

# EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP AS A STANDARD OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION? THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL ELEMENTS

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*Assistant Professor, Cristina Ilie Goga, PhD  
Faculty of Social Sciences,  
University of Craiova*

**Abstract:** The article is based upon the idea that collective identification with institutions beyond the nation state becomes a standard for measuring integration. Thus, we start the paper with the analysis of European integration theories, essential for the purpose of our work: Transactionalism and Neo-functionalism, and also we investigate the concept of „European citizenship“, especially as a specific institution of the European construction. The second part of the paper analyses the results of a field research, conducted in the city of Craiova, and highlights the level of attachment of citizens from Craiova to the European citizenship.

## What is European integration? Theories and symbols.

The European Union is the most advanced form of experiment, namely of the construction of a supranational political authority, or even of a new form of state, which has more than economic bases<sup>1</sup>.

The main factor, which decisively contributed to the evolution of the European construction, was the continual „integration“ process. According to the New Explanatory Dictionary of Romanian from the year 2002, we can find the verb „to be integrated“ as being defined as: „to enter in an assembly as integral part; to be unified with other items

<sup>1</sup> Fabbrini, S. (2004), Is the EU exceptional? The EU and US in comparative perspective, in Sergio Fabbrini (ed.), Democracy and Federalism in the European Union and the United States. Exploring post-national governance, Routledge, London, p. 6.

forming an integral body; to be incorporated"<sup>2</sup>, and in the Explanatory Dictionary of Romanian from 2009, „to integrate“ is described as signifying „to (be) included, to (be) embedded, to (be) incorporated, to (be) harmonised in a whole“<sup>3</sup>.

„European integration“ stands for a very complex process in which the state has developed a new community which tends to be of Unitarian type, monolithic one. Therefore, European integration is not a mere parties' consolidation, but a new construction which is achieved by parties' merging<sup>4</sup>.

In the evolution of the European integration process, from European Communities to the European Union, the emphasis has been laid upon different elements, these benchmarks being identified by surveying the perspectives from which the integration is being identified. This approach also applies to the sovereignty of the nation state, the compliance between shape and functions for the purpose of avoiding tension and the evolving role of supranational institutions in the integration process.

In the doctrine there are theories of the European integration, such as federalism and confederalism, functionalism and neofunctionalism, constructivism, institutionalism and other theories which explain the process of European integration from different scientific perspectives. They are focused either on the analysis of the political processes; on the debate on the international or interstate relationships; on the complexity of social institutions and relationships; on the history of evolution, etc. From the particular modalities recognised by the researchers of the evolution process of the European Union, it resulted in an assembly of explanations, some of them very complex. Such is the theoretical analysis conducted by Andrew Moravcsik in 1991, over the success of the Single European Act. The author justifies the European Communities' success from a double perspective: supranational institutionalism and neofunctionalism, on the one side and of the intergovernmental institutionalism, on the other<sup>5</sup>.

In the context of creating the European Communities and the European Union, the question permanently raised is if the nation state continues to remain sovereign or if we go for supranationality. In order to explain this dilemma in the evolution of the European construction we find theories which support particular points of view namely: intergovernmentalism (keeping the state sovereignty) and supranationalism (relative loss of sovereignty to enjoy the benefits of a supranational structure).

On the other hand, starting from the willingness for cooperation between the states for achieving the common declared purpose of European communities - avoiding conflicts

<sup>2</sup> Litera Internațional (2002), Noul Dicționar Explicativ al Limbii Române, Litera Internațional, Bucharest, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Academia Română, Institutul de lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan“ (2009), Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române, București, Univers Enciclopedic „Gold“, Bucharest, 2009, p. 722.

<sup>4</sup> Văduva, G., Dinu, M. (2005), Strategia Europeană a Integrării, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare, Bucharest, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Moravcsik, A. (1991), Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community, in „International Organisation“, nr. 45, 1991, pp. 19-56.

and wars, we identify in the doctrine distinct modalities of perceiving European integration: functionalism (lays emphasis on accomplishing functional duties, on governing functions), federalism and confederalism (they lay the emphasis on the form of governing for the purpose of fulfilling functions) and transactionalism (analyses integration at social level).

The role of supranational institutions in the evolution of the European integration process is stressed by neofunctionalism.

In the context of our research, we consider as important to focus on two theories transactionalism and neofunctionalism.

**Neofunctionalism** describes the European integration as a process in which inter-dependencies increase, *laying the emphasis on sectoral integration* (the main difference as compared to functionalism), thus resulting in a new political community in which the result consists of wiping off current borders<sup>6</sup>. Also for neofunctionalists, the wish to keep peace among the states, is the one that must trigger nations' interaction, and economic integration is the one which promotes peace. In this regard, neofunctionalism supports the functioning of the *spill-over* process which provides the fact that integration in a specific sector entails the integration into multiple sectors and thus, national borders will be wiped off, thus rising out the supranational political community<sup>7</sup>.

The main supporter of neofunctionalism, Ernst Hass, describes the political integration as „a process in which political actors from different national positions are convinced to transfer loyalty and their activities to a new centre, in which institutions demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states“<sup>8</sup>. On the other hand, the phrase „loyalty transfer“ created multiple debates and theoretical analyses and many authors translated it as being a form of creating collective identity. Yet Hass has never claimed the necessity of identification with Europe, as a condition for integration. Ernst Hass has justified the fact that the „transfer of loyalty“ does not necessarily implies an immediate repudiation of the national state or of governing<sup>9</sup>. The author has identified three factors influencing loyalty acquiring by actors: „1) they valorise the new centre of attachment as a purpose in itself; 2) the new centre of authority compels them to conformity; 3) as a secondary product of such an instrumental behaviour towards another final purpose“<sup>10</sup>. Unfortunately in 1970, Hass gave up to the idea of European identity and “loyalty transfer”, in exchange using the concept of „authority and legitimacy transfer“<sup>11</sup>. Neofunctionalism became more based on the „spill-over“ concept and on the nature and power of supranational institutions.

<sup>6</sup> Kjær A. M. (2010), Guvernanta (Gouvernance) (translated by Natalia Cugleşan), Editura CA Publishing, Cluj-Napoca, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, pp. 101-105.

<sup>8</sup> Haas, E. (1958), The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-57, Stanford University Press, Stanford, p.16.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p.14.

<sup>10</sup> Risse, T. (1958), Neo-Functionalism, European Identity, and the Puzzles of European Integration, Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 12, Nr. 2, 1958, p. 295.

<sup>11</sup> Haas, E. (1970), The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing, in 'International Organisation', 24 (4), p. 633.

The *spill-over* concept refers to the fact that the effects of integration into a sector entail the need of integration in other sectors. The concept is well shaped in the fifties during the last century, when there were created ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community) and then EEC (European Economic Community). How did the things actually happen: a number of 6 states have decided that it would be beneficial from the economic and security perspective, that certain sectors (coal and steel production) should be organised under the patronage of an international organisation, but, shortly after the creation of this organisation (ECSC), the member states reached to the conclusion that, unless they also place under international coordination other correlated sectors (energy, transport), the original purpose cannot be achieved. And thus the states' elites directed their efforts to broadening the sectors that had to be integrated under international coordination, thus being created EEC (European Economic Community) and EURATOM (European Community of Atomic Energy).

Thereafter the concept had, over the following 30 years' period, an impasse, caused by De Gaulle's governing and the economic crisis from the years '70, characterised by stagnation of the European construction progress (period called eurosclerosis).

For neofunctionalism adepts, what is important is the statist reality (political parties, pressure groups, technocrats), the integration arising from the links created within the network made up of the new actors, in which individual interests turn into collective interests, pursued and accomplished at the national and supranational level<sup>12</sup>. As a conclusion, the main elements characterising neofunctionalism are: *spill-over* process, progressive reinforcement of *supranational institutions and the loyalty transfer*.

The relation between functionalism and neofunctionalism is given by the similar manner of approaching of specific elements such as: progressive change, learning process and the technocrat manner of making decisions. But on the other hand, as stated in the year 1979 by Groom, the denomination of „neofunctionalism“ is a case of „missing identity“, since functionalists claim that the shape and the purpose of an international organisation are determined by the functions which must be accomplished, and neofunctionalists lay emphasis on the autonomous influence of supranational institutions<sup>13</sup>.

**Transactionalism (the communication theory)** stresses out primordiarity of communication between the members of societies making up the international structure and their integration at the social level, for the purpose of ensuring peace among nations, without stressing on the making up of federal shapes and institutions (federalism) or of functional agencies (functionalism)<sup>14</sup>. Thus, Karl W. Deutsch, the most ardent supporter of this theory, has analysed two levels of integration: the first level is the one of *social integration*, arising from the communication among citizens, the freedom of movement and social interaction, thus being created the so-called „security communities“ where the appearance

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<sup>12</sup> Ivan, A. L. (2012), Guvernanta Uniunii Europene (course support), Cluj-Napoca, p. 36.

<sup>13</sup> Niemann, A., Schmitter, P. C. (2009), Neofunctionalism, in Wiener, A, Diez, T, (ed.), European integration theory, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. 46.

<sup>14</sup> Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. (2006), Debates on European Integration, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstok, p. 29.

of conflicts becomes less and less possible. The second level is the one of the political integration which is created by already stable social structure<sup>15</sup>. Deutsch has introduced the phrase „sense of community“ in his pleadings and he claims that „collective identification with community“ is an indicator of the degree of integration. Otherwise, in the year 1957, Karl Deutsch and his collaborators presented this „sense of community“ which is relevant to integration as being „a matter of sympathy and mutual loyalty; of „personal feelings“, trust and mutual respect; or partial identification in terms of image and interests“<sup>16</sup>. Thomas Risse, in his article „Neo-Functionalism, European Identity, and the Puzzles of European Integration“ published in 2005, makes reference to the two concepts related to identity: „sense of community“ proposed by Deutsch and „transfer of loyalty“ to supranational structures, introduced by the neo-functionalism adept Ernst B. Hass and thus Risse has drawn the conclusion that for the two „parents of European integration“, collective identification with institutions beyond the nation state has become a benchmark to measure integrity<sup>17</sup>.

Considering the conclusion issued by Deutsch, we can take into account a multitude of European institutions and symbols, as a benchmark for measuring integrity, from the European citizenship, to the hymn or flag of the European Union, Europe's day, single currency, to administrative and political institutions, which are representative to the European construction such as the European Parliament or the European Council.

## European Citizenship

In our research we will analyse a European achievement which we consider to have a particular significance with regard to the measuring of integration, that is „European citizenship“.

European citizenship has been regulated in the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993. European citizenship includes rights, duties and participation in the political life, it aims at the consolidation of image and identity of the European Union, but at the same time it aims at the deeper commitment of a citizen within the process of European integration<sup>18</sup>. In the respective articles of the Treaty the set-up of a European citizenship has been provided, and it specified that a „citizen of the European Union is any person who has got the citizenship of a member state“. The citizenship of the European Union fills in the national citizenship, without being substituted to it, making possible the asserting of some of the Union's rights on the territory of the member state in which he/she has got residence<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. (2006), Debates on European Integration, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstok, p. 30-32.

<sup>16</sup> Wagener, R. W. (1957), Political Community and the North Atlantic Area, International Organisation in the Light of Historical Experience, Princeton University Press, Princeton, p. 36.

<sup>17</sup> Risse, T., op. cit. p. 293.

<sup>18</sup> Infoeuropa, Cetățenia europeană, 2007: [http://ec.europa.eu/romania/documents/eu\\_romania/tema\\_9.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/romania/documents/eu_romania/tema_9.pdf) [Accessed 15.05.2016].

<sup>19</sup> Militaru, I. N. (2011), Cetățenia Uniunii Europene potrivit Tratatului de la Lisabona, in 'Judicial Tribune', Vol 1., No. 1, 2011, p. 59.

European citizenship is regulated in art. 18-25 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. The term of „non-discrimination“ has been introduced. In the field of application of the Treaties, at the Union’s level: „any discrimination on grounds of nationality shall be prohibited“<sup>20</sup> (art. 18 paragraph 1 TFEU). „The European Parliament and the Council, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, may adopt rules designed to prohibit such discrimination.“<sup>21</sup> (art. 18 paragraph 2 TFEU). Furthermore: „Without prejudice to the other provisions of the Treaties and within the limits of the powers conferred by them upon the Union, the Council, acting unanimously in accordance with a special legislative procedure and after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament, may take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation“<sup>22</sup> (art. 19 TFEU).

Pursuant to article 20 of TFEU, paragraph 1, (former art. 17 of TEC):“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“<sup>23</sup>. In paragraph 2 of article 20 it is mentioned the fact that the „citizens of the Union shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties provided for in the Treaties“, such as, „(a) *the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States*; (b) *the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections in their Member State of residence, under the same conditions as nationals of the State*; (c) *the right of enjoy, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which they are nationals is not represented, of protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State*, on the same conditions as nationals of that State; (d) *the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman, and to address the institutions and advisory bodies of the Union in any of the Treaty and to obtain a reply in the same language*“<sup>24</sup>. Also, the Union’s citizens have the right to „move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in the Treaties and by the measures adopted to give them effect“<sup>25</sup>.

It must not be omitted the right to non-discrimination, previously described, the right of access, in certain conditions, to the documents of the European Parliament, of the European Commission and of the Council but also, the right of access to the Civil Service of the European Union, and the right to present a citizenship initiative in the meaning of art. 11 of TUE, in the conditions in which it is submitted by „at least a million citizens of the Union, residents of a significant number of states“<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Art. 18, alin. 1: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=EN> [Accessed 16.05.2016].

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, Art. 18, alin. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, Art. 19.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, Art. 20, alin. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, Art. 20, point. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, Art. 21, point. 1.

<sup>26</sup> The Treaty on European Union, Art. 11 , point. 4: [http://europa.eu/pol/pdf/consolidated-treaties\\_ro.pdf](http://europa.eu/pol/pdf/consolidated-treaties_ro.pdf) [Accessed 16.05.2016].

At the same time, the rights of the European citizens are provided in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, which „was solemnly adopted on December 7, 2000 (at the Intergovernmental Conference) in Nice. It was then amended on December 12· 2007, in Strasbourg, subsequently by the Treaty of Lisbon (entered into force on December 1· 2009). It should be expressly provided that the „Union acknowledges the rights, liberties and principles provided in the Charter“ and that „this has the same legal value as the treaties“, pursuant to art. 6 paragraph 1, TEU<sup>27</sup>.

In the Charter we can find all the social, economic, civil and political rights of which all the European citizens can benefit.

Moreover, with the consolidation of the rights of the Union's citizens, the Union has adhered, by the Treaty of Lisbon, to the European Convention to protect human rights and fundamental liberties<sup>28</sup>, a document having a special importance that makes these rights the foundation of the European Union's citizenship.

## **Preliminary Results of a Sociological Research Analysing the link between the European Citizenship and National Citizenship**

As for any sociological research, the analysis we have conducted to develop this study targets all key steps in such a research process:

1. Establishing the study problem (argument for choosing the topic),
2. Studying the specialised literature (conceptual framework of the research),
3. Formulating the working hypotheses,
4. Establishing research methods and techniques,
5. Determining the study population (sample choosing),
6. Data collecting,
7. Analysing the research results,
8. Formulating the conclusions<sup>29</sup>.

### ***Establishing the study problem***

We considered appropriate a research on identifying the level of attachment to European citizenship, as an indicator of European integration.

### ***Studying the specialised literature***

In the specialised literature of this research we have highlighted various aspects:

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<sup>27</sup> Militaru, I. N, op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 69.

<sup>29</sup> Mihăilescu, I. (2013), General Sociology. Basic concepts and case studies, Polirom, Iași, 2003.

The legislation on European citizenship;  
The academic literature on European integration etc.

### *Formulating the working hypotheses*

The hypothesis we started from, was that, the more positive the perception on the effects of European integration is, the level of attachment to the European Union is higher.

The second hypothesis of the research, was that, the higher the level of attachment to the European institutions is, such as citizenship, the higher is the level of integration.

### *Establishing the research methods and techniques*

We conducted a quantitative research, namely an opinion survey, by applying a questionnaire.

### *Determining the study population (sample choosing)*

The investigation technique used is a questionnaire, addressed on an exploratory sample, of 180 persons in the city of Craiova.

### *Data collecting*

Data collecting has been made by applying questionnaires, in January 2016.

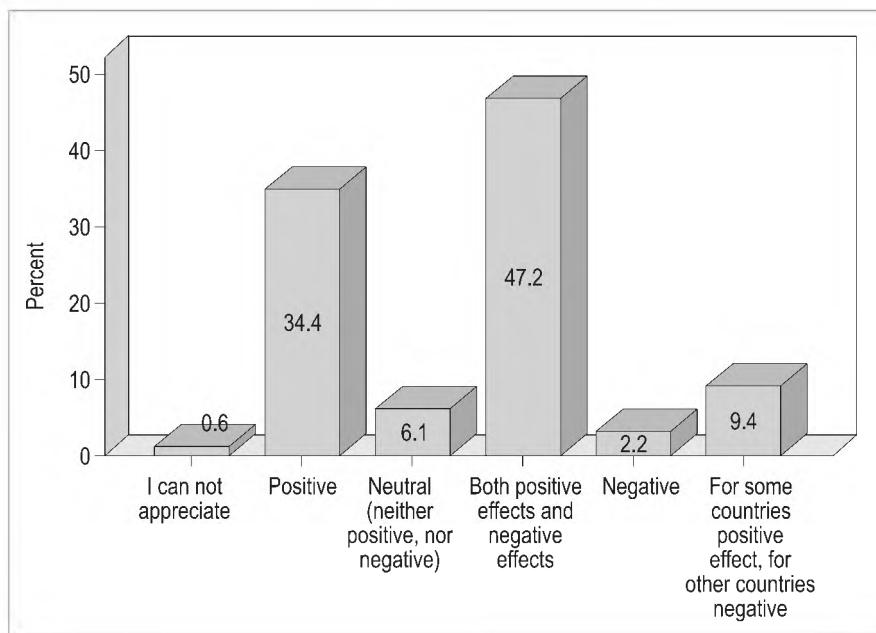
### *Results analysis*

In this section we will present the key results of the survey.

*In your opinion, what kind of effect,  
does the European Union has on the Member States?*

Response	Frequency	Percent
I cannot appreciate	1	0.6%
Positive	62	34.4%
Neutral (neither positive, nor negative)	11	6.1%
Both positive effects and negative effects	85	47.2%
Negative	4	2.2%
For some countries positive effect, for other countries negative effect	17	9.4%
Total	180	100%

***In your opinion, what kind of effect,  
does the European Union has on the Member States?***

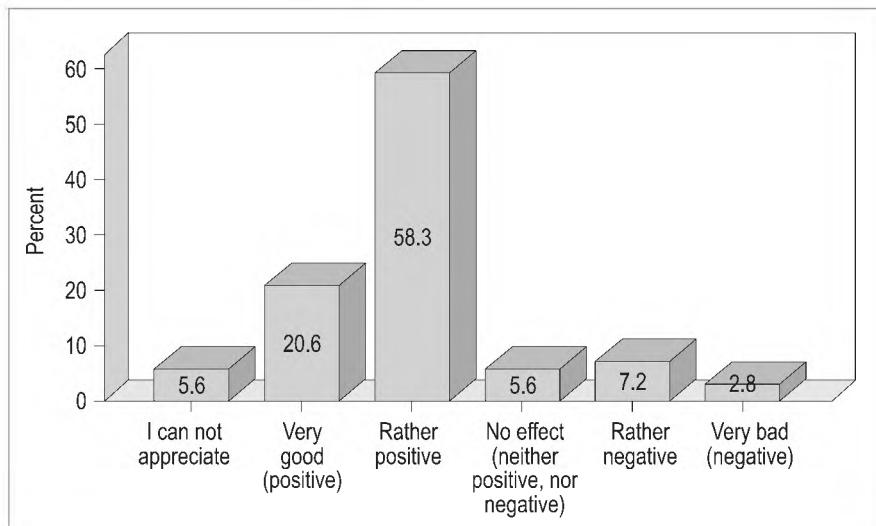


On the question „what kind of effect does the European Union has on the Member States“, 47.2% considered that the European Union has „both positive effects and negative effects“ on the Members States. 34.4% considered the effects as being „positive“, 9.4% said that for some countries the effect is positive and for other countries the effect is negative, 6.1% appreciated the effects as being „neutral“, and 2.2% considered the effects as being „negative“.

***In your opinion, what kind of effect,  
does the European Union has on Romania?***

Response	Frequency	Percent
I cannot appreciate	10	5.6%
Very good (positive)	37	20.6%
Rather positive	105	58.3%
No effect (neither positive, nor negative)	10	5.6%
Rather negative	13	7.2%
Very bad (negative)	5	2.8%
Total	180	100%

***In your opinion, what kind of effect, does the European Union has on Romania?***

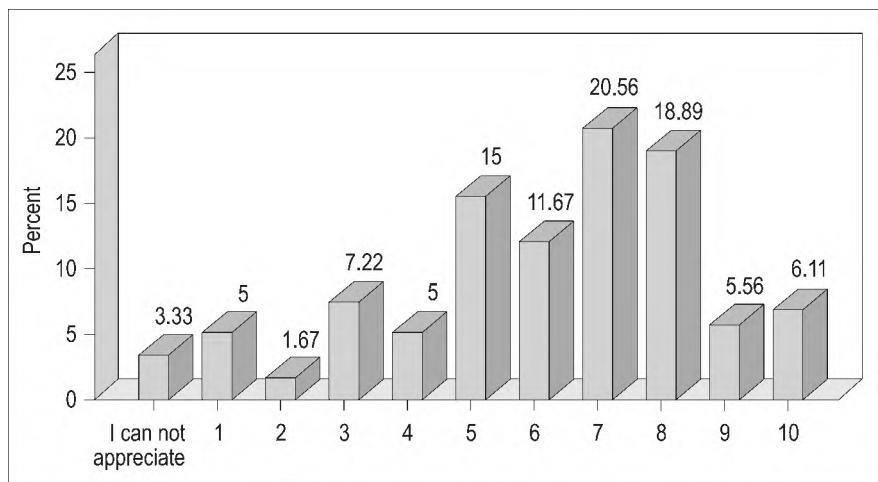


The persons interviewed were asked what effect does the European Union has on Romania, and 58.3% said that „rather positive“, a percent of 20.6% said „very good (positive)“, 7.2% said „rather negative“, 5.6% said „no effect (neither positive, nor negative)“, 2.8% said „very bad (negative)“ and 5.6% could not appreciate.

***On a scale from 1 to 10 (where 1 means „unattached“ and 10 means „completely attached“), how attached are you of the European citizenship?***

Response	Frequency	Percent
I cannot appreciate	6	3.3%
1	9	5%
2	3	1.7%
3	13	7.2%
4	9	5%
5	27	15%
6	21	11.7%
7	37	20.6%
8	34	18.9%
9	10	5.6%
10	11	6.1%
Total	180	100%

*On a scale from 1 to 10 (where 1 means „unattached“ and 10 means „completely attached“), how attached are you of European citizenship?*



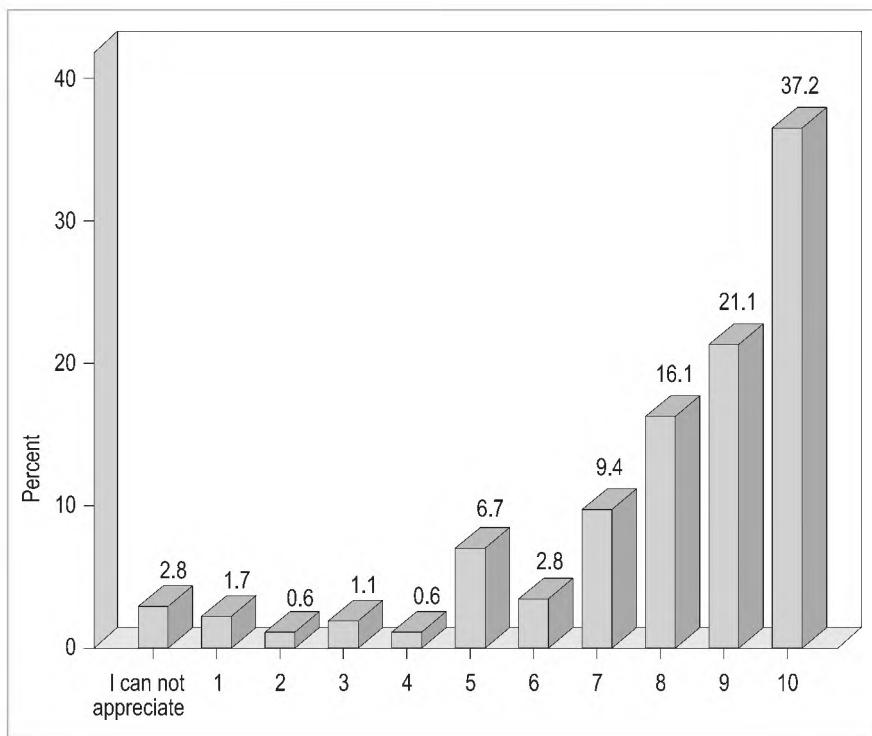
When asked to give a grade from 1 to 10 for the level of attachment to European citizenship, where 1 means „unattached“ and 10 means „completely attached“, 5 % gave the grade „1“; 1.7% gave the grade „2“, 7. 2% gave the grade „3“, 5 % gave the grade „4“, 15% gave the grade „5“, 11.7% gave the grade „6“, 20.6 % gave the grade „7“, 18.9% gave the grade „8“, 5.6% gave the grade „9“ and 6.1% gave the grade „10“.

Making an average of the grades given by respondents, the average grade for the level of attachment to the European citizenship is 6.21.

*On a scale from 1 to 10 (where 1 means „unattached“ and 10 means „completely attached“), how attached are you of the Romanian citizenship?*

Response	Frequency	Percent
I cannot appreciate	5	2.8%
1	3	1.7%
2	1	0.6%
3	2	1.1%
4	1	0.6%
5	12	6.7%
6	5	2.8%
7	17	9.4%
8	29	16.1%
9	38	21.1%
10	67	37.2%
Total	180	100%

*On a scale from 1 to 10  
(where 1 means „unattached“ and 10 means „completely attached“),  
how attached are you of Romanian citizenship?*



When asked to give a grade from 1 to 10 for the level of attachment to Romanian citizenship, where 1 means „unattached“ and 10 means „completely attached“,

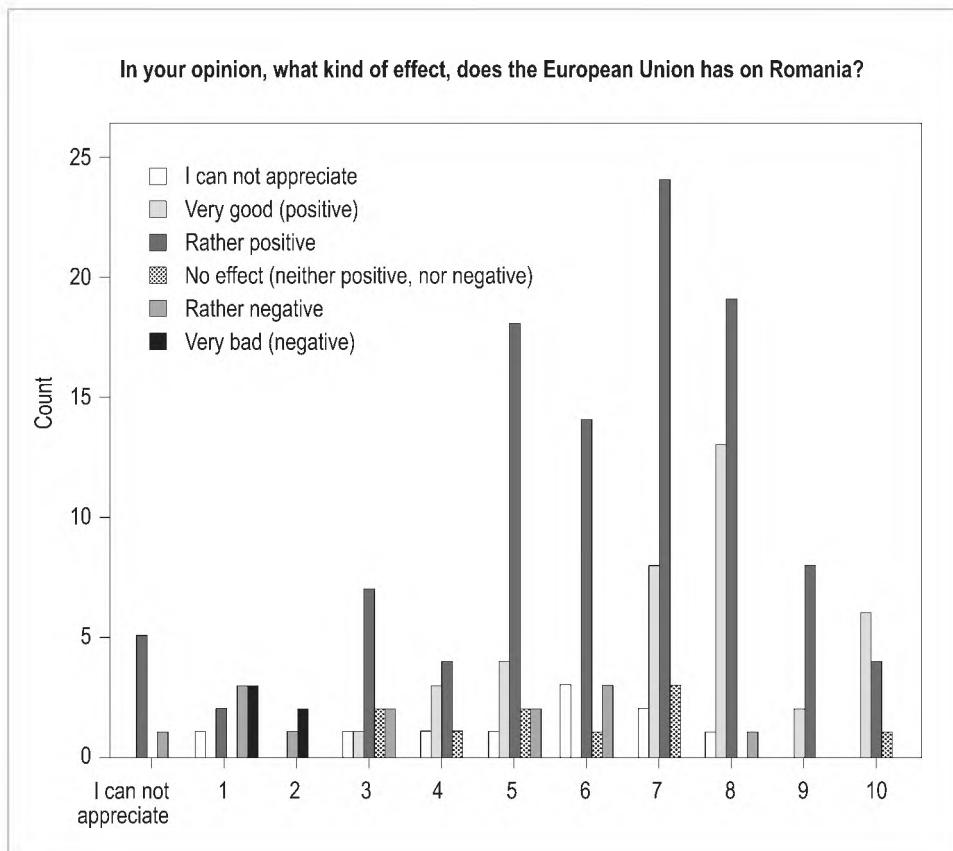
1.7 percent gave the grade „1“;  
0.6% gave the grade „2“,  
1.1% gave the grade „3“,  
0.6 percent gave the grade „4“,  
6.7% gave the grade „5“,  
2.8% gave the grade „6“,  
9.4 percent gave the grade „7“,  
16.1% gave the grade „8“,  
21.1% gave the grade „9“ and  
37.2% gave the grade „10“.

Making an average of the grades given by respondents, the average grade for the level of attachment to the Romanian citizenship is 8.37.

It can be seen that the level of attachment to Romania is more than 2 points higher than the level of attachment to the European Union.

		<i>In your opinion, what kind of effect, does the European Union has on Romania?</i>						
		I cannot appreciate	Very good (positive)	Rather positive	No effect (neither positive, nor negative)	Rather negative	Very bad (negative)	Total
On a scale from 1 to 10 (where 1 means „unattached“ and 10 means „completely attached“), how attached are you of the European citizenship?	I cannot appreciate	0	0	5	0	1	0	6
	1	1	0	2	0	3	3	9
	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
	3	1	1	7	2	2	0	13
	4	1	3	4	1	0	0	9
	5	1	4	18	2	2	0	27
	6	3	0	14	1	3	0	21
	7	2	8	24	3	0	0	37
	8	1	13	19	0	1	0	34
	9	0	2	8	0	0	0	10
	10	0	6	4	1	0	0	11
Total		10	37	105	10	13	5	180

**On a scale from 1 to 10 (where 1 means „unattached“ and 10 means „completely attached“), how attached are you of European citizenship?**



Making a correlation between the responses given by the respondents at the request to point a grade from 1 to 10 (where 1 means „unattached“ and 10 means „completely attached“) to how attached they are of the European citizenship, with the effect of European Union on Romania, the majority of respondents, 58.3%, consider the effect as being „rather positive“, and the highest proportion of them gave grades between 5 and 8 for the level of attachment (grade „5“ - 18 respondents; grade „6“ - 14 respondents; grade „7“ - 24 respondents and grade „8“ - 19 respondents).

## Conclusion

The first hypothesis, that the more positive is the perception on the effects of European integration, the higher the degree of attachment to the European Union, has been confirmed. The second hypothesis that, the higher is the degree of attachment to the European institutions, such as citizenship, the higher is the level of integration, has been also confirmed.

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