



THE ADVENT OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION: THE EUROPEAN TRANSNATIONALS

Study Case Romanians in Denmark



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NARCIS GEORGE MATACHE
Aalborg University

Abstract

Many European citizens who move across European borders and live in other member states come in closer contact with many of the EU's policies. They have first-hand experience of European integration and such experience might be positive or negative. Several studies and researches argue that those who move and reside in other state have more pro-European feeling than those who do not. This thesis asks a question whether these movers, European transnationals, can have any influence on the development of European integration. First, this paper examines the definition of European transnational. Here I argue that European transnational moves across EU borders and resides in other member state for a longer period of time. He then develops multi-level identities which in turn leads to increased Europeanness. I also present a study case based on Romanians in Denmark who express similar results as previous studies. The neo-functionalist theory predicts the spill over effect from the economic to political integration. It also argues that European citizens are gaining an important role in this process. With the combination of the theoretical assumptions and empirical examination I conclude that European transnational has indeed the potential to influence the integration process of the European Union leading to a further political integration. I also argue that several factors influence European transnational and that some policy areas like the promotion of political rights in the country of residence need reinforcing. Lack of awareness next to language barriers is a major obstacle in active participation. From the (European) integration perspective the most valuable European transnational is the one who maintained identity with the country of origin and developed identity with country of residence and European identity.

Keywords: European Transnationals, Political Integration, Romanians in Denmark, Acculturation, European Identity, European Transnationalism, European Citizenship, Federalism, Neofunctionalism, European Integration, Freedom of Movement

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Introduction

In the last twenty years the European integration project took many turns. From a significant enlargement through creation of European currency to a series of policies attempting to deepen the bond between Europe and its citizens. Today the EU is a multilevel system of governance which shares policy making and competences among supranational institutions and national authorities. The past two decades also showed spill of policies from economic to cultural and political areas. One could assume that this process would only bring Europe and Europeans closer together, however, the past decade has proved otherwise. First, Europe disappoints with the lack of solidarity in the face of problems coming from outside the EU borders. Second, the 2008 economic crisis exposed unpreparedness and unmasked internal contradictions and policy paralysis mainly due to the lack of commitment from member states and the inability to reach a consensus. And third, Brexit. Rising populism and Euroscepticism is evident in many countries. Political challenges of national nature took roots in several member states. At the same time there is a growing ideological divide among Europeans at the national level.

The core motivation behind this thesis comes from the need to understand what stands behind and what can drive further the European integration. There are many studies addressing these trends, but they still lack in understanding of the complexity of the European project. In this paper besides looking at European integration theories I want to put a special focus on European citizens. The last decade has revealed a growing role of Europeans in the integration process on the continent. Both, on the positive and negative aspects. European citizens are taking more active and participatory presence in their country of origin and the country of residence. This is apparent through multiple demonstrations and actions. In this paper I investigate one specific example of visible change which is apparent in Denmark. Aalborg October 2017. Over 50 young non-Danish Europeans are protesting together with the young Danes against the SU cuts. All of them prepared with placards, with witty messages in English and the uniting hashtag #SaveSU. Surprised by their presence, the media offers them maximum attention and broadcast their effort in the whole country.

Aalborg November 2017. The citizens of Aalborg have been able to vote already for 3 weeks. Among the people voting, a lot of English-speaking young non-Danish Europeans. You could see the lack of surprise on the face of the workers at the libraries, where the voting was taking place.

They have seen every day of the early voting, dozens of non-Danish speakers coming to vote. It became a normal happening. Roll back 4 years to 2013 and you can remember the surprise of the vote attendants on the presence of the English-speakers and their desire to vote. Roll back another 4 years to 2009 and there is no mention of English-speakers trying to vote.

Denmark November 2017. On the streets of Aalborg, Fredericia, Frederiksberg and Copenhagen, adorned the posters of non-Danish citizens asking for your vote. For the first time in the history of Danish politics, you could see non-Danish European citizens running for political office.

All of the images presented above, show instances of the political awakening of the non-Danish European citizens. In other member states, similar instances can be found. This bottom-up approach to European integration puts in spot light the European citizen to whom I refer to in this paper as 'European transnational'. The European transnational becomes more and more present in a political and cultural life of the country of origin and the country of residence.

According to Eurostat (2018), 4% of European Union citizens of working age (20-64) live in another European state than the one they are born into. This means around 21 million can qualify as European Transnationals. If you include the mobile youth under 20 years old and the mobile elderly over 64, then you get a picture of around 25 million European Transnationals. Compared with the total population of the European Union, this doesn't represent a large share, yet the size is large enough to play a role in the integration process of the Union.

If before the eastward expansion, the Portuguese were the European citizens that used the freedom of movement right the most, they have been replaced now by the Romanians. According to Eurostat (ibid.), almost 20% of Romanians live now in another European state than the one of origin. Lithuanians with 15%, Croatians with 14% and Latvians with 12.9% follow up closely, and prove my assumption that the eastward expansion has energized the use of the freedom of movement right.

Around 25 million European citizens that live in another member state than the state of origin with political rights (right to vote and candidate at local, regional and European level) and civic rights (ability to voice an opinion, join a protest, start or join an association or a political party, etc.), have the power to enact change on the countries of origin, the countries of residence and European Union integration process. While, the European transnationals go through a process of

acculturation in the states of residence and an acknowledgment of their European citizenship, I aim to investigate whether there is any valuable reasoning to think that European transnationals can bring Europe closer together.

Problem statement

“This project sets out to explore how the “European Transnational” can influence the integration process of the European Union. Furthermore, it aims to focus on the case of “Romanians from Denmark” as “European Transnationals”.”

Research Questions

What is a “European Transnational”?

How did the “European Transnational” appear and why?

Can a Romanian with residence in Denmark be defined as “European Transnational”?

What is the academic perspective on “European Transnationalism”?

Can civic and political involvement of the “European Transnational” be seen as a method to influence?

How is the “European Transnational” existence and behavior being defined in the current theories of European integration?

According to at least one European integration theory, at what stage of the integration process in the European Union, do we find ourselves in today?

What is the role of the “European Transnationals” in the integration process of the European Union?

Can the “European Transnationals” be perceived as having an “European identity”?

Can the “European Transnationals” be seen as agents of harmonization between West, East, North and South Europe?

Methodology

In order to be able to evaluate what role (if any) European citizen or European transnational have on the European integration I will divide the study into three important parts. First, I will focus on

understanding important definitions such as European transnationalism, acculturation and European citizenship. This part will provide an explanation for what processes triggered the appearance of European transnationals. Also, by concentrating on the rights of the EU citizens, deriving from European citizenship, I will provide some evaluation of the position of citizens in Europe. As citizenship gives certain status to individuals in relation to political community, both nationally and on the European level, it is right to raise a question regarding European integration. Second, I will investigate the theoretical scope where I will analyze different theories of European integration. I will keep my focus on European citizen and thus look what scholars say about European identity. Third, in the study case I will analyze the findings of my research. In this part I focus on Romanian citizen residing in Denmark. I acknowledge that Europe is very diverse, and the limitation of this project derives from the narrow scope of this research. However, any evaluation of the possible role of European transnationals on Europe's integration needs to begin with the basis.

In this research paper I use both qualitative and quantitative research methods. In my exploratory research I use my own observations. As a Romanian citizen myself residing in Denmark I was able to witness a significant increase in political and cultural life of non-Danish citizens in Denmark. With the European integration project facing different obstacles through my observation I was able to get an insight into the problem and develop ideas for the quantitative research. In this examination I ask questions about political participation and the feeling of 'European'. Interestingly, European identity did not become a building block for the European integration. One may argue that it only has a technical nature a tool for cross border activities and a source of rights for European citizens. In my investigation I will look if there is a potential for a stronger connection, a European identity based not only on technical but also emotional links. Such identity with a potential to become a building block for European integration. The transnational argument outlined in this thesis exposes the multilevel nature of European citizenship. The empirical findings highlight constant tension in European identity deriving between national traditions (and sometimes obligations) and the European project.

Based on this synthesis, the final chapter of this paper summarizes and concludes the main findings. The answers to the problem statement are only speculative. Some issues still remain

unanswered as well as the limitations of this thesis leave room for future conjectures on the development of European transnationals and European integration.

What is a European Transnational

There is no academic definition for the term “European Transnational”. However, based on the definition of “trans”, which Ong (1999) described as “*moving through space or across line*” and “*changing the nature of something*”, we can attempt to create a definition.

“Transnational” refers to an individual that moves over the borders (across lines) and goes through the process of acculturation (therefore changing its nature). “European Transnational” refers to an individual that due to its European citizenship is able to move across the European Union internal borders and go through the process of acculturation. Could European Transnational be synonymous with European citizen then? No. Because there are European citizens that never go across a border and undergo an acculturation process. Out of 511 million European citizens, only approximately 25 million are European Transnationals.

To recognize the existence of “European Transnationals” it is important to understand freedom of movement (the most used fundamental European right), European citizenship, the process of acculturation and European identity. For example, a Romanian uses freedom of movement to go and study in Denmark, where thanks to its European citizenship, is able to study based on the same rules as national of that country, he is able to use healthcare as well as his local political rights to vote and candidate, etc. While using the rights attached to the European citizenship and spending time interacting with other ethnic groups in the Danish society, the acculturation process starts and the Romanian undergoes a transformation, altering its identity. During the process, the Romanian might become more aware of the European identity attached to its European citizenship, it might over-assimilate and renegade its Romanian origin or it might segregate and accentuate an idealized version of its own national identity.

“European Transnationals” are connected to minimum two realities (the reality of the state of origin and the reality of the state of residence) due to attachment developed in time towards those societies. Each “European Transnational” is connected to different degrees to the various realities. “European Transnationals” have also a stronger or a weaker connection to the supranational

“European reality”. This means they are aware to a lower or a higher degree on what is happening in the European Union.

My statement that “European Transnationals” live in more than one reality can be connected with the theory made by Kastoryano (1999). He claims “*transnational communities live in a four-dimensional space: that of the immigration country, the country of origin, the immigrant communities themselves and the transnational space of the European Union*”. Kastoryano’s (ibid.) “space” can be translated as the “reality” used by me. Another academician, Anderson (1992) came up with alternative explanation to the double or triple daily reality experienced by transnational individuals. He claims “*the nation-state of departure, acts on its exiled population by way of language, religion and dual nationality. This nation-state tries to reinforce as much as possible the loyalty of its nationals residing outside its frontiers.*” Hence, in Anderson’s (ibid.) theory the cause lies in “*long-distance nationalism*”.

The actions taken by the “European Transnationals” in the four-dimensional space, during the acculturation process, affect the level of connection with each reality. However, even with the acculturation process finished, the individual European transnational can still change positioning in the four-dimensional space, due to interactions. For example, a European transnational with a strong involvement in his state of origin, but low involvement in his state of residence and in the European Union, that already undergone an acculturation process, can still be determined to get involved in his state of residence, if another individual actively lobbies in that direction.

To live in more than one reality means that you are connected (in various degrees) to the streams of information from state of origin, state of residence and maybe even the European transnational space. The European transnational space was built by the European Union in the pursue of “supranationality” and represents a transnational civil society where local, regional, national, religious, political, voluntary and professional organizations participate and intermingle. Besides being connected to streams of information that paint the reality, having political awareness, participating in the civil society/politics and having open channels of communication with humans being physically there, completes the picture.

To be able to explore how the “European Transnational” can influence the integration process of the European Union, we need to look at the activity undertaken in the Kastoryano’s (ibid.) “four-dimensional space”. The activity of “European Transnationals” can be summed up as a collection

of choices, based on the presence or absence of knowledge. The choice to be informed daily from all the realities (origin, residence and the EU), if there is knowledge of a source of information in a known language. The choice to get involved politically in all the realities, if there is knowledge of the political rights. The choice to become active in the civil society in all the realities, if there is knowledge of the ways to do it. The choice to join a protest, if there is knowledge of its existence. The choice to communicate with humans from all the realities, if there is knowledge of the tools to ensure such communication. The choice to temporarily move between realities, if there is knowledge of how to do so and access to finances.

The only available academic model to categorize the different types of transnationals, has been made by Janine Dahinden (2010) from Université de Neuchâtel, in the book “Transnationalism and Diaspora”. The model is called “Mobility and locality in transnational formations”.

The model presents four types of transnational formations:

- Localized diasporic transnational formations (low physical mobility; high level of local ties in receiving country; low ties to sending country)
- Localized mobile transnational formations (high physical mobility; high level of ties with both receiving country and sending country)
- Transnational mobiles (high physical mobility; high level of local ties with receiving country; low level of ties with sending country)
- Transnational outsiders (low physical mobility; low level of ties with both receiving country and sending country)

The categorization is made on three features: “transnational physical mobility” (how often the transnational travels cross-borders), “local ties in receiving country” (the level of integration in the state of residence) and “local ties in sending country” (involvement in the state of origin). I will use this model in my analysis which I present in the study case in the next chapter on Romanians in Denmark.

I can sum up that a European transnational is an individual that due to its European citizenship is able to cross the internal borders of the European Union and go through a process of acculturation in the new society of residence. The process of acculturation plays a crucial role in determining transnational formations, thus, I will explain this process further in the next sub-chapter. The

European transnational has the choice to be mentally aware of the realities in both state of origin and state of residence. The European transnational has the choice not only to be involved in the societies of origin and residence, but also in the supranational civic and political space created by the European Union. While the European citizenship gives equal rights and opportunities to move and live to all its citizens not all experience the same outcome or level of involvement. Scholars name four types of transnational formations with significant differences between them leading to a diverse level of involvement. As a result, one may assume that these different groups might have (if any) various impact on European integration.

The process of acculturation

As mentioned earlier, the process of acculturation plays an important role in the transition of a European citizen towards becoming a European transnational. Though, what is acculturation? Linton et al. (1936) defines it as “*phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups*”. Linton also insists that acculturation is only an aspect of cultural change and that assimilation is only a phase of acculturation.

Therefore, when a European citizen, moves from, for example Romania to Denmark, from the moment it enters in direct contact with local citizens, a process of change starts. Change can take place at psychological and physical level. New kinds of food, different climate and housing, other kinds of conventions of social interaction, different rules and values. All of the things mentioned earlier play an important role in the process of acculturation. As mentioned by Kelly et al. (1994), each individual has “*differing personal experiences*”, and therefore there is no typical acculturation process. Such as each individual is unique, so are the processes of acculturation. Therefore, each European transnational is unique thus any categorizations attempts are difficult to achieve. It is understandable that only few have attempted to do so. Regardless, to be able to research this process, Hofstede (2003) has created an acculturation curve model based on shared psychological states by the European transnationals.

The acculturation curve model presents four-stages of acculturation. The first stage, represents the state of joy, when the individual is excited to learn, see and experiment new things. The excitement of changing the previous instilled daily routine. The second stage, represents the state of shock,

when the individual starts to face the first hardships of establishing new residence and notice the differences to the life before. The third stage, represents the state of accommodation, when the individual has managed to establish new residence, passed the first hardships and now entered a daily routine. New lifestyle is established based on the new social environment. The fourth and last stage, represents the state of transformation, when the individual evolves towards a new identity and becomes a “European Transnational”.

Still, it is important to mention that becoming a “European Transnational” does not mean a loss of national identity. There is a multidimensionality in the acculturation process, which allows for more identities to be adopted and mixed, without necessarily losing the identity of the state of origin. You can say, a “European Transnational” is like a hybrid with intercultural competences, that has different levels of mixed identities.

During the acculturation process, different forms of integration can appear. According to Schoorl (2005) there are four main forms of integration: socioeconomic integration; social integration; cultural integration and identification. Once the newcomer has found a place of work or study, once it has found a house and once it has understood its local citizen rights, then it has structurally integrated (socio-economically). The level of socioeconomic integration can be determined by the local society position on the axe between equality and discrimination. Once the newcomer has started to interact with the locals and other newcomers, and it has started to create bonds, then the social integration is achieved. The level of social integration can be determined by the local society position on the axe between segregation and mixing. Once the newcomer adopted local norms, values and preferences, then it has integrated culturally. The level of cultural integration can be determined by the local society position on the axe between homogeneity and heterogeneity. Once the newcomer has started to identify with the local society, then the identification level is achieved. The level of identification can be determined by the local society position on the axe between inclusion and exclusion.

The academics behind the “Pioneers of European Integration” (2009) research have attempted to find theoretical consideration that led to a categorization of the outcomes for the individuals that go through the acculturation process. Rother et al. (2009) have identified eight potential types of “European Transnationals” which leads to a more advanced categorization than the model developed by Janine Dahinden.

Table 1: Types of transnational identities

Type	Nickname	State of origin attachment	State of residence attachment	European Union attachment
Integrating Europeans	Euromasters	High	High	High
Integration Non-Europeans	Bi-cultural movers	High	High	Low
Assimilating Europeans	Lifestyle movers	Low	High	High
Assimilating Non-Europeans	Carefree movers	Low	High	Low
Self-Segregating Europeans	Homesick movers	High	Low	High
Self-Segregating Non-Europeans	Recent labor migrants	High	Low	Low
Self-Marginalizing Europeans	Cosmopolitans	Low	Low	High
Self-Marginalizing Non-Europeans	Individualists	Low	Low	Low

Source: PIONEUR project – Ettore Recchi / Adrian Favell (2009) Rother et al. (2009)

This model provides valuable insight on the phenomena of European transnational. It classifies which Europeans have the potential to possibly influence European integration. Therefore, I will use this model of classification in my analysis of Romanians in Denmark.

Concluding, the process of acculturation leads individuals (newcomers into a society) through a series of psychological changes (euphoria, followed by cultural shock, followed by adaptation and followed by transformation) and integration changes (new workplace or study place, new group of friends, new lifestyle, new identity). The process of acculturation leads to various results in levels of attachment to country of origin, country of residence and to Europe. Subsequently, we can also

assume that not all European transnationals have the potential to equally influence (if at all) the process of European integration. Also, it raises a question if European transnationals can influence the integration process of the European Union which group has the highest potential?

What is European Transnationalism?

When talking about “European Transnationals”, one cannot avoid referring to “European Transnationalism”. The concept of “transnationalism” and “European Transnationalism” has received more attention from the academic world, than the concept of “transnational” and “European Transnational”.

Keohane and Nye (1971) introduced the idea of “transnationalism” in the theory of International Relations, in order to provide an alternative to state-centrism. From the beginning the focus has been on cross-border interactions between individual or organizations, regardless of the purpose (business, political, cultural, etc.). From the definition of transnationalism, we can understand which interactions do not fall under its scope. If there is no border crossed, then the basic understanding of “trans” is missed, and therefore not part of transnationalism. If there are only governmental agents connecting, then that falls under intergovernmentalism. If there are representatives of European institutions connecting, then that falls under supranationalism.

While Keohane and Nye (ibid.) introduced the concept of “transnationalism”, Vertovec (2006) contributed with the “transnationalism theory”, which concentrates on the strengthening of relations between societies all over the globe. Portes and Guarnizo (2003) took Keohane and Nye’s (1971) concept further and reached the following conclusion “*it is preferable to delimit the concept of transnationalism to occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation.*”

Although there is some confusion between “globalization” and “transnationalism”, Kearney (1995) explains the difference in the following manner “*Whereas global processes are largely decentered from specific national territories and take place in a global space, transitional processes are anchored in and transcend one or more nation states... Thus, transnational is the term of choice when referring, for example, to migration of national coming across the border of one or more nations (...)*”.

The idea of transnationalism, revealed that countries no longer had a monopoly over cross-border relationships. The intense activity of NGO's and students' associations over the internal borders of the European Union has confirmed this idea and motivated academics like Rosenau (1980) and Vertovec (2006) to research it further. In the recent years, the explosion of transnational movements (on human rights, social justice, equality, etc.) and political "transnationalist" activities, has determined Keck and Sikkink (1999) to develop the idea of transnationalism even further. The input made by them is validated by Vertovec (1999) with the following line "*the idea of social networks is imperative in the understanding of transnationalism theory*".

The discussions around transnationalism theory can be compartmentalized into different subtopics: "*the relationship between transnationalism and citizenship, the evolution of the transnational communities, transnationalism as a new layer of identity, social movements and networks as building blocks of transnationalism and the connection between trade and transnationalism*" as I have described in my internship project. (Matache, 2018).

First, we need to establish the core of the transnationalism theory as enounced by Vertovec (1999), it "*rests of the idea of social networks, and how these networks not only link to one another, but how they develop internationally, how they share ideas with others in their network, and how these ideas and concepts then become applied to domestic and international challenges*".

Second, we need to establish if there is an identity attached to the idea of being a transnational, as "consciousness" is central in the transnationalism theory. Professor Garrett (2011) from Pittsburgh University, claims that there is no "transnational" identity. Transnationals have multiple layers of identity, however they don't see themselves as "transnationals", as you do not need to identify as a transnational to be a transnational.

Now that we covered the discussion on transnationalism, it is time to focus more on "European transnationalism". The European version of transnationalism was created due to the special conditions provided by the development of the European Union. In a similar manner, we can talk about an African transnationalism in the near future, with the speed of development in the African Union.

The discussion on "transnationalism" has been for a long time incorporated in the discussion about "diaspora", and only with the development of "European transnationalism" that the distinction

started to be made between the concepts. There are also some confusions with “supranationalism”, that have been cleared by academics. The definition of the European Union on the word “transnational” tries to limit the scope of the concept to the supranational space and the activities undergone there by EU nationals. According to the European Union, “transnational” “refers to activities within EU space as a whole, beyond the national scale but more across or between nations than standing above them.”

“European transnationalism” is on a different level than “transnationalism” as the cross-border activities are supported by the “European citizenship” and the nascent “European identity”. The European transnationals “*never actually leave their place of origin, with which they hold family and community bonds that are significantly eased due to the development, constancy and safety of communications. There is not trauma or “uprooting” like it is happening with the diasporas.*” (Matache, 2018).

In conclusion, transnationalism was first introduced as an alternative to state centrism and it only refers to cross border relationships between individuals and civil society organizations. Ideally it refers to relationships where crossing of national borders takes place over a longer and sustained period of time. This phenomenon leads to the creation of social networks and different layers of identity. European transnationalism may be a theory on its own as it specifically refers to cross border networks within the EU and which is possible because of the European citizenship. Because of that specific conditions movers develop different levels or multilevel identities.

European Citizenship

One of the pre-requisites for the emergence of European transnationals is the establishment of European citizenship. The neo-functional theory of European integration claims that there is a spillover effect and therefore, the economic integration will be followed by political integration. I have examined neo-functional theory in more depth in the next chapter. The transition from economic integration to political integration is mirrored in the process of the formation of European citizenship.

European Union is an unfinished project, a grand experiment that has never been seen before, which evolves in close relation with the evolution of the European people. With each new link

formed between the Union and its citizens, both the Union and the citizens evolve one step ahead. The Union towards a political union and the citizens towards a “European demos”.

The article of Karlheinz Neunreither (1995) in the book “A Citizen’s Europe”, points out that the European Union is in a constant search for legitimacy from its citizens and meaning of existence. In the past, citizens would be born into a nation-state and they would accept the existing situation as the natural order of things. Now, many European Union citizens are born before the Treaty of Rome, which established the second version of the Union, and even more European citizens are born before the Treaty of Maastricht, which established the third version of the Union. Now, we are slowly descending into the fourth version of the Union, and the citizens are the ones that have to shape it. As Neunreither (ibid.) would put it, the situation has been reversed, now the polity is being created in front of us and it has to seek our approval that it is going in the “right” direction. The right direction meaning the direction most of the citizens would envision for the Union.

Neunreither (ibid.) divides the development of European Union into three stages. The first stage, “*the Union of the technocratic elites*” which lacked popular participation. The second stage, “*the Union of indirect participation*” which started to create regulations which would affect the people and opened the discussion on European identity. The third stage, “*the Union of citizens*” is the current stage we find ourselves in today, the stage where citizens are at the forefront of the Union activity. Neunreither (ibid.) calls the European citizens in the first stage as “*segmented citizens*” and the ones in the second stage as “*indirect citizens*”. We can see from his analysis that the Union as it completes the aims in developing the market integration and economic establishment, it moves the aim on answering the needs of the citizens and switching the market with the citizen as the main focus.

European citizenship was established in the Treaty of Maastricht (1992) and further expanded by the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). Yet, its inception started with the Treaty of Paris (1951) and the Treaty of Rome (1957). European citizenship is a key element of the third version of the European project. The advent of the European citizenship has created waves in the academia and the political elite, with the narration of concepts like “postnational era”, “beyond the nation-state”, “citizenship delinked from nation-state” expressed by erudites like Habermas (1996,1998,2000), Preuss (1998), Gerstenberg (2001) and Curtin (1997).

European citizenship was rejected by some academicians as a “genuine citizenship”, as according to Shore (2004) and Smith (1992) it was “*incongruent with the triptych of citizen, nation and state*” and according to Miller (1995), it was not possible to have a political citizenship outside the nation-state frame. Even before it became a reality, Aron (1974) dismissed the possibility of having a European citizenship.

Before we look at the process of European citizen establishment through the history of European integration, it is important to establish the concept of “citizenship”. Arendt (1968), describes citizenship as the “*defining feature of modern states, on par with exclusive territoriality and sovereignty*” and it goes even further to claim that “*states are inconceivable without citizenship and citizenship is impossible without states*”. Magnette (2005) reckons that citizenship has appeared in the Ancient Greece during the emergence of the political community.

Rawls (1985; 1993) and Schuck (2002) argue that citizenship is about civil rights, offering a liberal view on the concept. Miller (1995; 2000) and Taylor (1985; 1992) maintain that citizenship is about membership in a cultural community, establishing the communitarian view on the concept. Bellamy (2001) and Van Gunsteren (1988) claim that citizenship is about active participation in the society, drawing the republican view on the concept. However, in my opinion, the European citizenship is about all three classic views from above plus the modern view of cosmopolitanism. The cosmopolitan view is about human rights and the feel of responsibility for the entire planet.

Espen Olsen (2012) in his book “Transnational Citizenship in EU”, argues that the European citizenship contests both the traditional views and the modern view on citizenship. I argue that it actually morphs the traditional views and the modern view into a new type of citizenship. Indeed, European citizenship cannot be seen as a type of “statist citizenship” as European Union is not a state, but an association of member states. Neither, can it be seen as a type of “borderless citizenship” as it connects to an identity (which is nascent in all fairness) and it gives special privileges over a certain territory. Even Castiglione (2009) support Olsen’s claim by arguing that the European citizenship is anchored in the endless discussion and tension between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism at the different levels of governance. My claim is that it is both in the same time, as European Union is a state-in-formation without defined borders.

My claim is supported by argumentations made by Eder/Giesen (2001) and Shore (2000) that the creation of the European citizenship “has copied national traditions”. Also, Wiener (1998) argues that institutional features were brought up from national level to European level.

In order to portray the evolution of the European citizenship, I will use Olsen’s (2012) decomposing elements. According to Olsen, citizenship is formed by elements such as: membership, rights, participation, identity, link to the collective order. The link to the collective order is important to mention, as Arendt (1968) and Walzer (1983) argue that citizenship will be meaningless without the link, as “*citizenship creates a bounded legal and political space shaped by the rights and duties imparted to citizens of that given collective*”.

The membership dimension shows who is part of the collective through criteria of inclusion and exclusion. The rights dimension describes the privileges and duties attached to the citizenship. The participation dimension points out to the expected level of engagement from the citizen and the status derived from it. The identity dimension is the melting pot of culture, traditions, habits and common traits that citizens attach to the citizenship.

Now on to the creation process of the European citizenship. According to Maas (2005) and Wiener (2008), the process began with the ECSC Treaty (European Coal and Steel Community) in 1951. The ECSC Treaty is the first act of desired integration between Belgium, Netherland, Luxembourg, France, Germany and Italy as it established the single market in coal and steel. The rights dimension of the European citizenship has its beginnings in the debates over European rights that started with the ECSC Treaty. The ECSC Treaty can also be seen as the “Foundation Treaty of EU”, due to the presence in the text of the treaty of phrases like “*maintenance of peaceful relations*”, “*the establishment of common bases for economic development*”, “*increase the standard of living*”, “*further the works of peace*”, “*create an economic community, the foundation of a broad and independent community among peoples (...) and giving direction to their future common destiny.*” However, in the ECSC Treaty there was no mention of citizenship. According to Neunreither (1995), the ECSC Treaty embodied the “*European integration without the citizens.*”

An important player in the creation of the European citizenship, has been and still is, the European Court of Justice. According to Stein (1981) and Weiler (1999), it was thanks to the efforts of the judges in Luxembourg in the 1960s, that basic principles such as “supremacy”, “direct effect” and “protection of fundamental rights within the EU order” were validated. MacCormick (1999) goes

even further to declare that the activist-judges of 1960s created the legal system of EU, with mention of two cases that played an important role: “Costa” and “Van Gen den Loos”. Evans (1984) claims that the ECJ validated the European rights and therefore the source for the conception of European citizenship and identity.

Another important moment in the development of European citizenship, has been the implementation of direct elections for the European Parliament in 1979. The European rights expanded to include political rights for the European Parliament elections. The dimension of participation started to play a role, as there have been calls towards the European people to use their political rights and vote in the European Parliament elections. 1979 also represents a missed opportunity for the membership and identity dimensions, as instead of having the same electoral procedure in all member states, the European elections got implemented in the same manner as the national elections. The opening of the European Parliament to the European people, has allowed the participation of a grand visionary that contributed vastly to the European project and the European citizenship, Altiero Spinelli.

Very much like today, the talk of the 1980s has been the future of the European integration, with different national leaders expressing different vision for the future. Altiero Spinelli, decided to resuscitate the economic and political integration of the member states. Due to his efforts, the European Parliament started to play a more active role. Therefore, there is not a surprise, that the European Parliament was the first institution to ask for the phrase “citizen of the Union” to be included in the next treaty. The phrase “citizen of the Union” has kickstarted long discussion on issues of the citizens and whether to consider individual rights as fundamental or human rights. The membership dimension made its first presence, with the phrase “*the citizens of the Member states are also citizens of the Union*” from the Draft Treaty (Article 3) for establishing the European Union (1984). It also confirmed the expectation, that it was going to be an “auxiliary citizenship”. Another important article for the establishment of the European citizenship from the Draft Treaty has been, article 46, which emphasized the importance of harmonization and integration of laws and policies with the explicit purpose to “*reinforce the feeling of individual citizens that they are citizens of the Union.*” So, with article 46, we see the first attempt at creating the identity dimension. Besides article 46, also the discussion to create European symbols and signifiers, due to a desire to build the European identity has contributed to the identity dimension.

The Spinelli project to bring change and create the European Union, created the first link between the citizens, their approval and the European project. The members of the European Parliament involved in the Spinelli project seen the citizens as a source of legitimacy for the first time, and claimed to act on their behalf when they built a Constitution for the European Union.

Dinan (2004), Gillingham (2003) and Moravcsik (1998) confirm that European integration was revived in the 1980s. It was the decade of the “Stuttgart Declaration”, the reports on “A People’s Europe”, the Commission’s “White Paper of Completing the internal market” and the failed attempt to democratize Europe of the European Parliament through its draft treaty for a European Constitution. All of the milestones mentioned above led to the creation of the SEA (Single European Act) in 1986 and of the Schengen Agreement (between Benelux-countries, Germany and France in 1985). The dream of a borderless Europe was close-by.

Maas (2005) and Wiener (1998) argue that the Schengen Agreement played an important part in the creation of the European citizenship. The principle of the freedom of movement which became the cornerstone of the European citizenship, was expressed in the preamble of the intergovernmental agreement in the following manner “*the ever-closer union of the peoples of the Member States of the European Communities should find its expression in the freedom to cross internal borders for all nationals of the Member state.*”

With the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the establishment of the “Union citizenship” finally arrived in the picture. Habermas (2000) praised it as the first step in the “postnationalization” process, towards creating citizenships that are not anchored in nationality. Eder and Giesen (2001) called it the genesis of the “European political identity”.

Although the “European citizenship” did not bring a lot of progress in terms of rights advancement, it did at least gather them all under the same roof and bestowed upon them more legitimacy. The following rights were presented as part of the “European citizenship” in the Maastricht Treaty (1992):

- A. Article 8A – Right of free movement and residence
- B. Article 8B1 – Voting right and the right to stand as candidate in municipal elections in the country of residence

- C. Article 8B2 – Voting right and the right to stand as candidate in the European elections in the country of residence
- D. Article 8C – The right of diplomatic protection and assistance in third countries where the citizen’s own country is not represented
- E. Article 8D – The right to petition to a European Ombudsman

The political rights bestowed upon European transnationals contributed towards the power of influence they have upon the European integration process. It allowed them to participate in the local democracy and have their voice, opinions and issues heard. The political rights are a key feature of the toolkit of the “European transnational” in our contemporary years.

The establishment of the “European citizenship” was not without problems. Kostakopoulou (2001) says that besides Denmark (the only country to have an opt-out on citizenship, although just symbolic, as legally it is not possible to implement the opt-out), there were in the other member states, national elites that seen the “European citizenship” as a “dangerous supplement”. According to Kostakopoulou (2001), *“if European citizenship impacts upon traditional conceptions of citizenship and community, then arguably national fears that it may lead to a parallel Euro-nationality and/or question the very foundations of national citizenship are not misguided”*.

In order to calm the national elites and obtain their support for the “Maastricht Treaty”, article 17 was added to clearly specify that *“Citizenship of the Union shall complement and not replace national citizenship”*. This reduced the “European Citizenship” to a “additional citizenship”, bound to be lost if your member state citizenship is lost. Until Brexit, this has not created any issues. Now with millions of European citizens, standing to lose their citizenship (and maybe identity), there are calls for the implementation of a full “European citizenship” unbound from the national citizenship.

“European citizenship” truly activates when a European citizen decides to move across the internal borders of the European Union. That is when the free movement, residence and political rights can be activated. This makes the “European citizenship” transnational in essence.

The efforts made in the start of the second millennium, to create a European Constitution, have put the spotlights again on the “European citizenship”. As Fossum and Menendez (2011) would put it “the long constitutional season” of European integration started then. According to Grimm

(1995), “*constitution-making is a process of figuring out a polity’s self-understanding as a bounded and specific community*”. The establishment of a “European Constitution” would have represented a big step forward for the development of the “European Citizenship”, yet unfortunately it failed. The “constitutionalists” as advocates of “supranationalism” had to yield to the “Treaty of Lisbon” (2010) and the advocates of “intergovernmentalism”, and wait for another time to shine.

The “European Citizenship” of today can be seen as the core transnational institution, as the keys to its functioning are: “border-crossing participation”, “European identity” and “Nationality of a member state to have access to membership and rights”. Member states have to protect now also European citizens, not only their own nationals.

According to Soysal (1994), “European Transnationalism” is not a just a concept anymore, but a European reality. He claims that “*transnational flows of migrants, services, good and capital increases the right to have rights for individuals in countries of residence, in addition to that of their nationality*”. Maas (2007) goes even further to affirm that “*the European integration project is in itself constructed on the foundation of free movement*”. As free movement is the core condition for the European transnationals’ existence, you can say the European transnationals are the builders of the European integration projects. Delanty (2007) claims that “*solidarity is built into the very fabric of transnational citizenship in the EU*”, due to its nature. European citizenship activates when you move to another member state, therefore making that state responsible for your welfare.

In the end, it is important to show the difference between “transnational citizenship”, “supranational citizenship” and “postnational citizenship”. “Supranational citizenship” refers to creating a standalone citizenship with rights directly applicable on the EU level. “Postnational citizenship” refers to the broken link between rights and nationality. “Transnational citizenship” refers to the connection of the citizenship to political communities while being activated during the activity of crossing an internal border. “Trans” as a prefix of the “European Citizenship” shows its in-between traits in regard to rights, membership, participation and identity dimensions.

Scholars have different take on European citizenship. European citizenship itself has been gaining in importance since the beginning of European integration process. Some scholars agree that Europe’s integration is a process of ‘ever closer union’ where its citizens play an increasing role

in that development. Many agree that the freedom of movement has a significant part in that process and together with active political and social participation it creates the base for European transnational. Despite some resistance from national states towards European citizenship theorists come to an agreement that European citizenship does not replace national citizenship, instead it leads to multilevel citizenship.

Theories of European Integration

In this chapter I aim to investigate several European integration theories and whether they perceive European transnational as an important factor in European integration. I will then seek to select the most important or relevant in providing an explanation for problem statement of these thesis. Additionally, the theory will serve as an instrument to test my hypotheses: does the European transnational has a place within the European integration process? But first, what is ‘integration’? Writers define integration as reorder of conventional international order and internal governance. Hass goes even further defining integration as ‘*the voluntary creation of larger political units (...)*’ he also writes about reliabilities shift describing integration as ‘*the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new center (...) The end result of a process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the preexisting ones*’. (Rosamond, 2000). Different variables define different forms (economic and/or political) and depths of integration. Depending on a definition one can have a diverse understanding and explanation for the European integration. In this thesis I want to focus on theories which aim to explain and predict economic and political integration of the European Union including the aspect of European transnational.

Federalism

Federalism often misinterpreted theoretical perspective, applies voluntary integration (not assimilation) of different entities while acknowledging and respecting the diversity. In practice, a union (of states) which transfers certain powers and competences to a new, merged institution while retaining other powers and competences fundamental to preserving different cultures and interests. Federalism focuses on major issues such as preventing conflicts and maintaining political order. This is the case of the European Union. Writers argue about two forms of government, one

that is responsible for controlling violence through common security and defense policy. Another known as personalist federalism talks about the idea of European society where federalist values travel freely across established borders of European states. (Weiner and Diez 2004). The European Citizens' Initiative reflects the idea of personalist federalism. It gives the European citizens the tools and enables them to shape the EU through legislative proposals. (Ec.europa.eu, 2018).

Known member of the European federalist movement, Altiero Spinelli, writes '*that European union should be brought about by the European populations, and not by diplomats (...)*' (Rosamond, 2000). Spinelli argues about the importance of citizens of Europe suggesting a bottom up approach in the European integration.

Despite that federalism applies to the principles of European integration there is still critique arising from the nature of the theory. It is often confused between federalism and federation where the second term refers to an organizational principle. The ideology of federalism does not explain how the total integration should or will be achieved and does not take into consideration the potential resistance of states of 'ever closer union'. Preston King identifies three ideological tendencies of federalism: '*centralist, de-centralist and balanced*' (Rosamond, 2000) indicating a broad theoretical scholar. As mentioned before federalism refers to a distribution of powers and competences but at the same time it lacks a clear prescription of their division. This also explains the controversy behind federalism. It may be loved by some and feared by others as potential threat to national sovereignty.

It is not uncommon to argue about the importance of federalism in the European integration especially since the end of the 2nd World War. However, it fails to draw a clear path for further integration. In relation to my exploration on European transnational, federalism does not indicate that citizens have an extensive role in integration. Spinelli tried to paint the citizens as initiators of deeper integration in federalism, but the theory focuses mainly on states as actors in which hands the integration process lies. Nowadays, the federalist discourse would not advance much through the national agendas as some may believe.

Functionalism, intergovernmentalism and institutionalism

Similar to federalism, functionalism is a theoretical scholar which sought to explain the conditions for ending conflict and bringing political order and which found its space in 1940s. Mitrany's optimistic explanation of European integration states that it is not about the ideal form but about

its function (Rosamond, 2000). His main assumptions were that the governments and people will make rational choices, what is best and the most logical thing to do. Today we can clearly state that such assumptions were naïve. In the face of Brexit, populism, democratic crises undermining the rule of law functionalism failed to predict events the EU is facing today. Some might argue that Mitrany's functionalism was not about predictions but rather about diplomacy (Rosamond, 2000) which in turn faces another obstacle of fake news and disinformation.

Other theories of European integration like intergovernmentalism and institutionalism present member state primacy claiming that the integration is a state-led process. This does not correspond with exploring the bottom up approach thus I will not focus further on those theories in my thesis.

Neofunctionalism

The neo-functionalism theory has its roots in the mid-1950s. It was built on the work of an American scientist, Ernst B. Haas and has been defined as a synthesis of Mitrany's functionalism. Neo-functionalism is a theory of regional integration. It claims that European integration can be achieved through the spill-over effect. The spill-over, as argued by Jean Monnet, aimed at integrating individual segments in hope of that process will cause other segments to follow. Monnet, one of the founding fathers of the European Union, first realized tangible gains for the members of then, European Economic Community (EEC). (Mansour, 2011). It can be assumed that neo-functionalism suggests political integration as an inevitable result of economic integration. (Rosamond, 2000). The spill-over hypothesis describes integration as linear and progressive process which would continue further on. Like other theories, neo-functionalism underestimated nationalism. Lindberg discovered first that progress could potentially prevent further integration. (Rosamond, 2000). This puts again the states as the main drivers of European politics. Lindberg then introduced the spill-back term as a strategy for states to retreat some of the authority. After 60 years of European integration it is possible to assess some of the spill-back strategies. The most evident is the British exit. Retreating or 'taking back control' in this case means full break on integration.

Important in neo-functionalism was transfer of loyalties. The concept played a central role in Haas's explanation of political integration. Haas argues that loyalties lie within one's long term reliability for '*satisfaction of important expectations*' (Rosamond, 2000). An individual or a group will shift their loyalty away from national institutions toward the European institution. It will

happen through recognition of the new European entity as being able to better satisfy essential human needs. This will lead to a formation of group with pan-European mindset and norms. They will try to lobby national elites to turn their loyalties to the European co-operation. 'Shifting loyalties' is an important identity related concept in Haas's theory. Even though it does not provide a clear picture of how identity building (or shifting) relates to European integration it is still a valuable perception for my thesis. Neo-functionalism is still regarded as important theoretical approach to European unity. Neo-functionalists often refined their academic components also in attempt to understand nationalism and states' stubbornness in the face of functionality. (ibid.) A critique also arises from the spill-over phenomena and its automaticity. Hoffmann argued that functional integration followed by political integration would not automatically ensue in a preestablished way. Mainly due to nationalist sentiments which would simply sideline logic and functionality. (Rosamond, 2000). The functional assumptions of neo-functionalism were not as decisive as theorists supposed.

Further in his studies Haas focuses on the transfer of authority and legitimacy rather than loyalty transfer. He asks a question: '*how do actors learn? Do perception of benefits from changing transactions affect the definition of interests?*' (Risse, 2004). Even after Haas abandoned the concept of European identity neofunctionalism does not excludes European integration "*from the domestic bottom up*" (ibid). With over 60 years of unifying Europe further exploration of European identity has occupied a center stage in European studies. The latest Eurobarometer (May 2018) shows the highest support for Europe in 35 years. (Europarl.europa.eu, 2018). As Risse puts it 'country first but Europe too' is not perceived as contradictory. The sharp division in mass opinion can be seen between those who only value their national identity and those who feel both, their national and European identities. Risse also writes that '*identity is a stronger predictor for support for European integration than economic rationality*' (Risse, 2004). Thus, Haas was right on the beginning assuming that European integration would lead to the development of multiple identities. However, it is correct to assume that European identity might have diverse meaning to different people.

Despite the critique toward some of the neoliberalist's assumptions and the predominance of national states in the process of integration I do not wish to completely discard Haas's arguments. He has rightly identified several mechanisms which in turn led to European identity.

Unfortunately, Hass gave up on studying the concept. Only during 1990s empirical research confirmed Hass's hypothesis on European identity. Transferring loyalty to Europe does not automatically mean giving up national identity. Another assumption also faces challenges. The transfer of loyalties toward European institutions would be encouraged by material gains deriving from integration. This hypothesis does not test well among European farmers which express the highest Eurosceptic feelings. It exemplifies small spill-over effect. One can argue that it is due to the political game of governments which tend to 'nationalize success and Europeanize failure'. It is something that Hass could not have predicted. Risse makes an interesting point stating that "*becoming European*" is gradually being embedded in understandings of national identities' (Risse, 2004). This statement could explain the appearance of European transnational or European transnational citizen whom replaces traditional (national) loyalties with multiple European identities across economic, cultural and political realms.

European identity and European integration

The European Union is increasing its presence in the lives of its citizens. European identity also takes its place in overcoming legitimacy deficit of EU institutions. Despite its growing presence many tend to disagree over the conceptual nature of European identity.

Therefore, I start with illustrating how I see the concept. My primary reference point is a definition by Robert Schuman foundation which describes European identity as concept which '*involves geographic, historic and cultural factors that contribute, to varying degrees, in forging a European identity based on shared historical links, ideas and values - but without this cancelling out of course our national identities*' (Robert-schuman.eu, 2018). Others also describe it as '*sense of community (...) mutual sympathy and loyalties, of we feeling, trust and mutual consideration, (...) process of mutual attention, communication, perception of needs, and responsiveness in the process of decision-making*' Isernia *et al.* (2012). To narrow down this broad conceptual understanding I focus on European identity based on identification with a political community and the intensity of it.

In the previous chapter I explore Hass's argumentation for European identity as crucial foundation of European political integration. In this part I want to look deeper into the concept and explore other approaches with the aim to understand different determinants of European identity.

The early stages of European integration acquired an economic approach. Focus on trade and market seemed to be a rational choice with individual and collective benefits for member states. Isernia *et al.* (2012) considers this approach as a dependable variable which can develop into higher intensity identity if Europe continues to be the source of benefits. The author also writes that recent psychological theories of self-categorization too attempt to grasp the concept of European identity. The social-psychological approach argues for European identity as an addition to already existing regional and national identities. This approach studies the relationship between national and European identity and the possibility of different identities co-existing. Isernia *et al.* (2012) in the study concludes that the intensity of European identity reflects the economic situation of a member state (the benefits of integration mentioned earlier) and/or the level of satisfaction with the local political system. For example, if the citizens are happy with the democracy and the quality of governance at the national level they are less likely identify themselves with the European institutions. In contrast, residents of countries with much lower quality of the governance, higher democracy deficiency and less powerful economy would identify with the EU institutions more seeking for Europe to fill in those gaps. In Romania for example, the decline in trust for governmental institutions and politicians including a high level of corruption is widely evident. People have expressed their association with the EU through the mass protests in the past couple of years. There is a possibility that those people see Europe as an outlet for their need of belonging and association. As an additional finding from Isernia *et al.* (2012) we can see that migration and globalization has a negative impact on the European identity. Europe experienced lower levels of support across the continent during the refugee crisis. The main implication of this is that there is no clear evidence that European identity is getting stronger with European integration. It contradicts what neo-functionalists have assumed. Besides the economic factors and assessments of national institutions, researchers (Henjak, Toka and Sanders, 2012) also list '*cognitive mobilization*' as additional theoretical claim for European identity. The core hypothesis here is that '*higher levels of education, political awareness, and engagement encourage people to be more cosmopolitan in their world views [therefore supporting] integration also in the European context*' (ibid.). The authors argue that more politically active citizens and those who have been exposed to pro-EU discourse tend to have greater support for European integration. Acquired identity can also be directed in the opposite direction. Here studies (Carey 2002; Garry and Tilley 2009; Hooghe and Marks 2005) link negative EU support with '*exclusive national identity, cultural homogeneity*

and the perception of threat [that the EU] supposedly poses to national identity and culture.' (ibid.). The fear of supposed loss of national culture because of EU integration has been widely used by populists. However, due to the limited data on this issue testing this hypothesis is restricted.

Some of the identity explanations outlined above fail to follow a theoretical logic. They seem like an ad-hoc hypothesis which can be understood given the complexity of the subject. The EU is complex, continuously evolving international organization that generates always changing and even contradictory expectations. And the events of the past decade are a great example of that. It is natural to assume that the EU integration might not follow an integrated theoretical logic. However, I can conclude that the determinants of the trends of European identity lie within an economic, political and social factors. Higher levels of European identity are linked with the assumption that European integration brings economic well-being and good and effective governance of the national institutions. This can be supplemented by an active political engagement.

Free movement and European identity

In previous chapters I talked about the free movement in Europe and what effects it had on the European population. Further in the theoretical part I analyze different assumptions regarding European identity, its intensity and its relation to European integration. Here I would like to test some of the assumptions before I go further with a case analyses I conducted for this thesis.

European citizen who have left their native country to reside in any other member state are more exposed to many of the EU policies than those who have not. Mobile citizens can benefit from European health insurance card, roaming free calls, possibility to study in any of the members state based on the same rules as nationals of that country. We can refer to it as first-hand European experience. This experience, if positive, may lead to pro-European identities. Rother and Nebe (2009) conducted a research on the correlation between free movement and EU identity. The researchers measured attitudes towards the EU. They divided the respondents into two groups: movers, which I referred to as mobile citizens but in this analyzes I will use the same term as Rother and Nebe, and stayers. The study examines five countries: Germany, Italy, Spain, France and the UK. It considers movers as other nationals living in these countries, and nationals of these

countries living in other member state where stayers are nationals of these countries living at home ex. Germans in Germany. The first result shows a significant difference between movers and stayers with movers having much more positive attitudes toward the EU. On average 6% of the stayers had positive association with the EU where on average 29% of the movers expressed positive image toward the EU. The research also examines the knowledge of the EU and concludes that movers are more knowledgeable about the EU than stayers. It can imply that “*more informed people are more likely to move*” (Rother and Nebe, 2009) or because moving exposes people to EU policies making them more aware of EU policies and the role Europe plays in their lives. (ibid.).

It is important to note that the findings of this research fall within the neo-functionalist theoretical explanations and the European identity assumptions explored in previous chapters. First it concludes the existence of multicultural identities which do not compete but rather complement each other. There are certain conditions needed for this to happen. A perfect balance between assimilation and segregation with an active participation of the migrant in cultural and political life in the country of residence (Rother and Nebe, 2009). This implies possible variables based on the country of origin and the country of residence and factors with them associated, for ex.: language, political and cultural opportunities and how easy it is to access them. Second, it states that educated Europeans tend to have much higher, positive attachment to Europe. This reflects mentioned earlier ‘cognitive mobilization’ theory. Third, it suggests that policies strengthening European identity (Erasmus+, Interrail tickets, transferability of benefits, end of roaming charges and so on) should be reinforced. Furthermore, new policies could be considered as spill-over effect consolidating European identity.

Although, the study provides valuable findings for my thesis it only focuses on several Western European countries. Additionally, we can consider the study a bit outdated. The past decade proved to be very eventful for the European Union which only enhances the complexity of the phenomenon. However, these findings provide a good base for my study case where I explore countries not mentioned in the research.

Study case Romanians in Denmark

As I have mentioned in the problem statement, I chosen to focus on the case of “Romanians in Denmark” as subject to explore how the “European Transnational” can influence the integration process of the European Union. “Romanians in Denmark” fit the definition of “European Transnationals”.

According to the National Statistics of Denmark, there are 29,308 Romanians living in Denmark (2018). Since Romania entered the European Union in 2007, the population of Romanians living in Denmark increased in size 12 times, from 2,386 (2008). The eastward expansion has increased the usage of the freedom of movement, which is fundamental to the European citizenship. The eastward expansion has also increased the number of “European Transnationals”, as the those passing internal borders in search for work, knowledge or happiness have multiplied tenfold.

For the purpose of the project, I have made a survey with a sample of 244 respondents (0,83% from the population of Romanians in Denmark) and corroborated the results with my own observations, as a member of the population segment “Romanians in Denmark”. Among others, through the survey I wanted to validate the beforementioned process of acculturation and the existence of Kastoryano’s 4-dimensional space as they play an important role in defining the “European Transnational”.

In order to understand the results of the survey, I have used the 8-identities model developed by Recci and Favell (2009) in the PIONEUR project (Pioneers of European Integration “From Below” Mobility and the Emergence of European identity among national and foreign citizens in the EU) and the 4-types model of transnational formations developed by Dahinden (2010).

In order to assess the double or triple “realities” claim that I made or Kastoryano’s four-dimensional space, I have obtained the following data through the survey: length of stay in Denmark; reason for movement; percentage of Romanians following Romanian news (state of origin); percentage of Romanians following Danish news (state of residence); level of knowledge in regards to local political rights; percentage of participation in Romanian national elections; percentage of participation in Danish local elections; information about social media usage;

percentage of Romanians with political party membership; percentage of Romanians participating in the organized civil society and percentage of Romanians participating in protests.

To be able to explore the influence of the “European transnationals” on the integration process of the European Union, I have obtained the following through the survey: intensity of cross-border passing between state of residence and state of origin, intensity of cross-border exchange of information between Romanians in Denmark and Romanians in Romania, level of support for implementation of the residence system in the state of origin, level of support for Romania’s membership in the European Union, level of support for further integration of Romania in the European Union, percentage of Romanians with desire to change Romania.

Table 2: Total number of Romanians in Denmark (2008-2018)

Folketal den 1. i kvartalet efter statsborgerskab, køn, område, alder og tid

	2008K1	2018K3
Rumænien		
I alt		
Hele landet		
I alt	2 386	29 308
0-4 år	74	2 569
5-9 år	36	1 072
10-14 år	36	650
15-19 år	83	711
20-24 år	501	3 882
25-29 år	642	6 172
30-34 år	471	5 965
35-39 år	229	3 552
40-44 år	117	2 039
45-49 år	69	1 228
50-54 år	48	750
55-59 år	27	369
60-64 år	8	194
65-69 år	6	79
70-74 år	7	28
75-79 år	16	19
80-84 år	14	12
85-89 år	1	9
90-94 år	1	7
95-99 år	0	1

Source: Danmarks Statistik

Acculturation effects on the Romanian community in Denmark

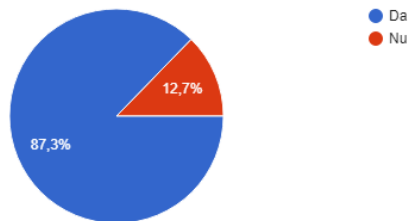
First, we will look at the data regarding the acculturation process, the identity transformations, the attachment to the European Identity and the trust in institutions. Based on this data, we will try to

validate the process of acculturation and assess what typical identities result from the process, also in regards to the acceptance of the supranational identity.

Table 3: Answers to the question “Do you consider that your life perspectives have been changed since moving to Denmark?”

Consideri ca felul tau de a fi, perspectivele in viata au fost schimbate odata cu mutarea in Danemarca?

244 de răspunsuri



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

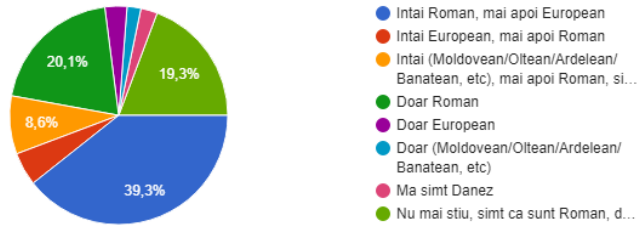
When questioned if their life perspectives have been changed since moving to Denmark, 87,3% answered positive. The change in life perspective can be linked with the process of acculturation where the individual is accustoming to new ideas, beliefs, values, traditions and people. The 12,7% negative answers can be explained due to having respondents that just arrived this year (8,2%) or respondents that are still facing the acculturation process even after a year.

The change created by the process of acculturation can also be seen from the questions on identity, European identity attachment and institutions trust. The question “How do you identify yourself?”, got 8 different answers, showing just how complex the identity issue becomes after the process of acculturation is completed.

Table 4: Answers to the question “How do you identify?”

In ce fel va identificati?

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Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

To understand the data from the identity question, I have used the PIONEUR 8-identities model.

- Type 1 – Integrating Europeans – Romanian-Europeans – 39,3%
- Type 2 – Integrating Non-Europeans – Romanian-Danish – 19,3%
- Type 3 – Assimilating Europeans – European-Romanians – 4,9%
- Type 4 – Assimilating Non-Europeans – Danish – 2,5%
- Type 5 – Self-segregating Europeans – Regional-Romanian-Europeans- 8,6%
- Type 6 – Self-segregating Non-Europeans – Romanians – 20,1%
- Type 7 – Self-Marginalizing Europeans – Europeans – 3,3%
- Type 8 – Self-Marginalizing Non-Europeans – Regional – 2%

We can see that the most often result of the acculturation process, is the Romanian-European identity (type 1). The individuals in this category have multi-layered identity, being able to add a new identity without needing to lose an old one. Type 6, the Romanian identity, comes in second, due to the sample containing newcomers to Denmark, but also due to the acculturation process, resulting in the individual rejecting the European identity and the Danish identity, while creating an idealized version of the Romanian identity. Type 2, the Romanian-Danish identity, comes in third, being the last sizable percentage. The Romanian-Danish identity results when the European identity is rejected.

The process of transformation starts from the Romanian identity (and for some individuals, it also ends there with an even stronger Romanian identity), and it can go in three directions of development.

The first direction, is the one connected with the European identity. There are three types of identities on this direction (Romanian-European, European-Romanian and European), depending on the degree of adopting the European identity. The European-Romanians, are the individuals that see the entire European Union as their home, but also recognize their origin from Romania. The Europeans, are the individuals that completely forgone national identity, keeping only the supranational one. While the Romanian-Europeans represent the largest group among the 8 identities, the European-Romanians and Europeans are niche groups with just 8,2% together. In total, 47,5% of the respondents went in the first direction.

The second direction, is the one connected with the Danish identity. There are two types of identities on this direction (Romanian-Danish and Danish), depending on the degree of assimilation into the Danish culture. The individuals that went into this direction, idealize the Danish society and see it as an aim in life to adopt as much as possible from the Danish way of life. The largest group, the Romanian-Danish, are the ones that adopted the Danish identity, while maintaining the Romanian identity. The smaller group, the Danish, are the ones that over-assimilated and foregone the Romanian identity. In total, 21,8% of the respondents went into the second direction.

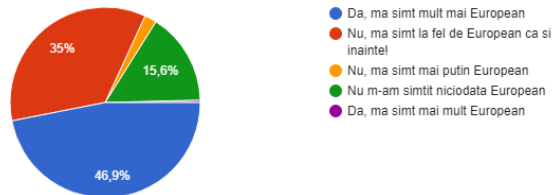
The third direction, is the one connected with the Regional identity. There are two types of identities on this direction (Regional-Romanian-European and Regional). The individuals that went into this direction, found comfort in the identities closest to their home village or town. The first type, Regional-Romanian-European, are the ones that adopted both the European identity, but also during the process found solace in the arms of their regional identity. The second type, Regionals, are the ones that foregone both national and supranational identity, seeking comfort into an idealized version of the home town or village. In Romania, there are the following regional identities: Moldavian, Wallachian and Transylvanian with some variations between them. In total, 10,6% of the respondents went into this direction.

As we can see, by far, the largest group of individuals have adopted, in one form or another, the European identity. In the next question we can see if the European identity has been strengthened after moving to Denmark.

Table 5: Answers to the question “Do you have a stronger attachment to the European identity, since moving to Denmark?”

Aveti un atasament mai puternic fata de identitatea europeana, acum dupa luni/ani la distanta de Romania?

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Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

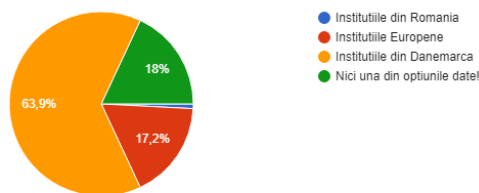
The question made “Do you have a stronger attachment for the European identity, after moving to Denmark?” gave the following results: 47,3% claimed stronger attachment; 35% claimed nothing changed; 15,6% never felt European; 2,1% claimed weaker attachment.

We can see that the largest group, got stronger attachment and it almost matches the number of the individuals that undergone transformations on the European direction. Does a stronger attachment towards the European identity or even adopting the European identity also means allegiance towards the European institutions?

Table 6: Answers to the question “Which institutions do you trust the most?”

In care institutii aveti cel mai mult incredere?

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Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

When asked about which institutions they trust the most, when given the choice between Romanian, Danish and European institutions, the Danish institutions won by a large margin. 63,9% trust the most the Danish institutions, while only 17,2% trust the most the European institutions. 18% don’t trust any institutions, while 0,8% believe in the Romanian institutions the most.

You might wonder, why then, only 21,8% went into the Danish identity direction, if 63,9% trust the Danish institutions. While they acknowledge the Danish institutions more than the European institutions, that is only because they come in contact more often with the Danish ones. Also, there is a sense of gratitude among the Romanians in Denmark, for being able to enjoy the benefits of the Danish society, thanks to the European citizenship. One may assume that trust in institutions does not influence the acculturation process.

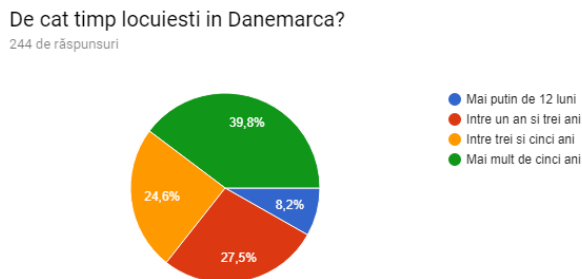
Panorama of the 4-dimensional space in the Romanian community (in Denmark)

In order to assess the data needed to draw the panorama of the 4-dimensional space in the Romanian community in Denmark, I will use the 4-types model of transnational formations made by Dahinden (2010).

According to Dahinden (ibid.) the 4-types of transnational formations are the following: localized diasporic transnational formations, localized mobile transnational formations, transnational mobiles and transnational outsiders.

Although the first question cannot be seen through the lenses of Dahinden (ibid.), it is important to establish the length of stay of the respondents in Denmark, as individuals that have not completed the acculturation process may influence the final results.

Table 7: Answers to the question “How long did you live in Denmark?”

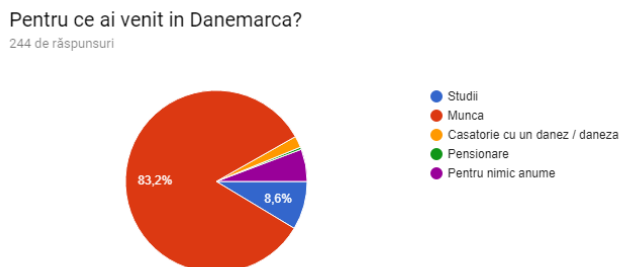


Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

From this graph we can see that the large majority of the respondents have lived in Denmark more than 3 years (24,6% between 3-5 years and 39,8% more than 5 years = 64,4%). 27,5% have lived between 1 and 3 years in Denmark and 8,2% have just arrived this year. Therefore, 64,4% have completed for sure the acculturation process, while 27,5% barely completed it or are close to complete it. 8,2% have certainly not completed the acculturation process.

Further on, we will look at the reasons for moving to Denmark, in order to understand the triggers in movers and what connection do they still have with their country of origin.

Table 8: Answers to the question “Why did you come to Denmark?”



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

The two main reasons for Romanians to move to Denmark, are work (83,2%) and studies (8,6%). 5,7% had no specific reason to come to Denmark, they simply did. 2% moved to Denmark to marry with a Danish citizen and 0,4% moved to live the pension years in Denmark.

The localized diasporic transnational formations, represents individuals that came to Denmark to work, to marry a Danish citizen or to live the pension years and decided there is no hope to return to Romania. They usually have bought a house, know Danish or are in process of learning it and try to be an active part of the Danish society.

The localized mobile transnational formations, represents individuals that came to Denmark to work, lived already more than 3 years in Denmark, but whom still keep the hope of returning to Romania. They usually have bought a house, know Danish or are in process of learning it and usually work to create savings, so the engagement in local society is reduced.

The transnational mobiles, represents individuals that came to Denmark to work on a temporary contract or to study. They usually lived in Denmark less than 3 years, keep a close connection with the state of origin and have few established roots in the state of residence. They live on rent, do not know Danish or do not plan to learn it and engagement in society varies (some might be very active, some might be completely absent).

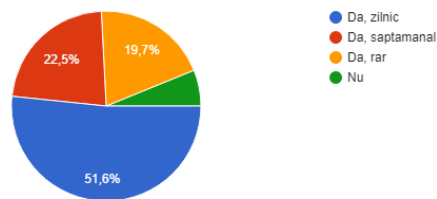
The transnational outsiders, represents individuals that came to Denmark to work on a temporary contract. They usually just arrived to Denmark, cannot speak Danish, despise the Romanian

political system for forcing them to move and cannot integrate in the Danish society due to the language barrier.

With the next question, I will try to assess if Romanians in Denmark are aware of what is happening in Romania and how often they keep themselves updated.

Table 9: Answers to the question “Do you follow the news from Romania and how often?”

Urmaresti stirile din Romania si daca da, cat de des?
244 de raspunsuri



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

From this graph, we can see that more than half, 51,6% still follow daily news from Romania. 22,5% follow the Romanian news on a weekly basis and 19,7% follow it rarely (most likely just upon events of high importance). Only 6,1% do not follow the Romanian news.

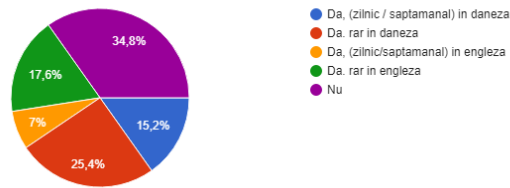
Therefore, we can draw the conclusion, that 93,9% live virtually in the Romanian society with varying degrees of intensity. 51,6% are mentally part of the Romanian reality in real-time, while 22,5% connects to the Romanian reality regularly, but not in real-time. 19,7% connect to the Romanian reality rarely, only upon something important happening.

The localized mobile transnational formations, the transnational mobiles and the transnational outsiders follow the Romanian news regularly, while the localized diasporic transnational formations rarely follow the Romanian news or completely stopped doing so. Romanians in Denmark follow the Romanian news, either from television sets (which are connected to Romanian channels) or from the computers with access to internet (where they either broadcast the Romanian TV channels or they read the online versions of the Romanian newspapers).

Now, on to assess, if they are also aware of the Danish reality. Living in Denmark, without being informed of the events happening around you, means you are mentally not part of the Danish reality.

Table 10: Answers to the question “Do you follow the news in Denmark, and if so, in what language?”

Urmaresti stirile din Danemarca si daca da, cat de des si in ce limba?
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Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

While 6,1% do not follow the Romanian news, that percentage increases when we are talking about Danish news. 34,8% do not follow Danish news. Yet, there is still a large majority that follows the Danish news, either in Danish language or in English language. 40,6% follow the news in Danish language (15,2% often and 25,4% rarely) and 24,6% follow the news in English language (7% often and 17,6% rarely).

65,2% are aware of the Danish reality. This confirms my claim of living in double-realities and the four-dimensional space. The large majority of Romanians in Denmark are informed of what is happening in both Romania and Denmark, being able to form opinions on the events and compare situations.

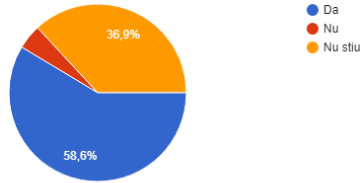
The transnational outsiders no not follow the Danish news, while few of the transnational mobiles follow the Danish news and if they do so, they do it in English. There are two news outlets in Denmark that offer Danish news in English (The Local and Copenhagen Post). The localized diasporic transnational formations follow the news in Danish often, while the localized mobile transnational formations follow the news in Danish rarely and the news in English often.

In conclusion, “European transnationals’ are aware of what is happening in two realities or more, showing the major difference between European citizens that never moved from their state of birth and European citizens that moved from their state of origin.

Local political rights are a key component of European citizenship, but also an important tool of influence in the arsenal of the European transnationals.

Table 11: Answers to the question “Can you vote in the Danish local elections as a Romanian citizen?”

Poti sa votezi in alegerile locale si regionale din Danemarca drept cetatean roman?
244 de raspunsuri



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

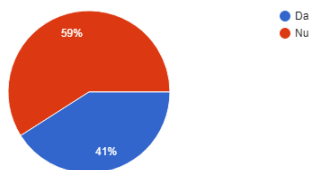
When questioned upon their knowledge of their local political rights, only 58,6% were aware of them. 36,9% were uninformed and 4,5% were misinformed. Decades have passed since the implementation of the local political rights in Denmark for European citizens and we barely have more than half (Romanians in Denmark) that are aware of them. Due to some Danish citizens being also unaware of this right for the “European transnationals”, they inform they transnational peers wrongly, leading to 4,5% being misinformed. The Danish institutions have started with local elections in 2017 to make awareness campaigns towards the “European transnationals” about the local political rights. Yet, more effective tools need to be found, as the right to vote is fundamental and the “European transnational” needs to have that choice in a democracy.

The localized diasporic formations and the localized mobile formations are aware of their right to vote in the local elections, while the transnationals mobile and transnational outsiders do not necessarily know about it.

Romanians in Denmark, have the political right to vote in Danish local and regional elections, Romanian national elections and European Parliament elections.

Table 12: Answers to the question “Did you vote in the Romanian elections, since moving to Denmark?”

Ai votat pentru alegerile din Romania, de cand esti in Danemarca?
244 de raspunsuri

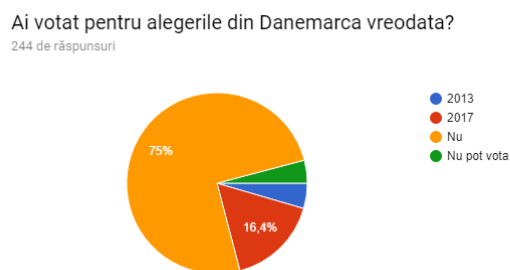


Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

41% of the Romanians in Denmark have continued to vote for Romanian national elections since moving, while 59% did not use their political rights in regards to Romanian elections since moving. However, looking at voting presence in Romania, 41% is actually above the voting presence in 2016 Romania parliamentary elections, when it reached only 39%.

The localized diasporic formations and the transnational outsiders are among the ones most likely not using their voting right, while the localized mobile formations and the transnational mobiles are among the ones most likely to use their voting right.

Table 13: Answers to the question: “Did you ever vote in Danish local elections?”



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

The vast majority have never used the local and regional political rights in Denmark. 75% never voted in the local and regional elections in Denmark. 4,1% continued to affirm that it is not possible to vote.

However, we can see an ascending trend in the political participation, as 4,5% voted in 2013 Danish local elections, while 16,4% voted in the 2017 Danish local elections. A working paper from Copenhagen University made by Kasper Moller Hansen (2018), found that there has been a presence of 14,1% from the total of Romanians in Denmark at the 2017 local and regional elections. From this I can assess, that the percentage identified by my research, had an error margin of 2,3%.

The localized diasporic formations and the localized mobile formations, are most likely to use their voting right, while transnationals mobile and transnational outsiders are most likely to not use their voting right.

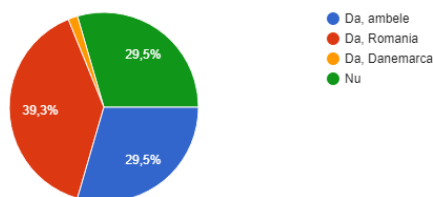
In conclusion, 58,6% are aware of their local political rights, 41% are using their national political rights and 14,1% voted at the last local and regional elections in Denmark. One of the main tools

of the “European transnationals” to enact change and exercise influence over the European integration process, is not common knowledge and is underused by those aware of it.

Another tool of the “European transnationals” is the activity in the social media space. The virtual space of the social media bridges the Romanian and the Danish reality, while connecting to the European reality. Through social media, the “European Transnational” is able to react to the information flows.

Table 14: Answers to the question “Do you follow on Facebook, political parties and/or politicians from Romania and/or Denmark?”

Urmaresti pe Facebook, partide si/sau politicieni din Romania si/sau Danemarca?
244 de raspunsuri



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

Following social media pages of politicians or political parties, you can get informed and react on political ideas, legislative initiative or other statements of importance. 39,3% of the respondents are following only Romanian politicians and political parties Facebook pages. 1,6% of the respondents are following only Danish politicians and political parties Facebook pages. 29,5% are following both, while 29,5% are following none.

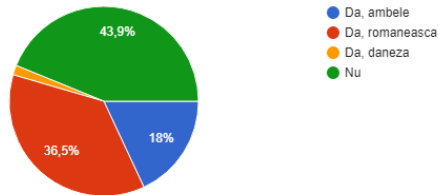
70,5% are following a politician and/or a political party from Romania and/or Denmark. 29,5% are following both and are able to transfer ideas heard in one side to the other side.

Transnational mobiles (in majority students) and transnational outsiders are most likely in the “no following politics” zone due to low interest of students in the political world and the “I have no time for this” policy employed by temporary workers in Denmark that aim to work as much as possible to gather as much money as possible.

Table 15: Answers to the question “Do you post, comment, or share about Romanian politics and/or Danish?”

Postezi, comentezi pe alte postari sau distribui despre politica romaneasca si/sau cea daneza?

244 de raspunsuri



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

70,5% are following political Facebook pages. 57,1% go a step forward and engage in social media about politics. They post their opinions about political issues, comment on other people opinions and share opinions they agree with to increase visibility.

39,3% are following Romanian political Facebook pages. 36,5% engage in social media about Romanian politics. 1,6% are following Danish political Facebook pages. 1,6% engage in social media about Danish politics. 29,5% are following both. 18% engage in social media about both Danish and Romanian politics. 43,9% do not engage on social media on political topics.

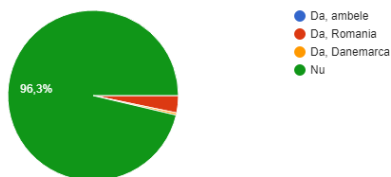
The 18% are the critical mass that unite the Danish and the Romanian political spheres on the virtual space. The localized mobile transnational formations individuals are most likely to be part of this 18% critical mass.

Engaging in social media can be effective, but an even stronger tool for creating influence is party membership.

Table 16: Answers to the question “Are you a party member in Romania and/or Denmark?”

Esti membru de partid in Romania si / sau Danemarca?

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Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

Through my research I was not able to identify any individuals that are members of a political party in both Romania and Denmark. However, I am personally member of a political party in Denmark and of a political party in Romania, therefore, I will not exclude the possibility of this occurring with another individual among the population of Romanians in Denmark.

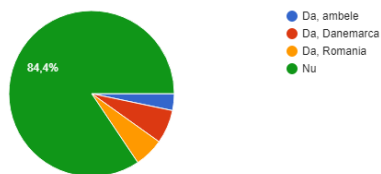
The vast majority of the respondents are not members of a political party, with 96,3% answering negative. 3,3% said they have membership in a Romanian political party, while 0,4% said they have membership in a Danish political party. However, the low involvement of European transnationals in political parties, is not different from the low involvement of the European citizens of Danish origin living in Denmark. According to the data provided by the Folketinget (2016), 145,121 individuals are members of a political party in Denmark. This represents roughly 2,5% of the total population of Denmark.

The low presence of Romanians in Danish political parties is mainly due to three reasons: language wall – inability to speak Danish fluent; misinformation – belief that is not possible to become a member as a Romanian; lack of self-confidence – belief that it is not okay for Romanians to get involved in Danish politics.

Besides being members of a political party, Romanians in Denmark are able to join any association that functions in the Danish society (with cultural, sportive, religious scope, etc.).

Table 17: Answers to the question “Are you a member in a civic organization of any kind in Romania and/or Denmark?”

Esti membru intr-o organizatie civica de orice fel in Romania si/sau in Danemarca? (culturala, sportiva, religioasa, etc.)
244 de raspunsuri



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

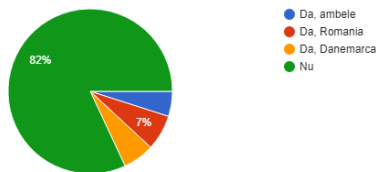
84,4% are not members of any kind of association in Denmark. 6,6% are members of an association operating in Romania. 5,7% are members of an association operating in Denmark. 3,3% are members of associations in both Romania and Denmark.

The localized diasporic transnational formations are most likely to be part of the 5,7% that are members of an association in Denmark. The localized mobile transnational formations are most likely to be part of the 3,3% that are members of associations operating in both countries, but also of the 6,6% that are members of associations operating in Romania.

Participating in a protest is a form to show unhappiness with current politics and actually taking part in it shows desire to change something. Protests can be strong tools to enact change and create influence.

Table 18: Answers to the question “Since you are in Denmark, did you participate in protests in Romania and/or Denmark?”

De cand esti in Danemarca, ai participat la proteste in Romania si/sau in Danemarca?
244 de raspunsuri



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

82% of the respondents have not been to a protest since coming to Denmark. 7% have participated at protests in Romania (where they traveled with this specific purpose), while 6,1% participated at protests in Denmark. 4,9% have participated at protests in both countries.

I have personally participated at a protest in Aalborg last year, where I have seen many European transnationals with placards with different messages aimed at convincing the government to #SaveSU. The current right-wing government has triggered many protests in the past years, therefore creating the chance for many individuals with European transnational background to participate.

The 7% that participated in Romanian protests since moving to Denmark, relate to an event that happened in August 2018 (of which I was witness), where the Romanian Diaspora was mobilized to go to Bucharest to protest the current government policies in regards to justice and European Union. Also, in Denmark there was a series of protests of the Romanian Diaspora that was not able to travel to Bucharest.

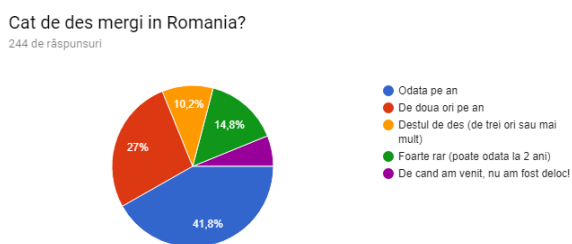
In conclusion, 29,5% are following politicians and political parties from both realities, 18% engage in the social media with political issues from both realities, 4,9% participated in protests in regards to issues about both realities, 3,3% are members of non-political associations in both states and a few individuals are members of political parties in both Denmark and Romania. Therefore, I can claim that there is cross-border activity done by a part of the “European Transnationals”, the localized mobile transnational formations.

Influence of the “European Transnationals”

So far, I have established the validity of the acculturation process, the double or triple realities and the 4-dimensional space. Further on, I will analyze the data offered by the survey with the purpose of understanding the importance of the “European transnationals” in the integration process of the European Union.

An individual that has gone through the acculturation process and has acquired new ideas about the inner-makings of the society can influence not only the state of residence, but also the state of origin. That individual is likely to spread a positive image about European Union, bring new ideas and values into the origin society, convey a model society to be desired and generally, to bring solutions to the change-hungry people from the state of origin. In the case of Romanians in Denmark, this means bringing Danish ideas and values into the Romanian society.

Table 19: Answers to the question “How often do you go to Romania?”



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

The large majority of Romanians in Denmark go at least once a year to Romania. The yearly act of visiting the “motherland” can be seen with multiple roles. The Romanians from Denmark go to Romania to visit family and friends, attend important family events (weddings, burials, newborn christening, etc.), reconnect with the ancestral lands, work on a house for retirement years, participate in charity campaigns and more recently, to protest the government.

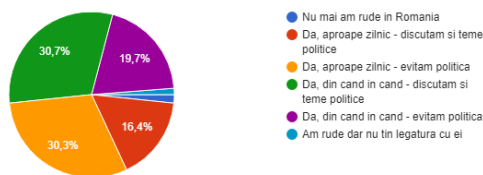
41,8% go at least once a year, 27% go at least twice a year and 10,2% go more often than twice a year. This means 79% of the Romanians in Denmark, spend a few days physically in Romania every year, strengthening the connection to that reality. In this category you can find the localized mobile transnational formations, the transnational mobiles and some of the transnational outsiders.

14,8% go every two years to Romania and 6,1% do not go anymore. In this category, you can find the localized diasporic transnational formations and the rest of the transnational outsiders.

79% of the “European Transnationals” have the choice to spread state of residence ideas and values to the state of origin, during the yearly visit. However, the ideas and values can also be spread from virtual contact between “European Transnationals” and the friends and family left in the state of origin.

Table 20: Answers to the question “If you have relatives in Romania, how often do you connect and do you discuss politics with them?”

Daca mai aveti rude in Romania, cat de des tineti legatura si daca discutati teme politice?
244 de raspunsuri



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

While the acculturation process changes the individual going through it, the individual can multiply the effects by influencing his family and friends from direct and often contact, albeit virtual. Only 2,8% do not have virtual contact with people in Romania (1,6% due to no relatives still residing in Romania and 1,2% due to the choice for no contact).

46,7% speak daily with people in Romania, through virtual means. 16,4% speak daily and also talk about politics with people in Romania. 50,4% speak sometimes with people in Romania. 30,7% speak sometimes and also talk about politics with people in Romania. 47,1% talk about politics with their family and friends from Romania.

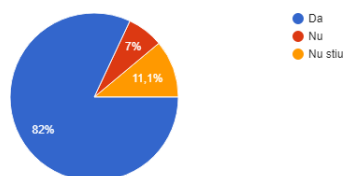
Not only that the large majority influences the thinking and behavior of their family and friends due to constant contact, but 47,1% are also spreading Danish political ideas towards the family

and friends whom have the ability to involve politically in order to make them a reality. The mix between Romanian ideas, values and traditions in the Danish society and the Danish ideas, values and perspectives in the Romanian society, homogenizes the two states by reducing the perceived differences between them.

Are the Romanians in Denmark more pro-European than the Romanians in Romania? I would say yes, as they have felt the benefits of the European citizenship more directly by crossing the internal borders of the Union. Also, I would say yes, because as we have seen earlier in the research, a large number of the individuals have adopted the supranational identity to various degrees.

Table 21: Answers to the question “Do you support Romania to continue being a member of European Union?”

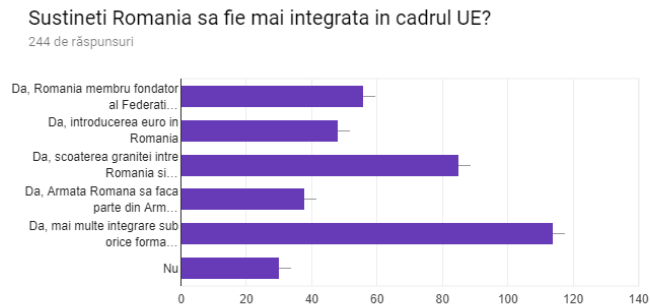
Sustineti Romania sa fie, in continuare, membru in Uniunea Europeana?
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Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

The earlier findings are confirmed also by the answers to the question “Do you support Romania to be a member of the European Union?”, in which the large majority (82%) answered positive. 11% answered that they do not know as they lack knowledge on the matter. Only 7% claimed that Romania should not be in the European Union. Compared to the support for the European Union in Romania, which hovers at 46% (2017), the support among Romanians in Denmark is almost double. The 46% number can be found in the report made by MercuryResearch with the occasion of 10 years since Romania’s entry in the European Union.

Table 22: Answers to the question “Do you support more integration of Romania into the European Union?”



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

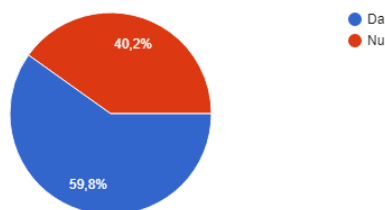
The stronger attachment to the European identity is also confirmed by the answers to the question “Do you want Romania to be further integrated in the European Union?”, in which only 12,3% said no to further integration. 7% do not want Romania in the European Union + 5,3% that believe the current arrangement is good enough.

46,7% want more integration in whatever form. On top of that, 34,8% want Romania to join the Schengen Area, 23% want Romania to be a founding state of the European Federation, 19,7% want Romania to adopt euro currency and 15,6% want Romania to join the European Army.

As we can see, the “European Transnationals” can act as agents for further integration, leading to a more united and interconnected European Union. This means that the “European Transnationals” not only have the means to influence the integration process, but also the belief for more integration.

Table 23: Answers to the question “Do you distribute ideas about Danish society towards any organizations or people in Romania?”

Distribui idei din societatea daneza catre diferite organizatii si/sau persoane din Romania?
244 de r spunsuri



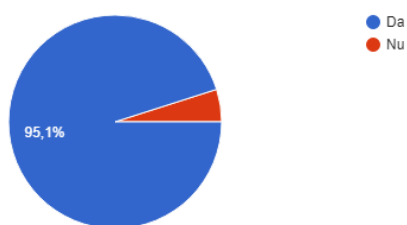
Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

Earlier we found that 79% visit at least once Romania, and 47,1% talk regularly with family and friends from Romania about politics. As I have said, they have the choice to spread Danish ideas and values in the Romanian society. From the question “Do you distribute Danish ideas towards different organizations or people from Romania?”, we find out that 59,8% actively spread Danish ideas and values into the Romanian society.

Table 24: Answers to the question “Do you wish to contribute towards changing Romania?”

Iti doresti sa contribui la schimbarea Romaniei?

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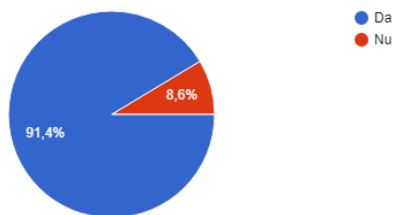
Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

59,8% actively spread Danish ideas and values into the Romanian society. At the question “Do you wish to contribute to changing Romania?”, 95,1% answered positive. This means that the absolute majority want to be a changemaker, while 59,8% actively act as agents of homogenization between Denmark and Romania.

Table 25: Answers to the question “Do you wish to see the Danish system implemented in Romania?”

Iti doresti sa vezi sistemul danez implementat in Romania?

244 de raspunsuri



Source: Survey made by Narcis George Matache

91,4% want to see the Danish system implemented in Romania. 95,1% see themselves as changemakers. This means that the 59,8% of active agents can be further increased.

In conclusion, 87,3% of the respondents have undergone an acculturation process, which lead to a diversity of identity outcomes. 56,1% have adopted a supranational layer of identity or fully immersed into European identity as the only one. 47,3% felt stronger attachment to the European Union since moving to Denmark.

This means that the “European Transnational” does, in most cases, adopt a European identity and creates emotional attachment to the idea of Europe, thanks to the acculturation process and the usage of the fundamental right of freedom of movement.

93,9% follow the Romanians news in different degrees of repetition. 65,2% follow the Danish news in different degrees of repetition and in two languages (Danish and English). This confirms that “European Transnationals” live at least in two realities in the same time.

58,6% are aware of their local political rights in Denmark. 14,1% used their local political rights in 2017 in Denmark. 41% used their national political rights since moving to Denmark in Romanian elections. From this, we can understand, that the political power of the “European Transnationals” could be increased if more were aware of their fundamental political rights and the importance of them using this right.

29,5% follow the discussions in the social media bubbles of Romanian and Danish politics, while 18% choose to engage in them. 4,9% participate in protests and 3,3% are members of non-political associations in both member states. 79% spend every year a few days in Romania, while 47,1% engage in virtual political discussions with relatives (residing in Romania) on a regular basis. The “European Transnationals” category, the localized mobile transnational formations, is the one containing most of the individuals that have virtual and physical cross-border activity. This shows that “European Transnationals” serve as exchange agents of political ideas between state of residence and state of origin, that can actively participate in the public debates of both states.

82% support Romania’s membership in the European Union, which is almost double compared to the support for the Union among Romanians in Romania. Only 12,3% are against more integration of Romania into the European Union. 95,1% want to change Romania, and 91,4% want to implement the Danish system in Romania. 59,8% actively promote Danish ideas and values into the Romanian society. This shows that “European Transnationals” promote a mantra of “more

Europe” in their activity and the links created by them can sew the state of residence and the state of origin societies.

Conclusion

I have attempted in this thesis to subject the claims of possible influence from European transnational on the European integration. I used empirical testing and simultaneously attempted to use explanatory power of different theories and scholars. Lack of suitable data and the limitations of my study case have prevented me from drawing a widely applicable conclusion.

First, I talked about European transnational and his ability to bi-cultural identity. My research confirms that multiple identities will emerge where the mover interacts, whether on the political and/or cultural sphere, with the country of residence. In this case the mover does not experience the loss of his own identity and does not completely assimilate with the identity of the country of residence. This leads to the development of European identity. Following, the study also confirms the hypothesis that European transnational is more Europeanized. There is no conflict between national or country of residence identity. For him identities are additive and in harmony with each other. The study also distinguished a group of movers who did not have the same experience. A small percentage of respondents experienced some kind of identity conflict. Here I saw unharmonious choices between identities from country of origin, country of residence and European identity. Importantly the process of acculturation played a vital role. The country of residence acculturation makes European transnational special in a sense that it leads to the development of European identity in the majority of the respondents.

Furthermore, the research on Romanians in Denmark, showed a strong desire to change the situation in the state of origin, to actively export the system of the residence state into the origin state and to act as agents of ideas exchange and harmonization between societies. This brings the concept of democratic. People tend to seek support in higher authorities like the EU institutions if the situation at home challenges liberal democracy and is strained with corruption and injustice.

According to the neo-functionalist theory of European Union integration, political integration follows economic integration. I argued that European citizens have increasingly more important role within the European project. Thus, it is right to assume that European transnationals may bring

a significant contribution to further integration of the European Union. I named several policies and development which played a crucial role in creating the basis for European transnational. Freedom of movement, EU enlargement, European citizenship and related to it rights and freedoms. This created a place for internal border crossing and allowed for active participation within the political and cultural life in the country of residence.

The results of this thesis have several implications for EU policies which could amplify the role of European transnationals within the integration process of the European Union. The research showed that European transnationals tend to be more pro-European and feel more attached to the EU. This implies that in order to strengthen the outcome of identification with Europe, policies and campaigns promoting movers' rights in their country of residence should be promoted. People should be aware how they can actively participate in their country of residence (political aspect) and how they can contribute to it (social aspect). Additionally, the promotion of possible co-existence of multiple identities should be reinforced. Further research should focus on examining the realities of co-existing identities and which factors influence it, rather than concentrating on whether identities exclude one another.

Finally, the European transnational can influence the integration process of the European Union if given and aware of the tools it possesses.

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