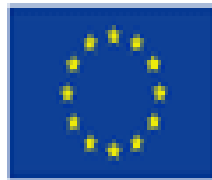




Institute for European Studies

A project implemented by UPMF
Consortium



Institute for European Studies (IES)

At Tbilisi State University

Nino Kekelidze

21st Century and Challenges to the EU's National Identity

Master in European Studies

MAES

Supervisor: PHD. Tamaz Zubiashvili

Tbilisi

2011

Contents

- **Abbreviations3**
- **Introduction 4**
- **Chapter 1 – Theories of Nationalism: Ethno-Symbolism & Modernism8**
- **Chapter 2 – EU’s History: its Past, Present & Future – Strive for Unity.....11**
- **Chapter 3 – Concept of the National Identity.....14**
 - **Sub-Chapter 3.1 – Religion.....16**
 - **Sub-Chapter 3.2 – Culture & Traditions.....17**
 - **Sub-Chapter 3.3 – Visual Appearance18**
- **Chapter 4 – European Citizenship vs. Member State citizenship.....21**
 - **Sub-Chapter 4.1 – Legal Basis for the European Citizenship.....21**
 - **Sub-Chapter 4.2 – Common European Identity.....23**
- **Chapter 5 – Similarities between the EU & the USA.....31**
 - **Sub-Chapter 5.1 - The Formation of the National Identity in the United States of America: A Model for the EU?.....34**
- **Chapter 6 – Influence of the EU Enlargement on the National Identity of France.....36**
 - **Sub-Chapter 6.1 – Migration’s impact on French National Identity...38**
- **Conclusion39**
- **Bibliography41**

ABBREVIATIONS

- **EU – European Union**
- **USA – United States of America**
- **CEEC – Central and Eastern European Countries**
- **ECSC - European Coal & Steel Community**
- **CSDP - Common Security and Defense Policy**
- **ECJ – European Court of Justice**
- **EFTA – European Free Trade Association**
- **EPP - European People's Party**
- **EEC - Economic Community**
- **TCN – Third Country National**
- **ECB – European Central Bank**
- **Fed - Federal Reserve System**

INTRODUCTION

"A day will come when all nations on our continent will form a European brotherhood...A day will come when we shall see... the United States of America and the United States of Europe face to face, reaching out for each other across the seas."

Victor Hugo – 1848

The idea of the unification of Europe was a dream until it became a real political goal. The prominent people's thoughts were about the united Europe. The dream was demolished by the horrible war that ruined the continent during the first half of the 20th century. Then it happened repeatedly in the middle period. The two world wars destroyed the world. Every country got into trouble. These puzzles gave stimulus to politicians to create a new entity, which would solve a lot of problems for nations.

Now, the EU is one of the main bodies, which play a decisive role in the world's politics. It has a plenty of challenges, where it makes mistakes and in where it wins. For this, I decided to write my master's thesis about emerging European Identity, in order to examine how it affects on the National Identity of the European nations and what kind of challenges it entails in this sphere in spite of its huge will to preserve the national identity of every member state.

The National Identity can be explained from different perspectives: Language, Religion, Culture, Traditions, visual appearance and etc. In my master thesis I will not speak about the language because the European Union does its best in this regard. All EU documents are translated into 23 official EU languages and spends a lot of funds on translation. As for my explanation of the National Identity, I include in this term the following components: religion, culture, traditions and visual appearance. I will concentrate exactly on these four main elements of the National Identity, try to find existing problems, compare the past and present reality and make generalizable conclusions.

To make my master thesis more clear and precise I chose the case of France. The country which founded the EU and which still plays an important role in all decision-making procedures.

The aim of this thesis is to introduce the topic of erosion of the national identity, which is an actual and a problematic issue, analyze it critically and to test the hypothesis developed within the research. The paper will study the common institutional framework for the European citizenship, identify the federal features of the EU, consider the case of France with regard to the immigration policy and whether it has contributed to the weakening of the national identity.

The document will examine the effects of the Schengen Area on the above mentioned - national issues and conclude all findings together. The membership of the Schengen Area plays the key role in the process of national assimilation. The four freedoms that the EU citizens enjoy have contributed to the increased mobility among the nations of the European Union and the all above mentioned National elements have been affected. Religion, culture, traditions and visual appearance are mixing among all EU Nations and it is really interesting what will be forecasted for the future and if there will be one European Nation, or every EU member state sustains separately its nationality, as it has been suggested by the ongoing debates about the European nationality. However, this research is based on the factual information that has been accumulated so far and therefore, my paper is trying to find answers to the following question:

- How does the EU membership affect the National Identity of the EU member states?

According to the current statistics the most of the Western European states have negative population growth (CIA factbook 2010), which may result in the imbalance between the member states' native citizens and the naturalized Europeans. If such tendency continues, the native Europeans will be an ethnic minority in their own countries within fifty years. The EU integration, together with increased migration to the Schengen Area accompanies this process. The factors which determined me to write about the national identity of the EU are numerous. First of all, the topic itself is quite new as far as the concept of the European citizenship has been developed recently. The second reason,

why I chose the respective topic of research stems from the fact that the discourse over the national identity has become intense for last two decades. The conclusion of the Lisbon Treaty and accession of the 12 new members to the European Union have outlined the new realities and challenges in the field of European studies.

The main problem of my Academic Paper is losing and changing the National Identity. The national consciousness is the main pride and happiness of people and is considered as the main heritage of the nation and nationality as well.

The hypothesis of my master thesis is the following: The cultural, social and civil dimensions of the European Union transform the National Identity of the member states' citizens to the European Identity. In this Hypothesis the dependent variable is transformation of national identity to the European one. The independent variables of the research are the cultural, social and civil dimensions of the EU. I would like to operationalize all concepts of my hypothesis. In cultural dimension I consider the policies of the European Union aiming at creation of the common European identity such as educational programs. As regards the social aspects, they will be defined as follows: Migration brought by the Schengen Area, four freedoms of the EU (Free movement of people, goods, services and capital). As for the civil dimension, I include there the development of the European citizenship, shift of the commitments to the common European Institutions and the influence of the policies adopted by the supranational institutions on the domestic politics of EU member states.

Research Structure & Methodology

In this part of my academic paper I am going to present my choices regarding the methodology and propose at the same time my research structure. I am using qualitative method for my research based on the case study on example of France. As academic sources for my study I'm going to research the secondary and tertiary sources. The secondary literature sources used in this paper are the articles, researches, the EU legislation, books and statistical data related to the topic. Also I test the Hypothesis on the case of France via application of the theory as the explanatory framework that links the dependent and independent variables. At the end I summarize the findings on the basis of the hypothesis testing and draw out the generalizable conclusions.

The structure of the paper is organized as follows. The first chapter describes the theoretical background that is represented by several nationalism theories. The second chapter introduces the history of Europe and the genesis of the European culture. In the third chapter I briefly analyze the concept of the national identity and its aspects. The fourth chapter examines the national citizenship vs. the European one and its legal and ideational bases. In the fifth chapter I compare the United States of America and the European Union and analyze the arguments to find out the resemblance of forming the national identities. The chapter six is a case study based on example of France which demonstrate the effect of immigration on the national identity. The final chapter draws out the conclusion undertaken in research.

Chapter 1

Theories of Nationalism: Ethno-Symbolism and Modernism

The ethno-symbolic alternative suggests that the nationalism is underpinned in the nation's historical past. The myths traditions, rituals and cultural heritage that the nations had in the past play important role in the present situation with regard to the nationalism. Anthony Smith – one of the main scholars of the ethno-symbolism identifies several key factors that constitute nationalism and the national identity.

According to Smith, the Nations and Nationalism could not be otherwise understood if we don't trace their history. As the author says: "Nations are historical phenomena, not only in the generic sense that they are embedded in particular collective pasts and emerge, sometimes over long time-spends, historical processes" (Smith 2005, 13). However by definition they share memories traditions and hopes of the populations designated as parts of the nations. Ethno-symbolism considers that a nation is "a named human population sharing an historical territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (ibid 14).

As regards the origins of the nations the ethno-symbolism approach suggests that it dates back to the historical past and is measured by continuity that means that it's possible to find the basis of the particular nation, for example by observing the "building blocks" of the nations that are transmitting through generations and centuries: symbols, tradition, names, national identity (ibid14).

Smith's ethno-symbolic approach analyses the ethnic basis of the nations. Smith thinks that ethnic groups could be discovered in every epoch, as far as humans are convinced that they have common culture and common origin. (ibid 15) Smith introduces the concept of ethnic communities or so called "ethnies". He attributes these specificities to that community: a common name, a common vision of ancestry, shared historical

memories and traditions, several common cultural elements, an historical territory, considered as homeland and a sense of solidarity especially among the elites.

The fourth significant component of the ethno-symbolism is that the nations are cultural and symbolic rather than demographic. However, the common culture, myths and traditions differentiate the ethnies and structure them. Based on the ethnic identification, the nationalism may be based on the myths of descent, cultural homogeneity and purity (ibid 17).

Ethnic myths and symbols separate the specific ethnos; there are several stories which consider that the territory and the community had existed back in the history. For their identification they use different flags, ritual objects, special food and costumes, heroes and etc. This reiteration of the historical symbols is used as a powerful tool of ethnic nationalism (ibid 19).

The ethno history is a subject of debates and the national identities are frequently reinterpreted. The various social groups in response to internal and external motives try to reconstruct the national interests, perceptions and needs.

Anthony Smith outlines the way the nations in the modern world formed. According to him various factors such as life styles, religious influence, impact of imperial administrations and political myths, have their role in forming a nation. There are three ways how the nations form from the ethnic groups: Bureaucratic incorporation, through aristocratic influence, a vernacular mobilization, where intelligentsia employs folk culture for mobilization of various strata of society and finally the way through each immigrant, ethnos and colonists create a nation (ibid 20).

As regard duration of nations and nationalism ethno symbolism considers that it's based on the cultural resources of the ethnic communities. According to this approach Nationalism is defined as "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining identity unity and autonomy of a special group, some of whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential nation" (ibid 23), and which is based on the pre existing ethnic ties and sentiments.

According to the modernist theories of nationalism the nation and nationalism are inherently new phenomena, emerging only from around the time of the French revolution. The nation and nationalism is a function of socio-economic processes, notably industrialization (Gellner 2005) Another author Benedict Anderson, pays attention to the Reformation and the demise of Latin language paved the way for the emergence of the nations (Anderson 2005). According to Gellner nations can have navals, be navallness and have invented navals but most modern nations have invented navals (Gellner 2005). According to Anderson nations are “imagined communities” modernists focus on nationalism in modernity and pay less attention to the linkages to the ancient origins of ethnoses (Anderson 2005). Modernists are interested in the construction of ethno history rather than in previous history of several ethnic groups.

Chapter 2

EU's History: its Past, Present and Future: Strive for Unity

I would prefer to begin from the very early period. Let me remind where the word “Europe” comes from. The notion of “Europe” is an ancient one, whose meanings have changed over time. The Greeks were the first to use the term, to distinguish the cultures of peoples west of them from their own. According to the Greek mythology, Europe was a princess, daughter of a Phoenician king, in whom Zeus, the highest Greek God fell in love, took her away in Crete and lived there for a while. It's important to mention that the continent of Europe is named exactly after her and from that time the European nations and nationalities emerged piece by piece. I would say that Europeanization started from that period and the idea of Europeanism was existed as well. The first were Romans. The aim of Roman Empire was to integrate with the lands around the Mediterranean Sea. Middle Ages brought the idea of unification under the common site of Christendom. From that emerged the idea of euro-centrism and superiority of the European civilization. Without the Renaissance and the Enlightenment we can't understand the ideas of indulgence, liberty, independence, admiration of human rights and democracy that founded European structures. There were a lot of historical people, who in different ways, tried to fulfill the idea of Europeanism. The outstanding thinkers nominated the idea of a European Community as a long-term pleasant political objective. In the 18th century there was the beginning of the conception of European identity, something that is reached, that one can serve. This idea is based on civic values: one's political values may easily change, while it is much harder to change cultures. Giesen states that the thinkers of the Enlightenment saw the idea of Europe as universal: “Everybody's true identity was European – and it was the task of education and emancipation to further the awareness of this identity” (Sachsenmaier & Riedel; 2002, 206).

According to the history at the end of 18 and beginning of 19 century the first protagonists of cooperation and integration were federalists, who had drawn up a plan for a Federal Europe (Dinan 2005, 177). A second category of protagonists were Functionalists, who lacked the Federalist's organization, shared their objective of a united Europe but

adopted a more pragmatic approach to its realization (Haas 1964). They saw the need for economic cooperation as a starting point for achieving their political goals. A third category was Nationalist, who opposed participation in any integration schemes which would jeopardize national sovereignty. From my point of view this nationalist approach was the most precise which predicted exactly the future problem regarding the National Identity. A final set of protagonists were external actors, who were the political elite of the USA and whose position was to support cooperation and integration through financial and political assistance.

After the World War I, the majority of Europeans meant, that it was the end of European civilization. The minority thought, that everything depended on Europe, if it had the ability to vanquish the assertive nationalism, which had pulled the continent to the accident, it could take the idea of a unification of Europe, but people who wanted to unite Europe were in minority. Briand, a French politician introduced a Memorandum on the organization of a system of European Federal Union to The League of Nations in 1930, but it was too late. The economic depression had begun to clean up the ideas of solidarity and cooperation in international relations. Count Coudenhove Kalergi, said that the nations of the European continent “all belonged to the one great paternal class of Europeans, children of a single race, a single continent, a single civilization and a single destiny.” In his definition of Europe Coudenhove Kalergi eliminated Russia, which he saw as an external danger to Europe. Adolf Hitler created the machine of demon – monster of nationalism. Europe had to witness a second catastrophe, World War II (1939-1945) (Dinan 2005, 13), so it was obvious, that such kind of nationality would ruin and decompose the continent. It was the necessity of a new direction, which could integrate European countries to each other and to change the political map that would become the beginning of a new way in international relations. The Europeans knew their negative and positive sides, their own weakness. The reigns were in the hand of two superpowers – The United States and The Soviet Union. Both had excellent economic, political and military powers. The Europeans needed the peace, free, beautiful, successful life like them. Accordingly after the above mentioned two devastating World Wars, a number of European leaders in the late 1940s became convinced that the only way to establish a lasting peace was to unite European countries together. As it is known the European Integration was motivated by political,

economic and security considerations but afterwards it has affected on the National Identity from the negative side.

In 1950 European Coal and Steel Community was proposed for the first time by the French foreign minister Robert Schuman and in 1951 Europe's first supranational community was formally established by the Treaty of Paris (Dinan 2005, 15). Exactly this was the first step forward towards the European Unification so called The European Union. After that time had passed many and many years and now we have a powerful European Union with a stabile economy, policy and security area, but still there is a problem regarding the National Identity. At a glance this doesn't seem so huge problem but if we look deeper we will see that the culture, traditions and visual appearance of 27 EU member states is mixing between each other and the final product which comes is totally different from pre-existing reality. We can call this product as a one European Nationality, where all EU member countries have the common national elements.

Chapter 3

Concept of the National Identity

(Religion, Culture, Tradition and Visual Appearance in EU)

National identity is known as a broader phenomenon. In the Ancient World, writers in their work looked for answers to the most fundamental human questions: “**Who am I?**” and “**Where is my place in the universe?**” The answers were different in various periods. All time nations were searching the answers to these questions, but in vain. So the responses were found, as they were lost, but replies always contained defence of religion, culture, tradition and physical appearance (Hatha Yoga 2006).

During history, the main problematic issue was how to maintain national identity. People strive to penetrate into the depth of the universe and to find out the answer of the fundamental questions. Nothing has changed in recent times, how to build a Union based on national identities is one of the greatest dilemmas for Europe nowadays. Risse explains that “social identities contain, first, ideas describing and categorizing an individual’s membership in a social group or community including emotional, affective, and evaluative components,” The concept of European identity is very problematic. Everybody has its own appearance, which is diverse and different.

For liberals citizens have no common cultural identity and their rights and freedoms are guaranteed by some constitutional principles. The EU wears Europe’s sovereignty. It is a creation of supra-national capitalism, targeted on organizing national boundaries and political structures to maximize profits rather than to reflect the interests of Europe's peoples and protect Europe's diverse cultures. Immigration is one of the major problem and danger not only for European citizens, but also for immigrants, because incomers are ethnic minorities, and for that they are mixed up into local inhabitants and they all lose their identity, their culture, tradition and nationality. These communities need to survive. The cultural identity of the peoples must be protected against the devastation of native traditions through economic globalization and social engineering, to maintain the title “multi

– culturalism”, and not to transform into “mono – culturalism”. If we remind religions and their books, we will see, that there is no any kind of religion, which supports globalization, “multi – reliance”, unity in culture and tradition. That’s why the EU is a secular body and does not care about religion.

It’s really interesting how it will conclude - will the supra national entity – European Union protect and maintain its countries identity by culture, tradition and physical appearance? From my point of view EU does and always will do its best to unite all European countries together and to establish one common European Nationality for everybody. The process has already started and it will continue by the time. During the migration we swell other nations’ customs and vice versa. And what will happen on small and less developed members of EU? Is coalition among them strong enough to prevent disappearance and decadence of national identity or they need energetic access, based on national interests, to protect them from assimilation? This is suitable for little countries. Should they care about their identity, express their national interest and act consequently? EU membership is desired goal for all countries. But it could have some negative side effects, one of them being the threat of membership to their national identity and national interests. They must be aware of their rights, how to behave, how to choose the best probable way for growth. They must enter the EU as equal members, not to consider themselves as low ranked partners. They should strive to come as close as possible to centers of the EU at least in some fields of economic, social life, ethnicity. In cost benefit analysis the welfare of population nations include preservation of national identity. The EU Constitution declares preservation of cultural diversity as one of main principles. Therefore, it is in national interest to contain some elements of economic, social and political sovereignty to the degree old strong EU members do. For achieving this goal economic foundations are needed to execute the proper strategy. Different strategies have been applied by different EU member countries in the process of their admission.

There is a strong connection between (national) identity and (national) interest. If identity means being aware of common historic experience, culture, set of values, beliefs then interest means explicitly expressing needs, desires which help to preserve, protect and underline identity. After knowing who we are we conclude what we want. Or, what we want depends strongly on who we are. Next step, after being aware of identity and

expressing what we want, is the action based on national interest to preserve or support, enhance national identity. For that reason we will continue to express interests and views on national identity.

We can define “**national interest**” and “**national identity**”? in a following way:

- **Identity** - common historical and natural heritage, culture, tradition, memory, values, including trust, opinion, beliefs, awareness
- Interest - comprise what individuals want, wish, and need

The 21st century - the era of civilization and new technologies offers us brighter future, with difficulties and challenges in the world. The culture and traditions are transforming into modern form and are globalising as well. Which was in the past we don't have it right now but from my point of view exactly this old habits and traditions are essential for every nation. EU does its best to preserve the destiny, sovereignty and existence of their member states. It cares a lot about Peace, Human Rights, Democracy, Economy, Health, Security, Justice and Solidarity. People live under the rule of law and with the values that are based on humanity and human dignity; But nothing special about National Identity. It's obvious that the nations are mixing between each other and the EU is in the process of developing one modern common European traditions and culture.

According to the data the native European people will be ethnic minority in their own countries and immigrants will be in foreign lands. The EU will be alike to blender, where all ingredients mix up so, that they lose their identity, form and appearance. By blending we get a new product, which is very taste, different, but completely the other. The picture will look like the United States of America, where all kinds of population are living together. Despite of their different origin everyone has common culture, traditions, language, currency, politics, economy and many other things.

“European identity is closely connected to common institutions and ideals of the EU, rather than history, religion or culture. National identity is combined with European identity, which is very difficult not to lose existence.”

Peter Robinett

Sub-Chapter 3.1 - Religion

Religion is one of the parts of the National Identity, which tells a lot about the nation. Knowing the religion one can guess all appropriate good and bad point of the nation. Accordingly the reservation of the religion represents the main point and pride for every nation. As it's known in Europe the most common is Christianity, but other religions are practiced as well. The largest denominations are Roman Catholicism, followed by Protestants and Eastern Orthodoxy. It's important to mention the factor of immigration, which had introduced additional religions into European Union, most notably Islam. In 2009 the Union's Muslim population was 13 million people and the country with the largest percentage of Muslims in Western Europe is France with 8%-10% (6-7 million) (Eurobarometer 225: Social values, Science & Technology).

We have to consider on the other hand that the European Union is a secular body, where is separation of church and state. Generally, there are no formal ties to any religion and no mention of religion in any current or proposed treaty. There were discussion over the draft texts of the European Constitution and later the Treaty of Lisbon had included proposals to mention Christianity or God in the preamble of the text. All this has been initiated and supported by Christian religious leaders, most particularly the Pope. Nevertheless explicit inclusion of a link to religion faced opposition from secularists and the final Constitution referred to Europe's "Religious and Humanist inheritance". There was also a second attempt to include Christianity in the draft of the Treaty of Lisbon. Angela Merkel promised the Pope that during Germany's presidency she would use her influence to try to include a reference to Christianity and God in this amendment for the constitution. The opposition has provoked and this attempt was given up again.

I would state that from the Union's 27 states, only four have an official state religion:

- Denmark - Danish National Church
- Greece - Church of Greece
- Malta - Roman Catholic Church
- and England - Church of England

The rest of churches have a close relationship with all EU states. The Vatican has been vocal against of atheism, which was based on the above mentioned events: the rejection of religious references in the Constitution and Treaty of Lisbon. From my point of view this is a normal reaction on behalf of the Catholic Church because during the centuries the Christianity was a main pride and anxiety for the majority of European Nations. Right now the atheism is increasing a lot among the general population of Europe, which is reflecting with the falling church attendance and membership. It's obvious that most EU countries have experienced a decline in church attendance, as well as a decline in the number of people professing a belief in a God.

Sub-Chapter 3.2 – Culture & Traditions

Culture & Traditions

Greeks are known as founders for European Culture, which were reinforced and strengthened afterwards by the Romans. During the centuries each country was developing piece by piece its own Culture and Traditions, which is the main treasure and plays an important role in every nation, because culture and traditions are common needs to all people at all times and in all places. They can be defined as a totality of society's distinctive ideas, belief, knowledge, values and dignity. In the terms Culture and Tradition the following elements are integrated: Art – Painting, Sculpture, Music, Dance, Architecture, Literature, Performing art/Film; Sport; Cuisine; Science; Philosophy; Clothing; Symbols.

Tradition and Culture are interrelated parts. They are connected between each other, because certain parts of tradition become cultured and finally are reflecting the way of lives of different nations. Knowing traditions and culture it's possible to define the group identity and guess which nationality it is. According to A. Smith the National Identity includes the following five elements: 1) historical territory; 2) common myths and historical memory; 3) common mass and civil culture; 4) common juridical rights and duties of citizens; 5) common economy with opportunities to move within the national territory.

Human beings, country and culture are superior. They value and respect traditions and customs of others, but in place of multi – cultural conformity, people can't preserve their own traditions, customs and culture. We know that cultural identity is a human right, and all democratic countries defend it, but small nations won't be able to preserve their existence, because the big countries swell them, and this will happen in itself without breaking the law. How is the EU to co-exist with this national dimension? It will be the relationship between European and national identities by nested, cross – cutting and mixed desires. In a cross-cutting relationship people depending on the situation, move from national to European sense. Nested and mixed forms, on the other hand, can be easily identified in the relationship between European and national identities. As I mentioned, there are different visions about identity. Some thinks, that it is possible to preserve national identity in EU, but others refuse this opinion, they mean, that nobody can protect national identity during enlargement, because different nation's cultures, traditions and customs reflect on each nationality and influence on them, after which identity collapse. The decadence is stipulated by the enlargement, by common values, social, economic and political conditions. Globalization is the main natural challenge nowadays, but the Europeanization is a political process that goes beyond sovereignty. This challenge constrains national sovereignty to deny traditional rights. Another factor which plays an important role in defining identities is borders and boundaries. Its main functions are: translation, differentiation, connection and regulation that form identities. These elements are essential and fundamental for all identities.

Sub-Chapter 3.3 – Visual Appearance

Visual Appearance also has a decisive role in the National Identity. The common ethnic background and kinship ties contribute to the resemblance of the appearance of the representatives of the particular ethnic groups and nations. Each nation has its common physical elements which derives it from the other one and which dominates from the history as well. By mixing the nations between each other the visual traits and features are converged. Losing the dominating visual features and characteristics the nation loses the link with the historical identity. The social and education and youth policy developed in the

Maastricht treaty also aims to create a common European identity. As regards the Amsterdam treaty, amending the Maastricht treaty, it further contributed to inclusion of the Schengen area acquis into the domestic legislation of the European Union, by this creating a legal necessity to have adopted the legislation on the border-free movement inside the EU for the prospective EU member states. The Treaty Establishing the Constitution of Europe was voted down by the national parliaments of France and the Netherlands.

Chapter 4

European Citizenship vs. Member States Citizenship

Creation of the European Communities may be considered as the major attempt of mobilizing the common European identity among the citizens of various European states. First of all, this was the introduction of the flag of Europe, Europe anthem and Europe day as aimed at forming the common identity of the Europeans. The original version of the European institutions, which were constrained to the sovereignty in the commerce-related areas and the so-called four freedoms, enlarged over the time. The first dramatic move in this regard was conclusion of the Schengen Agreement on border control. Adoption of the Maastricht treaty introduced a number of political basements for construction of the “European Nation”. The Maastricht Treaty, which was signed in 1992, and entered into force in 1993, introduced a concept of the European citizenship. European citizenship was added to the national citizenship and provides additional rights to citizens of the EU member states.

Moreover, Maastricht treaty brought the concept of “European citizen”, which regardless of ethnic origin treats all of the EU member state’s citizens as European nationals. The Lisbon treaty has introduced the EU as a legal entity, with the EU representations and the common President, and the Foreign Affairs representative. The charter on fundamental rights included in the treaty of

Sub-Chapter 4.1

Legal Basis for the European Citizenship

The European citizenship is a legal concept. The article 20 (1) of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union states that: “Citizenship of the Union is hereby established. Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of

the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship” (on the functioning of the European Union, article 20 (1)). The citizenship of the European Union is for all nationals of the European Union member states. As regards the rights of the EU citizens they stem from the common areas that are Europeanized. For instance they have a right to vote and to stand in European and local elections in any member state under the same entitlements as the other EU Nationals. The same rule applies with regard to the representation in the European parliament (Treaty on the European Union, title 2, article 10). The four freedoms apply to all EU nationals. The European Union citizens can also apply to the European ombudsman in case of breaches, against them by the EU institutions and they can submit a petition to the Parliament of the European Union. When a citizen holds a passport of the EU it means that one is protected by the diplomatic and consular authorities of other EU member states in case there is no diplomatic representation of his own country. The EU national is free to access documents of the EU institutions and require receiving a reply in his/her native language.

The European Court of Justice plays a key role in defining the European legislation in favor enhancement of the right of the European Union nationals. The article 21(1) of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union envisages that within the territory of the member state every citizen of the EU shall freely move and reside, however, this provision is subject to the limitations and conditions described in the Treaty. In the judgment *Rudy Grzelczyk v Centre public d'aide sociale d'Ottignies-Lovain-la-Neuve* the European Court of Justice has remarked that “the EU citizenship is destined to be the fundamental status of nationals of the member states.

The secondary legislation of the EU has been united in Directive 2004/38/EC on the right to move and reside freely within the EU. The Directive outlines the rights of the EU citizens and their members of family to move and reside freely on the EU territory. It also defines the same rights for the EFTA member states nationals. The Directive defines the basic rights and duties that should be implemented by the national parliaments and it maps out basic conditions with regards to the residence right of particular citizens, their family members, provision of social security and the limits on this rights. (Directive 2004/38/EC)

Sub-chapter 4.2

Common European Identity

Beginning from the 1990s, citizenship has become one of the main issues of the political discussion. The idea of citizenship is changing rapidly because of the great economic, social and political changes occurred at end of the 20th century moved into the 21st. The notion of the European identity has become more advanced in the light of EU enlargement and the Union's Constitutional and Lisbon Treaties. The main slogan for the EU specificity is "unity in diversity", which tries to create a sense of a common identity that is the aim of the European Union.

The European Union as a political community needs a better linking tool that is an idea of the European identity. The common EU identification is thought to promote the cohesion, compliance and a sense of legitimacy throughout the European Union.

The developments in the end of the twentieth century, which were marked by the fall of the Berlin wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the liberation of the nations in the Central and Eastern Europe, created need for the better ideological cohesion and for a closer political union. Two issues became at the stake: definition of the borders of the EU and increasing legitimacy of the Union for its citizens. The Maastricht treaty, which established the three pillars of the EU polity, among other things put forward the ideas of the European citizen, identified the European values and outlined the foundation for the European ideology that would keep the Europeans as a community with the common values – a security community.

According to the survey of Eurobarometer published in May 2008, 91% of the interviewees felt attachment to their nations and only 49% to the European Union. In my opinion, 49% reveals that the European identity has been created from the 1992 onwards. It is interesting to see that the 65% of French nationals, which reside in the heart of Europe, identified themselves as the citizens of Europe.

The common European identity is based on the shared values. These values are defined in the treaties. The Article 6th of the TEU says that the EU is based "on the

principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law”.

According to the principle of "unity in diversity", the Union shall promote the diversity of its cultures, while "bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore" (Article 151 TEC).

The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the social rights charter is the bloc's Charter of Fundamental Rights. The Union shall respect fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the protection of Human Rights and Fundamental freedoms signed in Rome on 4 November 1950... as general principles of Community law.’ The Treaty of Amsterdam gave the Court jurisdiction to ensure that Article 6(2) EU is observed by the EU institutions (Article 46(d) EU).

As regards the accession of new members, any "European state" can apply for membership of the European Union, while "Europe" and its borders are left undefined in the Treaties (Article 49, TEU). Candidate countries must have stable and democratic institutions, a functioning market economy and adequate administrative structures (the so-called 'Copenhagen criteria').

Considering the ideas of some politicians and scholars, the EU needs a stronger identity to be well-preserved. There were a lot of disagreements regarding the EU Constitutional Treaty, which provoked intense debates about mentioning the 'God' and 'Christianity' in its preamble. A final solution was reached by employing the terms: "cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe," a phrase which was included in the Lisbon Treaty. Together with this religious issues the one of the candidate member states – Turkey, jointly with the globalization and immigration trends had fuelled the debates on national identity. Because if the European Identity had emerged from common national elements: religion, art, culture and traditions, the Turkey have to be excluded from the list of candidate member states not to influence negatively on the whole European Identity. From my point of view it's necessary to aware all European nations and instead of opening the borders it's time to define them firmly.

It's important to mention that the republicans and liberals have different kinds of disputes on a common political culture and civic identity, which is based on the universal principles of democracy, human rights and rule of law. Above mentioned thinkers argue that national identities should be confined to the private sphere and the problems related to cultural differences should not be ignored rather than dealt with. In addition to that, solidarity and emotional things in humanity can only derive from traditional feelings and belonging together, which makes the lives of humanity happier and wealthier.

The ideas of Constructivists are different from republicans and liberals. They consider that a European identity is a product of intensified civil, political and cultural interactions and communication. Considering the ongoing process of identities and regular changes, European identity would cover numerous interpretations and identifications, and accordingly it would be continuously redefined in accordance with different nations. As constructivists believe it's a wrong step to close the EU borders, because it's important to unite in diversity of collection political, cultural and traditional performing. This approach also has its negative perceptions to my opinion, because too much diversity and linkage should result the loss of identity, point of reference and consistency. In spite of all essential differences mentioned above, there are a lot of facts emerged from European Identity: political actions, like intensifying democratic involvement in all EU levels; Educational aspects, like strengthening the European dimension in different issues; Social and economic solidarity; And the most important this is that the followers of Catholic Church were the most famous actors in the discussion on European Identity. On March 2006 Pope Benedict XVI said: "Europe need to value its Christian roots and strengthen its awareness of belonging to a common civilization to better meet the challenges it faces". On the other hand, the European People's Party (EPP) stated that Europe has managed to preserve a common cultural traditions and that the common sense of belonging together can only be based on common cultural values and confidence. Based on that, it is exactly time to identify EU borders.

It's interesting to review the history of the EU with regards to the citizenship. Generally it started in 1951 when the Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and Steel Community established a right to free movement for workers and as a continuation in 1957 the Treaty of Rome established the free movement of workers and services. The

concept of EU citizenship was first initiated by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and was expanded by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999.

The European citizenship didn't replace the citizenship of each State. Subsequently, the laws of each Member State - to a certain extent different in many cases – were obliged to regulate the way to access to the Citizenship of the Union.

“Citizenship of the Union is hereby established. Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall complement and not replace national citizenship.”

Treaty of Amsterdam, 1997

The Citizenship of the European Union is not a secured reality; rather, we are evidencing to the beginning of a long process the final end of which will be the common European Identity, which is necessary for the development of full European citizenship. In order to build the European Identity, The European Union uses common educational system for all member states and it's interesting to mention that the ideology of these schools and universities are under the one umbrella, which fosters the development of common belonging to the EU. There are also a lot of academic exchange programs, projects, seminars funded by the European Commission which contribute to the establishment of common European Identity.

From my point of view, it would be interesting to overview the debates on the process of evolution of the European citizenship. I would like to analyze the ideas of its supporters and protesters, where are stated interesting ideas regarding this topic. According to J.H.H. Weiler, during negotiations about the Maastricht Treaty the politicians didn't think to include the social dimension, however, the Prime Minister of Spain - Felipe González insisted to introduce the ideational aspects in order to offset the disparity between the high economic advances and low level of the political evolution. According to many scholars the future of the European Union citizenship will be determined by the public opinion preferences in the EU member states and domestic debates by the major social groups will have a huge influence on the whole picture of the EU Nationality.

Many think that the European Union citizenship rights in the legislative documents are limited and bring benefits to the small number of the Europeans. One of such provisions of the EU law regards the free movement and residence of persons. Despite the major changes since the adoption of Rome Treaty, which established the European Economic Community, the changes and later development reveals serious limitations especially in relation to the nationals which move across the EU without labor purposes. In the opinion of Ralf Dahrendorf, who is one of the eurosceptic scholars, the European Union Nationality is still in the middle way from legal citizenship to the sense of common belonging, real rights and institutional protection.

The European citizenship and its nature have caused meaningful debates about of its future and continuation. The key topics of the discussions include the scope of the EU citizenship institution and it should be strengthened in terms of common values and identities. In this regard it's important that the EU member states' officials started consideration of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union as the key document for definition of the rights and values that the EU advances and protects.

While speaking about the European citizenship it's important to underline how it's possible to obtain it. The single way to get the Passport of the citizen of the EU is through being becoming the national of any EU member state. However, the rules of granting the citizenship vary in different EU member states. Therefore, a person from third country needs to undertake various procedures depending in which country one is going to apply for citizenship. Accordingly, as we mentioned above the European citizenship with its all benefits and common interests has become vital not only for the EU member states' population but it has attracted the third country nationals as well. More and more immigrants inflow to the EU with different purposes and after getting the nationality of any member state automatically they become the nationals of the EU. This whole process brings the introduction of the foreign culture, traditions and visual appearance and additionally, as a result of intermarriages between the third country nationals and EU member states' nationals the cultural background and all values are mixing and exchanging.

The various EU member states have made amendments to the legislation about the citizenship. For instance German nationality was previously based on blood right which means that German ethnicity and cultural background was important for being considered German. On this basis Germans granted citizenship to the nationals coming from the former Soviet Union and the Eastern European Countries, which had German cultural and linguistic background, while Germany demonstrated reluctance to consider the second and third generation of Turks and other nationalities as Germans. In this situation the concept of the European citizenship changes Germans' traditional approach because regardless of their origin any German citizen of any cultural background is considered European by the EU legislation.

The increased flow of the legal and illegal migrants made the EU member states government to think about the migration restrictive policies. However, with the high percentage of the minorities EU member states' governments started thinking about integration policies of these minorities into the domestic societies. The European values, dimension has been important with this regard. Apart from this, the challenge for the EU member states remains development of the common European Identity which would glue the EU nationals with common ideology and commitments to the European project.

Beginning from the Treaty of the European Union – 1992, when the concept of the European citizenship was introduced, there has been growing demand for enhancement of the rights of the European citizens vis-à-vis the European institutions. There have been debates about legitimacy of the ruling the EU institutions and the citizenship concept has been enriched in accordance with democratic principles. These debates and the demand for the better rights show that the European Union citizenship has been gaining a greater importance, which means that the European Union's citizenship concept has been strengthening over the time. In response to this challenge the EU Institutions have become more transparent and accountable with the changes introduced by the subsequent treaties to the Maastricht Treaty. The issue of combating the democratic deficit has been embraced by all EU Institutions and the public access to the European Union documents has been facilitated. Joscha Fischer, German foreign minister, advanced the idea of the federalists about the common European family: the construction of a federal European State with elected governing bodies from the nations of Europe and whose citizens would identify

themselves as the Europeans. This idea promoted the debates about the common European constitution for establishment of a federal state.

The concept of European identity is opposed by the national and ethnic identities. However, with many European states where the regionalism, different ethnic minorities and fractioning endangers the national identity of the member states advance the European identity, because it is admissible for various groups with various ethnic backgrounds.

The key problem of the European identity as argued by many scholars is the fact that there are many languages in the EU and that causes challenges on the way to the European identity. Common religious background and adherence to the human rights, civil liberties and basic principles are manipulated as a source of creation of the common EU identity and the European institutions and the legal rights underpinned in the EU legislation are used to shift the commitments of the EU member states' nationals to the supranational institution with offering protection against the member states' policies.

At the center of the European identity is an issue of being European. Many scholars have been lately trying to explain the term - European.

There are different views advance regarding "Europeanness". Samuel Huntington, an American scholar claims that the Europe is a civilization and it is based on the catholic and protestant religious values. The author states that Europe finishes where Eastern Orthodox Christendom and Islam start. According to this logic Greece, a member State of the EU, is it not an European country and the Muslims, who live in Europe for a long time are not considered European regardless their ethnic background.

Henry Mondrasse, another scholar who tried to theorize a concept "European" states that that a common cultural European identity matters and that it may act as the foundation for a political Union. The cultural background of the middle ages, traditions and the values that were brought by Christianity acted as important cornerstones of being an "European".

According to the famous German thinker, Jurgen Habermas, the major identification of the citizens in the liberal democracy should be constructed before the law and not the

common cultural heritage and ethnic origin. Habermas states that the guarantee of the rights and freedoms for all citizens of the EU would be the basis for a tolerant Europe, with inclusion of all groups with different cultural background and this would eliminate ethnic nationalism, racism and contribute to the peace and stability in the 21st century Europe.

To sum up the arguments of the scholars above, being European means different from the various perspectives. While the European values is considered a uniting sources of the “Europeanness”, the existence of the different ethnic and cultural backgrounds leads to the creation of “Europeans” based on the guarantees and privileges established by the European law, which makes the EU citizens empowered with the new rights. This tendency has contributed to the dramatic increase of the rights of the European institutions against the member states and the tendency of delegation of more and more policies at the supranational level has been revealed by the EU treaties and the secondary legislation.

Chapter 5

Similarities between the EU and the USA

In this chapter I would like to present the topic of the political dimension of EU that influences the national identity of its member states. From the recent development and globalization it is evident that the European Union resembles more and more on a federation like the United States of America. As time passes more and more policies are brought to the Supra National level and the sovereignty in many policies have been delegated to the overriding authority to the member states. One of them is the European Youth and Cultural Policy, which aims at the creation of the common European Identity. Generally, it can be proved that there are many similarities between the European Union and the United States of America, which influence on the other hand on the National Identity of every EU member state.

Originally, the EU was thought to be an economic block which would unite only an economic sphere of European nations and therefore, the European Economic Community and Euratom were set up. However, over the time the EU acquired new competences in many fields and all these developments and novelties are done in a very short period of time from the historical perspective. The European Identity was a subject of discussion by the European politicians as well. It can be argued that the question of the American diplomat Henry Kissinger: “Who do I call when I want to speak to Europe?” was answered by the introduction of the post of the President of Europe.

Both the United State of America and European Union has a high level of legal codification. The basic Law of the United States is a Constitution whereas the EU has adopted “Lisbon Treaty” which encompasses all previous Treaties. Despite the fact that the EU abstained to call that document “a Constitution”, the content of the Lisbon Treaty outlines the federal structure of EU.

The supporters of the European federalism thought about the establishment of the European Constitution at first. It is symbolic that the EU member states’ governments created an assembly “European Convention” which conducted work on the constitution just like However, the Constitutional Treaty failed to be ratified in the French and Dutch Parliaments. The project however resurrected in a form of revised “Lisbon Treaty”, which contained the basic provisions of the former project and the subject of disagreement and

vulnerable issues such as the official hymn, symbols and the term “Constitution” were removed. However, the basic policies and principles envisaged by the Constitutional Treaty remained in place in case of the Lisbon Treaty.

The European Union has acquired a legal status; it is entitled to conclude Treaties on its behalf just like the United States of America. The division of the powers of the central and the local governments in the US resembles that of the EU and its member states’ governments, although the EU can have more restricted competences than the US. However, the principle of such two-level governance, with retaining some level of decision-making leverages at the national level and delegation of a bulk of sovereignty to the European institutions makes it evident that the common public policy of the EU member states goes beyond the EU member states’ national parliaments and governments.

As regards the institutional order of the EU and the US, it is worth to mention that the European Institutions have gained much influence since the Lisbon Treaty entered into force. The sovereignty-sharing of the member states with the EU has increased. The co-decision was introduced as the general decision-making procedure. The European Parliament, elected directly by the EU citizens was empowered in more than 40 policy areas, among them the Common Agricultural Policy and the conclusion of International Agreements. Similar to the EU, in the united states the local authorities are entitled to the local policy choices, and different local laws, while they are subject to some central policies.

With the Lisbon Treaty the EU has introduced the core values on which the EU rests, for instance respect for human dignity, rule of law and respect for human rights. Although these values were important for the EU before, it was a formal act to include them in the treaty.

The institutional reforms brought by the Lisbon Treaty have given the EU the attributes of a federation. The European Council has become a formal institution; the EU has its President, the Foreign Minister - the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and the Diplomatic representations. The fact that the number of the EU commissioners will be reduced to two thirds of the number of the Member states means that the European Commission will become fully Europeanized and independent

from the national governments' influence. By these the European Commission becomes close to the Federal Government of the US with its various departments, and independent agencies resemble to the regulators of the European Union.

As regards the judicial authority, within its competences, on the EU-related policy areas the main judicator is the Court of Justice of the European Union, which was reformed as the result of Lisbon Treaty and is a composite of the former Court of Justice and the Court of First Instance.

Another new office introduced is that of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, now held by Catherine Ashton from the United Kingdom. The High Representative will be heading the new European External Action Service – sometimes referred to as an EU Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The High Representative will also be Vice President of the Commission.

The EU like the United States has the common currency for the members of the Eurozone. Adoption of Euro in 2002 was followed by the skeptical resonance about the violation of the sovereign rights of the EU member states regarding the position of the own currency. The opponents of this process protested and manifested against the European currency. The Central Bank of the EU is entitled to determine the monetary policies in the Eurozone members and therefore, supersedes the national banks. This huge economic power enjoyed by the ECB has endangered the economic sovereignty of the state concerned. Acknowledging the threat to the sovereign currencies several countries opted out of the Eurozone. As regards to the United States of America its single currency is dollar. According to Goodfriend (1999), the institutional framework of the Eurosystem and the Federal Reserve System resemble. ECB and Fed are federal central bank. While Fed is more centralized under the Banking Act of 1935, ECB enjoys looser powers. According to Gerdesmeier, Mongelli and Roffia, ECB is closer to the board of governors of Fed. It is interesting to note that there are 17 NCBs of the Eurosystem have the similar role as the 12 regional Federal Reserve Banks in the US (Gerdesmeier, Mongelli and Roffia, 2007, 7).

Sub-chapter 5.1

The Formation of the National Identity in the United States of America:

A Model for the EU?

The National Identity of the American people derives from the civil nationalism. The nations which came to inhabit the United States derived from the different cultural, linguistic and religious origins. The fathers of American democracy tried to unite the nation around the civil values. The American nation formed with the American State. The uniting principles for being American were liberties and rights of the free people and not the ethnic or historical past. The United States' citizens identify themselves as Americans and with this they underline their belonging to the ideology of liberties and the Americans' struggle for independence from the Great Britain. The Americans are vulnerable to the symbols of the United States, such as national flag, anthem, political holidays and the traditions related to the struggle for democracy and liberalism. This type of nationalism differs from the traditional nationalism forms because it was created for along with the state and it has no roots in terms of common linguistics, common religious identity or common culture. The American culture developed after the establishment of the American State and all ethnic groups contributed to this process bringing in the elements of their cultural peculiarities.

As regards to the European Union if we compare it to the above mentioned gradual process of the nation-building in America we can identify that the basic elements of the same process are evident on the EU case. First of all, this is emphasis on the civil values and liberties as of the European values. Along with that the European Union pays attention to the institutionalization of the European citizenship. The arguments for that are protection of the citizens by the political institutions of the EU, quest for creation of common European Identity based on these values, operation of various programs on European citizenship. It is important to underline that the institutional changes implemented by the Lisbon Treaty contribute to the better implementation of the policy of European citizenship and closer union exerts better capabilities for advancing its policy of unification.

English language became the official language of the United States despite the fact that there lived various linguistic communities majority of them from Irish origin. The choice

of language for the United States demonstrates that the official language became the language of communication among different ethnic groups that resided on the territory of the United States. It is interesting to compare the European Union and the US with this regard. Despite the fact that the EU has 23 official languages and spends much money for the translation of the European legislation the official interviews by the EU bureaucrats communicate between each other in English or French and English is the dominant language through the European Union. In addition to that, the survey of Eurostat has revealed that the second language of the EU citizens is English with 66% of speakers. In various EU member states the second level of academic education (master's Level) are taught in English language. The informal processes along with the formal EU policy of protection of multilinguistic environment, contribute to the creation of the common de facto language for the European citizens – English (Language use in the EU, 2010).

Chapter 6

Influence of EU enlargement on the

National Identity of France

The case of France is interesting because the historical past of France, the role of national identity and the rich cultural heritage start from prehistoric times, when France had always been a crossroads of trade, travel, and invasion. It's important to underline that three basic European ethnic stocks - Celtic, Latin, and Teutonic (Frankish) have blended over the time to make up the present nation. Habitually, France has always had a high level of immigration. France was one of the first countries which had progressed from feudalism to the nation-state. Its monarchs surrounded themselves with skilled ministers and consequently French armies were among the most ground-breaking, disciplined, innovative and professional in every time. During the centuries France was the dominant power in the whole European continent.

In the 20th century France was affected by the two world wars, which had the devastating influence on the country. That's why the political leaders supported the idea of delegation of some policies to the supranational authorities to guarantee peace, stability and prosperity. France, aware of its traditional strong position among European nations, which was based its rich history and the role of the leading nation which strove for liberty, equality and brotherhood, acted as one of the key players in creation of the European project. Therefore, it became one of the leaders among the EU's six founding father countries of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. However, with the evolution of the European institutions the European policies tended to supersede the member states' policies that alarmed France. The supranationalization of the domestic policies of France created political opposition to the European institutions and in the 50-60s France at least two times hindered the development of the policies overarching the French National government that was failure of the European Defense community and the so called "empty chair" crises. By this act France has demonstrated that the national interests and the national identity cannot be compromised to the overarching institutions. France continues

to play a leading role in the EU and in the whole world's international arena, predominantly in the light of the development of a Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP).

French nationalism has its roots in the popular movements of the 18th century, which managed to overturn the monarchy and establish the republic. French Revolution was a very important moment in French history. The famous French slogan "liberte, egalite, fraternite"- was coined during that time. After the Revolution, all people residing in France became citizens without any distinction on the basis of ethnic, linguistic and social origin. The idea of citizenship played the leading role in construction of French nationalism. The common symbols and myths related to the past are owed to the various historical events and figures, such as Napoleon and Jeanne d'Arc. The philosophers of the Enlightenment epoch developed state-society relations doctrines and the charter on citizenship, which became embraced by the nationals of France. Therefore, the French nationalism is based on republicanism and belief in common past.

Considering the strong historical roots of the French nationalism it is rather interesting that the loss of the national identity became a subject to debates in the 21-st century. French identity crisis became the case and the President Nicolas Sarkozy introduced the initiative of launching a public discourse regarding the national self-identification of French people. French immigration minister Eric Besson has launched a three month public debate on the issue of the "national identity" of French citizens in 2009. Several discussions and public meetings were held all over France in order to discover the specificity of being the French and on the other hand, how immigration affects the national identity". Besson also asked the public to suggest proposals about strengthening of the sense of national identity. As the key subject of these series of debates and surveys where whether there was a general sense about French national self-identification perceived by the citizens and if not, why it happened so that French citizens had different vision of their national symbols, priorities and nation. These debates were strongly linked with the problem of migration in France, which not least of all has been related to the enlargement of the European Union and the Schengen area. The survey asked the question "What is the National Emblem of France?" Answers varied beginning from the flag, to Jeanne d'Arc to food to the President to Napoleon, the French Royal family, the Republic, and, the

cockerel. As the results of the opinion polls are concerned, Minister Besson stated that 80% of French people thought that French identity was weakening.

Sub-chapter 6.1

Migration's Impact on French National Identity

France has been a member of the Schengen Area since 1985, and as the member of the European Union, the four freedoms enshrined in the treaty on Functioning the European Union are acting in France as well. With its economic development and the historical colonial past, immigrants from African countries as well as from the EU member states, especially the former Soviet bloc countries' nationals. The flows of immigrants brought with them their cultural specificities and French national identity had altered as the new generation of migrant communities appeared with different set of values. The numbers of immigration to France are France has been increasing over the times:

The flow of immigrants increased in response to the acquirement of the new legal status by the EU member states' national which was brought to the Union by the 2004 enlargement. This situation led France to lobby for the selective immigration and asylum policies, because in the light of increased intra-migration, the migration from the third countries created additional burdens on France's national identity. In October of 2008, Sarkozy managed to advance the political "pact" on immigration and asylum via the EU, which seeks to limit the migratory entry into Europe and rethinks the basis for the mass amnesties and unconditional asylum for illegal immigrants, and introduces the mechanisms of departure in order to discourage the illegal immigration.

Conclusion

The formation of the common European identity and the issue of its influence on the national identity within the EU member states have been disputed among the European public. The traditional theories of nationalism define the concepts of the nation, national identity and are frequently employed in the European debates. Historically Europe would be consisting of various nations and states which have contributed by art, philosophic schools and scientific discoveries to the world civilization. The European philosophers indoctrinated the ideas about liberty, equality and human rights, and the national movements originating in France, Britain and other European countries provided the example to follow for the rest of the world. However, apart from these positive facts, Europe has acted as a scene for the devastating wars, which would recurrently destroy the rich cultural heritage of the European nations. Aspiration for peace and prosperity brought together the European nations in the quest for the unity, which would exclude the threat of war inside and guarantee the external security.

As the ideology and values play the main role in uniting diverse people, the European project found place for the dimension of national identity. The concept of the European citizenship and the European public servants promoting the idea of a common “European House”, added to the supranational institutions of the EU issuing a bulk of the EU law, create the framework for the development of the European allegiance. This situation reveals the fact that despite the achievement of the goal regarding peaceful coexistence, the European Union member states are facing the new challenges, such as loss and weakening of their national identities.

The case of France has demonstrated that the immigration policy within the Schengen area influences the national identity of the French nation. The increased inflow of the immigrants had affected the national identity of the native French people and has initiated debates regarding the concepts of a “French national” and “French nationalism”.

The overall development of the European Union with its institutional and ideational structure makes it close to the model of the division of the state powers within a federation. Still, there is not achieved a full convergence to the existing federations, such as the United states, but the EU does not fit in the concept of a classical international organization.

The slogan of the EU “Unity in Diversity” is demonstrates the call for preservation of the national identity within the EU member states, however, it has been still difficult to go against the course of actions and the increasing supranationalization. In this course of events, it is necessary for every EU member state to protect its distinct and unique culture and traditions.

Bibliography

1. What does it mean to be European? – Peter Robinett
2. Ancient bond or invented tradition? – Oyvind Osterud
3. Strategic Culture and Tailored Deterrence: Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice – Jeffrey S. Lantis
4. Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
5. Brass, Paul. 1991. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi and Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
6. Gellner, Ernest. 1965. *Thought and Change*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
7. Herrman, Richard and Brewer, Marilyn B. 2004. "Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU". In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, eds. Richard K. Herrman et al, 1-22. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
8. Breuilly, John. 1993. *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1996. 'Approaches to Nationalism'. In *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan, 146-174. London: Verso.
9. Reconstructions of the Concept of EU Citizenship". *European Law Journal*. 7, 2: 196-218.
10. Risse, Thomas. 2005. "Neofunctionalism, European Identity, and the Puzzles of European Integration". *Journal of European Public Policy*. 12, 2, April: 291-309.
11. Brutter, Michael. 2005. *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
12. Carrey, Sean. 2002. "Undivided Loyalty: Is National Identity an Obstacle to European integration?". *European Union Politics*. 3, 4: 387-413.
13. Castano, Emanuele. 2004. "European Identity: A Social-Psychological Perspective". In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, eds. Richard K. Herrman et al, 40-58. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
14. Dunkerkey, David et al. 2002. *Changing Europe: Identities, Nations and Citizens*. London: Routledge

15. Spencer, Philip and Wollman, Howard. 2002. Nationalism: A Critical Introduction. London: Sage.
16. Smith, Anthony D. 1986. The Ethnic Origins of Nations. Oxford: Blackwell. 1992. "National Identity and the Idea of European Identity". International Affairs. 68, 1, January: 55-76. 1993. "A Europe of Nations. Or the Nations of Europe?". Journal of Peace Studies. 30, 2, May: 129-135.
17. Laffan, Brigid. 2004. "The European Union and Its Institutions as 'Identity Builders'". In Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU, eds. Richard K. Herrman et al, 75-96. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
18. Sachsenmaier, D., & Riedel, J., Eisenstadt, S., N., 2002, Multiple Modernities - European, Chinese and Other Interpretations.
19. Dinan, D., 2005, Ever Closer Union, Lynne Rienner Publisher
20. Haas, Ernst B. (1958). The Uniting of Europe; Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957. Stanford: Stanford University Press
21. Yoga, H., 2006, The Hidden languages
22. <http://www.euractiv.com/en/culture/european-values-identity/article-154441?display=normal>
23. http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_1/index_en.htm
24. <http://www.en-INVOLS.TR.GG/History.htm>
25. <http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/antecedentes2.htm>
26. http://www.zei.de/download/zei_dp/dp_c146_stiblar.pdf
27. http://www.raumplanung.tudortmund.de/irpud/presom/fileadmin/docs/presom/external/Ljubljana_Conference_June_2007/Stiblar.pdf
28. <http://www2.gtz.de/dokumente/bib-2011/giz2011-0064en-migration-policy.pdf>
29. <http://www.atlanticcommunity.org/app/webroot/files/articlepdf/Nationalism%20and%20the%20EU.pdf>