

Which Characteristics are associated to the Level of European Identity among European Citizens?

Bachelor Thesis

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Abstract: By exploring associations of European Identity with other individual characteristics namely education, socio-economic status, area of living, and religiosity, this study seeks at contributing to a better understanding of European Identity, giving hints for future studies and supporting a grounded discussion about a possible further European political and social integration.

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1. Introduction and Context

This study analyses the association of education, socio-economic status, area of living, and religiosity as individual characteristics of European Citizens with the level of European Identity among them. This might serve as a ground for other researchers to further investigate a possible causal relationship of these characteristics with European Identity.

In recent years, many writings concerning European Identity were published. The lack of conceptual coherence of European Identity - nearly every paper provides a different definition or concept of European Identity, and some even lack a clear description (for example: Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte, 2012) - and the focus on only a very few sub topics reveal a need of further exploration of the topic.

European Identity became a popular topic for scientists by the ever closer political cooperation of the European Union member states and the aim of the European Union institutions, such as the Commission, to let a European Identity to be formed among European Union citizens (European Commission, 1993; Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011).

In accordance with this goal the European Union initiated some policies to strengthen this process: A search for a common European cultural heritage was started, and European symbols were introduced or their use were extended, such as the European flag, anthem, passport, driver's license, car plates, and, not least, the Euro (Kohli, 2000; Bruter, 2004; Bruter, 2009; Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011). Moreover, programs were created to stimulate the cross-border communication and cultural exchange, especially for young people like pupils and students, as the ERASUMS and COMENIUS projects, which gain more and more attention (van Mol, 2012; Petit, 2007).

These developments, of course, were - and are still - highly discussed in academic literature, which is reflecting on the existence of a common European cultural heritage, analysing the legitimacy and the impact of symbols on European Identity (Bruter, 2003; Bruter, 2004; Bruter, 2009; Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011), or studying the impact of exchange programs on European Identity (van Mol, 2012; Sigalas, 2010), as well as the impact of basic individual characteristics - such as gender, age or social status - on European Identity (Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte, 2012; Kohli, 2000; Lutz, Kritzing, & Skirbekk, 2006). Only a few studies about European Identity concern other sub topics.

The further exploration of this field by revealing the relationship of European Identity with other factors will provide hints for future research. This may contribute to broaden the scope of sub topics on European Identity and improve our understanding of it.

For that purpose, after introducing structuring research question (chapter 2), I will explain the concept of European Identity as a dependent variable (chapter 3.1.) and individual characteristics for which other researchers already indicated a relationship with European Identity in detail (chapter 3.2.). Additionally, I will examine interesting variables to search for an association with European Identity (education, socio-economic status, area of living, and religiosity) and their theoretical relevance for the concept in the light of the social cleavage theory (chapter 3.3.). In chapter 4 I will describe the methodology and operationalization, while chapter 5 concerns the actual analysis and outcome. Chapter 6 focusses on scientific and social relevance of this study as well as on its limitations. Chapter 7, finally, contains conclusions and recommendations for further research.

2. Research Question and Sub Questions

As this study aims at finding causal relationships of individual characteristics with European Identity the underlying research question for this study is:

Which characteristics are associated to the level of European Identity among European Citizens?

This question is a descriptive question, as describing an association does not imply or deny that causation is existent. The limitations in claiming causal relationships between the factors analysed and European Identity because of the research design will be discussed further in chapter 6.2..

To structure this study I will set up some sub questions, which will be answered one after another and of which the combined answers are the answer of the main research question. The main research question implies that at first, a concept and a measure of European Identity is to be established, and building on this, the associations to other variables could be explored. So the sub question I is:

What is meant with European Identity and how can we measure it?

To answer this question, I will review the work of other researchers. Other researchers also provide evidence or (for some variables) at least assumptions concerning which characteristics are connected to the level of European Identity. These need to be analysed and some characteristics need to be chosen for analysis. Next to this the theory of social cleavages will be employed as a frame for this study. I will do this as a second step, so sub question II is:

Which independent variables are of theoretical interest from the view of the social Cleavages theory?

Next to choosing relevant independent variables for this study, I will set up hypotheses, based on the findings and assumptions of other researchers and based on theoretical considerations. The next step is to search for associations of these characteristics to European Identity and check, whether the hypotheses are true. As this is the third step, sub question III is:

Which associations between these independent variables and European Identity could be observed and which differences are there between countries?

In chapter 3 I will discuss why it makes sense to compare the associations across countries. After the bivariate associations are revealed, there is a need to check whether these could be explained by third variables. However, this is not in the frame of this thesis. Some hints for which variables could be tested for a multivariate relationship will be discussed in the final chapter seven.

3. Literature, Theory, and Conceptualization

This chapter sets up the theoretical ground for this study. It contains (3.1.) a definition and a conceptualization of European Identity, (3.2.) a review of the findings of other researchers who studied the relationship of diverse factors with European Identity, and (3.3.) a description of the social cleavage theory, which will serve as a theoretical framework for this study plus factors which are interesting from the view of this theory and thus be analysed for an association with European Identity in this study.

3.1. Defining and Conceptualizing European Identity

Starting to search for a clear definition of European Identity it is useful to think about the meaning of the term for ordinary people as well as in science. Michael Bruter starts analysing European Identity with the question “Who is European?” and differentiates two perspectives, a top-down and a bottom-up one (Bruter, 2005).

According to him, the top-down approach specifies the question above to “who should be considered as European?” which results in an analysis of what determines Europeans and what the natural borders of Europe are (geographical, political, and cultural) (Bruter, 2005). In this approach the attribute European is given to people by others according to demographic characteristics.

In practice, categorizing people as owning a European Identity even if they might answer the question whether they are or feel European negatively does not fit the meaning of identity.

So, for the concept of European Identity it is crucial whether somebody feels European or not, therefore the bottom-up perspective (also used by Bruter, 2005) should serve for understanding European Identity. That bottom-up approach asking specifically for “who feels European?” analyse which people feel European, why they do, and what people mean by saying that they feel European (Bruter, 2005). Here the attribute European, characterised by each individual’s feelings, is given to people by themselves.

The two perspectives on analysing “Europeaness” reveal the necessity of differentiating European Identity from another concept, which is the one of European Citizenship. “European Citizens” would be one possible answer on the question “who should be considered as European?” asked by the top-down perspective.

For some scientists, European Citizenship and European Identity are closely intertwined, European Citizenship resulting from European Identity or both reinforcing each other (as for Bruter, 2005). Others view European Identity as a concept being independent from European Citizenship, the latter only being the status of a Citizen in the European Union and the former being characterized by emotions towards Europe and other Europeans (not necessarily EU citizens (van Mol, 2012; Caporaso & Kim, 2009)) (e.g. Lutz, Kritzinger, & Skirbekk, 2006). The latter approach seems appropriate for this study, while the population to be analysed will be European Citizens according to the European Union.

Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte declare to work with the definition of European Identity “as a part of the individual’s self-concept which is derived from his knowledge of membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte, 2012). So European Identity for Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte, in contrast to Bruter, explicitly name the identification with (a group of) people in their definition.

Another useful description is provided by van Mol (2012) saying that identity is the result of continuous and changing processes of identification as reactions to personal crisis, in which self-positioning is important as positioning by others. From this, the author derives his definition of European Identity, which is the sum of the identification processes with Europe (van Mol, 2012). The author explicitly states

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that in his opinion identification, so identity building happens differently for every individual, and that every collective identity consists of multiple diverse individual identities (van Mol, 2012). This also includes the ways individuals may perceive Europe: van Mol states that there are multiple mental kinds of Europe (van Mol, 2012). So identification with Europe may also mean identification with a mental image of Europe rather than only identification with Europeans. The importance of identification processes, which are likely to be initiated by socialisation processes, will be discussed later in this chapter.

Also Kohli characterizes Identity building as a process in which an individual reacts on personal crisis, and accordingly develops identity as a part of the own personality (2000).

Combining the mentioned definitions and approaches, European Identity is the sum of identification processes with Europe and/ or Europeans building a mental tie between a person feeling European identity and Europe and/ or Europeans.

Next to European Citizenship also other concepts are important for the understanding of European Identity. Now, the conceptual relations with national identity and multiple identities will be explored.

While some authors state that the concept of European Identity “neither in form, nor in substance” could be drawn from the concept of national identity (Kohli, 2000), others say that for the development of European Identity the same tools are used as for national identity and that the concepts are related to each other, not neglecting the historically relatively low age of European Identity (Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011; Bruter, 2005; Sigalas, 2010).

However, most researchers nowadays view national identity and European Identity as conceptual independent and not mutually exclusive (Kohli, 2000; Lutz, Kritzing, & Skirbekk, 2006; van Mol, 2012; Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011). The latter fact leads to the possibility of one individual having more than one identity at a time, so for example a European Identity next to a national identity (or regional or local identities), which is called multiple (or collective) identities (van Mol, 2012; Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011; Caporaso & Kim, 2009).

The differentiation between (local, regional, and) national identity and European Identity, but also the fact that these could exist next to each other with differing amounts, will be employed in this study.

3.2. Factors influencing European Identity

In this chapter I will elaborate on what other scientists already found out about the influences on the level of people’s European Identity, which ties are already established, and which are still unsure. I will not analyse these factors for an association with European Identity as they are not of theoretical interest, as I will explain in chapter 3.3., and their interrelations with European Identity are quite well established already, as we will see now.

3.2.1. Age

One of the simplest individual characteristics is people’s age and quite some scholars analysed the relationship between age and European Identity.

Employing data from the Eurobarometer Kuhn (2012) finds, although using age solely as a control variable, that younger people are more likely to identify themselves as European than older ones, which goes along with the findings of other authors (Duchesne and Frogner, 1995; Citrin and Sides, 2004; Fligstein, 2008; Kaina and Karolewski, 2009).

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Some of those are also mentioned by Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte (2012) while they say that Green (2007) claims that younger people are less likely to feel European. Unfortunately I am not able to analyse the causes of Greens findings and the reason why they are contrary to the ones of all the other authors as I do not have direct access to his writings.

In their study of European Identity among primary school students in Belgium Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte (2012) found that age does not make a difference in the amount of European Identity. The participants of their study were ten to 14 years old (Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte, 2012), so one could assume that a European Identity is developed at another age, or that the amount of European Identity differs along cohort lines.

Lutz, Kritzing, & Skirbekk (2006) provide answers to these hypotheses. Their findings, in line with all authors except of Green (2007), indicate that older people less likely report a European Identity. Additionally they state that this is largely due to cohort effects and not due to aging effects meaning that people attain a European Identity when they are young and keep it. They also observe a slight aging effect which shows that European Identity among people increases until an age between 50 and 60 and decreases by people accessing retirement age (Lutz, Kritzing, & Skirbekk, 2006).

So the reasons for Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte (2012) not finding any difference in the level of European Identity for children with different age could be explained by the possibility of people developing a European Identity before or after the age of ten and 14, and that their birth dates are too close to each other to observe a significant difference caused by cohort or aging effects within this sample.

The findings of Sigalas (2010) indicate that European Identity is developed still in student times as socializing in ERASMUS years abroad has a higher impact on European Identity among younger than among older students (for details view the upcoming chapter about cross-border activities 3.2.3.).

The trend in academic literature concerning the influence of age on European Identity is clear. With one exception all authors found younger people to have a higher amount of European Identity. European Identity is formed in early years and slightly increased until near retirement age, while younger cohorts in these days contain of more and more people reporting a European Identity.

These clear trends make a further analysis of the impact of age on European Identity superfluous for this study. It is also not of interest from the theoretical viewpoint, as no cleavage line could be drawn between different age groups as there is no political community, say, which is fighting for the rights of the youth, or the elder (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

3.2.2. Gender

For the second simple individual characteristic, gender, studies found that there is a slightly lower chance of having a European Identity among women (Duchesne & Frogner, 1995; Green, 2007; Fligstein, 2008), while Citrin and Sides (2004) indicate that there is no significant difference between males and females at all.

However, next to most other authors, also Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte (2012) report a significantly lower amount of female children with European Identity in their sample.

The trend discovered is both simple and clear and thus does not need to be researched another time by this study.

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As for age, also gender is not of theoretical interest in terms of cleavage structure, as mentioned by Gallagher (2006).

3.2.3. Cross-Border Activities

As a third factor, cross-border activities are analysed by quite some authors by its impact on European Identity, especially the impact of the ERASMUS student exchanges.

While some author's emphasize that cross-border activities are positively linked to the amount of people having a European Identity (Fligstein, 2008; Recchi & Favell, 2009) it is brought forward by others that this effect is rather small (King & Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Kuhn, 2012) or that there is no effect at all and among some students doing an ERASMUS year abroad has even a slight negative effect on European Identity (Sigalas, 2010).

As one would expect, Scientists provide reasons for the striking differences in the findings on the academic stage concerning the impact of cross-border activities on European Identity.

As a first thing Kuhn (2012) mentions that the fact that students naturally own the highest amounts of European Identity lead to a "ceiling-effect" and that their cross-border experience cannot increase European Identity anymore due to that effect. Although not called by that name, this effect is also mentioned by Sigalas (2010), who next to this states that people choosing for an ERASMUS year abroad additionally have higher levels of European Identity than their fellows deciding against it. This fact is also revealed by King and Ruiz-Gelices (2002), and van Mol (2012). Taking this difference into account the actual execution of the ERASMUS year has only a small effect, if at all (van Mol, 2012; Sigalas, 2010).

A second aspect being of importance for analysing the effect of cross-national activities like ERASMUS exchanges on European Identity is the one of socialization. For example King and Ruiz-Gelices (2002) mention that the positive effect they found is largely influenced by socialization (and high quality communication). This is confirmed by Sigalas (2010), who additionally states that ERASMUS leads to a higher increase of European Identity among younger students than among older ones.

Also van Mol (2012) declares socialization to be the most important factor for cross-border activities to have a positive effect on European Identity. Moreover he states that socialization during cross-border activities is only effective, if it was not experienced before the cross-border activity back at home, making socialization the most important factor of causing European Identity in general (van Mol, 2012). He also brings forward that the impact strongly depends on the region of origin of the students because of multiple reasons causing different levels of socialization, so in some regions the before called "ceiling-effect" applies for students (for example Western Austria, Poland), while in other regions the amount of European Identity among students could still be increased by socialization abroad (for example Belgium and Italy)(van Mol, 2012). In some cases socialization and cross-border exchanges have no effect on European Identity (as in Norway there rather is a trend towards a Scandinavian than towards a European Identity) (van Mol, 2012).

Socialization also is an influential factor on European Identity in case that cross-national ties are established by kinship, so for people with migration-background. Cinnirella and Hamilton (2007) found that Asian-British report higher levels of European Identity than native British participants. Also Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte (2012) claim that ethnicity matters for the amount of European Identity among Belgian school children depending on the "specific macro-level context" of their origin (for example: children with Turkish origin report lower levels of European Identity).

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The links between cross-border activities and European Identity are not as simple and easy to understand as the effects of age and gender, as they reveal the complexity of the process of attaining a European Identity, which is largely due to socialisation.

3.2.4. News and Symbols

Another more complex variable, which influences European Identity, is citizens' exposition to (bad or good) news related to the European Union and to symbols, which are connected to the European Union.

The author, which is mostly cited in studies concerning the impact of news and symbols on European Identity is Bruter (2003, 2004, 2005, 2009), who established two dimensions of European Identity, a civic, and a cultural component of identity. Civic identity refers to people's identification with rights, citizenship and political system (of the European Union), while cultural identity refers to people's identification with common cultural habits (Bruter, 2009). This distinction is very common and often used and discussed in academic literature and thus worth a short note here, although not used for this study.

Bruter revealed that symbols have a permanent and over time growing impact on European Identity. After connecting a symbol to the European Union for the first time, people start to recognize them in daily life and identify with them, which is called priming effect by the author (Bruter, 2009).

For news, either good or bad, the so-called time-bomb effect applies: Participants' European Identity was negatively affected by the news in an immediate post-test, meaning that bad news concerning EU issues lead to more European Identity, and good news lead to less. However, in another post-test after six months, this effect was reversed and highly positively influential (Bruter, 2009). By reading these results one has to bear in mind that the treatment with news was done via a journal that the participants read.

Van der Veen (2002) found that the consumption of television news (not manipulated) does have a lowering effect on European Identity. Lutz, Kritzinger, & Skirbekk (2006) find that the Amsterdam treaty 1997, the Nice treaty 2001, and the introduction of the Euro, of which they measured the impact in 2003, did not have any effect on the level of European Identity among European Citizens.

Risse (2003) concludes that the Euro has an impact on the identification of European Citizens with the European Union as it brings the European Union into the people's lives, and on the other hand, they are comfortable dealing with the Euro as a currency because of their high amounts of European Identity, so that there is an influential relationship working both ways (Risse, 2003).

Also Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell (2011) analysed the impact of symbols on European Identity. They found that the simple exposure of the European Union flag before answering a questionnaire has null effect. The difference to Bruter's findings may be caused by the fact that he added the symbols to news and not to a questionnaire.

Nevertheless, they indicate that there is a positive effect on European Identity by the exposure of "functional EU symbols", with which the people connect advantages of the European Union (like a European passport, or an airport sign) (Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011). However this effect is very dependent on the national and regional circumstances the people live in (Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011).

This finding appears very logical if one compares it to the ones about the impact of cross-border activities on European Identity, in which it was proved that the amount of socialization with Europe in

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people's context influence the level of European Identity and their potential to attain a European Identity by cross-border activities. This seems to be valid for the impact of news and, in particular, of symbols.

3.3. The Social Cleavage Theory and Related Factors

As an underlying theory for choosing characteristics for an analysis of association with European Identity, the social cleavage structure theory by Lipset and Rokkan will serve, which was shaping political science considerably (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

A social cleavage is shaped by (1) a social division separating people (e.g. ethnicity, occupation, status, religion), of which (2) the members of the separated groups are aware, and which (3) is organized in a certain way (political organizations, political parties in particular) (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006). Stubager (2010) describes these three as interrelated elements: (1) a socio-structural, (2) a psychological, and (3) an organisational, which is a very fitting summary.

The four traditional cleavages defined by Lipset and Rokkan are discussed in the subchapters, they are: (3.3.1.) the centre-periphery cleavage, (3.3.2) the church-state cleavage, (3.3.3.) the rural-urban cleavage, and (3.3.4.) the class cleavage. In another sub-chapter (3.3.5.) I will discuss the differences in the level of education as a newly emerging cleavage and its implications for this study.

For the analysis of an association with European Identity, demographic sociological characteristics will be chosen which could measure these cleavage structures and whether European Identity is attained across or along these cleavage lines. After the introduction of a cleavage a variable will be offered to measure the cleavage.

3.3.1. The Centre-Periphery Cleavage and Nationality

The first cleavage mentioned by Lipset and Rokkan is the one between "subject culture" and "dominant culture", which now mostly is described as the centre-periphery cleavage with a country's socio-political centre one the one side and the periphery on the other, dating back to the times when central authorities in modern European states were forged (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

On the centre side of the political system were those trying to implement national standards in laws, markets and cultures, on the periphery side those trying to maintain independent and autonomous, because they identified themselves as a cultural minority (linguistic, religious, or ethnic) and not represented by the central government (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

Lipset and Rokkan do not differentiate between peripheral minorities being concentrated in a particular region in the country and the ones being dispersed all over the country, while there is a difference in how they experience European integration (Marks & Wilson, 2000). The former are pro-European-integration as this might support the shift of authority from a national level to their region for diverse reasons, for example, they become one minority among many in more unified Europe, while they stand as a single minority against a national majority in a non-integrated Europe, which makes it easier to fight for their interests. The latter, on the other hand, are against centralisation of authority, no matter if it is on a national level or on a European one. Centralisation on a European Level might even be feared more as this means less control on decision making, made on a level even more alien to their cultural milieu (Marks & Wilson, 2000).

The fact that it is necessary to differentiate between dispersed and concentrated minorities in terms of support for European integration, and thus, most likely, also for European Identity, next to the one that

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the amount and nature of minorities are varying a lot from country to country, shows that it is important to compare the figures across country lines.

It is also imaginable that there is something to be observed like a centre-periphery cleavage on a European level, may it be geographically or by state power within in the European Union decision making process, or both. In the analysis we will pay attention to this.

Another reason for comparing country levels is that other researchers found differences in the relationship of European Identity and individual characteristics as mentioned before and in the rest of this chapter. For example, the mean amount of European Identity differs largely not only by nation, but by region or even by town, depending on the “mean experience of Europe” in that area (van Mol, 2012). Next to this it also influences the potential of attaining a European Identity by education or cross-national activities (van Mol, 2012). Also some effects of news and symbols are dependent on the country and region people live in (Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011).

All these facts make it interesting to not only search for differences in the amount of European Identity across countries, but also in differences in the strength of associations of the individual characteristics named in this chapter with European Identity across country lines and analyse them. This will be done in the analysis.

3.3.2. The Church-State Cleavage and Religiosity

The church-state cleavage, also occurring when modern European states were built, divides people which are in favour of the church being an authority on the moral dimension of politics and the ones being against this (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006). It is also about rights and privileges of the church in society, for example in setting guide lines in education schedules (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

The historical presence of this cleavage differs a lot in Europe depending on the dominant confession in a country. Protestant churches mostly were national churches and became “agents of the state” not challenging its policies, which made the cleavage not emerge in Protestant countries (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006). The Catholic Church however regarded itself as being above the state belonging to a supranational institution organised from the Vatican, opposing secularising policies, and creating an autonomous cultural environment by maintaining independent schools and rejecting secular education (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006). This, and the desire of the Catholic Church to influence state law concerning public morality, such as divorce and censorship, in most cases lead to conflicts between Catholic entities and liberal or radical parties and still continues in some countries, especially Eastern European countries (like Poland) after the fall of communism (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

Marks & Wilson stress that people living in Catholic countries in which the cleavage was present are rather pro-European integration as it is consistent with the supranational aspirations of the Catholic Church, while the national character of Protestant churches should lead them to be more sceptical of European integration (Marks & Wilson, 2000).

There is hardly any study focussing on the relationship of religion or religiosity and European Identity, only a note by Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte (2012) that different religions do not matter for the level of European Identity if one controls for ethnicity. However, it is very interesting to see, if the level of European Identity differs between the states which are Catholic or Protestant and if it differs between people who are religious, as a measure for which side of the cleavage they are, and people who are not. These things lead to the following hypothesis, which will be analysed in this study:

Hypothesis 1: “Higher levels of religiosity are associated with lower levels of European Identity among European Citizens in Protestant Countries and lower levels of religiosity are associated with lower levels of European Identity among European Citizens in Catholic Countries.”

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3.3.3. The Rural-Urban Cleavage and Area of Living

The third cleavage divides the defenders of the traditionally dominant rural interests on the one side and the new urban industrial classes on the other side. The cleavage became acute by the start of the industrialisation in the 19th century. It did not lead to partisan conflict in most of continental western European states, but in Scandinavia and in parts of Eastern Europe urban interests became dominant creating rural oppositions and resulting in powerful agrarian parties which are still existent nowadays (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

Because of several reasons the cleavage still has certain relevance today: A new clash between city and country is emerging as urban poverty increases and wealthy people move to the country side or suburbs, which both leads to lower tax incomes in the cities and a higher need of government spending (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006). On the other side, the introduction of the free market and the reducing of subsidies for farmers lead to decreasing prices for farmers' goods and lower economic support resulting in lower living standards of farmers in most European countries. This leads to protests on both national and European level and although farmers make up a small proportion in the western European workforce they still have large influences in parties and lobby groups (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

Most importantly, the on-going existence of the cleavage also becomes clear by the emotional reaction on minor policy issues like the question on forbidding fox hunting in Britain 2003/ 2004, which was fought for and against very intensely by urban and rural entities (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

It is clear that the area of living (rural or urban) is the individual characteristic which fits most to determine on which side of the rural-urban cleavage people could be allocated. Regarding its relationship to European Identity, living in an urban or rural area did not receive that much attention from researchers.

Duchesne & Froginer (1995) report a positive impact of living in a large city or town on European Identity and also Lutz, Kritzing, & Skirbekk (2006) state that people in urban areas have a higher European Identity.

Van der Veen (2002) states that the positive effect is spurious and that it diminishes and even turns out to be negative if one takes also other variables into account. He offers two explanations for this negative effect. One is that in urban areas a higher percentage of people might be employed by the national government and thus have a lower amount of European Identity, while the second is that more rural areas are close to intra-European borders, which may make the people living there to have more direct international interactions and thus a higher amount of European Identity (van der Veen, 2002).

Like van der Veen, I consider it necessary to shed more light on the relation of the place of living and European Identity, not at least because his explanations of a negative effect of urban living on European Identity do not seem plausible to me. Because of this, and because of the findings of the before mentioned researchers, the following hypothesis will be tested:

Hypothesis II: "Living in an urban area in contrast to living in a rural area is associated with higher levels of European Identity among European Citizens."

3.3.4. The Class Cleavage and Socio-Economic Status

The most important cleavage emerging from the industrial revolution was the conflict between the workers on the one side and the owners of capital (and their allies) on the other side. Trying to compensate their lack of economic resources compared to the capital owners, the workers organized

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themselves in large numbers in trade unions and political parties improve their conditions of working and living (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

Although the class cleavage was present in all European Countries, it differed in intensity. While in all countries socialist parties emerged, in some countries also communist parties arose and even surpassed the socialist ones. This mostly was dependent on the response of the bourgeoisie to the worker's demands. Accommodating and pragmatic reactions like in Scandinavia and Britain lead workers not to opt for radical alternatives and to be integrated into national politics. Repressive responses lead to a more radical agenda of the working class and stronger communist parties like in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006).

Comparing the traditional cleavages, the class cleavage is the most important and most often observable cleavage nowadays (Gallagher, Mair, & Laver, 2006) and continuing to dominate European party systems and policy agendas (Marks & Wilson, 2000).

To differentiate on which side of the class cleavage a person is to be allocated it makes sense to measure the person's socio-economic status. Next to age, gender, cross-national activities, and nationality, also socio-economic status was studied by some scientists for a relationship with European Identity, already.

Some authors state that European Identity is supported by and a feature of the elites of European society so one would assume also for people with a high socio-economic status (e.g. Kohli, 2000; Bruter, 2003; Kuhn, 2012). Supporting this, the individual endowment with resources is related to higher amounts of European Identity (Kaina & Karolewski, 2009).

Although there are some hints for a link of socio-economic status and European Identity, only two studies found evidence in this matter. One is from Kuhn (2012), who in her study also uses socio-economic status as a control variable, finding that those with a higher status occupation are more likely to have a European Identity (Kuhn, 2012).

As a second study, Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte find evidence for Belgian pupils coming from families with a higher socio-economic status to report higher amounts of European Identity (2012). They also conclude that, even if controlled for family socio-economic status, also higher socio-economic status of the school positively influences European Identity (Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte, 2012).

The results of the two mentioned studies, as well as the statements of other authors indicate that higher socio-economic status may be linked to higher level of European Identity leading this study to test the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis III: *"Higher Socio-economic status is associated with higher levels of European Identity among European Citizens."*

3.3.5. Education as a new Cleavage

Next to the mentioned traditional cleavages I will discuss and include the different levels of education as a newly emerging cleavage in my analysis. It is found by Stubager that the level of education determines to a large extent whether a person is either in favour of a libertarian, in the case of a high level of education, or rather an authoritarian system, in the case of a low level of education (Stubager, 2010).

Although Stubager solely analysed Denmark for the existence of this cleavage (finding that the cleavage clearly has emerged since the last three decades), he also offers strong arguments why the cleavage is also very likely to be existent in other European states. As a first one he mentions that the increase in the level of education, which is one important ground for the development of this cleavage, is not only

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to be observed in Denmark, but also in other countries in the Western world (Stubager, 2010). Moreover education is proven to have the strongest impact on the authoritarian/ liberitarian values, which in detail will be explained below. This effect is to be observed especially in advanced industrial societies, but also in other countries, so the basic connection in the education cleavage system seems to be widespread (Stubager, 2010). Additionally, the political conflict structure, shaped by the economic and the authoritarian/ liberitarian dimension could also be found in other European states; although the detailed content might vary from country to country, the underlying dynamics are the same (Stubager, 2010). These facts, for which Stubager names a lot of cross-references, makes it quite likely that the education cleavage is also present in most European countries, and thus will be analysed here.

Now I will explain the dynamics of the educational cleavage, as described by Stubager: There are two core aspects forming the liberitarian or authoritarian view, which are the attitudes towards hierarchy and tolerance. Authoritarian people favour a social hierarchy with a rank ordering of “superior” and “inferior” people and regard this as natural and right, while liberitarian people dislike social hierarchies and favour free and open interactions with all people regardless of their social position (Stubager, 2010). Tolerance on the other hand is important for liberitarians, who regard differences among people as natural and desirable, also, and in particular, differences from their culture, norms and values. For Authoritarians however, conformity with the norms and values of their society is desirable and necessary, and variety is potentially bad and deserves no protection (Stubager, 2010).

These attitudes allow to hypothesise that people with a higher education have higher levels of European Identity than people with a lower education. People with a lower education, being rather authoritarian, might tend to feel alienated from other European peoples and their cultures, norms, and values, while people with a higher education, being more liberitarian, might welcome to extend their possibilities to get into contact with people from a different cultural background, and thus feel more European.

The findings of other researchers also head in this direction as scientists agree upon the fact that a higher education leads to a higher chance of attaining a European Identity, so say Duchesne and Frognier (1995), Citrin and Sides (2004), Kuhn (2012), and Lutz, Kritzing, & Skirbekk, (2006). It is stated that, because of different reasons, people with academic background report the highest amount of European Identity (Sigalas, 2010). All this leads to the following hypothesis which will be tested:

Hypothesis IV: “Higher levels of education are associated with higher levels of European Identity among European Citizens.”

4. Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology which is used to test the hypothesis outlined in chapter 3. which is (4.1.) the operationalization of the variables, (4.2.) the data collection and (4.3.) the methods to analyse the data.

4.1. Operationalization

The Operationalization contains a description of the way how the diverse variables are measured. I will explain the operationalization of European Identity first (4.1.1.), followed by education (4.1.2.), socio-economic status (4.1.3.), area of living (4.1.4.), and religiosity (4.1.5.).

4.1.1. European Identity

In most of the papers about European identity the authors describe that it is very hard to measure such an abstract concept. Next to the fact that identity is a feature, which, as such, differs in nature and amount from individual to individual (van Mol, 2012), Bruter correctly states that there are no universal signs being visible or measurable for the existence of a European Identity (2009).

After this he states that identity does not necessarily result in positive feelings and support, but possibly also in shame or other negative feelings, citing Wodak (1999)(Bruter, 2009). This remark is crucial, as some authors take it for granted that support for Europe or the European Union is a valid variable to proof the existence of European Identity (for example: Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte, 2012). Bruter's remark, however, implies that support might be an inappropriate measure for the existence of European Identity, as shame could result from identity and negatively affect (open) support.

Making the best of it, most authors studying secondary data (as e.g. Kohli, 2000; Lutz, Kritzing, & Skirbekk, 2006) employ the data of the Eurobarometer for indicating European Identity (item: "feel European"). There, the participants are asked whether they in the near future will feel national only, national and European, European and national, or European only (Eurobarometer, 2013). National in each country is substituted by the participant's country, of course.

This includes the above mentioned aspect of feeling European instead of being labelled European, as well as it does not ignore the existence of multiple identities and measures European Identity also if the national identity is predominant, which actually is the case mostly (Lutz, Kritzing, & Skirbekk, 2006).

The pitfalls of this measure are obvious. It is asked for the participants' attitudes in the near future, which could lead to higher levels of European Identity than actually present, as people might think that they are more European in the future by the ever closer cooperation of the European Union member states.

On the other hand, they are asked to report their feeling of being European, while diverse authors mention the possible unawareness of a person about its European identity or its sub consciousness (Bruter, 2009; Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011). This may result in the effect that some people do not report their European identity, although they might sub consciously feel European.

Additionally it is to be noticed that the context - there are more questions about attitudes towards European features/ institutions/ the European Union (Eurobarometer, 2013) - in which the question is asked may also influence the participants' answer whether they feel European or not, as it is proven to happen in similar cases (Cram, Patrikios, & Mitchell, 2011).

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Despite these mentioned weaknesses in measuring European Identity this way, most researchers still do so, even if they do not study the Eurobarometer and set up their own experiments (King & Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Sigalas, 2010). This is done for making all results comparative and because the weaknesses are not so crucial that a change of the question would be necessary. Because of this, the outcomes from the mentioned question of the Eurobarometer will be used for measuring European Identity. To control at least to some extent for the weaknesses of the item the frequencies will be compared with the ones of another question, which asks for the degree of attachment of the participant's to the European Union. These will be compared with the ones of a similar question about the attachment to country. This item does not ask for the participants' perceptions in the near future, but the current ones, additionally it is not asked for "feeling European" but for attachment, which might cause differences. Also the difference between Europe and the European Union is present in the two operationalizations.

As most authors do (e.g. Lutz, Kritzinger, & Skirbekk, 2006), I will recode the question into two categories differentiating between people who have a national identity exclusively (so no European Identity) and people who own a European Identity (at least to some degree). This is done to fulfil the conditions of some statistical tests, as explained later. Although it is not of so much theoretical importance whether people name their European Identity or their national identity first, or whether they do not have a national identity at all, it will still be looked at the item with the original distributions to not miss any important points.

4.1.2. Education

For measuring the level of education, the Eurobarometer provides one standard question which asks for the age of the respondent, when full-time education was finished. Next to the category "no full time education" and "still studying", the participant could choose between the categories "14 years or younger" and "22 years or older" and all years inbetween.

Although it might be that participants after full-time education receive a part-time education or they started with full-time education being older or younger than other participants, this is a quite straightforward measure, which may not lead to too many errors. As it is also the only measure which is provided by the Eurobarometer, it will be used in this paper to measure education.

4.1.3. Socio-Economic Status

For measuring socio-economic status, the Eurobarometer contains two questions. One of them asks for the participants opinion about which social class he or she belongs to, offering (1) "working class", (2) "lower middle class", (3) "middle class", (4) "upper middle class", and (5) "upper class".

The subjectiveness may lead to errors in the results of this question, I would assume that people would classify themselves rather in one of the middle class categories, then in the category working class or upper class.

A second question which could be employed for measuring participant's socio-economic status is the question for the participant's job. This question offers quite some answer possibilities from farmer/fisher to executive top management. The difficulty in measuring socio-economic status by the outcomes of this question is the need of a scale of socio-economic status on which the diverse jobs are ranged in, which, again, would imply a highly subjective act, this time not on side of the participant, but on side of the researcher. There are studies about the social status, which a job is giving to a person in the eyes of people, but applying this and building a score would be out of the frame of this study. So it will be concentrated on the first item to measure socio-economic status.

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4.1.4. Area of Living

Also for testing whether the participants live in an urban or in a rural area there is an item in the Eurobarometer. The question asks the participant's for a subjective assessment of their place of living. It asks if the participants live in a (1) "rural area or village", (2) "small or middle size town", or (3) in a "large town".

As this is the only variable which could be used for assessing people's place of living on whether it is rural or urban it will be used in this study.

4.1.5. Religiosity

For measuring religiosity Eurobarometer contains three questions, the first asking for the importance of religion in the participant's life, the second asking for the amount of the participant's attendance of religious services and the third for a subjective self-assessment of the participant's religiosity, independent of his/her church attendance.

The collection of these questions give an accurate picture of the participants religiosity. However, every question gives information about another aspect of religiosity, therefore all items will be analysed individually.

4.2. Data Collection and Sampling

As described in the operationalization the item "feel European" in the Eurobarometer, which asks the participants whether they see themselves as exclusively nationals, nationals and Europeans, Europeans and nationals, or exclusively Europeans, will serve as the item to measure European Identity. I will compare it with the "attachment to the European Union" item.

To gain as current results as possible, the recent Eurobarometer files were scanned for these questions. It appears that the Eurobarometer 62.0 from October and November 2004 (n = 29334) is the only file in which both questions are asked.

An advantage of this file is that the new member states of the European Union are included, as well as the candidate states for this time, so we also have data for Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia, which joined the European Union after the file was produced. Also Turkey and the Turkish part of Cypress are included in the sample, while West and East Germany are measured separately as well as Northern Ireland and Great Britain.

Most countries are represented with an n ranging from 909 (Romania) to 1061 (Czech Republic). Only Slovakia has a higher n (1227), while the n is lower for Eastern Germany (506), Malta (498), the Cyprus (Republic) (496), Luxembourg (486), and Northern Ireland (277).

A disadvantage is that only the independent variables "education" and "area of living" are covered by it and not "socio-economic status" nor any measure of "religiosity".

These two were measured together with the "feel European" item in Eurobarometer 42, which is from Autumn 1994 (n = 16667). The disadvantage of this file is that only the old member states are included in this file. Also for this file, Northern Ireland and Great Britain are measured separately, as well as West and East Germany. Also Norway is included in this file.

All countries are represented with an n ranging from 997 (Portugal) and 1082 (Austria), except of Luxembourg (n = 500), Sweden (n = 501), and Northern Ireland (n = 306).

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Table I: Overview over the containing of the variables of interest in sample I and sample II

variables	Represented in sample I (Eurobarometer 62.0 from 2004)	Represented in sample II (Eurobarometer 42 from 1994)
"Feel European"	X	X
"attachment to the EU"	X	
"attachment to country"	X	
"education"	X	X
"socio-economic status"		X
"area of living"	X	
"religiosity"		X
"importance of religion"		
"attendance of religious services"		X

Another disadvantage is that in Sweden as well as in Austria the "feel European" item is not asked and thus the two countries will not appear in the analysis, whenever this sample is used. The former sample from Eurobarometer 62.0 will from now on be referred to as "sample I" and the latter one from Eurobarometer 42 as "sample II".

4.3. Method of Analysis

In this sub chapter I will lay down the methods which will be used in chapter five containing the analysis. As chapter five, it will deal with (4.3.1.) the analysis of the dependent variable, and the (4.3.2.) bivariate analysis.

4.3.1. Analysis of the Dependent Variable

In this part we will look at three things, which are the distributions of the item "feel European" across samples, the distributions of the item "attachment to the European Union", and the association of the two items.

The first two will be done to get evidence about the indications mentioned in the theory, which were stating that most people have a national identity and a little more than half have a European Identity. It is also useful to get a feeling for the bivariate analysis to know which differences in percentages are to be weighted as crucial and which not.

The latter will be done to check for the correctness of the data given by the "feel European" item, which could be doubted for the reasons mentioned in chapter 4.1..

4.3.2. Bivariate Analysis

The bivariate analysis consists of four sub chapters in which the four hypotheses are tested. I will do this by comparing distributions in a simple cross-table manually for the whole sample first, to secondly test the association across countries by a statistical test called Kendall's Tau C, which is used to test the strength of an association in a cross-table with two ordinal variables.

5. Analysis and Outcomes

This chapter contains the actual analysis and its outcomes. It is divided into (5.1.) the analysis of the dependent variable, and (5.2.) the bivariate analysis.

5.1. Analysis of the Dependent Variable

In this sub chapter we will look at the (5.1.1.) distributions of the item “feel European” in the two samples, (5.1.2.) compare the distributions of the item “attachment to the European Union” and the item “attachment to country”, to (5.1.3.) compare them with the ones of “feel European”, and (5.1.4.) measure the association between “feel European” and “attachment to the European Union” two for an association.

5.1.1. The Distributions of “feel European” across samples

As displayed below in Table II, we have 36.9% in the category “(Nationality) only” for sample II (n = 14539), 48.8% in “(Nationality) and European”, 8.7% in “European and (Nationality)”, and 5.6% in “European only”.

In sample I, we have two ballots for the “feel European” item, one ballot (n = 14541) was asked the question given the known categories, while the second ballot (n = 14222) was asked an additional category: “As European as (Nationality)”.

For the first ballot 46.1% of the participants are in the category “(Nationality) only”, 45.9% in “(Nationality) and European”, 5.2% in “European and (Nationality)” and 2.8% in “European only”.

For the second ballot 42.2% are in the category “(Nationality) only”, 46.8% in the category “(Nationality) and European”, 3.1% in “European and (Nationality)”, 2.2% in “European only”, and 5.6% in “As European as (Nationality)”.

Table II: Comparing the distributions of the item “feel European” across samples and ballots

Categories	Sample II	ballot I (Sample I)	ballot II (Sample I)
(Nationality) only	36.9%	46.1%	42.2%
(Nationality) and European	48.8%	45.9%	46.8%
As (Nationality) as European	Not asked	Not asked	5.6%
European and (Nationality)	8.7%	5.2%	3.1%
European only	5.6%	2.8%	2.2%

So we see that adding the category “as European as (Nationality)” leads to slight changes in the outcomes.

Furthermore, this underlines the trend mentioned by other researchers that if people have a European Identity it is mostly next to a prevailing national identity. Additionally we find that people from sample II have higher levels of European Identity than people in sample I. This could be explained in two ways: It may be that European Identity decreased over the years and thus is lower in sample I than in sample II, or the adding of the new candidate and member states in sample I causes the difference in the overall distributions for this variable.

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If we recode the variable into three categories (see Table III) we see that adding a category within the categories, which offer both identities while one is prevailing, leads to a higher outcome for European Identity prevailing or equal, but not in a lower outcome for National Identity prevailing, which would be assumed. However, the outcome for national identity prevailing is even higher for ballot II than for ballot I and the outcome for “National Identity only” is lower.

In the further analysis, the item “feel European” will be recoded either into three categories, as below, or into two categories, one being “National Identity only”, and the other being “at least some amount of European Identity”, in which all other categories are combined.

Table III: The distributions of “feel European” recoded into three categories across samples and ballots

categories	Sample II	ballot I (Sample I)	ballot II (Sample I)
National Identity only	36.9%	46.1%	42.2%
National Identity prevailing	48.8%	45.9%	46.8%
European Identity only or prevailing or (only for ballot II of Sample I) equal	14.3%	8.0%	11.0%

In general we can say that the trend continues that more than half of the people own a European Identity (55.8% for sample I and 63.1% for sample II), but that for the large majority the national identity is prevailing or they do not have a European Identity at all (about 85% to 95%).

5.1.2. Comparing the Distributions of the “attachment” items

The item “attachment to the European Union” asks the participants to rank their attachment to the European Union in the categories “very attached”, “fairly attached”, “not very attached”, and “not at all attached”.

Table IV: Comparing “attachment to the European Union” and “attachment to country” (sample I only)

Categories	Attachment to the European Union	Attachment to Country
Not at all attached	8.4%	0.9%
Not very attached	24.7%	4.8%
Fairly attached	44.9%	30.4%
Very attached	22.0%	63.9%

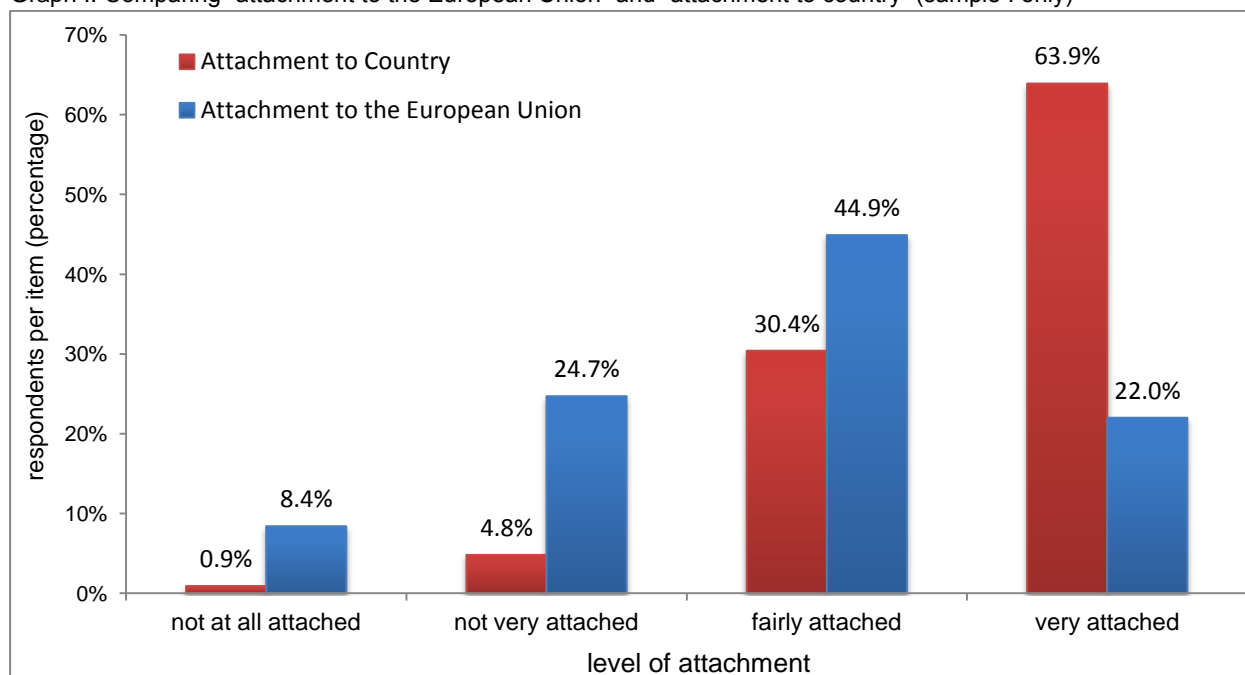
As shown in Table IV, it appears that 22.0% feel very attached to the European Union, 44.9% feel fairly attached, 24.7% not very attached, and 8.4% not at all attached.

The same item with the same categories is asked for attachment to the participant’s country. Here, 63.9% feel very attached, 30.4% feel fairly attached, 4.8% not very attached, and 0.9% not at all attached.

The overall trend, which was established before, is confirmed by both items: National Identity is much more important for the majority of the people than European Identity, while most people still feel European or attached to the European Union.

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Graph I: Comparing “attachment to the European Union” and “attachment to country” (sample I only)



5.1.3. Comparing “feel European” and the “attachment” items

The differences between the items “feel European” and “attachment to the European Union” could be discussed lengthily, starting with the one between “European” and “European Union”, over the combining of national and European feeling in one question in the item “feel European” and not doing it for “attachment to the European Union/ country”, to the difference of feeling national/ European and feeling attached to a country/ the European Union.

We cannot prove which of these differences in the questions causes the differences in the distributions between the items, which are displayed in Table V.

Looking at the table, the trend described in the former two sub chapters holds true as for each country the amount of people fairly or very attached to their country is higher than the amount being fairly or very attached to the European Union and also higher than the amount of people reporting to feel European at least to some degree in the item “feel European”.

However, there are huge differences, both across countries for both items, as well as between items for quite some countries.

Starting with the cross-country differences it is noticeable that it is quite equal for “feel European” across the two samples, both little more than 30 percent points from the member state with the highest to the one with the lowest score.

For sample II, Luxembourg scores highest for the share of people having at least some European feeling (83%), while Great Britain scores lowest (49%). The total score is 63%.

In sample I, the six EU founding members have high shares of feeling European, all being in the top eight. Only in nine countries the share of people feeling European is lower than 50%, while the total share is 56%. The highest share is to be observed for France and Belgium with 71% of people feeling European, while Turkey is the country with the lowest share (32%), followed by Hungary (39%) being the EU member state with the lowest share.

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While the value for Turkey is also lowest for people being fairly or very attached to the EU (27%), Hungary has the highest score of all measured states here (92%). For most states the score is higher than 60%, just nine states score below, while the score for the total sample is 67%.

Table V: The distributions of the operationalizations and “attachment to country” across countries

Country	at least some European feeling (sample II)	at least some European feeling (sample I)	fairly or very attached to the EU	Difference between column II and III	fairly or very attached to country
France	77.5%	71.0%	67.3%	3.7	93.2%
Belgium	68.6%	71.0%	75.7%	-4.7	85.4%
Cyprus (Republic)	no data	69.6%	37.9%	31.7	97.4%
The Netherlands	66.5%	68.6%	61.0%	7.6	83.3%
Italy	73.7%	67.9%	79.1%	-11.2	95.0%
Germany West	71.4%	67.2%	68.5%	-1.3	88.0%
Croatia	no data	64.3%	69.0%	-4.7	95.3%
Luxembourg	83.2%	64.2%	83.9%	-19.7	95.6%
Romania	no data	62.3%	89.2%	-26.9	96.1%
Malta	no data	62.2%	60.5%	1.7	95.6%
Spain	64.5%	61.3%	69.2%	-7.9	92.7%
Austria	no data	60.7%	68.4%	-7.7	95.2%
Denmark	52.1%	59.9%	74.9%	-15.0	97.9%
Slovakia	no data	59.9%	69.0%	-9.1	90.3%
Germany East	64.8%	58.3%	72.2%	-13.9	89.3%
Bulgaria	no data	58.2%	71.2%	-13.0	96.9%
Northern Ireland	54.1%	56.7%	54.1%	2.6	72.7%
Slovenia	no data	55.8%	77.6%	-21.8	97.6%
Total	63.1%	55.8%	66.9%	-7.3	94.3%
Cyprus (TCC)	no data	55.1%	60.1%	-5.0	97.9%
Poland	no data	54.3%	86.0%	-31.7	98.2%
Sweden	no data	54.0%	78.7%	-24.7	94.7%
Ireland	61.5%	53.4%	76.2%	-22.8	98.9%
Estonia	no data	50.8%	41.5%	9.3	95.3%
Latvia	no data	49.9%	54.8%	-4.9	94.3%
Greece	55.0%	47.0%	48.4%	-1.4	97.4%
Czech Republic	no data	46.7%	80.2%	-33.5	92.9%
Portugal	56.1%	46.4%	57.2%	-10.8	96.6%
Great Britain	48.7%	45.7%	51.3%	-5.6	92.1%
Lithuania	no data	45.1%	47.2%	-2.1	96.0%
Finland	61.2%	44.8%	72.4%	-27.6	97.2%
Hungary	no data	38.9%	91.6%	-52.7	97.9%
Turkey	no data	31.7%	27.2%	4.5	97.8%

The difference between sample II and sample I in the share of people feeling European to at least some extent differs across countries. While in most countries the percentage decreased, it also increased for some. The most significant decrease is to be found for Luxembourg, for which it is 19 percent points, while also for Finland it is very high (16 percent points). The share increased most for Denmark (8 percent points).

The difference between the “feel European” and “attachment to the EU” also varies a lot across countries, for quite some it is near to zero percent points, while for the whole sample the difference is

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7.3 percent points from “at least some European feeling” to “fairly or very attached to the European Union”. For only seven countries, the percentage of people who feel European is higher than the one of people who fairly or very attached to the European Union. For Cyprus (Republic) this difference is highest (32 percent points). In the other direction the difference is highest for Hungary as described above (53 percent points), while also six other countries report a difference of at least 20 percent points in this direction. It is to be noted that all these countries are either Nordic states or new member states of the European Union except of Ireland.

5.1.4. Measuring the Association of the two Operationalizations

Table VI: Association of “feel European” and “attachment to the European Union” across countries (sample I)

Country	Kendall’s Tau-C for ballot I (three categories)	p-value	Kendall’s Tau-C for ballot II (three categories)	p-value	Kendall’s Tau-C for both ballots(two categories)	p-value
Malta	0.397	<0.001	0.428	<0.001	0.561	<0.001
Cyprus (Republic)	0.356	<0.001	0.377	<0.001	0.479	<0.001
Great Britain	0.338	<0.001	0.366	<0.001	0.461	<0.001
Cyprus (TCC)	0.279	<0.001	0.420	<0.001	0.413	<0.001
Greece	0.305	<0.001	0.319	<0.001	0.401	<0.001
Germany West	0.297	<0.001	0.343	<0.001	0.382	<0.001
France	0.380	<0.001	0.310	<0.001	0.373	<0.001
Portugal	0.282	<0.001	0.228	<0.001	0.35	<0.001
Croatia	0.265	<0.001	0.264	<0.001	0.344	<0.001
Turkey	0.206	<0.001	0.316	<0.001	0.339	<0.001
Austria	0.285	<0.001	0.302	<0.001	0.330	<0.001
Estonia	0.247	<0.001	0.250	<0.001	0.309	<0.001
Northern Ireland	0.301	<0.001	0.125	0.122	0.285	<0.001
Latvia	0.267	<0.001	0.173	<0.001	0.284	<0.001
Bulgaria	0.240	<0.001	0.255	<0.001	0.283	<0.001
Spain	0.198	<0.001	0.218	<0.001	0.281	<0.001
Total	0.221	<0.001	0.218	<0.001	0.276	<0.001
Italy	0.201	<0.001	0.204	<0.001	0.254	<0.001
The Netherlands	0.198	<0.001	0.188	<0.001	0.253	<0.001
Germany East	0.228	<0.001	0.163	0.002	0.250	<0.001
Lithuania	0.212	<0.001	0.153	<0.001	0.247	<0.001
Finland	0.223	<0.001	0.156	<0.001	0.246	<0.001
Denmark	0.190	<0.001	0.181	<0.001	0.224	<0.001
Ireland	0.199	<0.001	0.141	<0.001	0.221	<0.001
Slovakia	0.141	<0.001	0.159	<0.001	0.213	<0.001
Belgium	0.231	<0.001	0.160	<0.001	0.199	<0.001
Poland	0.146	<0.001	0.138	<0.001	0.169	<0.001
Sweden	0.120	0.001	0.116	0.003	0.147	<0.001
Czech Republic	0.107	0.001	0.097	0.006	0.130	<0.001
Slovenia	0.072	0.055	0.103	0.007	0.109	0.002
Luxembourg	0.003	0.960	0.180	0.002	0.078	0.098
Romania	0.115	0.003	0.002	0.965	0.058	0.100
Hungary	0.068	0.035	0.040	0.263	0.055	0.084

Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

To make things easier for the bivariate analysis, “feel European” recoded into three categories will only be used for sample II, as there are no ballots and enough cases to do the tests, while for sample I it will be recoded into two categories as this is the only way to combine both ballots in a correct way and have enough cases.

As one could expect, the association measured for the latter test (two categories) is higher for all countries for which the test is highly significant as the amount of categories, and thus the possibility of outliers, is reduced. Still the rank of the countries stays nearly the same for both tests.

For most countries both tests are significant at the 0.01 level, while for Hungary, Romania and Luxembourg the latter test is only significant at a 0.10 level. For these countries Kendall’s Tau is lower than 0.10, so the association is very low. The lowest association of a country tested at a high significance level is the one for Slovenia, for which Kendall’s Tau 0.11 in the second test. The highest association is measured for Malta for which Kendall’s Tau is 0.40 for ballot I, 0.43 for ballot II, and 0.56 for the second test. The Kendall’s Tau measured for the whole sample is 0.22 for both ballots, and 0.28 for the second test.

From these tests we can follow that the association between the two items measuring the dependent variable is differing a lot across countries. For no country, however, a very strong association was measured. This leads to the conclusion that the two items measure different things, but that the difference between the two varies (quite a lot) across countries.

As the “feel European” item better covers our concept of European Identity, we will continue working with this variable with the mentioned recoding.

5.2. Bivariate Analysis

Here, we will test the hypotheses which were established in chapter 3.3. one after another in a bivariate analysis. The direction in which the hypothesis will be analysed is according to the current importance of the cleavage they represent, thus we will start with (5.2.1.) education and European Identity, followed by (5.2.2.) socio-economic status and European Identity, (5.2.3.) area of living and European Identity, and (5.2.4.) religiosity and European Identity.

5.2.1. Education and European Identity

Hypothesis IV from chapter 3.3. was: *“Higher levels of education are associated with higher levels of European Identity among European Citizens.”*

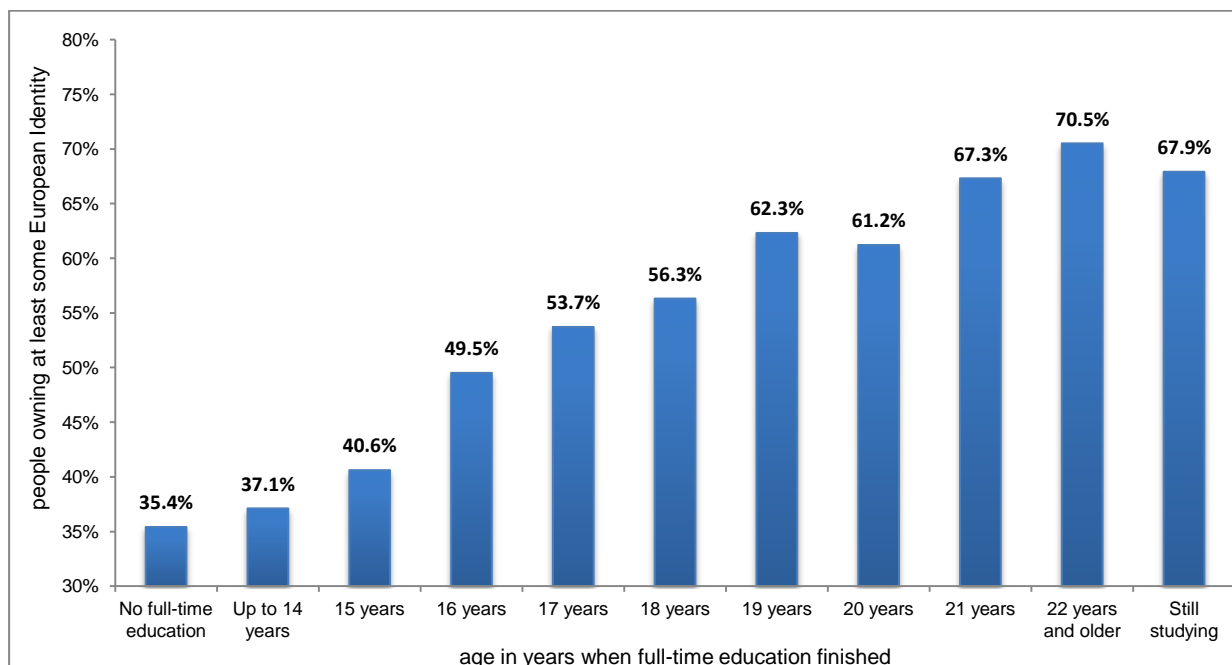
Table VII: The distributions of “feel European” across the categories of “education” (sample I)

Age when finishing full-time education	National Identity only	At least some European Identity
No full-time education	64.6%	35.4%
Up to 14 years	62.9%	37.1%
15 years	59.4%	40.6%
16 years	50.5%	49.5%
17 years	46.3%	53.7%
18 years	43.7%	56.3%
19 years	37.7%	62.3%
20 years	38.8%	61.2%
21 years	32.7%	67.3%
22 years and older	29.5%	70.5%
Still studying	32.1%	67.9%

Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

In general, the hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the outcomes displayed in Table VII. The share of European Identity rises more or less steadily the longer the people were educated, starting with 35.4% for people without any full-time education and ending with 70.5% for people being 22 or older when finishing full-time education.

Graph II: The distributions of “feel European” across the categories of “education” (sample I)



One irregularity is to be observed for the category of being educated until the age of 20, as people owning a European Identity is smaller here than for the people who are educated until the age of 19.

A possible explanation for this might be that people finishing education with an age of 19 just got their high school diploma and do not attend university, while people who finish their education with an age of 20 were, in most cases probably, attending university for one year, which might strengthen their national identity on costs of the European one. This could be caused by socialisation processes with fellow students coming from all over the country, which might cause local, regional, and national identification.

Now, we look at the measures of association across countries as shown in Table VIII. Here it is to be observed that for each and every analysed country the test is significant at a 0.01 level, which means that there is an association between education and European Identity in every country.

The association is strongest for Finland, for which Kendall's Tau-C is 0.42, and weakest for Denmark, for which Kendall's Tau-C is 0.09. For the whole sample Kendall's Tau C is 0.26.

Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

Table VIII: Association of “feel European” and “education” across countries (sample II)

Country	Kendall’s Tau-C for “feel European” recoded into two categories versus “education” (sample II)	p-value
Finland	0.416	<0.001
Greece	0.360	<0.001
Germany East	0.349	<0.001
Poland	0.329	<0.001
Northern Ireland	0.321	<0.001
Luxembourg	0.314	<0.001
Malta	0.314	<0.001
Slovenia	0.301	<0.001
Cyprus (Republic)	0.296	<0.001
Hungary	0.294	<0.001
Lithuania	0.291	<0.001
Germany West	0.289	<0.001
Estonia	0.283	<0.001
Great Britain	0.277	<0.001
Austria	0.277	<0.001
France	0.271	<0.001
Slovakia	0.265	<0.001
Total	0.261	<0.001
Bulgaria	0.234	<0.001
Latvia	0.229	<0.001
Sweden	0.228	<0.001
Croatia	0.222	<0.001
Belgium	0.219	<0.001
Italy	0.219	<0.001
Ireland	0.219	<0.001
Spain	0.197	<0.001
Czech Republic	0.183	<0.001
The Netherlands	0.174	<0.001
Cyprus (TCC)	0.161	0.002
Romania	0.159	<0.001
Turkey	0.139	<0.001
Portugal	0.096	0.005
Denmark	0.094	0.006

So we conclude that there is a relatively strong association between education and European Identity, which is differing across countries.

5.2.2. Socio Economic Status and European Identity

Hypothesis III from chapter 3.3. was: *“Higher Socio-economic status is associated with higher levels of European Identity among European Citizens.”*

Socio-economic status was one of the independent variables, which was only to be found in sample II, so we compare the distributions of “feel European” recoded into three and into two categories across the diverse categories of socio-economic status, as shown in table IX.

Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

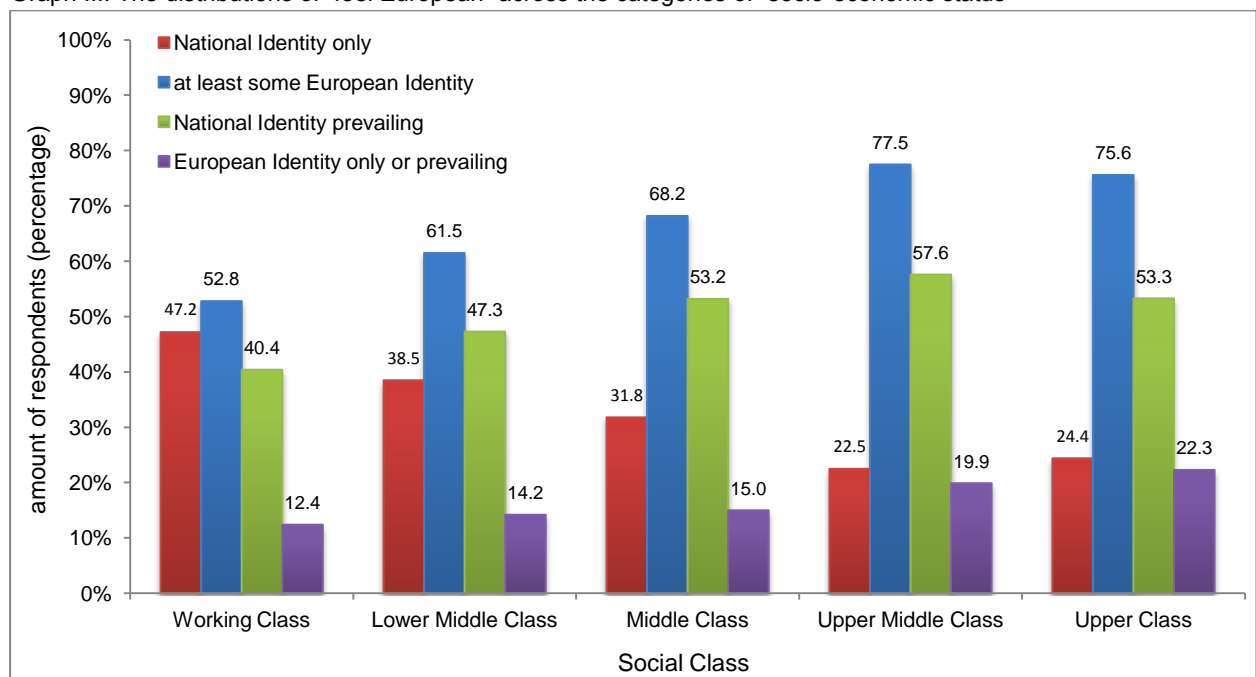
Starting with a look at the dichotomised “feel European” we could observe that also hypothesis II seems to be true overall. The percentage of people reporting European Identity increases from 52.8% for “working class” to 77.5% for “upper middle class”, while the one for “upper class” (75.6%) reports lower European Identity than “upper middle class” but still higher than “middle class” (68.2%). This finding opposes the hypothesis.

Table IX: The distributions of “feel European” across the categories of “socio-economic status”

Category of „socio-economic status”	National Identity only	National Identity prevailing	European Identity only or prevailing	at least some European Identity
Working Class	47.2%	40.4%	12.4%	52.8%
Lower Middle Class	38.5%	47.3%	14.2%	61.5%
Middle Class	31.8%	53.2%	15.0%	68.2%
Upper Middle Class	22.5%	57.6%	19.9%	77.5%
Upper Class	24.4%	53.3%	22.3%	75.6%

A possible explanation of the results for “upper class” might be that people that categorize themselves there might be part of the national elite and thus have more national identity and a lower European Identity. Another explanation is the very small amount of participants in this category (204 of 13033), so maybe the findings are biased, although the amount of 204 people is statistically relevant.

Graph III: The distributions of “feel European” across the categories of “socio-economic status”



However, when we look at the values for “feel European” with three categories, we observe that the values are according to the hypothesis for “European Identity only or prevailing” increasing for each category of socio-economic status (also for “upper class”), while the decrease for “upper class” in the dichotomised variable is to be explained by a decrease in the category “national Identity prevailing” from “upper middle class” (57.6%) to “upper class” (53.3%), falling again on the level of “middle class” (53.2%).

Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

Concluding we can say that higher socio-economic status is associated with higher levels of European Identity, while people placing themselves in the category “upper class” score higher in “national Identity only” and lower in “national Identity prevailing” than the ones from “upper middle class”.

Looking at the measures of association across countries we see that also for socio-economic status the test is significant at the 0.01 level for most countries. For the dichotomised “feel European” item it is significant at the 0.05 level for Luxembourg and Italy and not significant for Northern Ireland and for Norway. For “feel European” with three categories it is significant at the 0.05 level for Great Britain, at the 0.10 level for Italy, and not significant for Luxembourg, Northern Ireland, and Norway.

Again we have higher values for Kendall’s Tau-C for the dichotomized dependent variable, while the rank is nearly the same for both tests. Denmark scores highest with 0.18 (three categories) and 0.24 (two categories), while the lowest score at a 0.01 level is the one of Spain with 0.09 (three categories) and 0.11 (two categories).

Table X: The association between “feel European” and “socio-economic status” (sample II)

Country	Kendall’s Tau C for “feel European” (three categories)	p-value	Kendall’s Tau C for “feel European” (two categories)	p-value
Denmark	0.176	<0.001	0.239	<0.001
Belgium	0.154	<0.001	0.233	<0.001
Netherlands	0.141	<0.001	0.197	<0.001
Greece	0.137	<0.001	0.190	<0.001
Total	0.129	<0.001	0.171	<0.001
Portugal	0.136	<0.001	0.169	<0.001
Germany West	0.129	<0.001	0.150	<0.001
Germany East	0.122	<0.001	0.145	<0.001
Ireland	0.112	<0.001	0.145	<0.001
France	0.106	<0.001	0.127	<0.001
Great Britain	0.064	0.017	0.114	0.001
Spain	0.086	0.001	0.110	0.001
Luxembourg	0.043	0.269	0.075	0.037
Italy	0.051	0.052	0.071	0.021
Northern Ireland	0.045	0.358	0.046	0.457
Norway	0.040	0.140	0.032	0.364

We can conclude from this that for most countries there is an association between socio-economic status and European Identity, which is lower in general than the one between education and European Identity.

5.2.3. Area of Living and European Identity

Hypothesis II from chapter 3.3. was: *“Living in an urban area in contrast to living in a rural area is associated with higher levels of European Identity among European Citizens.”*

We see that also hypothesis II seems to head into the right direction. With every category of area of living the share of people owning a European Identity is rising, starting with 50.1% for “rural area or village”, over 57.8% for “small or middle sized town”, to 60.9% for “large town”. This pattern is very clear and does not show an outlier category, as we saw it for education and socio-economic status.

Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

Table XI: The distributions of “feel European” across the categories of “area of living” (sample I)

Category of „area of living“	National Identity only	At least some European Identity
Rural area or village	49.9%	50.1%
Small/middle sized town	42.2%	57.8%
Large town	39.1%	60.9%

Looking at the measure of association, we see that the test was not significant for more countries than for education or socio-economic status, but is still significant at the 0.01 level for most countries. It is only significant at the 0.05 level for Spain, Great Britain, Ireland, and France, while it is not significant for The Netherlands, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Italy, Belgium, Turkey, and Northern Ireland.

Table XII: Association between “feel European” and “area of living” across countries

Country	Kendall's Tau-C for “feel European” (two categories)	p-value
Hungary	0.248	<0.001
Croatia	0.212	<0.001
Latvia	0.195	<0.001
Lithuania	0.189	<0.001
Sweden	0.188	<0.001
Poland	0.171	<0.001
Austria	0.170	<0.001
Luxembourg	0.159	<0.001
Slovenia	0.156	<0.001
Germany East	0.152	0.001
Finland	0.132	<0.001
Estonia	0.131	<0.001
Denmark	0.128	<0.001
Portugal	0.127	<0.001
Bulgaria	0.124	<0.001
Malta	0.123	0.007
Germany West	0.121	<0.001
Romania	0.118	0.001
Slovakia	0.102	<0.001
Total	0.097	<0.001
Greece	0.095	0.004
Spain	0.083	0.013
Great Britain	0.079	0.021
France	0.072	0.018
Ireland	0.068	0.046
The Netherlands	0.039	0.215
Cyprus (TCC)	0.036	0.454
Cyprus (Republic)	0.032	0.423
Czech Republic	0.028	0.398
Italy	0.000	0.989
Belgium	-0.013	0.670
Turkey	-0.014	0.650
Northern Ireland	-0.040	0.541

Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

The strongest association was measured for Hungary (Kendall's Tau-C: 0.25), the weakest at a 0.01 significance level for Greece (Kendall's Tau-C: 0.10), while the association for the total sample is 0.10. We can conclude that for most countries there is an association between area of living and European Identity, although, in general, it is quite weak. Maybe it is due to an effect of a third variable, as indicated by other researchers (van der Veen, 2002).

5.2.4. Religiosity and European Identity

Hypothesis I from chapter 3.3. was: *“Higher levels of religiosity are associated with lower levels of European Identity among European Citizens in Protestant Countries and lower levels of religiosity are associated with lower levels of European Identity among European Citizens in Catholic Countries.”*

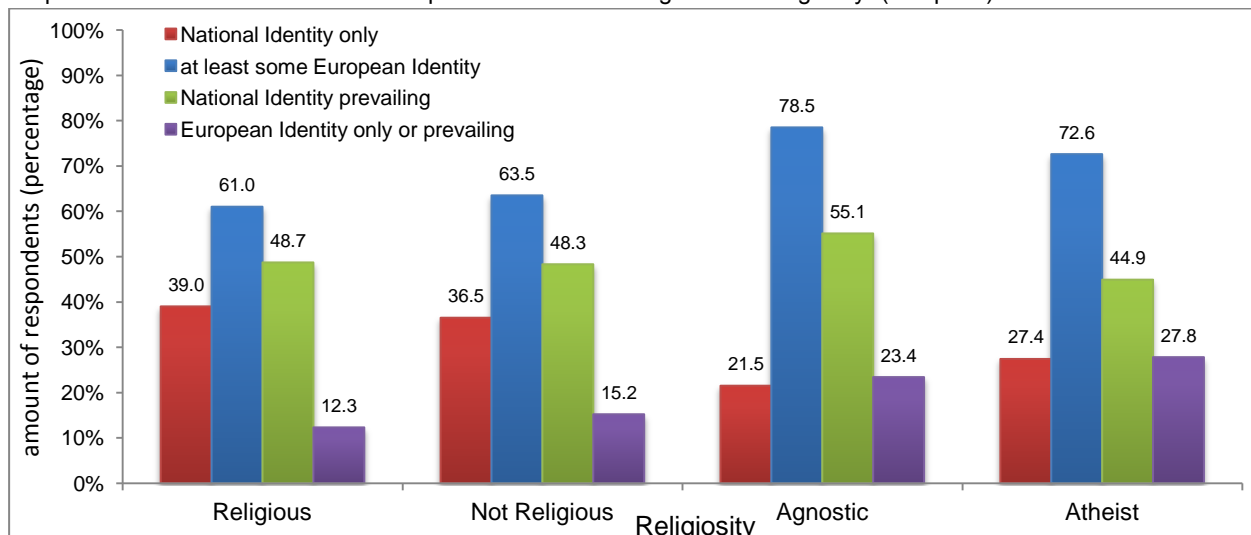
As described in chapter four, the two measures for religiosity, which are examined in this study, are only available for sample II. Looking at the simple cross-table (Table XII) it is striking that the least difference is between people who report that they are religious, of which 61.0% have a European Identity, and people who report that they are not religious, for which it is 63.5%. The far largest share of people owning a European Identity is the category of people stating that they are agnostic, 78.5% of them have a European Identity, followed by the atheists (72.6%).

Table XIII: The distributions of “feel European” across the categories of “religiosity” (sample II)

Category of „religiosity“	National Identity only	National Identity prevailing	European Identity only or prevailing	at least some European Identity
Religious	39.0%	48.7%	12.3%	61.0%
Not Religious	36.5%	48.3%	15.2%	63.5%
Agnostic	21.5%	55.1%	23.4%	78.5%
Atheist	27.4%	44.9%	27.8%	72.6%

When looking at the “feel” European variable with three categories we see that this pattern is similar as the one observed for socio-economic class. For “European Identity only or prevailing” we have a trend just as hypothesised with increasing values for each category of religiosity, but for “national Identity prevailing” there is a large decrease for the category “atheist” for which the share falls even below the one of all the other categories.

Graph IV: The distributions of “feel European” across the categories of “religiosity” (sample II)



Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

Concluding we can say that for the overall sample there seems to be an association of lower levels of religiosity with higher levels of European Identity, except for the category “atheist” of religiosity, which scores higher on “national Identity only” than the category “agnostic” and lower on “national Identity prevailing” than all other categories.

Table XIV: The association of “feel European” and “religiosity” across countries (sample II)

Country	Kendall’s Tau-C for “feel European” (three categories)	p-value	Kendall’s Tau-C for “feel European” (two categories)	p-value
Great Britain	0.118	<0.001	0.134	<0.001
Netherlands	0.123	<0.001	0.126	<0.001
Belgium	0.116	<0.001	0.096	0.001
Spain	0.087	<0.001	0.075	0.010
Germany East	0.063	0.034	0.074	0.032
Denmark	0.049	0.060	0.066	0.047
Total	0.076	<0.001	0.065	<0.001
Luxembourg	0.071	0.037	0.063	0.038
France	0.090	0.002	0.055	0.060
Germany West	0.069	0.010	0.049	0.090
Italy	0.055	0.003	0.044	0.018
Portugal	0.031	0.024	0.042	0.017
Ireland	0.028	0.199	0.034	0.218
Greece	0.029	0.021	0.028	0.052
Northern Ireland	-0.026	0.573	-0.031	0.586
Norway	-0.027	0.322	-0.042	0.222

Looking at the measure of association across country it is observed that only a few tests are significant at a 0.01 level. For the tests with the “feel European” item with three categories the test is significant at a 0.05 level for Germany East, Portugal, Luxembourg and Greece, at a 0.10 level for Denmark, and not significant for Ireland, Northern Ireland, and Norway.

For the test with the “feel European” item with two categories the test is significant at a 0.05 level for Spain, Germany East, Denmark, Luxembourg, Italy, and Portugal, at a 0.10 level for France, Germany West, and Greece, and not significant for Ireland, Northern Ireland, and Norway. We also observe very little differences between the two test outcomes.

The highest score for Kendall’s Tau C is the one for the Netherlands with 0.12 (three categories of “feel European”) and 0.13 for Great Britain (two categories), while the lowest score at a 0.01 significance level is 0.06 for Italy (three categories) and 0.08 for Spain (two categories). The overall score is 0.08 (three categories) and 0.07 (two categories), both at a 0.01 significance level.

We can conclude that the association between religiosity and European Identity is very weak, if existent at all, differing across countries.

Now we look at the association of European Identity with the attendance of religious services. Having a look at the simple cross-table, we once again observe a similar trend as for socio-economic status and religiosity. While the shares of people owning a European Identity increase for every category of “attendance of religious services” from 56.5% for “several times a week” to 64.2% for “once a year or less”, it decreases again for the last category being 59.8% for people who “never” attend religious services.

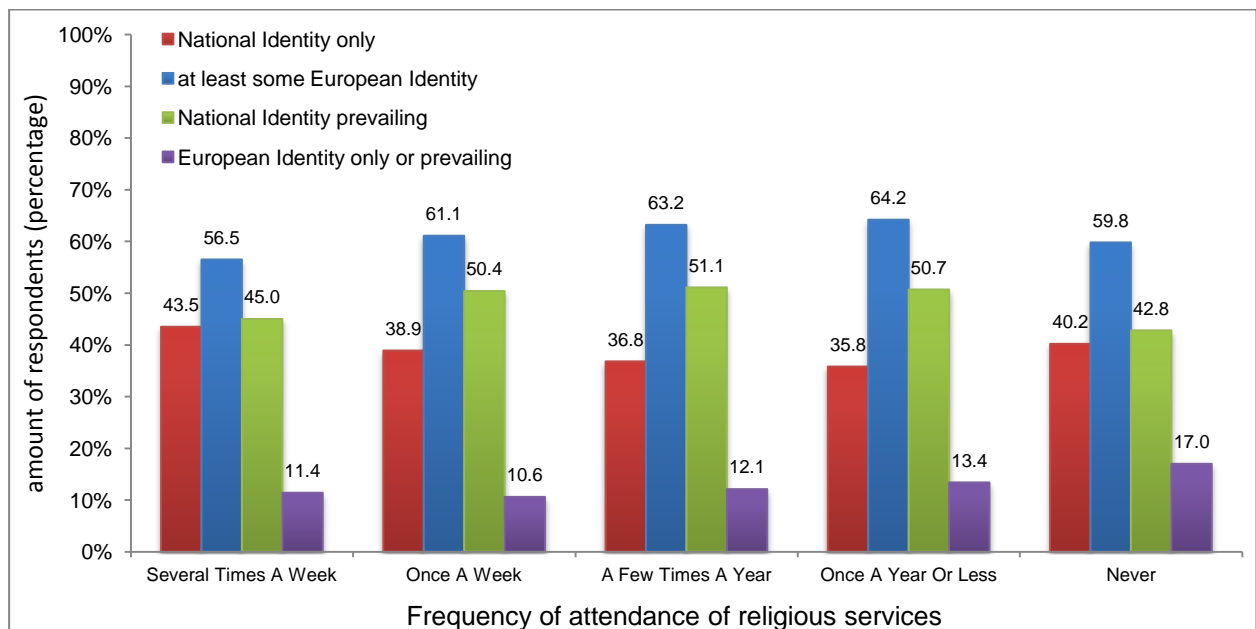
Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

Table XV: The distributions of “feel European” across “attendance of religious services” (sample II)

Categories of “attendance of religious services”	National Identity only	National Identity prevailing	European Identity only or prevailing	at least some European Identity
Several Times A Week	43.5%	45.0%	11.4%	56.5%
Once A Week	38.9%	50.4%	10.6%	61.1%
A Few Times A Year	36.8%	51.1%	12.1%	63.2%
Once A Year Or Less	35.8%	50.7%	13.4%	64.2%
Never	40.2%	42.8%	17.0%	59.8%

Again this pattern is not to be observed for the category “European Identity only or prevailing”, but is to be explained by a decrease in the category “national Identity prevailing” for “never” from 50.7% to 42.8%, which is the lowest value in that category.

Graph V: The distributions of “feel European” across “attendance of religious services” (sample II)



But also for “European Identity only or prevailing” something unexpected is to be observed, which is that its share is higher (11.4%) for people who attend religious services “several times a week” than for people who attend it “once a week” (10.6%).

We follow that there seems to be an association of lower levels of attendance of religious services and higher levels of European Identity among European Citizens, except people who never attend religious services, which score higher in “national Identity only” than people who attend once a year or less and lower in “national Identity prevailing” than all other categories.

Another exception is that people attending several times a week have a higher share in “European Identity only or prevailing” than people attending once a week.

The measure of association turns out significant at the 0.01 level for only a few countries, and as a first test there are also significant negative associations. For the test with “feel European” with three categories the test is significant at the 0.01 level for Portugal and Greece and for the test with two categories for Portugal, Greece, and Northern Ireland. It is significant at a 0.05 level for Ireland, Denmark, Great Britain and Northern Ireland (three categories) and for Denmark (two categories), and

Which Characteristics are associated with European Identity among European Citizens?

significant at the 0.10 level for no country with the “feel European” item with three categories and for Ireland for with two categories. The test was not significant in both tests for Spain, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, France, Germany East and West, while it is not significant with three categories for “feel European” for Luxembourg, and not for the overall sample with two categories.

Table XVI: The association of “feel European” and “attendance of religious services” across countries (sample II)

Country	Kendall’s Tau-C for “feel European” (three categories)	p-value	Kendall’s Tau-C for “feel European” (two categories)	p-value
Portugal	0.092	0.002	0.107	0.004
Greece	0.073	0.004	0.102	0.001
Ireland	0.051	0.047	0.054	0.088
Spain	0.043	0.163	0.052	0.187
Norway	0.026	0.439	0.045	0.280
Netherlands	0.048	0.238	0.031	0.539
Total	0.028	0.002	0.017	0.116
Belgium	0.045	0.216	0.013	0.766
Italy	0.012	0.668	0.008	0.799
France	0.033	0.330	0.005	0.893
Germany East	0.013	0.812	-0.005	0.934
Germany West	0.002	0.940	-0.007	0.846
Luxembourg	0.016	0.703	-0.029	0.485
Denmark	-0.061	0.046	-0.076	0.048
Great Britain	-0.081	0.026	-0.112	0.015
Northern Ireland	-0.118	0.034	-0.181	0.009

The highest value of Kendall’s Tau-C at is 0.09 (three categories) and 0.1 for Portugal, and the lowest - 1.2 (both tests) for Northern Ireland, while the overall value is 0.03 (three categories) or not significant (two categories).

We can conclude that no clear trend could be established for an association between the attendance of religious services and European Identity in most countries, while there is a slight negative association in Great Britain and Northern Ireland and a slight positive association in Portugal and Greece.

6. Limitations and Relevance

In this chapter I will elaborate on the (6.1.) scientific and social relevance of this study as well as on its (6.2.) limitations in validity of the findings.

6.1. Scientific and Social Relevance

Currently, not only in social sciences but also on the political stage, the topic of Europe is of extremely high interest as European political integration is pushed by the European Union and its member states, recently by expanding the responsibilities of the European Union as a reaction on the Euro crisis. It is questioned by multiple instances, on scientific, political and civic level, if further integration could be legitimized by purely economic arguments, which leads the discussion to increasingly turn away from a simple economist one (Bruter, 2003).

This is the point at which it becomes very interesting to talk about European Identity. If there is a European Identity to be observable broadly among European citizens, this could be an argument pro further political integration (Easton, 1965; Kohli, 2000; Sigalas, 2010). If, however, European Identity is barely to be proofed at all, or only among a very small number of European Citizens (possibly exclusively belonging to an elite class), this is most likely an argument to slow down or stop European political integration (Bruter, 2003; Bruter, 2005; Sigalas, 2010).

This study does not aim at giving arguments pro or contra European political integration. For decision makers, however, it is important to ground their actions on empirical evidence. Thus it is necessary to find factors associated to European Identity to deepen our understanding of it. This study aims at contributing to exactly that, by adding an analysis of factors, which are not only basic characteristics like age or gender, as already focussed on by other researchers (e.g.: Lutz, Kritzinger, & Skirbekk, 2006; Kohli, 2000; Agirdag, Huyst, & van Houtte, 2012), but characteristics which indicate the membership of group in a classic or modern cleavage (see chapter 3)

Subsequently, this may give hints for other researchers to further study the causal relationships of European Identity to provide the grounds for a better discussion on issues concerning European political (and social) integration for political decision makers.

6.2. Limitations of this Study

The resources for this study are quite limited, as it is only one person to do all the work in a limited time frame. The limitations in terms of physical and time resources also result in the limitations of this paper.

Bearing this in mind, an important objective is the prevention of focusing on superfluous aspects in analysing the very broad and complex topic of European Identity. This is why emphasis is laid on collecting data and exploring associations, although it would be of high interest to gain empirical evidence by executing experiments about relationships revealed by analysing the Eurobarometer data. Time, money, and physical resources however limit this study to stay at the level of analysing secondary data exclusively.

So we also have to keep in mind that there is no real proof that the associations found in the data are relationships of causal nature, as we do not deal with a pre- and post-test, a control group, or a controlled treatment.

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Studying secondary data also makes it important to think about biases which could influence the data and manipulate the outcomes. This is why it was decided to use an operationalization of the variables, which is as simple as possible, so that also the likelihood of biases is as low as possible. However, for abstract concepts only abstract measures are possible, so the association between European Identity and another complex variable in quantitative data should not be overestimated.

Another weakness of validity is the subjectiveness of almost all measured variables, namely European Identity, socio-economic status, area of living, and religiosity. It could be assumed that people weight micro differences more influential than macro differences as they do rather recognize and relate themselves to their nearer surrounding consciously than to their macro context. For example, if someone lives in a country in which a town with 50000 inhabitants belongs to the ten biggest cities in a country (like in Slovakia) the person might consider it as living in an large town, while in other countries (like in Germany or the Netherlands) this might be reported as living in a middle-sized town.

7. Conclusions

There are quite some interesting outcomes found in this study, which I will present and interpret in this chapter.

Analysing the questions “feel European” and “attachment to the European Union” as items to measure European Identity four facts could be established: (1) The items measure different things, this difference varies largely across countries. (2) The analysis of both items show that most people do have a European Identity, but for the large majority the national identity is prevailing. (3) It is found that the amount of people having a European Identity decreased from 1995 to 2005 both for the overall EU, as also for most countries, it increased only for a few countries. (4) The relative amount of people having a European Identity differs a lot across countries, while the founding members of the European Union have relatively high shares.

The latter fact might be an indicator for a new centre-periphery cleavage on a European Union level in terms of a geographical centre (to which all the founding states clearly belong) and periphery, as the founding states have especially high shares of European Identity. Moreover, it is significant that the relative amount of people owning a European Identity decreased from 1995 to 2005, which opposes the trend found by others (Lutz, Kritzing, & Skirbekk, 2006), it would be interesting to find why this is the case and why the changes differ so much across countries.

In the bivariate analysis, in which the association of European Identity with the variables education, socio-economic status, area of living, and religiosity were tested, six facts were revealed: (1) There are huge differences in all bivariate associations across countries. (2) There is a relatively strong association between education and European Identity, differing across countries, while the first year of University education seems to weaken European Identity. (3) For most countries there is an association of socio-economic status and European Identity, while, opposing the association, people reporting to be in the upper class show relatively high shares of exclusively national identities, and relatively low shares of having a national identity prevailing over a European one. (4) For most countries, although quite weak, there is an association of living in an urban area and having a European Identity. (5) For some countries there is an association of lower levels of religiosity and higher levels of European Identity, while atheists, opposing the association, show relatively high shares of exclusively national identities, and very low shares of having a national identity prevailing over a European one. (6) For a few countries there is a weak association of attending religious services and European Identity, which for three countries is positive (Denmark, Great Britain, and Northern Ireland) and for two negative (Portugal and Greece).

Of particular interest are the facts, which are opposing the hypothesis, so it is of interest to find out, if the explanation of the first year at University to weaken European Identity holds true (as it was found to be lower for people finishing full-time education at an age of 20 instead of 19 years). Moreover it would be an attractive topic of research to find out why the extreme categories “upper class” of socio-economic status, and “atheist” of religiosity the share of people owning an exclusively national identity is relatively high and the share of people owning a national identity prevailing the European one is relatively low and if this holds true across countries.

We can conclude from the facts that hypothesis IV and hypothesis III could be seen as true, so that the building of European Identity happens along the cleavage lines of the education and the class-cleavage. Also hypothesis II is true for most analysed countries, so European Identity building is happens along this cleavage lines in most countries. However, as suggested by other researchers as mentioned in chapter

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3., this might be due to the fact that people with a higher education and a higher socio-economic status tend to live in rather urban areas. This was not tested in this study and might be interesting to investigate for other researchers. Hypothesis I was not found to be true, in fact only for a very few countries a significant association of religiosity and European Identity was found and no This might be due to the fact that the church-state cleavage is not as current anymore as the other cleavages, as mentioned in chapter 3.

In table XVII it is summarised which countries scored higher than 0.1 or higher than 0.15 for Kendall's Tau-C in a number of tests. It is noticeable that there is no order to be observed in this overview, neither central or peripheral European states score especially high or low, nor founding or new states, nor large or small states.

Table XVII: Summarising the outcomes of the bivariate analysis

	In two tests at least			In three tests at least
Countries scoring > 0.15 or < -0.15 for Kendall's Tau-C (p-value < 0.05)	Austria Belgium Croatia Germany East Germany West	Greece Hungary Ireland Latvia Lithuania	Luxembourg Netherlands Poland Slovenia Sweden	Germany East
Countries scoring > 0.1 or < -0.1 for Kendall's Tau-C (p-value < 0.05)	<i>Austria</i> Belgium Bulgaria <i>Croatia</i> Denmark Estonia Finland France Germany East Germany West	Great Britain Greece <i>Hungary</i> <i>Ireland</i> <i>Latvia</i> <i>Lithuania</i> <i>Luxembourg</i> Malta Netherlands Northern Ireland	<i>Poland</i> Portugal Romania Slovakia <i>Slovenia</i> Spain <i>Sweden</i>	Belgium <i>Germany East</i> Germany West Great Britain (even four tests) Greece (even four tests) Netherlands Portugal
Bold: the country is also represented in the column to the right <i>Italic:</i> the country is also represented in the row above				

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