



City Research Online

City St George's, University of London

Citation: Salinero-Bevins, V. (2024). The Importance of European Identity Beyond the Borders of the EU. Paper presented at the 5th International ESS Conference, 8-10 Jul 2024, Lisbon, Portugal.

This is the presentation version of the paper.

This version of the publication may differ from the final published version. To cite this item please consult the publisher's version.

Permanent repository link: <https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/38362/>

Copyright and Reuse: Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the author(s) and/or copyright holders. Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, unless otherwise indicated, provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way. For full details of reuse please refer to [City Research Online policy](#).

The Importance of European Identity Beyond the Borders of the EU

Victoria Salinero-Bevins

8 July 2024

europeansocialsurvey.org

ESS is a European Research Infrastructure Consortium (ESS ERIC)



Contents

1. Conceptualising Europe and European identity
2. Measuring European Identity
3. The effect of EU Membership on European Identity
4. Possible differences in identity between EU Members and Non-Members

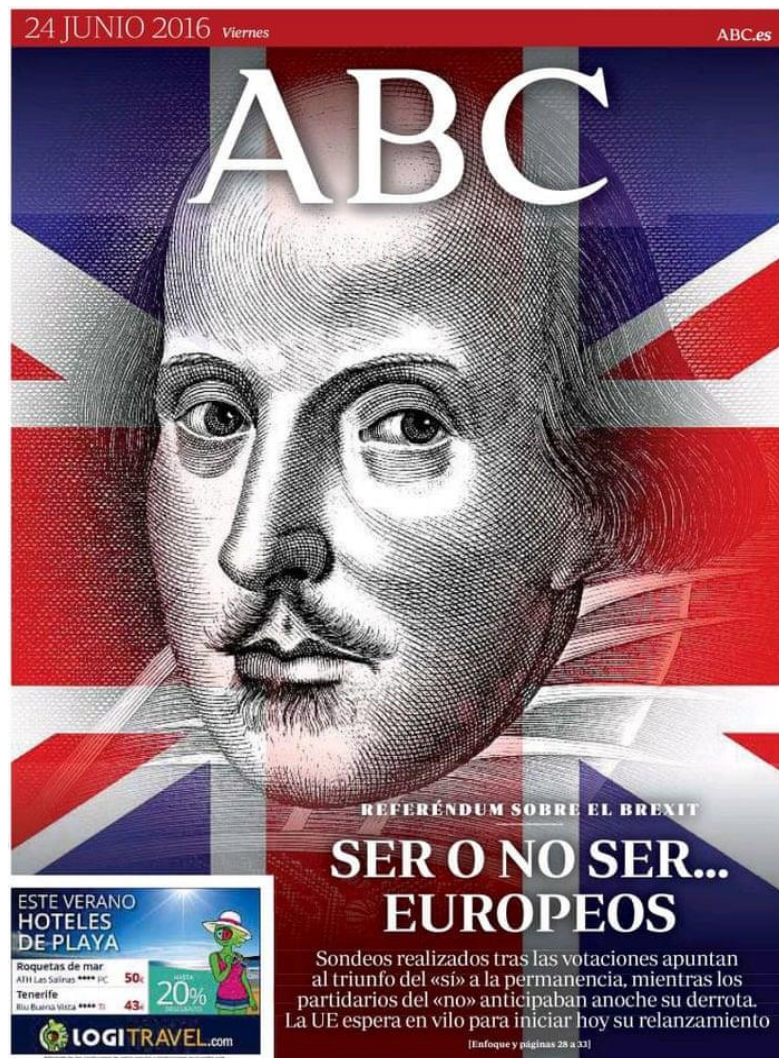
What is Europe? Who are the Europeans?



EU Membership and European identity in existing literature

EU-Focused	Non-EU Case Studies	EU & Non-EU Focus
Assumes that European identity is stronger within the EU or conflates membership with European identity	Focuses on particular European countries' identity in comparison to the EU	Begins to explore traditionally EU-focused contributions towards European identity in a non-EU context
Morlino (1999), Delanty & Rumford (2005), Cram (2011), Bellucci et al. (2012)	Franceško (2005), Thorhallsson (2015), Schroedter (2015), Bosilkov (2021)	Schilde (2014), Svetlicinii (2021)

The influence of Brexit



In Pop-Culture



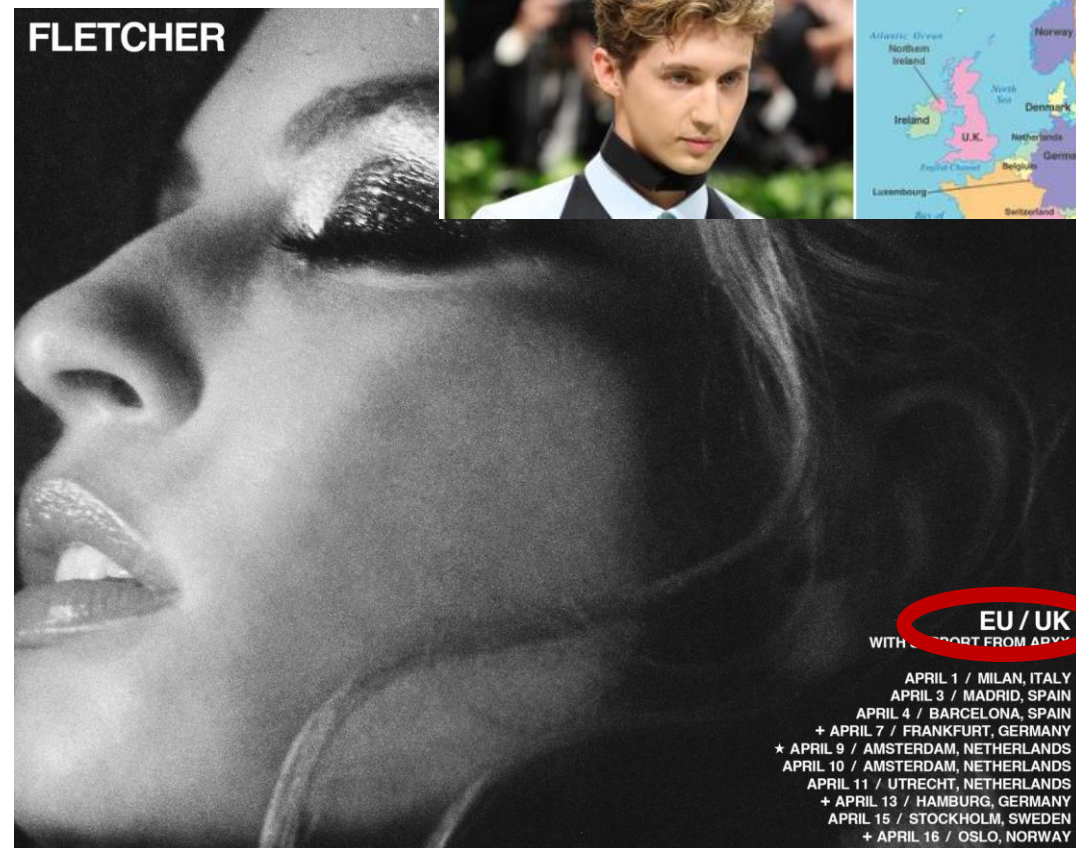
UK EUROPE 2024

09/05	Paris, France Paris La Défense Arena	14/06	Liverpool, United Kingdom Anfield Stadium	17/07	Gelsenkirchen, Germany VELTINS-Arena	NEW!
10/05	Paris, France Paris La Défense Arena	15/06	Liverpool, United Kingdom Anfield Stadium	18/07	Gelsenkirchen, Germany VELTINS-Arena	
11/05	Paris, France Paris La Défense Arena	18/06	Cardiff, United Kingdom Principality Stadium	19/07	Gelsenkirchen, Germany VELTINS-Arena	NEW!
12/05	Paris, France Paris La Défense Arena	21/06	London, United Kingdom Wembley Stadium	23/07	Hamburg, Germany Volksparkstadion	
17/05	Stockholm, Sweden Friends Arena	22/06	London, United Kingdom Wembley Stadium	24/07	Hamburg, Germany Volksparkstadion	
18/05	Stockholm, Sweden Friends Arena	23/06	London, United Kingdom Wembley Stadium	27/07	Munich, Germany Olympiastadion	

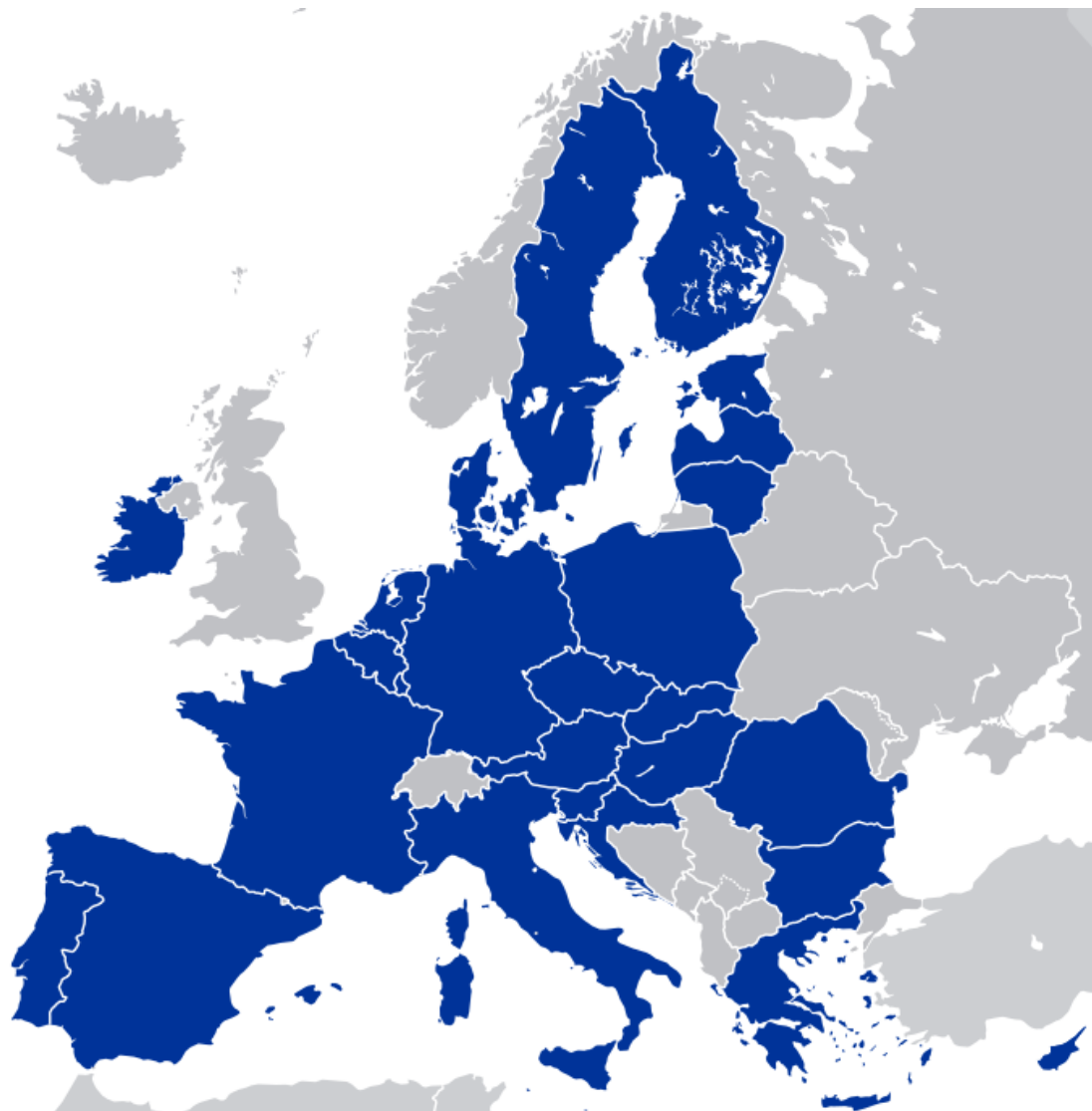


Troye Sivan reveals he thought that the UK left Europe's continent:

"This [entire tour] I've been calling it the 'Europe & UK tour.'"



Is this Europe? Are these the Europeans?





March for Europe,
Georgia, April 2024

ΣΗΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ



Η Ακρόπολη και οι πέριξ αυτής Αρχαιολογικοί Χώροι,
η καρδιά της Αρχαίας Αθήνας
είναι ο τόπος, όπου αναδείχθηκαν οι βασικότερες πτυχές
της Ευρωπαϊκής ταυτότητας: Δημοκρατία, Φιλοσοφία, Θέατρο,
Επιστήμες, Τέχνες.

Εντάχθηκε στον κατάλογο των Ευρωπαϊκών τόπων πολιτιστικής
κληρονομιάς της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης για το σημαντικό ρόλο που έπαιξε
στην Ιστορία και τον Πολιτισμό της Ευρώπης.

The Acropolis and its surrounding Archaeological Sites,
the heart of Ancient Athens

is the place where the most essential aspects
of the European identity emerged:
Democracy, Philosophy, Theatre, Sciences, Arts.

It features on the European Union's list of European Heritage sites
because of the significant role it has
played in the history and culture of Europe.

EUROPE STARTS HERE!

In his nine-volume work *The Story of Civilisation* (Vol. 2, "The Fight for Freedom", discussing the Greco-Persian Wars), Will Durant notes:

"The Greco-Persian War was the most momentous conflict in European history, for it made Europe possible. It won for western civilization the opportunity to develop its own economic life – unburdened with alien tribute or taxation – and its own political institutions, free from the dictation of oriental kings. It won for Greece a clear road for the first great experiment in liberty."

The Athenian fleet that remained after Salamis now opened every port in the Mediterranean to Greek trade, and the commercial expansion that ensued provided the wealth that financed the leisure

Measuring European Identity

1. Dimensions of European identity
2. ESS and European Identity

Measuring European Identity

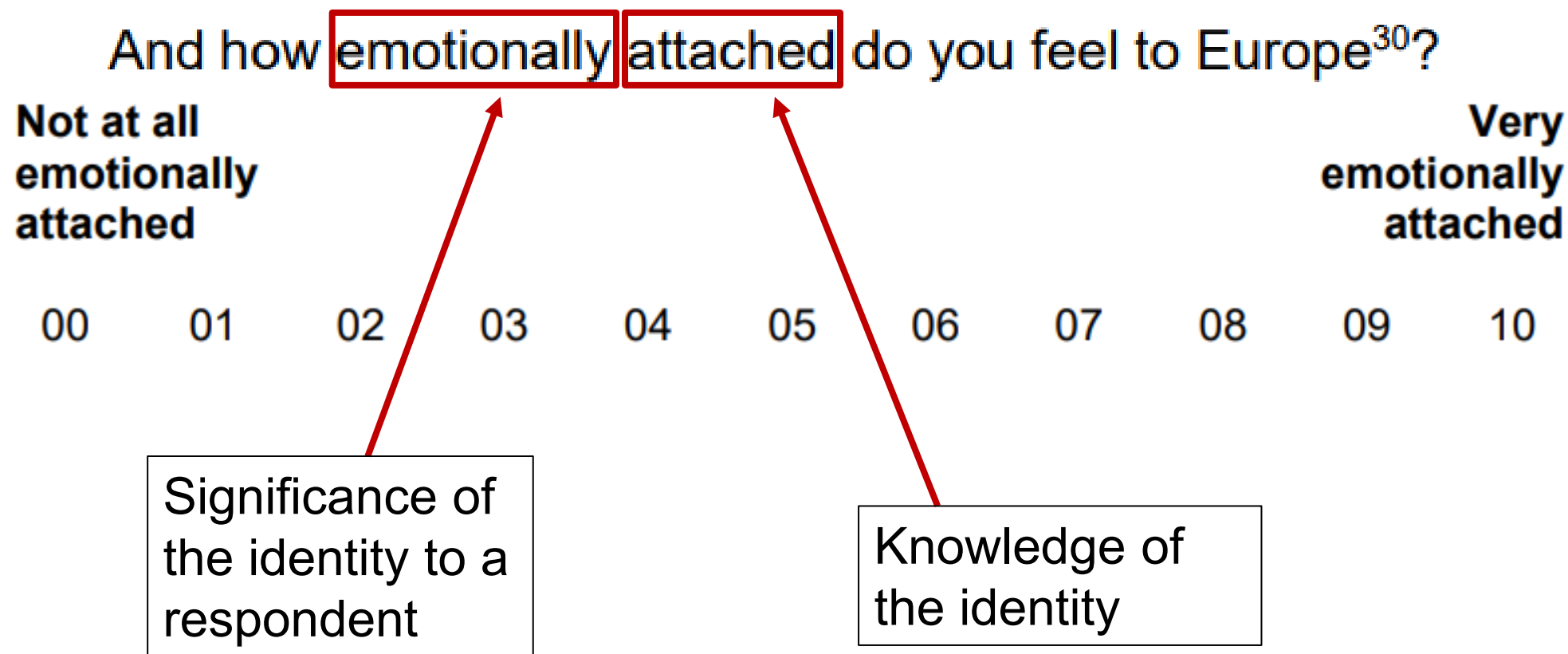
Civic dimensions (Bruter 2005)

- Relate identification with institutions, rights, and rules of a political community
- Can attachment to and support for an explicitly political community be compatible with a European identity that exists within Europe, a social, cultural, geographical and historical entity, not defined by the EU's institutions?

Social dimensions (Tafjel 1981)

- Attachment to, and identification with, Europe – knowledge of being European.
- Emotional connection and closeness to Europe – significance of being European.

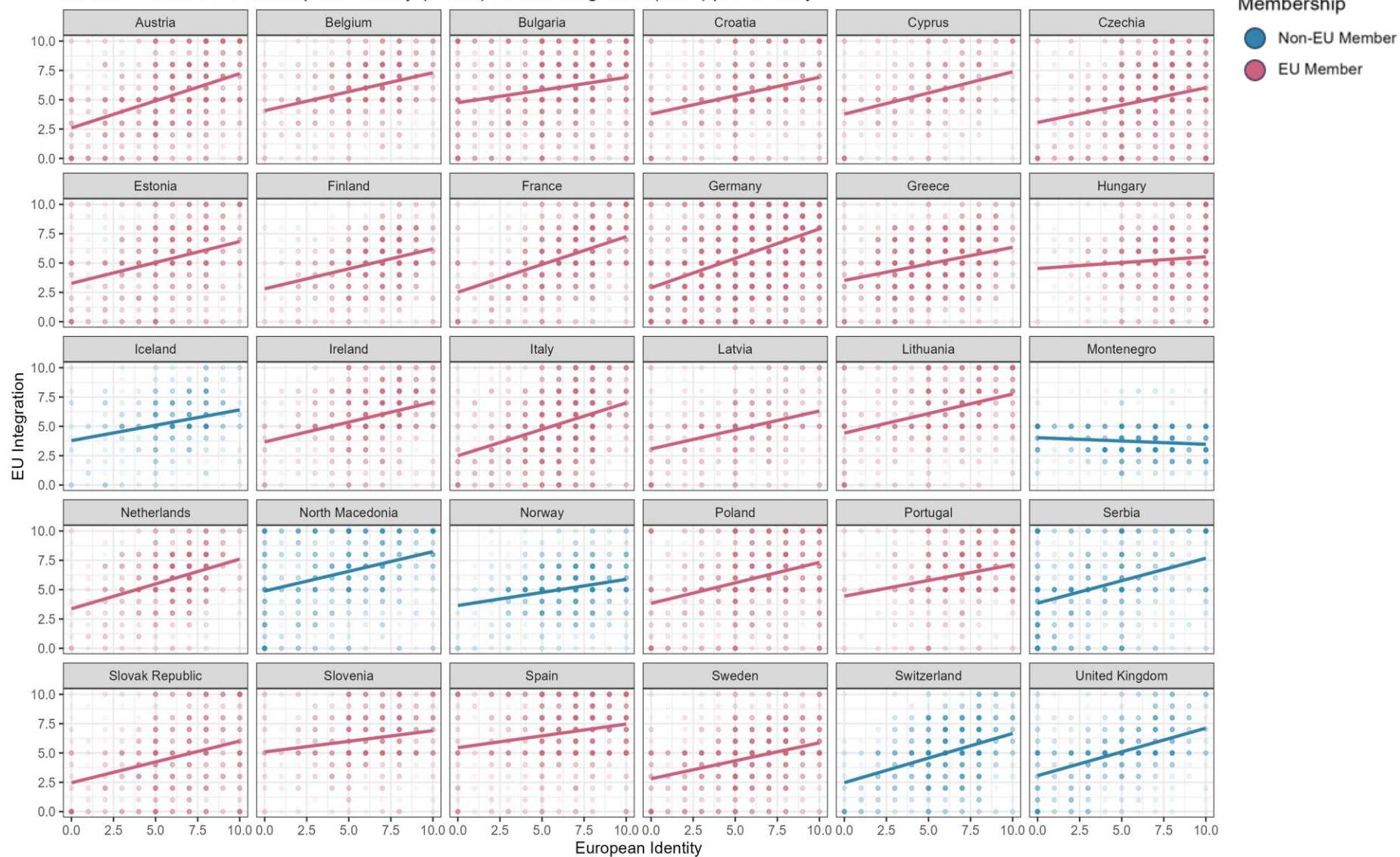
Measuring European Identity in the ESS



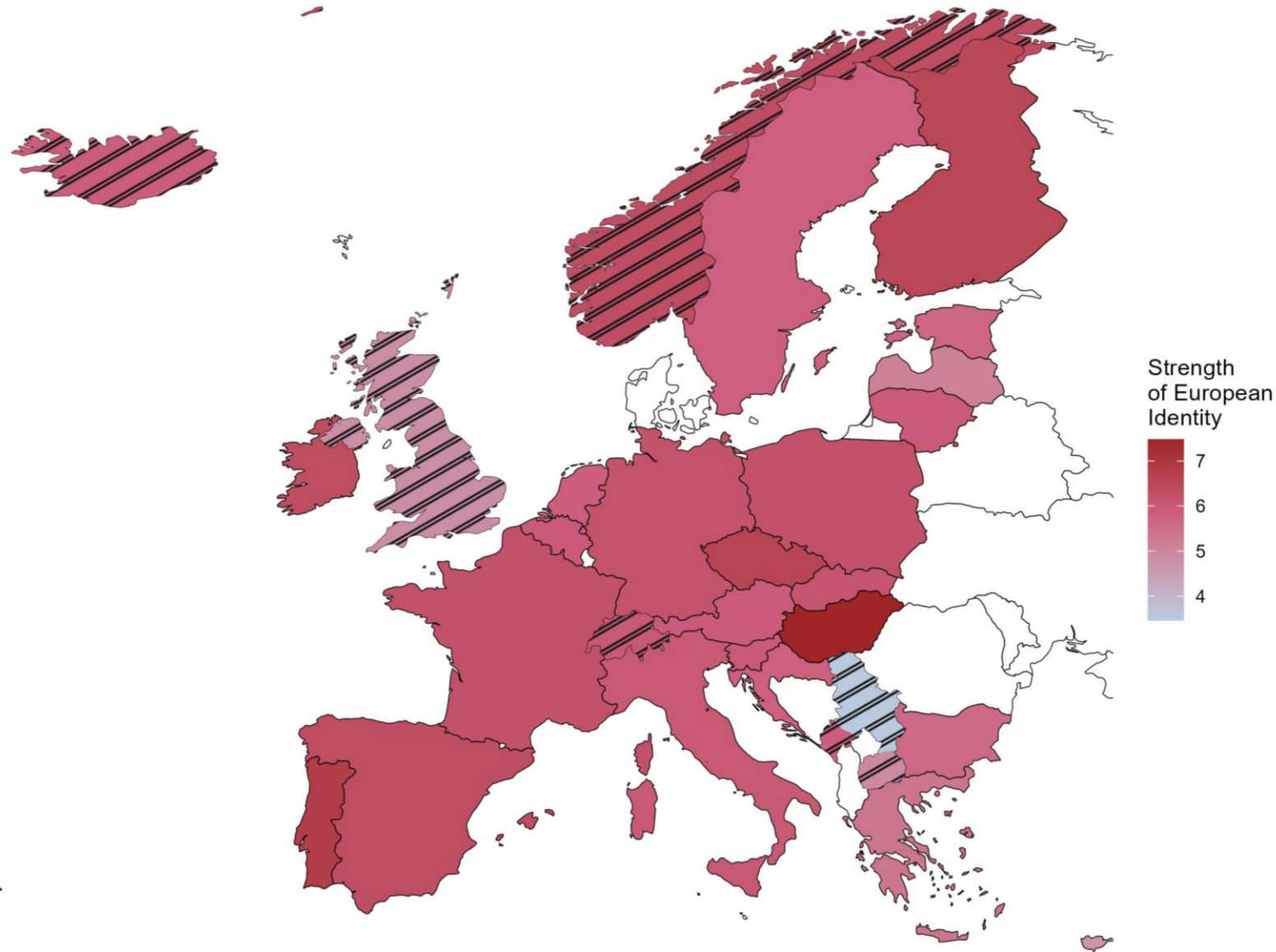
Social vs Civic Identity in a European Context

EU Integration: Thinking about the European Union, some say European unification should go further. Others say it has already gone too far. What number best describes your position?

ESS10: Scatter Plot of European Identity (Social) vs. EU Integration (Civic) per Country



ESS10: Strength of European Identity Across Europe



Analysis – Multilevel Linear Regression

1. The effect of EU Membership on European Identity
2. Possible differences in identity between EU Members and Non-Members

Is there a significant relationship between EU Membership and European identity?

$$\begin{aligned} \text{European Identity}_{ij} &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{National Identity}_{ij} \\ &+ \beta_2 \text{EU Integration}_{ij} + \beta_3 \text{Sex}_{ij} \\ &+ \beta_4 \text{Education Years}_{ij} \\ &+ \beta_5 \text{Religiosity}_{ij} + \beta_6 \text{LR Scale}_{ij} \\ &+ \beta_7 \text{Extremism}_{ij} + \beta_8 \text{Age}_{ij} \\ &+ \gamma_1 \text{EU Membership}_j \\ &+ \gamma_2 \text{Income Group}_j + \mu_{0j} + \mu_{0k(j)} \\ &+ \varepsilon_{ij} \end{aligned}$$

	Membership	Full Model
Country-Level		
<u>EU Membership</u>	<u>0.68* (0.257)</u>	<u>0.29 (0.215)</u>
Income Group		0.47* (0.115)
Individual-Level		
National Identity		0.41* (0.003)
EU Integration		0.29* (0.002)
Sex (Female = 1)		0.10* (0.013)
Education Years		0.06* (0.002)
Religiosity		0.03* (0.002)
Left-Right Scale		-0.01* (0.003)
Ideological Extremism		-0.01* (0.004)
Age		-0.003* (0.000)
AIC	547603	515563
R ² Marginal	0.009	0.249
R ² Conditional	0.070	0.289

Source: ESS8, ESS9, ESS10 - unweighted. Country N = 31; N = 118,279. *p<0.01
 Reported for individual and country level are the unstandardized regression coefficients and in parentheses the standard errors. Continuous variables are mean centred. VIF values between 1.01-1.13.

Initial Takeaways

- The question of European identity should be explored with a focus that extends beyond the realms of the EU.
- As part of the EU's aim to increase support for integration through the promotion of a supranational identity, the EU would do well to look outwards by encouraging research into what builds European identity even in non-member states.
- This could feed into identity and enlargement policies.

Are there significant differences between EU Members and Non-Members in the variables that have an effect on European identity?

	EU Members	Non-EU Members
Country-Level		
Income Group	0.447* (0.137)	0.561 (0.233) ←
Individual-Level		
National Identity	0.445* (0.003)	0.279* (0.008)
EU Integration	0.273* (0.003)	0.338* (0.007)
Sex (Female = 1)	0.081* (0.014)	0.217* (0.034)
Education Years	0.061* (0.002)	0.046* (0.005)
Religiosity	0.029* (0.002)	0.040* (0.006)
Left-Right Scale	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.033* (0.007) ←
Ideological Extremism	-0.012* (0.004)	-0.005 (0.011) ←
Age	-0.003* (0.000)	-0.001 (0.001) ←
N	98953	19326
Country N	24	7
AIC	427616	87130
R ² Marginal	0.257	0.200
R ² Conditional	0.294	0.260

Source: ESS8, ESS9, ESS10 - unweighted. *p<0.01

Reported for individual and country level are the unstandardized regression coefficients and in parentheses the standard errors. Continuous variables are mean centred. VIF values between 1.00-1.13.



Contact

✉ victoria.salinero-bevins.2@city.ac.uk

🌐 europeansocialsurvey.org

📘 EuropeanSocialSurvey

📺 European-Social-Survey

🐦 ESS_Survey

📺 EuropeanSocialSurveyERIC

