

*Paper prepared for the  
Second Euroacademia Global Forum of Critical Studies  
Asking Big Questions Again*

*Prague, 21 – 22 February 2014*

*This paper is a draft*

*Please do not cite*

# Creating a Gift-Theory Narrative for the Euro-crisis

*Jan de Jong, BSc. – Charles University Prague*

## Abstract

*Keywords: Euro-crisis; Narratives; Gift-theory; Utilitarianism; Relativism;*

The current Euro-crisis cannot be understood only through economic and financial terms. This is already visible through the prevalence of non-economic arguments in the debate about Europe, such as culturalism, nationalism and calls for national sovereignty. The way that the crisis is narrativized is essential in order to understand the way the crisis is perceived but also to understand how this perception can influence public opinion or political decision-making. In this paper, two existing narratives, one focusing on blame and the other focusing on solidarity, will be presented, arguing that in spite of their differences both see economic purposes as a goal and even when they stress values such as solidarity these are seen as a means to this goal. After this a third narrative will be proposed, one that is based on Marcel Mauss's 'gift-theory'. This theory can provide a critique for the basic principles of the contemporary capitalist world economy, in particular those of utilitarianism and relativism or the absence of values in economic thinking. Instead of looking for short-term causes and solutions this narrative emphasizes the need to re-think the foundations of our economic way of thinking and the necessity of (re-)introducing values into this, making economic purposes into an end and not a means. Only by doing this, mainly through education and institutional changes, can we create a more sustainable system that is less prone to crises.

## 1. Introduction

Practically all current literature on the European Union is written in light of what can be called the 'Euro-crisis'. This crisis, which followed the international credit crisis that started around 2008, can be summed up as a "sovereign debt crisis."<sup>1</sup> It has had an enormous impact on the European Union, both on the way it is perceived and on the role that it plays in Europe and in the world. For a long time, the EU was considered a success story, with the introduction of the single currency, the Euro, as a crowning achievement. However, especially since the Euro-crisis, anti-EU and EU-sceptical sentiments have been rising in popularity.<sup>2</sup> Despite the fact that the crisis is generally perceived to be solely or mainly economic and financial, there are many elements in the anti-EU discourse that focus on very different issues. Instead of merely consisting of economic arguments culturalism, nationalism and calls for increased national sovereignty are very prevalent in this discourse.<sup>3</sup> This seems to suggest that in analysing the crisis, it would be useful to go beyond the economic and financial story and turn towards other underlying aspects.

In many ways, both the global financial crisis and the Euro-crisis have happened in the context of a globalized capitalist world-economy, in which one economy influences other economies and, despite national differences, market mechanisms and liberal capitalism are considered the economic ideal. To some extent, the banking crisis has created some new appeals for more control and less pure freedom, but in the end the capitalist subtext is not subject of critique as such. One could say that this is because in contemporary society it is simply impossible to legitimately criticize the underlying values of capitalism, particularly the importance of free market mechanisms and utilitarianism. One critique of these underlying values can be found in Marcel Mauss's 'gift-theory', which focuses mainly on the assumption of utilitarianism that lies at the basis of capitalist thought.<sup>4</sup> This theory offers a radically different view on economics, exchange and human interaction when compared to the mainstream discourse.

The goal of this paper is to see whether this can allow for the creating of a new narrative of the crisis. As has been stated already, the way that the crisis is perceived is not just in economic terms, but rather through more underlying concepts. In fact, if one looks at the way that the crisis has been and is being described, this is often done in the form of a narrative. Because of the limited space of this paper, the Euro-crisis as such will not be described, and instead the focus will be on the narratives that surround it. The first (short) chapter will deal with the methodology of this paper and the usage of the concepts of narrative and discourse. After this, two different existing narratives about the EU, one taken mainly from the Dutch right-wing party PVV and one taken mainly from official EU policy, will be described to give an indication of the way that the 'story of the crisis' can and has been told. This will be followed by an analysis of the relevant aspects of gift-theory in the third chapter, while the fourth and concluding chapter will attempt to create a synthesis in which these aspects are applied to a new narrative for the Euro-crisis.

## 2. Methods, Narrative and Discourse

The method of analysis used in this paper is mainly that of literary analysis and literature review and therefore there is no need to elaborate on qualitative or quantitative methods. The concept or narratives is essential to this paper though and from a methodological point of view it is therefore important to clarify why this specific concept has been chosen, how it is defined and how it will be used. Instead of looking at practical economic or political issues this paper aims to regard the Euro-crisis from a meta-level. In a way, this is an attempt to move away from a purely descriptive analysis of the crisis towards an analysis of the way knowledge about the crisis is represented. This is closely connected to the concept of discourse in the writings of Michel Foucault, who argues that discourse is a way in which people try to “gain mastery over chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality”, “– a way of representing knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment .... Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language.”<sup>5</sup> Foucault argues that although objects have a real, material existence outside of discourse, it is discourse that makes them meaningful.<sup>6</sup> Through studying and analysing discourse it therefore becomes possible to do exactly that which is one of the goals of this paper, which is to move away from mere descriptions of things and events towards the meaning that those things and events have.

This paper will follow Hinchman et al. (1997), where narratives are defined as “forms of discourse that place events in a sequential order with a clear beginning, middle and end.”<sup>7</sup> In other words, a narrative is a sequence that adds a particular meaningful connection between the events that are taken as referents, escaping Foucault’s “ponderous, formidable materiality” by given it meaning through putting it in the framework of a story. In this way, events and things in reality are connected in a way that does more than describe them but that also makes it possible to understand or even explain them. To quote the famous historian Hayden White, the use of narrative to order reality is a way to “translate *knowing* into *telling*”.<sup>8</sup> In a similar manner, Bruner (1991) sees narratives as the way in which people organize their experience and their knowledge of human happenings.<sup>9</sup>

In this respect, it is important to realize that narratives cannot be empirically proven or disproven, nor can they be falsified in the same way like scientific theories or logical procedures. Instead they can only achieve ‘verisimilitude’, in the sense that it can only appear to be true or real.<sup>10</sup> No attempt will therefore be made in this paper to demonstrate the truthfulness or falsity of any given narratives. Instead, the study of narratives allows one to move beyond discussing facts and figures and move towards a more normative, value-based analysis. In such an analysis the connection of the narrative to reality is of course still important, but what is at least as important is the ‘end’ of the narrative, which (although this is not necessarily so) is often a goal or purpose through a representation of possible future scenarios. A narrative gives reality meaning, it makes reality understandable, and it ultimately also shapes and constructs reality. In the following chapter two such narratives about the Euro-crisis will be described.

## 3. Existing Narratives

### 3.1 - Blame, Scapegoating and Separation

In the two sub-sections of this chapter two different narratives about the Euro-crisis will be described to give an idea of how this has and can be done. The first one is mainly taken from publications from the Dutch PVV (Freedom Party), a right-wing, anti-immigration and Euro-sceptic party. In the view of the party, the Netherlands should leave the European Union, something they started arguing after the start of the crisis. In their narrative, the position of Greece and other Southern-European countries plays an important role. The narrative that the PVV provides is very similar to that of *De Telegraaf*, the biggest newspaper in the Netherlands, which is generally considered to be a ‘popular newspaper’ and leaning to the political right.<sup>11</sup> Although the PVV and *De Telegraaf* have no official or informal affiliations, the way that they have covered the crisis is sufficiently similar to discuss them together in this section.

Due to space limitations, it will not be possible to analyse this narrative in detail. The main parts are clear though; the current crisis is the status quo, the ‘middle’ part of the story; the future, the ‘end’ part, is a rather bleak outlook of the future of both the economy and the EU and to an extent is more used as a dystopian future for purposes of creating support. For example, the official party program for the 2012 Dutch parliamentary elections of the PVV refers to the Dutch membership of the EU as a “rope around our necks” and makes clear that if nothing is changed, the future will be disastrous.<sup>12</sup> From this it becomes clear what the middle part and the end of this story are: we are in crisis, and if nothing happens the consequences will be dire. That which needs to happen is however clearly linked to the ‘beginning’ part of the story, which is centred around finding someone to blame, in this case specifically the Southern-

European countries, especially Greece. This narrative generally disregards the more complex causes behind the crisis for a simpler 'blame-game'. Examples of this narrative in headlines of *De Telegraaf* would be:

*"Again billions into bottomless pit; Netherlands continues to deposit euros in Greek debt tragedy",*

*"Cash-out for Ailing Countries".*

*"Citizens don't want to pay anymore for spendthrift Greeks".<sup>13</sup>*

Or, as a letter published on the front page stated:

*"[The Greeks are] a lazy, sluggish and irresponsible people".<sup>14</sup>*

The same basic narrative that posits the Dutch as hard-working taxpayers who have to sacrifice for the mistakes of others in the EU can be found in the views of the PVV. Again, some examples, this time from publications of the PVV:

*"The money tap to Greece is opened wide again, while the Dutch money tap is closed shut. The Dutch taxpayers can bleed for the corrupt Greeks"<sup>15</sup>*

*"The Greeks are and will remain swindlers. They fail to meet agreements time after time and they do not really plan to either. A Greek promise is in fact an empty promise".<sup>16</sup>* The same article refers to Spain as "irretrievably lost" and calls it a "cesspool."

In short, this narrative focuses on blaming and scapegoating others, in particular Greece and other South-European countries, for the crisis and claims that separation from them is necessary to escape the "rope around our necks".<sup>17</sup>

### 3.2 - Solidarity, Community and Citizenship

The narrative described in this section, which is taken mainly from official EU sources and which centres on the concept of solidarity, does not have a storyline that is as easy to distinguish as the previous narrative. If one were to trace the beginning of this narrative, it would go back to the creation of European citizenship, where solidarity and the idea of the European community were created. This was a move away from pure market objectives which brought social and cultural questions more into the foreground.<sup>18</sup> To quote Enjolras (2008), 'European citizenship is concerned with the development of solidarity and identity at the European level'. As such it is conceived as 'an institutional mediation between state and civil society, government and the people, the territorial political organization and its members, entailing new forms of participation in a European public sphere and enhancing a collective basis for a European identity beyond the nation-state.'<sup>19</sup> Going further in time, it becomes important to outline the middle part of this solidarity narrative, which would again be the status quo. Delanty (2008) argues that the EU is in a 'crisis of solidarity' and links this to the rise of nationalist and Euro-sceptic parties throughout Europe in the past years.<sup>20</sup> This corresponds with a process of 'othering', in which anxiety about the loss of national identity, security or migration is channelled by creating a dualism between 'us' and 'the other'.

Regarding the future, it is solidarity which is necessary to keep the EU together. For example, through creating more support for European solidarity, European and national political elites try to reframe issues of national vs. EU interests.<sup>21</sup> An older example can be found in the preamble to the ECSC Treaty of 1951, which states that "solidarity is a necessity for the establishment of common bases for economic development."<sup>22</sup> In a similar vein, the mission statement of the European Commission's Directorate General for Regional and Urban policy, which they call an "important expression of the solidarity of the European Union", regards its main goals as a faster rate of economic development and improved competitiveness.<sup>23</sup> The argument then becomes that if only more money had been invested in increasing solidarity when the EMU was set up, it would have "spared us much suffering and costs."<sup>24</sup> To sum up, although this narrative is very different compared to the first one, the two share an argumentative basis that focuses on economic terms. In both narratives, economic results and goals are seen as the actual goal. However central the concept of solidarity might be in this narrative, ultimately it is still merely a means to an end.

## 4. Aspects of Gift Theory

In this chapter the most relevant aspects of gift-theory for this paper will be discussed, focusing on two main points: anti-utilitarianism and anti-relativism. Although it is not necessary to go into a detailed description of the 1923 essay by Marcel Mauss that gift-theory is based upon, the '*Essaisur le don; Forme et raison de l'échangedans les sociétésarchaïques*' (from here on referred to as 'The Gift'), a short outline of its basic argument will be given first.<sup>25</sup> In this essay, Mauss studies the 'potlach', a native practice in North-America in which gifts are given and terms this and practices like it 'prestations'. According to him, these practices show firstly that gifts are not freely given, but

instead surrounded by obligations, namely to give, to receive and to reciprocate. Furthermore, they show a strong connection between ‘things’ and ‘persons’, and he argues that the strong alienation of people from objects is a symptom of modern society. Although he does not argue that it is possible to build a society based on gifting or altruism, he argues that a society based purely on market forces is impossible as well. In short, *The Gift* argues that pure market forces cannot grasp human interactions, in which altruism, values and gifting also play an important role and that in order to create a (more) viable and sustainable economic system, their importance needs to be more stressed. In the rest of this chapter, two main aspects of ‘*The Gift*’ will be discussed, firstly its critique on utilitarianism and secondly its critique on relativism.

## 4.1 - Anti-Utilitarianism

Most contemporary analyses of Mauss’s essay regard it as being primarily anti-utilitarianist and as undermining the theoretical basic of utilitarianism, which argues that all human behaviours is, and should be, based on maximizing utility in a rational way.<sup>26</sup> Specifically, it has been used to criticize the so-called ‘economic model’ in the social sciences, which is based on Rational Actor (or Choice) Theory (RAT). This theory can be summarized as consisting of three basic principles: first, that actors are individuals who only seek their own self-interest; second, that this is the only possible rational goal and that it therefore is a legitimate goal; and third, that this goal is pursued through rational choice, by maximizing pleasure and minimizing pain.<sup>27</sup> Whereas this model or philosophy was at first just applied to the study of economics, Caillé (2004) argues that this model has gone through an overwhelming development, especially in the second half of the twentieth century, and speaks of its ‘imperialism’ in the social sciences now, starting with the work of the Chicago School of economic theory in the 1960’s.<sup>28</sup> This was followed by a much broader use of the model throughout the social sciences to explain and predict human behaviour.<sup>29</sup>

To an extent, this theory or rational choice becomes difficult to accept if we take ‘*The Gift*’ into account, for several reasons. First of all, it shows that one of the basic tenets of utilitarianism, that man is naturally egoistic and that as a result people focus solely on maximizing pleasure and minimizing pain, is refuted by the Gift.<sup>30</sup> Instead, the Gift shows that people’s decisions and actions are based on a much more complex system in which social bonds, recognition from others and human relations play an important role.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, it highlights that social bonds are neither created by some sort of overarching moral law nor by pure rational self-interest, but instead through interactions, alliance and association between people. Thirdly, it clarifies that there is a distinction between utilitarian activities (that are meant to satisfy needs) and non-utilitarian activities (such as producing meanings or making sense of life). Finally, it argues that markets cannot work without embodying at least partly the spirit of the gift which allows for coordination and cooperation between the members of a society. In short, to quote Caillé (2004), Mauss shows that humans are not just “self-interested animals” but that “human beings’ first desire is to be recognized and valued as givers”.<sup>32</sup>

## 4.2 - Anti-Relativism

A second main concept that is also an essential part of Mauss’s theory but that has not been discussed in detail yet is that of anti-relativism. This will here be defined as a critique towards the idea that everything, particularly concerning morals and values, is relative. This view would then be called ‘normative relativism’ and supporters of this view can be found throughout history, arguably going back to ancient Greek philosophy, particularly that of the sophists, many of whom held that there was no objective truth; instead, they held that truth is relative to the person who believes in it and although one view might be more logical or beneficial than another, in the end it is impossible to objectively decide which view is true.<sup>33</sup> Much later, the philosopher David Hume argued that there is no universal standard of morals, and that it is practically impossible to create moral rules that are applicable to all the different sentiments that people have.<sup>34</sup>

Utilitarianism is to an extent a method of bypassing this impossibility through basing ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ on a logical foundation of maximizing utility; the maxim of the ‘greatest good for the greatest number’ however is not necessarily an a-priori statement in the sense that it is logically inevitable. Despite this, it is still presented as something that is completely logically justifiable and that does not need unfounded assumptions in order to be applicable to reality. Mauss’s position is very different from this idea that values and norms should be objectively created and completely logically validated. Instead, in his writings and particular in ‘*The Gift*’ he makes what Claude Lévi-Strauss has called a turn from pure description to “more profound realities” by transcending pure empirical observation and forming conclusions for morality, economics and society in general.<sup>35</sup> Although he does not propagate baseless moral claims and bases the claims he makes on anthropological data, he does claim that certain values that can be found in these data are positive and necessary in society. To an extent, this seems like a subjective and therefore unreasonable ground for making claims about society. Mauss does however not stand alone in the opinion that normative theory does not need to be based on solely on facts and a-priori knowledge, but that one can legitimately hold values, norms and opinions based on a more subjective foundation, but to different extents together with theorists and philosophers like John Rawls, Amartya Sen, Iris Murdoch and Charles Taylor.<sup>36</sup> What they have in common is not a particular opinion about what is good, but rather the opinion that ‘good’ is not necessarily

teleological. In other words, that what is good is not good because it leads to some other goal (which could be happiness or economic utility) but rather because it is good; the good, or more concretely, values such as solidarity or community are not merely a means to an end but rather an end in themselves. This creates an argument for a re-focusing of a view of human society from solidarity (for example) as a means to the goal of economic progress, towards seeing economic progress as a means to the goal of values such as solidarity.

## 5. Conclusion: A New Narrative for the Euro-crisis?

In the final chapter of this thesis an attempt will be made to create a synthesis of what has been said up to this point. From this, the goal is to see what a gift-theory narrative of the Euro-crisis would be like as an alternative to the two narratives that were already presented in chapter 2. Despite the fact those narratives have very different outlooks on the future of the EU or on the causes of the crisis, they are essentially both based on economic arguments. The narrative of blame focuses on what the crisis is costing ‘us’ and who we can blame for that, and eventually who will pay for that. The narrative of solidarity on the other hand argues that in the end keeping together as a community and remain solidary to each other will create the highest returns. In this second narrative first principle is not solidarity or community itself but rather economic returns, and although a narrative of solidarity is much closer to that of Mauss, it is the starting point that is different.

A gift-theory narrative on the other hand would focus on values and on the way society is constructed on a more fundamental level instead of on the short-term causes and solutions for this crisis. In a way, the crisis would not be the ‘beginning’ part of such a narrative, but instead, the crisis itself would be the result of the unsustainable way that the current system of exchange is organized. It would be seen as a symptom of a larger, more structural problem rather than as the problem in itself. Introducing a gift-theory narrative would then not only be a way to deal with the current crisis but a necessity in order to avoid similar future crises, which are arguably inevitable if the economic system remains the same. In this narrative, it is not simply about blaming free-market capitalism but rather about a critique of its all-encompassing and all-pervading role in our system of exchange. Instead, more importance should be given to actions not undertaken for purposes of utility. Economic action purely undertaken for profit despite negative side-effects should however be limited. According to Mauss “we have to find the means of limiting the fruits of speculation and usury” and this seems to be highly applicable to the current economic and financial crisis in which there has been much debate about limiting and regulating speculation and banks in general.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, just as in the other narratives that were described, there is a two-fold scenario with two different outcomes. On the one hand, the current system could be kept in place and although there will be probably some sort of way out the crisis, this will be unsustainable in the long-term. The crisis is then not just something we solve after which we can move on, but rather a symptom of an underlying problem that will return time and again. Through refocusing from economic utility to community values; from pure commodity capitalism to a more balanced hybrid of market and gift; from a story of ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ to more solidarity and respect for others, it will be possible to create a more sustainable system. ‘Goodness and happiness’ should be searched for in ‘the imposed peace, in the rhythm of communal and private labor, in wealth amassed and redistributed, in the mutual respect and reciprocal generosity that education can impart.’<sup>38</sup> In a gift-theory narrative, there is no need for a revolution like there is in classic Marxism; it rather involves reintroducing, teaching and institutionalizing values that have been marginalized, making economy and exchange not an end in themselves but rather a means to an end.

*About the author:* Jan de Jong started his studies in Politics, European Studies and International Law at University College Utrecht (UCU) in 2010, which included one semester at l’Institut d’Études Politiques de Paris (Sciences-Po) in 2012. He graduated from UCU in 2013 with cum laude distinction, having written his BSc thesis, on which this paper is heavily based, on narratives about the Euro-crisis. Currently, he is doing a double Master’s degree at Charles University Prague and ELTE University Budapest in a program entitled “European Territories: Identity and Development”, with expected graduation in 2015. His Master’s thesis will be a comparison between Dutch and Czech press discourses on the European Union before and after the Euro-crisis.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup>Arnold 2012,(906); Mamadouh en Van der Wusten 2011, (111)
- <sup>2</sup>Grauwe 2011
- <sup>3</sup>Monti 2010, (3; 21; 31), Halikiopoulou, Nanou en Vasilopoulou 2012, (505)
- <sup>4</sup>Caillé 2004
- <sup>5</sup>Foucault, *The Order of Discourse* 1981, (52); Hall 1997, (13)
- <sup>6</sup>Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* 1982
- <sup>7</sup>Hinchman and Hinchman 1997, (XV)
- <sup>8</sup>White 1980, (6)
- <sup>9</sup>Bruner 1991, (4)
- <sup>10</sup>Bruner 1991,(4)
- <sup>11</sup>Bakker en Scholten 2009, (19)
- <sup>12</sup>Partij voor de Vrijheid 2012, (14)
- <sup>13</sup>De Telegraaf 2011
- <sup>14</sup>Beemsterboer en Heck 2011
- <sup>15</sup>PVV, Nederland is weer door de Griekse pomp! 2012
- <sup>16</sup>PVV, De euro is geen geld, de euro kost ons geld! 2012
- <sup>17</sup>Beugel 2011
- <sup>18</sup>Delanty 2008, (678)
- <sup>19</sup>Enjolras 2008, (497)
- <sup>20</sup>Delanty 2008, (681)
- <sup>21</sup>Mamadouh en Van der Wusten 2011, (115)
- <sup>22</sup>Sangiovanni 2013
- <sup>23</sup>Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy, 2013
- <sup>24</sup>Simon, 2013
- <sup>25</sup>Mauss 1967 (1923)
- <sup>26</sup>Revue du Mauss 2012
- <sup>27</sup>Caillé 2004, (3);seealso: Scott 2000
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup>Scott 2000, (126-127)
- <sup>30</sup>Graeber 2001, (7)
- <sup>31</sup>Argyrou 2007, (303); Hart 2007, (8)
- <sup>32</sup>Caillé 2004, (7)
- <sup>33</sup>Russell 1946,(91-96)
- <sup>34</sup>Hume 1983 (1751)
- <sup>35</sup>Lévi-Strauss 1950, (33)
- <sup>36</sup>Rawls 1999 (1971), (506); Murdoch 1970, (69); Sen 2009, (40); Taylor 1989, (93)
- <sup>37</sup>Mauss 1967 (1923), (67)
- <sup>38</sup>Ibid.

## Bibliography

- Argyrou, Vassos. "The Philosopher's Gift." *Critique of Anthropology* 27, no. 3 (2007): 301-318.
- Arnold, I.J.M. "Sovereign debt exposures and banking risks in the current EU financial crisis." *Journal of policy modeling* 34, no. 6 (2012): 906-920.
- Bakker, P., and O. Scholten. *Communicatiekaart van Nederland: overzicht van media en communicatie*. 7. Kluwer, 2009.
- Beemsterboer, Toon , and Wilmer Heck. "De Telegraaf is de campagnekrant voor woedend Nederland." *NRC Handelsblad*, 31 May 2011.
- Beugel, Ingeborg. "Heus, Grieken werken 41 uur per week en zijn niet verder uit te persen." *NRC Handelsblad*, 28 May 2011: 40-41.
- Bruner, Jerome. "The Narrative Construction of Reality." *Critical Inquiry* (The University of Chicago) 18, no. 1 (1991): 1-21.
- Caillé, Alain. "Anti-utilitarianism, economics and the gift-paradigm." *Revue du MAUSS*, no. 24 (2004): 268-276.
- De Telegraaf. "Hoppa, uit de Euro!" *De Telegraaf*, May 19, 2011: 1.
- Delanty, Gerard. "Fear of Others: Social Exclusion and the European Crisis of Solidarity." *Social Policy & Administration* 42, no. 6 (2008): 676-690.
- Enjolras, B. "Two hypotheses about the emergence of a post-national European model of citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 12, no. 5 (2008): 495-505.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Vintage, 1982.
- Foucault, Michel. "The Order of Discourse." In *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, by Robert Young, 51-78. Boston, Massachusetts: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1981.
- Graeber, David. "Give It Away." *Revue du Mauss*, 2001.
- Grauwe, Paul de. "European Monetary Union." In *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, by Steven N. Durlauf and Lawrence E. Blume. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

- Halikiopoulou, Daphne, Kyriaki Nanou, and Sofia Vasilopoulou. "The paradox of nationalism: the common denominator of radical right and radical left euroscepticism." *European Journal of Political Research* 51 (2012): 504-539.
- Hall, S. "Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse." In *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*, by S. Hall, 13-74. London: Sage, 1997.
- Hart, Keith. "Marcel Mauss: In Pursuit of the Whole." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 2 (2007): 1-13.
- Hinchman, Lewis P., and Sandra K. Hinchman, . *Memory, Identity, Community: The Idea of Narrative in the Human Sciences*. Albany: New York Press, 1997.
- Hume, David. *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. Edited by Tom L. Beauchamp. Oxford University Press, 1983 (1751).
- Lévi-Strauss, C. "Introduction à l'oeuvre de Marcel Mauss." In *Sociologie et anthropologie*, by M. Mauss. Paris: PUF, 1950.
- Mamadouh, Virginie, and Herman Van der Wusten. "Financial, Monetary and Governance Crisis: An Outlook on the Euro(zone)." *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 102, no. 1 (2011): 111-118.
- Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift- Forms and fuctions of exchange in primitive societies*. New York: The Norton Library, 1967 (1923).
- Monti, Mario. "A new strategy for the single market ." Report to the President of the European Commision, European Commission, 2010, 1-107.
- Murdoch, Iris. *The Sovereignty of Good*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Partij voor de Vrijheid. "Hún Brussel, óns Nederland - Verkiezingsprogramma 2012-2017." 2012.
- PVV. *De euro is geen geld, de euro kost ons geld!* August 2012. <http://www.pvv.nl/index.php/component/content/article/45-teun-van-dijck/6073-pvv-de-euro-is-geen-geld-de-euro-kost-ons-geld.html> (accessed May 10, 2013).
- . *Nederland is weer door de Griekse pomp!* December 2012. <http://www.pvv.nl/index.php/component/content/article/45-teun-van-dijck/6326-pvv-nederland-is-weer-door-de-griekse-pomp-inbreng-ao-griekenland.html> (accessed May 10, 2013).
- Rawls, John. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999 (1971).
- Revue du Mauss. Novembre 6, 2012. <http://www.revuedumauss.com/> (accessed May 2, 2013).
- Russell, Bertrand. *A History of Western Philosophy*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1946.
- Sangiovanni, Andrea. "Solidarity in the European Union." *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 2013: 1-29.
- Scott, John. "Rational Choice Theory." In *Understanding Contemporary Society: Theories of The Present*, edited by A Halcli, F Webster and G Browning, 126-138. Sage Publications, 2000.
- Sen, Amartya. *The Idea of Justice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the Self - The Making of Modern Identity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- White, Hayden. "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality." *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (1980): 5-27.