European identity as a safeguard against xenophobia?
A differentiated view based on identity content.

Georg Datler

The nice, but simplistic story on European identity

National identity is the problem, …

… European identity is the solution

The same in proper wording:

National identity leads to/ is associated with xenophobia.

European identity leads to/ is associated with tolerance.

What others found out:
„European Identity" and tolerant attitudes towards outgroups

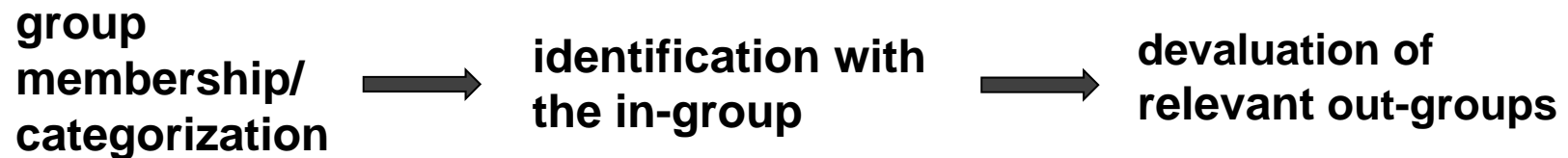| Study	Design, Data	Dependent Var.	Control / Manipulated Var.	Effect
Citrin and Sides (2004)	Eurobarometer 53.0 (2000)	Attitudes towards minorities[a]	Extensive multivariate control: national identification, age, gender, education, income, ideology, minority status etc.	✚
Fuß (2006)	Regional samples of young adults (18-24) in Chemnitz and Bielefeld, Germany, N=2x400	Attitudes to cultural/ national diversity[a]	National identity	✚
Quintelier and Dejaeghere (2008)	Belgian Youth Survey 2006, 16 year old Belgians, N=4.443	Negative attitudes towards minorities.	Combined interaction effect with ...	✚
Skrobanek (2004)	Regional sample of young adults (17-20), Saxony (East Germany), N=1.457	Attitudes towards foreigners	Extensive multivariate control: national/ regional identification, value orientation, anomia, deprivation etc.	✚
Licata and Klein (2002)	Self-administered questionnaire, N=...	Tolerance towards ...	National identification, political ...	▬
Mummenday and Waldzus **Mummenday and Waldzus 2004), Waldzus et al. (2003) Waldzus and Mummendey (2004)**	Several laboratory and web-based experiments, N=63, N=121, N=40	Evaluation of the outgroup (other European nationality)	Complexity of the representation of superordinate category, similarity of ingroup and outgroup, relative prototypicality of ingroup	▬ conditional on in-group projection

Large-scale survey studies find a positive relation of „European identity" and tolerant attitudes towards foreigners.

Mixed Evidence

But sometimes the opposite seems to be true.

The theoretical basis of the nice story: Social Identity Theory (SIT)

group membership/ categorization ➡ **identification with the in-group** ➡ **devaluation of relevant out-groups**

European identity

more encompassing, inclusive (than national identity)

➡ (some) foreigners are part of the in-group

➡ foreigners are not an out-group/ are a less relevant out-group

The lab and the real world

Social Identity Theory	European identity
unambiguous categories	ambiguous categories
clear group boundaries	unclear group boundaries
artificial categories	categories tied to meaning/ norms/ beliefs/ values

Alternative theoretical approaches to identity

The model of collective identity by Abdelal et al. (2005):

Collecitive identities can be characterized by
content and contestation.
e.g. national identity: nationalistic content vs. patriotic content

Relational realism, political identies (Tilly 2002):

Identities as social representations of **social relations**
political identities: social relation „individual x governmental organization"

Unpacking the umbrella term „identity"(Brubaker & Cooper 2000):

identfication (subjective process)
commonality, connectedness, groupness (collective phenomena)

„European identity" in survey research

International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) 1995/2003, Module National Identity I & II
How close do you feel to …   "Europe"
[very close – close – not very close – not close at all]

European Value Study (EVS) 1999/2000
Which of these geographical groups would you say you belong to first of all?
And the next?

C   Locality town
D   Europe
A   Locally, the place where you live
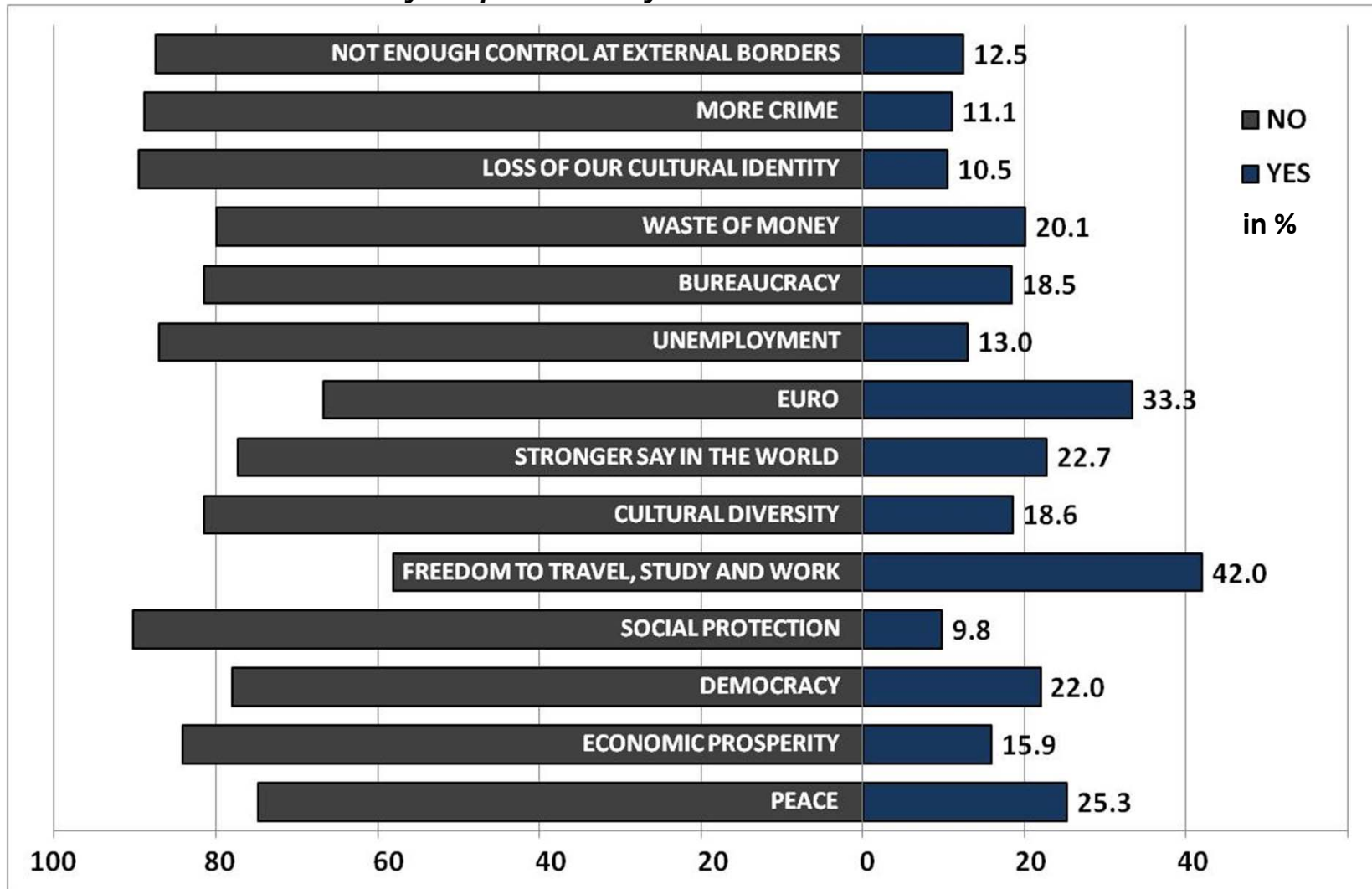B   Region of county where you live
E   The world as a whole

Eurobarometer (EB), EB, 71.3.,2009
Thinking about this, to what extent do you personally feel you are European?"
[to a great extent – somewhat – not really– not at all]

- **Measures of „identification with Europe" and not of „European identity"**
- **No content, no contestation**
- **The object of the social relation is vague**

Addressing the problem: Bringing content in

What does the EU mean to you personally?

	NO	YES
NOT ENOUGH CONTROL AT EXTERNAL BORDERS		12.5
MORE CRIME		11.1
LOSS OF OUR CULTURAL IDENTITY		10.5
WASTE OF MONEY		20.1
BUREAUCRACY		18.5
UNEMPLOYMENT		13.0
EURO		33.3
STRONGER SAY IN THE WORLD		22.7
CULTURAL DIVERSITY		18.6
FREEDOM TO TRAVEL, STUDY AND WORK		42.0
SOCIAL PROTECTION		9.8
DEMOCRACY		22.0
ECONOMIC PROSPERITY		15.9
PEACE		25.3

in %

Source: EB 71.3 (2009). EU27, N = 26'830, national samples weighted by relative population size (w22)

The view of the data analyst:

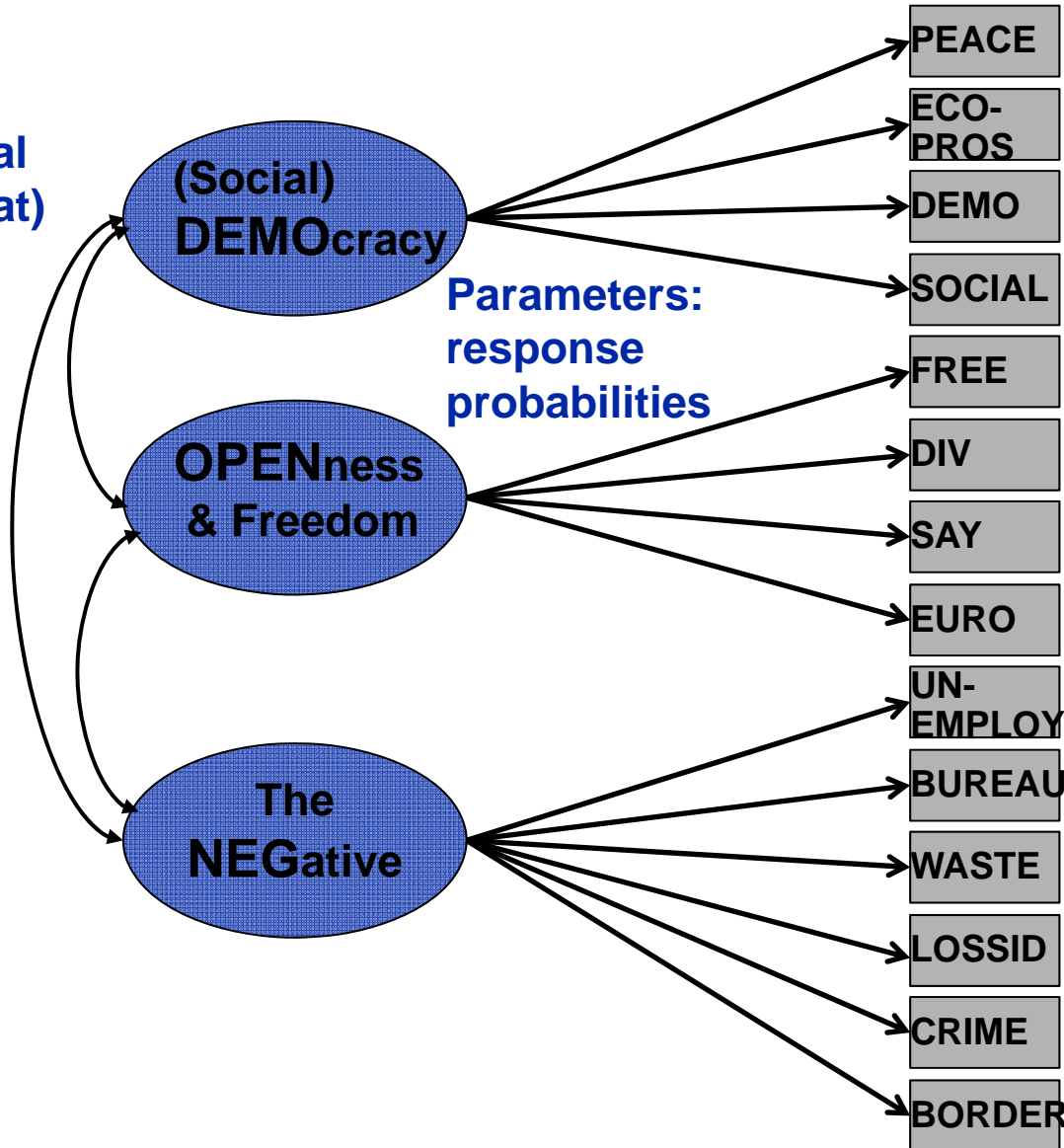**14 dichotomous variables = 16'384 response patterns.**

Explain with the most parsimonous model that fits the data.

Modeling strategy: finite mixture modeling

Latent:
categorical
(here: 2 cat)

(Social)
DEMOcracy

Parameters:
response
probabilities

OPENness
& Freedom

The
NEGative

Observed:
dichotomous

PEACE

ECO-PROS

DEMO

SOCIAL

FREE

DIV

SAY
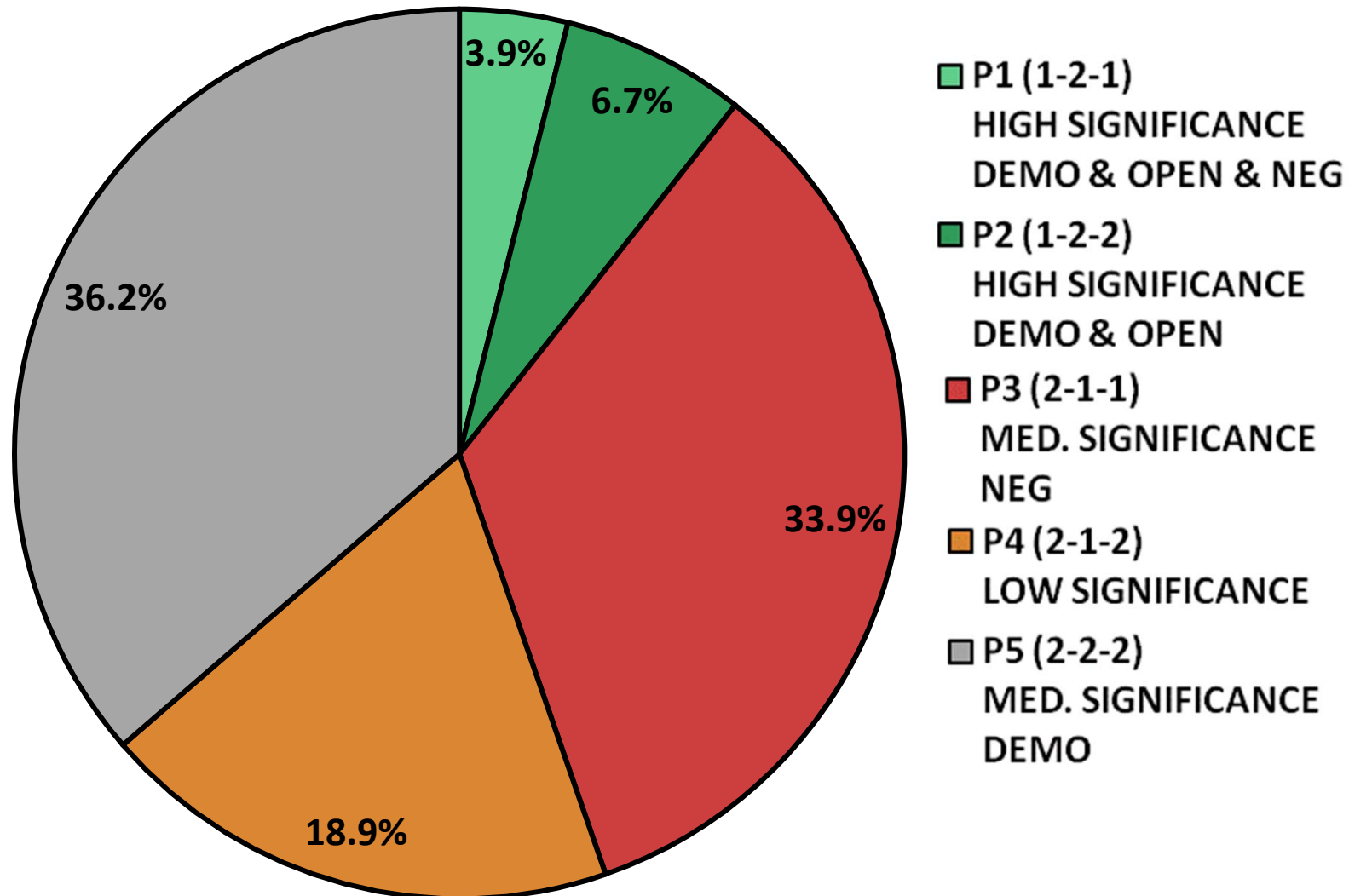
EURO

UN-EMPLOY

BUREAU

WASTE

LOSSID

CRIME

BORDER

Model fit
LR Chi^2 = 16559.827
with 16305 df, p=.0796
Classification quality:
Entropie = .642

Groups based on most likely latent class membership

3 latent variables with 2 cat. = 2 x 2 x 2 = latent class pattern with 8 cells

Legend:

- ☐ **P1 (1-2-1)** HIGH SIGNIFICANCE DEMO & OPEN & NEG
- ☐ **P2 (1-2-2)** HIGH SIGNIFICANCE DEMO & OPEN
- ☐ **P3 (2-1-1)** MED. SIGNIFICANCE NEG
- ☐ **P4 (2-1-2)** LOW SIGNIFICANCE
- ☐ **P5 (2-2-2)** MED. SIGNIFICANCE DEMO

Hypothesis

The **content** of European identity
moderates the relation of identification with
Europe and atittudes towards foreingers.

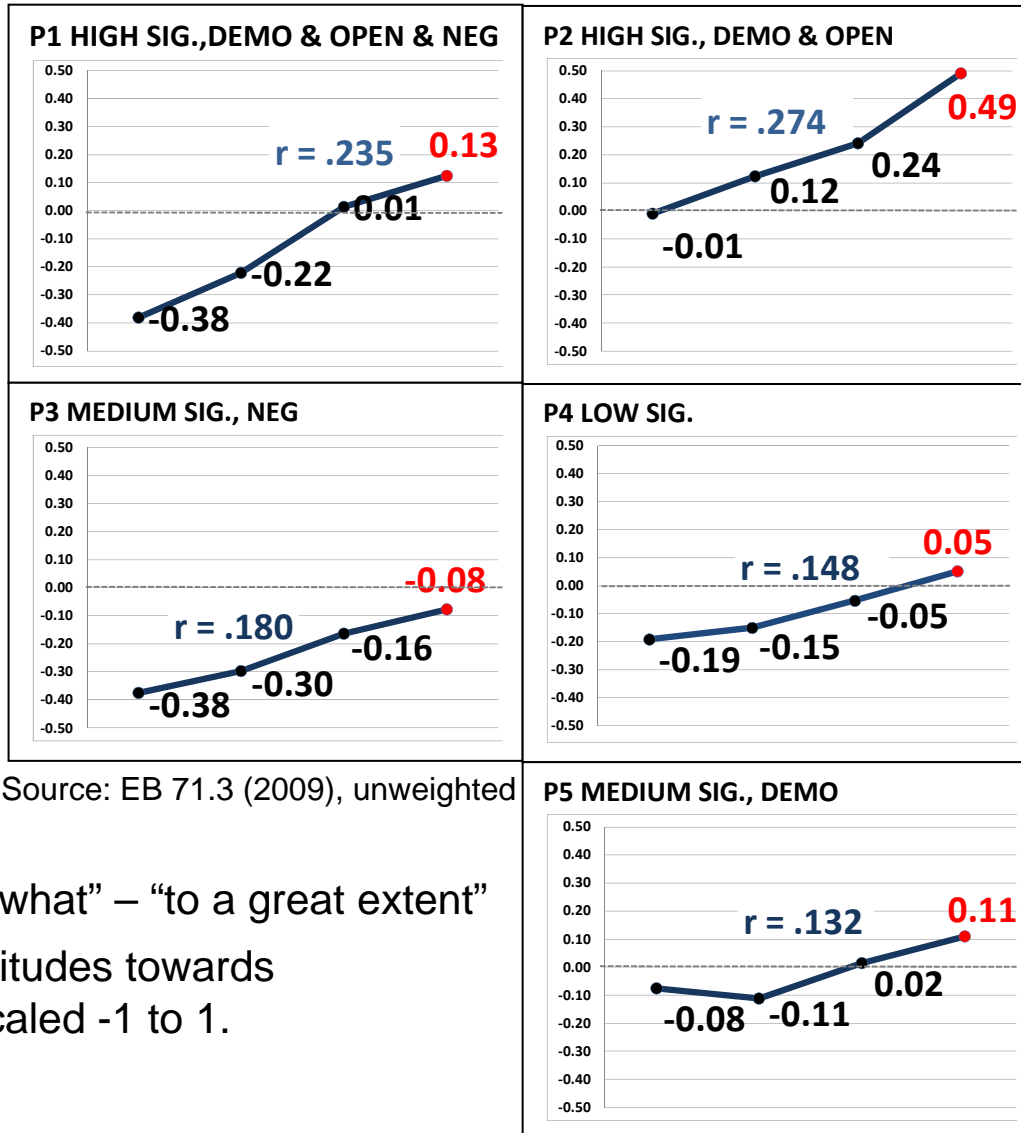**Expected moderating effect of content dimensions:**
(Social)Democracy [DEMO]   **0** (?)
Freedom & Openness [OPEN]   **+**
The Negative [NEG]   **-**

The relation of identification with Europe and attittudes towards foreigners conditional on European identity content

Level Hypothesis:
mean values of high identifiers
P2 > P1 > P5, P4 > P3

Association Hypothesis:
correlations
P2 > P1 > P5, P4 > P3

P1 HIGH SIG.,DEMO & OPEN & NEG

r = .235   0.13
-0.01
-0.22
-0.38

P2 HIGH SIG., DEMO & OPEN

r = .274   0.49
0.24
0.12
-0.01

P3 MEDIUM SIG., NEG

-0.08
r = .180
-0.16
-0.30
-0.38

P4 LOW SIG.

0.05
r = .148
-0.05
-0.15
-0.19

Source: EB 71.3 (2009), unweighted

P5 MEDIUM SIG., DEMO

0.11
r = .132
0.02
-0.08   -0.11

x-axis: identification with Europe
"not at all" – "not really" – "somewhat" – "to a great extent"

y-axis: mean values "positive attitudes towards immigrants" (7 item index), re-scaled -1 to 1.

Conclusions - Substantive

- **The effect of European identity on xenophobia depends on the content of European identity.**

- **Per se, European identity is no „better" than national identity.**

- **But there is a specific European identity that is associated with openness and freedom that does relate to tolarent attitudes, and it is held by a substantive share of Europeans.**

Conclusions - Methodological

- **Identitities have a content. If we want use identity as a variable we need take it into account.**

- **Social constructionist theorizing and quantitative analysis are no anthithesis per se.**

- **Mixture modeling is a useful tool, but it is not magical.**

Limitations and a Message

… To be addressed

- Include covariates

- Validate the content typology with other external variables

- Relate European identity content and national identity content

… that will persist

- Meaning items: survey can never cover all meanings;

- EB: some usual suspects are missing

Development of survey measures and interpretation of results are highly dependent on theory and on qualitative research.

Results: Latent class pattern, response probabilites

Latent Dim.	a proiri prob.	Item	P1 (1-2-1) HIGH SIG. DEMO & OPEN & NEG	P2 (1-2-2) HIGH SIG. DEMO & OPEN	P3 (2-1-1) MED. SIG. NEG	P4 (2-1-2) LOW SIG.	P5 (2-2-1)	P6 (2-2-2) MED. SIG. DEMO
1 (Social) Democracy (DEMO)	0.25	PEACE	0.401	0.401	0.11	0.11	0.40	0.40
	0.20	ECOPROS	0.363	0.363	0.05	0.05	0.36	0.36
	0.22	DEMO	0.398	0.398	0.06	0.06	0.40	0.40
	0.13	SOCIAL	0.228	0.228	0.03	0.03	0.23	0.23
2 Openness and Freedom	0.46	FREE	0.913	0.91	0.39	0.39	0.39	0.39
	0.18	DIV	0.609	0.61	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.11
	0.22	SAY	0.601	0.60	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
	0.31	EURO	0.628	0.63	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
3 The Negative (NEG)	0.14	UNEMPLOY	0.291	0.05	0.29	0.05	0.29	0.05
	0.17	BUREAU	0.36	0.07	0.36	0.07	0.36	0.07
	0.18	WASTE	0.443	0.03	0.44	0.03	0.44	0.03
	0.11	LOSSID	0.237	0.04	0.24	0.04	0.24	0.04
	0.14	CRIME	0.35	0.02	0.35	0.02	0.35	0.02
	0.13	BORDER	0.278	0.04	0.28	0.04	0.28	0.04
Class Size			**3.9%**	**6.7%**	**33.9%**	**18.9%**	**0.5%**	**36.2%**