



THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY - IN TIMES EUROZONE CRISIS, NATIONALISM AND EUROSCEPTICISM

Alexandra Zons Alzons

Department of International Relations European - Asian Studies, School of
Business and Governance, Tallinn University of Technology, Tallinn, Estonia

Cite This Article: Alexandra Zons Alzons, "The European Identity - In Times Eurozone Crisis, Nationalism and Euroscepticism", *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research in Arts and Humanities*, Volume 4, Issue 1, Page Number 80-86, 2019.

Introduction:

This assessment was created in the context of the seminar 'Ideas, Ideologies and Identities in Europe'. Therefore the essay seeks to answer *if there are any European people, what does it mean to be European and can be the European identity be created?* In order to answer those questions the essay is going to discuss the European identity in the wake of the Eurozone Crisis. I chose this subject, because the Eurozone Crisis is not only a financial crises but also a European identity crisis.

It was is a very much discussed subject in Europe, when the EU fell in a state of crisis in 2008. Nationalism tends to be more present since the financial breakdown in some European countries. The refugee crisis, which was happening the same time, wasn't helping the situation either. Is the European Union not based on a tolerant multicultural concept, after all what happened in World War II and Communism? The Article 2 of Treaty of European Union specifies the values of the EU. It says that "The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities" (Lerch 2018:1). So why the nationalistic identity was growing so popular during the financial crisis? For that it needs a closer look at what happened in the last years, when the Eurozone Crisis started to entangle the causes of the rediscovery of nationalism.

Nationalism and Eurozone Crisis:

This chapter will give a brief overview of the definition of Nationalism and continues with the causes of the Eurozone Crisis. First here a definition what the word nationalism actually means: Nationalism is based on the belief system that the individual commitment to the country state surpasses individual or aggregate interests (Kohn 2019: para. 1). People share identities that enrich their local environments. It makes sense that people act on the behalf of their home country and that they part solidarity. Surely nothing bad, so why do we immediately have a bad association when we hear the word? First of all, it let in the 20th century to two destroying world wars. Nationalism tends to make people or nations feel more superior and often causes to be more independent from the rest of the mainstream crowd (Lombardo 2015: para. 1). Additionally more likely does that attitude have a tendency to clash with other ideals and values, it can isolate your nation or get the footing for war.

The development of the Eurozone Crisis has multi caused factors and is not very easy to entangle. Southern countries such as Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy unfortunately lost their competitiveness on the financial market. Mainly this was caused by the global financial and economic crisis in 2007. When the US economy slowed down, caused to their default on property mortgages, everywhere in the world banks with linked investments lost money (Weber 2015: 257). A lot of European banks had invested high amounts in the American property mortgage market, that it hit them tough (Havemann n.d: para 2). To stop some banks from bankrupting, some European governments tried to rescue them with finance packages. But bailing was a high investment for some countries such as Ireland. In that moment it almost bankrupted itself. It wasn't only Ireland or Greece that couldn't handle its household or the inner political structure problems. Some European countries stepped in with financial aid-packages. In 2009 it also started to expand its effect on more governments and Europe fell into recession. The problematic of state debts, is the consequence of the global financial-, economic- and bank crisis, which effected all European states with higher debts. What began as a banking crisis became a sovereign debt crisis (Frieden and Walter 2017: 19.7).

Causes of Nationalism:

It can be argued, that thanked to the global financial- and economic crisis, which is profoundly linked to the Eurozone Crisis, the EU critical parties gained a lot more voters. Populistic parties aren't only represented in the national parliaments, but also cover seats in the European Parliament. They even handle some MS's governments. The political publisher Strat for states that following scenario happened in the EU and that those issues caused the renaissance of Nationalism in the European Union:

"The first is the economic crisis. To a large extent, prosperity was the glue holding the European Union together. During good times, when most people have a job and children are convinced that they will have a better life than their parents, the idea of giving up national sovereignty to supranational institutions is easier to accept. But prosperity is no longer a certainty, and many in Europe are beginning to have second thoughts about the benefits of the European project. The economic decline is also leading to a crisis of representation; a

growing number of citizens no longer feel represented by mainstream political parties, unions and other traditional institutions.” (Strat for 2015: para.6)

In summary Strat for is saying that the European citizens were more likely to trust the European project as long it was successful. Before the Eurozone crisis, the EU was ensuring its citizens a better future and security. Due to the financial breakdown the disappointed by the economic situation grew bigger and trust to the national and supranational institutions dropped low. Nationalistic parties such as the French Front National or Alternative for Germany do not represent those mainstream parties in their countries. The once so popular common mainstream parties are losing their attractiveness and seem used up or wretched in their political directions. On the other hand side, those nationalistic parties share a fairly provocative anti-European union and anti-immigration attitude. They want to maintain its counties prosperity under all circumstances and Euroscepticism stands on their agenda. Euroscepticism is a term to describe scepticism to the integration of European Union and its policies (Ultan and Ornek 2015: 50). They chase other goals than the common parties and citizens look out for alternatives in politics, because they are not satisfied and don't feel understood by the ruling governments. They hit the spots what most people fear and like to support. The poorer people fear, caused to the refugee wave and the declining economy to get even poorer. But this is a misunderstanding. In an industrial country like Germany with a good social system to catch the people financially struggling from being even poorer, this seems unlikely. As already mentioned, the people seem to be disappointed by the European project.

The citizens of Europe have no longer seen the benefits of being part in the EU, the negative overweight's the positive. The Eurozone Crisis helped firing the Euroscepticism. This argument can be considered to one of the reason why nationalist parties were on a rise during that period. In hard times people have a tendency to seek for simple answers instead to understand complex intertwining problems. Such as the integration of immigrants or there fugee crisis, are easy targets and to make them to the problem of all problems. Nonetheless the disappointment of economic growth are common aspects for the evolving nationalism around the globe. Unfortunately not only in Europe did the nationalism have a comeback, but also in other continents like Asia to America. (Economist 2014: para. 2.).A good example for this was the past presidential election in the United States of America, where Donald Trump is now the self-made republican president. He is quite popular in the Republican Party and has a big audience. Unfortunately he uses a clear nationalistic rhetoric in his speeches and is obviously not very politically correct. Nonetheless does he says whatever he want to say, which made him so popular and different from the other candidates. But he has a bad argumentation, which is not very diplomatic or in a profound political way (Gerson 2015: n.p.). Even though enough Americans voted for him, that he is still the president of the United States of America. It is to point out, that most nationalistic parties aren't just only provocative, but also run xenophobic campaigns, which not only support those anti-Islamic demonstrations like Pegida in Germany. Instead of solidarity they promote individuality. For some European citizens the only solution for the Eurozone Crisis, would be opt out of the EU. This happened in the case of Brexit in 2016, when the British citizens voted in a referendum to the EU.

Globalisation brings a very interesting argument to this situation. As the literature points out, it seems like that it isn't important any longer to develop as an individual a national identity or to embrace a relationship with your country of birth. The state isn't anymore the only apparat to convey a sense of national belonging (Mau 2007: 219). In contradiction it's also arguable that globalization also has an important role in the development of the growing nationalism. Due to globalization, enclosed societies get more international influences and challenge their traditions as well as long established norms (Sabanadze 2010: 8). Out of an cultural perspective when more immigrants come to another country, there will be a visible affect in the social structure which changes the demography of the country that causes an increasing sense of nationality (Abdulsattar 2013: para. 12). It is important to point out, that nationalism can be seen as the result of a search for community and identity in the age of globalization.

National vs. European Identity: What is it?

The European Union replaced after the Second World War the single working nation-state with a project of supranational institutions that should have formed a supranational European identity (Stratfor 2015: para. 5). Nevertheless this process didn't really came into action. To understand why the national identity is more predominate than the European identity, here an example of Göncz and Lengyel (2016: 39). They give a great explanation of the human hierarchy of belonging. They conclude that humans are more likely attach their identity in a specific hierarchy. First of all humans identify themselves with their place of origin, the place they grew up, then the region and lastly with the country itself. This makes sense. In a subjective way, the place we are born is the place we have our social environment, which we pre-assumingly care for. Here a quick explanation of home in the context of identity: „It's now widely accepted that the home provides a sense of identity, a locus of security, and a point of centering and orientation in relation to a chaotic world beyond the threshold” (Rowles and Chaudhury 2005: 3). This statement underlines the importance of the identity fixed to a geographical territory for an individual. Home is located in a nation' sterritory which is part of our identity, it gives us shelter and let us connect with our social network. The dictionary defines national identity as feeling of

belonging to a whole country. This in particular is built through shared customs, such as art, music, and literature and common language (Oxford University Press 2019: para. 1).

Yet it is harder to explain what European identity means. No dictionary really defines the word European identity, but here a statement of the European Commission on how to define European identity:

“Identity has an individual component of active choice coupled with a collective component where individuals orient themselves to one or more aggregate groups or collectivities. The collectivities to which one orients depend upon context and can be multiple, so it is more accurate to speak of a mosaic of situation-specific identity rather than identities being nested one within another. Although few people may have a primary identity as ‘European’, such an identity can become salient in specific contexts.” (European Commission 2012: 5)

In summary it can be understood, that European identity comes with a collective feeling of belonging. Still for many European citizens is the European Union and its institutions far away from their personal and political reality. However, their national governments are more predominant in terms of political representation. It is to criticise that EU still seems like the ivory tower of governments. The EU is too technocrat and doesn't receive the support of its European citizens as a stable and established political system would in general obtain. In addition it can be criticised that the policy makers of the EU are too focused on building a stable economy and other political topics, then rather to create a European identity up on cultural similarities (Delibašić 2013: 303). Therefore it can be argued that personal identification with this system is missing (Westle and Kleiner 2016: 237ff.). It seems like that the willingness to create a common identity was neglected. During the creation of the EU, the political elite was hoping, that via the spill-over effect the trust into the European Union would establish from the top to the rest of the population (Westle and Kleiner 2016: 236). However, we can't see that this phenomenon proofed itself. Identity can't be forced on people, it's a process. The European Union is still developing and gained over the past years more competences. As well national identity was built over centuries and is flexible in its structure (Tarkus 2003: 68). Even the argument that globalization is strengthening national identity as the result of a search for community can be contra productive to the development of a supranational identity. With the ongoing establishment of the EU and its growing responsibilities, it can be foreseen that there is the potential for a generation of people that will identify themselves as Europeans. But even nowadays it's not completely helpless to find 'European', there are already person's identifying themselves as European citizens. The European Commission points out that an obvious European identity is quite rare among the European citizens. Only the once that had the chance to travel or even live abroad identify with the European identity (European Commission 2012: 10). Still the process of identification will be a slow one, as in the history of other nations.

What does it mean to be European?

It is a fairly interesting and important question what does it mean to be European. In this chapter I am going to investigate this question and give my personal opinion what it means to me to be European. The European Commission defines on one hand *being European* to respect diversity, on the other hand to acknowledge the individuality of each person. Those are values that go beyond the political agenda. In summary it is to say that respect, diversity and individuality are the categories that makes us European (European Commission 2016: para. 2). This highlights again, that the European Union's goal is to seek keeping “peace and prosperity in Europe” (Hall 2016: 46). The EU values the diversity of its MS and does not pursue to equalize its cultures, but to enrichen its societies economically and politically. Article 3 of the Treaty of Lisbon illustrates this argument. “The Union shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and [...] ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced” (European Commission 2019: para. 3).

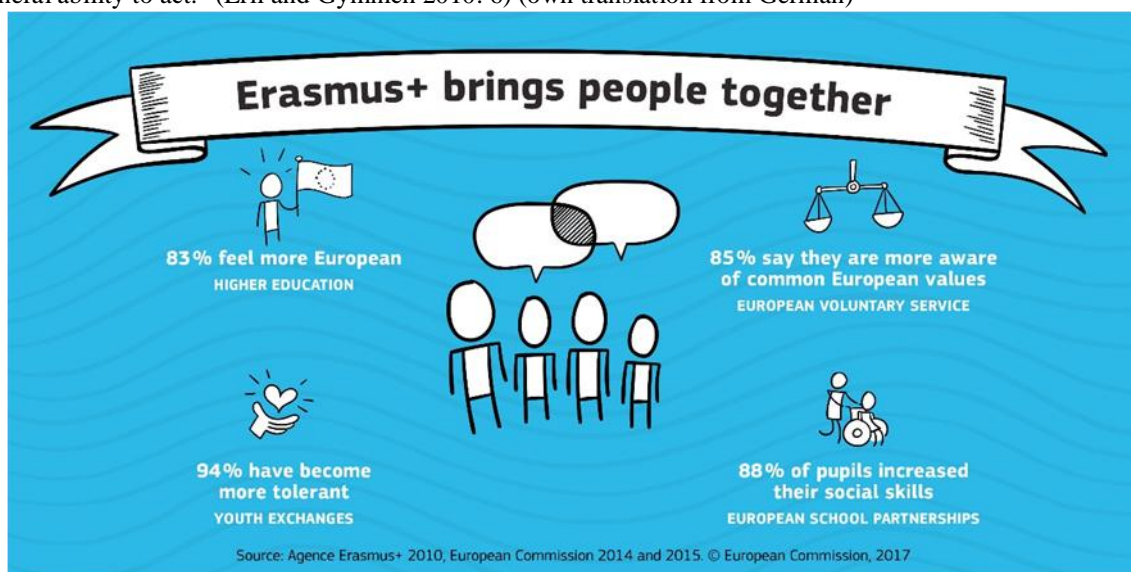
For me being European means to have the freedom to travel visa free between the 28 MS's. It means I can apply for a scholarship to live abroad, to do an internship and to study at a different university. As well it gives me the opportunity to meet people all around Europe, to share my culture with theirs and the other way around. I have friends all over Europe and we have a lot in common. Apart from that we all feel European. The European Union means to me, that life isn't getting any boring. I can decide from one day to another to go, live and work in Prague, London, Lisbon or another European capital. It gives me freedom and opportunities for my future. Yet the political decision making so feels so far away to me. I have to trust the policy- and decision makers to do the right choice, in regards of the life's of all the European citizens. I don't feel like, that my opinion could have an impact on political opinions. But to be honest, the same feeling do I share with the German government. To give my vote once in a while is the only thing where I feel that my opinion can have an impact. Politics are so far away from the regular people. Nevertheless, I am from the younger generation and I was born after 1992. That means that the year 1993, where I was born, the Treaty of European Union was already intact. I grew up with the concept of the EU and all its benefits. It's normal to me. Therefore I probably feel more European than my parents or my grandparents. They experienced a different world as I did. My grandparents are the children of the Second World War, my parents lived through the cold war and have seen the DDR crash. Nevertheless I also feel German, I grew up there, and I have my family and my friends there. But to have multiple identities isn't a problem either.

Ideas how to strengthen a European Identity:

The literature recommends not to remove or overwrite the national identity in order to gain a European identity. Yet, it can be said that the feeling of national identity shares similarities with the European identity. European identity can be “deduced from the criteria one believes to make somebody belonging to one’s nation” (Westle and Segatti 2016: 291). It rather endorses to create a second layer of identity in addition to the already existing national identity. But to do so, this identity must be “politically and emotionally meaningful” to the European citizens (Techau 2016: para. 8). Yet those conditions weren’t fulfilled due to the financial crisis. Due to the crisis, people lost their trust into the EU and no longer support a deeper integration of the EU any longer (Hall 2016: 46). However, doubtlessly there is a missing knowledge gap about the benefits for European citizens for being part of the European Union. The Eurozone crisis was caused by external factors and not by the Euro itself. Now ten years after the crisis the economy is prospering and economic policies trying to fix the damages of the financial crisis (European Commission 2019b: para. 1). To build a European identity, it is important to build up solidarity and the will to sacrifice. In order to achieve this the Ex-President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, once “insisted the further development of the Union institutions must gradually built up a shared feeling of belonging to Europe” (Føllesdal 2000: 503). This is a good approach, as we have seen the European identity didn’t established itself over the years. There must be a motivation build, to set the rout of growing a European identity.

But the EU, isn’t that inactive as it seems. Since the 1980’s it gives European students the opportunity to study abroad. Those intercultural exchange programs, like the Erasmus + and Erasmus Mundus program gives the students scholarship to either study or to do an internship abroad. They are founded in order to increase the European identity and to create a multicultural awareness around Europe. The attendance to an Erasmus + program also seeks to strengthen the professional growth and cultural knowledge. During and after the stay abroad the understanding for the own culture as well as the host country should be distributed within the students social network (Budke 2003: 266). Therefore, the out-going students act like culture ambassadors. Here the benefits of going abroad:

"Intercultural encounters can be [...] a great enrichment for the individual, because dealing with other cultures always leads to critical engagement with their own ways of thinking and behaving. Through contact with other cultures, the individual makes experiences that have a lasting effect on one's own self-image and the general ability to act." (Erl and Gymnich 2010: 6) (own translation from German)



In summary Erl and Gymnich are saying that the contact with people from different countries are culturally sensitizing the individuals. After their stay abroad the students return to their home universities with an open mind. Illustration I is highlighting the positive effects of the Erasmus + program. Most importantly it is to say, that 83% of the attendees feel more European after the mobility exchange. This just emphasises my argument that the Erasmus+ program is helping to create a European identity.

The Erasmus+ program is capable of creating an institutional framework that empowers the European principles in the younger generation. Especially mutual solidarity, free discourse and the spirit of equality will be pooled (European Commission n.d.: para. 3). Dr Pablo Biderbost, Founding partner and general coordinator of the ‘Bringing Europe Closer’ project summarises quite well the benefits of taking part in the exchange program: “Erasmus+ is about creating awareness and citizenship. Here in Europe, it has been incredibly difficult to destroy the psychological walls that have existed between nations, but programmes such as this make it possible to talk about real European citizenship” (European Commission 2018: 76). Form a higher education program did the scholarship expand also in fields like vocational training for students, volunteering, youth

exchanges, training for teachers and other staff (European Commission 2018b: 1). Before that it was to criticize that, the Erasmus program only focused on young academics. Therefore this experience only stayed in a certain social group of society. Now almost everyone can apply. Still is this program not available to everyone. Even though the participants receive money from the scholarship, not everybody is able to afford going abroad. Doing this step needs a certain capital that not everyone has. Not every partner university offers dormitories, which means in order to live in the exchange city it needs to be rented a room in a shared flat. Therefore the individual has to pay the deposit in advance. Unfortunately sometimes the scholarship isn't even enough to rent that room on a monthly basis. Some participants have to find a job in order to go abroad or simply can't go due to their financial limitation. What is to say, not everyone can afford going abroad. In order to provide this opportunity there should be established a solidarity found. Then people from a not so strong financial background can participate.

Next to the Erasmus+ program the labour mobility plays a role in creating a European identity. It is nowadays so much easier to find a job in the EU and to go work in the MS. However there are still things making it very complicated, such as administrative procedures. There still exist legal barriers, which make social security or the recognition of qualifications extremely complicated. The EC should be responsible to formulate policies in order to equalize this problems. Nevertheless it isn't that common in the EU to find a job in another state like in the USA for example. Just about 0.1% of the working EU citizens moves its household to another country in order to find a job in a given year. On the other hand, in the US you can find about 3% of the working people moving between states (Ester and Krieger 2008: 96). The process of finding a job abroad could be facilitated. However we can see similarities between the student and the labour mobility. It can be concluded that people going abroad seem to be more likely to develop a higher tolerance and to identify themselves as Europeans. "Freedom of movement is what unites European Member States and represents what it truly means to be a European citizen" (Ester and Krieger 2008: 94). This exchanges of students and specialist staff should be more promoted. The EU should build a higher incentive to move abroad for a while. Nevertheless this has to be made available for all layers of society.

Conclusion"

I'd like to come back to the questions in the beginning of this assessment.

- Are there any European people? Clearly there is new generation of young people growing up as Europeans. Thanks to the freedom of movement and taking the chances of working and living abroad they identify themselves more likely as Europeans.
- What does it mean to be European? This is a very subjective question, yet being European means to live in a nation and a supranational government which consists out of a set of 28 MS's. Those states more or less share the same history and heritage. The EU brings many freedoms like the freedom of movements, which enables its citizens to move from one country to another. For the younger generation that is participating in exchanges this means to be European.
- Can be the European identity be created? Yes, but it needs also a reactivity and the will of the EU and its member states in order to do so. We see that programs that encourage people going abroad helps them to implement an extra level of identity. Nevertheless this can be the only way how to form European identity. Therefore I see that the MS's also have to proactively promote the European identity in their country through information events etc. Not everyone wants to go abroad, there must be also a solution created in order to promote a European identity for people staying in their country of origin.

The last question of this paper will be, *do we need a European identity in order to maintain the European Union?* The financial crisis in 2008 taught the EU how important such a shared identity could have been. This could have formed the support and solidarity from the European citizens. The result of the crisis was, that populist and nationalist parties spread its roots on the political stage. Solidarity was written small and the wellbeing of its own state stood in the middle of attention. "Rather than focusing just on the abuses and limitations that nationalism can doubtless bring with it, Europe needs to learn the secret of how to lift a feeling of belonging to a higher level" (Tauch 2016: n.p.). It means the European citizens have to learn how to grow an additional identity to their national identity. This European identity would legitimize the EU institutions and its politics even more. Europe needs a common sense of belonging in order to welcome solidarity. The European Union is a beautiful project in order to keep peace between the MS's but also to bring prosperity. The EU is in comparison to some other national states a very young project. It's doubtlessly not perfect and still needs to expand its policies in order to survive shocks like this. But not wanting to help countries which need financial support is egoistic. The European Union is a supranational political project that needs a European identity and to get support from its citizens. Across the USA we find a system of principles that is connected to patriotism. It forms collective interest and brings its citizens in unity together (Chopin 2018: 4). Nevertheless this doesn't seem to be the case yet in the European MS's. Exchange programs as the European funded Erasmus+ program help to form European citizens. Mostly the younger academic generation has already adapted a European identity through such an exchange. Still there are generations and citizens left out to this program. The European

integration has to be part of all ages, social backgrounds and heritage. Only a unified Europe can be strong. This just underlines Techaus recommendation on how to build a European identity. On rather erasing the national identity, it should be founded a second level of supranational identity. It is good to have a sense of belonging, either on a national or international level. “[...] European identity is promoted by a representation of Europe as a set of bounded nationalities” (Westle and Segatti 2016: 291ff.). With a deeper integration of the EU and a bigger focus on making its values present, there will be maybe one day follow in a slow process the formation of an European identity within the European citizens.

References:

1. Abdulsattar, Tammam O. (2013): “Does Globalization Diminish the Importance of Nationalism?”. Online Source: <https://www.e-ir.info/2013/11/14/does-globalization-diminish-the-importance-of-nationalism/> (accessed: 17.02.2019).
2. Budke, Alexandra (2003): *Wahrnehmungs- und Handlungsmuster im Kulturkontakt. Studien über Austauschstudenten in wechselnden Kontexten*. Göttingen: V&R unipress GmbH.
3. Chochia, A., & Kerikmäe, T. (2018). Digital Single Market as an Element in EU-Georgian Cooperation. *Baltic Journal of European Studies*, 8(2), 3-6.
4. Chopin, Thierry (2018). “Europe and the identity challenge: who are “we”?”. *European Issues* (466): 1-6.
5. Delibašić, Ivan (2013): The need for a new European identity?. *European View* 12 (2): 299–306.
6. Economist (2014): “Nationalism is back. Bad news for international co-operation”. Online Source: <https://www.economist.com/news/2014/11/13/nationalism-is-back> (accessed: 14.02.2019).
7. European Commission (n.d.): “In the Spotlight: Erasmus+ Brings People Together”. Online Sources: https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/anniversary/spotlight-erasmus-brings-people-together_en (accessed: 21.02.2019).
8. European Commission (2012): *The Development Of European Identity/Identities: unfinished Business*. s.l.: s.n.
9. European Commission (2016): “What does Europe mean – today and in the future?”. Online Source: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/vestager/announcements/what-does-europe-mean-today-and-future_en (accessed: 20.02.2019).
10. European Commission (2018): *From Erasmus to Erasmus + A Story of 30 Years*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
11. European Commission (2018b): *ERASMUS+ The EU programme for education, training, youth and sport (2014-2020)*. s.l.:s.n.
12. European Commission (2019): “Supporting cultural heritage”. Online Source: https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/culture-policies/cultural-heritage_en (accessed: 30.02.2019).
13. European Commission (2019b): “10 years since the start of the crisis: back to recovery thanks to decisive EU action”. Online Source: https://ec.europa.eu/unitedkingdom/news/10-years-start-crisis-back-recovery-thanks-decisive-eu-action-0_en (accessed: 19.02.2019).
14. Ester, Peter and Hubert Krieger (2008): Comparing labour mobility in Europe and the US: facts and pitfalls. *Over. Werk Tijdschrift van het Steunpunt WSE* (3) 4: 94-97.
15. Erll, Astrid and Marion Gymnich (2010): *Interkulturelle Kompetenzen. Erfolgreich kommunizieren zwischen den Kulturen*. Stuttgart: Klett Verlag.
16. Føllesdal, Andreas (2000): “The future Soule of Europe: Nationalism or Just Patriotism? A Critique of David Miller’s Defence of Nationality”. *Journal of Peace Research* 37 (4): 503–518.
17. Frieden, Jeffry and Stefanie Walter (2017): “Understanding the Political Economy of the Eurozone Crisis”. *Annual Review of Political Science* 2017 (20): 19.1–19.20.
18. Gerson, Michael (2016): “Trump’s nationalism is corrosive and dangerous”. Online Source: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-nationalism-is-corrosive-and-dangerous/2016/02/25/a844d504-dbfd-11e5-891a-4ed04f4213e8_story.html?utm_term=.70e174b8cb74 (accessed: 13.02.19).
19. Göncz, Borbála and György Lengyel (2016): “National Elites’ Conceptions of National and of European Identity”. In: Westle, Bettina and Paolo Segatti (ed.): *European Identity in the Context of National Identity: Questions of Identity in Sixteen European Countries in the Wake of the Financial Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 31-62.
20. Hall, Peter A. (2016): The Euro Crisis and the Future of European Integration. In: BBVA (ed.): *The Search for Europe Contrasting Approaches*. Bilboa: BBVA, 46-67.
21. Havemann, Joel (n.d.) “The Financial Crisis of 2008”. Online Source: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Financial-Crisis-of-2008-The-1484264#bbp-1> (accessed: 18.02.2019).
22. Kerikmae, T., & Nyman-Metcalf, K. (2010). *Karlsruhe v. Lisbon: An Overture to a Constitutional Dialogue from an Estonian Perspective*. *Eur. JL Reform*, 12, 373.
23. Kerikmäe, T., & Zuokui, L. (2017). New perspectives for Europe–China relations. *Baltic Journal of European Studies*, 7(1), 3-5.

24. Kohn, Hans (2019): "Nationalism". Online Source: <http://www.britannica.com/topic/nationalism> (accessed: 13.02.2019).
25. Lerch, Marika (2018): "Human Rights". Online Source: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_5.4.1.pdf (accessed: 13.02.2019).
26. Lombardo, Crystal (2015): "Pros and Cons of Nationalism". Online Source: <http://www.visionlaunch.com/pros-and-cons-of-nationalism/> (accessed: 13.02.2019).
27. Mau, Steffen (2007): *Transnationale Vergesellschaftung: Die Entgrenzung sozialer Lebenswelten (Staatlichkeit im Wandel)*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.
28. Oxford University Press (2019): „National Identity“. Online Source: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/national-identity> (accessed: 19.02.2019).
29. Panikar, M. M., & Troitino, D. R. (2018). Winston Churchill on European Integration. *VOPROSY ISTORII*, (11), 85-96.
30. Rowles, Graham D. And Habib Chaudhury (2005): *Home and identity in late life international perspectives*. New York: Springer.
31. Sabanadze, Natalie (2010): *Globalization and Nationalism. The Cases of Georgia and Basque Country*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
32. Stratfor (2015): "Europe Rediscovered Nationalism. Analysis". Online Source: <https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/europe-rediscovered-nationalism> (accessed: 14.02.2019).
33. Tarkus, Tiina (2003): "A new European identity?" In: Kasekamp, A. (ed.): *Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Year book*. Tallinn: Estonian Foreign Policy Institute, 66-68.
34. Techau, Jan (2016): "Nationalism Destroys Europe- or Does It?!" Online Source: <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=62846> (accessed: 19.02.2019).
35. Troitiño, D. (2013). *European Integration: Building Europe*. New York. Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
36. Troitiño, D. (2013). European Identity the European People and the European Union. *Journal of Sociology*. 1. 10.13189/sa.2013.010301.
37. Troitiño, D. R., Kerikmäe, T., & Chochia, A. (Eds.). (2018). *Brexit: History, Reasoning and Perspectives*. Springer.
38. Troitiño, D. R., & Faerber, K. (2019). Historical errors in the initial conception of the euro and its subsequent development. *Brazilian Journal of Political Economy*, 39(2), 328-343.
39. Ultan, Mehlika Ozlem and Serdar Ornek (2015): "Euro-scepticism in the European Union". *International Journal of Social Sciences* (5) 2: 49-57.
40. Weber, Christoph S. (2015): "The Euro crisis. Causes and symptoms". *Estudios Fronterizos*, 32 (16): 247 - 282.
41. Westle, Bettina and Tuuli-Marja Kleiner (2016): "Trust towards Other People Co-nationals, Europeans, People outside Europe". In: Westle, Bettina and Paolo Segatti (ed.): *European Identity in the Context of National Identity: Questions of Identity in Sixteen European Countries in the Wake of the Financial Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 236-271.
42. Westle, Bettina and Paolo Segatti (2016): *European Identity in the Context of National Identity: Questions of Identity in Sixteen European Countries in the Wake of the Financial Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press.