**Introduction**

European identity, though being an object of research of the political sciences, has been studied with methods as well as concepts of sociology. This could be observed, particularly, in the works of Michael Bruter, Thomas Risse as well as Adrian Favell and Ettore Recchi. As there are numerous perspectives and approaches for studying European identity, there are different models of it, where under a model a typology of the different options for understanding European identity is meant. Therefore each study, particularly, those dealing with concepts from sociology, defines the perspective of research as well as the applied methods in order to conceptualize its models of European identity.

Michael Bruter, for example, conducted a wide focus group *the OPTEM 2001 wide focus group*, adopting the so called bottom-up approach which attempts at understanding who and how feels European rather than researching what European identity is from the top-bottom perspective in terms of political, cultural or geographical constraints. Thus, in his book *Citizens of Europe? The emergence of a mass European identity (2005),* he discusses the results of the empirical study by arguing how the impact of the media, news and symbols shapes individuals' perceptions of what being European is and argues how the European identity can co-exist with other types or levels of identities.

Thomas Risse researches European identity from the perspective of the impact of the European institutions on peoples' daily lives arguing that there is an elite identification process of what is to be European among the individuals working for the European institutions and an identification process among the other EU citizens in *European Institutions and Identity Change: What have we learned?*

Researching European identity in relation to the free movement of persons within the EU is a relatively recent perspective in the field of research into the formation of European identity. The largest systematic research exploring this link is Adrian Favell and Ettore Recchi's study "Pioneers of European integration", having at its core the EIMSS survey[[1]](#footnote-2). As this is the first systematic and quantitative study adopting the research perspective of free movement of persons in the formation of European identity, it can be regarded as a grounding basis for new researchers. Moreover, the study opens space for further quantitative and qualitative studies, concerning for example, the East-West stereotyped migration, resulting from the Eastern enlargement that might differ in terms of subjective self-perception from the intra EU mobility exercised by EU citizens.

The free movement of persons right, being at the core of the EU citizenship today, evolved gradually from the right of workers that are nationals of the member states and with qualifications in coalmining (ECSC 1951), through a more formalized approach in article 48 the TEEC 1957, setting the right of free movement of workers to move for the purposes of accepting job offers, Council Regulation 1612/68 abolishing the discrimination based on nationality and Council Directive 68/36 that abolished the restrictions for movement of the families of the workers. It is considered that those two acts secured the full exercise of these economic rights and put an end to the transitional period set by article 48 in TEEC 1957. Consequently, the Single European Act aimed at finishing the internal market as an area of free movement of goods, services, persons and capital and the right of free movement was extended to non-economically active nationals such as tourists, pensioners and the unemployed through additional secondary legislation, though under restriction for having a sickness insurance and sufficient resources for not becoming burden of the national health and security systems. The EU citizenship rights whose core are the economic ones added a set of new political rights that aimed at creating a stronger link between the EU institutions and the EU citizens in Maastricht Treaty 1992. The logic of development of these rights suggests, however, the strong economic imperative for the completion and functioning of the single market.

Thus, the significance of the Eastern enlargement could be justified first in economic, but also in social, political and in practical terms. In economic terms, this meant a larger labour market with bigger competition. Socially, the Eastern enlargement, though in two waves in 2004 and 2007 and with certain transitional periods for the citizens of the 12 joining states, offered the possibility for moving simultaneously to millions of new EU citizens. Politically, it was seen as a new step for removing the division of the continent from the period of the Cold war and a sign of solidarity. Practically and probably in existential terms it meant an enormous change for the citizens of both the old Member States and the newly joining ones.

The research of this thesis is grounded in the study of "Pioneers of European integration". However, this research differs from it in several ways which justify its contribution in empirical as well as in theoretical terms.

In empirical terms, the research of this thesis is based on a qualitative instead of a quantitative empirical study researching a particularly defined group of respondents. These were only Bulgarian citizens exercising their right of free movement. Even though there has already been some research into the Bulgarians living and working abroad ( Petya Kabakchieva, Ivailo Ditchev and Anna Krasteva), there has not been a qualitative study into the experiences and attitudes of Bulgarian citizens, as EU citizens, enjoying the free movement right, in regard to the European identity. Moreover, the study adds to Adrian Favell and Ettore Recchi's empirical research that suggested that there might be a difference between the migration experiences vs the intra EU mobility ones or the perceptions and experiences of citizens from Eastern Europe and the EU citizens of the older EU members.

In theoretical terms, this thesis offers an innovative conceptualization of the link between free movement of persons and European identity using the concept of bonds when explaining how the free movement of persons builds a social context for the formation of European identity. Moreover, it argues that *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe* might be a possible model emerging in the social context shaped by the free movement of persons. Therefore, this qualitative research sought first to test a normative model of European identity as *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe* while keeping the possibility for the emergence of other European identity models and, second, to reveal more about a specific group of EU movers, namely Bulgarian citizens in relation to the European identity. The choice of a methodology for the empirical study based on the qualitative interview approach was justified by the rationale of testing a normative model and the search for in-depth knowledge about other models.

Therefore, the following research questions were set:

*Does the normative model of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe have empirical grounds?*

*In more particular terms, what elements, ideas or processes can constitute a cultural and civic component of European identity (latent themes) ?*

*What other European identity models emerge out of the free movement of persons different from the normative model?*

*Are there any specific European identity models in the context of the "East-West migration "[[2]](#footnote-3) which is very often stereotyped and not deeply researched*? In other words*, If East-West migration instead of intra EU mobility has different implications for the European identity, even though, as Favell argues "the migration/mobility relationship has changed from the status of migrants/external movers to the status of internal movers"[[3]](#footnote-4).*

The qualitative study that was conducted included 20 qualitative interviews with Bulgarian citizens who have moved abroad and were living and working in a EU Member State at the time when the interviews were taken (October-December 2015). The conduct of such a study required the development of a conceptual framework that could build the basis for a theory guided research methodology. The challenges of researching European identity as an object of research of the political sciences with sociological assumptions and methods justified a more flexible and interdisciplinary conceptual framework combining theoretical parameters as well as legally-political ones for the conduct of the empirical study.

Therefore, the thesis is divided in four chapters. The first chapter is called Conceptual framework and has two main parts: Theoretical parameters and Legally-political parameters. The first part deals with the introduction of the main terms, assumptions and concepts in the literature while the second part is dedicated to the concrete conceptualization of the free movement of persons as a social context for the formation of European identity and the arguing that *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe* is a normative model of European identity.

The second chapter is dedicated to the development of a methodology of the empirical study based on the conceptual framework. Additionally, a deductive analytical model is developed. Also a coding scheme is added where each bond is a deductive theme of analysis divided in categories represented by codes (labels, words). Also, it is discussed how additional quantity and quality data from European and Bulgarian surveys and reports will be analyzed in relation to the thesis. The research strategy and the research empirical goals are explained.

The third chapter summarizes the empirical findings in deductive as well as in inductive terms. It analyzes them from the perspective of the categories of bonds and it seeks causal links and answers to the research questions of the thesis. As a result, it is argued whether *an ever closer union* has indeed empirical grounds and what other European identity models resulting from the free movement of persons, in general, and in particular, in the context of Bulgarian EU citizens migration/mobility, emerge.

In the last chapter the questions regarding the possible development of European sovereign, the link between security, values and citizenship as well as the possibility for the formation of a new European social contract are discussed as latent themes that appeared in the research of European identity from the perspective of free movement of persons. In the Conclusions it is summarized what the study has achieved to do and what further empirical research is recommended. Last but not least some policy recommendations regarding the development of the area of freedom, security and justice are made.

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**I Conceptual framework**

**1. 1. Theoretical parameters**

The purpose of this part is to set the theoretical parameters necessary for conducting the qualitative study to this thesis. This requires, firstly, introduction of the general term identity and explanation of the different types of identities. Some crucial theoretical approaches and concepts regarding the term identity and the process of identity formation are discussed. Also, it is considered what political identity is, why European identity has to be studied as a political type of identity as well as which approaches are applied for studying it. The link between EU citizenship and European identity as a recent theoretical debate in the study of European identity is discussed. This first part also introduces the concept of a model of European identity and analyses the work of some of the prominent scholars into the research area of European identity in the light of the discussed models. Last but not least, special attention is paid to the analysis of the main theoretical assumptions, concepts and hypotheses in the study "Pioneers of European integration" which is the grounding basis for this thesis.

**1.1. 1. Identity, identity types and identification**

In "The Concept of Identity" Bhikhu Parekh where distinguishes between "an individual's personal, social and human identity"[[4]](#footnote-5). An individual's personal identity consists of his/her deep beliefs and personal characteristics that guide him trough life and influence his decision-making. It is one's own self-hood and subjectivity that differs him or her from the others and constitutes one's personal identity. Moreover, it could be thought either as a matter of self-fulfillment or as a self-discovery where little choice is left.

The social identity of a person is not a separate identity according to Parekh. It is rather a dimension of one unified identity that a person hold. The social identities are those numerous roles and categories that people fit in. They structure our relations in society and are sources of norms how to behave and relate oneself towards the others. These are not only the social roles or categories that one fits in such as gender or class but also those broad and encompassing cultural, religious, political or any other types of social memberships that make an individual belong to a certain group. Parekh also adds a third layer of identity-the human one which unites all people in the world and distinguishes them from the animals.

An important theoretical implication can be drawn from Parekh arguing concerning the use of the terms types or dimensions of identity. As long as it is assumed that there is only one unified identity, the distinguishing between different types if identity is conditional as they can also be regarded as different dimensions of one's identity. The view that individuals possess "plurality of social identities"[[5]](#footnote-6) or "multiple identities"[[6]](#footnote-7) makes the research of identity more convenient as it allows to consider precisely the different roles and memberships that an individual holds.

Another important theoretical debate that needs to be addressed for the purposes of this research and particularly in relation to the empirical study is the difference between identity and identification theories. These theories have relevance towards the study of identities from what Bruter calls an more aggregate level and a individualist, behavioral one. In other words, identity refers to the recognition and acknowledgment to pre-existing, objective identity categories such as class, gender, nationality while "Thinking of identity as an identification process, however, implies the necessity to consider identity formation as a purely mental phenomenon largely independent from any true category of actual shared characteristics it might relate to"[[7]](#footnote-8).Thus, when studying the identification of individuals it is meant those subjective group attachment they have or are in the process of development.

Having argued about what identity, identification and what social identities are, an additional explanation regarding the term political identity as a type of a collective social identity as well as touching on the approach of social constructivism and the concept of social context is necessary.

**1.1.2. Social constructivism and the concept of social context**

Social constructivism has been argued to be an approach for understanding the process of European integration in the works of Andrew Moravcsik[[8]](#footnote-9) and Jeffrey Checkel[[9]](#footnote-10). By dwelling on previous definitions of what social constructivism is in the works of Berger and Luckmann 1966, Adler 1997 and Wendt 1999, Thomas Risse argues that social constructivism can also be applied to the social identities:

The social environment in which we find ourselves, defines (constitutes) who we are, our identities as social beings. We are social beings, embedded in various relevant social communities. At the same time, human agency creates, reproduces, and changes culture through our daily practices. Thus, social constructivism occupies a sometimes uneasy ontological middle ground between individualism and structuralism by claiming that there are properties of structures and of agents that cannot be collapsed into each other[[10]](#footnote-11).

Thus, social constructivism is related to the term social environment which is also called social context. A definition of what social context is, is given by Burke, Galen Joseph, Rena Pasick and Judith Barker :

We define social context as the socio-cultural forces that shape people’s day-to-day experiences...These forces include historical, political, legal structures and processes (e.g. colonialism and migration), organizations and institutions (e.g. schools, clinics, and community), and individual and personal trajectories (e.g. family, interpersonal relationships). Notably, these forces are co-constituitive, meaning they are formed in relation to and by each other and often influence people in ways of which they are not consciously aware [[11]](#footnote-12)

Several important implications regarding the understanding of the social identities can be drawn. First, social identities are constructed because individuals are always part of certain social groups. Second, there is an important cultural element as culture cannot be divided from the human interaction and third, social identities can be redefined or restructured.

The researches of Thomas Risse and Meinhof are probably among the most well known studies placing the research of European identity formation from a social context perspective. What is important for this thesis is to argue whether political identity can be regarded as a mere sub-category of a social identity or if it is a separate type of identity.

**1.1.3. Political identity**

Michael Bruter argues that political identities are not just a form of a social identity but are "a form of identity in their own right". Analyzing earlier works of authors such as Rousseau 1789, Fichte 1845 and Herder 1914, as well as Renan 1870, Bruter argues that political identities are always in a relation with the legitimacy of a political community and that they are not simply a matter of legal allegiance to a given political community such as the state. They have a deep cultural side that differentiates them from the other forms of social identities. His model of a political identity suggests two mutually related components: a civic and a cultural one. In his book *Citizens of Europe? The emergence of a mass European identity*, Bruter claims that:

A ‘cultural’ perspective, would analyze political identities as the sense of belonging an individual citizen feels towards a particular political group. This group can be defined by a certain culture, social similarities, values, religion, ethics or even ethnicity. The second, a ‘civic’ perspective, would see political identities as the identification of citizens with a political structure[[12]](#footnote-13)

Moreover, Bruter assumes that:

every time a new political community has been created, therefore the legitimacy of the contract that links it to its citizens and gives it is fundamental institutional acceptability requires the creation of a new political identity[[13]](#footnote-14).

Therefore, the research into European identity has to be logically linked to the EU as a political order and the problem of its legitimacy. When researching European identity as a political identity, the issues reflecting the relation between the civic and the cultural component of a political identity as well as the clarification of the use of the terms Europe and EU are addressed by Thomas Risse and Michael Bruter. The discussion of their arguments complemented by their empirical research can reveal more about the research of European identity as a political identity, on the link between the civic and the cultural component as well as on the assumed link between the legitimacy of the EU and its corresponding European identity.

**1.1.3.1 European political identity**

Thomas Risse researches the link between political institutions and people's sense of belonging. By adopting a multi-methodological approach combining in-depth interviews, discourse analyses as well as quantitative data survey, he makes important conclusions regarding not only the role of the different social contexts but also the perception of the terms Europe and EU which are related to the cultural and civic component of a political identity in *European Institutions and Identity Change: What have we learned?.*

When analyzing his research into European identity, it is necessary to discuss his main assumptions. First, Risse accepts the concept that people hold multiple social identities: "It is no longer controversial among scholars and – increasingly – policy-makers that individuals hold multiple social identities"[[14]](#footnote-15). Second, he uses the distinction between the civic and cultural components of the European identity by grounding his research on Michael Bruter's empirical research *the OPTEM 2001 wide focus group*: "Culture in this understanding encompasses history, ethnicity, civilization, heritage, and other social similarities. ‘Civic identity’ instead is much more circumscribed and refers to identification of citizens with a particular political structure such as the EU or the political institutions of the nation-state"[[15]](#footnote-16). Third, Risse conceptualizes European identity as an identification process within a given social context. In his research, he points out the differences in the way elites and ordinary citizens experience *"*Europe"or the presence of European institutions in their lives and assumes a link between the evolvement of European institutions and the formation of European identity through the causal pathways of "institutionalization, socialization, persuasion"*[[16]](#footnote-17).*

Also, in "European institutions and identity change: What have we learned?" Risse, dwelling on Castano's arguments and Meinhof's research about the border regions and the experience of Europe in the, suggests that the social context implies different identification with Europeamong officials in COREPER and the EC and among ordinary citizens and people living in border regions in Europe. In other words, COREPER and border regions are examples of different social contexts. When it comes to the processes of institutionalization, socialization and persuasion, they are thought as mechanisms for building or constructing identity, institutionalization referring to the institutions impact on people's perception of community and belonging, socialization in terms of direct experience with the EU (its policies for example), persuasion referring to deliberate efforts for creating identity through myths, symbols or framing.[[17]](#footnote-18)

The difference between an elite and mass identification with Europe, can be explained, according to Risse with the concept of *entitativity* which refers to: "reification of a community resulting from increasingly shared cultural values, a perceived common fate, increased salience and bounded-ness which the lean to collective identification"[[18]](#footnote-19). Elites ate EU level deal with EU policies everyday which makes EU real in psychological terms for them. However, the fact that EU law for example, is applied by national authorities, the unclear boundaries of Europe resulting from a Schengen zone and a Euro-zone only for some members can challenge the *entitativity* of Europe.

In addition to that, the research of Bruter combining both quantitative and qualitative methods as well as the Ordinary Least Square regression summarized in his book *Citizens of Europe? The emergence of a mass European identity* shows evidence that there is a clear division between a cultural and civic/political understanding of Europe, where he justifies that the variables news and symbols have an impact respectively on the civic and the cultural side of one's identity. [[19]](#footnote-20) The empirical evidence from his interviews shows that EU is related to a more civic understanding of Europe, while Europe is perceived as a broader cultural space on the continent. The approach of Bruter of interviewing persons on the topic of European identity focuses on the individual perceptions and feelings, it rather asks who feels European and how and its what Bruter calls to be a 'behavioral bottom up approach"[[20]](#footnote-21). This bottom-up approach of researching the legitimacy of the EU in relation to the issues whether and how citizens of Europe feel European and identify with the EU is different from the 'top-down approach"[[21]](#footnote-22), according to Bruter, which researches the normative perspective of who should feel Europe and what should unite European in terms of culture.

To sum up, Bruter focuses more on the power of persuasion and the perception of symbols by citizens in Europe (Great Britain, Spain and the Netherlands) while Risse examines the role of institutions in the formation of European identity. They both ground their approaches in the social constructivist tradition, adopt the bottom-up approach of researching individuals' perceptions and experiences, differentiate between the term Europe that is a broader cultural space not always overlapping with the EU as a political construction and accept a civic and cultural dimension of the political identities, in particular the European identity.

If Bruter's concept of political identity refers to a civic and a cultural component, then it seems necessary to elaborate slightly more on the link between citizenship and identity and, in more particular terms, on the link between European identity and EU citizenship.

**1.1.4. European identity and EU citizenship**

According to Bruter himself "identity and citizenship are the two mirrored components of the relationship between the institutional and human foundations of a political community"[[22]](#footnote-23). Before discussing arguments from the work of Joe Painter and Elspen Guild who also deal with this link, it has to be noted that, in general terms, citizenship is often thought as a set of civic, political and social rights that, according to T.H Marshall, gradually developed, first the civil rights in the 18th century, political in the 19th century and social in the 20th century[[23]](#footnote-24). However, there are some important temporary citizenship discourses that challenge the classical concept arguing the necessity for adding new group of rights and considering the link between identity and citizenship.

Painter's article "Multi-level citizenship, Identity and Regions in Contemporary Europe" deals with the so called affective or identity aspect of citizenship. According to Joe Painter "while citizenship and democratic rights should not be based on cultural identities, identity does affect the acquisition and practice of citizenship"[[24]](#footnote-25). He argues that if citizenship is understood as a membership within a political community, it requires a sense of shared identity. Then, a crucial question is who and by what criteria is a member of this community. While the status of EU citizenship depends fully on the acquisition or ownership of national citizenship, the national citizenship of the Member States is a domain regulated by the national legal systems which means that Member States are those actors which define who and under what criteria becomes their citizen. Such a citizenship concept means that the ownership of legally defined rights does not make one immediately a full citizen because citizenship is about recognition and participation in society. That is why, in the discourse of citizenship, identity has to be included.

Elspeth Guild recognizes a similar link between identity, citizenship and in particular EU citizenship. In her research "Illiberal liberal States" she argues that the EU citizenship status differs from the "conceptual framing of immigrants as a threat to identity"[[25]](#footnote-26) because when becoming EU citizens, these people, in particular the individuals from the 12 countries from the Eastern enlargement "were entitled to participate in the new identity of the EU’s full partners. Not only were they entitled to equality, but for them, the claim that the strength of the EU is based on its diversity (Article 151 EC Treaty) was suddenly applicable".[[26]](#footnote-27)

She argues that this is an EU identity pattern that embraces diversity which means that EU citizens, when moving freely, for example, for economic purposes, are entitled to equal treatment and social advantages within the host state. It is a pattern that embraces diversity and does not impose common rules regarding the cultural diversity. On the contrary, the cultural diversity is normatively guaranteed:

In the EU context, the objective of the ever-closer union of the peoples of Europe, found in the opening lines of the EC Treaty, sits uneasily with the idea of compulsory integration of a coercive nature. While EU nationals may be subject to convergence in living standards and educational attainment, for instance, as measured by Eurostat and encouraged by EU programmes such as student mobility, they are not the objects of integration conditions or measures in themselves. When they exercise free movement rights, indeed, they cannot be obliged to even learn the language of the host country though many member states provide assistance to migrant EU nationals in this respect [[27]](#footnote-28)

The illiberal practices of the nations state such as such as extraordinary rendition, indefinite detention of third-country nationals (TCNs), new practices and technologies of border controls and the policy of the EU on asylum and immigration can be, according to Guild, put in the context about the identity and the larger context for the legitimacy of the EU. The central issue is who belongs to that political community.

The arguments of Elspeth Guild and Joe Painter not only raise implications that within diverse contemporary Europe there might be a practical division between what is normatively guaranteed and what EU citizens experience practically. It means that EU citizenship and immigration status are closely related to the European identity debate.

Up to here, the term identity as well as the different types of identities, some relevant concepts and approaches such as the concept of social context and the social constructivism as well as some existing research into the European identity were discussed so that the main theoretical problems regarding the research of European identity formation could be addressed. As this thesis researches the European identity from the perspective of free movement of persons, more attention has to be paid to Adrian Favell and Ettore Recchi's study "Pioneers of European integration", on the link between European identity formation and the free movement and the conceptualization of this link. As this thesis regards the European identity as a formation process resulting from the free movement of persons, the issues which ways or notions for European identity formation there are, needs to be addressed as well. This leads to the question what a model of European identity is.

**1.1.5. What is a model of European identity?**

In "Европейска идентичност: теоретични дилеми и аналитични подходи" (European identity: theoretical dilemmas and analytical approaches), Maria Stoicheva argues what a model of European identity is by introducing a typology of 'the options for content filling of the term identification with Europe (EU) based on different perspectives"[[28]](#footnote-29)(my translation). Moreover, her typology is within the "conceptual repertoire of the politics of identity"[[29]](#footnote-30) (my translation) related to the EU as a newly formed political community which requires a corresponding identity. By arguing that there are different perspectives of options for European identity formation, she distinguishes between the ethno-national model of Anthony Smith which follows the same logic of the national identity formation and the model of European political identity from which the cultural component is removed.

This typology could be complemented by adding a different criteria for models such as the differentiation between normative and empirical models. Examples for empirical models are those of Thomas Risse, Bruter and Adrian Favell that are drawn in empirical studies while each study adopts a different perspective of researching European identity (Risse and Favell researching the impact of the social context and Bruter the impact of the symbols and news). In empirical terms, numerous research perspectives can be adopted. However, there is always an identity concept or a theoretical standpoint for the conduct of an empirical study, from the role of the context to the role of the "other" in an identity formation. For the purposes of this research, some models reflecting the typology based on the different perspectives for identity formation and the difference between a normative and empirical model are going be analyzed.

**1.1.5.1 The ethno-national model**

Аnthony Smith argues conceptualizes a formation logic of European identity following the logic of national identity formation, assuming that the national identity is the most encompassing and influential collective cultural identity of Modernity. First, it has to be noted that Smith emphasizes the importance of cultural identifications in Europe. In other words, a political identity such as the national one is not only political but deeply cultural. According to him a collective cultural identity is: "a sense of shared continuity on the part of successive generations...shared memories of earlier periods...the collective belief in common destiny"[[30]](#footnote-31) . A nation, furthermore, is a cultural and a political bond based on the ethno-history which includes myths, memories, symbols and traditions. Smith ,also, assumes that in a cultural sense Europe today is rather a "family of cultures'[[31]](#footnote-32) where cultural heritages such as Roman Law, parliamentary democracy, Romanticism, Renaissance, Humanism, Rationalism, Empiricism, Christianity in its East and West versions such as the East-orthodox, Catholic and Protestant variants are cross-cutting or only partially shared by the member states. The lack of common memories at a European level, that is to say the lack of ethno-symbolical history or "political mythology"[[32]](#footnote-33) poses, according to him, a serious challenge to the formation of common European identity.

In addition to Anthony Smith's ethno-national model of European identity, the Brugge group examines if such a logic can lead to a possible competition of national cultures and European identity. The Brugge group examines if there are historical and cultural conditions for building a common European identity as it agrees both with Anthony Smith and Benedict Anderson's views that through "the pre-conditions for national consciousness suggested by various historians, and applying them to the European Union, we can ascertain whether or not a European supra-national identity is attainable".[[33]](#footnote-34) The keyword here is *supra-national*. It is a concept that sees the formation of the European identity as a logic similar to the formation of a nation where those cultural underpinning factors such as common history and political mythology are necessary. Based on their research in 2013, Luke Stanley argues that '"continued political unification will widely be seen as an unfavorable erosion of each country’s sovereignty. That is unless a supra-national European identity can be developed"'[[34]](#footnote-35).

It can be concluded that the ethno-national model, being more in the essentialist rather the constructivist tradition, does pose certain challenges for European identity formation. There are scholars, as Maria Stoicheva argues, who argue about a more civic oriented European identity model where the cultural component is deliberately put aside. Jurgen Habermas is among the scholars normatively dealing with a more civic concept of European identity formation.

**1.1.5.2 Model of shared political culture**

Jurgen Habermas develops a theory for a constitutional patriotism as a frame that could deal with the challenges of the ethno-cultural model and which considers the cultural and religious diversity in Europe today. It is a theory which supports the formation of European identity in the political and civic sense rather than the cultural one. In his essay "Why Europe needs a constitution", Habermas offers arguments against the concept that an imagined community or a European demos should be built to have a stable European political identity by challenging the very essentialist concept of the nation:

A nation of citizens must not be confused with a community of fate shaped by common descent, language and history. This confusion fails to capture the voluntaristic character of a civic nation, the collective identity of which exists neither independent of nor prior to the democratic process from which it springs [[35]](#footnote-36)

and continues further

If the emergence of national consciousness involved a painful process of abstraction, leading from local and dynastic identities to national and democratic ones, why, firstly, should this generation of a highly artificial kind of civic solidarity—a ‘solidarity among strangers’—be doomed to come to a final halt just at the borders of our classical nation-states? And secondly: the artificial conditions in which national consciousness came into existence recall the empirical circumstances necessary for an extension of that process of identity-formation beyond national boundaries. These are: the emergence of a European civil society; the construction of a European-wide public sphere; and the shaping of a political culture that can be shared by all European citizens[[36]](#footnote-37)

To sum up, according to Jurgen Habermas, these processes could be artificially stimulated today by invoking a transnational rather than supra-national constitutional debate in Europe and by creating conditions for everybody to participate in this debate trough a wide European referendum. The common political culture based on the rule of law, division of power and respect for human rights guaranteed in a European constitution will not only constitute Europe in a democratic way but it will also be able to socially integrate the different national cultures as well as the different immigrant communities in Western Europe, according to Habermas. As long as those features of a democratic community are regarded as values as well, it can be also said that this is a model of shared values.

It can be argued that the models of Anthony Smith and Jurgen Habermas are normative as they try to normatively offer suggestions for European identity.

In this part it is not aimed at discussing all possible model of European identity, but rather mark the variety of normative ideas for European identity formation. A group of models dealing normatively with problems related to the cultural diversity and the role of the "other" for the European identity can be grouped as citizenship models.

**1.1.5.3 Model of shared values**

The model of shared political culture is close to a model of European identity based on values. As to the role of values, Quentin Michel explains the role of values in "La construction européenne, Entre Idées reçues et faux semblants (3 édition), ChapitreVI Les Valeurs:

Les valeurs, entendue au sens générique du terme, servent, à identifier ou a s'auto identifier dans le contexte européenne, sous-entendue «par rapport à et en opposition à » un ou des tiers[[37]](#footnote-38)

Values thus can play the role of parameters for identifying or self-identification in relation to or opposed to the other.

Moreover, in the author explores from a top-bottom formal perspective if there is a difference between principles and values in the EU law, what their relation to the constitutional traditions of the Member States are and ultimately how these values/principles are stipulated at a national level. What is considered to be "L'Europe mosaique"[[38]](#footnote-39) only confirms the assumption of Anthony Smith for regarding Europe as a "family of cultures" where there can be a variety of meaning of the same values and where some values are shared while other are not.

Except for models based on shared political culture and values, there are also models that might be referred to as citizenship models in the works of Jerard Delanty and Will Kymlicka.

**1.1.5.4 Citizenship models**

Gerard Delanty offers a unique argumentation in the tradition of the historical sociology about the construction of the European identity addressing the issues of the "other" and the normative suggestion for the construction of a post-national citizenship as an idea opposed to the ethno-national or ethno-cultural models of European identity.

According to him, Europe has been an idea, constructed and used differently in geopolitical and historical terms. In other words, it has been set and used from above in a political sense and it has always been defined as opposing to the 'other'.

The identity concept that Delanty uses in his arguing about Europe as an idea for identity building, is the concept that identities are always relational but what matters is not the representation of the other as such but the nature of the difference. Crucial issue for Delanty is the otherness , whether it is recognized as such or the negation which leads to exclusion. In addition to this concept, Delanty assumes Europe to be a macro-frame for identity building such as the religion or the national state that homogenizes and assimilates rather than recognizing the difference. According to him Europe has been idea used differently in a different historical and geopolitical context where the reference other which served for identity construction changed from Orient as the other until the period of the Cold war . What is crucial about Delanty's arguing is that Europe as an idea has always lacked its own inner substance and it has been constructed on hostility and exclusion towards the other whoever that might be.

In addition to that, Delanty criticizes the contemporary use of Europe after the end of the Cold War, poses serious challenges and his major critique is: "What is to be questioned is the idea of a European identity as a totalising project and the ethno-culturalism that accompanies it"[[39]](#footnote-40). Such an understanding clearly holds critique for the attempts to enforce a unified, homogeneous European identity from above by creating a European flag, hymn, logo etc. which differs from the bottom-up approach of researching how one feels European that Bruter applies, for example. When noting the challenges of accepting the differences, Delanty argues about a model for European identity based on a post-national citizenship that strives to differentiate the concept of citizenship from its ethno-cultural justifications. He suggests a post-national citizenship based on residence instead of birth, ethnicity or nationality that could institutionalize the cultural plurality and ultimately deal with the problems of racism and xenophobia[[40]](#footnote-41) .

Similarly, Kymlicka argues about the need of institutionalization of minority rights and cultural plurality as the dominant civic concept about citizenship based on liberalism (liberal freedoms) and universalism (common values such as human rights) serves to assimilate the ethnic and national minorities in the multi-national or poly-ethnic states.[[41]](#footnote-42)

To conclude, racism and xenophobia as issues related to finding forms for dealing with or integrating the "other" are those unacceptable, from a moral point of view, attitudes which are the source for a model of European identity based on a post-national citizenship which makes it ultimately a normative model.

Except for normative models, there are also empirical models drawn out from empirical studies such as those of Thomas Risse, Michael Bruter and Adrian Favell. As this research is grounded in Adrian Favell's study "Pioneers of European integration", his models will be discussed in a separate part.

**1.1.5.5 The models of Risse and Bruter**

The models of Risse and Bruter are supported by empirical evidence, Risse dwelling on Eurobarometer's surveys and the in-depth interviews of other scholars such as Meinhof's interviews in border regions and Bruter analyzing the evidence from a wide focus group. Therefore they could be considered as empirical rather than normative models of European identity. Even though the research perspective of both scholars is different, they both ground their research in the concept that individuals hold multiple identities. Risse offers three models of how different identities can co-exist: the model of the nested identities or the Matruska doll with the example that a German identity can be nested in one's European-ness; the cross-cutting model where some but not all members of a group can be members of another group; the model of separate identities where there is no overlap in group memberships. Bruter, on the other hand, also argues that people share multiple identities and they can be presented either following the model of the subsidiarity principle or the concentric theory of identities and if the proximity of each identities is not measured, then a model of a star shaped identity map which reflect all types of one's identity and where the closer a dot to the core is, the stronger the identity.

The models of Adrian Favell and Ettore Recchi are models supported by empirical evidence in the study "Pioneers of European integration". As this is the grounding basis for this thesis, the identity concept, the main assumptions and hypothesis have to be explained. so that it is clear what this research has in common with this study and how it differs from it.

**1.1.6. Research grounding in "Pioneers of European integration" study**

**1.1.6.1 Identity concept, assumptions and hypotheses**

Researching the formation of European identity "from below"[[42]](#footnote-43) is to deal with the "social effects"[[43]](#footnote-44) of European integration, whose core benefit for the EU citizens is precisely the free movement of persons. First, this approach of studying European identity does require empirical research and it fits in the bottom-up approach of Bruter discussed above.

Firstly, it is very important to note the identity concept that is used. Researching European identity from the perspective of the free movement of persons is rooted in an identity concept offered by Taifel that emphasizes the role of the context as well as the dynamism of one's identity or the possibility for an identity change when, one hand, the context is changed, and on the other hand, "the value and emotional significance attached to that membership"[[44]](#footnote-45) changes as well.

As to the assumptions, the project *Pioneers of European integration 'From Below': Mobility and the Emergence of European Identity Among National and Foreign Citizens in the EU*, being the first systematic and quantitative study in the social effects of free movement of persons, is built around the main assumption that free movement of persons creates the context where "movers can experience European integration first hand"[[45]](#footnote-46) and the hypothesis that "experiences related to the European Union polices or contact and exchange with other EU citizens-if experienced as positive-may affect pro-European attitudes and identities"[[46]](#footnote-47). The second important assumption is that individuals who become part of another social context (understood as moving from one country to another) change their perceptions of group membership and the second hypothesis is that those exercising the free movement right called EU-movers might differ from the stayers in terms of their "their level of European-ness"[[47]](#footnote-48) .

What is researched is the relation between the different level of territorial identities-the identity of the country of origin (COO), of the country of residence (COR) and the European identity. Assuming that there is an initial cognitive dissonance between the COO and COR identities, Favell argues that a European identity could be developed as an umbrella identity that weakens this dissonance (the psychological discomfort caused by conflicting identities) and is constructed at a more abstract level. These are the Euro-masters or the so called integrating Europeans. These complex relations between these three levels of identities are researched from the perspective of concepts of the social psychology such as acculturation, cultural and social integration as well as assimilation. Acculturation is the very process of psychological and physical adaptation to a new context which requires the development of intercultural competences such as speaking the language, different skills, awareness about the social norms. Integration or assimilation are the final results of this process of adaptation whether an individual either integrates him/herself overcoming the psychological dissonance or looses his/her self of belonging. Social integration refers to the social participation of the individuals in the society while cultural integration is at a much deeper level. It suggests that the individual has developed psychological closeness with the host society and it is therefore highly subjective. According to Favell, there is no causal correlation between the two, which means that social integration does not always mean a cultural one.

The distinction between attachment and identity is another crucial idea in his research. Using G.H Mead arguments Favell and Recchi distinguish that attachment is affective and relates to *I* while identity is reflexive and relates to *Me*. In other words, feeling attached to the European union does not necessarily mean that one identifies him/herself with it. However, according to them "de facto, attachment and identity often overlap even if they are analytically distinct"[[48]](#footnote-49) and "affect is the best proxy available to measure the complex concept of identity"[[49]](#footnote-50). Attitudes towards the EU are actually the measurements for the European identity and they are measured through different variables such as the image that EU has for the respondents. Favell and Recchi also assume that identity is multiple (it differs according to the context), relational (only because we are not they, we know who we are) and social (it refers to the group of membership of individuals)[[50]](#footnote-51).

On the grounds of these theoretical concepts and assumptions, the study "Pioneers of European integration" was conducted.

**1.1.6.2 Methodology and results**

In terms of methodology, "Pioneers of European integration" is a quantitative survey consisting of 250interviews taken separately in Germany, Spain, Italy, Great Britain and France were conducted with internal movers from the other four countries.

As a result, 7 other models were built on the basis of the empirical evidence in this research: 2) Non-integrating Europeans that are bi-cultural, 3) Assimiliating movers or the Lifestyle Movers, 3) Assimiliating Non-Europeans or the carefree movers, 4) The self-segregating Europeans or the Homesick Movers, 5)Self-segregating Non-Europeans or the Recent Labour Migrants, 6) Self-marginalizing Europeans-the Cosmopolitans, 7) Self-marginalizing European-the Indivualists.

In a conclusion, this research is grounded on the main assumption suppported by empirical evidence that free movement of persons leads to European identity formation. However, the analysis of this dissertation does not focus on the relation between the different level of territorial identifications and it is not initially hypothesized that European identity is a form of a supra-national identity corresponding to a post-national political order.

Instead, a normative model of European identity as *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe based on different bonds* is applied in the empirical study. The approach of testing a normative model gives the researcher the chance to remain critical about the processes that are taking place within at a societal level within the EU. Thus, the comparison between a normative model and the results from below could possibly lead to the acquisition of knowledge regarding the lack of *entitativity* of the EU. It could be hypothesized that this might be a result of discrepancy between a the top-down, normative, institutionalized process of identity building and the process of identity formation from a bottom-up perspective as distinguished by Michael Bruter.

In a conclusion, the theoretical parameters of this part set the theoretical frame of understanding the European identity as a political type of identity having a cultural as well as a civic component. It was also discussed what a model of European identity is and how European identity could be formed in a different way. One of the ways to distinguish between models is the use of the normative-political approach.

With the use of this approach, the legally-political parameters to a normative model of European identity as *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe* are set. In addition to that, the free movement of persons will be more clearly defined using the TEU and TFEU.

**1.2. Legally-political parameters**

When analyzing the TEU and TFEU from a normative-political perspective, it is necessary to explain how this approach differs from the interpretation of legal texts for legal purposes.

The idea of what is normative in a normative-political sense differs from the legal approach. First, there is a very strict definition of what a norm is in the legal theory, on one hand, and what normative in social sciences is, on the other hand. The problem of such an approach arises when a normative concept of a norm as an *ought*, as a value judgment has to be applied to juridical texts where from a legal theory point of view a very strict definition of what a norm is, exists. From the point of view of social sciences, however, law consists of *legal facts* rather than norms. Legal positivists such as Hans Kelsen find arguments in favor of an understanding reconciling both concepts about the norm as a *legal fact* or as *a rule* in law theory. In his theory of *Grundnorm* and chain validity in the hierarchy of norms the Basic norm or Grundnorm is in itself an ought presumption of how things should be. However, deriving ought statements on European identity from law texts such as the Lisbon Treaty, will be illegitimate from the perspective of social sciences as it would break the still widely accepted *Davide Hume’s law* that *ought* cannot be derived from *is* despite the views of legal positivists such as Hans Kelsen. From a law point of view, this is probably irrelevant as:

In a rich discussion of relationships between law and scientific (including social science) disciplines, David Nelken describes the efforts of these disciplines to tell ‘the truth about law’ as being confronted now with law’s own ‘truth’. In other words, law has its own ways of interpreting the world. Law as a discourse determines, within the terms of that discourse, what is to count as ‘truth’ – that is, correct understanding or appropriate and reliable knowledge – for specifically legal purposes*[[51]](#footnote-52)*

Hakan Hayden and Mark Svensson, using the ontological statements of Emilie Durkheim, offer us an understanding legitimate both for legal and social sciences. In the "Concept of Norm in Sociology of Law"“when claiming that norms are things it is also understood that the most essential characteristic of those things is as carriers of normative messages. In other words, norms in this perspective are objects (things) containing messages of how reality ‘ought’ to be”.[[52]](#footnote-53)

Therefore, it is going to be argued that the Preamble of the Lisbon Treaty is a source for deriving a normative European identity model of what European identity should be and not what it is in empirical or practical terms as the validity of this normative model is tested in the qualitative study.

Before, drawing out this normative model, further explanation regarding the term free movement of persons is needed. Also, before arguing how an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe is a normative model of European identity, it is going to be conceptualized how the free movement of persons shapes a social context for the formation of European identity. In order to this, the metaphor of bonds has to be explained as well.

**1.2.1. Free movement of persons' legal basis**

The free movement of persons has been often used ambiguously covering other terms such as migration, immigration/emigration, mobility etc. Mobility is one of the most commonly used but very often undefined terms. Furthermore, terms such as migration, immigration, emigration, labor force migration, international migration, migrants from third countries, asylum seekers could all describe the migrant flows within Europe as well as throughout the world and are broadly used in different statistical documents. Although these terms are frequently used in an interchangeable way, there is an important difference in the legal definition of these categories in EU law. Clear legal limitations will be set so that ambiguity is avoided. The focus of this research are those migrant flows that fall in the category of EU citizens defined by Article 20 of the Treaty on the Functioning of European Union: "(1) Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union [...]They shall have (2) the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States"[[53]](#footnote-54) where the same rights are repeated in article 21 (1) as well.

It is also essential to note that the focus will not be on "third country nationals" *[[54]](#footnote-55)* that are subject of common policy on asylum, immigration and external border control. When it comes to the terms emigration or immigration, it could be seen that Regulation 862/2007 on Community statistics on migration, for example, uses more broadly the terms emigration and immigration in order to describe the flows not only between the Member States but also between the territory of a member state and the territory of a third state.

Also, there are some non-legal terms covering the legal content of the free movement of persons right used in "Pioneers of European integration "study. Thus, the perspective of research into the European identity adopted in this thesis is the mobility within the EU exercised only by EU citizens or the so-called EU movers[[55]](#footnote-56), an unofficial term used by Adrian Favell to distinguish this category of individuals from the "EU-stayers"*[[56]](#footnote-57)*- the group of EU citizens that do not exercise their rights to move and reside freely in the Member States.

As to the exact group of respondents in the empirical study, further limitations are set in the second chapter.

**1.2.2. The concept of bonds**

Though this research is grounded in "Pioneers of European integration" study and it accepts the social context concept, it is further conceptualized how the free movement of persons creates a common social context shaped different bonds set in the TEU and TFEU and it can eventually lead to the formation of *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe*. Before analyzing the Treaties with the purpose of distinguishing between bonds, it has to explained what a bond is.

In "The Political Bond in Europe", Jonathan White distinguishes between different bonds that link people in Europe: "a market bond, a juridical bond, a cultural bond and a political bond".[[57]](#footnote-58) Moreover, White conceptualizes a political bond in Europe by the discursive-analytical stream of thinking or in other words seeks to answer whether and how individuals talk about common political problems or concerns in Europe. Such an approach is indeed innovative and as Jonathan White justifies it, it avoids the problems of the approaches that focus on researching shared culture, values, beliefs and norms which carry "the in-built bias towards the idea that people possess developed orientations towards Europe/the EU*"*[[58]](#footnote-59).

In "Eвропейска идентичност: Теоретични дилеми и аналитични подходи" (Еuropean identity: Theoretical dilemmas and analytical approaches), Maria Stoicheva argues how the metaphor of bonds is used in the work of Jonathan White as well as Chantall Mouffe. When analyzing the different bonds, Stoicheva does it in the context of a political community and the need to hold it together which requires certain homogenization. She distinguishes between the political bond of Mouffe as a public engagement with the democratic way of life and the market bond based on the market benefits as well as the legal approach of setting citizenship rights[[59]](#footnote-60) (my translation). It is also essential to note, that Stoicheva outlines that there is a "a rejection to the explanatory analytical value of the term cultural bond" (my translation)[[60]](#footnote-61) which arises from the difficulty to conceptualize it in theoretical terms.

However, as Stoicheva suggests, the function of the different bonds is related to a homogenizing effect necessary for the upholding a political community such as the EU. Her theoretical observations shall be considered when analyzing the TEU and TFEU as sources of different bonds.

To conclude, in this research, it is conceptualized though the metaphor of bonds, that the free movement of persons right binds EU citizens in a common social context that can be called intra-EU mobility space. This space becomes possible because of the free movement of persons which gives us the ground to call it the main linking bond. As a result, other bonds come into force as well.

What is important for this research is which these bonds are and how they bind EU movers, in more particular sense, and EU citizens in broader sense. In other words, what is analyzed is not merely the legal content but "the social side of this content'"[[61]](#footnote-62) that Elspeth Guild is said to have adopted when researching the European citizenship.

**1.2. 2.1 Types of bonds in EU legal framework**

What is important for this research is to understand how the free movement of persons and the other bonds shape the intra EU mobility space, what the content of each bond is and what its functions and powers in terms of binding are. In other words, it is analyzed whether some of these bonds have a homogenizing effect or fulfill another function. It is also argued that some of them are binding than others. Therefore, some of these bonds are argued to be stronger in binding or fuller in terms of the area of competence. Moreover, when arguing if these bonds are fuller or stronger than the other , they are considered as measure for achieving *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe.*

Though all of these bonds all legal in a sense that they are legally set, they are not analyzed for legal purposes. Therefore the classification of bonds does not rely on legal definitions. For example, the right of free movement of persons could be classified as an Economic or Competition bond as it function is to unite EU citizens in a common labour market even though it has a clear legal basis.

When analyzing the TEU and TFEU, each type of bonds is illustrated within a table so that the analysis following the table can have a visible counterpart.

**Bonds Table**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Legal Basis** | **Bond content** | **Type of Bond** |
| Article 45 of TFEU  Article 49 of TFEU | Mobility of workers and self-employed persons under the same competition rules, principle of equal treatment | 1. Economic/Competition bond |
| Article 151, 153 of the TFEU  Charter of  Fundamental rights of EU-Solidarity part, Protocol 30 | Social rights  -only for the aspects defined in the Treaties; -minimal requirements in health and safety issues; lack of harmonization of the social systems of MS  -derogations for Poland and Great Britain | 2. Social bond |
| Article 9, 10 and 11 of the TEU, Article 20 of the TFEU  Charter of Fundamental rights of the EU | Civil and political rights;  --the right of petition the EP  -the right to apply to the European Ombudsman  -EU Citizenship initiative  -the rights to vote and be elected in EP elections  basic human rights | 3. Civil and Political bond |
| Preamble of the TEU  article 2 of TEU,  Declaration 52 | "the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance"  The common values  Common symbols | 4. Cultural bond |

The first bond concerns the mobility of EU citizens exercised for economic purposes according to Article 45 of TFEU and article 49 of TFEU defining freedom of establishment for self-employed persons.

Article 45 proclaims that "(1) freedom of movement of workers shall be secured within the Union and (2) such freedom of movement shall entail the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards employment, remuneration and other conditions of employment"[[62]](#footnote-63).

Article 49 proclaims that " [...]...Freedom of establishment shall include the right to take up and pursue activities as self-employed persons and to set up and manage undertakings, in particular companies or firms within the meaning of the second paragraph of Article 54, under the conditions laid down for its own nationals by the law of the country where such establishment is effected, subject to the provisions of the Chapter relating to capital."

Both article proclaim the principle of equal treatment and non-discrimination. This bond whose content is in articles 45 and 49 TFEU can be called an Economic bond or a Competition bond as its function is to bind EU citizens as participants in a common labour market under common competition conditions where discrimination based on nationality is forbidden. Moreover, the limitations to the rights, in particular in article 45, on grounds of public policy, public security and public health have been carefully scrutinized by the European Court of Justice in its jurisprudence. The limitations grounded on public health, for example, concern only the entering or leaving of a country but not the permanent residence in it. Also, a list of illnesses exists. When it comes to public policy and the different positions that could be taken, only those where power and decision making is required, are subject to limitations. As to the public security, the Court has followed the line to address each case individually by judging the behavior of the person concerned. This reveals that free movement of persons remains a core right and principle of the European integration whose limitation is carefully scrutinized and controlled in judicial terms.

The second bond, which is the Social one, comes into force only when the economic mobility is exercised. It is not full because there is no harmonization of the different social systems of the Member States or a common social system. Moreover, Article 4 (b) of TFEU defines that social policy is a shared competence only in the aspects defined in Treaty. Later in the TFEU, we could refer to Articles 151 and 153 . Article 151 sets the goals regarding social policy at EU level such as the promotion of employment, improving working and living conditions so that their harmonization becomes possible, social protection etc. However, the article is very clear that when the Union and the Member States shall implement measures they have to take into account the diverse forms of national practices. Article 153 is very important because it clears out what legislative procedures in the different aspects mentioned in the same article are going to be used. One could see that the ordinary legislative procedure regards adopting decisions aimed at supporting the exchanges of information and good practices as well as adopting minimal requirements only in the health and safety issues of the workers and equality between men and women. The Council, however, shall act unanimously when it comes to social security and protection of workers, protection of workers when their contract is terminated, representation and collective defense of interests of workers and employers, including co-determination, conditions of employment for third country nationals legally residing in Union territory. This division between legislative procedures gives more insight which aspects of social policy are a matter of great sensitivity, particularly those where the Council acts unanimously. The social bond between EU citizens is not full not only because of the way it is set in EU law but also because there are substantial differences behind the philosophy of the social systems in each country. This could be illustrated with examples from The Charter of Fundamental rights of the EU, in Solidarity part which contains the ideas of the European Social Charter signed in Turin 1961 and 1989 Community Charter of the Fundamental Social rights of workers. Though the Charter has the same legal power as the Treaties, Protocol 30 is added to define special conditions to its implementation in UK and Poland (bearing in mind the Brexit referendum). According to Article 1(1) of the Protocol: "The Charter does not extend the ability of the Court of Justice of the European Union, or any court or tribunal of Poland or of the United Kingdom, to find that the laws, regulations or administrative provisions, practices or action of Poland or of the United Kingdom are inconsistent with the fundamental rights, freedoms and principles that it reaffirms"[[63]](#footnote-64) and "(2 )In particular, and for the avoidance of doubt, nothing in Title IV of the Charter creates justifiable rights applicable to Poland or the United Kingdom except in so far as Poland or the United Kingdom has provided for such rights in its national law"[[64]](#footnote-65). In particular the rights in the Solidarity Chapter such as the right of collective bargaining and action have no direct effect and the ECG will not have the power to control the application of this Chapter in UK and Poland. Practically, there is a derogation for the Solidarity part for UK and Poland. This is only one example illustrating the sensitivity of establishing a stronger and fuller social bond between EU citizens.

The content of the Civil and Political bond refers to the civil and political rights of EU citizens. Its function is to guarantee the participation of all EU citizens in the democratic life of the Union so that decisions are taken as closely and openly as possible to them. If some of the EU citizens' rights are defined as civil such as the right to access of documentation in one's own language, the right of petition the EP and the right to apply to the European ombudsman and the EU citizenship initiative and as political the right to vote and be elected in the local and EP elections under the same conditions as the nationals of the Member State of residence, we could define this bond as a set of both political and civil rights. Usually this set of rights is complemented by the fundamental human rights that EU guarantees additionally to its EU citizens through the Charter of fundamental rights of EU. The adoption of the Charter and its declaring as having the same legal power as the Lisbon Treaty is an attempt to guarantee these rights at an original, internal EU level. In particular, the right to human dignity, the right to life, the rights of integrity of the person, prohibition of torture and forced labour are guaranteed in Chapter 1 Dignity of the Charter and Chapter 2 Freedoms repeats the civil rights of EU citizens. Some of the aspects of this bond related to the participation as a voter or candidate in local and EU elections in another member state are also a result of the exercise of the free movement right. Therefore, it can be argued that this bond also comes into force as a result of the economic bond.

As to the content of the Cultural bond, it can be argued that possibly only in the Preamble, in article 2 of the TEU stipulating the common values and in declaration 52 dealing with the common symbols, there is a legal referral to elements of a cultural identity.

The Preamble of TEU justifies how the common values have developed by referring to "the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law."*[[65]](#footnote-66)* and sees them as a source of inspiration for the establishment of the EU. Except for the humanist inheritance of Europe, however, no other particular cultural or historical movement is mentioned

As to the list of common values, article 2 of the TEU gives more information:

The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail [[66]](#footnote-67) .

When it comes to the symbols, only part of the Member States, in particular Belgium, Bulgaria, Germany, Greece, Spain, Italy, Cyprus, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Austria, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia and the Slovak Republic, declare in Declaration 52 allegiance to the flag with a circle of twelve golden stars on a blue background, the anthem based on the „Ode to Joy“ from the Ninth Symphony by Ludwig van Beethoven, the motto „United in diversity, the euro as the currency of the European Union and Europe Day on 9 May as symbols of a sense of shared community.

They are symbols adopted by these Member State but it is only in an empirical research where it can checked if EU citizens identify or are somehow affected by them (The research of Bruter, for example).

It is arguable whether peace can be added as constitutive elements of such a Cultural bond depending on how it is classified: as a cultural value or as an objective of the European integration. Achieving peace was the initial goal of the first integration community, The European Coal and Steel Community. Its current achievement could mean that peace has presently turned into a value on its own for the EU citizens.

At the same time peace continues to be a goal in the external relations of the EU as stipulated in the Preamble: "RESOLVED to implement a common foreign and security policy including the progressive framing of a common defense policy, which might lead to a common defense in accordance with the provisions of Article 42, thereby reinforcing the European identity and its independence in order to promote peace, security and progress in Europe and in the world".

In this sense, as a value shared in broader sense by the societies of the member states and in particular by EU citizens, can constitute their identity in terms of their difference from the "other" on the international scene.

The declared desire to "deepen the solidarity between their peoples while respecting their history, their culture and their tradition "support the motto of the EU "unity in diversity" which means that the cultural diversity in Europe is, as argued by Elspeth Guild, embraced by the EU[[67]](#footnote-68).

Thus, a cultural bond in the context of free movement of persons would mean that EU movers have the full right to embrace and proclaim their own culture as long as they share the values of article 2.

To conclude, it can be argued that at least normatively, a cultural bond could be based on common values, goals as well as symbols. As the intra EU mobility space is first and foremost a social context of interaction, it can empirically be observed whether there are indeed common values and goals. As to the symbols, they are an object of separate studies.

**1.2.3. Normative model of European identity**

The Preamble to the TEU is the only place where the notion of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe is suggested as a future goal of the European integration. Thus, it can be argued that this is a normative model for the formation of European identity that is yet to be fulfilled.

Preamble (original extract):

"RESOLVED to continue the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen in accordance with the principle of sub-sidiarity"

Though the Preamble, does not define, explicitly how this ever closer union would look like, dwelling on the spirit of the Preamble, it can be concluded that the main condition for coming closer would be facilitating the free movement of persons. It was already argued that the free movement of persons activates types of bonds that link EU citizens: the social bond, the civil and political bond as well as the cultural bond.

Thus, *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe* can be formed in the social context of the intra EU mobility space. In this context, ЕU citizens move in order to look for a job or undertake an initiative as self-employed person, for non economic goals (tourists, students and pensioners) have the right to vote and be elected in local and EP elections, the right of access to the social system of the host country under certain conditions and the possibility to interact with the citizens of the local countries in various situations which creates the basis for the fulfillment of a fuller cultural bond.

Here, the crucial idea for the formation of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe is the solidarity which resembles very much the homogenizing effect necessary for the upholding of a political community as discussed by Maria Stoicheva.

Dwelling on the spirit of the Preamble, it seems justifiable to accept that if the ever closer union would be a result of the free movement of persons, then deepening the solidarity would be a natural result from this process:

"DESIRING to deepen the solidarity between their peoples while respecting their history, their culture and their traditions"

It can also be argued that deepening the solidarity is probably meant in the general sense of the term solidarity as group cohesiveness, readiness for common achieving common goals and future, unity of interest, sympathies, like-mindedness, singleness of purpose, stability, team spirit, unanimity.

Thus the deepening of the solidarity as readiness for achieving common goals can serve as a measurement to evaluate if such a normative model has empirical grounds or in other words, is indeed taking place as a result from the free movement.

The conduct of such an empirical study required the justification of a certain methodology, the use of a particular research strategy and the design of a questionnaire in the second chapter.

**II Меthodology of the Empirical study**

The nature of the empirical study conducted for the purposes of this dissertation (answering the research questions) is qualitative. It means that apart from exploring if the normative model of an *ever closer union* has empirical grounds, when looking for other European identity models, it was set to look for a range of European identity models instead of a quantity of models. The application of qualitative methods in the conduct of the empirical study required the development of a particular research strategy, a questionnaire design and a coding scheme.

**2.1. Research strategy**

For the purposes of this study, a research strategy of qualitative semi-structured interviews was adopted. Generally, these types of interviews have to be distinguished from the surveys comprised of closed questions, usually providing a range of given answers. While the surveys provide for quantifiable data, the purpose of the qualitative in-depth interviews is different. They aim at finding deeper knowledge about the social world. That is why they are composed of open-ended questions and aim at revealing knowledge about the processes and relations in the social world not visible in the quantity data. In order to justify the use of qualitative interviews in this research, their benefits and weaknesses need to be discussed.

In *Quality methods in the social sciences* (*Introduction)* 2008 edition of Sofia University, in the Chapter "Qualitative interview as a method in social sciences"*,* their thoroughness, depth as well as length, the fact that they aim at deeper communication and dialogue, are presented as their advantages.[[68]](#footnote-69) When exploring a topic such as identity, it seems more appropriate to use a method of research that could capture those inner perceptions, attitudes and feelings that account for our opinions on certain matters and could reveal eventually more how an individual perceives and feels him/herself within a given context. A method based on communication and dialogue seems more appropriate for revealing a more in-depth and comprehensive picture about one's identity. In contrast, Euro barometers surveys could account for people's opinions or perceptions on certain topics but they cannot explain the reasons for that and what the relations between the different social processes or social relations are. In the same edition, as a weakness of the qualitative interview is presented the problem about the ambiguity of the data provided by the respondent. It is considered by some scholars as objective social reality while others consider it only as a piece of information regarding the reality. It could be assumed that it is impossible to reveal a full and comprehensive picture of something so complicated as a person's collective identity in all its dimensions. This is not, however, the purpose of this research.

In "What is qualitative interviewing" by Rosaline Edwards and Janet Holland it is argued that qualitative interviews vary from semi-structured to unstructured interviews but they all possesses certain features in common such as the application of thematic approach where the interviewers has certain topics to cover but the structure could be fluid or flexible.[[69]](#footnote-70) The choice of a research strategy of semi-structured interviews with pre-set questions is mainly for two reasons that could best explained by comparing these types of interviews with the unstructured ones as well as by the grounds of the topic of research. In the online *Qualitative research guideline project* by Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, it is said that "Unstructured interviews are an extremely useful method for developing an understanding of an as-of-yet not fully understood or appreciated culture, experience, or setting".[[70]](#footnote-71) They are used often when we need initial information about a topic which has not been previously deeply researched and could serve as a basis for constructing a semi-structured questionnaire. In our case, however, there is already certain theoretical as well as empirical background which allows us to define pre-set questions by grounding them in previous research assuming that we have some basic knowledge about the researched problem.

As to the analysis of the qualitative data, the approach of deductive quality analysis was applied. In the paper "Deductive Qualitative Analysis as Middle Ground: Theory Guided Qualitative Research" Jane Gilgun argues what the advantages of a theory-guided research with a prior conceptual framework are, and how this approach could be complemented by an inductive, grounded-theory research method. What one has achieved in the Conceptual framework is the basis for a theory guided research and could be described by Jane Gilgun's own words: "a synthesis and integration of existing research and theory relevant to a topic".[[71]](#footnote-72) The main arguments against the use of such an approach is according to Glaser and Strauss in their "Discovery of grounded Theory" is the possibility of forcing initial conceptions in the data without building hypotheses based on the empirical evidence. Jane Gilgun argues that there is not a grounded theory without "theoretical sensitivity"[[72]](#footnote-73) as "In their focus on theorizing grounded in data, they overlooked the idea that what researchers identify as emergent theory is based upon what researchers already know"[[73]](#footnote-74) or as Glaser and Strauss say researchers are no "tabula rasa"[[74]](#footnote-75). The Conceptual framework comprised the basis for conducting the study and was the foundation of a deductive analytical model designed especially for the analysis of the empirical data.

In conclusion, the semi-structured interviews were the research strategy of this study whose epistemological basis could be explained through the theory guided research approach. Such an approach either tests hypotheses or use sensitizing concepts that guide the analysis. In the case of this study, a normative model was tested on the basis of three sensitizing concepts:

- the first sensitizing concept was the free movement of persons as a social context framed by four types of bonds.

-the second sensitizing concept guiding the research was the differentiation between a civic/political component and a cultural one of a political identity

- the third sensitizing concept was the understanding of the European identity as a political identity comprised of a civic and cultural component corresponding to the EU as a sui generis political order.

It can be as well concluded with the terminology of Michael Bruter that a top-bottom normative model was compared with bottom-up empirical results.

**2.2. Sampling, limitations and phases of research conduct**

Тhe sampling of the respondents as well as the issue of interviews' number are topics often discussed when it comes to the validity of the quality data. Also, they are associated with ethical questions such as the consent of the respondent for participating in the study. The choice of a particular type of sampling for the purposes of this thesis was made through the consideration of several limitations. First, this was a qualitative research that did not aim at achieving representation of models. Therefore, the idea of using samples from populations registers or telephone books was abandoned. Unlike Favell's sampling strategies, this research did not aim at selecting a particular number of people in a given country to achieve representation. On the contrary, this study was fully qualitative in nature and therefore random network sampling was used. It is a sampling method described by King and Patterson (1998) that focuses on more restricted geographical areas. In our case, the study was conducted in Belgium, in particular during the research stay at the University of Liege under the joint supervisions of a professor from Liege University and Sofia University, Bulgaria. Therefore, as a second group of limitations, besides the qualitative nature of the study, we could define geographical as well as financial constraints for conducting this research. As the research did not have any additional financial support, it was decided that the least time and financially consuming way of gathering respondents would be through the use of network sampling and additional snowball chain referral. It was decided under the double supervision that the respondents could be gathered through the use of social networks, in particular facebook groups of Bulgarians in Belgium.

An official announcement for the conduct of a study researching the relationship between free movement of persons and European identity, in particular among Bulgarians, was posted in the official facebook groups of Bulgarians living in Liege and some of the biggest Belgian cities such as Brussels, Ghent and Leuven. It was communicated with each person individually so that the respondent could understand what kind of research this would be and what kind of purposes it would have. Each respondent was informed that the interview would be anonymous and it would rely on their sincerity and wish to share their opinions on certain matters and explain their experiences abroad. In this way the ethical issue of receiving an individual's consent for participation was met. Also, the respondents were asked to look for friends or relatives that are living and working within the EU if they would possibly want to participate. This type of sampling method has several advantages as well as some weak sides. As a disadvantage or simply as a constraint it could be noted that these people could be more strongly associated with their countries of origin and they could be particularly biased towards the country of residence. As a disadvantage of such type of research, sometimes the high subjectivity of communicating and interpreting the results afterwards is often pointed out. It is sometimes required for the interviewer to make a list of his personal values so that he/she could try not to use them when interpreting the results. However, this type of sampling of respondents carries the enormous advantage of gathering individuals that are strongly willing to participate and share their experiences and opinions. This makes the interviews much more in-depth and sincere.

The choice of a group of respondents was defined by legal limitations as well as in sociological terms.

Legally, the focus of this study were those migrant flows that fall in the category of EU citizens defined by Article 20 of the Treaty on the Functioning of European Union: "(1) Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union [...]They shall have (2) the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States"[[75]](#footnote-76) where the same rights are repeated in article 21 (1) as well. Article 45 of "Title 4 Free movement of Persons, Chapter 1-Workers" of TFEU, which regulates the right to work within the member states and the limitations of that right justified on grounds of public policy, public security and public health, was also added and article 49 of TFEU regulating the self-employed persons further limit the group of the respondents.

In more particular terms, these were only Bulgarian citizens or EU movers that fall into the legal scope of article 45 and 49 of TFEU.

In more sociological terms, these were individuals:

- working legally in a EU country which means having a job contract or a self-employed person, having a health and social insurance, either alone or with their families

-both low-qualified, as well as high qualified individuals where as high qualified we consider people with higher education that are working in a field related to it.

- no limitations related to age or sex.

- individuals who have lived at least 1 year in the given country which is the minimum length of stay set by Adrian Favell.

These were the minimal characteristics that aimed at researching European identity among *Bulgarian EU-movers* that differ from the general idea for the East-West migration that Favell describes as temporary, seasonal and where there are formal as well as informal barriers of exclusion.

As the purpose of this study is finding a range of European identity models, one needs to address the issue of saturation and variability in qualitative research. Generally, it is accepted that interviews are taking as long as different answers are given until the point of saturation is reached and there is no point in continuing. In her paper "Focus on Qualitative methods, Sample size in Qualitative research", Margarete Sandelowski address the issue if numbers by stating that "a common misconception about sampling in qualitative research is that numbers are unimportant in ensuring the adequacy of sampling strategy".[[76]](#footnote-77) Similarly, in the paper "How many qualitative interviews is enough" prepared by Sarah Elise Baker, Middlesex University and Rosalind Edwards, National centre for Research Methods Review papers, University of Southampton as a guide for scholars conducting qualitative research, the question of numbers is regarded as "it depends".[[77]](#footnote-78)

In other words, it depends on the disciplinary field, the research question, but also the time given to a research project, finding participants and the institutional demands of the ethics committee as well as the theoretical underpinning of the study.[[78]](#footnote-79) Therefore, the question of the numbers of the necessary interviews remain a critical one. If we apply the criteria set in the paper "How many qualitative interviews is enough", we found reasonable to set a minimum requirement of 20 interviews considering the methods of network sampling and the snowball referral chain where we relied fully on the willingness of the respondents to participate and refer further participants and the geographical and financial limitations.

As a result, the study was conducted in three phases: announcement of the study on Facebook and gathering respondents in the period October -December 2015, March-June 2016 transcription of the interviews along with the conduct of several additional interviews, July-September 2016 data analysis.

**2.3. Questionnaire design**

In particular, the questionnaire for the interviews was designed on the basis of three sources: 1) the questionnaire in Adrian Favell's empirical study *Pioneers of European integration* 2) Michael Bruter's questionnaire's in his research *Citizen's of Europe, The Emergence of a Mass European identity* 3) the bonds analysis in the Conceptual framework

For the purposes of this research, it will be explained how each question was designed and how it is connected to the deductive analytical model. The questionnaire consists of two parts: the first one using screening questions and the main part related to the research questions set in the introduction. The screening part is based on the screening questions that Adrian Favell uses for his quantitative empirical study. In particular, these are questions with socio-demographic character such as what age and level of education the respondents have. There also questions regarding the intercultural competences, and in particular the fluency in the foreign language spoken in the country, which Favell argues to be the most important intercultural skill. In the case of this study, these questions were used in order to qualify if the respondents fit in the initial criteria for respondents.

The questions in "Pioneers of European integration" study were designed on the basis of existing qualitative as well as quantitative research : surveys from the International Social Survey Programme, Eurobaromer, European Social Survey as well as pre-set qualitative interviews. Some of the questions in his questionnaire were used in the main part of our questionnaire mainly because they have already been tested and applied. What is different, however, is the way the obtained data was analyzed. In particular, in his research Adrian Favell draws conclusions regarding the East-West migration by defining it as a market led one and by accepting that at least in the short term, there are formal and informal barriers of exclusion due to sharp national differences.

Therefore, the first question *Why did you choose to settle down in a foreign country within the EU* aims at finding deeper knowledge about the motivation behind the choice for living and working in another EU country of Bulgarian EU movers, that traditionally and stereotypically fit in the category of East-West migration.

The second question *Considering your experience abroad, would you say your expectations were met* aims at gaining general knowledge about the experience of living in another EU country. While the first question and its sub-questions are almost the same as in Favell's questionnaire, the sub-questions regarding the possible barriers that the respondents might have encountered is an original one for this thesis. There are also sub-questions regarding the level of cultural and social integration which Favell argues to be associated with the circle of friends and the scope of social services the respondents have access to.

As to the first question regarding the motivation, we wanted to see if the bonds distinguished in the Conceptual framework are somehow mentioned or if they have particular links to the motivation for living and working in another EU country.

Similarly, question number 3 *Considering your experience of being abroad, do you feel European?* was especially designed for this thesis because it aims at understanding how and why one feels European. Here, the part about the experience will be analyzed through our analytical model where we are going to see which bonds matter or if there are other specific ideas or processes that contribute to the formation of European identity but cannot be related to the bonds model.

Question number 4 *Would you say "I am a citizen of Europe?* and its sub-question *What meaning do you put in that?*)regards the Civil and Political bond. It is a question taken from Michael Bruter's questionnaire from his research "Citizens of Europe". However, it was decided to additionally ask what respondents mean by saying they are Citizens of Europe in order to understand if some of the bonds or some factors restructure one's political identity.

We also added question number 7: "*Do you associate yourself with an institution, an organization, a party or any other type of a political structure in Bulgaria, in the local country or on the EU level?*. It is a question grounded in Bruter's study regarding the impact of the institutions for the formation of European political identity. It was developed to observe the different levels of political identifications asking for a national, local (the country of residence) and European level.

Questions 5 and 6 are related to the concept for a Cultural bond. Question number 5, in particular, aims at observing how individuals respond to the idea for "an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe". With this question it was aimed at understanding whether/how it is understood by the respondents.

Questions number 6: *Do you feel closer to other fellow Europeans compared to Russians, Americans or Chinese, for example?"* is question from Favell's questionnaire. As the research was focused only within the EU, it was set to explore if such a European identity is being constructed exclusively or not and what values, ideas or processes could possibly constitute a common Cultural identity.

The last question: *If you had to grade/order your attachment to Bulgaria, EU and a local country, how would you grade/order them?* is also a question from Favell's research. It follows Favell's line of analysis that researches the territorial levels of identifications. While thesis follows a different logic, still it was assumed that in the context of free movement of persons in the EU, this question could be a suitable one. Also, by requiring more explanation from the respondents more insight about their identifications could be acquired and new levels or logics of collective identifications could be possibly found out. The whole questionnaire could be seen in Appendix A, supplementing the thesis.

**2.4. Data analysis**

Above, it was mentioned that a deductive analytical model was developed within the theory guided research strategy of semi structured interviews. Its name deductive implies that it is a model of analysis constructed in a deductive way for the analysis of the empirical data. In a deductive way, the bonds classification became the core around which the codes were developed. However, as this is a theory guided research this deductive analytical model based on bonds was complemented by the other concepts discussed in the Conceptual framework. Thus for the purposes of the analysis a deductive analytical model encompassing the whole conceptual framework was developed.

The following code book consisting of bonds (also called themes), their sub-categories and words that signify the meaning of the sub-category related to the bonds, was developed:

Deductive Code book

Cultural bond:

Sub-Categories:

**Values**: all values in article 2 (respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities), peace, unity in diversity, solidarity as a values on its own

**Ethnoculturalism/Ethnosymbolism**: "the religious, cultural and humanist inheritance of Europe" from the Preamble of the Lisbon Treaty", myths, memories, rituals, traditions, beliefs, symbols of the EU (motto, flag, hymn, border-lessness), goals

**Entitativity**: Europe, "the other", an idea, feelings, psychological presence

**Intercultural competences**: language, awareness of social norms, different skills,

social participation, friends

**Cultural integration:** likeness, fondness, subjectivity, attachment to local culture

Civil/Political bond

Sub-Categories

**Civil and political rights:** EU citizen's rights + Fundamental human rights that are not included among the EU citizen's rights in article 20 of TFEU but are guaranteed by the Charter of Fundamental rights of the EU and are usually considered as belonging to the group of civil rights; EU citizenship initiative

**Political entity/structure/community:** EU, cosmopolitan, sovereignty, legitimacy, territory, European public sphere, transnational political debate

**Institutions**: EP, EC, Council of the EU, ECJ, etc

**Entitativity**: EU, psychological presence, feelings

**European civil society**: democracy, participation, citizenship

Social bond:

Sub-Categories

**Social rights**: social security, social systems, work contract, health and safety issues, health and social insurance

**Social integration**: participation in society, friends

Economic bond:

**Work force mobility**: discrimination, nationality, labour market, remuneration, employment, competition, public policy, public security, public health

Solidarity:

unity of interest, sympathies, like-mindedness, singleness of purpose, stability, team spirit, unanimity, group cohesiveness, common objectives and belief in common future

Besides deductive methods of analysis, an inductive approach was also applied as the arguments of Jane Gilgun are supported in this research. She suggests the use of a hybrid model where inductive and deductive approaches complement each other. By applying the so-called negative case analysis, it was set to look for contradictions to our sensitizing concepts so that inductive generation of codes and themes could be applied. By applying the inductive approach it was also set to look for latent rather than semantic categories that could be clustered around the themes we have or ultimately generate new ones.

Additionally, 8 empirical research goals were set so that the research questions in the introduction could be answered during the interviews' analysis.

1) How does each of these bonds shape one's identity and how it could contribute to the formation of a civic and cultural component of the European identity?

2) Are some of these bonds particularly stronger in shaping European identity compared to the others?

3) Is there a causal relation between some of these bonds that could support European identity formation in a certain way?

4) Are there any particular ideas or processes that could serve for the formation of a civic and a cultural component of European identity (latent themes) ?

5) Could we see the existence of other bonds that are not normatively set but are still important?

6) Are there patterns of repeating similarities of causal links that could contribute to European identity formation and could underpin the EU as a political community *sui generis*?

7) Is there solidarity in certain areas where under solidarity we understand like-mindedness, unanimity, readiness for achieving goals and common future or a social cohesion?

Also, by conducting qualitative interviews only among Bulgarian EU-movers*,* an additional empirical sub research goal was set:

8) Are there any specific European identity models in the context of the East-West migration which is very often stereotyped and not deeply researched. Through achieving deeper knowledge about this mobility or migration, its structure and motives as well as its relation to the European identity, recommendations for the conduct of further qualitative or quantitative studies that could achieve representations of models will be made.

The following example of interview 2 show how the coding book was applied to each interview through the use of deductive codes, inductive ones as well as detecting bonds relations.

**Coding Scheme:**

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

**Interview 2**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Cultural bond | Multi-culturalims/multi-nationalism | Globalization | Here in Luxembourg (the city) are living together around 130 different nationalities. I have colleagues that are from India and a friend from Turkey (Turkey is still not in the EU). I would not say exactly that there is European identity but...multinational identity...something connected with the globalization...people that are living and working in multinational communities and such people that are living and working in their own country |
| Horizontal bond between the Member States and EU  Cultural bond | Legal frame of the EU membership  Ethno-symbolism | Rights and guarantees  Family of cultures | I feel European because Bulgaria is a country member of the EU with certain rights and guarantees and I feel like a member of the European family...yes I could say this |
| Cultural bond | Multi-nationalism | Multi-national society | There are also American people living here...I would not say that I am exactly citizen of Europe...I would say I am a citizen of a multinational society |
| Political bond  Cultural Bond | Political structure  Values/Traditions | Centralization/federalization  The values in article 2 of TEU, Christian traditions | An ever closer Union is a way to the centralization and federalization of the EU...Rule of Law, democracy are the things that unite us...also the traditions such as Christmas. This is a common tradition for each European country. |
| Cultural bond /Horizontal bond between Member States /Civic or political bond | Political entity  Ethno-symbolism | EU  History, culture, values | Europe and EU are different units. There are countries that are still not EU members but they share the same history, culture and values. I would put first EU, then Bulgaria and in the end Europe. EU because I am personally and professionally engaged in one of the European institutions and Europe as a whole with all countries that are still not members. |

All interviews could be seen in Appendix B, supplementing this thesis. They were taken in Bulgarian and then partly translated in English. The transcriptions do not cover the whole content of the interviews but only the parts connected to the research questions. Each interview is followed by a small note with information regarding the respondent (mobility motivation, social status, age and notification of the feelings and emotions of the respondent) that was collected during the interviews. These interviews could also be heard on a disk as a proof for the conduct of the empirical study.

**2.5. Use of quantity data, European and Bulgarian research reports**

In order to fulfill the empirical research goal regarding the East-West migration study of Bulgarian EU-movers, it was also decided to analyze some additional quantity data as well as the latest European research reports from 2014 and 2015 and the research reports from two major Bulgarian studies regarding the stereotyped *migration* instead of *mobility,* depending on the context of use of these two terms.

When taking and analyzing the interviews, the biased classification of these respondents as "other pioneers of European integration"[[79]](#footnote-80) or "external migrants"[[80]](#footnote-81) falling into the category of East-West labour force migration, was avoided. Despite Favell's arguing about the hostile media coverage in some West-European countries towards the Eastern Enlargement and in particular the case of the "Polish plumbers"[[81]](#footnote-82), the possibilities of exclusion and exploitation as well as discrimination, when explaining the results the use of stereotypes and clichés would not be applied as they represent a very simplified picture of the social reality. Also, we did not want to suggest to the respondents, that we took interviews from, that they fall initially into such a category. On the contrary, if such a division really exists, we wanted to understand if our respondents feel simply as migrants or they rather perceive themselves as citizens of Europe, if they mention at all expressions such as East, West, Slavic, cases of discrimination or exploitation and in general what kind of experiences they have and what their attitude towards Europe in political and cultural terms is.

In order to understand if Favell arguing is justified, the data of the empirical study is compared with the Eurobarometer's Geographical and labour mobility report 2014, Labor mobility report 2014 and Annual report on Labour mobility 2015 of the EC as well as two major Bulgarian studies: "Bulgarian Migration: Incentives and Constellation 2005", Institute for market economy and "Trends in the transnational migration of labour force and free movement of persons: effects for Bulgaria 2010", Institute Open Society.

Some of these surveys combine both quantity and qualitative data. What is important for this thesis is what , how and in what relation to the European identity is compared. First we would like to see if the motivation for moving and the social status of the Bulgarian EU-movers matter in their experiences in the host country and if this has any correlation with the feeling or perception of being European or with the formation of European identity. As these reports were reflect research conducted in the transitional periods for Bulgaria before the abolishment of all restrictive measures to the European labour market in 2014 and the research was carried out in the period 2015 and 2016, we wanted to explore if there are certain differences in the experiences and perceptions of our respondents after the accession and the abolishment of the transition periods.

Therefore, in order to demystify the stereotypes for the so called East-West migration, we will try to see if there is a connection between the structure of the mobility ( the professional field of the respondents), their social status (education, income and the prestige related to their profession), their motivation (reasons for moving) and their experiences in the host countries and attitudes towards the European identity. We are going to compare these results with the quantity data and reports that give an overall picture for the structure of Bulgarian migration and the motivation behind it. Thus, we will be able to say if the reports based on quantity research miss some important trends for the Bulgarian migration and what kind of a larger quantity study on the relation between Bulgarian migration/mobility and European identity could be conducted..

The analysis of the empirical data is made in the third chapter where immediately after the analysis the models related to them are drawn.

**III Models of European identity**

Before outlining the models of European identity, the results of the empirical are analyzed using the deductive analytical model built in the methodology part as well as in inductive terms. The deductive analysis is dedicated to the analysis of the impact of the different bonds and their sub-categories and the relation between them while the inductive approach aims at finding out those ideas and relations that appeared simultaneously during the research. Also, the results of the empirical study are going to be compared with the existing European and Bulgarian quantitative data and research reports regarding the Bulgarian mobility trends and structure.

**3.1. Empirical data**

**3.1.1. Deductive analysis of bonds, challenges and bonds relations**

**Categories within the Cultural bond**

The most frequently encountered categories under the Cultural bond that could constitute the cultural component of European identity are *Values, Ethno-symbolism or Ethno-nationalism* and *Entitativity*. Among the values that the respondents mention, tolerance and respect for differences are one of the most frequently pointed ones. Moreover, the value of tolerance is experienced and thus accepted by the people who travel and work outside their original countries. For example, according to interview 1 ( see Appendix: B ), the free movement right and the consequent possibilities for further education are even considered to be the ideology behind the EU:

"Considering the ideology of the EU for free movement and education, I feel such even if I was not part of the EU...being tolerant, accepting the other...the lack of military conflict"

The use of the word ideology for describing what EU is, is probably due to the fact the Bulgaria is a post-communist country and the qualification of a political community such as the EU is done with a similar terminology. Nevertheless, it is well understood that this is the value foundation of the EU.

In addition to these values, it can also be thought that who are somehow professionally and personally engaged with the EU.) express support for values such as the rule of law and democracy that are listed in article 2 of TEU, interview 2, Appendix B:

"Rule of Law, democracy are the things that unite us..."

There are also numerous times when the strife for happiness, personal development and peace , though associated to be goals of the EU, are actually experiences and shared as values. It is also important to note that solidarity and empathy are mentioned several times as European values or the necessity for their development is regarded as a requirement for the formation of a deeper sense of belonging. One of the empirical goals which was set in the Methodology part was finding out if there is a developing solidarity in certain areas considering the general definition of solidarity as a belief in common future, its homogenizing effect and thus its significance for the fulfillment of *an ever closer union*. One of the respondents that is working for a European institution as well as one of the respondents working in a factory in the Netherlands (interview 4 and interview 18, Appendix: B) both emphasize that the possibility for working together brings people closer, it contributes to the development of common decisions when solving problems and it is what creates solidarity:

"If we exchange the know-how and the experience, it would be perfect. It is not continuation. It is a two-sided exchange. Because I have colleagues from Germany and Poland. When there is a situation that has to be solved, everybody ..The Spanish, The Dutch, the German, says something different and in the end we discuss and make a decision which is a compilation from the culture of everybody"

"Serbians, Polish, Bulgarians....yes (cultural closeness), Portuguese, Spanish but not with the Romanians because they are Gypsies"

Also, it is interesting to note that the respondentscount as values, things that could be all grouped in the category "religious and humanist inheritance of Europe" and in particular the Christian morality such as the respect for the human being as an individual and the respect for one's life, in general. Some of the respondents do mention the differentiation between East Orthodox and Catholicism or they believe that this differentiation between East and West is deliberately sustained. However, this differentiation is not perceived as a challenge but rather as something which is part of the cultural variety in Europe.

When discussing these values, we could well move on to the categories of *Entitativity* and *Ethno-symbolism*, the latter as an idea about the construction of European cultural identity on the basis of the common past and the "family of cultures" according to Anthony Smith. If there is a psychological experience of what Europe and being European is, this *entitativity* refers to the differentiation between Europe as a Christian civilization and "the other", regarded as the Muslim representatives of certain countries. Here, however, this is not seen as a religious clash but rather as a value clash where Christianity is associated with its moral dimension ( possessing values such as tolerance and respect for human life). In one single interview, the one with the Bulgarian woman who has lived and worked in the Flemish part of Belgium for 18 years (interview 20, Appendix: B.), a clear indignation at the religious identification, no matter Christian or Muslim, was expressed. Here the previously mentioned values along with the global ecological values are clearly opposed to the religious radicalism which is seen as something that belongs to the past.:

"I am not speaking about other cultural differences such as the religious ones. I do not understand what is going one today. Most of the people that I meet are not Christians or Muslims. Most of the people today, we are atheists. If I believe in sth, it is not Jehova, Jesus or Mohammed. We believe in some values that are common for all people. I cannot understand the place of religion in the contemporary world. There are so many other important things...I do not understand why people are fighting for these things. There are differences between mu husband and me. He is Protestant and I am Orthodox. There is no difference. It is the same. We have cultural differences but we handled it"

*Entitativity* of Europe is also felt and articulated when the respondents compare Europe with USA, Asia and South America. In this sense Europe is perceived as the old continent that has its culture, values and traditions. Later, when speaking about the Social bond we could also add the perception of Europe as a more social and less commercialized space compared to USA, for example. Europe also has *entitativity* among the people working for the European institutions because they are well informed and at the same time they attempt at informing the others about the EU. This conclusion resembles the results from Thomas Risse's study among individuals working in COREPER as the personal engagement with the EU influences their identification with EU in a positive way.

There is also a perception of being European which is very Bulgarian understanding of what Europe is and could be explained with self-stereotypes about the Bulgarian people. According to interview 4, European is someone who is careful, civilized, cultivated, more educated , someone who follows the rules and in that sense it is what differs him or her from "the other":

"Well, let's say European is someone who follows the rules, will shop in the market, will clean and wait. Yesterday when I was in a shop, people from the colonies entered. I am not a racist but these people started shouting and pushing themselves ....well, we Europeans are not like that...we are more civilized and careful ....ok we Europeans...ok the Balkans, we are a different beer"

When it comes to the categories of symbols, there was an association with Europe in a symbolic way with the Euro in interview 18, appendix B:

"When I hear Europe, I think...nothing...euro. Everybody now is very unhappy because the Dutch were better with their currency. Here people are not happy with our membership and with the opening with the borders"

Though Euro is one of the European symbols, it is rather discussed in a different sense in that interview implying the economic and financial problems within the euro-zone.

Other categories that could be deductively outlined refer to the categories of Cultural integration, Assimilation and Intercultural competences. If we use the metaphor of a coin with two sides, we could very much conclude that cultural integration and assimilation are these two sides. They both reflect the way an individual adapts in a foreign society. One of the most important factors for that is the language competence which is an intercultural one. Assimilation is experienced through acquiring the local habits and rules to such an extent that the individual develops a strong attitude for the local country. Though this thesis is not in the psychological domain, we witnessed that the expressed assimilation is among individuals who hold a strong critique for the traditional society they come from-the Bulgarian one. On the other hand, the cultural integration is associated with developing fondness or likeness for the local culture. If we use Favell's terminology, the affective side of an identity should overlap or be very closed with the identification itself. In other words, developing likeness for certain culture could develop an identification with it. However, no direct link with the European identity was found out. Likeness and fondness among some Bulgarians exist through the language and some cultural similarities with Russia and what some consider as *Slavic identity.* This type of an identity, however, needs further research so that it can cleared its relation to the issue of European identity. It is going to be more deeply analyzed in the part about the inductive categories and the models of European identity. Cultural barriers apart from the language are perceived as a drawback for the integration into the society. They could vary from feeling to being not fully accepted to conscious unwillingness to develop a deeper emotional bond with the local culture, interview 4, Appendix B:

"The language barrier will always exist. Not just because of the level of the language. It is because of the symbols. For example, a foreigner who has learnt perfectly Bulgarian but when we start joking for Suncho, Hitur Petar ( comic heroes in Bulgaria), playing ohluv and dama (games), he cannot understand really this. We speak perfectly the language but we have not really grown up here. We do not have these symbols that they acquire from babies until their 30s or 40s (idioms and jokes). This is a huge barrier for the communication"

Some mention the overcoming of that problem only through a marriage with a local one, interviews 15 and 1, Appendix B (said in a humorous way in interview 15). It can be considered however that this reveals more about the attitude of the local citizens towards the Bulgarians.

"At the job bureau in Belgium...this person from the administration said to me: You've got to divorce and marry a real European....hahah...This was a problem"

"As to the barrier I have encountered...no matter how many efforts the local people make, no matter how much you are integrated, if you are not married to a local one, it is very difficult for these barriers to disappear"

**Challenges:**

The empirical study gives grounds to think that a cultural bond based on ethno-symbolism is a challenge for the development of a common European identity in cultural terms. Moreover, most of the respondents feel that there is enormous cultural variety in Europe-different traditions, languages, history, interviews 1 and 16, Appendix B:

"Now there is tolerance, understanding..everybody knows that the other person is more intelligent, that everybody is looking for their happiness in the respective country. But for example I will never accept a huge Catholic holiday or celebrate Poland's national holiday for example"

"Maybe it is possible (coming together in cultural terms). I was thinking about the national traditions. Our national traditions and also religious holidays are so rich compared to theirs"

At the same time, however, a clear awareness of some common values is expressed. Most of the respondent support the thesis of a European cultural heritage based on the idea of "family of cultures" expressed by Anthony Smith rather than a homogeneous European culture. Also, it is interesting to note that there is probably a vague, in a sense not clearly articulated or expressed awareness of being European., interview 20, Appendix B:

"Yes, I do. Absolutely. By that I mean belonging to a place that is not geographical but...this wholeness, belonging..."

Some of the respondents express this by saying that there is no need for declaring that (interviews 20 and 17, Appendix: B) when asked if they feel Citizens of Europe:

".No, it sounds pretentious. I am une personne ....It sounds like a declaration. There is no need for declaration"

"In a way...what kind of a question is this? What does it mean European? I feel the way I was before. I do not have the confidence to be something more. We are Europeans the Bulgarians. I do not know...In my own point of view I feel successful and I have my confidence. But it is not ok to exaggerate. If we have to say, it is ok. But our generation is different. We are not brought up to show off ourselves. We are just working and enjoying life"

Declaring it and making it public somehow provokes negativism among those respondnets. What is also important to note here is that we are speaking about an awareness, rather than a deep emotional identification. We could see that the level of European identification is rather cognitive ( a matter of perception) while the national identity such as being Bulgarian is the deepest level of identification that is first and foremost an emotional one, interviews 10 and 14, Appendix B:

"I will remain Bulgarian until my death. Then I would place the country where I would live under best conditions"

"Bulgaria is on the first place. It is in my heart. This big love and passion. Bulgarian mother has given birth to me. Then Belgium that has "adopted" me and has given me all rights and Europe one big Bulgaria that I could travel and experience new cultures and nature"

There is a clear trend among the Bulgarian respondents to hold a critique for the EU on certain matters. In at least 3 interviews, those involving the Bulgarian professor at Liege university (interview 17, Appendix: B), the Bulgarian teacher at an art school in Belgium (interview 6, appendix: B.) as well as the Bulgarian citizen with a small company for car mending operating in the Flemish part (interview 7, Appendix: B) hold a strong critique for the EU as not defending effectively *the European value system and Christian heritage* and this undermines the building of European identity:

"Citizen of the EU? No, this is such a cliché. In my opinion, the EU during the last events from august this year has shown extreme weakness in its structure and infantilism to evaluate its capacity and to defend a value system that we are born with and we have in our souls. I include here culture, habits, traditions and religion, history of Europe...There is a difference between us like Bulgarians and the local people. For example they did not know anything about us before falling the Berlin wall and they do not anything now. They are just not interested. ..We as Bulgarians...me as a Bulgarian the way I was brought up...there are things I do not like and accept and I am a little bit skeptical about the future of the EU. That is why I will not say I am a citizen of the EU. This is due to the last events. Before there was euphoria when Bulgaria became a member in 2007. We have certain benefits of course. We do not have to pay such huge taxes for our kids at the local universities. The travelling is easy. But now we are in and we are observing the political life. The politicians here are also influenced by different lobbies"

"We have the same culture in Europe as different peoples and it is Christian. For 2000 years Europe has been a Christian one. This is the common culture. ...what cultural integration...we are one Whole. I have no feeling for difference...This difference between East and West is politically kept instead of emphasizing the common things.... No identification in political sense when it come to EU. What I am seeing worries me given the fact that the emphasis is not on the person and Christianity but on some demonic powers...I have grown up in Communism....but when I came here I saw that the things we have witnessed were transformed in the EU in a very strange way...I see the same things that are ...the principle of controlled freedom...you can speak only about certain things ..This bureaucracy reminds me of one Socialistic balloon that is going to be destroyed...you are working because you have to have a job and nothing more than this"

"I no longer associate the EU with any institution or structure. Years ago, yes. But not now. I am not disappointed...I am not affected in a bad way...but my first association is like I start laughing ....haha EU...EU 20 countries on the same continent trying to live together...I would not add the serious idea to the EU. The serious people who believe in the idea, will say the right to travel, the fact that we live together. But this is the package of the apple, they forget the inside which is already rotten. Most people forget to say what is going on inside. The bad things like conflicts...there are also good things. There is a crisis in the euro idea. That is why I am trying to answer with irony cause there is irony in real life too. The EU under the motto it was created in the 50 years is gone. This idea does not exist. This idea was launched...but there is no control and the idea was not fulfilled having now killings, islamization of cities and districts. I am sure this was not part of the European documents'"

There is a clear differentiation between the perception of the EU and the reality which shows lack of information and understanding about the way European institutions are functioning, how Member States are involved and in particular how decision are made. Also, in very few interviews an institution or a personality related to the EU were mentioned correctly such as the mentioning of Donald Tusk in interview On one hand, there are requirements towards the European Union for more effectiveness, critique for its inability to solve major European problems such as the refugee crisis and the security issues. While, on the other hand, EU is perceived as a body of institutions imposing decisions on the Member States. If we have to view this critique from a constructive point of view, however, one can conclude that those discourses related to the political functioning of the EU, could form what Jurgen Habermas calls European public sphere as this is an invisible domain where citizens discuss common problems. But, these opinions and more precisely their expression could not be articulated or communicated at the European level in an effective way as there are no means or communication channels to do so, or the European citizens do not find or are not aware of the mechanisms to do so. The critique that the EU cannot defend its value system is a fundamental issue as it reflects the debate for the political/civic as well as cultural component of the European identity that are intertwined. It can be concluded that if the value system reflects the European cultural identity, then the political side of it would be reflected in the effective functioning of the EU in defending this value system.

**Relation to other bonds:**

While analyzing the interviews deductively, we noticed that certain relations exist between some of the bonds which could give us more insight which ties could contribute to the formation of European identity and more precisely how. As a results we defined that there are relations between:

**Cultural--Civil-Economic-Social bonds relation:**

In interview 1, the respondent defines that being European means sharing the values of tolerance and being open to the others. Tolerance, on the other hand, carries, according to the respondent this ambiguous meaning of abiding the rules and paying the taxes. Following the rules in the local country such as paying the taxes is one of the most important requirement for being respected and tolerated by the other people. Though this civil bond is not understood in the way we defined it in the Constraints framework and it has not direct link with any of the European institutions, it can be considered that it is related to terms such as citizen, citizenship because it associates being European with fulfilling one's duties and obligations such as paying the taxes. As a hindrance to the formation of *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe,* one could mention the imbalanced economic development between the countries and the budget distribution in EU in interview 1, Appendix: B:

"Now people identify that they are Europeans by respecting other people's position and opinion, by being more open towards countries and people that are near the EU and there is no doubt about it. But I think that we need 2 or 3 generations so that we have the same economic development. A German will always say "My countries gives most money in the EU, why should I feed the Greeks that are lazy". As I said I do not want to be integrated but I pay my taxes and I abide the laws. They will never accept me as a local but they will be tolerant to me as a person"

We could conclude that a cultural bond based on the values such as tolerance is not sufficient for the formation of a common European identity until problems related to the economic development and distribution of resources are not solved so that a sense of justice and solidarity could be built in social terms. Though, some of these links were extracted inductively through categories that were not initially part of the deductive code book, we could very much conclude that all these bonds that form and define the social context of the European free-movers are actually interrelated. Values are experienced to b often cultural as well as civil. There is also an important socio-economic dimension necessary for the formation of a more homogeneous European identity. Thus, it can be concluded that such an identity needs to be strengthened not only by values but also by a socio-economic dimension in the EU.

**Cultural-Civil/Political bonds relation**:

Also, some of the respondents as in interview 2, Appendix B (a woman working for a European institution) clearly associates being European with the common values in article 2 of TEU such as rule of law and democracy but also some common traditions such as the celebration of Christmas. In order to have a further union among the peoples, we need however further "centralization" and "federalization" of the EU according to the respondent. This is a clear expression related to the political structure of the EU and we could conclude that the Cultural bond probably needs to be complemented and strengthened by deepening the political integration:

"An ever closer Union is a way to the centralization and federalization of the EU...Rule of Law, democracy are the things that unite us...also the traditions such as Christmas. This is a common tradition for each European country"

For most of respondents Europe is not only sharing values but also these possibilities for working, travelling and developing yourself and they are attributed to terms such EU/Europe, which actually shows that most of the respondents are not only aware of their EU right for travelling, working and educating one's self but support these initiatives. They are thoughts as benefits, advantages, guarantees or rights This is what could make them call themselves citizens of the Europe. (Interviews 1, and 17, Appendix B)

"Well, to great extent the synchronization of the legislation in Europe and the rights which I have as a citizen of Europe, to great extent I am protected whatever happens to me and this is a great benefit"

"We have certain benefits of course. We do not have to pay such huge taxes for our kids at the local universities. The travelling is easy"

**Cultural-Economic bonds relation:**

It can be assumed that there is a link between the economic bond related to finding a job and the labour market competition on one hand, and on the other hand, the intercultural competences such as the language.

If one of the most common dimension of the free movement is actually the economic one ( free movement of workers), then we can conclude that the economic bond cannot function without fluency in more than one foreign languages apart from one's mother tongue. Thus, the support of the EC for developing a language learning policy within the EU seems a proper measure that takes these effects into account.

**Civil/Political-Cultural bonds relation:**

As stated previously, there is a clear connection between the cultural and civic components of the European identity. While neither of the European institutions is directly mentioned, we could notice the feeling or the idea that for the respondents there is a European society which is defined by its civic culture (abiding the rules) and its old traditions and history. This is what makes it different from the "other":

**Cultural-Economic-Social bonds relation:**

In one of the interviews (where the person is living in Brussels and his wife is working for a European institution, interview 7, Appendix: B), being European was expressed as being a middle level Italian, German or Bulgarian. It is related to the education and the skills/abilities that are developed and actually equalize the different nationalities in Europe:

In this interview, one could actually feel the irritation of the respondent at some of the questions. In particular, the respondent probably regarded the idea being European as being something more or less than the others, as an etiquette or label. We also noticed this irritation among other respondents. It can be concluded that the process of equalization is what can make you a European: A normal educated person earning the living for him and his family who could be a Bulgarian and is not different in any respect from a German or Italian, for example. That is why we concluded that the functioning of all bonds could define the state of being European. In another interview where we have this self-employed person in the Flemish part who is developing his own business, we have similar understanding of what is European under the term middle class. It is someone who is doing business, does not belong to the lower classes such as the beggars or the upper class such as the people working in the institutions. It is someone who is less conservative and who speaks foreign languages because he needs to have these abilities in order to do his business. Moreover, this lifestyle and way of thinking constitute the perception of being European.

**Civil and Political-Cultural bonds relation:**

The right to move in order to work as the core bond lying at the basis of the EU citizenship is associated with the EU in civil/political terms but also with the possibility of knowing other cultures. It is indeed a right that creates the possibility for coming closer in Europe and is something that is viewed in a positive manner. However, we have to say that there are some respondents that do not understand what EU citizenship means and have the wrong idea for it by thinking that having a double citizenship (Belgian and Bulgarian at the same time) makes an EU citizen. This could be explained in different ways but probably one of the explanations is the lack of full information and promotion of what EU is among the nationals of the Member states., :

**Civil/Political bond: categories**

One of the most frequently mentioned categories that we initially included in the deductive code book under the Civil/Political bond is *EU citizen's rights*. Though most of the respondents do not know the full scope of these rights and no one mentioned directly the group of the civil and political rights such as the right to vote and be elected in the EP, these respondents are aware that being citizens of Europe as most of them call to choose themselves bring them certain *rights, benefits, advantages and protection.* Perhaps, one of the possible explanations for the fact that they do not associate these rights directly with EU is the fact that there is no material expression of the EU citizenship in the way a national citizenship is materialized in a passport. The right of free movement, however, creates *entitativity* (awareness, psychological presence) of belonging to Europe. Also, we noticed that some of them associate the EU citizenship with having a double citizenship, for example two nationalities. Furthermore, a very specific understanding of what European citizenship might be, is the way most of them attribute it to certain qualities or way of behaving such as abiding the rules, being more civilized. There is only one example of relating to the EU from the perspective of civil culture. The respondent criticizes the fact that we, as citizens, do not actively participate and contribute with ideas to the political process. If we divide the Civil/Political bond into two elements where under civil we understand certain rights and duties in a given political community and under the political bond-the political institutions and structure, one could say that EU is perceived in a double way. On one hand, it is perceived as a Union of countries and some of the respondents feel citizens of it because their country is part of that Union. But, there is also a clear direct link between EU citizens and EU as a political structure on its own. Even though, it is not always approached in a positive way, the respondents holding critique for its ineffectiveness, are actually well aware of its responsibility and the fact that the EU carries out certain policies affecting their lives. EU as a political structure is associated with its goals such as keeping peace and achieving the well being of its peoples. Those, who are working in the European institutions, go further by connecting it directly with the process of federalization. It is also associated with the euro, the lack of borders and the possibilities it gives. One can conclude that there is a political discourse within Europe on some of the current problems that EU has to deal with and this is what could constitute European civil society and what could provoke the formation of European public sphere, steps that are seen as necessary for strengthening the sense of European identity. Those working in the European institutions choose to call the EU "a zone of comfort" which somehow corresponds with the feeling of the other respondents for a EU that gives them protection and guarantees.

**Challenges:**

The main challenge for the Civil/Political bond is the possibility for the EU to discredit itself in front of the citizens of the EU (interview 8, Appendix: B):

"The serious people who believe in the idea, will say the right to travel, the fact that we are living together. But this is the package of the apple. They forget the inside which is already rotten...The idea was launched but there is no control and the idea was not fulfilled having now killings, islamization of cities and districts. I am sure this was not part of the European documents"

One can conclude from this interview but also from the general spirit of the others that there is lack of trust or skepticism towards the EU in its effectiveness and ability to handle some of the common problems (euro crisis and security issues). At the same time however, there are expectation towards it which means that it is perceived as a legitimate political structure that could act. As a particular challenge for the Civil and Political bond one could outline the problem for the equality between EU citizens. It is a matter of debate why some of interviewed ones would rather call themselves emigrants or immigrants (depending on the point of view) and do not feel equal EU citizens. Some of the respondents, in particular those occupied with manual labour feel discriminated when it comes to the work conditions and especially the level of salaries they receive. Considering and feeling yourself as a labour force in the context of East-West migration, on one hand, supports Adrian Favell's assumptions for possible discrimination towards the workers from Bulgaria which traditionally belonged geographically and politically to systems different from the ones in Western Europe. Also, their unequal treatment or rather their perception for unequal treatment especially compared to the refugees and the Muslim population stirs the debate not only about the equality but also questions regarding the different immigration policies within the different countries, the idea about multiculturalism and the stereotypes that exist within Europe.

The idea that EU removes the national identities and serves the big capitalist interests of the transnational corporations is another example of a strong political but also social critique for the EU which should not be underestimated because it diminishes EU legitimacy (interview 13, appendix: A):

"Yes, I would go to a country in a different continent and I will tell you why. Here, the emigrants from Eastern Europe-Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, we are second hand emigrants...this is how I feel it since the refugee crisis began one year ago. All of them that have Muslim origin and those who are coming are at a higher level than us. They don't need to make so many efforts at school as I have to. They are tolerated. Not only me but also the Russians feel it. You just feel a second hand emigrant..."

"For me..this (EU) is the most artificial construction because it removes the national identity and has the aim to subordinate large masses of people and it does not function adequately in most situations. And the worst...monopoly of money and capital...dictatorship of capital"

and in Interview 9, Appendix B

'Now these Fluechtlinge (the refugees) are sent into the factories without speaking the language because the country does not want to pay for that. So it is going to be very difficult for us the Europeans because there will not be a job for us"

**Relation to other bonds:**

When it comes to the relation to the other bonds, some of the combinations including the Civil/Political bond were already discussed in the part about the Cultural bond. We will still outline the most important ones without repeating ourselves.

**Political bond-Cultural bonds relation:**

EU is perceived as a political structure embodying a set of certain values. Moreover, according to most of the respondents, its duty is to defend the European values or as some call it the European value system. Most of the values that the respondents mention are those in article 2 of TEU. Some put particular emphasis on Christianity and consider the EU a cultural space of Christianity and oppose it to the Islamic civilization. Among the values are also peace and tolerance. The rights and the numerous possibilities related most often to the right of free movement and as a result the possibility for further education and getting to know other cultures are viewed in such a positive manner that they become themselves values and some even choose to call them the ideology of the EU (interview 1, Appendix: A).

These rights and possibilities constitute the feeling of freedom and this creates entitativity of the EU. EU, also represents, the general idea of a society where people follow rules and this makes them Europeans compared to others that do not follow or are unwilling to follow rules.

**Civil and Political-Economic bonds relation:**

The relation between these two bonds is expressed through the idea for equality understood as the same level of remuneration and working conditions between the different nationals in the EU. In other words, being European means receiving the same salary and having the same standard of living. The different standards of living make some individuals think that they can feel European only in West Europe. The cases of discrimination regarding the level of the salaries sustains the feeling that some EU citizens are not equal to the other nationals of the Member States and that is why some of them prefer to call themselves immigrants ( Interviews 9 and 13, Appendix B.)

"No, I would not say I am citizen of the EU. How can I feel such?...But yes...we feel..to some extent I feel...me and my family in Bulgaria...well our confidence here that we are people and we are living. The people in Bulgaria is nothing for our system. We got poor. We were destroyed. While here, we have confidence and we are people. Yes, we are foreigners but still we are part of the EU/Europe"

"No, I would not say I am a citizen of the EU because I do not have the same rights as the others do...Given the fact I have worked at an important position in Bulgarian and received 200 euros and here for this mini job I get 400 euros...Well what kind of a European confidence as a Bulgarian I could have"

and in Interview 11, Appendix B

"Yes. I do feel European. The understanding is that we are living in a European way. The way we watched on movies...people go shopping one time in a week, go on a vacation. This could be seen here in a systematic way. People go in the morning to their work place and in the evening to their family. The only difference in my case is that I do not go in the evening to my family....I go to the big supermarkets. I like something and I buy it. I do not deprive myself of anything. Whatever your soul wants, it get what it wants. Also my child and my wife...I do not deprive themselves of anything....In Bulgaria when we go in the morning to the work place, we do not care if we are late or not"

**Political and Cultural-Economic bonds:**

There is an understanding for the EU as a union based on common interests and economic benefits but the cultural and religious differences between the countries combined with expressed critique for the ineffective ruling is seen as a hindrance for the functioning of the political union as well. As to the economic side, most of the Bulgarian respondents view the membership of Bulgaria as a source of labour force, interview 10, Appendix B:

"It is Union similar to another one and now they do not know how to rule it. These are too many different countries with different interests. Even though it is one religions...mostly Catholics...there is a huge difference. They are much more religious. ...It is about easier free trade...and we were invited for a labour force but we are not working under the same conditions"

**Economic bond : categories**

The economic bond manifests itself through the core of economic rights of the EU citizenship. Most respondents associate their right to move and work without a visa as a great benefit. This economic right is very often related to other bonds such as the social one but we are going to discuss this later. Other categories under the economic bond are discrimination and competition. Those respondents understand that they are part of the labour force market and have to possess certain qualities and skills in order to compete. Those that are highly educated and are working in highly specialized fields differ from the others with a very high self-confidence. One of the purposes of the research was to find out if there is discrimination and if the cultural differences might be reasons for it. Previously we discussed that some of our interviewed ones, in particular the low-skill workers, believe that they are subject of discrimination especially when it comes to the level of salaries compared to the nationals of the local country but also compared to different Muslim communities (Turks in Germany, for example) or the refugees. At the same time these people consider they are Europeans through the fact that they are working, paying their taxes and abiding all rules, interview 9, Appendix B:

"What does it mean to be European? We are Europeans. We are Europeans. What do I understand...Well I pay my taxes regularly. That is very important here. Well...25/30 percent from your salary in Germany is for taxes. It is getting harder and harder. The taxes are getting higher but the salaries not. I did not think about the money...now I am thinking about every cent"

Taxes is one of the most frequently mentioned category. The duty to pay your taxes and the balance between the level of the salary and the taxes is what makes you European.

The division lines between Europeans and refugees and Muslims, between East-Europeans and immigrant communities manifest themselves in the level of salaries and the treatment by the employers. These findings imply that there is a link between the Cultural bond and the Economic one which is reflected in the way the common market is functioning. Thus, we are now going to discuss the different bonds relations:

**Relation to other bonds:**

**Economic-Social bonds relations:**

The link between the Economic and the Social bond is related to the fact that the exercising of the economic rights (article 45 of the TFEU) by the EU citizens concerns the fulfillment of their social rights. It is well known that at the EU level, there is a set of minimal requirement for safety and health issues. As to the social systems, each country has its own policy and there is only a coordination between the Member States in that respect. Also, one of the requirements for staying for more than 3 month in a EU country is proving that the individual will have sufficient financial resources and will not burden the social system of the local country. Among our respondents there were no cases of abuses of the social system in the local country. On the contrary, all of the respondents that were redundant, started receiving redundancy payments according to the national standards and were treated in an equal manner with the nationals of the country. However, some of them in particular those working in Germany and in Belgium reported that some of their compatriots of Roma and Turkish origin did abuse the social systems of the local countries by requiring different forms of social benefits instead of trying to work, interview 9, Appendix B

"The people who first came here (in the 90s) looked at the system in a more serious way in Germany. Now everybody is waiting for social benefits and people are lazy and we the Bulgarian people are known in a very negative way. There are much bigger abuses than before"

"...I do not want to offend anybody but from the "New Ours" is full...our Roma people. Our reputation is distorted"

These cases illustrate the inevitable link between the Economic and Social bond but its relation to the topic of European identity is reflected better when we associate it with the Cultural bond. Before analyzing the link with the Cultural bond, we have to say that one of the most frequently mentioned categories under the Economic bond and namely competition goes together with the intercultural competences. Speaking the language of the local country and in general more foreign languages is a guarantee for competitiveness in the EU. Those individuals that invest efforts in learning the local language, are better socially but also culturally integrated and they rarely encounter discrimination as they are aware of their duties and rights in the host country.

**Economic-Social-Cultural bonds relation:**

One can conclude that the abuses of the social systems have negative impact on the idea of an ever closer union as they create social tension, feeling of injustice and xenophobia through creating and maintaining stereotypes about the nationals of certain countries. On the other hand the likeness and fondness for the culture of a given country, may be the reasons for better adapting in it and choosing to live and work there as it is the case with the truck drivers in Ireland. The imbalance between giving and receiving understood in social as well as cultural terms is seen as a hindrance to the fulfillment of an ever closer union. Most respondents agree that working in another country requires respect for the local culture and national rules. Thus, the cases of abuses of the social systems and disrespect for the local culture are signs of egoism and lack of solidarity.

**Economic-Cultural bonds relation:**

Another interesting understanding of what is to be European is the idea that being European is a matter of standard of living and changing one's mentality which is affected by the travelling and working in another country. In other words, becoming European means receiving a salary which secures you a good standard of living but also being more patient, tolerant, open and civilized (abiding the rules), interview 18, Appendix B:

"Many people are telling me that my way of thinking has changed. My relatives are saying: "When you will come to Bulgaria you will see how it is...you know you have been already for 20 years abroad. You will understand that you way if thinking has changed. It is European." Well I am a little skeptical because I have come back to Bulgaria only for a month vacation and you cannot feel the change. But personally, in particular about the prices. The prices in the Netherlands, even though people receive a middle salary 1700 Euros, some products in Bulgaria have the same prices as in the Netherlands. It is the same with the gas and petrol. But yeah my way of thinking has changed. In particular about the job....You could live with 100 and 100 000 but you have to live as the others do"

At the same time the possibilities for working together creates the basis for mixing as one of the respondents chooses to call it and leads to equalization (interview 8, Appendix: A) and the creation of a middle level of European that is closer with the others in social, economic and cultural terms:

"Here it is the synchronization. You have a transfer of money, stock and services...and the exchange of cultural mentality. If you are Bulgarian and I am Belgian and we make business together, we exchange something and if everything goes well, we start to become friends. I could invite you to my house, you could invite me. We could become closed and the business will go smoother. You could recommend me to someone for that"

**Economic-Civil and Political bonds relation:**

The relation between these bonds is reflected in the way EU is psychological present in EU citizen's minds. The Euro which is one of the most important factors for functioning of the common market is one of the features of the EU that individuals associate themselves with.

**Social bond: categories**

One of the most frequently mentioned categories under the social bond is the one related to the social rights within the EU. As a whole, the respondents regard Europe as a more socially oriented and less commercialized space compared to the USA. What is more, this is one of the reasons why they would not rather go to work in the USA. We can conclude that this is one of characteristics of the European societies and it is what differs the European mentality from the American one, for example in interview 1, Appendix B:

"No matter what, the European countries are more socially oriented and less commercialized in comparison with America"

**Challenges:**

As to the challenges, one could add the cases of abuses of the social systems of the Member States that influence in a negative way the social cohesion in the EU and as a whole the idea of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe in cultural and social terms.

**Relation to other bonds:**

**Social-Economic bonds relation:**

The functioning of the common market in Europe is very connected to the social dimensions such as the social rights of the workers, the rules for redundancy payments, for the organization of strikes or for receiving social benefits that are currently in the domain of the national legislations. On one hand, one of the EU goals is to maintain an economic union which is less commercialized than USA in a sense that the social rights are better protected. On the other hand, the lack of harmonization together with the imbalanced economic development in Europe creates the grounds for abuses of the social systems of the richer Member States by some of the citizens of the poorer Member States.

**Social-Cultural bonds relation:**

Previously we already discussed cases of abuses of the social systems in some of the countries by people who initially originate from the traditional minorities in Bulgaria. This topic requires further analyses and reflection if we want to understand the deep social and political reasons for this type of social benefits immigrants/tourists. What is important in this research is the connection with the cultural bond in Europe. These abuses create negative stereotypes about Bulgaria and as a whole are a hindrance to the formation of an ever closer union based on solidarity. This diminishes the fondness, likeness or the possibility for getting to know different cultures and it does not support the social cohesion in Europe. On the contrary, it creates the grounds for loosening the integration bonds.

**Solidarity:**

The development of solidarity is seen as a step to the formation of European identity. Moreover, an ethno-cultural idea for Europe based on common destiny and common problems such as social, political and natural upheavals or catastrophes could develop solidarity and, in turn, European identity. As to the existence of solidarity between the peoples, individuals or societies within the EU, most of the respondents criticizes that it seems that there is a general trend that egoism is growing up. Such expressions are shared in the context of a space of free movement of stocks, services, capital and people. Thus, it has economic and social dimensions. At the same time, solidarity is also understood first and foremost as a moral value. One can conclude that solidarity in Europe has economic and social as well as a moral dimension, ( "receiving instead of giving", interview. 14, Appendix B).

"Some Bulgarians wants to have without giving (making efforts). This is to be European, to be open. To go outside, to plant flowers so that it feels good..."

**3.1.2. Inductive analysis of bonds relations, other bonds and ideas**

**Cultural bond**

In one single interview a perception of being European was expressed not only as being different from the "minorities" but the European as based on physical features such as whiteness that we could attribute to racial categories (interview 1, Appendix: B):

"The system in Belgium is constructed in a way that it protects the minorities. Considering my physical features of a European, white etc, I am not in that discriminative group"

As a model of a cultural bond in Europe the ideas of multi-nationalism and multiculturalism (interview 2 and interview 19, Appendix: B ) are expressed in two interviews among the respondents working respectively for a European institution and at the University of Liege.

"Here in Luxembourg (the city) are living together around 130 different nationalities. I have colleagues that are from India and a friend from Turkey (Turkey is still not in the EU). I would not say exactly that there is European identity but...multinational identity...something connected with the globalization...people that are living and working in multinational communities and such people that are living and working in their own country"

"...No I would not say it. (Do you feel European?)....(And in Canada?) ...During the last years I felt very good in Canada. Of course I feel first Bulgarian but I liked many things there. This international environment, the fact that people are very tolerant towards the differences. It is pretty different from USA when it comes to the migrants. They call it multi-culturalism. You can be yourself. They do not expect from you to be Canadian. This makes you actually a Canadian. While in other countries the feeling is that you have to adapt yourself and accept more or less."

For the respondent from interview 19 (Appendix: B), however, multiculturalism in Europe should be similar to the Canadian model where being a foreigner and the right to stay such without having to change or deny who you are, actually constitutes the Canadian model. In his opinion, the fact that the European societies are still predominantly mono-cultural (Italy where only Italian is spoken, for example) does not allow for such a model to be fulfilled. Language competences but also the deep meanings that each European language together with the traditions of each country are serious cultural barriers for many of the respondents:

At the same time, many respondents view communication and openness as means for overcoming those barriers and form what we chose to call *a human bond*, which can be assumed to be a developing global identity. Also, we have noticed that this communication and openness to the other in Europe, the development of tolerance are matters of personal change or a process. This supports the idea that *the ever closer union* in cultural terms is indeed possible when viewed as a gradual process of change where individuals exchange their cultures. This exchange is taking place within the economic domain of making business as self-employed person, as a person working for the European institutions or as working as a manual worker in a factory in Germany. Moreover, according to the respondent who has a business in the Flemish part of Belgium (interview 8, appendix: B):

"Here it is the synchronization. You have a transfer of money, stock and services and the exchange of cultural mentality".

It is what constitutes the middle class European. Turkey and Russia, however, are excluded in that interview from the process of synchronization. Here, unlike the development of USA, free market goes together with the exchange of culture. This is what, for example, differs EU from USA.

A Cultural bond, on the other hand, exists according to the respondents in cultural difefrences that are geographically defined, interview 15 for example:

"Closeness in a cultural sense? It depends on the peoples...Are you talking about the peoples in Europe. It will be in regions. Scandinavia with Germany and Holland. Then Belgium, France and Spain. The other region is Eastern Europe. ..."

Others think that what brings individuals together in Europe are the different cultural initiatives and the individual contribution that everybody can make by promoting their culture., interview 14:

"So, I think ...because we are in Europe...because I contribute to Europe. There is this team for traditional Bulgarian dancing where we represent Bulgaria in Europe..we have been also to France, also in Belgium...I think this is contribution..this enriches Europe"

Also there is a differentiation between Europe as a larger cultural spaces of values and traditions and EU as a political structure in which not all European states are part of. Inductively, except for the regional cultural differences in Europe, the so called Slavic identity appeared in numerous interviews such as in interviews 1 and 4:

"I felt really good in the Czech republic. They are Slavic as identity. It is true, we the Slavic people spoke the same language until 13/14 century. I became part of the environment very quickly. I think it will be very difficult without common history"

"I feel closer to the Russian people because of Bulgaria. I have read the whole Russian classics like Dostoevsky. From that point of view I feel closer with the Russians and the Europeans but not with the Americans . I understand them but they do not have that depth"

The so called Balkan mentality is also mentioned several times, interview 10 and interview

"I had personal problems but only with Bulgarians. We are jealous, a dirty tribe, the mentality can't change, Bai Ganio in Europe"

"Ahhh....Compared to other people I know in Bulgaria, I would say that I feel European. I am more European but not as much as the people here. You asked me before about this...people here do not know their neighbours. This cannot correspond to our understandings and the way we are. If I am European? Yes and no. ...Yes because...I am out of Bulgaria 16 years ago. You somehow have better manners and become more tolerant...no because this closed way of living...we are used to communicating only between ourselves...This Balkan heart...you see somebody and you will invite him to eat...you will share what you have on the table....two slices of bread.....(Thinks that this is a trait of the Southern peoples like the Turks for example)...But people are losing this gradually and in this respect we are Europeanizing ourselves"

and in interview 12:

"Yes. Me, personally I feel European. Well what can I say..It is a very broad term..I feel because of the simple reason that when I am living in a country from the EU or a Western European country, the person learns to abide the laws, to respect the other people...like the integration...because you know in BG...during a traffic jam, you know what is going on...There are Bulgarians that have a very high level of self-consciousness...but no matter how European you are, when you are in BG you have to react in a different way when they disturb you during a traffic jam...(numerous examples for Bulgaria for not following the rules, for example the garbage, talking about the need for sanctions)"

The discussion about the existence of a Slavic or a Balkan identity is supposed to be placed in the context about the European identity in this thesis. First, this type of these identities is rather cultural than civic/political. However, there is a major difference in their mentioning. While the perception of being Slavic is not opposed to the European identity which is also connected to the attitude towards Russia, being Balkan is perceived either as being non-European or even undeveloped in some terms such being less tolerant, cultivated or patient or as keeping some positive qualities that the Europeans miss such as being warmer and more empathetic. These identities are going to be further discussed in the part about the models of European identity.

**Civil-Political bond: categories**

The results of the interviews show that many of these respondents associate their rights, benefits or guarantees (these are the used terms by them) with the fact that their country is a member of the EU. It is true that every citizen of a Member State is a citizen of the EU and EU citizenship complements and does not replace the national citizenship. Moreover, it is not a citizenship in the sense of a national one. All in all, we did not find evidence to support a clear political bond between the EU citizens and the European institutions. Also, citizens of Europe means for many of the respondents adopting a certain way of behaving such as abiding the rules, being more careful, more civilized, tolerant and punctual. The discourse or in other words what is being discussed is something that creates *entitativity* of the EU and resembles the political bond conceptualized by Jonathan White. The euro, the different problems such as the security issues create expectations towards the EU and is what could strengthen the civic-political identification with the EU.

**Economic bond : categories**

Inductively we managed to outline the category of economic development under which we could place codes such as prices and standard of living that were not part of the deductive codebook. One can somehow define this under the *Horizontal economic bond* between the Member States that we discussed in the Constraints framework. By and large, the differences between more and less developed in economic terms countries influences the perception of what is to be European.

**Social bond: categories**

Apart from terms such as social rights, social system and protection, there is another use of the terms social that we noticed and decided to draw out inductively. The social equalization between the individuals in Europe together with the economic and cultural closeness creates the so called middle level European. Socially, it is an individual that not only receives a middle level European salary but also acts and thinks in the same in the larger European society, interview 8:

"I do not think that being European is qualified with somebody who is living on the European continent and someone who comes presumably from Western Europe so that we could call him European the way it was until today. You know the East has always tried to catch the West. In the moment, however, the West is starting to go down and it is meeting the East. Due to that we have a middle level. We are becoming one big village. Everything is the same. Even though we speak different languages, we speak basically the same things. Everything has began to merge in the last 10 or 15 years."

As to the research goal of finding specific models in the often stereotyped East-West migration, some important quantity data and research reports have to be analyzed and compared with the empirical results.

**3.2. Quantity data, research reports versus empirical data comparison**

**Eurobarometer's Geographical Labour mobility report 2010**

This Eurobarometer's survey whose fieldwork was conducted in 2009 examines the mobility intentions, experiences as well as attitudes among the EU countries using the differentiation between EU15 and EU12 where EU12 is the group of the countries of the Eastern Enlargement. According to the survey there is a significant difference in the motivation to move in another EU country between the nationals of EU15 and EU12 as the national of EU12 are more likely to move in order to earn more money 61 % vs 27 %. [[82]](#footnote-83) Therefore the economic reasons for EU 12 moving are again outlined as dominant compared to motives such as liking the culture and lifestyle[[83]](#footnote-84). Also, according to this survey the possibility to move and reside freely within the EU is highly cherished by the nationals of the nationals of all Member States. As this is a very general report placing Bulgaria in the group of EU 12, we would only like to dwell on the general trends and check if they are confirmed in our interviews and the more particular surveys and reports dedicated on Bulgaria.

**Labor mobility report 2014 and Annual report on Labour mobility 2015 vs Bulgarian reports data and analysis**

We chose to analyze the quantity data and results of both reports which were carried out under the initiative of the EC as they aim at gathering data for so called intra-EU mobility which is the focus of this thesis. Additionally, however, these reports include information about the mobility in broader terms, including the 28-EU countries as well as the stocks and flows to and from the EFTA countries (Norway, Switzerland, Iceland and Lichtenstein). What we are interested in, is the intra-EU mobility bearing in mind that only the nationals of the Member States of the EU are citizens of the EU and therefore we will focus on this part of the report. Also, one need to address the fact that these are annual reports that present and analyze quantity data from an initially set period of time, usually the previous 1 or 2 years. Both reports differ from each other slightly in their focus, the first one focusing more on the mobility of the younger and highly educated people and the second one on the so called cross-border mobility workers.

This empirical study included respondents from both groups that we chose to call respectively high qualified persons and lower-skilled persons. First, we could like to see if the reports present any specific results about the East-West migration/mobility under which Bulgarian citizens are usually placed. We will compare these results with the statements in our interviews in order to check if there is a link with the European identity and if, so what this link is. Second, we will check what the structure of this mobility or in other words the occupational field is, in order to check if the stereotypes of the East-West migration or justified or not. Third, we will analyze the data about the Bulgarian EU-movers regarding their motivation for moving and the social status in the residence country (where they moved to) in order to look for possible implications to the matter of European identity. Also, we have to consider that the transitional arrangements for Bulgarian citizens ended on the 31 first of December 2014 and that in our interviews we have respondents who moved within the transitional period between 1 of January 2007 and 31 of December 2014 as well as Bulgarian citizens who moved to another county or countries of the EU in order to work before the admission of Bulgaria to the EU. Therefore it is important for us to analyze the statements in our interviews in order to see what expectations, attitudes and perceptions there were among our citizens but also on behalf the countries of residence where they moved to.

**East-West migration vs mobility**

According to the Annual report of 2014 the five EU Member States/EFTA countries with the largest numbers of working-age EU-28/EFTA movers (between 15 and 64) were Germany (2.6 million), the UK (1.9 million), Spain (1.4 million), Italy (1.3 million) and Switzerland (934,000). France followed closely with around 890,000 EU-28/EFTA movers. But the EU Member States/EFTA countries with the highest shares of working-age EU-28/EFTA movers of their total population were Luxembourg (44%), Switzerland (17%), Cyprus (12%) and Ireland (10%). The shares in all other countries were below 10%. Also, Bulgarians are not among the top 5 national groups residing in another Member States (Romanians, Polish, Italian, Portuguese and Germans). In particular, the case of Bulgaria which is often grouped together with Romania, shows that the fears for overflowing with Bulgarian movers after the end of the transitional period in some of these top 5 countries such as the UK were biased and most probably used in internal political discourses. Moreover, according to the media coverage the numbers of Bulgarian movers after 2014 was not as high as expected.[[84]](#footnote-85) What is often thought however for the Bulgaria movers is that they are often low-skilled workers and they move because of the economic situation in their own country. According to the report of 2014 Romanians and Bulgarians who have moved to Italy, Spain, Germany and the UK since 2007 suggests that these movements are linked to other factors than transitional arrangements, such as the economic situation of these countries. Also, the data for 2013 shows that the largest group of Bulgarian movers is composed of people with medium educational level, Table 29, ( see Appendix: B) , from the report followed by the lower educational level and the people with high education. Also according to Table 7, ( see Appendix: B). the flows of Bulgarian and Romanian citizens moving to the 4 largest accepting countries Germany, Spain, Italy and UK in the period 2007-2013 changed most probably according to the economic situation and labour market in these countries, which means that the decrease of flows into Spain could be explained with the unemployment rate and the opposite could be said about Germany. Some of the main observation from these reports such as the fact that the numbers of Bulgarian movers did not as a whole significantly increase with the ending of the transitional periods and the fact that most Bulgarian movers possess medium and lower educational level could be compared with the results from the report of the Bulgarian open society "Bulgarian labour migration: do restrictions make sense?" based on the results from the two major Bulgarian researches “Bulgarian Migration: Incentives and Constellations”, Dr. Krasen Stanchev at al., Institute for Market Economics, 2005, and “Trends in Cross-border Workforce Migration and the Free Movement of People – Effects for Bulgaria”7, OSI–Sofia, 2010.

In The Policy Brief 2011 of the Open Society 3 different emigration periods for the Bulgarian citizens are outlined. Apparently, the greatest outflow of young and highly educated people happened in the 90s when the economic situation in Bulgaria was quite hard. Then, the period after 2000 differs through the outflows of women with medium or high educational profile who are occupied with low qualified works such as house cleaning and elder people in Italy and Greece. This emigration has, however, a temporary effect. After 2007 the emigration remains as a whole temporary and seasonal. However, the workers already have a legal status of EU citizens which improves the integration in the host societies. The main reason for leaving Bulgaria remains the economic situation, the income level and the work conditions. Later, in the part about the motivation for moving we are going to compare the results from the interviews with the data we have from these reports. What is important to note here is that the focus of our thesis were Bulgarian movers who have the status of EU citizens which means that they are subject of the principle of non-discrimination bearing in mind that in the period 2007-2014 there were transitional arrangements for the access of Bulgarian citizens to the labour market in the Member States. Generally. When comparing the main conclusions between the Open Society Policy Brief and EC reports from 2014 and 2015, we can confirm that the profile of Bulgarian movers after the EU accession is more of medium and low qualified persons as the share of highly educated persons took place before the EU accession and this is migration which is first and foremost connected with the economic situation in the sending country, in our case Bulgaria. Also, the statistical data in Bulgaria shows that despite the EU membership and the removal of hindrances to the free movement of Bulgarian citizens, the emigration actually did not increase after 2007 or 2014 as in the period 1992-2001 when 217 809[[85]](#footnote-86) Bulgarians emigrated and in the period 2001-2011, 175 244[[86]](#footnote-87) according to the National Statistical Institute's survey Census of Population and Housing 1.02.1011 that counts the population change using the numbers of people absent from the country for more than one year.

The Open Society report confirms the conclusions from the Labor mobility report 2014 that the outflows of Bulgarians towards Western Europe is biased and unjustified and Bulgaria cannot be a threat to the labour markets in the host countries. Also, the comparison between Bulgaria and Romania based on the fact that both countries became EU members in 2007 is not completely relevant given the difference of population size of both countries. Therefore, Romania is indeed the biggest national group residing in the EU among all Member States' nationals. Having outlined this data, we would like to note that Bulgarian citizens cannot be placed in the same group with Romania as there are structural differences such as the share of emigrating population. What is common with Romania, however, are that both countries rely on the so called remittances, payments sent from the Bulgarian and Romanian workers to their countries from the host countries where they are working. Now, we are going to compare if/how the EU accession giving EU citizenship status and the end of the transitional period changed the self-perception of Bulgarian citizens in the EU, if there is a difference between the feeling of being immigrant or emigrant compared to being EU citizen. Also, we have to bear in mind that among our respondents we have persons both with lower and higher educational profile and such who used to reside in several EU countries before the EU accession and such who chose to move after the accession. Also, among our respondents we did not detect seasonal workers who planned to stay only temporary in the host country. On the contrary, the majority of our respondents are persons residing permanently in the host countries without the immediate intention of returning to Bulgaria.

By analyzing each interview separately one can conclude that we manage to research a group of Bulgarian citizens with both low and high educational profile which has not been exclusively subject of research in the Bulgarian migration studies (Anna Krasteva's "Bulgarian migration profile", "Temporary and Circular migration 2004-2009 research", “Bulgarian Migration: Incentives and Constellations”, Dr. Krasen Stanchev at al., Institute for Market Economics, 2005, and “Trends in Cross-border Workforce Migration and the Free Movement of People – Effects for Bulgaria”7, OSI–Sofia, 2010).

By analyzing our interviews, we also wanted to see if these Bulgarian citizens perceive themselves in a different way and if and what the difference between emigrant, immigrant or mobile EU citizen could be. We also assumed that the motivation for moving, the occupational field and the social status in the host country are factors that can somehow define the differences between immigrant/emigrant and mobile EU citizen and could possibly influence the feeling or perception of being European. Therefore we are going to analyze our interviews and compare some of the statements with the case studies in two major Bulgarian studies mentioned above as well as Anna Krasteva's research.

**"Bulgarian migration profile" research**

In Anna Krasteva's research on the profile of Bulgarian migration 3 groups are distinguished :the mobility of the minorities (Roma and Turks), forced migration such as human trafficking and highly skilled emigrants together with low qualified ones. What is different about her research is her arguing that this is an emigration structure shaped in the context of emigration as a "post-communist freedom"[[87]](#footnote-88). We think that this arguing could also be relevant to our interview analysis in particular when it comes to the motivation behind the mobility as Bulgaria is one of the countries which underwent a change from a communist to a democratic, liberal state. Therefore, when analyzing the interviews especially among the respondents who moved before EU accession, we will try to see whether there are accounts for such arguing or not and how/if this is related to the issue of European identity.

**“Bulgarian Migration: Incentives and Constellations”**

"The Bulgaria migration: Incentives and Constellations" is a qualitative research based on literature review, statistical data and documentation including in-depth interviews that aims at finding the incentives (stimuli) for the Bulgarian migration during 2004 and has several case studies in Italy, Germany, Greece and Spain that are considered to be among the top countries with Bulgarian migrants. First, this research was conducted in 2004 which means that it studies patterns of migration that are prior to Bulgaria's EU accession. What we found out is that this research summarized a profile of Bulgarian migrants that are mainly occupied with services abroad (elder care, house cleaning, construction) and possess secondary school education[[88]](#footnote-89). In our cases, however, the sample of respondents turned to be quite various: low qualified, high qualified persons working in their field as well as self-employed ones. What we find interesting about this research and we are going to compare with our interviews are the most frequently mentioned motives for moving such as the lack of improving the economic situation in Bulgaria, unemployment but also bankruptcy and debts to banks. It is also in this research that we found out a major trend among Bulgarian lower qualified persons and namely the remittances payments[[89]](#footnote-90) (transfers of money) that they send to the their households in Bulgaria. These are important trends that we are going to check when analyzing our interviews in order to see if/how social status could be related to the perception/feelings of being European.

**“Trends in Cross-border Workforce Migration and the Free Movement of People – Effects for Bulgaria”7**

This particular research which included case studies for Rhodes island, Greece, UK (London's and Brighton's districts in )in 2005 and 2009, as well as Italy is of particular interest to us as it shows a profile of the Bulgarian mover which differs from the studies that we touched upon above. In the case of UK we do have reported hostility[[90]](#footnote-91) especially towards those who came in 2009 and in the case of Italy we have what the paper calls "the economy of suffering"[[91]](#footnote-92) in the case of the bandante women (occupied with elder care services) where a profile of a bitter and angry Bulgarian citizen is to be found out. We assumed that this particular attitude that we also encountered in some of our interviews could be an important factor in the analysis of the issue of European identity, in particular in the case of Bulgarian movers/migrants.

To conclude, these qualitative studies present a summarized profile of Bulgarian migrants profiles and mobility structure prior to the EU accession. Bearing the statistical data that a large share of Bulgarian citizens already moved in the years between 1990 and 2007, we believe that these characteristics could help us in better understanding the migrant profile, the mobility structure of our respondents and their attitudes towards the European identity issue. We are also going to argue that social status ( the occupation and the prestige related to it together with the educational level and level of income) might have its own particular implication for the feeling or perception of being European considering that it is a factor that influences the national identification and the attitudes towards the country of origin, Bulgaria.

**Motivation for moving, structure of the mobility (occupational field) and social status as implications for the European identity**

The socio-demographic picture of the respondents is diverse but at the same time very balanced in certain terms. In terms of sex, among 20 respondents, 10 were women and 10 men. 10 possess high education, 1 holds a doctorate and 7 have medium education usually with an additional qualification. None of the respondents has elementary education. Two of the respondents work for a European institution and 1 is looking for such a job while his wife is occupied at a European institution. Most of the respondents are working in their occupational field. Six respondents that are high skilled are working below their qualifications and they are all women.

The interviews are analyzed either separately or in groups in terms of similarities.

**Interview 1, Appendix B**

The interviewed person in the first interview moved not precisely for economic reasons but rather for further education and professional development opportunities He resembles to a great extent the profile of a post-communist[[92]](#footnote-93) individual described by Anna Krasteva. In other words, we have a person born in the 70s, highly educated and working in his field at a prestigious international company in Belgium who lived in several European countries successively (Czech, Germany and Belgium) before that and who is enjoying the liberal freedoms that Bulgarians did not have before the fall of Communism. There is an appreciation of the rights and freedoms that the EU guarantees to the nationals of the Member States such as the right to move, reside and work free on its territory. While one can say that the respondent's positive attitude towards the EU is grounded on his rights of an EU citizen and his social status in the host country (Belgium), these factors do not suffice for the formation of a European identity in cultural terms or in civic-political sense because the Member State's membership in the EU is what, in the respondent's perception, gives him these possibilities for travelling and working without visa. Nevertheless, the attachment and the positive attitude towards the EU, as hypothesized by Favell and Ettore Recchi, though different from the affective side of an identity, could contribute to the development of such an identity.

**Interviews 2 and 4, Appendix B**

The respondent in the second interview resembles the profile of the interviewed person in the first interview. It is a woman who is highly educated, speaking several languages, having a higher social status because of her work at a European institution in Luxembourg. Born in the 70s she belongs to this generation in Bulgaria that longed for liberal freedoms such the freedom to move and who was disappointed by the economic situation in Bulgaria in particular in the 90s. These are people who cherish EU and who possess high expectations for the work conditions and level of salary they would like to receive.

**Interviews 3 and 14, Appendix B**

The respondent in the third interview presents an interesting case that could be compared to some extent with the case studies of "Trends in Cross-border Workforce Migration and the Free Movement of People – Effects for Bulgaria" (Greece, UK (London), Italy). Though in our case we have a woman who is highly educated, fluent in English, occupied as a teacher in UK, enjoying a good standard of living and a social status that differentiates her from the low-qualified professions, the attitude of that respondent resembles the resentment and bitterness expressed by the so called bandante women workers in Italy ( taking care of elder people). Having left Bulgaria because of bank loans and the hard economic situation in the 90s, this respondent feels the same anger towards Bulgaria that the bandante women have. The perception of being European, in this particular case and generally in all 20 interviews, that were taken is highly related to what respondents call *rights, guarantees and opportunities* *or benefits*. These are words that summarize what most respondent call a normal life and which Bulgaria cannot offer to its citizens. Moreover, one can conclude that this is a striking observation that we notice in all our respondents no matter they social status and level of education which expresses a general view for the economic and political situation after the transition from socialist to a democratic and capitalist state. These observations confirm the Open Institute Policy brief 2011 results that show as reasons for moving not only the economic situation in Bulgaria but also the feeling of insecurity which prevails in Bulgaria. Similarly, to the respondent of interview 3, the interviewed woman in interview number 14 left to see "the other world" in the 90s. Though working a low qualified job, she is well integrated into the Belgian society, speaks fluently French and is married to a Belgian man. The observations in that interview imply us that the standard of living and the possible marriage with a local contribute to the self-perception of being European.

**Interviews 9 and 13, Appendix B**

What is common about all these interviews is the fact that these are all respondents working in Germany which is among the top 5 destinations for Bulgarian EU-movers (Spain, Germany, Italy, UK and Greece) according to the data in the reports. They are of particular interest to our thesis as they help us distinguish between the uses of terms such as emigrant or immigrant ( leaving your country and respectively the persons who settle in another country) and citizen of Europe/EU. It is in these two interviews that we came upon perception of discrimination based on the fact of being an emigrant from an East-European country which puts one's self in a group with Romanians, Ukrainians and Polish. Those observations confirm the assumption of Favell as well as his research on Polish and Romanian workers before the end of the transitional arrangements period of these two countries that there were subject of exploitation, xenophobia and exclusion.[[93]](#footnote-94). Apparently our respondents all occupied in lower qualified jobs feel that they possess a lower social status as being emigrants compared to the treatment of other groups in the host society. Being a citizen of Europe in that sense is a matter of confidence, social status but also a standard of living. Also, the same indignation towards Bulgaria and the destruction of the "system in the 90s" accounts for feeling of alienation and national nihilism[[94]](#footnote-95) that Petya Kabakchieva outlined in her qualitative research on temporary Bulgarian workers.

**Interviews 6 and 7, Appendix B**

In those interviews we have highly educated people who possess a higher social status in the host country Belgium. Their motives for moving could not be described particularly as economic ones but rather in the first case as a strife for self-fulfillment and in the second one as securing better future and possibilities for the whole family.However, in both cases we have persons or members of family who possess high diplomas and are very competitive on the labour market (first case) and in the European institutions (second case). In these cases we have persons whose perception of being European is based on confidence in their own position and skills. Perhaps, the use of the term middle level German or Italian and the expressed irritation at the question *Do you feel European?* serve to show us a different trend in the stereotyped East-West migration where high qualified Bulgarian citizens refuse to be subject of discrimination and are more than willing to break the existing stereotypes. Оne can conclude that the consequences of the Eastern enlargement related to the labour market and the integration of citizens of East Europe gives a new dimension to the research into the European identity. It gives us the grounds to reflect upon the issue whether being European is a matter of a superior and privileged social status preserved for the West European people and those East European who managed to achieve upward social mobility in the West European societies.

However, it is also important to note that in some of the interviews including those two, we encountered respondents that do not support such a cultural and political division in Europe and what is more they believe that it is artificially constructed and sustained. To conclude, the East-West division does not contribute to the formation of a strong common European identity because it is often based on ignorance, xenophobia and stereotypes instead of solidarity and common values. In the very beginning we implied that there might be a difference between the use of mobility and migration. In this empirical study *mobility* is rather associated with *equality* and being European while migration is related to the stereotyped East-West migration as well as feelings and perception of inequality.

**Interviews 8, 10, 11, 12, 18, Appendix B**

The respondents from interviews 8, 10, 11, 12 and 18 were respectively a self-employed person in Belgium, two truck drivers in Northern Ireland (UK), a person working in the maintenance of rail transport in Switzerland ( Switzerland is part of EFTA) and a woman working at a factory in the Netherlands. What these Bulgarian citizens have in common is their perception of being European outside Bulgaria. All in all, they possesses either low or medium qualification and they are as a whole satisfied with their professional realization. Though some of them express discrimination, particularly when it comes to the level of salaries they receive or in the case of the self-employed persons when he was trying to carry out some administrative procedures related to his work, their efforts in learning the language and hard work had secured them better integration and higher level of confidence. Similarly, however, to the interviewed ones 9 and 13, working in Germany, they left Bulgaria either for economic reasons or bank loans. Their professional realization and self-confidence in their language skills however account for less discrimination from the local societies and their attitude towards Bulgaria sharply contrasts to those experiencing anger and hatred. The social status that some of them describe as a medium one in the social hierarchy of the host society accounts for a process of Europeanization that these people are going through.

In this thesis we will argue that this is a unique type of Europeanization for the Bulgarian citizen who lacks the self-confidence in his own country because of the economic situation and the poorer standard of living. Thus, this is not a formation of European identity in a civic or cultural sense but in a different trajectory, the social-economic one, which creates demands for change of the situation in Bulgaria. These medium level Bulgarian EU-movers that are satisfied with their lives and professional realization in the host countries are aware of the benefits of the European integration and in particular, the free movement of persons. Therefore, one can argue that their case particularly supports Favell's assumption that those experiencing the benefits of the integration most closely, are usually more prone to attachment and positive attitude towards the EU.

**Interview 15 and 16 and 17, Appendix B**

This particular group of respondents sharply contrasts with the previous ones. These are people who are highly educated, fluent in several languages, possessing very high social status: a professor at the University of Liege and his wife with the exception of interview 16 where we have a woman with a professional diploma and experience of a teacher but is working under her qualifications in Belgium. The professional success together with the self-confidence for intellectual superiority based on fluency in the local languages, but also broader general knowledge about the history and the cultural movements of Europe shows a layer of people of the Bulgarian society who either initially possessed a higher social status in their home country and kept it in Belgium or in the case of the lady working under her qualification is preserved because of her personal awareness for her value based on cultivation. Being European is not questioned or a matter of doubt compared to the other respondents. On one hand, it breaks the existing stereotypes for East-West migration but, on the other hand, it rather supports a perception of fbeing European based on social stratification, level of education and cultivation that excludes groups of people with lower social status.

**Interviews 19 and 20, Appendix B**

Interviews 19 and 20 differ from the previous ones as the respondents do not fall into the categories emigrants or immigrants, EU-movers or EU citizens. These are respectively a highly educated assistant at the University in Liege who lived previously in Canada and a woman who worked for a Belgian air company for 10 years. What they have in common is their perception for being cosmopolitan and sharing universal values that outstretch the perception of what Europe and being European is. In these particular cases, what formed the consciousness of these people is their experience of working and living in an international environment that contributed to this particular self-perception instead of factors such as reasons for moving and social status.

All in all, it can be concluded that the social status as well as the language skills contribute to the better social integration into the host society as well as the perception of being European. However, there are two main trends that have to be distinguished. First, there is an elite perception of being European based on possessing historical and cultural knowledge about Europe and fluency in a foreign language. Second, there is the perception of being European based on the social status related to one's professional occupation, one's income and standard of living. Thus, the different economic development between Bulgaria and the richer EU-countries is a factor influencing the perception of who is European. These are important findings that shall be taken into account together with the deductive and inductive results from the interviews when drawing out the models of European identity in the third part of this Chapter.

**3.3. Models of European identity**

In this part the research questions set in the introduction are answered in the light of the empirical data. First, the research question whether the normative model of an ever closer union has empirical grounds or not is dealt with. Then, the thesis answers to the questions what else besides bonds can constitute a civic and a cultural component of the European identity as well as what other European identity modes different from the normative one emerge. Last but not least, through the negative case analysis it is argued what specific European identity models emerge in the East-west migrations vs mobility stereotyped free movement of persons.

**3.3.1. Normative model versus empirical data**

The measurement for *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe* as defined in the normative model, was solidarity. By summarizing and analyzing the results if there is more solidarity in general terms and in a more particular sense in the areas that arouse inductively, we shall try to answer if such a model has empirical grounds or not. Also, an example of what an ever closer union might look like, will be outlined on the grounds of the empirical evidence.

Despite the expressed critique towards the EU by some of the respondents, the general trend among this sample of Bulgarian EU citizens support the general idea for solidarity as a belief in common future or readiness for achieving common goals. There are several important imperatives for that. First, these are the achievements or the benefits of the European integration such as the right of free movement, the opportunities for further professional and educational development and the achieved goal of European integration-peace, which is already perceived as a value on its own.

These are the *benefits, advantages or guarantees* that each EU citizen has according to the Bulgarian respondents. The second group of imperatives that support the aspiration for more solidarity regards the value system of the EU where respect for the individual's human life and dignity as well as tolerance for the cultural and religious differences within Europe are placed on the top of this value system. Because of the particular moment when the interviews were taken, it is necessary to emphasize that the importance of these values for the preservation of peace/security in Europe is recognized by most of the respondents. Moreover, the preservation of the achievements of the European integration and its value system are considered to be both a moral and political engagement of the EU demanded by its citizens.

In more particular terms, solidarity seems to be connected a socio-economic situation in Europe. This gives grounds to argue that the social cohesion in Europe except for shared values need to be strengthened by a socio-economic equalization. This equalization refers to a complex of both a standard of living (income level) and quality of life (more possibilities for professional and personal development) according to the Human Development Index. The statements of those respondents declaring that they could only feel European abroad and not in their home country signify the still deep economic differences between some of the European countries-the richer ones and the poorer ones such as Bulgaria. Moreover the wishes of these respondents fully correspond to the declared goals of the EU embedded in the Preamble of TEU such as creating a space of economic and social progress, sustainable development, environmental protection and reinforced cohesion. They can be summarized, using the respondents terminology, as *happiness chances* : possibilities for travelling, working, meeting new cultures and developing one's self. It can be concluded that there is a strong imperative for further economic and social cohesion in Europe which can contribute to the formation of a sense of being European.

These observations confirm that, currently, there is more of an attachment towards the philosophy and goals of the EU rather than an expressed identification with it as a distinctive political order/community sui generis, with a unique institutional structure.

As to the normative model of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, the empirical data supports the function of the bonds in relation to the European identity. As a result from these bonds, a European melting pot is being formed.

**European melting pot as an example of an ever closer union**

In the conceptualization of an ever closer union, it was argued that the free movement of persons as a main structural bond defines the social context of EU citizens and fosters the other bonds- Civic/Political, Social and Cultural ones. However, the possible manifestations of a normative model could be defined only in empirical terms as the empirical evidence supports or contradicts the normative notions or models. In the case of this thesis, the empirical findings give the grounds to think that *an ever closer union* is indeed possible and is already in the process of formation. Moreover, it can result in what could be called a European melting pot.

This is a model of European identity manifesting itself in the development of a European way of thinking and living, a process of *synchronization and equalization* where we have the formation of a middle class EU citizen who shares the same cultural characteristics: open mindedness, tolerance, fluency in foreign languages. Also, the free movement of persons increases the possibilities for making business and in the process of making business together a genuine intercultural exchange is made. As a result, a process of an equalization or synchronization is taking place. It is also a process that does not require the abolishment of traditional and established cultural identities in Europe but it rather creates the basis for coming together in what we might call European melting pot where one keeps his/her differences but there is a common culture, in other words a common way of thinking and living which is the result of this coming together or the actual realization of the bonds-economic, social, and cultural that we conceptualized to be those structural factors defining the EU context of free movement of persons.

In interview number 8, where we have a Bulgarian citizen, who is a self-employed, person in other words developing its own business in Belgium, such a model of European identity being formed out of what the respondent called synchronization, was observed. In the possible conceptualization of what a European melting pot might mean, the word synchronization will be emphasized and differentiated from the concept of American melting pot that is often associated with fusion as well as assimilation. What we might have in a European melting pot is a *synchronization*, a technical mechanism for coordination so that there could be unison and the system could operate. It is unity in diversity where these diversities operate together and match in a perfect way so that something qualitatively new is produced. It is a model of unity of diversity that is not static but has this active element and what produces as a result equalization in economic and cultural terms: the relatively same standard of living and a way of thinking based on common goals and cultural closeness. In this particular case, the European melting pot is a result of the merging of East and West or their coming together according to the respondent, interview 8, appendix B:

"I do not think that being European is qualified with somebody who is living on the European continent and someone who comes presumably from Western Europe so that we could call him European the way it was until today. You know the East has always tried to catch the West. In the moment, however, the West is starting to go down and it is meeting the East. Due to that we have a middle level. We are becoming one big village. Everything is the same. Even though we speak different languages, we speak basically the same things. Everything has began to merge in the last 10 or 15 years. According to the elder people here the West has changed because many foreign people have come and they have acquired more than they had given. The East comes with the thirst to get more than to give...East is everything after Austria...Europe is everything from Scandinavia to Greece ...without Turkey and Russia. This cross if you can imagine is the whole of Europe. The East has always tried to catch up with the developed West but now the West is coming down and for us...we are not changing in any way...it is just becoming the same for us...There is the same level...But these East European people are bringing something good...Imagine these people but not the ones working on the building constructions...but the ones that work in the companies, that travel and make business...they are not criminals and rapers. They are just normal people who have ideas that want to make something different outside their countries and they are ready to accept the rules of the foreign country. Here it is the synchronization. You have a transfer of money, stock and services...and the exchange of cultural mentality. If you are Bulgarian and I am Belgian and we make business together, we exchange something and if everything goes well, we start to become friends. I could invite you to my house, you could invite me. We could become closed and the business will go smoother. You could recommend me to someone for that"

Such a model could also serve to answer to the sub-question if *there are any specific European identity models in the context of the East-West migration which is very often stereotyped and not deeply researched*? In other words, such a European melting pot, at least according to the respondent, is the natural result of the merging between the East and the West which creates equalization.

This question however, will be more thoroughly answered in the part dedicated to the negative case analysis where it will also be argued *what other European identity models emerge out of the free movement of persons different from the normative model?*

As to the additional research sub-question: *What elements such as values, attitudes, ideas or processes could constitute the cultural and the civic component of the European identity*, it will be argued whether European political identity with a civic and a cultural is being formed and consequently if the EU as a political order or community sui generis, having a unique institutional structure, is accumulating more legitimacy before EU citizens as the legitimacy is closely related to the political identity.

**3.3.2. Civic component of European identity**

In the Conceptual framework it was argued that the civic component refers to a set of political institutions and that there is also a link between citizenship and identity. Here it will be discussed to if/how respondents identify with political institutions as well as right and duties.

What creates real *entitativity* of EU for its citizens (according to the sample of respondents) are precisely the *rights, benefits and guarantees* related to the free movement of persons. They constitute EU citizenship. Even though most respondents refuse to declare themselves as EU citizens or citizens of Europe, those rights are tangible for them. The civic component of European identity manifests itself in the identification with *rights.* However, it is closely related to what might be called a developing political identity.

The empirical results show that there are certain expectations or even what can be called political demands towards the EU expressed by some of the respondents, which gives the grounds to think that the deepening of the political integration is wished. However, it was observed that these particular EU citizens that the interviews were taken from, associate the EU with some of its policies rather than a particular institution, a body, a party or a personality. One of the possible reasons for that might be the complex political and institutional nature of the European institutions that is not always comprehensible for non-specialists. What is more, a possible EU identification is rather understood through the EU membership of the national country, in this case Bulgaria. However, the development of political demands towards the EU itself as well as the critique towards it probably signify a formation of European political identity. It can be concluded, that it is possible first to witness the development of a strong European political identity born out of necessity for more solidarity and deeper integration so that common interests and objectives can be achieved or a political identity formed in a defense from a common threat. Because of the conjuncture when the interviews were conducted (the refugee and the terrorist crises) it is very hard to tell what the results of this turmoil for the EU and the European identity could be as if we analyze it completely in that context, we risk to be extremely biased. However, it is an example illustrating how identifications are stirred.

Such problems seem to be imperatives for more political action so that they could be solved as the upholding of a European value system is not only a moral but a political responsibility for the EU. Thus, the fulfillment of such a moral and political demand seems to be a major factor for sustaining the legitimacy of the EU as a political order.

This empirical evidence supports the formation of a common European political identity in the way the neo-functionalist theorists of the European integration such as Ernst Haas[[95]](#footnote-96) suggest. Instead of a revolutionary type of development, we have a gradual development of such an identity triggered by the necessity for more political action on behalf of the EU. What is different however, is that the economic integration, though important, is not the sole influential factor that could, similarly to the effect of spill-over, cause the deepening of the European integration and **the** formation of European political identity. As our respondents strongly acknowledge and sustain their national identity but at the same time have political demands towards the EU, we have the grounds to think that the EU could be perceived as a legitimate political order that has not only the right but also the obligation to act instead of the Member States as long as the scale and effect of EU actions is stronger than individual Member States decisions. Unlike intergovernmentalism, however, where the main actors of European integration are States driven by their geopolitical interests and high politics[[96]](#footnote-97) (national security for example), or the functionalism putting emphasis on the economic actors such as trade organization or the federal visions that sees the state as an obsolete construction, crises that affect the security issues and the fundamental values actually involve the citizens of the Member States as actors of the European integration, themselves.

Depending on the way they see the defense of their interests, we could see a demand for more political integration and ultimately the formation of a genuinely legitimate EU drawing its legitimacy from the citizens of Europe. Similarly, if it cannot effectively answer to its citizens' demands, one can observe strengthening of the national state and process of dissolution of the European integration such as leaving the EU for example. What is important for the EU, however is not just the problems that it has to solve but the value standpoint that gives it the legitimate right to act. There is a strong necessity for a strong value system that all EU citizens share and attribute to the EU as a political actor besides their national states that could act in order to maintain that system. Raising genuine political demands on behalf of the EU citizens is what could underpin a European political identity, an identification with the EU as a political order *sui generis*.

As the cultural component was accepted to be the mirror counterpart to the civic component of European identity, it is now going to be analyze what ideas, process or attitudes constitute such a component. Moreover, the latent themes which were raised inductively are going to be discussed.

**3.3.3. Cultural component of European identity**

In the part about the cultural bond the empirical evidence was analyzed so that we could find those factors that could constitute the cultural component of European identity. The issues regarding the common values (values as the most frequently mentioned category under the theme Cultural bond), the problem about the shared past and the revocation of pre-modern identifications in a multi-cultural Europe that were raised inductively as latent themes related to the issue about the common values, are now going to be discussed. Also, it is going to be touched on the barriers to the formation of a cultural component of the European identity.

As we mentioned in the part about the Cultural bond, the most frequently mentioned category related to Europe in cultural terms is Values. Tolerance, respect for human dignity, respect for human rights and freedoms are those values from article 2 of TEU that our respondents identify themselves most frequently with. Moreover, one can add that peace, the well-being and the freedom of movement are experienced by some of the respondents not just as rights/benefits but as European values even though they are not normatively defined as such at EU level. Some of them, such as the well being of the peoples of Europe is defined as a goal, for example. Therefore, the empirical data do gives evidence for what differs the social reality from the normative perspective.

However, experiencing the benefits of free movement of persons rights lead to the perception of these rights as values, as something that needs to be defended. Those values formally embedded in the Treaties seem to be truly values that define the contemporary way of living in EU/Europe according to the respondents.

At the same time the issue about the shared past seems to have a connection to the cultural component of the European identity. According to Anthony Smith, for example, "the subjective perception and understanding of the communal past by each generation of a given cultural unit of population-the ethno-history of that collectivity as opposed to a historian's judgment of the past-is a defining element in the concept of cultural identity and hence of a more specific national and cultural identities"[[97]](#footnote-98). The problem about the shared past could be, thus, explored at two different levels similar to the study of European identity. On one hand, there is a rich literature and history scientific tradition. On the other hand, there is the memory whose research reflects the bottom up approach. There are several possible explanations about the importance of what might be called revocation of the past in this research.

In the research European values at the Turn of the Millennium, Arts and Halman are arguing that the industrial societies are entering a post-industrial age which is characterized by more uncertainty and less control[[98]](#footnote-99). If self-actualization and personal happiness is what Arts and Halman argue to be the center of value development and norm selection within and individualistic ethos characterizing the developed modern societies[[99]](#footnote-100), it is legitimate to ask ourselves why the questions about the revocation of the pre-modern past and the discourse about Christianity for example are being raised today. It could probably be explained by the aspiration for finding more stability within a society/societies characterized as "risk ones"[[100]](#footnote-101). Despite the reasons behind such a revocation of the pre-modern past such as the Christianity which most historians agree to have had a fundamental impact on the development of the European continent, it is part of the discourse about the European values and shared cultural identity.

It is also arguable to qualify to what extent the European societies are rather more modern or traditional and what role Christianity in general or the different Christian denominations in Europe play. The survey about the European Values at the Millenium dedicates several chapters on the role of Christianity. In particular, in Chapter 12 Normative orientations towards the differentiation between Religion and Politics, Loek Halman and Thorleiff Pettersson argue that sociologically the relationship between religion and politics refers to the differentiation between the two systems[[101]](#footnote-102) and we agree that this is differentiation is at the core of the functioning of all European societies that describe them as secular. It is important to analyze how exactly Christianity was mentioned in our interviews. No respondent mentioned Christianity in a sense that could deconstruct secularism in Europe. It is rather in an attempt to declare and manifest what is considered part of the European cultural and religious inheritance as stated in the Preamble to the TEU. Thus, we would like to define the discourse about Christianity in a new dimension different from the discourse modernity-tradition and secularization theory vs deprivitazion of religion where in contemporary Europe religion is trying to connect itself with the civic society as discussed in the European Values at the Turn of the Millennium research. Dwelling on our interviews, we would rather place Christianity in the context about the origin of the European values, their manifestation and defense.

As to the barriers for the formation of a cultural component of European identity, the process of assimilation need to be discussed as well. EU as a borderless space offers the possibilities for meeting other cultures that could lead to the development for more tolerance or fondness for the local culture . It can also lead, however, to assimilation which as a process requires a separate study dedicated to it. In the case of this study this assimilation seemed to be a result from strong angry sentiments towards the country of origin, Bulgaria, or from an attempt to fully integrate into the host society by accepting all formal and informal norms. In addition to that, the cases of abuses of the social systems have a negative impact on the perception of a country and it does not support the possibilities for presenting one's culture in a positive way. This leads to more exclusion and diminishes the possibility for overcoming the negative stereotypes that exist.

Up to here, it was argued what processes, values and attitudes form the civic/political as well as cultural component of European identity. As a result, several examples of unified models of European identity, reflecting the civic and cultural components, will be now outlined.

**3.3.4. Unified models of European identity**

**1) Unity in Diversity = Multi-cultural Europe + Civic value-based culture (Habermas type of constitutional patriotism)**

This model of European identity guarantees the cultural and religious plurality of Europe under the allegiance to a set of common values. This type of allegiance could be also described as Habermas type of patriotism. According to it, the various cultural, national and religious identities in contemporary Europe should belong to the private sphere of the individual while the social life should be defined by the public discourse on common values, formally embedded in a European constitution. It can be argued whether this is a more exclusive and conservative model or a model situated between conservatism and cosmopolitanism, depending on the attitude towards the "other" and the formal mechanisms for keeping the unity in diversity. This model is probably closer to what is proclaimed to be the motto of the EU: United in diversity, where cultural diversity is kept through a civic culture based on formally embedded values.

**2) Secular Europe + Tradition+Common values**

Similarly, to the first model, this model aims at responding to the contemporary problems of a multi-cultural and multi-religious Europe. It recognizes the plurality of identities but at the same time it strives to preserve all those historical, cultural and civilization layers that constitute the European cultural and religious inheritance: Christianity, national identities, various intellectual and scientific movements. Here this inheritance could be summarized under the term *tradition*. It is a post-modern Europe, keeping its secular political organization, expressing, however, its cultural and spiritual heritage, remaining tolerant to the otherness. It could be further argued that it is a hybrid model of both cultural and civic components that are closely intertwined. The common values such as human dignity, the respect for human life, freedom and solidarity are not just civic but values that have developed as cultural ones. In other words they are perceived as the cultural heritage of Europe. It is what makes one European and what legitimizes one's participation in the European society. For example, the right to free movement should belong only to persons sharing these values. It can be concluded that this is more of an exclusive model of European identity based on the idea in the Preamble of TEU : "the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law".

**3) A cosmopolitan European identity or a Global identity based on universal values**

It is what was analyzed in the interviews and concluded to be a human bond. In other words, the differentiation between nationalities, ethnicities or religions do not matter as all should share the same universal values such as the equality of all people, the strife for happiness and the responsibility for environment. These global values list supports the hypothesis in the research "European Values at the Millennium" that the more developed and industrialized societies are, their individuals develop a propensity for individualistic ethos within which the personal happiness and self-actualization central are the central values[[102]](#footnote-103). A cosmopolitan identity would be more encompassing than a European identity because it is connected to allegiance to the universal or global values that surpass national identities, religions and cultures.

**4) A vertical Nation-EU civic/political identity or a parallel model of EU-Nation civic /political identity.**

This model is being formed out of what Jonathan White argues to be a political bond in Europe, in other words in the context of talking about common political problems. The interviews suggested the process of forming political demands towards the EU which might support the idea that EU is slowly becoming a legitimate political order for the EU citizens. However, this has not diminished the role of the national identity.

First, all our respondents declare a strong sense of national identity. It is through their national citizenship that they understand and accept to be citizens of Europe. Their acceptance of EU as a legitimate political community that can make decisions regarding their lives can happen at two levels. On one hand, EU citizens can require from European institutions direct political actions and engagements or they can require this through their governments that are perceived to be linked to the EU. Therefore, one can speak about a parallel model of EU-Nation civic identity where the national identity is still the core identity that gives legitimacy to the nation state but at the same time we have a developing EU civic/political identity in parallel.

In the second case we have a vertical Nation-EU civic identity that requires expression first at the national level which is further forwarded to the EU level. Such a model slightly resembles the idea behind the subsidiarity principle or the multi-level concept of citizenship of Joe Painter who tries, at least theoretically, to argue what kind of transnational citizenship is adequate to the complex European political system where one can observe "simultaneous membership of political communities at a variety of spatial scales (local, regional, nation-state and European) and perhaps of non-territorial social groups, such as religions, sexual minorities and ethnic diasporas".[[103]](#footnote-104)

In a conclusion, the differentiation between normative and empirical can also be applied so that these models are better understood. Model 2 and 3 are rather normative in a sense as the respondents tell us how things should be according to their own personal judgment, of course. However, they do present information about the social reality and what needs to be normatively accommodated to it. These models reflect the process of change in the traditional (national) identifications in Europe and there is a search for a new political identity, reflecting the contemporary social, economic, political and cultural reality of Europe. Moreover, they reflect a shift or a change from model 1, a search for new levels of legitimacy, between a nation-state and the EU and within a European social context, different from the 18th or 19th centuries. Model 4 represents this process best and suggest two paths for achieving it.

Last but not least, the research question regarding the models of European identity formed differently from the normative model based on bonds as well as the issue if there are any specific models in the stereotyped East-West migration is discussed.

**3.3.5. Negative case analysis**

On the grounds of the empirical evidence, the notion about the "other" in relation to what is mentioned as a Slavic or a Balkan identity was numerous times mentioned. The problem arises when these two models have to be explained. Are they territorial/regional identities, cultural or language based ones? Also, the attitudes towards Russia and Turkey seem important in strengthening the feeling of European. For the purposes of this analysis, they will be placed in the context of the "other" so that their relation to the European identity is understood. Also, two additional ideas of being European were found out: the elite self-perception of being European contrary to non-being European as a lower social status and a European as being bilingual or bicultural.

**The "other"**

The question about the "other " places the research into European identity in a context that is geographical, geo-political, social and cultural. It concerns the geographical, social and to a great extent the geopolitical borders of Europe. Moreover, the definition of these borders has always been connected to the EU as an actor on the international scene and to its relations with other major actors. It is in the Preamble, in the context of a European defense policy and European common defense, for example, that the term European identity is used. Therefore the attitudes of the EU citizens can actually give more highlight about the borders of Europe that can sometimes overlap with EU or outstretches it.

The Balkans:

Being part of the Balkan region is considered by some of the respondents a sign for not being European or rather being less European, less modernized or less civilized:

Interview 4, Appendix: B

"well, we Europeans are not like that...we are more civilized and careful ....ok we Europeans...ok the Balkans, we are a different beer. But from Hungary on, people are civilized"

Interview 10, Appendix: B

""No. Absolutely no chance ( to the question about coming closer in cultural terms). Because of this famous Balkan mentality and the fact that they treat us as people that are second hand"

First, it is a self-stereotype that dates back to the times when the Balkan peninsula's peoples fought for independence from the Ottoman empire and viewed "Europe" as the model for social, political and cultural organization. According to the respondents, however, it can also be seen that it is both a self-stereotype and at the same time the way other Europeans view, for example, the Bulgarian people. What is important to note here is that the Balkans are not opposed to Europe. They are compared to "Europe" but remain less or not fully European which as an idea carries the potential for having the Balkans as an integrated part of Europe that is yet to be seen.

Russia:

The attitudes towards Russia among the Bulgarian EU citizens show in most cases the idea of cultural closeness. Several times the Orthodox Christianity and the idea about the East and the West were mentioned.

Interview 4, Appendix: B

"I feel closer to the Russian people because of Bulgaria. I have read the whole Russian classics like Dostoevsky. From that point of view I feel closer with the Russians and the Europeans but not with the Americans . I understand them but they do not have that depth""

Interview 1, Appendix: B

"In the term European I invest a long historical process of transition to values developed in all European societies. This transition to some general values but we have all walked that path it does not matter if we are East orthodox, Catholic or Protestant. Such a division is suggested but practically we have the same values: full respect for the other human being, the life of everybody is a value on its own compared to other continents is the feeling for the values of the life and the sense of this life for each life is something that is achieved on the European continent...... This difference between East and West is politically kept instead of emphasizing the common things"

Interview 13, Appendix: B

"I feel the close with Russian people. I speak their language because it was obligatory at school. I have a sentimental attitude towards Russia ( a question about the cultural closeness with other European, values and practices)...My father and mother are Russophiles...This is how I am brought up......

Interview 13, Appendix: B, second quote

'Yes, I would go to a country from a different continent and I will tell you why. Here, the emigrants from Eastern Europe-Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, we are second hand emigrants...this is how I feel it since the refugee crisis began one year ago"

It can be concluded, that, generally, Russia is not considered as "the other" but rather as "part of us". Second, the stereotyped division East-West is not particularly in a negative context either. However, it does have to be noted that there are negative perceptions in the West about citizens coming from the East, particularly to the idea of "second hand emigrants".

Turkey:

As to the attitude towards Turkey, it can be summarized that it is not perceived as being part of Europe but at the same time there is a perception of some shared past with it.

Interview 10, Appendix B:

"(Talking about the Oriental mentality that the Bulgarians have because of the Ottoman rule). Europe is up to Istanbul. Maybe also there is Europe in the Mediterranean. After that...it is like 8 or 9 centuries...no electricity, no ...If they accept Turkey, I go to Canada...I will leave Europe."

By and large, the *Bulgarian* understanding of who is European is constructed in the unique geographical, social, cultural and geopolitical quadrangle: Balkans-Europe-Russia -Turkey. The Bulgarian identity is constructed in the heart of the Balkan peninsula, being fully oriented towards "Europe", perceives itself, however, as being less European compared to the "West", regarding Turkey as the inacceptable "other" and keeping a unique attitude towards Russia that is nothing close to antagonism.

Those attitudes and perceptions could be explained with the fact the Europe or West Europe as a term has been the "normative power"[[104]](#footnote-105) for the Balkans and in particular for Bulgaria since the 19th century when Bulgaria was liberated from the Ottoman power. In other words, the Bulgarian modern identity constructed itself in relation to Europe and in an attempt for coming closer or integrating one's self in Europe in social and cultural terms. The attitude towards Turkey that can be described rather as antagonism is explained with the traumatic period when the Bulgarian territories were part of the Ottoman empire. The special attitude towards Russia is most probably built on the recent shared communist past but by the fact that Russia played a major role in the process of Bulgarian liberation from the Ottoman empire (Russian-Turkish war 1877-1878).

It can be concluded that Bulgaria is in a sense a geopolitical space where Europe and Russia meet without being antagonized, at least in the self-perception of some of the Bulgarian people, and where Europe geographically and culturally ends at the Bulgarian-Turkish border.

**The bicultural or multi-cultural European**

This idea of being European as being bicultural or multi-cultural was expressed in interview Number 20, Appendix B:

"My children are Europeans. By passport they are Swedish. They speak Bulgarian better than Swedish. They speak Flemish at best because they are born here and go to school. But after that they speak Bulgarian. Bulgarian is their mother tongue. If you meet them on the streets in Bulgaria, you will not notice that they are not Bulgarians"

In other words, it can be summarized that being born in a family of parents with different European nationality and living in a country (in that case Bulgarian and Swedish parents living in Belgium), different from the parent's countries of origin makes one European. One is European because it possesses the cultures, respectively the languages of his parents and the culture of the third country could be added to that. Being European is equal to being multicultural. This feeling or perception of being European slightly resembles the umbrella model of European identity[[105]](#footnote-106) conceptualized by Adrian Favell as an identity reconciling the tension between the country of origin and the country of residence where the individual who has moved has to adapt his culture to the local culture. However, in the case of interview 20, there is no implication for such a psychological tension among the children. On the contrary, the European-ness of the children understood as being multi-cultural, bilingual or even trilingual is perceived as something natural. This model of European identity reflects the possibility for possessing several nationalities/citizenships and the real experience of embodying several cultural through the fact of birth in a mixed family. It can be argued, following Favell's analysis, that such an individual would have better attitude towards the European integration and would probably be more tolerant towards the different cultures in Europe. These features or attitudes could possibly make up the *European person* in cultural terms but there is no strong evidence that such a European cultural identity is also going to account for the development of European civic and political identity.

**The "elite" European**

In the interviews analysis, it was argued how the mobility structure (the occupational field) , the social status of the respondents contribute to the formation of European identity. Grounding on this analysis, an elite type of European identity based on cultivation ( possessing high culture such as language competence in several foreign languages, a successful professional realization in the country of residence, social status related to a higher level of income and prestige in the society, can be outlined. This can be seen, particularly in interviews 15 and 17, Appendix B:

"Oh yes. We are citizens of Europe (jiteli, inhabitants, dwellers of Europe ). After all we are Europeans in general from a geographical point of view..Her daughter is studying EU law. I do not think I am different from these people here. I could even say I have the pretentions to be AT a higher level on an intellectual level...even when it comes to writing"

" In a way...what kind of a question is this? What does it mean European? I feel the way I was before. I do not have the confidence to be something more. We are Europeans the Bulgarians. I do not know...In my own point of view I feel successful and I have my confidence. But it is not ok to exaggerate. If we have to say, it is ok. But our generation is different. We are not brought up to show off ourselves. We are just working and enjoying life"

But also in interview 16, even though the respondents is working under her qualifications in Belgium ( cleaning houses in Belgium, while being a teacher in Bulgaria):

" Of course I feel European. Hahah..even more than the local ones. Well I will start with...oh how can I say it. They are very cultivated and groomed but there is something that makes an impression on me. How can you blow your nose so loudly. And this is something that everybody does. To me this is not normal, especially in a bus or in a restaurant. Also I have observed that my colleagues that I am working with cut their nails on the carpet. Yes, they do not put in an ash for example. Also I have observed that they do not care if their toilettes are clean or not. Yes, the public toiltes are clean but the others...I find it very strange and interesting. We, the Bulgarians say that we judge for the culture by the toilettes in a house. If it is clean, you know the hygiene. Also, when it comes to literature. I have asked many questions about classical literature, music. For example my chef who is the chef of an health insurance company does not know who is Johannes Brahms. He does not know it. Such things"

This type of an elite self-perception sharply contrasts with the respondents from interviews 11 and 13 for example where the lower standard of living in terms of income, the awareness for the different economic development between Bulgaria and the country of residence, along with some negative stereotypes about the Bulgarian people, stimulates the feeling of being non-European. However the reference point here is again the normal European way of living. The following quote from interview 11:

"Yes. I do feel European. The understanding is that we are living in a European way. The way we watched on movies...people go shopping one time in a week, go on a vacation. This could be seen here in a systematic way. People go in the morning to their work place and in the evening to their family. The only difference in my case is that I do not go in the evening to my family....I go to the big supermarkets. I like something and I buy it. I do not deprive myself of anything. Whatever your soul wants, it get what it wants. Also my child and my wife...I do not deprive themselves of anything....In Bulgaria when we go in the morning to the work place, we do not care if we are late or not"

Also, a process of Europeanization regarding the achievement of better standard of living but also acquiring European manners such as learning to abide by the norms is thought as a way for changing the Balkan mentality, discussed previously.

These models of European identity resemble Favell's arguing whether the migration regime of EU citizens affect social mobility. In the empirical study to this dissertation, three trends are observed. First, those Bulgarians with a very high level of education have a social status that equalize them to the upper levels in the social hierarchy of the local country. Second, those who possess lower education keep a lower social status. In other words, there is not much difference from the social status they would have had in their country of origin, Bulgaria. However, there are also respondents with high qualifications who, however, are occupied with jobs under their level of education. In this case, there is the trend of downward social mobility.

The perception of being European is influenced by the social status they have in the country of origin. But this is not the sole factor that defines what is to be European.

It can be concluded that there is a very specific Bulgarian perception or understanding of Europeaan-ness based on the level of education, cultivation in terms of manners and fluency in foreign languages.

All in all, among the Bulgarian citizens there is also an internal process of change regarding the self-perception and the Bulgarian national identity in relation to the European identity. The theory of concentric circles, that Herman and Brewer as well as Michael Bruter argue about, might be applied in that case. In other words, the core identity remains the national one and the European one complements it as a concentric circle.

Along with the drawing of European identity models, in this part several important implications for the study of European identity were identified. It can be argued about the existence of a relationship between values, security and the civic/political component of European identity. In more particular terms, the latent themes regarding the relationship between EU citizenship, values and security and the possibility for the formation of a new European social contract based on the re-conceptualization of the existing sovereignty concept in Europe are discussed in a separate section Finding and Discussions while in the Conclusion, recommendations for further scientific studies as well as advise for policy development at EU level, are made.

**IV Findings and Discussions**

In the part dedicated to the civic and political component of the European identity, dwelling on the empirical results of the interviews, it was concluded that there are grounds to speak about a process of European political identity formation based on citizens' political demands in areas qualified as areas of high politics by Hoffman such as the security issues. Through using a bottom up approach of empirical study (studying European identity from below), combining deductive as well as inductive methods of analysis, it was also concluded that the questions of values and citizenship as a set of freedoms and rights are strongly related to the matter of European identity. Thus, it is going to be argued in a more comprehensive way about the relationship between EU citizenship and values and its implication for the debate about the existence/formation of European sovereign and the possibility for a new European social contract. This discussion requires making comparison between the top-bottom approach of analysis, or in other words, dwelling more on the way values, sovereignty and security normatively set in EU law and the bottom-up approach of the empirical data drawn from this empirical study and other empirical research.

**4.1. Values, citizenship and the *East-West migration***

In this study it was argued that citizenship is not merely a problem of a legal status but it implies dealing with broader problems such as membership and recognition in a society. It was also agreed that "The relationships that underpin citizenship are not only legal but also inevitably social and cultural"[[106]](#footnote-107). The empirical data confirmed that respondents justify the participation in a wider European space which gives access to rights such as the free movement of persons, depends on whether participants share or not certain values. Moreover, the values were the category most frequently mentioned under the Cultural bond which makes values a parameter for studying European identity that has both a civic and a cultural understanding. Except for the link between citizenship and values, it was also observed among the respondents indignation at the lack of defense of the European value system.

Out of the empirical study to this thesis a list of inductively drawn values can be summarized. and compared to the results of the major quantitative Euro barometer's 69 study "1.Values of Europeans," 2008 (EU27, Croatia, Former Yugoslavian republic of Macedonia and Turkey) so that conclusions whether citizens from Eastern Europe view the values system of Europe in a different way and if Favell''s hypothesis about East-West migration perception could also explain a possible division of values understanding.

The latter study is of great importance because it aimed at finding out if there are common European values and which of them represent the EU best as at the core of the study lies the idea that the EU is not only an economic market but a union of values that could be acceded to only by states that share them. However, when speaking about values we need to have some type of classification so that we do not lose in the various mentioning and arguing which the values of EU/Europe are. In another major project, the European Value Study (EVS) which was initiated for the first time by the Leuven University, Belgium and the University of Tilburg, the Netherlands in 1981 there is a classification of values such as life, family, work, religion, politics and society. Additionally, the "European values at the turn of the Millennium' research by Wil Arts and Lock Halman using data from a wave value study carried out in 1999/2000 grouped the value patterns in 5 similar groups: work and leisure time, religion, morality, society and politics, family and marriage.

First, we would like to confirm that in our small qualitative study respondents all spoke directly or indirectly about common values or what some for them chose to call a European value system which raises the question about the structure or possibly the hierarchy of these values. This confirms the results from Eurobarometer's survey that 54 % think that Member State are close in the sharing of values compared to 34 % [[107]](#footnote-108) who think that they are distant. However, there is also the distinction between common European values and global Western values where for example 44 % consider this and 37 % do not think that Europe and the West necessarily overlap[[108]](#footnote-109).

In our study, though we witnessed certain differentiation between East and West in terms of Slavic identity for example, we did not find out empirical evidence for making the differentiation that there is a fundamental difference in terms of values between the East and the West in Europe which does not overlap however with the opinions of "The Dutch (63%), Belgians (58%), Swedes (54%) and half of respondents in Finland and Germany (52% and 51% respectively) who consider that there are no common European values, but only global Western values"[[109]](#footnote-110). The Eurobarometers study concludes that even though there are common European values, they overlap to a large extent with a set of global west European values which is not shared by the Bulgarian movers we interviewed who do not make such a difference. None of the respondents make a division between East-West in terms of values. What is interesting, however, is that values are either placed in the traditional, Christian context or there is a set of global, universal values.

Another important observation related to the values is its link with the security issues and Europe and the possible formation of new European sovereignty.

**4.2. Security and sovereignty**

These theoretical observations need to be compared to the bottom up results of the conducted empirical study so that the link between security and values can be better understood. It was observed among the respondents that there are certain political demands on their behalf towards the EU in areas of high politics such as security issues that might cause a competition in the decision making power between the nation-state and the European institutions. Therefore, the question about the European identity is related to the question about the de jure and the de facto participation in a wider European space of certain rights and freedoms such as the right of free movement, the right to reside in order to work or receive education as well as welfare benefits of the host country. On the other hand, the decision making power in a given political community is related inextricably to the issues of sovereignty and legitimacy. Crucial to this thesis, thus, are the questions what type of European sovereignty there might be formed in the current social and cultural context of Europe, will it be more inclusive or exclusive, what the criteria for membership might be and ultimately what would constitute a common European identity both in civic and cultural terms. When discussing a concept for a new European sovereignty, the existing concepts for sovereignty need to be addressed.

In Britannica encyclopedia sovereignty is defined as "the ultimate overseer, or authority, in decision making process of the state and in the maintenance of order. .. Derived from the Latin term superanus through the French term souveraineté, sovereignty was originally meant to be the equivalent of supreme power"[[110]](#footnote-111). Sovereignty is a European concept, born in Europe and conceptualized in different ways under different historical, social and cultural conditions which gives us the grounds to deal with it at least in a theoretical manner considering that it is something that changes over time.

The dominant paradigm of what sovereignty is today, is based on the notion of popular sovereignty whose probably most prominent author is Jean Jacques Rousseau. Before that, we can mention the contributions of Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes regarding the matter. In his prominent book *Les six livres de la Republique,* Bodin defines sovereignty as "la puissance absolue et perpetuelle d'une Republique" whose main principle is "puissance de donner et casser la loi[[111]](#footnote-112). Though at that time he argued for the figure of the king as ""The sovereign Prince is only accountable to God", Bodin concepts are considered to be in the context of the religious conflicts in France and the transition from feudalism to centralized power and nationalism. Thomas Hobbes, additionally, contributed to the development of the concept of sovereignty and is considered to have given rise to the contract social theories by advocating that contract is "the mutual transferring of right" to a supreme sovereign for the sake of protection in his book Leviathan where Leviathan is a metaphor for the state (an artificial person): "That Great Leviathan...called a COMMONWEALTH, or STATE (in latin CIVITAS), which is but an artificial man, though of great nature and strength, than the natural, for whose protection and defense it was intended; and in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body...salus populi (the peoples' safety) its business". Though there is no idea for the division of power, it is argued which is the best form for the governance and maintenance of a polity or a political order and the very idea for the commonwealth and transferring of rights has theoretical as well as practical significance to the modern understanding of a political order. It is through Jean Jacque Rousseau that the idea of popular sovereignty questioning the divine power of the kings to develop and impose laws, was developed. According to Rousseau in his *Du contrat social ou Principes du droit politique,* "Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole"[[112]](#footnote-113). Thus, Rousseau argued that the legislative power origins from the people, who are the sovereign, and who have to control the government, commissioned to apply the laws, when this government exceeds its powers. This arguing has contributed to the political development of France as well as the to the development of the modern state in Europe.

What it is interesting for this thesis, however, in the current social, cultural and political context of Europe, is how the idea of sovereignty could be redefined or further developed somehow as it was agreed with some of the assumptions of Michael Bruter that this social contract is maintained first and foremost because citizens choose to identify themselves with a political community sharing not only a civic but also a cultural identity. If we follow the logic of a civic and cultural component of political identity, then dwelling on the interview analysis of the empirical study, we can conclude that citizens of Europe, though not always declaring themselves as such, identify themselves with their rights and freedoms in the EU, in particular their right to move, reside and work freely in the EU which compose the civic component of their European identity. As the interviews were taken, however, in a moment where issues such as security was brought about under the refugee crisis and terrorist attacks, we had the chance to observe how political demands for maintaining what we can call the public order, are raised. Thus, we can argue that it would be probably in the area of high politics such as security that the EU could justify itself as a legitimate political order in case it manages to deal effectively with these problems. If we continue analyzing further at a highly theoretical level, we also have to say that it is free movement of persons which raises the questions for the maintaining the security of this space. However, this does not diminish the symbolic power of the nation state to deal with this issue but it rather puts or adds these demands at an additional level, the European one. These issues raise the questions if there is a European sovereign who can legitimately decide this.

In this context, we also observed that it is a crucial question who and under what criteria can enjoy the rights and freedoms of an EU citizen where we also argued that there are strong national implications when it comes to granting national citizenship which is complemented by the EU citizenship. We observed that it is through the common values that this small group of EU citizens see the participation in a European society right and legitimate and the defense of this value system is an obligation of the EU that gives to it legitimacy. The crucial point here is the question about the legitimate use of force in order to maintain the public order and its security raised long time ago by Max Weber and associated with the principle of sovereignty of a state.

The conclusion that we drew regarding the political demands of the EU citizens that they have towards the EU are empirical in their nature which means that they do not necessarily overlap with the de jure, formal state of issues regarding security and sovereignty in the EU. Here we would like to dwell on the arguments of Jean Dennis Mouton that could be read in EU Law notes edition of the Law Faculty of Sofia University. First, dwelling on article 4 of TEU, Jean Dennis Mouton argues that the Lisbon Treaty confirms that EU Member States remain sovereign because every competence which is not ceded to the EU, remain competence of the Member States. Moreover, article 4 of TEU confirms that:

The Union shall respect the equality of Member States before the Treaties as well as their national identities, inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, inclusive of regional and local self-government. It shall respect their essential State functions, including ensuring the territorial integrity of the State, maintaining law and order and safeguarding national security. In particular, national security remains the sole responsibility of each Member State[[113]](#footnote-114)

Thus, Prof. Jean Dennis Mouton confirms that the legitimate use of force as one of the basic principles of sovereignty remains in the competence of the Member States. Also, the sole aspects regarding the control of the territory which becomes subject of communitarian approach in the Lisbon Treaty is in the policy area of freedom, security and justice where EU is given competence for establishment of minimal requirements in the criminal law and the possibility for the establishment of European Public Prosecutor's office defending the financial interests of the EU[[114]](#footnote-115). Practically however, one can raise the issue for the development of the Area of freedom, security and justice and the competence of the Member States in the area of internal (defense of the public order) as well as external security (defense of the territorial integrity of a state), when EU citizens raise demands for maintaining the security on the territory of the EU. If the contemporary sovereignty of the Member States is built upon the idea of popular sovereignty, then the source of the sovereignty remains actually in their citizen's will, which means that they possess the power to change the social contract. In this respect the attempts to involve the EU citizens in the draft of the European constitution through members of the national parliaments are probably ways to involve the sovereigns of the Member States in that process.

Such demands practically remain at the level of discourse or discussion among the citizens and are still not raised or channeled in a political way. However, these empirical observations do indeed raise the issue for the possibility of rendering or shifting sovereignty issues from the nation state towards the EU level by the citizens of the Member States and if the citizens of each member State could probably compose together a European demos or if EU citizens regard their national states as the only form of expression of their demands at EU level which confirms the role of the Member States in having Kompetenz-Kompetenz or full competence.

These theoretical as well as empirical observations imply a possible formation of a new European social contract that can underpin the EU as a legitimate political community. In respect to such a debate, the arguments of Etienne Tassin are worth discussing.

**4.3. A new European social contract?**

In his article "L’Europe cosmopolitique et la citoyenneté du monde" Tassin argues that :

La construction européenne n’obéit pas au schéma vertical d’une intégration étatique. Elle suit plutôt *le schéma horizontal d’une intégration cosmopolitique*. Son référent juridique n’est plus strictement constitué par les droits de l’homme, mais aussi bien par les droits des peuples. L’horizon du cosmopolitisme est une intégration juridique d’États libres fondée sur leur concertation régulière et organisée, et non sur leur subordination à une puissance supérieure. Dans cette configuration, les nations restent le premier lieu d’exercice de la participation démocratique. Mais, sur cette base, il s’agit désormais *de penser l’émergence progressive d’un deuxième niveau de démocratisation de nature transnationale[[115]](#footnote-116)*

In this thesis it isagreed that the nature of the European integration follows the scheme of a horizontal cosmopolitan integration where Member States do not subordinate themselves to a superior power but rather these supra-national institutions are commissioned through the free will of the Member States to exercise the sovereignty in certain areas (exclusive competences). Having in mind the possibility for a MS to leave the EU, one can conclude that each State sovereign remains inalienable. However, the possibility for the development of a second level of transnational democratization or democratic participation in the decision making process could be developed precisely through the practice of EU citizenship. What is more, our empirical evidence give us grounds to support this idea of Etienne Tassin when reflecting upon the demands that EU citizens can have towards the EU. The interviews also showed that the national and cultural identities/heritage in Europe continue to exist despite the lack of national borders which justifies the idea that the European demos cannot be built on the deconstruction of former identities.

The idea about cosmopolitism is what is interesting for this thesis. Etinne Tassin defines two concepts for the construction of Europe reflecting two separate types of political identity:

Ou l’Europe est cosmopolitique et son extension est logiquement sans limites ni géographiques ni historiques ni culturelles ni spirituelles puisque son seul fondement est un patriotisme constitutionnel tandis que son identité politique est post-nationale ; ou l’Europe doit dans son principe se limiter aux États qui la composent actuellement, et se trouve alors avéré que son substrat est géographique, historique, culturel et spirituel[[116]](#footnote-117)

We will not argue which the more suitable form for Europe is. We would only like to emphasize that there are different visions for the building of a strong Europe varying from a constitutional patriotism based on common values or a more essentialist or ultimately exclusive idea for what Europe is. Dwelling on our interviews, we would like to emphasize two important findings:

1) the legitimacy of the EU as a political construction making decisions instead of the MS in certain areas would depend not only on the Member States themselves but also on the will of its citizens and

2) this legitimacy could be strengthened through the clear set of values and their defense.

One can probably argue that in the contemporary social and cultural context of Europe, the power of the nation state to achieve its goals is weakened which requires the EU to act. However, the empirical findings show that the national identity, on one hand, and, on the other, the cultural and spiritual heritage, together with the issues of security, raise the grand topic about the values of Europe which the EU claims to embody.

In this part, one would like argue about that there is a process of formation of a new European social contract involving three sides: the citizens of EU/MS, Member States and EU. We will argue that such a contract could represent what Etienne Tassin conceptualizes as "*l’émergence progressive d’un deuxième niveau de démocratisation de nature transnationale"[[117]](#footnote-118)*. The inclusion of EU citizens in the debate about a value bond in the EU could underpin the emergence of a double level of transnational democratization in Europe along the Member States' democratic participation in the decision making process.

What is highly controversial both from a theoretical and empirical perspective is what form of agency could the EU citizens' will take form of: a wide EU referendum, national referendums in the Member States or the participation of EU citizens representatives in the process of drafting or amending EU Treaties. Nevertheless, the empirical study showed that there is a need for such a debate. Moreover, it is what could strengthen the EU as a legitimate political community as we argued that the political demands that EU citizens raise towards the EU account for the formation of European political identity.

**Conclusion:**

This conclusion aims at summarizing the empirical findings and argue if the research questions have been answered as well as what advantages and limitations of the study there were and what implications there are for further empirical studies**.** Also, conclusions concerning the formation of European identity are drawn. Last but not least, some policy recommendations regarding the area of freedom, security and justice are made.

Four research questions were set in the introduction which required the development of a conceptual framework that could guide the empirical study complementing this research. As it was possible to answer all research questions, it can be concluded that the conceptual framework was comprehensive enough, the methodology for the study justified and the study itself valid. The main research question concerning the empirical grounds of *an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe* was tested and one possible expression of this model, namely the European melting pot, was drawn. In addition to that, the empirical study contributed in gathering in depth knowledge about processes and attitudes in the social context of free movement of persons that could constitute a civic and a cultural component of European identity. It was concluded among this small sample of Bulgarian EU citizens exercising their free movement right that, though they do not identify themselves directly with a particular European institution, party or personality, they do identify strongly with *their rights, benefits and guarantees* secured by the EU. This empirical observation resembles Jonathan White and Maria Stoicheva's arguing that the individual benefits resulting from the EU citizenship as an additional set of rights supports the civic bond between a political community and its citizens. The empirical observations account for the validity of such an arguing. However, they also showed that rights, benefits and guarantees are not enough for the formation of European political identity and for strengthening the legitimacy of the EU. What is necessary for its fostering is what might be called a political bond and a value bond. A political bond is not only talking about Europe and the current problems that need political solutions. The strengthening of a political bond between citizens and EU demands effective ways, agencies or channels for transmitting EU citizens opinions at EU level. Though there are numerous possibilities for that such as the citizenship initiative, the election of EP and the involvement of national parliaments in the control of the sub-sidiarity principle regarding EU legislation, obviously they remain a highly theoretical and distant possibility even for those EU citizens that exercise the core EU citizenship right: free movement. As to the cultural component of European identity, values were those categories mostly frequently mentioned under the Cultural bond. It can be concluded that the clear expression of what this value bond consists of, which values thee are and if they are understood in the same way by all EU citizens could not only strengthen the cultural component of European identity but also sustain the enormous cultural diversity within the EU and be the means for building a cohesion based on values within the EU, cohesion as a necessary homogeneity and readiness for achieving common goals. An important empirical finding was also a link between values and security on the basis of which some policy recommendations could be made. Before proceeding on that, it also has to be noted what European identity models were drawn in the context of the stereotyped East-West migration.

The bicultural/multicultural and the elite European as well as European identity constructed in a unique way in relation to the Balkans, Turkey and Russia were observed. The bicultural or the multicultural European is more in the context of families of mixed European nationalities. It can argued, however, that the free movement of persons possibly increases the possibilities for interpersonal connections between Europeans, a view expressed by Adrian Favell as well. What is more interesting for the research questions was the elite self-perception of what is to be European based on a higher social status, language fluency and higher education which almost creates if not the feeling of superiority, then a feeling of self-fulfillment and success among some respondents, contrasting to the lower self-esteem of respondents working in lower qualified professions. It can be argued that there is also a component of European identity that is only civic and cultural but it is probably a social one referring to the social status and the place in a social hierarchy in Europe where European is also signified by a higher social status. The empirical study does not give us enough in-depth knowledge and such an arguing could be highly hypothetical. However, it is clear that the difference between richer and poorer ones which regards the imbalanced socio-economic development within the EU does influence the experiences, attitudes and perceptions of the EU free movers and could account for the stereotyped East-West migration. Also, empirically it was also observed that some physical traits such as whiteness could influence the perception of European-ness. As to the Balkan identity, the attitude towards Russia and Turkey they can probably be explained with some historical issues from the development of Bulgaria whose thorough explanation was not the purpose of this empirical study. It can be argued, however, that the national perceptions regarding the "other" probably create an individual vision of who is European and who not.

In regard to the advantages of the empirical study, it can be concluded that the bottom-approach of studying European identity is very useful for gathering in-depth knowledge about aspects of a broader problem and thus it can give the basis for further qualitative and quantitative studies. As to the limitations, it was already stated that the study was geographically, financially and time limited. As an additional limitation it was observed the unwillingness of more respondents to participate even though the facebook net widespread the news about the study to a large circle of people. Generally, people are either shy or have some type of prejudices towards being interviewed. Probably, a more suitable way for gathering respondents needs to be set so that more different opinions could be heard. On the other hand, it can be relied on the sincerity of those respondents who participated at a voluntary basis and were more than willing to share how they feel and think.

On the basis of this qualitative study, further qualitative studies regarding the values and the hypothesis whether a social component of the European identity exists need to conducted. In the context of European values, the Christianity was raised which might or might not be connected to a East-West division of understanding which these values are and what they actually mean. This requires further qualitative studies, a proper methodology for it and probably a comparison between a to-bottom normative set of values in article 2 of TEU and a bottom-up empirical observations. Such an in-depth knowledge can be the basis for a bigger quantitative study regarding the values in the EU which is necessary not only for scientific reasons but also for giving recommendations at EU level how a value bond can be fostered within the EU. As to the possible existence of a social component of the European identity, it is essential that further qualitative studies be conducted so that such a hypothesis can be supported or not.

Last but not least, on the basis of the link between security, citizenship and values, policy recommendations regarding the area of freedom, security and justice shall be made. The area of freedom, security and justice is a policy area closely related to the free movement of persons within the EU. Moreover, the evidence from the empirical study supports the idea that the area of freedom has to be complemented by security and justice policies so that the EU remains legitimate before its EU citizens. Being one of the three pillars introduced with the Maastricht Treaty 1993 (Justice and Home affairs pillars), it is now regulated in Title V of the TFEU. It consists of General provisions (defining the object of this policy area), Policies on border checks, asylum and immigration, Judicial cooperation in civil matters, Judicial cooperation in criminal matters and Police cooperation. Before giving recommendations based on the conclusions of the empirical study, we would like to give a very short analysis on some of the provisions in Title V of TFEU. Firstly, article 68 defines the European Council as the institution competent to define the strategic guidelines for legislative and operational planning within the area of freedom, security and justice. Also, according to article 72: "This Title shall not affect the exercise of the responsibilities incumbent upon Member States with regard to the maintenance of law and order and the safeguarding of internal security". Dwelling on these two articles, it can be argued that this is a policy area of high politics dealing with security. Therefore, it is first and foremost within the competence of the European Council whose guidelines are necessary for adopting of legislative measures between the Council and the EP. The area of freedom, security and justice is in itself an area that combines several mutually connected matters: the free movement of persons, the internal security of the EU and the judicial and police cooperation between the MS for safeguarding this security. The Lisbon Treaty has introduced numerous novelties in the development of that policy area: ordinary legislative procedure, strengthening the promotion of fundamental rights within that area though the Charter of Fundamental right of the EU that has the same legal power as the Treaties, a new role of the national parliaments in monitoring the preservation of the subsidiarity principle within that area, increased power of the Court of Justice of the EU than can give preliminary ruling on all aspects of AFSC, the possibility of the EC to bring procedure for failure of a MS to comply with the rules of AFSC as well as the possibility to involve Member States in the evaluation of the implementation of that policy area according to article 70 of TFEU. Nevertheless, it is emphasized that the maintenance of order and internal security are matters in the competence of the MS. Having concluded that some of the EU citizen are forming some type of demands towards the EU for safeguarding its value system and the security of its citizen, it can argued that there are perhaps certain contradictions in the construction and functioning of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. More precisely, there is an unprecedented free movement of persons within the EU that is at the heart of the rights and freedoms of the EU citizenship status while the security issues as well as the police and judicial cooperation that are subject of cooperation, continue to be issues treated as matters of high politics or as domains related to the sovereignty of the Member States.

Though there is a progress through the establishment of common asylum and immigration policy, the establishment of agencies such as Europol and Eurojust, the cooperation in judicial and police matters, the internal security remains within the competence of the nation state. Thus, we would like first to agree with the conclusions in the article "The Paris Terrorists in Paris: Failure of the EU's area of freedom, security and justice?"[[118]](#footnote-119) in eumigrationlawblog.eu that further measures are necessary so that security is strengthened and this is related to an agreement on common values. The article makes analysis that some of the security issues in Europe are not actually results of the failure of the SIS but of the lack of sharing intelligence service information. Dwelling on the conclusion of the empirical study, it is recommended that EU is given more competence in the sharing and use of such information. Moreover, solidarity could be further strengthened in the possibility for more cooperation between the intelligence services of the MS.

All in all, the study of European identity formation in the context of free movement of persons is a research perspective offering numerous dimensions and aspects of the possibility for the formation of such an identity as social context is defined by numerous factors. What this intra EU mobility space creates is a milieu for changing of traditional identities of Europe and for the formation of a new social and cultural space where new identities are developing. The study of this space eventually help in learning more about ourselves, how we relate to each other, what bridges and what binds us.

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**Appendix A: Questionnaire**

**Screening questions**

What is your age?

What is the highest level of education you have acquired?

Do you speak the language/s of the local country?

What is your marital status?

Do you have children?

Are you living in the same household with your family?

Do you have residence registration in the local country?

Do you have a job contract?

Have you ever benefited from any type of social help in the local country?

**Questions**

1. Why did you choose to settle down in a foreign country within the European Union?

**Sub-questions:**

For how long have you been here and what do you do for living /what do the members of your family do?

Would you rather live in a country outside Europe if you had that opportunity?

Would you go back to your home country? If yes, under what circumstances?

2. Considering your experience, would you say that your initial expectations were met?

**Sub-questions:**

Have you ever encountered any sort of barriers (administrative, language, personal, est.) ?

Have you ever been rejected access to the labor market or to some administrative or social services in the local country that you are entitled to, because you are a foreigner?

Is this due to some cultural differences between you and the local citizens?

If yes, what are the main factors for that? If no, could you please further explain?

Would you please describe your circle of friends or your family's friends? Do you have any friends among the locals or among citizens of other countries?

In which language do you speak most often with your children (for those that have children) ?

3. Considering your experience of being abroad, do you feel European?

**Sub-questions:**

What do you mean by saying that?

4. Would you say "I am a citizen of Europe?" What meaning do you put in that?

5. When you hear and "an ever closer Union between the peoples of Europe" what do you imagine?

6. Do you feel closer to the other Europeans compared to Russians, Americans or Chinese, for example?

7. Do you associate yourself with an institution, organization, a party or any other type of structure in Bulgaria, in the local country or on a European Union level?

8. If you had to grade your attachement to Bulgaria, EU and local country, how would you grade them?

**Sub-question:**

If you cannot grade them, could you please describe your attitude towards them?

**Appendix B: Transcription of interviews**

**Interview 1**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Social /Economic | Social rights  Employment | Social security | 1.Yes. I am entitled to them (redundancy payments) considering the fact that I am living in the country and paying the taxes. When I am not employed, I am entitled to redundancy payment. |
| Civic/political | EU citizen's rights /Entitativity | Rights, citizenship  legislation | 2.Well, to great extent the synchronization of the legislation in Europe and the rights which I have as a citizen of Europe, to great extent I am protected whatever happens to me and this is a great benefit. |
| Cultural | Cultural integration/entitativity | Fondness, likeness  "the other" | 3. I prefer the mentality of the Europeans compared to the one in America because I have been there on a vacation...also compared to the Asian countries |
| Social | Social rights | Social policy  Social security | 4. It depends on the level of integration in the local country and the on possibilities for social policy that the country has. For example, Belgium and the Netherlands have a very well developed social policy. No matter what, the European countries are more socially oriented and less commercialized in comparison with America. |
| Cultural | Cultural integration | barriers | 5. As to the barrier I have encountered...no matter how many efforts the local people make, no matter how much you are integrated, if you are not married to a local one, it is very difficult for these barriers to disappear. |
| Economic | Work force | Discrimination, employment | 6. (About not speaking French)  It is...I would not say discrimination. I would say it is a disadvantage for me because I would have achieved a different level under the same conditions...I feel very good in the company even it is a French speaking one, I communicate very well with people and I see no problems when communicating with them |
| Cultural | Values | minorities | 7. The system in Belgium is constructed in a way that it protects the minorities. Considering my physical features of a European, white etc, I am not in that discriminative group. |
| Cultural bond  economic bond  Civic | Values  Economic development  Duties, obligations | Tolerance,  economic development  abiding the laws | 8. The cultural differences in Europe are much bigger than in the America, they speak the same language, have the same currency...one history...For example in the Netherlands they do not like the Germans because of the Second world war. There will always be a barrier between the Polish and the Germans....it is not only a Bulgarian trait...hating your neighbor. Now people identify that they are Europeans by respecting other people's position and opinion, by being more open towards countries and people that are near the EU and there is no doubt about it. But I think that we need 2 or 3 generations so that we have the same economic development. A German will always say "My countries gives most money in the EU, why should I feed the Greeks that are lazy". As I said I do not want to be integrated but I pay my taxes and I abide the laws. They will never accept me as a local but they will be tolerant to me as a person. |
| Cultural bond | Values/etho-culturalism | Tolerance,  traditions | 9. Now there is tolerance, understanding..everybody knows that the other person is more intelligent, that everybody is looking for their happiness in the respective country. But for example I will never accept a huge Catholic holiday or celebrate Poland's national holiday for example. |
| Cultural bond | Values/entitativity | Peace/the heritage of Europe | 10. I feel European and I would say that many people outside the EU are also European. The EU does not mean that only the people inside are Europe. Europe exists before the EU....Europe is a continent and not only economic development and economic thinking. Considering the ideology of the EU for free movement and education, I feel such even if I was not part of the EU...being tolerant, accepting the other...the lack of military conflict. |
| Civic/political | Citizenship | Behaviour/laws/civilized | 11. I would say I am a citizen of Europe but it would not be my first sentence... because I travel...behaving as European, being more civilized, abiding the laws |
| Economic | Work mobility | visa | 12. .I will always be Bulgarian..In Belgium I am satisfied that I managed to find my place and that I could develop myself without the barriers in Bulgaria but they have not given this to me just like that. I have made efforts, studied and fought. I found a job on my own. I am satisfied I could apply for a job without a visa...so i would say I am satisfied with the EU. |
| Cultural bond /  Solidarity | Ethno-culturalism | Common destiny /shared sense of continuity | 13. If I have to conclude we need minimum 50/60 years so that the EU could have, let's say, a common destiny...common history experienced by everybody...we need a catastrophe, something really stunning so that the whole thing changes |
| Cultural bond | Ethno-culturalism | Common history | 14. I felt really good in the Czech republic. They are Slavic as identity. It is true, we the Slavic people spoke the same language until 13/14 century. I became part of the environment very quickly. I think it will be very difficult without common history. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

The first interview contains some very important information regarding the different bonds, their impact on the individual's identification as well as some interesting relations between these bonds that could constitute European identity.

The civic/political bond is very often mentioned and could be derived from the respondent's quotes. In particular this respondent experiences being a citizen of Europe through the numerous rights he possesses and what is more important through his awareness of his rights. Though we have no direct mentioning of any of the civil and political rights of a EU citizen such as participation in local or EP elections that we set in the code book, being a citizen of Europe is very well linked to the awareness and fulfillment of different rights that could be related to other bonds. Thus, in the first quote we see that paying the taxes and receiving the redundancy payments constitute both rights and obligations of a EU citizen who moves to work under the same conditions as the nationals of the host country. Moreover, quote number 2 adds to the Civic/Political bond by calling being a citizen of Europe a benefit, a matter of protection. Protection in social dimension related to the social policy and the social system of Belgium in particular and of Europe as a whole (quote 4) is what constitutes Europe compared to other systems such as the American one. Social, Economic and Civic/Political bond are somehow experienced together and there is not such a strict division between them precisely through the possibility of working and residing under the same conditions as the local ones which is well understood and experienced. In particular, we could even add the cultural bond in quote 10 where free movement of person and education are seen themselves as values or even as an ideology of Europe together with tolerance toward other nationalities. A cultural bond is also mentioned in particular to the respect for values such as tolerance and respecting minorities and the possibility for common history. The common experience of challenges is seen, moreover, as a step of developing solidarity and ultimately common cultural European identity. Also, a particular civic dimension of European identity is understood as being more civilized, abiding the rules and paying the taxes.

To us, particularly interesting are quotes: 7, 8, 10 and 14 because they represent particular contradictions between some of the bonds and some ideas are generated inductively.

Quote 7 represents an idea of being European based on physical features such as race ( the colour of white) which is something not discussed in the Conceptual framework but very much resembles the essentialist understanding for identity. Moreover, being white is seen as a quality of European who is not discriminated.

Quote 8 confirms the existence of a Cultural bond through the common values such as tolerance and respect but at the same time the different cultural and religious traditions are seen as an impediment for a common European identity. Moreover, as a hindrance to that is seen the different economic development between the countries. Thus, we could conclude that the cultural and economic bonds should complement each other and be equally developed so that a sense of shared identity exists.

Quote 10 represents the idea that Europe is a much broader concept based on common values that do not fall only within the scope of EU. Free movement, education and tolerance are these features that constitute according to the respondent the ideology of the EU. Mentioning ideology implies a political attitude and understanding toward the process in Europe which does indicate features of European political identity or the possibility of such.

Quote 14 implies a very essentialist idea of Europe based on the idea of a common history but also common language. Here, the lack of common language could be seen as a hindrance to such an identity but also the similarity between languages such as the Slavic languages could be seen as a condition for shared sense of identity.

Quote 9 implies the common goal for searching and achieving happiness ( a better life) that everybody strives for and is looking for a particular country within the EU to fulfill it.

*Latent themes/explanations that are highly subjective, relational and argumentative*

*Some of the statements could be explained through some features of the traditional Bulgarian mentality as well as the still recent Socialistic past. Social protection as well as political ideology are two very important features for regarding the EU as a political construction and this attitude could be seen through some of the quotes and overall spirit of the interview. Being civilized and abiding the rules is considered European behaviour not traditionally typical for Bulgaria which has to learn to follow it. Slavic identity as a different level of identification.*

**Interview 2**

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Cultural bond | Multi-culturalims/multi-nationalism | Globalization | Here in Luxembourg (the city) are living together around 130 different nationalities. I have colleagues that are from India and a friend from Turkey (Turkey is still not in the EU). I would not say exactly that there is European identity but...multinational identity...something connected with the globalization...people that are living and working in multinational communities and such people that are living and working in their own country |
| Horizontal bond between the Member States and EU  Cultural bond | Legal frame of the EU membership  Ethno-symbolism | Rights and guarantees  Family of cultures | I feel European because Bulgaria is a country member of the EU with certain rights and guarantees and I feel like a member of the European family...yes I could say this |
| Cultural bond | Multi-nationalism | Multi-national society | There are also American people living here...I would not say that I am exactly citizen of Europe...I would say I am a citizen of a multinational society |
| Political bond  Cultural Bond | Political structure  Values/Traditions | Centralization/federalization  The values in article 2 of TEU, Christian traditions | An ever closer Union is a way to the centralization and federalization of the EU...Rule of Law, democracy are the things that unite us...also the traditions such as Christmas. This is a common tradition for each European country. |
| Cultural bond /Horizontal bond between Member States /Civic or political bond | Political entity  Ethno-symbolism | EU  History, culture, values | Europe and EU are different units. There are countries that are still not EU members but they share the same history, culture and values. I would put first EU, then Bulgaria and in the end Europe. EU because I am personally and professionally engaged in one of the European institutions and Europe as a whole with all countries that are still not members. |

respondent: woman, very well educated, working for a European institution, 36 years, Luxembourg: speaks 2 official languages, unmarried, one child, is living in the same household with her family, job contract, address, redundancy payments and children's benefits/payments, 7 years living

motives for moving: job offer, Luxembourg has international population, standard of living is higher, unwilling to come back to Bulgaria, wants better working conditions to return to Bulgaria, she wished to live and work permanently/long term, the fluency of Luxembourgish is an advantage , never experienced any type of discrimination, a circle of Bulgarian friends and a circle of international friends of Southern people (Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey) but no local friends (they are minority in friends), speaks only in Bulgarian to her child

**Interview 3**

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Economic bond | Competition | Capitalism | Great Britain is a severe country. A person has to be very persistent in order to achieve something...It is a severe capitalism |
| Cultural and Economic bond | Competition and intercultural competences | Job and language skills | Before entering the EU, there were cases I had job rejections but here there is no job rejection in any given country as long as you know the language. Language is a very basic thing. Not so much the education. In the capitalistic world the skills are what is appreciated. |
|  |  |  | Yes, I feel European because thanks to my daughter and not to ...the change as a way of thinking not just as a behavior but as a way of thinking. We Bulgarians have very conservative way of thinking. We are very backward in our way of thinking, in our behaviour, we are not adaptive. We are lazy, the Bulgarians. We are critical with self-confidence that is not grounded. The most important thing that my daughter Angelina says people do not update themselves. They do not want a change and this is passed by generations, it is passed also by my generation. The world is changing but the Bulgarian people are not changing. That is why they are not adaptive in a foreign environment. Not because they can't but because they do not want. ...In order to speak the language, you have to know their culture. They do not want to change the Balkan culture with the English one...at least to get something from it. |
| Cultural bond | Values | Respect for differences | I had to read the objects of the English education and I saw things that are missing from Bulgaria. Children are taught to follow rules in games which teaches them to abide the laws in the future and they have to be interested in the other person's culture irrespective of the nationality. We do not have this in Bulgaria (A question about the ever closer union) |
| Cultural bond | Assimilation | - | I would not say I am a citizen of Europe. I do not want to say it. I am citizen of Great Britain. I am proud that I have learnt their way of living and have acquired to some extent their way of thinking because their way of thinking is progressive. |
| *Economic and Social bond* | *Security* | *Job opportunities and social security* | Bulgaria...the things that I find dear are my childhood, the nature, my relatives and my kids. Nothing else attracts me to Bulgaria even my property there does not attract me. There is hope in this country (GB). You live because there is hope. In Bulgaria there is no hope. This is the worst thing. There is no hope for anything. When I go back to Bulgaria, I go to my village to see my village fellows, the gypsies because this gives me energy. What I miss is the nature and the past. Nothing attracts me here. I am living in a house with an English person. They respect me. They have never ever offended me or slammed the door in front of me. I have a garden, the nightingales...it is a idyll...it is my small world..I do not like London...it is conglomerate...Here I do not have friends in our Bulgarian way but in their way I have many friends. The category friendship is different |

respondent: a woman, 55 years old, high education diploma, living in UK, speaks English, divorced, 2 children, is not living with her family, address, legally, job contract with 3 agencies, never used social benefits, 16-17 years old abroad, 1998 until today lived only 2, 5 years in Bulgaria, first lived 4 mandate job contract years plus 5 years more than moved to GB (lived for the second time for GB because of a huge loan, financial reasons), working in the education field , a teacher, would not live outside Europe, would not come back to Bulgaria only except of her children, speaks fluently the language in the two countries, never experienced discrimination; middle level environment, has friends that are teachers or from other institutions, only foreigners, only locals and English people, very well developed intercultural competences, very disappointed and angry from Bulgaria; tendency to compare everything between Bulgaria and Great Britain, angry because some parents delete the identity of their children living in Great Britain because of the misery in Bulgaria...rejection of your own identity; self-hatred and anger

Becoming European is a process for the Bulgarian person. It means upgrading, changing yourself for the better, a matter of progress or a process.

**Interview 4**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Cultural bond | Ethno-symbolism | Culture, values | No. Europe is Europe. Europe is the old continent. There you have values, culture...let's say in depth. This is what I have seen because I have not lived in another continent. For example, Africa is too different from us. America is too commercialized and shallow. Here you really get to know another culture. You go, visit a museum, see what has happened...There is culture. ( a question if she/he would move to another continent) |
| Cultural bond | Cultural integration | Cultural barriers | Here you are not at home. Yes, you are adaptive ...At home everything is familiar. Here you have to begin from the start. It is interesting to be with people from other cultures but when you start the communication, you really have a huge cultural barrier and it takes a long time not just to overcome but to become aware of it. Example for a cultural barrier: When I lived in the Netherlands, there was a big cultural barrier. Here it is not such a big one. There people approach you in a very social way, very warm and open. From one moment one, you have communicated already for 2 or 3 months, when it is time to build friendship and deepen the communication but it stops until that moment and then you understand that on their side this was some type of curiosity that they have fulfilled and they do not need your friendship because they already have their good friends. Such a type of cultural barrier. It is not just a barrier. It is just their culture. They just did not let you in. ...The work is on a more shallow level ....In Bulgaria your work is your family ...This is too much for me |
| Cultural bond | Intercultural competences | Languages/meanings/symbols | The language barrier will always exist. Not just because of the level of the language. It is because of the symbols. For example, a foreigner who has learnt perfectly Bulgarian but when we start joking for Suncho, Hitur Petar ( comic heroes in Bulgaria), playing ohluv and dama (games), he cannot understand really this. We speak perfectly the language but we have not really grown up here. We do not have these symbols that they acquire from babies until their 30s or 40s (idioms and jokes). This is a huge barrier for the communication. |
|  |  |  | You do not feel as emigrant. You feel as expat ( when describing what is to work for a European institution)...In the Netherlands Bulgarians have had such problems (discrimination). The Dutch people think that Bulgaria is less organized as a country and that people run away from it because they have no qualifications or that they are hungry. They think they are more developed and that we will go there and destroy their country. But it's so true that they have rules (gives examples for abiding rules). There is a civic society. |
| Human and or Cultural bond | Cultural integration | communication | I choose my friends not based on their nationality but if we get along as humans. It is very interesting to communicate with different people. You really learn a lot. |
| Cultural bond | Entitativity  Cultural integration  Process | feelings  Curiosity and openness  Personal change | Yes. I fully feel European. Well I put into that feeling in my own place and to some extent at home irrespective of which country in Europe I would live. Of course I choose it and I have to speak the language so that the countries I could live in are not that so many. Being open to other cultures, to acquiring new habits. You always carry your own culture but not that conservatism ...trying to pass what it was in Sofia to Belgium and Netherlands, being open to new things. I am Bulgarian and I will always stay Bulgarian. This experience outside has made me...first I am not so judgmental ....It is a process....first time when I moved was very hard...It takes 1 or 1, 5 to adapt.....it is a process, you have a developed model of adapting....you know the steps. First it is enthusiasm, then it is loneliness...Oh my God I am alone....no one can understand me...third 3 you write on a list what bothers you and decide what can be solved....you actually adapt yourself....after 6 months you feel adapted...the next time is the honey moon, you have friends and things do not irritate you, you become curious |
| Civic/Political bond  Cultural bond | Political structure-EU  Values | Possibilities, Entitativity, Sense  Solidarity/Empathy | Yes, I would say ( I am a citizen of Europe) because this is my job, Stella. I decided to work this job because I really wanted to inform the people, to participate in the process of informing people what this European Union is doing. ....To me EU was something very abstract. We pay sth there but I do not care if we are there or not but when I saw the possibilities ...because this is something that offers possibilities for everybody who wants it, people have to understand this. Yes, I am a citizen of the EU because there are many things that carry sense and that could make your life better and there is one thing that I learnt here : solidarity. In Bulgaria this was not case. It was really competitive, everybody blaming the other. There was no empathy and solidarity. |
| Civic/Political bond  Cultural bond | Society ( a general idea in stead of EU)  Ethno-symbolism,  Entitativity | Rules  Traditions, values  The other | Stella, i do not know if you know but Brussels is very international. It is full of people from the former colonies and they are not the best educated with the highest education and morality level. Well, let's say European is someone who follows the rules, will shop in the market, will clean and wait. Yesterday when I was in a shop, people from the colonies entered. I am not a racist but these people started shouting and pushing themselves ....well, we Europeans are not like that...we are more civilized and careful ....ok we Europeans...ok the Balkans, we are a different beer. But from Hungary on, people are civilized. We have this old culture, these values, the look full of something while the Americans in my opinion had this empty look ....the good manners |
| Cultural bond | Process | Exchange, working together | Yes, it is possible ( an ever closer Union). But this has to be a long and pushed process because every country in Europe has a long history and a different culture. So that they really come closer together, they have to work together ...maybe exchange of students till they are at the age when they can pick something from the culture and when they get back to their own country, to be ambassadors of the other culture. If we exchange the know-how and the experience, it would be perfect. It is not continuation. It is a two-sided exchange. Because I have colleagues from Germany and Poland. When there is a situation that has to be solved, everybody ..The Spanish, The Dutch, the German, says something different and in the end we discuss and make a decision which is a compilation from the culture of everybody. |
| Cultural bond | Cultural integration | Fondness/likeness | I feel closer to the Russian people because of Bulgaria. I have read the whole Russian classics like Dostoevsky. From that point of view I feel closer with the Russians and the Europeans but not with the Americans . I understand them but they do not have that depth. |
|  |  |  | No (question about political identification one EU level). I have been looking for that by reading ...the motto united in diversity, being part of a team, you keep to your values but also to models that are not only Bulgarian but individual. You are united but you are yourself. |
| Political bond | EU/EU institutions | A zone of comfort | First Bulgaria. Then EU because it is a zone of comfort but I move within these institutions then Europe. I would not stay in Brussels because this is not the quality of life I want. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

An **expatriate** (often shortened to **expat**) is a person temporarily or permanently [residing](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Residency_(domicile)), as an [immigrant](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigrant), in a country other than that of their citizenship. The word comes from the [Latin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_language) terms [ex](https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ex#Latin) ("out of") and [patria](https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/patria#Latin) ("country, fatherland").

experiencing the EU in a very personal sense, very deep engagement, developing European cultural identity rather than a strictly political or civic identity

In common usage, the term is often used in the context of professionals or skilled workers sent abroad by their companies.[[1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Expatriate#cite_note-1)

respondent: a woman, during 3 years lived in two countries ( 2 times moved within Netherlands), now is in Brussels for, 1, 4 years; 33 years old; master in international economic relations; speaks Dutch, German, French; is learning French at her workplace, is living together with her child without a husband, address, job contract, never used any social benefits; motivation: Bulgaria is too mono-cultural, wanted international environment, multi-cultural environment , worked in German, Dutch and Belgian company, wants to learn, expansion of the horizons, working for the European Parliament (DG Communication with the citizens of the EU), worked as a student in the USA; would not come back to Bulgaria for the time being; maybe when she is retired.; no discrimination, half-diplomatic passports

**Interview 5**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
|  |  |  | No. I do not feel European. I had to feel European in Bulgaria because we came in 2012 and we became members in 2007. I can't say I feel European. |
| Economic bond | Work mobility | Employment, remuneration | Yes, I would ( Would you say I am a citizen of the EU)because I think that the normal European have to go to work, they should not be dependent on somebody else. We receive everything: a possibility for a job and a normal way of living. Here I would say I feel European but I would not say it in Bulgaria because of the poverty and the beggars , you are not given job possibilities and even a home where you can live. |
| A human bond (overstretching the European one) | Cultural integration  Values | honesty | I think it is possible to achieve an ever closer union in cultural terms. I have met for the first time people from different ethnicities and countries. During the course we had black people, Chinese, Japanese and everybody spoke about the traditions in his/her country. These things were included in the program and it was really interesting....I do not thing something make me closer with the other Europeans. I do not make any difference between the people. To me, honesty is important. |
| Horizontal economic bond between the countries | Standard of living | Rich/poor differences | I will put Bulgaria on first place. It is my homeland and I love it. Second, Germany because it gives me all that I need like a job , normal life and home and at last the EU because for me this is a constructed ...let's say...I do not know...community, institution that really there is a difference between many rich countries and many poor countries like Bulgaria and Greece. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a woman, Germany, 36 years old, bachelor and master degrees, B1 German/B2, follows German courses, divorced, her son is living in Bulgaria, living with a boyfriend, address, job contract, no social benefits, motivation for moving: angry at the politics of Bulgaria and the job conditions of nurses in Bulgaria, stress and disappointment (not enough medications for the sick ones); in order to practice her job as a nurse, she decided to go to Germany; she did not know German in advance; first started working in a cleaning services company, a retirement home and then at a hospital; 3, 5 in Germany; she would not go back to Bulgaria; no cases of discrimination; German colleagues at work also Bulgarians; does not like her Bulgarian fellow men in Germany that according to her do not support each other.

EU and Bulgaria are constantly compared. EU is associated with a better standard of living and more job opportunities.

**Interview 6**

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Cultural bond | Cultural integration | Likeness, fondness, subjectivity | I have had experiences typical for an emigrant life. Heavy bureaucracy and the mentality. I have lived in the Flemish part and people there are still living in the 19th century. It is very difficult especially getting under their skin and the communication given the fact that this is a capital of the EU and the EC is 10 km from me but in the suburb I am living in there are local people who are avoiding the foreigners. The mentality is difficult. Historically, the Flemish people were always divided and had the feeling to be nowhere. The mentality is that they are isolated and suppressed. It is not that they are not good But they are very closed. This is totally different from our mentality. I felt in the Netherlands, however, completely like in Bulgaria when it comes to way of living, mentality and attitude towards life. |
|  |  |  | I have had personal conflicts with English people at work who has this island identity and think it is their constitutional right to judge and give advise . |
| Cultural bond | Cultural integration | Likeness or rather unlikeness | This was one of my greatest disappointment in Belgium when it comes to friendship. Your friends could be always called in Bulgaria but here you have to call in advance. |
|  |  |  | (Speaking about Bulgarian people who are overacting in certain situations)....Because they are not losing the film they have in their heads, the one they have come with, they are living with the film especially when you look their posts on facebook ...or the other thing that irritates me is some form of superiority over the Bulgarian people living in Bulgaria |
| Civic/Political bond | EU/European civil society | The idea of citizenship/ participation ? | (Talking about these co called films or images the respondent is asked if there is such a film Europe)...There are expectations. Historically, because we have been under different rules we have learnt to expect somebody to give us something...like the EU has to give us something . It is some abstract, big power. Historically, given the history when Bulgaria was created and we had two tsardoms, I do not think that this mentality today is justified...that we do not perceive ourselves as this active, working part of the EU but a part that has to receive something |
| Cultural bond | Ethno-culturalism and Values | Religious inheritance, the respect for life | Yes, I do feel European. I do not present myself as Bulgarian but as European because I understand the importance of Europe...In the term European I invest a long historical process of transition to values developed in all European societies. This transition to some general values but we have all walked that path it does not matter if we are East orthodox, Catholic or Protestant. Such a division is suggested but practically we have the same values: full respect for the other human being, the life of everybody is a value on its own compared to other continents is the feeling for the values of the life and the sense of this life for each life is something that is achieved on the European continent. |
| Cultural bond | Entitativity/Values | Feelings, experience of Europe | I would say I am a citizen of Europe... I was invited to work in Chicago, USA but I said that I am European, my feeling and my mentality are of a European ..I will not go somewhere only just for money...I want to touch these European values and culture such as going to the house of Rubens |
| Cultural bond | Common values | Humanist inheritance of Europe | The most basic European trait is that you accept not only the European as a center of the universe but every person |
| Cultural bond | Values | Life/human being | This political correctness is a mistake and this is not European because you neither accept or understand or have the wish to understand the other. You have to understand that ...not under the pressure of a political party or a religious system that next to you you have another person who just like you is trying to understand the world...I am really irritated by this American way of thinking and considering the other as idiots or sick people when you take care of other people and only boost your own ego . This does not have any depth. There was no integration in the past...no one forced the other people to integrate you...but everything happened on a human level in a very natural way. There is no feeling for the person as a value because he is the main value and not the group. |
| Cultural bond | Ethno-culturalism | Religious inheritance, common culture | We have the same culture in Europe as different peoples and it is Christian. For 2000 years Europe has been a Christian one. This is the common culture. ...what cultural integration...we are one Whole. I have no feeling for difference...This difference between East and West is politically kept instead of emphasizing the common things. |
| Cultural bond | Values | ? | No identification in political sense when it come to EU. What I am seeing worries me given the fact that the emphasis is not on the person and Christianity but on some demonic powers...I have grown up in Communism....but when I came here I saw that the things we have witnessed were transformed in the EU in a very strange way...I see the same things that are ...the principle of controlled freedom...you can speak only about certain things ..This bureaucracy reminds me of one Socialistic balloon that is going to be destroyed...you are working because you have to have a job and nothing more than this. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a man, 44 years old, high diploma, speaks Flemish; highly intelligent and motivated person, unmarried; job contract until recently , address, redundancy payments; motivation for moving: it was purely by chance to go to Belgium; a Dutch company in Sofia where he worked as closed; he was over qualified for Bulgaria when he started going to interviews in Bulgaria; had a Belgian friend who helped him; he is a teacher in arts and also a graphic designer; worked 5 years as a teacher in Belgium at an international school and taught in English; the only Bulgarian among 750 schools; would not go to another continent; is living in a diplomatic suburb in Brussels where a school of arts is established; would not come back to Bulgaria because he has no perspectives there.; expected life of the West: house, car a good life; as friends he has Dutch and Flemish friends

Critique of the political correctness of the EU; A very shallow understanding of the human being;

comparison with the Socialist Block; emptiness and no substance if the EU because of the controlled freedom

**Interview 7**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| ? Social/Economic/Cultural bonds that create a middle level Bulgarian or Italian or rather equalize them | Leveling, equalization, merging | Abilities, education | Yes. I am not less European than the middle level Italian or German. I do not feel different from them, neither more intelligent, neither less stupid or less capable. Just a normal person....For me the definition Bulgarian, Arabic or European is too subjective. It is rather due to the school you have finished and the friends you have. These are subjective definitions and I am not trying to associate myself with them. |
| Civic/Political Bond | EU | EU membership | Yes ( a question about being citizen of Europe). Because I am part of a country which is part of the European Union. |
| Cultural bond | Intercultural competences | Communication, language, awareness of differences  A process | There is cultural closeness or coming together. Even though it is difficult in my case it is taking place with my kids. It is through the communication, the language, a matter of game, of relations that are built in time. I see how my children are developing themselves and I try not to influence them. For example, they discover national clichés like Italian people speak a lot. ....They see me and understand that I am not a gypsy speaking in Russian. Respectively, I am seeing them in a different way. This is how a society is being constructed. |
| Cultural bond | Assimilation | - | I define myself as Bulgarian. My children are recognized as Bulgarians. It would be difficult for a Bulgarian child to be accepted as a Belgian. Because I have friends who try to achieve this. |
|  |  |  | You just have to have some identity. Not particularly European. You just have to recognize yourself in something without clinching to it. |
| National identity  European Bond | Territory  Possibilities | Place of birth  Travelling, communication, friends | What does it mean Europe? What does it mean Bulgaria? Bulgaria is the place I was born, my city. Europe...this is the places I have been to, the possibilities to communicate and make new friendships. |
| Supra-national European identity | Challenges | National identity, education, political parties | The creation of European identity is somehow the creation of a nation and suppression of your feeling of being Bulgarian or Italian. In USA there are still differences between the North and the South but still there is some gradual development through education. In Europe we do not have that process. Parties whose main goal is not political differentiation between different policies but based on identity, for example national identity ....we cannot achieve this. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a man, 40 years old, two masters degrees, does not speak any of the official languages in Belgium, uses English ; married with two children, does not have a job contract; moved to Belgium because of their children expecting better education levels in Bulgaria; looking for a job, finished his second master degree and he is looking for a job but because of the lack of language he cannot before the problems for finding a job were administrative now only the language; very conservative educational system like learning everything by heart; no informatics and computer knowledge in the schools; communicated primarily with Bulgarians and the parents of his children; he is part of international environment; speaks Bulgarian to his children and maybe they express themselves better in French; his wife is working in a European institution

There is this necessity for identification but it has to be a rather natural process and there is no need for declaring it, clinching to it or demonstrating it.

**Interview 8**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Economic and Social bonds | Work mobility  Social rights | Remuneration, employment  Social policy  Mixing | Belgium is twice as little as Bulgaria. It has 3 official languages and 3 regions: Flandria, Wallonia and Brussels. It is surrounded by the 3 most influential countries in Europe: France, Germany and Netherlands. It is full with people with different nationalities. It is famous for the beer, chocolate and the fries. The fact that there are many nationalities and this well developed social policy has turned Belgium into a country where the consciousness and the identity is not that strong as on the Balkans. Everybody is mixed here. Having said that, Belgium offers a very good possibility for the so called start up if you come from a country like Bulgaria with a lower standard for living. |
| Economic bond  European bond | Economic equalization | Possibilities/similarities | Belgium is already similar to Bulgaria even though it is twice as little and has better economy. I could give you numerous examples for things that are similar. So I would not move to another country on another continent. If I have to leave Belgium for some reasons, I would come back only to Bulgaria. I would not go to another country or continent because I have to start from the scratch. So my alternative is to come to Bulgaria which is home. ...I have lost all connections because I did not have university life in Bulgaria. Sometimes I miss the atmosphere in Bulgaria and some sentimental things and the fact I cannot speak my language. I speak French, English, Dutch,...I speak with many Belgians and foreign people in my job. |
| Cultural bond | A process | Cultural exchange | .....There are many common things in the mentality. Belgian people do not have a common identity . Their own image for identity has changed because they are surrounded by many foreigners, Asians, Arabs, Balkans etc. They are very open to accept different people and because of that they acquire the mentality of the Eastern, Balkan and Arab people. Is it John or Dancho. (a Bulgarian name)..you see Dancho in Leuven. It is connected to things such as how helpful they are, how jealous they are or if they are in good mood or not. These are typically Balkan things. If he looks at you in a bad way, he will not help you... |
| European bond | -economic  -social  -cultural  similarities | Way of thinking,  Making business  -being more open and less conservative  -speaking foreign languages | I have not experienced any discrimination or racism because I have understood that I have to adapt when I am into this society and when I am not, I could be Bulgarian. They like the deals, the tricks, the illegal things (the Flemish people) but at the same time the face of the country is different..you know banks, costumes. But if you are in the middle class and not for example among the beggars, it is exactly like the one in Bulgaria. Bulgaria has also undergone change. There are modern people, there are people who make business and help you. ...There are people who think in a European way (not like Bai Ganio)...not like I am not ok but my neighbour has to be in a worse situation . There are people between 20 and 40 who has experienced a little bit communism and democracy and they are less conservative, they speak foreign languages. travel, make business. |
| European bond | -economic  -social  -cultural  Similarities  (instead of territorial identification)  A process | Middle level  synchronization | I do not think that being European is qualified with somebody who is living on the European continent and someone who comes presumably from Western Europe so that we could call him European the way it was until today. You know the East has always tried to catch the West. In the moment, however, the West is starting to go down and it is meeting the East. Due to that we have a middle level. We are becoming one big village. Everything is the same. Even though we speak different languages, we speak basically the same things. Everything has began to merge in the last 10 or 15 years. According to the elder people here the West has changed because many foreign people have come and they have acquired more than they had given. The East comes with the thirst to get more than to give...East is everything after Austria...Europe is everything from Scandinavia to Greece ...without Turkey and Russia. This cross if you can imagine is the whole of Europe. The East has always tried to catch up with the developed West but now the West is coming down and for us...we are not changing in any way...it is just becoming the same for us...There is the same level...But these East European people are bringing something good...Imagine these people but not the ones working on the building constructions...but the ones that work in the companies, that travel and make business...they are not criminals and rapers. They are just normal people who have ideas that want to make something different outside their countries and they are ready to accept the rules of the foreign country. Here it is the synchronization. You have a transfer of money, stock and services...and the exchange of cultural mentality. If you are Bulgarian and I am Belgian and we make business together, we exchange something and if everything goes well, we start to become friends. I could invite you to my house, you could invite me. We could become closed and the business will go smoother. You could recommend me to someone for that. |
| Cultural bond or the Political bond between the EU countries | Values/Goals of the EU | Peace and the well being of the society | ...Europe is for me...to live well together not looking at each other in a bad way..everybody doing the things/the jobs he/she likes, being open to the other cultures... |
|  |  |  | I would not say I am citizen of the EU because it sounds like a cliché for me but I would describe it in a different way. I would say that I am a Bulgarian living outside Bulgaria. Because most Bulgarian people say I am a Bulgarian living in Europe or I go abroad...What do you want to say that you go abroad, that it is better. I am Bulgarian, living outside Bulgarian and I will not say East or West or abroad. |
| Cultural bond or the Political bond between the EU countries | Religious inheritance | Christianity vs Islam | I no longer associate the EU with any institution or structure. Years ago, yes. But not now. I am not disappointed...I am not affected in a bad way...but my first association is like I start laughing ....haha EU...EU 20 countries on the same continent trying to live together...I would not add the serious idea to the EU. The serious people who believe in the idea, will say the right to travel, the fact that we live together. But this is the package of the apple, they forget the inside which is already rotten. Most people forget to say what is going on inside. The bad things like conflicts...there are also good things. There is a crisis in the euro idea. That is why I am trying to answer with irony cause there is irony in real life too. The EU under the motto it was created in the 50 years is gone. This idea does not exist. This idea was launched...but there is no control and the idea was not fulfilled having now killings, islamization of cities and districts. I am sure this was not part of the European documents. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a man, 28 years old, medium education, Belgium, Leuven, speaks Flemish; unmarried, address, is working with Bulgarians, working for a Bulgarian company with an office in Great Britain, used to receive student money because he was both working and studying in Belgium; once received financial help from social and financial company *Aserta* in Belgium that helps working students financial help for integration; has lived in Belgium for 10 years; came after he graduated school in Bulgaria; he actually joined his family that had already moved to Belgium; he moved in 2005 while his father in 2000; he wanted to deal with car business similarly with his father; his sister is still living in Bulgaria; numerous job refusals because he is from Bulgaria ( and Romania), because his name ends in Ov; they did not allow him to register a company in Belgium

**Interview 9**

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
|  |  |  | This system in Bulgaria. Our system made us leave the country so that we could earn our bacon abroad and solve everything on his/her own. |
| Social bond/dissolution of this connection | Social rights | abuse | The people who first came here (in the 90s) looked at the system in a more serious way in Germany. Now everybody is waiting for social benefits and people are lazy and we the Bulgarian people are known in a very negative way. There are much bigger abuses than before. |
| Cultural bond | Exclusion |  | Homeland is homeland. The love is different. No matter how many years we have been living here, for them we will be foreigners. ...Auslaender is Auslaender. |
|  |  |  | ...I do not want to offend anybody but from the "New Ours" is full...our Roma people. Our reputation is distorted. |
|  |  |  | People are like robots. After work they go home and only during the weekends you could do something else. |
| Economic bond | Work | Taxes, salaries | What does it mean to be European? We are Europeans. We are Europeans. What do I understand...Well I pay my taxes regularly. That is very important here. Well...25/30 percent from your salary in Germany is for taxes. It is getting harder and harder. The taxes are getting higher but the salaries not. I did not think about the money...now I am thinking about every cent. |
| Economic bond | Competition | Europeans vs refugees | Now these Fluechtlinge (the refugees) are sent into the factories without speaking the language because the country does not want to pay for that. So it is going to be very difficult for us the Europeans because there will not be a job for us. |
|  |  |  | No, I would not say I am citizen of the EU. How can I feel such?...But yes...we feel..to some extent I feel...me and my family in Bulgaria...well our confidence here that we are people and we are living. The people in Bulgaria is nothing for our system. We got poor. We were destroyed. While here, we have confidence and we are people. Yes, we are foreigners but still we are part of the EU/Europe. |
| Cultural bond | Cultural closeness | Common problems | Yes. It is possible to come closer in cultural terms. I am working with Polish, Russian and German people. We have people from Romania and Africa. We sit together on the table and share our problems. We drink together coffee. ..I do not make difference between the people. |
| Cultural bond | Assimilation | Acquring local habits | We are like robots. We started to be alone. We cannot drink rakia and eat salad...my son says I have changed. You just have to adapt yourself. I have become stricter. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a woman, 48 years old, high school degree, Germany, Mannheim, speaks German, is living on her own in Germany, job contract, address in Germany; never used any social benefits; in Germany since 2001/2002; is working as Housepflegerin (takes care of old sick people); there is a big difference between 2007 and after 2007; would not got to another continent would go back to Bulgaria; had no initial expectations for Germany; first she and her family wanted to come and stay for a short term period but eventually stayed longer. ; she had many barriers to overcome; the biggest one was the language barrier; does not have many friends; does not communicate with many Bulgarians; only with two families; Polish and German friends; lived 10 years in Greece before Germany; discrimination in the salaries between Germans and foreigners; also the Germans have the permanent contracts; when asked about if she knows anything about the EU, the respondent explains the differences between the German Parliament and the Bulgarian one.

disappointment from Bulgaria; having the feeling of being abandoned and driven out from the country.

Being European means having a job, having confidence, living as a normal person

**Interview 10**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
|  |  |  | I had personal problems but only with Bulgarians. We are jealous, a dirty tribe, the mentality can't change, Bai Ganio in Europe. |
|  |  |  | Ahhh....Compared to other people I know in Bulgaria, I would say that I feel European. I am more European but not as much as the people here. You asked me before about this...people here do not know their neighbours. This cannot correspond to our understandings and the way we are. If I am European? Yes and no. ...Yes because...I am out of Bulgaria 16 years ago. You somehow have better manners and become more tolerant...no because this closed way of living...we are used to communicating only between ourselves...This Balkan heart...you see somebody and you will invite him to eat...you will share what you have on the table....two slices of bread.....(Thinks that this is a trait of the Southern peoples like the Turks for example)...But people are losing this gradually and in this respect we are Europeanizing ourselves. |
| Civic/political bond | EU | membership | ......Yes...due to our politicians several years ago...I cannot quote their names...Yes...I am citizen of the EU. |
| Economic bond | Work mobility | discrimination | No. Absolutely no chance ( to the question about coming closer in cultural terms). Because of this famous Balkan mentality and the fact that they treat us as people that are second hand. I spoke to the Irish people a week ago. We spoke about the refugees. He said that the salaries would become lower now because of the immigrants. So he associates us our coming here with Polish, Hungarians...their salaries became lower...then the Bulgarians and Romanians...so new and new with lower social status and ...these new ones will flood the labour market...It is a threat for him. |
| Europe | civilization | Christianity  Electricity | (Talking about the Oriental mentality that the Bulgarians have because of the Ottoman rule). Europe is up to Istanbul. Maybe also there is Europe in the Mediterranean. After that...it is like 8 or 9 centuries...no electricity, no ...If they accept Turkey, I go to Canada...I will leave Europe. |
|  |  |  | (Asked about if he associates the EU with a European isntitutions) Irina Bokova (she was the head of UNESCO). |
| Economic/Political and Cultural bond | Interests as well as cultural differences,  rules | Common interests but cultural differences and rules that are not working | I will remain Bulgarian until my death. Then I would place the country where I would live under best conditions. (About the EU) ...They did sth in a deliberate way and now they do not know what to do. It is Union similar to another one and now they do not know how to rule it. These are too many different countries with different interests. Even though it is one religions...mostly Catholics...there is a huge difference. They are much more religious. ...It is about easier free trade...and we were invited for a labour force but we are not working under the same conditions. |

respondent: a man, truck driver working for an Irish company (Northern Ireland),44 years old, married with 2 children, his family is in Bulgaria; uses the address of the company; has a job contract; never used social benefits; started working abroad around 2000 years, worked 2 years in Belgium; by coincidence started a job in Northern Ireland; economic reasons (better salaries); first worked for Bulgarian companies abroad, after joined foreign companies because there is no mediator and the salaries are better; uses English as a truck driver; his level is good enough for the job he occupies; his English has improved in the last 4 years; no longer wants to travel because he is tired; has big bank loans; language barriers; also had personal problems but only with Bulgarians ( we are jealous, a dirty tribe, the mentality can't change, Bai Ganio in Europe); his circle of friends is full of Hungarians, Irish, Bulgarians ( an international circle); says that it depends on the individual; discusses traditions such as Christmas, work and politics; thinks he receives lower salary and his social insurance is lower compared to the Irish ones. (because of the aspiration for lower expenditures)

A very specific Bulgarian understanding for being European as having manners, cultivating yourself; A Balkan, warm-type of identity against a European identity understood in that way; Balkan mentality

**Interview 11**

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
|  |  |  | Bulgaria drove out us, the аctive population able to work. |
|  |  |  | ( a question about going back home) A person is in the right place in his country...In our own country we will feel the best. But our state cannot offer what these states can. Here we are emigrants. We are their guests. ....It is not like the attitude of the local people. I am a person who comes on their territory so I am a guest for them or if we use the European thing, we are immigrants. |
| Economic bond | Work mobility | Employment, remuneration,  Standard of living | Yes. I do feel European. The understanding is that we are living in a European way. The way we watched on movies...people go shopping one time in a week, go on a vacation. This could be seen here in a systematic way. People go in the morning to their work place and in the evening to their family. The only difference in my case is that I do not go in the evening to my family....I go to the big supermarkets. I like something and I buy it. I do not deprive myself of anything. Whatever your soul wants, it get what it wants. Also my child and my wife...I do not deprive themselves of anything....In Bulgaria when we go in the morning to the work place, we do not care if we are late or not. |
|  |  |  | Yes I would say I am a citizen of EU because we are living in the European Union. I also feel European as you asked me shortly before. I feel European and I want to feel such. But I always stay internally Bulgarian. The right person in the right place ( A Bulgarian proverb that the stone is grounded where it is). I am Bulgarian but I feel European. |
|  |  |  | I love the European way of living the most maybe because I have lived here for many years. If I systematize everything I said...I worked 8 years in Bulgaria and 8 abroad. I like the way of living outside. |
| Civic/Political bond | Discourse/personal and professional interests | Euro and pound | I am interested in all things connected to the Euro board (Currency board in BG) and the different currencies because I am personally engaged with this. The Euro and the Pound. |
| Political bond | EU | An authoritarian vision/understanding | It is like Stalin. Whatever they say, this is what happens. (Asked about if he associates the EU with an institution or personality). It is just that the biggest countries have taken a decision. I mean the biggest ones..Germany, France and Great Britain. This is the EU. All other counties just complement ...are additional |
| Cultural/Economic bond | Cultural integration/work mobility | Likeness for the local culture influences his job choice | I would place Bulgarian in the last place. Because ...I like England and Ireland as a level and way of living. The punctuality. I have the same requirements they have for me ( in the professional sense). |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a man, truck driver, is working in Northern Ireland, 36 years old; secondary professional diploma, elementary level of English, is not living with his family in NI, address, job contract; never used social benefits; motivation: the more peaceful way of living, less tension, also the bank system in Bulgaria is a problem because the rates are too high.; 1 year in Northern Ireland but has had this type of living for 8 years; 2 years in Slovenia, before that he was an international driver working for a Bulgarian company; now he has an Irish company; now in this company all rules are met (the breaks are not interrupted) ; there is no tension; also the salary is much higher; now he has a salary according to the Irish driver; he would go to another continent because he thinks first about his family; purely economic reasons for moving or for escaping abroad; the language barrier is the biggest one; his colleagues that are Bulgarians or his Irish chef help him with the administrative procedures/things.; has a very closed circle friends and does not trust people easily; the respondent is expressing his views mostly on comparison between the situation in Bulgaria and the other European countries. ; under culture the respondent understands elementary education and manners in communication with other people., especially with clients. ; is following the political situation in BG.

Feeling rather as an emmigrant/immigrant in stead of an EU citizen-what are the reasons for that?

European as a better quality of life; a way of living; culturally remains Bulgarian; wants to feel European ( which means initially he is not)-very specific Bulgarian understanding

**Interview 12**

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Political/Civic bond | EU | Membership  Rules (specifically Bulgarian) | Yes. Me, personally I feel European. Well what can I say..It is a very broad term..I feel because of the simple reason that when I am living in a country from the EU or a Western European country, the person learns to abide the laws, to respect the other people...like the integration...because you know in BG...during a traffic jam, you know what is going on...There are Bulgarians that have a very high level of self-consciousness...but no matter how European you are, when you are in BG you have to react in a different way when they disturb you during a traffic jam...(numerous examples for Bulgaria for not following the rules, for example the garbage, talking about the need for sanctions) |
|  |  |  | No. I am citizen of Bulgaria. I am Bulgarian. I could abide the laws in a country and I have to abide them, but I am born in Bulgaria but I cannot become Swiss. It is not like changing the package of your phone..today is red...tomorrow is blue. It is not the way the parties in BG make it. I am brought up in Bulgaria, received my education there and I am Bulgarian. |
| Cultural bond | Cultural closeness | Working together  (in the social sphere) | Yes, it is possible ( the coming closer of the nations)...There are many Serbian restaurants...all Ex Yugoslavia countries...the Swiss people go to their restaurants...We are Balkan people when it comes to cuisine and culture...With Ex Yugoslavia we are almost the same....Russians are also part of the EU...in Germany there are many Russians....but they are there and are working with the other people...Coming closer, this is the work together. They have to come closer together so that they could work. In their private sphere, everybody is him/herself. The Russian is Russian at home. |
|  |  |  | Donald Tusk (asking about the EU). His speech about Ukraine made a huge impression on me when it comes to their membership ...they have to wait for 20 years. |
|  |  |  | ....The attachment depends..Bulgaria is the should...like financial stability and way of living is Switzerland. For me, the EU, to tell you the truth . It is a vague copy of SIV. As long as SIV was functioning in a perfect way, the EU is not functioning. EU is an artificial organization, in my opinion, from USA so that Europe could be controlled. The EU is trying de facto to control all EU countries through USA...because someone from Germany or GB comes to tell you how many tomatoes we have to produce while in Italy...now the agricultural sector is developed in some countries...or Brussels you come and close Nuclear Power Plant Kozludui...The faster this EU falls apart, the better for Bulgaria.. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a man, married with children, he is living in Switzerland with his wife and his kids, address, job contract, redundancy payments for 1 month, he is on a seasonal contract (February to December), 4 years in Switzerland, is working in the maintenance, of the rail transport; before that 1 year in Cyprus, 5 year visas in Great Britain before 2007; 2008 in Germany-stayed there for 4 years; Switzerland offers the best way of living); did not like GB; it was difficult for a working visa they did not want to hire him because they had to pay him a salary as for a English person; it was exploitation in Cyprus for 12 hours a day; would go back to Bulgaria if many things change but right now it is not possible-salaries, government; no barriers in Switzerland; does not have many friends; they spend more time together at home; his wife is also working; has colleagues from Italy, Serbia, Albania; it is an international environment; he is a strong Russofil

The idea of EU citizenship is misunderstood and received negatively when somehow imposed!

Euro-spectisim: perception of inequality between the bigger and the smaller and the bigger ones.; strong association with the Soviet Union Economic Organization.

**Interview 13**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Cultural bond/Solidarity? | Values | Tolerance, Religion,  refugees/emigrants | Yes, I would go to a country from a different continent and I will tell you why. Here, the emigrants from Eastern Europe-Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, we are second hand emigrants...this is how I feel it since the refugee crisis began one year ago. All of them that have Muslim origin and who are coming are on a higher level than us. They don't need to make so many efforts at school as I have to. They are tolerated. Not only me but also the Russians feel it. You just feel a second hand emigrant...I will give you a simple example...When you go to an institution, you have to speak in German. They do not care how you have learnt it...But when these people go ,they speak in English and everybody understands them. They have numerous privileges....I have two Syrian refugees at school. One of them is an architect and the other one is gynecologist. I will quote directly what they said. The one who is an architect...we had to do exercise in informatics...we talked about politics and he said directly: "We are the fresh blood for Germany"...They know they are privileged and tolerated...I started sensing this a year ago...The Germans are afraid...because these people have unofficial tolerance from the state...Here during a meeting organized by Pegida/Legida, the workers of BMW were forbidden to go there...There is no freedom of speech. |
| Cultural bond | Cultural integration | discrimination | No, I do not feel European...because the other thing I have come across is the bad attitude people have when they understand I am Bulgarian. Because our image is represented by other people. They think I am Ukrainian. When you say you are Bulgarian, this image of a dark person ( she means the gypses) appears ...I am not a racist but they have totally ruined our image. |
| Civic/Political bond and Economic bond | Rights/remuneration | - | No, I would not say I am a citizen of the EU because I do not have the same rights as the others do...Given the fact I have worked at an important position in Bulgarian and received 200 euros and here for this mini job I get 400 euros...Well what kind of a European confidence as a Bulgarian I could have. |
| Cultural bond | Ethno-culturalism/Entitativity | Traditions/the other | No ( is cultural closeness possible?), because the mentality is different. We are very warm as people with big hearts and when I met him, I though what iceberg he is ( her boyfriend). There are no emotions and no romantics...but we are not so different cultures...We are Europeans...It was difficult for me...Could you explain to me how they are going to integrate people who are coming from a very different world with very different traditions...It is impossible |
|  |  |  | I feel the close with Russian people. I speak their language because it was obligatory at school. I have a sentimental attitude towards Russia ( a question about the cultural closeness with other European, values and practices)...My father and mother are Russophiles...This is how I am brought up |
| Civic/Political bond/Cultural bond | EU |  | For me..this (EU) is the most artificial construction because it removes the national identity and has the aim to subordinate large masses of people and it does not function adequately in most situations. And the worst...monopoly of money and capital...dictatorship of capital |
|  |  |  | Bulgaria, Germany, Russia...Europe is not part of my choice. Europe is only a continent, a geographical term. It is coined but it is not functioning. Look at Hungary, look what Greek people are doing ... |

respondent: а woman; is in Germany (the Eastern part); 42 years old; bachelor in public administration; for 2 years in Germany; is currently studying German; first came only as a guest visiting relatives; did not speak German and decided to stay; she worked at a taxi company in Bulgaria; the reason for staying in Germany was not a financial one; she needed new challenges because she was in depression; she first started working in a Greek and than in an Italian restaurant; so, she first started the so called integration course which is for free and lasts 1 year; she met people from the whole world and celebrated the German holidays; then she followed Orientirungskurs (history and politics); now she is following a professional B1 ; divorced with one son at 21 years old; she is living with a German man; address and job contract; now she receives social benefits/additional resources because she is following her course and she cannot really work full time; during weekend she is working the so called mini job; she loves Bulgaria very much and wants to go back; she says however that happiness and luck have a price;

strong critique of the EU as a construction-a capitalist one; destroying the national identities

**Interview 14**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Cultural bond | Entitativity/Etho-culturalism | The other/mentality | From my experience today, I would not go to live on another continent. Years ago everybody wanted to have a green card and go to USA. But I prefer Europe. It is closer, the mentality is closer to us. No. |
| Cultural bond | Cultural integration  Intercultural competences | Attachement or non-attachment to the local culture  Awareness of social and cultural differences  friends | I have more Bulgarian friends, naturally. I am a great patriot. I cannot adapt myself to the mentality of the Belgians. They have fun in a different way. They also have a different sense of humor. Their movies, their music is not what I have grown up. This culture, comics, sport like tennis, formula 1...but no one speaks about ski...It is very different. |
|  | A process/development | Mentality/feeling of freedom | Yes, I would definitely say I am European. Maybe during these 18 years there is something such as growing up. Your mentality develops. And maybe because he main problem is not earning your living. You have freedom. You feel free because you have freedom of thought and reflection as well as freedom of travel. Maybe this is the freedom. |
| Civic/Political bond +Cultural one | Citizenship  Cultural contribution | Double citizenship  Cultural initiatives | Yes. I would say I am citizen of EU. I have already two citizenships-a Belgian one and a Bulgarian one. So, I think ...because we are in Europe...because I contribute to Europe. There is this team for traditional Bulgarian dancing where we represent Bulgaria in Europe..we have been also to France, also in Belgium...I think this is contribution..this enriches Europe |
| Cultural/Economic bonds | Imbalance (culture vs probably social imbalances) | Giving/receiving | I think now there is already a huge cultural closeness in Europe but people have become more egoistical. I think people are more pretentions to receive but not to give..I think already enough is done...what more. |
| Cultural bond | Daily life | Spending time together | The daily life is what unites with my friends from different nationalities...nice evenings together, cinema, culture... |
| Cultural bond | Ethno-culturalism/Entitativity | Mentality/the other | I definitely feel closer to the European peoples when it comes to mentality, culture and education...In this fitness that I go which is only for women,...Well there are Chinese women but they are every closed and disciplined. And these Arabic women ..when we leave the dressing rooms they are all covered in their scarves. I do not understand this. For me this is limitation of your freedom or maybe I just do not understand it. When you do not understand something, you are more inclined to judge it. |
|  |  |  | No, I am not interested in politics and I do not care about the EU in this sense. |
|  | Entitativity | Experience through travel and experience of cultures and nature | Bulgaria is on the first place. It is in my heart. This big love and passion. Bulgarian mother has given birth to me. Then Belgium that has "adopted" me and has given me all rights and Europe one big Bulgaria that I could travel and experience new cultures and nature. |
|  |  |  | Some Bulgarians wants to have without giving (making efforts). This is to be European, to be open. To go outside, to plant flowers so that it feels good... |

respondent: a woman, 50 years old, Russian high school, technical university, speaks very good French; married with a Belgian man for 18 years old; is living only with her husband in Belgium; address and job contract with a company for cleaning services; came here in 1997 through a marriage agency; in the 90s she liked "the other world" and wanted to leave Bulgaria; she would go back to Bulgaria within the next 5 years in Bulgaria with her husband but she would like to bring the 'roads" the tolerance etc.; never experienced discrimination or refusal of services or job offers; she has a big circle of friends (more Bulgarians, Sweden, Belarus); is making comparison between Belgium and Bulgaria especially when it comes to following rules, keeping streets clean and learning to give instead of only receiving;

and Europe one big Bulgaria that I could travel and experience new cultures and nature.-Europe as a larger space which includes the possibility to travel; experience, meet new cultures and natures-Entitativity

Europe-giving, contribution, efforts!!!

**Interview 15**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Economic/cultural bond | discrimination | A real European (perceptions?) | At the job bureau in Belgium...this person from the administration said to me: You've got to divorce and marry a real European....hahah...This was a problem. |
| Cultural bond | Intercultural competences  Cultural integration | Language  friends | It is hard to have friendships with locals. First you do not speak in Bulgarian. The language is to some extent a drawback. Well at my dance lessons I am friends with the trainer......We gather with Bulgarians |
| Europe/European | Geography  Intellectuality/personal culture | To be living in | Oh yes. We are citizens of Europe (jiteli, inhabitants, dwellers of Europe ). After all we are Europeans in general from a geographical point of view..Her daughter is studying EU law. I do not think I am different from these people here. I could even say I have the pretentions to be on a higher level on an intellectual level...even when it comes to writing |
| Civic/Political bond | Citizenship | Belgian citizenship?  Bulgarian citizenship | Yes. I am a citizen of the EU..well I am a Belgian citizen (her daughter is interrupting and explaining that even she was not a Belgian citizen, she would still be a citizen of the EU as a citizen of a member State...we are using all these rights to travel which makes you de facto and de jure European). During my courses in Flemish my teacher told me that if it was not for my accent, she would not know I am not Belgium. I am trying...well when you have move to a country, you have to make efforts to integrate yourself instead of imposing your own understanding. |
| Cultural bond | Geographical/cultural closeness | regions | Closeness in a cultural sense? It depends on the peoples...Are you talking about the peoples in Europe. It will be in regions. Scandinavia with Germany and Holland. Then Belgium, France and Spain. The other region is Eastern Europe. ...The Walloons are a little bit untidy, they are like what we call Gypsies in Germany...so we feel at home unlike Germany (described Germany)...There are no such big differences. |
| Cultural bond | Mentality/communication  "The other" |  | (describing a situation when living together with different nationalities in Germany). Communicating with European is easier...I do not know...the mentality. We just gather, make fire for the barbecue. We all come and bring rakia, beer vodka. While the others like Indians ...they have a different way of thinking. They were different from the Arabic people who have pretentions. You know they close here the swimming pools for the Muslim women... |
| Civic/Political bond | EU | Benefits,  Euro,  Buildings,  Bureaucracy | Well when I hear EU, I imagine this big bureaucratic machine. I imagine the building of Schuman...I have the feeling that this EU is beneficial for us the Bulgarians abroad but not for the Bulgarians in Bulgaria. Here I would not change German marks for French franks...this is very practical. It is the same with borders. |
| Europe/EU | Bulgaria and Belgium together |  | Belgium and Bulgaria are part of Europe and the EU. Bulgaria is Bulgaria. It is where I was born. If Belgium and Bulgaria are playing I will support Bulgaria but if Belgium is playing with another country I will support Belgium..... |
| Europe | Geography | A continent,  Cultural variety | I am also born in Bulgaria...like my mother...it is the same with the football...Germany and Belgium and I love them. I am still a kid ...well Belgium is my friends, my school, the scouts but I also see the Flemish part...I love the district..I have never lived in Bulgaria for a longer time but when I come back by plane I feel that I am born here and belong here...Europe is a place where I have lived here...a big continent with different people...No, it is not possible to come closer in a cultural way. The Scandinavians are stricter. The Spanish and Italians are more open. Bulgarians and Romanians are more open. ...I do not see a big difference between my Bulgarian friend and the others... |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a woman, 50 years old, engineer, speaks fluently French, married with 2 kids, they are all living together in the same household; has a permanent address here and a job contract; never received social benefits; she actually followed her husband and they first went to Germany where her husband is a very good specialist/university professor in coal and geology field; they left Bulgaria with their litlle baby when he was just one year old; her daughter was 10 years old at that time; first they had a 3 year contract.; when the contract was over, her husband won the concourse for a professor at Liege university; they spent 6 years in Germany and already 8 in Belgium; she is working at a trade company and preparing trade offers in French; she could go back to Bulgaria when she is retired but the level of medical services is very low in Bulgaria and this is what bothers her; in order to start a job before 2014 she had to have the special permission of her boss; now there are no job limitations; she communicates mostly with Bulgarians; they speak only in Bulgarian

**Interview 16**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
|  |  |  | I think, we the Bulgarian people are much more informed and educated. We also have a stronger fighting spirit while here the people are like consumers. There is this looseness. There is something that I do not like, definitely..like consumers. |
|  |  |  | Here it is not like Bulgaria. In BG people go together to drink coffee, organize banquets. Here the mentality is different. |
| European | Cultivated, civilized,  educated |  | Of course I feel European. Hahah..even more than the local ones. Well I will start with...oh how can I say it. They are very cultivated and groomed but there is something that makes an impression on me. How can you blow your nose so loudly. And this is something that everybody does. To me this is not normal, especially in a bus or in a restaurant. Also I have observed that my colleagues that I am working with cut their nails on the carpet. Yes, they do not put in an ash for example. Also I have observed that they do not care if their toilettes are clean or not. Yes, the public toiltes are clean but the others...I find it very strange and interesting. We, the Bulgarians say that we judge for the culture by the toilettes in a house. If it is clean, you know the hygiene. Also, when it comes to literature. I have asked many questions about classical literature, music. For example my chef who is the chef of an health insurance company does not know who is Johannes Brahms. He does not know it. Such things |
| Civic/Political +Cultural bond | Right/Opportunity | Travelling  Getting to know cultures | Yes, I am a citizen of EU because I can travel free. There are no borders between France, Spain, Germany, I can get to know the culture. You are just a citizen of Europe. |
|  |  |  | Maybe it is possible (coming together in cultural terms). i was thinking about the national traditions. Our national traditions and also religious holidays are so rich compared to theirs. |
| Cultural bond | Coming together | Cultural and daily activities | Well. An opera play or a walk in the forest. You meet relaxed people that are making their jogging. People say bonjour to each other. This makes people come closer together. |
|  |  |  | I have communicate with Morocco people. They are Muslims. They are very hospitable. The Belgians are very hospitable too but everything has to be appointed...but Morocco people have a warm people like ours. We are very hospitable. Salads, dinners etc. They are more spontaneous like us. |
| Europe | Variety | Bringing people together | She (Europe, EU) is what brings together the nations. If it was not for that, I would never meet a Morocco or Indian woman. I do not have a different attitude. |
|  |  |  | First I would place Bulgaria then immediately I place Belgium because it is peaceful here. I am working here. But my heart lies into Bulgaria. My ancestors are buried there. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a woman; 58 years old; high education with qualifications; speaks French but not Flemish because she is living in the Walloon part; married with one son living in Bulgaria; is living together with her husband in Belgium; address and job contract; never used social benefits; she had problems with DPS in the region where she was working in Bulgaria as a teacher; has lived in Belgium since 2002; working for an recruitment agency ( cleaning, taking care of old people); she chose Belgium by coincidence; because of the political situation she is disappointed by Bulgaria; she is waiting to reach a retirement age and go back to Bulgaria; though life in Belgium is more secure, she misses Bulgaria; she never encountered any barriers; the tolerance of the Belgian people is a great advantage according to her; she does not have a very large circle of friends-only several families she avoids contacts with Bulgarians

**interview 17**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
|  |  |  | In a way...what kind of a question is this? What does it mean European? I feel the way I was before. I do not have the confidence to be something more. We are Europeans the Bulgarians. I do not know...In my own point of view I feel successful and I have my confidence. But it is not ok to exaggerate. If we have to say, it is ok. But our generation is different. We are not brought up to show off ourselves. We are just working and enjoying life. |
| Cultural bond  Civic/political  Bond | Value system  Ethno-symbolism  Institutions, capacity  Benefits | Culture, habits, traditions  Defense  Not paying taxes | Citizen of the EU? No, this is such a cliché. In my opinion, the EU during the last events from august this year has shown extreme weakness in its structure and infantilism to evaluate its capacity and to defend a value system that we are born with and we have in our souls. I include here culture, habits, traditions and religion, history of Europe...There is a difference between us like Bulgarians and the local people. For example they did not know anything about us before falling the Berlin wall and they do not anything now. They are just not interested. ..We as Bulgarians...me as a Bulgarian the way I was brought up...there are things I do not like and accept and I am a little bit skeptical about the future of the EU. That is why I will not say I am a citizen of the EU. This is due to the last events. Before there was euphoria when Bulgaria became a member in 2007. We have certain benefits of course. We do not have to pay such huge taxes for our kids at the local universities. The travelling is easy. But now we are in and we are observing the political life. The politicians here are also influenced by different lobbies. |
| Cultural bond | Values | Peace, family, vacation, cultural differences | Coming closer? It depends to what extent. We all have the same value system. Everybody likes the same aims to live in peace, to have a family, to go on a vacation, to live with less stress, to preserve the cultural differences, music theatre. These are things beyond the border and recognizes as a uniting focal point. |
| Cultural bond | - | - | When we were in Germany and we were living in a residence, there were all kinds of people-Japanese, Moroccan. I must say we had a very strong bond with the Polish and the Russian people. Belgians are Belgians. The Walloons are like the Bulgarians. They really help each other because they are a small community. |
| - | News | Financial resources | I am not really following the politics about the EU but I am following the news about the financial resources for projects and not parties or ... |
|  |  |  | The EU is something artificial...it is a great idea but it has no future in that form.-critique |
| European bond | Contribution | Education, enrichment | European identity...to be geographically connected but not just being born but to have some contribution to that model. Our profession is educating and bringing up and forming people, enriching them with ideas. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a professor at the university, 53 years old, has 2 doctorates; middle level of French; has been here for 7 years, married with 2 kids; they are all living together; working over recycling projects; first had a temporary contract; first spent 6 years as a post-doc in Germany; then he changed the vacancy of a retired professor; he would come back to Bulgaria under certain conditions ( a strong willingness) -the same conditions such as students, colleagues, laboratories and the salary; the first 2 or 3 years they had to have a job permission because Bulgaria was not EU member; even though one does not speak French, it is not such a big problem in his field because many of the lectures are delivered in English; two circles of friends- people with the same intellectual level and people who have come here for finding better conditions for living (Bulgarians without higher education).; they have less Belgian friends; mostly the parents of their children; they do not have common topics of discussion and still have the language barrier.

We are Europeans the Bulgarians. I do not know...In my own point of view I feel successful and I have my confidence. But it is not ok to exaggerate. If we have to say, it is ok. But our generation is different.-To be European does not require to declare it; it is something that already exists; confidence; success

**Interview 18**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Economic bond+ European understanding which is specifically Bulgarian | Standard of living  Change, process | Prices, remuneration  Mentality | Many people are telling me that my way of thinking has changed. My relatives are saying: "When you will come to Bulgaria you will see how it is...you know you have been already for 20 years abroad. You will understand that you way if thinking has changed. It is European." Well I am a little skeptical because I have come back to Bulgaria only for a month vacation and you cannot feel the change. But personally, in particular about the prices. The prices in the Netherlands, even though people receive a middle salary 1700 Euros, some products in Bulgaria have the same prices as in the Netherlands. It is the same with the gas and petrol. But yeah my way of thinking has changed. In particular about the job....You could live with 100 and 100 000 but you have to live as the others do. |
| Cultural bond | EU citizenship understood as a double citizenship | Discrimination/the other | No I would not say I am a citizen of the EU because the Morocco and the Turks could have a double citizenship in the Netherlands and they had to choose. But If I wanted to have a Dutch citizenship, I have to give up mine. But I wanted to keep my rights in Bulgaria because I have properties there. |
| Cultural bond+ Social Bond | Rights/Duties/Benefits | Social benefits | Serbians, Polish, Bulgarians....yes (cultural closeness), Portuguese, Spanish but not with the Romanians because they are Gypsies. ...The Turks....Their requirements are very quickly fulfilled and I do not understand why. They take their families and they receive social benefits and some do not even speak Dutch. |
| Economic bond  Civic/Political | Currency  Entitativity/Institutions | Euro  Borders | No one can remove your attachment to Bulgaria. Even though I am working in the Netherlands, Bulgaria has always attracted me. ...When I hear Europe, I think...nothing...euro. Everybody now is very unhappy because the Dutch were better with their currency. Here people are not happy with our membership and with the opening with the borders. ...(Talking about our gypsies who are ruining our image). |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a woman, 48 years old, middle education with a qualification, 1996-2000 in Greece, 2001 until today in the Netherlands; she worked for a Russian woman in Greece and that is why she did not speak Greek that good; her family was in Bulgarian and she was working alone; she was at first working illegally in Greece. She helped with everything in the family she was in (cleaning, shopping, cooking). The first 5 years she was working illegally at a factory for mushrooms production; since 2005 she found a job contract with health insurance and paying her taxes together with a Dutch course); she found a job through a recruitment agency; she went to the Netherlands together with a friend; she had redundancy payments after her 5 year permanent contract was terminated; she is only temporarily in Bulgaria because her parents are sick but she is going back to the Netherlands; she is planning when she is retired; she would also live on another continent; she felt like a slave in the Netherlands but they treated her like a Dutch person; when she had to follow a theoretical exam at her job, she had huge difficulties; she never experienced discrimination or job refusal. ; she had Polish and Ukrainian friends; she was very communicative, learnt Dutch with the Dutch people

**Interview 19**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Cultural bond | Multi-culturalism | - | I would not go back to Bulgaria because I will tell you...I lived in Toronto for 7 years where 50 percent of the people are first generation immigrants. I liked this international environment. You could always learn something for the people and yourself. A very pleasant atmosphere. People are very open. I was afraid that it would be different in Belgium. I thought that it would be very mono-cultural. However, I am pleasantly surprised by Belgium. There are many foreigners in Liege. Bulgaria is mono-cultural. Italy was also mono-cultural and I found it difficult. You either have to fully adapt or move. |
| Cultural bond | Barriers/opportunities | Language/rules/norms | The main barrier is the language one. Here and also in Italy. Not everybody speaks English outside the university. Creating contacts, understanding how things are working...Language is the biggest barrier but it is not insurmountable. |
| Canadians vs European model | Multi-culturalism? |  | (Laughing).....No I would not say it. (Do you feel European?)....(And in Canada?) ...During the last years I felt very good in Canada. Of course I feel first Bulgarian but I liked many things there. This international environment, the fact that people are very tolerant towards the differences. It is pretty different from USA when it comes to the migrants. They call it multi-culturalism. You can be yourself. They do not expect from you to be Canadian. This makes you actually a Canadian. While in other countries the feeling is that you have to adapt yourself and accept more or less. |
| Cultural and Political bond | EU/Values | No wars/peace/common decisions | No, I would not say...a citizen of Europe. The problem is that in Europe cultures are so different. It is hard for me to see something in common but at the same time the EU is something very important and I hope it will not fall apart. The most important thing is that there are no wars in Europe and all politicians make the decisions together. It is better if we move to multi-culturalism. In Europe is more difficult. Each nation has strong traditions. |
| Civic/Political bond | EU institutions | support | I am interested because I want the EU to remain. All these European institutions...Parliament...Council...but it is unclear. It is very complicated. |
|  |  |  | Bulgaria has always been number 1 for me though I have lived many years outside. I do not like the political development. After that is Canada. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a man, 38 years old; bachelor in architecture from BG, master and doctorate degree from Pavia University Italy-engineering, part of the doctorate took place in Canada and a post-doc in Italy; he went to Italy because he liked the programme; his teachers were not Italian but was an international environment; he met a Canadian professor and went to Canada where he lived for 7 years; before that 1, 5 in Italy; first he wanted to pursue an academic carrier in Canada or Europe; finally he won an academic place in Belgium; it is his 3 year in Belgium; married since 2013; no children; they are living together in Belgium; address and job contract; never used any social benefits; he is working at the research and academic field-everything related to concrete buildings; assistant professor; he would move to another continent; he would not go back to Bulgaria for the time being if he has a more normal working environment; his wife is Argentinian; his expectations for the working conditions were fully met; he lived in Toronto where 50 percent are first generation immigrants; his circle of friends are mostly foreigners; has a Canadian passport too; he is strongly pro-European

**Interview 20**

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| Bond | Category | Code | Quote |
| Cultural bond | Cultural integration | language | I never really adapted myself in Belgium. I feel like a foreigner. I abide their rules but I do not feel at home. When I say "at home", I imagine the home of my mother in Varna...Maybe the language plays a role. I do not feel comfortable with the Flemish. While with the English language I feel more comfortable even than with the Bulgarian. I understand better the mentality of the English speaking people. |
|  |  |  | Yes, definitely I would go back to Bulgaria. If they offer me an adequate salary, I would immediately go back to Bulgaria. I would even agree to receive half of my current salary because the price of living is cheaper there. The prices are similar but are in levas. I would keep my standard of living. |
| Cultural bond+ Civic/political | Double citizenship/double culture | Bothe Swiss and Bulgarian plus Flemish/Belgian | My children are Europeans. By passport they are Swedish. They speak Bulgarian better than Swedish. They speak Flemish at best because they are born here and go to school. But after that they speak Bulgarian. Bulgarian is their mother tongue. If you meet them on the streets in Bulgaria, you will not notice that they are not Bulgarians. If my son falls in love with a beautiful Bulgarian girl, I could see him in Students city, Sofia throwing napkins in a chalga club. But my daughter, no...She is more Swedish. She would not choose to study in Bulgaria but rather in Belgium. My son could move to Bulgarian because of love reasons. |
| Cultural bond | Entitativity | The other | Yes, I do. Absolutely. By that I mean belonging to a place that is not geographical but...For example when I am in Chile or Peru, I say that I am from Europe. They do not even know the different countries. They accept it as United States of Europe. In Europe, however, I say that I am Bulgarian. |
| Human/Values bond | Common values | - | There are more things that bring us together instead of dividing us. All people react in the same way irrespective of where you come from and where you go. We all want the same things: security, warmth, health, to have fun. I rather find similarities instead of differences |
|  |  |  | We managed to achieve balance with my husband during the last 5 years while we have lived already together for 15 years. The first year there were clashes of cultures. We argued with my husband about things that if he was Bulgarian, we would not even think about. (giving examples when her first child was born when she wanted to leave her kid for 2 months in the summer in Bulgaria and she considered it as normal while her husband could not understand it). They cannot understand the concept that someone else could take care of your children. |
| **Value bond** | **Universal values** | Ability to live together/the role of the religion | I am not speaking about other cultural differences such as the religious ones. I do not understand what is going one today. Most of the people that I meet are not Christians or Muslims. Most of the people today, we are atheists. If I believe in sth, it is not Jehova, Jesus or Mohammed. We believe in some values that are common for all people. I cannot understand the place of religion in the contemporary world. There are so many other important things...I do not understand why people are fighting for these things. There are differences between mu husband and me. He is Protestant and I am Orthodox. There is no difference. It is the same. We have cultural differences but we handled it. He appreciated leaving our kids for 2 months and I accepted that we would not leave them for 1 month. We made a compromise. |
|  |  |  | I feel closer to the Anglo-speaking people even compared to the Bulgarians. It is just that I a Mathematical and logical person. I do not like the rationality of the Southern people but I prefer the rules of the Anglo-saxon group. I prefer not to communicate with the Russian people. (giving examples with the ski resorts) They think that everything is money and if you have money, you can do everything. But I would like to go to Moscow. |
| Civic/Political bond | EU institutions-EC | Information/professional engagement | I know more about the EU than the average person ( connected to her job). The European Commission. The rules in the air space in Benelux as well as in Bulgaria are defined by the EC. I know the structure of the EC. |
|  |  |  | Europe, EU, Bulgaria, Belgium. I have no feeling for Belgium. I am just working here without feelings. It is just like a bus or train station in my life. Nothing connects me with Belgium even though I have a house. I feel like a temporary living foreigner here. I have good connections but these are not deep contacts. My friends are expats like me. Belgium is like France or Germany. It has no identity. It has no face, no character. Bulgaria is my homeland. It has a face and a character. ...I feel European before Bulgarian ....Maybe because my family is not completely Bulgarian. My children half-Swedish, half-Bulgarian but when they are 18, they could apply for a Belgian citizenship. By identity, they are Belgians. They feel like Belgians. |

yellow colour: deductive coding

green colour: inductive coding

pink colour: could be qualified under more than one bond

respondent: a woman, 40 years old, bachelor degree, speaks Flemish and has a working level in French; married with 2 kids; living in the same household, address, job contract, never used any social benefits, is living in the Flemish part of Belgium; came to Belgium by chance; first she worked for the air port in Varna, Luxembourg and then participated in an educational programme in Luxembourg; after that she worked in Brussels; has lived in Belgium since 1998, all in all 18 years; she would choose to live on another continent-USA or Australia because she speaks very good English and likes the English culture; 80 percent of her colleagues are English speaking people; her husband is Swedish; it will be difficult to go back with her husband because he does not like many of the things in Bulgaria; she however is seriously planning and is making investments so that she could return when she is retired.; her children speak Bulgarian; never experienced any barriers because she studied languages; she keeps the keys of the houses on her street; she is the one who puts barriers because she tries to select her friends; her neighbours trusts her and are curious to know her culture. ; she lived for the same Belgian company for 20 years; she has an international circle of friends and they communicate in English; there are some Bulgarians there. 20 colleagues-5 from Romania, Armenia, several Belgians

European: cosmopolitan, multi-cultural, multi-national, universal values

**Appendix C:** **2014 Annual report on labour mobility , Tables**

**Table 7**

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**Table 29**

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