EUROPEAN IDENTITY MATTERS

An empirical analysis of the impact of European Identity on the opinion towards a possible EU accession of Turkey

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Word count: 9,055

July 2011

UNIVERSITEIT TWENTE.

Abstract

In this paper, relating attitudes towards Europe and attitudes towards the accession of Turkey are contrasted and tested using a large survey among European citizens. Specifically two theories regarding identity-related factors that might influence the opinion towards a possible accession of Turkey to the EU are tested to determine the effects of European identity. On the one hand the widespread theory, that identifying with Europe implies being more open to new members to spread the values and norms of Europe. On the other hand stands the application of the *Social Identity Theory*, suggesting that identification with Europe negatively influences the opinion towards Turkish EU-membership. A regression analysis using data from the Eurobarometer 69.2 from 2008 is used to come about this task. The main finding of this paper is that the data supports the former theory, showing that European identity feeling has a positive impact on the support of Turkish membership. This means that people identifying stronger with Europe are more inclined to have a positive attitude towards Turkey becoming a member of the European Union.

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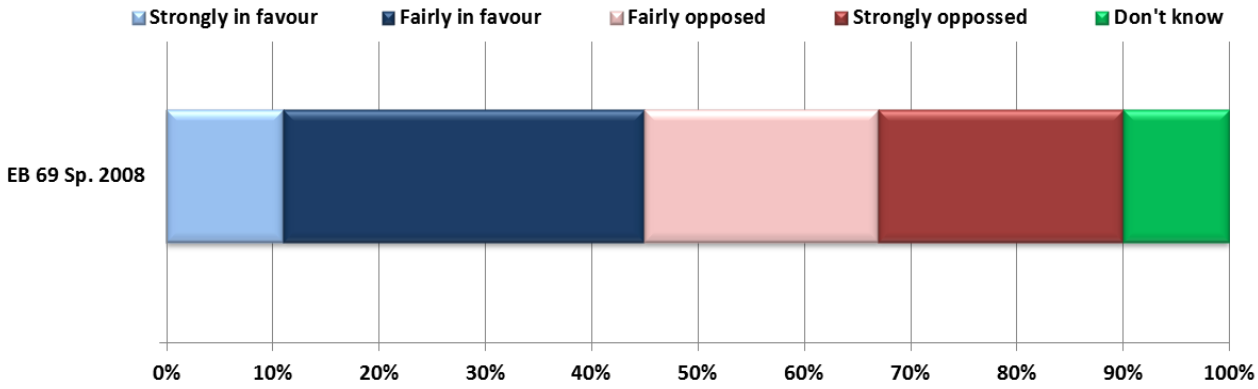
1. Introduction

As the European Union has ever more grown since its establishment and is prone to keep on integrating new members, public opinion plays in light of an overall democratic deficit discussion an important role within the process of a wider integration. Especially the case of Turkey has always been highly debated within the European Union (EU). As unique as the debate itself, is the development of EU-Turkey relations. Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the Turkish state has been devoting considerable efforts to belong entirely to Europe. However it was not until 2005 that the EU officially started membership negotiations with Turkey (Hurd, 2006, p. 404). This step initiated a great discussion, which had already seethed for decades, on whether Turkey belongs to Europe and whether it should join the Union or not. Next to many political hurdles, as for example human rights and democratic structures in Turkey, public concern is a key issue. Despite a high number of opposing EU citizens, the integration process of Turkey has never come to a full halt. Recent Eurobarometers show that the public is still broadly opposed to Turkey's membership. Eurobarometer 69.2 from 2008 for example shows that about half of the population takes a negative stance in the matter (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Eurobarometer 69.2 – Answers to question A45



This leads to problems regarding the legitimacy of the European Union's action to take on board new members such as Turkey. Since the discussion of a democratic deficit within the European Union is highly present in the last years (cf. for example Follesdal & Hix, 2006; Crombez, 2003), a lack of public support for an issue as highly contested as Turkey's membership could have critical consequences. An inclusion of Turkey in the EU without public consent could throw the Union into a deep crisis of legitimacy and a further loss in public trust. This is what makes public opinion so important. Hence by determining the aspects shaping public opinion, this paper contributes to understanding the factors influencing the public opposition in the EU towards the accession of Turkey.

Naturally, with such large discontent with Turkey's accession comes a high number of studies dealing with this phenomenon. In recent years numerous studies came to the conclusion that identity related factors play a, at least, catalytic role within public opinion formation (cf. for example Karp & Bowler, 2006; McLaren, 2007; Curley, 2009; Dixon, 2010). However findings and opinions diverge in the question on what kind of influence the people's identity and especially European identity has in this regard. One example for this is Jeffrey C. Dixon (2010), who suggests that European identity might have a positive effect on support for enlargement. Nevertheless two different lines of argumentation will form the focus of this study. Firstly it is argued that identifying with Europe means being open to cosmopolitanism and upholding European values. This in turn leads to being more supportive of European integration and consequently also support further enlargement (cf. Dixon, 2010, p. 132). Building on the Social Identity Theory (SIT), a second line of argumentation points in the opposite direction, namely that European identity favors an in-group feeling and therefore fosters oppposition towards the entrance of other countries. The Social Identity Theory, as developed by Henri Tajfel and Turner (1986), theorizes that an individual identifies with the group he or she belongs to and therefore creates an in-group feeling, which results in the exclusion of the other. Tyler M. Curley (2009) in particular points out that European identity negatively effects support for Turkish accession. Based on the SIT, the author constructs the theory that the stronger someone identifies himself with the European Union, the more likely that person is to oppose Turkish accession.

The puzzle that evolves from these adverse views, namely whether European identity has a negative or a positive influence on public opinion formation in regard to Turkish EU accession, will form the key element of this paper. Therefore the following research question will be guiding the study:

'D*oes individual identification with Europe have a positive or negative effect on the opinion formation of EU citizens in regard to the potential EU- membership of Turkey?*'

Due to the fact that SIT is playing an increasingly crucial role within the fields of political psychology and even international relations, this study will focus mainly on the newer SIT approach when constructing an applicable theory and will handle the cosmopolitan value-based theory as an alternative hypothesis. Hence this paper seeks to expand the present knowledge surrounding public opinion towards Turkish EU-membership by applying SIT. In order to contribute to the discussion of the underlying factors of public opposition, this study advances the theory developed by Curley (2009). As opposed to his work however, it does not lay the focus on the different national decision-makers, but will rather test Curley's hypothesis applied to the European public. To address this task, Eurobarometer data from 2008

containing the level of individual identification with the European Union and support for an accession of Turkey are analyzed. In order to increase the value of the study, data from all 27 member states (MS) are examined using a multiple regression analysis.

2. Theory

As pointed out above, various explanations for factors determining the rather large opposition towards Turkish EU-membership have been offered within the scientific community. The explanations range from 'hard' rationalist's to 'soft' constructivist's accounts.

2.1. 'Hard Factor' Explanations

A considerable amount of scholars perceive utilitarian self-interest as a main factor influencing the opinion towards EU enlargement. These studies of cost-benefit calculations of individuals or groups have been a dominant part of the discussion (cf. for example Anderson & Reichert, 1996; Baldwin, Francois, & Portes, 1997; Mahler, Taylor, & Wozniak, 2000). The concerned studies argue that individuals are opposed to enlargement when they perceive it to negatively affect them personally and/or the group they see themselves belonging to (cf. McLaren, 2007). Groups might be for example the nation, the region or even the occupational group. As the internal market with its free movement of goods, capital, services, and persons interlinks the economies of all member states, it is often suggested that those with low-skilled jobs and low income levels are potentially hit the hardest by an enlargement (cf. McLaren, 2007; Mahler et al., 2000). Scholars support this theory by arguing that low-skilled jobs are more easily replaceable by cheaper migrating labor, or by companies moving to cheaper areas. Additionally it is often argued that European institutions as the Common Agriculture Policy facilitate such benefits on EU citizens, that these are unwilling to give up or share these benefits with citizens from new member states. Therefore the hypothesis that low-skilled workers and farmers are generally more opposed towards further EU enlargement plays an important role within the concerned literature. As pointed out by Tyler M. Curley however this 'rational choice theory' does not fully account for the explanation of support for EU enlargement. For if economic self-interest is the dominating factor, how can we explain the larger opposition against Turkey's membership as opposed to rather moderate opposition towards the East enlargement in 2004 and 2007? This holds taking into account the difficulties to argue that Turkey resembles a much greater economic threat now than the new member states did some years ago (cf. for example Lejour & de Mooij, 2005).

2.2. 'Soft Factor' Explanations

In the case of public opinion towards Turkey scholars have argued that in addition to economic self-interest other factors play an important role too. The above discussed 'hard factors', as compared to 'soft factors', play a less vital role with regard to the discussion surrounding Turkey's accession. De Vreese et al. (2008) even claim that a shift has taken place, changing the focus of scholars from hard to soft predictors "such as feelings of identity and attitudes towards immigrants" (de Vreese, Boomgaarden, & Semetko, 2008, p. 512).

Marks and Hooghe (2003) differentiate between hard (economic) and soft (cultural) threats to the nation-state in a similar way as between hard and soft factors in determining opposition towards Turkey (cf. Kritzinger, 2003). Since a perceived or real threat to one's economy or culture is always related to one's identification with a certain group, the role of identity also plays an important role in the enlargement discourse within Europe. Therefore a number of studies dealing with the influence of the people's in-group feelings on the opposition against EU enlargement have been published (Dixon, 2010). However only in few instances scholars studied the role of an overall European identity in the opposition/support formation towards Turkey as a candidate state (cf. Curley, 2009; Dixon, 2010).

These studies about EU identity however, seem to branch off into two different directions. One way of bringing European identity into the discussion on the opposition towards Turkey's membership was highlighted by Karp and Bowler (2006). They argued that a positive relationship exists between the feeling of being European and supporting the expansion of the EU. Their study argues that a feeling of European identity generally fosters the support for further European integration. The authors arrive at this conclusion by assuming that if citizens feel more European, they are generally in favor of European integration as such and consequently will be also more in favor of further enlargement. Hence a "kind of pan-European nationalism, then, is likely to be associated with support for enlargement" (Karp & Bowler, 2006, p. 371). In addition J.C. Dixon (2010, p. 132) refers to Karp and Bowler (2006) when stating that "European identity indicates openness to cosmopolitanism and leads to greater support of the European project". Following this logic, a person identifying himself strongly with the European Union would consequently be more in favor of enlarging the EU in order to deepen and diffuse the European structures and value system.

Contrastingly, other scholars however have hypothesized that the role of European identity in light of opinion formation might be of a completely different nature. As pointed out before the focus for this

paper's theory lies on the Social Identity Theory. This theoretical framework assumes that an individual acquires multiple 'social identities' that are aligned with different social groups the individual perceives himself belonging to. Meaning that membership in a group creates a certain in-group feeling (cf. Brown, 2000, p. 747). This feeling enhances a favoring behavior towards in-group members as compared to outgroup individuals (i.e. in-group favoritism). Additionally the theory contends that members of a group are more inclined to categorize individuals as outsiders than to include them into their own group (i.e. the "over-exclusion effect") (Curley, 2009, p. 650). Applying this to the EU enlargement by Turkey, it can be argued, that the awareness of being a citizen of the European Union creates an in-group feeling. According to some scholars, the feeling of belonging to one group leads to easily differentiating oneself from 'the other' (cf. Curley, 2009). As defining the other is always an important part of defining oneself (cf. Diez, 2004, p. 321), European citizens might theoretically define themselves vis-à-vis non-EU citizens, i.e. Turks. This argument is supported by Thomas Diez who argues that since the 1990s "geographic and cultural otherings" are once more increasing within Europe, meaning that differences as for example religious affinity becomes again more important in identity construction. The Social Identity Theory is further strengthened by Perreault and Bourhis (1999) who argue that the stronger individuals identify themselves with their in-group, the more likely they will discriminate against individuals from an 'outgroup'. Translated to the present case, this would mean that EU citizens that identify themselves with Europe are more likely to discriminate in one way or the other towards Turkish citizens.

As mentioned in the introduction, Tyler M. Curley made use of SIT in order to show how, in the case of Turkish accession, European identity will negatively affect the decision-makers' support for Turkish accession. He constructs the above mentioned theory that a stronger European identity triggers a stronger in-group feeling within the European Union. In line with this argument the hypothesis that "*the stronger a decision-maker identifies with Europe, the stricter he/she will be when deciding which country should be allowed entrance into the EU*", is derived by the author (Curley, 2009, p. 650).

Curley (2009, p.650) himself acknowledges, that the study only suffices to "provide a preliminary examination of the theory". He only studies very broadly the decision-makers' identification with Europe and attitudes towards Turkey's accession, and furthermore limits his study to three countries[1]. The present paper will employ the initial theoretical approach by Curley in order to construct a broader theory, extending to the EU public opinion in the case of Turkish EU-accession. Thereby this paper

[1] The countries under study are the United Kingdom, Germany, and France (cf. Curley, 2009)

contributes to understanding public opinion formation and tests Curley's hypotheses surrounding European identity using new empirical data.

There are various ways to conceptualize European identity (e.g., see Maier & Rittberger, 2008; Bruter, 2003; Dixon, 2010). One important distinction between the conceptualizations stems from the distinction between cultural and civic factors of identity. The cultural European identity is defined by the belief that Europeans belong together due to shared values and cultural traits. The civic European identity on the other hand has the supposition that identity forms through the political unity of a community. Hence when Europeans "feel that they are citizens of a European political system, whose rules, laws, and rights have an influence on their daily life", a civic identity can be established (Bruter, 2003, p. 1155). In the realm of this paper the concept takes into account if a personal feeling of belonging to Europe is existent, the feeling about belonging to Europe, and the personal importance of being European[2]. Including these three sides of self- assessment contributes to the here used concept of European identity, as it grasp not only the 'feeling of belonging' but also the own opinion about this fact. This means that if people do feel that they belong to Europe – e.g. because their nation is a member of the European Union – but have no personal importance attached to this, the concept used here will measure this particular ambivalence.

Additionally also other more elementary factors as the perception of what the ultimate goal of the EU should be might have an influence on the attitude towards enlarging the EU. In what way the final goal of the European project is seen – a simple free trade area or a full political union – might for example be an important factor for support. If the prevailing opinion is that the European Union should merely be a free trade area and should be limited in its sovereignty and jurisdiction, it is very likely that enlargement as such is perceived more positive. This is due to the fact, that the mere formation of a bigger single market is likely to be more profitable. The citizens of the United Kingdom serve as an example for this possibility as well, as the UK has always been one of the strongest opponents of 'deeper' European integration (cf. Medrano, 2003). It is widely known, that in the UK the EU is valued more in terms of the single market than for social or political unity. Therefore enlarging to for example either Norway or Turkey wouldn't make such a difference in terms of their culture, but in terms of their profitability for the overall Union. However if the EU is seen more as an institution representing values and norms, being steadily on the move to increase its sovereignty, enlarging to a new country might prove to be more

[2] As it would exceed the scope of this study, the reasons for this 'feeling of belonging to Europe' – may it be for civic or cultural reasons – are not considered here.

difficult. When culture and other social aspects become more important within the debate, the discussion about a widening gets more diversified. Once the focus lies on a deeper integration, a further widening of the Union might impede the 'deepening'. Furthermore in this discussion values and norms would play a far more important role and therefore it would be distinguished differently between the countries to which enlargement would be possible. In a debate dominated by these factors, the question of whether Norway or Turkey would be more suitable as a member would be much clearer sided to Norway. Nonetheless, the debate surrounding the particular accession of Turkey is paved with concerns related to societal and cultural issues. Therefore it is crucial to similarly take into account that nationality might be an interfering variable and consequently check for any patterns which might be observable within the analysis of the impact of the different nationalities. Including the possible impact of different national identities of all 27 EU MSs will enhance the explanatory power of this study.

2.3. Hypotheses

Both the hard and soft explanations of public opinion formation contain critical tools to understand why so many oppose Turkish membership. However as many studies have been dealing with the cost-benefit analyses and the consequential public opinion formation, this paper focuses on the rather understudied section, namely the role of European identity in public opinion formation. In order to test the applicability of the theories on the present case, the following hypotheses are constructed.

Taking into account the above mentioned theories, the SIT hypothesis by Curley (2009) is adjusted in order to be applied to the theoretical framework concerning the public opinion of EU citizens.

H_1: 'The stronger an individual identifies with Europe, the stronger he/she is opposed to Turkey's EU-membership.'

However as established above, the role of identity within public opinion formation is contested. Therefore also an alternative hypothesis is included in order to test whether the theory by Karp and Bowler (2006) is more significant in explaining support and opposition towards Turkey's membership.

$H_{1\ alt.}$: 'The stronger an individual identifies with Europe, the stronger he/she will support Turkey's EU-membership.'

Theorized by McLaren (2007) is the relationship between a general feeling towards immigration and the opinion towards Turkish membership. As there are a great number of Turkish migrants in different

current member states of the EU, a general negative feeling towards migration might influence the opinion towards a Turkish membership negatively. This approach is developed here into the following hypothesis.

H_2: 'The more negative a person perceives immigration in general, the more he/she is opposed to Turkey's EU-membership.'

As mentioned above scholars as McLaren (2007) and Mahler et al. (2000) have argued that the socioeconomic position is likely to affect the attitude towards enlargement because of the fear to loose economically in the altered situation.

H_3: 'The lower a person's socioeconomic position, the more likely he/she is opposed to Turkey's EU-membership.'

As touched upon above, the nationality might have different influences on the individual opinion as well. Therefore dummy variables of all MSs are introduced in order to check for significant outliers among the member states of the European Union.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research design

As the research question of the present study hints at the examination of a large population – i.e. all European citizens living within the borders of the EU – a secondary analysis of an EU-wide public opinion survey is the most appropriate research design. The standardized questionnaire employed in the used survey strengthened the choice of this measurement, as it helps to make "refined descriptive assertions" about the population and therefore strengthens the external validity of the study (Babbie, 2007, p. 276). Reliability and also external validity are ensured through the random selection and the great sample size. Naturally however the standardized questions also form a validity weakness of the study itself. This is due to the fact that a survey can never entirely grasp the different layers of public opinion and mostly simply denotes a common denominator in its answers and thereby often seems superficial (cf. Babbie, 2007, p. 276). Furthermore using an earlier conducted survey for a secondary analysis depicts a possible threat to construct validity. In order to counteract this, a precise and throrough conceptualization and operationalization of the variables is crucial.

In order to test the constructed hypotheses, the Eurobarometer (EB) survey 69.2 from spring 2008 is used. This particular survey is chosen, as it contains data referring to a wide range of questions that are needed to answer the central question of this paper. EB is a frequently used dataset by scholars, as it gives coherent and European-wide answers pointing at the mood and opinion of European citizens (cf. for example Karp & Bowler, 2006 or Timus, 2006). Drawing for every EB new and independent samples, the survey uses a "multi-stage, random (probability)" sampling design (Moschner, 2010). In this particular EB survey 30,170 people were interviewed in all EU member states and some neighboring nations[3] (cf. Moschner, 2010). However the data set is filtered as to exclude the respondents from the non-EU 27 countries. Thereby the number of respondents is decreased to 26,661; nevertheless the sample is still representative with around 1,000 respondents per EU member state.

In order to grasp the whole of the EU public to the greatest extent possible, this paper expands the framework developed by Curley to an empirical data analysis of the opinion of European citizens from all 27 member states. This renders a more valid generalization possible and gives a good overview on the entire EU public opinion. It is acknowledged that an analysis of data over time would significantly strengthen the results of the study, but unfortunately these data are only available in this form for the year 2008. Nevertheless this paper gives a good insight on the applicability of the theories described above.

To analyze the data, an ordinal regression analysis is employed in this study. Although the form of variables might suggest using a logistic regression, the complexity of such an inquiry would exceed the scope of this study. Additionally it is generally accepted that the logistic regression analysis is much more difficult to interpret and inherits more stumbling blocks in general. Due to these reasons an ordinal regression is chosen, acknowledging however, that this necessitates great caution when interpreting the findings.

[3] Non-EU member state that took part in the survey are: Turkey, Croatia, Cyprus (TCC), Macedonia

3.2. Operationalization

In order to measure the dependent variable of the study, *'attitude towards Turkey's EU membership'*, question QA45 will be used:

> "Once Turkey complies with all the conditions set by the European Union, would you be strongly in favor, fairly in favor, fairly opposed or strongly opposed to the accession of Turkey to the European Union? "

This question incorporates the assumption that Turkey will comply with the *acquis communitaire* and therefore precisely points at the personal and more or less emotionally determined opinion towards Turkish membership as such. To be able to display the relationship between the variables more coherently, the answers are recoded the other way around, hence ranging from one (strongly opposed) to four (strongly in favor). Furthermore to fit this data to the overall statistical analysis, a scale is constructed ranging from zero to ten. Hence on the 'Support for Turkey' scale zero denotes strong opposition towards a Turkish EU membership and ten denotes strong support.

The key independent variable, namely the 'level of individual identification with Europe' is less straightforward to measure. As identity as such is already a very complex and hardly measurable concept, European identity with its multifaceted character throughout the diversity of interpretations makes it even more difficult. The variable constructed here measures different aspects of individual self-assessment and thereby gives a clearer picture of a persons' identification with Europe. This study uses a scale created from three different EB questions in order to grasp the concept as thoroughly as possible (QB1.1, QB2, QB4):

1. "Thinking about this, to what extent do you personally feel you are European?" (Answers: 'to a great extend', 'somewhat', 'not really', and 'not at all') (v456)
2. "How do you feel about being European - on a scale from '1' to '10' - where '1' means you feel not content at all to be European and '10' means you feel very content to be European?" (v460)
3. "Some things people consider to be extremely important to them, other things less so. Thinking now about the fact you are European, how important is being European to you personally?" (Answers: 'Being European matters a lot to you', 'Being European matters somewhat to you', 'Being European does not matter much to you', 'Being European does not matter at all to you') (v468) (European Commission , 2008, pp. 43-46)

All three items point into the direction of how far individuals identify with the European Union and Europe in general. Combining the answers to all three questions provides the study with a measurable variable of the level of individual identification with Europe. The internal consistency of the scale is ensured by the high correlation between different items (cf. DeVellis, 2003, p. 28). The calculated Cronbach's coefficient alpha of 0,816 is high enough to underline this assertion.

In order to construct a variable showing the personal identification with Europe, a scale is constructed adding up the separate answer scores. However to be able to do this, the questions have to be made comparable scoring from one to four, in which four denotes the highest contribution to European identity variable. Therefore the answers of v456 and v468 are recoded into new variables (v456new and v468new) in which four denotes the answer possibility that contributes the most ('to a great extend' & 'matters a lot'); hence the variables are reverse coded. The answers to v460 are furthermore recoded in order to achieve a scale ranging as well from one to four (v460new); as opposed to one to ten. The actual independent variable (v900; European identity), which will be used in the analysis, is constructed applying an applicable formula[4] in order range from 0 (not identifying with Europe at all) to 10 (identifying solely with Europe).

To be able to warrant the study against the interference of other explanatory variables, a number of control variables are introduced in the following.

Hypothesis H_2 incorporates the concept of '*feeling towards immigration*'. This variable is difficult to measure, as no EB question points directly to this concept. Therefore an index is constructed, using two EB questions[5]. The first question asks for the two most important issues in the respondents' country and offers immigration as a possible answer. The answers hereto are coded with 0 (immigration not mentioned as important issue) or 4 (mentioned as important issue). The second question asks the respondents if they agree with the statement that "immigrants contribute a lot to (OUR COUNTRY)" (European Commission , 2008, p. 57). The answers to this are coded ranging from 1 (totally agree) to 4 (totally disagree). In order to construct the index measuring the respondents' opinion on immigration to

[4] The formula used is the following:

$$European\ Identity = \frac{(v456new + v460new + v468new - 3)}{0.9}$$

[5] QA6a: What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?
QD1a: For each of the following propositions, tell me if you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree, totally disagree or don't know? – 4. Immigrants contribute a lot to (OUR COUNTRY). (European Commission , 2008, p. 57)

their country in general, the answers to both questions are summed up and recoded. To bring this variable in line with the others, the new variable is transformed to range from 0 to 10[6].

As mentioned before scholars as McLaren (2007) and Mahler et al. (2000) have argued that especially blue-collar workers and unemployed are likely to oppose EU enlargement due to self-interest based fear of getting ousted by cheaper labor. This is tested in hypothesis H_3 using the concept of socioeconomic status. The current occupation of the respondents conceptualizes this variable. The questions "what is your current occupation" (European Commission , 2008, p. 77) is used to operationalize this independent variable. Having found a differently constructed scale (including the length of the respondents' education) to be not adequate enough, another form of variable is chosen. It appears more suitable to use the occupation variable as a nominal variable in order to see the differences between white-collar, blue-collar workers, unemployed and retired. Therefore the answers are coded into unemployed (0), blue-collar workers (1), white-collar workers (2), and retired (3). While constructing the dummy variables using this recoded variable (v771new) the white-collar workers function as the baseline as it is expected that all other attributes are scoring lower on the Support for Turkey scale in general[7].

Lastly as laid out above the findings are controlled for the respondents' origin. As this paper studies the public opinion of EU citizens only, the data is filtered in such a way, that only respondents from the 27 EU member states are taken into account in the analysis. Using the available data stating the nationalities of the respondents however can furthermore help increasing the value of this study. By taking into account differences in the findings regarding all member states of the European Union, the study also tries to identify patterns of nationality influence as laid out above. For this purpose the answers to question Q1, asking for the respondents' nationality, are recoded into 28 dummy variables[8]. Italy functions here as a baseline as it lies almost at the exact mean of 4.70 of the Support for Turkey variable (cf. Table 5). Hence the difference between the other countries and Italy will display the impact of the EU member states on the models constructed within this paper.

[6] The formula applied here is the following:

$$Feeling\ towards\ Immigration = \frac{(v119new + v552 - 2)}{0.6}$$

[7] List of dummy variables: vD1 (unemployed); vD2 (blue-collar worker); vD3 (retired)

[8] The number of 28 originates from the fact that Northern Ireland and Eastern Germany were coded as single nationalities by the researchers conducting the survey. Subtracting the baseline variable, one ends up with 28 dummy variables.

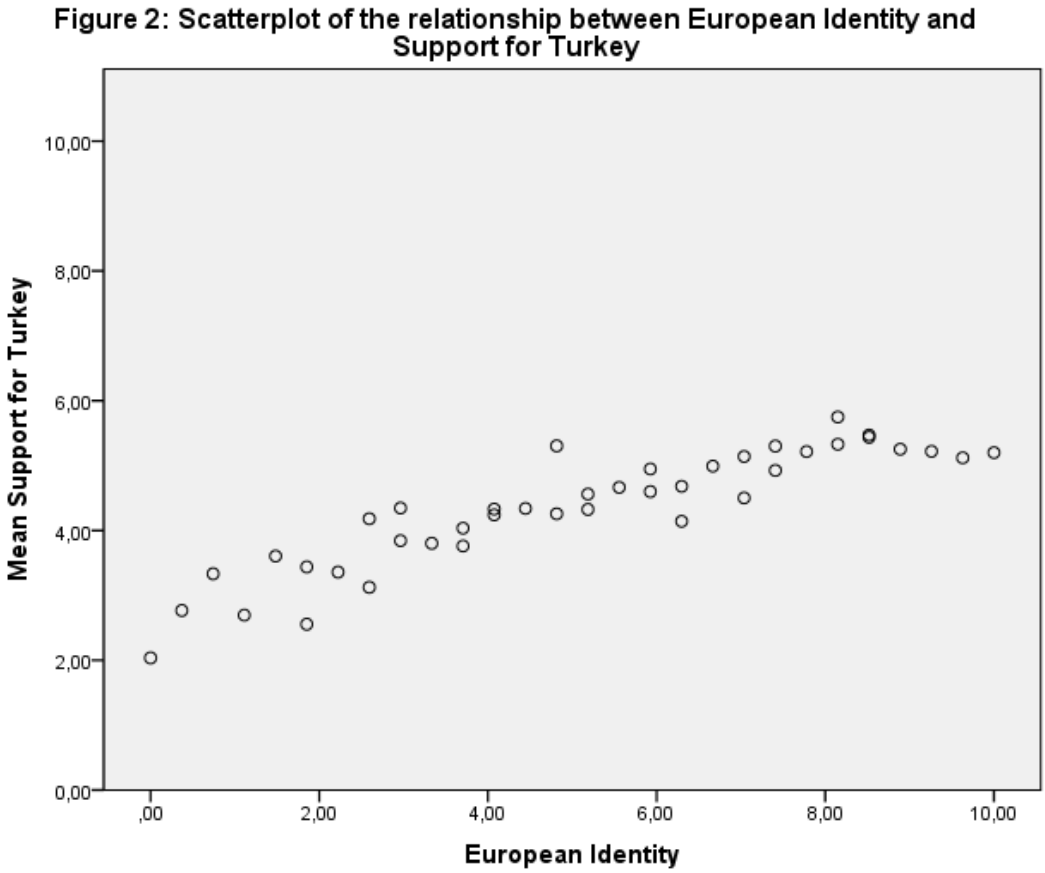
One issue regarding the respondents' origin however still persists. If the subjects are of Turkish origin, this might skew the overall findings of the study, as they are most likely more positive towards a Turkish accession. Unfortunately the Eurobarometer 69.2 only asks the respondents for their actual nationality and not for their descent. This might pose a threat to the study's reliability as respondents of Turkish origin cannot be filtered out and although they might feel European and identify themselves with the EU, they are more likely to also sympathize with Turkey. Hereby the issue of multiple identities comes into play, where people of Turkish origin might feel European and Turkish at the same time. However it is expected that the number of respondents with a migration background from Turkey is low enough to neglect this problem.

Having a first glance at the descriptive statistics in Table 1 (see Appendix), shows that 23,922 people answered the question whether they would support a Turkish accession to the EU when all conditions are complied with. The responses are quite evenly distributed over being supportive and unsupportive of a possible admittance. Neglecting the missing data (accounts for merely 10%) for the independent variable, 48.7% of the respondents are fairly or strongly opposed to a Turkish membership. A mean of 4.70 is calculated, which shows on a scale from zero to ten (where ten denotes 'strongly in favor') that this particular question does not reflect the public opinion as negatively as expected (cf. Table 5). Another question of the Eurobarometer 69.2 however shows a different p**a**ttern of answers. It simply asks: "For each of the following countries and territories, would you be in favour or against it becoming part of the European Union in the future?" (European Commission, 2008, p. 35) The responses to this question resemble better the expected negative opinion; namely 62.6% checked 'against' a membership of Turkey. Nevertheless in order to perform a regression analysis, whether the expected distribution of answers is matched is not decisive. Therefore this paper proceeds using the earlier constructed variable 'Support for Turkey'.

However Table 1 furthermore shows that the mean of the key independent variable, i.e. European Identity, lies at 6.32. This illustrates that most of the EU citizens that participated in the survey identify themselves quite substantially with Europe. The mean of Immigration Control amounts to 3.22, suggesting that more respondents have a rather positive feeling towards immigration as such.

4. Analysis

Figure 2 gives a first hint on the initial relationship of hypothesis H_1. The scatterplot (using the mean values of the dependent variable for the various values of the independent variable) shows a positive linear relationship between supporting Turkish membership and identifying with Europe. The direction of the relationship is positive, which gives a first reason to believe that H_1 is after all hypothesizing the wrong correlation, thereby strengthening H_{1alt}. However this initial correlation is not enough to prove that European identity indeed influences the opinion for Turkey's EU membership positively. Therefore an ordinal regression analysis is applied in the following. In order to also statistically control for other explanatory factors, as laid out in the theory section of this paper, additional variables – i.e. the feeling towards immigration, the kind of occupation and the nationality – are included in the following regression analyses. This gives assistance to understanding the influence of each of these variables and how they explain the support for the accession of Turkey. Four regression models are included in the analysis introducing one variable at a time.



The first model includes the key independent variable 'European Identity' and the dependent variable 'Support for Turkey'. As can be drawn from Table 2, the R^2 value for this model is 0.039, meaning that European identity explains 3.9% of the overall level of support for a Turkish membership.

Table 2: Model Summary with dependent variable 'Support for Turkey'

Model	R	R^2	R^2 Change	Sig. F Change	Durbin-Watson
1	0.196	0.039	0.039	0.000	
2	0.283	0.080	0.042	0.000	
3	0.287	0.082	0.002	0.000	
4	0.376	0.141	0.059	0.000	1.732

Table 3 illustrates that the *b*-value of the variable European Identity is 0.271. This means that when a person's identification with Europe on the here employed scale increases by one unit, the respondent shifts 0.271 units up on the Support for Turkey scale. This shows that the relationship between European Identity and Support for Turkey is, as already suggested above, positive. This finding significantly strengthens the claim that hypothesis H_{1alt} is actually containing the correct relationship. These findings are significant at the 0.001 level, as also shown in Table 3. Having established that the main interaction between the key independent variable and dependent variable of the study is positive, the analysis now turns to assessing the impact of the proposed control variables.

Table 3: Coefficients with dependent variable 'Support for Turkey' - 1

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	2.976	0.062		47.962	0.000
	European Identity	0.271	0.009	0.196	29.529	0.000
2	(Constant)	4.288	0.074		58.138	0.000
	European Identity	0.233	0.009	0.161	24.447	0.000
	Immigration Control	-0.312	0.010	-0.207	-31.310	0.000

Hypothesis H_2 suggests that the more negative a person feels towards immigration, the more he/she is against Turkey joining the EU. This approach is included in model two, hence extending model one with the variable Immigration Control. Taking a look at Table 2 again shows that the R^2 value increases by 0.41, bringing it up to 8%. This indicates the explanatory power of the immigration variable within the model as it nearly doubles the R^2 value of model one. Looking at the unstandardized coefficients, the *b*-value reveals that the relationship is negative (-0.312) and the *t*-test value shows that it is highly significant. This confirms the hypothesis that EU citizens are more opposed to Turkish accession when they have a more negative attitude towards immigration in general. However this does not change the impact of the key independent variable notably, as the *b*-value of European Identity decreases merely by 0.038 to 0.233.

In model three the constructed dummy variables of the respondents' occupation are added. However when viewing Table 2 we see that these dummy variables add only little explanatory power as compared to the previous model. The R^2 value increases only by 0.02 to 8.2%, hence the kind of occupation does not seem to explain the support for Turkey very well. Having a look at the coefficients again brings unexpected findings to light. As Table 4 shows, the *b*-value of 'Unemployed Dummy' is 0.256 and the one of 'Bluecollar Dummy' is 0.041. Remembering that white-collar workers functioned as a baseline when constructing these dummies, these results mean that unemployed and blue-collar workers are actually more inclined to be rather positive towards the admittance of Turkey to the EU than are white-collar workers. However it has to be noted, that the 'Bluecollar Dummy' is not significant at the 0.1 level. For 'Retired Dummy' the case is different. Here the *b*-value amounts to -0.177, meaning that only retired people are more inclined to be more negative towards a possible Turkish accession than white-collar workers. This finding is very odd, as it is mostly argued in the academia that blue-collar workers and unemployed are more afraid of being negatively affected by an enlarging European Union. Getting back to the *b*-values of the variables added in the previous models (i.e. European identity and Immigration Control), shows that adding the occupation dummy variables had little or no effect on the relationship between them and the dependent variable Support for Turkey. Hence for the key independent variable this means that the impact of European identity on the opinion towards Turkey's accession is more or less the same over all kinds of occupations.

Table 4: Coefficients with dependent variable 'Support for Turkey' - 2

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
3	(Constant)	4.271	0.080		53.085	0.000
	European Identity	0.223	0.009	0.162	24.426	0.000
	Immigration Control	-0.311	0.010	-0.206	-31.112	0.000
	Unemployed Dummy	0.256	0.060	0.031	4.243	0.000
	Bluecollar Dummy	0.041	0.063	0.005	0.650	0.561
	Retired Dummy	-0.177	0.055	-0.024	-3.204	0.000
4	(Constant)	4.254	0.133		32.015	0.000
	European Identity	0.211	0.009	0.153	22.664	0.000
	Immigration Control	-0.300	0.010	-0.198	-29.575	0.000
	Unemployed Dummy	0.249	0.059	0.030	4.191	0.000
	Bluecollar Dummy	0.078	0.062	0.009	1.251	0.211
	Retired Dummy	-0.190	0.054	-0.026	-3.528	0.000
	France Dummy	-0.952	0.151	-0.057	-6.299	0.000
	Belgium Dummy	-0.080	0.149	-0.005	-0.538	0.591
	Netherlands Dummy	1.454	0.149	0.090	9.761	0.000
	WGermany Dummy	-1.166	0.150	-0.071	-7.769	0.000
	Luxembourg Dummy	-1.489	0.183	-0.064	-8.135	0.000
	Denmark Dummy	0.531	0.149	0.033	3.555	0.000

Ireland Dummy	-0.361	0.164	-0.019	-2.208	0.27
Great Britain Dummy	0.375	0.157	0.021	2.394	0.017
Northern Ireland Dummy	0.582	0.228	0.018	2.547	0.011
Greece Dummy	-0.194	0.147	-0.012	-1.318	0.187
Spain Dummy	0.670	0.160	0.036	4.187	0.000
Portugal Dummy	0.527	0.159	0.029	3.317	0.001
EGermany Dummy	-0.918	0.182	-0.040	-5.041	0.000
Finland Dummy	-0.399	0.150	-0.025	-2.666	0.008
Sweden Dummy	1.130	0.151	0.069	7.495	0.000
Austria Dummy	-2.140	0.154	-0.124	-13.923	0.000
Cyprus Dummy	0.164	0.180	0.007	0.907	0.364
Czech Republic Dummy	-0.052	0.153	-0.003	-0.342	0.732
Estonia Dummy	0.426	0.155	0.024	2.742	0.006
Hungary Dummy	0.856	0.156	0.049	5.501	0.000
Latvia Dummy	0.299	0.155	0.017	1.927	0.054
Lithuania Dummy	0.145	0.157	0.008	0.927	0.354
Malta Dummy	0.254	0.204	0.009	1.246	0.213
Poland Dummy	0.802	0.162	0.042	4.954	0.000
Slovakia Dummy	-0.498	0.151	-0.030	-3.307	0.001
Slovenia Dummy	0.218	0.152	0.013	1.433	0.152
Bulgaria Dummy	0.274	0.167	0.014	1.637	0.102
Romania Dummy	1.173	0.167	0.059	7.041	0.000

Despite the fact that 28 new variables denoting the different nationalities in the EU are added at once in model four, the change in the impact of the earlier added variables is almost non-existing. Starting with R^2 again, it becomes obvious however that this model has the greatest explanatory power of all four models discussed here. With 14.1% the R^2 value increased significantly by 0.059. Coming to the *b*-values of this model, only the country dummies standing out will be mentioned in this analysis. Nevertheless the effect on the earlier introduced variables should be noted. The *b*-value of European Identity decreases in this model by 0.012 to 0.211 and Immigration Control decreases by almost the same (by 0.011) to -0.300. This shows that after allowing for the linear effects of the other variables in the model, an increase of one unit on the European Identity scale is associated with an increase of 0.211 units on the Support for Turkey scale and a decrease of 0.300 on the Immigration Control scale. This shows that the European identity's effect on Support for Turkey remains more or less the same over all country samples. Employing the *t*-test shows that the contribution to the model by the immigration variable is the highest (t = -29.575 with Sig. < 0.001), followed by European Identity (t = 22.664 with Sig. < 0.001). Supporting the quality of the models are the confidence intervals. The confidence intervals of model four show that with a 95% confidence, the true *b*-value for European Identity between 0.192 and 0.229 and for Immigration Control lies between -0.320 and -2.80. These quite narrow ranges let assume that the model is well constructed and meaningful. Two of the three occupation dummies (retired and blue-collar) actually increase when adding the effect of the nationalities. However shrinking in its *b*-value, the unemployed dummy decreases merely by 0.007. Coming to the nationality dummies, six values are striking and nine others are not significant at the 0.05 level[9] (cf. Table 4). As can also be seen in Table 4 the mentioned six countries all differ considerably from the baseline, i.e. Italy's value. The Netherlands, Sweden and Romania have *b*-values that exceed 1.000. Contrasting West-Germany, Luxembourg and Austria score below -1.000 at the unstandardized coefficients. Austria has to be noted as an extreme outlier, as it shows a value of -2.140.

Table 5 depicts the distribution of all member states in two categories, namely those with higher values and those with lower values as compared to the baseline Italy. This table shows that all in all 17 countries score higher and eleven countries score lower as compared to Italy. When dividing the countries into old and new member states – i.e. countries that joined the Union before 2004 and countries that joined later – a pattern of distribution can be made out. Ten out of 17 countries are new member states that score higher on the *b*-value, this equivalents to 83% of all new MS. Conversely only

[9] Non-significant findings correspond to following countries: Belgium, Greece, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Lativa, Lithuania, Malta, Slovenia and Bulgaria.

two out of eleven are new MS in the group of countries that score lower as compared to Italy, or the median respectively. This number corresponds to merely 17% of all new member states. This means that considerably more new MS are rather in favor than against a potential membership of Turkey.

Table 5: Countries' b-values with Italy as baseline

Higher values		Lower values	
The Netherlands	1.454	Austria	-2.140
Romania	1.173	Luxembourg	-1.489
Sweden	1.130	West Germany	-1.166
Hungary	0.856	France	-0.952
Poland	0.802	Slovakia	-0.498
Spain	0.670	Finland	-0.399
Northern Ireland	0.582	Ireland	-0.361
Denmark	0.531	East Germany	-0.198
Portugal	0.527	Greece	-0.194
Estonia	0.426	Belgium	-0.080
Great Britain	0.375	Czech Republic	-0.052
Latvia	0.299		
Bulgaria	0.274		
Malta	0.254		
Slovenia	0.218		
Cyprus	0.164		
Lithuania	0.145		
Total:	17 countries		11 countries
	⇨ Including 83% of all new MS		⇨ Including 17% of all new MS

Having looked at the individual scores of all models, the study will now turn to checking several assumptions in order to create certainty about the quality of this analysis.

Overall the model summary of Table 2 shows that all changes are significant at the 0.001 level. Furthermore the reader can see that the Durbin-Watson score is 1.732. Following the argumentation of Andy Field (2009), this score is close enough to two in order to conclude that the assumption of independent errors is tenable.

In order to check for the preclusion of multicollinearity, the average of the VIF values is calculated to be 1.813[10]. In order to assure the independence of the predictors, the *eigenvalues* and variance proportions are additionally scanned by hand. As no high correlation is found, multicollinearity can be precluded.

All in all it has been shown, that European identity does have a significant effect on the opinion of Europeans in regard to the accession of Turkey. Furthermore this relationship has been shown to be positive, thereby confirming H_{1alt}. However it also has to be noted that although European identity is a significant predictor of the independent variable, the feeling towards immigration seems to have an even greater impact on the Support for Turkey. Furthermore it was shown, that the kind of occupation of the respondents has had the least impact on the dependent variable. Additionally the analysis of all 28 nationality dummies revealed that a few member states have a quite extreme view on Turkey's admittance and that the new MS are mostly more in favor of Turkey joining the EU.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

By determining the actual relationship between the individual identification with Europe and the opinion towards a potential EU membership of Turkey, the paper at hand presented different views on how factors might influence this opinion of European citizens. Next to predictors from the identity side also factors determined by utilitarian self-interests were considered within the realm of this paper. Two theories regarding the identity-related factors were contrasted in order to understand the impact of European identity on the public opinion formation towards a Turkish accession to the EU. On the one hand the widespread theory, that identifying with Europe incorporates being especially cosmopolitan and consequently being more open to new members to spread the values and norms of Europe was delineated. On the other hand the rather recent theory by Tyler M. Curley (2009), taking a somewhat psychological approach to the issue, was applied.

By conducting a regression analysis using data from the Eurobarometer 69.2 from 2008, this study has produced a couple of striking outcomes. The main finding of this paper is necessarily the conclusion that the data does not support hypothesis H_1. The positive significant relationship between a European identity and the opinion towards a Turkish accession rather supports the alternative hypothesis H_{1alt}. This means that the more people feel European, the more they are inclined to support enlarging the

[10]The average of the VIF scores was calculated as follows: $\overline{VIF} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{k} VIF_i}{k} = \frac{59.838}{33} = 1.813$
See Table 6 in appendix for a list of all VIF scores.

Union to another member, namely Turkey. Therefore the more widespread theory has been strengthened in the present empirical study, refuting the applicability of SIT on the studied case. This finding holds over all four models analyzed, meaning that European identity has a general impact over all kinds of occupations and all member states.

In terms of the Social Identity Theory, this finding hints at the conclusion that within the group of European Union citizens a general in-group feeling is not as widespread as in other groups researched by different social scientists. This might be explained by the assumption that the European identity is not as strongly developed as might be necessary to create an in-group feeling for the citizens. It seems as the European Union if it all forms a 'group' for people that hold in high esteem a certain degree of cosmopolitanism, transcending local and national borders. That people identifying with Europe in this specific way will strongly oppose enlargement to Turkey would constitute an obvious paradox. It remains to be seen however, in what way the European Union as a pool of identity will develop in the future. If the process will proceed at the pace it has taken over the last half a century, it might be possible that soon also European identity lets people distinguish more carefully between them and others. Coming back to the breakdown of identity formation by Bruter (2003) into civic and cultural factors, it becomes clear that the European Union is on a clear path to establish a stronger European identity. Examples for this endeavor are plentiful, ranging from cultural factors as for example EU projects like the European Capital of Culture, to civic factors as the introduction of a European Union citizenship. Hence it might be interesting for future research to keep an eye on the development of European identity and the possible effects of such.

Another important finding of this study is the great impact of the feeling towards immigration on the opinion on Turkey as a candidate country, supporting Hypothesis H_2. The analysis showed that this factor is even the strongest in predicting the outcome. As this factor amounts to only a rather small part of the literature, this strong outcome is rather striking. Nonetheless it seems as a very logical consequence, that people who perceive immigration negatively are also negatively tuned in the question of Turkey joining the EU. This finding can most likely be explained by the often high number of Turkish immigrants throughout Europe. The presence of these in might link the notion of general immigration to Turkish people as such in many minds throughout Europe and thereby triggering such important impact on the opinion.

Another striking finding regards the socioeconomic status and its impact on the opinion of the Europeans. Throughout the literature the claim that the type of work influences the people's opinion on

Turkey is widespread. However within this study the corresponding variables did not have a notable impact as predictors. Furthermore only the group of retired people was more opposed to the idea of Turkey joining the EU than white-collar workers were. These findings are so off the general opinion within the academia, that more explicit empirical research focusing on this exact relationship is necessary. Furthermore the suitability of the data may be doubted due to the fact that a secondary analysis was conducted. It is also highly unlikely that the theory that unemployed and blue-collar workers are more inclined to be opposed towards EU enlargement is not applicable in the case of Turkey. Theoretically this would make little sense, as Turkey's accession is often perceived as being the gate opener for masses of cheap labor streaming onto European Union soil, taking most of the unskilled jobs. Future research might pick up the potential problem of operationalization and try to come up with more suitable data and measurement of the theory.

Coming to the impact of nationality a few things can be concluded from this analysis. Firstly it can be noted that adding the nationality dummies to the regression model, increased its explanatory power tremendously. The resulting findings however were not as straightforward. While a few outliers on both ends were detected, not all of them are surprising. Striking was however the fact that being Dutch had the greatest positive impact on the opinion towards Turkey's accession. Although the Netherlands always counts as a very liberal and pro-European country, a shift has taken place within the last years favoring more right-wing movements. As the employed survey was conducted in 2008 this movement might have been not as widespread as today. A different, clearer case applies for Sweden, which had a similarly high score and is known for its pro-enlargement attitude. Romania, another high extreme score, goes with its support for Turkey's membership in line with most of the new member states that joined the Union in the new millennium. The citizens of ten out of twelve new MS (83%) are more inclined to be positive towards Turkey becoming a new MS. Despite the fact that this is the only pattern that can be detected within the nationality analysis, this conjuncture is not very striking. It is often theorized that the new MS are more in favor of further enlarging the Union as they themselves profit much from being a member and know how important it can be for a country's development to join.

The extreme scores on the other side of the scale, namely Austria, West Germany and Luxembourg, are quite interesting. With -2.140 Austria diverts the most from the baseline Italy. That Austrians have been a big criticizer of EU integration, especially since the EU sanctions of 2000, is a known fact throughout Europe. That the citizens are against further enlargement is therefore consequential in this context. West Germany's reluctance to accept Turkey as a new member of the European Union can most likely

be explained through the found impact of immigration. As Germany inhabits with about 2 million Turks the largest population of Turkish people outside Turkey and as integration problems are repeatedly raised within the public, it is not surprising to find such big opposition. The slight difference between the opposition in East and West Germany (difference of 0.248) can in this context be explained by the significant difference in the percentage of foreigners in East and West Germany[11]. The extreme numbers of Luxembourg seems to be striking however, as Luxembourg is perceived to be a more pro-European country. Future research might try to shed light onto the underlying factors of this strong opinion.

All in all it has to be noted, that the here studied models explain about 14% of the independent variable. Consequently it has to be assumed that there are a number of undiscovered factors explaining the other 86%. To identify these should be another goal of future research in order to get an even clearer picture on the factors influencing the opinion of European citizens in regard to Turkey's accession to the EU.

Nevertheless this paper presented an empirical insight on how the Social Identity Theory can or better cannot be applied on the opinion formation of Europeans. For policy makers in Europe this finding can be a relief, as it is now even clearer that a stronger European identity has the ability to enhance and ease the integration process in terms of both, widening and deepening. Therefore, at least in this regard no immediate decision has to be taken between a further enlargement and an internal integration of the European Union. Almost certainly a way to enhance the legitimacy and the support for further enlarging the European Union is to keep on working on and fostering a thorough European identity.

[11] In 2006 the percentage of foreigners in West Germany amounted to 9.7%, whereas in East Germany only 2.4% were foreigners. (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung , 2006)

Appendix

Table 1: Overview of all variables, including operationalization and descriptive statistics

Variable Name	Original Variables / EB Questions	Form of Variable	Range	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Support for Turkey (v419end)	v419/ QA45	Scale	0- 10	23,922	4.6988	3.29466
European Identity (v900)	v456, v460, v468/ QB1.1, QB2, QB4	Scale	0- 10	25,288	6.2518	2.43152
Immigration Control (vC2end)	v119, v552/ QA6a, QD1a	Index	0- 10	24,435	4.3767	2.48820
Unemployed Dummy (vD1)	v771/ QD15a	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.2118	0.40857
Bluecollar Dummy (vD2)	v771/ QD15a	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.1800	0.38420
Retired Dummy (vD3)	v771/ QD15a	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.2874	0.45255
France Dummy (vDFR)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0390	0.19362
Belgium Dummy (vDBE)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0376	0.19028
Netherlands Dummy (vDNL)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0390	0.19371
WGermany Dummy (vDDEw)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0358	0.19245
Luxembourg Dummy (vDLU)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0188	0.13579
Denmark Dummy (vDDK)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0377	0.19046
Ireland Dummy (vDIE)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0377	0.19037
Great Britain Dummy (vDUK)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0377	0.19055
Northern Ireland Dummy (vDNIR)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0113	0.10548
Greece Dummy (vDGR)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0375	0.19001
Spain Dummy (vDES)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0387	0.19299
Portugal Dummy (vDPT)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0375	0.19010
EGermany Dummy (vDDEe)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0190	0.13659
Finland Dummy (vDFI)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0377	0.19037
Sweden Dummy	v6/ Q1	Nominal	0- 1	26,661	0.0378	0.19064

(vDSE)		Variable				
Austria Dummy (vDAT)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0375	0.19001
Cyprus Dummy (vDCY)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0189	0.13619
Czech Republic Dummy (vDCZ)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0380	0.19128
Estonia Dummy (vDEE)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0377	0.19055
Hungary Dummy (vDHU)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0375	0.19001
Latvia Dummy (vDLV)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0378	0.19074
Lithuania Dummy (vDLT)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0383	0.19191
Malta Dummy (vDMT)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0188	0.13566
Poland Dummy (vDPL)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0375	0.19001
Slovakia Dummy (vDSK)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0407	0.19759
Slovenia Dummy (vDSI)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0376	0.19028
Bulgaria Dummy (vDBG)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0375	0.19001
Romania Dummy (vDRO)	v6/ Q1	Nominal Variable	0- 1	26,661	0.0382	0.19173
Valid N (listwise)				21714		

Table 6: Coefficients with dependent variable 'Support for Turkey' - Complete

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Coll. Statistics
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	VIF
1	(Constant)	2.976	0.062		47.962	0.000	
	European Identity	0.271	0.009	0.196	29.529	0.000	1.000
2	(Constant)	4.288	0.074		58.138	0.000	
	European Identity	0.233	0.009	0.161	24.447	0.000	1.030
	Immigration Control	-0.312	0.010	-0.207	-31.310	0.000	1.030
3	(Constant)	4.271	0.080		53.085	0.000	
	European Identity	0.223	0.009	0.162	24.426	0.000	1.035
	Immigration Control	-0.311	0.010	-0.206	-31.112	0.000	1.033
	Unemployed Dummy	0.256	0.060	0.031	4.243	0.000	1.276
	Bluecollar Dummy	0.041	0.063	0.005	0.650	0.561	1.261
	Retired Dummy	-0.177	0.055	-0.024	-3.204	0.000	1.321
4	(Constant)	4.254	0.133		32.015	0.000	
	European Identity	0.211	0.009	0.153	22.664	0.000	1.148
	Immigration Control	-0.300	0.010	-0.198	-29.575	0.000	1.135
	Unemployed Dummy	0.249	0.059	0.030	4.191	0.000	1.315
	Bluecollar Dummy	0.078	0.062	0.009	1.251	0.211	1.300
	Retired Dummy	-0.190	0.054	-0.026	-3.528	0.000	1.348

France Dummy	-0.952	0.151	-0.057	-6.299	0.000	2.081
Belgium Dummy	-0.080	0.149	-0.005	-0.538	0.591	2.158
Netherlands Dummy	1.454	0.149	0.090	9.761	0.000	2.159
WGermany Dummy	-1.166	0.150	-0.071	-7.769	0.000	2.113
Luxembourg Dummy	-1.489	0.183	-0.064	-8.135	0.000	1.554
Denmark Dummy	0.531	0.149	0.033	3.555	0.000	2.166
Ireland Dummy	-0.361	0.164	-0.019	-2.208	0.27	1.793
Great Britain Dummy	0.375	0.157	0.021	2.394	0.017	1.985
Northern Ireland Dummy	0.582	0.228	0.018	2.547	0.011	1.304
Greece Dummy	-0.194	0.147	-0.012	-1.318	0.187	2.194
Spain Dummy	0.670	0.160	0.036	4.187	0.000	1.868
Portugal Dummy	0.527	0.159	0.029	3.317	0.001	1.897
EGermany Dummy	-0.918	0.182	-0.040	-5.041	0.000	1.557
Finland Dummy	-0.399	0.150	-0.025	-2.666	0.008	2.162
Sweden Dummy	1.130	0.151	0.069	7.495	0.000	2.139
Austria Dummy	-2.140	0.154	-0.124	-13.923	0.000	2.003
Cyprus Dummy	0.164	0.180	0.007	0.907	0.364	1.569

Czech Republic Dummy	-0.052	0.153	-0.003	-0.342	0.732	2.052
Estonia Dummy	0.426	0.155	0.024	2.742	0.006	1.995
Hungary Dummy	0.856	0.156	0.049	5.501	0.000	1.988
Latvia Dummy	0.299	0.155	0.017	1.927	0.054	1.965
Lithuania Dummy	0.145	0.157	0.008	0.927	0.354	1.921
Malta Dummy	0.254	0.204	0.009	1.246	0.213	1.442
Poland Dummy	0.802	0.162	0.042	4.954	0.000	1.839
Slovakia Dummy	-0.498	0.151	-0.030	-3.307	0.001	2.103
Slovenia Dummy	0.218	0.152	0.013	1.433	0.152	2.092
Bulgaria Dummy	0.274	0.167	0.014	1.637	0.102	1.728
Romania Dummy	1.173	0.167	0.059	7.041	0.000	1.765

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