasă ca o identitate civică, iar cunoașterea caracteristicilor persoanelor care se identifică într-o anumită măsură cu Uniunea Europeană este utilă în vederea înțelegerii consecințelor integrării europene. Rezultatele unei anchete sociologice pe bază de chestionar realizată în luna mai a anului 2011 arată că identificarea cu Uniunea Europeană este mai prezentă în rândul tinerilor, având studii superioare, venit ridicat, provenind din mediul urban și care consideră că România beneficiază ca stat membru de avantaje mai degrabă decât de dezavantaje. De asemenea, persoanele care își asumă identitatea europeană sunt mai informate cu privire la problemele europene. Toate acestea confirmă ipoteza că identitatea europeană este o identitate pragmatică bazată pe evaluarea de tip costuri-beneficii a integrării europene.

Cuvinte-cheie: identitate europeană; identitate națională; sine vs. ceilalți; identitate civică.

Note

¹ For example, the item “The European Union currently consists of 12 Member States” became “European Union currently consists of 15 Member States” and the item “The next elections to the European Parliament will take place in June 2006” became “The next elections to the European Parliament will take place in 2012”.

References

1. Arts, Will & Halman, Loek (2006). Identity: The case of the European Union. *Journal of Civil Society*. 2(3), 179-198.
2. Baycroft, T. (2004). European Identity. In G. Taylor, and S. Spencer (Eds.). *Social identities: Multidisciplinary approaches* (pp. 145-161). New-York: Routledge.
3. Brubaker, R., Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond ‘Identity’. *Theory and Society*. 29(1), 1-47.
4. Bruter, M. (2007). Symbols, Media, And The Emergence Of A Mass European Identity In Six Democracies, Paper Presented at the *American Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, Chicago.
5. Checkel, J. T., Katzenstein, P. J. (2009). The Politicization of European Identities. In J. T. Checkel, P. J. Katzenstein (Eds.). *European identity* (pp. 1-25). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
6. Christiansen, T., Jørgensen, K. E., Wiener, A. (Eds.) (2001). *The Social Construction of Europe*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
7. Craib, I. (1998). *Experiencing identity*. London: Sage Publications.
8. Dufek, P. (2009). Fortress Europe or Pace-Setter? Identity and Values in an Intergrating Europe. *Czech Journal of Political Science*. 1, 44-62.
9. European Commission. 2010. *Eurobarometer 73. Public Opinion in the European Union*, vol. II. (Retrieved 11.10.2011, from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb73/eb73_en.htm.)
10. Fligstein, N. (2009). Who Are the Europeans and How Does This Matter for Politics?. In J. T. Checkel, P. J. Katzenstein (Eds.). *European Identity* (pp. 132-166). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
11. Giddens Anthony (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the late Modern Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
12. Gudykunst, W. B., Kim, Y. Y. (1997). *Communicating with Strangers. An Approach to Intercultural Communication*. San-Francisco: McGraw-Hill.
13. Habermas, Jurgen (2011). Europe’s post-democratic era, *The Guardian*. 10 nov. Retrieved December 1, 2011 from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/nov/10/jurgen-habermas-europe-post-democratic>.
14. Hilson, C. (2007). Legitimacy and rights in the EU: questions of identity. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 14(4), 527-543.
15. Jenkins, B., Sofos, S. A. (Eds.) (1996). *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe*. London – New-York: Routledge, 1-5, 9-32.
16. Jenkins, R. (2000/1996). *Identitatea Socială (Social Identity)*. trad. Alex Butucelea. Bucharest: Univers.
17. Kamphausen, G. (2006). European Integration and European Identity: Towards a Politics of Difference?. *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs*. 1, 24-31.
18. Katzenstein, P. J., Checkel, J. T. (2009). Conclusion – European Identity in Context. In J. T. Checkel, P. J. Katzenstein (Eds.). *European identity* (pp. 213-227). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
19. Shin, C. I., Jackson, R. L. (2003). A Review of Identity Research in Communication Theory. Reconceptualizing Cultural Identity. In W. J. Starosta, G. M. Chen (Eds.). *Ferment in the Intercultural Field. Axiology/Value/Praxis* (pp. 211-242). International and Intercultural Communication Annual. XXVI. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
20. Shore, C. (1993). Inventing the ‘People’s Europe’: Critical Approaches to European Community ‘Cultural Policy’. *Man. New Series*. 28(4), 779-800.

22. Străth, B. (2006). Future of Europe. *Journal of Language and Politics*. 5(3), 427-448.
23. Tiriyaki, S. (2006). European Identity 2006. *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs*. 15(1), 41-52.
24. Trandafiroiu, R. (2006). The Whole Greater than the Sum of Its Parts: An Investigation into the Existence of European Identity, Its Unity and Its Divisions. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*. 3(3), 91-108.