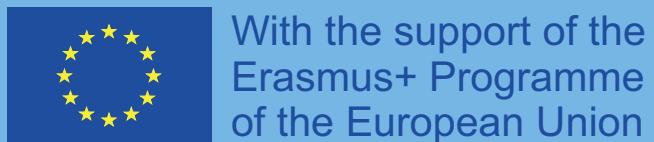


Jean Monnet Module

“Economic Policy in the European Union”

Session 5.1. European identity: tradition or project?

Dr Aleksandra Sojka



INDEX

1. Our puzzle: integration, markets and identities
2. Theory: What is European identity and why is it important for the EU?
3. Empirical research: What do we know about European / EU identification?
4. The impact of recent crises on European identification



INTEGRATION: MARKETS AND IDENTITIES

DEBATE ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY

The EU as an "ever closer union between the peoples of Europe"

Source of democratic legitimacy

Source of diffuse support, key to curbing discontent and Euroscepticism

Basis of solidarity before different crises

Federal ideas?

SCHUMAN DECLARATION

“Europe will not be made in one go, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements that first create a de facto solidarity ”

Robert Schuman, May 9, 1950



EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: MARKETS AND IDENTITIES

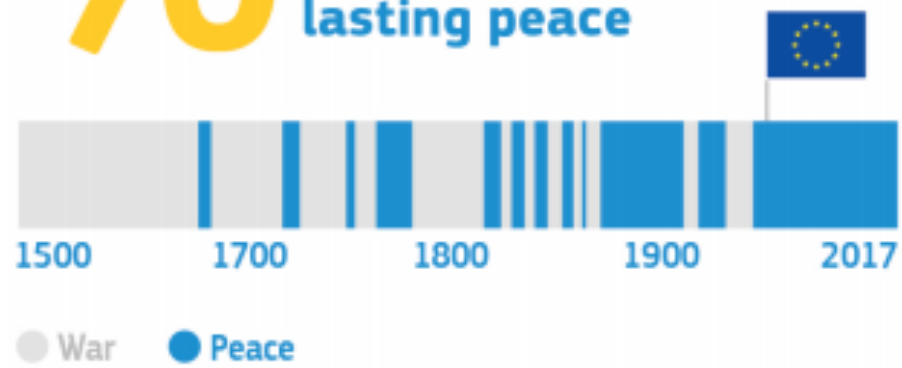
“De facto solidarity” - Schuman Declaration, 1950

“Ever closer union between the peoples of Europe” - Treaty of Rome, 1957

The construction of identity as a central element of the first theories of integration
(Deutsch 1957, Haas 1958)

Permissive consensus

70 years of lasting peace



Source: European Commission

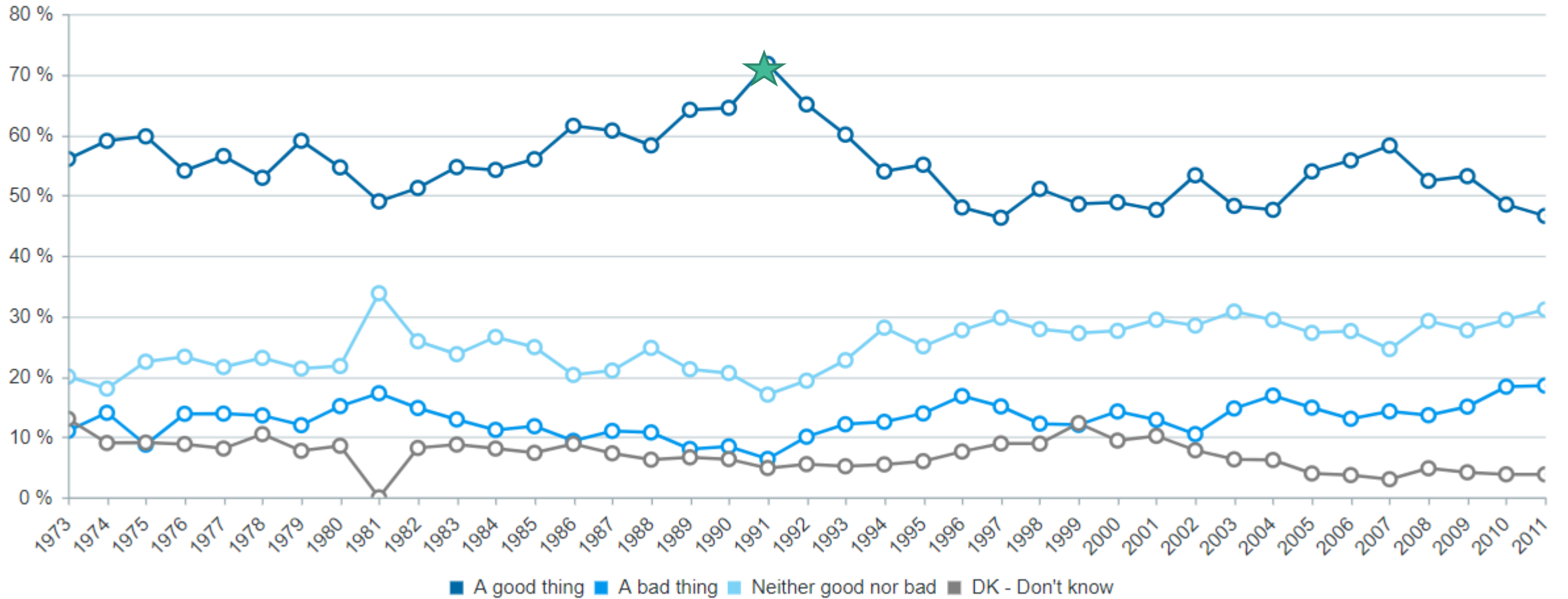


FOR 50 YEARS, EUROPE HAS MEANT PEACE

SO BORING

CHAPPATE

Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership of the European Union ...?
 Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership of the EU is ...?
 European Union (from 09/1973 to 05/2011)



AL FIN UN SENTIMIENTO COMÚN A TODA EUROPA:
EL EUROESCEPTICISMO



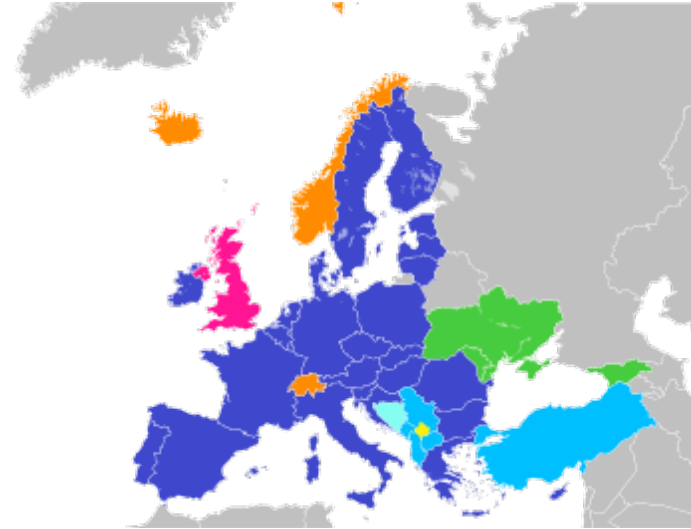
MAASTRICHT, 1992

Deepening, beyond
economic integration:

- European citizenship
- Common currency



ENLARGEMENTS



Enlargements (from 12 to 28 members)

- 1995 - North enlargement
- 2004 - first enlargement to the East (10 countries)
- 2007 - second enlargement to the East (+2 countries)
- 2013 - Croatia

EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION DRAFT (2004)

Fruit of the debates on the future of Europe in the "European Convention"

Proposed text:

- Completely new text (no treaty amendment)
- Citizen Initiative
- Charter of fundamental rights
- Union Minister for Foreign Affairs and President of the European Council
- Anthem, flag, the symbolic value of a constitution in Europe (federalist ideas)



EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: MARKETS AND IDENTITIES

“De facto solidarity” - Schuman Declaration, 1950

“Ever closer union between the peoples of Europe” - Treaty of Rome, 1957

The construction of identity as a central element of the first theories of integration
(Deutsch 1957, Haas 1958)

Permissive consensus





EUROPEAN IDENTITY: WHAT IS IT AND HOW CAN WE MEASURE IT?

EUROPEAN IDENTITY: METHODOLOGICAL AND DEFINITIONAL HETEROGENEITY

Normative versus empirical approaches (Fuchs 2011, Recchi 2014)

Identity versus identification (affective and cognitive) (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, Kaina and Karolewski 2009)

Geographical, cultural versus political identification (Kohli 2001, Bruter 2005, Cerutti 2011)

THEORY OF SOCIAL IDENTITY

Source: Social Psychology

Social identity: knowledge of belonging to a social group and the emotional meaning attributed to it (Tajfel 1981):

positive distinction

demarcation

Self-categorization (Turner et al. 1987), cognitive processes and perceived similarity

Political consequences of social identities: strength, stability, criteria of belonging (Huddy 2001)

CONCEPT OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY

Functional value of identity for the EU as a political system

Especially as a factor against discontent, and a source of subjective legitimacy (Easton 1975, Hix 2008, Fuchs 2011)

European identity: **a socio-political reality** anchored in individual orientations towards the EU which, added together, constitute a **collective identity**

European collective identity: a shared feeling constituted in a social process ("imagined community" Anderson, 1993)

WHAT KIND OF LOYALTY FOR THE EU?

Civic: collective identity based on shared supranational institutions and values of liberal democracy (Delanty 2000, Habermas 2001, Bruter 2005, Cerutti 2011)

Beyond civic loyalty: Establishing a community implies exclusion - "European nationalism"? (Brubaker 1999, Delanty 2000, Kohli 2000, Balibar 2004)

THE CRITICS

The search for **European identity** as a reflection of the mistaken idea that the nation-state will cease to exist (Smith 1993, 1995)

European nationalism as impossible because EU citizens do not trust each other (Miller 1995)

European identity as a **stable source of support** but not as an engine of integration (Cram 2011)

BANAL NATIONALISM

(MICHAEL BILLING, 1995)

Numerous **subtle and seemingly inconsequential reminders of belonging and national pride** that we encounter in our daily lives

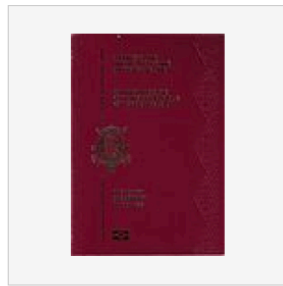
We are surrounded by language, symbols and objects that remind us that we belong and should be proud of our country.

Examples: money, stamps, news, corporations, national and global contests ...

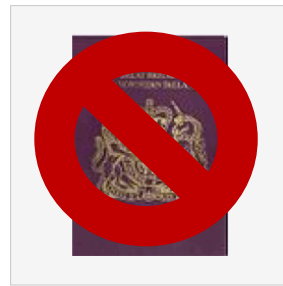




Austrian passport



Belgian passport



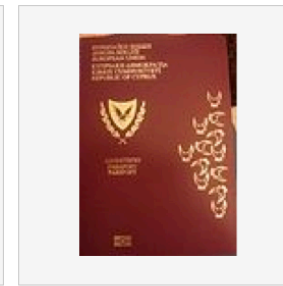
British passport



Bulgarian passport



Croatian passport



Cypriot passport



Danish passport



Dutch passport



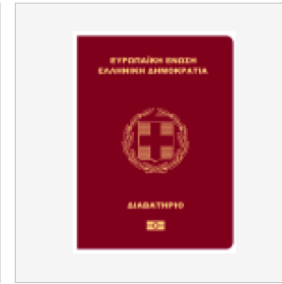
Estonian passport



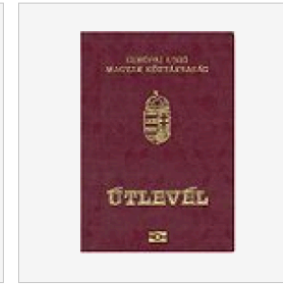
Finnish passport



German passport



Greek passport



Hungarian passport



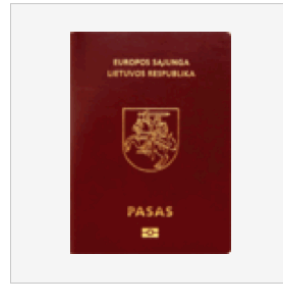
Irish passport



Italian passport



Latvian passport



Lithuanian passport



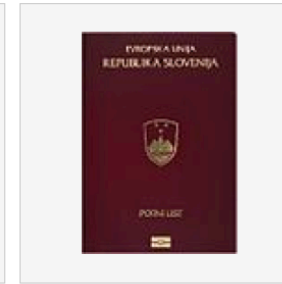
Polish passport



Romanian passport



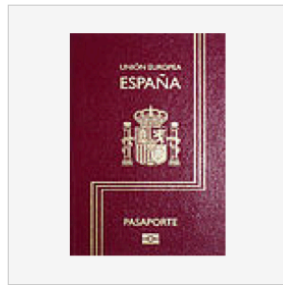
Slovak passport



Slovenian passport



Slovenian passport for



Spanish passport



Swedish passport

THE “TECHNOLOGIES” OF THE EU IDENTITY

The "technologies" of national identity: everything that institutions do to promote a feeling of attachment to the country

In the case of the EU - we can also detect these types of “technologies”:

- **symbols of collective belonging** (the flag, the anthem, the motto, passport, the common currency)
- founding **mythology** (the day of Europe)
- a **positive image** of the EU as a whole (the Union as cosmopolitan, inclusive, liberal values, well-being)
- **European citizenship** (rights and obligations, integrating and delimiting function)



THE EURO AND IDENTITY



FUNDAMENTAL IDENTITY FACTORS FOR...

Explain the rejection of European integration (Hooghe and Marks 2009)

Explain the rejection of specific policies, especially a common immigration policy (Luedtke 2005)

Explain vote to radical left- and right-wing parties in Europe (Inglehart & Norris 2016)

CONFLICTING LOGICS OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY

European identity as a social identity

Establishing boundaries between the group within and outside the group is essential for the cognitive process of social identification

Emergence of European identity: greater acceptance of migration within the EU, greater distinction between internal and external migrants

→ **Community logic**

"United in diversity"

Cosmopolitan layer of supranational identity

Based on common values and institutions

It is expected to provoke greater openness, tolerance and solidarity

European ID - compatible with national ID & associated with increased tolerance to international migration

→ **Cosmopolitan logic**

THE DOUBLE EDGE OF IDENTITY IN THE EU

The promotion of the idea of **civic identity** by the EU beyond the attachment based on utilitarianism, “**light nationalism**” (Karolewski 2013)

Stealth integration, **stealth identity** (McNamara, 1995)

Restrictive dissent - further politicization of the EU, has created more rejection and controversy about the EU

NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN IDENTITIES

European identity construction is not a zero-sum process

- National and European identity are compatible, they tend to nest (Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez 2001)
- Alternatively: the marble cake model (Risse 2010)

The exact relationship depends on the particular socio-political context (**national frameworks - framing**) and can be influenced by **political elites** (Díez Medrano 2004)

Unique national identities: main obstacle to European integration (Hooghe and Marks 2008)

Education as a key predictor of European identification, added value of the Erasmus program? (Kuhn 2010)







LET THE DATA TALK!

Eurobarometer - the EU public opinion poll in all member states




EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION

	Unique identification	Dual identification
National identification first	Only national 33%	National & European 55%
European identification first	Only European 2%	European & national 8%

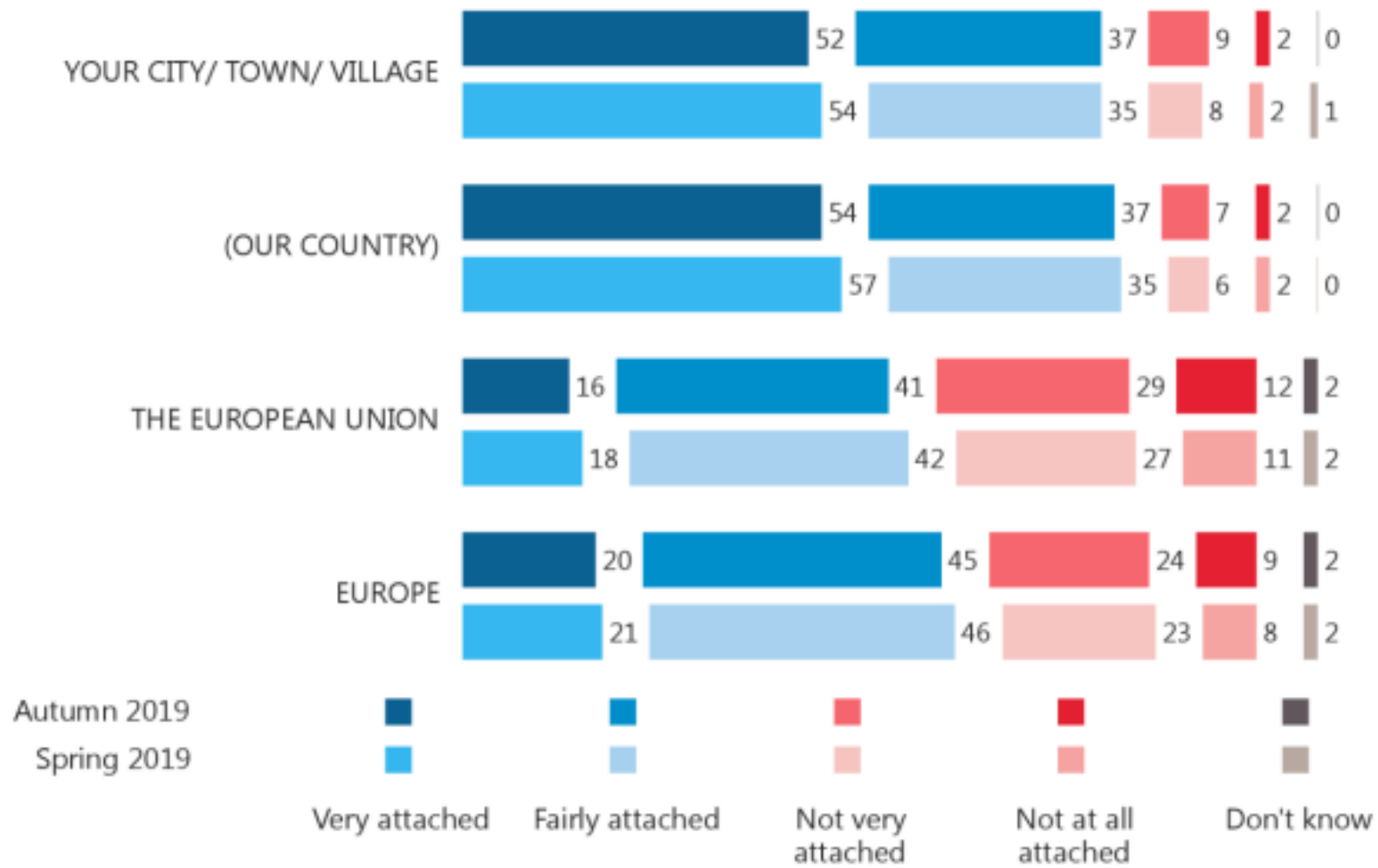
QD3 Do you see yourself as...?
(% - EU)

	(NATIONALITY) only	(NATIONALITY) and European	European and (NATIONALITY)	European only	Total 'European'
EU28	33	55	8	2	65
 Gender					
Man	31	56	9	2	67
Woman	35	54	7	2	63
 Age					
15-24	26	58	12	2	72
25-39	28	58	9	2	69
40-54	30	58	8	2	68
55 +	40	50	6	2	58
 Generation					
Total 'Before 1946'	48	42	6	2	50
1946 - 1964 'BB'	37	53	7	1	61
1965 - 1980 'X'	30	58	8	2	68
After 1980 'Millenials'	27	58	10	2	70
 Education (End of)					
15-	50	42	5	1	48
16-19	38	53	6	2	61
20+	21	63	11	3	77
Still studying	20	63	12	3	78

QD3 Do you see yourself as...?
(% - EU)

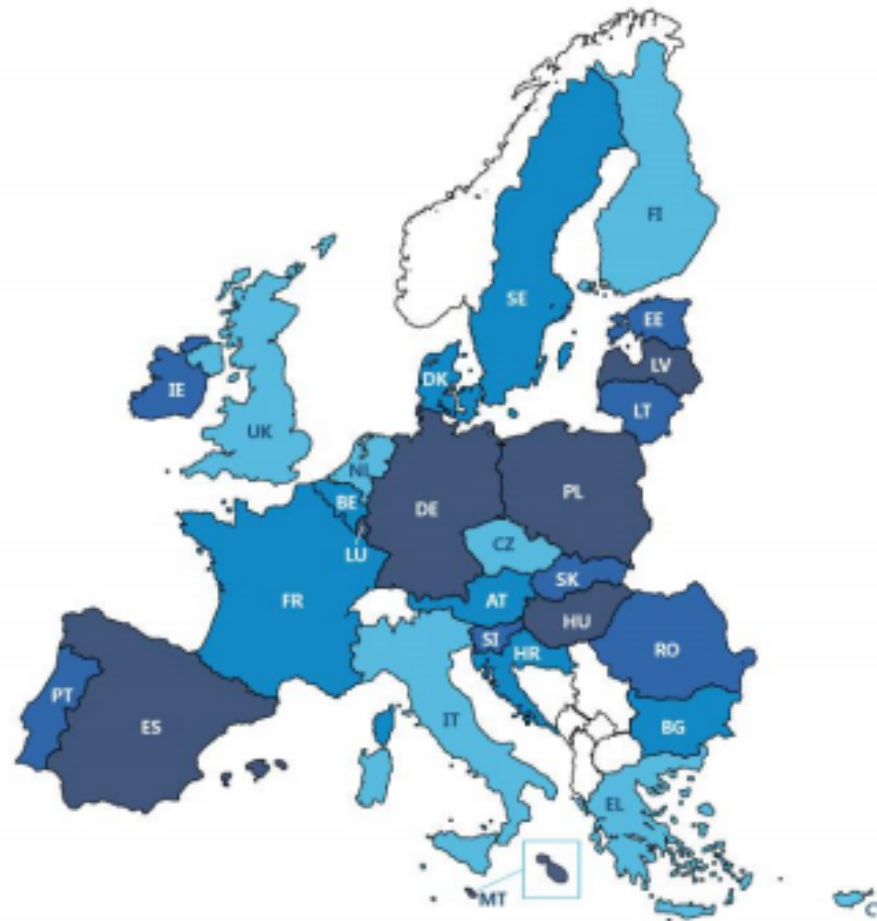
	(NATIONALITY) only	(NATIONALITY) and European	European and (NATIONALITY)	European only	Total 'European'
EU28	33	55	8	2	65
 Socio-professional category					
Self-employed	25	59	12	2	73
Managers	20	64	12	2	78
Other white collars	27	63	8	1	72
Manual workers	33	55	7	2	64
House persons	44	48	6	1	55
Unemployed	41	48	6	2	56
Retired	42	48	6	2	56
Students	20	63	12	3	78
 Difficulties paying bills					
Most of the time	49	40	5	1	46
From time to time	37	52	7	2	61
Almost never/ Never	29	58	9	2	69
 Consider belonging to					
The working class	46	45	5	2	52
The lower middle class	33	55	8	2	65
The middle class	27	60	9	2	71
The upper middle class	16	66	13	3	82
The upper class	18	56	16	1	73
Image of EU					
Positive	17	69	12	2	83
Neutral	37	52	6	2	60
Negative	61	30	4	2	36

QC1a Please tell me how attached you feel to...
(% - EU)



LU		76
LV		73
PL		71
HU		70
ES		69
MT		68
DE		67
IE		64
RO		64
LT		62
PT		62
SI		61
SK		61
EE		59
EU28		57
AT		56
BE		56
BG		56
HR		55
SE		54
DK		53
FR		53
IT		50
CY		50
NL		49
FI		48
UK		43
CZ		42
EL		37

QC1a.3 Please tell me how attached you feel to...
The European Union (% - TOTAL 'ATTACHED')








Map Legend

	65 - 100
	57 - 64
	51 - 56
	0 - 50

EU27 average – total 'attached' 59%

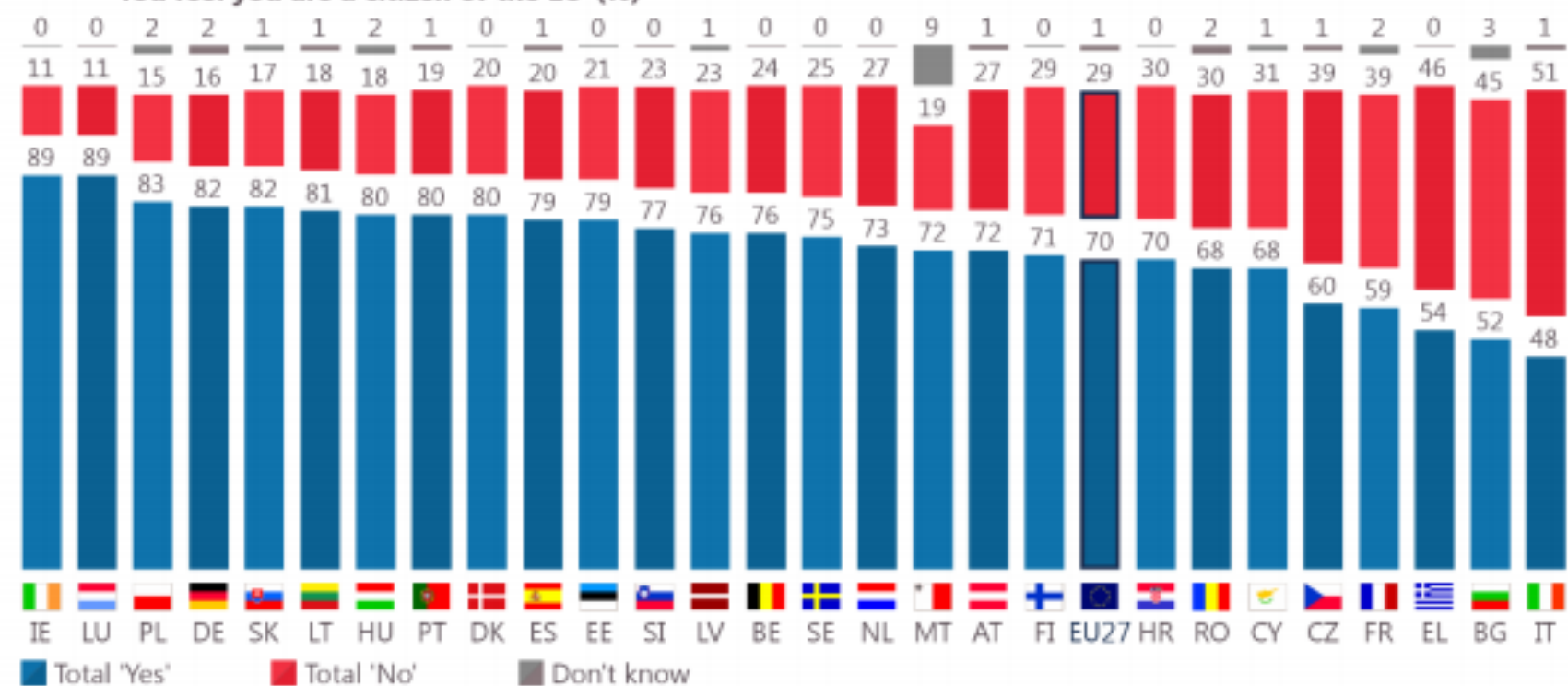
QC1a.3 Please tell me how attached you feel to...

The EU (% - EU)

	Total 'Attached'	Total 'Not attached'	Don't know
EU28	57	41	2
 Gender			
Man	59	40	1
Woman	56	41	3
 Age			
15-24	62	36	2
25-39	59	40	1
40-54	58	40	2
55 +	54	44	2
 Socio-professional category			
Self-employed	61	38	1
Managers	68	31	1
Other white collars	60	38	2
Manual workers	55	43	2
House persons	49	48	3
Unemployed	49	49	2
Retired	53	44	3
Students	67	31	2
 Difficulties paying bills			
Most of the time	38	60	2
From time to time	52	46	2
Almost never/ Never	61	37	2
 Consider belonging to			
The working class	47	50	3
The lower middle class	54	45	1
The middle class	62	36	2
The upper middle class	73	26	1
The upper class	72	27	1





QC2.1 For each of the following statements, please tell me to what extent it corresponds or not to your own opinion.

You feel you are a citizen of the EU (%)






QD2.1 For each of the following statements, please tell me to what extent it corresponds or not to your own opinion.

You feel you are a citizen of the EU (% - EU)

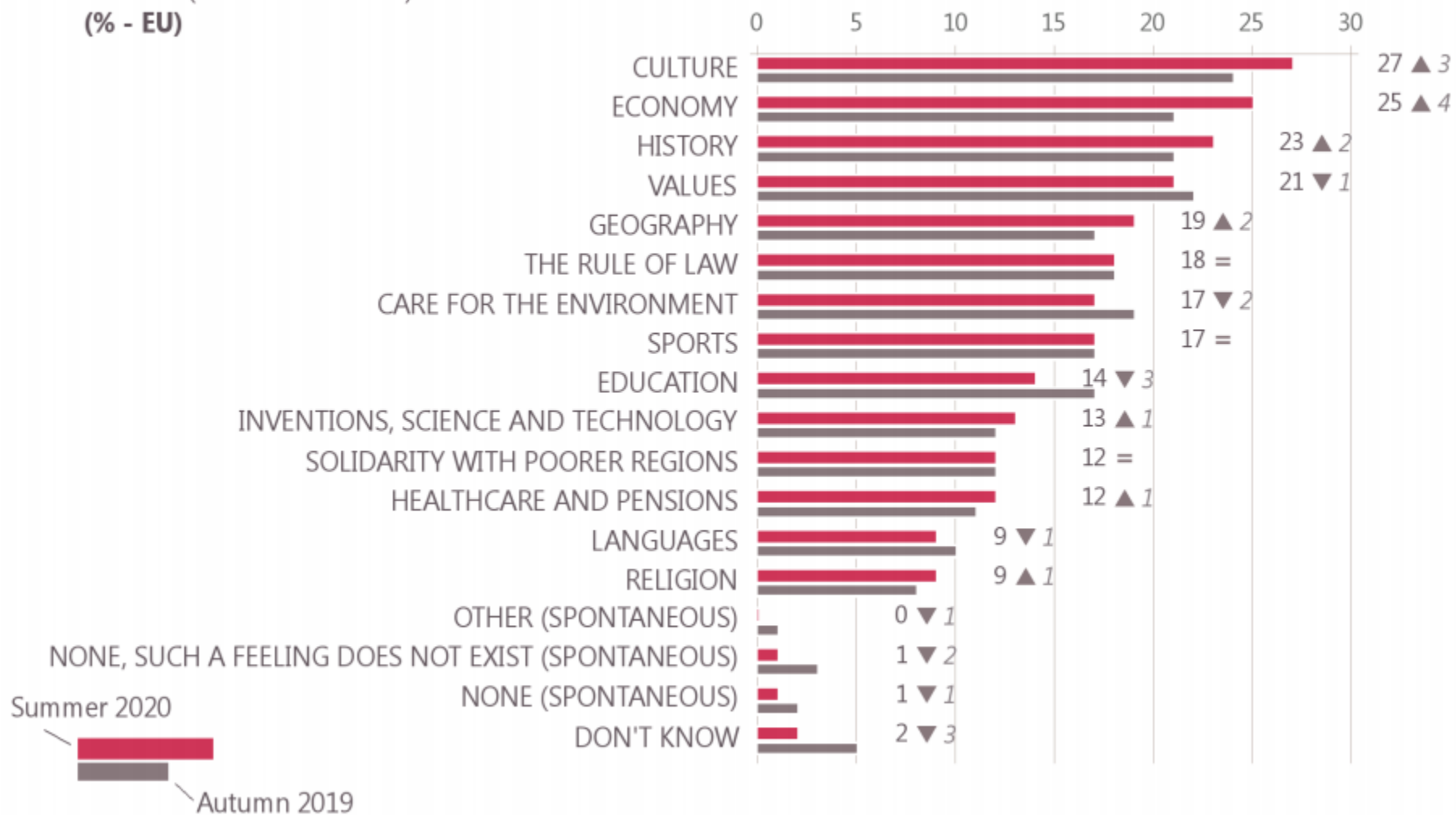
	Total 'Yes'	Total 'No'	Don't know
EU28	73	26	1
 Gender			
Man	74	25	1
Woman	72	27	1
 Age			
15-24	82	17	1
25-39	77	22	1
40-54	75	24	1
55 +	66	33	1
 Generation			
Total 'Before 1946'	63	35	2
1946 - 1964 'BB'	68	31	1
1965 - 1980 'X'	75	24	1
After 1980 'Millenials'	79	20	1
 Education (End of)			
15-	58	40	2
16-19	69	30	1
20+	83	17	0
Still studying	86	14	0

QD2.1 For each of the following statements, please tell me to what extent it corresponds or not to your own opinion.

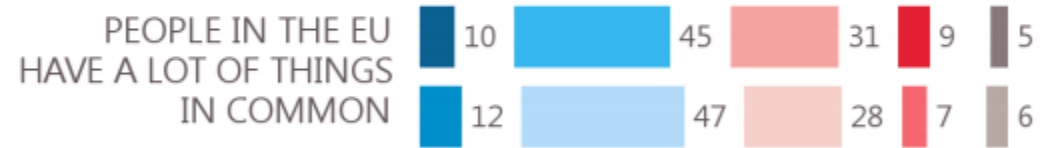
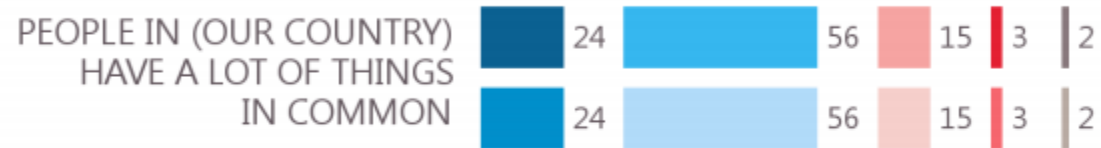
You feel you are a citizen of the EU (% - EU)

	Total 'Yes'	Total 'No'	Don't know
 Socio-professional category			
Self-employed	76	23	1
Managers	83	16	1
Other white collars	80	20	0
Manual workers	74	25	1
House persons	66	33	1
Unemployed	61	37	2
Retired	65	34	1
Students	86	14	0
 Difficulties paying bills			
Most of the time	50	48	2
From time to time	66	33	1
Almost never/ Never	79	20	1
 Consider belonging to			
The working class	64	34	2
The lower middle class	69	30	1
The middle class	78	21	1
The upper middle class	82	18	0
The upper class	85	14	1
Image of EU			
Positive	91	9	0
Neutral	68	30	2
Negative	39	60	1

QC4 In your opinion, among the following subjects, which are those that most create a feeling of community among EU citizens? (MAX. 3 ANSWERS)
 (% - EU)



QC5 For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree.
 (% - EU)



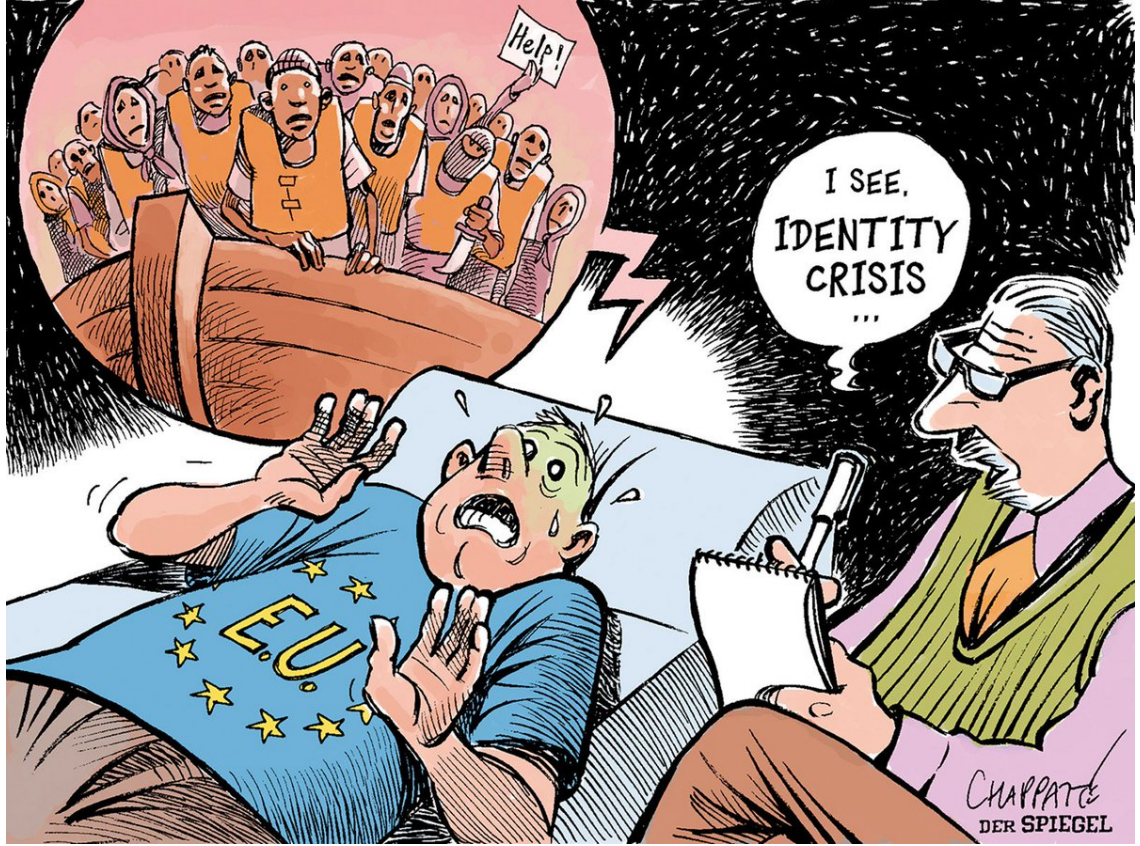
Summer 2020
 Autumn 2019



EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL CRISIS AS TRIGGERS FOR MORE SUPRANATIONAL IDENTIFICATION?

Brexit: disintegration but also mobilization in defence of EU membership

Economic and migration crises: activation of the logic of identity?



EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL CRISIS AS TRIGGERS FOR MORE SUPRANATIONAL IDENTIFICATION?

(I)

Brexit: disintegration but also mobilization in defence of EU membership

Economic and migration crises: activation of the logic of identity?

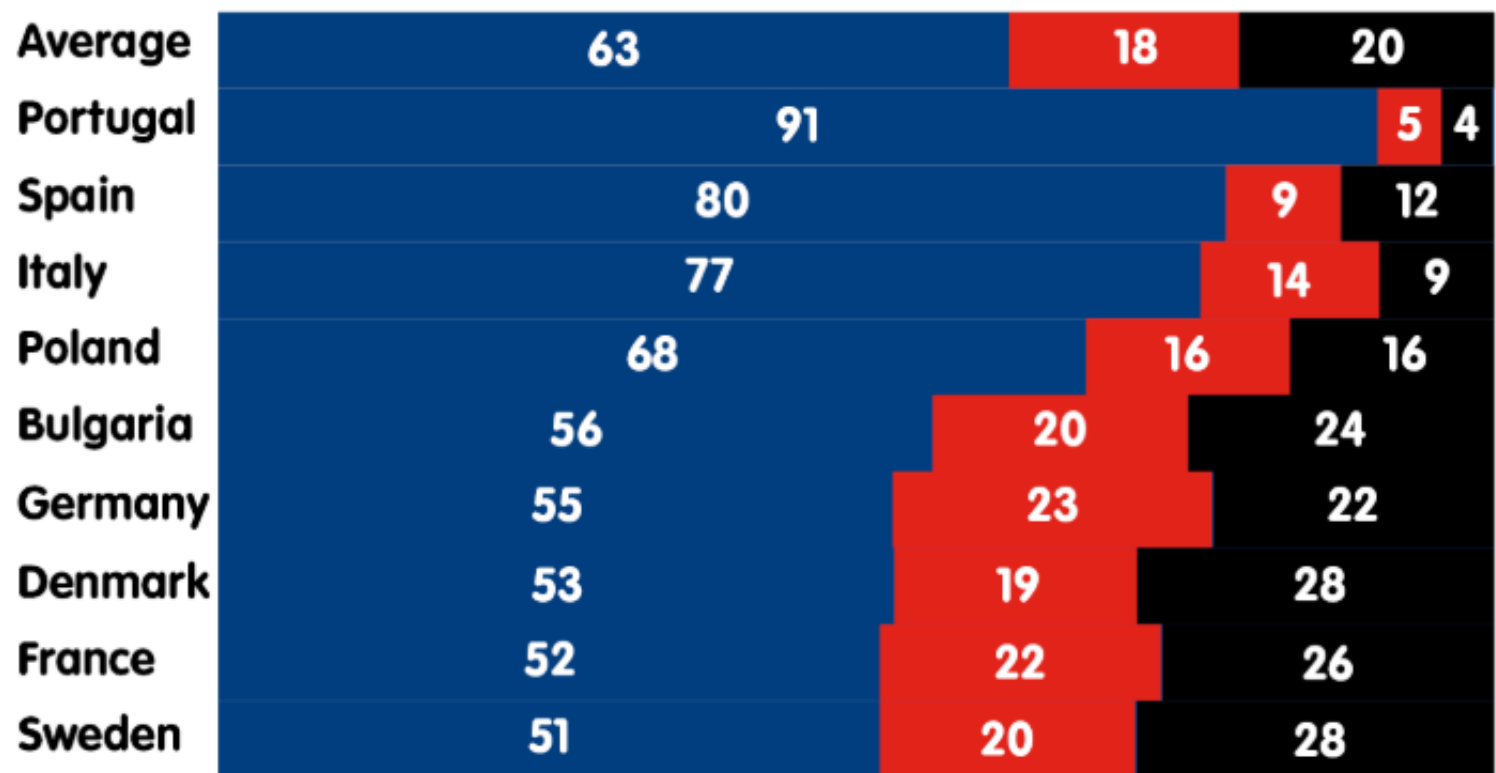
Democratic crises and debates on European values

America's vision has gotten worse

Global pandemic: expect the EU to act!

Solidarity issues are back (lessons learned from previous crises?)

How has the coronavirus changed your attitudes towards the EU? (%)

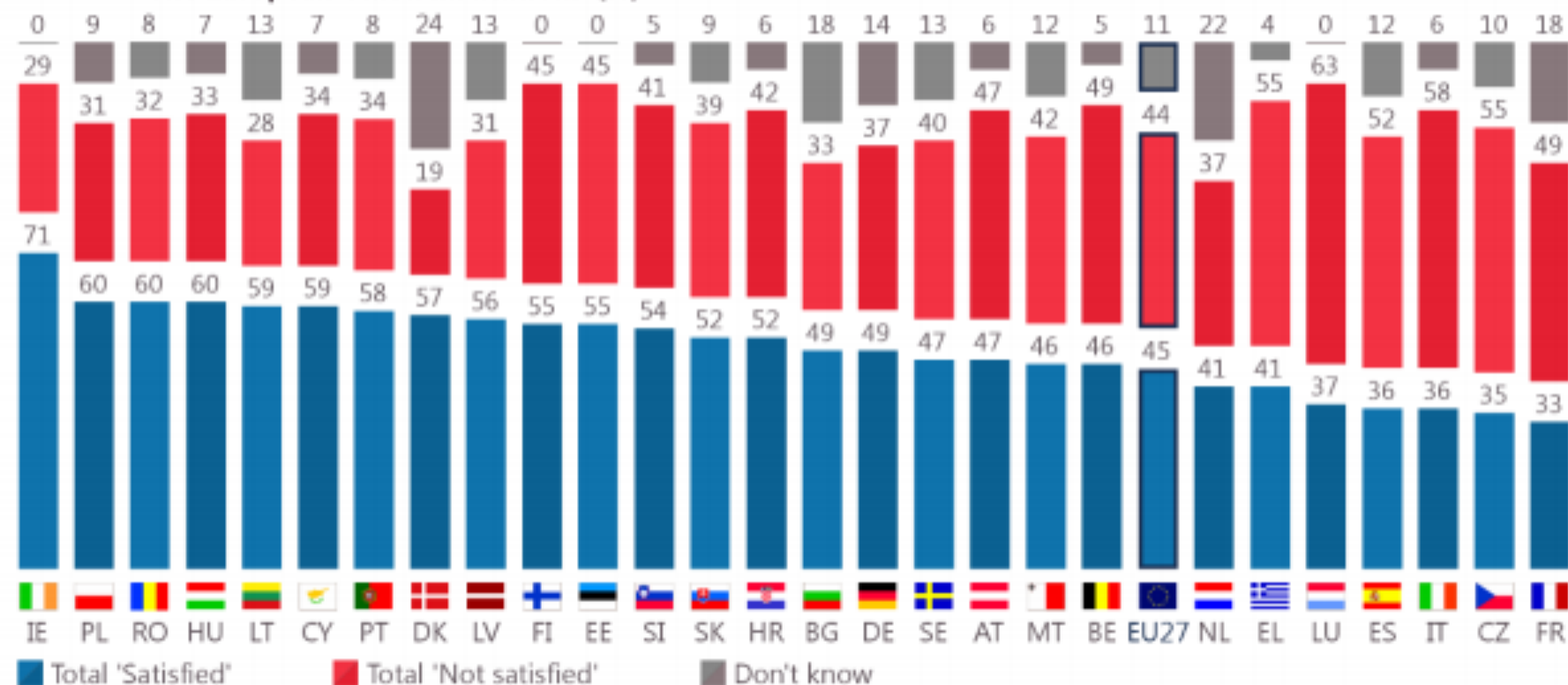


■ Shown the need for greater European cooperation
 ■ Shown that EU integration has gone too far
 ■ Don't know

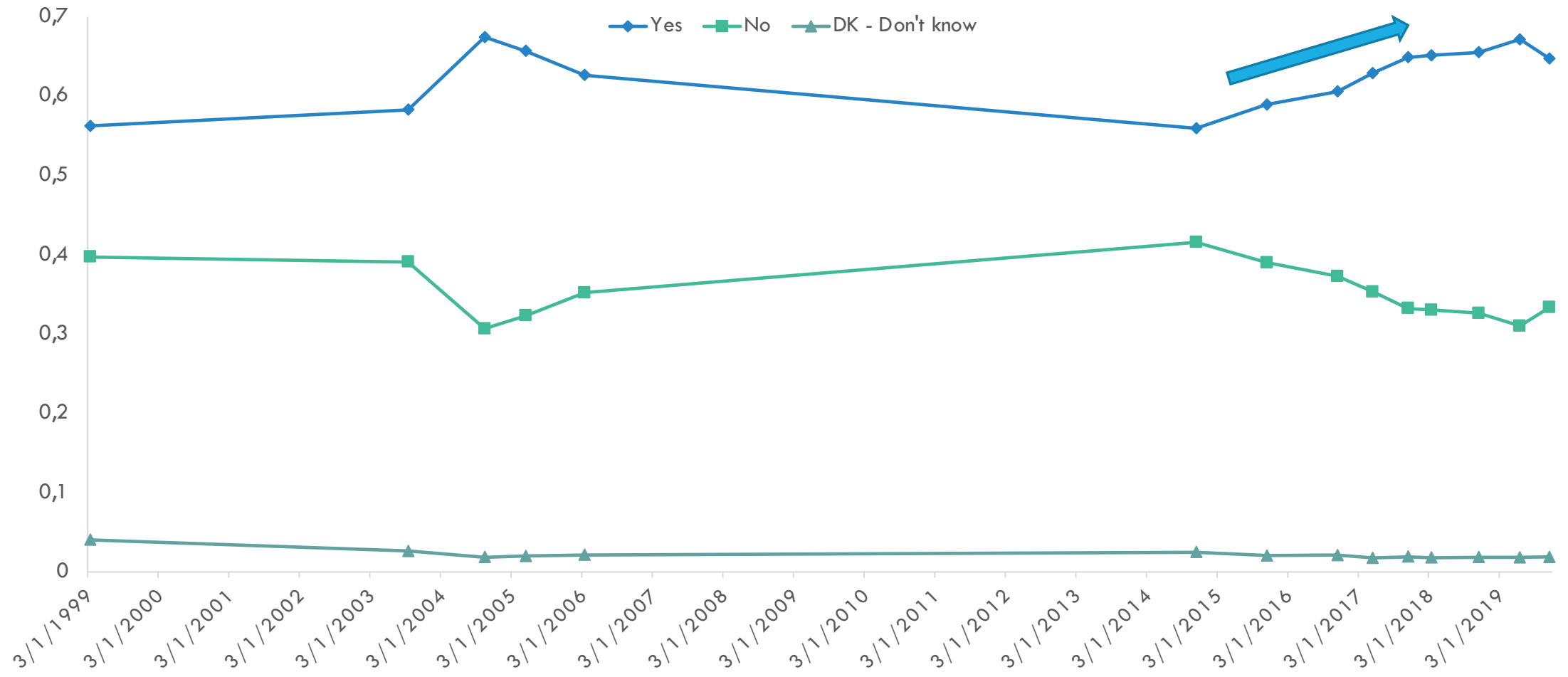
Source: ECFR

QA21a.2 In general, how satisfied are you with the measures taken to fight the Coronavirus outbreak by?

The European Union institutions (%)

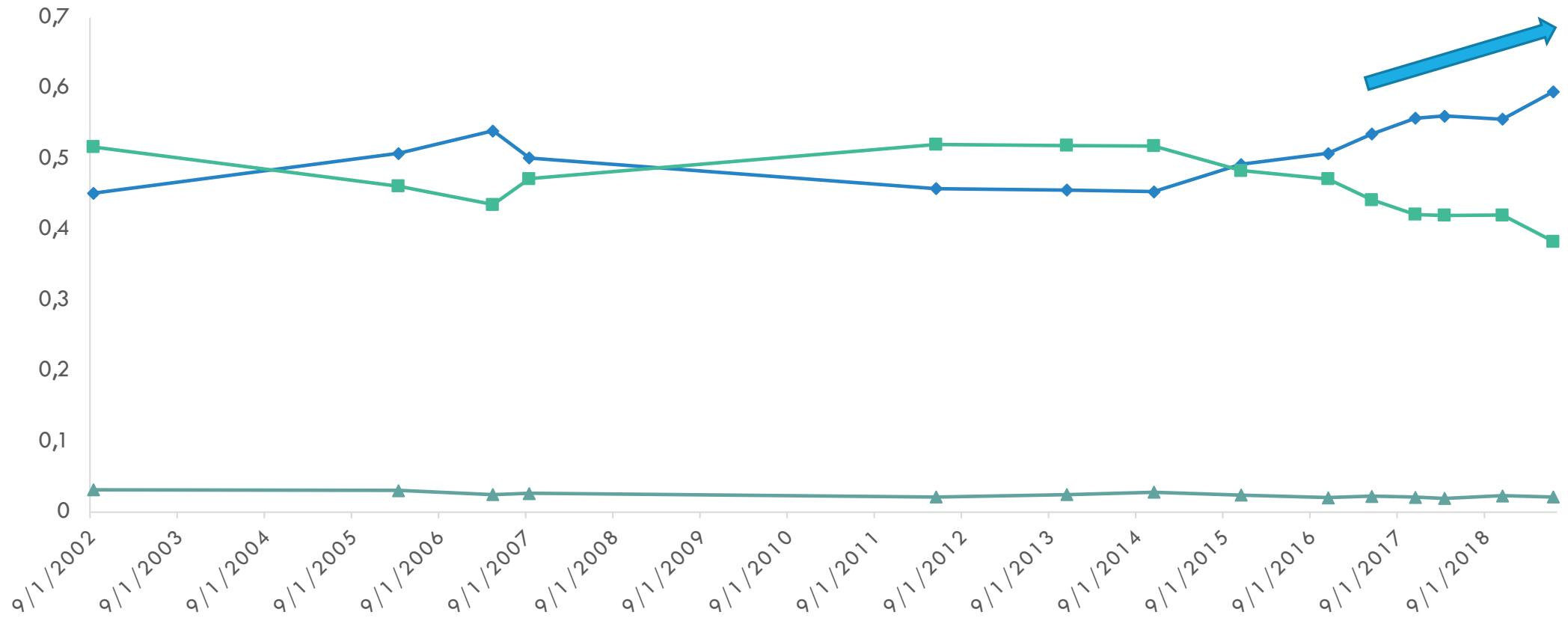


APEGO A EUROPA (1999-2019)

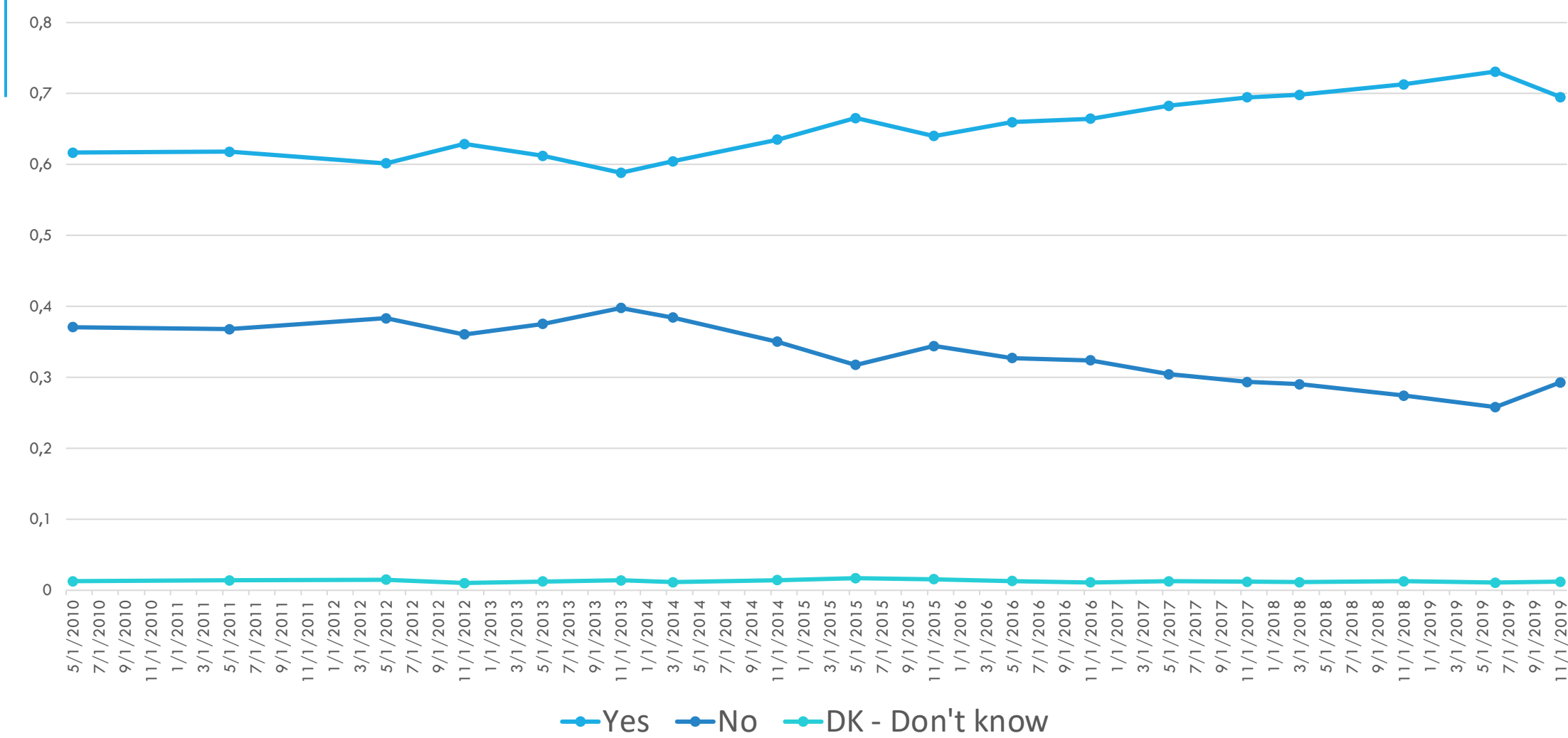


APEGO A LA UE (2002-2019)

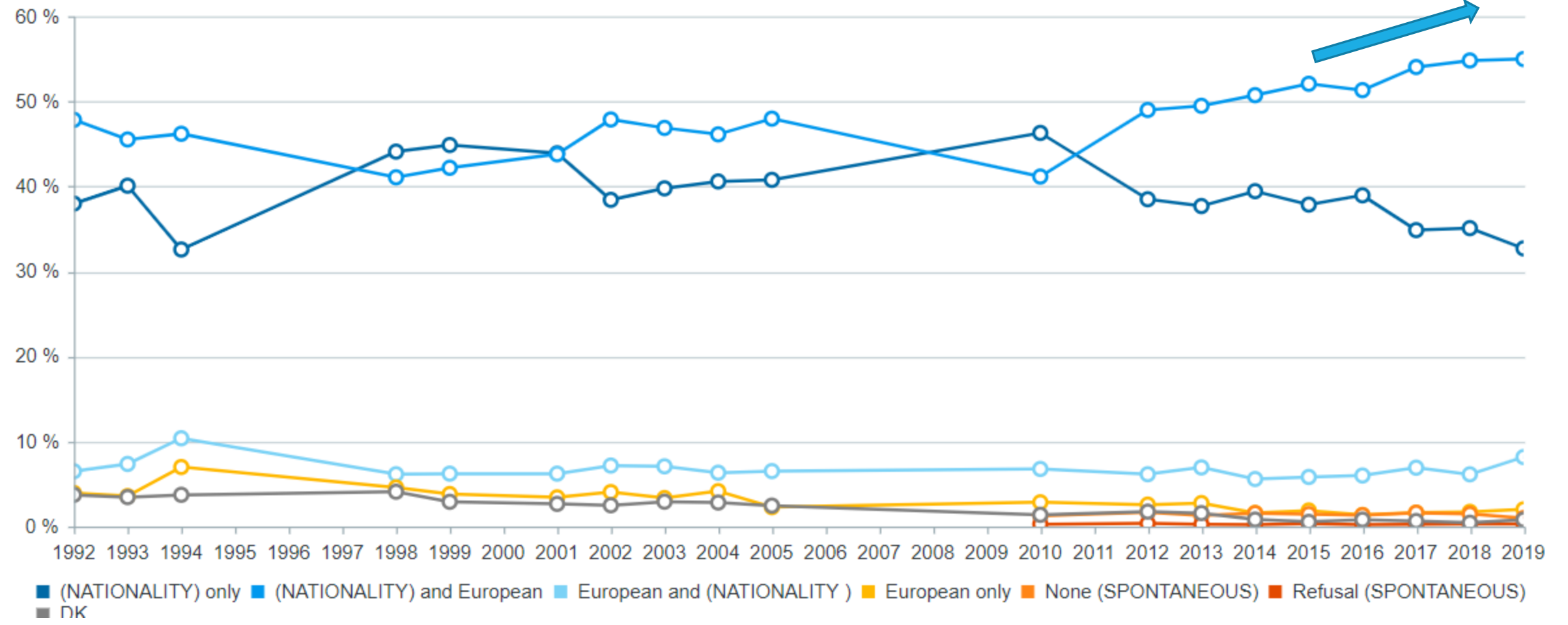
—◆— Yes —■— No —▲— DK - Don't know



Do you see yourself as a European citizen? (2010-2019)

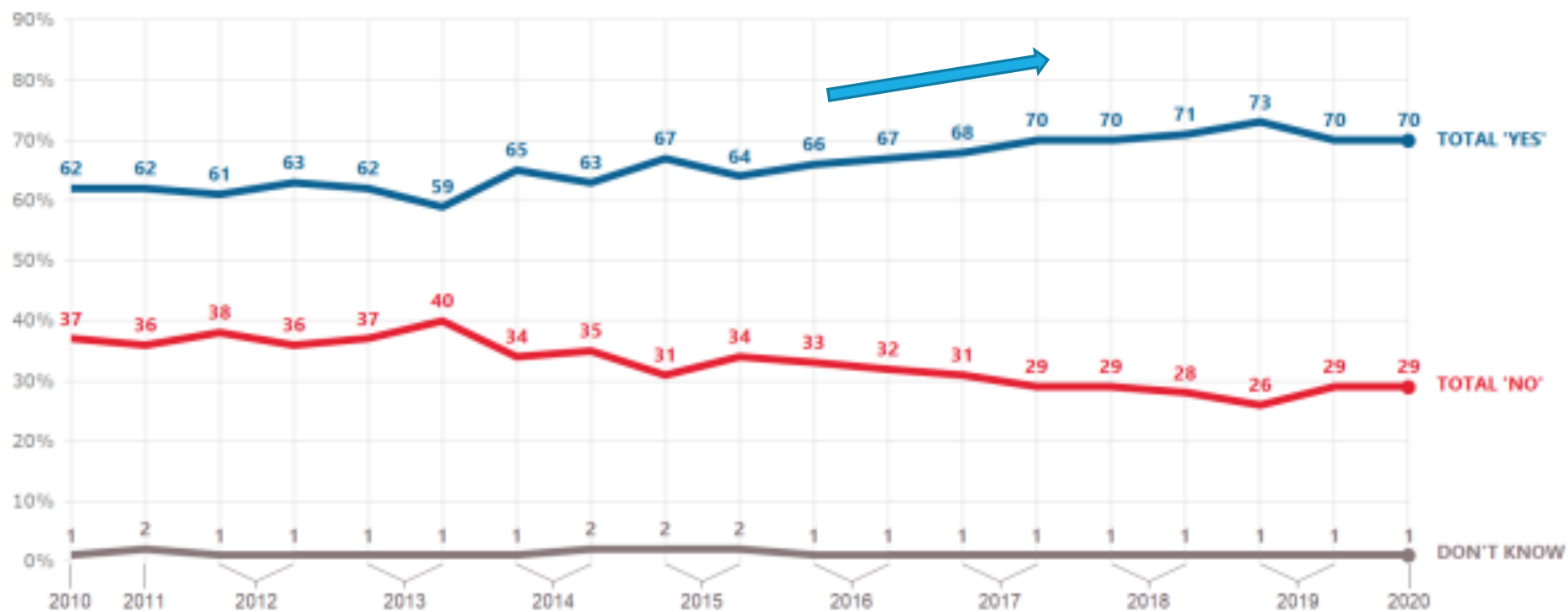


In the near future
Do you see yourself as...?
European Union (from 03/1992 to 06/2019)



QC2.1 For each of the following statements, please tell me to what extent it corresponds or not to your own opinion.

You feel you are a citizen of the EU (% - EU)



EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL CRISIS AS TRIGGERS FOR MORE SUPRANATIONAL IDENTIFICATION? (II)

Possible mechanisms:

Increased awareness of EU membership and its implications

Political mobilization of European identifiers (United Kingdom),

Negative Brexit example (membership is no longer taken for granted)

Relevance of European solidarity debates (transnational and international)

Alternative explanation: socialization and generational change

THE IMPACT OF CRISES ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY: SUMMARY

Stable and well established

- 70% perceive themselves as an EU citizen
- 63% say they feel European to some extent compared to 33% of unique national identifiers
- 65% feel attached to Europe and 57% to the EU

European identification associated with younger age, higher education, professional occupation, social interaction with other Europeans

Winners and losers of European integration

The elite-mass gap

Bottom line: Greater sense of European identification

But it is not clear whether the change driven by specific crises or by generational change

This Jean Monnet Module has obtained co-financing from the European Union through the Erasmus + Program

Call for Proposals: 2020 – EAC-A02-2019-JMO

Reference: 620595-EPP-1-2020-1-ES-EPPJMO-MODULE



With the support of the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union