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EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE
Department of Political and Social Sciences

DO YOU FEEL EUROPEAN?
A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL VIEW ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY

By

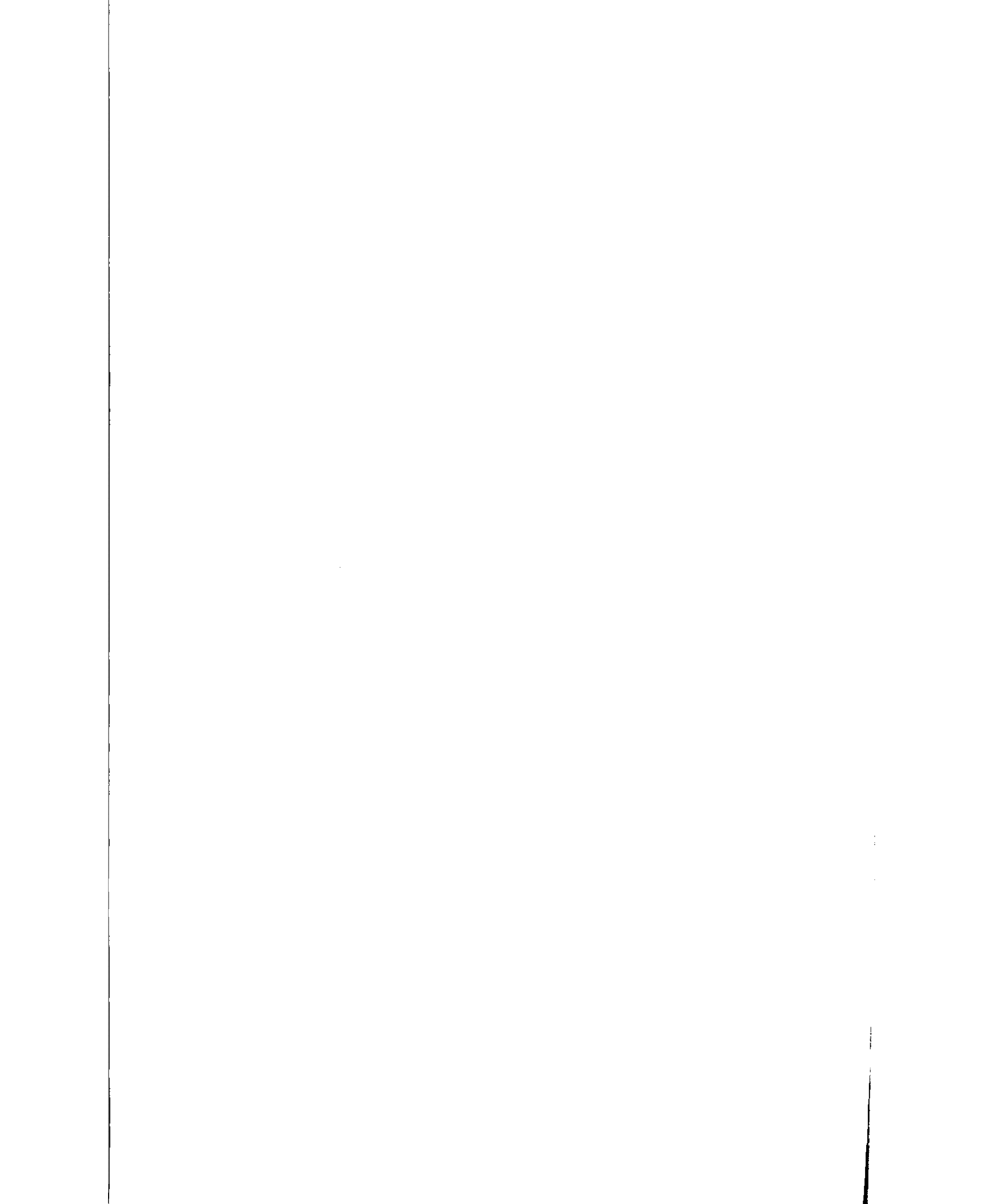
Yogectha R. Garib

Thesis submitted for assessment with
A view to obtaining the Degree of Doctor of the
European University Institute

Florence, July, 2006

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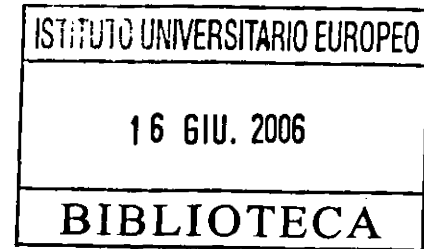






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By

Yogeetha R. Garib



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European University Institute

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For every road not taken...

Abstract

The research is based on the social identity theory by Breakwell (1986, 1992 & 1993)¹. According to this theory, social identity is guided by four principles namely *continuity*, *distinctiveness*, *self-efficacy*, and *self-esteem*. The theory is applied to European identity. A European Identity theory model is formed with the four principles as underlying mechanisms of European identity. The four underlying principles are used on the basis of data available from Eurobarometers. Furthermore, the principles have been applied to texts for questionnaires. The thesis includes two important literature reviews. One review concerns quantitative European identity research. The second concerns the four principles related to social identity. The main body of the thesis is divided into two quantitative research parts. In both parts, the main aim is to test the underlying mechanisms of the European identity theory model by analyzing both existing data and analyzing newly collected data concerning the European identity theory principles. The first part contains data analyses (i.e. optimal scaling analyses and regressions) with already existing data from Eurobarometer surveys from 1982-2002. One important result of these data analyses is that people from Romance cultures show to have a higher level of European identity compared to people from non-Romance cultures (in particular British and Greek cultures). Two other important findings are that people under 50 are more likely to have a higher European identification compared to people over 65, and that both professionals and middle class persons show to have a higher European Identity expression compared to manual workers and the unemployed. The second part of the thesis reports and discusses findings of experiments done in various EU countries. These experiments, based on the European identity theory model, consist of paper-and-pencil experiments in six countries (the Netherlands, Italy, UK, Spain, Germany and France) and subliminal experiments (in Padua, Italy). These experiments validate the European Identity theory model and the underlying mechanisms.

¹ Breakwell, G. M. (1986) *Threatened Identities*. Methuen: New York.

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Index

	Page
Acknowledgments	3
Abstract	5
Chapter 1 - Introduction	12
1.1 Introduction	12
1.2 Social identities	15
1.2.1 Social identity versus social representations: determinants and relations	15
1.2.2 Social identity	19
1.2.3 National identity	21
1.2.4 European identity	25
Chapter 2 - Social Identities- Research	30
2.1 Introduction to quasi-experimental research and experimental research	32
2.2 Quasi-experimental research	38
2.2.1 Attitudinal research	38
2.2.2 National identity and European identity research	45
2.2.3 Indicators research	51
2.3 Experimental research	60
2.4 Conclusions	65
Chapter 3 - European Identity Model	70
3.1 Social identity and the social identity model	70
3.1.1 Distinctiveness	73
3.1.2 Self-esteem	76
3.1.3 Continuity	78
3.1.4 Self-efficacy	80
3.1.5 Conclusions	82
3.2 Hypotheses	84
3.3 Quasi-experimental research: Analysis of surveys	95
3.4 Experimental research	99

Chapter 4 - Analyses of Surveys	102
4.1 Statistical methods	102
4.1.1 Regression (or ANOVA- univariate variance of analysis)	103
4.1.2 Optimal Scaling	104
4.1.3 Remarks and discussion sociological dummy variables	106
4.1.4 Exclusion of variables and Eurobarometers	109
4.2 Detailed analysis of three Eurobarometers	111
4.2.1 Introduction to analysis	111
4.2.2 General European dimension and pure European dimension: optimal scaling results	113
4.2.3 Coordinates for computing variables	118
4.2.4 Variances and order of relevance for variables explaining European identity	125
4.2.5 Conclusions of results with three Eurobarometers	128
4.3 Main results: non-optimally scaled and optimally scaled social psychological variables	132
4.3.1 Comparison of variance and non-significant results in the optimally scaled versus not optimally scaled social psychological variables	132
4.3.2 Explaining European identity	134
4.3.3 Trends in time with optimally scaled variables	136
4.3.4 Hypothesis testing	138
4.3.5 Conclusions of regression results	141
4.4 Country, gender, age and job indicators in relation to European identity	144
4.4.1 Countries	145
4.4.2 Sex	145
4.4.3 Age cohorts	146
4.4.4 Job status	146
4.5 Main results with sociological variables	147
4.5.1 General results: sociological variables versus social psychological variables	147
4.5.2 Specific results: hypothesis testing for countries	152
4.5.3 Specific results: hypothesis testing for sex	161
4.5.4 Specific results: hypothesis testing for age cohorts	162

4.5.5 Specific results: hypothesis testing for job status	164
4.5.6 Conclusions of sociological results	166
Chapter 5 - Experiments	168
5.1 Introduction to paper-and-pencil experiments	170
5.2 Experiment outline	172
5.3 Method	176
5.3.1 Participants	176
5.3.2 Materials and procedure	177
5.4 Results	179
5.4.1 Introduction concerning congruent and incongruent notes	179
5.4.2 Factor Analyses	180
5.4.3 Reliability of scales	181
5.4.4 ANOVA analyses with EUI variable, country, department and sex	183
5.4.5 Manipulation check	187
5.4.6 The effects of experimental manipulations on the level of identification with the EU	189
5.5 Conclusions	191
5.6 Implicit attitudes	194
5.6.1 Introduction to literature on implicit attitudes	194
5.6.2 Implicit versus explicit measures	196
5.6.3 Implicit attitudes techniques	199
5.7 Introduction to method	208
5.7.1 Hypotheses	212
5.8 Method: Subliminal experiment (consists of two parts)	214
5.8.1 Procedure: Part I	214
5.8.2 Procedure: Part II	219
5.9 Results	222
5.9.1 Main effect of type of prime and interaction effect between type of prime and valence	223
5.9.2 Factor analyses and reliability tests results	226
5.9.3 Results of MANOVAs with conditions by EU identity and Italian identity	230
5.9.4 Results of MANOVAs with manipulation conditions by Italian positive typicality and Italian negative typicality	232

5.9.5 Explaining reaction times	233
5.9.6 Identification and entativity associations	233
5.9.7 Comparison between explicit EU and Italian identification and absolute reaction times of EU and Italy primes	234
5.10 Final Conclusions	236
5.10.1 Flags and EU concepts	236
5.10.2 EU and Italian compatibility of concepts	237
5.10.3 Usefulness of items for future analyses related to EU identity	239
Chapter 6 – Conclusions & Discussion	242
6.1 Principles: continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy & self-esteem	244
6.2 Power of Method	256
6.2.1 Two methods: quasi-experiments & experiments	256
6.2.2 The respective advantages of the various statistical techniques employed	259
6.2.3 Social experimental psychology and main results	261
6.3 Further implications	263
6.3.1 Psychology & Political science	263
6.3.2 Research methods	265
6.3.3 Cultural analyses	267

Models

Tables

Figures

Appendices

Bibliography

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

At an international party with some EUI people, my friend Daniel tells me he feels very European. His father is German, his mother is French, he was born in the UK and was raised partly in Spain and partly in Italy. He cannot identify with only one nationality and considers himself to be European. His European identity is very strong. However, what exactly does it mean to feel European? The mere statement that one "feels European" could convey a European identity, but what are the underlying mechanisms of a European identity? To feel European, is it really necessary to have a similar background to that of my friend, Daniel? This study seeks to investigate underlying social psychological mechanisms by manipulating specific variables relating to the European identity. If we know more about these social psychological variables, this might help influence to what extent one feels European.

Most people nowadays have a national identity. This identity becomes more explicit when they go on vacation abroad or live in a foreign country, and when one becomes more aware of cultural background. On the other hand, people may find that they share a social identity when this identity is emphasised, for example when an Italian and a Dutch person share a European identity, in contrast to someone from South Africa. These social encounters leave us with particular questions concerning social identities for which social-psychological perspectives and theories could be very useful. For example, which concepts provide a basis for a supra-national identity, like a European identity? Or does a European identity not have any underlying mechanisms? How does European identity relate to sociological factors? To what extent do social psychological factors or sociological factors explain European identity, or do these factors interact? In addition, which are the variables or factors that are most closely related to European identity? This

study aims to provide insight into these questions, using a social-psychological perspective.

Some researchers have tried to find out how national identity and European identity are connected to one another or related to other factors, but before one can understand the relationship between the two, it is necessary to examine what exactly a national identity means. Both national identity and European identity are social identities. Social identities are identities people have when they feel part of a social category in a social context. We all have various social identities. When we act in a theatre group, attend lectures as a student, and when we go shopping for groceries, for example, we assume a corresponding social identity. In the above examples the social identities are: an actor's identity, a student identity, and a customer's identity respectively. Social psychologists have analysed social identities pertinent to the development of human beings, among others gender identities, adolescent identities, and partner identities. The specific constructions and features of these last-mentioned identities are not of major importance to the research concerned. European identity will be used as the main social identity in this research. The underlying mechanisms of European identity will be proposed in a social psychological model. The social psychological framework takes on great importance in addition to other frameworks, for example a political framework, because European identity is mainly a characteristic of individuals, which is based on psychological mechanisms. In this way, we will learn more about the main components of social identities, and how they can be influenced. Moreover, advanced statistical testing is a tool that has not been extensively used in this field. Statistical testing will increase the validity of the outcomes. Therefore, the main means to be used are statistical analyses of extant data and experiments. In other words, *a social-psychological model will be used to explain and analyse the underlying mechanisms, variables, and components of the social representation of European Identity with quasi-experiments and experiments.* Thus, the use of a social-psychological perspective and statistical testing in experimental research and quasi-experimental research are the major tools of this research project, whereby it is expected to contribute to a better understanding of pertaining social

identities. The social psychological perspective will help us to understand how European identity works and how it can be investigated as a social identity. Furthermore, the research methods of quasi-experiments and experiments will show us not only how European identity can be manipulated but also, using statistical methods, what conclusions can be drawn from extant data and gathered data.

In chapter one social identity theories developed by social psychologists will be discussed. National identity and European identity are discussed separately in the following chapters. In chapter two an overview of extant research concerning social identities is given.

1.2. Social Identities

1.2.1 Social identity versus social representations: determinants and relations

A social identity is referred to by Jenkins (1996) as:

...the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities. It is the systematic establishment and significance, between individuals, between collectivities, and between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of similarity and difference.... Social identity is our understanding of who we are and of who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people's understanding of themselves and of others (which includes us). (Jenkins, p. 4-5)

A social identity gives meaning to what we are in relation to other groups of people. It says something about us, i.e. our personal identity. As mentioned in the introduction, a person has several social identities, i.e. a person can be a teacher, a driver, or a customer at particular moments in time. All these identities are social identities, as they exist in relation to other people. Personal identities, on the other hand, are less social and do not require interaction with others. There is, of course, a relationship between personal identity and social identity, as personal identities influence social identities and vice versa. However, a social identity is a much broader identity than a personal identity. A personal identity refers to individual, non-shared features, while a social identity refers to our shared features.

Tajfel – a social psychologist, who has been very influential in the development of social psychology – and colleagues (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel and Turner, 1979), developed the Social Identity Theory (SIT). This theory is essential to the discussion of social identities like national identity or European identity. It is based on the following four tenets:

1. Individuals strive to achieve or to maintain a positive social identity.
2. Membership of groups contributes to an individual's social identity.
3. Evaluation of an individual's own group is based on social comparison with other groups.
4. A positive social identity is based on favourable comparisons.

Social representations are of great importance in relation to Social Identity Theory (SIT). A particular social representation is part of a particular social identity's content. In order for people to form a particular social identity, they should have some kind of representation of what this identity looks like. In this way, social representations precede the formation of social identities. Conversely, identity processes can also influence the production, creation and changing of social representations. For example, in his/her search for distinctiveness, a person might change a particular social identity's social representation to make it more distinctive from other social identities. Thus, a reciprocal relationship between social identities and social representations exists, as these mutually influence each other. In a similar vein, one might claim that a European identity can only exist when there is a European representation of this identity, and vice versa. The main difference to point out between a social identity and a social representation is that a social representation refers to the *beliefs* that people hold in their minds concerning a specific social group, while a social identity refers to the *actual emotional* identity that people have concerning a specific social group. One could consider social representations as something cognitive (i.e. one believes there is something like a European society of European citizens), while social identities are something emotional (i.e. someone feels European).

Moscovici (1984, 1988) was one of the first social psychologists to study social representations. He showed that social representations could be defined by the shared systems of beliefs that members of large-scale social categories hold about their own group. Social representations and social identities have a dialectical relationship and influence each other reciprocally (Breakwell, 1993). Breakwell shows clearly how the two are associated with

each other. Moreover, Moscovici and Hewstone (1983) maintain that social representation contributes to group-identity formation, in the sense that merely by sharing a social representation, group members come to feel the same identity since they have a common “world view”. Thus, credible and strong social representations make social identities stronger.

Social representations are mostly cognitive, as they exist in our minds as schemata about particular entities. A personal representation, on the other hand, is the representation one has of a particular entity on an individual level. A personal representation exists only for one individual, while several individuals share a social representation. This is the major difference between personal representations and social representations, and is similar to the difference between personal identity and social identity. Social representations are created in social interactions and are linked to social phenomena. They are possessed by other human beings, are manifested in social life and have specific uses in the social situations in which they are deployed. Moreover, social representations are reflected in people’s cognitions, behavioural actions and their feelings.

Social representations can be formed, but they can also alter. The formation and alteration of social representations depends on various factors. These factors are needed to keep a social representation in existence. Moscovici (1988) distinguishes five main dimensions as the main causes of variation in social representations, and more importantly, as the main components of social representations: *awareness, understanding, acceptance, assimilation and salience*. The five main dimensions of a social representation are illustrated in Model A.

Insert model A here

A short description of each of the dimensions of social representation will be given.

Awareness means that in order to form a particular social representation it is important that this representation should exist in our perspective. One should, for example, be aware of the representation of Europe as a whole, and of the idea of feeling European. Inevitably, awareness is influenced by the significance of the representation target, e.g. European identity. The target representation should be significant enough for a person to be aware of it; otherwise, one can easily neglect or deny the existence of the target representation and never become aware of its existence.

Understanding the social representation is also of importance. One should be able to understand what it means to be European, even though each person might have a different conception of a European identity. This might involve some conceptual way of thinking on a higher level, as a European identity is a cognitive concept in our mind to which we have given meaning.

Acceptance of the social representation involves an acknowledgement that it exists as such. Thus, if a person cannot even believe in the existence of a European identity, it is most likely to be rejected as part of the social identities this person encompasses.

Assimilation is also needed to establish a new social representation. The more one social representation is similar to a pre-existent (but different) social representation; the more this representation is assimilated into the set of already existing social representations. For example, when features of the representation of one's national identity can be assimilated into the representation of one's new European identity, it is more likely that this European identity will come into existence.

Salience is an important aspect of any social representation because a social representation can never be formed or changed without us perceiving that change as being salient. This salience might differ from time to time, and might depend on the individual and the situation. For example, when attending a conference on European identity a person's social identity as a European might be more salient compared to in a different situation (e.g. when attending a lecture on mathematical theories). Consequently, the formation of a social representation can only take place when this social representation is salient.

To summarize, in this section I have explained the importance of the dialectical relationship between social identities and social representations, while also outlining the main features of the social identity theory. The basic components of social representations have been set out. In the next subsection, I discuss social identity in more detail.

1.2.2 Social Identity

Breakwell (1986, 1994) developed an Identity Process Theory (IPT) in which the structure of identity is shown as a dynamic social product of the interaction of the capacities for memory, consciousness, and organised construal (i.e. a characteristic feature of biological organisms) with the physical and societal structures and influence processes that constitute a social context. A social identity is manifested in a person's feelings, cognitions and behaviour. Thus, it can be found in these three psychological domains in every individual.

Moreover, social identity is structured on two levels, i.e. the content level and the value level. The content level of social identity consists of the features that mark the social identity as such; these are the main characteristics and features of the identity that an individual possesses. These characteristics are organised on the basis of 1) the degree of centrality; 2) the hierarchical arrangements of elements; and 3) the relative salience of components. The value level is the importance, or relevance, of the features that mark the social identity. On the value level, every characteristic can be modified or re-evaluated at any time. Consequently, both the organisation of the characteristics on the content level as well as the importance/relevance of these characteristics is subject to change.

Dynamic processes of accommodation, assimilation and evaluation control the structure of social identity. The processes of accommodation and assimilation take place at the content level. Accommodation refers to the inclusion of new elements in the already extant structure of elements, while assimilation refers to a process of adjusting the extant process in order to make it fit with new elements. This indicates that even though accommodation and assimilation are both dynamic processes concerning new elements,

accommodation leaves the extant organisation of elements much more intact than assimilation. The processes of reappraisal and evaluation of the elements take place at the value level.

Social identity is guided by four principles as indicated in Model B: namely *continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy, and self-esteem.*

Insert model B here

These guiding principles are also the final goals of adopting a social identity. People form a social identity not only when they feel the need to, or when they consider it to be relevant, but also when this identity brings them some kind of continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy, and self-esteem. These four principles are therefore important for a social identity. If they are not extant, there will be no related social identity.

Continuity of a social identity is when social identity endures and is long-lasting. It will not easily be lost. A social identity that gives a person distinctiveness endows that person with a quality which makes him/her different from other people, who have a different social identity. *Self-efficacy* guides a particular social identity when a person wants to be an active participant of the social group from which this social identity is derived. This means that the more active a person is in participating in a given social group, the more a person will express the social identity relating to this group. Lastly, a need for higher *self-esteem* can prompt a person to accept a new social identity that heightens his or her self-esteem.

Change of social identity is dependent on the following dimensions, as Model C shows:

1. The degree of personal relevance of the social change;
2. The immediacy of involvement in the social change;
3. How much revision of identity content and value is demanded; and
4. How negative the change required is deemed to be.

Insert Model C here

I have discussed Identity Process Theory (ITP) and the two levels of social identity (i.e. content and value) in this sub-section. Moreover, the guiding principles of social identity have been introduced, and the main dimensions of social change outlined. In the next two sub-sections, the particular social identities that are the main concern of this study, namely, national identity and European identity are examined.

1.2.3 National identity

National identity is a particular application of social identity, and like all social identities, national identity is reflected in people's cognitions, actions, and emotions. Not surprisingly, exactly these same elements lie at the heart of social psychology, as cognitions, actions, and emotions displayed by people are the major elements investigated by social psychologists. As these are strongly social psychological features, it is very important to study national identity within a social psychological sphere.

Smith (1971) has analysed the concept of nationalism in great detail. Even though one cannot consider nationalism to be completely similar to national identity, one could derive some important aspects from the way Smith takes nationalism into account. He considers nationalism to be a concept related to many features. According to Smith's analysis, nationalism can be used in different ways that can be categorised as follows:

1. National character or nationality;
2. An idiom, phrase, or trait peculiar to the nation;
3. A sentiment of devotion to one's nation and the advocacy of its interests;
4. A set of aspirations for the independence and unity of the nation;
5. A political programme embodying such aspirations in organisational form;
6. A form of socialism, based on the nationalisation of industry;
7. The doctrine of divine election of nations, and

8. The whole process of the formation of nations in history.

(p. 167-168)

He claims that if 1 and 8 were dropped, we would be left with two groups:

- 2-4 refer to sentiments, consciousness, attitudes, aspirations, and loyalties, more or less clearly articulated; and
- 5-7 refer to doctrines, ideologies, programmes, activities of organisations, and movements.

The first group has strong affective elements while the second has strong cognitive elements.

As has been mentioned earlier, we do not aim to state that nationalism is synonymous with national identity, nor do we want to imply that there is some kind of direct relationship between both concepts - as might or might not be the case. However, the way in which the concept of nationalism is used can also be applied to national identity or any other social identity. It could be considered that national identity, as well as nationalism, is not only formed of affective components (e.g. sentiments, consciousness, attitudes, aspirations, loyalties), but also out of cognitive components (e.g. doctrines, ideologies, programmes, activities of organisations, movements). Smith does not directly refer to behavioural features, but these could be taken into account as well as his listed components of national identity. Moreover, to analyse national identity it is necessary to pay heed to the emotional and cognitive features that it consists of.

According to Hewstone (1986) two important features define national identity, namely:

1. The feeling of belonging to a group united by common racial, linguistic and historical ties, and usually identified with a particular territory; and
2. A corresponding ideology that exalts the nation state as the ideal form of political organisation, with an overriding claim on the loyalty of its citizens.

(p. 199)

Again, the cognitive and emotional aspects of national identity are emphasised. It is not only the ideology underlying nationalism which should

be taken into consideration when looking at national identity, but also the 'feeling of belonging to a group' associated with nationalism. Therefore, a social psychological analysis of national identity will be helpful to understanding its relationship with other phenomena like European identity, because cognitions and feelings are essentially social psychological features.

The psychological character of national identity is moreover apparent in the way that Billig (1996) in Breakwell's *Changing European Identities* (p. 184) mentions that nationalism can be mainly characterised by the following:

- The nature of the nation-state;
- Its historical proximity; and
- The socio-psychological creation of national citizenry.

This last characteristic of national identity concerns not an ordinary creation (in a physical or material sense), but a socio-psychological one, thereby stressing the importance of psychology, especially social psychology, for national identity. Giddens's (1985) definition of nationalism is in line with this: '...a phenomenon that is primarily psychological – the affiliation of individuals to a set of symbols and beliefs emphasising communality among the members of a political order' (p. 116). This means that to discover what a person's national identity is, one should also explore the psychological dimensions and features associated with it, e.g. emotional and physical attachments, schemata, mental representations, traits, etc. In a similar vein, Guibernau (2001) in *Modern Roots* claims: "national identity is primarily a psychological phenomenon heavily influenced with political concepts such as citizenship." (p. 88). Bloom (1990), in his definition of national identity, also points out the psychological element of the phenomenon: "[It] describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols – have internalised the symbols of the nation – so that they may act as one *psychological group* when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of, these symbols of national identity". Thus, these references to national identity as a social identity indicate that national identity should be considered as mainly a psychological concept.

Gutiérrez (2001) notes that national identity is linked to “the self-identification of peoples of nation-states” (p.7). Moreover, it “...makes people aware of themselves as a unique collectivity conscious and protective of their historical possessions such as territory and culture” (p. 9). Furthermore, he notes:

National identity is shaped by the conflictive interplay between emotional attachments to traditionalism and the rational forces of modernism, as well as by popular mobilizations at times of negotiation or during cultural contacts resulting from rivalries, competitions or cooperations fostered by the interdependent world of nation-states.... [W]e are manifesting two qualities of national identity: a) the capacity for self-recognition, and b) the ability to detect, recognize and acknowledge who the others are. (Gutiérrez, 2001, p.15)

Again, the affective and cognitive (i.e. rational) components of national identity are given a place. However, he also mentions two additional qualities of national identity. Both qualities relate to a particular principle of social identity, namely distinctiveness. The first quality specifically refers to the individual who wants to identify himself (or herself), as it is about self-recognition, i.e. identifying yourself as a person/who you are. The second refers to others: a person wants to distinguish him/herself from others, and this definition is about who these others are. In addition, the latter quality refers to the functions that every identity has, namely setting a reference point for the person himself, and therefore placing this person in reference to others, the world, surroundings, etc. Thus, the expression of national identity helps a person to identify himself as well as placing himself in a broader perspective. This is exactly the purpose of every social identity, e.g. both a national identity and a European identity. A social identity gives us the identity of a large social group, and by being a member of this social group an individual can place himself in a broader perspective.

To summarize, in discussing various views on national identity one finds many references to elements which are central to social psychology and, consequently, social psychological theories. This finding should indicate that

in order to study social identities one should not neglect social psychology theories. In the next sub-section, European identity will be discussed, mainly in reference to national identity.

1.2.4 European Identity

From one perspective, European identity is very different from national identity. European identity is a supra-national identity, which means that it covers a social identity group beyond a national identity. In addition, a national identity can be contrasted to a European identity in the following manner:

...national identifications possess distinct advantages over the idea of a unified European identity. They are vivid, accessible, well established, long popularised, and still widely believed, in broad outline at least. In each of these respects, 'Europe' is deficient both as idea and as process. Above all, it lacks a pre-modern past – a 'prehistory' which can provide it with emotional sustenance and historical depth. (Smith, 1992, p. 62)

Nevertheless, European identity can also be viewed in the same light as national identity, as they are both broad social identities. Most of the principles that apply to national identities can be applied to European identity, and features that mark a national identity might be the same for European identities as well. For example, like national identity, a European identity has cognitive and affective components; a European identity can contain principles of distinctiveness, as well as of continuity, while a European identity can place a person in a larger context outside the personal context.

There is not yet a long tradition of literature on European identity, because it has not been prevalent for a very long time. Moreover, it might be difficult to show that European identity exists (Smith, 1992). Some people might consider European identity to be contrary to national identity. This contradiction also implies an incompatibility between national and European identity. Nevertheless, Smith shows that multiple identities can coexist, and in particular, how a European identity can exist alongside a national identity.

Risse (2001) also believes that a European identity can exist. He states that two processes foster identity constructions about Europe. One is resonance, which he explains as following:

Political visions and identity constructions are the more likely to impact upon and to be incorporated in collective nation-state identities, the more they resonate with the ideas about the nation and political order embedded in these collective understandings. (Risse, 2001, p. 202)

This resonance argument is very close to the 'good fit' argument: when a European identity is similar to, and can coexist together with a national identity; a European identity will not only be constructed more easily, but will also be stronger. A European identity will then be integrated into the individual's group of social identities, as long as there is a reasonable fit. The other argument is based on socialisation. When an individual perceives and observes an identity construction based on Europe, he/she will learn how to internalise this construction into his or her own schema of cognitive constructions. By becoming more familiar with the European identity idea one becomes more open to it, and increasingly willing to accept it as one's own. Eventually, this conception of Europe is taken for granted, and completely integrated into one's cognitive self-conception.

Leonard (1998) has discussed the unpopularity of the European Union, and, basing his conclusion on the findings of the Eurobarometer data, he claims that only half of all EU citizens feel European. He suggests ways of doing more to promote European integration within European countries. According to Leonard, five goals should be met in order to achieve greater European integration:

1. Raise awareness and understanding of the "good side" of Europe;
2. Make the EU relevant;
3. Deliver and communicate practical benefits to EU citizens;

4. Give people leadership and sense of mission; and
5. Develop identity.

This study does not aim to develop a EU identity, in order to increase integration, but refers to the variance of European identity in different European countries. In particular, the problem of how one can influence the development of the EU identity will be investigated in more specific terms. Breakwell (1996) has indeed already studied the European identity in comparison to national identity. Breakwell looked at one Eurobarometer survey (no. 38, 1992) to draw (some tentative) conclusions about the compatibility of European and national identity. It seems that about 75 per cent of Europeans consider a European identity to be compatible with a national identity. However, some people still express some fear of losing their national identity when a European identity becomes more widespread. Thus, there is some variance concerning the expression of European identity in the light of a national identity. According to Breakwell (1996) there are two reasons for this variance:

1. Nations differ in the status of their existing national identity. For instance, the existing identity may be particularly strong, having been stable over many years, or particularly weak, having been subject to multiple alterations; and
2. Nations differ in their social representations of the developing European identity. For instance, some may see the European identity as very closely allied to their national identity; others may see it as being very different.

Hence, variance in European identity can be explained by sociological factors like nationality next to social psychological factors. In this passage Breakwell clearly points to nationality as one sociological factor, but other sociological factors like age, gender and job status could also be included.

In this chapter, I have sought to explain the relationship between social representations and social identities. The need for social representations, in particular, when forming a social identity has been stressed.

In addition, it was shown that national identity and European identity can be viewed as similar types of identities as they are both social identities, even though European identity exists on a different, supra-national level. These identities have features that can be recognised as evidently social psychological features.

The main topic will, however, be European identity. It is at the heart of our main question, which we can formulate as follows:

What are the underlying social psychological mechanisms that drive European identity and which variables can influence the level of European identification?

This question will be driven by two important central topics. The first concerns the social psychological perspective that is used to unravel the mechanisms of European identity. Social psychology equips us with specific theories and models that can be used for investigating a social identity, like European identity, and these will have a central place in our work. Furthermore, in order to test the model that will be used concerning European Identity and related hypotheses, two types of experiments are undertaken: experimental research and quasi-experimental research. The quasi-experimental research consists of data analyses of existing data about European identity and other related, underlying variables. For the experimental research, two research designs have been employed. The first type concerns paper-and-pencil experiments in which participants were asked to respond to specific statements concerning the EU and European identity after having been exposed to different types of texts meant to influence their level of EU identification. The second type concerns an experimental study in which reaction times are measured, after subliminal exposure of EU and Italy. These two research designs, used together, will test the model concerning European identity. The use of various methods to investigate the underlying social psychological mechanisms of European identity gives this research an important added value. It should be of great interest to anyone who would like to know more about its psychological existence. A political scientist who is interested in Europeans, for example, should also be attentive to the social psychological features of how these people are made into Europeans and are able to take up a

European identity. After all, the topic concerns human beings, and these human beings are not only made of flesh and blood, but they also possess a social psychological make-up. Without the understanding of this social psychological make-up, one will surely miss relevant aspects in any research on Europeans or European identity.

Thus, to answer the question posed in the previous paragraph, we propose to proceed as follows: *a social-psychological model will be used to explain and analyse the underlying mechanisms, variables, and components of the social representation of European Identity with quasi-experiments and experiments.*

Chapter 2 will focus on the research done concerning the relevant social identities, and related elements.

CHAPTER 2

An overview of Social Identity Research

In this chapter I will give an overview of research concerning European identity. First, quasi-experimental research will be discussed. Second, experimental research will be discussed. The quasi-experimental research can be characterised, in this case, as research using surveys or questionnaire (e.g. the Eurobarometer). In this part, research concerning attitudes towards Europe will be set out. Attitudes guide our behaviour and reflect the way we think about certain important facts in our life. Any social identity that a person possesses is inevitably linked to a social representation, which, in turn, reflects his/her attitude towards this social identity. Also, research considering both national identity and European identity will be mentioned. This research will be mentioned in the second section of this chapter. Furthermore, research concerning specific variables may indicate some relationship with European identity. For example, variables like willingness to vote in European elections, cognitive mobilisation, political mobilisation, support for European unification, and attachment to Europe could be related to the strength of one's European identity. Therefore, research concerning these other relevant variables relating to European identity might be useful to gain more insight into the expression and formation of European identity, as well as of national identity. All the aforementioned research can be described as quasi-experimental research (or survey studies), as not all variables in the research have been completely manipulated or fully controlled. This is one of the disadvantages of quasi-experimental research, as one is never sure whether the effect one finds is entirely attributable to a causal relationship, or whether the reported finding refers only to a spurious correlation. In other words, we are not able to fully control the results of the research design. Other disadvantages of quasi-experimental research are a possible inability to compare the measures/results across groups, uncertainty regarding instructions and data gathering, and a possible inability to draw clear-cut conclusions concerning the manipulation of a specific variable. Advantages of quasi-experiments, on

the other hand, can be summarised as follows: the inclusion of non-controllable variables, less artificial results, and more easily replicable results.

Some experimental research already done in the field of national identity and European identity will be mentioned.

In sum, in this chapter research on social identities is presented concerning both quasi-experimental and experimental research. The presentation of the quasi-experimental research can be subdivided into three main themes: attitudes; national identity and European identity, and indicators. The experimental research will then be discussed. In the conclusions of this chapter, the main hypotheses derived from the main research question and underlying theories are presented.

All research findings can be linked to European identity in the sense that they might imply that some variable might influence European identity expression. In that sense an integrated view of the research findings is achieved by their common notion of influencing factors on European identity. For example, attitudinal factors,

These factors are to some extent related to social psychological phenomena, whereby the relevance of social psychology for the present study is made stronger. Furthermore, the link from the discussed research findings to social psychological factors influencing European identity can also be found.

2.1 Introduction to quasi-experimental and experimental research

Combining the two types of research, i.e. quasi-experimental research and experimental research, each with its own advantages and disadvantages makes a very strong combination of research methods for the purpose of investigating a social psychological identity like European identity. As both types of research are widely used in social psychology, a combination of the two is highly advisable. Research about European identity considered as a social identity would benefit from drawing on a social psychological perspective. In this regard these types of research fit extremely well. The two types of research make it possible to use different types of data and various statistical analyses to give a more colourful and intensive investigation into the phenomenon of European identity. Consequently, the validity and reliability of the model, including the underlying mechanisms of European identity, would be strengthened if both types of research endorse it.

Both research designs will be employed for the present study on European identity. As these two types of research design differ quite a bit, the two types will be discussed in separate chapters. Chapter IV is dedicated to the quasi-experimental research (e.g. survey research), while chapter V is dedicated to the experimental research. Thus, even if both research designs aim to study a similar subject (i.e. European identity) it seems justified discussing them in separate chapters.

In the next two sections existing quasi-experimental research and experimental research concerning European identity will be reviewed. The research is discussed and it is used as a basis for the formulating of specific hypotheses concerning European identity and related variables. These hypotheses will be given at the end of the relevant sections, and an overview of these is given in the conclusions section of this chapter. The research review in this chapter is not an exhaustive review concerning research on European identity. The review is given as a point of reference on which the hypotheses are based, and these hypotheses will be tested in this study concerning European identity.

In this chapter quasi-experimental research relating to European identity will be reviewed. Quasi-experimental research has its concomitant advantages and disadvantages. It will be used as a method of research for the main question mentioned in Chapter One (i.e. *what are the underlying social psychological mechanisms that drive European identity and which variables can we use to manipulate the level of European identification?*). The respective advantages and disadvantages of quasi-experimental research should also receive some attention. The latter is done in this section.

One of the main disadvantages of quasi-experimental research has already been mentioned in the introduction to this chapter: the uncontrollability of all relevant variables. As variables cannot be completely controlled or manipulated, one cannot always draw clear-cut causal conclusions. An example will easily illustrate the point: research concerning nationality and European identity in which one seeks to show that French citizens have a stronger sense of European identity than Dutch citizens immediately faces a significant hurdle. The researcher is unable to control for nationality. In other words, we cannot assign one nationality at random to one person, and another nationality to another. The same counts for a great number of other variables, to be mentioned in this chapter, such as cognitive mobilization, political orientation, job level etc. These variables are likely to correlate with European identity. However, it will be difficult to claim that they *cause* a stronger or weaker European identification, due to the lack of manipulation. Manipulation of these variables simply cannot be exerted for practical and ethical reasons.

A second disadvantage of quasi-experimental research is that groups may not be comparable. People already self-select themselves into a specific group, like a left-wing or right-wing political orientation, while the method of gathering the data may heavily influence the sample of a specific group. The latter could occur when data gathering is, for example, always performed during the day, when high-level workers are not available, and a great number of housewives and jobless people are easier to contact. In such cases, the sample is not representative of society, and groups that are formed in such a way

concerning job level or any other uncontrollable variable might not provide us with groups that can be compared to one another. Therefore, the number and percentages of participants in each of the groups should be given some attention before groups are compared². In this way, one is able to have a clearer idea of whether it is realistic to compare the groups as different groups. Furthermore, even if one is able to control more in experimental research concerning the ad randomness of participants, in specific conditions, some selection has been taken place before the experiment itself. A researcher cannot force a participant to go through an experiment. Some level of self-selection concerning participation inevitably has occurred before the experiment takes place. Therefore, even for experimental research, one cannot completely put people at random into specific groups: the consent of the participant is needed. Thus, this disadvantage cannot be exclusively assigned to quasi-experiments, but could also occur to some extent for experimental research.

A third disadvantage that could be mentioned is that the data-gathering or method of instruction in some cases, especially in cases where existing data is used, might not be very clear. When one uses this data, gathered by someone other than the researcher who is analysing it, the instructions and the method of data gathering may not always be completely clear to the latter researcher. The clarity of the method of data gathering might not be of the same quality as when the researcher himself/ herself gathers data. Due to this potentially lower level of clarity regarding the data-gathering, a researcher might misinterpret the data measurements or data definitions, as some knowledge might be hidden or unknown. Therefore, more attention should be paid to the method of data-gathering and data definitions when pre-existent data is used. Also, more attention should be paid to the level of non-responses and the way non-responses have been coded. Responses that are, for example embarrassing to give, might have been avoided by respondents. The latter might also happen with experimental research, but as experimental research normally involves a higher degree of control, responses might be controlled to some extent. As a consequence, a not

² In many cases, completely skewed distribution of participants in groups may lead to weighing the data.

completely realistic view of the results can be given to the researcher. Furthermore, the ignorance of respondents (i.e. with a response of "I don't know") might also result in an artificial distribution of responses. The clarity and background of non-responses should be investigated if possible. When using existing data gathered by a third party, this might not always be possible to do. It is important, in the latter case, that we take into consideration the way non-responses have been coded, and how to use various types of non-responses in a practical, efficient and justifiable way. Lastly, quasi-experimental research might more often end up with results that cannot lead to conclusions to the improvement or manipulation of a specific variable in the future. This is related to the first disadvantage of quasi-experimental research, namely the uncontrollability of variables mentioned above: one cannot draw clear-cut causal relationships between variables.

Quasi-experimental research also has relevant advantages, especially in comparison to experimental research. As will be shown, many of the disadvantages mentioned above can also be considered advantages when seen from a different perspective. Firstly, one can include non-controllable variables, like nationality or political orientation as independent variables, which would be very difficult in experimental research. Secondly, research results are less artificial, as variables have not been manipulated, but in many cases participants are just asked to answer questions or to give information concerning perceptions or attitudes. Consequently, people are not forced to think according a specific mind-set or condition, as generally happens in experimental research. Experiment protocols of this sort may run the risk of appearing artificial and unrealistic. Thirdly, conclusions and analyses performed on quasi-experimental data lead to results that can be easily replicated as the data still exists, and due to the low level of controllability, there is no need for certain conditions to be met again in order for a replication to occur.

In general, the disadvantages of quasi-experimental research are the following: uncontrollability of variables, possible bad comparison across groups, possible unknown information about data-gathering methods and/or definitions employed, and the difficulty associated with drawing conclusions concerning the manipulation of a specific variable in the future. Quasi-

experiments could, however, be very useful, considering that; a) the inclusion of non-controllable variables is not precluded; b) the results obtained are less artificial, c) easier to replicate.

In broad outline, experimental research, conversely, has advantages that are similar to the disadvantages of quasi-experimental research and disadvantages that are similar to the advantages of quasi-experimental research. However, this rule cannot be taken very strictly. For example, experimental research is able to use more variables as independent variables. Consequently, in experimental research one is able to control variables better, however, it is important to point out that some variables can never be used as independent variables. Variables like nationality, gender or place of birth, not only for ethical, but also practical reasons can never be controlled completely. Therefore, these variables can never be used even in experimental designs as strictly independent variables. The disadvantage mentioned for quasi-experimental research concerning the controllability of variables could also, for some variables, be valid for experimental research. Some variables, for practical and ethical reasons, cannot be fully controlled, and as such, cannot be used as independent variables in a strict way.

Nevertheless, experimental research also features some other differences when compared with quasi-experimental research:

- Adoption of at least one hypothesis for a causal relationship;
- Inclusion of a control group or baseline and at least one treatment group. The latter condition is needed in order to eliminate confounding variables that might spoil the experiment by preventing the drawing of any causal relationship conclusions;
- The presence of groups consisting of at least 20 persons (for statistical reasons) in each condition. Persons should be assigned to a condition at random so that differences among persons in the group can be considered as accidental.

These two types of research will be employed to investigate European identity, as set out in the main hypothesis: *Can we use a social-psychological model to explain and analyse the underlying mechanisms, variables, and components of the social psychological representation of European Identity in quasi-experiments and experiments?*

2.2 Overview of selected quasi-experimental research

In this section some quasi-experimental research concerning European identity is discussed. The discussion of this research leads to the formulation of hypotheses that will be tested in chapter 4. In section 2.2 the research is discussed which has a quasi-experimental design. In general, the latter design can be traced back to analyses of existing survey results in which nothing had been manipulated, but respondents were asked to respond to several questions. The Eurobarometer survey results have been used in most cases. In this section, quasi-experimental research will be mentioned concerning the following three subjects: attitudinal research, national and European identity, and other relevant research. The attitudinal research is reviewed in section 2.2.1 and it includes research by Mayhew (1980) and Hewstone (1986). Both researchers have used survey data in order to report their findings or to test their hypotheses concerning attitudes on Europe. Quasi-experimental research concerning national identity and/or European identity is done by Green (1999), Duchesne & Frognier (1995) and Huici et al. (1997). The latter research is reviewed in section 2.2.2. The other relevant research section, 2.2.3, refers to quasi-experimental research that could give some indication of which variables might relate to European identity even if no direct relation between the variables employed and European identity can be found. Research by Inglehart & Rabier (1980), Deflem & Pampel (1996), McCrone & Surridge (1997), and Eichenberg & Dalton (1993) is mentioned in this section. Once again, we discuss their results in the formulation of hypotheses to be tested later in this study. Eventually, in section 2.3 experimental research by Cinirella (1997, 1998) will be outlined in which some variables have been manipulated in order to influence European identity. Again, the hypotheses derived from these studies are outlined at the end of the relevant section.

2.2.1 Selected Attitudinal research

In this section most relevant research concerning attitudes toward European elements is reviewed. First, research performed by Mayhew (1980) is mentioned. Mayhew (1980) did research on European political culture, i.e.

Europeanism, with the Eurobarometer surveys. Then, research performed by Hewstone (1986) is discussed. He investigated attitudes concerning the European Community by means of self-developed questions.

Mayhew- Attitudes towards European political culture

Mayhew (1980) has done research on European political culture, i.e. Europeanism, with the Eurobarometer surveys. He wanted to investigate the attitudes and ideas of European people towards the European political culture. He distinguished the original member countries – France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg – from the (then) newcomers: Britain, Denmark and Ireland. Mayhew bases his discussion on a framework created by Lindberg (56), who categorises support in four dimensions. There are two levels of interaction: 1) identitive support (the horizontal interactions among European people – how the public feels toward each other) and 2) systemic support (the vertical links between the public and the community – the system) and two levels of responses: a) utilitarian (based on some perceived or relatively concrete interest) and b) affective support (indicating a diffuse and perhaps emotional response to some of the vague ideals embodied in the notion of European unity). These two levels of responses are two sources of support:

“The first is affect which is something related to loyalty or perhaps legitimacy and popularity, thus, referring to some more diffuse, non-rational, emotional sentiment. The second is utility which is cognitive in nature and based on an individual's perception of the benefits that result from successful performance.” (1980, p. 66)

Utilitarian support is measured with the following question:

Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership in the Common Market³ is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither a good nor bad thing?

³ The first full customs union was originally known as the European Economic Community (informally called the Common Market in the UK), established by the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and implemented on 1 January 1958. This later changed to the European Community which

Utilitarian support might emphasize individual self-interest and nationalistic feeling, as Mayhew finds a particularly high level of utilitarian support in the six founder states.

Mayhew finds that the support level is impressive, and relatively stable, particularly in the six founder states.

The affective support level is measured with the following question:

"Would you say that you are very favourable, rather favourable, indifferent, unfavourable, or very unfavourable to European unification"

According to Mayhew, people first develop utilitarian support, and later on perceive the benefits resulting from its successful performance, leading to the development of affective support: "The continuous satisfaction of utilitarian interests leads to the stimulation of affective links which become independent from the effects of daily performance" (Mayhew, 1980, p. 110)

Mayhew reports that in France, Germany and Italy affective support levels tend to be higher than utilitarian support levels, while the contrary is true in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. He also finds that the majority opinion in the six founder states, where utilitarian and affective support are relatively high, is that it is better to be inside than outside, and that without the Common Market things would be worse. He summarises the main findings as following (Mayhew, 1980, p. 130):

1. There were significant cross-national differences in support levels (utilitarian and affective) which may correspond to the length of their membership of the European Community;

is now the "first pillar" of the European Union.... The "European Community" is one of the three pillars of the European Union, being both the most important pillar and the only one to operate primarily through supranational institutions. The other two pillars – Common Foreign and Security Policy, and Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters – are looser intergovernmental groupings. Confusingly, these latter two concepts are increasingly administered by the Community (as they are built up from mere concepts to actual practice) (taken from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union)

2. Affective support for European Union and European institutions has become greater than utilitarian support for the Common Market although the distinction is not clear in the original six member states;
3. There was a trend toward upward convergence in affective support in each of the nine nations, whereas utilitarian support, which reached high levels in the six original countries and far lower levels in the three new countries, subsequently declined slightly or remained stable; and
4. Increased affective support for the European Community did not seem to have been adversely affected by the decline in utilitarian support.
5. The relationships between the support dimensions were related to the perception that the European Community seems to have had a positive economic effect on the individual nation-states.

In explaining support or opposition for European integration, Mayhew (1980, p. 145) considers three factors to be of major importance:

- An individual's psychological make-up
- His social position
- External influences from reference groups (political parties, foreign travel), and historical events

Concerning socialisation, Mayhew points out that there is an intergenerational gap between young and old people, whereby young people are more favourable towards European integration. This gap can be explained by three conditions of early socialisation among the age groups:

1. An absence of a major intra-European war from the younger individuals' experience;
2. A marked increase in intra-European transactions with a possible reduction in the psychological distances between the groups concerned; and
3. The development of European institutions, which perform important functions and are widely regarded as beneficial.

He constructs a European integration support index based on the following four questions:

1. *Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership in the Common Market is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither a good nor bad thing?*
2. *Are you for or against the election of a European parliament by a popular vote of all the citizens in the member states of the European Community?*
3. *Would you or would you not be willing to make some personal sacrifice, for example pay a little more taxes to help bring about the unification of Europe?*
4. *All things considered, are you in favour of the unification of Europe, against it, or are you indifferent?*

The cognitive mobilization indicator Mayhew constructs is composed of two questions:

1. *When you get together with your friends, would you say that you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?*
2. *When you yourself hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives, or fellow workers to share your views?*

He then used a country-by-country multiple regression analysis of support for European integration, and a multivariate technique to study the combined and separate effects on the European Integration support index of the five predictor variables (being a materialist/post-materialist, cognitive mobilisation, knowledge of EC membership, level of public information, and sense of geopolitical identity (173).

Earlier membership versus later membership is the strongest predictor of support or opposition toward European integration. He also found that there are more and more people in favour of replacing national symbols such as the currency, Olympic teams and the flag with European ones, especially in the original six founder states.

On the basis of the research done by Mayhew, a study on European identity could involve European Integration support variables. These variables would then be expected to indicate European identification: the more people support European integration, the more they express a European identity. In particular, one could look at the relationship between utilitarian support and affective support on the one hand, and the expression of European identity on the other hand. Furthermore, duration of EU membership can be taken into account when looking at the national levels of European identity expressions. One would expect that early membership could relate to a more profound expression of European identity, as opposed to later membership. However, this analysis should be made with the use of similar advanced statistical techniques as Mayhew has done, but should also be extended to other variables, and preferably, other techniques. One should also take the distribution of the data better into account than Mayhew has done. In his study he does not mention the way he has treated non-responses in the data set. Moreover, he does not explicitly mention any assumptions relating to statistical techniques, e.g. distribution of data over separate categories of other variables or distribution within the same variable. The latter aspects should not be neglected in assessing the significance of the results. Several non-responses, for example, on the questions that are included in the European integration support index could indicate an unfavourable attitude towards the European integration. Respondents might have chosen not to disclose their negative attitude towards European integration or to Europe in general by not responding to these questions. This might have been the case with respect to respondents who have extremely negative attitudes towards Europe. As a consequence, exclusion of non-responses could eventually lead to a distorted representation of results in which respondents who were in favour of European integration were over-represented compared to respondents who were not in favour of European integration. Similarly, conclusions drawn from such results cannot be considered as complete or valid.

The hypothesis that can be formed related to European identity on the basis of Mayhew's findings is the following:

Countries like France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg which were early members of the EU (European Union) are expected to have a higher expression of European identity compared to the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland, which became members of the EU at a later stage.

This research also shows how various factors, like support and membership might have an influencing effect on European identity. Therefore, this research shows how several political, attitudinal factors might influence European identity. Attitudes can be defined as the ways people perceive specific topics which can influence their behaviour. As one can state that attitudes are part of one's social psychological make-up, one could infer that social psychological factors might be of relevance for the study of European identity. Attitudinal research is an important and pivotal topic of research for social psychologists.

Hewstone-Attitudes towards the EU

Hewstone (1986) did comprehensive research regarding attitudes towards the European Community in four member states: West Germany, Italy, France and the United Kingdom. He used a questionnaire which he developed himself in order to study these attitudes, and he came up with a model to predict attitudes towards the European Community. He found that British respondents had the least positive attitudes towards the European Community compared to other European respondents. He marked the difference between British and Italian respondents in particular. However, of the groups studied, Italians were found to be the least knowledgeable about the European Community. He emphasises the relevance of social psychology for the study of European integration. The main variables of his model are liking, national image and contact (i.e. time spent in other countries).

As Hewstone (1986) points out, social psychology theories and views can shed more light on the underlying mechanisms behind attitudes towards the EU. Following his way of thinking, social psychology can also contribute to the

understanding of the underlying mechanisms of the construction of European identity.

The most important finding for European Identity is that Italians have a more positive attitude towards the EU compared to British citizens. On the basis of this finding one could formulate the following hypothesis:

Italians are expected to have a higher level of European identity compared to British citizens.

Thus, the research of Hewstone shows how some nationalities might influence their European identity based on the attitude they might have towards the European Union. Again, an indication of a factor influencing European identity has been identified. Nationality might be related more to culture than to psychology. However, cross-cultural psychology is a field where psychological links are made to specific cultures. A psychological effect found in one culture might not appear in another one (see also patterning effect, section 6.3.3). As culture could be related to the psychological make-up of a person's behaviour, emotions or way of thinking, this research finding shows some link through culture to social psychology.

2.2.2 Overview of selected National identity and European identity research

In this section the most relevant research concerning national identity and European identity is considered. First, research performed by Green (1999) by means of, amongst other sources, Eurobarometer, is reviewed. Green (1999) investigated European identity with several attitudinal, political cultural, and social psychological variables. Second, research by Duchesne & Frogner (1995) is mentioned: European identity research based on socio-demographic and political variables. Third, European identity research based on national identity performed by Huici et al. (1997) is reviewed.

Green- Variation in European identity based on attitudinal, social psychological and political-cultural variables

Green (1999) studied European identity using very different variables. He used, amongst other sources, Eurobarometer, in particular a selection of Eurobarometers from 1976 until 1992. The first variables he looked at are income, occupation, education, and class. Other variables are cosmopolitan characteristics, frequency of travel, number of languages spoken, interest in what happens in other countries, trust in other Europeans, exposure to other cultures and languages, age, generation, and gender. The variables mentioned are used for attributional hypotheses. With ordered probit analyses and multiple surveys he tested some other hypotheses that can be divided into the following categories: attitudinal, social psychological, and political-cultural.

Attitudinal hypotheses:

- *Post-materialists* are more likely to have a European identity than materialists.
- People with a *central ideology* are more likely to have a European identity than people who do not have a central ideology.
- People with more *non-traditional attitudes* are more likely to have a European identity than people with traditional attitudes.
- People who *believe in the unity of peoples* are more likely to have a European identity than people who do not believe in the unity of people.

Social- Psychological:

- People *high in political efficacy* are more likely to have a European identity than people low in political efficacy.

- People who think that *their country benefits* from membership of the EU are more likely to have a European identity than people who do not think that their country benefits from membership of the EU.
- People who think that the *EC is good for their country's economy* are more likely to have a European identity than people who think that it is not good for their country's economy.
- People from *minority cultures* are more likely to have a European identity than people who are not from minority cultures.
- People who *take part in a socialisation process* for feeling European are more likely to have a European identity than people who do not take part in this socialisation process.
- People who *admire leadership figures* are more likely to have a European identity than people who do not admire leadership figures.

Political cultural:

- *The longer one's country has been an EU member state*, the more likely people from this country will have a European identity.
- People from *small member states* are more likely to have a European identity than people from big member states.
- People who have *more societal wealth* are more likely to have a European identity than people who have less societal wealth.
- *Catholics* are more likely to have a European identity than non-Catholics.
- *The geographical disposition* of your own country might influence your having a European identity.

He concludes that (characteristics of) people with a European identity are the following: elites, cosmopolitans, men, post-materialists, leftists, those who perceive instrumental benefit, those who possess a normative belief in the idea of European integration, those from richer and from more southern

member countries. European identifiers with less significance are political efficacy, and membership of minority cultures. There were no correlations found between European identity and age, degree of non-traditionalist attitudes, size of country, socialisation process, and admiration for leaderships.

Thus, according to Green, various variables linked to specific fields (namely, the attitudinal field, the social-psychology field, and the political-cultural field) can influence the expression of European identity. Consequently, a study on European identity should include variables of social class, cosmopolitan features, sex, political ideology, perceived instrumental benefit, perception of European integration, societal wealth, and the geographical situation of the state. These variables are expected to cause variation in European identity expression.

Concerning these findings on European identity, the following hypotheses can be formulated:

Men are expected to have a higher level of European identity than women.

People who perceive benefit in membership of EU are more likely to express a higher level of European identity than people who do not perceive EU membership as beneficial.

People who come from richer countries are more likely to have a higher level of European Identity than people who come from poor countries.

Citizens of southern countries are more likely to have a higher level of European Identity than people from non-southern countries.

Thus, this research shows how attitudinal, social psychological and political cultural elements are able to influence European identity. Thus, this fits with the idea that social psychological factors might be of high relevance for the

study of European identity. He evidently shows and claims the influencing power of social psychological elements for European identity.

Duchesne & Frognier- Variation in European identity based on socio-demographic and political variables

Duchesne & Frognier (1995) used data from Eurobarometers to study European identity relating to pride, socio-demographic features, and political features. They state that there is no direct relationship between national pride and European identity. In addition, they find that identification with one's country, with Europe and with the world are compatible. Concerning socio-demographic variables, the following variables are correlated with an expression of European identity: a high level of education, a low income, male gender, and urban dwelling. Furthermore, cognitive mobilization seems to correlate with European identity, as well as post-materialism and party identification. Consequently, the same variables are important in a study involving European identity.

One could formulate the following, new hypotheses:

People with a higher level of cognitive mobilization are more likely to express a European identity than people with a lower level of cognitive mobilization.

Higher earners are expected to have a higher level of European identity expression than lower earners.

This research finding includes cognitive mobilization (e.g. the belief that one can persuade another person into his/her way of believing) as an indicator for a higher amount of European identity. Persuasion and beliefs are elements that are frequently mentioned within the paradigm of cognitive psychology. The way we can persuade one another, or even manipulate one another into believing something, requires a well-thought plan of how to change cognitions. One should also have some idea of what the cognitive scheme of other might be. Cognitive mobilization is related to the way people believe, think concerning their mobilization of political issues. Cognitive psychology is a field of psychology belonging closely to social psychology (or one could also mention cognitive social psychology). Therefore, a link can be made to social

psychological elements influencing European identity, in order to change cognitions present in people's minds.

Huici et al. – Variation in European identity based on national identity

Huici et al. (1997) used a questionnaire which they developed themselves to study identification with the region, the nation and Europe and perceptions of the European Community. They put the following questions, amongst others, to Andalucian and Scottish university students (Medicine, History, Geography, Business and Engineering):

- *To what extent do you think yourself as being... (e.g. Scottish/British/European) 1= 'not at all' and 7= 'very much'*
- *I tend to see myself as being...(national, never regional/ mostly national, sometimes regional/ national and regional/ mostly regional, sometimes national/ regional, never national)*

They found that European identification was significantly positively correlated with national identification in the case of the Andalucian students, but not for their Scottish counterparts. That said, Huici et al. did not find a negative correlation between European identification and national identification among Scottish respondents, as might have been expected on the basis of other researchers' findings (Hewstone, 1986; Cinnirella, 1997). Thus, these contrary findings might make the relationship between European identity and British identity, as representative of every other national identity, slightly ambiguous. This ambiguity could be resolved by studying the correlation of European identity and British national identity in more explicit terms with respect to other national identities and with the use of advanced statistical techniques. The advanced statistical analyses can show whether all national identities are positively correlated to European identity or whether this depends on the specific national identity. However, in light of these findings one could suspect that citizens from Southern countries (e.g. Spain) might have a higher level of European identity than people from non-Southern countries (e.g. UK). This research, furthermore, remains interesting because it shows that not

necessarily every national identity should be supposed to have a positive correlation with European identity per se. In fact, some national identities might correlate positively with European identity (for example, Spanish identity) while other national identities correlate negatively with European identity (for example, British identity). This might happen because citizens from some countries might be more likely to have a higher European identity compared to citizens from other countries.

Eventually, one could formulate the following hypothesis, as was already formulated on the basis of Green's findings, and at the same time resolve some of the ambiguity that was seen before:

Citizens from southern countries are more likely to have a higher level of European identity than people from non-southern countries.

Similar to the research finding of Hewstone, nationality or culture seems to influence European identity. People from Southern countries are likely to have a more similar culture than people from non-Southern countries. These cultures might not only be involved with sociology, but also to social psychology as culture relates to people's way of acting, thinking and feeling. Therefore, social psychological elements could influence in the same way as cultural aspects European identity.

2.2.3 Other relevant variables research

In this section other relevant research will be mentioned. This research is concerned with variables possibly related to European identity. First, research is reviewed concerning voter turnout and cognitive and political mobilization (Inglehart & Rabier, 1980). Then, research based on support for European unification performed by Deflem & Pampel (1996) is mentioned. Third, McCrone & Surridge's (1997) research is reviewed. The latter research is concerned with national identity and national pride. Lastly, European integration research by Eichenberg & Dalton (1993) is reviewed.

Inglehart & Rabier- Voter turnout, cognitive and political mobilization

Inglehart & Rabier (1980) studied the relationship between voter turnout and other variables using mainly a single Eurobarometer report (No. 11 – 1979). They made a distinction between cognitive and political mobilization. Cognitive mobilization refers to “one’s inner predisposition to attend to politics” (Inglehart & Rabier, 1980, p. 31), i.e. “the possession of cognitive skills that facilitate processing information about remote political objects”. Political mobilization, on the other hand, refers to “external factors, such as political parties or electoral campaigns that can inform and motivate the individual to act politically, regardless of his educational level or skills”.

To measure cognitive mobilization, they use the following questions (taken from Eurobarometer 11):

- *When you are together with your friends, would you say that you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?*
- *When you, yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives, or fellow workers to share your views? (if yes): Does this happen often, from time to time or rarely?*

According to them, people with high levels of cognitive and political mobilization are more apt to express a high level of European identity, especially compared to their national or regional identity. They find in their study that people who show a higher level of cognitive mobilization are more willing to perceive the Common Market as having a positive effect on their lives.

There is no direct reference to a measurement of political mobilization, but they examine political mobilization in reference to the following questions:

- *Which of the following attitudes would you expect a member of the European Parliament from (your country) would have?*

1. *He should support things that are good for the European Community as a whole, even if they are not always good for (my country) at the time.*
2. *He should support the interests of (my country) all the time whether or not they are good for the European Community as a whole.*
 - *Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's membership) of the Common Market is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither a good or bad thing?*
 - *On June 7th the citizens of countries belonging to the European Community, including (your nationality) will be asked to vote to elect members of the European Parliament. Everybody will be entitled to vote. How likely is it that you will go and vote? Certainly, probably, probably not, or certainly not?*
 - *Have you recently seen or heard in the papers or on the radio or TV, anything about the European Parliament?" Those who responded yes, were asked: Can you remember what it was you heard then?*
 - *Over the last few months have you noticed a publicity campaign about the European elections?*

They emphasised that there are four relationships concerned with voter turnout that seem to be of particular significance:

1. *Individual-level awareness of elections:* those high on cognitive mobilization were most likely to vote;
2. *National-level awareness of the elections:* turnout was highest in countries where a relatively strong information campaign was carried out;
3. *Individual-level evaluation of European Community:* relatively pro-European respondents were most apt to vote; and
4. *National-level evaluation of the European Community:* the public of the original six member nations were most favourably oriented toward the European institutions and hence most likely to vote.

The individual versus the national level can be related to the macro versus micro levels of social identity in my model. The awareness and evaluation

features can also be related to two of the five main dimensions of social representations (see section 1.2.1), namely *awareness and understanding*.

In the perspective of my research, the relationship between, on the one hand, cognitive mobilization, political mobilization, awareness of elections (both on national and individual level), and evaluation of the European Community (both on national and individual level), and, on the other hand, national identity, and European identity will be examined. These factors might not only correlate with these identities, but might also form a part of them. However, on the basis of these findings the following hypothesis can be formulated:

People with a higher level of cognitive and/ or political mobilization (in addition to hypothesis VII) are expected to show a higher level of European identity than people who show a lower level of cognitive and/ or political mobilization.

Again a reference is made to cognitive mobilization as an influencing factor of European identity. In a similar vein as before, one could stress the link between cognitions and social psychology, whereby this research study could also relate to the idea that social psychological elements could be included as influential factors for European identity.

Deflem & Pampel- Support for European unification

Deflem and Pampel (1996) studied support for European unification within member states of the European Community in 1982, 1986, 1989, and 1992 with data from Eurobarometers (No.s 18, 25, 31a, and 37).

They tested the following hypotheses:

- *Persistent national differences*: substantial differences in the amount of support each country gives to European unification;
- *Individual-level determinants*: socio-demographic factors of occupation and income as well as sex, age and education; and
- *Ideological differences*: political orientation and value priorities.

Each of these hypotheses is applied in a separate model, and a regression analysis is performed. They find that country differences in popular support for

European unification are more important than the socio-demographic and ideological features. Therefore, they state that the differences found in support for European unification are caused by the nations themselves.

The following hypothesis, as already formed, can be re-affirmed with Deflem and Pampel's findings based on their socio-demographic factor included in the research:

Persons from early cohorts (i.e. younger people) are more likely to have a higher European identity expression compared to people from late cohorts (i.e. older people).

This research finding shows that national differences, socio-demographic and ideological differences might influence European identity. Specifically, the socio-demographic factors seem to be of importance. Socio-demographic factors like age, occupation and education can be linked to social psychological elements. During the development of a person, one's socio-demographic elements might change like age. A person goes through various social developmental stages from childhood, through adolescence and adulthood. Throughout these stages, one's social psychological elements change with them. A person should have a stronger belief of moral standards, while norms and values should be more defined in a person's mindset. A person should have more knowledge of him/herself whereby one is more self-efficacious and apt to make decisions in a more decisive manner. Thus, these actions, and cognitions are influenced by the sociological make-up of a person. In this respect, a link can be made to the social psychological elements, evidently related to actions and cognitions, whereby European identity can be influenced.

McCrone & Surridge – National identity and national pride

McCrone & Surridge (1997) used the *International Social Survey Programme* (ISSP) to examine national identity and national pride in the four countries of the U.K., Western Germany, Sweden and Spain. To identify national identity they used a range of factors and asked respondents how important or unimportant these were for being truly British/German/Swedish/Spanish:

How important do you think each of the following is (1=Very important, 2= Fairly important, 3= Not very important, and 4= Not important at all):

Birth in country, Citizenship, Residence, Ability to speak the language, Religion, Respect of political institutions and laws, and Feeling British/German/Swedish/Spanish.

It seemed that the most important factors for being a national citizen were birth, citizenship, residence, institutional respect, language and a 'feeling' of national identity. Religion did not seem to be of great importance for being British/ German/ Swedish/ Spanish.

Furthermore, they found that national pride is related to attachment to one's country. Thus, these variables (especially, nationality, national pride and a 'feeling' of national identity) could be included in a study concerning national identity, as these seem to be linked with national citizenship. Consequently, the hypotheses are re-affirmed:

Countries like France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, which were the founding members of the EC are expected to have a higher expression of European identity than the UK, Denmark, Ireland, which joined the EC at a later stage.

Italians are expected to have a higher level of European identity than British citizens.

And the following hypothesis can be added:

People with a higher level of national pride are more likely to show a higher level of European identity than people with a lower level of national pride.

In this research again nationality is mentioned as an influencing factor. However, also the factor of pride is mentioned as being influential on European identity. Pride is a strong social psychological element. Pride has to do with the positive feeling that people have concerning a specific element that they possess in a material or less material manner. Proud people may also be found arrogant when pride starts to dominate one's character. On the other hand, a lack of pride can make a person feel inferior and could eventually lead to a low level of satisfaction with life or other life-related issues. Pride has to do with emotions and cognitions, and can be expressed in behaviour. When one has the idea that one is proud of something, and feels this pride as an important element of oneself, this could be expressed as an excessive display of the specific element. A child who is very proud of the new computer game he just received as a gift, wants to show it to everybody and is eager to express the possession of it. Therefore, pride can clearly be considered as a social psychological element, and a link of this research finding can be made with social psychological factors influencing European identity.

Eichenberg & Dalton- European integration related to political and economical factors

Eichenberg & Dalton (1993) used Eurobarometer data (from the period 1973-89) to analyse the relationship between European integration on the one hand, and national economic factors, international economic factors, political factors, and national tradition, on the other. They looked at cross-national differences and set up a statistical model with an ordinary least-squares estimation of the variables concerned as predictors.

Their main findings were that there are dramatic differences between five of the original member states of the EC (i.e. Belgium, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Federal Republic of Germany) and the three newer member states (i.e. Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom) concerning average

net support for European integration. The first group has a much higher average support than the second group. Furthermore, they find that there is considerable variance concerning attitudes about Europe over time. During the mid-1970s these attitudes remained reasonably stable, while there was some decline in positive attitudes during the late 1980s. However, in the late 1980s a peak is reported. Concerning the predictors, they find that the effects of GDP and unemployment (two of the national economic factors) are in the predicted direction, but they are weaker in statistical significance than the inflation rate (one national economic factor). Moreover, the inflation rate and export variables (international economic factors) are the most significant economic factors in their model. They find that net return from the EC budget (international economic factor) has almost no influence on support for European Integration. Thus, the most important factors in predicting support for European integration are those concerning political economy and international relations.

The factors of political economy and international relations could also be useful in an analysis of European identity expression. In specific terms, the previously mentioned hypotheses concerning European Identity can be re-affirmed:

Countries like France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands who are early members of the EU are expected to have a higher expression of European identity compared to Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland, who later members of the EU.

People who come from richer countries are more likely to have a higher level of European identity than people who come from poor countries.

Again nationality/culture is mentioned as a influencing factor for European identity, which has already been discussed before. Also, economic factors are mentioned as having an influential effect on European identity. Concerning economics, one could mention the influence of social capital (Putnam) on the social psychological make-up of a persons. When people are

conversing less with each other, having less physical contact and sharing less of their information with each other, social capital is increasingly diminishing. This diminishment of social capital could lead to a society where people have less social abilities and less social ways of behaving. People might face more miscommunication problems, and people are not able to find an appropriate spouse anymore. This would lead to strong social psychological background elements, whereby people are not able to properly function anymore in terms of healthy social human beings. Having said this, one could understand the link of economic factors to social psychological factors that can be influenced, for example through the decrease of social capital. In a similar vein, European identity could be made stronger when people are more able to convince each other that it is truly an identity worthwhile adopting. However, when people lack the opportunities to come together or lack the skills to convince others, many difficulties are faced to achieve a stronger European identity.

2.3 Experimental research

Thus far, a review of some quasi-experimental research concerning European identity or European identity indicators has been given. At the end of the review of each study, hypotheses have been formulated that will be tested at a later stage of this study. In the following section, the most relevant experimental research will be dealt with. As mentioned in the introduction (section 2.1) the principal focus of experimental research is proving at least one hypothesis with a causal relationship while controlling at least one variable by means of manipulation. Furthermore, experimental research is different from quasi-experimental research in controllability of variables, type of conclusions and results. In this section, we will examine a type of experimental research where hypotheses have been made, and data was gathered by the researcher himself while controlling a variable. It should be noted that the first study that will be mentioned is not a clear-cut experimental study, but is mentioned in this section for the sake of completeness. The first two studies mentioned in this section are performed by Cinnirella (1997, 1998), who investigated British and Italian identity in relation to European identity. Research by Castano (2004) is also reviewed. The latter research is concerned with European identity and the concept of entativity.

Cinnirella- National identity (British versus Italian) and European identity

Cinnirella (1997, 1998b) has analysed social identities, in particular national identity and European identity. This first study cannot strictly be considered an experimental study as none of the variables were controlled or defined as independent variables. It was done by means of questionnaires. In this study Cinnirella (1997) looked at interactions between national identity and European identity, as manifested among university students in Britain and Italy. He expected to find the following:

1. British respondents manifest a relatively weak European identity, which might conflict with national identity;
2. Italian respondents manifest a relatively strong sense of European identity, which should be compatible with national identity; and

3. Italian respondents manifest a significantly stronger level of European identity than the British respondents.

His findings confirmed these hypotheses. His main findings were, namely, that British national identity was much stronger than the European identity, and these social identities are negatively correlated. For Italian students, on the other hand, European identity and national identity showed a significant positive correlation, and British European identity is much lower than Italian European identity.

In a different study, Cinnirella (1998b) varied stereotype-rating conditions, in which participants had to rate stereotypes of British, Italians or both, and he measured attitudes towards European integration, British national identity, and European identity, among other things. The three stereotype conditions can be classified as follows:

1. Rate British only;
2. Rate Italians only; and
3. Rate both British and Italians.

Here, British university undergraduates from various colleges at the University of London were asked to rate the various traits of people depending on which condition they were assigned. His main findings were the following:

- For British identity, the expression of national identity is higher in the 'rate British only' condition than the other two conditions.
- The expression of European identity is highest in the condition where respondents were asked only to rate Italians, whilst European identity is lowest in the condition where they were asked to rate both British and Italians.
- The attitude towards European integration was significantly most positive in the 'rate Italians only' condition than in the 'rate both Italians and British' condition.

Thus, these findings indicate that manipulating the context can influence European identity and that European identity is more likely to be influenced than national identity. Moreover, these findings might be useful for promoting European identity: it might be better to avoid activating national images in

order to promote European identity. These issues therefore carry some weight in a study of national identity in relation to European identity.

A formerly mentioned hypothesis can also be re-affirmed by these findings, namely:

Italians are expected to have a stronger level of European identity compared to British citizens.

A shortcoming of the last mentioned study is that it has only been performed with British respondents, which makes it difficult to generalise to other European countries. In particular, the fact that for British respondents no compatibility between European identity and national identity could be found might indicate that the finding in the 1998 (Cinnirella) study might not be valid for Italian respondents, who are able to combine expressing national identity and European identity. Thus, the study could be improved by using participants with more diverse national identities than British participants alone, who are likely to produce different findings.

In this research finding again the notion of nationality/culture is made as influencing European identity. As was previously discussed culture has a link to social psychology based on the fact that the way people behave, think and feel can be largely based on the culture where they come from.

Castano- European identity and entativity

Castano (2004) refers in his writing to the term "entativity" which was coined by Donald Campbell (1958). Entativity can be defined by the extent to which a group is perceived to have real existence. Social identification is enhanced by perceiving the entativity of the relevant social group. Four main elements lead to entativity, namely a common fate, similarity, proximity and boundedness. In other words, when people in the relevant common group feel to a greater extent that they share a common fate, that they are similar, that they are closer, and that they are more bounded as a group, they will increasingly perceive the group as having a real existence. According to Castano (2004) a

degree of homogeneity is not the only characteristic needed to create the feeling of belonging to a political community, like a European Union community. He argues that people will identify more with a social identity when the psychological existence of this particular identity increases in one's mind. Castano (2004) performed an experimental study in order to find that entativity increases one's social identity.

Castano, Yzerbyt & Bourguignon (1998) hypothesised that when there is a higher level of entativity of the European Union, European citizens will increasingly identify with the European Union. Experimentally, this hypothesis would only be valid for European citizens with moderate views towards the European Union. The results of their studies confirmed this hypothesis (including the latter statement).

Thus, on the basis of this experimental research one could formulate a hypothesis relating to entativity. The boundedness factor for entativity seems closely related to the distinctiveness principle (see section 1.2.2), as it considers the relevant social group as a distinct and bounded group. In their study concerning the boundedness factor, Castano, Yzerbyt & Bourguignon manipulated the boundedness of the European Union by either presenting it as having clear borders or unclear borders. In the case of the EU having clear borders, a high level of distinctiveness could be created, because the EU could be clearly considered as a distinct institution. They found that for people with moderate views towards the EU, group boundedness increased EU identification. Thus, with the confirmation of the hypothesis of Castano, Yzerbyt & Bourguignon (1998) we can formulate a hypothesis closely related to the distinctiveness principle of the social identity theory discussed in chapter 1, section 1.2.2:

A higher degree of distinctiveness would make the level of European identity stronger

This hypothesis will be incorporated in the main hypothesis, to be mentioned in chapter 3, section 3.1. Therefore the hypothesis will not be mentioned in the conclusions sections of this chapter to avoid confusion and over-inclusion of hypotheses. However, this study is also an example of an experimental study concerning European identity.

This research findings mentions entativity linked to the distinctiveness concept. Distinctiveness has already been discussed in the Social Identity model as a psychological phenomenon. People consider things to be different from each other so that they can make order in the world. Entativity could be based on the same idea. When people consider the other to be distinct from oneself, and the difference is salient and matters, this would increase one's particular identity. The ingroup- outgroup feeling has to be reached in order to increase one's identity. Feeling distinct cannot be a neglected element in any identity.

2.4 Conclusions

Having discussed research concerning the relevant social identities and related elements, it should be noted there have been some references to social psychology as a paradigm. Hypotheses have been set up, but only in the study by Hewstone (1986) are models mentioned. Moreover, these models were not used as a starting point for the research, but statistically resulted from the research done. Statistical tests were used without mentioning how these had dealt with missing values or the level of scale for the data. Furthermore, except for Cinnirella's work (1998b), no manipulation and controlling of other variables have been used to do research on variables influencing social identities. The manipulations and controlling of variables is of major importance in doing causal research, as it is essential to ensure that the causal relationship is real and not influenced by other uncontrolled variables.

Furthermore, it is of importance that all research findings can be shown as an integrated idea that social psychological elements play a role in the effect on European identity. Factors like nationality, cognitive mobilization, pride, attitudes, and distinctiveness have been discussed and linked to social psychology. Many variables in the studies discussed were found to be influencing European identity to some extent. Separate hypotheses have been based on them, but also it is aimed to show an integrated view of studies where they are shown to have some link, some to a lesser degree than others, to the paradigm of social psychology.

I propose using social psychological models as a starting point of research, with improved and advanced statistical data testing of existent data with quasi-experimental research, and finally empirical experiments are proposed to be the major components of research into European identity as a social identity in order to find out what are the underlying mechanisms and influencing variables. The research can be divided into quasi-experimental research and experimental research, similar to the overview already given concerning European identity. The combination of these two types of

research (i.e. quasi-experimental and experimental research) is an excellent tool for investigating European identity from a social psychological perspective, as these types of research can complement each other concerning methods and type of results. Furthermore, the social psychological perspective is most appropriate as it concerns a social identity, i.e. European identity.

In this chapter some research results in the form of hypotheses have already been mentioned concerning sociological and social psychological variables. These hypotheses will be discussed in greater detail either in section 4.3 about the social psychological model of European identity concerning the hypotheses with social psychological variables, or in section 4.5 about the results of sociological variables concerning the hypotheses with sociological variables. The hypotheses in this section are based on the reviews of the studies mentioned, but not on the methodological ways of analysing the relevant variables. The hypotheses to be formulated concerning social psychological variables based on the review of the several studies in sections 2.2 and 2.3, and that will be tested, are the following:

- I. People, who perceive benefit in membership of EU are more likely to express a higher level of European identity compared to people who do not perceive membership as beneficial.
- II. People with a higher level of cognitive and/or political mobilisation (in addition to hypothesis VII) are expected to have a higher level of European identity compared to people with a lower level of cognitive and/or political mobilisation.
- III. People with a higher level of national pride are more likely to show a higher level of European identity compared to people with a lower level of national pride.

An overview of the research results that could be tested in the form of hypotheses, including sociological variables and European identity, will be

given here. These hypotheses will be included in the discussion of quasi-experimental research results in section 4.5:

Concerning countries:

I Countries like France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, the early members of the EU, are expected to have a higher expression of European identity compared to the UK, Denmark and Ireland, which became members at a later stage.

II Citizens of southern countries are more likely to have a higher level of European identity than people from non-southern countries.

III Italians are expected to have a higher level of European identity than British citizens.

IV People who come from richer countries (i.e. with a higher GDP) are more likely to have a higher level of European Identity than people who come from poor countries (i.e. with a lower GDP).

Concerning gender:

V Men are expected to have a higher level of European identity than women.

Concerning age:

VI Persons from early cohorts (i.e. younger people) are more likely to have a higher European identity expression than people from late cohorts (i.e. older people).

Concerning occupation:

VII Higher earners are expected to have a higher level of European identification than lower earners.

These hypotheses will be tested in sections 4.3 & 4.5, where proof for either validation or falsification will be provided. This is to be done by means of t-tests with data concerning European identity and pertaining to social psychological or sociological data.

In the next chapter, social identities are discussed in detail, the main research question is dealt with and related hypotheses are set out in more detail.

CHAPTER 3

European Identity Model and Hypotheses

In this chapter I take the social identity model of Breakwell (1986, 1992, and 1993) as a reference point for explaining the relationship between European identity and the four principles which I have identified as relating to European identity, namely distinctiveness, self-esteem, continuity and self-efficacy. I will explain the concepts of social identity and the related social identity model on the basis of Breakwell's identity process model. Then I will discuss research relating to the four principles. This research supports the positive relationship between the four principles and the strength of a social identity, i.e. European identity. An outline of established research relating to distinctiveness and social identity is given. Research on self-efficacy and continuity in social identity is then more briefly mentioned, as these principles have either already been mentioned in former studies or are used to a much lesser extent in research concerning social identity. Finally, I draw some main conclusions.

3.1 Social identity and the social identity model

In this section I briefly mention again the social identity model already discussed in chapter 1. This section is merely intended to be an introduction to the four principles of the social identity model and to pose the main hypothesis as an answer to the main question of chapter 1, section 1.2.4.

Tajfel (1982) was one of the first psychologists to investigate social identity. He defined social identity as 'the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups, together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership' (Tajfel, 1982). More about Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (SIT) was discussed in section 1.2.1.

Social identity can be better understood through Breakwell's identity process model (1986, 1992, and 1993), also mentioned in section 1.2.2 (see model B and pertaining explanation).

In chapter 1, section 1.2.4 the following main question was posed as the pivotal topic of this study:

What are the underlying social psychological mechanisms that drive European identity and which variables can influence the level of European identification?

These underlying social psychological mechanisms could be elements that are part of a social identity. At the same time, these social psychological mechanisms could influence the relevant social identity. A social identity, like European identity, could be guided by four principles from the social identity model. If one takes the social identity model together with the main question and considers European identity to be a social identity, one could argue that European identity is being guided by the four principles of continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy and self-esteem.

On the basis of model B one could formulate the following main hypothesis, taking European identity as a social identity:

Increasing the relevant strength of any separate principle (i.e. distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem or self-efficacy) will cause a stronger European identity.

This main hypothesis will be adapted to both types of research (i.e. experimental research and quasi-experimental research) in which the principles of distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem and self-efficacy are used as independent variables, and European identity as the main dependent variable. This main hypothesis offers an answer to the main question mentioned in chapter 1 (section 1.2.4).

These four principles are perceived as the antecedents of social identity, including European identity. Research that considers these principles in more detail will now be discussed. This research has aimed to show how these

four principles can be related to European identity. As the main hypothesis is that the four principles can be used as independent variables to increase European identity as the dependent variable, it is important to give some theoretical background as to how these four independent variables might be related to the dependent variable, i.e. European identity as a social identity. Thus, the aim of the research that will be discussed in the following sections is to show the relation between the four principles and European identity as a social identity. Consequently, the discussion of these studies can also be used as the theoretical basis for the main hypothesis relating to the question posed in chapter 1. In the first place, the theory of Breakwell is applied to European identity in order to answer the main question. Secondly, the discussion of studies in the following section aims to perceive European identity as a social identity and to demonstrate the various principles drawn from the social identity theory.

3.1.1 Distinctiveness

Brewer (1991) explains in her model of optimal distinctiveness that social identity can be considered as a balance between two different needs, namely, the need for assimilation with in-groups and the need for differentiation from others. Social identity should therefore be stronger for people with a more or less equal amount of assimilation and of distinctiveness than it is for people who do not have this balance. This balance is needed because people do not feel comfortable in situations where there is a high perception of distinctiveness (Frable, Blackstone & Scherbaum, 1990; Lord & Seanz, 1985) or where there is a high perception of indistinctiveness/assimilation (Fromkin, 1970, 1972). However, these two different needs are satisfied by various comparisons. The need for assimilation is satisfied by comparing oneself with in-groups, i.e. people from the same relevant social group, while the need for distinctiveness is satisfied by inter-group comparisons, i.e. with people from different relevant social groups. Considering European Identity as a social identity, one could compare oneself with other European citizens to fulfil the need for assimilation, while comparing oneself with Americans to fulfil the need for distinctiveness. Thus, in this respect, the principle of distinctiveness is also closely related to assimilation, as a social identity that is increased by the need for distinctiveness inherently implies some need for assimilation. In order that people in a particular social group should feel themselves to be similar to other group members, they must perceive themselves to be distinct from those outside the group. To summarize, the need for distinctiveness increases the level of social identity. However, this is only the case to the extent that distinctiveness is still optimal, i.e. moderate in relation to the need for assimilation, and does not imply any assimilation with people from the relevant social group. This idea of assimilation can be related to a study by Castano, Yzerbyt and Bourguignon (2003) in which the factor of similarity increased the level of identification with the group. Similarity is one of the factors of entativity, which is defined by Campbell (1985) as 'the degree of having the nature of an entity, of having real existence' (p.17).

In addition, the results from Brewer's (1991) experiment support the hypothesis that depersonalization and group size determine the strength of a relevant social identity. Depersonalization, in this context, means the inclusiveness of the self into a social identity, i.e. the "I" becomes part of the "We". Indeed social identity is very closely related to depersonalization because perceiving oneself in terms of a particular social identity is a process of depersonalization.

The results of Brewer's experiment showed that depersonalization interacts with group size concerning the strength of a social identity. In majority groups, a lower level of social identity is found than in minority groups, where depersonalization was heightened. In situations where depersonalization is not heightened at all, the contrary pattern is found: social identity is stronger in situations when participants form part of a majority group than when they form part of a minority group. Thus, when distinctiveness is related to depersonalization – as one might expect – different results might be found in situations applying to either majority or minority groups.

The assumptions Brewer (1991) holds on the basis of the optimal distinctiveness model are as follows:

1. Social identity will be strongest for social groups or categories at that level of inclusiveness, which resolves conflict between needs for differentiation of the self and assimilation with others.
2. Optimal distinctiveness is independent of the evaluative implications of group membership, although, other things being equal, individuals will prefer positive group identities to negative identities.
3. Distinctiveness of a given social identity is context-specific. It depends on the frame of reference within which possible social identities are defined at a particular time, which can range from participants in a specific social gathering to the entire human race.
4. The optimal level of category distinctiveness or inclusiveness is a function of the relative strength (steepness) of the opposing drives for assimilation and differentiation. For any individual, the relative strength of the two

needs is determined by cultural norms, individual socialization, and recent experience.

The graph "Optimal Distinctiveness" visually explains how these concepts of assimilation and differentiation relate to each other.

Insert graph Optimal distinctiveness

The first assumption can be easily accepted on the basis of what has been mentioned thus far. Concerning the second assumption, one could understand that the optimal distinctiveness model is valid for both positive and negative social identities, but that people in general prefer to be part of a social group that has positive connotations rather than negative connotations. The third assumption shows us that the relevant social identity is not similar to any other social identity, because group size, as has been mentioned, seems to have an effect on the strength of social identity. In general, one assumes that an identity that can be shared with many people is stronger than an identity that is shared with only a few people. An identity that can be shared with many people is more salient, as there is a higher probability that one is in contact with one of those people. This last assumption makes us aware that some cultural differences might exist in the strength of the two needs.

To summarize, Brewer's model on optimal distinctiveness shows that a higher level of distinctiveness increases the strength of the relevant social identity, as long as the need for assimilation also exists to some degree. In a similar vein, one could therefore state that distinctiveness will increase the perception of a social identity like European identity, and this might be especially true in cases where distinctiveness is moderate, rather than in extreme situations of distinctiveness.

In section 2.3, some research was mentioned concerning entativity, the boundness factor and European identity (Castano, Yzerbyt & Bourguignon (1998); Castano (2004)). The boundedness factor for entativity seems to be

closely related to the distinctiveness principle, in that it considers the relevant social group as a distinct and bounded group. In their study concerning the boundedness factor, they manipulated the boundedness of the European Union by either presenting it as having clear borders or unclear borders. In the case of the EU having clear borders, a high level of distinctiveness could be created, because the EU could be considered as a strongly distinct institution. They found that for people with moderate views towards the EU, group boundedness increased EU identification. Thus, with the confirmation of the hypothesis of Castano, Yzerbyt & Bourguignon (1998) some indication is given for the distinctiveness principle as a principle that increases a social identity like European identity. If the boundedness factor can be considered as an indicator for the distinctiveness principle in the social identity theory, one could then claim that a stronger distinctiveness would make the European identity stronger. Consequently, one could have more reason to believe that the distinctiveness principle has a strong positive relation to European identity.

3.1.2 Self-esteem

A need for higher self-esteem can prompt a person to accept a new social identity that heightens his or her self-esteem. Self-esteem might refer to a feeling of pride that a person has when adopting a particular social identity; in other words, a social identity that bestows a person with pride could strengthen that social identity.

Self-esteem was mentioned as one of the principles that guides social identity. In this section, the relationship between self-esteem and social identity will be set out. In more detail, it will be shown how self-esteem can bring about a stronger social identity.

Aberson, Healy & Romero (2000) employed a meta-analysis to examine the relationship between self-esteem and in-group bias. In-group bias will, in most cases, be related to a stronger social identity. They found that high self-esteem increased the level of in-group bias versus low self-esteem. This

indicates that more self-esteem increases the in-group bias. In order to make a connection to European identity, in-group bias should be positively correlated to the strength of social identity. Consequently, this study could indicate that self-esteem boosts in-group bias via one's social identity. Moreover, Hogg & Abrams (1988) mention a similar link between self-esteem, inter-group discrimination and social identity. They claim that inter-group discrimination is motivated by an individual's desire to achieve and maintain positive self-esteem. Furthermore, they argue that distinctiveness might lead to an increase in self-esteem. In conclusion, one might argue that this research indicates the positive relationship between self-esteem and a stronger social identity.

A study by Hunter et al. (2000) showed that there is a clear relationship between group attributional biases (i.e. attributions made by members of a particular social identity whereby they show a preference for in-groups as opposed to out-groups, and thus feel strongly connected to this social identity) and collective social identity self-esteem. They found that participants who displayed group-serving attributional biases experienced enhanced levels of social identity-based self-esteem. However, personal self-esteem was not affected in any of the experiments. To summarize, their results indicate that when category members display group serving attributional biases this is social identity-based, and it is not personal self-esteem that is likely to be affected. This study again verifies, to some extent, the hypothesis that self-esteem has some association with social identity. The difference between collective self-esteem and personal self-esteem in reference to social identity has also been mentioned by Luhtanen & Crocker (1992). They constructed a scale in order to evaluate individual differences in collective self-esteem rather than personal self-esteem. Thus, these findings make us aware that we should not confuse self-esteem in general, i.e. in the personal realm, with a specific social identity's self-esteem.

3.1.3 Continuity

Continuity of a social identity is where a social identity endures and is long-lasting. It will not be easily lost, and should be considered as reasonably stable and permanent. According to the social identity theory, continuity guides social identity. Furthermore, the main hypotheses include continuity as a principle that could cause stronger social identity.

Other, less published, research can be found concerning continuity. Twigger-Ross and Uzzel (1996) refer to continuity, observing the role of place and identity processes using Breakwell's model (including not only continuity, but also distinctiveness, self-esteem and self-efficacy) as a framework. These principles were examined in relation to attachment to a residential environment. The study focused on residents living in an area of the London Docklands, chosen because of the recent social, environmental and economic change in that area. It was hypothesised and validated that attached respondents would discuss their relationship with the local environment in ways which supported or developed the identity principles, whereas non-attached residents would not consider the local environment in this way. Thus, in this research, attachment to a residential environment is associated with the principles of the social identity model. Even though attachment is not the same as the expression of a social identity, it may very well be related to it: the more people express a social identity, the more they might be attached to it. One could, for example, consider that if a person is very attached to Europe, they might also express a strong social identification with the EU. In particular, Europe can be considered as the best physical representation of the main element that relates to European identity. Consequently, we could argue that continuity and the other principles might be positively related to social identity if attachment to one's environment can be a good indicator of someone's social identity. We must state that the link cannot be made very clear-cut between attachment to one's environment and social identity. Nevertheless, for the sake of completeness, this study is mentioned as it also has studied the relevance of the principles of the social identity theory regarding a variable that might be connected to social identity. It might be possible to state that attachment to an environment can be linked via social

identity to European identity. Being attached to an environment might make a person more likely to express his or her identity concerning this environment. Consequently, a stronger social identity will be expressed, and this rule might be applied to Europe, in the case of a European identity. For example, if a person is very much attached to Europe, he or she might be more likely to have a stronger European identity than others. In sum, even if this research does not transparently show a link between European identity and the four principles from the social identity theory, a link could be made according to logical reasoning.

This article also refers to Czikszenmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton (1981), Graumann (1983), Korpela (1989), Giuliani (1991), and Lalli (1992). Twigger-Ross and Uzzel discuss in their writings how people can use places as reference points concerning past identities and behavioural acts. For example, one could have a place as a reference point. This place might provide a feeling of continuity concerning someone's identity. A person might continually return to a place because it provides some idea of stability. This can be the case with one's place of birth or a place where one's parents live. Thus, places can be very important for the continuity of a person's social identity. These authors typically stress the importance of continuity for social identity.

Continuity can be applied to the social identity of European identity. In this case, European identity can have a reference of Europe (as a geographical reference point). One could state that a higher level of continuity could lead to a stronger social identity. In the studies mentioned in this section, this was not explicitly found. However, a link between the two types of continuity and social identity can be made, because they do stress the importance of continuity for a person's social identity. In study of Twigger-Ross and Uzzel (1996), they use geographical places for linking the concept of continuity to someone's social identity. However, a link can also be made without the use of geographical places. Not only can a place be considered as an example of continuity, i.e. a place that continues to exist, but also the history of an institution, like the European Union, could provide a person with an idea of stability concerning the social identity that is related to it. In this way,

European identity is shown to have a link with continuity, even though the direction, on the basis of this research, is not very transparent.

3.1.4 Self-efficacy

Self-efficacy is defined as a person's capacity to cope with situations concerning the relevant social identity. Thus, it is used as a way of seeing to what extent a person is actively participating in the relevant social identity. Bandura (1977a) originally developed a framework called the Social Learning Theory in which he defined self-efficacy as the individual belief that one can perform a task/act. Bandura (1977b) claims that self-efficacy was an important concept for the determination of behaviour. Bandura (1997) defines perceived self-efficacy as "beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments". In reference to social identity one could state that European self-efficacy would mean the belief that one's European identity will allow an EU citizen to take some actions, i.e. like moving from one European country to another. In short, the individual considers himself as a person who can take action.

The following two studies show how self-efficacy is related to behaviour or action. Self-efficacy seems, for example, to be related to educational achievement. A study by Bandura et al. (1996) implies that self-efficacy beliefs have a strong effect on academic achievement. Also, Grabowski, Call & Mortimer (2001) found that both social background and personal achievement influenced self-efficacy, which in its turn influenced educational attainment. On the basis of a study done Perry, Perry & Rasmussen (1986) it was implied that self-efficacy also influenced the aggression expressed by children.

The latter two studies do not address direct links that might exist between self-efficacy and social identity. However in the following mentioned study this link will be given some attention. Gecas & Schwalbe (1983) showed that there is a strong linkage between self-efficacy and the social structure. They examined some elements of social structure that were supposed to influence self-efficacy as the basis of self-esteem. Thus, self-efficacy should be considered to depend on these elements. These elements are the following:

1) the environment in which the action takes place, 2) the meaning that is given to the action, 3) the action's consequences that were unintended. They refer to self-efficacy as "the idea of self-evaluation based on self-efficacious action". The basis of self-efficacy is the following: "We come to know ourselves, and to evaluate ourselves from actions and their consequences and from our accomplishments and the products of our efforts" (p.79). Moreover, they link self-efficacy to self-esteem by focussing on self-esteem that is based on self-efficacy. In sum, through the influence on self-esteem, self-efficacy could influence social identity.

When looking at the social identity model, this link is not explicitly made. However, we would like to keep self-efficacy as a separate principle in the model. This finding could raise some doubt about the organisation of the principles in the social identity model. One could make a link between self-esteem and self-efficacy, where self-esteem could function as a mediator. It might be reasonable to believe that besides the direct link between self-efficacy and social identity, this mediator effect of self-esteem on the relationship between self-efficacy and social identity might apply. As self-efficacy might be a concept that could be related to self-esteem, the exclusion of self-esteem from the experimental design might also be more justified, as will be discussed in chapter 5. It might also be the case that the other principles could be related to each other, but it has been decided to use the model in its simplest form, i.e. direct links between principles and social identity. Even if the research mentioned above shows that self-efficacy can be linked to social identity through self-esteem, it seems reasonable to believe that also a direct link between self-efficacy and social identity can be made, based on the social identity model. The fact that some part of the variation of self-efficacy on social identity can be explained by self-esteem is neglected in the model, but this explanation will be incorporated in the statistical analyses when making use of factor analyses and regressions in chapter 4.

In sum, the studies showing that the relationship between self-efficacy and social identity exists through the influence of self-esteem, do not lead to a remodelling of the social identity model. However, this should be incorporated in the statistical analyses, so that a correlation between the various principles is possible. Furthermore, the study shows a positive link between self-efficacy

and social identity, whereby one could infer that it is expected that a higher self-efficacy would lead to a stronger social identity, e.g. European identity. This would mean for European identity not only that an action would lead to a stronger European identity, but also the knowledge that one knows that one can act would contribute. For example, when we become more aware of the fact that we can move and travel freely in Europe (as an example of self-efficacy) this should increase our European identity. A reference to the definition of self-efficacy by Bandura (1997) could be made: "beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments". So, self-efficacy is not considered as the action per se that is performed, but it is the *belief* that one can act, or execute a specific action matters.

3.1.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have proposed that the social identity model of Breakwell (1986, 1992, and 1993) could be used in relation to European identity as the main hypothesis relating to the question raised in section 1.2.4. The research reviewed in this paper would seem to indicate clearly that a positive relationship can be expected between, on the one hand, the relevant principles of distinctiveness, self-esteem, continuity and self-efficacy and, on the other, European identity. One could assume that increased levels of these principles would prompt a stronger European identity. Moreover, the bulk of the research mentioned has been based on quantitative methods. Although quantitative methods are at the heart of the thesis, I also draw on the work of a number of researchers who use qualitative methods to further complement my treatment of the hypothesis.

The existing research outlined in Chapters 2 and 3 is used as the basis for the relevant studies performed, including experiments and advanced statistical tests, to further test the relationship between the relevant principles and European identity. The research to date has given strong indications that this relationship may well exist, but the basic assumption for the optimal distinctiveness model on the element of context-specificity might give reason to believe that European Identity has some context specific elements. The

following studies will take into account sociological variables on the strength of European identity, whereby the studies will not only shed more light on the effects of increased levels of distinctiveness, self-esteem, continuity and self-efficacy, but also on the effects of sociological variables.

3.2 Hypotheses

In this section all the main hypotheses are mentioned that will be employed in this study. The main hypotheses are linked to the two types of research design: quasi-experimental research and experimental research. Up till now, studies have been reviewed and the main question has been discussed. Also, some attention has been given to the specific variables that will be employed in this study. In this section, however, the main hypothesis will be clarified concerning the quasi-experimental research. Linked to this main hypothesis are some partial hypotheses that make up part of the main hypothesis.

In the second part of this section the main hypotheses will also be mentioned in reference to the experimental research. Up till now, the experimental research has not been discussed in great detail. This will also not be done in this section, but chapter 5 is completely dedicated to the experimental research. However, for the sake of completeness, the main hypotheses that will be employed in the experimental research are already mentioned in this section. This means that the hypotheses concerning experimental research are not fully discussed in this section nor is it explained in detail how they will be tested: the reader is referred to chapter 5 for more complete information concerning these hypotheses. Now, we will first discuss the hypothesis concerning the quasi-experimental research. After this discussion, the hypotheses relating to the experimental research are mentioned.

The general research question, mentioned in section 1.2.4., is the following:

What are the underlying social psychological mechanisms that drive European identity and which variables can influence the level of European identification?

We had proposed to address this question in the following terms:

a social-psychological model will be used to explain and analyse the underlying mechanisms, variables, and components of the social representation of European Identity with quasi-experiments and experiments.

In practical terms, this means, for the quasi-experimental research, that we formulated the following hypothesis:

Increasing the relevant strength of any separate principle (i.e. distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem or self-efficacy) will cause a stronger European identity.

The first main research steps are to perform a thorough statistical analysis of the available data, which will show the relationship between the European identity and the principles of the European identity model.

In order to do this, we will make a thorough analysis of Eurobarometer data concerning European identity. In the quasi-experimental review - on studies concerning European identity, in section 2.2 - several studies on European identity have been mentioned. In these studies very often Eurobarometer data was used in order to investigate European identity or to discover which relationships between some variables and a European variable existed. Thus, it seems that the Eurobarometer surveys in the past have already been frequently used concerning European issues, and could again be used to study European identity.

The previous studies that used the Eurobarometer surveys have sometimes used statistical techniques to investigate the data. However, few advanced techniques have been employed to find more straightforward and more sophisticated results compared to the ambivalent and superficial results outlined previously. In cases where no direct correlations between variables and European identity (for example, between national pride and European identity) have been found, a deeper analysis of third variables or moderators like sociological variables might give more insight into the relationships between various variables and European identity.

Also, to answer my main question sufficiently, statistical techniques should be employed. It seems reasonable to assume that various variables can influence European identity. The influence of these variables should be investigated with the use of statistical techniques that are especially designed for investigating the influence of various variables on European identity.

These techniques form an essential tool concerning the investigation of the main research question.

On the basis of social psychology theories a model has been developed for the construction of social identities. This model will be applied to European identity. The model will be tested with the existing variables in the surveys at hand (i.e. quasi-experimental research), but it will also be used for experimental research.

Social identity Model D shows how social identities, like European identity, are constructed and how they can be reinforced.

Insert model D here

This model will be used for the quasi-experimental research, and the principles/main variables thought to influence European identity are more or less operationalised according to the indicators that can be found in the Eurobarometer surveys. A major disadvantage of this procedure is that the indicators cannot be fitted exactly according to the principles, as they were already used in various questionnaires and were not based on these principles at all. However, we aimed to find the best fitting indicators for the principles available in the Eurobarometers, even if that meant that some other indicators fit the principles better than other indicators. We are aware that the indicators of these principles are, therefore, by no means perfect, but they are the best ones available in the Eurobarometer. In Appendix A all indicators that have some relation with the EU, political issues, psychological or sociological elements are given. These indicators were taken under close investigation concerning their fit with the principles of the European identity model. After thoughtful consideration and deliberation with the internal supervisor, specific indicators were chosen. These indicators had the best possible fit with the principles of the European identity model. I am aware of the fact that the indicators cannot be matched optimally with the principles.

However, if we look at Appendix A in which indicators are mentioned that were not included in the model, it will become clear that no better match for any of the principles would have been possible. Moreover, taking into consideration the capacities, resources and power available for performing this study, no better data was available.

Below, the following indicators from the Eurobarometers are proposed as indicators for the guiding principles taken from the social identity model. The indicators will be tested to see whether they influence European identity. Of importance is whether the included indicators do really influence European identity: whether they are included on justifiable grounds, or whether the indicators do not influence European identity. In chapter 4 the results of the analyses are given. These results should show whether the included indicators have been included on justifiable grounds or not.

With these indicators short descriptions concerning the decisions to choose these indicators are given. In Appendix B the exact questions and answers are given that have been assigned to the relevant indicators. Appendix B also shows in more detail which specific questions have been chosen as indicators for the principles.

Concerning Continuity. These indicators are related to the movement/speed of the EU. A continuity of a specific entity could imply some movement as it continues to exist and could also change. Being continuous may mean that something is evolving and does not stay the same any more. In particular, this is related to the European Union as an entity which is continuously in the process of development. A notion of movement/speed is involved. Therefore, these two indicators have been chosen as fitting the principle of continuity best.

- 1) **Perceived Movement of EU⁴:** 'EU perceived as going fast' is considered to be an indicator of continuity. The more people believe that the EU is 'going fast', the more continuity is expressed and the higher the level of European identity to be expected, compared to those who think that the speed should be the same or less fast. It is understood that speed is not the same as continuity, as the movement of a specific entity does not necessarily imply that there is speed. However, of all items that were available in the Eurobarometer, this item fits the principle of continuity best. Again, the fit between item and principle is not as optimal as one should wish. Continuity does have something to do with the movement in time, while the same applies for the movement of the EU. In such way, the item and the principle share this element. Similar indicators are considered to be understanding between the countries of the European Community and the speed of integration in the European Community.

- 2) **Desired movement of EU:** this is the speed that people would like to see for the movement of EU. The higher this desired speed is, the higher their expression of European Identity is expected to be compared to people who desire a lower speed for the movement of Europe.

Concerning Distinctiveness: In the Eurobarometer survey no variable is present that could fit the principle of distinctiveness perfectly. The indicators mentioned here are the best fitting ones. However, for this principle it was more difficult to find fitting indicators. The decision to use the indicators concerning importance of the EU was based on the notion that considering a specific entity as important might imply some sense of distinctiveness given to this entity. If one finds a specific entity important, one might consider it as different from the rest, and attach specific value to this entity. Consequently, the entity could be considered as an entity with a specific level of distinctiveness, in the sense that it can be distinguished from other entities

⁴ The actual question concerns the speed of the European Union. People are asked about the speed of the European Union. As the concept of speed can be related to something that is moving, and implies a movement, this variable is coined as "movement of EU".

with less importance or no importance. Therefore, the following two indicators were chosen in relation to distinctiveness:

- 1) **Perceived Importance of European Union:** to what extent people think the European Union is important, or how much they would regret the loss of the European Union, or how important they think that the European Parliament is for the European Union. It is expected that people giving a higher level of perceived importance to European Union will express a higher level of European identity.
- 2) **Desired Importance of European Union:** the level of importance people would like the European Union to have, or how important people want the European Parliament to be in the future. People who desire a higher level of importance for the European Union are expected to have a higher level of European identity compared to people who desire a lower level of importance.

Concerning Self-efficacy: The indicators of “cognitive mobilisation” and “persuade friends” fit the principle of self-efficacy to a quite reasonable extent. Not only because they have already been related to political efficacy in the Eurobarometer (Mayhew,1980; Inglehart & Rabier, 1980), thus implying already some sense of efficacy, but also because they really relate to action taken by people concerning their views on political issues. Even if these actions are not immediately related to the EU, the EU is an evident (mostly known as a political) entity and can be considered as a political entity one might have a political discussion about. As the indicators are clearly related to actions that one might take concerning political issues, and self-efficacy is measured by the actions an individual takes, these two indicators are considered the best available indicators for self-efficacy.

- 1) **Cognitive mobilisation – Political Efficacy:** people who express a higher level of political efficacy are expected to have a higher level of self-efficacy, because political efficacy seems to be part of self-efficacy in general. It is expected that people with a higher level of self-efficacy will

show a higher level of European identity. Political efficacy can be measured by the extent to which people discuss political matters (cognitive mobilisation) and the extent to which they persuade others to share their views (persuade friends). Thus, people who discuss political matters frequently are expected to have a higher expression of European identity compared to people who never, or only occasionally, discuss political matters.

- 2) **Persuade friends – Political Efficacy:** people who declare a higher wish to persuade others to share their views are expected to have a higher level of political efficacy, and are also considered to have a higher level of self-efficacy. Thus, people who express a higher level of persuading others to share their views are expected to have a higher expression of European identity.

Concerning Self-esteem: The last principle relevant for the present study is self-esteem. The first two indicators are not closely related to the EU but are general indicators of life satisfaction and pride. Life satisfaction and pride could indicate self-esteem, as when a person is satisfied or proud it is easier to express a high level of self-esteem than when a person is unsatisfied or ashamed. Life satisfaction, pride and self-esteem are concepts that imply some idea of happiness and being content with life. Thus these concepts, even if they do not completely measure the same thing, can be considered related concepts. It is not unlikely that a person who is highly satisfied and proud will also express a high level of self-esteem. Even if these concepts are measured at a general level, they might still be related to self-esteem concerning the EU or European identification, because frequently measures of concepts on a general level are related to the same concepts on a more specified level (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

The second two indicators are clearly related to the EU. However, they might indicate a strong level of self-interest that EU citizens might be shown to possess. Self-interest in some specific field could imply that one obtains some benefit or advantage from the relevant field. Benefits or advantages could increase the level of feeling good about oneself. One might define self-esteem as a positive evaluation of oneself. A positive evaluation of oneself can be

increased by benefits or advantages that one can possess. Therefore, these four indicators were considered as fitting the principle of self-esteem best of the indicators available.

- 1) Satisfaction with life in the nation: people who have more satisfaction with their life are expected to have a higher level of self-esteem. It is expected that people with a high satisfaction about their life will show a higher level of European identity.
- 2) Pride: pride is closely related to self-esteem, as pride increases the amount of self-esteem. It is expected that people with a high level of self-esteem will show a higher level of European Identity.
- 3) Benefit from European Union: people who think that their nation benefits from being a member of the European Union are expected to have a higher level of European Identity than people who think that their nation does not benefit from being a member. Benefiting from being a member is expected to increase self-esteem, and therefore, indirectly, also the level of European identity expression.
- 4) EU as a good/bad thing: people who consider the European Union to be a good thing are expected to have a higher level of European identity expression compared to people who think it is neither a good nor a bad thing, or who think that it is a bad thing. Thinking that the EU is a good thing is supposed to increase self-esteem, and, consequently, should increase the level of European identity.

In accordance with this model the following partial hypotheses, derived from the main hypothesis for the quasi-experimental research, can be formulated in a *ceteris paribus* condition:

- The more *continuity* features (i.e. high speed of perceived movement of EU, high speed desired movement of EU) are present, the higher will be European identity expression.

- The more *distinctiveness* features (i.e. high perceived importance of EU, high desired importance of EU) are present, the higher the European identity expression.
- The more *self-efficacy* features (i.e. higher need to persuade friends and high level of cognitive mobilisation) are present, the higher the European identity expression.
- The more *self-esteem* features (i.e. high satisfaction with life in nation, high level of pride, benefit from EU, and perception of EU as a good thing) are present, the higher the European identity expression.

These hypotheses refer specifically to the research done using a quasi-experimental method. In this case, I employ the Eurobarometer survey data and advanced statistical analyses to find validation for the hypotheses formed above.

For the experimental research part, the social identity model (Model B) will be used as the main model, and the hypotheses concerning the pertaining principles will be adapted to the research in a similar way as they were adapted to the quasi-experimental research.

The *experimental research* can be subdivided in two parts.

The first part of the experimental research concerns research using a questionnaire. This questionnaire will include one control condition and three manipulation conditions that will correspond to the principles.

We had proposed to develop the general research question, mentioned in section 1.2.4, in the following way:

a social-psychological model will be used to explain and analyse the underlying mechanisms, variables, and components of the social representation of European Identity with quasi-experiments and experiments.

For this part of the experimental research the following hypothesis is formulated:

Participants in the manipulation conditions (i.e. distinctiveness, self-efficacy and continuity conditions) are expected to have a higher EU identity than participants in the control condition.

In the second part of the experimental research, an implicit attitudes experiment is employed to test people's association between the EU flag or the term 'EU' and their attitudes. There are two sections in the implicit attitudes experiment. In the first section, no direct relation can be made to the principles, as manipulation conditions correspond to conditions in which an EU flag, 'EU' as a term, the Italian flag, IT as a term, a neutral flag and a neutral word were used as primes (to be discussed in more detail in section 5.6.3) before people had to give their response to an adjective. People had to indicate in this reaction if the adjective was positive or negative. In such a way a person's positive or negative attitude towards the EU, among other things, could be measured.

However, the second section of the experimental research related to the principles of the European identity. In this part, questions related to continuity, self-efficacy, and the distinctiveness of the European Union/European identity. The main hypothesis for this experiment is the following:

It is expected that responses in the prime conditions combined with positive adjectives would be quicker than in the control conditions, in particular for participants who score high on the dimensions of the principle items compared to the ones that score low.

The hypotheses in this experimental research part not only relate to the principles of the European identity model. This is on purpose, because it is hoped that a further, hopefully more in-depth investigation can be executed by including also some features relating to EU identity, like the EU flag, and the European Union as such. Hence, the second part of the experimental research is mainly focused on exploration of the underlying mechanisms of EU identity. The method proposed includes the implicit attitudes that people might have in relation to some main EU features, namely the EU flag and the

EU as a word. These attachments can be operationalised in the reaction times of participants according to a method that is frequently used in the field of social psychology.

Keeping in mind the hypotheses and research question, in the next part the focus will be on the analysis of the survey (i.e. material and measurement questions). These hypotheses will be used as main hypotheses in the quasi-experimental research and experimental research. These two types of research will be set up in such a way as to test the validity of these hypotheses, based mainly on the social identity model (or European identity model). Chapter 4 will be dedicated to the quasi-experimental research, while Chapter 5 will be dedicated to the experimental research.

3.3 Quasi- experimental research: Analysis of Surveys

In this section a short introduction to the analysis of the surveys is given. It is briefly explained how the surveys were used and prepared in order to analyse them. This section is meant to be a preparation for chapter 4, in which the quasi-experimental research is discussed in detail.

To test the validity of the hypotheses that have been indicated in the latter section, quasi-experimental research will be conducted using the existing data taken from the Eurobarometer reports.

The Eurobarometer surveys⁵ have been conducted in several European countries since the early seventies (1973). The Eurobarometers are surveys commissioned by the European Union that are carried out, using European Union citizens as subjects, approximately every 6 months. The aim of these surveys has been to monitor social and political attitudes in European countries. Representative national samples throughout the European Union, formerly European Community, member states have been simultaneously interviewed each spring and autumn. Starting from 1990 (Eurobarometer 34) separate supplementary surveys on special topics were also conducted next to the regular trend questions.

The questionnaires of the Eurobarometer surveys are initially bilingually developed in French and English. After approval, they are translated into other languages. A back-translation is used as a control. The method of gathering data is mainly done by means of face-to-face interviews. However, sometimes telephone interviews can also be done.

The sampling of participants is done on an at random basis after stratification by distribution of the national and resident population concerning metropolitan, urban and rural areas (i.e. proportional to population size and population density).

The Eurobarometer survey data (in digital form) has been available by the Social Science Data Archives. The actual data is stored at ICPRS (Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research) in Michigan and at the Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung in Cologne. Questions

⁵ See for more information www.gesis.org/en/data_service/eurobarometer

related to the format and content can also be addressed to these two latter organisations.

Through the European University Institute library in Florence, Italy, the data was requested and made available for research. One receives information of two files: the data file and the codebook file. This data was available in digital, zipped format. In order to use the data, the data sets had to be unzipped and opened in SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). SPSS is a statistical programme that is used extensively for this study. The codebook file was also zipped and could be opened in Acrobat.

From 1982 a question related to European identity has been included in this survey, namely, "Do you ever think of yourself not only as a (nationality) citizen, but also as a citizen of Europe?".

After a close investigation of questions that would fit the principles of the model that we propose to study as underlying mechanisms of European identity, we have selected elements of the Eurobarometer survey. It is these questions that we will use in our study. This decision is based on the availability of Eurobarometer data and relevant questions included in the survey.

It has been decided to use the following surveys:

- Eurobarometers (a selection of recent Eurobarometers from 1982-2002)

This selection of Eurobarometers is chosen on the basis of practicality. Since 1982 the European identification question has been included in the Eurobarometer, and at the time of investigation only Eurobarometers until 2002 were available. This is how a selection among the Eurobarometers from the period of 1982-2002 was made.

I set out below the number of Eurobarometer surveys in which each of the questions that are proposed for inclusion in the study has appeared.

Question No.	Subject of question	No. of Occurrences
Q.1	Perceived importance of EU	22
Q.2	Desired importance of EU	10
Q.3	National pride	13
Q.4	European pride	4
Q.5	Life satisfaction	23
Q.6	Benefit from being EU member	25
Q.7	Bad thing/ Good thing being EU member	26
Q.8	Cognitive mobilization	25
Q.9	Persuade friends	25
Q.10	Perceived movement of EU	19
Q.11	Desired movement of EU	14
Q.12	Attachment to Europe	2

See Appendix C for the full list of questions.⁶

If we are to study only those Eurobarometers which have some measure of all principles, rather than studying the responses to individual questions from 1982-2002, we are limited to using only 17 Eurobarometer surveys (see overview of questions).

See overview of questions

These social psychological indicators are recoded in such a way that a higher level of the relevant variable is associated with a greater expression of

⁶ On the basis of these results I propose to exclude question 12 on Attachment to Europe as it was included in only two Eurobarometers. European pride (Question 4) is included even though it appears only in 4 Eurobarometers due to the relevance of its content. This indicator seems to be very closely related to the pride principle, and as it also relates to Europe, it could be a too relevant indicator. Therefore, exclusion, even if it does not occur as often as the other indicators, does not seem to be justifiable.

European identity. This means that some variables are re-coded, while others are not.⁷

Finally, sociological indicators are included in the analyses to see to what extent they influence European identity after controlling for social psychological variables. The re-coding of the sociological variables is explained in Chapter 4. The results of the analyses, with all relevant social psychological and sociological variables from the Eurobarometers will be given and discussed in the next chapter.

⁷ Those that are not recoded are the indicators that already have the right direction concerning the expected association with European identity. The only indicators that did not need recoding are "perceived movement EU" and "desired movement of EU". All other indicators needed to be recoded so that these indicators go in the same direction. The recoding of these indicators is decided for each separate social psychological variable (e.g. In your opinion, in five years' time, will the European Union play a more important, a less important, or the same role in your daily life; 1=less important, 2=same role,3=more important. See also Appendix B for the recoding of all indicators).

3.4 Experimental research in six European countries

The aim of this section is to give a brief overview of what can be expected in chapter 5. Also, a link can be made to the hypotheses connected to the experimental research, which were already mentioned in section 3.2. In this section the two methods of data gathering concerning the experimental research in order to test the relevant hypotheses are briefly outlined.

The experimental research is divided into two parts. In the first part, data is gathered for six countries: the Netherlands, Italy, the UK, Spain, Germany and France. This data is gathered by means of a questionnaire that appears in four versions. For the purposes of our study, questions concerning EU identity are the most important in these questionnaires. The questionnaires were developed for this study in particular. The manipulation consists of texts in which a professor of the university at which the experiment is performed claims to state that the EU can be associated with the principles of continuity, self-efficacy, and distinctiveness. These texts are provided with least three arguments to each of the statements. After this, the participants are checked to see whether they have understood the text as was meant (i.e. the association between EU and one of the relevant principles). Subsequently, manipulation checks are added. The manipulation checks consist of questions about whether the EU can be considered as giving participants more self-efficacy, can be considered as distinctive, or as a continuous institution. Then, EU identity is measured by EU items. Lastly, participants are asked to give some general information about their background (e.g. gender, faculty, age etc...). The translations of all the texts have been done as a first draft by the researcher herself (Dutch, English, Italian, and French) or a native speaker (German, Spanish). Several other native speakers corrected the draft translations.

For the second part, a subliminal experiment is performed, attached to an explicit measurements questionnaire. For this part, the assistance of the University of Padua was provided, and a laboratory for the purpose of doing a subliminal research. Furthermore, the programme E-prime was used for the part where students have to sit behind a computer and react to adjectives that

are preceded by primes⁸. Afterwards, participants (mainly Psychology students at the University of Padua) were asked to fill out a questionnaire consisting of questions about EU identity, the principles and typicality of adjectives relating to the EU or Italy. Also, some general information about their background is requested at the end of the questionnaire (e.g. gender, faculty, age etc...).

More details about the method and outline of the experiments can be found in Chapter 5. This chapter sets out the results, analyses and important conclusions reached on the basis of the experimental research undertaken.

⁸ The researcher gratefully acknowledges the kind assistance given by members of staff of the University of Padua in programming this part of the research.

CHAPTER 4

Analyses of Surveys

In this chapter, we will first give an outline (in section 4.1) of the statistical methods that will be employed to analyze the data concerning European identity. This section is necessary for comprehension of the statistical methods. Due to the fact that many statistical terms will be mentioned in this chapter and the next, some familiarity with them is needed. In the next section (4.2) an analysis of a sample of three Eurobarometers is described in detail. This detailed analysis of three Eurobarometers is presented because it is easier to have an overview of three Eurobarometers than fifteen Eurobarometers. Moreover, the results of the three Eurobarometers are discussed in such detail as does not seem to be necessary for all the Eurobarometers, but this detailed description is likely to be a necessity for the comprehension of the more advanced statistical treatment of the data. However, the detailed prescription of the sample of three Eurobarometers will provide a good example for all fifteen Eurobarometers. Subsequently, this chapter will treat each of the hypotheses connected to quasi-experimental research mentioned in section 3.2 and each of the hypotheses that have been mentioned as research results in section 2.4. The data analyses with the Eurobarometers will prove to provide a confirmation or a falsification of each of the hypotheses, in particular of the hypotheses mentioned in section 2.4.

4.1 Statistical Methods

Before explaining the actual analyses and results from the Eurobarometer data, the statistical methods and related issues that have been used will be briefly discussed here. Some level of familiarity with these statistical methods and issues is necessary to comprehend the statistical analyses explained later. The following two statistical methods will be considered: ANOVA (univariate analysis of variance), and optimal scaling.

4.1.1 Regression (or ANOVA – univariate variance of analysis)

A key part of the analyses of the Eurobarometers has been done by performing regression analyses. Similarly, parts of the main results are results from regression analyses. Therefore, we need some understanding of what a regression actually is. With a regression analysis a univariate regression is performed. A univariate regression assumes a linear and causal relation between independent variables and one dependent variable.

In a large part of the results betas are given. A beta can be interpreted from the results by looking at its direction and how high it is. The higher the beta of a specific independent variable, the higher the influence this independent variable has on the dependent variable. Consequently, the higher the beta of an independent variable, the higher the importance of this independent variable for the construction of the dependent variable.

In addition, the adjusted explained variance (R^2) will be given concerning every single regression that has been done. The explained variance is the amount of variance in percentages that the independent variables, all together, can explain regarding the dependent variable. In other words, the explained variance indicates to what extent the independent variables can predict the dependent variable. The higher this explained variance is for specific independent variables, the more these independent variables can predict or explain the dependent variable. Explained variance does not take the number of variables into account.

Thus, the results that will be given related to ANOVA's will focus mainly on the standardized partial regression coefficients Beta's (β) and the adjusted variances (R^2).

4.1.2 Optimal Scaling

When doing regressions or other relatively advanced statistical tests one assumes that variables are scaled on an interval or ratio scale. However, this might not be the case for all data. Therefore, one should first re-code variables where they appear not to be scaled on an interval or ratio scale. This can be done with optimal scaling. In the case of the Eurobarometer data, where data is originally measured and coded on a nominal level, optimal scaling provides a researcher with an excellent tool so as to use the data for regressions or other statistical tests. Furthermore, missing data or non-responses do not need to be excluded when using optimal scaling, as these will also be re-scaled and re-coded on the basis of the existing responses patterns. Consequently, relevant information concerning non-responses does not get lost for further analyses.

The centroid coordinates that result from optimal scaling analyses are used to compute new optimally scaled variables. This is done in such a way that each category for each variable has a corresponding, different code (different from the original coding). Centroid coordinates are used as new codes for the computed variables. With the use of optimal scaling, variables are re-coded on a higher level of scaling, i.e. interval scaling. The original data is based on codes on a nominal scale.

With optimal scaling analyses, the correlations among independent variables are automatically given in the output. The importance of these between-correlations will be discussed in the following section on multicollinearity.

Optimal scaling analyses are applied to the Eurobarometer data. The results of these analyses will be discussed in the results sections. If one does an optimal scaling analysis with variables, some of which are nominal, while others are not, and if this is only one set of variables, the optimal analysis is equivalent to a Categorical Component Analysis. Thus, a categorical component analysis or an optimal scaling analysis is performed. Most importantly, the analysis results in presenting centroid coordinates and

placing independent variables in dimensions relating to the dependent variable.

Eventually, only the centroid coordinates that are related to the relevant dimensions are chosen. Relevant dimensions are those dimensions that have the highest component loading for the dependent variable, compared to the other dimension. All Optimal Scaling analyses of each Eurobarometer result in two dimensions each. Thus, either the first dimension or the second dimension will be chosen to be relevant on the basis of the component loading of this dimension with the dependent variable, i.e. European identity. Thus, optimal analyses result in component loadings of the independent variables on the dimensions. These component loadings of the independent variables give an indication of the extent to which these independent variables are related to the relevant dimension, which in its turn might be related to the dependent variable.

Centroid coordinates are given per dimension. Once the relevant dimension has been chosen, centroid coordinates belonging to this dimension are used in such a way that optimally scaled variables can be computed. The centroid coordinates show to what extent a specific answer or category differs from another in the same variable. This means that positive centroid coordinates for one answer or category, and negative centroid coordinates for another one, indicate contrasts between them. Thus, centroid coordinates indicate how far one answer or category is from another, by placing them on an interval/ratio scale. The optimally scaled variables are made on the basis of the coordinates that are given for each nominal or ordinal category. The centroid coordinates replace the category's codings. The new, computed variables will be used for further analyses, i.e. ANOVA's.

4.1.3 Remarks and discussion sociological dummy variables

For advanced statistical analyses, like regressions, variables have to be measured on either an interval or a ratio scale. However, if variables, especially independent variables, are not measured on an interval or a ratio scale, one can also use dummy variables with 0 and 1 coding or any other coding that encompasses only two various codes (like 1 and 2). A dummy variable is a variable that indicates if a case either has a specific characteristic (1) or not (0). For regression analyses, some sociological variables will be used as dummy variables. For example, gender is coded 1 for women and 2 for men in one dummy variable. However, for variables that have more than two categories, more dummy variables are needed. The number of dummy variables that one needs can be calculated by subtracting 1 from the number of categories the nominal or ordinal variable has. For example, the country variable in Eurobarometer 17 (1983) has 11 categories, namely France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Denmark, Ireland, Great Britain, Northern Ireland, and Greece. Consequently $(11-1=)$ 10 dummy variables are needed for this variable to be included in regressions. A reference category has to be chosen, for which no dummy variable will be made. However, all other dummy variables are contrasted to this reference category. The reference category should be chosen on more or less reasonable grounds, like for example the amount of cases that fall into this category or the fact that this category has some special character compared to the other categories. In these situations it is reasonable to choose these special categories as reference categories. For example, most of the respondents were not working and therefore, the "non-working" category was chosen to be the reference category.

In regression analyses including sociological variables, 19 dummy variables up to 26 dummy variables are used for each Eurobarometer. The precise number of dummy variables depends on which Eurobarometer was used. In section 4.1.6 the construction of these dummy variables and the choice of reference categories will be discussed more extensively.

The dummy variables can be defined as following: country variables, one gender variable, age cohort variables, and occupation variables.

The maximum number of the *country dummy variables* is 18. In Table 1a an overview of countries concerning percentages and numbers of participants across Eurobarometers is given.

Insert Table 1a here

In this overview one can see that the first Eurobarometer (i.e. Eurobarometer 17- 1982) contains only 11 countries, while the last one contains 18 countries. The *don't know* and *other countries* categories are eventually excluded from the analyses, as not a single person gave one of these answers. Also, some changes can be noted. From Eurobarometer 35 (1992) onwards, East Germany is mentioned as a separate country. Furthermore, the United Kingdom encompasses both Northern Ireland and Great Britain since the 1998 Eurobarometer, while these are separate categories before the 1998 Eurobarometer. Lastly, Norway is excluded as a category from Eurobarometer 50.0 (1998) onwards. Naturally, this is due to their final decision not to enter the European Union in a national referendum of 1994.

Table 1a shows that most countries are equally represented in the sample. In earlier Eurobarometers (of 1982, 1983) each country has a share of more or less 10% of the respondents, while in later Eurobarometers (from 1995 onwards) each country has a share of around 6%. However, this drop in the share of the total percentage is not caused by a drop in numbers of respondents in each Eurobarometer, but is due to the increase in countries included in the Eurobarometers over time. The number of participants per country is on average around 1000 over time. Some exceptions to this are Luxembourg and Northern Ireland. Luxembourg has a share of 2.5% to 4.5% of the total respondents, varying over Eurobarometers with numbers of 300 up to 770. Northern Ireland has percentages between 1.8% and 3.3%, with numbers varying from 283 up to 327. Thus, these two countries have a much smaller representation in the sample with respect to other countries like



France, Belgium and the Netherlands, which all have a share of about 6-10%, with total numbers of around 1000-1200 respondents.

The country dummy variables are made with France as the reference category. France is chosen as the reference category because European integration can be seen as a project that was vehemently encouraged by the French, and the original ideas behind the construction of the European integration have come from France (e.g. Jean Monet, Robert Schuman).

The percentages and numbers of respondents per category for gender, age and occupation are given in Table 1b.

Insert Table 1b here

The gender dummy variable was made in such a way that the female gender is the reference category. The female gender is chosen as the reference category because it has the highest number of cases.

Age cohorts were already present in cohort variables in all Eurobarometers. These consist of the following six cohorts: 15-24 years; 25-34 years; 35-44 years; 45-54 years; 55-64 years; and 65 years+. This variable was used to make five new cohort dummy variables. The first category, 15-24 years, was considered the reference category. This cohort was chosen as it was the biggest one in the first Eurobarometer, and also the youngest of the cohorts (see Table 1b). Moreover, in considering the cohort 15-24 as the reference category another advantage can be discerned: one is able to make a comparison between young people and older people.

For the *occupation dummy variables*, first a new variable was made which placed all occupations in only four categories, namely, non-workers, professionals, middle class and manual workers. Here, the first category, the non-workers, was used as the reference category. The non-workers category was chosen as about half of the respondents are placed in this category, as

Table 1b points out. Consequently, this category seems to be a good reference point to see where the other respondents stand in respect to non-workers.

4.1.4 Exclusion of variables and Eurobarometers

From Table 1a one can conclude that some sociological variables, in particular, country variables are not present for all Eurobarometers.

Some countries are excluded from the analyses due to absent responses for some variables, even though they had been included in the data sets of the Eurobarometers. Absent responses were simply caused by the fact that certain variable questions had not been present in the questionnaires for specific countries. Therefore, no data is present for these specific countries and specific variables. For example, in Eurobarometer 40 (1993) Finland has no responses for the European Identity variable, as well as for "life satisfaction", "cognitive mobilization", "persuade friends", "perceived movement" and "desired movement". For Norway, the data for the variables "perceived movement" and "desired movement" was missing. Therefore, it is decided that due to the lack of Finnish and Norwegian data for the variables concerned it is best to exclude these countries completely. Moreover, inclusion of these countries in the analyses would lead to an unnaturally high amount of missing data which, consequently, would influence the rest of the results.

A final decision concerning Eurobarometer 42 (1994) was also taken on the basis of extensive absent data. In the 1994 Eurobarometer no data was available (again, due to the absence of these variables in the specific questionnaires for these countries) for at least 7 out of the 9 social psychological variables (including the European Identity variable). Furthermore, the variable of national pride was included as a split ballot question, whereby only half of the respondents had been posed with this question. This would make the data of this variable not useful for further analyses. Thus, on the basis of the absence of quite a lot of data, the 1994 Eurobarometer 42 was excluded completely from further analyses.

4.2 Detailed analysis of three Eurobarometers

4.2.1 Introduction to analysis

A selection of three Eurobarometers has been chosen for explaining some details concerning the analyses that have been done with all fifteen Eurobarometers. This sample of three Eurobarometers consists of the 1982 Eurobarometer (17), 1992 Eurobarometer (36) and 2000 Eurobarometer (54). The reason for this choice is that these Eurobarometers are spread over a time span of about 20 years and all three contain a question relating to European identity. These Eurobarometers will be used in a detailed description of the analyses. A bigger sample of Eurobarometers (the ones containing a European identity question) will be used later for further analyses. An optimal scaling analysis is performed with these Eurobarometers. This analysis will show that the following variables from the European identity model are relevant for the European identity dimension: perceived/desired importance of the EU, European pride, perception of EU as a bad/good thing, benefit from the EU, and perceived/desired movement of EU. Furthermore, the analysis will show that in the Eurobarometer of 2000 European identity has been split in two dimensions due to the fact that perceived/desired importance of the EU and perceived/desired movement of EU have become separate from the other variables: these variables are correlated with a different dimension. This might indicate that people have been made more aware of the importance and the movement of the EU, whereby these phenomena have been influencing people's European identity in a different manner than before.

The analysis will show that none of the variables of the Eurobarometers are interval scaled, and should therefore be transformed before further analyses (like regression analyses) can be performed. The method and procedure for the transformation of variables into variables with an interval scale is explained. This is discussed in detail for the sample of three Eurobarometers, as it is not necessary to discuss it for every single Eurobarometer included in the analyses. Furthermore, the analysis will show that some missing values from the relevant variables are not random, but should be re-scaled according to a different category or an already existing one.

The European identity model is used for the analysis of the three Eurobarometers, as well as all further analyses mentioned in section 4.3.

The variables - corresponding to the principles - that have been chosen for each separate Eurobarometer can be found in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 here

The variables in this Table can be considered the indicators of the principles in the European identity model. The indicators of the principles have been decided on the basis of the variables that could be found in the Eurobarometers (see also appendix B mentioned in section 3.3). The variables that related to the principles, or could be considered as related to the principles have been chosen. Due to making use of existent variables to explain a developed model, one should understand that a better fit between the principles and the variables taken from the Eurobarometer surveys is not possible.

4.2.2 General European dimension and pure European dimension: Optimal Scaling Analysis results

An optimal scaling analysis (see section 4.1.4 for an explanation of optimal scaling analysis and its function) aims to make data more understandable (e.g. concerning the level of measurement) as well as to confirm which questions, in particular concerning the social psychological variables, are related to European identity and which are less related to European Identity.

An optimal scaling analysis is done in order to analyse the scales of the various questions. This is important because many advanced statistical analyses like regression, which will be applied in the course of this study, assume interval variables. Therefore, the main goal of the analysis is that the variables (questions) taken from the Eurobarometer are optimally scaled and can be used as better (i.e. optimally scaled) variables for further analyses. We are testing whether the variables of the possible European identity dimension can be considered as interval variables. If these variables are indeed not interval variables, it is possible to transform them in such a manner as to make them resemble an interval level in relation to the relevant European identity dimension. In these transformed shapes the data is more suitable for advanced statistical analyses. Also, missing values and non-responses can be used in further analyses and do not need to be excluded from the data set.

First, the dimensions and component loadings of the questions for the three Eurobarometers will be dealt with. Then, the results of the optimal scaling analysis will be discussed per question in the next section (i.e. section 4.2.3). The Optimal Scaling Analyses are done with the re-coded social psychological variables. The re-coding of these variables has been discussed in the previous chapter.⁹

In Table 3 some results of optimal scaling analyses can be found. In specific, the component loadings, Cronbach alphas and eigenvalues of the various components are reported for the three Eurobarometers (1982, 1992, and 2000) and these were measured over all available items.

Insert Table 3 here

In general we can derive three main conclusions from Table 3 that are valid for all three Eurobarometers. The first conclusion is that all three Eurobarometers contain some variables that can be interpreted as a (general/pure) European identity dimension. The second conclusion is that all European identity dimensions have high Cronbach alphas (a statistical measure for the reliability of the dimensions, which should be at least .50). Consequently, these dimensions seem to be quite reliable. The third conclusion is that these dimensions have quite high eigenvalues. These eigenvalues are connected to the variance that these dimensions account for. Thus, the variables of these relevant dimensions explain some part of the European identity dimension (25%, 28% and 17% respectively).

Table 3 provides an overview of all three Eurobarometers. In the following part we will discuss Table 3 in more detail for each Eurobarometer.

Eurobarometer 1982. Table 3 shows that for the 1982 Eurobarometer the first dimension is the most important, as it has a high correlation with the European identity question and a much higher Cronbach alpha and eigenvalue compared to the second dimension. Furthermore, the first dimension is highly related to "Perceived importance of EU" and "Good/Bad thing EU". The second dimension is strongly related to "Cognitive mobilization" and "Persuade friends" variables. We can see that, in particular, the first dimension relates to European identity, and that this relationship is much stronger for the first dimension than for the second dimension, as the correlation is higher (.62 versus .14). Furthermore, the first dimension is related to the distinctiveness principles (i.e. Perceived importance of EU), and slightly to the self-esteem principle (i.e. Good/Bad thing EU). The second dimension, however, is strongly related to the self-efficacy principle, as there

⁹ See appendices 1a and 1b for the differences in results when using original variables and re-coded variables.

are strong correlations between the variables of the self-efficacy principle (i.e. Cognitive Mobilization and Persuade friends).

On the basis of these results the following can be concluded for Eurobarometer 1982. The first dimension can be called the measure for general European identity, and seems to be the most important one. The second dimension, however, could be an indication for the measurement of the self-efficacy principle. This dimension can be called the political self-efficacy dimension. Therefore, the first dimension is chosen as a starting point for indicating general European identity, which is also connected to some extent to distinctiveness (i.e. Perceived importance of EU), and self-esteem (i.e. Good/Bad thing EU).

Eurobarometer 1992. Concerning the 1992 Eurobarometer, we can conclude from Table 3 that the second dimension is less important than the first: the first dimension has a high Cronbach alpha (i.e. >.50), while the second dimension has a low Cronbach alpha (i.e. <.50). As the first dimension is more related to European Identity than the second dimension, this dimension has the highest importance for our study. The first dimension seems to be very much related to the self-esteem principle as it contains all the variables of the self-esteem principle (i.e. Life Satisfaction, benefit from EU, good/bad thing EU). However, this dimension is also related to a distinctiveness variable (i.e. Perceived movement of EU), all variables of the self-efficacy principle (i.e. Cognitive mobilization, Persuade Friends) and one variable of the continuity principle (i.e. Perceived movement of EU). The second dimension only relates to the other continuity principle variable, namely "Perceived movement of EU".

On the basis of these results one can conclude for Eurobarometer 1992 that the first dimension can be considered to measure a general European identity connected to self-esteem, self-efficacy and to some extent continuity for the 1992 Eurobarometer. Thus, the results are similar to the results of the 1982 Eurobarometer in that it is also related to some extent to the indicators of self-esteem.

Eurobarometer 2000. In the 2000 Eurobarometer both dimensions obviously cannot be neglected due to the high alphas and their different results from the 1982 and the 1992 Eurobarometers. The two dimensions of the 2000 Eurobarometer have reasonably high Cronbach alphas (i.e. $<.50$). In particular the second dimension is relevant as it is related most with European identity. It is striking that the first dimension is not at all related to European identity, but it is clearly related to both "Perceived importance EU" and "Desired importance EU" (i.e. distinctiveness principle) and both "Perceived movement of Europe" and "Desired movement of Europe" (i.e. continuity principle). This finding could indicate that the first dimension in the 2000 Eurobarometer is not the same as the former general European identity dimension (i.e. the one from the 1982 and the 1992 Eurobarometers), but a new European identity dimension has been created consisting of elements of the distinctiveness and continuity principles. The second dimension is more related to variables of the self-esteem principle. It seems that the self-efficacy principle is not strongly related to any of the dimensions; only "Persuade friends" is slightly related to this dimension. The self-efficacy principle variables can be considered as having a less strong relationship with the European identity dimension, also on the basis of the results from the 1982 and 1992 Eurobarometers. These findings could indicate that only the variable of self-esteem (i.e. Good/Bad thing) remains to be related with the former European identity, and that the distinctiveness variable(s) do(es) not take part of the European identity dimension anymore.

On the basis of these results one could conclude for Eurobarometer 2000 that the general European identity dimension found in the former Eurobarometers can be found in the second dimension – and not in the first dimension - of the 2000 Eurobarometer in a more pure form. Therefore, we will call the second dimension the pure European identity dimension as it is reduced in comparison with the general European identity dimension reported for Eurobarometers 1982 and 1992. However, the first dimension cannot be neglected due to its high Cronbach alpha and variance. This first dimension is considered to measure the importance and movement of the EU. Thus, the former dimension has split in a pure European identity component (related to

"National pride", "European pride", "Benefit from the EU", and "Good/Bad thing EU") and an EU importance and movement component (related to "Perceived & Desired Importance of EU" and "Perceived & Desired movement of EU"). The latter new EU importance and movement component can be considered as a new dimension of European identity, even though it is not strongly related to the former general European identity dimension. We could explain the split in the former European identity dimension, into a new European identity dimension, from the following social psychological perspective. People have developed a different image of their European identity with time, and therefore have adopted a new European identity which is strongly related to the EU, in particular the importance and the movement of the EU. These two subjects have changed people's way of thinking about European identity, and therefore another dimension of European identity has been formed. Thus, people have differentiated their European identity and added a new dimension to it, namely the EU identity dimension.

4.2.3 Coordinates for computing variables

In this part the results of the principles and their corresponding variables will be discussed. The results are discussed per variable over the three Eurobarometers, but only for variables that relate to the general European dimension or pure European identity dimension. The relevant variables can be found in Table 3 or section 4.2.2. However, for all variables in all Eurobarometers centroid coordinates are obtained and used to compute variables that can be considered on an interval scale. See section 4.1.4 for the meaning and use of centroid coordinates.

From the centroid coordinates one can conclude that the original variables cannot be considered as scaled on an interval scale. Consequently, it is necessary to transform the data of these variables so as to perform advanced statistical analyses with it. This will be done for all Eurobarometers. However, in this section only the sample of the three Eurobarometers will be discussed, as they can be used as an indication for the results for the other Eurobarometers. Furthermore, the tables will show that the various categories for the variables sometimes really differ, while some are more similar.

An important use of optimal scaling and centroid coordinates is that missing values do not need to be excluded from the data. This category will have their own centroid coordinates, and will be scaled on the same interval scale with the other answers. Eurobarometer data contains some missing values and non-responses, whereby optimal scaling can provide an excellent tool so as not to lose this data. Information that might be of importance for the analysis of the data will not be lost. In a perfect situation, missing values could be excluded from a data set, when they are clearly at random. However, the centroid coordinates will show that, in many cases, missing values cannot be considered as at random non-responses, as they actually seem to go in the direction of a specific response. Thus, this section will provide proof to confirm that responses or non-responses given to the questions cannot be equally treated, but should be re-coded on a more interval scale than are the responses that have been coded in the original variables.

For *European identity* Table 4 was obtained:

Insert Table 4 here

Table 4 shows the results for the relevant dimensions for European identity. The centroid coordinates can be used as values to re-code the various categories of this variable in order to transform the variable.

For the 1982 Eurobarometer we find that the difference between *never* and *sometimes* is bigger than between *sometimes* and *often*. There is a clear contrast between *never* and *often*. Missing values are going in the direction of *never*. Missing values seem to be extreme for European identity, in the sense that participants with missing values really never think about being a European.

Concerning the 1992 Eurobarometer, it is clear that there is a great difference between *nationality only* and the other responses. The differences are much smaller between *nationality and European*, *European and nationality*, and *European only*.

The missing values go in the direction of *nationality only*, and are even slightly stronger. This finding might indicate that these are people who also – and even more extremely - only think of themselves as national citizens, but did not dare to state this. The importance of these missing values for Eurobarometer 1982 and 1992 should be stressed in these cases. If a researcher excluded the missing values here, very important information would be lost. Consequently, the added value of optimal scaling can be detected here.

For the 2000 Eurobarometer we can see that the three European responses are similar and are contrasted with *nationality only*. The missing values are not similar to any of the responses, and this seems to indicate that they are at random.

One can conclude that the results are similar for the 1982 and 1992 Eurobarometers. For these two Eurobarometers missing values always tend

to go into the direction of a non-European identity i.e. *nationality only*. However, all three tables show that there is a clear and present contrast between European identity answers and non-European identity answers (i.e. *never* or *nationality only* answers). The coordinates for the answers in the 2000 Eurobarometer show that three out of the five answers are very alike. This would indicate that there is no great difference between any of the answers that include some extent of European identity. Thus, the results show that these variables can by no means be considered as interval variables, but for the older Eurobarometers one can find reason to believe that there is a dichotomy for the answers, lasting over time. The coordinates should therefore be used to re-code the variables. Moreover, the missing values should not be neglected, but should be re-coded, especially for Eurobarometers 1982 and 1992, as the responses seem to be close to the *never* or *nationality only* responses. There is reason to believe that in these Eurobarometers the missing values represent extreme nationalistic responses. For Eurobarometer 2000 the missing values could be neglected, as these seem to be at random. However, they are not neglected, but are re-coded according to the centroid coordinates.

Table 5 shows the centroid coordinates for Perceived importance of the EU

Insert Table 5 here

The results for Eurobarometer 1982 indicate that there is a contrast between the first two responses, *relieved* and *indifferent*, and the last one, *very sorry*. The notable differences between the various answers are more or less equally spread. There is a clear contrast between *relieved* and *very sorry*. Missing values are going in the direction of *indifferent* (to the middle).

Eurobarometer 1992 seems to have similar results. There seems to be a contrast between on the one hand *relieved* and *indifferent*, and on the other hand *very sorry*. However, missing values can be considered to be at random as they can be placed between *indifferent* and *very sorry* (middle).

Thus, the results for both Eurobarometers show that responses vary very much concerning distance according to the response given.

Table 6 contains the centroid coordinates of *Desired importance of EU*

Insert Table 6 here

This variable is only relevant for the Pure European identity dimension in Eurobarometer 2000.

The responses do not seem to show huge contrasts among themselves. There are some differences to be found between the categories but these are reasonably small. The responses show a clear contrast with the missing values. This finding indicates that the missing values are outliers as these go in a contrasting direction compared to the responses: the responses have slight positive centroid coordinates, while the missing values category has a clear negative centroid coordinate. To conclude, the results show that the variables cannot be treated as interval variables, but should also be re-coded.

Table 7 contains the centroid coordinates *for National pride* in Eurobarometer 2000 only.

Insert Table 7 here

The results show that the first responses (i.e. *not at all proud* and *not very proud*) seem to contrast with the other responses (*fairly proud*, and *very proud*) and the missing values. Moreover, the missing values can slightly be considered as outliers as these go in the direction of *very proud national*, and

even surpass the coordinate. This might indicate that missing values indicate people who are extremely proud. Missing values definitely cannot be considered to be random, and the responses in general do not seem to be at interval level.

In Table 8 the centroid coordinates can be found for European pride for Eurobarometer 2000.

Insert Table 8 here

Concerning Eurobarometer 2000 one can conclude that *very proud* and *fairly proud* contrast with the other responses. There are differences between the various responses. The missing values are similar to the *fairly proud* response, whereby these do seem not to be random.

Thus, there are clear contrasts between pride answers and non-pride answers. The missing values could be placed in the category of pride answers, and should be re-coded. The variables are clearly not interval variables and should be re-coded before performing statistical analyses.

Table 9 contains the centroid coordinates of *Life satisfaction*.

Insert Table 9 here

The centroid coordinates indicate that there is a contrast between, on the one hand, *not at all satisfied*, *not very satisfied* responses, and on the other hand, *fairly satisfied*, and *very satisfied* responses. Moreover, missing values look

similar to the *not at all satisfied* responses. Therefore, we can conclude that the pertaining variable does not have an interval scale, and responses differ based on a satisfied/not satisfied element in the responses.

Centroid coordinates for *Good/Bad thing EU* are to be found in Table 10.

Insert Table 10 here

Concerning Eurobarometer 1982 there are clear differences between the various responses. The missing values can be placed between the *neither good nor bad thing* response and *bad thing* response. The *good thing* response in particular seems to contrast with the other responses and the missing values. Concerning Eurobarometer 1992 there are similar findings to Eurobarometer 1982. Concerning Eurobarometer 2000 one can conclude that *bad thing* and *neither good nor bad thing* together contrast with *good thing*. However, unlike the results of Eurobarometers 1982 and 1992, missing values go in the direction of *good thing* and seem to be outliers.

Thus, for all Eurobarometers there are clear contrasts between *bad thing* answers and *good thing* answers. The missing values do not seem to be at random in all three Eurobarometers and should be re-coded. Clearly, the variables are not on an interval scale.

The centroid coordinates for *Benefit from the EU* are reported in Table 11.

Insert Table 11 here

On the basis of Table 11, for Eurobarometer 1992, one can see that there is a clear contrast between *not benefited* and *benefited*. Missing values seem to go in the direction of *not benefited*.

The results of Eurobarometer 2000 also show that there is a clear difference between *not benefited* and *benefited*. The missing values seem to be more similar to *benefited* than to *not benefited*. Consequently, the missing values are not at random.

For both Eurobarometers clear differences between *benefited* answers and *not benefited* answers are found. Again, missing values cannot be considered random.

The centroid coordinates for *Cognitive mobilization* are presented in Table 12.

Insert Table 12 here

There seems to be a contrast between *never* on the one hand, and the other responses (i.e. *occasionally* and *frequently*) on the other hand. Missing values seem to be outliers, as these go much further in the direction of *never*. Thus, responses and missing values cannot be considered to be measured on an interval level.

In Table 13 centroid coordinates are presented for *Persuade Friends*.

Insert Table 13 here

There seems to be a contrast between *never* and *rarely* on the one hand, and *from time to time* and *often* on the other hand. Missing values seem to be outliers, as these go much further into the direction of *never*. Thus, responses and missing values are not on an interval level.

The centroid coordinates for *Perceived movement of EU* are shown in Table 14.

Insert Table 14 here

One can conclude that there is a contrast between 1(*stand still*), 2 and 7 on the one hand, and the other responses on the other hand. Missing values are clearly outliers, as these seem to go much further in the direction of 1. Thus, one should re-code both the missing values as well as the other categories of this variable in order to make it more useful for statistical analyses.

4.2.4 Variances and order of relevance for variables explaining European identity

In the previous section the results of the optimal scaling for the three Eurobarometers are discussed. The most important results of optimal scaling are the centroid coordinates and the dimensions. With these centroid coordinates optimally scaled variables are computed. With both these optimally scaled variables and the original variables regression analyses are then done. The optimally scaled variables are computed for two main reasons. The first reason is to place the categories of the variables on an interval scale. In this way these variables can be better used for statistical analyses that assume an interval scale for the variables included in the analyses. The second reason is to include missing values in the analyses. The missing values can be re-coded on the basis of the centroid coordinates and are placed on the interval scale together with the other categories of the relevant variable. As has been shown in the last section, the exclusion of missing values could otherwise have led to a great loss of valuable information.

In this section the results of these regression analyses are discussed in detail for the three Eurobarometers. The discussion of these results gives an

indication of how regression analyses can be interpreted over all Eurobarometers. In section 4.3 results of the regression analyses are given for all Eurobarometers. This interpretation of the results for all Eurobarometers will not be done in such detail. The discussion of the regression analyses for the sample of the three Eurobarometers serves only as an illustration of how we can interpret regression results.

Regression analyses have been performed with the relevant variables of the European identity model to get more insight in the relationships between the relevant variables and the European Identity dimension. Regression analyses have been performed both with the original data and with the optimal scaled data, so that the differences between these two kinds of data can be discerned. The regression analyses have been performed according to the enter method. As has been discussed in section 4.1.3 independent variables that are supposed to explain a dependent variable according to some theoretical model should be included in regression analyses using an enter (default) method. The variables used for the regression analysis to be discussed in this section are the indicators for social psychological variables in the European identity model. Consequently, these variables should be taken into the regression model according to an enter method, and not according to a stepwise method.

All statistical results will be discussed in the next section (i.e. 4.3). In the present section we look in detail at the inclusion of the specific variables in the model and the explained variances of independent variables.

It is expected on the basis of what has been argued before that regression analyses with optimally scaled data will show higher variances than regression analyses using the original data. This is because optimal scaling is supposed to make the data more suitable for regression analyses. The scaling of the data is adjusted to the regression analyses, as the data cannot be considered as interval data from the start. Furthermore, the inclusion of missing values for the optimally scaled variables will increase the amount of variance, as missing values were not included for the original variables.

However, as has been shown before, the general European identity dimension found in Eurobarometers 1982 and 1992 cannot be traced in Eurobarometer 2000. Instead, another dimension of European identity that we have called a pure European identity dimension is found. This pure dimension is found next to a new dimension closely related to the movement and importance European Union. Nevertheless, we will see that this change of general European identity into a pure European identity does not affect the amount of explained variance compared to the explained variances reported for the other two Eurobarometers.

Table 15 shows the results of the regression analyses with the original data and the optimally scaled data for the three selected Eurobarometers (1982, 1992, and 2000- 54.1).

Insert table15 here

From Table 15 one can infer the following. The regression analyses with the optimally scaled variables taken from Eurobarometers 1982, 1992 and 2000 (54.1) show that the relevant variables have higher explained variances than the regression analyses from the original variables. For Eurobarometer 1982 the explained variance has increased from 13% to 15%, for Eurobarometer 1992 the explained variance has increased from 6% to 12%, and for Eurobarometer 2000 from 7% to 18%. This means that the optimally scaled variables explain more of the variance in European identity than the original variables, and that these optimally scaled variables can also predict European identity better than the original data of the European identity dimension. The largest increase of explained variance is reported for Eurobarometer 2000, where the explained variance increased by 11%. One should note that the original variables do not contain any information concerning missing values, as missing values are excluded from the data set. However, in the optimally scaled variables missing values have been included due to the fact that they could be re-coded on the basis of the optimally scaled results. As has been discussed in section 4.2.3, missing values cannot be considered random. In

general, missing values seem to go in a specific direction, as do "normal" responses. Consequently, missing values may contain some variance for explaining European identity. Therefore, the inclusion of missing values should increase the variance for the optimally scaled variables compared to the original variables. The inclusion of missing values can account for some part of the difference of variance between the optimally scaled variables and the original variables.

4.2.5 Conclusions of results with three Eurobarometers

One can draw the following conclusions for the differences between the results of the regression analyses with the original data versus the results of the regression analyses with the optimally scaled data. First, the latter results have higher explained variance compared with the first results. Moreover, the variance over time has also slightly increased when looking at the variances of the first and last Eurobarometer (from 15% to 18%). This might mean that the European Identity dimension has become more evident and crystallized, as the variables of the European Identity dimension can better explain people's European identity dimension than before. Third, the regression results with the optimally scaled variables show different orders of relevance for the variables predicting European identity.

These conclusions should motivate scientists working with existing data (like data taken from Eurobarometers) to apply optimal scaling analyses before performing statistical tests, as this will increasingly improve their results. In this manner they will be better equipped to explain the European identity dimension or any other dimension that their data aims to measure. Also, the results of Eurobarometer 2000 indicate that the European Identity dimension has split into two dimensions. One dimension relates to the pure European identity and the other dimension is related to the importance and movement of the European Union. This is an interesting finding, as it indicates that people are thinking differently about their European identity over time.

The most important conclusion from sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.4 is that a dimension of European identity can be recognised using the indicators of the European identity model. The most important and relevant indicators taken from this

model are concerned with the principles of distinctiveness, self-esteem and continuity. The self-efficacy indicators do not seem to influence the European identity dimension to a great extent. Thus, to explore the social psychological side of European identity, one might take into account the indicators relating to distinctiveness, self-esteem, and continuity, more than self-efficacy. Moreover, the analyses show that the variables considered as indicators for the principles increasingly account for a greater part of the variation in the psychological dimension of European identity, and should, consequently, be given even more attention in the future.

Second, the analyses of the dimensions in the different Eurobarometers show that in the later Eurobarometers the original European identity dimension has split into two dimensions, as an important new dimension has been created. This finding indicates that people have changed their ideas on European identity over time. This would be worthwhile studying and we should pay attention to the changing of European identity over time. Indeed, this will be considered in one of the following sections of this chapter. The findings of these trend analyses are very interesting and will be given due attention in section of 4.3. Third, an overall finding is that clearly contrasting answers are shown in all questions over Eurobarometers. This shows that the answers are truly different, and should be treated as such. The differences in answers really indicate that people really have different opinions concerning the various matters related to European identity. Moreover, this might indicate that people also have different internal mental states (i.e. cognitive features), different behaviours (i.e. conative features) and different emotive states (i.e. emotive features) concerning mental concepts of these variables and European Identity.

Another important conclusion is that none of the variables can be considered as interval variables. This means that the scales of these variables in none of the cases can be called statistically ideal and, consequently, they are unsuitable for many advanced statistical analyses. However, researchers in the past have very often used these original data without any transformation for statistical analyses. In future research, the results and knowledge of, for example, optimal scaling analysis should be used more frequently and variables should be suitably adapted to an interval scale in order to use them

for statistical analyses (like regression analyses). This critique can perhaps also be made regarding the question developers at Eurobarometer. As is shown, most questions might mislead one to believe that these questions have interval scales, while actually there is not an interval scale at all. More caution should have been taken before interpreting the results of these Eurobarometer surveys, or at least it should be noted that scales cannot be compared – and thereby also questions with various scales. The findings of the regression analyses of the Eurobarometers, for example, already indicate that the use of computed optimally scaled variables, compared to the use of original variables, shows a stronger effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable. In this case, the optimally scaled variables actually have a much higher explained variance compared to the non-optimally scaled.

Also, in many cases missing values are not at random. Therefore, one should not neglect missing values when using Eurobarometer data, as these should in some cases be treated as a separate category, or should be re-coded. If we neglect or just throw out these missing values a misleading representation of answers and conclusions is very likely. Participants who did not respond to a particular variable, might have had extreme views on the topic of the variable – as is shown in the analyses - and should as such be given ample notional representation.

Concerning political science, on the basis of these results one should take into account that people who express strong national pride should be treated differently from people who express a relatively lower sense of national pride or no national pride at all. Extreme national pride is therefore of importance for a study concerning nationalism and extreme respondents should be set apart from people who are just proud of their nation (i.e. without being extreme). However, concerning European pride the matter is different. In this case, any level of European pride need necessarily contrast with people who express no European pride. National pride has a different scale than European pride. Thus, the break in the results for European pride is more even and more expected than the break in the results for national pride. For European political scientists, this finding means that national pride and European pride are separate pride concepts and should be treated as such, indicating that

these kinds of pride do not work in the same manner and cannot be generalised.

Again, the analysis of the European identity question confirms that extreme national expression (here: only national identity) should be set apart from less national expressions or no national expression at all (here: national and European identity or only European identity). This means that the gradations of European identity as it relates to national identity are of less importance in an analysis of European identity, while the exclusion of the European identity expression seems to be of greater importance. Therefore, if one is to study European identity, a contrast with only-national identity expressions is more evident than a contrast with other levels of European identity.

The next logical step will be computing optimally scaled variables and performing the relevant regression analyses with these variables for all Eurobarometers. In the following section the results of the regression analyses are discussed and final, brief conclusions are inferred. Naturally, all of this has been done with variables that were re-coded into the same direction (see section 3.3) so that inferences can be easier. With these results one is able to validate or falsify each of the hypotheses mentioned in section 3.2 and each of the hypotheses mentioned as research results in section 2.4. The first set of hypotheses (from section 3.2) concern the social psychological variables that are expected to affect European identity expression, while the second set of hypotheses (from section 2.4) are about the sociological variables that are expected to influence European identity. The testing of these hypotheses is discussed in the following sections, and more insight in the mechanisms underlying European identity expression is achieved.

4.3 Main results: non-optimally and optimally scaled Social Psychological variables.

In this section we will discuss the results of the regression with non-optimally scaled Social Psychological variables and optimally scaled Social Psychological variables for all Eurobarometers (i.e. the 15 Eurobarometers from 1982 till 2002). Note that the social psychological variables refer to the indicators for the social psychological variables taken from the European identity model. This means that if we find a reference to social psychological variables, we have to bear in mind that, in fact, the indicators for the social psychological variables from the European identity model are meant. The results will show how much it matters to use optimally scaled versions of variables if one performs regressions with original variables that are not measured on an interval or ratio scale, i.e. variables measured on a nominal or ordinal scale.

4.3.1 Comparison of variance and non-significant results in the optimally scaled versus not optimally scaled social psychological variables

In this section the conclusions based on a comparison between tables 16 and 17 are discussed. With these two tables the regression results between the optimally scaled social psychological variables and the non-optimally scaled variables can be compared.

The first conclusion is that the explained variances for the optimally scaled variables are higher compared to the non-optimally scaled variables. The explained variance of European Identity on the basis of the analyses with the optimally scaled independent variables varies from 11% to 21% (see Table 17). It seems that the amount of variance stays reasonably stable over the period 1982-2002. The peak variance is in the 2002 Eurobarometer ($R^2=21\%$), while the lowest variance explained by the social psychological variables is in Eurobarometer 19 (1983) ($R^2=11\%$).

The non-optimally scaled social psychological variables achieve less explained variance. Table 16 shows that this amount varies from 5% to 13%. It is notably lower (about 6%) than explained variance of the optimally scaled

social psychological variables. This finding shows how 6% of the variance explained by social psychological variables can be lost if the scaling of the variables is not corrected. The optimal scaling of these social psychological variables - whereby they are better scaled and missing values are included - has made a reasonable difference in the amount of variance explaining European identity.

Another difference between the results of the regression including optimally scaled variables and the results of the regression including not optimally scaled (i.e. original) variables, concerns the amount of non-significant results. The optimally scaled variables regression leads to fewer non-significant results: 7 non-significant results are reported, while for the regression with original variables 18 non-significant results are found. Thus, the optimal scaling of social psychological variables has made a reasonable difference in the amount of significant (and non-significant) results reported for the regression: there are fewer non-significant results for the regression with optimally scaled variables. For the regression results with the non-optimally scaled variables "Perceived importance of EU" and "Perceived movement of EU" each account for 4 non-significant results, "Life satisfaction" accounts for 6 non-significant results, "Benefit from the EU" is responsible for 2 non-significant results, while "Persuade Friends" and "Desired movement of EU" account for one non-significant result each. For the regression results with optimally scaled variables the following variables account for non-significant results: "Benefit from EU" (3), "National pride" (1), "Life satisfaction" (1), "Cognitive mobilization" (1) and "Perceived movement of EU" (1). Thus, "Benefit of EU" is the least relevant variable for explaining (or predicting) European identity expression. However, this finding does not mean that it has no relevance for the prediction of European identity. The variable, however, has less relevance for the prediction of European identity compared to the other social psychological variables.

4.3.2 Explaining European Identity: the power of the betas

As has been mentioned before, the regressions with optimally scaled variables amount for fewer non-significant results compared to the regressions with non-optimally scaled variables. When there are fewer non-significant results, more betas can be detected. These betas give us information about the relevance of the pertaining variables for the explanation of European identity. In this paragraph the betas of the optimally scaled variables are discussed. The betas of the non-optimally scaled variables are also discussed even if these are less relevant for the explanation of European identity. The non-optimally scaled variables are not measured on an interval/ratio level and therefore should not be taken into consideration if one wants to discuss the explanation of European identity on the basis of social psychological variables. Using the results of the non-optimally scaled regressions for the explanation of European identity would lead to incorrect conclusions. However, in this paragraph both results are discussed so that we can clearly see what kind of incorrect conclusions would have been drawn in case regressions had been performed only with the non optimally scaled variables. Therefore, in this section the betas of the regressions of only the optimally scaled variables and the non-optimally scaled variables are discussed.

The regression results for the optimally scaled variables have the following findings. For "Perceived importance" the highest beta that is reported is .22 while the lowest beta reported for this variable is .03. The betas for "Desired importance of EU" vary between .05 and .12. "National pride" is reported to have a beta varying between -.12 and .06. "European pride" is only included in three Eurobarometers and has quite high betas for these three results: they vary between .16 and .22. The highest beta for "Life satisfaction" is .06, while the lowest beta is -.02. The betas for "Benefit from the EU" vary between -.02 and .10. The highest beta for "Good/Bad thing EU" is .18, while the lowest is .04. The betas of "Cognitive mobilization" are between -.05 and .16. Reported betas for "Persuade friends" are not lower than .03 and not higher than .12. "Perceived movement of EU" is assigned betas varying between -.08 and .11, while "Desired movement of EU" has betas varying between .03 and .14.

Thus, in general the betas reported for the following variables are among the highest, maximal betas: "Perceived importance of EU" (from .03 to .22), "European Pride" (from .16 to .22), and "Good/Bad thing EU" (from .04 to .18). These variables are related to the distinctiveness principle and the self-esteem principle (see Table 2). The lowest betas are reported for "National pride" (from -.12 to .06), "Life satisfaction" (from -.02 to .06), and "Benefit from the EU" (from -.02 to .10). Consequently, on the basis of these findings "Perceived importance of EU", "European Pride", and "Good/Bad thing EU" are the variables that explain European identity best, while the variables "National pride", "Life satisfaction", and "Benefit from the EU" explain European identity expression to a lesser extent compared to all other social psychological variables.

The regression results for the not optimally scaled variables have the following findings. For "Perceived importance" the highest beta that is reported is .24 while the lowest beta reported for this variable is equal to -.04. The betas for "Desired importance of EU" vary between .02 and .09. "National pride" is reported to have a beta varying between -.17 and .07. "European pride" is only included in three Eurobarometers and is reported to have quite high betas for these three results: they vary between .08 and .16. The highest beta for "Life satisfaction" is .24, while the lowest beta is -.02. The betas for "Benefit from the EU" vary between -.05 and .03. The highest beta for "Good/Bad thing EU" is .13, while the lowest is -.02. The betas of "Cognitive mobilization" are between .06 and .16. Reported betas for "Persuade friends" are not lower than .02 and not higher than .14. "Perceived movement of EU" is assigned betas varying between -.08 and .04, while "Desired movement of EU" has betas varying between .04 and .12. Thus, in general the betas reported for the following variables are among the highest, maximal betas: "Perceived importance of EU" (from -.04 to .24), "European Pride" (from .08 to .16), Life satisfaction (from -.02 to .24), Cognitive mobilization (from .06 to .16) and "Good/Bad thing EU" (from .04 to .18). These variables are related to the distinctiveness principle, the self-efficacy principle and the self-esteem principle (see Table 2). The lowest betas are reported for "National pride"

(from -.17 to .07), "Perceived movement of EU" (from -.08 to .04), "Benefit from the EU" (from -.05 to .03). To some extent similar findings can be drawn for both the optimally and non-optimally scaled variables regression results. However, some incorrect conclusions would have been reached where variables had not been optimally scaled. For example, the variables of "cognitive mobilization" and "life satisfaction" would seem to have much higher betas than they should actually be assigned. In the latter case, these two variables would have been considered more relevant than they deserve. Also, "perceived movement of EU" would seem to have low betas when it actually should have higher betas. Thus, the comparison between the results of the optimally scaled variables regressions and the non-optimally scaled variables regressions shows that the relevance of the variables on the basis of the betas could be misinterpreted. This misinterpretation could be caused by not using optimally scaled variables.

4.3.3 Trends in time with optimally scaled variables

In this paragraph findings concerning trends derived from Table 17 are discussed. In this section, only the optimally scaled regression results are taken into account. A comparison between the optimally scaled results and the non-optimally scaled results concerning trends that could be detected does not seem necessary because both results show similar trends. Therefore, it has been decided to discuss only the results of the optimally scaled variables as these variables that should have been correctly used for all regressions.

The "Perceived importance of EU" variable seems to show some trend over the time-span of 20 years. While it has a beta of .21 in 1982 it decreases more and more with having a beta of even .03 in 2000 and a negative beta in 2001 (beta = -.01). However, in Eurobarometer 2002, its beta suddenly amounts to .12. Thereby, "Perceived importance of EU" seems to have less and less relevance for European Identity, but then (in 2002) seems to become more relevant. The latter change might have been caused by the introduction of the Euro in many European countries around the same time. Consequently,

it would be interesting to include this variable in any future analyses for explaining European Identity.

Similarly, the "Perceived movement of EU" variable starts off with a beta of .10 in the first Eurobarometer included in the analyses, but gradually the beta decreases. In 1991, the beta is only .02 and is even negative in the Eurobarometers of the following years: 1993, 1995 (Eurobarometer 44.1), 1999, 2000 (Eurobarometer 53), and 2001. This trend shows that the relevance of the "Perceived movement of EU" variable first loses some of its relevance for explaining European Identity and also changes its meaning in explaining European Identity. The latter shows that before 1993 a higher "perceived movement of EU" would lead to a higher expression of European Identity, while after 1993 a higher "perceived movement of EU" leads to a weaker expression of European Identity. However, as earlier discussed, this change in the direction of the beta value might also be caused by an inadequate method of gathering data.

On the contrary, the variable called "Good/Bad thing EU" shows a positive trend over the 20 year time-span. Its beta goes from .06 in 1982 to .18 in Eurobarometer 44.1 (1995) and remains above .10 in later years. Thus, the relevance of this variable seems to have increased over time. For future analyses aiming to explain European Identity, this variable might prove worthwhile to include.

The other independent social psychological variables seem to be more or less stable over years, although incidental changes can be distinguished. "Desired movement of EU" variable has a beta of .13 in the results of Eurobarometer 37 (1992) analyses, but a beta of .03 in the Eurobarometer 52.0 (1999) results. "National pride" has a beta of .06 in the Eurobarometer 53 (2000) results but a negative beta of -.12 in the Eurobarometer 56.2 (2001) results.

Another important over time trend could be for the social psychological variable that has the highest relevance (i.e. beta) compared to the other social psychological variables in the same Eurobarometer. From Eurobarometer 17 (1982) until Eurobarometer 43.1 (1993) "Perceived importance of EU" has the highest relevance. From Eurobarometer 44.1 (1995) till Eurobarometer 54.1 (2000), "Good/Bad thing EU" has the highest relevance. The latter

Eurobarometer is the first Eurobarometer included in the analyses in which “European pride” is included, and from this Eurobarometer onwards “European pride” has the highest relevance. Thus, concerning the most relevant social psychological variable changes from “Perceived importance of EU” to “Good/Bad thing EU” and then again to “European Pride”. Table 17 clearly shows that the relevance of “Perceived importance of EU” over time after 1995 seems to become less important, while “Good/Bad thing EU” is becoming more important. Before 1995, however, the most important social psychological variable explaining European identity expression is clearly “Perceived importance of EU”. Thus, in future research concerning European identity with these three social psychological variables should be relevant, in particular “European Pride” for data collected recently. On the other hand, if data is used from the period 1980-1995 it might be more important to include the variable “Perceived importance of EU” in the study. This finding might indicate that the relevance of people’s European identity expression has changed: from focus on the importance that people attach to the EU, to the idea that they consider the EU as a good thing. Eventually, the most relevant underlying mechanism of European identity in the future seems to be the pride that people derive from being European.

From these findings we conclude that some social psychological variables might be more or might be less important for explaining European Identity expression, depending on *when* the data is gathered.

4.3.4 Outliers: Negative relations to European Identity

When a regression is performed part of the output consists of beta coefficients, as explained in section 4.1.1. These beta coefficients indicate the importance of each relevant independent variable for the dependent variable. The higher the beta of a specific independent variable, the higher the influence this independent variable has on the dependent variable. Consequently, the higher the beta of an independent variable, the more important this independent variable is for the construction of the dependent variable. According to the European Identity model, the independent variables, i.e. the social psychological variables, positively influence the

dependent variable, European Identity expression. This means that all social psychological variables are expected to have positive beta coefficients, particularly as all social psychological variables have first been re-coded in the same direction. This was done in such a way that a higher extent of each social psychological variable relates to a higher extent of European Identity expression (see also section 3.3). Table 16 shows that for the non-optimally scaled social psychological variables there is a high number of negative betas, namely 16, while only positive betas are expected according to the model.

Insert Table 16 here

This means that these variables, contrary to the theoretical model, do not influence expression of European Identity in the same (positive) direction but in the contrary (negative) direction. For example, a negative beta implies that a higher perceived movement of the EU causes a lower expression of European identity, instead of a higher expression of European identity as expected.

The following variables account for 17 negative beta coefficients over the time-span of twenty years: *Perceived importance of EU* (N=1); *Benefit from the EU* (N=2); *Life satisfaction* (N=1); *National pride* (N=5) and *Perceived movement of EU* (N=8).

In particular, the variables "National pride" and "Perceived importance of EU" seem to be responsible for the highest amounts of negative betas. Thus, these two variables seem contrary to the direction supposed by the European Identity model.

Nevertheless, Table 17 shows that most (N= 92) of the beta coefficients are positive, indicating that an increase of one of these social psychological variables leads to an increase in the dependent variable, namely European identity. This finding is actually in accordance with the European identity model.

There are less negative beta coefficients for the optimally scaled variables than for the non-optimally scaled variables, namely 10, as Table 17 points out.

Insert Table 17 here

The following variables are responsible for the negative beta coefficients:

National pride (N=3); Life satisfaction (N=2); Cognitive mobilization (N=1);

Benefit from EU (N=1) and Perceived movement of EU (N=3)

These are similar to the ones in the non-optimally scaled results, with the exception of cognitive mobilization having one negative beta and the absence of "Perceived importance of the EU". However, again "National pride" and "Perceived movement of EU" are responsible for the highest amounts of negative betas.

Again, according to the theoretical model, they should not be negative. The betas should be positive, as the social psychological variables had been re-coded in the direction of European Identity. The direction of the European Identity variable is such that a higher coding on this variable means a higher expression of European Identity. According to the prediction of the European Identity model most betas (N= 109) are positive.

It should be noted that these findings also indicate that the regression including optimally scaled variables leads to more positive betas and less negative betas compared to the regression with original variables. Thus, it seems that the regression with the optimally scaled variables is more according to the model of the European identity. This model predicts that the social psychological variables included in the analyses should have as many possible positive betas, as they are supposed to explain European identity.

Several explanations or reasons for the presence of these negative beta coefficients can be given. One explanation might be that the operationalisation of these social psychological variables (in particular "National pride" and "Perceived movement of EU") have not been the most

adequate and proper ones. The values of the social psychological variables are taken from the Eurobarometers. This might not be the best way to get these values, but for the time being, these are the best available. The Eurobarometers might have problems of methods. For example, the data was collected over the telephone, and the situation in which the interviewee was placed was not completely controlled. Thereby, one could claim that the method of gathering data was not the most suitable one for gathering social psychological data. The usual method of collecting social psychological data is namely one in which the situation is controlled to some extent and subjects are approached face-to-face. However, this Eurobarometer data was the best available data concerning the European identity measurement with such a huge number of respondents and across this many countries.

4.3.5 Conclusions of regression results

The results from Table 16 and 17 show that there are four main differences between the regression results with optimally scaled variables and the regression results with non-optimally scaled variables. The first is that the inclusion of optimally scaled variables leads to a higher amount of variance, of about 6% more than the inclusion of the non-optimally scaled variables. The second difference is that the regression with optimally scaled variables leads to fewer non-significant results and more betas than the regression with the non-optimally scaled social psychological variables. According to the European identity model significant results are expected, as the social psychological variables should be significant for explaining European identity. Consequently, the regression with optimally scaled variables fits the model better. The third important difference is that fewer negative betas are reported for the regression with the optimally scaled variables compared to the regression with non-optimally scaled variables. This is also more in accordance with the European identity model that predicts only positive betas. In a similar vein, one could assert that the regression with the optimally scaled variables fits better to the European identity model. Fourth, the results with the optimally scaled variables show that an incorrect interpretation could be made on the basis of the betas if optimal scaling was not used. The non-optimally

scaled results have different lower or higher betas compared to the optimally scaled results. However, these lower or higher betas for the non-optimally scaled variables would not lead to a wrong interpretation of trends as these betas remained more or less stable over time.

Furthermore, the results of the regressions with the optimally scaled variables show that some social psychological variables are more relevant or less relevant to predicting European identity than are other variables. In particular, when looking at the variables that account for non-significant results, "Benefit from the EU" has a lower relevance for the prediction of European identity compared to the other social psychological variables. On the basis of the range that the betas have for all variables, "National pride", "Life satisfaction", and "Benefit from the EU" seem to have a lower relevance. The time trend analyses of these variables reveal that these variables lose some relevance over years.

Thus, it seems that in particular "Benefit of the EU" would have the lowest relevance for explaining European identity. However, this does not mean that it has no relevance for explaining European identity. It still is significant for some Eurobarometers, and was even reported to have a beta of .10 in Eurobarometer 53 (2000). Consequently, it should not be excluded from research concerning European identity. Taking into consideration the findings for the trends, it might even be that in the future this indicator could become more important compared to other indicators of the same principle. Therefore, one should be careful not to completely exclude indicators on the basis of their betas, because these can fluctuate over time.

As has been mentioned, some indicators have become more relevant for the prediction of EU identity compared to the other indicators included in the regression. On the basis of the range of betas reported, "Perceived importance of EU", "European Pride", and "Good/Bad thing EU" might be more relevant for research on European Identity than the other social psychological indicators. Moreover, the time trend results show that these three indicators have each been the most relevant indicator at a different period in a single Eurobarometer. Thus, it appears that the indicators "Perceived importance of EU", "European Pride", and "Good/Bad thing EU"

should be of higher relevance compared to the other indicators for any study concerning the prediction of European identity.

From these findings we learn that the use of optimal scaling has made a relevant difference for the results of the regressions. The information that might have been hidden in missing values could be used, and has contributed to the higher obtained variances. Also, more significant results could be found. By using optimal scaling one can have a more correct and realistic picture of what one is measuring. From these findings one could also derive that the indicators for the social psychological principles contribute to the explanation of European identity. Therefore, the model of European identity with its relevant principles and indicators could receive some praise for its explanation of European identity. One should bear in mind, however, as the results point out, that some indicators of the principles might be more relevant than others. The order of relevance of these indicators might, furthermore, even change over time. Thus, even if the European identity model might be useful in the future, the interrelations of indicators or variables could change. It might even be the case that some indicators not mentioned in this study might be more important. The problem of data and measurement would remain: a perfect data set with perfect indicators of the principles of European identity does not exist and will not exist. Consequently, in the future the most suitable indicators for the principles of the European identity model should be found. In an existing data set one would hardly expect to find perfect indicators. However, indicators that fit the principles more or less should be considered as suitable if no other means of measurement is at hand.

In sum, the regression results stress the implementation of optimal scaling analyses for variables that are not scaled on an interval/ratio level and for variables that contain some amount of missing variables. The regression results also validate the model of European identity. This model contains principles with pertaining indicators. These indicators could be used for explaining European identity in the past, present and future, taking into consideration the relevance of the indicators.

4.4 Country, gender, age and job indicators in relation to European identity

In section 4.5 the results of the regressions including sociological indicators will be discussed. Before discussing these results, the sociological indicators will be discussed concerning their relation to European Identity. Various categories of sociological variables are mentioned in relation to European identity. In this way the spread of European identity over the relevant sociological indicators can become easily visible. This spread already slightly indicates that the hypotheses formulated in section 2.4, concerning the sociological dummy variables, are likely to be validated. However, statistical proof is needed to make stronger cases for the validations of the hypotheses. This statistical proof will be set out in the section following this one, where the results of the T-tests will be discussed relating to the relevant hypotheses. In table 18 one can find the means and standard deviations of European Identity per country, while table 19 gives the means and standard deviation of European identity per gender, age cohort and job level.

Insert Table 18 here

Insert Table 19 here

In this section the results from Table 18 and 19 are discussed by mentioning the most relevant findings. The hypotheses linked to these sociological indicators are not yet discussed in this section as no proof is given for a statistical validation. Therefore, the discussion in this section is limited to findings that show that some countries, a specific gender, age cohorts or job levels have higher or lower European identity. The means mentioned in Tables 18 and 19 are based on the optimally scaled variables, as these could be considered on an interval/ratio level. Therefore we refer to the means as being means of optimally scaled scores of the sociological indicators. When these means are positive a person in this category is more likely to have a

strong European identity, while a negative mean indicates that a person in this category is more likely to have a weak European identity.

4.4.1 Countries

From Table 18 it is inferred that in particular France, Italy, Spain and Luxembourg have relatively high means for the optimally scaled scores on European identity. Identity expression for the French compared to other nationalities in the Eurobarometers is very high. French citizens have relatively high means for the optimally scaled scores. Consequently, the choice of France as a reference category is justified in the sense that all other countries are supposed to have a lower European identity than France.

From Table 18 one can also infer that the countries seeming to have a relatively low expression of European identity are Ireland, Northern Ireland, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. This inference is based on the large amount of negative means existing for these countries. As a consequence, these low scores seem to indicate that these countries (i.e. the UK, Northern Ireland, Ireland and the Netherlands) have a relatively low level of European Identity expression compared to other countries.

4.4.2 Gender

Table 19 shows that men seem to have a higher optimally scaled mean score than women. More specifically, for all Eurobarometers men seem to have higher and positive optimally scaled mean scores on European Identity compared to women, who have lower and negative scores.

4.4.3 Age cohorts

Table 19 shows that all young cohorts (i.e. 15-24 years, 25-34 years, and 35-44 years) have positive, optimally scaled mean scores on European Identity. Old cohorts (i.e. 55-64 years, and 65+ years) have negative optimally scaled mean scores on European Identity. These findings might indicate that young cohorts are more likely to express a positive European Identity compared to old cohorts.

4.4.4 Job Status

Table 19 shows that professionals and middle class workers have positive, optimally scaled mean scores on European Identity, while manual workers and non-workers have negative ones. Professionals have the highest optimally scaled mean scores, while manual workers seem to have the lowest range of optimally scaled mean scores. These findings might indicate that professionals (perhaps, together with middle class workers) have a higher expression of European Identity compared to manual workers and non-workers.

4.5 Main results with sociological variables

4.5.1 General results: sociological variables versus social psychological variables

Regression is performed with a model using sociological and social psychological variables. The sociological variables that are chosen in the analyses are dummy variables for countries, gender, age cohorts and job status.¹⁰ The social psychological variables are entered in the model as one block. These variables are entered as the first block because it is expected that the social psychological variables will predict more variance in the European Identity expression than the sociological variables. Moreover, it is expected that the effect between sociological variables and European identity expression might disappear or decrease when social psychological variables are taken into account. This is why their inclusion is also very important. Sociological variables are included stepwise as a second block. This is because the sociological variables are expected to have less variance than the social psychological variables, and were originally not part of the theoretical model of European Identity.

In Table 20 we see the results of the regression analyses performed with only the sociological variables as predictors, while excluding the optimally scaled social psychological variables. The results of the analyses with both the optimally scaled social psychological variables and sociological variables dummy variables can be found in Table 21.

Insert Table 20 here

Insert Table 21 here

¹⁰ See section 4.1.2 for more information concerning the creation and content of these dummy variables.

The difference between the parameters of the sociological variables of the tables can be interpreted as the indirect effect of the sociological variables on European identity expression via social psychological variables.

If one compares the betas from Table 20 with Table 21 one can easily see that the betas are much higher in Table 20, where regression results are shown for analyses excluding social psychological variables. For example, for Belgium in Eurobarometer 17 (1983) the beta is $-.11$ in the results of the regression analyses excluding the social psychological variables compared to $-.07$ in the results of the regression analyses including social psychological variables. Also, the variances are much higher, as they vary between 6% and 9% for the results excluding the social psychological variables, compared to the additional variances varying between 2% and 6% in the results of the regression analyses including social psychological variables. The main cause of higher variances and higher betas is due to the fact that in these analyses the social psychological variables do not account for some common variance or relevance in explaining European identity expression as the latter variables are excluded. However, with these results one can discern the fact that the social psychological variables made a difference in the former analyses, as these might be shown to have an indirect effect on European identity via the sociological variables or vice versa. For example, cognitive mobilization is more likely to be higher for a male compared to a female. Thus, when one includes the variable of cognitive mobilization, this effect is not reported, and the effect of being male on the expression of European identity increases per se. Furthermore, if one compares the betas of the social psychological variables reported in Table 17 with the betas of the social psychological variables when sociological variables are included in the regression, the relevance of the social psychological variables is more or less similar (i.e. the betas are more or less similar: no major changes can be reported). This means that the relevance of social psychological variables is not really greatly affected by the inclusion of sociological variables in a regression, while the relevance of sociological variables, on the other hand, is influenced to some extent by the inclusion of social psychological variables in a regression. Consequently, social psychological variables indeed show more relevance in explaining European identity expression than do sociological variables.

When comparing the two tables, furthermore, there are fewer non-significant results for the regressions excluding social psychological variables compared to the regression analyses including social psychological variables. This can be explained in a similar way as for the variance. Effects of sociological variables can decrease or disappear by including social psychological variables, as the former variables might indirectly influence European identity. Consequently, the effects might be non-significant, which in this case means that the dummy variable is equal to the sociological variable's reference category. For example, the two non-significant results for gender become significant when excluding social psychological variables in the regression analyses. This might be due to the fact that other social psychological variables (e.g. cognitive mobilization) differ per gender and therefore have an indirect effect on European identity.

To conclude, we can easily perceive the importance of the inclusion of social psychological variables, as without them we would lose relevant information concerning the explanation of European identity expression. Moreover, one might wrongly state that European Identity expression might be explained by sociological variables, while social psychological variables in fact might have more important effects on European Identity expression. The effects sociological variables might have on European identity can even disappear when taking into account social psychological variables.

To make an even stronger case for the inclusion of social psychological variables compared to sociological variables in analyses of European identity expression, one might also take the following into account. If we compare the explained variances of the regression results including only sociological variables that vary between 6% and 9% with the explained variances of the regression results including only optimally scaled social psychological variables that vary between 11% and 21%, we infer that the social psychological variables are more important in the explanation of European Identity expression than the sociological variables. Furthermore, the added explained variances of these sociological variables next to the social psychological variables vary between 3% and 7%, while the variances in

social psychological variables predicting European identity vary between 11% and 20%. Thus, it again seems that the social psychological variables account for about the double of the explained variances for European identity expression when compared with the amount that sociological variables explain. Furthermore, one should take into account that sociological variables can have indirect effects on European identity in these analyses, as the sociological variables are entered as a second block. The direct effect on European identity expression should be from the social psychological variables, which were entered in the first block. Thus, these amounts of variance show that the indirect effect of sociological variables via social psychological variables on European identity is smaller than the direct effect between social psychological variables and European identity. This means that, concerning the choice of variables that determine European Identity, it is better to use social psychological variables compared to sociological variables, as the former variables account for a higher influence. The reason for this higher influence could be that a social identity such as a European Identity is more likely to be formed on the basis of social psychological processes than sociological processes. One could state that a social identity is closer to a human being's whole of identities than to a community's identity, even though members of this community share the same identity, i.e. social identity. To conclude, in general, one can state that the focus on social psychological variables in the explanation of European identity is preferred to a focus on sociological variables on the basis of general results.

Table 21 also shows that the sociological variables remain relatively stable, and no huge trends can be distinguished. The majority of sociological variables have negative betas, which means that compared to the reference category the sociological variables have a more negative/decreasing effect on European identity expression. For example, a national from the Netherlands is more likely to have a lower expression of European Identity compared to nationals from France. This is true for all countries over almost the whole time-span of 20 years. However, for the other sociological variables it is not always negative, sometimes depending on a specific dummy variable within the same group of variables. In the following sections, the results are discussed in more detail. First the results of the dummy variables for the

countries are discussed. In addition, the results of the gender dummy variable are briefly mentioned. Thirdly, the outcomes of the regressions with the five age cohort dummy variables are treated in a different paragraph. Last, results of the regression analyses for the three job status dummy variables will be dealt in detail. All discussions of these outcomes are linked to the hypotheses previously mentioned in section 2.4. In particular, in these discussions the hypotheses are used as starting points and are confronted with the results of sociological variables.

Results of T-tests that have been performed are given in order to provide stronger statistical proof for the falsification or confirmation of these hypotheses. These T-tests can be defined as a necessary statistical tool in order to see if there is a difference between two groups concerning some dependent variable. In the case of the sociological hypotheses, specific groups within a single sociological variable had been distinguished and were compared with each other concerning European identity. Consequently, the use of T-tests is of additional importance so as to give a stronger validation for these sociological hypotheses next to the regression results of the pertaining variables.

4.5.2 Specific results: hypothesis testing for countries

In Table 21 one can find the results of the regression analyses performed with country, age cohort, gender and occupation dummy variables, including social psychological variables. Table 21 is preferred to Table 20 because it includes the social psychological variables that influence European identity expression to quite some extent, as has already been discussed. Therefore, we should not neglect the effect of social psychological variables, when one wants to look at the effects of sociological variables.

In this section the results concerning country dummy variables are discussed. From the table one can see that, except for some 14 cases, all country dummy variables have negative betas in all results. The exceptions, i.e. where significant positive betas are found, are the following:

Germany - Eurobarometer 17 (1982) - beta=.08; Italy – Eurobarometer 50.0 (1998) – beta=.03; Italy - Eurobarometer 52.0 (1999) - beta=.04; Italy-Eurobarometer 54.1 (2000)- beta= .03; Luxembourg- Eurobarometer 17 (1982) - beta=.04; Luxembourg- Eurobarometer 44.1 (1995)- beta=.02; Luxembourg - Eurobarometer 50.0 (1998) - beta=.02; Luxembourg - Eurobarometer 54.1 (2000) - beta=.03; Greece - Eurobarometer 17 (1982) - beta= .04; Spain - Eurobarometer 36 (1991) - beta=.04; Spain - Eurobarometer 50.0 (1998) - beta=.02; Spain - Eurobarometer 52.0 (1999) - beta=.02; Spain - Eurobarometer 54.1 (2000) - beta=.04, and Portugal - Eurobarometer 36 (1991) - beta=.02.

Countries with quite a lot of negative betas are the Netherlands, Ireland, Northern Ireland, Great Britain¹¹, and Greece. Their betas are around -.10 across all Eurobarometers. The lowest betas that are reported for each of these countries are the following: the Netherlands (1982, EB 17) - beta= -.15; Ireland (1991, EB 35) - beta= -.16; Great Britain (1983, EB 19) – beta= -.14; Northern Ireland (1983, EB 19) – beta=-.11; and Greece (2000, EB 53) – beta= -.14. These betas are among the lowest betas reported across the

¹¹ Northern Ireland and Great Britain are however taken together as one dummy variable from Eurobarometer 50.0 (1998) onwards. In the latter Eurobarometer and consequent ones no differentiation is made between Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Both are considered part of the United Kingdom

countries and the pertaining dummy variables seem to have the most relevance. This is definitely the case compared to other countries whose betas are, in general, not much lower than $-.10$, and in particular for France, as France was set as reference category. The negative betas for these countries - the Netherlands, Ireland, Northern Ireland, Great Britain, and Greece - are of some relevance. They indicate that being a national of these countries significantly reduces one's positive expression of European Identity compared to French nationality. In other words, this means that French citizens are supposed to have a high European identity in general, this is especially true when compared with Dutch, Irish, Northern Irish, British and Greek citizens. Moreover, the relatively high betas also indicate that this reduction is relatively higher than for a citizen from a different country where the negative beta is not so high, like Spain. Thus, especially nationals from these countries would have a lower European Identity compared to French citizens.

In chapter 2 some research that might be related to European identity has been discussed. Research results were presented as hypotheses, including sociological variables, in section 2.4. The first sociological (i.e. including sociological) hypothesis mentioned was:

I Countries like France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg who are early members of the EU are expected to have a higher expression of European identity compared to Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland, who are later members of the EU.

If we take this hypothesis as the starting point for looking at the results derived from the regression analyses, we should compare the early member countries (France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) to the later member countries (Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland)¹². The early member countries have much more positive betas and less negative betas than the late member countries. To be more precise, the

¹² On the basis of the hypothesis the following countries are not discussed in this paragraph of the section even though they have been included in the analyses: Northern Ireland, Greece, Spain, Portugal, East Germany, Norway, Finland, Sweden, and Austria.

late membership countries do not have a single positive beta. A positive beta is supposed to indicate that people from these countries have a higher expression of European identity compared to French citizens. The early membership countries account for 8 out of the 14 positive betas, indicating that people from these countries (i.e. Italy, Germany, and Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium) express a higher European identity compared to French citizens. Moreover, the early membership countries account for 23 non-significant betas indicating the same level of European identity with French citizens, while the late memberships have only one non-significant beta. Moreover, the late membership countries have only significant, negative betas, indicating that they have lower European identity expression levels compared to France. Considering the fact that France is the category country in all cases, early membership countries, with the Netherlands as an exception, thus have stronger identifications with the EU compared to the late membership countries. This finding is in line with the hypothesis.

The other six positive betas (out of the 14 mentioned before) that are left do not belong to early member countries, but they also do not belong to the 1973 cohort of Great Britain, Ireland or Denmark. These six positive betas can be ascribed to even newer EU member countries. The 6 other positive betas are ascribed to Spain (4), Greece (1) and Portugal (1), all Southern member states. After 1973, also Greece joined the EU in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986 and Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995. The fact that these three countries are Southern countries might not be a coincidence. Concerning Southern EU member states, the second sociological hypothesis derived from section 2.4 was formulated as following:

II People who come from a Southern member state are more likely to have a European identity than people who do not come from a Southern member state.

The fact that the other positive betas are from Southern member states might seem to be in line with the hypothesis. The positive betas indicate that for the relevant years people from these countries show a higher expression of

European identity than people from France, when France is not considered to be a Southern member state. In this case, the Southern member states might have a higher expression of European identity compared to other, especially, Northern member states. However, on the basis of the tables presented up till this point, it is still very difficult to validate the latter statement with clarity, as France might not function very well as a good example for a non-Southern member state. In this section the two hypotheses are tested statistically.

Table 21 shows the results of T-tests performed with sociological variables and optimal scaled scores for European Identity expression in all Eurobarometers.

Insert Table 22 here

The T-tests for the two groups of old and new EU member states also show that there is a significant difference between them for all Eurobarometers¹³. This means that early member states significantly differ from late member states in European identity expression. As the groups also loosely correspond to non-Southern EU member states and Southern member states, one can also state that these two groups of member states significantly differ in

¹³ The first T-test is performed between the first six or seven countries mentioned in the Eurobarometer country variable and the other countries. This is done by means of setting the split at either the coding 6 or 7. Until Eurobarometer 50 (1998), the six first countries correspond to the first countries that became members of the European Union, namely France, Belgium, The Netherlands, West Germany, Italy and Luxembourg. After Eurobarometer 50.0 (1998), the first seven countries mentioned in the country variable are the following: Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain and France. This means that for the Eurobarometers before 1998 the T-test includes in one group really only old members of the EU and some non-Southern countries, while the other group contains exclusively new members of the EU. However, the T-tests for the Eurobarometers after 1998 have less exclusive groups: groups are not so clear concerning the inclusion of only original members or non-Southern members. The set-up of the Eurobarometers for this variable causes this shift in content of group. The order in which the countries are mentioned in the specific country variable changed somewhat after 1998. However, one group remains to contain the most important old EU members, namely France, Germany, Belgium, Germany and Italy. This means that both Luxembourg and the Netherlands are not included in the early membership countries for the analyses of Eurobarometers after 1998 (50.0). However, concerning the fact that the Netherlands seems to account for reasonably negative beta scores, the exclusion of this country as an early member country might be beneficial for the validation of results. On

European identity expression. One should pay attention to the fact that Luxembourg and the Netherlands have not been included in all analyses. Moreover, the Netherlands seems to be an exceptional country when looking at the relatively negative scores. Even though it is an early member country, European Identity expression tends to be just as low as other countries like Great Britain, Ireland, and Denmark.

The second T-test is performed between British citizens and Italian citizens with European Identity expression. The results of the T-tests for all Eurobarometers show that there is a significant difference between the two means of optimally scaled scores on European identity expression for these two groups (see Table 22). As already discussed in the previous section, Italians have much higher optimally scaled scores on European identity expression compared to British citizens. This difference is significant.

With this finding, also the hypothesis concerning British and Italian citizens can be statistically validated as Italians in general have a higher European Identity expression than British citizens:

III Italians are expected to have a higher level of European identity compared to British citizens.

On the basis of findings reported earlier this third hypothesis seems to be a bit too simplistic and obvious in its present form. British citizens have always been known to be sceptical concerning the European Union. Consequently, it would sound very obvious that they should have a low level of European Identity expression, while Italians are known not to have been so sceptical towards the European Union, or towards taking up a European Identity. Moreover, hypothesis 1 already encompasses hypothesis 3. In hypothesis 1 Italy and Great Britain are opposed to one another, as the first is an early member country and the latter a late member country. Therefore, it is more logical for future analyses concerning European identity to include only the

the other hand, the exclusion of the Netherlands in the group might also result in a biased picture.

first hypothesis in the analyses, as this hypothesis already encompasses hypothesis 3 and is conceptually broader.

The fourth hypothesis concerning country variables is the following:

IV People who come from richer countries are more likely to have a higher level of European Identity compared to people who come from poor countries.

In order to find some indication for categorising countries into richer countries and poor countries, the GDP measures distributed by Eurostat are used. See Table 23 for the GDP in capita for the year 2000.

Insert Table 23 here

The average GDP for the Euro zone is used as a measure to define a country as being poor or as being rich. Countries above this average GDP are called rich while countries below this average GDP are called poor. On the basis of this table and definitions of poor/rich countries, one can reformulate the fourth hypothesis as following:

People who come from Greece, Spain and Portugal are more likely to have a lower level of European Identity compared to people from the other European countries included in the analyses.

As this hypothesis is almost completely the contrary of hypothesis 3 one could suppose that the validity of this hypothesis is very small, as according to hypothesis 3 Southern Member state citizens would have a higher European identity compared to non-Southern Member state citizens. As Greece, Spain and Portugal can be considered as Southern EU Member state citizens, hypothesis 3 is completely in contrary to hypothesis 4. As mentioned before, hypothesis 3 seemed to be validated by the results. Therefore, we reject the

testing of hypothesis 4 and conclude that citizens from poor countries are not more likely to have a higher European identity expression. On the contrary, it seems that citizens from poor countries might benefit more from being a European Union member, and consequently want to identify more with other Europeans. Consequently, one is more likely to find a higher European identity expression for citizens from poor EU member states compared to citizens from rich EU member states.

To conclude, we cannot find straightforward and completely waterproof validations for all four hypotheses concerning the dummy country variables. To some extent early EU member states might have a higher expression of European Identity compared to late EU member states. However, when performing T-tests with this hypothesis some problems appeared concerning the split between early and late EU member states. Similar problems were encountered when trying to validate the second hypothesis statistically. Furthermore, when taking a look at the sociological dummy spread of means, one could make a distinction between two groups of countries. One group seemed to express a high degree of European identity, while the other group seemed to express a low degree of European identity. The first group encompasses the following countries: Italy, Luxembourg, Spain and France. This group shall be called the group of countries with Romance cultures. The second group contained countries like The Netherlands, Great Britain, Ireland, North Ireland, and Greece. To differentiate this group from the first one, the latter group is called group of countries with non-Romance cultures.

The first group of countries with Romance cultures seems to appear as a separate group when one takes a closer look at the non-significant results.

Up till now, only the significant results have been discussed concerning country dummy variables, however, non-significant results are also of relevance. Some country dummy variables seem to be quite non-significant across Eurobarometers. This does not mean that these dummy variables are not at all relevant for explaining variance in European Identity. The following country dummy variables are often not significant: Italy (8 out of 13

Eurobarometers); Luxembourg (8 out of 13 Eurobarometers) and Spain (6 out of 12 Eurobarometers)¹⁴

Thus, these three country dummy variables are, for at least half of the analyses, not significant. Non-significance in these cases means that - as France has been set as a reference category - they are not different in their level of European identification from the European identification found for French citizens. This means that the expression of European identity from these national citizens is not significantly different from that of French citizens in the cases where a non-significant beta is reported. In a similar vein, one could state that citizens from Italy, Luxembourg, and Spain to some extent share the same high amount of European identity expression that French citizens show. Also Belgium (3), West Germany (4), Denmark (1), Greece (3), Portugal (1) and Norway (1) have some non-significant results. Again, these results can be interpreted in such a way that the countries in those cases/Eurobarometers did not differ from the European Identity expressed by French citizens. In general, however, one could take France, Spain, Italy and Luxembourg together as countries that have a higher than average European Identity. Thus, it seems correct to form an alternative hypothesis that one might find interesting to test on the basis of this finding:

Citizens from Latin countries (countries with a Romance language/culture) are more likely to have a higher European Identity expression than non-Latin countries (countries with a non-Romance language/culture).

On the basis of the result that Dutch, Irish, Northern Irish, British and Greek citizens are especially low on European identity compared to the French (this is due to the very low betas), one could even validate the just mentioned alternative hypothesis, by stating that ***People from non-Romance cultures are more likely to obtain a low European Identity compared to Romance cultures.*** Considering the fact that Dutch, Irish, Northern Irish, Greek and British citizens come from non-Romance cultures, we propose the latter hypothesis as an alternative hypothesis for future analyses with European

¹⁴ In 1982 Spain was not included in the Eurobarometer 17.

Identity. Therefore, the alternative hypothesis concerning Romance cultures and European identity seems to be an even more interesting one for research in European identity. Note that Germany, as a reasonably large non-Romance country, does not fit this alternative hypothesis. This might be caused by its specific, special history. It used to be divided in two parts, and since its unification, German citizens adopt a higher European identity compared to other non-Romance countries in order to be more part of the European Union. In this way, German citizens might also strive to get rid of their negative national past, and feeling European could assist in this.

With this alternative hypothesis, the third hypothesis could be changed in the same direction, as it seems that not only British citizens can be set apart from Italian citizens in their European expression. The same counts for Irish, Northern Irish, Greek and Dutch citizens on the one hand, and Italian citizens on the other hand. Note that in this alternative hypothesis, the Netherlands, which is an early membership country - but without a Romance culture - is set apart against France, Italy, Spain, and Luxembourg. As such, the alternative hypothesis does not contradict the finding that the Netherlands has a low level of European Identity, even if it is an early member state country. With the latter alternative hypothesis, however, the Netherlands is expected to have a low level of European Identity as it belongs to the group of countries with non-Romance cultures.

The fourth hypothesis, lastly, should be completely rejected on the basis of the Eurobarometer results on European Identity.

Other findings or conclusions, which are not related to any of the aforementioned hypotheses, but which can be based on the results of regression analyses with the country dummy variables are reported in the following paragraph.

No major trends can be detected, but the "Netherlands" dummy variable seems to be declining a bit over time. In 1982 it has a beta of $-.15$, while in the final Eurobarometer (2002) the beta for this dummy variable is $-.07$. This means that the relevance of this dummy has become slightly less for explaining low European Identity compared to France. For Ireland, Northern

Ireland and Great Britain, the betas are more stable. The "Greece" dummy variable seems to show a slight increase in its relevance. In 1982 its beta is .04, while it -.13 in 1992. From 1992 onwards all betas are lower than -.10. Thus, the dummy variable for Greece has a quite stable relevance from that point onwards concerning its relevance for explaining European Identity.

4.5.3 Specific results: hypothesis testing for gender

Only one dummy variable was necessary for this sociological variable. Women were in the reference category. Only one beta is not positive and significant. This means that, in general, being male increases positive expression of European Identity compared to being female.

The hypothesis concerning gender as mentioned in section 2.4 is

V Men are expected to have a higher level of European identity compared to women

The results show out that men seem to have higher optimally scaled mean scores than women, and this finding indicates that men are more likely to show a higher expression of European identity compared to women. Thereby, the hypothesis could be confirmed with the data results of the Eurobarometer regarding the spread of means.

However, the results of the T-tests (see Table 22) give even more evidence for the validation of this hypothesis. A third T-test was performed concerning the gender variable. In this test women's mean of optimally scaled scores on European identity expression are compared with men's. Thus, men are compared with women concerning European identity. The difference between the two groups is significant across all Eurobarometers. Thus, one can state that men significantly differ from women concerning European identity expression.

The only negative beta here is the one for Eurobarometer 19, 1983. This seems to be quite strange as it is a real outlier in view of the other betas over

the years. Also, the spread of gender for that year is quite similar to other years (male: 48.9% and female: 51.1%), while the mean for the optimally scaled score for men is $-.03$ and for women is $.02$. Thus, the reason for this negative beta, which indicates that women are more likely to show a higher European identity compared to men, is very difficult to trace. A possibility is that women had become much more involved in European Union issues in that year than other years, whereby they were more willing to express a European identity.

The non-significant betas found for Eurobarometers 17 (1983) and Eurobarometer 50.0 (1998) indicate that there is no difference between the European identity expression for men and women in the data for these years. This might be caused by an exceptional period/year in which men and women were very similar in their ways of thinking concerning European Identity.

4.5.4 Specific results: hypothesis testing for age cohorts

The reference category is the youngest age cohort (15-25 years) for these dummy variables. Except for one, all significant betas are negative or non-significant. Thus people placed in these dummy variables all have either an equal amount of European identity expression in the case of non-significance or a lower amount of European identity expression compared to people in the 15-25 age cohort, in the case of a negative beta. Thus, the significant, negative betas indicate that for the late age cohorts (55-64 and 65+ in particular) a lower expression of European Identity can be found with respect to the age cohort of 15-25 years. Concerning age cohorts, the hypothesis derived from section 2.4 is the following:

VI Persons from early cohorts (i.e. younger people) are more likely to have a higher European identity expression compared to people from late cohorts (i.e. older people).

This hypothesis can already be validated with the results of the Eurobarometer data concerning the spread of sociological variables.

However, to have more statistical evidence for the confirmation of this hypothesis, the results of the T-tests are very important.

The fourth T-test is done with two age groups, namely the 15-24 years cohort and the 65+ years cohort. The results of these T-tests indicate that for all but one Eurobarometer (namely, Eurobarometer 19, 1983) the differences between these two groups concerning European identity are significant. With this finding the fifth hypothesis can be statistically validated.

Meanwhile, the age cohort of 65 years and over gains a higher relevance in explaining European Identity. One might also distinguish a slight increase of relevance for this dummy variable as its beta moves from $-.03$ in the 1990 Eurobarometer to $-.10$ in the 2001 Eurobarometer with some fluctuations in the middle of the period (see Table 20). Its peak can be found in Eurobarometer 50.0 (1998) with a beta of $-.14$. This finding could, consequently, suggest that we include this variable in future analyses of European Identity. In contrast, one might be less willing to include the dummy variables for the age cohorts of 25-34 years and 35-44 years. The results for these dummy variables are about two thirds non-significant, which means that these results are not significant compared to the 15-25 years cohort. The 25-34 years cohort dummy variable is not significant for 10 out of the 15 Eurobarometers. By the same token, for the 35-44 years cohort dummy variable is not significant for 9 out of 15 Eurobarometers. Nevertheless, these dummy variables could be considered of high relevance for explaining changes in European Identity expression, but they are very similar to the 15-25 years cohort concerning European identity expression. Admittedly, one could state the same for the 45-54 years cohort dummy variable, which is not significant for 5 out of 13 Eurobarometers. Hence, these findings might indicate that in future analyses on European Identity it would be worthwhile to include only one cohort of dummy variables from the selection of the following cohorts: 15-25 years cohort, 25-34, 35-44, or 45-54 years. Furthermore, one should include two dummy variables for a 65+ years cohort and another one for a 55-64 years cohort. In general, one could state that persons from the 15-25 years cohort do not differ a lot concerning European Identity expression from persons in other cohorts up to the age of 54. From that age on, older

persons are shown to have a lower expression of European identity than younger people. Therefore an alternative hypothesis could be formed as following:

People younger than 50 are more likely to have a higher European Identity expression compared to people older than 65.

4.5.5 Specific results: hypothesis testing for job status

Three dummy variables were computed on the basis of the re-coded, new variable for job status. The unemployed are placed in the reference category. The significant betas for the professional and middle class dummy variables are positive, whereas the significant betas for the manual workers dummy variable are all negative. There are no exceptions. This means that in these cases where positive significant betas are reported, professionals and middle class workers have a higher expression of European Identity compared to unemployed persons.

One should compare this finding with the hypothesis concerning job status characteristics which was stated as following in section 2.4:

VII People with a higher level job are expected to have a higher level of European identity expression compared to people with no job or a lower level job.

It was found that professionals (perhaps together with middle class workers) have a higher expression of European Identity compared to manual workers and non-workers. Consequently, the hypothesis is confirmed with this finding. Statistically this hypothesis is strengthened by the results of the T-test performed.

The fifth T-test compares the two groups of professionals and manual workers with each other concerning their expressions of European identity. The outcome of these T-tests is that the differences are significant for all Eurobarometers (see Table 22). This means that professionals significantly

differ in European identity from manual workers. To be precise, professionals have a higher expression of European identity compared to manual workers. The last and sixth T-test encompasses the following two groups: professionals and non-workers. The results of these tests across Eurobarometers are also positive and validate the hypothesis that these two groups significantly differ concerning European Identity (see Table 22). In specific terms, professionals have a significantly higher expression of European identity than non-workers.

Thus, these two tests give statistical proof for the fact that professionals have a higher expression of European Identity compared to both manual workers and non-workers.

In cases where negative, significant betas are reported manual workers would have a lower expression of European Identity compared to the unemployed. Meanwhile, the betas for all these dummy variables are quite low (i.e. $.06 < \text{beta} > -.06$). Consequently, one might not consider these negative betas as highly important.

Some non-significant betas are also reported. For professionals and for manual workers there is only one non-significant beta each. However, the middle class dummy variable is not significant for 8 out of 15 Eurobarometers. Thus, this means that in these cases persons in the middle class group do not differ in European identity expression from the unemployed. On the basis of this finding one might formulate an alternative hypothesis, which might prove extremely useful for future research on European identity:

Both professionals and middle class persons are expected to have a higher European Identity expression compared to manual workers and the unemployed.

4.5.6 Conclusions of sociological results

To conclude, on the basis of the results for the regression analyses with dummy variables, the following alternative hypotheses are proposed for future analyses/research including European Identity and sociological variables:

Citizens from Romance cultures are more likely to have a higher European Identity expression than citizens from non-Romance cultures.

People younger than 50 are more likely to have a higher European Identity expression compared to people older than 65.

Both professionals and middle class persons are expected to have a higher European Identity expression compared to manual workers and the unemployed.

Concerning countries, it does seem to matter to some extent from which country or culture a person comes. The most important finding concerning the country variable seems to be that people from more Romance orientated countries/cultures express a higher European identity. Countries included in the analyses that do not have this Romance origin could be described as Anglo/Greek cultures (i.e. UK, the Netherlands and Greece). Consequently, one could transform the first alternative hypothesis into the following one:

Anglo/Greek cultures are more likely to obtain a low European Identity compared to non-Anglo/Greek cultures.

However, as the hypotheses do not contradict each other, one is free to choose which is more appropriate for use in a study concerning the prediction of European identity. Anyway, one can state that people from Romance countries (in particular, France, Spain and Italy) have a higher European identity than people from non-Romance cultures (in particular, UK, Greece, and the Netherlands), where Germany can be considered to be an exception.

Concerning gender, the hypothesis that men have a higher European identity expression is confirmed with the T-tests. Thus, we state that men have a higher European identity than women.

Concerning age cohorts, the hypothesis has been reformulated on the basis of findings. The second alternative hypothesis makes a difference between people who are older than about 65 and younger than 50. People younger than 50 are expected to have a higher European identity compared to people older than 65. In reality, the first hypothesis, formulated about young people and old people, is validated. However, the alternative hypothesis is more precise concerning what is meant by young people. The definition in this alternative hypothesis refers to people younger than 50 years, while old people refer to people with the age of over 65. Consequently, the hypothesis is made more defined and precise. In sum, one can state that people younger than 50 have a higher European identity than people who are older than 65.

Concerning job level, the first mentioned hypothesis has been reformulated into an alternative hypothesis that is also more precise and more defined than the former one. The first hypothesis set apart people with a low level job and a high level job. However, in the alternative hypothesis these two groups are better defined as people who are professionals and middle class workers or are manual workers and unemployed. In sum, one can assert that people who are defined as professionals or middle class workers in general have a higher European identity than manual workers or unemployed.

CHAPTER 5

Experiments

While Chapter 4 dealt exclusively with quasi-experimental research, Chapter 5 will deal with experimental research. In this chapter, we present two types of research: experimental research based on self-reporting and experimental research based on implicit attitudes. The first part concerns experimental research performed in six countries (at various universities in these countries). On the basis of the hypotheses given in section 3.2., one expects that people in the three manipulation conditions (i.e. the three versions of the questionnaire in which the European Union is connected to the principles of self-efficacy, continuity or distinctiveness) will have a higher level of European identity. In this experimental research the independent variables are manipulated by means of a text. In section 5.1, an introduction to the paper-and-pencil (i.e. written) experiments is given. Section 5.2 contains an outline of the experiments. The method of the experiments is explained in section 5.3, while section 5.4 is devoted to the results and analyses from the data. The conclusions appear in section 5.5.

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to implicit attitudes research performed at the University of Padua, Italy. This second part will be discussed in sections 5.6 - 5.10. Implicit attitudes towards the European Union and Italy are investigated by means of a subliminal priming experiment. In addition, some explicit measures of attitudes towards the European Union and Italy are included.

The hypotheses that were used for setting-up this experiment can be found in section 3.2. In this section, hypotheses about these subliminal experiments are mentioned in connection with the principles of the European identity model. This subliminal experiment is concerned with the associations that people might have regarding the European Union flag, the Italian flag, the EU as a concept and Italy as a concept. The aim is to find out whether these associations are positive or negative, by comparing them with each other and a neutral prime. Mainly, it was expected for that for positive adjectives

participants would have quicker reaction times in the prime conditions than in the control conditions (i.e. where participants were not exposed to a prime).

Furthermore, a comparison between the explicit and implicit measures concerning the EU will be made. That is, one could expect that participants with a higher level of continuity, self-efficacy or distinctiveness concerning the EU will have quicker reactions to the EU primes connected with positive adjectives than will participants with a lower level of continuity, self-efficacy or distinctiveness concerning the EU. The data collected from the subliminal experiments is combined with the data collected from the questionnaires that students had to fill out at the end of the subliminal part of the experiment.

A short review of implicit attitudes, implicit attitudes studies and related subjects is given in section 5.6. In section 5.7, the method employed for the implicit attitude research is explained. The method of data collection is discussed in more detail in section 5.8. Section 5.9 is dedicated to the results and analyses of the implicit attitudes study, while section 5.10 consists of conclusions.

Thus, the general aim is to test the European identity model for both the explicit identification with the EU and implicit attitudes towards the EU.

5.1 Introduction to paper-and-pencil experiments

Paper-and-pencil (i.e. questionnaire) experiments were used to test the model on European identity. These experiments were set up in order to test the main hypothesis of this part of the experimental research, as described in the section 3.2.

A sample of university students in each country was selected. I sought to recruit mainly undergraduate students from business management or economics departments. This group was chosen as they are thought to have less insight into the social psychological theories that are employed in this research, and in addition are perhaps less likely than other possible target groups to have specific extreme attitudes towards Europe or the European Union. Gender is more or less equally distributed in these departments.

In the first selection, the following three European countries are included on the basis of previous research concerning expressions and compatibility of national identity and European identity: The United Kingdom, Italy and the Netherlands. The first two countries are shown to have opposite levels of compatibility between European identity and national identity (Cinnirella, 1998), while the Netherlands has a more or less moderate position concerning the relevant social identities: Italians have a high level of national identity and a high level of European identity, while British people have a high level of national identity and a low level of European identity. Dutch people have moderate levels of national identity and moderate levels of European identity. These three countries hold different positions in the ranges of expressions of national identity and European identity and thus were chosen as the three countries where the experiments were to be performed.

In addition to these three countries, Spain, Germany and France were included in the research. In this manner, the study included three countries with a more-or-less northern-European culture and three countries with a more-or-less southern-European culture. Furthermore, the study includes the three most powerful EU member states, from an economic, sociological and

political view, namely the UK, Germany and France. This is of major importance if one wants to study something like EU identity. Hence, in total, six countries are included in the research: the Netherlands, UK, Italy, Spain, Germany and France.

The first experiment will focus mainly on three of the four guiding principles of European identity. The guiding principles are part of this experiment, because, as discussed earlier in section 3.2, they are expected to influence the formation of the EU identity.

5.2 Experiment outline

This experiment tests whether European identity can be manipulated by the salience of the guiding principles of European identity: the guiding principles are used as independent variables. The dependent variable is the expression of European identity. Thus, the main idea behind these paper-and-pencil experiments is that the salience of the principles (as independent variables) will increase an individual's European identity (as the dependent variable).

The experiment has four conditions – control, distinctiveness, continuity, self-efficacy – which are integrated in the four various versions of the distributed questionnaires. The independent variables are based on the guiding principles (distinctiveness, continuity, self-efficacy) derived from the European identity model. The self-esteem principle has been deleted from the model on theoretical grounds and due to financial constraints.¹⁵ Theoretically, social psychological research has provided a firm basis to validate that people will express any kind of identity when this increases their self-esteem. Consequently, people will automatically feel more European when assured that this will increase their self-esteem. Self-esteem is a social psychological concept that has been investigated widely enough for us to state that every human being with a healthy state of mind prefers high self-esteem to low self-esteem (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Aberson, Healy & Romero, 2000).

The principles of self-efficacy, distinctiveness and continuity are theoretically the same, as explained in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.2 on social identity). The control condition is added as a comparison for the three manipulation conditions. It is important to add a control condition for methodological reasons as otherwise one has no way of knowing whether the results of the manipulation are relevant or not. The control condition serves as a baseline for the results of the manipulation conditions. The latter results should be significantly different from the results achieved under the control condition. Participants are randomly assigned to these four conditions.

¹⁵ Furthermore, as financial constraints were clearly present, a reduction in the number of conditions investigated was called for. More conditions mean more participants, and these participants had to be paid. These payments accounted for a major part of the expenses incurred during this research.

Participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire. They were given the following information:

They were told that the questionnaire was about the interpretation of texts and that the questionnaires were part of a Ph.D. project at a university in Florence, Italy, that it took about 10-15 minutes to fill out the questionnaire and that participants would be compensated for their time.

Students were recruited in the following manner. In the first instance, contact was made with one university in each of the relevant six countries. Staff members of various universities were in general very helpful in trying to recruit students from management studies or economics. In most cases, the information listed above was given in a management or economics lecture (this was the case for Spain, France and Germany), after which students filled out the questionnaires in the lecture hall. For the Netherlands, management students available in the management building were asked to come to a special room where they were instructed how to fill out the questionnaire. In Italy and the UK, students were asked in their study place (mainly in the library) to fill out a questionnaire and were given instructions.

The instructions made no reference to European identity or any related subject, to avoid socially desirable responses as far as possible. For the experiment, it is of pivotal importance that students should not know, particularly in advance, that the manipulation in the research was supposed to increase their European identity. In this way students were prevented from thinking about the European identity in advance, i.e. before filling out the questionnaire (or in the subliminal experiments: before doing the priming study).

For the manipulation conditions (i.e. self-efficacy, continuity and distinctiveness conditions) the participants were asked to read a text. This text was said to have been part of a speech made by a professor from their own university. This aimed to increase identification with the text, and to get a higher level of involvement. In the self-efficacy condition, participants were

presented with a text in which the European Union was said to increase one's level of self-efficacy (i.e. ability to act). In the continuity condition, participants were presented with a text in which the European Union was portrayed as being a very continuous entity (i.e. enduring, non-transitory, lasting). In the distinctiveness condition participants were presented with a text that described the European Union as a very distinctive institution (i.e. special, unique). In the control condition, participants were not presented with any text. Instead, they were asked to give their opinion of the European Union. After the manipulation texts, the students were asked to summarise the main points made by the professor. This task is set to ensure that students have read the texts attentively. The participants' responses were later used to see whether they had, in fact, read the texts carefully enough.

Next, nine manipulation checks were applied to see whether the manipulations worked sufficiently well. There were three manipulation checks for each manipulation. Questions were asked as manipulation checks and the participants were asked to respond to them on a Likert scale (1-7) depending on the extent to which they disagreed or agreed with the statements concerning continuity, self-efficacy and distinctiveness (e.g. "The EU has a stable presence in world affairs" and "The EU is a very unique entity". See Appendix D for all manipulation check items). These statements were developed by this researcher, in consultation with the external supervisor, Prof. Emanuele Castano, who has in the past carried out research on the EU identity and is very familiar with such experiments (2004; Castano et al. 1998).¹⁶

After these manipulation check questions, participants were presented with eight European Union Identity items and asked to respond to them on a Likert scale (1-7) depending on the extent to which they disagreed or agreed with the statements (e.g. "I identify with the citizens of the European Union"; "For me it is important to be a citizen of the European Union". See Appendix D for

¹⁶ I readily acknowledge my great debt of gratitude to Prof. Castano for his patience and sound advice through the many revisions of these statements.

all European Union Identity items.) These EU identity items were developed by Castano et al. (1998) to measure EU identity, and have been validated. Then participants were asked to give some background information about themselves: namely, age, gender, department/faculty, nationality and country of birth.

The four versions of the questionnaires (one control condition and three manipulation conditions) were first written in English, including the manipulation texts (i.e. the professor's speech), and were approved by the external supervisor (Emanuele Castano). After approval, the versions of the questionnaires were translated into Dutch, Italian, Spanish, German and French. A draft translation of the questionnaires was prepared by the researcher herself in Dutch, English, Italian, and French and by a native speaker for the German and Spanish versions. Consecutively, the drafts were corrected by at least five other native speakers for each language. Due to financial constraints back-forward translations were not employed. See Appendix E for the English version of the questionnaire texts.

To summarize, participants, after receiving their instructions, were presented with a questionnaire involving the following items: texts (in manipulation conditions) with a request to summarise each or a request to give an opinion on the EU (in the control condition), nine manipulation check items, eight European Union identity items, and a background information request (age, gender, department/faculty, nationality, country of birth).

5.3 Method

5.3.1 Participants

In total 286 female students (50.8%) and 277 male students (49.2%) took part of the experiments. Their age varied from 17 to 39 (median=21, mean=21.14). Only 13 students were older than 28, however. About 91% of the students were younger than 25 years. About 26% (N=145) of the students were first-year students, while about 28% (N=158) of the students were second-years and about 20% (N=113) were in the third year of their studies. The rest of the students (about 13%, N= 74) had studied at least three years or did not indicate clearly which year of their study they were in (3.2%, N=18). Most students were from the Business department (39.1%, N=220), and Economics department (39.8%, N=224). The rest of the students (about 21%, N=116) were students from one of the following departments: Spatial studies, Humanities/Arts, Psychology, Social Sciences or an unknown department.

In total, 563 students participated in these experiments. There was a reasonable spread across the countries: 89 Dutch students (15.8%) were from the *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen* in Groningen, 93 English students (16.5%) were from the University of Kent in Canterbury, 95 Italian students (16.9%) were from the *Università degli studi di Siena* in Siena, 98 Spanish students (17.4%) were from the *Universidad Complutense* in Madrid, 95 German students (16.9%) were from the *Humboldt-Universität* in Berlin, and 93 French students (16.5 %) were enrolled at the Sorbonne, *Paris I, Université de Paris* in Paris. Almost all participants (except for N=12, (2%)) at these universities had the same nationality as the other students from their university. This means that, for example, almost all students from the Italian University in Siena had Italian nationality, and almost all students from the Dutch University in Groningen had Dutch nationality. About 36 students (about 6%) were not born in the country in which the experiment was performed.

5.3.2 Materials and procedure

Students were recruited by telling them the following information in a short introduction:

- My name is Geetha Garib and I am doing a Ph.D. research project about interpretation at a university near Florence, Italy.
- For this research, I need undergraduates, preferably Economics or Business students, to fill out questionnaires.
- In compensation for their participation, some undergraduates will be rewarded¹⁷.
- Filling out the questionnaire will take a maximum of 10-15 minutes.

The students approached were, in general, quite willing to participate. . They filled out their questionnaires in the presence of the researcher in either a classroom, library or seminar room. The environment was quiet and restricted enough for them to be able to fill out questionnaires alone. Moreover, students were instructed not to discuss questionnaires with others. If students did not obey the instructions, they were spoken to individually.

Students were placed at random in one of the four conditions (three manipulation conditions and one control condition).

The questionnaire consisted of four parts. In the first part, either a text was presented to them (i.e. in one of the three manipulation conditions) or they were asked their opinion of the European Union (i.e. in the control condition). In the manipulation condition they read a text which was said to be part of a lecture given by a professor from their university. This text was written according to the manipulation condition in which participants were placed. There were three manipulation conditions: continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy. See Appendix E for the texts of these conditions. When placed in a manipulation condition, students were then asked to state what they thought was the main argument in the text. In the control condition, participants were simply asked their opinion of the European Union. Participants were asked what they thought about the European Union and to write at least five lines about their thoughts.

Next, all students were asked to give their level of agreement with statements concerning the manipulation according to the Likert scale (i.e. I disagree 1-7 I agree). These statements were used as the main variables for the manipulation check, i.e. to see whether or not the manipulation had worked (e.g. "The EU has a stable presence in world affairs", "The presence of the EU in the international arena varies significantly from one period to the other"; see Appendix D for all variables for the manipulation check).

Then, all students were presented with the European Union identity items (e.g. "I identify with the citizens of the European Union", "For me it is important to be a citizen of the European Union", "The fact of being a citizen of the European Union has nothing to do with my identity"; see Appendix D for all European Union Identity Items). Last, students were asked to provide some background information concerning their age, gender, year of study, department, nationality and place of birth.

Students handed in their questionnaires. At the end of the experiment students were rewarded. If they had some questions, they could ask their questions and were given answers directly by the researcher conducting the experiment.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions (i.e. the three manipulation conditions and the one control condition): 138 students (25%) were placed in the control condition, 141 students (25%) were placed in the self-efficacy condition, 141 students (25%) were placed in the distinctiveness condition and 143 students (25 %) were placed in the continuity condition (see Table 24).

Insert Table 24 here

¹⁷ Due to financial restrictions not all participants could be rewarded in Germany and France.

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Introduction concerning congruent and incongruent notes

In the manipulation conditions students were asked to give the main arguments of the professor's text they just had read. This information was used to see whether students had read the text carefully enough to understand the key statement i.e. that European Union identity is continuous, distinctive or makes one more self-efficacious, respectively. If students had successfully been able to state that the main argument was close to the manipulation condition in which they had been placed, i.e. to state that the European Union identity is continuous, distinctive or makes one more self-efficacious, respectively, they were coded as having given congruent notes. If they failed to do so, that is, when they did not produce statements similar to the manipulation condition, they were coded as having given incongruent notes. However, in the latter case, students might still have written something which might have been closely related to the main text that was presented to them, but they just did not derive from it that the European Union identity was presented as continuous, distinctive or making one more self-efficacious.

About 69% (N=389) of the students wrote notes that corresponded to the manipulation or wrote down their opinion about the European Union (only in the control condition) (i.e. 69% of the students gave congruent notes), while about 31% (N=174) did not write down something similar to what was sought in the manipulation condition or control condition (i.e. 31% of the students gave incongruent notes).

For analyses from section 5.4.5 we will exclude the participants who had incongruent notes due to the fact that these participants did not read the texts carefully enough to derive the main arguments of the text. These main arguments were very relevant for the manipulation in these experiments. Hence, it was of pivotal importance for the validity of the experiments that participants had fully comprehended the arguments of the manipulation texts.

5.4.2 Factor Analyses

A factor analysis was performed with the nine statement variables, three continuity variables, three distinctiveness variables and three self-efficacy variables. The factor analysis was performed with an Oblimin rotation as the factors are thought to correlate. On the basis of the theoretical background of the relevant variables, one would expect to find three factors. Therefore, we set as a criterion that three components should be found. All factors were related to European Union Identity expression and, therefore, a factor might contain some internal part that correlates with another factor. The factors are allowed to correlate according to this rotation. The values of the pattern matrix will be used, as these values do not include that part of correlation between the factor in question and the variable, on account of factor intercorrelations. The values represent the unique contributions of the factors to the variance of the variables. The pattern matrix shows three components. See Table 25 for the pattern matrix.

Insert Table 25 here

Loadings lower than .20 have been omitted from the table, as these loadings do not seem to appear to be of great importance for the interpretation of the table. The first factor has a variance of 26% with an eigenvalue of 2.34. This factor seems to be the self-efficacy component, as all self-efficacy variables are highly correlated with it. The second component is correlated to the continuity variable, but it is also correlated with a distinctiveness variable. However, one should note that only two of these three continuity variables are highly correlated with this component. The second component has a variance of 16%, with an eigenvalue of 1.41. The third component can be recognised as a distinctiveness component, as it is highly correlated to the three distinctiveness variables and to a lesser extent to the third one. Besides, it is also slightly correlated with a continuity variable. This component has a variance of 14% and an eigenvalue of 1.25.

Factor analyses show that we cannot immediately define clear-cut components that are highly correlated with only one manipulation check factor, but we do find three components that are at least correlated to the manipulation check variables included. One can, in any case, conclude that EU identity can be recognized as having characteristics relating to some extent to continuity, self-efficacy and continuity.

A factor analysis has also been performed with all EU Identity items including the "I feel European" and "conveying of position" items. The outcome of this analysis is very different from the former factor analysis. In this case, all items clearly have only one component. This component has a variance of 60% and an eigenvalue of 3.58. This means that all identity questions clearly have one common factor: *European Union Identity*.

5.4.3 Reliability of scales

The reliability of the scales of the European Union identity questions is very high for the first six *pure* EU identity questions (1-6), $\alpha = .86$. Across countries and gender, the alpha remains more or less equal.

Together with the "I feel European" and "conveying of position", it is even higher: $\alpha = .88$. The EU identity questions and the further questions are recoded with "Euridx2". The latter variable shall be called the European Union Identity (EUI) variable.

The scale reliability for the continuity variables is low: $\alpha = .30$. This alpha also changes to a large extent for some individual countries (e.g. Italy = .45, Spain = .21, Germany = .44 and France = .19). This finding indicates that, for Germany and Italy, the continuity scale seems more reliable than for other countries. For the female gender a much lower alpha is found ($\alpha = .18$). This finding means that these items cannot be taken together as forming a single new aggregated continuity variable, unless one excludes the variable that correlates badly with the other two variables. As can be derived from the factor analyses with these variables, one could exclude the *Varies*

significantly variable (i.e. “the presence of the EU in the international arena varies significantly from one period to the other”), as this was the variable that correlated worst with the continuity component. However, even if this variable were to be excluded from a reliability test, the alpha would still be low (alpha=.44), but at least higher than .30. Therefore, it is decided to compute an aggregate variable consisting of the *Stable presence* variable and the *Strong continuity* variable. This is called the continuity dimension variable.

The scale reliability for the distinctiveness variables is much higher: alpha =.54. Therefore, a new variable is made to aggregate these variables into one variable, which is an aggregated distinctiveness variable. From the factor analyses results (presented in the next section) one can derive that, in particular, the variable “The EU is a very unique entity (Unique entity)” causes the alpha to be lower than might be expected due the lower correlation compared to the other two variables (i.e. Another international organisation and Different international organisation). However, the alpha is still higher than .50 whereby one is still allowed to compute a distinctiveness dimension variable on statistical grounds.

The reliability for the self-efficacy variables is relatively high: alpha= .74. Again a new variable is made to aggregate the self-efficacy variables, which we will call the self-efficacy dimension variable.

Hence, we end up with three aggregate variables for the manipulation check items: namely, the aggregate distinctiveness variable, the aggregate continuity variable and the aggregate self-efficacy variable next to the EUI (aggregate) variable.

5.4.4 ANOVA Analyses with EUI variable, country, department, and gender

A univariate analysis of variance performed with the EU identity variable and country shows that there is a significant effect between these two variables: $F(5,557) = 24.72$; $p < .00$. From Figure 1 we can easily see that students from Italy and Spain have a much higher EU identity expression than students from the Netherlands and the UK.

Insert Figure 1 here

Table 26 gives the means and standard deviations of EU identity across countries.

Insert Table 26 here

From Table 26 one could derive that Italy has the highest mean. A contrast is assessed between Italy and the Netherlands (the latter country is used as the reference country, and will therefore be used as the control country) for EU identity. In this case, the Netherlands is chosen as a reference country because it has a quite low European identity expression, as we saw in Figure 1. Thus, the Netherlands does not in fact prove to have a moderate, average EU identity, as was expected from section 5.1. It has a low level of EU expression similar to that of the UK. France, in this case, was not chosen to be the reference category because, as seen in Figure 1, France does not have the highest European identity level compared to the other countries. Instead, Italy is shown to have the highest European identity level.

This contrast proves significant, ($p < .00$), and the mean is going in the right direction. A contrast comparing Spain and the Netherlands (i.e. the control country) for EU identity also gives a significant result ($p < .00$). Moreover, a contrast comparing Germany and the Netherlands for EU identity is significant ($p < .00$). Other contrasts including the Netherlands and the UK and France are not significant ($p > .18$). This finding might indicate that the UK, France and the Netherlands could be contrasted to the other countries, namely, Spain, Italy and Germany. Compared to the results from the Eurobarometer analyses mentioned in the quasi-experimental research part of this work, one could note that France and Germany seem to be behaving differently, where Germany is again an exception to the non-Romance countries. A contrast is expected between the UK, the Netherlands and Germany on the one hand, and Italy, France and Spain on the other. However, this contrast is not found. In particular, Germany seems to have similar results concerning European identity compared to the results from the Eurobarometer analyses mentioned in section 4.5.2. Germany seems to act as a Romance country.

A univariate analysis of variance is also performed with the EU identity variable and gender. The main effect of gender is not significant ($p > .40$). This means that there are no significant differences between men and women concerning EU identity in general. Compared to the results from section 4.5.3, one should expect a higher European identity level for men compared to women. However, this effect is not found for the data gathered in the six countries.

A univariate analysis of variance by department shows that this variable has a significant effect on the EU identity expression $F(6,553) = 4.60$,

$p < .00$. Figure 2 shows how this effect is caused.

Insert Figure 2 here

From Figure 2, one can derive that participants from the category “Department not indicated”¹⁸, Business and Economics departments have a higher EU identity than participants from Social Science or Psychology departments.

One should also consider Figure 3, in which we can see that the spread of departments from which students come is related to the country in which the experiment was done.¹⁹

Insert Figure 3 here

A two-way analysis of variance is performed with gender and country. The interaction effect of these two variables is significant: $F(5,551) = 2.37, p < .04$.

Table 27 gives the means and standard deviations of EU identity per gender and country.

Insert Table 27 here

¹⁸Only four participants did not indicate the department in which they were enrolled.

¹⁹ From Figure 3 one can derive that in the UK most students come from Humanities/ Arts departments. The other countries have a majority of students from the Business or Economics department, while in the UK most students come from departments other than Business or Economics. As was mentioned previously, as seen in Figure 1, UK students expressed a low EU identity in general, especially compared to Italy and Spain. Therefore, one could explain the high ‘department effect’ on EU identity expression by the large number of students coming from departments other than Business or Economics in the UK experiments. As a matter of fact, if one includes both country- and department variables in a univariate analysis of variance with the EU identity variable as the dependent variable, the country variable is significant: $F(6, 539) = 9.23, p < .00$, while the department variable is no longer significant (as one controls for the country effect in this analysis), $p > .75$. In addition, even if one computes a new, dummy variable in which business/ economics students are used as the reference category and this new dummy variable is used in a two-way analysis of variance with the EU identity variable, no significant effect for department is reported, $p > .87$.

From Table 27 one can derive that the means for the female gender are highest in Italy and Spain. Moreover, Figure 4 shows more graphically what this interaction effect actually encompasses.

Insert Figure 4 here

Figure 4 shows that in the UK, Italy and Spain, women have a higher EU identity expression than men, but this is not the case in the Netherlands, Germany or France. On the contrary, Dutch, German and French men seem to have a higher EU identity than their female compatriots.

This difference between the UK, Italy and Spain, on the one hand, and the Netherlands, Germany and France on the other is significant and should, therefore, be given some attention. The fact that men in some countries have a higher EU identity than women, while in other countries women have a higher EU identity, means that women and men do not express the same level of EU identity in all countries when comparing gender differences.

When controlling for department, the main effect of country does not change to a great extent, while the interaction effect between gender and country is somewhat more significant, $F(5,551) = 2.55, p < .03$.

Furthermore, if one performs an ANOVA with gender and the various country dummies as independent variables and the EU identity as the dependent variable, one finds that the interaction between Spain and gender is noticeably significant, $F(5,547) = 7.27, p < .01$. Thus, this means that for Spain the difference between men and women in European Union Identity is significant compared to other countries.

5.4.5 Manipulation Check

From this section on, analyses will only be performed with participants with congruent notes (see also section 5.4.1)²⁰.

About 31% (N=174) of all participants are reported to have incongruent notes. The number/percentage of participants with incongruent notes varies greatly from one condition to another. In the control condition, only one participant had incongruent notes (i.e. did not write down an opinion concerning the European Union). In the self-efficacy and distinctiveness condition, the number/percentage of incongruent notes were equal: both accounting for 28% (N=40). Participants in the continuity condition account for the highest percentage of incongruent notes within the same condition: 65% (N=93). The latter finding might indicate that the manipulation for this condition has not been very optimal as the majority of participants were unable to report the main statements of the text used in this manipulation condition.

ANOVAs were computed to check whether the impact of the manipulation was (1) effective and (2) specific for the dimension that it was intended to manipulate. In other words, did the manipulation intended to enhance the perception of continuity of the EU have the expected effect? And did it impact only the perception of continuity or also the perceptions of distinctiveness and self-efficacy? ANOVAs were computed using experimental conditions (control vs. continuity vs. distinctiveness vs. self-efficacy) as between-participants factors. Also, the manipulation checks are used in the latter analyses. Participants who did not comply with instructions were excluded from the analyses, leaving a total sample of 389. This analysis revealed a significant effect on the aggregate continuity manipulation check, $F(3, 385) = 2.86$, $p < .04$. Means are reported in Table 29.

Insert Table 29 here

A contrast comparing the continuity condition to the control condition tested for the effectiveness of the manipulation. This was significant, ($F(1, 387) = 7.56, p < .01$) and the mean went in the expected direction, confirming that the continuity manipulation caused the EU to be perceived as higher in continuity than was the case in the control condition. Another contrast compared the continuity condition to the three other conditions to test whether the perception of continuity was also affected by manipulations in the other conditions. This contrast also was significant ($F(1, 387) = 4.74, p < .04$) confirming that only the continuity manipulation affected the perception of continuity.

The same analysis, conducted using the perception of distinctiveness as dependent variable, revealed a significant effect on the aggregate continuity MCV ($F(3, 385) = 4.82, p < .02$). Means are also reported in Table 14. A contrast comparing the distinctiveness condition to the control condition was performed to check the effectiveness of the manipulation. This was significant, ($F(1, 387) = 12.07, p < .00$), and the mean went in the expected direction, confirming that the distinctiveness manipulation caused the EU to be perceived as more distinctive than was the case in the control condition. Another contrast compared the distinctiveness condition to the three other conditions. This contrast tests whether or not the perception of distinctiveness was also affected by manipulations in the other conditions. This contrast also was significant, ($F(1, 387) = 13.66, p < .0005$), confirming that only the distinctiveness manipulation affected the perception of distinctiveness.

A similar analysis performed with the perception of self-efficacy as the dependent variable does not reveal any significant effect on the aggregate self-efficacy variable ($p < .71$).

²⁰ The manipulation check was performed both for all participants and for only those participants with congruent notes. In both cases, similar findings were reported.

Hence, again, the manipulation conditions of continuity and distinctiveness seem to have been performed successfully, while the self-efficacy condition was revealed to be less successful than expected. This finding is similar to the result of the ANOVAs as a manipulation check, which did not exclude participants with incongruent notes.

5.4.6 The effects of the experimental manipulations on the level of identification with the EU

To assess the impact of the experimental manipulations on the level of identification with the EU (EUI), an ANOVA was performed using experimental condition (control vs. continuity vs. distinctiveness vs. self-efficacy) as between-participants factor and the EUI as dependent variable. Given that the latter is known, from previous literature and the present data-set as well, to be influenced by a series of demographical and other variables, these variables were included as covariates (country, gender, age, and department).

However, it is important to take heed of the possibility that the low number of participants remaining in the continuity condition (i.e. $N=50$), compared to the other conditions (i.e. control condition – $N=137$, distinctiveness condition – $N=101$, and self-efficacy condition – $N=101$), might influence these findings. Due to the differences in N , a significant finding might be reported on the basis of non-equal distributions of participants in conditions.

This ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of the manipulation: $F(3, 371) = 3.42, p < .02$. As clearly indicated by the means in Table 30, the only manipulation that affected the level of identification was the continuity manipulation.

Insert Table 30 here

The contrast testing this hypothesis (continuity versus the three other conditions, was indeed significant: $F(3, 373) = 9.17, p < .00$.

Another ANOVA was performed with manipulation condition and country as independent variables and the EUI variable as the dependent variable. It was decided to include country as an independent variable, as the ANOVA findings mentioned in an earlier section (section 5.4.4) showed that country and the EU identity variable seemed to have a significant effect. An ANOVA with the EUI variable as the dependent variable and the manipulation and country variables as independent variables resulted in two significant main effects but not in a significant interaction effect between manipulation and country. One of these two significant main effects is that of manipulation (i.e. the four various conditions) on the EUI variable: $F(3,365) = 2.86, p < .04$. The other significant main effect is that of the country variable on the EUI variable: $F(5,365) = 12.88, p < .00$. The interaction effect between country and manipulation is not significant ($p > .60$). An ANOVA with the EUI variable as the dependent variable and the manipulation condition as the independent variable would not result in a significant main effect ($p > .25$), which means that this effect is only significant if one controls for country.

However, if one looks at the effect of manipulation on the EUI variable for each country, one does find a significant effect for the Netherlands:

$F(3,64) = 3.49, p < .02$. The other countries are not significant (at least $p > .19$).

As in the previous section, department, country and gender were included in the ANOVA analyses to see if these variables had a significant effect on the EUI variable. We also included these variables in an ANOVA that only included participants with congruent notes. This ANOVA included the EUI variable as the dependent variable and the manipulation variable as the factor, while including gender, department and country as covariates (control variables). This ANOVA analysis resulted in a significant effect of the manipulation variable: $F(3,377) = 3.27, p < .02$.

5.5 Conclusions

In this section the main results will be mentioned and discussed. The conclusions can be divided in three parts. The first concerns conclusions that can be derived from the factor analyses and the reliability tests. The second part concerns the conclusions derived from the ANOVA analyses with EU identity and the sociological variables (i.e. gender, country, department, age). The third part considers conclusions concerning the main hypothesis of this experiment: that the principles used in the manipulation conditions are expected to increase one's European identity expression, see section 3.2. In order to test this main hypothesis, ANOVA analyses were performed. In particular, the ANOVA results assess the effects of the manipulation conditions on the level of EU identity. According to the hypotheses, the manipulation conditions should have an effect on the level of EU identity.

The first results concern the factor analyses results and the reliability testing results. These results show that the EU Identity items can be used in this experiment as the underlying items to measure the concept of EU identity. Consequently, an aggregate variable for EU identity was made. Furthermore, the other manipulation check variables (MCVs) were transformed into aggregate MCVs, because the three components of self-efficacy, distinctiveness and continuity turned out to have eigenvalues that were high enough. The distinctiveness and continuity components, despite being the weakest components, were still used in the analyses. The aggregate continuity MCV, however, was computed with only two continuity items, whereas the other aggregate MCVs (i.e. self-efficacy and distinctiveness) were computed with each of three items. Thus, it is important to see that the items that were used in these experiments were useful items for measuring underlying concepts like EU identity, self-efficacy, distinctiveness, and continuity. For future research these items could also be recommended, as the results of the analyses with the data reveal a high level of reliability.

Second, concerning the sociological background variables that have been included in the questionnaire experiment, some important facts should also be

mentioned. Country seems to have an effect on EU identity. In particular, citizens from countries like Italy and Spain seem to have a higher EU identity than citizens from other countries. Furthermore, the department variable has shown itself to have an effect on EU identity. However, as the department factor is heavily related to country and has very unequal numbers of participants across departments, one can easily derive that the department effect on EU identity is incidental. An interaction effect is found for country and gender concerning EU identity. This interaction indicates that for women in the UK, Italy and Spain, EU identity expression is higher than for men, while, conversely, men have a higher EU identity level than women in the Netherlands, Germany and France. These findings reveal that sociological factors should perhaps be taken into account, especially gender and country, for future research about EU identity, as these might affect the level of EU identity.

Third, the ANOVA results reveal that the manipulations for distinctiveness and continuity worked successfully, whereas the manipulation for self-efficacy did not seem to work. ANOVA results concerning the effect of the manipulation conditions on the level of EU identity reveal that the strongest effect on EU identity is caused by the continuity manipulation. The contrast between the continuity condition and the other conditions was assessed in relation to the effect on EU identity. This contrast proved to be highly significant.

To summarize, the continuity manipulation on EU identity seems to be the most successful of the three manipulation conditions studied. Hence, stressing the fact that the EU is a continuous institution might be the way of increasing EU identity expression. Continuity can be stressed by indicating some elements of the cultural history one has in common. One of the elements of this cultural history that could be stressed for some countries is the Romance culture, which has existed since the Roman Empire, particularly in countries like Italy, Spain and France. Thereby, the finding that the continuity manipulation condition is most successful in manipulating European identity fits with the finding that citizens from countries with a Romance culture are more likely to have a higher European identity than citizens from a non-Romance culture. Citizens from a Romance culture might consider the

European Union or Europe more as a continuity concept than citizens from non-Romance cultures. Romance cultures have a shared past that includes a long period as provinces of a single political structure, i.e. the Roman Empire with its attendant political, economic and social links. While it would be stretching the point to claim that there is a political continuity with the Western Roman Empire, which, after all, has not been a political force since the sixth century, it is not fanciful to suggest the continuing existence of a shared national myth (based on Roman roots) in the countries mentioned. In addition, the common linguistic heritage of Romance language countries is undoubtedly a fact for native speakers of these languages. Common history and shared linguistic roots may, even today, play a role, however subtle, in allowing citizens of Romance countries to continue to relate their European identification to the consideration of Europe or the European Union as a continuous presence.

5.6 Implicit Attitudes

5.6.1 Introduction to literature on implicit attitudes

In Social Psychology self-reporting has been used for a very long time. Actually, self-reporting has been used to investigate a host of topics ranging from attitudes towards a product to prejudice (Kochanska et al., 1989; Floyd et al., 1998, Weatherly, 1964; Brokks-Gunn et al., 1987; Vonk & Ashmore, 1993).

Fortunately, nowadays we are offered a broader scope of techniques to get more insight into mental processes, among others, priming and automaticity techniques. These methods can be used to gain more knowledge about the implicit attitudes individuals hold with respect to a variety of attitudinal objects. The implicit attitudes one might have can have various natures: evaluative, goal-oriented, behavioural, or emotional. However, in this case, we are focussing on the evaluative reaction a person might have towards the attitudinal objects of the EU and Italy. In order to understand an implicit attitudes study, one should have a notion of what attitudes are.

Greenwald (1995) reproduces a series of definitions of attitudes as follows:

Attitude is the affect for or against a psychological object (Thurstone, 1931, p.261)

An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related (Allport, 1935, p.810)

Attitude is [...] an implicit, drive-producing response considered socially significant in the individual's society. (Doob, 1947, p.136).

An attitude is a predisposition to experience, to be motivated by, and to act toward, a class of objects in a predictable manner. (Smith, Bruner and White, 1956, p.33).

[Attitudes] are predispositions to respond, but are distinguished from other states of readiness in that they predispose toward an evaluative response (Osgood, Suci, Tannenbaum, 1957, p.189)

[An attitude is] a predisposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects (Sarnoff, 1960, p. 261).

Attitudes [are] enduring systems of positive or negative evaluations, emotional feelings, and pro or con action tendencies with respect to social objects. (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962, p. 139).

Greenwald's (1995) purpose of reproducing these definitions was to show that the importance of attitudes being implicit or explicit was not stressed. One does not seem to be greatly concerned with a distinction of implicit or explicit attitudes. He advocates making this distinction. Concerning implicit attitudes he mentions the following:

"An implicit attitude can be thought of as an existing attitude projected onto a novel object [...]. Implicit attitudes are introspectively unidentified (or inaccurately identified) traces of past experience that mediate favourable or unfavourable feeling, thought, or action toward social objects"

Greenwald (1995) furthermore points out some attention features that can moderate implicit cognition. Implicit cognition is the mental representation of the implicit attitude. He states that when one has a strong attention, automatic responses to implicit cognitions are weaker. In a similar vein he assumes that "when memory traces are weak, active effort to retrieve (using direct measures) may interfere with retrieval compared to more relaxed efforts that approximate indirect measurement procedures". Thus, especially for implicit attitudes that might have weak traces of past experience, one could prefer to

apply an implicit method to an explicit method. In fact, attitude to the EU might reveal itself to have weak traces of past experience as the EU might not be a concept that is very lively and salient in every EU citizen's life. One might not have had many past experiences with the EU as a political entity nor can a very strong relationship in the past be assumed. Therefore, an implicit method for measuring an EU attitude seems appropriate in the field of EU identity.

Priming and automaticity techniques are implicit methods that enable us to do more research on implicit attitudes, which otherwise are likely to be hidden and inaccessible. Specifically, evaluative, implicit attitudes could be the effect of hidden psychological states, and they could influence one's behaviour in a relevant situation. In this way, a researcher can measure whether the implicit attitude concerned actually does exist according to his theoretical model or not. An implicit technique can measure implicit attitudes that are triggered by a presented attitude object. Consequently, this opens up many research possibilities, which would otherwise have been very difficult to pursue with explicit measures. A subliminal priming experiment allows us to measure implicit attitudes. Thus, the priming technique has one major advantage, namely, measuring implicit attitudes of people, i.e. in this case, measuring positive or negative associations with EU concepts and Italy concepts.

5.6.2 Implicit versus explicit measures

Implicit cognitions and explicit cognitions are most likely to be assessed by implicit and explicit measures, respectively. A reference to the relationship that might exist between implicit and explicit measures is made in reference to a study done by Greenwald et al. (1998). The researchers reported a weak relationship between implicit and explicit measures in their study. This might have been caused by the motivation to deliberate or control being very high in this study. It seems very likely, indeed, that if attitudes towards blacks and whites are assessed, especially in an explicit mode, one is very likely to have a high motivation to deliberate. The model that might explain this suggestion in more detail is called the MODE model.

The MODE model (Chaiken and Trope, 1999) proposes that attitudes have an effect on judgement or behaviour relevant to the attitude object, and the model focuses on the processes that lead to the latter effect. MODE stands for *Motivation and Opportunity as Determinants* of whether the attitude-to-behaviour process is primarily spontaneous or deliberative in nature. According to this MODE model, the attitude-behaviour process can be either automatic, deliberative or a mix of both, leading to the relevant behaviour. The MODE model predicts a low correlation between implicit and explicit measures when the motivation to control is high. Thus, the correlation between implicit and explicit measures depends on the motivation to control or deliberate about the attitude object.

One should not forget that both implicit measures and explicit measures can be employed in order to assess attitudes, which, in turn, could predict behaviour. The MODE model proposed that in cases where the motivation and opportunity to deliberate are high, explicit measures are more likely to predict behaviour, while when motivation and opportunity to deliberate are low, implicit measures are more likely to predict behaviour. In other words, when one is deliberating a lot about a specific object, one is more likely to give a self-report about one's attitude to this object. Thus an explicit measurement technique in order to assess the attitude would not be influenced by the awareness of the measurement. On the other hand, if one is not deliberating a lot, one is less aware of one's attitude concerning the attitude object, thus implicit techniques would be more likely to provide implicit attitudes that predict behaviour better as the attitude is likely to be a more unconscious one than conscious one.

Greenwald and Farnham undertook a second study, incorporating implicit and explicit measures (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000) in which they used an Implicit Association Test (IAT) (see section 5.6.3 on IAT) in order to measure implicit self-esteem next to some other implicit and explicit measures. In their first experiment, they reported a weak correlation between the implicit IAT measures of self-esteem and standard explicit measures of self-esteem. In the second experiment, they found that IAT measures of gender differences (i.e. on masculinity and femininity) are three times greater than the explicit

measures of gender differences. This might be caused by the fact that gender differences are based on cultural ideas and IAT, which is a technique based on categories and a technique that is more likely to assess cultural associations, will elicit higher gender differences than explicit measures. Explicit measures are more likely to assess personal associations, as one is able to have more opportunity to deliberate. In the third experiment, a correlation existed to some extent between high implicit IAT self-esteem measures and buffering against adverse effects of failure. Thus, in this study some weak correlations are reported between implicit and explicit measures.

As the relationship between explicit and implicit measures does not seem to be clear-cut, one should look at two contrasting approaches concerning this relationship. Brauer et al. (2000) refer to the same construct approach and the dissociation approach (Devine, 1989) concerning the relationship between implicit and explicit measures. According to the first approach, this relationship is likely to be high when a similar method is used, while according to the latter approach the relationship should be low. The same construct approach suggests that "...implicit measures assess the internalization of the prejudice tapped by the explicit measures". In their study, they mention prejudice because it is a study about gender. However, one could apply this formulation to any type of implicit cognition that is measured by implicit measures. In a similar vein, one could imply that according to the same construct approach implicit measures evaluate the same cognitions that are deliberated in explicit measures as long as a low level of social desirability is present.

Brauer et al. (2000) also refer to the dissociation approach (Devine, 1989) in which implicit and explicit measures are completely uncorrelated and should be considered as two different types of measures. According to this approach, explicit measures evaluate personal beliefs that are consciously available and which people can deliberate about. Implicit measures, on the other hand, evaluate cultural beliefs that are less consciously available and are internalized from early childhood. Moreover, explicit measures are much more

sensitive to socially desirable responses than implicit measures due to the higher opportunity to deliberate about them.

In the study by Brauer et al. (2000) two explicit measures and four implicit measures of gender were applied. They find that three implicit measures of gender correlated positively with one of the explicit measures. Their study implies that gender is a multidimensional construct in which some dimensions can have high correlation between implicit and explicit measures, while others might not, due to the restrictions of methods. Thus, they are not able to test which approach might be best.

5.6.3 Implicit attitudes techniques

One technique to measure implicit attitudes is called the Implicit Association Test (IAT). Greenwald et al. (1998) made use of sequential priming techniques. They used the IAT, which is a measure for the associative nature between two target concepts and an attribute. IAT was used as follows. First, participants are exposed to target-concept discrimination on a computer screen. For example, they have to distinguish flowers from insects. In all procedures, one category is allocated to a particular key of the computer for the left hand, while the other category is allocated to a different key for the right hand. Then, participants enter into the associated attribute discrimination procedure. At this stage, they have to discern specific attributes, for example pleasant and unpleasant attributes. In a third procedure an initial combined task is presented. In this procedure participants are presented with both concepts and attributes, where one concept and attribute share a key, and the other concept and attribute share another. Fourth, a reversed target-concept discrimination procedure is performed. This procedure is similar to the initial one, but differs in the respect that keys change for the specific categories, so that the left-key category becomes linked to the right key, and vice versa. In the final stage participants have to perform a reversed combined task which is also similar to the third procedure, in that they are presented with concepts and attributes which share a key. However, in this case the combination of these concepts and attributes has been changed. Thus, while in the third

procedure flower and pleasant may have shared a key, it now becomes flower and unpleasant which share.

IAT normally operates on a category level, as automatic associations are made based on categories rather than individual cases. The researchers did three experiments using IAT. In the first experiment they used the concepts of flower and insect names, while the attribute was in the form of pleasant and unpleasant evaluative words. In the second experiment they used the concepts of Japanese and Chinese subjects with the same attribute as the first experiment. In the third experiment Blacks and Whites were used as priming concepts with the usual attribute taken from Experiment No. 1. They found that in all three experiments, the IAT proved itself to be a sensitive tool in detecting implicit attitudes. In practice, it meant that participants had faster responses to categories that had a higher extent of association (e.g. flower and pleasant, Blacks and unpleasant) than to categories that were less associated (e.g. Insect and pleasant, Whites and unpleasant). In the last experiment, explicit measures of the attitude towards Blacks are included. The majority of the White participants were shown to have an indifferent position concerning Blacks, but all except for one had an IAT score that indicated a preference to Whites. Thus, there is a weak agreement between implicit and explicit measures in this study. To summarize, responses are measured in response to a key when specific categories of targets or attributes are presented.

IAT techniques are meant to investigate the influence of variables on reaction times. One needs some knowledge of the strength of evaluations in connection with the evaluation of reaction times. Research seems to show that stronger attitudes can be automatically activated quicker. Fazio (2001), for example, found that participants were faster in their responses when asked for their attitudes towards primed objects (i.e. nouns) that were more congruent with the target adjectives than when these attitudes were incongruent. One can suppose that the speed of the response depends on the strength of the association. This means that if there is a strong association between prime and target, the responses will be less slow than if the

association is much weaker. Fazio (2001) claims that the strength of evaluative associations is also influenced by the knowledge that we might have of objects or targets: "people's general interests and knowledge are bound to affect to the extent to which they form attitudes toward novel objects". This would indicate that attitudes towards relatively novel objects, like the EU, are very likely to have been influenced by the knowledge that people have. Moreover, this knowledge is limited to the information that people might have access to. Therefore, many variables outside the direct association between target and prime could be distinguished as having an influence on the response rates in priming experiments. For example, a higher need to evaluate might obtain quicker response rates. Jarvis and Petty (1996) proved that participants who scored higher on the "need to evaluate" were more likely to state any opinion on social and political topics compared to people with lower scores on the "need to evaluate". Moreover, participants with a higher "need to evaluate" were more likely to have evaluative thoughts in a free response listing concerning unfamiliar paintings or a typical day in their lives than people with a lower "need to evaluate". Even if this study did not include response rates on the computer, one could suppose that people with a higher need to evaluate would respond quicker to primes, for example, concerning social or political topics.

Thus far, we have discussed the IAT techniques only as a way to investigate implicit attitudes. Other techniques to investigate implicit attitudes can be employed by using priming techniques. In the late 1950s, priming was referred to as "a preparedness of mental representations to serve a response function" (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000, p. 225). Segal and Cofer (1960) were the first to mention the method of priming while referring to the effect of recent use of a concept in one task on its probability of usage in a subsequent, unrelated task.

Priming studies have been defined by Bargh and Chartrand as follows:

"Priming studies are concerned with the temporary activation states of an individual's mental representations and how these internal readinesses interact with environmental information to produce perceptions, evaluations,

and even motivations and social behaviour" (2000, p. 258, Bargh & Chartrand).

Unlike IAT techniques, a priming technique does not operate at a category level, but measures associations to specific, individual exemplars. A prime can be called a specific target concept that is shown either subliminally or non-subliminally together with an attribute dimension (in many cases positive/negative) in order to assess the strength of the link between the target concept and the attribute dimension. A subliminal way of presenting a prime can be found in research by Lowery, Hardin, and Sinclair (2001), in which participants were exposed to a series of flashes followed by either the word "good" or "bad". In these flashes black and white faces were subliminally exposed. Consecutively, they had to press as quickly as possible a key labelled "G" when the word was good, or a key labelled "B" when the word was bad. In this experiment the researchers were trying to measure automatic prejudice on the basis of the response latencies. They made use of forward and backward masks. A forward mask is a figure or word (e.g. a black rectangle or round shape) that is presented before the prime is given so that the chance is smaller that participants are able to consciously perceive the prime. A backward mask is a similar mask to the forward mask, only given after the presentation of the prime and not before. In their experiment, the forward mask was presented for the duration of 100 ms, the prime of a white or black face was presented for 17 ms, and the backward mask was presented for 200 ms. The masked prime of a white or black face were presented at random parafoveally (i.e. not in the centre of one's sight) in one of the four triangles of the computer screen. The offset from the center was 300 pixels horizontally, and 200 pixels vertically in the four triangles. They found that in the presence of a white experimenter, Caucasian Americans responded quicker to words that were labelled as "bad" with Black face primes than to words that were labelled as "good" with Black face primes. This result implies that in the presence of a white experimenter Caucasian Americans had stronger "bad"-black face associations than "good"-black face associations.

The latter study is only one example of a variety of research possibilities involving priming. Bargh and Chartrand (2000) give an overview of possibilities in priming and automaticity research. These are mostly focused on the unintentional cognitive mediations that are elicited by priming techniques, to distinguish better from the more motivational, goal-directed mediations regarding priming and automaticity research. They suppose that these unintentional cognitive mediations can also be defined as internal states of perceptual experience. They refer to the Gestalt psychology as one of the first pieces of psychological research mentioning the influence of internal states on perceptual experience. According to the Gestalt psychology perceiving the whole of a specific image could not be reduced to mere elements that made up this specific image. Furthermore, they mention that the roots of priming research are to be found in attempts to study individual differences in perceptual experiences. In perceptual experiences information processing is a relevant element. Bargh and Chartrand (2000) distinguish two main modes of information processing; namely, conscious and automatic information processing. Automaticity methods can be split into two types: goal-dependent and pre-conscious. Goal-dependent automaticity needs an act of will to start subsequent effects. This means that one has to be engaged in the perception and willing to initially take part in the process that leads to automatic responses. The pre-conscious mode of processing, however, concerns a conscious act before the perception of the actual representation.

As has been mentioned, Bargh and Chartrand (2000) give an overview of possibilities in priming and automaticity research. Concerning priming research, Bargh and Chartrand (2000) distinguish three main priming techniques in their overview: sequential priming, mindset priming, and conceptual priming. Before discussing these three specific priming research techniques, some features are mentioned that are valid for all priming techniques. In most priming techniques studies one uses response latencies between prime and target. There are features of response latencies that one should take into consideration. These features are valid for all priming techniques involving reaction times. First, there are more components than one might be aware of and than the manipulative component that influence

response latencies. For example, if targets and stimuli are composed of words, one could assume that longer words need longer information processing and therefore, increase response latencies. Second, the distribution of response latencies is positively skewed. This is caused by the fact that extremely short response latencies are less likely to occur than extremely long response latencies. Consequently, the distribution is skewed at the end where relatively fast response latencies occur compared to relatively slow response latencies. Third, one should adjust for extreme cases or outliers as these are often present, but can hardly be considered as realistic scores. Fourth, if one deletes outliers, these outliers should have an equal distribution among conditions. If this is not the case, i.e. when a particular condition has an unequal number of outliers compared to other conditions, one should take into account that these outliers may not represent random errors.

Furthermore, priming techniques are very much related with the automaticity of the concept activation or associative relationship, as has been mentioned before. Automaticity involves non-conscious processes. Automaticity is known to have four specific qualities of non-conscious processes. These are the following:

- (i) Awareness of the operation of the process;
- (ii) Efficiency of the process (how much time it takes to engage in the process);
- (iii) The unintentional nature of the process; and
- (iv) Controllability of the process.

Thus, in order to gain automaticity in a non-conscious process one should take these elements into account

Now, three specific types of priming techniques are discussed.

Sequential priming is very different from conceptual and mindset priming as it is not concerned with the influential effect of a previously primed internal mental representation. It is, however, engaged with the long-lasting connections between two mental representations, while activation is spread

among these representations. Thus, sequential priming studies explore the associative nature of concepts and their automatic activation. In these studies, one might make use of response latencies between prime and target. It is supposed that a greater extent of similarity between prime and target normally leads to shorter response latencies compared to dissimilar primes and targets. Response latencies are therefore considered to be of importance in the exploration of automaticity of concept activation, as well as automaticity of an associative relationship between target and stimulus.

Mindset priming also makes use of prime concepts, however, in such a way that in advance participants are concerned with the goals or intentions to use specific internal mental representations. Thus, it differs from conceptual priming as mindset priming is a more aware and active process. While participants in conceptual priming studies are not aware and are quite passive in information processing, participants in mindset priming studies are made more aware of the goals of information processing. In a study by Sassenberg and Moskowitz (2005) two mindsets were used. One mindset was creative, while the other one was thoughtful. They hypothesized that the activation of a creative mindset would cause people to think differently, and allow them to prevent automatic stereotype activation. They performed two experiments. In the first experiment, participants were primed by instructing them to think about three situations in which they were creative (for one group) or thoughtful (in another group). Consecutively, they were presented with primes of blacks and whites (pictures) in the first experiment, and with word primes in the second experiment - where they had to work through a lexical decision task.

Another study including mindsets was performed by Stapel and Koomen (2000). In this study the researchers found that accessible knowledge with the activation of comparison mindsets led to contrastive comparison effects, while with the activation of interpretation mindsets, accessible knowledge led to assimilative interpretation effects.

Conceptual priming is concerned with the activation of an internal mental representation in a specific context. In a second, unrelated context the influence or use of the same internal mental representation can be detected.

Conceptual priming can be divided into subliminal priming and supraliminal priming. In supraliminal priming a participant is conscious of the priming concept, while in subliminal priming participants are not aware of the prime. In both types of conceptual priming the participant should not be aware of the influence of this representation on the unrelated context. This shows that the activation of a representation is already sufficient to be used in a context unrelated to the one in which it was activated, and that a specific relation between these contexts is not needed. An example of a conceptual priming study is research done by Lepore and Brown (1997) on the stereotype activation of blacks. In this study, highly prejudiced participants who were primed for the category of blacks being less positive towards a black target person were compared to high-prejudiced participants who were not primed for the category of black. However, low-prejudice participants, primed with the category of blacks, evaluated the same target person in a more positive and less negative light than low-prejudice participants who were not primed before with the target evaluation.

Subliminal priming should be based on three basic principles when being performed:

- (i) A very brief presentation of the prime;
- (ii) The immediate masking by another stimulus; and
- (iii) The use of appropriate awareness checks.

The amount of activation of a particular stimulus in a subliminal priming experiment can be calculated on the basis of the following equation:

$$D * I = A$$

in which A stands for the amount of activation, D stands for the duration of the stimulus, and I stands for the intensity of the stimulus. Thus, in order to change the amount of a stimulus's activation, one has to either decrease or increase the duration of the stimulus, or the intensity of the stimulus.

One should also distinguish between foveal processing, in which the information is given in the centre or focus of conscious visual attention, and parafoveal processing, in which the information is presented in the periphery

of the subject's visual attention. Foveal processing is recommended for a duration not longer than 15ms, while parafoveal processing can last for between 60 and 125 ms. However, it is very important that processing in these situations is really foveal or parafoveal, as a participant might not always consciously attend to the allocated region. Consequently, a participant might miss the prime or see the prime on a supraliminal level, instead of the intended subliminal level. Therefore, it is of paramount important that the fixation point of attention is controlled.

Bargh and Chartrand (2000) state that subliminal research and supraliminal research seem to show similar results. This might give us some reason to believe that priming a conscious visual representation of a concept does not differ from the priming of a non-conscious one. However, it seems very likely that the problem of social desirability responses would still exist. If one is made more consciously aware of a specific concept, one is more likely to give a social desirable response compared to a situation in which one is unaware of the concept. This could have been implemented in the research by Lepore and Brown (1997). If they, for example, had told people their level of prejudice, they might have had a less negative evaluation of blacks than if they were not made aware of this. In this sense, the subjects could have given more socially desired responses.

5.7 Introduction to method

A conceptual subliminal priming technique will now be employed in the subliminal experiments for this study. In these subliminal experiments a similar technique will be used to the experiment performed by Lowery, Hardin and Sinclair (2001).

Implicit attitudes The experiment that is performed will give more insight in the implicit attitudes that people have concerning the European Union and Italy concepts: the words "EU" and "Italy" and the Italian and EU flag will be employed as primes. In the first part of the experiment, one will be able to measure the implicit valence that participants associate with the primes. In the second part of the experiments, the perception of explicit attitudes towards the EU and Italy will be measured by several items that include the EU identity items, and items concerning the typicality of specific negative and positive adjectives that can be related to Italy or the EU. With the latter results one can compare both implicit and explicit attitudes towards the EU or Italy, and discover if there might be a correlation between them. As Fazio and Olsen (2003) contend, "the variability regarding the correspondence between implicit and explicit measures indicates that discussion of whether a relation exists is not very productive". They do not find enough evidence to state that implicit and explicit measures correlate highly, nor can they state that there is no correlation at all between implicit and explicit measures. The correlation depends very much on the situation, method and instruments that are employed in the experiments. One should, however, bear in mind that one could predict behaviour or attitudes by using both implicit and explicit measures (Fazio et al. 1995, Dovidio et al. 1997). It is not necessarily the case that one can only predict attitudes with one type of method or measurement. Drawing on various types of measurement would, moreover, increase the likelihood of similar findings being valid.

In our experiment we replicate this method to measure people's evaluative associations with European Identity, as based on implicit attitudes. Similar to

Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998) we use target concepts related with the EU and Italy and neutral associations. Concepts concerning Italy were chosen because the experiments were performed in Padua (Italy) with Italian students from the University of Padua. Another social identity that is salient for Italian students, and that might also be of interest to study with reference to European identity, is national identity (see section 2.2.2). As the primes for European identity are concepts concerned with the EU, one should find similar primes for Italian identity.

The department of Psychology at the University of Padua is well-equipped for doing subliminal experiments. It is able to provide the necessary facilities (e.g. computer, computer programmes, and laboratories) and also possesses necessary expertise in performing subliminal experiments. These facilities and this type of expertise is absent at the EUI. Moreover, for practical reasons of distance and contacts, the Psychology department of the University of Padua was the only possible place to do this type of experiment.

Parafoveal processing was chosen for the primes. Features and principles mentioned in section 5.6 on conceptual priming and priming in general were taken into account in the performance of this experiment.

Participants (e.g. students from the University of Padua) were subliminally exposed to six primes. These subliminal primes consisted of two European Union primes, two Italy primes and two neutral primes.

The European Union primes were the European Union flag, and the letters "UE" for "Unione Europea" (Italian for European Union).

The two Italy primes are the Italian flag and the letters "IT" for Italia.

The two neutral primes consist of a neutral flag with stars in grey and purple and divided into three parts, and the letters "XA".

Thus, there are three primes in the form of flags, and three primes in the form of (two) letters.

With these primes, we explore influences on the expression of European identity. After the subliminal priming of these symbols, people were asked to respond to the European Union Identity items.

The two manipulation prime symbols can be linked to the following two conceptual institutions:

1. EU flag and EU initials - European connotation - these primes should increase one's European Identity significantly as people should have some kind of underlying connotation between the EU flag and EU as a word on the one hand and their European identity on the other hand.
2. Italian flag and IT as initials - National connotation – these primes should increase one's Italian (national) Identity significantly as people are expected to have some kind of underlying connotation between the Italian flag and IT as initials on the one hand and their Italian (national) Identity on the other hand.

The other two primes are considered control primes. Hence, the primes that were used in two cases can be considered as control conditions. All primes preceded positive and negative adjectives to which participants were asked to respond (whether these adjectives were positive or negative).

After the subliminal exposure to these primes, participants were asked to respond to statements that were similar to the manipulation check questions referring to the European Union, taken from the questionnaires (i.e. paper-and-pencil experiments) used in Italy. These items are called the *EU principle items* in this experiment, because they refer to the principles of distinctiveness, continuity and self-efficacy. However, in this case, the responses on these items are not manipulated, as happened in the first experiments with the questionnaires. On the contrary, responses to the items are indications of the extent to which participants consider the EU to have features of the three principles, continuity, distinctiveness and self-efficacy. Thus, in this experiment the items have a completely different function (i.e. they do not function as manipulation check items). However, they provide us with information about the perceptions of participants regarding the European Union.

Next, *EU identity items*, *Italy principle items* and *Italy identity items* were presented (see section 5.8.2 for precise details concerning these items).

Then, participants had to state the extent of typicality of the adjectives already used in the subliminal, earlier part of the experiments for the EU or Italy. The order in which participants have to state the typicality of the adjectives for these two institutions (i.e. Italy or EU) was changed for half of the participants. In one version students were asked to evaluate first the adjectives for Italy, and then for the European Union, while in the other version students were asked to evaluate first the adjectives for the European Union, and then for Italy. Finally, general background information is collected (age, gender, department, nationality).

The context of the experiment should receive some attention. As the context in which data is gathered can heavily influence the responses of participants, one has to take this into consideration in the experiment design. For the experiments with primes concerning Italy and the European Union, it is very important that these concepts should not be made salient in advance. Otherwise, socially desirable responses or conscious deliberation of the reactions might occur. Any mention of the EU in advance could channel responses in a favourable direction concerning European identity. In order to avoid these possible effects, in all instructions for the experiments no reference was made to either the Italian or European concept. For example, it is not mentioned that the studies were being carried out as part of a Ph.D. project at the European University Institute as it could have made people aware of a European component in the study. Also, it was not stated that the study was meant for social psychological purposes, but it was stated that it was part of a psycho-linguistic study. All this was strictly done for the purpose of eliminating socially desirable responses or any other biased responses as far as possible.

In fact, a major advantage of indirect measurement techniques is “[...] that these indirect estimates are likely to be free of social desirability concerns” (Fazio & Olson, 2003). The participant, in most cases of indirect measurements, is unaware of the fact that implicit attitudes are being evaluated. This depends heavily on the method and on ensuring that the participant is not made aware of the real purpose of the study. However, one could perform the study in such a way as to decrease, as much as possible,

the likelihood that a conscious perception of the evaluated attitude takes place. Furthermore, at the end of a study in which implicit attitudes are measured, one could ask participants about their awareness of these attitudes in an open question so as to be sure that implicit attitudes have been assessed. Otherwise, there is a possibility that an implicit method might have been employed to assess conscious attitudes that could also have been reported as a result of an explicit measurement tool. In the latter case, one could not refer to implicit attitudes, as implicit attitudes indicate a lack of awareness of the attitude measured. One should take into account, furthermore, that the participant might be aware of having a particular attitude. For example, if one asks for the specific attitude concerning the attitude object, one might be very able to give a self-report of this attitude. It is important that participants are not aware of the fact that they are being assessed concerning their attitudes, even though these attitudes might be very conscious concepts in their minds.

5.7.1 Hypotheses

The main hypothesis for these experiments, also mentioned in section 3.2, is the following:

It is expected that responses in the prime conditions, combined with positive adjectives, would be quicker than in the control conditions, in particular for participants who score high on the dimensions of the principle items compared to the ones that score low.

An immediate relationship between the European identity model and the principles cannot be made. The principles are supposed to have been measured with the manipulation check questions. The experiment has a more explorative nature than the previous questionnaire-based experiment. We want to explore whether concepts related to the EU will elicit positive or negative associations, and how these stand in relation to concepts concerned with the nation, i.e. Italy (see section 2.2.2). Furthermore, as the concepts relating to the EU have never been investigated concerning the associations

that they might elicit, it would be very interesting to see what these might be. A favourable European identity is, for example, difficult to achieve if one uses concepts connected to Europe, like the EU flag - if it is more likely to elicit negative associations than positive associations. In this respect one can relate it to the main research question mentioned in section 1.2.4: *What are the underlying social psychological mechanisms that drive European identity and whereby European identity can be manipulated?*

With this experiment, we want to investigate whether concepts connected with European identity, i.e. the EU flag and the words "EU", could potentially be used to influence subjects' European identity. If these primes elicit positive associations, the concepts could be considered in future research as mechanisms that might drive a favourable expression of European identity. Consequently, the concepts could be used in an experiment to manipulate European identity.

5.8 Method: Subliminal Experiment

5.8.1 Procedure: Part I

Students were recruited by the researcher asking nearby and in the two computer labs in the building of Psychology in Padua if they would like to participate in a psycho-linguistic experiment. The students were told the following information:

- The researcher is doing a psycholinguistic experiment.
- The experiment will take about 10-15 minutes.

If students requested more information, they were told that part of the experiment will be performed using a computer, and the other part consists of a questionnaire. They were also told that the experiment was part of a Ph.D. project and consisted of rating adjectives. However, the European or EU context was not mentioned at all. If students agreed to take part in the experiment, they were ushered into the laboratory where they started with the first part of the experiments.

The first part of the subliminal experiments involved implicitly measuring the evaluative responses of students to European and Italian primes, with reaction times. This was done with E-prime, a computer programme used for social psychology experiments. One computer was adapted for this experiment, and students were asked to do this part of the experiment while sitting in front of the computer.

Participants are orally and visually (in written form) informed that the exercise is part of a psycholinguistic study about how people evaluate adjectives as positive or negative. They were asked to give responses to adjectives that would be presented on the screen. These adjectives were to be evaluated. If students thought that the adjective was positive they had to press the M key on the keyboard, while if they evaluated the adjective to be negative they had to press the Z key on the keyboard. Thus, responses of students were consisting of pressing the Z or M key on the keyboard from the moment the

adjective appeared, and reaction times were measured on the basis of their responses to this task.

Participants are presented with a subliminal prime for 20 ms with a flag prime or for 100 ms with a two-letter word prime that is located in the parafoveal vision of the fixation point at random in four locations (Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001, p. 850). Six subliminal primes were used (see section 5.7). There were three primes in the form of flags and three primes in the form of (two) letters.

The presentation of a *flag prime* with an adjective proceeded as follows:

The presentation of the flag prime with a positive or negative adjective consisted of five stages. In the first stage there is a fixation point for 1000 ms (1s) consisting of four small rectangles to draw the attention of students to the point where the adjective would appear. In the second stage a pre-mask of a flag with stripes and stars on a purple green background would appear for the duration of 100 ms in one of the four rectangles in the screen in the parafoveal area. In the third stage, following the pre-mask stage, the prime would appear for 20 ms in the same parafoveal area of the previous stage. This prime was one of the following: the EU flag, the Italian flag or a neutral flag. In the fourth stage, a post-mask consisting of a neutral flag would appear for 200 ms, again in the same parafoveal area. The fifth stage consists of an adjective that appears in the centre of the screen, i.e. the area of the fixation point of the first stage. This last stage should motivate students to give their response by pressing either the Z or the M on the keyboard. On the basis of their cognitive evaluation they should decide whether this adjective can be considered negative, for which they had to press the Z key, or positive, for which they press the M key. The adjective would appear until a response was given and this response was used as the reaction time for the trial. If no response was given, it appeared on screen for a maximum of 3 seconds (3000 ms).

This time pressure element increases the influence of the implicit cues. Greenwald (1995) infers that "...decreased attention, due to distraction or time

pressure, results in increased implicit effects of cues that are peripheral to the subject's task". One could derive from this statement that it is advisable, for example, to include some time pressure in an experiment where implicit attitudes are measured, where a presentation of relevant cues is done in a peripheral mode. These elements (i.e. time pressure, peripheral presentation of cues) would increase the influence of implicit cues. Therefore, putting a time pressure of 3000 ms gives greater influence to our primes.

Finally, a 1.5 second (1500 ms) pause in which nothing appears would pass before the next trial would begin (i.e. inter-trial interval lasts 1500 ms).

The presentation of a *word prime* with an adjective proceeded as follows:

The presentation of the two-letter word prime with a positive or negative adjective consists of four stages. In the first stage there is a fixation point for 1000 ms (1s) consisting of four small rectangles to draw the attention of students to the point where the adjective would appear. In the second stage there was no pre-mask, and the two-letter prime would appear for 20ms in one of the four rectangles in the screen in the parafoveal area. This prime was one of the following: 'UE', 'IT' or 'XA'. Consecutively, in the third stage, a post-mask consisting of the two letters 'FW' would appear for 200 ms, again in the same parafoveal area. The fourth stage consisted of an adjective appearing in the centre of the screen, i.e. the area of the fixation point of the first stage. This last stage should motivate students to give their response pressing either the Z or the M on the keyboard. On the basis of their cognitive evaluation they were to decide whether this adjective could be considered as negative, for which they had to press the Z key, or positive, for which they had to press the M key. This adjective would appear until a response was given and this response was used as the reaction time for the trial. If no response was given, it appeared on screen for a maximum of 3 seconds (3000 ms). Finally, a 1.5 second (1500 ms) pause in which nothing appears would pass before the next trial would begin (i.e. inter-trial interval lasts 1500 ms).

The use of adjectives for this experiment was not based on a random choice. Wittenberg et al. (2001) imply that a particular priming measure can activate

either a stereotype or attitude depending on what it is based. In specific terms, they imply that a stereotype is more likely to be activated when a priming technique is used with a lexical decision. On the other hand, they imply that an attitude is more likely to be activated when one uses a priming technique including evaluative adjectives. Thus, as the aim of the experiment was to elicit implicit attitudes, a priming technique with adjectives was appropriately employed.

The 20 adjectives chosen consist of 10 negative adjectives and 10 positive adjectives. These 10 negative adjectives can again be divided into 5 adjectives that are extremely negative and 5 adjectives that are reasonably negative. In a similar way, the 10 positive adjectives can be divided into 5 adjectives that are extremely positive and 5 adjectives that are reasonably positive.

The ten negative adjectives are the following (in Italian): DISGUSTOSO, REPELLENTE, IRRITANTE, SGRADIVOLE, DISPREZZATO, NEGATIVO, SGARBATO, SCREDITATO, SPIACEVOLE, and SGRAZIATO. These adjectives can be divided into extremely negative and reasonably negative. The first five adjectives are extremely negative, while the latter five adjectives are reasonably negative.

The ten positive adjectives are the following (in Italian): SPLENDIDO, INCANTEVOLE, PREGIATO, POSITIVO, PERFETTO, APPREZZABILE, AMMIRATO, AGGRAZIATO, APPREZZATO, and GUSTOSO. These adjectives can be further divided into extremely positive and reasonably positive. The first five adjectives are extremely positive, while the latter five adjectives are reasonably positive.

The experiment consisted of 125 trials. The first five trials were training trials, which were not recorded but considered as training for students. Eighty trials are of theoretical interest. Each of the twenty adjectives (positive and negative) is paired with each of flag primes (i.e. the EU flag, the Italian flag and the neutral flag) at random in one of the four triangles in the screen in the parafoveal area (60 trials). Accordingly, each of the twenty adjectives (positive

and negative) is paired with each of the two-letter word primes (i.e. 'UE', 'IT' and 'XA') at random in one of the four triangles on the screen in the parafoveal area (60 trials).

The primary dependent measure is the response latency of each prime-adjective/noun test word combination. It is also recorded when the participant gives no response to, or if the response is later than 3 seconds after the appearance of the adjective, in either the fifth (for flag primes) or fourth stage (for two-letter word primes) during the trial. Response latencies for trials of theoretical interest, which are three or more standard deviation above the participant's mean response times, should be considered as outliers, and excluded from the analyses. The remaining response times could be subjected to a logarithmic transformation. Response latencies of one group of similar trials that differ more than 10 ms on average from another group of similar trials can be considered as significant.

5.8.2 Procedure: Part II

Participants were told that the second part of the study is for a Masters dissertation and is not connected with the first part of the experiment that was performed on the computer. In the second part students were asked to fill out a questionnaire. They are asked to respond to a certain number of statements and to fill out their responses on the proposed scale.

In the first section, statements are similar to the manipulation check questions referring to the European Union in the questionnaires used in Italy for the paper-and-pencil experiments. These statements refer to the continuity, distinctiveness and self-efficacy of the European Union. Hence, they refer to the concepts from the European Identity model. These will be called the concept items. Participants were asked to respond to them on a Likert scale (1-7) depending on the extent to which they disagree or agree with the presented statements (e.g. "The EU has a stable presence in world affairs", "The EU is a very unique entity". See Appendix F for all questions asked in Italian). These items are called the *EU principles items*.

Furthermore, participants were presented with the *European Union Identity items* and asked to respond to them on a Likert scale (1-7) depending on the extent to which they disagreed or agreed with the statements (e.g. "I identify with the citizens of the European Union", "For me it is important to be a citizen of the European Union". See Appendix F for all questions asked in Italian).

Then, in the second section, the same statements and items were presented but now with reference to Italy, Italian citizenship or Italian identity. However, two statements were excluded with reference to Italy on the basis of their content. If one had changed these two statements to the Italian counterpart, these would have made no sense to a respondent. The two excluded statements were the following:

[The EU] is just another international organization.

[The EU] is something very different from other international organizations.

These two items refer to the distinctiveness principle. Thus, only one measurement (i.e. the *unique entity* variable) concerning Italian identity and distinctiveness is reported. These remaining included items are similarly called *Italy principles items* and *Italy identity items*.

In the third section students were asked to evaluate to what extent the twenty adjectives are typical or atypical of Italy or the European Union on a Likert scale (1-7). There were two versions of this questionnaire. In one version students were asked to evaluate first the adjectives for Italy, and then for the European Union, while in the other version students were asked to evaluate first the adjectives for the European Union, and then for Italy. These two versions of the questionnaire can be identified on the front page with the date on the left side or on the right side (see Appendix G for the two full versions of the questionnaires). The alternate versions of the questionnaire were assigned at random to participants, i.e. one student was first asked to state his/her personal opinion about the typicality of the adjectives for Italy and then the EU, while the other was first confronted with the EU and then Italy, doing the same task. This aimed to preclude the possibility that the typicality of some adjectives that could be assigned to Italy or the EU would influence the participants' responses in the subliminal part of the study. However, no hypotheses can be formulated on the basis of the EU model as of yet. The results and conclusions will be mentioned for further exploration of EU identity, possibly to be undertaken at a later date. These items will be called *EU typicality items* and *Italy typicality items*, respectively.

Finally, general background information was requested (left-right political orientation on a 10-point scale, gender, age, department, year of study, birth country and nationality).

Also, it needed to be determined whether participants were aware of the subliminal primes, in particular the EU flag (as this was the prime that was most visible) and whether they are able to identify the primes. Participants are asked for this at the end of the experiment (debriefing).

In total, the whole experiment took about 15-20 minutes (7/8 minutes for the first – computer part, and about 7-10 minutes for the second – questionnaire part).

5.9 Results

A pre-test of only the subliminal part with the computer-based test was done with five persons. This was done to adapt the refresh rates, time of fixation, time of prime presentation etc. as necessary. After this pre-test, students were recruited for the experiment. In total 52 students from the University of Padua participated in the experiment: 25 Italian male students and 27 Italian female students. Four of these students reported during the debriefing that they had seen the EU flag prime, and one student made 27 errors (i.e. 27 incorrect trials out of the 120 trials). If a student did not give a response, if a response was later than 3 seconds or if the response was incorrect (e.g. a “positive” response was given to a “negative” adjective or vice versa), the trial was considered incorrect. Incorrect trials are counted as errors in this task. So, this student was clearly an outlier, because no other student made more than 15 errors. Consequently, it has been decided to exclude the student in question, who was also reported as being less attentive than the other participants during the experiment. Furthermore, the four students who reported having seen the EU flag were apparently conscious of the prime. However, this prime should have been subliminally (i.e. unconsciously) presented. Therefore, it has also been decided to leave out these four students in the analyses. This means that in total five participants were excluded from the analyses. Even after the exclusions, there were enough valid participants for our needs. According to the method of the experiment, in which only the two versions of the questionnaire required random allocation of students, the experiment needs statistically only 40 persons, with at least 20 people filling out each version of the questionnaire. In fact, 23 persons filled out the first version of the questionnaire (see section 5.8.2; first, evaluation of adjectives for Italy, and then for the European Union), while 24 filled out the second version of the questionnaire (first, evaluation of adjectives for EU and then for Italy). After the exclusion of the five students, there were 22 male students and 25 female students left. Their age ranged from 18 to 32. About 70% of the students were younger than 24, and the median was 22. The majority of the students were psychology students (83%, N=39), while the rest of the students were from economics (11%, N=5), medicine (4%, N=2) or

communication science (2%, N=1). The majority of students were in the third year of their studies (28%, N=13). Students who were in the fourth year or lower encompass 75% (N=30) of all students. All participants have Italian nationality and were born in Italy. About 72% (N=34) of the students auto-reported a left-leaning political orientation. About 11% (N=5) of the participants were not able to state a specific kind of political orientation, while the rest of the participants auto-reported a right-leaning political orientation (17%, N=8).

No included participant made more than 15 errors out of 120 trials. The median is 2 concerning the amount of errors made. About 70% of the participants did not make more than 5 errors.

5.9.1 Main effect of type of prime and interaction effect between type of prime and valence

The main hypothesis of the subliminal experiment study is the following: **It is expected that responses in the prime conditions combined with positive adjectives would be quicker than in the control conditions.** In this section, it is intended to investigate this hypothesis in more detail.

Preliminary analysis revealed an overall error rate that was low and not systematically related to the target levels. In total, 168 errors were found for the 47 participants who each did 120 trials. Thus, the precise percentage of errors is $168 / (52 * 120 = 6240) = 2.62 \%$.

A selection is made of the trials in which participants were most motivated in responding to the task: all reaction times above 1000 ms are eliminated per person per trial. The selection consists of the trials during which participants responded quickly and correctly. This selection is made because if all trials were taken into analysis, an incorrect picture would be given of people who did not respond quickly enough to the task.

A PROC MIXED analysis with these participants and trials is done. The results of this analysis are reported in this section.

A PROC MIXED analysis is performed with three levels: valence (positive and negative), type of prime (flag or word) and content of prime (Italian, EU, or

neutral). Gender is included as a covariate, because we have seen in section 5.4.4. that although gender is not a main effect, it was reported having an interaction effect with country. Therefore, it might be of importance for the analysis to include gender, even if it might not be a main effect. This PROC MIXED analysis can be done with the data set, deleting the average reaction times per group of condition above 1000 ms. In this way, some reaction times are missing, but with the use of a PROC MIXED analysis this is not a problem, as it allows for data that are missing at random, while a GLM analysis would ignore any missing data.

A PROC MIXED analysis is performed in SAS²¹ with three levels: valence (positive and negative), type of prime (flag or word) and content of prime (Italian, EU, or neutral). Two significant effects are found. The main effect of type of prime is significant: $F(1, 45) = 4.68, p < .04$. The interaction effect of content of prime and valence is also significant $F(2, 86) = 3.01, p < .06$. The other effects are not significant ($p > .11$).

Concerning the significant main effect of type of prime, we can state the following. Primes in the form of words elicit slower reaction times than primes in the form of flags (736.33 ms versus 727.27 ms²²): participants respond quicker to flag primes than to word primes.

In order to look in more detail at the interaction between valence, content and the effect of type of prime, the estimated means are used to draw the following graph (Figure 5):

Insert Figure 5

Taking the neutral prime as a baseline (723.28 ms), it is relevant to note that for the negative adjectives the reaction times are slower for both the EU primes (732.76 ms) and the Italian primes (731.01 ms). On the contrary, for

²¹ In SPSS more or less similar results are gained with significances of .03 and .05 respectively.

the positive adjectives the reaction times are quicker for both the EU primes (727.84 ms) and the Italian primes (733.13), compared to the neutral baseline (742.78 ms). This means that, compared to the neutral primes, the EU and Italy primes elicit quicker reaction times in the positive valence conditions than in the negative valence conditions. This could indicate that people have positive associations with Italy and EU concepts. These positive associations might even be stronger for the EU concepts than for the Italy concepts, as the reaction times for the EU concepts are even quicker for the positive adjectives and slower for the negative adjectives when compared to reaction times for the Italy concepts.

Another PROC MIXED analysis was performed with transformed reaction times. The reaction times were transformed according to the logarithmic function based on the Table "Syntax for Common Data Transformations" given by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001, p.83). According to this table, one should transform data that is substantially positively skewed according to the formula: $\text{new } X = \text{LG10}(X)$. This was done and this transformation resulted in variables with similar skewedness and kurtosis as the previous variables transformed according to the logarithmic function (\ln). The minimum and the maximum have changed, however.

A PROC MIXED analysis was performed with three levels: valence (positive and negative), type of prime (flag or word) and content of prime (Italian, EU, or neutral). Gender was included as a covariate.

To great extent, similar results are obtained by doing a PROC MIXED analysis with these transformed variables.

The main effect of type of prime is significant: $F(1, 45) = 5.56, p < .02$. The interaction effect of content of prime and valence is also significant $F(2, 86) = 3.65, p < .03$. The other effects are not significant ($p > .16$). Thus, similar findings can be found for the non-transformed variables. However, the effects are more significant for the transformed variables than for the non-transformed variables.

²² These reaction times are estimated means of the reaction times in the relevant groups.

The main effect of type of prime shows that participants respond quicker to flag primes than to word primes. Primes in the form of words elicit slower reaction times than primes in the form of flags.

The interaction between valence and content of prime can be explained in a similar way as can the interaction between the same variables in the PROC MIXED analysis with the non-transformed data. This means that for the negative adjectives the reaction times are slower for both the EU primes and the Italian primes, compared to the neutral prime. On the contrary, for the positive adjectives the reaction times are quicker for both the EU primes and the Italian primes, compared to the neutral baseline. This means that compared to the neutral primes, the EU and Italy primes elicit quicker reaction times in the positive valence conditions than in the negative valence conditions. This could indicate that people have positive associations with Italy and EU concepts.

In sum, similar effects and findings are found for the non-transformed data of the variables and the transformed data of the variables. These effects were more significant for the transformed data ($p < .03$) than for the non-transformed data ($p < .06$). These effects show us that the flag prime was more successful than the word prime in validating the main hypothesis. Not for all primes the hypothesis. Furthermore, the findings also validate the hypothesis very strongly that responses in the prime conditions with both EU and Italy targets combined with positive adjectives are quicker than in the control conditions.

5.9.2 Factor analyses and reliability tests results

In this section factor analyses and reliability tests are conducted in order to show to what extent the relevant items measured the relevant underlying variable or dimension. Items are re-coded in such a way to fit the variables or dimensions that they are supposed to measure. These variables and dimensions will be used in the analyses following this section.

Concerning the explicit measures, the European identity items and the Italian identity items are re-coded into the same direction (i.e. more European/Italian identity). A factor analysis is performed with the re-coded European identity items. This factor analysis shows that the items have one common factor with a high explained variance (71%), a high eigenvalue (5.56) and a high alpha (.95). These items are aggregated these items into the **European identity variable**. Also, a factor analysis is performed with the Italian identity items. This factor analysis shows that the items have one common factor with a high explained variance (74%), a high eigenvalue (5.89) and a high alpha (.95). The Italian identity items are aggregated into the **Italian identity variable**.

The factor analysis with the European concept items is performed with an Oblimin rotation, as the factors might correlate²³. The pattern matrix shows three components. See Table 32 for the pattern matrix.

Insert Table 32 here

From Table 32 one can infer that the components of the variables do not straightforwardly relate to similar concept items. Only component loadings higher than .20 are indicated in the pattern matrix. The first component (eigenvalue=3.58, $R^2= 40\%$) is highly related to all three self-efficacy items²⁴. The self-efficacy items can go together as one variable that we call the **EU self-efficacy dimension**. The second component (eigenvalue= 1.59, $R^2= 18\%$) is highly related with two continuity variables and slightly related to one

²³ The factors are allowed to correlate according to this rotation. On the basis of the theoretical background of the variables, one expects to find three factors. The values of the pattern matrix will be used as these values do not include that part of correlation between the factor and the variable due to factor intercorrelations. As such, these represent the unique contributions of the factors to the variance of the variables.

²⁴ However, it is also reasonably highly related to one continuity item and one distinctiveness item. Therefore, it does not seem that straightforward to name this component as a self-efficacy component. One could call this component, however, the "added EU self-efficacy dimension", as it is related with all self-efficacy items but also with some other, added items. A reliability test, furthermore, shows that these items have a reasonably high alpha, namely .86, but when the non-self-efficacy items are excluded in the reliability test, the alpha is higher (alpha=.88). Therefore it was decided to take only the self-efficacy items together as one variable that we call the **EU self-efficacy dimension**.

distinctiveness variable²⁵. The two continuity items are aggregated in a **reduced EU continuity dimension**. Finally, the last component (eigenvalue=1.10, R²= 12%) is highly related to only one distinctiveness item. This item is referred to as the **reduced EU distinctiveness dimension**.

A similar factor analysis is performed with the seven Italian concept variables (i.e. with a criterion of 2 components and an Oblimin rotation). Table 33 shows the results of the factor analysis with the seven Italian concept variables, and again only component loadings higher than .20 are reported²⁶.

Insert Table 33 here

The first component (eigenvalue=3.38, R²= 48%) is highly related with the three self-efficacy components. The self-efficacy items are used to compute an aggregate variable called the **Italy self-efficacy dimension**. The second component (eigenvalue=1.32, R²= 19%) is strongly related to only one continuity variable. Following the pattern of the other items, we could refer to this item as the **reduced Italy continuity dimension**. The third component (eigenvalue=.79, R²= 11%) is related to two continuity variables and to a distinctiveness variable²⁷. All items are aggregated into a **reduced Italy continuity and distinctiveness dimension**.

²⁵ This component is highly related with only 2 items of the 3 continuity components, and only weakly related with a distinctiveness component. A reliability test with all items related with this component result in an alpha of .62, however, if only the two strongly related continuity items are included in a reliability test a reasonably higher alpha of .70 is given. Therefore, it was decided to aggregate the two continuity items into one **reduced EU continuity dimension**.

²⁶ These factor analysis results are more difficult to interpret than those reported previously ones, because various components are related to similar variables. All components, for example, are slightly related to one specific continuity item (i.e. "Italy is showing a strong continuity").

²⁷ The third component (eigenvalue=.79, R²= 11%) is related to two continuity variables (i.e. "Italy has a stable presence in world affairs" and "Italy has a strong continuity"), and slightly related to the same distinctiveness variable that is also related to the first component (i.e. "Italy is a very unique entity"). Thus, this component could be called reduced Italy continuity and distinctiveness dimension. If all items that are related to this component are included in a reliability test, an alpha of .73 is reported; however, if only the continuity and the distinctiveness component are included an alpha of .63 is reported. Therefore, it was decided

Furthermore, factor analyses have been performed with the EU typicality items and the Italy typicality items. A factor analysis is performed with an Oblimin rotation (as some relationship between the two factors could be expected) for the Italy typicality items. Two factors are expected to be found, one for the negative items and one for the positive items. Table 34 shows that the first component (eigenvalue=3.82, $R^2= 19\%$) is clearly related to negative adjectives.

Insert Table 34 here

In particular, as follows from Table 34, reasonably high component loadings are reported for eight adjectives²⁸.

An alpha reliability test for the typicality items results in reasonably high component loadings for the two components. The eight negative items result in an alpha of .82. With the eight Italian typicality items an aggregated **Italian positive typicality** variable is made. The nine positive adjectives give an alpha of .67 and these items are aggregated into an **Italian negative typicality** variable.

A factor analysis is also performed with an Oblimin rotation (as some relationship between the two factors could be expected) for the EU typicality items (see Table 35 for results).

to compute one aggregate variable with all items related to this component and this variable will be referred to as the **reduced Italy continuity and distinctiveness dimension**.

²⁸ These eight adjectives are *sgraziata*, *spiacevole*, *negativa*, *sgradevole*, *repellente*, *irritante*, *sgarbata*, and *disgustosa*. It is striking that the two negative adjectives *screditata*, and *disprezzata* are not highly related to this component. The second component (eigenvalue=2.63, $R^2= 13\%$) has high component loadings for the following nine positive adjectives: *positiva*, *apprezzata*, *ammirata*, *gustosa*, *pregevole*, *aggraziata*, *splendida*, *apprezzabile*, and *incantevole*. Only *perfetta*, being a positive adjective does not have a high component loading for the second component. The fact that some of these adjectives do not have a high component loading might be put down to the difficulties inherent in applying these

Insert Table 35 here

Table 35 indicates that the first component has high component loadings for nine negative EU typicality adjective items.²⁹ The second component has high component loadings for eight positive adjectives.

Reliability tests are performed with the items that are highly related to the components. The nine negative EU typicality items have an alpha of .83. Hence, an aggregate variable can be created with these items that will be called the **EU negative typicality** variable. A reliability test with the eight positive EU typicality items leads to an alpha of .76, and, consequently, a variable called **EU positive typicality** is created.

A further exploration of the data might give some more insight into the relevant concepts. These results might be useful for future research and they could be useful for any future models for EU identity or reactions to EU concepts.

5.9.3 Results of MANOVAs with conditions by EU identity and Italian identity

A multiple analysis of variance was performed with the various manipulation condition reaction times as dependent variables, and the EU identity variable and the Italian identity variable as independent variables (the latter variables are not divided into groups anymore). This analysis leads to few marginally significant results ($p < .10$). EU identity has a marginally significant effect on the reaction times in the condition in which negative adjectives are given with IT as a word prime, $F(17, 1) = 71.100$, $p < .10$. This means that the higher the level of EU identity expression, the quicker participants responded to negative adjectives after the IT word prime compared to the other manipulation

words as assigned attributes for Italy (or EU for the EU typicality items). The other component loadings are smaller than .20.

²⁹These nine negative adjective items are *disprezzata*, *sgraziata*, *spiacevole*, *negativa*, *sgradevole*, *repellente*, *imitante*, *sgarbata*, and *disgustosa*. Hence, the negative adjective *screditata* is not related to the first component.

conditions. In other words this means that a high European identity goes together with a stronger negative association with "Italy" as a word. This finding might indicate that Italians who have a higher European identity are more likely to have a negative feeling towards Italy, than Italians with a lower European identity.

Italian identity has a marginally significant effect on the reaction times of the same manipulation condition (i.e. IT word prime, negative adjectives), $F(22, 1) = 95.413, p < .08$. This effect shows that the higher the Italian identity, the faster participants responded to the negative words with the IT word prime manipulation condition compared to the other manipulation conditions. Thus, this finding might indicate also that Italian who have a higher European identity are more likely to have a negative association with Italy.

Furthermore, the interaction between EU identity and Italian identity on the reaction times of the similar manipulation condition (i.e. IT word prime, negative adjectives) is highly significant, $F(2, 1) = 556.07, p < .03$. This means that the higher both the EU identity and the Italian identity, the faster participants responded to the manipulation condition in which a negative adjective was given with the IT word prime, compared to the other manipulation conditions. This finding confirms the indication that the previous findings show.

Another interaction between EU identity and Italian identity on the reaction times of the Italian flag prime with positive adjectives manipulation condition is marginally significant $F(2, 1) = 54.401, p < .10$. Consequently, one could state that participants with a high level of EU identity expression and Italian identity expression are more likely to respond faster to a manipulation condition in which positive adjectives are given with an Italian flag prime, compared to other manipulation conditions. This finding seems to be in contrast with the indications given by the previous findings. However, in this case the prime was not a word, but a flag. Thus, when one uses an Italian flag instead of the letters related to Italy, a contrasting finding is found. Specifically, one could infer that Italians with both a higher European identity and Italian identity are

more inclined to have a more positive association to the Italian flag than Italians who show lower levels of identity expressions. Thus this finding, concerning the Italian flag, does not show a clash between the supranational identity (i.e. European identity) and the national identity (i.e. Italian Identity).

5.9.4 Results of MANOVAs with manipulation conditions by Italian positive typicality and Italian negative typicality

A MANOVA was performed with the reaction times of the various manipulation conditions as dependent variables, and Italian positive typicality and Italian negative typicality as independent variables. The latter variables consist of the aggregate variables computed as the results of the factor analyses and reliability tests with the Italy typicality items. Thus, these variables show to what extent the positive or negative adjectives were considered to be typical of Italy. A high score refers to a higher level of perception of the adjectives as typical of Italy, while a low score refers to a lower level of perception of the adjectives being typical of Italy (i.e. to a higher level of perception of the adjectives being atypical of Italy).

A MANOVA with Italian positive typicality and Italian negative typicality results in various (marginal) significant main effects and interaction effects. Table 36 shows the results of significant main and interaction effects.

Insert Table 36 here

There are eight significant main effects and eight significant interaction effects. The following manipulation conditions were shown to have significant effects: the Italian flag prime combined with positive adjectives, IT word prime (both for positive and negative adjectives), EU prime combined with negative adjectives, the neutral word prime (for both positive and negative adjectives), the European flag prime combined with positive adjectives, and the neutral flag prime combined with negative adjectives.

A MANOVA with EU positive typicality and EU negative typicality results in many more (marginal) significant results. Table 37 shows the results of the significant main and interaction effects.

Insert Table 37 here

From Table 37 one can infer that some significant effects can be found for all manipulation conditions.

5.9.5 Explaining reaction times

Regressions with the logarithmic function of the reaction times in the various conditions (twelve (12) in total) were performed with models including various variables. First, European and Italian identity were included. Then, the various aggregate variables for the principle items were included. Thirdly, and finally, we included gender, age, version and typicality items.

Significant results ($p < .15$) can be found in Table 38.

Insert Table 38 here

5.9.6 Identification and entativity associations

A new variable is made with the explicit measures of the principle items. All items that were supposed to measure the extent of distinctiveness, continuity and self-efficacy concerning the EU, have an alpha value of .75. With these items a new variable is created that is called EU entativity. EU entativity is the mean of the EU principle items. The alpha for all Italy principle items is .78. An Italy entativity variable is created by computing the mean of these items.

These two entativity variables are tested for correlation with the EU identity and Italy identity variables. All variables seem to be correlated. Italy entativity is highly positively correlated with EU entativity ($r=.50$, $p<.00$), EU identity ($r=.65$, $p<.00$), and Italian identity ($r=.60$, $p<.00$). Furthermore, EU entativity is highly positively correlated to European identity ($r=.53$, $p<.00$), and Italian identity ($r=.34$, $p<.02$). Also, Italian identity is highly positively associated with European identity ($r=.66$, $p<.00$). Thus, all correlations between EU identity, EU entativity, Italian identity and Italian entativity are highly positive and extremely significant. These results indicate that the EU and Italian identities are very compatible. Moreover, positive associations are found between a national and a supranational identity, indicating that such identities do not need to clash. Also, the results seem to show that entativity and identities are associated with each other.

5.9.7 Comparison between explicit EU and Italian identification and absolute reaction times of EU and Italy primes

Reaction times for all EU primes were computed according to the following method. Reaction times were deducted from the corresponding mean of the relevant neutral prime. The absolute scores of these deductions were computed. Consecutively, eight new variables were created, categorised by valence (i.e. positive, negative), two types of prime (flag, word) and the Italian and EU content. The sum is taken of all EU positive primes scores and the reverse of the EU negative primes scores. Then, the absolute mean of all EU primes ($N=4$) is computed and a new variable is created, called the EU prime. The same is done for the Italy primes, ending up with an Italy prime variable. Thus, these two variables were taken from the subliminal, implicit part of the experiment. One could use these variables as implicit measures of attitudes towards Italy and the EU because they are aggregated, providing implicit measures of the associations with Italian and EU concepts, respectively. This would mean that the higher the value, the stronger the association with EU- and Italian concepts. These implicit measures are correlated with the explicit measures of EU identification and Italian identification to find out to what extent the implicit measurement of the identifications are correlated with the explicit measurement of identifications.

The correlations between the implicit and the explicit measures of EU and Italian identifications are expected to be negative, because one assumes that a higher identification with the EU or Italy would be associated with a quicker reaction to EU or Italian concepts respectively.

No significant correlations were found ($p > .34$). Thus, there is no correlation between the implicit and explicit measures of European and Italian identification.

5.10 Final conclusions

This section considers four topics. First, we would like to discuss the general overview results and factor analyses results.

The first important conclusion is that the experiments give evidence to confirm the hypothesis: **It is expected that responses in the prime conditions combined with positive adjectives would be quicker than in the control conditions.** Specifically, one finds a main effect for primes and an interaction effect between primes and valence.

The second important conclusion is related to the compatibility of the EU and Italy concepts, while implicit and explicit concepts are not compatible.

The third relevant conclusion that can be drawn from the factor analyses and reliability tests is that most items can be used in the future to measure specific underlying concepts related to EU identity.

5.10.1 Flags and EU concepts

The analyses done in section 5.9.1 show the most important findings. These analyses show that when one selects only for the most motivated trials (i.e. response reaction below 1000 ms) in order to filter out students who did the task with a high level of seriousness the type of prime is of great influence. Participants reacted much quicker to flags than to words. This could mean that participants find it easier to process the flags, as these were mainly visual cues, without any need for reading skills. Furthermore, colours were involved in the flag primes, and as we know from the Stroop test, colours are more easily identified than words. Thus, one could also recommend the use of visual elements in order to prime EU or Italy concepts in the future, because it is more likely that one would get quicker reaction times with these.

Another finding mentioned is the significant interaction between valence and content of prime, which shows that, in general, people have positive associations with the EU and Italy concepts, on the basis of the baseline of the neutral concepts. Participants reacted quicker to the EU and Italy primes with positive adjectives, compared to the baseline. They were even slightly

quicker to react to the EU primes than to the Italian primes. Therefore, one could assume that people have in general quite positive implicit attitudes toward the EU and Italy. We should be careful about generalising this finding, because Cinnirella (1998) has shown that attitudes towards the EU are not necessarily similar for Italians and British citizens. It should be interesting to find out if the same positive implicit attitudes towards the EU can be found for other countries. If so, the EU can be satisfied with its efforts to raise citizens' European-awareness, as it has succeeded in presenting a positive image towards its European citizens. As regards Italy, at least, some evidence is put forward, that an implicit positive attitude is found for Italian citizens. More importantly, according to the dissociation approach (Devine, 1989) mentioned in section 5.6.2, one could suppose that implicit measures are based on cultural beliefs, while explicit measures are based on personal beliefs. As in this study implicit measures were used to investigate implicit attitudes, one could state that the findings portray cultural beliefs in Italy concerning attitudes towards the EU. As the study seems to be a successful one, it might be applied to other countries in order to investigate similar implicit attitudes.

5.10.2 EU and Italian compatibility of concepts

In section 5.9.3 it is shown that participants with a high level of EU identity expression and Italian identity expression are more likely to respond faster to a manipulation condition in which positive adjectives are given with an Italian flag prime, compared to other manipulation conditions. This finding can show that Italians who both have a strong EU and Italian identity also have more positive associations to the Italian flag. In a similar line, EU and Italian entativity concepts are associated with EU and Italian identity concepts as was shown in section 5.9.6 Thus, from these two findings one could derive that national identities and supranational identities do not need to clash. On the contrary, they can easily exist side by side, and might even foster each other's individual expression. Compatibility between these two identities is found, as Cinnirella (1997) suggests. As a supranational identity, European identity does not stand in the way of the expression of national identity, i.e. the expression of Italian identity. One should not be afraid, at least, for Italian

citizens, that they cannot have their national identity alongside to their European identity. Another important finding is that entativity and social identities are closely related to each other. This finding is in agreement with the study done by Castano, Yzerbyt and Bourguignon (1998), in which entativity and social identities are also closely associated.

The finding that Italians with a higher European identity have a positive association is not found for the prime of the Italian 2-letter combination "IT". This might be caused by, as was mentioned previously, the fact that flags are easier to process and therefore elicit a quicker reaction than the words. However, it may also be that, on the basis of the contrary findings reported, a negative association indeed is linked to the general concept of Italy, elicited by the two-letter prime for Italians with a high European identity. In that case, the flag might actually be linked with a more specific part of Italy, maybe the part of nationality, and one's national identity, while the two-letter prime is linked to a more general picture of Italy, like the politics, bureaucracy and work. In the latter case, Italians might still be proud of themselves as Italians when they profess a high European identity, but are less proud of themselves concerning the Italian general picture. The latter might be related to politics, that are internationally known as quite unreliable and undemocratic; to bureaucracy, where many unwritten and written rules are always used as excuses for malfunctioning or bad treatment; to work, where young people are hardly given a chance for a proper job on their level, and where a high distance is experience in relation to one's boss.

In section 5.9.7 no significant correlation between the implicit attitude measures and the explicit identification measures is found. This might be in accordance with the dissociation approach (Devine, 1989), in which it is believed that explicit measures and implicit measures should not agree. Actually, on the basis of our results one could claim that, in fact, the explicit measures indicate cultural beliefs while the implicit measures indicate personal beliefs. As personal beliefs tend to be more wide-ranging and varied, while cultural beliefs are more normative and on one line, they are unlikely to

correlate very highly. As both have to do with people, they are both of importance, because they measure some ideas that people have in their mind and that make up part of the relevant cognitive representation in a cultural or personal sense.

5.10.3 Usefulness of items for future analyses related to EU identity

The factor analyses and reliability test have shown that some items can be especially useful for future research concerning EU identity, Italian identity, concepts of self-efficacy, and continuity, adjectives attributed to Italy and the EU. The results of the factor analyses and reliability test indicated that some aggregate variables could be computed. With these aggregate variables underlying concepts could be measured. Thus, in the future, similar items that have been used for EU identity, for example, could be used again. The items were derived from Castano et al. (1998), and seem to be very useful. These items have also been adapted to measure Italian identity, and it seems that one could also use them for this purpose. Also, the distinctiveness, continuity and self-efficacy items seem to be useful as indicators of the underlying concepts to quite large extent for future analyses. Lastly, one could state that the typicality adjectives are not all as applicable for use concerning the EU or Italy.

In particular it seems that the positive adjective of *perfetta* (i.e. perfect) seems to be difficult to be considered as an adjective that could be assigned to Italy. This might be because Italy can never be seen as perfect by Italians, on the one hand, but could also be caused by the fact that one, in general, cannot perceive Italy in terms of being perfect or not. Negative attributes that also fitted in badly with the other negative adjectives are *disprezzata* (i.e. unappreciated) and *screditata* (i.e. discredited). Also, these concepts might have the same problem of being perceived as adjectives typical or atypical of Italy. Moreover, *screditata* does not fit in well with the negative adjectives for the EU. Hence, it seems that this adjective is not adequate to use in relation to both the EU and Italy. It might be difficult to judge any institution in these terms. Positive adjectives not fitting very well in the EU component of positive words are *apprezzata* or *apprezzabile* (i.e. appreciated). So, on the basis of

this study, I would recommend using only the adjectives in future research about EU or Italy that are included in the aggregate variables of positive/negative EU or Italy typicality.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions and discussion

This chapter will set out and discuss the main conclusions of the thesis and will discuss the results obtained. The chapter is organised around three topics, namely the principles of the main theory in this research, the method applied for validating the theoretical part, and implications proposed on the basis of the results.

In the first section the principles of continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy and self-esteem will be discussed. These indicators have been noted as being quite useful and reliable in their application for the quasi-experimental part and experimental part of the research on European identity. Moreover, the application of the principle items might be of use for different types of social identities (e.g. regional/national/supra-national identities). The principles are not all of equal relevance. In particular, the continuity principle can be considered to have more relevance in explaining and influencing European identity expression than the others. The fact the continuity principle is of highest importance might be contrary to the statement of Smith (1992, p.62) referred to in section 1.2.4, in which he maintains that one cannot consider Europe to have a common history, whereas the strength of continuity might actually argue that some common history does exist.

In the second section, the relevance and use of the method that was employed for the research will be dealt with. First, the strength of using two different methods (i.e. quasi-experimental research and experimental research) will be explained. The way that these two methods were able to complement each other is stressed, and the elements by which they complement each other are explained. Second, the statistical techniques employed for the research were very suitable and increased the relevance of the theoretical model in various ways. Attention will be given to the use of the optimal scaling analyses and the regression analyses with sociological and social psychological variables. Third, the paradigm of Social Experimental

Psychology will be mentioned as very adaptable for research on European identity, as it could be also for other concepts that might have a social but also a political connotation. Last, the main results of the quasi-experiments and experiments will be mentioned briefly.

In the third section some further implications or recommendations will be made for future research concerning European identity related topics. The first recommendation is to use some kind of comparison of Romance countries versus Germanic northern European countries, and to explore the definition of these countries. Second, it is implied that a stronger integration of the EU flag concept in people's mindset would lead to a higher perception of EU self-efficacy. Third, future researchers on various concepts including European identity, for example, should take heed of the order in which they offer concepts to participants as the order might lead to various effects on other relevant variables.

6.1 Principles: continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy and self-esteem

In this study European identity has been considered as a particular social identity. Breakwell (1986, 1992 & 1993) developed a social identity model based on the principles of distinctiveness, continuity, self-efficacy and self-esteem. When applying this model to European identity, it was postulated that the principles favourably influence European identity in such a way that a higher perception of each of the principles increases a subject's European identity.

These principles were considered as psychological needs for the inclusion of a specific social identity into one's set of social identities. For example, if a person perceives the European Union as a distinctive institution (e.g. very different from other institutions/organisations), he or she will be more willing to take up a European identity (e.g. to consider himself or herself European and, consequently, to express a European identity). The European context has been considered to be extremely near to the European Union (EU) context, as for many people the EU is a visible and understandable definition of Europe. Because the geographical definition of Europe (i.e. to define which country is in Europe and which country is not) might pose some problems, the EU as an entity - strongly related to Europe and its citizens - would pose fewer problems in seeking to understand the European concept. This is why the EU concept has been used to investigate European identity.

In general, the principles can be very useful. Also, the use of the principles for the quasi-experiments and experiments gives reliable results. The items that have been chosen for the measurement of the specific principles produce reasonable scores in the reliability tests, and seem to be uniform in measuring the principles. Consequently, we could use these principal indicators in future research on European identity or any other social identity. The items have been adapted to the national (Italian) identity for the implicit attitudes experiments discussed in the second part of Chapter Five. The adapted forms of the indicators were also sufficiently successful in measuring the various

principles. Therefore, if adapted correctly, the principles could be applied for various other social identities like a national identity, regional identity, supra-national identity, gender identity, or a role identity of any kind. For the Italian identity expression, some indicators have, for example, been excluded where these seemed to make less sense in the context of a national identity. Thus, a correct application of the items has to be taken into consideration when transforming the items for use in investigating a different social identity than European identity.

The quasi-experiments and experiments show that the relevance/effectiveness of all principles was not equally distributed. In specific terms, some principles were more effective in influencing European identity in the experimental part of the research than others, and some principles were more relevant in explaining the variance of European identity in the quasi-experimental research. In particular, the principle of continuity has been shown to be more relevant than the other principles for the explanation of European identity. On the other hand, the principle of self-efficacy seems to have been less relevant than the other principles. Consequently, we should take heed in future analyses or research, when adapting these principles, that no equal relevance is assumed concerning the explanatory or influential power of these principles.

We might explain why continuity is the most relevant principle for European identity as follows. Continuity could constitute European identity to a large extent due to the fact that one could build on continuity to increase European identity. Continuity is an important psychological concept for people for the simple reason that as time passes by, one needs continuous elements in order to make sense of the life that one has lived and to project oneself into the future. Moreover, continuity has pivotal relevance in a person's personal life. In one's life, one marries, finds a job, has friends and strives for these things in order to gain stability and ensure continuity. This is why, for example, one makes friends and one avoids losing them quickly. Once you know a person and you have invested time and energy in this person, it makes sense to continue the friendship. This is no less true for an identity. Once a person is familiar with a specific identity, and the identity seems to be long-lasting and

of a specific duration, they are more willing to integrate this identity into their set of social identities. Psychologically, a person has a strong need for continuity. Furthermore, the need for continuity might have a stronger connection with European identity than the other principles because people might have already been familiar with Europe through historical elements. Historical elements based on culture, religion, language, and politics can form a sense of continuity, and as such, it might have been easier to consider the EU or the concept of Europe as a continuous element. In a practical sense, we can suggest implementing the principle of continuity in EU countries so that European identification is increased. One idea would be to stress the common historical elements (as has been mentioned in the section in Chapter 6, before section 6.1) more in history lessons during primary and high school education. These elements could be based on cultural, linguistic, religious and political grounds. Furthermore, the history of the European Union should be taught. Important European historical events could be given attention. Another way of implementing the continuity principle relates to the reputation or profile the EU wants to have with the public. In particular, one could propose to portray the EU as an entity with continuous elements by stressing the common history of European countries. In any campaign to make the EU more attractive to people, one could involve the idea of common (or shared), European roots. For example, in flyers, or documentaries in which the EU is portrayed as a favourable political entity, we should stress the importance of continuity in order to increase the European identity. This can be done by pointing out the European integration of the countries that were once joined in the Roman Empire, while other shared and historical elements related to language, culture, religion and politics should not be neglected. These elements include the Renaissance elite culture, Christianity as a major religion, and the wars among European countries. Of course, the other principles can be implemented in a similar way by focussing, for example, on the rights that EU citizens have (self-efficacy), on how unique and special the EU is as an entity (distinctiveness) or on the favourable and beneficial actions the EU has undertaken (self-esteem). It seems, however, that the implementation of the principle of continuity should be of higher relevance than the other principles.

In this part the strong link between European identity and continuity can be explained and we investigate why continuity might be considered as the strongest principle for explaining European identity. Continuity and European identity expression could be linked to each other and, in turn, to European integration through the existence of connecting historical facts (i.e. Roman Empire, the birth of the EU, the dominance of Romance languages, Christianity as a common religion, the existence of a Renaissance elite culture, common wars). The history of many European countries can be linked together based on cultural, linguistic, religious and political grounds. Although the history of the Roman Empire is remote in purely chronological terms its relevance can still be felt. At its height, the Romans conquered a huge amount of what is nowadays referred to as the European continent. In many European cities Roman ruins or other Roman remains can still be found. The core of the Roman Empire was situated around the Mediterranean basin, while the Romans' acquisition and occupation of northern Europe came later, was less intensive and of shorter duration. This is perhaps of significance in explaining the finding that southern EU countries like Spain, France and Italy have a stronger European identification than northern EU countries like the Netherlands, Germany and the UK. The fact that the latter countries share a stronger common Roman Empire history, which is of a lower level of importance in forming a national narrative than for the former set of southern European countries may exert an effect - even in modern times - in producing a weaker European identification for among citizens of northern European countries. Furthermore, since the Renaissance, the French language has been an elite language. At Court and among the upper classes across national borders, French was considered to be the language of communication and particularly diplomacy. French architecture was also considered of very high standard and very popular in these times. The Renaissance elite culture dominated society and set the standard for the average person. This Renaissance elite culture, moreover, could be very much related to the Romance languages. Not only was French thought to be a *fashionable* language, but also Italian was perceived as the language of the highly educated and well-developed man. Moreover, in the musical world

Italian dominated very strongly, and even nowadays, many musicians read music with many Italian references or notes. Another Romance language, namely the Spanish language has been of some relevance during the Spanish rule of northern Europe two centuries ago. The fact that these three countries all share a common Roman historical 'starting-point' and speak sister-languages of the Romance group, while not quite being mutually intelligible, could foster the idea of a sort of 'meta' linguistic community. Consequently, this idea could be linked to the continuity factor in this study on European identity.

Furthermore, the Christian religion, for its vicissitudes, has been a strong linking thread in the histories of many European countries. Crusades and pilgrimages fortified the belief that Christianity could be considered the common religion of Europe. Christian belief and, in particular, the Catholic religion, finds its strongest public expression in southern European countries like Spain and Italy, countries that also have one of the strongest European identifications.

The First and Second World Wars involved most European countries and were of undoubted importance in shaping thinking in modern times on nationality and Europeanism. Because of these wars European countries were heavily in debt, and physically exhausted. The contrast between exhausted Europe and the flourishing and financially powerful US was unmistakable. Marshall Aid, for example, was provided by the US in order to rebuild many of the European countries that were heavily damaged by the Second World War. These wars resulted in major constitutional upheaval in almost all European countries, involving the replacement of monarchies, realignment of the political scene and the move to universal adult franchise. In summary, as a result of their common wars many EU countries found themselves in comparable straitened financial circumstances and similarly altered political states that, moreover, could be contrasted with the US.

In short, continuity of past events concerning European integration makes the principle of continuity a highly suitable principle for its use in research concerning European identity, as continuity related to European identity already exists to a very large part. On the other hand, self-efficacy has less explanatory power and less power to influence than the other principles. The

self-efficacy principle might be less easily linked to the EU concept because people might find it more difficult to link this principle to European identity. As such, the principle might even constitute European identity to some extent. However, one should not forget that the other three principles, distinctiveness, self-esteem and self-efficacy also need to be stimulated in order to encourage European identity. Even if these latter three principles are relevant to a lesser degree, social identity is still founded on four principles and not only on one. In sum, the relevance and adaptability of the principles should be taken into consideration when applied to research on European identity or any other social identity.

On the basis of research carried out for this thesis, the main hypothesis formed in section 3.1 can be validated:

Increasing the relevant strength of each separate principle (i.e. distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem or self-efficacy) will cause a stronger European identity.

The principles have been mentioned as principles of a social identity, however, in this study they are applied to European identity. This means that all the principles are relevant as underlying mechanisms for European identity. However, we draw attention to the fact that the principle of continuity might be stronger in influencing European identity than the other principles.

The hypotheses elaborated in section 2.4 are concerned with sociological variables. In general, these hypotheses can be partly validated on the basis of results or slightly adapted, with the notable exception of Hypothesis IV which is not validated, as has been discussed in section 4.6. Hypothesis IV reads as follows:

IV People who come from richer countries (i.e. with a higher GDP) are more likely to have a higher level of European Identity compared to people who come from poor countries (i.e. with a lower GDP).

The fact that this hypothesis cannot be validated could be explained as follows. The southern European countries are reported as having a higher European identification than the northern European countries. In general, the richer countries in the EU are in the northern part of Europe, while the poorer

countries are to be found in the southern part of Europe. Therefore, Hypothesis IV is completely contrary to the finding reported in Chapter 4. Furthermore, the fact that citizens from rich countries in general show a lower EU identification might be explained from an economic point of view. Citizens from rich countries might have the idea that they financially have to invest more in the EU and the development of Europe compared to the other, in particular, southern European countries. In addition, they might feel that the national profit from their investments is also lower compared to the benefits enjoyed by the other countries. As a consequence, they might be left with a feeling of exploitation by the EU and a lesser need to identify with the EU or Europe. Citizens from rich countries in the EU might perceive the integration of European countries as less beneficial or advantageous to themselves compared to citizens from poor countries. As the prosperity in the former countries is satisfactory, these countries might not feel the same need to combine their strengths. Also, a fear might exist that the combining of strengths in a political, social or economic field might lead to an inequitable loss of resources. This fear might eventually result in a lower European identification. Furthermore, the contrast between rich and poor countries might show very similar features concerning European identity when compared to the Romance countries and non-Romance countries.

Hypothesis VI should be adapted. This hypothesis was originally in the following form:

VI Persons from early cohorts (i.e. younger people) are more likely to have a higher European identity expression compared to people from late cohorts (i.e. older people).

This hypothesis should be adapted according to the hypothesis validated in Chapter 4 that *“People younger than 50 are more likely to have a higher European Identity expression compared to people older than 65.”* This hypothesis can be linked to both the principle of continuity and the concept of European identity. People older than 65 year are less familiar with the European Union and European identity, as these European concepts are relative newcomers in their lives. The European Union can be considered a product of the Second World War. The founders of the European Coal and

Steel Community and its successors wanted to be sure that such killing and destruction as happened during the Second World War would not take place again by integrating European countries into a single entity. On the 9th of May 1950 the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, was the first prominent politician to support this project. Therefore, this date can be considered as the day when the EU was born, and annually the date is celebrated as the birthday of the EU. Thus, this means that people who are 65 years or older were born before the official European integration project. Therefore, their past is a past that does not always include the EU. On the other hand, people younger than 50 were born after the birth of the EU. Consequently, they only possess a past in which they are familiar with the idea of European integration and a single European entity. During their whole life the European Union has existed, and they can consider it as a very continuous institution. However, people above 65 years, for whom the EU is not such a continuous institution, might be more reluctant to consider the EU as connected to the continuity principle. Consequently, they would not necessarily be very eager to take up a European identity, where the perception of the EU as a continuous institution increases the expression of European identity. Thus, for people who have a past in which the EU has always existed, continuity of the EU is an easier idea than for people who have a past in which the EU has not always existed. In summary, the hypothesis in which people of 50 years and younger are compared with people of 65 years and older concerning their European identity could be very much related to the continuity principle.

The selection of Eurobarometers used was from 1982-2002. This span of 20 years is relatively small when comparing people from below 50 years with people from above 65 years: there is a gap of 15 years in this comparison. It is difficult to state something about people between 50 and 65 compared with people who are older or younger than this group. Over these Eurobarometers only people who were between 46 and 49 have moved from the first category to the second category. Therefore, it is difficult to claim that the effect that we find has to do with the level of economic activeness of respondents, considering that people after the age of 65 have a low level of economic activeness. In order to claim this, one need to have a selection of

Eurobarometers with a wider span in which one can detect a trend for people who have moved from the below 50 years category to the above 65 category.

The results, furthermore, indicate that Hypothesis III is overly focussed on the contrast between Great Britain and Italy. Hypothesis III was the following:

III Italians are expected to have a higher level of European identity compared to British citizens.

The contrast, however, should be focussed more on Romance countries and non-Romance countries, as the results indicate. In this respect, also Hypotheses I and II had to be adapted as mentioned in section 4.6. Hypotheses I and II are the following:

I Countries like France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg who are early members of the EU are expected to have a higher expression of European identity compared to Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland, that are later members of the EU (where the Netherlands should be considered as an exception).

II Citizens from southern countries are more likely to have a higher level of European Identity than people from non-southern countries.

The contrast, as mentioned in hypothesis III is, however, too focussed on only two countries, which indeed show a difference concerning their European identity. This difference can also be indicated for other countries that are similar to one of these countries concerning their historical background, in particular concerning the Roman background. In such way, two groups of countries can be indicated that also cover the countries of Great Britain and Italy. These groups can be called Romance countries and non-Romance countries, where Germany as a non-Romance country should be considered as an exception.

The hypothesis that has been developed with these two groups of countries is the following: *"citizens from Romance cultures/countries have a higher European identity expression than citizens from non-Romance cultures/countries"*. This hypothesis seems to be validated with the data from the experimental and the quasi-experimental research. The basis of Romance

countries/cultures lies in the histories of these countries. In particular, they have in common that they share the same history i.e. Roman history, Catholic/Christian church, French as an elite language, wars to a greater extent than non-Romance countries. The fact that they have this common history and past strengthens their feeling of continuity more than for non-Romance countries. Since the existence of the Roman Empire they might feel more similar to each other, i.e. to countries that were part of the Roman Empire compared to countries that were not so much part of the Roman Empire (i.e. Nordic cultures/countries). In fact, Ireland, Denmark, Scandinavia, important parts of Germany and the Netherlands have never been part of the Roman Empire. As such these countries are less integrated into the Roman legacy than the Romance countries. For the Romance countries, integration into a single union seemed to be a more evident and stronger historic phenomenon than for non-Romance countries. Countries like France, Spain, and Italy can be defined more as Romance cultures than as non-Romance countries. Moreover, these countries possess languages that can to a greater extent be considered to have mainly a Romance root. Due to the greater linguistic similarity of the languages, Romance countries might also identify more easily with each other. Communication and interaction among Romance countries might be more advantaged from the start than among non-Romance countries. Also, Romance countries have a stronger common religious background, as Catholicism seems has been the main religion for these countries. Therefore, also on religious grounds, one could identify some kind of stronger integration among Romance countries. Thus, for Romance countries a stronger integration into a specific, single institution might have been a reality since the existence of the Roman Empire, over 2000 years ago. Therefore, continuity concerning the integration history of Romance countries might prompt these countries to possess a higher level of European identity than non-Romance countries that cannot trace a similar kind of continuity concerning their European integration.

In sum, one could claim that for Romance countries, the cultural integration of European countries has been more present than for non-Romance countries.

Furthermore, this cultural integration was already defined to a larger extent in European terms for Romance countries than for non-Romance countries.

In general, one could claim that research concerning European identity from a social psychological view should give a higher relevance to the continuity principle than the other principles. Continuity is strongly attached to European identity, as Romance countries might have a stronger past concerning the integration of European countries. Furthermore, people who were familiar with the EU for a greater part of their life or were born after the birth of the EU are in the possession of a history in which the EU has always existed. Consequently, the 'EU's existence can be perceived as more of a continuous concept for them than for people who were born before the birth of the EU integration project. Continuity in the history of EU integration seems to play an important role in the expression of European identity.

On the other hand, the principle of self-efficacy seemed to be less relevant than the other principles, as has already been noted. The fact that self-efficacy is not as successful in influencing or explaining European identity might be due to the adaptability of this principle for a social identity. The concept of self-efficacy for a social identity means that one is more able to act and behave by the possession of this specific social identity. This means, in brief, for European identity, that with a higher level of European identification, one, for example, is more able to discuss EU political issues, or is more aware of the fact that one has specific ways to act at one's disposal as a European citizen. It might be more difficult for people to perceive a European identity as an identity that fulfils their needs for self-efficacy than for the other principles mentioned, i.e., distinctiveness, self-esteem or continuity. European identity and the EU might not have a clear-cut connection to behaviour or self-efficacious elements. Self-efficacy might be a concept that is too far away from our European identity. For an individual, it could be difficult to perceive that a European identity can influence one's actions. An example that might show how the connection between European identity and self-efficacy might be made stronger is the following. For example, an international company based in Germany and doing business with France, England and Italy might consider the European identity of the company and its employees as more

advantageous (e.g. due to EU laws that make transportation/commercial actions/trade more efficient or convenient) from the point of view of its self-efficacy than will a single individual European citizen. However, this example is not yet the reality on a large scale and therefore is relatively irrelevant for most European citizens. Thus, the relationship between self-efficacy and European identity might be easier to perceive when globalisation becomes stronger and international elements become more relevant for individuals.

Furthermore, one should notice that not exactly similar operationalisations of the principles have been used in the quasi-experimental research and experimental research. In both types of research it is found that the principle of continuity is more relevant than the other three principles, which does not take away that all four principles are relevant for the European identity concept. The fact that in both types of research the same finding is reported, even if not exactly similar operationalisations are used, might show that the finding is not directly related to the standardization of operationalisations but more to the indications of the principles. It seems that the indications of the principles have been sufficiently useful in this study, to the extent that a uniform finding for different indicators of similar concepts has been obtained. Thus, even if indicators have not been perfect and do not completely fit the principles, they have been successful in getting the same end result.

6.2 The Power of Method

6.2.1 Two methods: quasi-experiments and experiments

The method employed for the research project can be split into two parts. One concerns the quasi-experimental research on which Chapter 4 is based. The second part concerns the experimental research on which Chapter 5 is based. Thus, the two main methods employed for research on European identity are quasi-experimental research and experimental research. These two methods are used frequently in social psychology and have proven to be very successful for research on European identity due to their complementary strengths. The advantages and disadvantages of both types of research have been discussed in section 2.1. However, these elements re-appear in the research types that have been employed for investigating European identity. Moreover, the combination of these two types of research will show a broad range of elements that have been present in the research on European identity. These elements should receive due attention.

The following characteristics are linked to the data-gathering procedure of quasi-experiments: real-life type of environment, a more explorative type of analysis is allowed (i.e. no specific *manipulative* hypothesis is needed per se at the time of data-gathering versus a non-manipulative hypothesis for quasi-experiments), no definite need for the presence of a control group that receives *no manipulation* and at least one treatment group in which a specific variable is manipulated, conditions do not require random assignment of participants in categories, non-manipulative elements can be investigated, and easier replication of research. Characteristics that can be related to experiments (as opposed to quasi-experiments) are the following: a “laboratory” type of environment, a hypothesis is required before the data-gathering, presence of a control group and at least one treatment group in which a specific variable is manipulated, conditions require random assignment of participants into categories, strictly manipulative elements can be investigated and more difficult replication of research. The combination of these two types of research made it possible to use different data and techniques in order to test the same European identity model. The two research types have made it possible to use the same content of the model in

different ways, thus allowing a more in-depth study. Thus the combined added values of these research types could be profited from while studying the same model. Another important result of the use of these two research types is that cross-validation has been possible. Both research types ended up with results that gave more relevance to the continuity principle than the other principles. Nevertheless, the two research types also show that the European identity model with its principles could, in general, be assumed as a valid model. In sum, cross-validation of the model and the higher relevance of the continuity principle resulted from the use of these two research types.

We infer that the two methods of quasi-experimental research and experimental research complement each other in relevant fields and together provide a very strong combination of methods to investigate the topic of European identity as a social psychological identity.

The similarities and differences concerning the results of these two different types of research should also receive due attention. We can discover three main similarities and four pivotal differences when comparing the results of both types of research. The first main similarity is the both the quasi-experimental research results and the experimental research results show that the social-psychological model with the four principles of distinctiveness, self-esteem, self-efficacy and continuity is very adept for explaining or testing European identity. Using this similarity one can refer to the proposal to answer the main question of this research mentioned in chapter 1, section 2.4:

A social-psychological model will be used to explain and analyse the underlying mechanisms, variables, and components of the social representation of European Identity with quasi-experiments and experiments.

It seems that the use of this social-psychological model in order to answer the main question has been very relevant and valid. The results of the quasi-experiments and the experiments show that the social-psychological model was central in explaining and analysing European Identity.

Another similarity between the two types of research relates to the relevance of the various principles in the social-psychological model. Both results from

the quasi-experimental research and experimental research indicate that the relevance of each principle is not equal. It seems that continuity has a higher relevance in explaining and influencing European identity than self-efficacy. This finding is reported in the analyses from the Eurobarometers as well as for the research results of the paper-and-pencil experiments.

The third similarity between the two types of research is that social-psychological variables are more relevant in explaining European identity than sociological variables. The paper-and-pencil experiments showed that sociological variables like country, age and gender might have some relevance for the explanation of European identity, but this relevance is obviously smaller than the relevance that social-psychological variables have in the explaining European identity. The same finding was also reported on the basis of the results for the quasi-experimental research performed with Eurobarometer data.

The four main differences between the two types of research can be outlined as follows. The quasi-experimental research results include specific statistical information concerning the variables over time, e.g. a higher variance is reported over time, the EU dimension changes over time, variables cannot be considered as interval variables and missing values cannot be considered at random. This type of specific statistical information concerning the variables has not been given over time or across variables for the experimental research, chiefly because the research data of the experiments is not apt to obtain a similar type of information.

The second main difference is that the quasi-experimental research shows differences between the optimally scaled variables and non-optimally scaled variables. The variables in the experimental research have not been optimally scaled, because these were already measured on an interval scale from the start. Consequently, differences between optimally scaled and non-optimally scaled variables were not given for the experimental research data.

The third main difference is that specific sociological results have been found for Romance countries, people younger than 50 years, and professionals & middle class people on the basis of the quasi-experimental research. Similar results have not been found with the analyses of the experimental research

data. Romance countries and non-Romance countries were included in the experimental research where the countries Germany and France are shown to be exceptions. Germany seems to have much stronger European identity than expected considering the fact that Germany is a non-Romance country. At the same time, France has a stronger European identity than expected considering the fact that France is a Romance country. These effects might be explained as following. German citizens might want to identify strongly with the EU due to their negative national past and their unification, whereby they do not behave according to other non-Romance countries. While French citizens might be less willing to identify with European elements, which is in line with the outcome of the recent French referendum.

The fourth main difference is that the subliminal experiments' results could indicate a positive association between EU primes and European identity. This positive association is based on the quicker reaction times that would occur for positive adjectives with primes compared to control conditions. On the basis of the quasi-experimental research results one is not able to make such a statement, as no primes were involved in the data analyses of the Eurobarometers.

6.2.2 The respective advantages of the various statistical techniques employed

The method of doing analyses with extant or gathered data was heavily based on statistical techniques. These statistical techniques have been very useful in the investigation of European identity and independent variables that either explained or influenced European identity. With the use of these techniques it was shown that incorrectly considering data as interval data could lead to incorrect statistical output (i.e. variance, significance, betas), therefore optimal scaling was used to improve data results, missing values were discovered to be relevant and hypotheses were tested for validation. Clearly, the use of statistical techniques has shown that the variables were not scaled on an interval range, as one might have presumed. The adaptation of the data by means of optimal scaling analyses led to the following results: a higher level

of variance, a higher amount of significant findings and a higher number of positive betas. Moreover, the optimal scaling results indicated that the missing values could, by no means, be regarded as being at random and thus irrelevant for the results. Therefore, they were not excluded from the analyses.

Last, by means of statistical techniques, one is able to validate (or not validate) a hypothesis. Consequently, one is able to give factual evidence for a theoretical model that has been postulated. The fact that statistical data can provide enough reliable evidence to defend a statement might give research on European identity more strength. Thus, using statistical techniques as has been done in this research on European identity could be regarded as a successful and fruitful method. This method is not a new method for psychological research, but it might not be considered as a method that is widely applied for political studies. Similar types of research to test comparable hypotheses could be proposed as being useful at some time in the future. In particular, the use and application of optimal scaling analyses in order to test the scale of variables considered as ordinal variables has proved to be of great importance. One should give particular attention to wider use of statistical techniques, namely regression analyses. These analyses were discussed in Chapter 4. One result is repeated here, namely the main result mentioned in section 4.5.1. In this section the results of the regressions with sociological variables and social psychological variables were looked at. It was found that sociological variables in general are less important for the explanation of European identity than social psychological variables. This finding is due to the fact that sociological variables are partly related to social psychological variables, whereby the effect they have on European identity becomes less when social psychological variables are included in analyses.

Furthermore, it is also interesting to point out that a country like the Netherlands and many other country dummy variables remain significant in the regression even if controlled for social psychological variables or other sociological variables. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the social psychological variables in the model leads to a loss of explained variance for the sociological variables. In the case of the Netherlands, for example, the betas remain negative and significant. This result was not expected, as the

Netherlands is a country known for its liberalism and openness towards other countries, and is a very European-oriented country. Moreover, it is a country where a majority of citizens has a reasonable proficiency in some other European language (e.g. English, French, and German) and with a very open business attitude towards the international world, in particular towards the European world. On the contrary, compared to France, it has a significantly lower European identification. Thus, Dutch citizens seem to have a lower European identification than might reasonably be expected on the basis of what has been postulated (i.e. the open and liberal portrayal, European-oriented). When taking into consideration that the Netherlands is a non-Romance country, one should assume a lower European identification compared to Romance countries. Furthermore, a lower European identification might be caused by the fact that – see section 6.1 – the Netherlands is also one of the countries with a higher GDP. Therefore, Dutch citizens might feel a lesser need to identify with the EU/Europe because they have to pay more for it, while perhaps getting less back. Seen in this light, the “No” as a result of the referendum held in the Netherlands on the 1st of June, 2005 concerning the European constitution is not very surprising. Dutch citizens do not have such a high European identification. In fact, their European identification is quite low even when the Netherlands is considered both by others and itself as a liberal and open country. The latter portrayal of the Netherlands does not seem to be in line with the results of this research project. Their liberal position and open attitude is in clear contrast with their low European identification, but the fact that the Netherlands is a non-Romance and rich country seems to predict a low European identification for its citizens.

6.2.3 Social experimental psychology and main results

The methods employed were related to the paradigm of the research performed. The main paradigm is Social Experimental Psychology. Consequently, the research methodology was derived from this field. The theoretical part of the research on European identity clearly has a strong basis in the field of Social Psychology, as the main theoretical model is based on

social psychological concepts and theories. Furthermore, quasi-experiments and experiments are not rare in the field of social psychology. On the contrary, they are used frequently to test theories or hypotheses including social psychological variables. Even for the theme of European identity, which might seem to be a very political concept, the Social Psychological perspective has been very suitable. Social Psychology was able to provide the statistical techniques and theoretical models to investigate the variables that claimed to influence or explain European identity. Thus, one should not forget that for the investigation of somewhat related political issues, like research into European identity, the paradigm of Social Experimental Psychology can be of great use. Moreover, it should perhaps not be neglected as it can provide excellent statistical tools and techniques, perhaps not to be found in many other fields in the academic world. Furthermore, this study on European identity includes experiments performed across a large number of countries, which has not done before, even in the social psychological field. Thus, the inclusion of various European countries in the experimental research part makes this study more special.

The main result of the quasi-experiments is that the principles of the European identity model are valid in their relevance and influence. However, the principles do not have the same relevance: continuity has more relevance while self-efficacy has less relevance compared to the other principles. Furthermore, the sociological variables indicate a major contrast between the Romance countries and the non-Romance countries. The main result of the experiments is that the principles are valid variables to increase subjects' European identity. Furthermore, it seems that sociological variables influence European identity to some, lesser extent: in particular, country variables and sex variables. The results of the implicit attitudes experiments are mentioned in detail in section 5.9. However, the general conclusion to derive from this experimental set-up is that the concept of the EU flag can gain significant results if participants with quick reactions are selected. The study has shown some indications of a positive relation between a positive attitude towards the EU flag and European identity.

6.3 Further implications

In this section further implications and recommendations concerning research on the topic of European identity are set out. First, implications are mentioned concerning European identity in the field of Psychology and Political Science. Second, implications are mentioned concerning research methods related to European identity. Third, implications for more cultural analyses, perhaps related to the Romance versus non-Romance countries are suggested.

6.3.1 Psychology and Political science

The first recommendation concerns the hypothesis about Romance countries/cultures. As has been set out in the first section of this chapter, the hypothesis receives good validation with the data results and analyses performed.

Citizens from Romance countries seem to have a stronger European identity compared to citizens from non-Romance countries. This finding might be relevant in future studies concerning European identity, by psychologists and political scientists. If a study concerning European identity is done in a Romance or non-Romance country, the country variable can influence European identification to a large extent. Therefore, psychologists and political scientists should take this into consideration. Furthermore, they could investigate this issue further by including, for example some more Nordic-/Germanic-oriented countries for comparison.

The definition of which countries might be called Romance countries could be investigated further. On the basis of the results one can see that countries like Spain, France and Italy can be set apart from the other countries. However, the results concerning gender effect and European identity in section 5.4.4 might indicate that the Netherlands, Germany and France contrast with Italy, Spain and the UK. Thus, the clear-cut contrast between the three Romance countries might need some further specifications concerning their European identity expression level. Consequently, political scientists or psychologists

who want to investigate European identity in more detail could take into account not only the country but also the gender of their participants. They should keep in mind that gender and country variables could have some influence on their results, next to the larger influence of the psychological variables.

Second, the result mentioned in section 5.9.1 concerning a positive attitude towards the EU flag seems very interesting. It might also relate to the perception of the concept in people's minds. It might be doubted whether the EU flag is sufficiently integrated in people's mindset of flags for them to feel attached to it. In fact, this might be a concept that has not been promoted enough to be relevantly perceivable by European citizens. Consequently, this might simply need more time. The longer people are exposed to a concept, the better it is integrated into their mindset of concepts, and the more salient it becomes. Thus, it could be expected that if Europeans were more exposed to the EU flag, the concept could be better used as a prime for implicit attitudes experiments. Consequently, it might end up with the desired result: higher attachment to the EU flag would lead to a higher EU self-efficacy. One could advise, for this motive, that politicians encourage a wider and more frequent use of the EU flag. It seems unlikely that people will develop abhorrence for the symbol when exposed more often to the EU flag, as on the basis of this study they seem to have a positive association to it. Furthermore, one should give attention to the finding that the flags as primes significantly increased quickness concerning the reaction times for positive words. Thus, a positive attitude towards the EU flag can be assumed, whereas we cannot assume a positive attitude towards the initials 'EU'. The Euro symbol (€) or a map of Europe are other possible primes. Having said this, the first symbol presents a difficulty in that the concept of money may be primed more than a concept of Europe. One should take this into account, but similar claims can be made for other concepts one might consider using.

Third, the finding that continuity is the principle influencing European identity mostly could be used in the field of Psychology or Political Science. Continuity has been related to the idea of something from the past that continues to

exist. In other words, a continuation of past events or actions is needed for people to feel more European. Consequently, if one wants to investigate the manipulation of European identity, a logical step would be to take into account this concept of continuity. A researcher or investigator should relate European identification to continuity. One can use many methods for this research, or replicate the methods of research set out in this thesis. However, the most important point is to create the feeling of continuity in order to manipulate European identity. This is not only valid for psychologists or political scientists doing research on how to manipulate European identity, but could also apply to other professionals. For politicians who would like to promote a higher European identity among EU citizens, for example, one could advise them as follows. In speeches, try to focus on the continuous elements the EU or European countries have in common, like common political events, religious or linguistic elements. They should seek to apply the concept of continuity in such a way as to connect it to Europe or the EU. However, one should not forget the relevance and influence of the other principles which also influence European identification to a lesser, but still relevant, extent. Therefore, the application of these principles should be given more place if one wants to promote European identification.

6.3.2 Research methods

First, the quasi-experiment results have pointed out that optimal scaling is a very useful technique when working with data sets that have different scales or are not scaled according to the Likert scale. This study has shown that those who frame questionnaires such as the Eurobarometer would do well to apply the 7-point Likert scale (as was used in the experiments). Not only does one gain more variance but the questions are also more useful for statistical research in general. The optimal scaling analyses show that the option of giving a response like "I don't know" or "No answer" gives specific results. In particular, these answers are very often extreme opinions linked to one of the "normal response" answers. Thus, especially in the case of working with a data set in which some type of missing answers (including "I don't know", "No

answer”) are frequent, it is highly recommended to perform an optimal scaling analysis.

Second, the use of background variables can be of some importance in a model on European identity. Even if sociological variables are not included in the main model on European identity, they do account for a small amount of variance in European identity. In many regression models, it is recommended to control for some variables that are not included in the main model, but which could, nevertheless, influence some of the results. Moreover, it is of interest to see how other variables react to the inclusion of evident background variables. In many cases, it is expected that relevant variables do not give completely different results in a regression analysis when including background variables. The background variables can show interesting results that might test assumptions concerning specific concepts, as was the case with the Netherlands as a dummy variable in this study. The Netherlands scored very low on European identification while at the same time the Netherlands is considered to be a non-Romance country.

Third, the implicit attitudes experiments indicate that the order of concepts can lead to a relevant change in Italy/EU typicality, as outlined in section 5.9.7. This finding makes us aware of confounding variables that should be given due attention. Even if a manipulation in an experiment is controlled, and strict instructions are given, the manipulation might still fail to succeed. In particular, the order in which concepts or elements of the experiments are offered to participants might pose a significant threat for a successful validation of the hypotheses. The order of concepts can lead to effects in which a primacy or recency effect is not unlikely: the last or first mentioned concept is retained in the mind and influences some other phenomenon measured later during the experiment. For example, if one wants to investigate European identity in reference to Italian identity, one should be sure to use two versions with different ordering of the elements concerning the European context and the Italian context.

6.3.3 Cultural analyses

In Leung and Bond (1989) it is mentioned that there are three ways of measuring dimensions of cultural variation: intracultural analysis, cross-cultural analysis and pancultural analysis. The pancultural analysis involves a study of subjects' data while ignoring their country of origin. The cross-cultural analysis involves a study of subject's data for each separate country. An intracultural analysis involves a study of the variables across all countries.

There are two ways in which culture can influence a set of variables. The first way is called a patterning effect, by which two variables can have a positive correlation in one culture and a negative correlation in a different one. The positioning effect is concerned with the position a participant is in while coming from a specific culture and giving a specific response.

In the current study, intracultural analyses and cross-cultural analyses have been done, whereby both the patterning effect and the positioning effect might have been playing a role in these analyses. However, these effects have not been closely looked at. In order to get a picture of the dimensions at the individual level, one could use the method proposed by Leung and Bond (1989). In this way, the effects can be eliminated from the analyses. As the current study is not so much concerned with dimensions at the individual level, it was decided not to include this method. In a future study, one could actually follow this method in order to look at the individual variation. Moreover, a pancultural analysis might be interesting for small sample sizes.

One could compare the results from this study with research done by Hofstede & Hofstede (2005). In the latter study four dimensions of cultures are explicitly mentioned and described. These are power distance, collectivism versus individualism, femininity versus masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance. Concerning power distance, France (68), Spain (57) and Italy (50) (all Romance cultures) score higher on the power distance index than countries like the Netherlands (38), Germany (35) and UK (35). For the individualism index, a higher score is obtained for the UK (89), the Netherlands (80), and Italy (76) compared to France (71), Germany (67) and Spain (51). Concerning the third dimension one might find it relevant to know

that Italy (70), Germany (66) and UK (66) score higher on the masculinity index than France (43), Spain (42) and the Netherlands (14). Concerning the last dimension, uncertainty avoidance, a higher score is obtained for France (86), Spain (86) and Italy (75) than for Germany (65), the Netherlands (53) and UK (35). Thus, this study shows that for the dimensions of power distance, and uncertainty avoidance a division can be made between Romance and non-Romance cultures. For the dimensions of individualism and masculinity this division is less clear, where UK, however, can be set apart from Spain and France.

In connection to the current study, one could link European identity to these four dimensions. This might mean that for countries with more power distance and stronger uncertainty avoidance European identity might be stronger than for countries with less power distance and weaker uncertainty avoidance. In a similar vein, one could mention that a stronger European identity might also occur for citizens from countries with less individualism and more masculinity. However, Italy, the Netherlands and Germany do not show results on their masculinity and individualism indices that confirm the latter statement.

Moreover, Romance cultures might be cultures where dimensions like power distance and uncertainty avoidance are stronger than in non-Romance cultures. The fact that the Roman Empire was led by one Roman emperor of which many of us still know their heroic names (e.g. Cesar, Nero). Ideas of slavery and some type of social system in which some people were evidently of less worth than others were also not unfamiliar to citizens of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, Roman Empire citizens were known for their idea that other religions must be dangerous, their extremism in fighting, their overall conservatism and the many procured laws. Romance countries can nowadays be called as also conservative, perceiving young people negatively, having slow results in of appeal to justice and possessing many precise or unwritten rules. To a similar extent, one could claim that Romance countries are quite feminine (with the exception of Italy and the Netherlands), with many of the key elements that Hofstede & Hofstede mention (e.g. competitive sports are extracurricular, job choice is based on intrinsic choice, men and women partly study the same subject). Moreover, Romance countries are more inclined to be Catholic while non-Romance cultures are more eager to adapt the

Protestant religion. Romance countries are also known for their collectivist elements. Romance cultures might tend to have a stronger ingroup-outgroup feeling, whereby they are more likely to take up a higher European identity, while non-Romance cultures are more focused on the individual and less on the distinction between “us” and “them”.

For future research, one could take into account the four dimensions of power distance, collectivism versus individualism, femininity versus masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance. As cultural differences can be analysed on these levels, one could include these dimensions in the analyses, for example by controlling for them as covariates. In this way, the cultural differences in European identity can be shown if one controls for these cultural dimensions. This would be interesting to show in a future analysis. Another aspect should not be neglected in the future, i.e. to discover whether some obvious names of sociological items cannot be replaced by some more generalised variables. For an example concerning the latter case one could refer to Romance versus non- Romance countries as a Romance variable.

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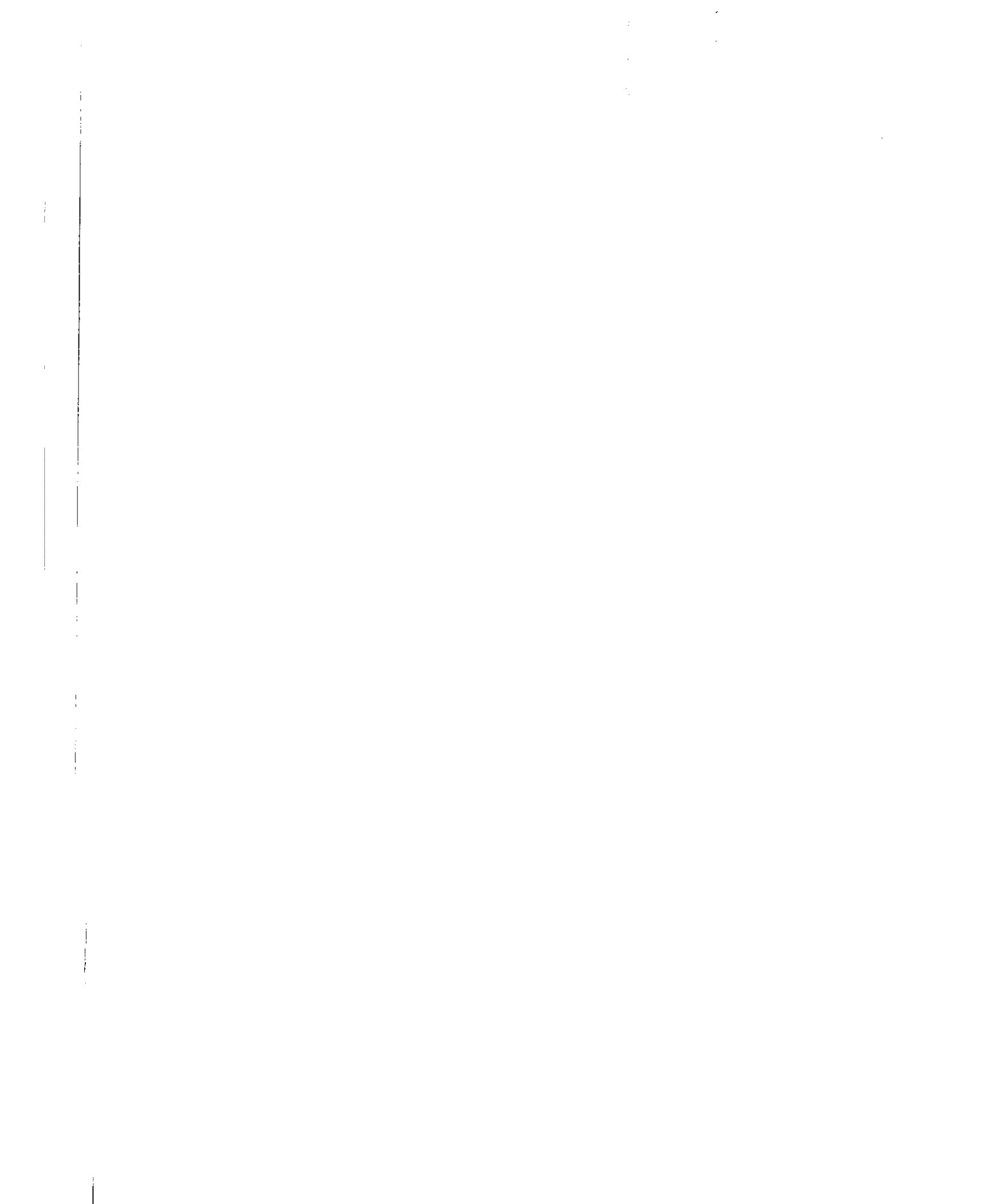
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Overview of Questions

Q1= Perceived importance; Q2= Desired importance; Q3= National pride; Q4= European pride;
 Q5= Life satisfaction; Q6= benefit from EU; Q7= Bad thing/ good thing; Q8= cognitive
 mobilization; Q9= Persuade friends; Q10= Perceived movement; Q11= Desired movement;
 Q12= Attachment to Europe

EB with Eur id	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
17 (Q170) 1982	<u>Q202</u>	--	Q165	--	Q142	--	Q180	Q21 3	Q16 3	<u>Q179</u>	--	<u>Q141</u>
19 (Q239) 1983	<u>Q275</u>	--	Q238	--	Q121	Q257	Q251	Q24 6	Q12 7	<u>Q258</u>	--	--
24 (Q164) 1985	<u>Q240</u>	--	Q163	--	Q155	Q177	Q176	Q16 1	Q15 7	--	--	--
26 (Q166) 1986	<u>Q343</u>	--	Q160	--	Q145	Q336	Q332	Q14 8	Q14 7	Q171	Q172	--
27 (Q268) 1987	<u>Q265</u>	--	--	--	Q231	Q264	Q261	Q23 4	Q23 3	--	--	--
30 (Q414) 1988	<u>Q413</u>	--	Q130	--	Q118	Q380	Q379	Q12 2	Q12 1	--	--	--
31 (Q377) 1989	<u>Q376</u>	--	--	--	Q124	Q375	Q374	Q12 7	Q12 6	--	--	--
33 (Q18) 1990	<u>Q11</u> Q49	<u>Q50</u>	--	--	Q2	Q10	Q9	Q5	Q4	<u>Q36</u> 1	--	--
35.0 (Q13) 1991	<u>Q20</u> Q38	--	--	--	Q2	Q19	Q18	Q5	Q4	<u>Q23</u> 1	--	--
36 (q33) 1991	<u>Q19</u> Q42	--	--	--	Q2	Q18	Q17	Q5	Q4	<u>Q76</u> 5	--	--
37 (Q33) 1992	<u>Q27</u>	--	--	--	Q2	Q26	Q25	Q5	Q4	Q34	Q35	--
40 (Q36) 1993	<u>Q31</u>	--	--	--	Q2	Q30	Q29	Q14	Q13	Q32	Q33	--
42 (Q22) 1994	<u>Q27</u> Q74	<u>Q75</u>	Q14	--	Q2	Q26	Q25	--	--	Q28	Q29	--
43.1 (Q23) 1995	<u>Q10</u> Q38	<u>Q39</u>	--	--	Q2	Q9	Q8	Q3	Q5	Q11	Q12	--
44.1 (Q25) 1995	Q35	<u>Q36</u>	--	--	--	Q7	Q6	Q4	Q5	Q8a	Q8b	--
44.2bis (Q17) 1996	--	--	--	--	Q2	Q13	Q12	Q5	Q6	Q14	Q14b	--

--= missing

Overview of Questions (2nd part)

Q1= Perceived importance; Q2= Desired importance; Q3= National pride; Q4= European pride;
 Q5= Life satisfaction; Q6= benefit from EU; Q7= Bad thing/ good thing; Q8= cognitive
 mobilization; Q9= Persuade friends; Q10= Perceived movement; Q11= Desired movement;
 Q12= Attachment to Europe

EB with Eur id	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
47.1 (Q19) 1997	—	—	Q40	—	Q36	Q16	Q15	Q2	Q3	—	—	—
49 (Q17) 1998	—	—	—	—	Q5	Q16	Q15	Q2	Q3	—	—	—
50.0 (Q22) 1998	Q20a Q16	Q20 b	—	—	—	Q15	Q14	Q3	Q4	Q17	Q18	—
52.0 (Q9) 1999	Q24 Q39	Q25 Q40	Q10	—	Q7	Q21	Q20	Q5	Q6	Q22	Q23	—
53 (Q28) 2000	Q23	Q24	Q29	—	Q4	Q13	Q12	Q2	Q3	Q21	Q22	—
54.1 (Q23) 2000	Q21	Q22	Q6	Q7	Q4	Q18	Q17	Q2	Q3	Q19	Q20	Q8.4
56.2 (Q6) 2001	Q22	Q23	Q7	Q8	Q4	Q19	Q18	Q2	Q3	Q20	Q21	
57.1 (Q27)- Q6 (data) 2002	Q17- Q22	— Q23	Q28 Q7	Q29 Q8	Q4	Q14 Q19	Q13 Q18	Q2	Q3	— Q20	— Q21	—
58.1 (Q32) 2002	Q22	Q23	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q19	Q18	Q2	Q3	Q20	Q21	—

—= missing

Appendix A

- Do you regard yourself as belonging to a religion? If so, which of them?

1. Catholic
2. Protestant (established Church); Church of England (Britain); Church of Ireland (Ireland, Northern Ireland)
3. Gereformeerd (Netherlands); Church of Scotland (Britain)
4. Non-conformist, free church (Britain)
5. Other
6. None
7. Greek Orthodox

- Do you go to religious services several times a week, once a week, a few times in the year, or never?

1. Several times per week
2. Once per week
3. Few times per year
4. Never

- Do you personally feel, irrespective of how often you go to church, that your religion is of great importance, some importance, or only of little importance in your life?

1. Great importance
2. Some importance
3. Only a little importance

- Sex

- Marital status: Are you: (READ OUT)

1. Single
2. Married
3. Living as married
4. Divorced
5. Separated
6. Widowed
7. Other

- On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works (in your country)?

1. Very satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied

- On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with: (READ OUT QUESTION TEXT) the kind of society in which we live in

(country) today?

1. Very satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied

• There is a lot of talk these days about what this country's goals should be for the next ten or fifteen years. On this card are listed some of the goals that different people say should be given top priority (SHOW CARD J). Please say which one of them you, yourself, consider most important in the long run? (ONE ANSWER ONLY)
First choice of what country's goal should be

1. Maintaining order in the nation
2. Giving the people more say in important government decisions
3. Fighting rising prices
4. Protecting freedom of speech

• There is a lot of talk these days about what this country's goals should be for the next ten or fifteen years. On this card are listed some of the goals that different people say should be given top priority (SHOW CARD J). Please say which one of them you, yourself, consider most important in the long run? (ONE ANSWER ONLY)
Second choice of what country's goal should be

1. Maintaining order in the nation
2. Giving the people more say in important government decisions
3. Fighting rising prices
4. Protecting freedom of speech

• When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?

1. Frequently
2. Occasionally
3. Never

• When you, yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? If so, does this happen often, from time to time, rarely, or never?

1. Often
2. From time to time
3. Rarely
4. Never

• In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on this scale? (SHOW CARD N. DO NOT PROMPT. THE 10 BOXES OF THE CARD ARE NUMBERED, RING CHOICE. IF CONTACT HESITATES, ASK HIM TO TRY AGAIN)

NOTE: Not asked in ECS70, 71, and BAROS 3-4.

01. Left
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
10. Right

- Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership in the European Community (Common Market) is...

1. Good thing
2. Neither good nor bad
3. Bad thing

- If one of the countries of the European Community other than our own finds itself in major economic difficulties, do you feel that the other countries including (country) should help it or not?

1. Yes
2. No

- In 19__, elections for the European Parliament are planned in every country of the Common Market, including (country). Everybody will be entitled to vote. Are you, yourself, for or against this particular election?

1. Completely for
2. To some extent for
3. To some extent against
4. Completely against

- Some people consider the Common Market as being a first step towards a closer union between the member states. Personally do you, yourself, think the movement towards the unification of Europe should be speeded up, slowed down, or continued as it is at present?

1. Sped up
2. As is
3. Slowed down

- In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe?

1. For - very much
2. For - to some extent
3. Against - to some extent
4. Against - very much

- So far as you are concerned, do you think that 19__ <next year> will be better or worse than 19__ <this year>?

1. Better
2. Same
3. Worse

• Looking ahead to next year, 19__, do you think strikes and industrial disputes (in this country) will increase, decrease, or remain the same?

1. Increase
2. Remain the same
3. Decrease

• Looking ahead to next year, 19__, do you think it will be a peaceful year more or less free of international disputes, a troubled year with much international discord, or remain the same?

1. More peaceful
2. Remain the same
3. More troubled year

• Here is a sort of scale (SHOW CARD A). Would you, with the help of this card, tell me how you assess the chances of a world war breaking out in the next 10 years?

01. World war is 100% certain
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
- 10.
11. No danger of war

• If there were a General Election tomorrow (SAY IF CONTACT UNDER 18: AND YOU HAD A VOTE) which party would you support? [ITALY] Do you feel closer to any one of the parties on the following list than to all the others? (IF YES:) Which one? (for each country separate categories of political parties, France and the Netherlands are given as examples)

FRANCE

05. Unified Socialists <PSU>, Extreme Left
10. Communist Party <PCF>
20. Socialist Party <PS>
30. Left Radicals <MRG>
40. Center for Democratic Progress <CDP>
41. Reformists
42. Radicals
50. Ecologists
51. Les Verts
60. Gaullist/neo-Gaullist <UDR/RPR>
70. Giscardians/Independent Republicans <RI/UDF>
71. Union for French Democracy: Democratic Center <UDF-CDS>
72. Union for French Democracy: Radical <UDF-RAD>
80. National Front and Extreme Right
90. Other party
94. Refused

- 95. Blank vote
- 97. Will not vote
- 99. Not asked

NETHERLANDS

- 10. Communist Party <CPN>
- 15. Pacifist Socialist Party <PSP>
- 16. Radicals <PPR>
- 20. Labor Party <PVDA>
- 22. Democrats '66 <D'66>
- 23. SP
- 40. Social Democrats <DS'70>
- 50. EUP
- 55. Centrum Party <CP Centrum Partij>
- 60. Catholic People's Party <KVP>
- 61. Anti-Revolutionary Party <ARP>
- 62. Christian Historical Union <CHU>
- 63. Christian Democratic Appeal <CDA>
- 70. Liberal Party <VVD>
- 80. Farmer's Party <BP>
- 81. Calvinist State Party <SGP>
- 82. Calvinist Political Alliance <GPV>
- 83. Dutch Roman Catholic Party <RKPN>
- 84. RPF
- 85. Evangelische Volksparti <EVP>
- 88. NSP
- 90. Other party
- 94. Refused
- 95. Blank vote
- 96. No party preference
- 99. Not asked

- We'd like to hear your views on some important political issues. Could you tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following proposals? How strongly do you feel?

(SHOW CARD H)

<Do you agree or disagree that> Nuclear energy should be developed to meet future energy needs

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree (offered only in BARO 21)
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Disagree strongly

- Do you agree or disagree that> Greater effort should be made to reduce inequality of income

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree (offered only in BARO 21)
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Disagree strongly

- <Do you agree or disagree that> More severe penalties should be introduced for acts of terrorism

- 1. Agree strongly
- 2. Agree

3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly

- <Do you agree or disagree that> Public ownership of private industry should be expanded

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly

- BARO 11 and BARO 16: <Do you agree or disagree that> Government should play a greater role in the management of the economy
- BARO 19: <Do you agree or disagree that> Government should play a smaller role in the management of the economy
- BARO 21: <Do you agree or disagree that> the government should intervene less in the management of the economy

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree (offered only in BARO 21)

- <Do you agree or disagree that> Western Europe should make a stronger effort to provide adequate military defense

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree (offered only in BARO 21)
4. Disagree
5. Disagree strongly

- <Do you agree or disagree that> Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment against pollution

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree
6. Disagree strongly

- Can you tell me your date of birth please? (WRITE IN DATE OF BIRTH AND AGE)

Exact age in years is coded.

- How many in the household: How many persons live in your home, including yourself, all adults and children?

1. One
2. Two
3. Three
4. Four
5. Five
6. Six
7. Seven
8. Eight or more

(also asked: "How many children living at home <How many children living at home> Between 8 and 15 <years>" and "How many children living at home> Under 8 years")

- Occupation of the respondent:

Self employed

01. Farmers, fishermen (skippers)
02. Professional - lawyers, accountants, etc.
03. Business - owners of shops, craftsmen, proprietors

Employed

04. Manual worker
05. White collar - office worker
06. Executive, top management, director

Not employed

07. Retired
08. Housewife, not otherwise employed
09. Student, military service
10. Unemployed

- Occupation of head of household (same categories as above)

- Family income quartiles:

1. Lowest quartile
- 2.
- 3.
4. Highest quartile

- Age R left school: How old were you when you finished your full-time education?

01. Up to 14 years
02. 15 years
03. 16 years
04. 17 years
05. 18 years
06. 19 years
07. 20 years
08. 21 years
09. 22 or more years
10. Still studying

- Objective town size: Objective size of community

1. Smallest third
2. Medium third
3. Largest third

- SUBJECTIVE TOWN SIZE: Would you say you live in a: (READ OUT)

1. Rural area or village
2. Small or middle size town
3. Big town
0. DK/NA
9. Not asked in this survey

- Region of Interview

Codes vary over time and are nation-specific; 12 categories, from 1970-1992, are standardized.

FRANCE (for example)

- 01. Northwest
- 02. Southwest
- 03. North
- 04. Paris Region
- 05. Paris Basin
- 06. East
- 07. Southeast
- 00. DK/NA

- Province of Interview

NOTE: Only available for France, Germany, Italy, Ireland. For Italy, province codes are 01-52 (ten's digit = region) in BAROS 3-7. Codes in BAROS 8-15 are 01-19. These codes refer, in both cases, to the same 19 provinces, in the same order.

FRANCE—NORTHWEST

- 006. Basse Normandie [14, 50, 61]
- 012. Pays de la Loire [44, 49, 53, 72, 85]
- 013. Bretagne [22, 29, 35, 56]
- 014. Poitou-Charentes [16, 17, 79, 86]
- 017. Limousin [19, 23, 87]

FRANCE--SOUTHWEST

- 015. Aquitaine [24, 40, 33, 47, 64]
- 016. Midi-Pyrenees [9, 12, 31, 32, 46, 65, 81, 82]
- 019. Auvergne [3, 15, 43, 63]
- 020. Languedoc-Roussillon [11, 30, 34, 48, 66]

- Materialist/Post-Materialist Values Index

This index was constructed from variables 9 and 10. For a complete discussion of this variable, see Ronald Inglehart, *THE SILENT REVOLUTION: CHANGING VALUES AND POLITICAL STYLES AMONG WESTERN PUBLICS* (Princeton University Press, 1977).

- 1. Materialist
- 2. Mixed
- 3. Post-Materialist
- 0. DK, NA

- Cognitive Mobilization Index

This variable combines responses to V11, "Frequency of Political Discussion" and V44 "Age R Left School", to form an indicator of an individual's potential to take an active role in the political process. Each variable was categorized into three groups so as to give each variable equal weight. The resulting index is a simple addition of the two variables scaled down from 2-6 to 1-5 for simplicity. This variable is labeled the Opinion Leadership Index in the codebooks for Barometers 3, 4, 5, and 6.

- 1. Low Cognitive Mobilization

- 2.
3. Medium Cognitive Mobilization
- 4.
5. High Cognitive Mobilization

- **Left-Center-Right Partisan Summary**

This variable recodes the first mentioned partisan preference according to whether respondents support a leftist or rightist party. The identification of left/right parties has been proposed by the Principal Investigators. Other analysts may wish to alter this classification to conform more closely to their own research interests.

1-39=1 (left); 40-59=2 (center); 60-89=3 (right), else=0.

1. Left
2. Center
3. Right
0. NA; no party chosen

- Do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? (IF SO), do you feel yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close or merely a sympathizer?

In the United Kingdom, Ireland and Italy, the above wording was not used in Barometers 5 through 9. Instead, the respondents were asked, "Do you consider yourself a supporter of any particular political party? If so, do you feel yourself to be very involved in this party, fairly involved, or merely a sympathizer?" Starting with Barometer 10, the British, Irish and Italian respondents were asked the above question, which is a closer approximation of the wording used in the other countries. The wording used in Barometers 5 - 9 tends to depress the numbers of respondents in code 1.

In Barometer 16 ONLY, a different format was used in all countries. The respondent was first asked, "Generally speaking, do you feel closer to any of the parties on this list than to the others? If so, which one?" The respondent was then asked: "Do you consider yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close, or merely a sympathizer?" This filtering procedure shifted a sizeable number of respondents from code 4 "close to no party", to code 0 "not ascertained". Codes 1-3 are fairly similar to their usual distributions.

1. Very involved with party
2. Fairly involved
3. Merely a sympathizer
4. No partisan affinities

- Are you yourself or is anyone else in your household a member of a trade union? (multiple answers possible)

Are you yourself a member of a trade union?

1. Yes
2. No
0. DK/NA
9. Not asked in this survey

- How many people are working/were working under your supervision?

1. None
2. 1 to 4
3. 5 to 9
4. 10 and over

- How many people are working/were working under his/her supervision? (husband)

1. None
2. 1 to 4
3. 5 to 9
4. 10 and over

- If you were asked to choose one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belong to? (show card)

1. Working class
2. Lower middle class
3. Middle class
4. Upper middle class
5. Upper class

- Are you/were you in ...?

1. Public employment
2. Nationalized industry
3. Private industry
4. Private services
5. Respondent does not know and interviewer cannot code

- Do you live in a house or an apartment? And do you or your family own or rent your home?

1. Own outright or have mortgage on a house
2. Own outright or have mortgage on an apartment
3. Rent a privately owned house
4. Rent a privately owned apartment
5. Rent a council, municipal or corporation house
7. Rent a council, municipal or corporation apartment

- On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?

1. Very satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied
0. DK/NA

- Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days - would you say you're very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy these days?

1. Very happy
2. Fairly happy
3. Not too happy
0. DK/NA

- (SHOW CARD O) On this card are three basic kinds of attitudes vis-a-vis the society we live in. Please choose the one which best describes your own opinion (ONE ANSWER ONLY).

1. The entire way our society is organized must be radically changed by revolutionary action
 2. Our society must be gradually improved by reforms
 3. Our present society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces
0. DK/NA

- (SHOW RESPONDENT CARD E) Which of the following attitudes would you expect a member of the European Parliament to have?

1. He should support things good for Europe as a whole even if they are not always good for (country) (at the time)
 2. He should support the interests of (country) all the time, whether or not they are good for the European Community as a whole
0. DK/NA
9. Not asked in this survey

Found in EB 47 (1997) and perhaps also, in other EB:

- Some people feel uneasy when they meet people who are different from themselves, for example, people who have different appearance, behavior, opinions, habits or way of life. Do you feel uneasy in the presence of any people in your daily life ?

None, people of another nationality, of another race, another religion, from another culture than your own, etc...

Questions found in Eurobarometer 17-26 and 37:

- would you say you are very proud, quite proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be (a citizen of our country)?

very proud, quite proud, not very proud, not at all proud

- Do you ever think yourself as a citizen of Europe? Variation: do you think of yourself not only as a (national) citizen, but also as a citizen of Europe?

Often, sometimes, never

Or: (EB 41 for example).

- As well as thinking of themselves as (nationality) and/or (subnationality, if appropriate) or whatever, some people think of themselves also as European. Others do not so. How about you.
Please choose between the two ends of the scale. If you fully agree with the opinion on the left hand side, you give a score of 1. If you fully agree with the opinion in the right hand side, you give a score of 10. The scores in between allow you to say how close to either side you are.

- 01 not at all, also European,
- 02
- 03
- 03
- 05
- 06
- 07
- 08
- 09
- 10 Very much, also European
- 11 Dk

- Now, I would like to ask about how much you would trust people from different countries, from each country please say whether, in your opinion, they are in general, very trustworthy, fairly trustworthy, not particularly trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy. (Americans, Japanese, Russians, Chinese)

In EB 47.2 (Basic English questionnaire) and perhaps also in others:

- Do you think that, to make progress in the building of Europe, it is necessary or not to have a European citizenship in addition to our (national) citizenship.

Yes, necessary; no, not necessary

EB 49, 47.1 (and most probably also in others):

- In the near future do you see yourself as ... ?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| (NATIONALITY) only..... | 1 |
| (NATIONALITY) and European..... | 2 |
| European and (NATIONALITY)..... | 3 |
| European only..... | 4 |
| DK..... | |

EB 47.1 (and perhaps in others as well):

- Would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be (nationality)?
1. Very proud
 2. Fairly proud
 3. Not very proud
 4. Not at all proud
 5. Don't know
- And would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be European?
 - In your opinion, in five years' time, will the European Union play a more important, a less important, or the same role in your daily life (Q21)-expectation in 54.1
 - And, in five years' time would you like the European Union to play a more important, a less important, or the same role in your daily life (Q22)-desire in 54.1

- Taking everything in consideration, would you say that your country has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union? (Q18) in 54.1
- When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?
- To what extent would you say you are interested in politics?
 1. a great deal
 2. to some extent
 3. not much
 4. not at all

- **In general, do you pay attention to news about each of the following?**

... Politics

... Foreign policy/international affairs (3)

1. a lot of attention
2. a little attention
3. no attention at all

- **Are you interested in) Politics in (your country)?**

0. not mentioned
1. mentioned

- **(Are you interested in) International politics?**

0. not mentioned
1. mentioned

- When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives, or fellow workers to share your views? If so, does this happen ... often, from time to time, rarely, never?
- In EB 54.1: In your opinion, what is the current speed of building Europe on a scale from 1 to 7 (1=standing still, 7=runs as fast as possible) (Q19) in 54.1
- In EB 37.0 : In your opinion, how is the European Community, the European Unification advancing nowadays? (Q34) in 54.1
- In Eb 54.1 and 37.0 : And which corresponds best to the speed you would like? Also from 1 to 7(Q20)
- In Eb 54.1: Please tell me how attached you feel to Europe: very attached, fairly attached, not very attached, and not at all attached? (Q8.4)

Appendix B

Distinctiveness

Perceived importance of EU

Q1: In your opinion, in five years' time, will the European Union play a more important, a less important, or the same role in your daily life.

1=less important

2=same role

3=more important

Q 1b: If you were to be told tomorrow that the European Community(?) (common market) had been scrapped, would you be very sorry about it, indifferent, or relieved?

1=relieved

2=indifferent

3= very sorry about it

Q1c: How important a part would you say the European Parliament plays in the life of the European Union nowadays? Very important/ important/ not very important.

1=not very important

2=important

3=very important

Desired importance of EU

Q2: And, in five years' time would you like the European Union to play a more important, a less important, or the same role in your daily life?

1=less important

2=same role

3=important

Q2b: Would you personally prefer that the European Parliament played a more important or a less important part than it does now? More important/ less important/ about the same

1=less important

2=about the same

3=important

Self-esteem

National pride

Q3: Would you say that you are very proud, quite proud, not very proud, or not at all proud to be (nationality)?

1=not at all proud

2=not very proud

3=quite proud

4=very proud

European pride

Q4: And would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be European?

1=not at all proud

2=not very proud

3=quite proud

4=very proud

Life satisfaction

Q5: On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?

- 1= not at all satisfied
- 2=not very satisfied
- 3=fairly satisfied
- 4=very satisfied

Benefit from EU

Q6: Taking everything in consideration, would you say that your country has, on balance, benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?

- 1=not benefited
- 2=benefited

Bad/ Good thing EU

Q7: Generally speaking, do you think that your country's membership of the European Community is a good thing, bad thing, or neither good nor bad thing?

- 1=bad thing
- 2=neither good/ bad thing
- 3=good thing

Self-efficacy**Cognitive mobilization**

Q8: When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?

- 1=never
- 2=occasionally
- 3=frequently

Persuade Friends

Q9: When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives, or fellow workers to share your views? If so, does this happen ... often, from time to time, rarely, never?

- 1=never
- 2=rarely
- 3=from time to time
- 4=often

Appendix C

For (European) Identification question:

Do you ever think of yourself not only as (nationality) citizen, but also as a citizen of Europe? Does this happen often, sometimes or never?

Or

Do you ever think of yourself as not only (nationality), but also European? Does this happen often, sometimes or never?

Or

In the near future do you see yourself as ... ?

(NATIONALITY) only

(NATIONALITY) and European

European and (NATIONALITY)

European only

Principles:

Distinctiveness

Q1: In your opinion, in five years' time, will the European Union play a more important, a less important, or the same role in your daily life?

Q 1b: If you were to be told tomorrow that the European Community (common market) had been scrapped, would you be very sorry about it, indifferent, or relieved?

Q1c: How important a part would you say the European Parliament plays in the life of the European Union nowadays? Very important/ important/ not very important

Q2: And, in five years' time would you like the European Union to play a more important, a less important, or the same role in your daily life?

Q2b: Would you personally prefer that the European Parliament played a more important or a less important part than it does now? More important/ less important/ About the same

Self-esteem

Q3: Would you say that you are very proud, quite proud, not very proud, or not at all proud to be (nationality)?

Q4: And would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be European?

Q5: On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?

Q6: Taking everything in consideration, would you say that your country has, on balance, benefited or not benefited, from being a member of the European Union?

Q7: Generally speaking, do you think that your country's membership of the European Community is a good thing, bad thing, or neither good nor bad thing?

Self-efficacy

Q8: When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never? (cognitive mobilization)

Q9: When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives, or fellow workers to share your views? If so, does this happen ... often, from time to time, rarely, never? (persuade friends)

Continuity

Q10: In your opinion, what is the current speed of building Europe on a scale from 1 to 7 (1=standing still, 7=runs as fast as possible) (Q19) in 54.1

Q10b: In your opinion over the last 12 months, has the understanding between the countries of the European Community in general increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?

Q10c: The European Community should speed up its economic, political, and monetary integration so that, by becoming stronger, it can participate more effectively in building a wider united democratic Europe. (Agree, or not agree).

Q11: In Eb 54.1 and 37.0: And which corresponds best to the speed you would like? Also from 1 to 7(Q20)

Q12: In Eb 54.1: Please tell me how attached you feel to Europe: very attached, fairly attached, not very attached, and not at all attached? (Q8.4)

Appendix D

Manipulation check variables with short references to variables between brackets:

Continuity variables:

- The EU has a stable presence in world affairs (Stable presence)
- The presence of the EU in the international arena varies significantly from one period to the other (Varies significantly)
- The European Union is showing a strong continuity (Strong continuity)

Distinctiveness variables:

- The EU is a very unique entity (Unique entity)
- The EU is just another international organization (Another international organization)
- The EU is something very different from other international organizations (Different international organisation)

Self-efficacy variables:

- Being a citizen of the European Union indirectly increases my capacity to act (Capacity to act)
- Being a citizen of the European Union indirectly facilitates my actions (Facilitates actions)
- Being a citizen of the European Union adds little or nothing to my freedom of action (Adds freedom)

The European Union Identity items are the following:

1. I identify with the citizens of the European Union
2. For me it is important to be a citizen of the European Union.
3. The fact of being a citizen of the European Union has nothing to do with my identity
4. I perceive myself as a citizen of the European Union
5. The fact of being a citizen of the European Union does not mean much to me
6. I feel strong ties with the citizens of the European Union
7. I feel European
8. If I had to convey my own position with respect to the EU I would say that I am (against...In favour)

For each of the following statement, we would like you to indicate to what extent you agree by circling a digit from 1 (I disagree) to 7 (I agree):

1. The EU has a stable presence in world affairs.
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
2. The EU is a very unique entity.
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
3. Being a citizen of the European Union indirectly increases my capacity to act
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
4. The presence of the EU in the international arena varies significantly from one period to the other.
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
5. Being a citizen of the European Union indirectly facilitates my actions.
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
6. The European Union is showing a strong continuity.
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
7. The EU is just another international organization.
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
8. Being a citizen of the European Union adds little or nothing to my freedom of action.
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
9. The EU is something very different from other international organizations.
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
10. I identify with the citizens of the European Union
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree
11. For me it is important to be a citizen of the European Union
I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree

12. The fact of being a citizen of the European Union has nothing to do with my identity

I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree

13. I perceive myself as a citizen of the European Union

I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree

14. The fact of being a citizen of the European Union does not mean much to me

I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree

15. I feel strong ties with the citizens of the European Union

I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree

16. I feel European

I disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I agree

17. If I had to convey my own position with respect to the EU I would say that I am

Against 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 In favor

General information (please fill out):

Sex: ____

Age: ____

Year of study: ____

Department: _____

Nationality: _____

Country of birth: _____

Interpretation Study (2)

In this study we are interested in how people interpret speeches or press articles that are important for their lives as citizens. To this end, we would like to ask you to read one of these, in this case the transcript of a speech given by one of the professors at your university, and then answer a series of questions concerning the speech.

Please, take your time to read it, and try to understand the meaning of it as fully as possible.

"Since the Treaty of Paris on April 18th 1951 the life of the European Union is characterized by many important events that have contributed to make it a consistent presence in world affairs as well as in the life of its citizens. The first treaty to be mentioned is the Merger Treaty. This treaty was signed in Brussels on 8 April 1965 and is in force since 1 July 1967. It was important because it provided for a Single Commission and a Single Council of the three European Communities, namely the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community. A second important moment is the signature of the Single European Act in Luxembourg and The Hague, which entered into force on 1 July 1987. The Single European Act has been of paramount importance in the history of the European Union as it provided for the adaptations required for the achievement of the Internal Market. After the single European act, the institutions of the European Union worked together at a very constant pace for some ten years, when yet another extremely important treaty was signed in Amsterdam, on 2 October 1997. The Treaty of Amsterdam was central as it amended and re-organized previous EU Treaties. Few years later, in December 2000, another treaty was signed in Nice, building on previous results and projecting the EU into the new millennium, which had to be characterized by two key events in the life of the EU: the introduction of the Euro notes and coins on January 1st, 2002 and the enlargement to several East-European countries. Looking back to the 50 years that have elapsed from the end of the Second World War, we can see the European Union coming to life, growing, and establishing itself as a constant presence. Contradicting some who in the early days the EU would have been a transient entity, the EU is today the background of much of the political, economic and social life of 300 million citizens."

Please turn to the following page.

Interpretation Study (3)

In this study we are interested in how people interpret speeches or press articles that are important for their lives as citizens. To this end, we would like to ask you to read one of these, in this case the transcript of a speech given by one of the professors at your university, and then answer a series of questions concerning the speech.

Please, take your time to read it, and try to understand the meaning of it as fully as possible.

"The European Union increases the feeling that we are different from other institutions like the US. The European Union is built on an institutional system which is the only one of its kind in the world. Part of this institution system is that the Member States delegate sovereignty for certain matters to independent institutions which represent the interests of the Union as a whole, its member countries and its citizens. The European Union, furthermore, has a Commission. This Commission traditionally upholds the interests of the Union as a whole, while each national government is represented within the Council, and the European Parliament is directly elected by citizens. Therefore, it is easy to see that this Commission has a particular entity that no other institution has. Furthermore, Democracy and the rule of law are therefore the cornerstones of the structure. This "institutional triangle" of Commission, Council and Parliament is flanked by two more institutions - the Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors - and five other European bodies. In addition thirteen specialised agencies have been set up to handle certain essentially technical, scientific, or management tasks. Again, these are features of the European Union that no other Institution in the world has.

Moreover, we should note that the European Union is neither a new State replacing existing ones nor is it comparable to other international organisations. However, its Member States delegate sovereignty to common institutions representing the interests of the Union as a whole on questions of joint interest. All decisions and procedures are derived from the basic treaties ratified by the Member States.

Also, the two Principal objectives of the European Union of establishing European citizenship and asserting Europe's role in the world are only characteristic to the European Union. No other important institution has these kinds of goals.

Thus, this type of institutional system with the mentioned elements can only be found in the European Union. Concerning this respect the European Union is quite different from other institutions in the world like the World Bank, or so."

Please turn to the following page.

Interpretation Study (4)

In this study we are interested in how people interpret speeches or press articles that are important for their lives as citizens. To this end, we would like to ask you to read one of these, in this case the transcript of a speech given by one of the professors at your university, and then answer a series of questions concerning the speech.

Please, take your time to read it, and try to understand the meaning of it as fully as possible.

“...A particular institution I would like to mention is the European Union. Membership in the European Union gives us rights that other, non-citizens of the European Union do not have. These rights give us the capacity to act and behave in a manner very different from the past. For example, we have the freedom to move and take up residence anywhere in the Union. Non-citizens of the European Union, like US citizens cannot automatically move freely within the Union. They need to ask permission for it. Also, they cannot take up residence in the Union without taking the necessary actions in advance. However, because we are citizens of the EU, we can go anywhere in the Union and be a resident in any particular member country. Second, European Union citizens have the right to vote and stand in local government and European Parliament elections in the country of residence. Non-EU citizens, like US citizens, are not able to vote and stand in local government in the Union. Third, citizens of the European Union have diplomatic and consular protection from the authorities of any Member State. Again, other non-citizens of the European Union do not get this diplomatic and consular protection, and are not able to make a claim on this right when in need of protection. Fourth, citizens of the European Union are able to hand in a petition appeal to the “European Ombudsman.” The ombudsman is a highly respected person who is empowered to receive complaints from any citizen of the Union or any natural or legal person residing in a Member State concerning instances of misadministration in the activities of the European Union institutions or bodies like the Commission (with the exception of the Court of Justice and the Court of First Instance). Where the Ombudsman establishes an instance of misadministration he refers the matter to the institution concerned, conducts an investigation, seeks a solution to redress the problem and, if necessary, submits draft recommendations to which the institution is required to reply in the form of a detailed report within three months. American, Australian, or Japanese citizens who live in a European country, for example, are not able to report misadministration to the Ombudsman and will, therefore, just have to accept any misadministration. Thus, citizenship in the European Union makes us much more able and capable compared to other citizens of non-European Union countries.”

Please turn to the following page.

Appendix F

Concept items asked in English translation and in original version (=Italian) for agreement/ disagreement

1. L'Unione Europea ha una presenza stabile negli affari mondiali. (The EU has a stable presence in world affairs)

Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo

2. L'Unione Europea è una entità unica. (The EU is a very unique entity)

Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo

3. Essere un/a cittadino/a dell'Unione Europea indirettamente aumenta la mia capacità d'agire. (Being a citizen of the European Union indirectly increases my capacity to act)

Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo

4. La presenza dell'Unione Europea nell'arena internazionale varia significativamente da un periodo all'altro. (The presence of the EU in the international arena varies significantly from one period to the other)

Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo

5. Essere un/a cittadino/a dell'Unione Europea indirettamente facilita le miei azioni. (Being a citizen of the European Union indirectly facilitates my actions)

Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo

6. L'Unione Europea mostra una continuità forte. (The European Union is showing a strong continuity)

Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo

7. L'Unione Europea è proprio come un'altra organizzazione internazionale. (The EU is just another international organization)

Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo

8. Essere un/a cittadino/a dell'Unione Europea aggiunge poco o niente alla mia libertà d'azione. (Being a citizen of the European Union adds little or nothing to my freedom of action)

Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo

9. L'Unione Europea è molto diversa dalle altre organizzazioni. (The EU is something very different from other international organizations)

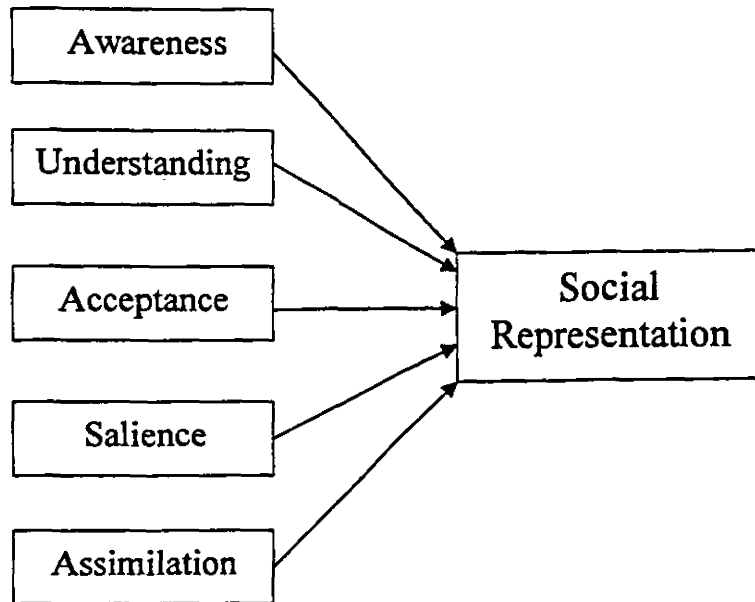
Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo

Appendix F (second part)

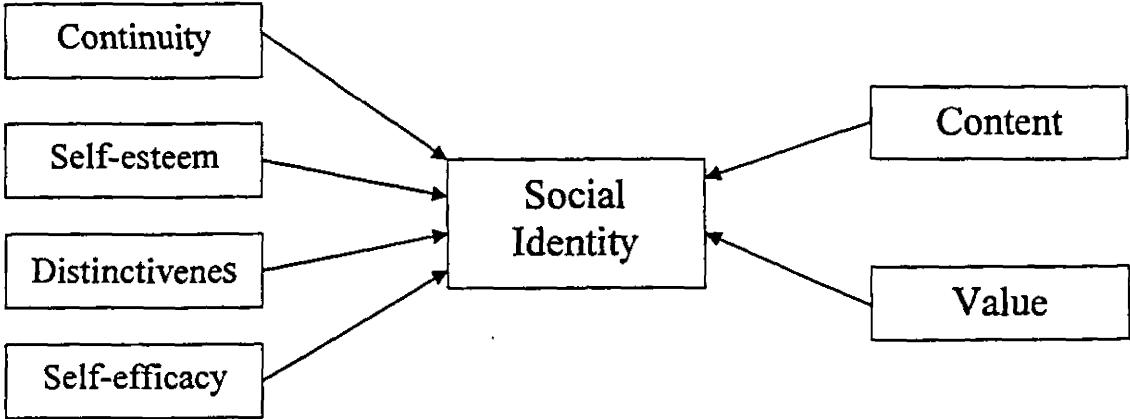
EU identity items

1. Mi identifico con i cittadini dell'Unione Europea. (I identify with citizens of the European Union)
Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo
2. Per me è importante essere un/a cittadino/a dell'Unione Europea. (For me it is important to be a citizen of the EU)
Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo
3. Il fatto di essere un/a cittadino/a dell'Unione Europea non riguarda la mia identità. (The fact of being a citizen of the EU has nothing to do with my identity)
Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo
4. Mi percepisco come un/a cittadino/a dell'Unione Europea. (I perceive myself as a citizen of the EU)
Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo
5. Il fatto di essere un/a cittadino/a dell'Unione Europea non significa molto per me. (The fact of being a citizen of the EU doesn't mean much to me)
Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo
6. Sento forte legame con i cittadini dell'Unione Europea. (I feel strong ties with the citizens of the EU)
Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo
7. Mi sento Europeo/a. (I feel European)
Completamente in disaccordo 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente d'accordo
8. Se dovessi esprimere il mio atteggiamento verso l'Unione Europea direi di essere (If I had to convey my own position with respect to the EU I would say I am ...against...in favour)
Completamente contrario 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completamente favorevole

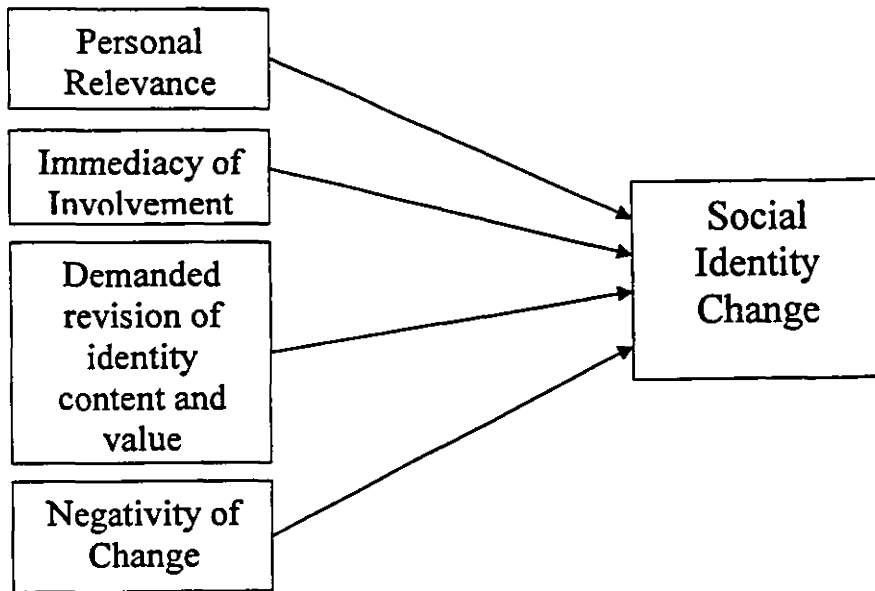
Model A: Social Representation



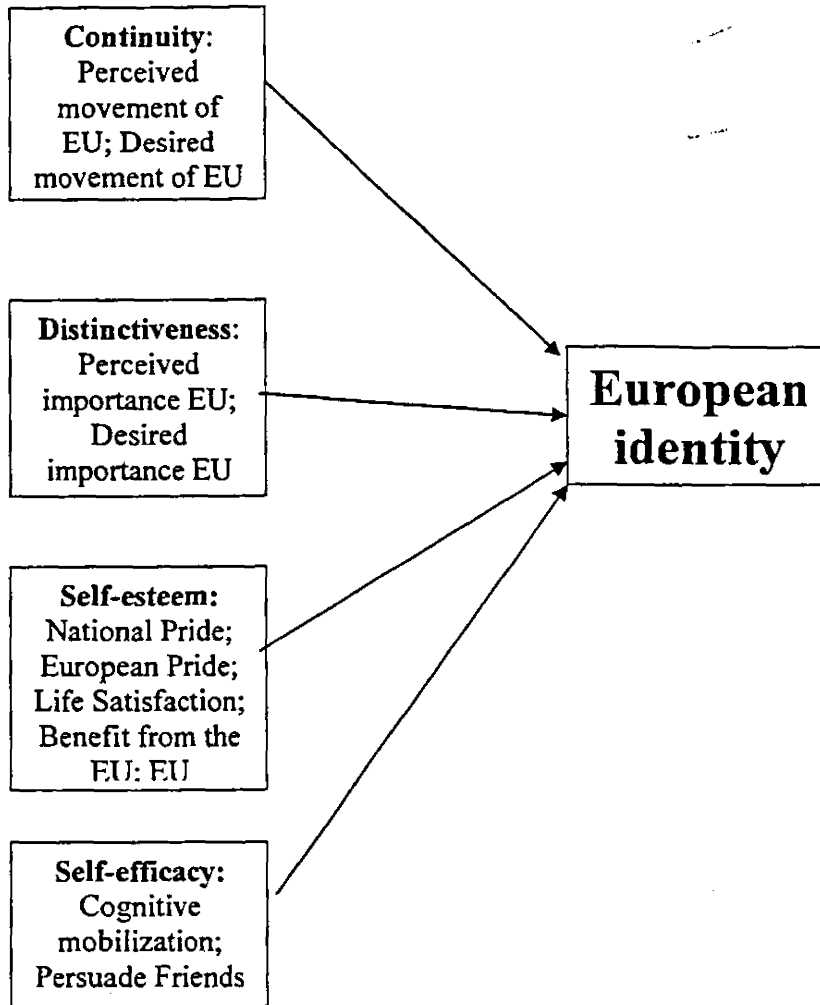
Model B: Social Identity Principles



Model C: Social Identity Change



Model D: Social identity Variables



European Identity Model

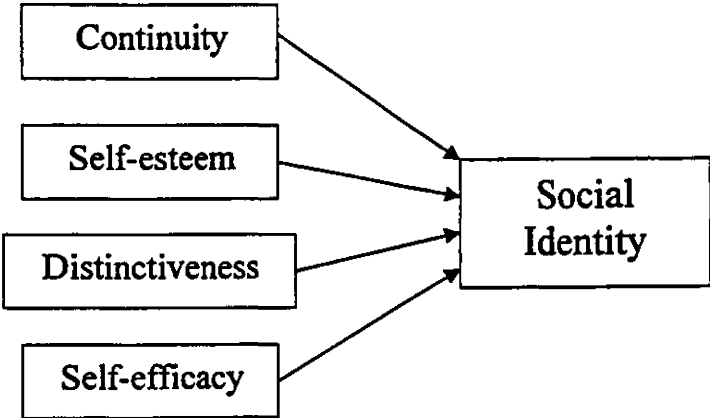




Table 1a: Percentages and numbers (N) of Eurobarometer respondents over countries.

	EB 17-1982	EB 17-1983	EB 19-1983	EB 33-1990	EB 35-1991	EB 36-1991	EB 37-1992	EB 40-1993	EB 43.1-1995	EB 44.1-1995	EB 50.0-1998	EB 52.0-1999	EB 53-2000	EB 54.1-2000	EB 56.2-2001	EB 57.1-2002
France	10.2% (1199)	10.3% (1011)	10.3% (1011)	8.5% (1002)	7.6% (1000)	7.2% (1007)	7.1% (1005)	6.8% (1024)	5.8% (1002)	5.8% (1000)	6.2% (1003)	6.2% (1003)	6.2% (1002)	6.2% (1003)	6.3% (1005)	6.3% (1010)
Belgium	10.3% (1210)	10.6% (1038)	10.6% (1038)	8.1% (953)	8.1% (1061)	7.2% (1006)	7.4% (1036)	6.7% (1003)	6.2% (1056)	5.9% (1013)	6.3% (1018)	6.5% (1044)	6.6% (1063)	6.5% (1048)	6.3% (1007)	6.5% (1045)
Netherlands	10.4% (1228)	10.2% (998)	10.2% (998)	8.9% (1048)	7.9% (1035)	7.2% (1009)	7.1% (1002)	6.6% (1000)	5.9% (1010)	5.9% (1020)	6.4% (1032)	6.3% (1010)	6.1% (975)	6.2% (1004)	6.3% (999)	6.2% (997)
(west)Germa ny	12.1% (1425)	10.7% (1049)	10.7% (1049)	9.1% (1070)	8.2% (1073)	7.1% (1000)	7.6% (1065)	6.9% (1047)	6.1% (1055)	6.3% (1095)	6.3% (1016)	6.3% (1018)	6.3% (1015)	6.3% (1013)	6.3% (1001)	6.2% (1000)
Italy	11.1% (1301)	10.5% (1031)	10.5% (1031)	8.6% (1012)	7.7% (1007)	7.7% (1076)	7.4% (1046)	6.7% (1012)	6.2% (1057)	5.9% (1028)	6.2% (1000)	6.3% (1010)	6.2% (1000)	6.1% (987)	6.3% (999)	6.2% (1000)
Luxembourg	3.4% (399)	3.1% (300)	3.1% (300)	2.5% (300)	3.8% (504)	3.1% (435)	3.5% (496)	3.3% (502)	2.9% (499)	4.5% (770)	3.7% (602)	3.7% (598)	3.7% (600)	3.8% (609)	3.8% (604)	3.8% (602)
Denmark	10.3% (1211)	10.5% (1027)	10.5% (1027)	8.5% (1000)	7.6% (1000)	7.1% (1000)	7.1% (1000)	6.6% (1000)	5.8% (1000)	5.8% (1000)	6.2% (1004)	6.2% (1001)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1000)	6.3% (1000)	6.2% (1000)
Rep. of Ireland	10.0% (1181)	10.1% (987)	10.1% (987)	8.6% (1012)	7.7% (1015)	7.2% (1005)	7.1% (1001)	6.6% (1000)	5.8% (1000)	5.8% (1000)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1001)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1001)	6.3% (1001)	6.1% (984)
Great Britain	9.7% (1136)	10.5% (1027)	10.5% (1027)	9.0% (1055)	8.0% (1056)	7.6% (1071)	7.2% (1016)	7.0% (1061)	6.2% (1066)	6.2% (1070)	6.6% (1066)	6.2% (1002)	6.7% (1070)	6.6% (1058)	6.3% (1000)	6.3% (1004)
N. Ireland	2.4% (283)	3.3% (322)	3.3% (322)	2.7% (319)	2.3% (297)	2.2% (305)	2.2% (303)	2.0% (300)	1.8% (305)	1.8% (311)	2.0% (327)	2.0% (320)	1.9% (300)	1.9% (313)	2.0% (312)	1.9% (307)
Greece	10.2% (1199)	10.2% (1000)	10.2% (1000)	8.5% (1003)	7.6% (1001)	7.1% (1000)	7.1% (1000)	6.6% (1002)	5.9% (1006)	5.8% (1008)	6.2% (1007)	6.3% (1010)	6.2% (1004)	6.2% (1002)	6.3% (1002)	6.3% (1002)
Spain	-	-	-	8.5% (1000)	7.6% (1000)	7.1% (1000)	7.1% (1000)	6.6% (1000)	5.8% (1000)	5.8% (1000)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1000)	6.3% (1000)	6.2% (1000)
Portugal	-	-	-	8.5% (1000)	7.6% (1000)	7.1% (1000)	7.1% (1000)	6.6% (1000)	5.8% (1000)	5.4% (936)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1001)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1000)	6.3% (1001)	6.2% (1000)
East - Germany	-	-	-	-	8.2% (1071)	7.8% (1090)	7.9% (1112)	7.4% (1122)	6.1% (1049)	5.9% (1019)	6.3% (1011)	6.3% (1020)	6.4% (1034)	6.3% (1014)	6.3% (1006)	6.6% (1051)
Norway	-	-	-	-	-	7.2% (1002)	7.1 (1000)	6.7% (1011)	5.8% (1000)	5.5% (952)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.6% (995)	6.0% (1030)	6.1% (1050)	6.3% (1015)	6.3% (1015)	6.3% (1010)	6.3% (1015)	6.3% (1003)	6.3% (1010)
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.9% (1017)	5.7% (990)	6.3% (1011)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1000)	6.2% (1000)	6.3% (1000)	6.2% (1000)
Austria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.9% (1014)	6.0% (1036)	6.5% (1043)	6.3% (1018)	6.3% (1005)	6.2% (1000)	6.3% (999)	6.2% (1000)

Table 1b: Percentages and numbers (N) of Eurobarometer respondents by sex, age cohort and recorded occupation group

	EB 17- 1982	EB 19- 1983	EB 33- 1990	EB 35- 1991	EB 36- 1991	EB 37- 1992	EB 40- 1993	EB 43.1- 1995	EB 44.1- 1995	EB 50.0- 1998	EB 52.0- 1999	EB 53 - 2000	EB 54.1- 2000	EB 56.2- 2001	EB 57.1 - 2002
male	48.7% (5735)	48.9% (4782)	48.4% (5704)	51.1% (6707)	49.4% (6916)	49.3% (6948)	48.9% (7377)	48.9% (8391)	49.3% (8533)	48.8% (7876)	47.8% (7676)	47.6% (7654)	48.3% (7755)	48.2% (7675)	47.7% (7641)
female	51.3% (6037)	51.1% (5004)	51.6% (6071)	51.1% (6707)	50.6% (7090)	50.7% (7134)	51.1% (7702)	51.1% (8775)	50.7% (8763)	51.2% (8279)	52.2% (8395)	52.4% (8424)	51.7% (8312)	51.8% (8264)	52.3% (8371)
15-24	32.8% (3867)	18.7% (1832)	20.4% (2403)	19.0% (2488)	19.5% (2737)	19.2% (2698)	18.2% (2741)	17.5% (3008)	17.2% (2973)	16.3% (2629)	16.5% (2645)	16.7% (2680)	15.7% (2522)	15.7% (2508)	16.4% (2627)
25-34	17.5% (2058)	20.4% (1996)	18.6% (2192)	19.4% (2546)	19.9% (2789)	20.1% (2829)	20.5% (3087)	19.8% (3394)	19.9% (3448)	19.7% (3176)	18.9% (3044)	19.1% (3072)	18.4% (2949)	18.5% (2955)	17.7% (2837)
35-44	14.3% (1688)	17.0% (1668)	16.9% (1988)	17.8% (2333)	18.0% (2520)	17.4% (2455)	18.2% (2746)	17.7% (3038)	17.6% (3044)	18.7% (3019)	18.9% (3043)	18.6% (2988)	18.6% (2993)	17.4% (2781)	18.3% (2925)
45-54	12.4% (1460)	14.5% (1424)	14.4% (1699)	15.4% (2015)	14.5% (2032)	15.1% (2127)	14.6% (2204)	15.9% (2730)	16.1% (2778)	15.6% (2525)	15.2% (2449)	15.5% (2493)	16.1% (2580)	16.0% (2558)	16.0% (2557)
55-64	10.8% (1276)	14.7% (1444)	13.7% (1614)	13.6% (1786)	14.5% (1827)	12.9% (1818)	12.7% (1909)	13.2% (2267)	13.6% (2359)	13.3% (2147)	13.7% (2203)	14.0% (2257)	14.1% (2270)	13.6% (2174)	13.8% (2205)
65+	12.1% (1423)	14.5% (1416)	16.0% (1878)	14.9% (1952)	15.0% (2096)	15.3% (2155)	15.8% (2386)	15.9% (2729)	15.6% (2696)	16.5% (2659)	16.7% (2687)	16.1% (2588)	17.1% (2753)	18.6% (2963)	17.9% (2861)
professionals	3.8% (445)	4.8% (464)	5.3% (629)	5.3% (697)	5.9% (827)	6.1% (853)	5.2% (725)	6.0 (1028)	5.5% (947)	6.5% (1047)	5.7% (917)	5.6% (906)	5.6% (904)	5.9% (936)	6.1% (974)
middle class	23.1% (2722)	25.0% (2438)	28.6% (3361)	29.2% (3828)	30.5% (4265)	30.0% (4215)	30.7% (4316)	30.4% (5205)	32.3% (5391)	30.8% (4968)	30.5% (4905)	31.0% (4978)	30.8% (4953)	30.6% (4877)	30.2% (4830)
manual workers	17.5% (20560)	17.1% (1667)	14.2% (1669)	14.7% (1925)	14.3% (1997)	13.7% (13.7)	12.5% (1762)	13.2% (2264)	13.5% (2331)	13.9% (2243)	14.1% (2259)	14.4% (2318)	15.2% (2436)	14.1% (2240)	13.9% (2225)
non-workers	55.6% (6530)	53.1% (5168)	51.9% (6105)	50.8% (6654)	49.4% (6913)	50.3% (7074)	51.6% (7240)	50.3% (8606)	49.7% (8561)	48.8% (7878)	49.7% (97987)	49.0% (7976)	48.4% (7774)	49.5% (7886)	49.9% (7983)

Table 2: Variables ordered by principle for 3 Eurobarometers (1982, 1992, 2000)

	<i>1982 Eurobarometer (17)</i>	<i>1992 Eurobarometer (37.0)</i>	<i>2000 Eurobarometer (54.1)</i>
I Distinctiveness	Perceived importance EU	Perceived importance EU	Perceived importance EU; Desired importance EU
II. Self-esteem	Life Satisfaction; EU Good/bad thing	European Pride; Life Satisfaction; Benefit from the EU; EU Good/bad thing	National Pride; European Pride; Life Satisfaction; Benefit from the EU; EU Good/Bad thing
III Self-efficacy	Cognitive mobilization; Persuade Friends	Cognitive mobilization; Persuade Friends	Cognitive mobilization; Persuade Friends
IV Continuity	Perceived movement of Europe;	Perceived movement of Europe; Desired movement of Europe	Perceived movement of EU; Desired movement of EU;

Table 3: Component loadings of the Eurobarometers' (1982, 1992, 2000) dimensions

	1982 Eurobarometer		1992 Eurobarometer		2000 Eurobarometer	
	General European identity dimension	Dim. 2	General European identity dimension	Dim. 2	EU importance & movement dimension	Pure European identity dimension
European identity	.62	<i>-.14</i>	.59	<i>-.01</i>	<i>-.22</i>	.50
Perceived importance of EU	.71	<i>.56</i>	.72	<i>.41</i>	.69	.05
Desired importance of EU	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>	.69	.14
National Pride	<i>-.21</i>	<i>.24</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>.04</i>	.35
European Pride	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>-.01</i>	.64
Life Satisfaction	<i>.20</i>	<i>-.14</i>	.23	<i>-.01</i>	<i>-.15</i>	.30
Benefit from EU	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>	.65	<i>.40</i>	<i>.06</i>	.72
Good/ Bad thing EU	.65	<i>.63</i>	.72	<i>.43</i>	<i>.02</i>	.78
Cognitive Mobilization	<i>.49</i>	<i>-.53</i>	<i>.32</i>	<i>-.38</i>	<i>-.42</i>	.03
Persuade Friends	<i>.44</i>	<i>-.46</i>	<i>.33</i>	<i>-.29</i>	.35	<i>-.12</i>
Perceived movement of EU	<i>-.38</i>	<i>.47</i>	.48	<i>-.68</i>	.77	.001
Desired movement of EU	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>-.45</i>	<i>.69</i>	.76	.02
Cronbach alpha	.56	<i>.39</i>	.68	<i>.46</i>	.65	.55
Eigen value	1.97 (25%)	<i>1.51 (19%)</i>	2.51 (28%)	<i>1.68 (19%)</i>	2.48 (21%)	2.03 (17%)

Relevant variables for the European Identity dimension appear in bold print.

*transformed scores (+/-)

Table 4: Centroid coordinates for European identity

Categories	1982 Eurobarometer		Categories	1992 Eurobarometer		2000 Eurobarometer	
	N	Centroid coordinates General European identity dimension		N	Centroid coordinates General European identity dimension	N	Centroid coordinates Pure European identity dimension
Never	5494	-.49	Nationality only	5687	-.66	6818	-.58
Sometimes	4066	.47	Nationality and European	6635	.50	7277	.46
Often	1735	.86	European and nationality	841	.70	925	.41
Missing values	477	-1.48	European only	426	.56	550	.36
			Missing values	493	-.76	497	.03

Table 5: Centroid coordinates for perceived importance of EU (1982 & 1992 Eurobarometer)

Categories	1982 Eurobarometer		1992 Eurobarometer	
	N	Centroid Coordinates General European identity dimension	N	Centroid Coordinates General European identity dimension
Relieved	1388	-1.37	1188	-1.53
Indifferent	4495	-.26	4880	-.44
Very sorry	4377	.86	6560	.71
Missing values	1512	-.48	1454	-.51

Table 6: Centroid coordinates for desired importance of EU (only Eurobarometer 2000)

Categories	N	Centroid Coordinates	
		Pure	European identity dimension
Less important	2668		-.17
Same role	4945		-.09
More important	6636		-.36
Missing values	1818		1.79

Table 7: National pride (only Eurobarometer 2000)

Categories	N	Centroid coordinates Pure European identity dimension
Not at all proud National	394	-1.25
Not very proud National	1483	-.82
Fairly proud National	7082	.02
Very proud National	6661	.19
Missing values	447	.54

Table 8: Centroid coordinates for European pride (only Eurobarometer 2000)

Categories	N	Centroid Coordinates
		Pure European identity dimension
Not at all proud European	1207	-1.58
Not very proud European	2983	-.81
Fairly proud European	7773	.28
Very proud European	2719	.66
missing values	1385	.25

Table 9: Centroid coordinates for life satisfaction (only Eurobarometer 1992)

	N	Centroid Coordinates Pure European identity dimension
Not at all satisfied	548	-.79
Not very satisfied	1993	-.35
Fairly satisfied	7589	.10
Very satisfied	3876	.11
Missing values	76	-.64

Table 10: Centroid coordinates for Good/Bad thing EU (Eurobarometer 1982, 1992 & 2000)

Categories	Eurobarometer 1982		Eurobarometer 1992		Eurobarometer 2000	
	N	Centroid Coordinates General European identity dimension	N	Centroid Coordinates General European identity dimension	N	Centroid Coordinates Pure European identity dimension
Bad thing	1670	-1.25	1378	-1.50	2188	-1.63
Neither good nor bad thing	3070	-.26	2610	-.68	4195	-.45
Good thing	5943	.62	9286	.51	8460	.60
Missing values	1089	-.73	808	-1.05	1224	.34

Table 11: Centroid coordinates for Benefit from the EU

Categories	Eurobarometer 1992		Eurobarometer 2000	
	N	Centroid Coordinates General European identity dimension	N	Centroid Coordinates Pure European identity dimension
Not benefited	3143	-.94	4707	-1.12
Benefited	8331	.54	8356	.54
Missing values	2608	-.59	3004	.24

Table 12: Centroid coordinates for Cognitive mobilization (only Eurobarometer 1992)

Categories	N	Centroid Coordinates	
		General	European identity dimension
Never	4007		-.47
Occasionally	7533		.14
Frequently	2433		.37
Missing values	109		-.95

Table 13: Centroid coordinates for Persuade Friends (only Eurobarometer 1992)

Categories	N	Centroid Coordinates General European identity dimension
Never	2286	-.57
Rarely	3205	-.19
From time to time	6049	.21
Often	2300	.36
Missing values	242	-.67

Table 14: Centroid coordinates for Perceived movement of EU (only Eurobarometer 1992)

Categories	N	Centroid coordinates	
		General European identity dimension	
1 stand still	414	-.56	
2	1440	-.02	
3	3045	.16	
4	3705	.29	
5	2537	.30	
6	952	.15	
7 run fast	596	-.32	
missing values	1393	-1.45	

Table 15: Regression results of the three Eurobarometers 1982, 1992 and 2000.

	Eurobarometer 17- 1982		Eurobarometer 37- 1992		Eurobarometer 54.1- 2000	
	<i>Original variables</i>	<i>Optimally scaled variables</i>	<i>Original variables</i>	<i>Optimally scaled variables</i>	<i>Original variables</i>	<i>Optimally scaled variables</i>
1	Perceived movement	Perceived movement	Perceived movement	Perceived movement	Desired movement	Desired movement
2	Cognitive mobilization	Life satisfaction	Life satisfaction	Life satisfaction	Persuade friends	Cognitive mobilization
3	Life satisfaction	National pride	Persuade friends	Perceived importance	National pride	Life satisfaction
4	Perceived importance	EU bad/ good thing	EU bad/ good thing	Persuade friends	Cognitive mobilization	National pride
5	National pride	Persuade friends	Perceived importance	Cognitive mobilization	Perceived importance	Perceived importance
6	Persuade friends	Cognitive mobilization	Cognitive mobilization	Benefit from EU	Life satisfaction	Perceived movement
7	EU bad/ good thing	Perceived importance	Benefit from EU	EU bad/ good thing	Benefit from EU	Persuade friends
8					Perceived movement	Benefit from EU
9					European pride	European pride
10					EU bad/ good thing	Desired importance
11					Desired importance	EU bad/ good thing
<u>Adjusted R square</u>	.13	.15	.06	.12	.07	.18

Table 16: Regression results of regression on European Identity with not optimally scaled Social Psychological variables (Betas and variances)

Social psychological variables	EB 17-1982	EB 19-1983	EB 33-1990	EB 35-1991	EB 36-1991	EB 37-1992	EB 40-1993	EB 43.1-1995	EB 44.1-1995	EB 50.0-1998	EB 52.0-1999	EB 53-2000	EB 54.1-2000	EB 56.2-2001	EB 57.1-2002
Perceived importance of EU	.24	.13	.21	.18	.18	.17	.03	.10	-.04	.02	NS	NS	NS	NS	.08
Desired importance of EU	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	.02	.04	.05	.06	.04	.09	.06	-
National Pride	.03	.07	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.10	-.10	-.15	-.16	-.17
European Pride	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.08	.12	.16
Life satisfaction	NS	NS	-.02	.04	NS	NS	.24	NS	-	-	.04	.03	.03	.03	NS
Benefit from the EU	-	-.05	.03	-.02	NI	NS	.02	NS	.03	.03	.03	.03	.02	.02	.02
Good/Bad thing EU	.07	.07	.03	.09	-.02	.10	.03	.10	.13	.13	.12	.12	.10	.10	.11
Cognitive mobilization	.14	.12	.16	.09	.12	.08	.51	.06	.06	.09	.06	.07	.07	.10	.07
Persuade friends	.06	.09	.08	.09	.09	.07	.14	.02	.04	.04	.06	.06	NS	.04	.06
Perceived movement of EU	NS	-.02	.04	NS	NS	NS	NI	-.05	-.07	-.06	-.07	-.08	-.06	-.05	-
Desired movement of EU	-	-	-	-	-	.12	.06	.07	.09	.07	.08	.08	.06	.04	NS
R square	.13	.08	.13	.08	.06	.12	.05	.05	.05	.06	.06	.06	.07	.07	.09

- = absent in the relevant EB, negative betas are indicated in italics.
 NI = not included due to high multicollinearity with other social psychological variable

Table 17: Regression results of regression on European Identity with optimally scaled Social Psychological variables (Betas and variances)

Social psychological variables	EB 17-1982	EB 19-1983	EB 33-1990	EB 35-1991	EB 36-1991	EB 37-1992	EB 40-1993	EB 43.1-1995	EB 44.1-1995	EB 50.0-1998	EB 52.0-1999	EB 53-2000	EB 54.1-2000	EB 56.2-2001	EB 57.1-2002
Perceived importance of EU	.21	.19	.17	.22	.19	.19	.18	.15	.08	.08	.04	.03	.06	NS	.12
Desired importance of EU	-	-	.11	-	-	-	-	.09	.12	.08	.08	.06	.10	.05	-
National Pride	.05	NS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.02	.06	-.11	-.12	-.02
European Pride	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.16	.19	.22
Life satisfaction	.02	-.02	NS	.04	-.02	.04	.05	.06	-	-	.04	.04	.03	.04	.02
Benefit from the EU	-	NS	.04	NS	NI	NS	.02	-.02	.06	.07	.08	.10	.05	.07	.03
Good/ Bad thing EU	.06	.10	.04	.10	.14	.12	.12	.15	.18	.16	.18	.16	.14	.14	.11
Cognitive mobilization	.12	.16	.12	.08	.11	.07	.13	.11	NS	.09	.09	-.05	.08	.13	.10
Persuade friends	.10	.07	.07	.09	.09	.08	.12	.05	.09	.06	.09	.10	.03	.05	.07
Perceived movement of EU	.10	.06	.11	.07	.02	.07	NI	.03	-.06	.06	-.02	-.08	NS	-.05	-
Desired movement of EU	-	-	-	-	-	.13	.14	.06	.05	.11	.03	.08	.10	.03	.10
R square	.15	.13	.15	.12	.12	.19	.21	.15	.12	.18	.11	.12	.18	.14	.20

-= absent in the relevant EB

NI= not included due to high multicollinearity with other social psychological variable

Table 18: Results of T-test with social psychological variables of the Eurobarometers

Eurobarometers	Benefit from the EU	Cognitive mobilization	High National Pride versus low national pride
EB 17-1982	-	.01 (t=2.62; df=3379.80)	.00 (t=-20.32; df=4035.74)
EB 19-1983	.00 (t=15.23; df=4056.21)	.00 (t=-21.264; df=3549.11)	NS
EB 33- 1990	.00 (t=-19.23; df=4219.22)	.00 (t=-22.84; df=3497.18)	-
EB 35- 1991	.00 (t=-18.05; df=11182)	.00 (t=-14.95; df=6352)	-
EB 36- 1991	.00 (t=-20.14; df=4664.60)	.00 (t=-20.05; df=5050.14)	-
EB 37- 1992	.00 (t=-24.06; df=5504.87)	.00 (t=-16.97; df=5279.65)	-
EB 40- 1993	.00 (t=2.55; df=12469)	.00 (t=17.23; df=5016.02)	-
EB 43.1-1995	.00 (t=-34.28; df=10938.63)	.00 (t=-17.19; df=5854.05)	-
EB 44.1- 1995	.00 (t=-31.53; df=11922.15)	.00 (t=-16.26; df=6111.11)	-
EB 50.0- 1998	.00 (t=-36.09; df=9305.00)	.00 (t=-16.59; df=4044.83)	-
EB 52.0- 1999	.00 (t=-31.36; df=12807)	.00 (t=-12.49; df=3158.58)	.00 (t=-9.25; df=2426.67)
EB 53 - 2000	.00 (t=-34.83; df=9375.82)	.00 (t=-15.78; df=3818.56)	.00 (t=-9.33; df=2099.93)
EB 54.1- 2000	.00 (t=-33.34; df=9336.28)	.00 (t=-13.72; df=4182.94)	.00 (t=-3.32; df=2466.84)
EB 56.2- 2001	.00 (t=-30.65 df=13287)	.00 (t=-19.86; df=4149.01)	.00 (t=-8.54 df=2306.91)
EB 57.1- 2002	.00 (t=-33.46 df=7319.52)	.00 (t=-19.32; df=4447.87)	.00 (t=-9.88 df=1958.91)

-= absent in the relevant EB

NI= not included due to high multicollinearity with other social psychological variable

Table 20: Regression on European identity with sociological dummy variables (Betas and variances) excluding optimally scaled Social Psychological variables.

Reference categories	EB 17-1982	EB 19-1983	EB 33-1990	EB 35-1991	EB 36-1991	EB 37-1992	EB 40-1993	EB 43.1-1995	EB4 4.1-1995	EB 50.0-1998	EB 52.0-1999	EB 53-2000	EB 54.1-2000	EB 56.2-2001	EB 57.1-2002	
France																
	Belgium	-.11	-.08	-.03	-.03	-.05	NS	-.03	-.03	-.04	NS	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.04	NS
	Netherlands	-.12	-.06	-.12	-.12	-.07	-.04	-.03	-.07	NS	-.03	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.04
	West Germany	.09	.03	-.12	-.09	-.05	-.05	NS	-.03	-.03	-.02	-.06	NS	NS	NS	NS
	Italy	-.03	-.03	NS	NS	NS	.03	.03	NS	.05	.07	.04	.06	.04	.08	.08
	Luxembourg	.06	.04	NS	.02	NS	NS	.04	.04	.03	.03	NS	.04	.03	NS	NS
	Denmark	-.11	-.09	-.04	-.07	-.09	-.09	-.10	-.13	-.07	-.08	-.08	-.07	NS	NS	NS
	Rep. of Ireland	-.14	-.18	-.13	-.16	-.12	-.08	-.06	-.08	-.06	-.06	-.10	-.06	-.09	-.06	-.06
	Great Britain	-.15	-.21	-.15	-.20	-.13	-.16	-.13	-.13	-.12	-.13	-.16	-.15	-.17	-.13	-.13
	Northern Ireland	-.09	-.15	-.09	-.11	-.07	-.09	-.04	-.06	-.03	-.05	-.05	-.06	-.04	-.04	-.04
	Greece	NS	NS	NS	-.05	NS	-.05	-.12	-.11	-.06	-.10	-.11	-.07	-.10	-.06	-.06
	Spain	-	-	NS	NS	.02	-.04	-.06	-.03	NS	.05	.03	.07	NS	.03	.03
	Portugal	-	-	-.07	NS	.02	-.06	-.08	-.06	-.08	-.05	-.07	-.06	-.06	-.03	-.03
	East Germany	-	-	-	-.16	-.11	-.08	-.06	-.07	-.08	-.06	-.08	-.05	-.07	-.04	-.04
	Norway	-	-	-	-	-.11	Excl	-.10	-.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Finland	-	-	-	-	-	Excl	-.09	-.13	-.08	-.10	-.11	-.11	-.11	-.10	-.10
	Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.13	-.17	-.11	-.10	-.13	-.10	-.06	-.09	-.09
	Austria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.12	-.09	-.07	-.04	-.11	-.08	-.05	-.05	-.05
Female	Sex	.07	.07	.11	.09	.07	.08	.04	.05	.05	.04	.06	.05	.05	.05	.05
15-25 years	25-34 years	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.02	-.02	-.05	-.09	-.06	-.05	-.05	-.05	NS	NS	-.05
	35-44 years	.03	NS	NS	NS	-.03	-.03	-.05	-.04	-.08	-.06	-.05	-.05	-.04	-.06	-.06
	45-54 years	NS	NS	-.03	NS	-.04	-.06	-.07	-.05	-.09	-.08	-.06	-.05	-.06	-.07	-.07
	55-64 years	NS	NS	-.04	-.04	-.10	-.10	-.09	-.11	-.10	-.10	-.09	-.09	-.08	-.09	-.09
	65+ years	-.05	NS	-.09	-.07	-.14	-.16	-.16	-.12	-.19	-.17	-.17	-.15	-.15	-.17	-.17
Unemployed	Professionals	.05	.07	.10	.07	.07	.08	.07	.06	.09	.07	.07	.04	.06	.07	.07
	Middle class	.05	.04	.05	.03	.04	.04	.06	.04	.07	.05	.06	.03	.05	.06	.06
	Manual workers	-.03	-.05	-.06	-.06	-.07	-.08	-.05	-.06	-.04	-.05	-.05	-.05	-.04	-.05	-.05
R2	Adjusted R sq	.09	.09	.07	.09	.06	.08	.08	.09	.08	.08	.09	.08	.07	.08	.08

Table 19a : Means and standard deviations of optimal scaling scores on European identity by countries

	EB 17- 1982	EB 19- 1983	EB 33- 1990	EB 35- 1991	EB 36- 1991	EB 37- 1992	EB 40- 1993	EB 43.1- 1995	Eb44.1 - 1995	EB 50.0- 1998	EB 52.0- 1999	EB53 - 2000	EB 54.1- 2000	EB 56.2- 2001	EB 57.1 -2002
France	.12 (.59)	.12 (.49)	.13 (.53)	.13 (.43)	.12 (.62)	.15 (.56)	.12 (.55)	.13 (.43)	.16 (.45)	.13 (.56)	.11 (.50)	.18 (.44)	.11 (.48)	.11 (.42)	.10 (.55)
Belgium	-.10 (.62)	-.01 (.47)	.07 (.53)	.08 (.43)	.04 (.60)	.02 (.60)	.11 (.55)	.06 (.46)	.08 (.48)	.03 (.58)	.08 (.51)	.06 (.48)	.01 (.49)	.01 (.44)	.11 (.54)
The Netherlands	-.12 (.53)	.02 (.49)	-.09 (.51)	-.08 (.44)	-.15 (.59)	-.02 (.60)	.03 (.59)	.09 (.46)	.02 (.49)	.08 (.58)	.03 (.52)	.05 (.49)	.02 (.50)	.02 (.44)	.01 (.57)
Germany	.28 (.63)	.16 (.45)	-.09 (.55)	-.02 (.44)	-.01 (.59)	.02 (.60)	.01 (.58)	.10 (.45)	.08 (.48)	.03 (.58)	.02 (.52)	.00 (.49)	.05 (.49)	.08 (.43)	.05 (.56)
Italy	.07 (.61)	.07 (.49)	.11 (.53)	.09 (.46)	.08 (.62)	.15 (.56)	.18 (.52)	.18 (.41)	.19 (.43)	.22 (.53)	.23 (.45)	.20 (.43)	.21 (.43)	.14 (.41)	.25 (.46)
Luxembourg	.31 (.62)	.23 (.45)	.07 (.56)	.19 (.43)	.16 (.58)	.17 (.56)	.11 (.56)	.24 (.36)	.25 (.39)	.29 (.48)	.25 (.44)	.18 (.43)	.25 (.36)	.20 (.37)	.17 (.52)
Denmark	-.11 (.60)	-.03 (.47)	.04 (.53)	.00 (.45)	-.04 (.62)	-.06 (.59)	-.08 (.59)	-.07 (.48)	-.11 (.49)	-.06 (.59)	-.08 (.52)	-.02 (.50)	-.05 (.51)	.06 (.44)	.05 (.56)
Ireland	-.18 (.56)	-.18 (.43)	-.13 (.49)	-.14 (.44)	-.18 (.60)	-.13 (.60)	-.06 (.59)	.00 (.47)	-.02 (.49)	-.04 (.59)	-.04 (.51)	-.08 (.50)	-.03 (.50)	-.07 (.44)	-.06 (.57)
Great Britain	-.20 (.50)	-.21 (.43)	-.17 (.48)	-.21 (.43)	-.23 (.58)	-.15 (.59)	-.23 (.57)	-.13 (.48)	-.12 (.49)	-.19 (.56)	-.20 (.49)	-.20 (.47)	-.22 (.48)	-.22 (.40)	-.24 (.55)
Northern Ireland	-.25 (.53)	-.29 (.36)	-.16 (.48)	-.22 (.40)	-.28 (.55)	-.17 (.60)	-.26 (.56)	-.01 (.48)	-.09 (.49)	-.03 (.58)	-.12 (.51)	-.08 (.49)	-.14 (.50)	-.04 (.44)	-.13 (.57)
Greece	.13 (.68)	.08 (.51)	.13 (.56)	.05 (.44)	.17 (.61)	.04 (.58)	.01 (.58)	-.10 (.49)	-.06 (.49)	-.02 (.59)	-.11 (.51)	-.08 (.50)	-.05 (.51)	-.10 (.44)	-.07 (.58)
Spain	-	-	.08 (.52)	.14 (.44)	.17 (.62)	.06 (.58)	.03 (.56)	.00 (.48)	.08 (.47)	.14 (.56)	.17 (.48)	.18 (.44)	.23 (.41)	.08 (.43)	.15 (.51)
Portugal	-	-	-.02 (.54)	.09 (.41)	.16 (.60)	.03 (.58)	-.02 (.57)	-.05 (.47)	.01 (.49)	-.14 (.58)	-.05 (.52)	-.03 (.50)	-.07 (.51)	-.05 (.44)	.15 (.51)
East-Germany	-	-	-	-.15 (.42)	-.16 (.56)	-.04 (.60)	-.07 (.59)	.00 (.48)	-.01 (.49)	-.11 (.58)	-.06 (.52)	-.04 (.50)	-.03 (.50)	-.04 (.44)	-.04 (.57)
Norway	-	-	-	-	.08 (.60)	-.10 (.59)	EXCL	-.06 (.47)	-.11 (.49)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finland	-	-	-	-	-	-	EXCL	-.05 (.49)	-.11 (.49)	-.07 (.59)	-.13 (.51)	-.08 (.50)	-.11 (.51)	-.11 (.44)	-.16 (.58)
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.14 (.48)	-.20 (.47)	-.13 (.58)	-.12 (.51)	-.13 (.49)	-.11 (.51)	-.02 (.44)	-.13 (.58)
Austria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.10 (.49)	-.04 (.49)	-.03 (.58)	-.03 (.51)	-.07 (.50)	-.08 (.50)	.00 (.44)	-.03 (.58)

Table 19b: Means and standard deviations of optimal scaling scores on European identity by sex, age cohort and recoded occupation group

	EB 17-1982	EB 19-1983	EB 33-1990	EB 35-1991	EB 36-1991	EB 37-1992	EB 40-1993	EB 43.1-1995	Eb 44.1-1995	EB 50.0-1998	EB 52.0-1999	EB53 -2000	EB 54.1-2000	EB 56.2-2001	EB 57.1-2002
male	.05 (.61)	.04 (.49)	.06 (.54)	.04 (.45)	.05 (.62)	.045 (.59)	.05 (.57)	.02 (.47)	.02 (.49)	.04 (.58)	.02 (.52)	.03 (.49)	.03 (.50)	.03 (.44)	.04 (.56)
female	-.05 (.62)	-.03 (.48)	-.06 (.53)	-.04 (.45)	-.05 (.61)	-.04 (.60)	-.05 (.59)	-.02 (.48)	-.02 (.49)	-.03 (.59)	-.02 (.52)	-.03 (.50)	-.02 (.50)	-.02 (.44)	-.03 (.57)
15-24	.01 (.60)	.00 (.48)	.03 (.53)	.02 (.45)	.05 (.61)	.09 (.58)	.08 (.56)	.08 (.46)	.09 (.47)	.12 (.56)	.09 (.50)	.08 (.48)	.08 (.48)	.05 (.44)	.09 (.54)
25-34	.00 (.59)	.01 (.48)	.03 (.53)	.01 (.45)	.03 (.61)	.02 (.59)	.05 (.57)	.03 (.47)	.05 (.48)	.06 (.58)	.05 (.51)	.04 (.49)	.03 (.49)	.06 (.43)	.06 (.56)
35-44	.06 (.61)	.01 (.49)	.03 (.53)	.03 (.45)	.02 (.62)	.04 (.59)	.06 (.57)	.04 (.47)	.04 (.48)	.03 (.58)	.03 (.51)	.04 (.49)	.03 (.50)	.03 (.44)	.03 (.57)
45-54	-.01 (.62)	.01 (.49)	.01 (.55)	.01 (.45)	.01 (.62)	.01 (.59)	.01 (.58)	.01 (.48)	.01 (.49)	.01 (.580)	.00 (.52)	.01 (.49)	.02 (.50)	.01 (.44)	.02 (.57)
55-64	-.01 (.64)	.00 (.49)	-.02 (.54)	-.02 (.45)	-.03 (.62)	-.07 (.60)	-.08 (.59)	-.04 (.48)	-.06 (.49)	-.05 (.59)	-.05 (.52)	-.04 (.50)	-.04 (.51)	-.04 (.44)	-.04 (.58)
65+	-.10 (.67)	-.02 (.48)	-.11 (.53)	-.07 (.45)	-.12 (.61)	-.14 (.59)	-.17 (.58)	-.14 (.48)	-.16 (.48)	-.20 (.56)	-.14 (.50)	-.15 (.49)	-.12 (.50)	-.11 (.44)	-.15 (.57)
professionals	.18 (.58)	.15 (.49)	.25 (.53)	.15 (.44)	.25 (.61)	.17 (.55)	.25 (.49)	.13 (.44)	.13 (.46)	.20 (.54)	.15 (.49)	.15 (.46)	.10 (.48)	.12 (.42)	.16 (.53)
middle class	.09 (.60)	.06 (.49)	.07 (.54)	.04 (.44)	.07 (.61)	.08 (.58)	.08 (.57)	.06 (.47)	.05 (.48)	.08 (.57)	.06 (.51)	.06 (.48)	.05 (.49)	.06 (.44)	.08 (.57)
manual workers	-.05 (.60)	-.07 (.47)	-.07 (.52)	-.07 (.45)	-.11 (.59)	-.11 (.60)	-.10 (.59)	-.06 (.48)	-.04 (.49)	-.07 (.58)	-.07 (.52)	-.05 (.50)	-.05 (.50)	-.04 (.44)	-.06 (.57)
non-workers	-.03 (.63)	-.02 (.48)	-.04 (.53)	-.02 (.45)	-.04 (.61)	-.04 (.60)	-.04 (.58)	-.03 (.48)	-.03 (.49)	-.06 (.59)	-.04 (.52)	-.04 (.50)	-.03 (.50)	-.04 (.44)	-.05 (.57)

Table 21: Regression on European identity with sociological dummy variables (Betas and variances) incl. optimally scaled Social Psychological variables

Reference categories	EB 17-1982	EB 19-1983	EB 33-1990	EB 35-1991	EB 36-1991	EB 37-1992	EB 40-1993	EB 43.1-1995	EB4 4.1-1995	EB 50.0-1998	EB 52.0-1999	EB 53-2000	EB 54.1-2000	EB 56.2-2001	EB 57.1-2002	
France																
	Belgium	-07	-06	NS	-03	-02	-04	-04	-03	NS	-02	-05	-05	-05	NS	
	Netherlands	-15	-09	-12	-15	-10	-08	-06	-09	-03	-06	-08	-06	-07	-08	
	West Germany	.08	NS	-10	-12	-07	-05	-02	-02	NS	-03	-06	NS	NS	-03	
	Italy	-03	-03	NS	-05	-03	NS	NS	NS	.03	.04	NS	.03	NS	NS	
	Luxembourg	.04	.02	NS	NS	NS	-02	NS	.02	.02	NS	-03	.03	NS	-04	
	Denmark	-07	-05	NS	-07	-06	-09	-09	-10	-05	-08	-07	-07	-04	-05	
	Rep. of Ireland	-12	-16	-11	-13	-10	-09	-09	-10	-07	-10	-13	-08	-11	-12	
	Great Britain	-11	-14	-10	-12	-08	-10	-08	-10	-06	-10	-14	-06	-12	-09	
	Northern Ireland	-07	-11	-05	-08	-05	-07	-04	-06	-02	-05	-05	-03	-03	-04	
	Greece	.04	NS	NS	-08	-06	-09	-13	-13	-09	-12	-14	-09	-11	-09	
	Spain	-	-	NS	.03	NS	-03	-05	-03	.02	.02	NS	.04	NS	NS	
	Portugal	-	-	NS	.03	-04	-04	-06	-06	-08	-08	-10	-08	-07	-06	
	East Germany	-	-	-	-08	-09	-08	-07	-05	-05	-06	-06	-03	-06	-05	
	Norway	-	-	-	NS	-03	Excl	-07	-07	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Finland	-	-	-	-	-	Excl	-08	-10	-04	-09	-09	-07	-08	-10	
	Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-09	-11	-05	-08	-09	-07	-04	-09	
	Austria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-10	-05	-03	-04	-09	-07	-05	-06	
Female	sex	NS	.03	.05	.04	.03	.05	.02	.04	NS	.02	.04	.03	.03	.02	
15-25 years	25-34 years	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-03	NS	-05	-04	-03	NS	NS	-04	
	35-44 years	.02	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-04	NS	-06	-04	-02	NS	NS	-04	
	45-54 years	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-03	-05	-03	-07	-06	-03	NS	-02	-05	
	55-64 years	NS	NS	NS	-02	-04	-06	-07	-07	-08	-07	-05	-04	-05	-07	
	65+ years	NS	NS	-03	-05	-08	-11	-13	-13	-14	-14	-12	-07	-10	-13	
Unemployed	Professionals	.03	.03	.06	.04	.02	.04	.04	.03	.05	.04	.05	NS	0.03	.03	
	Middle class	NS	NS	0.2	NS	NS	NS	.04	.02	.04	.04	.04	NS	NS	.03	
	Manual workers	NS	-05	-04	-04	-06	-06	-03	-05	-02	-04	-04	-04	-04	-02	
Added R2	R2 change	.06	.04	.04	.07	.03	.05	.04	.05	.04	.05	0.5	.04	.04	.04	

-= absent in the relevant EB
NS= not significant ($p=.05$)
from EB 35- EB 44.1 Germany is west Germany
From EB 50.0 Great Britain and Northern Ireland are taken together as United Kingdom
Excl: excluding from analyses due to absent data

Big changes:

Perceived movement, EB 40; Beta = .142

EB 52: National pride and perceived movement are not significant when sociological variables are included in the regression analyses.
EB56.2: perceived importance is not significant when sociological variables are included in the regression analyses.

Table 22: Results of T-tests with sociological variables of the Eurobarometer

	EB 17-1982	EB 19-1983	EB 33-1990	EB 35-1991	EB 36-1991	EB 37-1992	EB 40-1993	EB 43.1-1995	EB44.1-1995	EB 50.0-1998	EB 52.0-1999	EB53-2000	EB 54.1-2000	EB 56.2-2001	EB 57.1-2002
Early versus late members	.00 (t = -11.24; df = 11507)	.00 (t = -15.44; df = 9727)	.00 (t = -3.73; df = 1091)	.00 (t = -8.27; df = 11152)	.02 (t = -2.27; df = 10671)	.00 (t = -9.55; df = 10858)	.00 (t = -22.31; df = 10423)	.00 (t = -21.66; df = 10560)	.00 (t = 19.03; df = 10155)	.00 (t = 5.92; df = 9813)	.00 (t = 4.68; df = 9916)	.00 (t = 11.19; df = 3061)	.00 (t = -13.27; df = 3063)	.00 (t = -9.91; df = 12789)	.00 (t = -15.65; df = 13252)
Italians versus British	.00 (t = 12.08; df = 2425)	.00 (t = 13.9; df = 2012)	.00 (t = 12.35; df = 2027)	.00 (t = 15.45; df = 2035)	.00 (t = 11.99; df = 2136)	.00 (t = 11.68; df = 2047)	.00 (t = 16.98; df = 2067)	.00 (t = 16.11; df = 2071)	.00 (t = 15.44; df = 2084)	.00 (t = 6.76; df = 513)	.00 (t = 11.03; df = 1490)	.00 (t = 20.14; df = 2066)	.00 (t = 21.29; df = 2041)	.00 (t = 19.77; df = 1996)	.00 (t = 21.71; df = 1944)
Men versus women	.00 (t = 8.35; df = 11770)	.00 (t = 7.14; df = 9732)	.00 (t = 11.92; df = 11672)	.00 (t = 10.08; df = 13081)	.00 (t = 9.31; df = 14004)	.00 (t = 8.86; df = 14078)	.00 (t = 9.35; df = 15055)	.00 (t = 5.71; df = 17144)	.00 (t = 5.92; df = 17288)	.00 (t = 7.60; df = 16123)	.00 (t = 5.71; df = 5949)	.00 (t = 7.53; df = 15967)	.00 (t = 6.22; df = 16012)	.00 (t = 7.16; df = 15871)	.00 (t = 7.50; df = 15920)
15-24 versus 65+	.00 (t = 5.54; df = 2323)	NS	.00 (t = 8.65; df = 4038)	.00 (t = 6.73; df = 4184)	.00 (t = 9.83; df = 4831)	.00 (t = 13.67; df = 4565)	.00 (t = 13.39; df = 5125)	.00 (t = 17.38; df = 5627)	.00 (t = 19.68; df = 5596)	.00 (t = 20.24; df = 5286)	.00 (t = 16.90; df = 5330)	.00 (t = 17.10; df = 5252)	.00 (t = 14.98; df = 5266)	.00 (t = 13.50; df = 5469)	.00 (t = 16.51; df = 5481)
Professionals versus manual workers	.00 (t = 7.61; df = 661)	.00 (t = 9.01; df = 714)	.00 (t = 13.00; df = 1107)	.00 (t = 11.04; df = 1243)	.00 (t = 14.51; df = 1519)	.00 (t = 11.93; df = 1744)	.00 (t = 14.85; df = 1556)	.00 (t = 11.29; df = 2161)	.00 (t = 9.55; df = 1856)	.00 (t = 12.99; df = 2204)	.00 (t = 10.96; df = 1782)	.00 (t = 10.99; df = 1786)	.00 (t = 7.95; df = 1694)	.00 (t = 9.57; df = 1840)	.00 (t = 10.42; df = 2018)
Professionals versus non-workers	.00 (t = 7.54; df = 517)	.00 (t = 7.60; df = 5630)	.00 (t = 13.26; df = 765)	.00 (t = 9.62; df = 854)	.00 (t = 13.08; df = 1040)	.00 (t = 10.42; df = 1105)	.00 (t = 14.30; df = 931)	.00 (t = 11.35; df = 1339)	.00 (t = 10.08; df = 1196)	.00 (t = 14.33; df = 1398)	.00 (t = 10.82; df = 1165)	.00 (t = 11.09; df = 1167)	.00 (t = 7.36; df = 1147)	.00 (t = 10.93; df = 1198)	.00 (t = 10.56; df = 1275)

Table 23: GDP measures for various countries in the year 2000, source: Eurostat

	GDP
Eurozone	99.9
Belgium	106.4
Italy	101.3
Netherlands	110.7
Luxembourg	198.9
Denmark	115.5
Rep of Ireland	115.1
NB Great Britain (incl. Northern Ireland)	102.0
Greece	66.0
Spain	83.4
Portugal	70.4
Germany	102.0
Norway	147.0
Finland	104.1
Sweden	109.1
Austria	114.4

Countries above Eurozone level are indicated in bold.
 [N. B. Great Britain = England, Wales and Scotland; U. K. = Great Britain + N. Ireland.]

Table 24: Number of participants per country and per condition with percentages of totals

		Country in which experiment was performed							
		The Netherlands	UK	Italy	Spain	Germany	France	Total	
Manipulation condition	Control condition	21	22	23	25	26	21	138 (25%)	
	Self-efficacy condition	21	24	24	24	23	25	141 (25%)	
	Distinctiveness condition	23	23	24	25	23	23	141 (25%)	
	Continuity condition	24	24	24	24	23	24	143 (25%)	
Total		89 (16%)	93 (17%)	95 (17%)	98 (17%)	95 (17%)	93 (17%)	563	

Table 25: Pattern matrix of manipulation conditions

EU manipulation check variables	Component		
	1	2	3*
Capacity to act (self-efficacy)	.81	<.20	<.20
Facilitates actions (self-efficacy)	.83	<.20	<.20
Adds freedom (self-efficacy)	.75	<.20	<.20
Stable presence (continuity)	<.20	.74	.212
Strong continuity (continuity)	<.20	.78	<.20
Varies significantly (continuity)	<.20	.22	<.20
Unique entity (distinctiveness)	<.20	.538	.38
Another International Organisation (distinctiveness)	<.20	<.20	.79
Different International Organisation (distinctiveness)	<.20	<.20	.84

* Component three (3) has been transformed from negative to positive values. The absolute value of the component values remain the same, however, and therefore, should not be different from the real values.

Table 26: Means and standard deviations of EU identity per countries

EU identity	The Netherlands		UK	Italy	Spain	Germany	France
	N						
Mean	89	4.08	93	95	98	95	93
Standard deviation		.13	3.94	5.44	5.17	4.87	4.33
			.12	.12	.12	.12	.12

Table 27: Means and standard deviations of EU identity per gender and country

		The Netherlands	UK	Italy	Spain	Germany	France
Female gender	N	38	56	48	58	43	43
	Mean	3.95	4.00	5.56	5.46	4.74	4.22
	Standard deviation	.19	.16	.17	.16	.18	.18
Male gender	N	51	37	47	40	52	50
	Mean	4.18	3.85	5.31	4.75	4.98	4.42
	Standard deviation	.17	.19	.17	.19	.16	.17

Table 28: Results of ANOVAs (manipulation checks) – means and standard deviations

Dependent variable	Manipulation condition			
	Control condition	Self-efficacy condition	Distinctiveness condition	Continuity Condition
Number	138	141	141	143
Aggregate distinctiveness	Mean 4.85 Standard deviation 1.18	Mean 4.86 Standard deviation 1.10	Mean 5.35 Standard deviation 1.12	Mean 4.85 Standard deviation 1.15
Aggregate self-efficacy	Mean 4.66 Standard deviation 1.42	Mean 4.90 Standard deviation 1.37	Mean 4.72 Standard deviation 1.45	Mean 4.72 Standard deviation 1.33
Aggregate continuity	Mean 4.41 Standard deviation 1.06	Mean 4.70 Standard deviation 1.18	Mean 4.67 Standard deviation 1.30	Mean 4.86 Standard deviation 1.23

Table 29: Results of ANOVAs (manipulation checks) including only participants with congruent notes- means and standard deviations

Dependent variable	Manipulation condition			
	Control condition	Self-efficacy condition	Distinctiveness condition	Continuity condition
Number	137	101	101	50
Mean	4.85	4.92	5.35	4.85
Standard deviation	1.18	.96	1.04	1.16
Mean	4.67	4.88	4.76	4.84
Standard deviation	1.42	1.40	1.47	1.36
Mean	4.41	4.70	4.57	4.94
Standard deviation	1.06	1.15	1.37	1.01

Table 30: Means, and standard deviations of EU Identity per manipulation condition

EU Identity	Manipulation condition			Continuity Condition
	Control condition	Self-efficacy condition	Distinctiveness condition	
N	137	100	101	50
Mean	4.54	4.64	4.53	4.95
Standard deviation	1.33	1.20	1.45	1.16

Table 31: Betas and variance of regression models of European Union Identity with manipulation dummies, manipulation check variables, country dummies and sex

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Manipulation Self-efficacy	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Manipulation Distinctiveness	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Manipulation Continuity	.08*	.07*	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Aggregate Self-efficacy variable		.54**	.53**	.51**	.47**	.45**	.43**
Aggregate Continuity variable			.15**	.14**	.19**	.17**	.18**
Aggregate Distinctiveness variable				.08**	.09**	.08**	.07**
Italy					.25**	.27**	.32**
Spain						.13**	.17**
Germany							.14**
Explained variance	0%	29%	31%	31%	37%	39%	40%

* marginal significant ($p < .15$), ** significant ($p < .05$).

Table 32: Pattern Matrix of factor analysis with European manipulation check variables

	Component		
	1	2	3
EU - Capacity to act (self-efficacy)	.86	<.20	<.20
EU - Facilitates actions (self-efficacy)	.93	<.20	<.20
EU - Adds freedom (self-efficacy)	.78	<.20	<.20
EU - Strong continuity (continuity)	.70	<.20	<.20
EU - Different International Organisation (distinctiveness)	.70	<.20	<.20
EU - Stable presence (continuity)	<.20	.82	<.20
EU - Varies significantly (continuity)	<.20	.91	<.20
EU - Unique entity (distinctiveness)	<.20	.28	<.20
EU - Another International organisation (distinctiveness)	<.20	<.20	.89

Table 33: Pattern Matrix of factor analysis with Italian manipulation check variables

	Component		
	1	2	3*
IT- Capacity to act (self-efficacy)	.90	<.20	<.20
IT- Facilitates actions (self-efficacy)	.98	<.20	<.20
IT- Adds freedom (self-efficacy)	.74	<.20	<.20
IT - Strong continuity (continuity)	.55	.30	.32
IT - Unique entity (distinctiveness)	.33	<.20	.62
IT - Varies significantly (continuity)	<.20	.98	<.20
IT - Stable presence (continuity)	<.20	<.20	.97

* these component loadings are transformed from negative to positive component loadings

Table 34: Pattern Matrix of factor analysis with Italian typicality items

	Component	
	1	2
italia- DISPREZZATA	-.11	-.16
italia- POSITIVA	-.05	.40
italia- SGRAZIATA	.63	-.16
italia- PERFETTA	.06	.09
italia- SPIACEVOLE	.71	.22
italia- NEGATIVA	.60	.09
italia- APPREZZATA	-.22	.52
italia- AMMIRATA	.06	.44
italia- GUSTOSA	.01	.40
italia- PREGEVOLE	-.04	.71
italia- AGGRAZIATA	.10	.54
italia- SCREDITATA	.03	-.56
italia- SGRADEVOLE	.78	-.01
italia- REPELENTE	.76	-.04
italia- SPLENDIDA	-.080	.52
italia- IRRITANTE	.51	-.23
italia- SGARBATA	.53	.00
italia- APPREZZABILE	-.07	.46
italia- DISGUSTOSA	.78	-.09
italia- INCANTEVOLE	-.09	.45

Table 35: Pattern Matrix of factor analysis with EU typicality items

	Component	
	1	2
ue-DISPREGIATA	.24	-.54
ue-POSITIVA	-.23	.35
ue-SGRAZIATA	.74	.30
ue-PERFETTA	.10	.39
ue-SPIACEVOLE	.56	-.01
ue-NEGATIVA	.46	-.46
ue-APPREZZATA	-.33	.15
ue-AMMIRATA	-.03	.60
ue-GUSTOSA	.13	.60
ue-PREGIEVOLE	-.29	.64
ue-AGGRAZIATA	.18	.70
ue-SCREDITATA	.17	-.63
ue-SGRADEVOLE	.75	-.17
ue-REPELLENTE	.57	.07
ue-SPLENDIDA	.11	.62
ue-IRRITANTE	.75	.01
ue-SGARBATA	.75	.13
ue-APPREZZABILE	-.44	.11
ue-DISGUSTOSA	.78	.10
ue-INCANTEVOLE	.04	.77

Table 36: Significant main and interaction effects of Italian positive typicality and Italian negative typicality

Dependent variable (manipulation condition)	Italian positive typicality	Italian negative typicality	Interaction Italian pos en neg typicality
Italian flag prime - positive adj.	F (20,2)=16.39, p <.06*	ns	F (5,2)=24.92, p <.04**
IT word prime- positive adj.	F (20,2)=12.09, p <.08*	ns	F (5,2)= 19.66, p <.05**
IT word prime- negative adj.	F (20,2)= 16.71, p <.06*	ns	F (5,2)= 11.92, p <.08*
EU word prime- negative adj.	F (20,2)=67.60, p <.02**	F (22,2)=37.40, p <.03**	F (5,2)= 56.85, p <.02**
Neutral word prime- pos adj.	F (20,2)=10.77, p <.09*	Ns	F (5,2)= 19.57, p <.05**
Neutral word prime- neg. adj.	F (20,2)=40.89, p <.03**	F (22,2)=31.54, p <.04**	F (5,2)= 46.58, p <.03**
European flag prime- pos. adj.	ns	ns	F (5,2)= 10.20, p <.10*
Neutral flag prime- neg. adj.	ns	ns	F (5,2)= 10.68, p <.09*

*= marginally significant (p <.10) **= significant (p <.05)

Table 37: Significant main and interaction effects of EU positive typicality and EU negative typicality

Dependent variable (manipulation condition)	Italian positive typicality	Italian negative typicality	Interaction Italian positive neg typicality
European flag prime- pos. adj.	F (18, 4) = 7.62, p < .04	F (19, 4) = 7.815, p < .03	ns
European flag prime- neg. adj.	ns	F (19, 4) = 4.02, p < .10	ns
Italian flag prime- pos. adj.	F (18, 4) = 21.77, p < .01	F (19, 4) = 31.90, p < .002	F (6, 4) = 10.93, p < .02
Italian flag prime- neg. adj.	F (18, 4) = 5.21, p < .07	F (19, 4) = 8.27, p < .03	ns
Neutral flag prime- pos. adj.	F (18, 4) = 43.82, p < .001	F (19, 4) = 42.78, p < .001	F (6, 4) = 18.25, p < .01
Neutral flag prime- neg. adj.	F (18, 4) = 6.09, p < .05	F (19, 4) = 7.53, p < .03	ns
IT word prime -pos. adj.	F (18, 4) = 27.40, p < .01	F (19, 4) = 21.26, p < .01	F (6, 4) = 7.03, p < .04
IT word prime- neg. adj.	F (18, 4) = 14.36, p < .01	F (19, 4) = 20.19, p < .01	ns
EU word prime- pos. adj.	F (18, 4) = 5.23, p < .06	F (19, 4) = 9.36, p < .02	ns
EU word prime- neg. adj.	F (18, 4) = 31.18, p < .002	F (19, 4) = 38.21, p < .001	F (6, 4) = 13.00, p < .02
Neutral word prime- pos. adj.	F (18, 4) = 30.37, p < .002	F (19, 4) = 25.00, p < .01	F (6, 4) = 5.82, p < .06
Neutral word prime- neg. adj.	ns	F (19, 4) = 6.97, p < .04	ns

Table 38: Regression on reaction times (log) with various variables

	EU flag positive adjectives	Neutral flag positive adjectives	IT word positive adjectives	Italian word negative adjectives	Neutral word positive adjectives
EU self- efficacy	.41*	ns	ns	ns	.49**
Italian positive typicality	ns	.34*	.39*	.39**	ns
EU positive typicality	ns	.18	ns	ns	-.41*

*=significance .15; ** =significance .10; ns= not significant

Figure 1: Mean level of EU identity by country in which experiment was performed

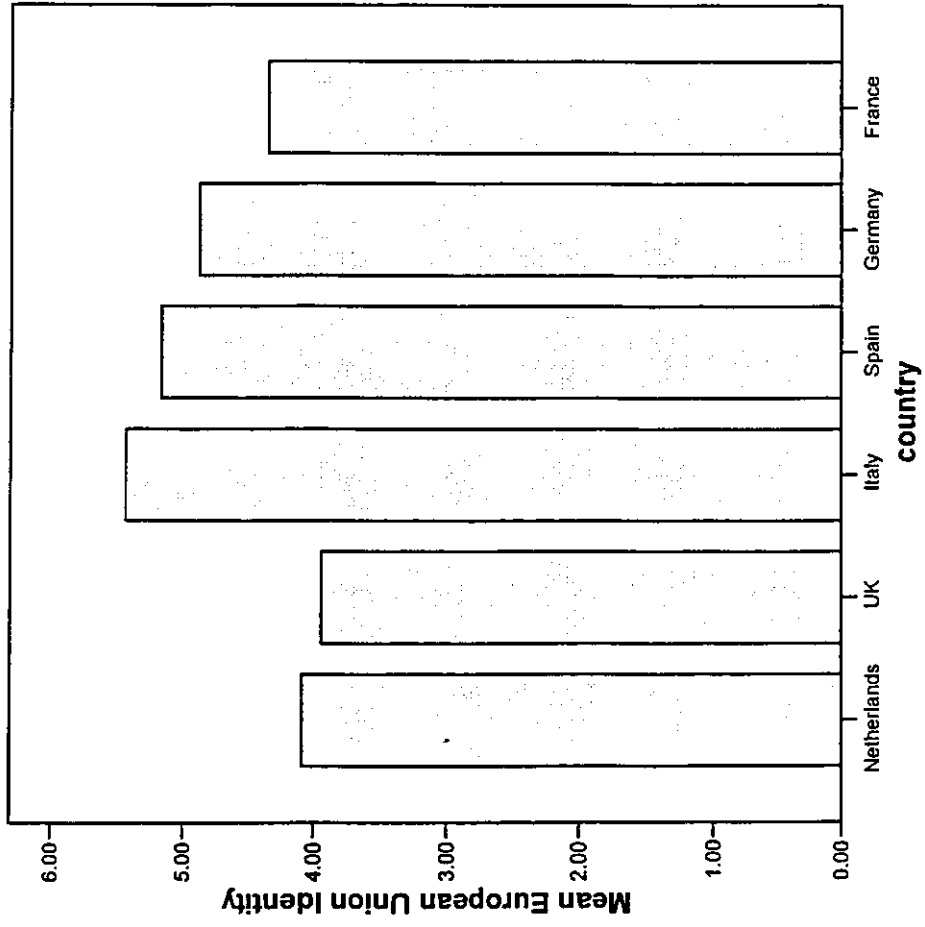


Figure 2: Mean level of EU identity by department

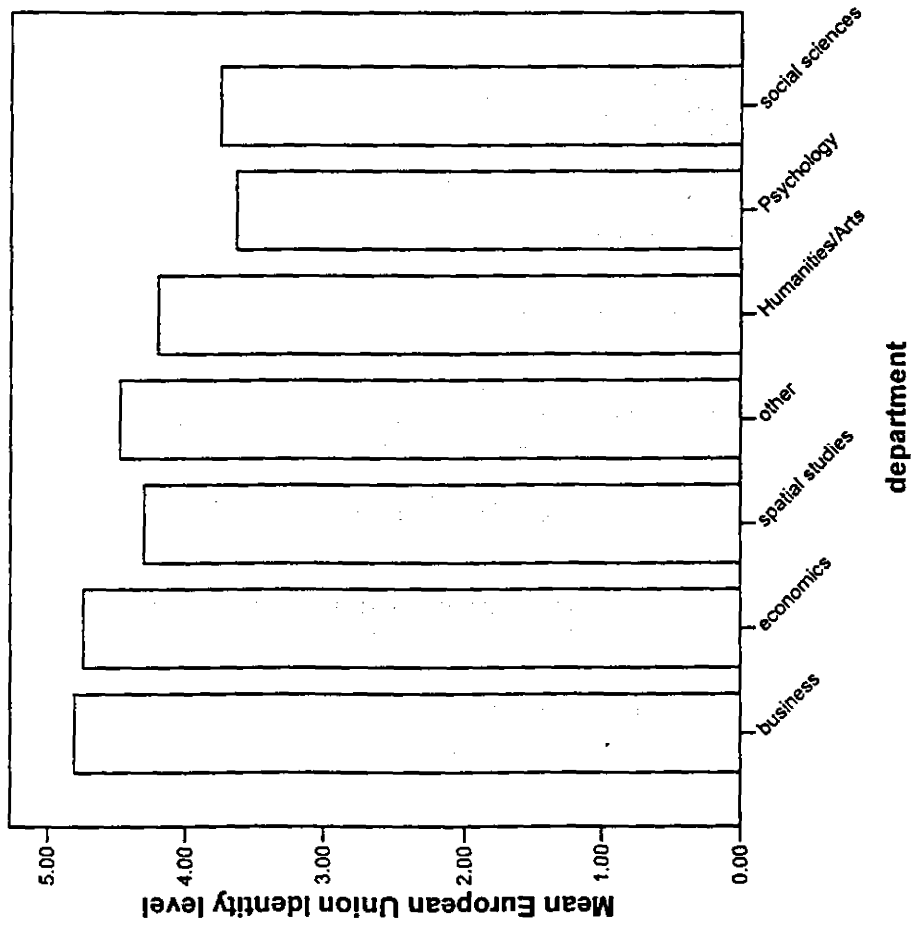


Figure 3: Number of participants in every department per country

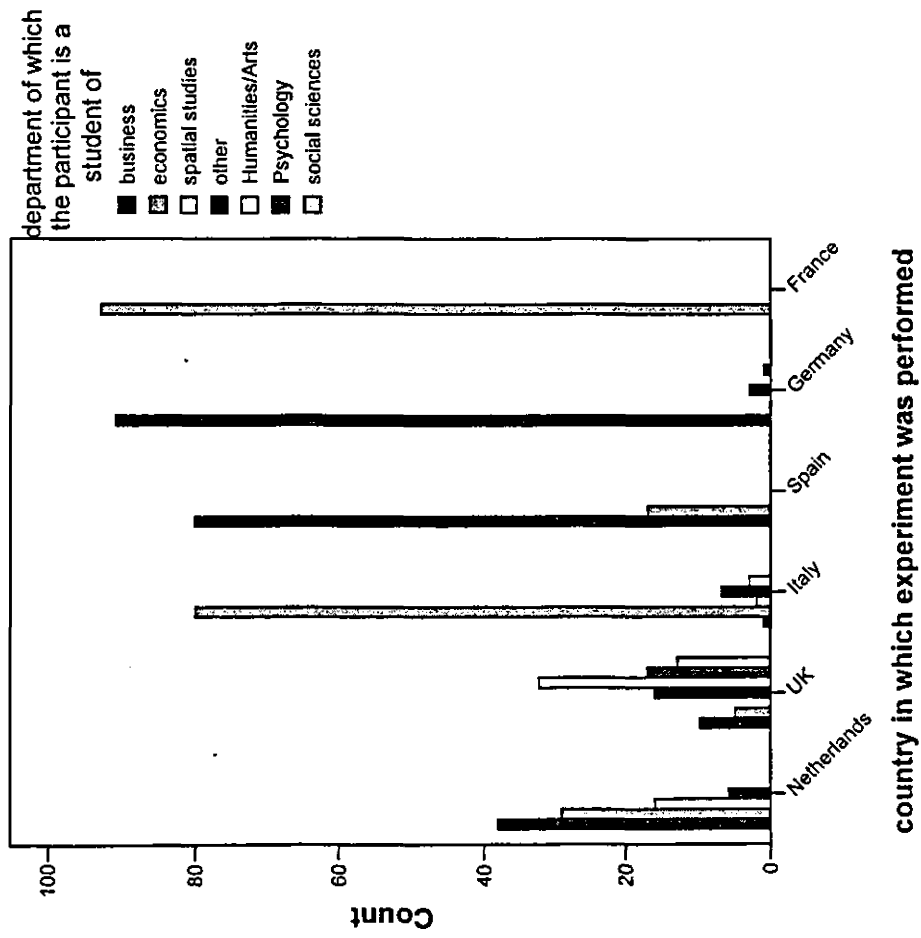


Figure 4: Mean level of EU identity by country and sex

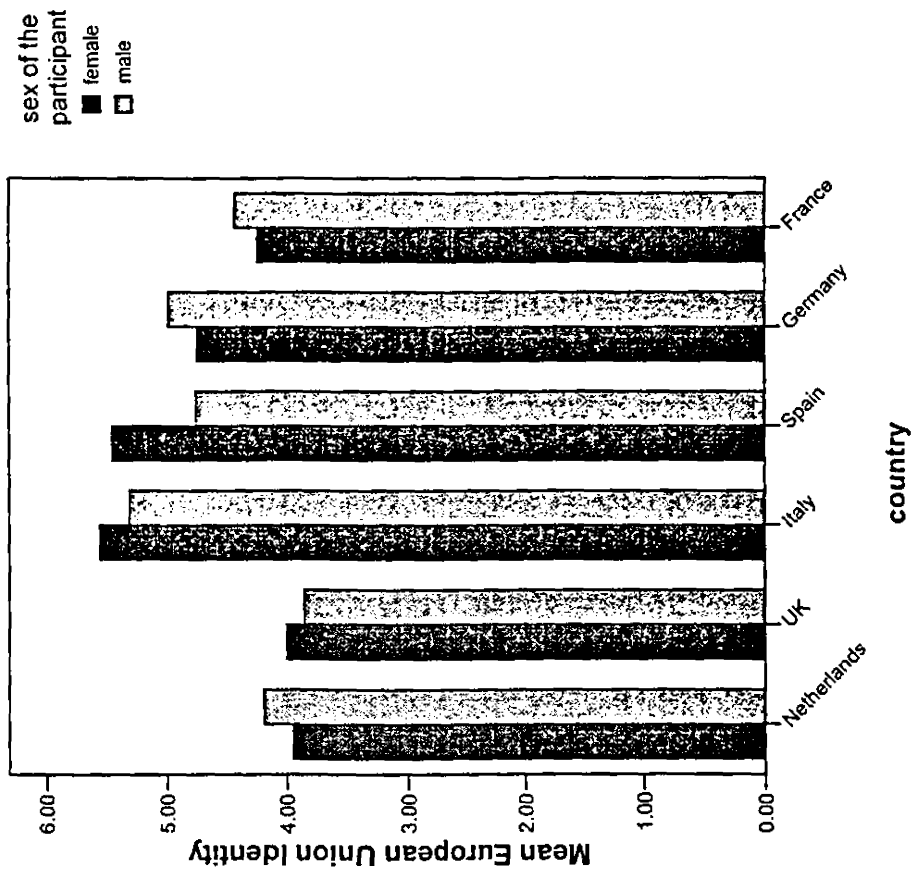
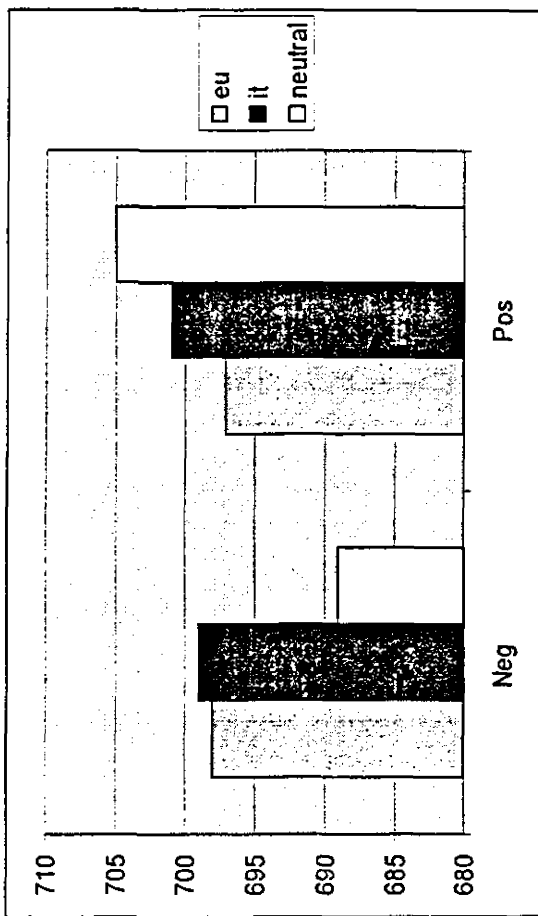


Figure 5: Means of reaction times per valence and content of prime



Graph Optimal Distinctiveness

