

**POLITICS OF COLLECTIVE BELONGING: LOYALTIES IN
THE EUROPEAN UNION**

A Dissertation

by

SIBEL MCGEE

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2005

Major Subject: Political Science

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ABSTRACT

Politics of Collective Belonging: Loyalties in
the European Union. (December 2005)

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Why do some citizens of the European Union feel indeed European and others do not? Although the officials of the European Union introduced many symbols and discourses of unity, empirical studies show that the development of a sense of belonging at the popular level is slow. This dissertation, by drawing upon the established social identity theories, takes the investigation back to basics. It develops a model consisting of the basic premises of the identity theories as well as factors deriving from national and individual contexts that condition individual experiences relating to the aforementioned premises. Rather than developing new theories, this work's contribution to the study of European identity is that the study presents as complete a model as possible based on the existing theoretical frameworks as a cross-sectional analysis. Doing so, it unifies the disconnected literature on the issue within a consistent theoretical logic and cross-validates the patterns found in 15 countries through a large N multivariate analysis based on the Eurobarometer 2000. Results yield that social identity theories are confirmed in the case of European identity except for external demarcation principle.

To my husband, Keith, for making this possible, and to my son, Eren, for just being his little self.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

We are not forming coalitions among states but union among peoples.

-Jean Monnet

Students of political science have long been preoccupied with questions of identity and political loyalty. In fact, the authority- identity- legitimacy triangle presents one of the oldest puzzles for political science. At issue is how to legitimize the governing power over the governed in order to ensure genuine popular support for the political system and compliance with the requirements of the authority without coercion through the use of force. Identity, indeed, holds the key for this task as it is the ultimate symbol of solidarity with a collectivity and loyalty to the authority that is exercised over that group.

Ethnic and racial identities as well as national identities are studied in their own right and are also seen as independent variables that significantly affect political outcomes across different political systems (e.g., Weber 1983; Katzenstein 1996). Social boundary formation that accompanies collective identities conditions how we perceive ourselves and form images of others. Identity frames our views of who we are and why and how we are different from 'others'. The definition of interest, perceptions of security, norms of proper treatment towards in-group and out-group members are all filtered through our understanding of where we stand and where we belong (Risse et al 1999; Katzenstein 1996; Keohane 1993; Mahant 1995; Jervis

1999). Based on these conceptions of self and ‘other’, the lenses through which everyday events as well as the historical episodes and future prospects are evaluated will change. This is because calculation of costs and benefits do not take place in a vacuum. In fact, individual and collective action “presupposes a normative context informed by multiple and collective identities” (Mayer and Palmowski 2004, 578). As such, the concept of identity offers compelling explanations for a range of diverse political phenomena.

For example, the link between foreign policy and national identity is confirmed in many studies. Public approval of use of force against culturally dissimilar nations is higher compared to culturally similar nations (Geva and Hanson 1999).¹ A similar case of in-group bias presents itself as European governments show favoritism towards refugees from culturally similar countries by granting them formal refugee status (Welsh 1993, 14). Threat perceptions are closely related to identity constructs. The same action realized by two different nations—one perceived as an ally and one perceived as an enemy—will lead to different perceptions of threat and yield different courses of national foreign policies (e.g., see Campbell 1992).² Even the regime type of a country can be affected by the social identities of its citizens. Those societies that harbor cross-cutting identities are more conducive to democratic processes (Lipset 1960; Lijphart 1977). Similarly, the British resistance to delegating a full-fledged control to the European Union has a lot to do with the historical British identity. Unlike Britain, German embrace of the EU has been

¹ The discourse of the Bush administration in the aftermath of 9/11 on ‘axis of evil’ is a recent illustration of identity informed foreign policy. Thus the nature of identities could be the very variable that determines whether one course of action prevails over the other.

² We often see foreign policy controversies between nations with an uneasy history where whether a military move is offensive or defensive is debated.

caused by deep identity concerns. The reluctance of the European Union states to admit Turkey into full membership, besides many alternative explanations, can be reasoned from an identity perspective. Can the experiment of the regional integration achieved within the EU be replicated in any other parts of the world? A compelling answer to this question can hardly avoid touching upon the identity issue.

Identity is also closely related to the possibility of social movements and collective action. As Cerulo puts it

Identities emerge and movements ensue because collectives consciously coordinate action; group members consciously develop offenses and defenses, consciously insulate, differentiate, and mark, cooperate and compete, persuade and coerce...[c]ollective agency includes a conscious sense of group as agent. Further, collective agency is enacted in a moral space. A collective pursues the freedom to be because that which frames the collective's identity defines their existence as right and good (1997, 393-394).

In some cases, identity, rather than an alternative angle, is one of *the* indispensable components of an explanation. For instance, Risse et al. (1999) argue that national decisions regarding the adoption of Euro cannot be reasoned alone by economic or geostrategic concerns. Identity politics, accordingly, played an important role in determining whether the adoption of Euro was a legitimate decision in light of national identity constructs and its relationship to a European self. Hooghe and Marks (2004) show that national identity rather than economic interests explain a greater part of the variance in support for European integration. Frogner (2002) argues that European elections are wrongfully categorized as 'second order

elections', for an identity perspective is able to explain electoral participation free of national elections.

There are more ordinary and 'close to home' type of situations where we encounter identity questions as well. Every time an individual applies for a job that requires a particular citizenship, his/her identity is at issue. The controversial question of why some countries' military force includes females and other countries' military force does not is related to the local (gender) identity discourses. What can be more about classifying individuals according to their identities than the visa requirements for different nationalities? In sum, the concept of identity serves as a powerful tool to make sense of things that happen around us, for it is no less than what forms the cognitive roots of nonrandom social and political behavior. Jenkins, referring to the significance of understanding identities, posits that identity is "the best device that I know for bringing together 'public issues' and 'private troubles' and encouraging us to use one to make sense of the other" (1996, 3).³

Perhaps owing to this strategic potential to color perceptions, claim loyalties, and mobilize masses, identities—despite the common misconception—are not formed on objective bases. Quite the reverse, collective identity formation is a historical process of social and political construction.⁴ Problematizing identities

³ Both the understanding of world politics and comparative politics may benefit from the identity studies. Neumann argues that the study of collective identity formation "offers a way of studying what the English school of international relations calls international society as an intersubjectively constituted structure of identities and interests which is endogamous and constitutive to the international system" (1996, 168). Furthermore, there is a link between international relations and comparative politics, one that benefits from understanding the interplay of local and national identities. For example, civil unrest in a country is often a result of unsettled ethnic identities. International wars are frequent ways to settle irreconcilable perceptions of capabilities and self-definitions. The question of wars among multi-ethnic nations can only be settled by studying the interplay of various identities.

⁴ This study largely agrees with the constructivist school of thought on identity politics. Accordingly, collective ideas as to belonging are socially constructed, and can and will change as a result of social

instead of treating them as givens of social/political life is necessary not only because identities are largely politicized, but also because no identity is inevitable. If we accept that it is reductionist to treat each cultural context as inevitably leading to a single and one identity construct, it becomes necessary to argue that there is more than one possible way of creating an identity discourse in every collectivity. Social and political actors develop discourses where they manipulate the salience and appeal of some dimensions over others suggesting different and often alternative definitions of who a collective is. By the same token, the target group has some say in the definition of the group, for ultimately an identity option is not internalized and assumed if the target group does not feel that such a definition is a genuine representation of their self-understanding. Identity is, then, a way of defining ourselves, a way of being defined as well as the interaction of the two. During this process of mutual bargaining, identities are not mute in the face of cost-benefit analyses. Both material and nonmaterial incentives deriving from alternative identities infiltrate into the evaluation of which identity one is likely to assume.

For example, the Native American consciousness in the US grew parallel to the “changing federal Indian policies, increased American ethnic politics and growing American Indian political activism” (Nagel 1995 as cited in Cerulo 1997, 390). Changing content of Scottish identity is another good example of this. As Ichijo (2002, 13-15) explains, close historical ties with Europe are recently re-discovered in Scottish discourse to differentiate Scots from the British with the rise of the Scottish national movement. Strong argues that the link between self and order evolved from the “human understanding that there is a choice to be made as to with whom and how

bargaining, political and historical negotiations, institutional and power structures and public policy-making.

one will live—that humans and human lives are and can be shaped by humans themselves” (1992, 9 as cited in Neumann 1996, 140). Thus, identities are no less than individual choices assumed as a result of tactical thinking and should be treated as such. In other words, identities are not to be taken for granted, rather they need to be explained before they can explain anything else.

Although it is national identities that have attracted the most attention from the students of political science, the recent trends of globalization and transnational social networking (in the form of social movements, multinational corporations, international organizations and the like) have expanded the process of social construction of identities below and beyond the nation-state level. It is well known that starting from the second half of the 20th century, nation-state as the leading unit of political organization has been experiencing challenges to its sovereignty from both below and above. Rosenau (1990) referring to the growing transnationalism argues that the nation-state is facing both a ‘micro’ and a ‘macro’ revolution in the way we organize politics. As subnational movements challenge the central states and dominant national identities, suprastate initiatives facilitate nation-states giving up their sovereignties to integrate their economies and societies. Both of these processes have clearly political as well as identity implications. These developments challenge the ability of the nation-state to be responsive directly and exclusively to its citizens. This, in turn, is bound to interrupt the bond between the citizens and the nation-states, a bond that once was thought to be in the exclusive monopoly of the nation-states. The decline of the nation-state is however not same as decline of nations Croucher (2003) argues that nations might imagine their self-understanding in ways

that are different from the past. But the imagining of nations *per se* does not change. In other words, contemplation of nations- although in different forms- is permanent.

The most prominent example of the suprastate initiatives is the case of the European Union (EU)⁵ where the process of regional integration has achieved an unprecedented success in establishing an extensive range of economic and political governance structures and in unifying disparate nations into a unique polity, making—perhaps for the first time—collective transnational identities a compelling alternative to regional, ethnic and national identities. When the EU was established as a means of handling peace and the German question, the founding fathers of the Union expected that the integration process started in the economic field would soon gain a dynamic of its own and ‘spill over’ into other fields leading to a federalist United States of Europe.⁶ This dominant neofunctionalist logic and preoccupation with the supranational politics to create an integrated market structure resulted in an opaque and complex bureaucratic giant that impacts everyday lives of Europeans without their direct consent. For decades, building economic and political institutions of Europe has prevailed over social integration of Europeans into a transnational community since European elites and government officials took Europeans’ support for new Europe for granted. The passive stand of the EU on transforming peoples’ thinking on identity was due to the expectation that the establishment of new institutions, joint policies, concerted actions, common experiences and increasing contacts/communications among the European people would inevitably result in European identity.

⁵ In this dissertation, the term EU is meant to cover all the preceding phases of the European integration process.

⁶ Haas (1958) is the most widely recognized source on the general link between neofunctionalism within the integration process and the transfer of loyalties.

Today the empirical evidence and public polls show that the European Union is slow in bringing about social/cultural integration at European level compared to its speed of integration in other realms. This is all the more alarming for the European Union as it proceeds through an ever closer unification of 25 member states. In addition to ‘widening’, the extent of ‘deepening’ requires coming to terms with the issue of a collective European identity.⁷ The initial predominance of the economic issues in the integration process has changed dramatically particularly after the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 (otherwise known as the Treaty on the European Union). The Maastricht Treaty not only officially announced the initiation of a political union among the member states, but also extended the jurisdiction of the European governance into the strategic domains. As more and more strategic competences are transferred from the nation-state to the EU, the process of *Europeanization* is not confined only to the economic unification of the EU countries. What the EU sets out to do is a reconfiguration of the loyalties of European citizens between various levels of governance. As such, the EU initiates an unprecedented process of transformation in mentalities and thinking of European people as to where they belong in relation to other Europeans as well as ‘non-Europeans’.

In fact, considering the extent of integration achieved, it would be a reductionist evaluation of the European Union to treat it as anything less than a social enterprise bringing previously disconnected individuals together to interact and form new images about each other. It is a force driving the evolution of a compelling and

⁷ In the literature of European studies, the ‘widening’ refers to the enlargement of the EU by accepting new member states. The ‘deepening’, on the other hand, is concerned with the strengthening of the institutional structures within the EU in a way to reinforce a more supranational (rather than intergovernmental) functioning.

uniquely 'European' way of life that is defined in opposition to non-European cultural constructs along with the associated values and norms. The complex effects of the EU policies on culture/identities can best be seen in the inevitable effect such policies are having on the definition of Europeans and non-Europeans. Within the EU such definitions lead to rise of hostility to non-European immigrants and electoral success of right-wing parties as well as regionalist movements.⁸ Hedetoft argues that the state of European Integration has transformed politics to an extent that it

impinge[s] in a serious way on traditional 'givens' of European politics, culture and identity: the nation state as the principle organizing unit of European modernity; territorial nationalism as the overriding and uncontested form of political allegiance and cultural belonging; the nature and number of boundaries; the character and implications of sovereignty; the dividing line between domestic and foreign policies and much more (1998, 1).

All these trends are important to understand as they answer many questions that deeply affect the broader social science studies: is the nation-state becoming obsolete? Are there other ways to organize politics beyond the familiar framework of nation-state to legitimately handle public policy and represent masses? Can the EU successfully disentangle territories and identities and offer a viable new locus of superordinate social identification? Should the EU be considered as a field of study for International Relations or Comparative Politics?

Following these trends, students of European integration began their efforts to explain European integration's identity forming consequences. Recently, there is a renewed sense of urgency to understand European identity as this new sense of

⁸The European unification process caused a revival of nationalism. The Heider government in Austria was a good example of the rise of extreme right-wing mentality in some of the member states.

Europeanness can be the very phenomenon that helps us understand the future process of institutionalization and integration. National decisions to adopt Euro or to join the Schengen zone, referenda results on joining the EU or on treaty ratifications are all affected by the formation of a collective sense of belonging at the European level. Particularly, the current constitutional crisis indicates the role of European identity in motivating or curtailing a new wave of deepening in the EU. In other words, evolving European identity is taking on a life of its own, acting as an independent variable explaining cognitive sources of new political developments and policies within the EU. The identity issue has become a mutually reinforcing two-lane process with dynamics that challenge the comfortable sets of assumptions of European politics and national cultures.

This study presents a theoretical framework that draws upon the existing theories of Social Identity and Multiple Identities with the goal of comparatively investigating the sources of collective identity within the European Union as it pertains to the individual variation in the member states of the level of European identity relative to national identities.⁹ It tests the empirical data from the Eurobarometer survey to see whether the patterns suggested by the established Identity Theories hold in the case of European Identity as a form of social identity. Thus, the following research question dominates this dissertation: what are the sources of the adherence to national and European identities in the European Union?

There is a theoretical and a substantive reason for the choice of European identity to study as a particular instance of identity: Theoretically, collective

⁹ Although European identity—in addition to a popular sense of belonging to the EU— can be understood as the institutional identity of the EU as it relates to the other states as well as transnational institutions in an international system, it is the former that is what this study aims at understanding.

European identity suggests an interesting opportunity to unpack the concept of identity, not only because formation of a sense of belonging in the European Union is still an ongoing process, but also because European identity as a form of transnational social identity has not been systematically investigated. What causes the variation among Europeans to feel attached to the EU as a political entity remains as an inadequately studied question. In fact, there is a general scarcity of investigation on the issue of identity not only in cohesive conceptual terms, but also in the empirical sense in European studies. Many studies on European identity rely on haphazardly formed single hypotheses without the cohesive framework of a unifying theoretical logic. Some studies (e.g., Inglehart 1970) evaluate European identity at superficial levels, forgetting identity is a sociological concept and identity-related processes are conditioned by social relations. Others only use partial theories to highlight particular aspects of European identity. Thus, by bringing the insights of a cohesive theoretical framework, I aim to improve our theoretical understanding of European identity and do so through as coherent and complete a model as possible.

As mentioned earlier, study of European identity also suffers from inadequate empirical validation. The majority of the conclusions rely on single country studies or a comparative case study of few countries.¹⁰ Although in many single case studies, different identities below and above the respective nation-state are evaluated, the patterns within a single nation are not likely to hold across the EU. Furthermore, many studies rely on descriptive and correlative relationships that cannot claim to

¹⁰ I do not intend to challenge the logic of single or comparative case study here. However, it is well established in the literature that there is a widespread variation within the EU countries in terms of willingness to identify with the EU, possibly pointing to the diverse national contexts affecting perceptions of the EU. As such, research on the European identity needs the cross-validation of analysis across all the EU member states.

test robustly significance of various factors for European identity. Thus, although I do not design new theories of identity, I intend to make a contribution to the study of the European identity by uniting existing theories and testing their logic in a complex and sophisticated model across the EU.

Substantively, understanding the peculiarities of this identity, along with the conditions that trigger its development, is significant for two reasons: firstly, applicability of integration models to other parts of the world where we see regional trading blocks (such as Mercosur- the common market of South America's southern cone) may promise [re]construction of social identities and broader cultures in ways that can unite and harmonize people who previously could not transcend historical prejudices, ethnic stereotypes and nationalistic conflicts. The European integration process is concerned with the role of the EU institutions and social interactions as a means of reorienting images and *weltanschauung*¹¹ in a peaceful way to form and sustain new forms of solidarity among war-torn people. Without the experience of the European integration, the current state of German-French cooperation and understanding would be beyond any imagination. In fact, some scholars argue that the European Union provides the biggest evidence for one of the most compelling research programs in political science known as 'democratic peace'.

Secondly, understanding this new identity is significant for Europe and its future itself. The issue of a collective European identity goes to the heart of the legitimacy of the European Union revealing the limits of integration. There is an extensive literature about the problem of "democratic deficit" in the EU. In this literature, it is well established that the genuine attachment of Europeans to the EU is

¹¹ Weltanschauung: world-view, my translation.

a prerequisite for the success of increasingly supranational policies that often have nation-state transcending implications. Without such durable allegiance from European citizens, the legitimacy and the democraticness of the EU will remain in question. As Bellier and Wilson argue “the building of the EU is not only a process of harmonization and integration, but one of legitimization, in which the structures and aims of the EU must find approval and meaning among its people” (2000, 15). Thus, understanding the sources of a sense of belonging at the European level will have policy implications for advancing this identity by rendering the EU more relevant and useful to the everyday social experiences of its citizens.

With these reasons in mind, in chapter II, I introduce a detailed introduction to the issue of European identity by discussing the reasons behind the recent popularity of European identity studies. As a form of an individual sense of belonging, European identity gained its current significance because of several factors ranging from the controversial Maastricht Treaty, extending jurisdiction of the EU, legitimacy problems of the EU and the end of Cold War. I also present a brief case for possible different meanings of European identity to clarify the issue that different discourses evoke these different identity understandings. I focus on a more modern understanding of the concept of European identity that is a result of the unification process within the EU rather than one imagined on historical/ethnic terms. After reviewing the EU’s own efforts to create a European consciousness and the obstacles in the way of such a collective sense of belonging to a European collective, I also revisit selected works from previous literature highlighting main findings, showing that empirical and systematic analyses of the topic have been inadequate. The main purpose of the chapter II is to appreciate the significance of the

issue of European identity for the broader project of building a genuine Union in Europe and to prepare a context to situate the discussions of substantive qualities and conditions of identity formation within the EU.

In chapter III, I present my case with regard to the prospects of a European identity in the framework of social psychological theories. Even though the symbols and other strategies used by the European policy makers can serve to increase the recognition of the EU among ordinary citizens, they, alone, cannot guarantee the emergence of a compelling and genuine popular attachment to the political system of Europe. If European identity is to be a compelling self-conceptualization, it should not be seen as a case of *Fremdzuschreibung* imposed on the EU citizens by the elites, but as a subjective sense of self internalized by the EU citizens; hence as a case of *Selbstzuschreibung* (Lessar 2000, 2 as cited by Edwards 2003, 9)¹². With this conviction, I introduce main principles of the established Social Identity and Nested Identity theories and apply them to the case of European identity. Drawing on these theories, I expect that individuals identify with only those groups that they hold a positive image of and are empowered by and have affect for. I also discuss the social demarcation process inherent in every social identity formation within the context of the EU. The constraints on one's ability to socially relate to and experience the EU are conceptualized both at national and individual levels. Accordingly, national and individual contexts both condition an EU citizen's perception of the EU as the opportunity structures and meaning of the EU changes depending on the configurations of individual and national characteristics.

¹² *Fremdzuschreibung*: imposed on by others; *Selbstzuschreibung*: self-imposed/ self-adopted, my translation.

In chapter IV, I present the specific model of European identity derived from social identity theories discussed in chapter III and explain the respective propositions. I test some of these propositions through a Multinomial Regression based on data majority of which are compiled from Eurobarometer 53 (2000), deferring those components of the theory that the data availability prevents me from testing at the time being to future research.

Finally, in chapter V, I offer some conclusions based on the most important findings of the empirical analysis and discuss the implications of these results for the future prospects of European integration process. I pay some attention to the current constitutional crisis the EU is facing and the inherent link between an EU Constitution and the collective that such constitution is expected to represent. I also present some suggestions for future research in consciousness of the issues that are not covered in this study and could enhance our understanding of the evolving European identity.

CHAPTER II

EUROPEAN IDENTITY

Europe is a useful and vague expression, designating an amalgam of countries and groupings that are essentially diverse, encircled by the shifting framework of a peninsula with neither geographical nor historical boundaries.

-J. Bardoux, 'Diversite de l'Europe', *L'Europe*'en, 29 April 1931, pp.1-2, as cited by Deschamps (2002, 93).

Remained as a dormant issue for decades, European identity has recently become a popular topic both in the governing and academic circles. European elites focus their explicit efforts to connect with their citizens while scholars try to understand this newly evolving identity and its peculiarities. Since this newly evolving identity does not develop in a vacuum, in this chapter, I present a detailed introduction to the issue by firstly discussing the reasons behind the recent popularity of the topic. I also present a brief case for different meanings of European identity siding with a more modern (civic and universalist) understanding of the concept rather than one that is based on a discourse of common historical and cultural/religious traditions of European nations. After reviewing the EU's own efforts to create a European consciousness and the related obstacles, I also revisit selected works from previous literature highlighting main findings, and contend that empirical and systematic analyses of the topic have been inadequate. These discussions will help me situate the issue at hand in its proper context and explore the genesis and development of a new collective identity at the European level.

Before, however, proceeding with the phenomenon of European identity, a logical place to begin the discussion is to clarify what I mean by identity and why it is important to understand the implications of identity for political/social life. Identity is a way of categorizing ourselves as to where we fit in the social environment that surrounds us. Accordingly, one deems oneself as part of a group because one is similar (perhaps identical) to others comprising that group and precisely because one is different from those who are considered unfit in that particular group. Jenkins posits that “social identity is a characteristic or property of humans as social beings” (1996, 3). Identity is that through which our existence gains meaning in relation to others. Precisely because of its meaning constructing implication, Jenkins argues that identities cannot be anything but social for meaning is not just out there. It is “always the outcome of agreement or disagreement, always a matter of convention and innovation, always to some extent shared, always to some extent negotiable” (1996, 4), hence “social identity, is, therefore, no more essential than meaning; it too is the product of agreement and disagreement, it too is negotiable” (1996, 5).

Identity as a concept is both dependent on and prior to many things that we are involved in our everyday lives and social relations. It is dependent on the outside stimuli such as social relations, interactions with others, communicative processes, negotiations and power relations. Identity is not inevitable, automatic or given but a consequence of the combination of the influences of these processes. It is through aforementioned social processes that identities are formed and subsequently changed, revised and transformed. Identities are also prior to many things in the sense that our evaluation of our environment, others, others’ actions and intentions, our own actions and the way we justify our actions to ourselves are deeply embedded in our

identity constructs. As such, identities are both to be explained and to explain.

Identities, however, need to be explained before they explain.

It is with these justifications in mind that I indulge into the task of understanding European identity. I believe that identity perceptions of the member states explain many things about the inner functioning of the European Union while giving many hints of the possible limits and prospects of the Europe of the EU. Before making use of this potential that European identity has in terms of shedding light on the social and political imagining of Europe and the particular shape its institutional and practical functioning attains, one needs to explicate the process by which this identity comes into being and evolves. For precisely what makes this identity an appealing means of self- and collective definition holds the key to understanding what determines its persistence or disappearance. Once we know the latter, we will gain a renewed insight into the current shape of the EU and attain a greater predictive power as to what the future holds for the EU.

Why Did European Identity Become a Priority in European Debates?

European identity, officially suggested first by the “Copenhagen Declaration on European identity” (passed by the Council of Ministers) of 1973, has long been perceived in terms of the external political identity of the EU. The international crises of failure of Bretton-Woods system and rising oil prices brought the political identity of the EU into the fore (Strath 2002, 388-389). Extended debates on the matter focused only on the relationship of the EU to other international organizations and how this configuration affected the broader international relations under the hegemony of the US. This debate produced two camps known as the “Atlanticist” and the “Europeanist” camps. At issue was whether the EU should become an

independent actor in international relations that can suggest policies in pursuance of its own interests and back such policies with its own military capabilities without the dominant role of the US. The tendency to treat European identity as only the institutional image of EU in world affairs has also been reflected in the lack of primacy given to the issues of identity in the context of cultural integration in European studies. This was partly because of the visible predominance of the economic mentality driving the integration process until the 1990s.

As a form of collective identity, European identity has come to the fore of agendas only in recent years particularly during the early 1990s where both the EU and the broader Europe went through some major transformations. A review of these developments will clarify the reasons for the current significance of identity issues in Europe's future.

Extending Jurisdiction of the EU and the Predicament of European Democracy

The first and foremost cause for the urgency of identity issues in the EU emerged following the controversial ratification of the Treaty on the European Union (also known as the Maastricht Treaty of 1992). With the Maastricht Treaty, European venture targeted non-economic goals. As the original logic of the European integration—economic unification and prosperity—gave way to the achievement of political and social goals, the Union has begun to turn into a *political* structure of governance with jurisdiction in many more realms. The identity issue as an indispensable part of this metamorphosis emerged as a daunting challenge for European leaders and policy makers. Public objections (most pronounced in the cases of Denmark and France) to the Maastricht Treaty indicated a lack of public sentiment of Europeanness that had been taken for granted by optimistic European elites for

decades. Heated national debates on the direction and pace of the integration process indicated that delegation of national sovereignty in non-economic fields to the EU would not be easy. European leaders realized that they need to find a way to render the EU more appealing to the public in a sentimental sense. What is lacking was an emotional bond between the EU and its citizens.

In fact, the extending jurisdiction of the Union exacerbated some of the deeper deficiencies in the nature of the EU. As the Amsterdam Treaty of 1998 further impinged upon the well-known legitimacy crisis of the EU (by claiming jurisdiction in more vital fields of governance) a surge in attention to the question of European identity became inevitable.

This was, indeed, the beginning of an era where policy makers could not ignore the sensitive issue of collective identities in the process of Europeanization. At the end of this process, European publics clearly emerged as a significant “veto player” (Tsebelis 2002) in European governance that need to be taken into account if national policy makers desire to be reelected, if not for the sake of rendering the EU more democratic. It became evident that European governance cannot rely only on “permissive consensus” (Lindberg and Scheingold 1970) anymore, and needs to also gain some ‘legitimacy’ in the eyes of those affected by the EU.¹³ Lagroye (1985, as cited in Belot and Smith 1988, 83) who introduced the dichotomy between *consensus* and *legitimacy* differentiates these two concepts by arguing that while the former

¹³Expanding competence of the EU also points to the necessity of supranational decision-making. As more and more issues are decided at the Union level by majority voting, the EU becomes a polity with full rights of direct governance and effect. This has clear implications in terms of the necessity of a collective identity at the European level. In such a polity where national governments might have to implement policies that they couldn't stop, the legitimacy of the policies made cannot be guaranteed unless there is a perception of other member states as part of the “we” group. As a result, any policy that results from the European governance that is not seen as “our government” is bound to be seen illegitimate.

relies on utilitarian calculation of the advantages of a political system, the latter requires a normative evaluation of the social value of institutions. If the EU is to be more than an integrated market, economic benefits alone can evidently not generate public support for the ambitious goal of a political union among Europe's peoples (Habermas 2001, 8). As European integration moves into the realm of controversial matters and high politics only a genuine commitment of fellow Europeans to the EU's political system and a common solidarity of a we-feeling can provide grounds to value long-term rewards rather than immediate self-interest. To put it differently, any kind of "specific support" (Easton 1963, 390-395) that Europeans have for the EU due to its effect on economic well-being is not sufficient to save the EU from a possible crisis if the EU policies fail to endure positive economic outputs (Obradovic 1996, 193).

The problem gets even more diversified when one notes the fact that even if the EU can sustain policy success in economic fields, the challenge of extending EU competence for national sovereignty is a reality. For many, this challenge raises deeper anxieties as to the loss of national identity and culture regardless of the state of economic advantages. Accepting and approving formation of a polity where previously distinct nationalities are considered fellow citizens raises issues deeper than pure economic advantages.

A legitimate political system can, on the other hand, rely on the continuous support of its citizens even in the absence of policy satisfaction owing to its intrinsic nature as an expression of the respective society's values, norms and its members' commitment to each others' and the broader group's welfare (Obradovic 1996). A genuine 'legitimacy' would, thus, grant immunity to the EU from such crises as

citizen's logic of evaluation is not confined to the economic services of the EU. Rather what they see in the EU, in addition to its economic benefits, would be its value as a means of ensuring common norms, values and social definitions. As such Obradovic argues what is at stake is not always whether the EU's policies are acceptable *per se*, but whether "the redefinition of political boundaries in Europe or, in the words of Anderson and Eliassen (1993), Europeification of decision-making, where the European, not the national, political system becomes the unit of policy process" (1996, 207-208) is justifiable.

The legitimacy crisis of the EU is reflected upon differently by different scholars. A widely-held view is that the EU lacks legitimacy because of low levels of European identity. Many argue that this has to do with the lack of a perception of the EU as an "appropriate sphere for politics" (Banchoff and Smith 1999, 1)¹⁴. Belot and Smith argue that the lack of popular identification with the EU is due to, "popular incapacity and/or resistance to identify with a set of norms, institutions and values presented as product of Brussels" (1988, 83). This is where the collective identity comes into the picture. According to Obradovic "legitimacy is achieved when the government process displays a commitment to and actively guarantees values that are part of the particular national identity, i.e. of the general political culture of the people" (1996, 195). Thus, legitimacy is a product of the perception that the governing authority reflects and represents the people. In other words, the government is of the people and for the people. Lack of a collective identification

¹⁴ Banchoff argues that "to the extent that people identify with the political institutions or processes that affect their lives-that they recognize them as appropriate and consider them theirs- they endow them with legitimacy" (1999, 184).

among Europeans evidently compromises any chances of a popular perception of the EU as ‘our government’ and the European collectivity as ‘our polity’.

The legitimacy question is also about whether the policy outputs that improve individuals’ lives alone are sufficient to generate a sense of legitimacy without the procedural legitimacy. ‘Democratic deficiency’ in the functioning of the EU is cited as a major problem in the way of a legitimate political Union at the European level. Increasing use of majority rule in decision-making requires a sense of community (Schild 2001, 335). In addition to majority rule, supremacy of Union law in many areas over member states’ domestic law requires public involvement on issues resolved at the European level if the EU governance is to be perceived as democratic. If the European law is perceived to be deriving from the cold hands of Eurocrats without any accountability to the citizens over which it will rule, the direct effect of these laws will be seen as illegitimate as they overrule the national laws that are made legitimately.

In this context, a democratic public sphere (*demokratische öffentlichkeit*) and an open discussion of European issues with a ‘European’ point of view seems essential (Risse and Steeg 2003). Ensuring the democratic debate among the public renders the policy making at the EU level more accountable and legitimate. It reinforces and strengthens the emerging collective identity among Europeans. It is also a vote of confidence resulting from the rightness of the procedure that attributes legitimacy to the Union even at times when it cannot deliver expected benefits to the European citizens or secure an even distribution of such benefits along national lines. In other words, procedural legitimacy is also essential to ensure compliance to unpopular policies.

It is not possible, however, to deny that Europeans are still not an integral part of everyday functioning of the EU. The overwhelmingly bureaucratic nature of the EU hinders ordinary public's ability to reach Europe and socially experience it. In addition to the complexity of the bureaucratic structures and Brussels' treaty lingo whereby Europeans lose track of their rights and representatives, issues the EU is focusing on seem to diverge from what the majority of Europeans want the EU to resolve—that is, genuine challenges Europe is facing such as “war and peace, unemployment, and crime” (Edwards 2000, 67).

This increasing gap between the governed and the government is also illustrated by a lack of public enthusiasm shown for more traditional ways of public participation in governance. Direct elections to the European Parliament consistently attract lower turnout rates than local and national elections. The situation led to the naming of European elections as “second order elections” in electoral studies, for party choices as well as campaign issues cannot be distinguished from national elections (Reif 1984). Such democratic deficiencies cannot be mediated by citizen initiatives (such as social movements), either. Rarity of social movements across the EU is a well-established fact. This is not surprising as the polity forming function of identity is best seen in increasing ability of collective action (Schneider 1993, 267).

Although collective identification with the EU is the major part of European legitimacy that I am concerned with here, the democratic deficit is both partly responsible for the lack of public attachment to the EU and is caused by lack of such sentiment. In fact, these two elements of legitimacy are interrelated, as lack of accountability and representation would take away a major credential of any political system as an effective sphere of politics and discourage affective attachment.

Similarly, lack of Europe-wide debates and movements makes it easy for European governments to avoid accountability and get away with deficiencies in the representation.

Kelman argues that “a modern nation-state’s legitimacy depends on the extent to which the population perceives the regime as (a) reflecting its ethnic and cultural identity, and (b) meeting its needs and interests” (as cited in Tajfel 1970, 131). If the same goes for any modern structure of governance, the EU’s legitimacy needs to rely on more than just the successful economic legacy that the EU policies have. Hence, today, collective identity formation in the EU context accompanied by successful cultural integration of distinct European societies is seen as a prerequisite to the construction of a genuine political union (Garcia 1993, 2) as well as attainment of a more durable public support (in the form of legitimacy) for such a Union. As Bellier and Wilson maintain “the building of the EU is not only a process of harmonization and integration, but one of legitimization in which the structures, and aims of the EU must find approval and meaning among its peoples” (2000, 15). Thus the legitimacy of the EU is going to be an enduring problem for the new European polity in the absence of a European identity and democracy (Hrbek 1995; Obradovic 1996).¹⁵

¹⁵ This point is not without its critiques. Banchoff and Smith (1999, 1-15), for instance, argue that popular attitudes and extent of democracy in the functioning of the EU alone does not suffice to evaluate whether there is indeed a legitimacy crisis in the EU. As a multilevel polity where both national and European level institutions interact, the EU, they argue, developed many novel forms of representation. Even though popular identification with the EU is low, Europeans have come to perceive the EU as an appropriate arena for politics supplementing their nation-states and regional institutions. Even though this line of argument unpacks the legitimacy issue and points to the neglected aspects of public-EU interaction along with their potential for a new kind of legitimacy, it does not-if the claim is that EU still serves as a valuable platform for politics by providing alternative channels of representation and participation- directly inquire about the relationship between legitimacy and the public identification, or more directly, it does not wonder why despite these compensating developments in the European politics, public identification is still low.

The End of the Cold War and the Need to Draw Social Boundaries of Europe

Another reason for the urgency of identity issues in European integration is the end of the Cold War. The collapse of the ‘iron curtain’ allowed many new forms of identities to emerge or resurface. This era also marked the end of a comfortable era for European identity. As a result of the increasing freedom of movement, the migration flows into the prosperous zone of the EU has increased since the 1990s. Immigrants and *gastarbeiters*¹⁶ from non-EU countries have come to challenge the preexisting- and relatively unified- image of Europe.

There was, however, a more challenging development in Europe that unraveled the clear boundaries of ‘we’ vs. ‘them’ dichotomy. Freed from the two-block politics, Central and Eastern European countries gained an opportunity for the first time to ‘return to Europe’. Many countries of formerly communist Europe expressed their intent to join the EU with the claims of common heritage despite the artificial dividing lines in place throughout the Cold War period. The unproblematic social boundaries of the Cold War were obsolete to demarcate European from nonEuropean both within and without the geographical Europe. Hence, the issue of who belonged in Europe and who did not became a question that needed to be readdressed.¹⁷ This is due to the fact that the answer is not so much in geographical

¹⁶ Gastarbeiters are guest-workers that were invited to Germany from other European and non-European countries as labor force needed to rebuild Germany after the damages of WWII. Initially this labor force was assumed to be temporary, hence the name *guest-worker*. However, as these guest-workers brought their families into Germany from their home countries, bought properties and land and raised their children in Germany, their presence proved to be a permanent (no matter how much resented) part of the German society. In light of current negative fertility rate in Germany, guestworkers seem to have even more reason to settle in Germany and consider it as their second homes. Parallel to these developments, there has been an increasingly active political discourse in Germany trying to integrate guestworkers into the German society and politically mobilize these marginalized groups for their votes.

¹⁷ This adjustment, though, proved not very difficult. Most of the Central and Eastern European countries were deemed to fit the definition of ‘European’ more than the minorities who have been living in the EU zone for years as permanent residents. For example, *Gastarbeiters*’ children who

or historical realities per se, but more about what kind of a Europe Europeans contemplate.

The end of the Cold War also unraveled to a considerable extent the post-World War II (WWII) security alliance between Western Europe and the USA, as the strategic interests of the EU and the ‘lone superpower’ seem to increasingly diverge. In addition to diverging interests, Europe and the US seem to follow different philosophies to justify their courses of action as a sign of different ways of life and identities (Keohane 2002).¹⁸ For an EU that aspires to be a true political union, the necessity of establishing an independent military capability that ensures political and military autonomy is self-evident. A viable European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) requires a unified stand on issues of high politics and the ability for concerted action, conditions that cannot be met without a strong European identity. If national identities affect how nations see their interests, a collective European identity can shape in the same way member states’ perceptions of “legitimate and appropriate interests” (Risse et al. 1999)¹⁹ and prepare the ground for collective action.²⁰ The kinds of threats Europe is currently facing -civil conflicts and terrorism- require willingness of Europeans to die for the Union (along with citizens of the Union who were previously citizens of other countries) and what it stands for. Are

were born and raised in Germany still have a harder time in becoming a German citizen than those ethnic Germans who have lived all their lives in ex-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as Russia with no ability to speak German or no affinity to the German way of life.

¹⁸ For a detailed account of this unraveling and the differences between the EU and United States in terms of conceptions of sovereignty as basis for such drifting see Keohane (2002).

¹⁹ Risse et al. (1999) argue that the nation-state identities in Germany, Britain and France shaped different perceptions of interest with regard to euro in these countries.

²⁰ Loth (2000) posits that even “the ability to act within an international arena presupposes a corresponding consciousness of collective identity” (19). The pronounced low turnout in European elections can, Frogner (2002, 43-58) argues, be explained by a lack of collective consciousness and identification with the European level structures. Theoretical roots of this finding may go to lack of ability to collectively act on a level other than national system.

Europeans ready to feel that kind of trust for one another and act under a Union command? Promoting and strengthening such an overarching European identity is an important prerequisite for further deepening initiatives in this or any other realm (Laffan 1996; Marks 1999).

Even though there is no consensus as to how far geographical Europe goes, the ‘Europeanness’ of the EU countries is considered unproblematic.²¹ Yet, to suggest that European identity is essential or self-evident is an ethnocentric approach to a very fluid and political identity category. Furthermore, in light of the broader identity studies, it is misleading to allocate such unproblematic tags to any category of identity and treat it as “out there”. As anything else that cannot be taken as a ‘given’ in social and political spheres, identity—in this case European identity—deserves an explanation. Ignoring this task compromises the scientific nature of any research program that is concerned with European identity as well as its students’ ability to reach compelling and valid conclusions in their research with regard to the processes that are subsequent to the formation of a European social identity. Furthermore, as an intersection of international relations and comparative politics, the EU offers an invaluable laboratory for cross-validating the dynamics at work in many issues. Studies of European identity promise to be a significant contribution to the wider research in various fields of social sciences.

²¹ In fact, many often treat Europe as only comprising of the EU member states. When the broader geographical Europe is reductionistly boxed in the Europe of the EU, non-EU countries that are situated in Europe go unaccounted for. This point is also meant to highlight the common tendency to treat Europeanness as a category of identification that is unproblematic, even and free of internal contradictions. For a good account of how identity categories are challenged not only by out-group members but also from within groups, see Gregory and Sanjek (1994); Omi and Winant (1994). For a more specific source for such contestation in the context of the EU and the development of European identity as different historical discourses across time, see Strath (2002).

A Historical Conception of European Identity

Before indulging in a theoretical reading of European identity, one has to place this collective identity in the broader context of cultural and historical identity shared by Europeans, for it conditions what it is to be a *European* today. The EU's identity discourse is a combination of three elements: a broader cultural identity (the past of Europe) that involves European culture, heritage and history; a European Union (civic) identity that relies on the ideals of integration for which the Union stands; and the social boundary formation between the EU and the 'other' of the EU (Edwards 2003, 1). While the first component covers oft-referred narratives on joint experiences of Europeans ranging from the ancient Greece, the Enlightenment, Christianity, to the Renaissance, and French revolution, the second relates to the principles of democratic governance, freedoms, rule of law, human rights as well as those values that are uniquely European (such as multilateralism, respect for life, environmental protection, and the welfare state).²² The last component of identity formation has been a conceptualization of what it is to be European in opposition to its 'others'—namely non-Europeans.²³

These three elements of European identity have largely been interlinked and to a varying extent draw on each other. For example, all three can be seen interacting in the discussions of Turkish membership in the EU. Is Turkey a part of the European historical experience with its own contributions?²⁴ Is Turkey a sufficiently democratic country? Is Turkey non-European?

²² On a discussion of values that are distinctly European see Su (2004).

²³ For a good discussion of the issue of boundary demarcation in the process of identity formation see Cederman (2001) and Neumann (1999).

²⁴ Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome restricts membership of the EU only to European countries.

One caveat is, nevertheless, in order here. Even though the historical and philosophical conceptualization of Europe is related to what it is to be European today in the context of the EU, the latter is different from the former (Garcia 1993, 3; Mayer and Palmowski 2004, 592). Certainly, European societies have many ancient discourses on identity depicting some form of unity among the countries of the continent depending on the historical juncture. Yet, the current understanding of European identity is more of a consequence of the European integration process within the EU and a response to the negative episodes in European history of Nazism, Fascism, religious intolerance and imperialism.²⁵

In addition to the specific historical context in which the modern conception of European identity has evolved, the current inner dynamics of European societies also require a more modern discourse on identity that fits the requirements of globalizing and heterogeneous polities. Thus, as a discourse, today's European identity is based more on democratic and peaceful ideas and less on discourses with primordial and essentialist connotations.²⁶ This is, however, not to deny the significance of such historical elements for the current constructions of 'Europe'. In fact, all identities-be they national or European or any other category such as ethnic and racial identities- are determined by a socio-historical process of social construction (Omi and Winant 1994; Ignatiev 1995; Takaki 1993, 1998).

²⁵ Kohli (2000, 128) goes so far as to say that there is, indeed, a battle between European and national identity, because the former is constructed against the internal enemy of "nationalistic past" instead of an external enemy.

²⁶ For example, in the case of the Turkish membership discussions, politically correct statements consistently deny the role of such primordialist definitions of Europe on the well-known hesitations of European countries to welcome Turkey into the Union. Leading politicians and EU elites draw attention to Turkey's shortcomings in issues of democracy and human rights as well as to the economic costs of integrating such a large country into the integrated market.

It is often historical/cultural heritage that is utilized in manufacturing a new national identity. However, if Europe is to be merged into a polity its citizens can identify with and be proud of, such historical and cultural narratives in the case of Europe fall short of constituting a credible collective identity. The European Union occasionally employs an abstract discourse of common European history and culture to distinguish Europe from that which is considered non-European. In such discourses, it is a widely shared concern that only charming narratives are used (Shore 2000, 59). However, European continent at different historical junctures has been a theatre for internal wars, violent conflicts and genocides. Calling such biased depictions of European history “Sunday clothes of European culture”, Brands contends that nonappealing chapters in European history cannot be ignored for they are “the product of European developments” (1987, 77).

National histories are certainly not free of such negative episodes and yet are able to generate compelling bases for national identities. However, what is different in the case of European history is that the collective history that is being interpreted has different and sometimes irreconcilable meanings in memories of separate nations—nations that are expected to embrace each other as fellow in-group members. As Edwards suggests, the use of old enmities and violent wars as part of a legitimizing myth is disabled by the fact that these conflicts’ memories are still too real and painful “to be treated in the way Benedict Anderson has suggested that other more ancient slaughters have been in a national context- as ‘reassuring fratricide’ that assists in the construct of national genealogies” (2000, 79). In other words, “there may be a common European heritage, but there is no European ‘nation’ to appeal to” (Edwards 2000, 79). Clearly, memories of such non-peaceful episodes of European

history present an obstacle to easy harmonization of images or acceptance by European nations of each other as in-group members. This fact placed universalistic values of democracy and rule of law in the center as the main material for a non-essentialist discourse of a new identity. The prevalent tone of the overall official discourse of the EU is, therefore, civic rather than historical or cultural.

Culture as a possible groundwork for a new European collective identity also falls short of meeting such a challenge, for European nations are not only quite different from one another but also host a multitude of different ethnic and cultural groups themselves to claim such homogeneity. The recent eastward expansion, many studies concluded, further challenges the EU's odds of achieving homogeneity as Central and Eastern European countries increase the diversity in the EU (Fuchs and Klingemann 2000, 20).

Some discourses also try to raise Christianity as the basis for collective European identity by revoking old fears of Islamic expansion.²⁷ However, this discourse would present an inconsistency for aspirations of the EU for equality and non-discrimination as non-Christian minorities are present not only outside the Europe of the EU but in the very member states of the EU. In addition, any unifying myth of Christianity in Europe was lost during Thirty Years Wars. Delanty agreeing with the inappropriateness of an ethno-cultural basis for European identity argues that,

the mistake is to conceive of European culture in the same way as the builders of the nation-state conceived the new pragmatic ideas for nation-state

²⁷ For example, during heated debates on whether the EU should give a start date for negotiations with Turkey, a European Commissioner is known to have argued against such a prospect as it would mean that the defeat of Turks from Europe during the siege of Vienna was in vain.

building in the nineteenth century, namely transcendent myth of unity and origin. Culture must first of all be seen as something conflict-ridden: consensus is not something that can be invoked but created...what I am therefore suggesting is that in order to withstand the false universalism of an ethnic conception of culture European integration requires a kind of unity based on an abstract cultural identity (1998, 41-42).

Thus, essentializing the bases of Europeanness would lead to a radically homogeneous image of Europe, one that is far from representing its diverse populations and dangerously excluding its immigrants as other. The fact that starting from the late 1970s, extreme right wing movements and activities increased in both Western Europe and the USA adds urgency to this issue. In the EU countries, such right wing radical movements among the less educated often blame deepening European integration and increased immigration for high percentage of unemployment (Kaplan and Bjorgo 1998).²⁸ At a time, when conventional national identities are in flux, how European identity is defined will have a significant impact on Europe's others. Claiming an objective basis for the definition of Europe would imply barring entrance options for others and create a fundamentalist identity for Europe. The first precondition of understanding the prospects of the future for Europe and how far it will extend is to realize the inevitable political nature of the task.²⁹ Besides, the dynamics that define the historical understanding of Europe and the modern understanding of Europe under the framework of EU might be different.

²⁸ The best example of this problem is seen in early 1990s when neo-Nazi groups burned houses of several Turkish and Yugoslavian immigrants in Germany as they have been the victims of ethnic prejudices and blamed for increasing unemployment among Germans.

²⁹ For example, a common objection with regard to Turkish membership is its alleged lack of contribution to those core aspects of European civilization throughout centuries. However, the EU's

All these factors point to the fact that a primordial framing of European identity is simply not convincing enough to generate deep positive feelings and a sense of ‘natural’ brotherhood among Europeans. The contemporary idea of Europe is based on a deliberate political project erected as a safeguard against the European tragedies. European identity in its essence is centered on a goal of peaceful change of Europe through cooperation and understanding. Delanty talking about this point argues that “the discourse of citizenship and civil society is particularly important and could be a basis of a normative representation of Europe since Europe is not in itself reducible to a spatial concept: it is in fact a cultural model. The kind of symbolic representation Europe therefore needs is posthistorical and anti-essentialist” (1998, 25-26). Similarly, Schmidtke argues that “the crucial challenge for generating a European collective identity is whether in principle the normative political ideas underlying the trans-national integration process can become strong enough to stir individual orientation and action competing with the emotional energies inherent in established ethnic ties” (1998, 47).

European Union’s Efforts to Form a European Identity

The original understanding of the European leaders with regard to European identity was based on the neofunctionalist thinking that economic integration would be followed gradually by political/cultural integration. Such expectations of automatic cultural unity downplayed the need to focus on European identity and polity formation at the European level for decades. Particularly, following the crisis experienced during the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, European leaders came

desire to avoid any sort of a tanglement with Middle East—the way it would with Turkey (a predominantly Muslim country) in the Union—and its concern over the enormous implications of Turkish membership for the Union budget are often the actual concerns that are essentially political in nature.

to realize that the European Union needs to be actively involved in promotion of a common European consciousness. They needed to design symbols and traditions that have practical and social appeal to their constituencies to justify the presence and worth of the EU.

A quick review of this history will highlight the strategies of European elites and policy makers to facilitate a sense of belonging among their citizens. The original Copenhagen Declaration on European Identity of 1973 neglected the explicit explanation of the concept of European identity (Schneider 1993, 265). Furthermore vague references to European identity often blurred the clear difference between the external identity of the EU and a sense of popular European identity in the sociological sense (De Witte 1987, 134). During the 1965-1966 Gaullist crises, in addition to lack of popular support, the EU came to terms with its grim situation that elites did not have a consensus on how the European integration process should proceed. After this crisis, the EU, in an effort to reach its popular bases, initiated its direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979. It was, however, the European Council Summit of 1984 that which for the first time recommended some practical steps to disseminate a European consciousness among ordinary citizens to increase identification with the EU. Based on the recommendations of the subsequently formed Adonnino Committee and debates, the EU developed many means to raise the salience of the EU for its citizens. Among these means were the introduction of youth exchange programs, European television initiative, voting rights for those living in another member state in local and European elections, initiation of the European lottery, increased emphasis on the teaching of European history and integration in school curriculums, adoption of European anthem, a common

European passport, a new license plate with EU symbol on it, the European flag, and the adoption of May 9th as Europe day.

It was, however, not until the 1990s, that the European Commission gained formal competence in the cultural field.³⁰ A major step in the efforts to construct a “Peoples’ Europe” was taken with the initiation of European citizenship by the Maastricht Treaty. European citizenship grants some rights to Europeans ranging from right to move/settle in other EU states –article 8a, consular protection-article 8c to right to vote and run in European elections- article 8b, right to petition the EU ombudsman- article 8d.³¹

The most compelling symbol of European identity implemented is the single currency-Euro initiated on 1 January 1999. Euro, in the context of the EU, serves not only as a practical means of exchange but also symbolizes the unity of the European peoples and the economic and political power of the Union that rules them in many realms.³² If currencies are symbols of nationhood, the presence of the euro for ordinary individuals provides a myth of collectivity amongst the Europeans.

Creating a new social/cultural domain has been neglected by European elites, as efforts for social integration lagged far behind efforts for political and economic integration for decades. Although the commission and other organs of the European Union attempted to bridge this gap by several strategies and symbols of European

³⁰ Title IX, article 128 states that “The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the member states while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.”

³¹ Citizenship of the Union and the respective rights are cited in Part II in Provisions Amending the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community.

³² The meaning of a currency for the collective sense of belonging and nationhood is well established in sociological studies. In an empirical study, confirming this cultural meaning of currencies, Luna Arocas et al. (2001) show that Spain and Portugal support euro not for economic reasons but for identity reasons.

identity in the past two decades, some major problems in the nature of their discourses still limit the capacity of these measures to fulfill this task.

Although references to European identity in everyday discourse of integration are frequent, this broad vision of Europeanness has yet to be clearly defined.

Although officially the EU defines Europeanness on the basis of a mixture of geography and some political and economic criteria, different documents and leaders mention other ways of defining this identity (history, religion etc.) creating confusion and anomaly in understanding of who exactly is a European.

European citizenship discourse also disappoints those who believe in its potential to give a tangible meaning to the EU. European citizenship suffers from some major limitations that can compromise its capacity to act as a catalyst for formation of a European collective identity. Scholars as well as legal experts often point to the lack of citizenship duties, the predicament of the non-EU nationals and the dependency of European citizenship on member state citizenship as deficiencies in the current form of citizenship discourse in the EU (e.g., Welsh 1993; Freeman and Ögelman 1998). If the EU is going to be a transnational polity, revolutionizing the conceptions of sovereignty and loyalty, it is important that the EU constitutes a direct means of representation and rights for its citizens.³³

In fact, European citizenship, by promising to disassociate citizenship and nationality (Soysal 1995; Delanty 1995; Koslowski 1999), promises to revolutionize the way large-scale collective identities can be built. However, one should be aware

³³ The best known advocate of EU's increasing alignment with individual citizens as a source of collective identity is Habermas and his notion of *verfassungspatriotismus* (constitutional patriotism). Accordingly, this notion assumes that individuals' sense of collectivity and loyalties revolve around the political principles and ideals of democracy as well as civic institutions that are designed to safeguard their preservation.

of a nuance: The fact that European citizens are not members of a European people does not necessarily create a strong divide between citizenship and nationality.

Indeed, as mentioned above, member state nationalities are indirectly linked to the notion of European citizenship thereby lowering the value of impressive badges some scholars attach to the Union citizenship as ‘deterritorialized’. Although the EU identity is more defined in civic terms, ethnocentric biases of national identities finds their way indirectly into the EU by discriminating against the non-EU nationals who live in any of the European member states and are denied the universal rights that the EU stands for.³⁴

In addition to these problems with the citizenship discourse, the main question that remains to be answered is the relevance of such a Union citizenship to everyday lives of Europeans. The internalization of this citizenship through some emotional attachment is the main test for judging the success of this symbol in furthering a common sense of belonging among Europeans.

Lastly, although European leaders recently recognized the problem with neglecting the nourishment of cultural integration and promotion of a collectivity feeling among disparate nationals as members of a new and bigger society, the approach they adopted seem to take this task on the surface value. Many scholars agree that nation-building strategies and symbols employed at the European level cannot guarantee the emergence of a sincere identification with the European Union. This is because what is being built is best understood as a multi-level polity than a European nation (Schild 2001; Banchoff and Smith 1999). The acceptance and

³⁴ Perhaps the most pronounced deficiency of the EU citizenship with regard to non-EU nationals is the disenfranchisement of such residents in European elections even though they are affected by EU policies as much as European citizens.

internalization of a collective identity at European level can come only from Europeans as they recognize and appreciate this new political system as relevant and effective. In other words, acceptance of the European Union as a valid locus of identity and allegiance is to be facilitated only if Europeans see it that way. Suggesting otherwise would be no different than saying European identity is there and can be taken for granted. This argument will be discussed later in detail as the backbone of the forthcoming chapters where I focus on understanding European identity as a form of social identity.

Previous Research on European Identity

Previous literature on European identity has addressed the issue inadequately. For a long time, students of the European Union seem only to worry about ensuring popular support for the integration process. Although there have been some empirical studies on public attachment to the European Union (e.g., Inglehart 1970, 1977; Schild 2001; Kohli 2000; Medrano and Gutierrez 2001), the rigorous and systematic study of European identity at individual level has been insufficient (Medrano and Gutierrez 2001, 754).³⁵ With these shortcomings in mind, a brief review of the previous research is in order.

One of the earliest empirical analyses on European identity is carried out by Inglehart. Inglehart (1970, 1977) found that postmaterialism, cognitive mobilization and formal education imply stronger European identity. Medrano and Gutierrez (2001) retested the postmaterialism, cognitive mobilization and education hypotheses and found that postmaterialism has no relationship with European identity. However,

³⁵ There have also been other lines of studies on European identity. Firstly, some research focused solely on policy suggestions to bring about a European identity. Secondly, normative studies dealt with what kind of a European identity/citizenship ought to be promoted (e.g., Kostakopoulou 2001).

the relationship between European identity, on the one hand, and education and cognitive mobilization on the other are confirmed. Kohli (2000) found no relationship between age and European identity. His analysis revealed a positive relationship between a sense of Europeanness on the one hand, and educational level, income and urban population on the other. Kritzinger (2004) investigated the link between expected EU efficiency and the level of EU identity in an empirical study conducted based on data from the Eurobarometers from 1996 and 1999. Measuring expected efficiency through citizens' willingness to allow the EU to handle policy issues that are handled at the time of the study by the member states of the EU; she showed that a supranational European identity is more likely to develop if the EU citizens perceive the EU as an efficient institution (Kritzinger 2004, 2).

On the possibility of European identity, many studies argue that commonalities that are required for individuals' subjective sense of collectivity are simply not there due to the lack of a common European culture, language and history (see for example, Smith 1992; Obradovic 1996). On the other hand, those who believe that identities are a result of sociohistorical construction are more readily optimistic about the formation of a European identity (see Habermas 1998, 2001). Accordingly, common interests and projects can very well serve as a viable basis for a new sense of belonging at the European level.

One important finding is that there is a dramatic difference across European member states in terms of the link between various factors and European identity. This reinforces a tendency to focus on single case studies or comparative case studies in the research on European identity. However, detailed studies that focus on a single case or comparative case studies might, by the same token, lead to the results that are

not representative of the overall trend within the entire EU. One such variation among the member states of the EU with regard to the level of European identity is seen in the effect of nationality on support for the European integration (e.g., Kaltenthaler and Anderson 2001; Inglehart 1977; Gabel and Palmer 1995) and in turn on European identity. Several scholars confirmed that nationality of an individual is a powerful predictor of the level of identification with the EU (e.g., Duchenes and Frogner 1995; Luna Arocas et al. 2001; Seidendorf 2003) for the broader political culture of a nation affects the perceptions of Europe (of the EU) as well as benefits and harms of the Europeanization process. The particular way a national identity is contemplated creates the specific context where how receptive one is to [different] constellations of European identity is conditioned. In other words, national identity constructions frame the negotiation process between the two identities.

The influence of nationality can be seen particularly in the issue of compatibility of national and European identities. If national identity discourse does not pit national identity to a European identity, the compatibility of the two is not problematic. In other words, those national discourses that contemplate national self and European images as similar and compatible facilitate the interaction of national and European identities. What this finding implies is that there is more than one way to see Europe. Such perceptions are inevitably embedded in individuals' distinct national understandings of self and Europe.

For example, Risse (2002a, 85) argues that the notorious reluctance of British citizens to welcome a European identity or a European federal system has its roots in the particular way Britishness has been defined. The British national identity is based on Englishness, which is defined in the post WWII era in opposition to Europe as the

‘other’. National pride in itself does not contradict with European identity but might come into play depending on how contradictory national and European identities are in various national discourses (Risse 2002a, 80).

In a similar study, Marcussen et al. (1999, 614) explains the sources of the variation in Europeanization of national identities by three hypotheses: citizens’ are willing to accept a new identity to the extent that it is compatible with the old identity that they have; it is at times of ‘critical junctures’ that new identity constructions become viable alternatives; the longer an identity construct continues to be secure, the less viable it becomes to challenge that identity as it becomes costlier to challenge the broader system and the political culture where that identity is embedded. They illustrate their points through an empirical discourse analysis of party elites in Great Britain, France and Germany from the 1950s onwards.

In addition to the historical compatibility of national discourses with the European venture, we also see deliberate efforts of policy makers at critical times to re-interpret national histories and identities in a way that is more favorable to European integration. For example, in a discursive study, Banchoff (1999) compares German and French controversies on European venture in the 1950s and 1990s respectively. He shows that during those debates, leading elites, acting strategically, manipulated the definition of established national identities so that participating in the EU is more acceptable. These revisions often depict the EU as a platform to promote national interests. Whichever way it is achieved, such Europeanization of national identities signals the changing content of national identity as a response to European integration and the identity it brings about.

Two different camps emerged in studies of European identity with regard to the prospects of a European sense of belonging. Those who argue for the persistent significance and legitimacy of nation-states see national and European identities mutually exclusive. Progress of European identity would have to be at the expense of weakening individual loyalties to nation-states (Smith 1992, 58-65). However, this is seen as largely impossible, for compared to national identity, European identity is only an instrumental identity and therefore cannot compete with affective national attachments. This viewpoint assesses European integration through the premises of nation-building approach.

The other camp of scholars, on the other hand, sees a decline in nation-state's legitimacy and capabilities.³⁶ Delanty argues that the globalization of economic relations along with increasing influence of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) caused states to give concessions to postnational institutions such as the EU. This process in turn triggered "the decoupling of nation and state" (1998, 30). As the state loses its hegemony over its sovereignty and claim over its citizens, citizens are gaining a new power as agents of new social movements and become addressee of a new identity politics where various political units are competing to gain their legitimation and loyalties. In addition to a weakening nation-state, individuals often perceive themselves as belonging to multiple groups and have the capacity to develop multiple identities (Wintle 2000, 13, Medrano and Gutierrez 2001; Duchenes and Frogner 1995; Leonard 1998; Marks 1999; Schild 2001; Kostakopoulou 2001; Waters 1990).

³⁶ For a discussion of the issue, see Jenkins and Sofos (1996) and Wallace (1994, 82-83).

The empirical evidence on the issue is mixed. Duchenes and Frogner (1995) showed that the strength of national identities imply low chances for a European identity. Marks (1999) through Eurobarometer data argued that regional, national and European identities are mutually supportive and that attachment to local and regional level is higher than attachment to country and European level. Through a study on Spain United Kingdom and Germany, Medrano (2003) showed that simultaneous territorial identities are common. Similarly, compatibility of national and subnational identities (Haesly 2001) and national and European identities (Van Kersbergen 2000) are shown. On the other hand, Carey (2002) found evidence of a negative relationship between the type and intensity of national identity and European identity. Accordingly, those who perceived European identity as a threat to their national heritage are proven to be more likely to refuse European identity. Medrano and Gutierrez (2001) found a positive relationship between regional, national and European identities in a study on Spain.

In a study on attitudes toward European integration, Hooghe and Marks (2004) defended a more complicated situation with regard to identity. They showed that in some cases national identity motivates Europeans to support European integration and in others it is the very reason why European Union is conceived as a threat. They argued that the direction of causality might be explained by the elite's framing effects on individuals' perceptions. Although the main focus of the research was attitudes towards European integration, the results are applicable to the attitudes towards the collective identity the aforementioned process of European unification entails.

The aforementioned Medrano and Gutierrez study of 2001 is significant for also investigating the identity issue with an eye on the social bases of the process. It is one of the rare studies that try to model European identity with the help of some social identity theories. Interested in the individual variability that can account for differences in adherence to the EU, they revise theories of Tajfel and Turner, and Lawler. They test one of Tajfel and Turner's hypotheses that individuals identify with groups that they perceive positively. They also test the nested group identity hypothesis of Lawler that groups that are closer to individuals will attain stronger identification than groups that are farther. The study is, however, confined to local, national and European identities only in Spain (data are from own survey) and neglects other premises to be derived from social identity theories.

Bruter (2003) tested the effects of European symbols and news on individual's European identity through an experiment. Differentiating between the civic (identification with the EU as a relevant political system) and cultural (general identification with Europe) components of European identity, Bruter proved that there is a great deal of European identity mostly in civic sense and that national and European identities are compatible. Furthermore, while symbols of European integration affect mostly cultural identity of Europeans, news affects the civic component of European identity.

Jimenez et al (2004) tested three different theories on European identity—cultural (which sees identities based on ethno-cultural factors), instrumental (which sees identities as a function of self interest) and civic (which sees identities as based on agreement over rules for the political system). Their study reveals partial evidence for all three theories. Based on Eurobarometer survey (#57.2), they show that

national and European identities are compatible because they are “of different order”; national identities are defined in cultural terms while European identities are defined in instrumental terms. Furthermore, national pride decreases the adherence to European identity. Interestingly, their study showed that, although to a lower extent, cultural elements are also part of European identity (16).

Castano (2004) tested the relationship between the psychological concept of entitativity of the EU and the degree of identification with the European Union. Defined on a fourfold scale (common fate, similarity, proximity and boundedness), entitativity refers to the subjective perception of realness. Through an experiment where he manipulated the aforementioned four aspects, Castano shows that increasing the entitativity of the EU leads to an increase in identification with the Union among those who hold moderate attitudes toward the EU. Castano’s study also highlights the fact that cultural homogeneity is not the only way to increase the ‘realness’ of the EU to the citizens.

Another significant finding is that although the European Union developed many symbols and discourses as to the contemporary European identity, the internalization of this identity by individuals lags behind the respective efforts. Studies based on public surveys in member states conclude that nation-state is still the main source of identification. However, even though attachment to the EU comes behind the nation-state, the major dividing line in the EU is between those who exclusively identify with their nation-state and those who feel loyal to both the EU and nation-state (Risse 2003, 3). Risse argues that as the exclusive identification with the nation-state has been declining, more and more people identify with their nation state, local regions and the EU at the same time. Furthermore, there is a

consciousness in the public as to the distinction between Europe as a cultural and historical space and the EU as the dominant political space with the accompanying civic community in Europe, confirming Bruter's (2003) study.

Although many agree that establishment of a European identity is an essential task for the future success of European Union, different scholars pointed to different factors as the major difficulties the EU is facing in achieving that goal ranging from the geographical vagueness of Europe to lack of a consensus on where the EU is going. However, probably the most important obstacle has been the inability of European citizens to access the bureaucratic governance system, and in turn grasp and enjoy rights guaranteed by the respective treaties. Some of this difficulty has even been welcomed by national policy makers as a way of using the community policies as a scapegoat to blame failures or unpopular policies on the EU when they want to escape the punishment from their constituencies (Edwards 2000, 71). The ramifications of this game are more far-reaching than it seems as it delays public granting credit to the EU for improvements in their lives. It is this kind of appreciation, however, that the EU needs to be seen as an effective forum of politics. It is also this kind of appraisal that which would ultimately lead to a transfer of loyalties from the nation-states to the EU.

Lack of a democratic public sphere as a common social space is also pointed out as an obstacle for creating a European identity (Obradovic 1996, 203). Accordingly, in the absence of such a space where European public can deliberate on European politics and system, the legitimacy of the European governance could not be ensured—a precondition for switching loyalties to the European Union. In a discourse analysis study based on the media reporting on Austrian elections where

ÖVP and Jörg Haider's FPÖ formed a coalition government and the subsequent debates across EU member states, Risse and Steeg (2003) argue that unlike the reporting in the US newspapers, reporting in European media became an occasion where Europeans discussed the issue as a common European problem. Even though they disagreed as to how to handle it, the reference points used for detecting the problem were similar across different member states. Furthermore, Haider issue was not treated as an event internal to Austrian domestic politics, but as an event taking place in Europe. Thus Risse and Steeg conclude that there is an emerging European public space and this presupposes a certain degree of European identity and not the other way around. This is because acceptance of others in such debate as legitimate partners requires an understanding of boundaries that include both parties in the "we" camp (Risse and Steeg 2003, 19).

A further problem in the articulation and dissemination of a unified Europe image has been cultural limitations that derive from national differences, best illustrated by linguistic obstacles. Multilingualism particularly causes problems due to incompatibility of different linguistic and national traditions of meaning.³⁷ In fact, often times, despite the commitment of the Commission to preserve multilingualism, English emerges as a de facto working language (Kraus 2000, 203). As a problem even European elite is struggling with, linguistic plurality affects ordinary Europeans by reducing their ability to directly experience Europe and form affective associations with fellow Europeans in a way to de-nationalize interest networking.

³⁷ Abeles (2000, 41) cites the example of the word "liberalism" in his discussion of linguistic obstacles in European communicative processes. While French considered liberalism as an essentially economic project, many European traditions such as German, Dutch and Portuguese considered liberalism no different than separation of state and church. However, the latter is known as laicism in conventional French thinking.

Some scholars argue that lack of a common language, in fact, is a major barrier to the evolution of a genuine transnational European public sphere (Giesen 2002; Obradovic 1996, 203) and in turn European identity (Bruha and Seeler 1998).³⁸

When considered together, it is easy to see that the majority of the theoretical studies on European identity are inadequate particularly because they do not address the issue within the framework of a cohesive theory. Partial theories such as Inglehart's (1970) theory on European identity being a result of cognitive mobilization, education and postmaterialism is interesting and informative but, I believe, it is incomplete. What his theory can help us understand is only some of the individual qualities that increase chances of a European identity. Inglehart's theory, for example, does not address the issue of instrumental and affective dimensions of an attachment as well as the social roots of the logic of group identities. Furthermore it treats European identity same as support for different dimensions of European integration. Feelings of European identity and support for European integration should not be confused as one might go without the other. Evidently, ad hoc hypotheses (such as urban/rural or border residence and its relationship with European identity) that are derived from partial theories need to be united under a more general and sociological framework to combine the findings of previous research into a cumulative collection of knowledge.

Furthermore, many empirical studies focus on a single case (such as Spain in Medrano and Gutierrez study of 2001), or comparison of two/three/four cases (e.g.,

³⁸ Giesen (2002) suggests ritual performances as a means of establishing a collective identity at the EU level in order to compensate for lack of a common history or language. Accordingly, an instance of such ritual performance could be the annual opening of European Parliament ceremonies. One also needs to note that necessity of a common language for a viable public sphere is not shared by some scholars. See Risse and Steeg (2003) and Kantner (2002).

Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, but mostly Germany and France). This leads to a predicament where not only many less-than-prominent member states are understudied, but also the findings are not cross-validated through comprehensive coverage of the all member states. Even though single and comparative case studies are valuable to lead future research into useful directions, in light of the previous findings that uncover the great extent of variation across EU nations in integration issues, their results cannot be assumed to be representative of all the member states of the EU. In addition to the inadequate coverage, many empirical researches rely on correlations, or descriptive statistics (e.g., Duchenes and Frognier 1995; Schild 2001; Citrin and Sides 2004). These studies are informative as preliminary evaluations, but they cannot claim to control robustly for the simultaneous effects of multiple factors that are likely to be at work in case of identity.

Thus, I believe there is a gap in the European identity research both in the conceptual and empirical terms. I think presenting a cohesive theoretical framework that covers majority of the aspects of the leading social identity theories is important in order to develop a more complete understanding of the sociological logic of identity formation at the European level. European identity studies will greatly benefit from taking the identity issue back to its basics by curbing the tendencies to treat the issue at face value. It will shed light on the ways the future research can go from these general theories into the particular implications. There is need for further conceptual clarity when discussing the types of European identity. For example, in the literature instrumental and affective identities are mostly treated as different (e.g., Schild 2001; Duchenes and Frognier 1995). Sometimes, affective support for the EU is considered to be the identification with the EU and (economic) support for the EU

is considered instrumental. What is lacking is the possible relationship between the two and an empirical evaluation of whether the instrumental and affective attachments are rivals or merely different components found in each identity category. Sociological roots of the identity phenomenon will give us more ideas as to the nature of this relationship. Empirically, a study that covers all of the EU member states and relies on a multivariate analysis is important, as it would produce representative results that also stem from convincing causal logic. Thus, this study aims to contribute to the debate on European identity by providing a comprehensive test of the existing social identity theories in case of the EU. Rather than suggesting new theories about European identity, my intention is to unite the literature by developing a comprehensive model based on present ideas and test their validity in a multivariate model across the EU. Doing so, I hope to achieve cross validation of the results both theoretically and empirically.

The following chapter will present my case with regard to the prospects of a European identity in the framework of social psychological theories. Even though the symbols and other strategies used by the European policy makers can serve to increase the salience and recognition of the EU among ordinary citizens, it cannot ensure the emergence of a compelling and genuine attachment to the political system of Europe. The case for the role of governing elites and intellectuals in shaping a sense of belonging among citizens is well established in the literature (Anderson 1991; Brubaker 1992). However, such top-down process alone cannot ensure flourishing of a mass attachment to a political institution. It is social and constructive practices that lead to construction of successful collective identities. If European identity is to be a compelling self-conceptualization, it is important that EU citizens

don't see it as an elite-designated identity (*Fremdzuschreibung*), but as a subjective sense of self internalized by EU citizens themselves voluntarily and consciously (*Selbstzuschreibung*) (Lessar 2000, 2 as cited by Edwards 2003, 9). Constellation of a collective identity is essentially a sociological process that cannot be successfully concluded by the efforts of only elites and governing leaders. Its success requires popular acceptance and internalization of some common reference points (even though the very content of this commonality might vary over time and across different national histories) as basis for self-definition.

Thus, unlike what the founding fathers thought, the mere existence of European integration, its institutions and policies cannot automatically lead to the emergence of a collective sense of Europeanness. Such approaches do not grant individuals the due credit for their role in identity processes as rational decision-makers. Confirming more-than-passive-role of individuals in identity issues, Jenkins posits that identity is also about “to identify” and “there is something active about the word which cannot be ignored. Identity is not ‘just there’. It must always be established” (1996, 4). Hence, it is important that the citizens socially relate to the EU and its policies by discussing and experiencing them.

Touching upon this point, Belot and Smith suggest, “studying collective identity therefore should not begin by looking for historical, geographical, and cultural criteria. Instead, research needs to focus on what makes sense for individuals as part of their daily lives” (1998, 100). This is the very reason why the state of collective identity formation at the EU level is best analyzed as a form of social identity.

CHAPTER III

THEORY

If the citizens of Europe understand that this is not just an anonymous bureaucratic monster that wants to limit or even deny their autonomy, but simply a new type of human community that actually broadens their freedom significantly, then the European Union need not fear for its future...

-Extract from the speech made by the President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Havel, to the European Parliament in Strasbourg on March 8th, 1994.

Available at

http://www.europa-web.de/europa/02wwwswww/203chart/chart_gb.htm

In this chapter, I will look into the conceptual roots of the social identity phenomenon through established theories and prepare the theoretical basis for the subsequent analyses that examine European identity as an instance of social identity. Doing so, I also hope to fill a gap in the literature that I pointed out earlier. The majority of the studies on European identity are devoid of a coherent broader theoretical framework that places this evolving identity in its sociological context. Any approach that falls short of treating European identity as an instance of social identity is, however, betraying the conceptual and empirical complexity of the phenomenon. Ad hoc hypotheses tested in these studies cannot go beyond providing some bits and pieces of unorganized and random findings that do not enjoy the theoretical validation of the concept of identity. Furthermore, empirical validation of the issue across the whole EU has been rare. Therefore, I believe that going back to basics of identity is essential in the case of European identity.

Social Identity and Multiple Identity Theories

Human beings cannot be contemplated outside the many social groups of which they are members and in which they function as social beings. In other words, we do not exist and function in a vacuum. Zetterholm argues that individuals “have a need for transcendency, i.e. to experience themselves as something more than just individuals with short life-span and to partake in the cultural life of the social group” (1994, 71). In other words, an individual by belonging to various social groups gains a sense of being more than what he is as a single being. Individuals, as a result, Zetterholm (1994, 71) continues, develop feelings of trust and loyalty toward those social groups that help them gain such sense of transcendency. As such, students of social and political studies have always been preoccupied with the need to understand the bond between human beings and the social groups that they are engaged in.

The genesis of social identity has been a popular place to start. The main question is why individuals feel loyal to some groups and feel indifferent to some others. Similarly, students of identity wanted to know why some individuals are embraced by certain groups and refused by others. For a long time, collective identity is treated as flowing from “essential” features of the group members. Initial literature even reflected a belief in the biological bases of group (particularly racial) identities. Similarly, religion, cultural heritage, ethnicity, race and gender are all treated as naturally causing distinct collective categorizations.³⁹ In other words, the essentialist approach takes identities as given and independent of and prior to identity politics. Such approaches also neglect integrating the power relations and status hierarchies

³⁹ The long lasting marks of the early thinking on the collective identity as stemming from natural qualities of group members can be seen in the citizenship lingo of “naturalization”.

present in every society as factors shaping identity discourses and practices. Although essentialist understanding of identities is theoretically still possible, as an approach such depiction lost much of its prestige starting from the 1960s with the rise of empirical studies confirming the invented nature of nations and other social categories (Eley and Suny 1996, 7-10). Recent literature is critical of essentialist approaches to any category of identities. Today, it is largely agreed that identities are not “real” in the sense that objectifying them denies the socio-historical process of fabrication behind them—a subjective process that constitutes the essence of the constructionist school. According to the constructionist view subjective definitions and the accompanying social interactions affect even seemingly straightforward issues such as gender and race. Any identity category is socially and culturally defined and hence is to be viewed as *not* inevitable.

Accounting for a fluid concept like identity, indeed, requires recognizing the deliberate role of agent and politics in construction of identity categories. Every collectivity is a social product based on mobilization of discourses via the interaction of (dominant) social forces.⁴⁰ Unlike the conviction of essentialist school of thought, in a society, there is more room for maneuver in identity politics as the task is not simplified by the presence of only one—and what is more—“given” raw material on which the definition of a social group may be based. The question of which

⁴⁰ At one time in a society, there may be, for example, more than one way of defining a national identity. However, it is the dominant social forces whose contemplation will determine the final product. This is why social identities are often a result of mutual bargaining as much as imposition between different social groups. This process of social construction of identities by the dominant social forces is most apparent in multinational societies. In places like Spain or Turkey, for example, the overarching national identity has more to do with the discourses of the most prevalent and majority-based forces than marginalized ethnic groups. Although internalized (felt) versions of such identities might be different than the one that is displayed in public sphere, any alternative identity constructions are deterred by way of fears of explicit or hidden social punishment and/or discrimination.

dimension in a cultural context are to be the constitutive principles of a collective identity is resolved by active agents. In short, constructionist school argues that all identities are manufactured. All groups and the respective identity categories (ethnicity, gender, nationality and even race) are culturally constructed, [re]visited through modified or novel discourses and from time to time reinterpreted with the influence of social movements as well as external developments.⁴¹

Thus, identity construction is not to be taken as an endogenous given; it rather needs to be understood in its respective cultural setting where the fictional stories are fabricated through mutual bargaining and negotiations as well as power relations among the respective social actors.⁴² For example, depiction of blackness (Davis 1991) or admission of Irish into the white category (Ignatiev 1995) in America cannot be grasped by way of examining the biological or physical qualities of the group members. Such qualities do not have a meaning that is a priori to the social/political process whereby identity categories are created and maintained. Social practices, government policies or strategic action on the part of claimants (to take advantage of rewards offered by such classifications) all have a role to play in determining what identity categories are available and acceptable to the groups involved.⁴³

⁴¹ For a discussion of this process in detail see Anderson (1991); Ignatiev (1995); Takaki (1993, 1999); Omi and Winand (1994); Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983).

⁴² For a good account of this process in the context of the United States, see Omi and Winant (1994).

⁴³ A similar strategic move on the part of claimants of a collective identity is seen in the relatively unknown community of Melungeons in the US. Due to their darker skins of Mediterranean origin, during the 1800s, the Melungeons are denied the right to vote or own land. Remained largely hidden for centuries for fear of discrimination, there is a recent revival of Melungeon consciousness. Thus, formal institutions and policy agendas have a way of affecting how collective identities are formed, expressed and reproduced, and how social behavior is patterned with the influence of social relations and social/political negotiations.

Although construction of collective identities takes place through deliberate acts, one should not exaggerate the process as purely based on will. Referring to this process, Marcussen et al. (1999) argue that reconstruction of a collective national identity, for example, takes place usually during ‘critical junctures’ of national crises. At these times, political actors define, based on the compatibility with the existing identity constructs, the range of viable options for reconfiguration of a collective identity. In other words, it is through a “conditioned subjectivity” that agents can originate identities (Eley and Suny 1996, 18).

Social Identity Theory (SIT) developed by Tajfel (1970, 1974, and 1982), and Tajfel and Turner (1979) is an oft cited source on identity studies. According to SIT: firstly, individuals desire and are naturally in need of having a positive self-image. Thus, they will only develop attachment to those groups that projects a positive social identity.⁴⁴ Tajfel defines social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (1974, 69). Hermann and Brewer argue that “beyond mere recognition of membership in a social group or category, identification implies that the group and its defining characteristics have become integral to the person’s self-concept, with associated values, emotions and extensions of individual self-esteem” (2004, 6).

Secondly, if social identities cannot continue to provide such a positive image, individuals can either abandon their association with that group or initiate a

⁴⁴ One should, however, note that there are identity categories that are not necessarily voluntarily selected but are rather imposed on individuals by cultural systems of meaning and practices. The most compelling example of such a case is racial identities.

change in its image for a better way of conceptualizing themselves.⁴⁵ The impact of frustration with the image one group provides to the individual might also be seen in a shift of emphasis of another group membership instead of a wholesale termination of the original group membership (Medrano and Guitierres 2001, 758). This is where SIT is supplemented by the literature on multiple identities, which will be discussed in detail below.

Thirdly, this self-esteem function of identities gains meaning in a context of social comparison (i.e., comparison with other groups). Group-identity formation requires definition of a ‘we’ group of insiders with common characteristics and a negation of this boundary with a ‘they’ group of outsiders with different (and often negative) ones.⁴⁶ Accordingly, to distinguish a community from other collectivities, every social group defines the ties that bring them together and believes that what they share is why they have a “*wir-gefühl*”.⁴⁷ That which the group members are believed to share allows in-group members to positively relate to one another. It is this commonality that justifies and requires concern for one another, and defense of the community. Out-group members, on the other hand, are distinct from in-group members as they are defined by a set of different features. The out-group symbolizes the other of an identity in opposition to which we-hood gains meaning. Different

⁴⁵ When social identity becomes negative (i.e., identity is perceived to be unsatisfactory), individuals, by acting in their self-capacity, adopt a different identity that attributes a more positive self-image (known as ‘social mobility’) or by acting in their group capacity improve the perceived image of the group itself as a whole (known as ‘social change’) (Tajfel 1974, 78). An example of social mobility can be seen in frequent preference for European identity among Germans instead of German national identity due to its problematic past connotation. Civil rights movements in the US in the 1960s can be considered as an example of social change. However, one should, again, not exaggerate the degree of freedom in adopting identities. In some cases, identities are imposed on us by others (Breakwell 1979). For example a Hispanic person may have better chances of disguising his/her ethnic/racial identity depending on her skin tone compared to an African-American person, which makes the latter case a rather compulsory group membership.

⁴⁶ Eriksen (1995) defines these two processes as “we-hood” and “us-hood” respectively.

⁴⁷ *Wir-gefühl* refers to the feelings of solidarity with the fellow in-group members (i.e., we-feeling).

contexts render different others relevant for an identity construct (Eriksen 1995, 431; Mayer and Palmowski 2004, 578). An American, for example, might find the differences between Americans and the French more relevant than the differences between Americans and Canadians when traveling in Europe. Similarly, in a domestic context, the other of Turkish identity might be the Kurds but in an international context where the necessity of Turkish membership in the EU is emphasized, the other of Turkish identity is often the non-secular Islamic (Arab) countries. In the audio-visual domain, the other of European identity has been Americans and their cultural domination. The other of an identity can change over time as well (Eriksen 1995, 431). Since definition of out-group or non-group characteristics are an essential part of any identity construction (see e.g., Neumann 1996), in cases where such differences are nonexistent, they are often manufactured (Tajfel 1974, 75), and through discourses projected as eternal facts.

This dual process of conceptualization of ‘we’ and ‘them’ is the very basis of what is known in psychological studies as in-group bias as well as the stereotyping directed typically against out-group members. Social psychology studies gathered evidence for a clear bias in collective identities in that members of a social group usually favor fellow members over non-members. Indeed, regardless of personal acquaintance, depiction of a person as a fellow in-group member provides for one an immediate reason to favor that individual over another individual who is free of any relations to one’s social group (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 38). The definition of in-group is what motivates the differential treatment of outsiders. Thus, the way out-group members are handled is informed by the common norms that characterize a particular social group (Klein 2003, 2).

However, not every group identity requires or necessarily relies on a corresponding negative image of another group. In some cases, group identity is constructed in such a way that it does not take its cues from an alleged inferior or adverse image of another group. Zetterholm (1994, 69-70) suggests two situations where cognitive discrimination with negative connotations for another group usually happens: in cases where the central identity creating feature of the other group is seen as “strange and undesirable”, and where historical hostilities and animosities encourage forming a threatening image of the other group due to the conflict inducing potential of major differences.⁴⁸ In fact, many studies concluded that the presence of a common enemy is the most powerful cue for identity demarcation.⁴⁹

Sometimes identities can take their cues from others that are not different groups/countries. They can also be alternative versions of a group identity (Duara 1996). In Muslim societies secular and non-secular versions of national identities can be an example of such a situation. In multicultural and especially contested societies, there are different claims to the constitutive principles of the dominant identity. Catalan version of Spanish identity or Quebec’s version of Canadian identity is different from the dominant version of the national identities in the respective countries. Similarly, Germany’s Nazi past is the clear other of its current democratic *European* identity.

⁴⁸ A particularly illustrative example of this situation can be seen in the current discussions surrounding the debates on Turkish membership in the EU. Turkey presents a clear challenge for the EU. Turks served as the ‘other’ of the various episodes of European identity, particularly during the times of political and military conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and the various European nations. Such perceptions— combined with its unfamiliar culture and religion—lead to an image of Turkey for many Europeans that is threatening to the cultural persona of the European venture.

⁴⁹The initial disorientation following the end of the Cold War in the Western Europe with regard to the future of the NATO is a telling case. The collective images formed during the cold war were the main driving force for NATO as a viable collective security organization. With no enemy left in sight, many scholars and policy makers quickly declared that NATO was debilitated and obsolete. For, without a common enemy, the ties that bring the member states of NATO together became ambiguous.

In line with different types of other, social boundary formation is realized in different ways. Erickson (1995) explains implications of what he calls “dichotomization” vis-à-vis “complementarization”, favoring the latter. Accordingly, dichotomization is a conflictual way of defining the differences between two groups to make sense of the respective identities. The contrasts between in-group and out-group members are put in negative terms pointing to the irreconcilability of differences. Complementarization, however, “refers to the creation and reproduction of a comparative terminology for dealing with cultural differences” (Eriksen 1995, 434). Through complementarization, out-group members are treated as different but not inferior. Such an approach to difference emphasizes a culture of respect for difference whereby perceptions of other lead to a more benign mental demarcation.

In a more general study, Schmidtke (1998) differentiates between three ideal types for constructing a collective identity. Accordingly, primordialism refers to those cases where the community members are believed to share a *natural* core that uniquely differentiates them from others. Membership is practically not possible to attain without being born to that community. Outsiders are seen as causing contamination. The second type of collective identity formation relies on universalistic patterns of identification. Here, qualities that determine who belongs to a particular community are not derived from the ethnic or cultural qualities. As long as outsiders adopt the cultural standards of the community they are welcome to join. However, the group might pursue missionary policies to assimilate late-comers. It still relies on strong communal homogeneity rather than civic rights. The third form of collective identity formation, Schmidtke discusses, is based on traditional identities. It is based on a sense of community via face-to-face interaction and

common practices. It usually works in small-scale communities. This type of boundary formation does not require any cultural or primordial features but only civic participation based on traditions.⁵⁰

In whichever way it is done, boundary demarcation also determines who is expected of fulfilling duties that flows from group membership and who is entitled to the privileges which such membership has to offer. For example, in a nation-state citizens are privileged to vote and at the same time expected to defend their country.

Yet, existence of social boundaries between groups (that is, us-hood) is a necessary but *not* sufficient condition for a group identity in that knowing the difference between in-group and out-group is not enough to erect a viable collective identity. The social identity perspective emphasizes the link between self and other.⁵¹ Consolidation of group identity, in addition to a certain degree of differentiation from other social groups, requires a degree of internal cohesion and solidarity, too (Eriksen 1995). In other words, in-group and out-group depictions are both essential for the viability of an identity construct. Definition of self and other is intertwined in a complex and mutually reinforcing way.⁵²

As argued by students of nationalism and discussed above there are different reasons why a group identity might emerge and what the group members believe they

⁵⁰ Tempelman (1999) similarly discusses different forms of recognition of ‘other’ and the respective exclusionary effects of it. Among the forms he introduces are primordialism, civic multiculturalism and universalism. While the first one sees the other as essentially different and incompatible with the original group identity, the second one allows outsiders’ entrance on the condition that they adopt the practices and norms of the in-group. The third one sees outsiders as guilty of wrong choices and adopts a missionary perspective to convert them. Tempelman favors civic multiculturalism as it neither bars entrance option nor imposes it on the other.

⁵¹ Collective identities, in this respect, are social identities deriving from large-scale and important differences (Kohli 2000, 117). Collective identities inform the cognitive roots of nonrandom social/political behavior and collective action.

⁵² See Takaki (1999) to review the mutual interaction of self and other in the formation of collective national identity. Takaki argues that Asian Americans, who long were seen as strangers in the US, contributed to the idea of what it means to be an American today.

have in common. Cultural traits, economic standing, institutions, political mobilization among many other reasons can all lead to the formation of group identity. Kelman (1969, cited in Herman and Brewer 2004, 8), for example, argues that what the individuals believe to have in common might determine what kind of a group attachment comes into being (emotional or instrumental attachments). Similarly, as mentioned above what the group believes to have in common can also determine the type of exclusion that is practiced vis-à-vis other groups.

The effects of different forms of identity formation are seen in various citizenship and immigration policies nation-states pursue (Croucher 2003, 4). Restrictive immigration and citizenship laws are common practice in countries with cultural membership criteria. The best example would be Germany's insistence on ethnic German origin known as the '*Volk*' principle for citizenship. Almost automatic admission of many non-German speaking ex-Soviet citizens into German citizenship following the end of the Cold War due to their German ancestry was upsetting to many members of immigrant groups living in Germany. For instance, younger generations of immigrant Turkish labor force, even though born and socialized throughout their life in Germany, are facing tougher obstacles in way of their acceptance as full-members of German society. On the other hand, civic citizenship laws effective in the US tie citizenship to birth or residence in the US and are accompanied by less rigid immigration laws. Here a warning, however, with regard to different degrees of flexibility seen in various countries with civic conceptions of membership is in order. Despite the use of principle of *jus soli*, France, for example, is known to promote an assimilationist policy to ensure a somewhat standard conception of French citizens. The 'headscarf' crisis is perhaps more about this issue

than French *laicism*. Canada, on the other hand, actively encourages the most pluralist multiculturalism policy known.

Perhaps more surprising than the effects of different types of identity formation followed by groups on their willingness to allow entrance by outsiders are the effects of such societal beliefs as to the appropriateness of basis for group identity on perceptions of evolving new identities. Central and Eastern European countries are known to emphasize ethnic/cultural national identities. It would be interesting to see if this is why they perceive European identity also in ethnic/cultural terms.⁵³ In other words, models of identity formation followed by collectivities might have long term impact on how they approach to new collective identities. Although the case of Germany would go against such a pattern, their willingness to see European identity in civic terms might be explained by the conditioning effect of their desire to be seen as Europeans rather than Germans.

The variables in an identity construct are formed in a historically contingent way and are open to reconstruction. What is at issue here is the fluid and temporary nature of identities. So what the members of a group have in common might change but the process and how identities are formed is the same. In fact, identities—whether individual or collective—are not fixed and free of change in time and context. Our group memberships and the roles we assume in different groups continuously change depending on many personal factors including age, social status, marital status and the like. However, individual qualities are not the only factors that change one's understanding of self. The individual experiences that give cues to self-understanding

⁵³Jimenez et al. (2004) shows that while Central and Eastern European countries refer to cultural commonalities, Western and Southern European countries refer to civic ideas as the basis for the evolving European identity.

is not taking place in a vacuum, but as Loth argues, “realities experienced by the individual are interpreted in the context of collective models of reality and stocks of knowledge” (2000, 20). Both the individual experiences and the collective context in which they are evaluated, then, change—hence the dynamic nature of identities. Although identities are constructed and fabricated, one should be wary of a claim that identities are genuinely ‘shared’ at all times or at any given time. Many students of identity politics criticize the reductionist tendency to disregard the fragile and temporary nature of consensus on the content of identities as well as individual variation within an identity group.

Studies on multiple identities complement social identity theory by pointing to the fact that social identities are multiple (Lawler 1992; Waters 1990; Kohli 2000). This is because we all see ourselves belonging to more than one social group. The configuration of these identities is often nested contingent on the context and issue area (Tajfel 1974; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Lawler 1992; Kohli 2000, 115). Thus, it is the context that determines which one of our identities will come to the fore as the relevant one at a particular instance.

For example, somebody, who does not believe that there is a great deal of cultural commonality among disparate European nations, can be surprised to feel how close s/he feels to other fellow Europeans during a stay in the United States. Similarly, Klein et al. (2003), through an experimental analysis, shows that Greeks are not as outspoken about their historically embedded biases against Turks when they face a European audience compared to a purely Greek audience. Wanting to project their self-image in line with European credentials, Greeks suppress their prejudices towards Turks, when their European identity is more salient and condition

their speeches more in line with the norms of broader European Union: tolerance and acceptance. Thus, as long as we can come up with rules according to which the salience of various identities are shaped depending on the context, we can gain a predictive power as to when a person can feel belonging *vis-à-vis* a certain group.

The configuration of multiple identities can be in ways, nonetheless, other than nested (where one identity is subsumed in a broader identity). Herman and Brewer (2004, 8) argue that identities can also be either crosscutting or separate. The perception of configuration of multiple identities for those who share the same identities might be different, too (Herman and Brewer 2004, 9). For example, Texas, although a state in the US, is known for its unique and assertive identity. It is also home to many immigrants with or without American citizenship. Two Texans who feel both Texan and American might have different perceptions with regard to whether these two identities are nested, cross cutting or separate.

The point made thusfar is that, in line with such room for variation in feelings and perceptions of identity, social identities are socially and politically constructed and deliberately manipulated. Even the national identities that are often seen as givens of political culture are constructed. Social identities are also relational, and contextual. They gain meaning relative to other groups and identities available. Context and issue area is likely to affect which identity is overarching in case of multiple identities and how they relate to one another. In turn, the relationship between various identities conditions social and political behavior.

Social identities are also uneven, for they are both internally and externally challenged. It is misleading to treat identity groups as truly 'collective' since such an approach would exaggerate the internal homogeneity as well as the uniformity in

external recognition. For example, in the case of the EU, it is a well-known trend that the United Kingdom is 'Euro-skeptical'. However, treating the UK as a homogeneous unit would be reductionist. While the British has considerable objection to accepting a self-definition in terms of a European identity, the Scottish segment of the society has more moderate views with regard to the issue (Ichijo 2002). Similarly, Turkey as an outsider is challenging the way European identity is conceptualized in order to have its Islamic identity integrated into the current depiction of Europeanness.

Social identities are also not frozen or final in the sense that group identities are often evaluative and individuals can leave certain groups based on that evaluation. For an identity to be secure, it must be competitive with alternative group identities in terms of its material and emotional worth to the individual. Lawler (1992) argues that individuals desire to maintain control over their lives. Thus, he continues, when social and political groups increase our sense of control in our choice processes (i.e., means/ends deliberation) we feel positive emotions, which in time generate affective attachments to those groups causing such increased self-autonomy. This point can be seen as confirming and broadening the self-confidence function of identities mentioned above. In fact, positive self-image is an extension of self-esteem that derives from a sense of control on one's own destiny. An individual who is not in control of the external environment and actors is not likely to have high self-esteem and in turn positive self-image.

The value of a social identity is significant to understand, for it is what carries the seeds for change of identities. Social identities can change with external manipulation for a new identity promising an improved self-image with

accompanying opportunities. This depiction might sound too simplistic or negligent of the passionate element of identities. However, as it is clear from Lawler's interpretation of the link between utilitarian and affective components of identities, emotive satisfaction one derives from an identity is an inherent part of the cost-benefit evaluation of group identities. Kohli also argues that "much of identity politics is strategic behavior, dependent on incentives and mobilization efforts by political entrepreneurs and thus more a response to opportunity structures than an indication of a thickly particularistic self-definition in an essentialist sense" (2000, 130). Therefore, identities are both formed and assumed as part of a strategic deliberation.

The fact that identities are not final or static is not same as arguing they change overnight or every group identity is equally subject to the effects of external manipulation. Changeability of an identity is likely to be commensurate with how well it is established. Zetterholm (1994, 79) argues that the nation-state as the 'survival unit' (i.e., the major unit handling important political functions related to the survival of the individual) over a long period of time, becomes hard to abandon as the central political identity of individuals. This 'drag effect' (Zetterholm 1994, 79) that might be at work in various identity options is likely to condition the impact of external manipulation of identity constructs and how receptive individuals are to new identity options. Comparatively, class-based attachments are, for example, more vulnerable to revisions than national identities for the circumstances surrounding the former are likely to change more frequently.

It is, however, reductionist to group every national identity in the same category and treat them as difficult to change. Every national identity is not subject to

the effects of an identity option to the same extent. Breakwell (2004) posits “national identities differ in their response to the influences exerted by the EU, such that the salience and stability of the national identity will limit in significant ways the type and rate of change in identity resulting from EU actions” (38). This, according to Breakwell, is due to the varying degrees of capabilities in different national identities to assimilate or resist the impact of the EU as a new identity category.

Even if the age and the central nature of national traditions and identities might prove to slow down the Europeanization of collective-images, identities including national identities do evolve over time integrating new dimensions introduced by outside stimuli. Seidendorf (2003, 18-19), for example, through the discussion of discourse analysis in print media of France and Germany in 1994, argues that national identity constructs and the accompanying discourses do transform as a result of European integration.

European Identity as Social Identity

Many scholars inform their studies on European identity with a national identity perspective. The European integration process is compared to a mission of nation-building and prospects for European identity judged according to the extent that a single European nation is likely to emerge (e.g., Smith 1992). However, confining the analyses of the EU to the dominant political schema of political science might produce misleading conclusions (Bellier and Wilson 2000, 6). Llobera argues that social scientists failed in two important instances: in predicting “the collapse of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet bloc, and the absence of sociological categories which would allow us to think in European terms—all our concepts being appropriate only to the nation-state” (1993, 65).

The best practical example of this ethnocentric thinking is seen in European Union citizenship that is trapped into a context that takes its cues from the nation-states' citizenship doctrines rather than residence within the EU borders. Despite the challenges nation-states are facing from both below and above through 'micro and macro revolutions' (Rosenau 1990), European leaders often fall into such traps as adopting strategies of nation/state building experienced in the European history and judge the progress gained in construction of a European identity against such criteria.

When evaluated as a nation-building project, the success of the EU is bound to be less than impressive. As Bellier and William argue, imagining new Europe requires contemplation of "harmonization as an indefinite quest whose accomplishment is forever postponed, a process inextricably linked to the structural incompleteness of Europe" (2000, 14) rather than thinking about a bounded project. The philosophy of European integration itself is incompatible with the classical nation-building approaches, as the latter is done through bloody conflicts with one's neighbors (Edwards 2000, 69). European Union is, on the other hand, based on the idea of peaceful change rather than use of force.

The reductionist approach of nation-state paradigm also creates an impression of inevitable rivalry between national and European identities. This expectation of competition stems from the implicit assumption of essentialism. Best represented by the Maastricht ruling of the *Bundesverfassungsgericht*⁵⁴ in 1993, a demos understanding that requires a *Volk* defined in organic-cultural terms and a citizenship understood only in conjunction with national state renders a rivalry between national and European polities inevitable (Weiler 1995, 243). Yet, it is misleading to treat

⁵⁴ German Constitutional Court.

nation-state as the only unit of political organization as the addressee of loyalties. There are currently and will in the future be other ways of contemplating communities, particularly in civic terms rather than ethno-cultural primordial terms.⁵⁵

However, to say that nation-state is becoming perhaps an obsolete form of imagining politics and identity (Habermas 1998) is not same as talking about the end of nations. As Croucher (2003) argues even though the way nations are imagined might change, the imagining of nationhood will continue due to inherent human need to belong. What changes, then, is not the imagining *per se* but the time-bound variations in ways such constellation of communities takes place.

The inadequacy of nation-building models to appraise the EU is recognized by many scholars (e.g., Schild 2001; Kohli 2000; Banchoff and Smith 1999; Soysal 1995). Banchoff and Smith, pointing to the increasing tendency to refuse statist perspectives on European Union politics, agree with approaches that “conceive of the EU neither as the mere creation of nation-states nor as a European super-state in the making, but as a complex web of policy and political relationships linking European, national and subnational institutions” (1999, 12). Indeed, the system of governance that is emerging can best be evaluated as a network of various ‘veto-players’ (Tsebelis 2002) where the political outcomes and behavior is determined through negotiation as well as unforeseen compromises. In Schild’s words, “none of the three levels clearly dominates the other two in a permanent and systematic way” (2001, 334). The thriving practice and culture of the EU challenges our thinking as to the

⁵⁵ One of the most popular theories in this regard came from German philosopher, Jürgen Habermas in the form of ‘*verfassungspatriotismus*’ (constitutional patriotism). Accordingly, membership in a free polity is based on the voluntary adherence to democratic values and principles reflected in a constitutional culture (free of national differences).

appropriate models of polity. In sum, “Europe as an emerging form creates significant changes in our conceptions of politics and identity” (Abales 2000, 51).

Furthermore, a more robust investigation of European identity begs for a more flexible and sophisticated perspective that places the modern individual with skills of rational decision-making and choice-processing in the center. Hence, instead of approaching it as part of a European nation-building strategy, a collective sense of belonging at the European level should be approached as a form of social identity. As such, individuals with their evaluative abilities and free will become citizens whose loyalty and appreciation that the EU needs to earn. After this introduction to the established literature on identity theories, an application of social identity theories to the case of European identity is in order.

In light of the previous discussions where I visited the SIT, the first thing to clarify is that Europeanness is not an objectively definable concept. Although the core of what European identity stands for in the form of culture, history and heritage might seem real, the political and social construction of this consciousness has been going on for centuries. During this process, political figures, ordinary individuals and ‘others’ (both in the sense of external entities in opposition to which European identity gained its meaning and alternative versions of European identity imagined by various Europeans and non-Europeans) all had a role to play in the manufacturing of this *evitable* consciousness. In fact, current efforts to differentiate a modern sense of Europeanness through selective employment of some historical raw materials constitute a good example of this ongoing construction. The official discourses and documents of the Union on European identity do not mention the tragic parts of

European history in an effort to construct a suitable and appealing basis for a positive imagination of European self.

It is important to mention that even though all identities created, some might need a more deliberate and obvious construction than others. For example, Tajfel notes that the “further an individual’s identity is removed from the networks of his immediate life and primordial bonds, the less certain his loyalty will be to the relative abstract unit, and the more likely it is that ‘reasons’ for his loyalty will have to be created” (1970, 127). Referring to the same issue, Risse (2002, 18) argues that the reason behind the gap in degree of identification with the EU among the elites and public has to do with how “real” the Europe of the EU is to the aforementioned groups. Elites as the leading actors in European integration are far more familiar with the institutions and functioning of the EU, which makes this new Europe all the more tangible and credible to them. Public, on the other hand, isolated from decision-making process and disabled by the poor participation channels as well as limited knowledge still experiences the EU from a certain distance. European identity, hence, is perhaps more explicitly and bluntly created compared to national identities or to some other local identities. As discussed earlier, deliberate initiatives of policy-makers to raise a European identity in the form of several symbols as well as European citizenship and currency are conscious efforts to erase the cold and abstract image of the Union in the minds of Europeans and replace it with a more real and approachable everyday construct.

However, making construction of a new European collective identity credible and relevant cannot be achieved only by symbols, particularly when those symbols are not tied to tangible representations in individuals’ everyday lives. Making Europe

an integral part of individuals' everyday lives warrants raising the significance of the EU by encouraging more and more people to experience the Union socially. This issue will be touched upon in detail below.

As evaluated in the previous section, social identities rely on three main principles: firstly, a sense of group belonging requires definition of an in-group and an out-group. The definition of the "other" (i.e., out-group members) is an important aspect of social boundary formation. The historical European identity is molded through its opposition to various others: the Oriental/Asian, the American, and the East European (Strath 2002, 391). It is interesting to highlight that at certain points in history, today's fellow Europeans within the EU were each others' negative reference points for the respective national identities. For instance, following the German occupation and World War II, Germany was the main other in French national identity. British identity has content that is anti-continental (European) in general and anti-French in particular. The Scottish identity has some anti-British implications. Just like the content of national identity, its 'others' also change. Nordic countries consider their self-image pitted against Europe. As discussed above, defining the other is, however, not always done through comparison to an external entity. At different points in European history, Jews and communism also served to delineate Europe from what is perceived to be non-Europe. In the same way, following the end of the Cold War, some recent discourses utter Islam as Europe's new other. This tendency has been strengthened with the terrorist events of 9/11 in the USA. Even though several European countries (both in the EU and outside the EU) have considerable number of Muslim population, Islamic identity is still seen as 'stranger' in Europe.

What the EU decides as its current 'other' has far reaching implications for what the EU at the end comes to be. If self and the other are two sides of the same coin, the current definition of the other for Europe will define not only where Europe ends, but also what Europeanness is incompatible with.⁵⁶ This is the very reason why collective identities are shaped by negotiations and counter negotiations through its course. The other of an identity plays an important part in the end result of such constellations. A typical example of this is seen in the Turkish case. Although Turks have been active players in European theatre for centuries, they have been at different points in European history seen as non-Europeans and alien to European culture. The recent European Commission recommendation on start of negotiations with Turkey for full membership faced severe public resistance in some member states and led to a heated debate as to what Europe means after all. This soul-searching and negotiations with one of Europe's others with regard to whether an Islamic identity is or may be compatible with the European values will have far reaching implications on the future shape European construction will take. For instance, Turkey's inclusion in the EU would force the EU to moderate or change its discourse on the Christian roots of Europeanness as it would impinge upon the role of Islam in Europe's construction.

In addition to the definition of what doesn't constitute a social group identity, internal group cohesion is also required for the consolidation of that social identity. An internal group cohesion in the context of the EU would mean that Europeans

⁵⁶ See for example Hülse's (2000) discussion of how the discourse on Turkey's EU accession is a hidden 'othering' strategy for European identity construction by way of its focus on Turkey's credentials for Europeanness.

recognize one another as members of the same broader ‘we’ group who are worthy of trust, affection, solidarity and mutual concern.

Secondly, social identities are always multiple. A central issue within the context of our discussion is the relationship between national and European identities as social identity categories and their natures. Attempts to explain the nature of identities divide the issue into two by following the analysis of Easton (1965; 1975) on political support for institutions: instrumentalist identities (that derive mostly from cost-benefit calculations and are explicable through rational choice approach) and affective identities (that are generated by affective feelings deriving from elements that have potential primordial connotations). The prevalent view in the literature characterizes European identity less in affective and more in utilitarian terms (Garcia 1993; Laffan 1996; Hedetoft 1998; Bretherton and Vogler 1999; Schild 2001; Van Kersbergen 2000; Jimenez et al. 2004). Thus, European identity, which is a result of such instrumentalist loyalty, is viewed as different from more durable and passionate national identities.⁵⁷

Empirical evidence demonstrates that the nation-state continues to be the major locus of political identification, yet it is misleading to argue that European identity can only expand at the expense of national identity. ‘Multiple identities’ that are induced by different contexts and issue-areas (Bretherton and Vogler 1999; Marks 1999; Waters 1990). The development of multi-level identifications is also a reasonable outcome of EU’s multi-level governance (Schild 2001). Similar effects of multilevel governance in federal states on collective identities are well established in local politics literature.

⁵⁷ Habermas (1975), referring to the necessity of deeper attachments, argues that a democratic political system needs something more than economic support: cultural legitimacy.

Sociological studies yield that no identity can be treated as unconditionally and eternally superior to other identities (Eley and Suny 1996, 10). The quality and intensity of belonging to different groups is likely to be subject to change across time and issue areas. Particular contexts may elevate one identity to the dominant/salient status over others due to specific relevance or utility in that particular context. The hierarchy within multiple identities depends on many factors such as interest calculations, power structures, and social negotiations with accompanying motivations and disincentives.

Rather than considering different identities in a zero-sum context, it is perhaps more realistic to treat identities as an interplay of both instrumentalist and affective components. A strictly dichotomous approach misses the point that even a predominantly instrumental identity—as long as it fulfills a certain positive function for the individual—might entail some emotional significance. Developing a strong affective attachment to a community requires a long period of adaptation and socialization process. It has a lot to do with the strength and the salience of discourses on identity along with the practical utility of its common myths and symbols. All these factors point to the possibility that an identity that is for the most part instrumental (i.e., with little emotional significance) might over time increase in affective intensity, as utility of the group membership for personal development and survival increases.⁵⁸ Furthermore, as Tajfel (1974, 69) defines, social identity—in addition to recognition of the group membership—represents the affective meaning of that group membership to the individual.

⁵⁸ Dogan (1994) and Howe (1995) foresee that European identity might replace national identity if it gains enough affective capital.

In sum, instrumental and affective attachments might be both at work in the case of European identity, and their interaction might be a function of the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Union in providing Europeans with increased (material as well as nonmaterial) benefits. As discussed in previous section, Lawler (1992) argues that a social group that consistently gives positive emotions to an individual will eventually enjoy stronger identification from that individual. This is because such positive emotions will translate into affective attachments as one builds on the other in a mutually reinforcing way. This brings us to the third and the most important principle of social identity theory: the link between social identity and a sense of self-worth.

Drawing upon Lawler (1992), one can argue that even though individuals are inclined to develop stronger ties to locality (subgroups-here nation-state or regional state), the EU can attract affective attachments if it can change perceptions of the citizens as to the positive impact of the EU on individual choice generation. In other words, if the EU citizens see the EU as a source of independence and multiplicity of choices, they will develop a deep, emotive attachment to the EU. This proposition makes sense in light of some empirical examples. For example, the deficiencies in one's national democracy might lead to a switch to European identity, if the EU provides ways of political participation and is seen as more representative of marginalized groups. This is the case for Spain where various groups see the EU as the guarantor of their rights. Similarly, in recent decades the religious as well as Kurdish segment of the Turkish population proved to be the staunchest supporters of the entry into the EU, for the political system and governance of the EU offers a refuge for censored rights.

In this context, Schmidtke (1998, 57-58) argues that European citizenship could serve a pivotal function by guaranteeing social and political participatory rights that make Europeanness a visible experience of everyday social practices. Currently, however, European citizenship functions as only a complementary membership to national citizenships and does not suggest its own rights and duties. EU citizens cannot reflect on the system and its functioning in a participatory way, without the mediation and conditioning of the nation-state. Rarity of any grass roots movements within the EU confirms that individuals are still far from perceiving the EU as an effective platform to raise their voices for their social and political demands and praises. Real democratic participation within post-national framework of the EU would make the EU a social reality. Heinen argues that “in view of its structural weakness in terms of symbolic power and emotional strength, however, European Historical Consciousness will only come to determine behavior when it includes the individuals’ experience and when it possesses greater methodological and interpretative strength. European Historical Consciousness can therefore not be directed centrally (from Brussels?!), but must direct itself towards [this] individual and meaningful level” (2000, 111).

A similar logic is used in one study conducted by Kritzinger (2004) where she argues that “development of a European identity is closely connected to the EU’s ability to deliver policy outputs according to citizens’ expectations” (abstract). However, Kritzinger’s approach is different from the one employed here. While support for the EU is considered to derive from utilitarian expectations, identity (affective attachment to the EU) is considered separate from but related to utilitarian expectations. As explained above, in Social Identity Theories, utilitarian and

affective attachments are intertwined in a more complex and mutually reinforcing ways, although this relationship is not clearly spelled out.

An interesting question to raise here might perhaps be how identities can change depending on issue areas. Instead of a one size fits all type collective identity, sensitivity to context exposes the possibility that identity processes might react differently to economic, cultural, political and historical contexts. This question is particularly relevant in the global era where economic and political processes are governed and manipulated by an array of institutions at different levels of governance. Touching upon this issue Mahant argues that in the age of globalism, self determination by people can be exercised through developing multiple loyalties to “multi-layered or segmented institutions” that have a division of labor with regard to the realms of services and “are not necessarily territorially defined” (1995, 488). Having said that, one can easily reach the conclusion that depending on issue areas individuals can develop multiple loyalties to different political units in Europe, be it nation-state or supranational organizations, as expectations with regard to those services shift from one institution to the other. In addition to issue areas evoking different identities, policy preferences of citizens in different issue areas can evoke different components of collective identities (Risse 1999, 155; Marcussen et al. 1999, 616).

Nevertheless, the content and the intensity of a social identity are uneven for its subscribers. The intensity of an identity for different individuals within the same country as well as for different individuals from different countries is bound to vary as several factors may condition an individual’s perception of the EU as a relevant and effective entity. Then, it is also essential to examine the limitations on

individuals' ability to socially experience the benefits and opportunities the EU presents. Any obstacle, then, that delays or prevents social experience of the social/political culture of the European Union should be seen as relevant for the purposes of this investigation.

Firstly, individuals will respond to the issue of European identity differently owing to different demographic/socioeconomic factors that tie them across nations. For example, labor mobility is largely dependent on language skills, and education of individuals. The same skills might be important in the individual ability to relate to fellow Europeans (in the form of cognitive sophistication) in order to form a broader community in opposition to non-Europeans. Also, employment groups can have an impact on the willingness to identify with the EU since different segments of the work force are offered different incentives for supporting market integration. It is a well-known fact that low skilled workers are more disadvantaged than empowered by the integrated market structure of the European economy. The prospects for low-skilled workers' identification with the EU are grim, unless they derive some genuine advantages in other realms from the EU that can offset the aforementioned losses. Socioeconomic factors will also affect the perceptions of policy relevance. While one individual might think that the EU is dealing with issues that are vital to his/her wellbeing, another might see the EU dealing with issues that are unrelated to his concerns. In general, individuals who are for one reason or another among those who loose because of the increasing economic integration underway can still develop ties to the EU, if they are in different issue-areas joined to other (and winning) groups. In other words, cross-cutting cleavages are likely to increase the chances of the EU to offset some of the losses it causes by way of alternative services in different issue-

areas, unless the individual in question is among the permanent losers of integration. At issue is whether a low skilled Catalanian would appreciate the EU (despite the economic disadvantages) because of its services in raising rights and recognition of the broader Catalan group within Spain.

As it is well established in the literature, such variation in willingness to identify with the EU stems also from individuals' distinct national histories, political cultures, and perhaps most importantly national discourses that frame their understandings of national-self and European images as well as condition subjective perceptions of the EU's worth.

In summary, what the above discussion in light of Social Identity and Multiple Identity Theories suggests in terms of European citizens' attachments is that:

- The hierarchy of national and European identities is far from being fixed. Much will be determined by how Europeans define their community and whether the internal solidarity is genuine enough to form an in-group from previously distinct nationalities (we vs. they boundary formation). This is conditioned by events such as increasing understanding among the European nations as a result of face-to-face interactions, and the resulting "convergence in the cultural realm" as Europeans form a community of common heritage and practices different from non-Europeans (Reif 1993).⁵⁹ Furthermore, the role these respective structures play in everyday lives of Europeans is bound

⁵⁹ LeVine (1965) argues that it is more likely to have accurate images of groups that one has more experience with. Increased communication and contact among the citizens of the EU member-states makes inter-national differentiation difficult to maintain inside the Union.

to change over time, which, in turn, would change any hierarchy pattern between loyalties vis-à-vis the two structures.

- The ability of the European Union to load its narratives and symbols with real meaning to individuals is significant in creating and sustaining a collective identity in the EU. This requires an increasing appreciation by Europeans of the benefits of the EU (in the form of economic benefits, European-level networking opportunities for transnational issues and meaningful political participation through its political institutions as well as citizenship practices). European identity needs to be integrated in social experiences of individuals to create a strong sense of loyalty. For such a sense of loyalty to be genuine, the EU citizens must feel that the EU is indispensable to their material and nonmaterial welfare.
- Social experiences of Europe and the EU will vary from individual to individual. In other words, what it is to be a European along with the affective meaning of it is likely to be different for different individuals depending on those demographic qualities that might facilitate or hinder the processes of Europeanization. Cross cutting identity affiliations and demographics qualitatively change the nature of European experience for individuals. There is a great deal of variation both within the EU member states and non-EU countries in the way citizens understand and live Europe as the active part they take in the course of the EU vary. For example, an overwhelming 94% of those who are engaged in European institutions considered their country's membership in the EU a good thing in a Eurobarometer survey conducted on top decision-makers (Laffan 2004, 76). It is highly unlikely that such a high

percentage can be replicated among individuals who live Europe from a distance, such as unemployed and the third country nationals living in a EU member state. Accepting the possibility of alternative subscriptions to Europeanness deconstructs the given status of a homogenous or a dominant single version of European identity.

- The perception of the Union as a relevant and representative structure would contribute to project the EU as a locus for a positive self-identification. Therefore, European identity, just as any social/political identity, should also be seen as a strategic choice that is responsive to the opportunity structures offered. In this sense, immigrants and subnational groups such as national minorities are particularly attracted to European identity (Kohli 2000; Breakwell 2004, 34; Carey 2002, 406). This process, however, is not inevitable for every individual. In fact, as noted earlier only those individuals who feel empowered by the EU will identify with the EU.
- European identity need not compete with any other social identity. As social networks of individuals become more comprehensive, new layers of social spheres become relevant in terms of identity and loyalty. Particularly owing to ever-increasing pace of globalization, other and more encompassing forms of social identities are likely to become viable. For example, social networks of transnational interest alignment will over time emphasize social identities that are free of national or supranational governance structures or formal organizations. Green Peace and other ecology movements are compelling first examples of this prospect. If individuals appreciate groups/units that increase their bargaining power and effectiveness in their daily choice processes, we

can conclude that depending on the issue area (and individual interest), the relevance of various groups/units will change, hence the saliency of one group identification over others. Whether individuals feel attached to European, a subnational group, or some other form collectivity at one time hinges on the particular issue area, the corresponding level of governance and the social context one is operating in. Non-duplicative identities need not be rivals.

Some might argue that the implications that I derived from SIT and multiple identity theories for European identity draws a model that is not very different than an instrumental understanding of European identity. It is true that I focus above mostly on the confidence-raising function of social identity. In the light of that assumption I highlight those factors that symbolize the empowering effects of the EU as major variables affecting the link between individuals and the European Union. Conceptually this might seem not very different than saying individuals identify with the EU if they benefit from it. However, the theoretical roots of this claim in the SIT are much deeper and comprehensive than the utilitarian models that were used in some of the previous literature.

Firstly, rather than simply arguing self interest is what accounts for developing group identities, I, drawing upon Lawler's (1992) theory, argue that sustained favorable opinion with regard to a group will over time result in a durable attachment to that group with more than temporary implications. In fact, such emotional attachment to the EU is what the policy makers hope to bring about to sustain popular support even at times of unpopular policies. The mere existence of the EU as a new supra-level identity is not in itself enough for individuals to

automatically embrace this new identity option. It is through the policies of the EU that this new identity category gains meaning and affective significance. Whether the EU policies are delivering to European citizens services that cannot be done by their national states or services that they are deprived of by their national governments for social/political reasons has far-reaching implications for whether the EU can over time rely on a growing political capital and, in turn, affective allegiance. This dynamic part of the theory is admittedly rich and data restrictions will prevent me from displaying the modifications EU brings about on personal understanding of self over years. This methodological challenge, nevertheless, should not lower the value of the aforementioned theoretical point, one that sets it apart from the simplistic utilitarian models which are negligent of identity trends that come about with the passage of time.

Secondly, previously used utilitarian models are mostly concerned with only material advantages the EU offers to its citizenry. In this study, I also consider nonmaterial benefits Europeans derive from the EU. In this sense the theoretical boundaries of the model is more comprehensive and representative of the actual individual experiences with the EU.

Thirdly, identities changing as a response to outside stimuli should come as no surprise. Individuals, rather than allowing their identities automatically change as passive objects of manipulation, should be given the due credit for their evaluative capabilities and rational decision-making skills. With these assumptions in mind, many scholars previously pointed to the purposive nature of identity processes (see Breakwell 2004; Risse 2002b). Breakwell touching upon this issue argues that

Identity is not totally determined by its social context. There are contradictions and conflicts within the ideological milieu, generated by intergroup power struggles, that permits the individual some freedom of choice in formulating the identity structure. Furthermore the limitations of the cognitive system itself impose some constraints on identity development. Changes in identity are therefore normally purposive (30)... People will differ in their awareness of the category characteristics and in the inclination they feel to assimilate them. The process of assimilation and accommodation of the new identity element is purposive (2004, 34).

Fourthly, drawing on the Social Identity and Multiple Identity Theories, I focus on both the utilitarian value of the EU and affective meaning of it for the individual. Again data availability will limit my ability to fully demonstrate this mutual relationship between the two aspects of identity. However, the proxies I develop based on Eurobarometer data will certainly give us a more complete model along with some preliminary results that can be used by future research to build upon. I argue that utilitarian and affective attachments, rather than being different types of identities, are two elements found in every identity.

What Kind of a European Identity?

Before we indulge in uncovering the model that will be tested in this study, an important distinction is in order for the sake of conceptual clarification. I discussed that theoretically it is possible to differentiate between three types of European

identity: institutional, cultural and civic.⁶⁰ As a form of social identity, individuals can attach a cultural or civic connotation to their sense of belonging to the EU.

Which type of an identity is or can European identity be?

Schmidtke (1998) evaluating the feasibility of ideal identity forms argues that only a universalistic identity can be credible for the EU. The EU lacks any eternal or ahistorical commonality in primordial or cultural terms for a primordially defined identity. The sheer diversity we see among the European member states as well as within each member state makes this option not convincing. This form of identity formation would also require an aggressive demarcation from outside world through a strong other. Not only normative implications of such a dichotomization are dangerous for future of the broader Europe, but also it would present an inconsistency with the broader ideals and the discourse of the EU.

Arguing for an EU identity that is based on some universalistic values Schmidtke points to the fact that the European unification project is created “via a specific cultural value orientation and ideational reference points delineating a future project rather than glorifying a common past of primordial origin” (1998, 57). Looking at the same issue from a somewhat different perspective Howe (1995) recognizes the lack of a primordial kind of solidarity among Europeans, but argues that a prospective myth could well do the same task. Europeans can see each other as fellow in-group members if they believe in the joint destiny and common goals they share.

Referring to the same question, Seidendorf mentions a typology introduced by Peter Graf Kielmansegg as to the three communities that can project a political

⁶⁰ By institutional identity, I mean external identity of the European Union in the world stage. For the distinction between the last two types of European identity see Bruter (2003).

identity: “community of memory, community of communication and community of experience” (2003, 3). A community of communication relies on public discussion of politics in a public sphere and thereby a common identity being forged among the discussants who participate in this discursive practice. Community of memory, on the other hand, relies on commonly interpreted past narratives and their symbols for persuasion and belonging in a community. Lastly, community of experience is based on public participation in decision-making and majority forming in an environment of plurality of memories, attitudes and orientation. The first two kinds of communities are difficult to succeed at the European level due to lack of a common European memory and common language respectively.⁶¹ Graf Kielmansegg concludes that what we see as a result of the European governance and political system is rather an emerging community of experience.

Thus, there is a general agreement in the literature that a meaningful cultural or historical identity does not exist at the European level (Mayer and Palmowski 2004, 575). There is also some evidence based on Bruter’s (2003) study that European identity is internalized by European public mostly as a civic rather than a cultural identity. Agreeing with Bruter, Risse (2002, 18) maintains that cultural and civic definitions of Europe refer to different constructs. Europe *per se* is often considered as a broader cultural and historical space. On the other hand, identification with the EU is often perceived in civic terms meaning attachment of the citizens to the political institutions and structures of the EU. Based on this distinction, Risse argues that when individuals talk about a political Europe, what

⁶¹ Lack of a common European memory is particularly discouraging as common European experiences are recalled through different national memories (Mayer and Palmowski 2004, 581).

they have in mind is the EU. In other words, “the EU has achieved an ‘identity hegemony’ in that it defines Europe in political terms” (2002, 18).

Based on these theoretical points and empirical evidence, this study assumes that the emerging European identity is more civic in nature than cultural. Thus, the following chapter that tests an empirical model is meant to measure a European civic identity that is believed to be projected by the EU. Even though a broader European identity that highlights a regional attachment to the broader European continent and its history is theoretically possible (regardless of its persuasive capital), such a sense of belonging remains beyond this study.

In this chapter I reviewed the established Social Identity Theory developed by Tajfel and Turner. I argued that if European identity is to be a compelling collective identity, its success should be judged as an instance of social identity. I investigated the implications of SIT theory in the context of the EU. I also supplemented Tajfel and Turner’s theory with Lawler’s theoretical clarifications on the link between instrumental/affective attachments. In the next chapter, I will continue to move from more general to particular. I will present a social identity model of European identity. Based on Eurobarometer data, I will test this model and discuss the results.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD AND ANALYSIS

No one wants to see a technocratic Europe. European Union must be experienced by the citizen in his daily life. It must make itself felt in education and culture, news and communications... It must protect the rights of the individual and strengthen democracy through a set of institutions which have legitimacy conferred on them by the will of our peoples. The image of Europe... must demonstrate to these within and without the solidarity of our peoples and the values of our society.

-Tindeman's Report to European Union [1976], as cited by Edwards (2000, 67).

Based on the previous theoretical discussions, in this chapter, I will present a model of European identity as a case of social identity and test this model against the empirical data. Before we start this analysis one caveat is in order: It is important not to begin this endeavor under the illusion that I will test a complete theory that can control for all the possible factors that shape or adjust identities. The rich implications drawn from SIT and Multiple Identity Theories that proceeded constitute a comprehensive picture of identity processes and how identities are formed and sustained. The concept of identity is a thick and fluid one. Not only defining but also measuring the phenomenon of identity is difficult. As such, the model under investigation here is likely to be incomplete, leaving some of the factors out that impact identity. It is not realistic to expect that any one model can control for everything that can have an effect on social identities.

These conceptual challenges are exacerbated with the limited data availability. The most comprehensive data on issues of European politics is Eurobarometer public surveys conducted by the European Commission biannually. Yet, even Eurobarometer surveys suffer from several shortcomings. Researchers' ability to test assumed relationships is limited with the survey questions that are often ambiguously worded and broadly defined. Furthermore, many questions are not consistently asked over years preventing an analysis over time. Faced with such drawbacks, one option would be designing one's own survey or utilizing the limited national surveys. Any of these options, however, is likely to lead to case studies (due to funding or language barriers) rather than studies that examine issues across the whole EU. Cross-country coverage is perhaps the biggest advantage Eurobarometer surveys have to offer. The tradeoff involved is often between an in-depth analysis of a case study and a broader study with general patterns at work across the EU.

Therefore, the empirical study that follows cannot claim to test the theory discussed in chapter III in its entirety or generate definitive relationships that hold across time due to such data limitation. As more multifaceted data become available, more and more aspects of the theory can be tested. The following analysis will present only a snapshot of the current state of European identity. Despite this reductionist attempt at partial testing of the theory, the preceding discussion of cognitive processes, social practices and symbolic tools by which identities are constructed, projected and manipulated is integral to any attempt at its empirical-partial as it may be- understanding. The results still shed light on some of the contours of the relationships and their implications for future prospects of European integration and its identity consequences.

Modeling European Identity

Under what conditions and for whom does European identity become a salient sense of belonging? Based on the Social Identity Theory, we can differentiate between cognitive, evaluative and affective meanings of an identity (Herrmann and Brewer 2004, 6). The individual is cognizant of which group he belongs to, the value of that group to his well-being and positive self-image, and the emotional significance that group membership has for him. Thus, I expect that individuals identify with a social group (here the EU) if they perceive it as a positive entity and the social group, in turn, helps them achieve a positive self-image. This positive self-image is accompanied by a sense of empowerment by that group. Furthermore, individuals feel a certain degree of affect for the group in question.

Integral to understanding European identity is also examining some of the possible reasons that are contributing to an individual's willingness to identify with the EU. By the same token, any barriers to experiencing and relating socially to the European Union should also be explored. For such barriers will curb one's reasons to identify oneself as European. It is also essential to investigate the issue not only at the individual level but also at the national level. The shift of loyalty between national and European identities is not likely to be identical for every individual or member state. To put it more clearly, differences in European identity across individuals cannot be assumed only to stem from factors about individuals themselves. Factors deriving from individuals being members of a particular country will also have an impact on the prospects of European identity. Examining the issue at also the national level seems appropriate for two reasons: First, as members of a particular society, perceptions of individuals cannot be considered prior to and

independent of the values, images and the broader cultural environment (Vertzberger 1990; Hermann et.al. 1975). Secondly, previous research yields that nationality and national concerns still play an important role in the popular evaluations of ‘integration’ issues (Gabel and Palmer 1995; Deflem and Pampel 1996; Carey 2002).⁶² Therefore, elaboration on the national level is as essential as individual level. All in all, elements that qualify an individual’s context condition how s/he perceives the EU, and how s/he defines individual self. Individual context also determines how distant that definition of self is from an imagined European identity.

I also discussed in the previous chapter that the nature of multiple identities requires taking issue areas into consideration. Thus, when investigating sources of European identity, one needs to be sensitive to placing the principles of social identity within the context of particular issue areas. My expectation is that depending on the issue areas, the meaning of European Union might be different. In those issue areas where the major competences lie in the hands of nation-states, European Union has little relevance and meaning to citizens. Thus nation states might continue to be the most meaningful locus of social identity. Similarly, an EU that provides services in those areas that are crucial for what Europeanness stand for (welfare state, human rights, environmental protection etc.) can set the EU apart from the individual nation-states (Mayer and Palmowski 2004; Weiler 2002) as a separate and effective unit of governance which deserves its *European* citizens’ allegiance. Moreover, in surveys the sequence of questions or the flow of conversation might increase the salience of one identity over the other.

⁶² In an empirical study, Deflem and Pampel (1996) show that both anti-Europeans and pro-Europeans derive their attitudes with regard to the EU from national concerns.

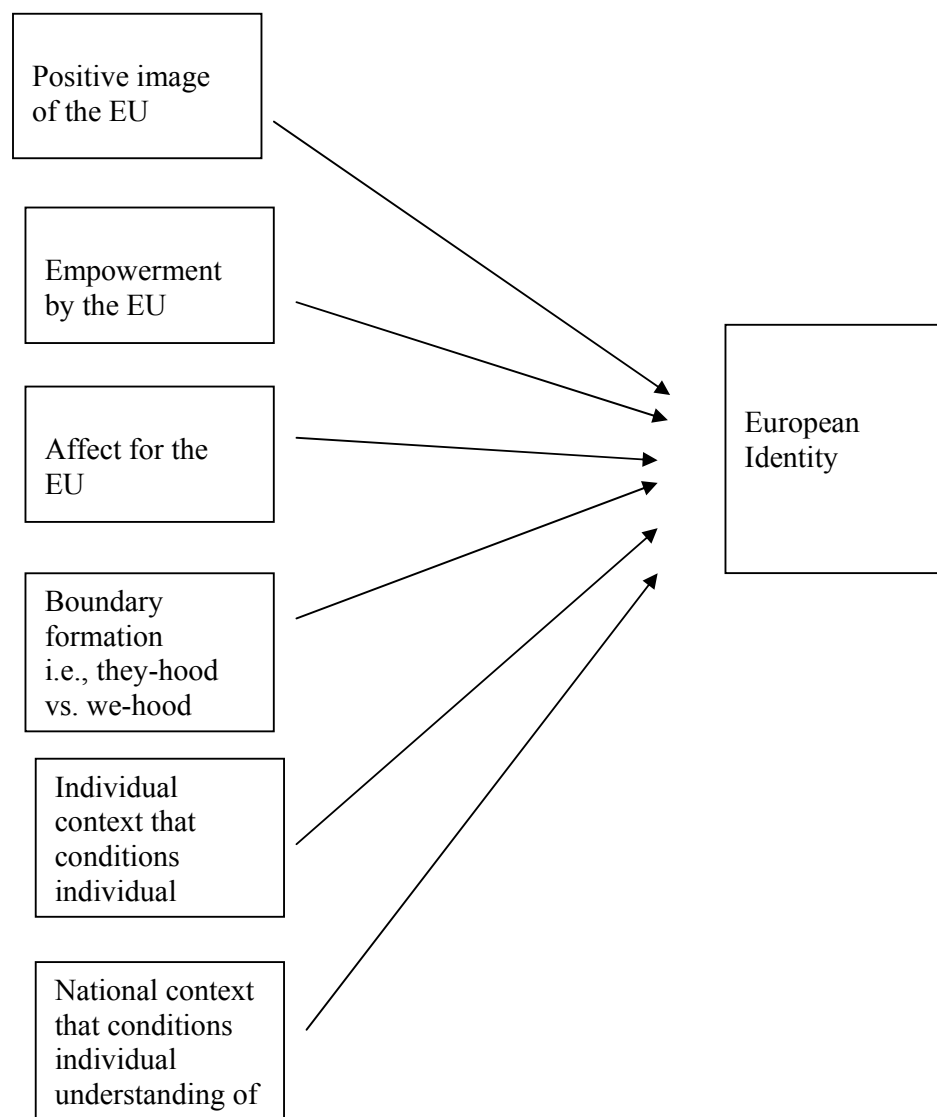
There can be additional factors that condition the context in which an individual thinks about the EU and his/her Europeanness. For example, at times of major developments in the course of European integration, the issues about the EU preoccupy media means to a greater extent. As Risse and Steeg (2003, 22) argue, this overload of information makes the European Union especially salient and may have effects on European identity. Salience of Europe and the discourses on pros and cons of European policies can facilitate Europeans discussing these issues as members of a collectivity, thereby creating a sense of awareness of both the EU and the joint social space Europeans are sharing. This expectation is in line with Bruter's (2003) finding with regard to the effects of news on the civic European identity. Yet, whether such political context may help increase European identity or not is likely ultimately to depend on how the general national media frames the EU in news (hence national context) and whether a particular individual perceives the information as a cue to approve or resent the EU (hence individual context). Two such occasions can be years of treaty ratification⁶³ and European Parliament elections⁶⁴. Whether the distribution of identities is influenced by such events in those years would be interesting to see. These points, however, remain outside the scope of this study due to data limitations. Testing these propositions would require compiling data over

⁶³ The current constitutional crisis of the EU offers a particularly relevant example. The firm rejection of the draft Constitution of the EU by both the French and the Dutch people has caused allegedly the biggest turmoil in the history of the EU. Media coverage of the EU as well as failed referenda news across the EU countries are likely to render issues of European identity dramatically salient motivating an overall public appraisal of the European project and its direction including its collectivity-forming consequences. Eurobarometer surveys carried out this spring and fall would offer a particularly compelling case to investigate and compare to earlier surveys because of the inherent link between such a constitution and a civic identity within the EU.

⁶⁴ Perhaps the significance of European Parliament elections should not be exaggerated given the secondary status of these elections to the national elections. Typically, genuinely *European* debates are seldom the case in many member-states. National concerns and issues are known to monopolize these campaigns.

years. At the time being, it is not possible to combine such time series data on European identity along with all the variables of the theory I present here. In this study, deferring the issue to future research, I opted to apply the social identity theory to the case of European identity and test its validity without a consideration given to such contextual factors.

Having mentioned all the limitations on a full test of the theory that is discussed in the previous chapter, a review of the model that will be tested in this study is in order. Drawing upon the SIT and Multiple Identity Theory, the model proposed here is presented in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1 Model of European Identity as a Social Identity

Propositions

Principles of Social Identity Theory

Positive Image of the EU

SIT contends that individuals only identify with groups of which they have a favorable image so that they can contemplate their self-identity in a positive manner as well. Thus identifying with a group necessitates perceiving the group in a positive and favorable image.⁶⁵ For example, Hemmer and Katzenstein (2002, 593) argue that during the Cold war the US regularly had favorable estimates of the strength of European allies due to her strong identification with Europe. Thus, I hypothesize that the more an individual views the EU through a positive image the more s/he is likely to identify with the EU.

Empowerment by the EU

Lawler (1992) argues that empowerment by a group is significant in creating grounds and incentives for identifying with that group. If it is a voluntary membership of a group that is in question, one is more likely to identify with a group that enhances one's control over choice processes in everyday life as such autonomy enhancing intervention of the relevant group creates positive emotions in the individual. These positive emotions, in turn, Lawler argues, over time, transform into affective attachments to that group. In other words, what is being considered here is the utilitarian (in the broader sense of the term) evaluation of the European Union through a subjective angle. It is plausible to expect that Europeans who have positive experience with the EU and receive substantial material/nonmaterial advantages from

⁶⁵ This proposition is confirmed in an earlier study conducted by Medrano and Gutierrez (2001) in Spain. However, it is important to see how it fares across the EU in a complex model involving additional premises of the Social Identity Theory.

the EU should be more loyal supporters of the EU, hence subscribers of European identity. This is because they are likely to perceive the EU as enhancing their freedom in their choice-processes. On the other hand, those who are disadvantaged or threatened by the European Union are likely to oppose European identity as it decreases their sense of control in their lives.

Affect for the EU

As discussed in the previous chapters, many scholars treat European identity as a utilitarian identity whereas national identity is considered more passionate and, hence, affective. This clear-cut division between instrumental and affective dimensions of identities might, however, be exaggerated. Drawing upon Lawler's theory of nested groups, I argued that interest and affect are likely to have a more interwoven relationship and have some bearing on identities at the same time. In fact, this logic is more convincing in light of Lawler's (1992) argument that positive experience with a social group is what ensures the development of affect for that group. This process is likely to take some time. Therefore I consider that, rather than assuming European identity is instrumental, both instrumental and affective attachments condition one's willingness to identify with the EU. Emotive significance of a social group develops parallel to empowerment by that group. However, it is possible that while affect is a result of empowerment, it also has an independent influence on identity as affect can endure temporary setbacks in empowerment.⁶⁶ In other words, if the relationship between emotion and affect is

⁶⁶ In case of a prolonged frustration with a group's impact on one's sense of empowerment, the affective dimension is, I assume, likely to regress like the utilitarian dimension over time. Lawler makes a similar argument that affective attachments to a collectivity can be weakened if freedom in choice processes is not enhanced.

established over a long time, the reversing of the process is likely to take a certain time, too.

Thus, even in the (temporary) absence of the positive experiences with the group that evoked such emotions in the first place, one is likely to identify with the group and project an emotive confidence into the future with regard to that group's positive image. A measure of affect in the model will control for both those who benefit from the EU and has a certain level of affect for the EU and those who have affect for the EU even though their expectations are currently not fulfilled. In line with these expectations, I hypothesize that individuals who have affective attachment to the EU are more likely to feel European.

They-hood

As discussed in Chapter III, establishment of a social identity requires mental boundary formation. In other words, for an identity to be consolidated, identity claimants need to reach a clear consciousness of who belongs to their group as fellow members and who does not. Erickson (1995) argues that the exclusion of those who are considered to be different is achieved relatively easier, for difference is easier to detect than similarity. On the other hand, achieving internal solidarity and we-hood comes later than out-group consciousness.⁶⁷ In other words, defining a group is more difficult than defining what that group is not. This subjective boundary definition ends in objective results in terms of entitlements and dues as well as status and respect. The 'We vs. they' consciousness, for example, is the ultimate criterion for determining who can be allowed to enjoy privileges of group membership and who cannot be allowed to benefit from membership under any circumstances or without

⁶⁷ Similarly, Neumann argues that social boundary between an in-group and an out-group is "not a consequence of integration, but one of its necessary a priori ingredients" (1996, 166-167).

certain restrictions.⁶⁸ It is necessary to understand whether Europeans have reached a mental demarcation line towards non-EU citizens as non-Europeans. I expect that those Europeans who treat non-EU citizens differently from fellow EU citizens are likely to feel more European compared to those who do not have such perceptions activated by a common sense of Europeanness.

We-Hood

Another dimension of boundary formation is an acceptance of certain individuals (based on some commonalities) as fellow members of the social group that one belongs to. This would require a certain degree of trust, perception of worth, and similarity in the broader norms and attitudes. Due to this vote of confidence and perception of commonality, in-group members are seen worthy of help, solidarity, cohesion and favorable treatment. An EU citizen who is unable to extend such spirit to other EU citizens is unlikely to have revisited his/her conceptualization of self on the basis of a broader European society and its constitutive principles as to Europeanness. Therefore, I hypothesize that those individuals who perceive fellow EU citizens as in-group members and treat them in a privileged way are likely to feel more European than those who do not feel this camaraderie with other EU citizens.

Individual Context

Knowledge of the European Union

Willingness of Europeans to embrace the European cause even in the face of major losses might be determined by their level of knowledge about the EU. The

⁶⁸ Many studies argue that group identification creates a psychological in-group bias—treating of the in-group members differently and favorably than out-group members. This conclusion is confirmed in various fields.

European Parliament's Hahn Report (1984) clearly highlights this point in the following lines:

European integration will only be achieved if Europeans want it. Europeans will only want it if there is such a thing as European identity. A European identity will only develop if Europeans are adequately informed. (as cited by Edwards 2000, 70).

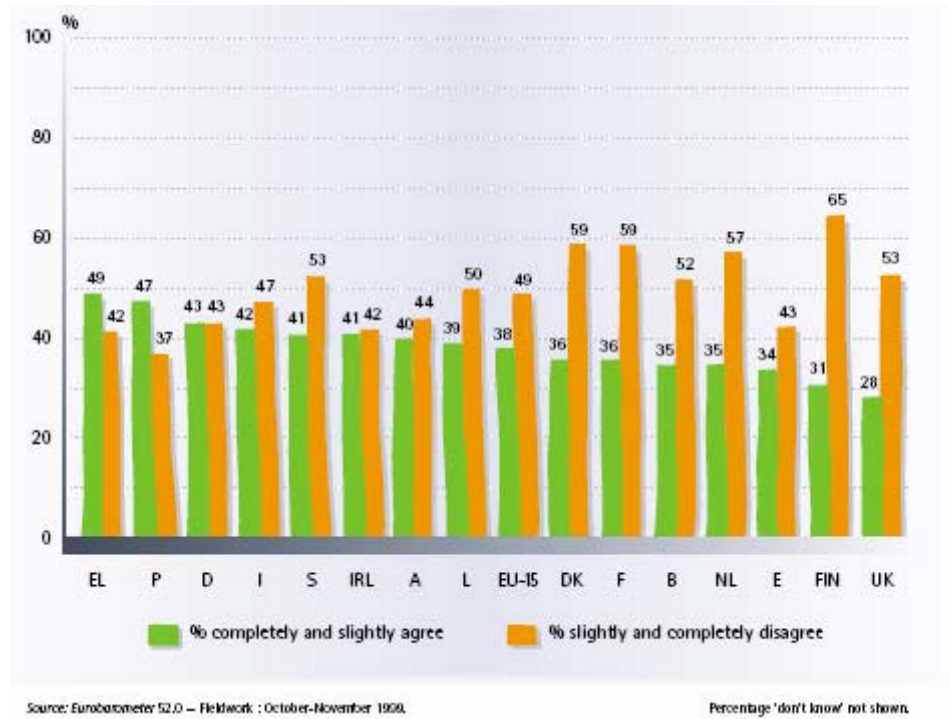
A certain level of awareness is a prerequisite of developing a sense of attachment to any political community. Furthermore, this variable can serve as a proxy for the level of involvement and activism of an individual with the EU.

Opinion on Multiculturalism

Being able to identify with the supranational community of the EU also means being able to identify with people from different racial, religious and cultural backgrounds.⁶⁹ Although this could be the case in a single nation-state as well, the extent of the challenge faced within a multinational society such as the EU is beyond comparison. The difficulty of such solidarity within the EU is also intensified by the lack of any moderating effect the broader unifying element of nation-hood has to offer. Furthermore, some European countries are highly homogeneous and, hence, devoid of any significant multicultural element in their political discourse (e.g., Greece, Sweden, Portugal). This predicament is confirmed by the subjective perceptions by Europeans of cultural diversity in Europe and lack of a common European culture shared by all the European countries.

⁶⁹ Hooge and Mark (2004) included multiculturalism as representing identity aspect in a study that focuses on support for the EU. They, however, did not test whether it actually affects European identity.

FIGURE 2 Perception of a European Cultural Identity Shared by All Europeans



Source: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. 2001. "How Europeans See Themselves: Looking through the Mirror with Public Opinion Surveys." European Documentation Series (ISBN 92-894-0077-3), Luxembourg, p.12.

As can be seen from Figure 2, 38 % of EU citizens agree that there is a shared European cultural identity while 49 % of EU citizens disagree with such a conclusion. Geert Hofstede (1984) argues that culture is "the collective programming of the mind, which distinguishes the members of one group or society from those of another" (cited in Leitner 2000, 22). Thus, prospect of European supranational identity is likely only among those who are tolerant to the presence of other cultures and value systems and can mentally see no problem in building solidarity with people who are markedly different from one's own. Then, the more favorable opinion one

has on multiculturalism, the more likely one is to identify easily with other Europeans.

National Context

State Structure

There can be three possible theoretical arguments with regard to why the type of state structure one is coming from might partly account for one's level of readiness and willingness to adopt European identity. Firstly, leading political and social actors in a society such as elites and political parties can invoke identities, as cognitive schemas, by developing discourses where carefully selected cleavages are activated. As target groups are acculturated into these discourses, identities are 'learned' through a process of socialization. In this respect, the federal character of the state might endow its citizens with political learning of developing loyalties to different levels of governance.⁷⁰ Accustomed to viewing different levels of public-policy making as legitimate and effective locus of loyalty and identification, such citizens can treat the EU as a new level of governance to be added to their range of identities.

Secondly, Marks (1999, 83) argued that in federal or federalizing societies of Austria, Belgium, Germany and Spain regional attachment is considerably stronger than national attachment, suggesting that national identities were weaker. This finding might imply that the tendency to associate with the Union as a form of political identity might be higher in federal societies in the absence of any serious rivalry from national identity.

⁷⁰ This logic is suggested by Schild (2001) who argued that Germans with federal state experience might be more willing to accept European identity than French. He, however, did not test such possible link between the state type and European identity.

Thirdly, the revival of regionalist movements in Europe highlights a case for European integration, for it is considered to provide a forum within which to reassert regional identities (Laffan 1996, 90). In light of the fact that in federal societies regional consciousness and identities are considerably salient, the EU might be viewed more favorably due to its encouragement of regional policymaking. Hence, I hypothesize that those who are from a federal state are more likely to adopt European identity as a form of multiple identities than those who are from a unitary state with a centralized state culture.

National pride

The strength of one's national pride has a lot to do with one's willingness to develop a supranational (European) identity.⁷¹ This expectation is not in conflict with the argument earlier made with regard to multiple identities and the (possibly) complementary nature of European and national identities. Even though legal documents of the EU deliberately make the point of compatibility of national and European identities, national lenses of individuals may continue to see the two as mutually exclusive, for such a perception is dependent upon individual/national framing.

Several scholars emphasized that those who are uneasy with their national past (such as Germans, Italians) (Schild 2001, 339; Jimenez et al. 2004, 18) and who value the Union membership as an affirmation of their acceptance in the democratic community of Europeans such as Spaniards, Portuguese and Greeks (Luna-Arocas et.al. 2001, 444) might perceive the EU as an alternative source of political

⁷¹ Although this variable is tested before in the previous literature, the evidence found is conflicting. Thus, the conclusion is not clear. Inclusion of national pride in this model is essential also for correct model specification purposes as national pride is a good indicator of one's affect for one's national collectivity.

identification. Also, some scholars argued that European identity is easier to incorporate in those national discourses where national identity is constructed in a way compatible with Europeanness (e.g., Risse et al. 1999). Those national discourses where national pride is low are less likely to be constructed in a way to drive exclusive national identities due to a lack of necessary affective confidence. Thus, in countries where there is low self-esteem on a large scale (such as Germany, Spain, Portugal), individual's willingness to identify with the EU will be strengthened by their low national pride as their national discourses are likely to be more conducive to European identity. Thus, I hypothesize that those with strong national pride are less likely to adopt European identity as the leading or the sole form of identification.⁷²

Length of EU membership

Since this analysis is based on a cross-sectional examination of the data, it would be prudent to integrate a form of time parameter in European identity formation. Citizens of countries with long EU membership are likely to be exposed to some form of acculturation into the discourse of Europeanness, and to enjoy the respective benefits over a longer period of time. It is also possible that long years of country membership can translate into higher levels of knowledge about the EU for respective citizens. Owing to these assumptions, I believe that the development of European identity is partly determined by the duration of a country's EU membership. Accordingly, the longer a country has been in the EU, the more its citizens are likely to develop European identity.

⁷² This hypothesis does not exclude the possibility that individuals with high national pride might still identify with Europe. However, such an identification, it assumes, most likely to rank below the respective national identification.

WWII National Death Toll

In addition to culture, economic interest, and political institutions, Marks (1999) identifies war as an important factor changing territorial identities. As a major tragic event, war leaves deep marks in national memories and forms images of allies and adversaries that are to be transferred from generation to generation. Coercive conflict serves to bring a group together by “deepening commitment to the national community in a way that squeezes out other identities” (Marks 1999, 80), making national identities dominant and less accommodating to other identities. Hence, war is a major source of boundary formation. Wars draw and redraw boundaries, condition images of groups that are considered similar/different and superior/inferior.

In this context, WWII as the main driving force for the establishment of the EU is the most recent and destructive war in European history that shaped mental maps of Europe along with the images of allies and enemies. Thus, national casualties in WWII can operate as a good indicator of how deep such memories might go affecting the reconstruction of boundaries in Europe. National memories of WWII experiences are, then, likely to affect how hard or easy it is to identify with fellow Europeans as in-group members.⁷³ I hypothesize that individuals from those European countries with higher WWII casualties are less likely to identify with the community that the EU represents due to negative memories of other European countries and, in turn, their citizens.

⁷³ Gabel and Palmer (1995) showed that WWII battle deaths conditioned overall levels of public support for the EU. The theoretical reasons for the validity of the variable in our models are, however, different. Gabel and Palmer argued that citizens of those countries with high battle deaths might appreciate the services of the EU in the realm of peace and order and hence support the European integration process. In this study, WWII death toll is employed as a variable that conditions one’s willingness to accept other European countries as fellow in-group members. Often negative memories and images that follow a war cause long-term prejudices and stereotypes that are likely to render a collective bond difficult to establish with the parties to the respective war.

*Control Variables*⁷⁴

Education

Being able to identify with an abstract supranational community requires a certain level of mental sophistication and ability to process the due evaluations of group memberships. Therefore, education of a person is a good indicator of his/her cognitive skills and ability to relate to a distant unit of organization and governance. Furthermore, education is one individual quality that will likely to affect an individual's ability to socially experience the EU and its opportunities. It is widely known that individuals with high education (and income, in turn,) are in a better situation to relate to the EU and support European integration. Education can also be considered here as a proxy for ability to speak foreign languages.⁷⁵ As discussed in the theory section, language ability is one practical obstacle that prevents Europeans from interacting directly with each other or experience their potential in organizing and participating in social movements as members of a broader European society. Thus, those with higher levels of education are more likely to feel European.

Gender

The effects of gender on European identity were previously tested in many studies. However, the results are far from facilitating a consensus. It is possible that gender of a person does not have a clear-cut and direct influence on one's willingness to identify with the EU. Gender might be forming its influence on identity in combination with other variables included in the model leading to different results in

⁷⁴ In the analysis section, only variables with which I am theoretically concerned (and not control variables) will be reported.

⁷⁵ Language ability is occasionally included in Eurobarometer surveys preventing us from testing its effect over years and is not included in the particular survey used in this study. Also, inclusion of both education and language is likely to evoke multicollinearity. Similarly, income is not included in the model, since education and income is likely to be highly correlated.

different studies. Rather than resolving the issue, inclusion of gender in this model is for control purposes.

Age

Due to the socialization process at work in identity formation and the pervasive nature of well-established identities, it is proven that it is easier for younger generation to identify with the EU. Conversely, the older generation has a greater degree of loyalty to their nation-states and hence greater resistance to a supranational body. Partly this is due to the ability of the older generation to relate to the memories of the WWII and the accompanying enemy images.

Below Figure 3 presents the propositions that will be tested in this study.

FIGURE 3 Social Identity Model of European Identity

Social Identity Premises

- P₁: Only those individuals who have a **positive image of the EU** will identify with it and assume the identity it proposes.
- P₂: Those who feel **empowered by the EU** are more likely to develop an allegiance to the EU and in turn have some form of European identity.
- P₃: The more **affectively attached** one is to the EU, the more European one is likely to feel.
- P₄: Those who developed an **image of non-EU out-group** and treat non-EU citizens differently from fellow EU citizens are more likely to feel European.
- P₅: Those individuals who perceive fellow EU citizens as **in-group members** and treat them in a privileged way are more likely to feel European.

Individual Context

- P₆: Those with higher levels of **knowledge of the EU** are more likely to identify with the EU.
- P₇: The more favorable one's attitude is toward **multiculturalism**, the more likely one is to identify with other Europeans.

National Context

- P₈: Those who are from a **federal state** are more likely to adopt European identity as a form of multiple identities than those who are from a unitary state.
- P₉: Those with strong **national pride** are less likely to adopt a supranational (European) identity as the leading or the sole form of identification
- P₁₀: The longer one's country has been in the EU, the more one is likely to feel European (**length of EU Membership**).
- P₁₁: Individuals from those European countries with higher **WWII casualties** are less likely to identify with the EU due to negative memories of other European countries.
-

Age, gender and education are control variables.

Measurement and Data

Most of the variables in this dataset are constructed using European public surveys known as “Eurobarometer surveys” conducted each spring and autumn by the European Commission since 1973. Specifically I will be using Eurobarometer 53 (fieldwork done in April-May 2000).⁷⁶ The survey covers EU citizens aged 15 and over residing in any of the European Union Member States. Survey respondents are chosen on random sampling basis. The total number of individuals surveyed is 16078. During this survey, EU member countries were Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, the UK, Ireland, Denmark, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Sweden and Finland.

Since the study suggests investigating the sources of national and European identities in a comparative perspective, I will be using Multinomial Logit Model with the assumption of nonlinear relationship between explanatory variables and various options of the dependent variable in the light of the theoretical discussions above.⁷⁷ The unit of analysis of this study is individuals that are citizens of 15 European Union member states. The measurement of the explanatory variables is explained below:

Dependent Variable

Identities in the EU: (Q28): “In the near future, do you see yourself as Nationality only, National/European, European/National, European only, don’t know”

⁷⁶ Eurobarometer 53 (2000) is available for download through the International Consortium of Political Science Research (ICPSR study # 3064) website: <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu>

⁷⁷ For a good account of MNL models and their advantages in comparative politics see Whitten and Palmer (1996).

Answer options are treated as categorical outcomes.⁷⁸ Don't know option—2.10% of the sample— is left out of the analysis.

Explanatory variables

Positive Image of the EU: (Q14) “In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?” While very positive and fairly positive answers are coded 1, fairly negative and very negative answers are coded 0. Those who answered ‘neutral’ are excluded from the analysis.⁷⁹

Empowerment by the EU: (Q15) “Do you think you, yourself, have got more advantages or more disadvantages from (our country) being a member of the European Union?” Answer options are many more advantages, more advantages, as many advantages as disadvantages, more disadvantages, many more disadvantages, don't know/no opinion.⁸⁰ While the answers representing advantages are coded 1, answers representing disadvantages are coded 0. Responses of ‘as many advantages as disadvantages’ and ‘don't know/no opinion’ are not included in the analysis.

⁷⁸ Note that this study examines European identity in the sense of the identification with the EU, for it is interested in understanding the identity the EU projects rather than any other possible meanings the term ‘European identity’ might entail.

⁷⁹ I excluded neutral answers to increase the parsimony of the model. It amounts to 31.62 % of the sample. However, during the analysis I run many versions of this variable to see what kind of an effect the neutral perceptions of the EU have on European identity. For details see footnote 93.

⁸⁰ One problem with these measurements might be that the image of the EU and the instrumental evaluation of the EU might be correlated. Although the difficulty of differentiating the two in empirical sense might be a reasonable concern, I believe that these two issues have conceptual dimensions that are both different and mutually reinforcing. Image of the EU, different from the empowerment aspect, has also a dimension that is concerned with respect and prestige. In addition to whether the respondent derives benefits from the EU, at issue is the achievements and reputation of the EU as a worthy and powerful organization with its policies, values and ideals. This point can be better validated by examining the images of the EU in the eyes of those individuals coming from the non-EU countries. Their chances of receiving direct benefits from the EU are limited. However, presence of positive image of the EU is not unlikely as the instrumental evaluation of the EU and positive image of the EU can be independent of one another. In the current sample, these two variables are highly correlated (.84).

Affective Attachment to the EU⁸¹: (Q24) “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?”⁸²

They-Hood: This measure is compiled from two questions measuring attitudes towards Muslims and Eastern Europeans as the two major non-EU groups that are likely to be considered as the other of European identity at the time of this survey. Q54: “If people from Muslim countries wish to work here in the European Union, do you think that they should be accepted without restrictions, be accepted but with restrictions, not be accepted?” and Q55: “And what about people coming from Eastern Europe who wish to work in the West? [Do you think that they should] be accepted without restrictions, be accepted but with restrictions, not be accepted?” Any response that reflects a restrictive

⁸¹ Similar to the correlation between image of the EU and empowerment by the EU, the former may be correlated with the affect for the EU. I assume that as a more durable concept, affect is a long-term result of empowerment and positive image. Hence a degree of correlation is bound to be present. In this sample the respective correlation is .60. The correlation between empowerment and affect is .59.

⁸² I believe that this question is a proxy for affect for the EU for it taps a dimension of support for the EU that is durable and cathetic (emotional). Firstly, this question asks respondents to evaluate the EU as an actor in their ‘daily lives’. The phrase ‘daily life’ has a certain quality to it that motivates respondents to think of the EU as close to home and whether that prospect is desirable or not. I contend that this broad wording discourages a narrower support for the EU in a particular realm (e.g., economics) where the EU might be bringing the respondent certain benefits. The wholesale delegation to the EU of competence in one’s everyday life transcends a narrow appraisal of the EU. An individual is likely to want a group/organization/collective to be part of his/her ‘daily life’ if s/he perceives it as good, legitimate, worthy of trust and pride and has respect and affect for it. Secondly, individuals are likely to desire the increase of the role of a group/organization/collective in their daily lives in five years-time if they have a certain degree of affective confidence in the wholesale worth of that group/organization/collective and this affective confidence is projected into the future even if the calculations of losses and gains cannot be reliably predicted in every realm of life five years from now. Lawler argues that “the repeated [everyday] experience of positive or negative emotions that social structures create is the basis for cognitive (attributional) appraisals that underlie enduring affective attachments to nested sub-groups and/or collectivities” (1992, 332). The far-reaching long-term support a respondent expresses in his/her answer for the EU in a broad spectrum of issue-areas, I believe, reflects such a reservoir of affective capital. Furthermore, the wording of the question encourages the respondent to think specifically of the EU rather than the broader meaning the word ‘European’ in other questions might entail, preventing a possible confusion.

attitude (accepted but with restrictions/not be accepted) toward either one of these groups is coded 1.

We-Hood: (Q58) “And what about citizens of other countries of the European Union, who wish to settle in our country? Do you think they should be accepted without restrictions, be accepted but with restrictions, not be accepted?” ‘Accepted without restrictions’ is coded 1 and ‘accepted but with restrictions/not be accepted’ is coded 0.

Knowledge of the European Union Politics: (Q9): “Using this scale, how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies and its institutions?” Answers range from 1 to 10 (know nothing at all- know a great deal).

Opinion on Multiculturalism: (Q5901): “It is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures”. Answers are coded 1 for tend to agree, 0 for tend to disagree. Don’t know option is not included in the analysis.⁸³

State structure: This is a dummy variable coded 1 for Austria, Germany, Belgium and Spain.⁸⁴ All the other states are coded 0 as unitary states.

National Pride: (Q29) “Would you say that you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud or not at all proud to be *nationality*?” The first two answers are coded as 0 and the last two answers are coded 1.

Length of EU Membership is calculated according to the year Eurobarometer 53 was conducted (2000). Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg are members of the EU since 1952, the UK, Denmark and Ireland since 1973, Greece

⁸³ The correlation between this variable and perceptions of they-hood is -.21.

⁸⁴ Even though Spain is officially not a federal state, it is treated here as one, for the extensive autonomous rights granted to the regional governments in Basque Country and Catalonia give it a *de facto* federal character.

since 1981, Spain and Portugal since 1986, and finally Austria, Sweden and Finland since 1995. Thus, this variable is coded 48, 27, 19, 14 and 5 respectively for each cluster of countries.

The WWII National Death Toll: The data for this variable are compiled from various sources. The total death toll is standardized according to population of the EU member countries in 1939. Thus the coded figures are percentage of the population that died during the WWII. This percentage includes both civilian and military figures. For a list of coding see Appendix, Table A2.⁸⁵

Control Variables

Education, Gender and Age is measured by standard Eurobarometer questions (Q8, Q10, and Q11 respectively).

Before we move into the statistical analysis, it is essential to note a possible criticism this study might evoke. Some readers might point to the unreliability of the measure I use for European identity. Whether there is a possible distinction between European identity as such and European identity within the EU is a complex question. The challenge is that even those who do not feel attached to the EU might feel European. However, the aim of this study is to examine the European identity that the EU projects. I expect that those who are exposed to European integration for more than four decades are aware of the difference between the two and respond accordingly in a survey designed specifically on the EU issues. This might seem like a big leap of faith.

⁸⁵ The sources utilized for these figures are Snyder (1982, 126), Sivard (1985, 11) and Keegan (1989, 205). Often sources report conflicting estimates of the death toll. I adopted the smallest figures not to inflate the findings. The population of the EU countries in 1939 is compiled from Correlates of War Project (version 3.02 that covers years 1816-2001) available at cow2.la.psu.edu as discussed in Singer et al. (1972).

However, it is also the difficulty of working with survey data where the respondents' accurate understanding of the survey questions is an inherent assumption. In the absence of any viable other cross-country empirical data source, many studies relied on this Eurobarometer question.⁸⁶

Besides, the interaction between the two identities through the course of European integration might have largely removed any substantial disjuncture between the two in peoples' perceptions. In fact, Mayer and Palmowski (2004) contend that "within member states, the term 'Europe' has become increasingly synonymous with the institutions of the European Union" (590). Similarly, Laffan (2004) argues that "the attraction of the European Union stems from it successfully appropriating the term 'Europe' for itself" (80). It is a confirmation of these conclusions that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, after their withdrawal from Warsaw Pact, perceived their membership in the EU as their "return to Europe".⁸⁷

Analysis

An initial examination of the Eurobarometer survey data with respect to identities in the EU is presented in Tables 1 and 2.⁸⁸ Clearly, the percentage of Europeans who prefer their respective nation states as the sole source of identification is slightly higher (45%) than the percentage of Europeans who developed multiple identities with an emphasis on national identity (44%). The percentage of European identity as the leading

⁸⁶ The examples of research that use the same measure are abundant in the literature. See Duchesne and Frogner (1995), Schild (2000) among others.

⁸⁷ Similarly, although part of Turkey's landmass is situated on the European continent, Turkish people see their EU membership as the only way to confirm their 'Europeanness'.

⁸⁸ The descriptive statistics for explanatory variables are presented in Appendix Table A1. The tabulation of answers for variables across the individual EU member states are presented in Appendix, Table A3.

or the sole form of identification is far behind these two percentages (7% and 4% respectively).

TABLE 1 **Distribution Among the Categories of Identity**

Identity*	Frequency	Percent
National only	7150	45.45
National and European	6970	44.31
European and National	1044	6.64
European only	566	3.60
Total	15730	100.00

Source: Eurobarometer 53, 2000.

From the Table 2, which represents the distribution of different identities among the fifteen EU member states, it is evident that national identity is the strongest in the UK, followed by Sweden, Finland, Greece, Ireland, and Austria. Alternatively, Italy is where the preference for identification exclusively with the nation-state is the least. Spain and France are other countries where we see low levels of exclusive national identities. Countries whose citizens prefer Nationality/European form of multiple identities are Spain, Italy, Luxembourg, France, Netherlands, and Belgium. The highest percentage of Europeans who prefer calling themselves first European then National is found in Belgium and France. Greece is the only European Union country where only European form of identification is by far the largest compared to the other EU countries. Italy, France, and Belgium follow Greece. Together these two tables demonstrate that in most of the EU member states EU is a substantial source of identification for Europeans.

TABLE 2 Distribution Among the Outcome Categories by the EU Member States, 2000

Respondent's nation-state	N	NE	EN	E	Number Of Observations
Belgium	40	41	11	7	1003
Denmark	48	45	5	2	983
Germany	47	41	8	4	1984
Greece	53	42	4	14	1005
Spain	27	59	9	5	982
France	28	54	11	7	987
Ireland	53	41	4	2	998
Italy	24	58	10	8	1056
Luxembourg	33	55	7	4	440
Netherlands	40	52	7	2	988
Portugal	46	47	4	2	1034
UK	63	29	4	3	1304
Austria	53	36	8	3	971
Sweden	59	36	5	1	984
Finland	54	43	3	1	1011
Total number of observations					15730

Source: Eurobarometer 53, 2000.

Notes: Entries are percentages in each cell (N=National only; NE=National and European; EN= European and National; E= European only).

Based on the variables discussed above the following MNL models were estimated:

$$\ln\Omega_{NE/N}(x_i) = \beta_{0,NE/N} + \beta_{1,NE/N}image + \beta_{2,NE/N}empower + \beta_{3,NE/N}euaffected + \beta_{4,NE/N}they + \beta_{5,NE/N}we + \beta_{6,NE/N}euinfo + \beta_{7,NE/N}multi + \beta_{8,NE/N}federal + \beta_{9,NE/N}natpride + \beta_{10,NE/N}years + \beta_{11,NE/N}war + \beta_{12,NE/N}edu + \beta_{13,NE/N}age + \beta_{14,NE/N}male$$

$$\ln\Omega_{EN/N}(x_i) = \beta_{0,EN/N} + \beta_{1,EN/N}image + \beta_{2,EN/N}empower + \beta_{3,EN/N}euaffected + \beta_{4,EN/N}they + \beta_{5,EN/N}we + \beta_{6,EN/N}euinfo + \beta_{7,EN/N}multi + \beta_{8,EN/N}federal + \beta_{9,EN/N}natpride + \beta_{10,EN/N}years + \beta_{11,EN/N}war + \beta_{12,EN/N}edu + \beta_{13,EN/N}age + \beta_{14,EN/N}male$$

$$\ln\Omega_{E/N}(x_i) = \beta_{0,E/N} + \beta_{1,E/N}image + \beta_{2,E/N}empower + \beta_{3,E/N}euaffected + \beta_{4,E/N}they + \beta_{5,E/N}we + \beta_{6,E/N}euinfo + \beta_{7,E/N}multi + \beta_{8,E/N}federal +$$

$$\beta_{9,E/Nnatpride} + \beta_{10,E/Nyears} + \beta_{11,E/Nwar} + \beta_{12,E/Nedu} + \beta_{13,E/Nage} + \beta_{14,E/Nmale}$$

where NE= National-European

EN= European-National

E= European Only

N= National only (base category for comparison here).

Table 3 presents the MNL coefficients and standard errors for variables of interest.⁸⁹ The coefficients reveal the estimated marginal effects of the explanatory variables on the log-odds ratio of the respective identity outcome and the baseline category (in our case, National only category). As it can be seen from this table, the effects of each explanatory variable on the respective log-odds ratio are different for each outcome of identity. All of the explanatory variables that were included in this model are statistically significant (at various levels of significance) and have predicting power to understand whether one feels attached to only or primarily to their nation-state or European Union alternatively.⁹⁰

A quick review of the Table 2 allows us to conclude that positive image of the EU, empowerment by the EU, one's affect for the EU, internal solidarity (i.e., we-hood) among Europeans, knowledge of the European Union politics, favorable opinion on multiculturalism, federal state structure, and length of EU membership all have a

⁸⁹ Reader should note that coefficients for control variables (education, gender, and age) are not reported.

⁹⁰ A variable that has a statistically significant impact on 'any' of the categories of the dependent variable is considered to be significant for the analysis (Whitten and Palmer 1996:241)

positive relationship with all three identity categories.⁹¹ National Pride has consistently negative relationship with those identity options that have a European dimension. The awareness of out-group members with regard to a European collectivity and the national casualties during the WWII has a more contoured relationship to identity outcomes and will be discussed in detail below.⁹²

The non-linear regression models rely on the assumption that a unit change in each explanatory variable does not cause identical unit change in the categories of the dependent variable. Thus, these models cannot be interpreted as linear models. In fact, the above summary is as far as we can go before we calculate predicted probabilities in order to evaluate the respective effect of explanatory variables on identity categories under investigation here. Unless presented neatly, the patterns found in such analyses can be obscure owing to the inherent complexity of the relationships and the sheer number of the combinations of parameters to be interpreted. Although the best approach is to use a multitude of different ways of interpretation (Long and Freese 2001, 119), changes in predicted probabilities in response to varying values of one independent variable (while others are held constant) can be utilized as a summary measure (Long and Freese 2001, 127).

⁹¹ Predicted marginal effect of a variable on identities in Europe can be shown by referring to a baseline European respondent. For this analysis the baseline respondent is 44 years old, has positive image of the EU, empowered by the EU policies, has affect for the EU, has awareness of in-group and out-group members with regard to the EU, is from a federal state, does not have national pride, is a multiculturalist, and has sample mean values for those independent variables that are not mentioned (i.e., length of EU membership (29.5); WWII national death toll (1.7); education (15.8)).

⁹² There are several tests one can carry out in MNL to ensure that there are not problematic issues associated with the analysis. Based on the Wald test, there is no variable in the above model whose coefficients are simultaneously equal to zero. The Wald test also shows that categories of the dependent variable— identity— are distinguishable with regard to the explanatory variables included in the model. The Hausman test of Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives (IIA) confirms that the IIA assumption is not violated.

TABLE 3 MNL Estimates of European Identity as Social Identity, 2000

Identities	Coefficients	Standard Errors
National-European		
Constant	-2.511***	0.275
Image of the EU	0.785***	0.166
Empowerment by the EU	0.818***	0.165
Affect for the EU	0.658***	0.118
They-hood	0.095	0.123
We-hood	0.375***	0.096
Knowledge of the EU politics	0.151***	0.021
Multiculturalism	0.702***	0.095
Federal State	0.514***	0.118
National Pride	-0.647***	0.164
Length of the EU Membership	0.016***	0.003
WWII Death Toll	-0.105***	0.036
European-National		
Constant	-5.404***	0.483
Image of the EU	1.058***	0.327
Empowerment by the EU	1.084***	0.333
Affect for the EU	1.287***	0.278
They-hood	-0.472***	0.184
We-hood	0.449***	0.163
Knowledge of the EU politics	0.238***	0.035
Multiculturalism	1.121***	0.202
Federal State	0.618***	0.187
National Pride	-1.626***	0.223
Length of the EU Membership	0.023***	0.005
WWII Death Toll	0.036	0.036
European only		
Constant	-6.113***	0.551
Image of the EU	0.881**	0.361
Empowerment by the EU	0.667**	0.346
Affect for the EU	0.930***	0.297
They-hood	-0.145	0.223
We-hood	0.775***	0.195
Knowledge of the EU politics	0.188***	0.042
Multiculturalism	1.080***	0.241
Federal State	1.029***	0.219
National Pride	-1.697***	0.247
Length of EU Membership	0.052***	0.007
WWII Death Toll	-0.179***	0.071

LR chi2 (42): 1308.92

Pseudo R-squared: 0.17

Count R-squared: 0.63

N: 3587

Source: Eurobarometer 53, 2000.

Notes: Dependent variable is identities in the EU with four categories. Coefficients are for the effect of each independent variable on each category relative to the base category. Nationality only is the base category (i.e., comparison group). The LR test statistic is chi-squared with a 1% critical value of 76.15.

*p< 0.10, **p<0.05 ***p<0.01 (one-tailed *t*-tests).

TABLE 4 Discrete Changes in the Predicted Probabilities of the MNL Model of Identities in the European Union, 2000

Variables	Changes	$\bar{\Delta}$	N	NE	EN	E
Positive Image of the EU	0→1	0.10	-0.19	0.15	0.03	0.01
Empowerment by the EU	0→1	0.10	-0.20	0.16	0.03	0.01
Affect for the EU	0→1	0.09	-0.17	0.11	0.04	0.02
They-hood	0→1	0.02	0.00	0.04	-0.03	-0.01
We-hood	0→1	0.05	-0.09	0.06	0.01	0.02
Knowledge of the EU	Δ Range	0.16	-0.32	0.21	0.08	-0.03
	$\Delta\sigma/2$	0.04	-0.08	0.05	0.02	0.01
Multiculturalism	0→1	0.09	-0.18	0.12	0.04	0.02
Federal State	0→1	0.06	-0.12	0.08	0.02	0.03
National Pride	0→1	0.09	0.18	-0.01	-0.10	-0.07
Length of EU Membership	Δ Range	0.09	-0.19	0.09	0.03	0.07
	$\Delta\sigma/2$	0.04	-0.07	0.04	0.01	0.03
WWII death toll	Δ Range	0.07	0.11	-0.12	0.03	-0.02
	$\Delta\sigma/2$	0.02	0.04	-0.04	0.01	-0.01
Pr (y/x)			0.36	0.54	0.06	0.04

Source: Eurobarometer 53, 2000.

Notes: Identities are classified as: N=National; NE= National-European; EN=European –National; E=European. 0→1 is discrete change from 0 to 1; $\Delta\sigma/2$ is the centered change of 1/2 standard deviation around the mean; Δ Range is change from the minimum to its maximum. $\bar{\Delta}$ is the average absolute change. Pr(y/x) is the probability of observing each y for specified x values.

Table 4 presents discrete changes in predicted probabilities of the MNL model of European Identity. An examination of Table 4 shows that viewing the EU with a positive image is an important element to consider in understanding the EU citizens' choice between various identity categories. For someone who has a positive image of the EU holding other variables at their mean, the predicted probability of exclusive identification with nation-state is .19 lower compared to someone who has a negative perception of the EU. In fact, positive image of the EU significantly increases the

likelihood of identifying oneself as National/European, European or European/National.⁹³

Empowerment by the EU has a larger effect on lowering exclusive identification with the nation-state (.20). The fact that an EU citizen feels s/he derives more advantages from the EU than disadvantages significantly increases the likelihood of that citizen including a European dimension in his/her self-definition. Although the effect is not as large, empowerment by the EU raises the predicted probability of exclusive European identity, too.

Affect for the EU renders inclusion of a European dimension in one's identity, holding other variables at their mean, more likely. In fact, for someone who has affective feelings for the EU the predicted probability of having exclusive loyalty to nation-state is .17 lower than average individual with no affect for the EU. Affect significantly increases the odds of National/European (.11) and European/National (.04) identities.

Predicted probabilities indicate an interesting result for the impact of mental boundary formation on European identity. Social Identity Theory leads me to believe

⁹³ I run many versions of this variable to see what kind of an effect the neutral perceptions of the EU have on European identity. Treated as an ordinal variable (i.e., coded as positive=2 neutral=1 negative=0), none of the results or their significance changed except for in fractions. When I treated this variable as having three categories and run the analysis with the positive and neutral perceptions, again none of the coefficients or their significance dramatically changed. However, it became obvious that neutral perceptions of the EU also significantly increase the likelihood of European identity while reducing exclusive national identities. This effect is slightly smaller than the effect of positive perceptions of the EU on European identity. For example, average absolute change for predicted probabilities for neutral image of the EU is .08. The specific probability change for this variable is -.16 for exclusive national identity, .13 for National/European identity, .02 for European/National identity and .01 for exclusive European identity. Based on these results, it is clear that possibility of European identity benefits from neutral image of the EU as well as the positive image of the EU. When collapsed back into a dichotomous variable—this time with both positive and neutral images coded 1 and negative images coded 0—the effects of the image variable on decreasing exclusive national identity and increasing National/European identity are enhanced (-.21 and .17). The other probabilities remained unaffected.

that both the internal and external boundary formation is essential for an identity to be consolidated and be a viable locus of loyalty. Accordingly, I hypothesized that those EU citizens who already developed a sense of ‘we’ and ‘they’ should be more likely to define themselves as European for they are likely to recognize other EU citizens as fellow in-group members and non-EU citizens as out-group members. While the latter group would be considered as non-European and different, the former group would be considered as similar or even ‘identical’. As a result, other EU citizens would enjoy benefits of being a member in the club with no restrictions, while the non-EU citizens would be denied any privileges that are granted to in-group members or at best allowed to enjoy such privileges with restrictions, implying a difference in status.

Table 3 already reveals that presence of a sense of who is non-European does not consistently hold a significant relationship with European identity. The predicted probabilities in Table 4, similarly, indicate a surprising result. While they-hood does not cause any noticeable change in the likelihood of national identity (perhaps owing to the fact that the same groups that are defined as non-European are also viewed by default as non-national), it increases the probability of National/European identity by .04. Holding other variables constant, those who have a mental sense of non-Europeans, however, are less likely to identify themselves in social identity terms where the European dimension has the leading role or Europeanness is their basic sense of self. This is completely an unexpected result in the analysis.

How about the second part of the boundary formation process? Does internal solidarity within the EU have the expected effect on European identity? Table 4 shows

that the answer to this question is affirmative. The probability by those who perceive other EU citizens as in-group members and treat them favorably of adopting some form of European identity is higher compared to those who do not feel that type of solidarity with other EU citizens. For the same group the probability of exclusive national identity is .09 lower.

Clearly while the second part of the boundary formation hypothesis is confirmed, the first part did not receive empirical support from this study. In-group solidarity is a powerful predictor of European identity (in one form or another) but out-group definition and discriminatory treatment is not conducive to European identity. What could be the reason for this unexpected result? If treatment of outsiders is an expression of group norms (Klein 2003, 2), one theory could be that even though in-group and out-group definitions are, in general, part of the identity formation process, there might be something at work here in the particular case of European identity that offsets this relationship that the social identity theories maintain should exist. Could out-group definition and discriminatory treatment on the basis of this social demarcation be incompatible with European identity itself? In other words, is there something in the definition of Europeanness that contradicts with such adverse demarcation and reserving the benefits of the EU only for those who are privileged to be 'European'?

Su (2004, 7) argues that even though there is evidence that there are several values prioritized and shared by the EU citizens; European values are those that can be called particularly and uniquely 'European'. *European* "values 'created by a multiple revolution in political ideas that has occurred during the past half century in Europe, in a

way that has not happened in other parts of the industrialized world' are the core of the EU identity distinguishing Europeans from other polities in the world" (Su 2004, 7)⁹⁴. One of these uniquely European values is the respect for diversity and a commitment to plurality.⁹⁵ Accordingly, Europeans place a high priority on pluralism within and without the EU and promote tolerance and non-discrimination. Thus, any EU citizen who has internalized these values as a European would feel uncomfortable with a social demarcation and its implications in terms of discrimination (in the sense that non-Europeans are not allowed to enjoy certain things as benefits reserved for Europeans).⁹⁶ There might be some type of a benign mental demarcation of Europeans and non-Europeans but such in-group/out-group images are not likely to be the basis of preferential treatment. As discussed in chapter III, Erickson (1995) differentiates between 'dichotomization' and 'complementarization' as two forms of establishing 'other' of an identity. While dichotomization emphasizes the differences between in-group and out-group members by reinforcing negative perceptions of the contrasts, complementarization accepts the differences between two groups in a more neutral tone. In fact, the latter relies on the understanding that in-group and out-group members are different but they are comparable and equals of each other. Eriksen argues that "instead of strengthening own group identity at the symbolic or social expense of the other, one

⁹⁴ Inner quotation is from Fitzgerald (2003,1) as cited in Su (2004, 7).

⁹⁵ In addition to respect for diversity and non-discrimination, Su (2004, 8) cites the following values as distinctly European: social market economy, the welfare state, ecology, a sense of responsibility for world poverty and commitment to foreign aid, international multilateralism, and opposition to violence (war and death penalty *inter alia*).

⁹⁶ This is likely to be why they-hood does not change the probability of national identity, yet increases the probability of one defining oneself predominantly in National terms but with a secondary dimension of Europeanness.

strengthens it through establishing a matrix for comparison whereby one's own identity is seen equal to that of the other" (1995, 435). Due to a clash of dichotomization and the definition of Europeanness, the formation of 'other' in the case of European identity is likely to be based on a culture of respect for difference and hence complementarization.⁹⁷ Thus, internal solidarity and cohesion is more important in predicting the probability of European identity than the out-group consciousness and its exclusionary implications.

Knowledge of the EU politics helps us understand identity choices as well. In fact, if one's level of knowledge on the EU politics increases, the predicted probability of exclusive national identity decreases (-.32). As expected the probability of multiple identities with some European dimension increases by .21 and .08. One's awareness of the Union issues also increases the likelihood of exclusive European identity by .01.

Table 4 also confirms my expectations with regard to the moderating effect of multiculturalism on fundamentalization of national identities. In fact, the more favorable attitude one has for respecting and cherishing diversity in ethnic, racial, religious and cultural terms, the more one is open to the idea of bonding with people from different

⁹⁷ Based on the premises of boundary formation, it is reasonable to expect discrimination on the grounds of that demarcation. Thus, I measured this variable with a survey question evaluating the treatment of European and nonEuropean citizen's prospects of living and working in one's country. However, the results of the study and the alternative theory I suggested require testing the effects of we-hood without a reference to preferential treatment. Although there are occasionally questions in the Eurobarometer that asks respondents how much trust they have for different nations, trust alone cannot ensure we are tapping the correct dimension in they-hood. One can lack trust for a nation that they do or do not feel any association with based on their foreign policy or lack of consistency in their promises and credibility. One could suggest using questions on enlargement as proxies. However lack of support for a certain country's membership in the EU might stem from reasons other than belief in the irreducible differences in identities. Particularly concerns about unemployment and fiscal transfers come to mind. We need a survey question that asks respondents directly whether they think a certain country belongs in the 'European' collective. Currently such a question does not exist in Eurobarometer surveys.

backgrounds and traditions. Clearly, a multiculturalist attitude renders images softer making identifying with the EU and the community of fellow Europeans it projects easier. Accordingly, being a multiculturalist reduces the probability of exclusive national identity by .18 and increases the probability of National/European identity by .12.

The federal state structure has the expected effect on identity categories. In fact, the political learning experience over years of developing multiple attachments to various levels of government in a federal state structure is translated into the multilevel governance environment within the EU. Such states' citizens are significantly less likely to have exclusive identification with the nation-state by .12, and more likely to identify with the EU.

National Pride, as expected, decreases one's likelihood to identify with alternative units of political organization. The more proud one is of one's nation, the less likely one is to internalize any post-national identity or include any identity dimension in their self-image that has nation-transcending implications. Holding other variables at their means, the predicted probability of exclusive national identity rises by .18 and the probability of national identity as the leading dimension of social identity rises by .09. Clearly, the lack of collective pride in national history and heritage substantially increases one's probability of identifying with the community of Europeans as a form of social identity.

How long a country has been in the EU also offers some explanation for the probability of its citizens identifying with the EU. The probability of adopting exclusive European identity is higher for someone from one of the original founding member

states of the EU by .09 compared to someone from one of the three countries of the last enlargement at the time of this survey (Austria, Finland and Sweden). For the same comparison group probability of exclusive national identity is -.19 lower. Clearly, those Europeans whose countries have been involved with the EU and its integrative policies longer had more opportunities to learn about the EU and be exposed to its positive consequences more extensively. This positive experience and socialization process is reflected in a higher probability of feelings of attachment to the EU. The largest impact of length of the EU membership on identity is seen in willingness to identify with the EU in addition to one's nation-state (National/European).

The effect of national death toll during the WWII is relatively more complex. I hypothesized that the more devastating for one's country the WWII was, the less likely it is for that individual to identify with the EU as feeling enough trust and solidarity to form an in-group bond with other Europeans would be harder. The change in predicted probabilities in Table 4 shows that WWII national death toll, indeed, conditions one's self definition by increasing the probability of attachment to nation-state (.11). Similarly, the probability of National/European and exclusive European identity decreases. However, the probability of an individual's definition of sense of belonging as European/National identity increases (.03). One explanation for this might be that the negative experiences of WWII either pulls individuals even closer to their nation-state and fundamentalizes their national identity by discouraging them to develop any bonds with other Europeans as fellow society members or it encourages individuals to develop a European identity in addition to their national identity perhaps as a way of making sure

the same tragedies would not repeat. However, this effect is not strong enough to exclude national identity from one's sense of self completely. No matter how we interpret the probabilities associated with the conditioning effect of national losses in WWII on individuals' identity choices, the readers should be warned that the reliability of the data on battle deaths is quite debatable. There is no consensus among various sources as to how many civilians and military personnel died during this war. The data are compiled from several sources and risks of inconsistency and inaccuracy might compromise the patterns underlined here.⁹⁸

Discrete changes in predicted probabilities for a unit change in explanatory variables are informative as to the magnitude of the effects but understanding the dynamics among the identity categories requires comparison of odds ratios (Long 1997, 203). I discussed that positive image of the EU increases probability of European identity all together (i.e., National/European, European/National and European only). Discrete changes cannot pinpoint the specific odds of, for example, 'National/European' outcome relative to 'European only' outcome for an individual who perceives the EU with a positive imagery. Below in Figure 4, I present these odds ratios.⁹⁹

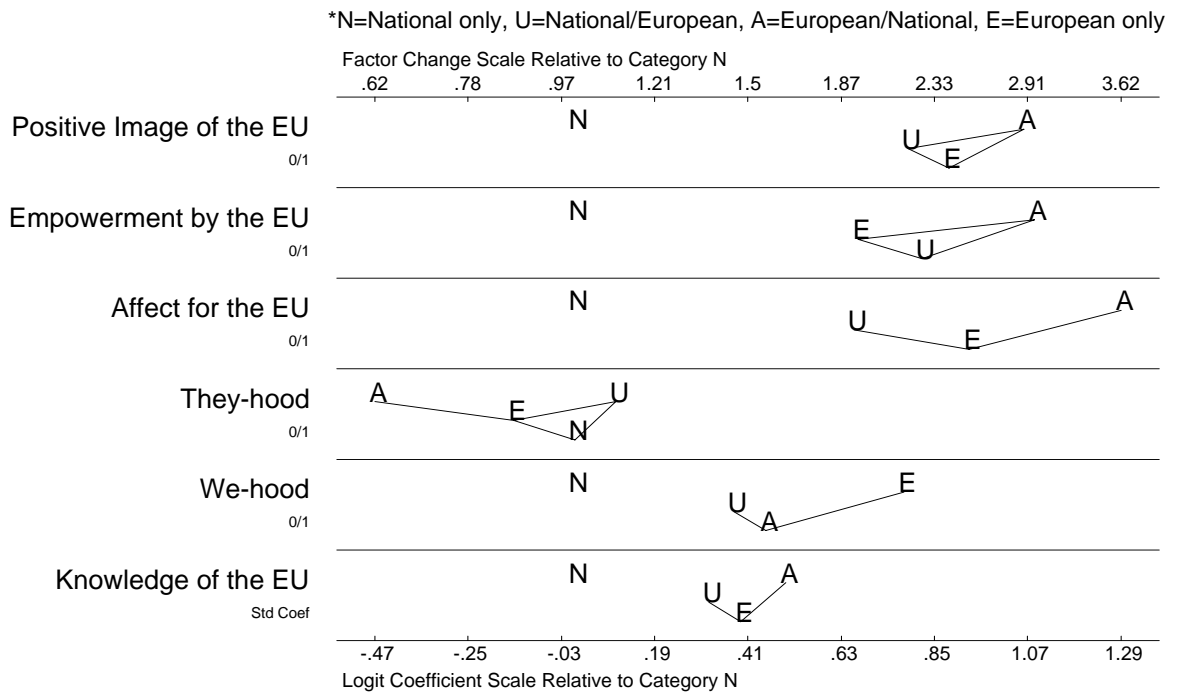
⁹⁸ For a visual representation of broader relationships based on these discrete changes in probabilities see Appendix, Figure A1 where discrete changes in predicted probabilities of identity categories are plotted.

⁹⁹ The odds of outcome m vs. n can be expressed as

$$\Omega_{mn}(x_i) = \frac{\Pr(y_i = m \mid x_i)}{\Pr(y_i = n \mid x_i)} = \frac{\exp(x_i \beta_m)}{\sum \exp(x_i \beta_j)} \bigg/ \frac{\exp(x_i \beta_n)}{\sum \exp(x_i \beta_j)} = \frac{\exp(x_i \beta_m)}{\exp(x_i \beta_n)}. \text{ The odds equation then is}$$

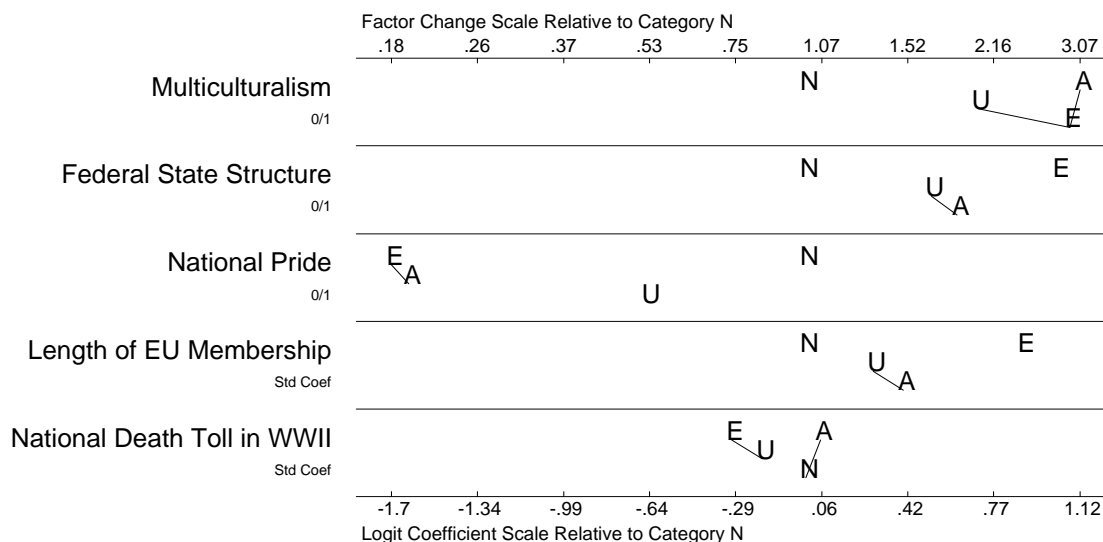
$$\Omega_{mn}(x_i) = \exp(x_i [\beta_m - \beta_n]). \text{ MNL is linear in the logit. } \ln \Omega_{mn}(x_i) = x_i (\beta_m - \beta_n) \text{ (Long 1997).}$$

FIGURE 4 Odds Ratio Plots for the MNL Model of Identities in the EU¹⁰⁰



¹⁰⁰The graph represents the factor change in the odds of one outcome versus the other as one independent variable changes holding other variables constant. The order of the letters represents the likelihood of identity categories relative to each other. The line that connects some of the outcomes reflects the lack of statistical significance. N= National only, U= National/European, A= European/National, E= European only. N is the base category. Odds ratios are the same across all values of variables.

FIGURE 4 Continued



From Figure 4 it is clearly seen that the major pattern in the effects of positive image of the EU and empowerment of the EU on identities is seen in the way these two variables split identity options into two groups: national only and post-national identity categories (that is, National/European, European/National and only European). There is, however, no significant differentiation within the post-national identity cluster by these two variables. Similarly, affect for the EU increases the odds of those identity categories with a European dimension. Furthermore, affect, unlike positive image of and empowerment by the EU, does differentiate between National/European and European/National identity making the latter more likely.

The effects of the boundary demarcation on European identity are diversified. As discussed earlier, for those who define non-EU citizens as nonEuropeans and exclude

them from privileges of Europeanness, the odds of an identification where national identity is leading or the sole form of social identity higher compared to European only and European/National identity categories. Internal solidarity, conversely, increases the odds of all post-national identity categories and particularly increases the odds of National/European, European/National, and European only identities relative to exclusive national identifications.

The amount of knowledge of the EU politics as well as multiculturalist orientation, similar to the positive image of the EU and empowerment by the EU, splits identities into two: exclusive national identity and post-national identities. They significantly increase the odds of all identities with a European content in the order of National/European, European and European/National identity. However, only European/National identity relative to National/European identity is significantly more likely. Both of these identities are also more likely relative to exclusive national identities.

National context has somewhat more diversified effect on one's identity than subjective evaluations of the EU itself. Federal state structure increases the odds of feeling European only relative to national identity. Multiple identities, even though more likely compared to exclusive national identity, are not differentiated from one another. This is not surprising, since theoretically we only expected individuals coming from federal states to be more willing to assume multiple identities. National pride as a national context-forming factor has the largest effect over identities. Being proud of one's country significantly decreases the odds of European identity in general. How long

one's country has been in the EU and national casualties during the WWII have relatively smaller effects. The odds of European only, European/National and National/European identities are all higher relative to exclusive national identification if one's country is an EU member for a long time. Earlier the result of the discrete changes in the probabilities had shown that WWII casualties either decreased the probabilities of European only and National/ European outcome or increased the likelihood of European/National outcome. The odds plots clarify this relationship further. The aforementioned points are validated, yet the only significant part of this relationship is that the odds of European only and National/European identities are lower relative to national only identity.

The above discussions of the results show that the majority of the shift in terms of loyalties is between exclusive national identity and the rest of the identity categories that can be jointly called post-national identity. Though to a smaller extent, there is a certain degree of the movement within the European identity options motivated by particularly the definition of we-hood, attitude on multiculturalism, the type of state structure and strength of national pride.

My initial intention was to see how the hypotheses I derived from SIT and Multiple Identity Theories affect both national and European identities and their combinations. This was the main reason why lumping together all the identities in Europe was not preferable to an MNL model where I could clarify the inner variation of identity categories with European dimension. After seeing these relationships and reaching the conclusion that some of the identity categories are not significantly

differentiated by the explanatory variables in this study, it would be interesting to see how these results change if a Binomial Logit (BNL) analysis was applied to the same data. Specifically, the dependent variable that previously had four categories could be collapsed in a way to create a dichotomous conceptualization of identities: the exclusive national identities and those post-national identities that incorporate European identity with different ordinal status (secondary, primary and exclusive). I will call the latter “European identity” as it signifies a willingness on the part of the EU citizens to mentally associate themselves with a European society and the accompanying governance structure that has clear nation-state transcending implications. Below are the Table 5 and Table 6 which present the coefficients from this BNL model and the associated variation in predicted probabilities (derived from these coefficients) respectively.

TABLE 5 **Logit Model of European Identity as Social Identity, 2000**

	Parameter estimate	Standard Error
<i>Social identity principles</i>		
Positive Image of the EU	0.8209**	0.1605
Empowerment by the EU	0.8275**	0.1593
Affect for the EU	0.7348**	0.1148
They-hood	0.0132	0.1197
We-hood	0.4097**	0.0935
<i>Individual Context</i>		
Knowledge of the EU Politics	0.1626**	0.0208
Multiculturalism	0.7641**	0.0929
<i>National Context</i>		
Federal State	0.5567**	0.1157
National Pride	-0.8733**	0.1558
Length of the EU Membership	0.0190**	0.0028
WWII Death Toll	-0.9064**	0.0350
Constant	-2.376**	0.1605
LR Test Statistic [14]	1115.88	
Pseudo R-squared	0.23	
Correctly predicted %	75.55	
Reduction in error %	35.28	
N	3587	

Source: Eurobarometer 53, 2000.

Notes: The dependent variable is coded 1 if the respondent identifies with the EU in 15 member states. The LR test statistic is chi-squared with a 1 % critical value of 29.14. The naïve model that everyone feels European correctly predicts 62.22% of the cases.

*p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (one-tailed t-tests).

TABLE 6 Discrete Changes in the Predicted Probability of the Logit Model of European Identity as Social Identity

	x=minimum	x=maximum	Difference
<i>Social identity principles</i>			
Image of the EU	0.500	0.694	0.194
Empowerment by the EU	0.498	0.694	0.196
Affect for the EU	0.512	0.687	0.174
We-hood	0.598	0.692	0.093
<i>Individual context</i>			
Multiculturalism	0.511	0.692	0.181
EU-info	0.490	0.806	0.316
<i>National Context</i>			
Federal State	0.606	0.729	0.123
National Pride	0.801	0.627	-0.174
Length of the EU Membership	0.537	0.725	0.188
WWII Death Toll	0.675	0.569	-0.106

Notes: Only statistically significant variables are reported.

Source: Eurobarometer 53, 2000.

As can be seen from the results in Table 5, most of the variables have signs in the expected direction along with statistically significant parameter estimates (all at 0.01 level). Clearly, BNL results not only confirm earlier findings of MNL model, but also amplify some variable's impact on the state of sense of belonging in the Euroland. Except for consciousness of out-group (i.e., they-hood), all of the variables are powerful predictors of mass identification with the EU. Unlike the rest of the explanatory variables, national pride and high WWII national death toll has negative relationship with European identity.

Some of the observations from Table 6 can be summarized as follows: If one attributes a positive image to the EU, his/her probability of feeling European is .19 higher than one who does not view the EU positively. Benefits derived from the EU increase one's probability of identifying with the EU by .20. Affect for the EU, similarly, increases one's probability of identifying with the EU by .17. National context also powerfully shapes the probabilities of European identity. Federal state structure one is coming from increases the probability of identifying with the EU by .12 perhaps owing to the perception that the EU is the last chain of a multilevel governance structure in place in these countries. Varying the length of EU membership from its minimum of 5 years to its maximum of 48 years (at the time of the survey) causes an increase of .19 in predicted probabilities. Both the national pride and the national battle deaths during the WWII reduce EU citizens' sense of Europeanness. If one is proud of one's nation, his/her probability of developing loyalty to the EU is .17 lower. Varying the battle deaths from its minimum of 0 to its maximum of 5.01 decreases the predicted probability of European identity from .68 to .57, a decrease of .11.

Knowledge of the EU politics dramatically increases the probability of European identity. It has, indeed, by far the biggest effect of any of the independent variables considered in this analysis on European identity: .32. Multiculturalist stand also increase one's likelihood of identifying with the EU by .18.

In light of these findings, clearly, the positive image of the EU, empowering effects of its policies, the resulting affective attachment to the EU and the evolving internal solidarity among European citizens—depending on the conditioning effects of

the individual and national context— all determine whether one will identify oneself as European or not.

The next logical question would be who the EU empowers. As I argued in the theory section, in this model, I treated empowerment as resulting from both economic and non-economic benefits. The question of who the EU economically (or materially) empowers is studied in the literature extensively. According to the trends established in these studies, those who have higher education and income as well as the younger generation benefit more from the EU for they are better equipped to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the EU. Similarly, the work sector one is engaged in is bound have some effect on the influence of the EU on one's well-being. In some ways, the EU is known to suppress the welfare arrangements in member states. Women in addition to the elderly are more prone to the effects of this trend. One could argue that individuals living in cohesion fund zones are clearly empowered by the EU. On the other hand, non-economic benefits are largely political (though in some cases cognitive) in nature. Previous research already found that those who have marginal ethnic identities feel suppressed by the hegemonic national identities and, hence, appreciate the broader European identity as a way of bypassing the national identities (Kohli 2000). This logic can be broadened to include any groups that feel marginalized due to cultural or religious reasons. Furthermore, dual citizens and border populations might find it easier to present themselves as European (Kohli 2000, 131). Similarly, evaluations of national and European democracies give a clue as to who might appreciate the EU as a source of political empowerment. Those who frequently travel and live in other EU member states

are likely to appreciate the opportunities of the EU. Particularly, the latter group might feel empowered by the EU as it grants them voting rights not only in European elections but also in local elections through European citizenship that otherwise would not be granted to them on the grounds that they are not the citizens of the host country. The citizens of smaller member states might appreciate their country's increased voice in world politics as they are part of a group that makes them more than what they are on their own. Obradovic (1996) argues that legitimacy of a governing structure depends on whether the political authority meets the needs of its citizens and reflects the values of the governed. If a governing structure is perceived as the embodiment of those values that are central to the self-definition of individuals governed by those structures, it is likely that individuals will see the political authority as furthering their self-expression and self-interest. Thus, those EU citizens who define themselves and the EU in the same value terms are likely to feel empowered by the EU. Although these initial ideas shed some light on the issue of whose evaluations of the EU are likely to be favorable, the issue remains outside the scope of this study. There is clearly need for future research to pursue this issue further through rigorous analyses.

At the end of the day, these findings can be viewed as self-evident. But they, I believe, are not obvious without the consistent framework of the theoretical backing as well as the subsequent testing I provided. Many studies reveal unexpected results that go against what seemed obvious *a priori*. Furthermore, in light of great variation across the EU countries, it is prudent that one is wary of such an automatic evaluation.

Consciousness of out-group, for example, surprisingly did not prove to make a difference for European identity.

An interesting question to consider is whether the logic of the analysis may be reversed. Perhaps. But this is less of an indication that there is a mistake in the direction of causality than the point that once an identity is formed it becomes a driving force on its own for future perceptions of interests and images. Referring to this two way-relationship between identity and subsequent social/political behavior, Lawler argues that “as choice-processes make collective attachments stronger, the collective attachments in turn transform choice processes into ritual affirmations of the collective” (1992, 336). In other words, when an individual identifies with a social group, the subsequent behavior of that individual depends on the definitions of group welfare and interests. Individual perceptions of welfare and interests become tied to perceptions of group welfare and interests. However, I believe that the direction of causality in the Social Identity Theories is quite clear. Identity is first formed as a rational response to some outside stimulus that activates the cognitive and emotive roots of an identity. Dormant identities (i.e., those identity options that are theoretically possible but not activated yet) are stimulated by a social group that proves its worth to the individual and in return the individual develops an attachment to the group. Only after that, identity can become an independent variable that can account for the subsequent preferences on developments with regard to the original social group.

For example, Luna-Arocas et al (2001) show that citizens of both Spain and Portugal supported the adoption of euro because they perceive it as a symbol of

European identity rather than as a source of economic benefits. Up to here one could see that identity can reverse the casual logic. Yet the reason why citizens of Spain and Portugal want to strengthen symbols of European identity is interesting. They see European identity as a means of strengthening their democracy and their recognition as European that allows them to conceive their self-image more positively. In other words, yes, identity affects their attitude on euro but it is because they see euro as strengthening their identity which is a result of the empowering effect of the social identity offered by the EU rather than Euro's own empowering effect. Similarly, if identity was something that could be assumed prior to socialization with a group, we could not imagine why anyone who claims to feel European would not feel empowered by the EU. Yet, a manual worker will have many compelling reasons and objective criteria as to why s/he feels (or does not feel thereof) empowered by the EU. This brings us to the beginning of the theory I employ in the dissertation. Individuals identify only with those social groups by which they feel empowered. It is no new theory that identities affect political preferences and behavior. My focus is, however, on the sources of an identity rather than what that identity means for the subsequent political choices.

Through the model I developed based on the SIT by Tajfel and Turner and Nested Identity Theory by Lawler, I aimed at contributing to the literature in several ways. As it can be seen from Table 7 where these contributions are summarized, firstly, the majority of the studies in the literature rely on single case or comparative case studies neglecting the examination of patterns that are at work across the EU rather than one or few member states. This is crucial for there is a great cross-country variation

within the EU with regard to mass attitudes on the EU-related issues. By carrying out a cross-sectional study based on data from 15 member states, I cross-validated the findings, reaching more robust and representative results. Secondly, many studies reach conclusions only through correlations or descriptive statistics. This study performed a complex series of analyses where the simultaneous effects of several variables were possible to examine. Thirdly, there is a lack of unifying conceptual framework in the literature. Many studies test ad hoc hypothesis where the broader theoretical understanding of European identity could benefit from a more consistent and cohesive construction. By going to basics and starting from the original questions posed in Social Identity Theories, I believe, I was able to unify this disparate research under more general headings that can subsume many patterns within its sociological logic.

Lastly, I supplemented SIT of Tajfel and Turner with Nested Identity Theory of Lawler to address the instrumental-affective discussions. Many studies treat support for European integration as instrumental attachment to the EU and identification with the EU as affective attachment. Drawing on Easton's works, others treat national identity as an affective form of attachment and European identity as an instrumental form of attachment, hence the two different forms of identification. I disagree with these reductionist approaches that exaggerate the clear-cut division between instrumental and affective identities. Rather than treating them as different types of identities, I see them as different components present in each identity that reinforce each other instead of functioning separately. Tajfel and Turner's theory does briefly address the affect issue (by implying that the emotive significance of an identity is important), but is not

concerned with how affective and instrumental components of an identity might be related. Lawler argues that the long-term affective attachments to a social group grow along with the positive experiences with that social group. Supplementing Tajfel and Turner's theory with Lawler's logic, I argued that instrumental and affective evaluations of the EU should both affect European identity at the same time and if this theory is right such evaluations would have significant independent effects on European identity simultaneously. As—even in the presence of deficiencies of the present dataset used in this analysis—results yield strong independent effects of both components on the individual identification with the EU, the robustness of the theory is all the more telling. The model I presented addressed all aspects of the social identity theory of Tajfel (positive image, consciousness of in-group and out-group members, and affective significance of group membership), Lawler's nested identity theory (empowerment and affect component), and individual qualities and national qualities both of which prepare the context for individual understanding of self and Europeanness. I also addressed the issue of context-bound nature of salience of identities that is integrated in both theories but did not test it due to data unavailability. I, however, discussed possible ways of testing them if I had the data. There is no single model in the literature that I am aware of where all these dimensions are integrated and tested together. In sum, this dissertation aimed at contributing to the debate not by advancing new ideas or theories, but rather by uniting existing theories in a single model and testing them *across* the EU with a complex analysis to ensure robustness and cross-validation of the patterns.

TABLE 7 Contributions of the European Identity as Social Identity Model

Hypothesis	Status	Contribution
Positive image of the EU	confirmed	
Empowerment by the EU	confirmed	Not tested before in broad terms and together with affective concerns in the same model
Affect for the EU	confirmed	Not tested before
We-hood	confirmed	Not tested before
They-hood	disconfirmed	Not tested before—unexpected finding
Education	confirmed	
Multiculturalism	confirmed	Not tested before in identity context
Federalism	confirmed	Not tested before
National Pride	confirmed	
Length of EU Membership	confirmed	
WWII Death Toll	confirmed	Not tested before in identity context
<p>Notes:</p> <p>****A cohesive theoretical framework that brings leading theories together in a single model</p> <p>****Cross-national coverage rather than single or comparative case studies where only two or few countries are considered.</p> <p>****Complex MNL analysis reaches conclusions by controlling for the simultaneous effects of many variables rather than correlations or descriptive statistics.</p> <p>**** It integrates instrumental and affective components of identity in the same model arguing that both play an independent effect on identity. Instrumental component is theoretically more than mere economic implications of the EU on individual well-being.</p>		

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

What we now need to build is a union of hearts and minds, underpinned by a strong shared sentiment of a common destiny – a sense of common European citizenship. We come from different countries. We speak different languages. We have different historical and cultural traditions. And we must preserve them. But we are seeking a shared identity – a new European soul.

-Romano Prodi's address to the European Parliament, September 1999, as cited by Leitner (2000, 21).

Created as a result of the catastrophes of the 20th century in Europe, the European Union was designed to transcend the nation-state and its destructive ideologies of ethnic nationalism. Half a century after its foundation, the EU stands as the most compelling example of regional integration that has helped many warring countries in Europe to reconcile and peacefully transform the way they think about each other and European politics. The EU constitutes the identity, interests and the culture of not only its member states. It has also become a forceful determinant of identity and interests of those outside the EU. As Laffan (2004, 79-80) argues, it is clear that the majority of the countries in the broader Europe cannot escape the significance of the EU cognizant of the fact that their inclusion or exclusion from the EU carries great implications for their economic

prosperity, foreign policy and their overall weight in world politics; hence the EU “successfully appropriated the term Europe for itself” (80).

Considering the extent of integration within the EU, any account of European integration that sees this process only in economic and political terms would be incompetent to present a complete picture of the reality. Particularly starting with the Maastricht Treaty, every treaty (Amsterdam, Nice and the current draft Treaty establishing a constitution for Europe) has taken the integration process further into realms that were previously outside its jurisdiction. In the process, the EU has perhaps not reached yet its goal of ‘Political Union’, but it is clearly more than what is considered an international organization. The EU is becoming a cultural actor creating a social sphere for different European nationalities to interact with and understand each other. One implication of this is that European leaders need to make sure that they win the hearts and minds of Europeans for the EU and the collective it is in the process of forming. The broader legitimacy of the EU hinges on the popular identification with the Union and fellow EU citizens regardless of nationality, language, religion or ethnicity differences. For the extending EU jurisdiction and decisions taken by qualified majority to be perceived as legitimate, Europeans need to come to think of other EU citizens as fellow members of a European collective and the EU as ‘our’ government both of which has the legitimate power to take decisions on behalf of all Europeans. Thus, identity issues have become very costly for European leaders to neglect. Unlike the early decades of European unification, a sense of ‘Europeanness’ cannot be expected to simply and naturally flow from the institutional development and economic benefits alone provided

by the EU. The significance of public approval of and loyalty to the EU is illustrated by the controversial referenda of European Treaties, the latest of which led to the current constitutional crisis of the EU. Clearly the European public has to be considered as an important ‘veto player’ (Tsebelis 2002) in the integration process.

With these considerations in mind, this dissertation focused on the question of a collective identity that is evolving within the EU. The main puzzle was concerned with understanding what determines the various adherence levels of Europeans to their nation-states and the EU alternatively. Before dealing with this question directly, in chapter II, I focused on clarifying some points about European identity in order to place its theoretical and empirical evaluation in the due context. First, I reviewed the reasons for the popularity of the identity issues in European politics in detail. In addition to the extent of deepening, I discussed the impact of the end of Cold War on images and social boundaries in Europe. The end of the Cold War, indeed, rendered the old assumptions of European identity obsolete warranting a revision of who ‘we’ and ‘they’ are in the new Europe. Secondly, I discussed what kind of a European identity is credible for the EU. Reviewing its historical, cultural and civic components, I repeated the well-known fact that European countries do not have enough cultural/historical/ethnic commonality for a European identity with primordial connotations. Notwithstanding its fundamentalist implications on identities that the EU is established to avoid in the first place, such an organic definition of European identity would be hard to promote as it would increase the perception of the EU threat for national cultures and identities, but perhaps more importantly it would be ill-equipped to represent the extent of heterogeneity both

between and within the comprising nation-states. The only viable option for the EU is to promote a civic form of identity that values common norms and values as joint reference points instead of alleged ethnic or cultural similarities.

In chapter II, I also reviewed the previous literature on European identity noting the leading findings. I pointed out some of the shortcomings of this literature. The need to differentiate between European identity and support for the EU is particularly noted. Furthermore, the lack of systematic and empirical studies on European identity across the EU stands out as a major gap in the literature.

In chapter III, I focused on the main question this dissertation sets out to investigate: sources of European identity. To answer this question, I developed a theoretical framework that heavily draws upon the literature of social psychology. I argued that alone institutional presence of the EU or the reductionist efforts of European leaders to increase the salience of the EU in everyday lives of European citizens through several symbols of European integration cannot guarantee a genuine sense of belonging at the European level. The mere existence of an identity option will not lead to the adoption of that identity if human beings are sophisticated and rational decision-makers. In fact, for an identity to be genuine, it should be felt and internalized by the individual as an indispensable part of self and its representation. Therefore I argued that we should approach European identity as an instance of ‘social identity’.

Based on Social Identity Theory developed by Tajfel (1970, 1974, and 1982) and Tajfel and Turner (1979), and Multiple Identity literature (mostly Lawler 1992), I formed several hypotheses about the possibility of European identity. According to the

SIT, every social identity entails cognitive, evaluative and affective dimensions.

Individuals should be cognizant of their group membership that is valued for its positive contribution to their self-definition and has an emotional significance. The first set of hypotheses I derived from the SIT focused on the cognitive and evaluative aspect of European identity. Accordingly, I expected that those individuals who ascribed the EU a positive image and feel empowered by the EU are more likely to feel European. Based on the affective component of social identities, I expected those individuals who have affect for the EU to feel more European. Furthermore, I formed hypotheses about the social boundary formation that is essential to any identity formation process. An understanding of out-groups and a sense of solidarity with fellow in-groups are essential to establish a 'wir-gefühl'. Although this social delineation of boundaries is subjectively drawn, it results in objective conditions that represent status of different individuals. Thus I expected that the presence of these two components of boundary demarcation in mental maps to be conducive to the likelihood of European identity. Drawing upon the previous literature and SIT, I also formed hypotheses about individual and national qualities that condition the first few hypotheses as individuals perceive and experience the EU differently not only due to personal differences but also due to reasons that stem from them being members of different nations with specific histories and traditions. In this context, knowledge of the EU, personal stand on multiculturalism, state structure one is coming from, national pride, years of EU membership and national death toll in the WWII are considered. The analysis is controlled for education, age and gender.

The testing of these propositions is done through a Multinomial Logit Model and the data are compiled mostly from Eurobarometer survey data (Eurobarometer 53) from 2000. The results confirmed all of my hypotheses except for out-group consciousness. Positive image of the EU, empowerment by the EU, one's affect for the EU, knowledge of the EU politics, favorable opinion on multiculturalism, federal state structure, length of EU membership, and internal solidarity (i.e., we-hood) among Europeans all have positive relationship with all three identity categories with a European dimension (National/European, European/National and European) and reduce the probability of exclusive National identification dramatically. National pride has consistently negative relationship with all categories of post-national identity (i.e., National/European, European/National and only European) and increase the exclusive National identity. The national casualties during the WWII increase the probability of National identity and European/National identity while reducing the probability of National/European and European identities. Delineation of the EU from nonEU citizens decreases the probability of European identity as the predominant or the sole identity. I argued that this unexpected result can be explained by the argument that even though Europeans might have a benign sense of who is a European and who is a nonEuropean, such a demarcation might fall short of producing the usual objective exclusionary effects toward out-groups that can easily be observed in another case of social identity. This is because in the case of European identity adverse demarcation and discrimination on the aforementioned grounds are incompatible with the true spirit of European identity. One of the values that constitute the core of European identity is respect for pluralism and

commitment to non-discrimination on grounds of nationality, ethnicity and culture. Thus, based on Erickson's (1995) differentiation, I argued that in the case of European identity the definition of Other might be done through a culture of 'complementarization' rather than 'dichotomization'.

The largest shift of identities is seen between exclusive national identity and post-national identities. The analysis, however, yielded that some of the variables do not significantly differentiate within the postnational identity cluster. For example, although positive image of and empowerment by the EU makes European identity in the form of multiple identities or 'European only' identity more likely, none of the categories are differentiated by these variables. Affect, on the other hand, significantly increases the odds of European/National identity relative to National/European identity by allowing EU citizens a leap in the primacy of identities. Similarly, one's experience with federal state increases the odds of 'European only' identity relative to the multiple identities, while one's national pride renders European identity in its manifestation as sole or leading form of identity less likely. Another variable that differentiates within the group of postnational identities is the length of EU membership. In those states that have been in the EU longer, the complete shift of loyalties from the nation-state to the EU is more likely relative to multiple and exclusive national identities. Lastly, while multiculturalism increases the odds of European/National identity relative to National/European identity, internal cohesion and spirit of we-hood increases the likelihood of 'European only' identity relative to multiple identities with a European dimension. In light of these findings, I also tested an alternative model based on a BNL

analysis. If most of the shift between identity outcomes is taking place between exclusive National identity and post-national (European identities in multiple or exclusive form) identities, BNL would sharpen this relationship and allow me to demonstrate the patterns more clearly. The results confirmed the findings of MNL model.

What are the implications of this study for the future of the EU and its identity consequences? EU citizens will identify with the EU if they continue to attribute a positive image to it and see it as a source of major economic, political and social benefits that give them a sense of increased control in their everyday lives. One might think that positive image is a result of empowering effects of the EU. This logic is partly true but viewing an entity positively has also a dimension that stems purely from the qualities of the entity in its own right. In this sense, political events where the EU seems disabled or incompetent to act as a strong union hurts the overall image of the EU rendering a negative perception more likely. For example, the inaction of the EU during the ethnic cleansing in ex-Yugoslavia despite the public support as well as the disconcerted reactions from the EU member states during the initial phases of the controversial Iraq war in 2003 are bound to project an image on behalf of the EU that is not likely to encourage the EU citizens to shift their loyalties and expectations from their respective nation-states to the EU with confidence.

The complex relationship between affect and the value of a social group is discussed in chapter III. If affect flows from the social value of the group, clearly increasing the value of the EU in everyday lives of Europeans will contribute to an

increasing degree of emotional significance of the EU over time. However, European elites, based on the social identity theory, cannot intervene to reinforce the affect component of European identity directly. The parts of European identity that they can influence are the cognitive and evaluative aspects. Affect is a natural result of the genuine internalization of a social identity based on its social value over time. Nevertheless, whether this theoretical expectation receives empirical support is something to be investigated in future research when time series data on the issue are available.

Although federal state structure, national pride and national death toll in the WWII impact an individual's context to perceive the EU and its effects in a certain way, these variables hold relatively smaller potential for policy makers to manipulate in order to help foster a European identity. For example, one is either from a federal state or not. However, it is reasonable to expect that for upcoming generations, those variables that condition the national context for the perception of the EU are likely to hold less of a determining force. How much a nation is proud of its history and heritage in itself does not constitute a threat to identification with the EU. However, the way this pride is integrated into the national discourses in relation to a European identity is determining. This study proved earlier research that those individuals with less national pride are more willing to adopt a European identity. However, particular national discourses and how national pride is embedded in these discourses in conjunction with the identity the EU projects would help us understand the extent of cross-country variation in the effect of such discourses among those individuals *with* national pride. In other words, it would

be interesting to see what conditions an individual's willingness to identify with the EU despite his/her national pride. This is left for future research. Based on the previous literature, I discussed in chapter III that European integration has changed the tone and configuration of some national discourses. The relationship between the passage of time and the softening of such discourses (particularly those discourses where national pride is prevalent) is also an interesting issue for future research to investigate.

Similarly, the battle deaths during the WWII of the EU member states are fixed. However, the intensity of these memories is likely to decrease with the passage of time. Thus, the upcoming generations of the EU member countries are likely to be influenced less and less by this variable, even if these experiences continue to figure in national discourses. This prospect is all the more likely due to the socialization effects of inclusion of European history and integration in school curriculums written from a more favorable and joint perspective. A content analysis of national discourses on these two points and evaluation of change in their course over time would be an interesting project for future research.

An area where European policy makers could actively engage in advancing European identity is promotion of a sense of internal cohesion and solidarity. Clearly, many of the symbols that the EU introduces (Euro and the European citizenship being the most prominent of these symbols) aim at increasing this perception of commonality among Europeans. Other than introduction of symbols, there are some EU policies that more actively spread a sense of 'identity' and internal solidarity. Cohesion fund and the related fiscal transfers are the best examples of such policies. However, the success of

these policies in promoting a '*wir-gefühl*' hinges on whether the public ascribes the due credit to the EU. In some cases where national governments do a poor job of public relations in making the EU's cohesion fund contributions known, such policies of helping out the poorer regions will not foster a feeling of internal solidarity. An improved system of information dissemination is likely to help the broader process of European integration as well as increasing public consciousness of contributions made from other EU countries in a spirit of internal solidarity.

The biggest symbol suggested to date of such a sense of we-hood at the European level is the draft Constitution of the EU. The link between a constitution and collective identity is well established in the literature. Of particular importance is the debate on '*verfassungspatriotismus*', a concept developed by Jürgen Habermas (2001) referring to a form of civic identity based on an allegiance to common norms and values crystallized in a constitution. Paradoxically, the overwhelming 'no' that came out of the recent French and Dutch referenda (on May 29 and June 1, 2005 respectively) on the European Constitution has given the first signs of reluctance of Europeans to associate themselves with the polity such a constitution was to define.

Some of the issues that appeared to cause referenda failure have clear identity implications. One of the biggest issues handled in the constitution was institutional reform that would have increased the efficiency of the EU with 25 member states. Increased applicability of qualified majority voting was particularly a powerful means of resolving the decision-making predicament in an enlarged Union. Qualified majority voting warrants the EU citizens to accept other Europeans' decisions as valid and

legitimate. A majority of the voters who are skeptical of a Turkish membership in the EU associated the European constitution in their minds with Turkish entry in the EU, seeing the referenda as a plebiscite on Turkish membership. This, too, has identity implications. As mentioned earlier, there is more than one way of imagining Europe. While to those who perceive the EU as a civic Union Turkish membership is acceptable, to those who imagine European unity in historical or cultural terms, Turkey continues to serve as the other of European identity as it did for centuries during the reign of the Ottoman Empire.

Initial reports, however, also showed that many voters had increasing unemployment and job transfer to the new member states (including possibly Turkey, a country of 67 million populations) in mind as they voted for the European Constitution. Loss of social benefits is, indeed, a major concern for majority of Europeans. This is all the more telling particularly if one accepts the fact that identity attachments are not likely to change overnight in response to temporal events. In other words, the negative reaction to the European Constitution during French and Dutch referenda might be more of an indication that EU citizens are questioning the validity and effectiveness of the structural blueprint (along with the associated welfare concerns) the constitution is suggesting rather than a refusal of European identity. However, in light of Lawler's argument, if affective and evaluative components of identity draw on each other (which this study showed that they both do impact on identities simultaneously), pervasive dissatisfaction with the EU structures due to a sense of loss of control in one's life can over the long term have an impact on identity by reducing both evaluative and affective

attachments to the EU. Earned social benefits might prove difficult for the EU to take away without any negative backlash on the identity front.

What these concerns together suggest is that winning the hearts and minds of the EU citizens for further deepening is critical. Identity concerns are everywhere; they affect the perceptions of Europeans of their interests, self-definition, and range of acceptable actions in their everyday lives towards in-group and out-group members, and ultimately what kind of a 'European collective' they imagine. In light of these realities, identity politics is likely to be the most critical ingredient of the efforts on European integration motivating or curtailing the developments toward a genuine Political Union among European peoples. European identity can hardly be called a marginal field of study for the students of the European Union.

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APPENDIX

TABLE A1 Descriptive Statistics for Independent Variables in the Identities in the EU Analysis

Variables	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.	%	N
Image	0.7	0.5	0	1	68.7	9925
Empowerment	0.7	0.5	0	1	67.5	7444
EU affect	0.7	0.5	0	1	72.8	9353
Federal	0.3	0.5	0	1	31.8	16078
National pride	0.9	0.3	0	1	89.3	15495
Length of EU Membership	29.5	17.1	5	48		16078
WWII Death Toll	1.7	1.7	0	5.013		16078
Education	15.8	7.1	0	39		16066
Multiculturalism	0.7	0.5	0	1	71.6	14217
They-hood	0.8	0.4	0	1	77.8	16078
We-hood	0.4	0.5	0	1	42.6	14980
EU Info	4.3	2.1	1	10		15757
Male	0.5	0.5	0	1	47.6	16078
Age	43.8	17.8	15	99		16078

Source: Eurobarometer 53, 2000.

TABLE A2 Per Capita Death Toll of EU Member States during WWII

Country	WWII national casualties (percentage of population as of 1939)
Belgium	1.787
Denmark	0.079
Greece	0.886
Italy	0.5
Spain	0.086
France	1.611
Ireland	0
Luxembourg	1.678
Netherlands	2.346
Portugal	0
Finland	2.703
Sweden	0
Austria	4.146
Germany	5.013
UK	0.942

FIGURE A1 Discrete Change in Predicted Probabilities for European identity as Social Identity*

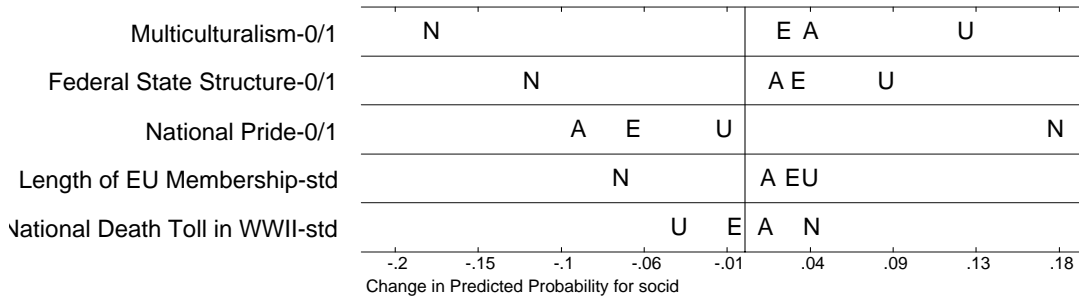
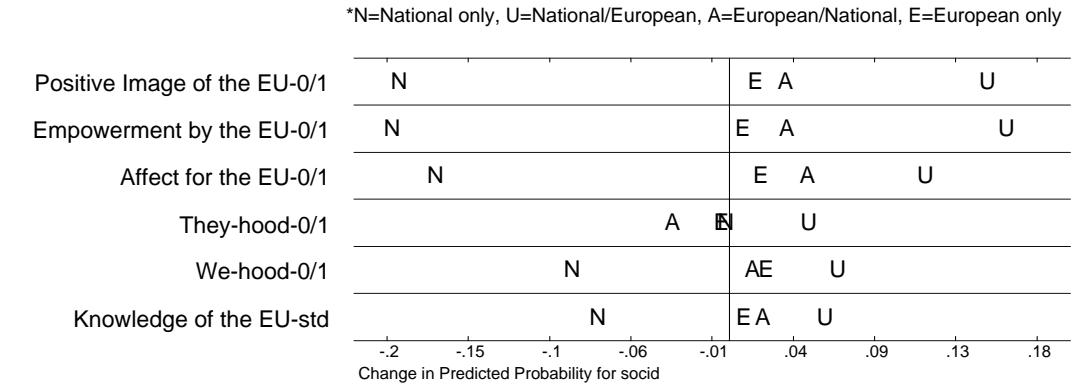


TABLE A3 Tabulation of Individual EU Member States and the Binary Explanatory Variables

	Image		Empowerment		Affect		Federal		National Pride		Multilateral		They-hood		We-hood	
	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Belgium	138	544	131	268	128	491	0	1063	211	825	362	607	127	936	599	421
Denmark	312	298	128	300	306	281	1000	0	75	907	260	659	296	704	373	601
Greece	87	510	91	368	71	646	1004	0	21	979	514	369	108	896	597	378
Italy	94	655	118	282	42	717	1000	0	100	870	222	653	315	685	405	547
Spain	61	560	58	556	62	531	0	1000	74	881	126	753	368	632	364	561
France	167	496	158	210	123	485	1002	0	121	813	208	714	178	824	573	389
Ireland	47	667	47	587	109	389	1000	0	10	979	241	628	249	751	550	356
Luxembourg	82	298	68	206	83	242	600	0	60	508	134	419	66	534	341	236
Netherlands	198	370	161	280	125	369	975	0	107	858	190	724	137	838	683	248
Portugal	63	612	55	445	56	684	1000	0	47	938	207	631	291	709	500	407
Finland	266	338	165	287	202	264	1010	0	56	944	249	672	217	793	489	485
Sweden	426	268	258	193	309	350	1000	0	78	895	162	784	396	604	352	605
Austria	361	231	229	248	202	264	0	1005	84	852	284	522	259	746	581	231
Germany	402	666	465	493	437	734	0	2049	536	1338	636	1084	190	1859	1373	537
UK	403	308	289	300	288	341	1370	0	76	1252	234	969	358	1012	821	377

Source: Eurobarometer 53, 2000, European Commission.

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