

GROUP-BASED NOSTALGIA AND PERCEIVED IDENTITY THREAT

Group-based nostalgia and perceived identity threat – underlying factors for the rise of
euroscepticism in Europe?

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Abstract

In recent years, the European Union faced challenges such as the event of Brexit and a general rise in popularity of populist, eurosceptic parties. This study aims to investigate the underlying psychological factors behind this trend. Based on existing research, the hypothesis are made that perceived group-based identity threat and group-based nostalgia can lead to a negative attitude towards the European Union. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that nostalgia acts as an explanatory factor in the relationship between perceived group-based identity threat and a negative attitude towards the European Union. In order to test the hypothesis, a cross sectional online survey has been conducted. The results indicate that both perceived group-based identity threat and group-based nostalgia are contributing factors to an opposing attitude towards the European Union. Partial mediation has been found for the role of nostalgia as an explanatory factor in the relationship between perceived group-based identity threat and a negative attitude towards the European Union. This indicates that nostalgia can be an explanation for some, but not all of the negative effect of perceived group-based identity threat on the attitude towards the European Union. As most of the participants in this study were university students, the validity of the variable nostalgia is limited in this context. More research in more diverse environments is needed in order to determine the underlying reasons behind the trend of euroscepticism.

Keywords: group-based nostalgia, group-based identity threat, euroscepticism

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In the 60 years since its founding, the European Union has been coined by cooperation and expansion, uniting many different cultural and national identities in one big political and constitutional framework. As a result, “European” has become a viable identity for European citizens over the course of time. However, there have been events recently such as the “Brexit” and the general rise of Eurosceptic, populist right wing parties in Europe that make it seem that the citizens’ identification with the European Union is in decline. What causes this trend of Euroscepticism and which underlying psychological factors could be responsible for it? The aim of this paper is to establish the connection between psychological factors, in this case nostalgia and perceived group identity threat, and a rejecting attitude towards the European Union. In order to understand this process, it is first necessary to take a look at the concept and effects of ingroup and outgroup identity.

The concept of ingroup and outgroup identity

According to social psychologists, human beings have the innate tendency to categorize themselves and others into ingroups and outgroups which compete for resources, status and power. There is a psychological wish for positive differentiation from others, which leads to a favoritism for one's own group, often at the expense of others (Reicher, 2004). The identification with one group greatly affects the attitude towards outgroups and can give rise to prejudicial mindsets which can cause intergroup tensions. These intergroup conflicts are kept up through the maintenance of unfavorable stereotypes and vilification and exclusion of outgroups (Curtis 2014).

However, these negative effects can be reduced or even removed completely depending on the way individuals identify themselves. Gaertner and Dovidio suggest in their 2000 study that by recategorising members of different subgroups under one superordinate identity, tolerance among the subgroups can be promoted and bias reduced. Thus, identification with a group identity that engulfs several separate subgroups leads to a more

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positive view of one another since they are no longer perceived to be in competition for resources, status and power. According to Brewer, ‘Original ingroup–outgroup distinctions become less salient when both groups are included in a new ingroup that encompasses previously separate groups’ (Brewer, 1996: 294). As such, the identification with the original subgroup is kept while the overarching identity simultaneously becomes more psychologically central and salient.

“European” as a common superordinate identity

The concept of “European” as an overarching identity is an example for this phenomenon. Integration among countries on the European continent has effected an increasing potential for citizens to identify with Europe. This comes to the fore in the EU's slogan, which reads “United in Diversity”. This motto fits the EU’s efforts to engulf the different cultural and social identities of member states under one large political–institutional framework. As a result, European citizens have several options to consider for self-identification including, unlike almost anywhere else, a visible superordinate contender (Curtis 2014). As in the past 60 years since its founding which have been coined by cooperation and expansion, “European” has become a viable alternative identity for EU citizens. The positive effects on outgroup evaluation of identifying oneself as “European” have been suggested by research. Curtis found in his 2014 research that greater identification with Europe improves assessments of immigrants while the opposite effect is evident among those professing a strong national identity. Also, living in an older EU member state increased this positive effect (See also Curtis 2014).

The rise of euroscepticism

However, given recent political and social developments, the number of individuals who perceive “European” as their common superordinate identity seems to be on the decline. In

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June 2016, the United Kingdom held a referendum on leaving or remaining in the European Union. Unexpectedly for many experts, the votes to leave the European Union outnumbered the votes to remain by over 1.2 million (Bloomberg 2016). While the Brexit referendum sent shockwaves around Europe, it is not the only indicator that an increasing number of citizens is turning away from a European identity. Over the space of the last two decades, radical right-wing populist parties gained much influence in the national parliaments of several European countries. For instance, the Austrian right wing party “Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs” (FPÖ) under the leadership of Jörg Haider became the second strongest force in Austria’s parliament in 1999. What is more, 2014 marked the first year in the history of European votes in which right-wing populist parties received the largest share of votes in three countries: The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), the Dansk Folkeparti (DF) and the French Front National (FN) (Berning 2014). In the election year of 2017, right-wing populist parties in the Netherlands (Partij voor de vrijheid, PVV), Germany (Alternative für Deutschland, AFD) and France (Front National, FN) are expected to gain a considerable amount of the share of votes. All these parties have two things in common: They are opposed to immigration and to the European Union, with many parties promising to make efforts to leave the European Union if elected. Given this trend of euroscepticism, the question emerges: What causes this rejection of the European identity? In this paper, I attempt to examine underlying psychological factors that might play a role.

The role of identity threat

Crisp et al. found in their 2006 study that identity threat is more commonly triggered in individuals who identify more strongly with their group. For instance, Crisp et al. introduced a superordinate identity (student) to members of two separate groups from different types of universities. They made the discovery that this intervention caused stronger rejection and more negative attitudes towards students of the other university among students who strongly

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identified with their own university (Crisp et al 2006). The perceived group identity threat thus lead to strong feelings of aversion towards the students in the outgroup. Therefore, the introduction of a superordinate identity can trigger strong resistance among individuals who identify greatly with their subgroup. According to Berning's 2014 study, perceived group identity threat is significant predictor for preference of right-wing populist parties (Berning 2014). The group threat theory combines explanations of realistic group conflict (Blalock, 1967) and social identity (Tajfel et al. 1971). There are different stages of group threat. One is the perceived competition over rare material resources, for example jobs and real estate. The other is the fear of cultural identity loss. According to Lucassen and Lubbers (2012), this perceived cultural group threat is indeed a more significant factor than perceived economic group threat for preferences of right-wing populist parties which are strongly against the European Union. As a result, the first hypothesis states that an increase in perceived group identity threat is a significant predictor for decreased identification with the European Union.

H1: The more group identity threat one perceives, the less one identifies with the European Union

The role of nostalgia

In an effort to gain an insight into the reasons why Dutch citizens vote for Geert Wilders, the leader of the right-wing populist party PVV, Chris Aalberts wrote a book for which he interviewed numerous professing PVV voters. One central theme that reoccurred in almost every interview was the belief that things used to be better in the past. As a car salesman states: "The last five to seven years it got worse and worse. It has always been a good part of town here, with mainly harbor workers. Those have been hard-working, decent people. But now you can see this place getting worse by the minute." (Aalberts 2012). According to a woman who is unfit for work, there was less hate in the past and people used to be more social. Now everybody does not have any time for each other anymore, everybody has too

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much to do and it did not use to be like that in the past: “I think: ‘Why is everybody so mean to each other?’ In the past, everybody used to be much more social. (...) And then I think: ‘I was always ready to help everybody, but who is here to help me now? Where is everybody?’ (See also Aalberts 2012).

The longing for the past which becomes evident in these statements can be described as a feeling of nostalgia. Boym suggests in her 2001 study that in times of social change and uncertainty, group members tend to feel a sentimental longing for the group’s fondly remembered past in an effort to regain a sense of identity continuity (Boym 2001). While such national nostalgia can have positive effects for the ingroup cohesion, it often entails an increase in negative attitude towards outgroups (Smeekes & Verkuyten 2015). Therefore, the second hypothesis states that increased feelings of national nostalgia predict less identification with Europe.

H2: The more group based nostalgia one experiences, the less inclined one is to identify with Europe

What is more, Smeekes and Verkuyten found in their 2015 study that nostalgia can be caused as a psychological response to perceived self-discontinuity and identity threat. As personal life events and changes in society can lead to feelings of danger to the ingroup, nostalgia can be evoked in order to regain a sense of identity continuity. Group-based nostalgia can therefore be seen as a reaction to continuity threats to the national identity. For example, Routledge et al. found in their 2011 study that nostalgia can serve as a protection against the negative consequences of group-based existential identity threat for self-continuation. (Routledge et al. 2011). In addition, Sedikides and colleagues showed in their 2015 study that the sense of self-continuity can be improved by being experimentally subjected to feelings of nostalgia (Sedikides et al. 2015). As a result, nostalgia can act as a stabilizing factor for self-continuity when faced with perceived identity threat. Therefore, the third hypothesis states

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that nostalgia acts as a mediator in the relationship between perceived identity threat and the attitude towards the European Union.

H3: Nostalgia fully mediates the relationship between perceived identity threat and the attitude towards the European Union.

Method

Design

In order to find out whether nostalgia and perceived identity threat are significant predictors for an anti-EU attitude, a cross-sectional online survey has been set up. The survey consisted of three parts in total: One measuring the extent of nostalgia, one measuring the perceived identity threat, and lastly one measuring the attitude towards the European Union. For this research, the data has been collected from 102 participants in the period of time from March 2017 until May 2017.

Participants

In total, 102 participants contributed to this research. Out of these participants, 64 were female and 38 were male. Eighty-one participants were 23 years of age or younger. There were five participants who were older than 50 years and no participants that were older than 65 years. The average age of the participants was 24,29. The youngest participants was 18 years old whereas the oldest was 62 years old. The majority of the participants was German, making up 71 of the 102 participants. 30 Participants were Dutch and one participant was from another, unspecified country. Nearly all participants under the age of 30 were University students.

Procedure

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When entering the online survey, the participants are first confronted with the informed consent where it is clarified what the research is about and how long it will take to complete. In case the participants accept the informed consent, they were firstly confronted with questions concerning their demographic data. They were asked for their gender, their age and their nationality. Only citizens of the European Union who are over 18 years of age were allowed to participate. Then, the participants were asked to fill in a modified version of the symbolic threat scale by Stephan and colleagues in order to measure perceived identity threat. Next, the participants were shown three different pairs of pictures. Out of each pair, the participants had to choose which picture they liked better. Each pair had one picture representing nostalgia and one picture representing modernism. The pictures are included in the appendix. After that, the participants filled in a questionnaire measuring nostalgia, namely the Batcho Nostalgia Inventory and the Southampton Nostalgia Scale (Batcho, 1999, Routledge, Arndt, Sedikides, & Wildschut, 2008). Finally, the participants answered three questions concerning their attitude to the European Union.

Instruments

Symbolic and economic threat scale. As there is no scientifically reviewed questionnaire for perceived national identity threat, a modified version of the symbolic threat scale by Stephan and colleagues is used. In this questionnaire, participants are confronted with three statements: “My national identity is being threatened because there are too many immigrants”, “My national norms and values are being threatened because of the presence of immigrants” and “Immigrants are a threat to my national culture”. The responses range from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5) on a 5-point scale. Lower scores indicate stronger feelings of symbolic threat and Cronbach's α for this scale is .827.

Also, there will be a questionnaire assessing realistic economic threat which is as well derived from Stephan and colleagues. The items are: ‘Because of the presence of immigrants, people

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of my nationality have more difficulties in finding a job'; 'Because of the presence of immigrants, people of my nationality have more difficulties in finding a house'; and 'Because of the presence of immigrants, unemployment in my country will increase'. The response scales were identical to those used for measuring symbolic threat. A lower score indicates stronger feelings of realistic threat and Cronbach's α is .816.

Batcho Nostalgia Inventory and Southampton Nostalgia Scale. In addition, there will be a questionnaire measuring nostalgia. Two questionnaires have been combined: The Batcho Nostalgia Inventory (Batcho, 1999) and the Southampton Nostalgia Scale (Routledge, Arndt, Sedikides, & Wildschut, 2008). This has been done to capture both personal and more general aspects of nostalgia. Two items from the National inventory were modified to include national nostalgia ("the way my national society was", "the way people in my country were"). Furthermore, one additional item was designed based on the SNS: "How often do you bring to mind nostalgic experiences related to the way your country was in the past?". All items are rated on a 5-point scale, ranging from "not at all" (5) to "very much" (1). Together with the choice of the three pairs of pictures, this questionnaire had a Cronbach's α of .807.

Questions concerning the attitude towards EU. In order to measure the participants' attitude towards the European Union, three additional statements have been set up at the end of the survey. The statements are "I identify myself as a citizen of the European Union", "Being a part of the European Union is important for me" and "Being a member of the EU is an important characteristic of my nation." Again, all items are rated on a 5-point scale stretching from "not at all" (5) to "very much" (1). The three items had a Cronbach's α of .738.

Table 1

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Scale means, standard deviations and inter-scale correlations.

Variable	1	2	3
1. Perceived identity threat	4,0 (0.89)	.34**	-.678**
2. Group based nostalgia		3,22 (0.56)	-.400**
3. Attitude towards EU			2,17 (0.81)

Note: N = 102.

** $p < .001$.

Results

Perceived Group identity threat

First, Hypothesis 1 was tested. This Hypothesis stated that the more group identity threat one perceives, the less one identifies with the European Union. In order to test this hypothesis, a linear regression analysis was conducted with group identity threat acting as the independent variable and the identification with the European Union acting as the dependent variable. The results showed a significant negative impact of group identity threat on the identification with the European Union with a regression coefficient of $b = -0,622$, $t(102) = 84,21$, $p < .01$. The data thus support the hypothesis that the more group identity threat one perceives, the less likely one is to identify with the European Union.

Nostalgia

Next, the second hypothesis has been tested. The second hypothesis constituted that the more national nostalgia one perceives, the less likely one is to identify with the European Union. To this end, a linear regression analysis has been done in which national nostalgia was the

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independent variable while the identification with the European Union served as the dependent variable. Again, the results showed support for the hypothesis: The two variables were negatively correlated with a regression coefficient of $-0,576$. Furthermore, national nostalgia significantly predicted little identification with the European Union: $b = -0,576$, $t(102) = 18,44$, $p < .01$. Therefore, the data supports the hypothesis that the more national nostalgia one perceives, the less likely one is to identify with the European Union.

Mediation

At last, the third hypothesis, which constituted that nostalgia acts as a buffer in the relationship between identity threat and the attitude towards the European Union, was tested. Step one of the mediation analysis revealed that the regression between identity threat and attitude towards the EU, without the mediator, was significant. $b = -0,62$, $t(96) = -8,82$, $p < .01$. Step two of the mediation analysis revealed that the regression of identity threat on nostalgia was significant as well. $b = 0,22$, $t(96) = 3,54$, $p < .01$. In addition, step three showed that the mediator nostalgia, controlling for the variable identity threat, was significant. $b = -0,28$, $t(96) = -2,43$, $p = .02$. Step four of the mediation model established that, controlling for the mediator nostalgia, identity threat was still a significant predictor of the participants' attitude towards the EU, $b = -0,55$, $t(96) = -7,68$, $p < .01$. Lastly, a sobel test was conducted. It found that an indirect effect was just about significant. $z = -1,95$, $p = .0514$. Furthermore, it was found that the indirect effect of identity threat on the attitude towards the EU was just under zero ($-0,086$). In conclusion, the data does not support the third hypothesis because even when controlling for the mediator nostalgia, high identity threat was still a significant predictor for a rejecting attitude towards the EU. Therefore, the relationship between identity threat and the attitude towards the EU is not fully mediated by nostalgia.

Discussion

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Implications

The aim of this study was to establish whether the psychological factors of nostalgia and perceived group identity threat significantly predict a rejecting attitude towards the European Union. The first hypothesis which was tested in this study stated that high perceived identity threat significantly predicts less identification with the European Union. The results confirm this hypothesis. This result is in line with the findings of Berning's 2014 study which found that perceived group identity threat is a significant predictor for preference of right-wing populist parties (Berning 2014). It also fits in with the results of Lucassen and Lubbers' 2012 study which established that perceived economic and especially cultural group threat significantly a preference for right wing populist parties that embody highly Eurosceptic points of view (Lucassen & Lubbers 2012). This implies that one of the reasons for the trend of Euroscepticism in Europe could indeed be an increase in perceived group identity threat.

The second hypothesis which was tested in this study stated that nostalgia significantly predicts a rejecting attitude towards the EU. The results confirmed this hypothesis. The findings of this study are therefore in line with the results of Smeekes and Verkuytens' 2015 study. In their study, Smeekes and Verkuyten found that while national nostalgia can have positive effects for the ingroup cohesion, it often entails an increase in negative attitude towards outgroups (Smeekes & Verkuyten 2015). This implicates that group based nostalgia can be an underlying contributor to the rise of euroscepticism in Europe.

Finally, the third hypothesis predicted that nostalgia acts as a mediator in the relationship between perceived identity threat and the attitude towards the EU. The results of the mediation analysis showed that the regression between perceived identity threat and attitude towards the EU without the mediator nostalgia was significant. In addition, the regression of perceived identity threat on the mediator nostalgia was significant as well. However, because the regression between perceived identity threat and attitude towards the

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EU was still significant even when controlling for the mediator nostalgia, a full mediation could not be found. This indicates that contrary to the hypothesis, no evidence could be found for the prediction that nostalgia can act as a full mediator between perceived identity threat and a negative attitude towards the EU. Still, the partial mediation signifies that nostalgia accounts to some extent for the relationship between perceived group-based identity threat and the attitude towards the EU. This result is partially in line with the findings of Smeekes and Verkuyten's 2015 study which come to the conclusion that "existential threats to group identity strengthen a sense of collective self-continuity, which, in turn, increases in-group defence mechanisms in the form of negative attitudes towards out-groups and towards social developments that potentially undermine in-group continuity" (Smeekes & Verkuyten 2015).

Limitations

First of all, it is questionable whether the test sample can act as a representative sample of the population of the European Union. Firstly, it was relatively small, counting 102 participants in total. Secondly, the sample consisted almost exclusively of citizens of Germany and Netherlands, with only one participant from another EU country. Therefore, the sample is mostly representative of the population of Germany and the Netherlands, leaving the rest of EU countries out of the equation. What is more, the majority of participants was made up of students who were young of age. This has several implications for the validity of the study: First, young people mostly self-identify as open-minded and are therefore less likely to score high on identity threat (Strauss & Howe, 2014). Second, young people tend to struggle with the concept of nostalgia. As their life span is still comparatively short, they have difficulties comparing the society from the past with the society today from their own experience. This could have hampered the validity of the nostalgia questionnaire in this study which contained statements such as "I miss the way people in my country were" or "I miss the way my national society used to be". What is more, the validity of questions such as "how significant

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is it for you to feel nostalgic?” could also have been hindered because during the study some participants gave the feedback that they had trouble to understand what “feeling nostalgic” actually meant. Giving a short definition of the term nostalgia before the questionnaire might have helped with this problem.

Conclusion and future research

In order to avoid the shortcomings of this study in future research, it is recommended that future studies concerned with the topic of the influence of psychological factors such as nostalgia and perceived identity threat aim to gather a more evenly balanced test sample consisting of both old, young and middle aged people. Also, it would be advisable to include more participants from countries of the European Union in order to create a study that is more representative of Europe as a whole. In conclusion, the findings of this study give an insight into a few of the reasons for the recent trend of euroscepticism in Europe, establishing that the psychological factors of perceived identity threat and nostalgia might be contributing factors. Nonetheless, this study only covered a small variety of psychological factors that could be responsible. In order to gain a more complete picture of the underlying factors that cause an aversion towards the European Union, it would be helpful to conduct more studies concerning this topic, for example covering demographics and other psychological factors which have not been discussed in this study. What is more, considering the limitations of the sample discussed above, it is advisable to conduct a study which includes participants from more diverse demographics. The current study is, if at all, mostly representative of German and Dutch students in the Netherlands.

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Preview Survey

Which factors influence an anti-EU attitude?

This survey is currently LOCKED to prevent invalidation of collected responses! Please unlock your survey to make changes.

Block 4
Block Options
Q14

You are being invited to participate in a research study concerning the psychological factors that influence an anti-European attitude. This study is being done by Jan Klösters from the University of Twente in Enschede.

The purpose of this research study is to gain insights into whether different psychological factors such as nostalgia and perceived identity threat contribute to an anti-EU attitude among European citizens. If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey/questionnaire. This survey/questionnaire will contain questions related to nostalgia and national identification. It will take you approximately 15-20 minutes to complete.

Your data will be handled confidentially and anonymously and will not be handed to third parties.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time.

By clicking “continue” below you are indicating that you are at least 18 years old, have read and understood this consent form and agree to participate in this research study.

Block 2
Block Options
Q10

What is your nationality?

- German
- Dutch
- Other

Q11

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

Q12

What is your age?

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Default Question Block
Block Options

Q1

My national identity is being threatened because there are too many immigrants.

- I strongly agree
- I somewhat agree
- I neither agree nor disagree
- I somewhat disagree
- I strongly disagree

Q2

The values and norms of my country are being threatened because there are too many immigrants.

- I strongly agree
- I somewhat agree
- I neither agree nor disagree
- I somewhat disagree
- I strongly disagree

Q3

Immigrants are a threat to national culture.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q6

Because of the presence of immigrants, people of my nationality have more difficulties in finding a job.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree

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- Strongly disagree

Q7

Because of the presence of immigrants, people of my nationality have more difficulties in finding a house.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q8

Because of the presence of immigrants, unemployment in my country will increase.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Block Options

Q30

In the following section, you will be shown pairs of different pictures. Please indicate which picture you like better.

Q29



Q31

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Q32

Which picture did you like better?

- The first by a great deal
- The first
- Neither one
- The second
- The second by a great deal

Q35



Q36

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Q37

Which picture did you like better?

- The first by a great deal
- The first
- Neither one
- The second
- The second by a great deal

Q38

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Q39



Q40

Which picture did you like better?

- The first by a great deal
- The first

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- Neither one
- The second
- The second by a great deal

Block 3

Block Options

Q25

In the following questions, please indicate what you miss about when you were younger and how much you miss it.

Block 1

Block Options

Q5

Family

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q15

Not having to worry

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q16

Things you did

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q17

The way the people in my country were

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- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q18

Not knowing sad or evil things

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q19

The way the society in my country was

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q20

How valuable is nostalgia to you?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

Q21

How important is it for you to mind nostalgic experiences?

- Extremely important
- Very important

GROUP-BASED NOSTALGIA AND PERCEIVED IDENTITY THREAT

- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

Q22

How prone are you to feeling nostalgic?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

Q23

How often do you experience nostalgia?

- Always
- Most of the time
- About half the time
- Sometimes
- Never

Block Options

Q26

I identify myself as a citizen of the European Union.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q27

Being a part of the European Union is important for me.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree

GROUP-BASED NOSTALGIA AND PERCEIVED IDENTITY THREAT

- Strongly disagree

Q28

Being a member of the European Union is an important Characteristic of my Country.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Block 7

Block Options

Q41

You have reached the end of the survey. Thank you very much for participating. If you have any questions, you can contact me at j.c.klosters@student.utwente.nl.