What leads young people to identify with Europe?: An exploration of "exposure" to Europe and resources for identification among young Europeans

Georg Datler
Claire Wallace
Reingard Spannring

IRIHS INSTITUTIONAL REPOSITORY AT IHS
Vienna

INSTITUT FÜR HÖHERE STUDIEN
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES
Vienna

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Contact:

Claire Wallace
☎: +43/1/599 91-213
email: wallace@ihs.ac.at

Abstract

The paper explores the resources and experiences which allow young people to develop their identification with Europe. We take into consideration mobility experience, migration experience and knowledge of foreign European languages as factors of "exposure" to Europe and the everyday face-to-face discussion of political and social issues as well as learning about the EU at school as aspects of cognitive mobilization towards Europe. Empirical evidence shows that "exposure" to Europe and cognitive mobilization towards Europe are important prerequisites for identification with Europe. Therefore identification with Europe cannot be treated separately from the resources that may induce the process of identification. As these resources are unequally distributed, the paper points to the importance of concepts of social inequality in understanding identification with Europe. The paper draws upon sample surveys of young people between 18 and 24 carried out in 10 European regions: Bilbao, Madrid, Edinburgh, Manchester, Chemnitz, Bielefeld, Prague, Bratislava, Vorarlberg and Vienna (N=3890) in the course of the multi-national research project "Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity", funded by the European Commission within its 5th Framework Programme.

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel untersucht die Ressourcen und Erfahrungen, die es jungen Menschen ermöglichen eine Identfikation mit Europa zu entwickeln. Berücksichtigt werden Reiseerfahrung, Migrationserfahrung und die Kenntnis europäischer Fremdsprachen als Faktoren von „Kontakt mit Europa" sowie die alltägliche face-to-face Diskussion politischer und sozialer Themen und das Ausmaß des im Schulunterricht vermittelten Wissens über die EU als Aspekte der kognitiven Mobilisierung in Bezug auf Europa. Die empirische Analyse zeigt, dass „Kontakt mit Europa" und kognitive Mobilisierung in Bezug auf Europa wichtige Voraussetzungen für eine Identifikation mit Europa darstellen. Daher kann die Identifikation mit Europa nicht getrennt von den Ressourcen behandelt werden, die eine solche Identifikation erst möglich machen. Da diese Ressourcen ungleich verteilt sind, weist der Artikel auf den Stellenwert hin, den Konzepte sozialer Ungleichheit für die Untersuchung der Identifikation mit Europa haben. Die Datengrundlage bilden standardisierte Interviews mit einer repräsentativen Stichprobe der 18-24 Jährigen in 10 europäischen Regionen: Bilbao, Madrid, Edinburgh, Manchester, Chemnitz, Bielefeld, Prag, Bratislava, Wien und Vorarlberg (N=3890), die im Zuge des von der Europäischen Kommission im fünften Rahmenprogramm finanzierten multi-nationale Forschungsprojekt „Orientation of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity" durchgeführt wurden.

Contents

1 Theoretical framework

The relationship between structure and agency is one of the big debates of social thought (Giddens, 1971, 1984). Both the attraction and the diverse use being made of the concept of identity in social science are due to its location in the centre of this debate (Jenkins, 1996). To what extent are individuals externally controlled, shaped by powerful social institutions and classification systems that have an existence prior to and independent of any particular individual? And to what extent do individuals have "internal control, as creative actors shaping their social world" (Jamieson, 2002, p. 519)? The more emphasis is placed on agency, the more "identity is viewed as the subjective achievement of rational individual subjects" (Jamieson, 2002, p. 519). The more emphasis is placed on structure the more identity is viewed as "a reflection of individual membership of particular social categories or collectivities" (Williams, 2000, p. 55). Many social theories aim at reconciling these two extremes.

We argue that the concept of identity is able to draw attention to the relation of structure and agency, to the relation of the individual and the social. But at the same time the concept of identity, with its essentialist connotations, is incapable of allowing a dynamic view of the interrelationship of structure and agency. Identity in a strict definition denotes being the same over time or being the same as someone or something else. In this strict definition the concept of identity is not applicable to large-scale collective entities such as nations or Europe; e.g. it would seem impossible to experience oneself as identical with Europe. Although constructivist accounts (Hall, 1996) try to free identity from its essentialist and reifying connotations by theorizing identity or identities as multiple, fluid and unstable, several conceptual problems persist (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Why should something that changes in the life course or from one social context to the other be described as an identity? Stretched out between the etymological meaning and the constructivist modifications the concept of identity is in danger of becoming rather thin. Brubaker and Cooper argue that even in constructivist disguise the language of identity remains one of bounded groupness and consequential sameness and "takes the *existence* of identity as axiomatic" (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, p. 27). If we assume that identities are constructed by individuals in a permanent interplay with social structures, groupness and boundedness have to be treated as emergent properties. There is the need to specify a process rather than to describe a condition. Therefore, we will adopt an approach proposed by Jürgen Gerhards and use the term *identification* to draw attention to the relation of individuals to social categories (Gerhards, 2003). This not only avoids reifying connotations implicit in the concept of identity but also the group analogy the term identity implies: A process of identification does not necessarily have to result in a consequential sameness or a bounded belonging in a group *vis à vis* non-members. Identification describes a specific relation of subjects to an object. With respect to Europe, identification will be treated as the affiliation of European citizens towards Europe. In contrast to the term identity, which would lead empirical research to answer questions about the existence or non-existence of a certain identity or about the situational salience of a certain identity, the term identification makes the empirical research sensitive to varying degrees of subjective affiliation with a certain object and to social circumstances moderating the process.

To avoid the pitfalls of running into either crude structural determinism or overrating creative agency the following paper draws eclectically from different theoretical sources. Aspects of the theory of social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Jenkins, 1996) will be complemented by concepts of social inequality as well as concepts of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1983). The first sensitizes us to creative processes of identification, the second and the third sensitize us to the unequal distribution of resources that allow such processes.

In the tradition of social constructionism, social interaction plays a crucial role in developing a sense of self as a human individual, that is rather like a "marble cake" (Risse, 2002) of identity components. That is the components are layered and intermingled in various ways. The salience of the components can vary from situation to situation. "Interactions with others, the symbolic exchanges of gestures and language in which meanings are negotiated, shape and perhaps even make possible the inner dialogue that people have with themselves about themselves" (Jamieson 2002, p. 510). As can be clearly noticed this approach remains in the framework of identity, which has been criticised above. A strict reading seems more appropriate to core aspects of selfhood which are constructed in the interaction with emotionally close, "significant others" (Mead, 1934) than to processes of identification with large-scale entities. However, what we can take up for analysis is that identification is also to be understood as constructed in social interaction. Applying this argument to identification with Europe, the question is: Which might be the situations and the resources that offer the opportunity to develop a kind of identification with Europe? For example, experience of travel across the territories of Europe and the command of several European languages could be "raw materials" of the identification with Europe.

From this point of view the identification with Europe is also a question of resources, of unequally distributed resources. Among these are not only obvious resources such as income, occupational status and education, which might allow young people to travel and to develop more "cosmopolitan" awareness, but also less visible resources such as cultural capital. The latter implies the access to values and behaviour of the dominant class (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1971; Bourdieu, 1983) and the ease of using them. Whilst hitherto this has been investigated only at a national level (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), we can also envisage a European dimension to cultural capital. Thus, travelling, speaking foreign languages and spending time abroad might become a culturally valued asset among an emerging European elite, which are less easily accumulated by members of the lower class and less educated. Hence, the skills, culture and competences required to be part of a European elite could be seen in terms of the social and cultural capital that need to be acquired to join that elite.

The work of Ronald Inglehardt, who first investigated the relationship between citizens' cognitive skills and their attitudes towards European integration, points to another factor that could be of importance with respect to identification with Europe. In his theory of cognitive mobilization (Inglehardt, 1970) he argued that high cognitive mobilization, characterized by a high level of political awareness and well-developed skills in political communication enable citizens to identify with a supranational political community. This argument assumes that well-developed cognitive skills are necessary for

understanding information on European integration because this information is often at a high level of abstraction. Cognitive mobilization is one of the theories Matthew Gabel (Gabel, 1998) examines against each other in their explanatory power with respect to public support for European integration. Gabel provides evidence that the strongest systematic contribution to the support for European integration is provided by factors representing an individual's material interest in the project, rather than by factors measuring cognitive skills or political values. As far as support for European integration is concerned the utilitarian argument seems to be the one that counts in his research: People relate their attitudes to European integration to their experienced or expected costs of and benefits from integrative policy. The support for European integration is positively related to the level of education and the level of occupational skills. Given that cognitive mobilization was not as important as the level of formal education for the support of European integration, a rather rational attitude, it could still be the case that it is the other way round with more emotional and evaluative attitudes, such as identification with Europe. Therefore we extend our list of possible "raw materials" of identification with Europe and include cognitive mobilization towards Europe.

2 Study Design

The paper draws on the multi-lateral research project on "Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity", which is funded by the European Commission within its 5th Framework Programme. The project unites research groups from Scotland, England, Spain, Austria, Germany and Slovakia[1]. A representative survey among 18-24 yearolds was conducted in 10 regions (N=3890)[2]: Edinburgh, Manchester, Madrid, Bilbao, Chemnitz, Bielefeld, Bratislava, Prague Vienna and Vorarlberg. These regions were selected with respect to their different histories vis à vis Europe.

Why focus on young people in terms of identification with Europe? One reason is that insofar as there is very little in the way of identification with Europe among the European populations, young people are those most likely to hold such an identification (Pichler, 2004). Therefore, by concentrating upon young people we can better understand what factors are likely to lead to such identification.

Young people have been considered an object of study in politics because on the one hand they may be open to new ideas and styles that will later become more mainstream and this has enabled some

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1 The partners, researchers and consultants in this investigation are: Professor Claire Wallace, Reingard Spannring and Georg Datler, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Austria; Professor Klaus Boehnke and Daniel Fuss, International University Bremen and Professor Bernhard Nauck, Technische Universitaet Chemnitz, Germany; Professor Ladislav Machácek, Dr. Gabriel Bianchi, Dr. Barbara Lášticová, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia; Professor Maria Ros, Miryam Rodriguez Monter, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Dr. Hector Grad and Gema Garcia Albacete, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, Spain; Dr Susan Condor, Lancester University, England, the coordinator Professor Lynn Jamieson, Dr. Sue Grundy and Professor David McCrone, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK.
2 The exact numbers of respondents in the regional samples are as follows: Edinburgh N=308, Manchester N=364, Madrid N=401, Bilbao N=424, Bielefeld N=400, Chemnitz N=400, Bratislava N=397, Prague N=396, Vienna N=400, Vorarlberg N=400. In total N=3890.

social scientists to identify "political generations" (Braungart, 1990 ; Rose and Carnaghan, 1994). A number of people have argued that there has been a general value shift in many societies in the direction of greater political tolerance, especially with regard to gender, gay and lesbian rights and even tolerance of ethnic and other minorities (Bynner, Chisholm, et. al., 1997) and that young people are leading the way in this respect (Inglehart, 1990; Abramson and Inglehart, 1987). In the work of Karl Mannheim, young people are branded by the significant events that took place during the period in which they became politically aware (Mannheim, 1952). This particular generation of young people have come of age when European integration has intensified following the Maastricht treaty, the currency union and now the discussions around the European constitution. European integration has moved from being purely economic to having more political and social policy dimensions during this period, towards encompassing ever larger parts of public policy. Hence, if we are to find evidence of identification with Europe at all we are most likely to find it in this generation of young people.

3 Sources of identification with Europe: A regression model

3.1 The dependent variable

We developed four questions referring to identification with Europe in order to avoid the shortcomings of single indicator approaches as used in Eurobarometer for example. Table 1 gives the exact question wording.

Table 1 Measurement of identification with Europe

- Q7: "People may feel different degrees of attachment to their city, town or village, to their region, to their country or to Europe. Thinking about your own attachments, and using the scale on this cards, please tell my how attached you feel to >Where you were born<, >Where you live now<, >Where you mainly grew up<, >Region<, >Nation<, Europe."

Not at all attached 0	1	2	3	4 Completely attached

- Q68: "Now I would like to ask about the strength of how you feel about being different sorts of nationality? On a scale of 0-4 (READ CODES) how do you feel about being (Region: e. g. Scottish), (Nationality: e. g. British); European."

No feeling at all 0	1	2	3	4 Very strong feeling

- Q70: "Can you tell me how frequently you think of yourself as the following: As a European citizen, As a global citizen".

Never 0	1	2	3	4 Always

- Q71: "Using the scale on this card, how would you rate the importance of the following in terms of who you are, that is, how you feel or think about yourself as a person." (List of items including) "Being a citizen of the European Union".

Not at all important 0	1	2	3	4 Very important

This operationalization enables us to grasp different aspects of identification with Europe: Q7 and Q68 address the emotional component and Q71 asks for (self-)evaluation. Whereas Q70 and Q71 include the term citizenship, Q7 is about places and territories. For sure, these indicators are not the last word in measuring a sense of identification with Europe. Yet, the multiple indicator approach allows what single indicator models don not: reliability and consistency checks in order to critically assess the operationalization . Thus, we can begin by looking at the correlations of the four indicators.

Table 2 Correlation among the items measuring identification with Europe (Pearsons r)

	Q7 attachment to Europe	Q68 feeling European	Q70 frequency of thinking of oneself as European citizen	Q71 importance of being a European citizen for oneself
Q7 attachment to Europe	1.000			
Q68 feeling European	.459**	1.000		
Q70 frequency of thinking of oneself as European citizen	.363**	.437**	1.000	
Q71 importance of being a European citizen for oneself	.387**	.479**	.354**	1.000

**denotes significance, p<.01

The medium-sized correlation coefficients in Table 2 indicate that these items are related to a common factor, but it is a long way from being a perfect relation. Yet, a scale using all four items achieves a Cronbach's α of 0.749, which is often regarded as satisfactory in the methodological literature. Because of budget constraints only two items (Q68, Q71) were asked in all 10 research sites. An additive index of Q68 and Q71 (referred to as EUID2) is used in the general regression model in order to include all regions. These two items show the highest bivariate correlation (see Table 2) and still achieve a Cronbach's α of 0.6281, which is, by way of how Cronbach's α is calculated, of course lower than those including four items, because Cronbach's α is not only a function of the inter-correlation of items but also of the number of items. But I will use the more profound four-variable-operationalization in comparison (referred to as EUID4) in a second model in order to criticize and validate the results.

Table 3Identification with Europe in the research regions, mean values of EUID2

Country	Region	Mean
A	Vorarlberg	4,57
	Vienna	4,51
CZ	Prague	4,92
SK	Bratislava	5,27
GER	Chemnitz	4,77
	Bielefeld	4,77
E	Bilbao	3,07
	Madrid	4,24
UK	Manchester	3,32
	Edinburgh	2,77
Overall Mean Value		4,26

Table 3 shows the mean values of identification with Europe for the 10 research regions. As two variables scaled 0-4 make up the additive index the resulting scale is 0-8. The higher the value, the higher is the identification with Europe as measured here.

By far the highest values occur in Bratislava followed by Prague, regions which became part of the EU in the turn of 2004[3]. The German and Austrian research sites also show relatively high values. Remarkably there are no regional differences in Germany and in Austria, which one might have expected with Chemnitz situated in Former Eastern Germany and Bielefeld situated in Former Western Germany or with Vienna representing the centre of Austria and Vorarlberg representing the periphery of Austria. In Spain the picture is different: Identification with Europe as measured here is much higher in Madrid than in Bilbao, in the Basque region. In Great Britain the identification with Europe is below average, but it is considerably lower in Edinburgh than in Manchester.

The question is, whether regional differences will remain, decline or even disappear, once there is analytical control for supposed confounding factors (which themselves vary from region to region!), such as age, educational level, gender and so on.

3.2 The independent variables

Before presenting the whole regression model we will give a descriptive overview of the independent variables, drawing attention to regional differences.
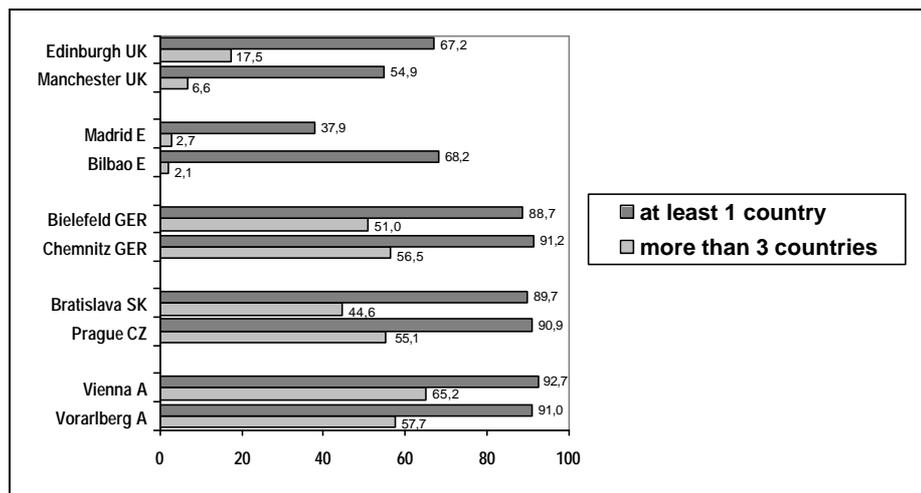
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3 The data were collected in 2002, i.e. before the accession of the Slovak and Czech republics.

3.2.1 "Exposure" to Europe

Mobility experience

Mobility experience means the opportunity to get in touch with places and people in other European countries.

Figure 1 Mobility experience: Number of countries visited, percentages of respondents

Although in our analysis mobility experience is represented only as the number of countries someone has already visited – and therefore lengths and sorts of the stays abroad are not included– striking differences occur. In the Central European states of the Czech and Slovak republics, Austria and Germany, around 90% of the young people have already been abroad. Large shares of the respondents, from 46.6% in Bratislava to 64.3% in Vienna, have already visited more than three European countries. Notably again there are no big differences between the Former Eastern and Western Germanies. In Bilbao two thirds have already been abroad, but only a tiny minority have more extensive travelling experiences (2.1%). In Madrid more than half of the respondents have never been abroad. In Edinburgh two thirds have already set foot on the Continent, in Manchester 54.9% have already done so. With Edinburgh extensive travelling experience is three times higher than with Manchester, although it is still well below the values for Central Europe.

Migration

In this context migration experience σ background is considered important for two reasons. First, when in-migrants come from other continents their destination is Europe, or at least a country in Europe, which could make them sensitive to Europe as an object to identify with. Second, when in-

migrants come from other European countries, migration experience and especially the inter-national but intra-European personal networks that might persist or come into being could influence the identification with Europe. One can legitimately argue that these are two different phenomena and two different groups which should be treated separately in the regression model. As the share of respondents with such a kind of experience is considerably low and regression analysis demands for a solid number of cases to provide reasonable estimates, no distinction has been made along with the countries in-migrants came from - a compromise between substantial and statistical reasoning. Instead, the regression model includes information whether the respondent himself/herself was born in another country (migration experience) and whether her/his mother or father was born in another country (migration background). Figure 2 shows the percentage of respondents who can be described by either the first or the second item.

Figure 2 Migration experience/background, percentages of respondents
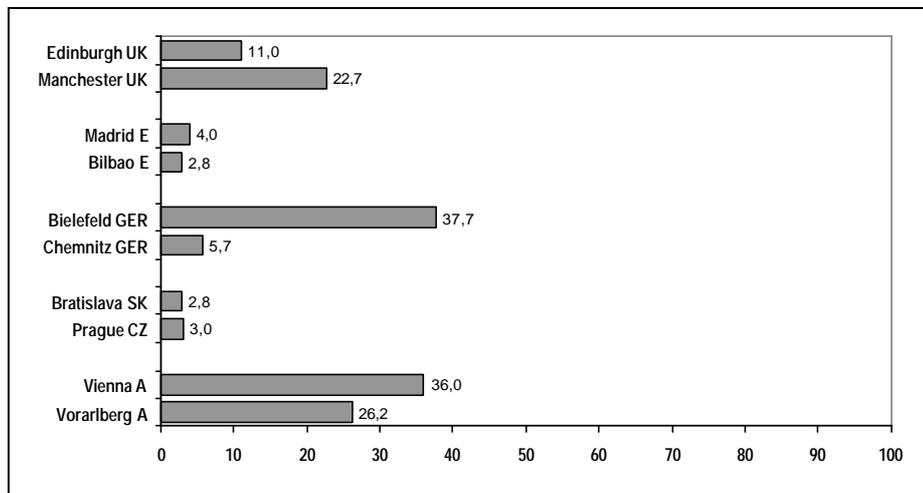
Migration experience or background is highest in Bielefeld and in Vienna with more than one third of the respondents having had such experiences. Vorarlberg, although a more rural region, is not so much behind with 26.2%. Any kind of migration experience or background is much less common in Bratislava, Prague, Chemnitz, Bilbao and Madrid, with around 5%. Here there are big differences within Germany. Within Great Britain the proportion is more than twice as high in Manchester (22.7%) than it is in Edinburgh (11.0%).

Knowledge of languages

Knowledge of foreign European languages can be regarded as important for the identification with Europe for at least two reasons. First, European languages transport cultural information, which is partly distinct from other languages and partly can be attributed to a common "Europeanness".

Second, knowledge of foreign European languages enables people to communicate with people from other European countries.

Figure 3 shows the proportions of young people who speak at least one foreign European language in addition to their mother tongues. Included are all languages that are in use as official languages in European countries. For some countries it is not quite clear whether they belong to Europe or not. When respondents were asked if Turkey and Russia were European countries in the qualitative interviews, the responses were ambiguous: Around half of the respondents were in favour of regarding the country as European and half of the respondents were against it. However, in the figures presented below Russian and Turkish – in the case that they were not the mother tongue of the respondents – are included.

Figure 3 Knowledge of at least one foreign language, percentages of respondents
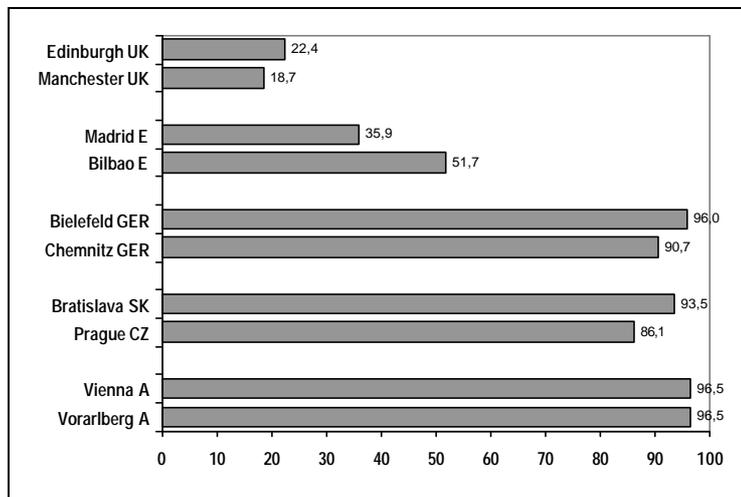
In the Central European states around 90% or even slightly more of the respondents are able to communicate in at least one foreign European language. In Bilbao nearly half of the respondents do not speak any additional European language (Basque language was excluded) and in Madrid nearly two thirds of the respondents cannot communicate in any other European language than Spanish. In both UK regions it is a clear minority – around one fifth of the respondents – who speak foreign European languages.

3.2.2 Cognitive Mobilization towards Europe

The variable we used to capture cognitive mobilization codes the reported frequency of how often a respondent talks to family and friends about political and social issues. In order to have a more specific picture of cognitive mobilization towards Europe a variable that measures the respondents'

self assessments of how much they have been taught about the EU in school will be included additionally. The second question was not asked in the UK, therefore an additional model will be calculated. Both questions were coded on a scale from 0 to 4, high values indicating high cognitive mobilization.

Table 4 Cognitive Mobilization, mean values (scale 0-4)

Country	Region	Mean value "Discussion"	Mean value "Taught about EU"
A	Vorarlberg	2.23	2.15
	Vienna	2.42	2.53
CZ	Prague	2.34	1.97
SK	Bratislava	2.05	2.01
GER	Chemnitz	2.32	1.83
	Bielefeld	2.34	1.82
E	Bilbao	2.56	2.10
	Madrid	2.35	1.82
UK	Manchester	1.74	not asked
	Edinburgh	1.70	not asked
Overall Mean Value		2,22	2.03

The regional differences in cognitive mobilization presented in Table 4 are by far smaller than those concerning "exposure". The most important are the following: The mean value of "talking to family and friends about social and political issues" is noticeably lower in Manchester and Edinburgh than in the other research regions. The mean value of "Being taught something about the EU in school" is considerably higher in Vienna than in the other research regions.

4 Results

4.1 Preliminary clarifications

Bearing in mind the theoretical framework outlined in the beginning raises the legitimate question of how assumptions of social interaction theory and a causal quantitative design go together. Therefore some methodological clarifications: Taking up the guiding questions again, it means that we look at the prerequisites of identification with Europe not directly at the process of identification. Hence the regression model on identification with Europe developed here is not supposed to operate with the "causes" of identification with Europe, it is rather about the effects that are "carried" by situations and experience. An example might be helpful: When the variable "number of European countries visited" is included in the regression model, it does not mean that the sheer number is regarded as the cause of identification with Europe, but it's an indicator of the experience someone has with other countries and the people(!) there. This experience could enhance identification with Europe.

The regression model is designed to examine the following hypotheses: First, the more "exposure" to Europe, the stronger is the identification with Europe. "Exposure" to Europe is captured through mobility experience, migration experience or background and knowledge of European languages. Second, the higher the cognitive mobilization towards Europe, the stronger is the identification with Europe. In addition, we have controlled for gender, age, formal level of education and regional differences.

A remark to the direction of our hypothesis: Could it be the other way round? – Of course, it is also possible that young people are more likely to immerse themselves in other European cultures and languages because they already feel more European. In the absence of an adequate theoretical explanation for the sources of such a prior sense of Europeanness, however, the causal direction suggested here is the more plausible one.

4.2 Interpretation of the regression model

When describing the results we want to rely on a comparison of two different models. Model 1 uses the two-indicator variable for identification with Europe (EUID2) and therefore includes all research regions. Modell 2 excludes the data for Austria and Britain, but includes the four-indicator variable for identification with Europe (EUID4) and an additional question on cognitive mobilization. This will allow us to have a rough check of how stable the observed patterns of association are, when only a sub-sample is used. The different operationalization of identification with Europe will also offer some advice whether the models only suffer from methodical artefacts or also have a substantial message (Note that EUID2 is part of EUID4, therefore some parallels in the models occur automatically, but if the two additional variables in EUID 4 would measure something completely different, it would still influence the estimates considerably). EUID4 was rescaled to 0-8, so coefficients are comparable across models.

Since the assumption of linear effects proved to be far too strict for the variables as they are measured here, all variables are included as dummy variables, i.e. regression coefficients can be interpreted as mean value differences in the dependent variable which can be attributed to the effect of an independent variable. Statistical control of the other independent variables ensures that estimates only show effects that can be attributed to a certain factor. The coefficients for the regions are not directly comparable, because in Model 1 Vienna is the reference region and in Model 2 it is Madrid, i.e. Model 1 shows how the other regions differ from Vienna, Model 2 shows how the other regions differ from Madrid. The other independent variables have the same reference categories in both models, which makes up the baseline respondent with the following characteristics: She is female, her level of formal education is "basic first school leaving qualification", she is aged 18-21, has already visited 1-3 European countries, speaks one additional European language, has neither migration experience nor background, discusses political and social issues sometimes and has been taught something about the EU at school.

Table 5 Parameter estimates of the regression models[4]

		MODEL 1: dependent variable EUID2, reference region Vienna		MODEL 2: dependent variable EUID4, reference region Madrid	
		Regression Coefficient	Partial Eta Squared	Regression Coefficient	Partial Eta Squared
Control variables					
Gender (ref. Female)	Male	-0.169*	0.002*	-0.306**	0.008**
Age (ref. 18-21)	22-24	-0.047	0.000	0.02	0.000
Education	Leaving school before 15/16	-0.258		-0.459	
(ref. basic first school	Basis apprenticeship qualification	-0.006	0.001	-0.282	0.003
leaving qual.)	Higher appr. qual. or univ.-entry qual.	0.006		-0.129	
	University degree	-0.216		-0.111	
Regions	Vienna	reference			
	Vorarlberg	0.145		-	
	Prague	0.518**		-0.704**	
	Bratislava	0.887**		-0.200	
	Chemnitz	0.381**		-0.114	
	Bielefeld	0.355*	0.076**	0.003	0.054**
	Bilbao	-1.069**		-1.135**	
	Madrid	0.307		reference	
	Manchester	-0.628**		-	
	Edinburgh	-1.127**		-	
Exposure					
Mobility	No countries	-0.021		-0.133	
(ref. 1-3 countries)	4-6 countries	0.256**	0.005**	0.233*	0.006**
	More than 6 countries	0.439**		0.362**	
Languages	No additional language	-0.201*		-0.056	
(ref. 1 additional	2 additional languages	0.152	0.005**	0.075	0.003
language)	3 or more additional languages	0.412**		0.332*	
Migration (ref. no	Experience	0.043	0.000	-0.126	0.000
experience/background)	Background	0.243*	0.001*	0.029	0.000
Cognitive mobilization					
Discussion of political and	Never	-0.784**		-0.662**	
social issues	Rarely	-0.294**	0.018**	-0.315*	0.014**
(ref. sometimes)	Often	0.242**		0.128	
	Very often	-0.152**		0.064	
Taught about EU at	Nothing	-		-0.223	
school	A little	-	-	-0.379**	0.020**
(ref. something)	Much	-		0.127	
	A great deal	-		0.495**	
Intercept		4.270		4.981	
Number of cases included		3725		1912	
Adjusted R²		0.163		0.111	

* denotes significance, p<.05
**denotes significance, p<.01

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4 The models were calculated with the program package SPSS using the General Linear Model (GLM) module with Typ III Sum of Squares.

Table 5 shows the parameter estimates of the regression models. Significant regression coefficients indicate a significant difference compared to the reference group. Therefore it also depends on the choice of the reference groups which coefficients become significant. We use these estimates when looking at differences of identification with Europe within the categories of an independent variable. When we want to assess the explanatory power of an independent variable in comparison to other independent variables, we look at Partial Eta Squared. Partial Eta Squared is a measure of the explained variability in the dependent variable explained by a certain independent variable. Having a look at the values of Partial Eta Squared it becomes evident that regional differences show the highest explanatory power in the models (Partial Eta Squared=0.056 in Model 1). But there is also a significant influence of mobility experience (Partial Eta Squared=0.004 in Model 1), knowledge of foreign European languages (Partial Eta Squared=0.008 in Model 1) and cognitive mobilization (Partial Eta Squared=0.018). R-Squared is a measure of the proportion of variation in the dependent variable that can be explained by the whole model, i.e. by all independent variables together. Model 1 is able to explain 16.5% of the variation of identification with Europe, with Model 2 it is 11.4%. Thus, our account is far from giving a perfect prediction of identification with Europe, but it does include factors that contribute to the explanation of identification with Europe among young people.

The coefficients of the control variables show that identification with Europe is lower with male than with female respondents. Age is not an important factor for identification with Europe among young people (Note that the sample is restricted to persons aged 18-24). More astonishing, the level of formal education does not show a significant impact either. At a bivariate level we would have found a significant positive correlation of the level of formal education and identification with Europe ($r \approx 0.1$ for EUID2 and EUID4), but taking into account confounding factors in a multivariate design, it diminishes.

The coefficients for the regions indicate regional differences which are freed from any differences in the other independent variables, e. g. differences in educational structure or mobility experience. Therefore they can be interpreted as a hint to the "core identification with Europe" in a region. Model 1 which compares all other regions to Vienna shows significant positive coefficients for Prague, Bratislava, Chemnitz and Bielefeld and significant negative ones for Bilbao, Manchester and Edinburgh. These results indicate that the "core identification with Europe" is higher in the first group and lower in the second group in comparison to Vienna. When comparing the mean value differences encountered at a descriptive level (see Table 3) to the mean value differences indicated by the regression coefficients, we see that some regression coefficients are nearly equivalent to the descriptive mean value differences and others clearly not. The regression results for Vorarlberg, Prague, Bratislava, Chemnitz and Bielefeld are in line with the descriptive mean values. But for Madrid the regression coefficient is positive although the mean values in table 1 would signal the opposite. For Bilbao, Manchester and Edinburgh the regression coefficients are far lower than the mean differences in comparison to Vienna on a descriptive level. – What does this paradox tell us? – We have to consider that the other independent variables in the model themselves vary from region to region. Part of the weaker identification with Europe in Bilbao, Manchester and Edinburgh can be explained by the fact that young people in these regions have less mobility experience (see Figure 1) and less knowledge of European languages (see Figure 2) or a lower cognitive mobilization towards

Europe in the case of Great Britain (see Table 4) than young people in Central Europe. The positive regression coefficient for Madrid signals that young people in Madrid reveal a relatively strong identification with Europe, although they have less mobility experience and less knowledge of European languages. The findings for Bilbao, Manchester and Edinburgh point to the importance of the other independent variables, "exposure" and cognitive mobilization. The estimates of Model 2, with Madrid as reference region, confirm the results for four of the six regions included in both models, but there is a problem with Bratislava and Prague: In Model 1 Bratislava ranks highest, in Model 2 it is much lower. In Model 1 Prague has a higher coefficient than Madrid, in Model 2 it is significantly lower. That means the operationalization of identification with Europe does influence the results for Bratislava and Prague. Again, it is important to notice that such helpful problems could not occur with single indicator models as used in models based on Eurobarometer data – helpful, because they restrict over-interpretation.

In both models the regression coefficients for mobility experience show that identification with Europe is weakest among the respondents who have never been abroad, it is slightly stronger for those who have already been to 1-3 European countries (reference category), considerably higher for those who have visited 4-6 European countries and strongest among the group of young people that have already been to more than 6 countries. Knowledge of European languages provides a similar pattern: identification with Europe is weakest among young people who do not speak any foreign languages and increases with the number of languages respondents can communicate in. Own migration experience does not influence identification with Europe. Detailed analysis showed that the impact of migration background, which is too small to be significant in Model 1 and totally absent in Model 2 is only evident in the Austrian sub-sample.

In general the results concerning cognitive mobilization back up our proposed hypotheses. The more young people discuss social and political topics with their families or friends, the stronger is the identification with Europe they reveal. Also the variable on being taught about the EU in school that is included in Model 2 shows a significant positive effect. But there is a significant negative coefficient for those who discuss political and social issues very often in Model 1. A possible explanation, demanding further investigation, could be that there is a highly educated politically engaged group of young people who are critical of the EU and address a lack of democracy and transparency in EU-institutions. A further hint in this direction is the coefficient for young people with university degree which is negative in sign.

4.3 Identification with Europe and social inequality

The fact that education did not show an important effect in our models does not mean that education is not important with respect to identification with Europe. Rather the conclusion is that the knowledge of languages, the knowledge of EU institutions and the everyday face-to-face conversation about social and political issues partly shape identification with Europe among young people. And all these factors refer to knowledge. Although the unique effect of the level of formal education is negligible, the

knowledge acquired in educational systems could play a crucial role in providing young people with the prerequisites necessary for the identification with Europe.

Picking up this thread we are back at the relation of the identification with Europe and social inequality. Gaining personal experience of other European countries, another important factor, as the analysis revealed, is also connected with having resources at one's disposal. In the case of travelling it is the financial resources in the first place. Therefore, as the first part of the analysis was meant to identify resources that are important for identification with Europe, the next part will focus on the distribution of these resources. Regional differences have already been shown, now we will concentrate on two major indicators of social inequality. On the one hand we will take into account the level of formal education and distinguish between those young people who have a certificate up to basic apprenticeship qualification and those who have a higher certificate (i.e. further apprenticeship qualification, university-entry qualification or university degree). On the other hand we will consider economic resources. As income is not a reliable indicator of economical resources among young people, who are largely dependent upon their parents for support, a question on economic security will be used instead. This question asked the respondents to rate how economically secure they feel on a 5-point scale.

Table 6 Resources by education and economic security, percentages of respondents

		Education			Economic security					
		Low	high	Somers-d[5]	0 low	1	2	3	4 high	Somers-d
Mobiltiy experience	No country	32.3	13.6	.291**	32.9	20.6	21.6	17.5	25.8	.065**
	1-3 countries	41.3	39.1		49.3	41.6	41.7	41.3	33.3	
	4-6 countries	19.2	29.9		13.0	24.1	24.9	28.8	27.3	
	More than 6 countries	7.2	17.4		4.8	13.7	11.8	12.3	13.5	
Languages	No additional	38.5	21.7	.240**	37.7	22.3	22.7	23.3	23.7	.020
	1 additional	44.9	47.1		44.0	45.4	47.7	47.1	50.2	
	2 additional	13.7	20.7		10.6	19.2	20.4	21.3	17.4	
	3 or more additional	2.8	10.5		7.7	13.1	9.1	8.3	8.7	
Discussion	Never	13.7	4.2	.248**	13.0	6.6	5.1	4.6	8.2	.046*
	Rarely	20.2	12.3		14.0	11.1	16.4	13.5	12.1	
	Sometimes	33.9	32.5		31.9	34.4	36.9	34.8	25.2	
	Often	21.4	35.2		21.3	32.3	30.0	35.4	32.4	
	Very often	10.7	15.8		19.8	15.6	11.6	11.6	22.1	

* denotes significance, p<.05
**denotes significance, p<.01

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5 Somers-d is a measure of association for ordinal variables that assumes a directional relationship.

The figures presented in table 6 indicate that mobility experience is not equally distributed across educational groups. Whereas in the low educational group 32.3% of the respondents have never been abroad, in the high educational group only 13.6% have never left their country. More extensive travelling is much more common in the high educational group with 29.9% having been to 4-6 countries and 17.4 % to more than 6 countries. In the low educational group the numbers are by far smaller with 19.2% and 7.2%. The impact of economic security on mobility experience is not that pronounced but still shows a clear pattern. Those who feel more secure tend to have experience of a greater number of other countries. For example, only 13.0% of the respondents who do not feel economically secure at all have visited 4-6 countries and the figure goes down to 4.8% with respect to more than 6 countries. At the opposite side of the scale of economic security we find 27.3% who have travelled 4-6 countries and 13.5% who have travelled more than 6 countries.

It is no surprise that language proficiency is clearly associated with the level of formal education. In the low educational group more than one third do not speak any foreign language. The shares of respondents who can communicate in 2 additional languages is nearly two times as high in the high educational group compared to the low educational group. With 3 or more languages the percentage in the high educational group is even three times as large as in the lower. The impact of economic security is not significant, but still provides the pattern that knowledge of languages tends to increases with economic security. Learning languages is not something you can engage in when your primary concern is how to cope with pressing economic problems.

In the high educational group respondents are also more likely to see the discussion of political and social issues as a part of their every day life. 35.2% of the young people who have at least a higher apprenticeship qualification or university entry qualification report discussing social and political issues often, and 15.8% say they discuss very often. Among the respondents who have up to basic apprenticeship qualification only 21.4% do so often and 10.7% do so very often. There is also some evidence that the economic situation influences cognitive mobilization. Again, a certain feeling of economic security can be seen as a necessary condition to be fulfilled in order to engage in discussion about politics. This could be especially true of more abstract policy fields such as European integration. The figures in table 6 provide the following pattern: The percentage of those who report that they do not discuss social and political topics at all is highest among the respondents who do not feel economically secure. Within this group around 41.1% discuss often or very often, in the group of respondents who feel totally secure the figure is considerably higher (54.5%).

There is empirical evidence that the educational level young people attain is an important factor for cognitive mobilization and "exposure" to Europe. Educational attainment is still – the extent may be contested – determined by social class and family background (Blossfeld and Shavit, 1993;Bourdieu and Passeron, 1971; Krais, 1996; Müller and Haun, 1994). The positive impact of economic security is mainly evident for the dimension of mobility experience. Thus, the resources young people need to identify with Europe are not equally distributed.

5 Conclusions

As far as "exposure" to Europe is concerned there is consistent evidence in favour of the proposed hypothesis. Identification with Europe increases with mobility experience and knowledge of European languages. The results concerning cognitive mobilization reassert the importance of everyday face-to-face communication in enabling people to identify with Europe. The results suggest that processes of identification with Europe through cognitive mobilization and mobility experience are worthy of study in a more detailed qualitative approach in order to investigate how creative agents construct their identification with Europe, when they communicate about and assign meaning to the otherwise abstract concept of Europe. But agency can only enter the stage when certain prerequisites are fulfilled. The process of identification is dependent on both individuals who do the identifying and structural conditions that allow meaningful communication about an object. Mobility experience, knowledge of European languages and the everyday discussion of political and social issues in European politics are among those conditions that allow individuals to construct their identification with Europe. The availability of these prerequisites is not the same for different groups of young people. In particular, the way in which resources are distributed according to educational levels provides evidence that the resources required to identify with Europe are not equally distributed. Travelling is mainly a question of financial capital, but also of social and cultural capital as the social milieu partly shapes the attitudes towards going abroad. Knowledge of European languages is essential in acquiring personal face-to-face interaction experience when being together with people from other countries. Speaking foreign languages is clearly associated with a certain level of education; the same is evident for the discussion of political and social issues. "Exposure" to Europe and cognitive mobilization towards Europe are not equally distributed, either. Seen from this angle, concepts of social inequality in the sense of differences in having resources at one's disposal and concepts of identification complement each other. Thus, the relation between identification and resources can be described as a reflexive one: The process of identification depends on resources. And identification is a resource people can use, for example when basing communication on the shared identification with Europe. Hence we could argue that there might be in fact a Europeanisation of social and cultural capital in this respect. Hence there is a need to integrate sociological research on identification which has often focused too much on the construction of identities with what we still perceive to be one of the key areas of the discipline, concepts of social inequality.

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