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Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity

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SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

Orientations of Young Men and Women
to Citizenship and European Identity

YOUTH AND EUROPEAN IDENTITY

Final report

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Preface

Within the Fifth Community RTD Framework Programme of the European Union (1998–2002), the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' had broad and ambitious objectives, namely: to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

This Key Action had a total budget of EUR 155 million and was implemented through three Calls for proposals. As a result, 185 projects involving more than 1 600 research teams from 38 countries have been selected for funding and have started their research between 1999 and 2002.

Most of these projects are now finalised and results are systematically published in the form of a Final Report.

The calls have addressed different but interrelated research themes which have contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be grouped under a certain number of areas of policy relevance, each of which are addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives.

These areas are the following:

• *Societal trends and structural change*
16 projects, total investment of EUR 14.6 million, 164 teams

• *Quality of life of European citizens*
5 projects, total investment of EUR 6.4 million, 36 teams

• *European socio-economic models and challenges*
9 projects, total investment of EUR 9.3 million, 91 teams

• *Social cohesion, migration and welfare*
30 projects, total investment of EUR 28 million, 249 teams

• *Employment and changes in work*
18 projects, total investment of EUR 17.5 million, 149 teams

• *Gender, participation and quality of life*
13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.3 million, 97 teams

• *Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use*
8 projects, total investment of EUR 6.1 million, 77 teams

• *Education, training and new forms of learning*
14 projects, total investment of EUR 12.9 million, 105 teams

• *Economic development and dynamics*
22 projects, total investment of EUR 15.3 million, 134 teams

• *Governance, democracy and citizenship*
28 projects; total investment of EUR 25.5 million, 233 teams

• *Challenges from European enlargement*
13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.8 million, 116 teams

• *Infrastructures to build the European research area*
9 projects, total investment of EUR 15.4 million, 74 teams

This publication contains the final report of the project 'Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity', whose work has primarily contributed to the area 'Governance, Citizenship and the Dynamics of European Integration'.

The report contains information about the main scientific findings of 'Youth and European Identity' and their policy implications. The research was carried out by seven teams over a period of thirty six months, starting in October 2001.

The abstract and executive summary presented in this edition offer the reader an overview of the main scientific and policy conclusions, before the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this report.

As the results of the projects financed under the Key Action become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 'Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' of the Sixth Framework Programme is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union to fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

J.-M. BAER,

Director

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

This study aims to provide insight into young adults' orientations to European identity, their feelings of being European, and their sense of European citizenship. Comparisons are made between: males and females, regions within and between nations, representative and 'target samples' of individuals whose studies or work potentially will lead to careers in Europe beyond their national boundaries. Regions and nations were selected on the basis of contrasting histories of local nationalism and support for the project of the European Union. Representative and target samples of 18-24 year old residents were drawn from the following cities or towns: Vienna and three towns of the Bregenz area, Vorarlberg (Austria); Chemnitz and Bielefeld, 'east' and 'west' (Germany); Castilian Madrid and Bilbao, the Basque country (Spain); Manchester, England and Edinburgh, Scotland (UK); Prague and Bratislava (Czech and Slovak Republics), accession states at the time of the study. Surveys were conducted in 2002 and a smaller number of follow up interviews in 2003.

Feelings of European identity were found among half the people surveyed in the representative samples in the Austrian, German and accession state cities and among less than a quarter of individuals in Bilbao and the UK cities. Levels of European identity were markedly higher among target samples than among the random samples. National differences in European identity were less clearly marked in the target samples. In all research sites except the UK, feelings of European identity were slightly higher among women than men. National identity and European identity were usually associated, but European identity was not enhanced by Basque or Scottish national identity. European identity was higher amongst those who were aware of the impact of the European Union. Levels of European identity were also related to orientations to national citizenship. Trust in government and, to some extent, engagement in social and political issues tended to be associated with higher levels of European identity. A very small number of respondents spoke in terms of 'constitutional patriotism', expressing considerable pride in the democratic institutions of the EU. There was little direct support for a racist and chauvinist forms of European identity. However, there was a widespread willingness to place restrictions on immigration even within the European Union. Concern about immigration was generally higher among those with less education and those who expressed a sense of direct competition for jobs and resources. Across all localities, there was evidence of pervasive low-levels of Islamophobia. Experiences that enhanced European identity included seeing the EU as an effective agent: some respondents used the Iraq war as an example and as encapsulating comparison between Europe and the USA. Not surprisingly, speaking several European languages, travel and friendship

connections across Europe were important but these were not always sufficient conditions for European identity. The orientation of local political cultures toward Europe, the European Union and the more specific issue of immigration also had important effects. Members of the target samples who travel and shared high levels of language skills only partially transcended the differences found among the representative samples because of the effects of such local factors.

The research confirms the value of language education and programmes promoting travel and mobility. It recommends that policies in these areas actively seek to incorporate young people across all levels of education and career paths. It identifies reasons for targeting disadvantaged groups and regions with low levels of language skill, travel and mobility and encouraging more engaging and systematic citizenship education across the EU. It also recommends strengthening mechanisms for making EU policies and achievements highly visible to ordinary people; enhancing mechanisms for combating negative stereotypes of immigrants and Islamophobia and the development of European public space.

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research was funded under the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-Economic Knowledge Base' of the European Commission's Fifth Framework Programme (1998-2002).

1. The Research Teams

Coordinator: Professor Lynn Jamieson with administrative assistance from Charmaine Wilson, University of Edinburgh, Scotland UK.

Co-investigators and researchers: **Austria**: Professor Claire Wallace, Reingard Spannring and George Datler, Institute for Advanced Studies Vienna; **Germany**: Professor Klaus Boehnke and Daniel Fuss, International University of Bremen; **Slovak and Czech Republics**: Professor Ladislav Macháček, Dr Gabriel Bianchi and Barbara Lášticová, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava; **Spain**: Professor Maria Ros, Miryam Rodriguez-Monter and Javier Rodriguez Universidad Complutense de Madrid and Dr Hector Grad and Gema Garcia-Albacete, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid; **UK**: Dr Susan Grundy, University of Edinburgh, Scotland and Dr Susan Condor, University of Lancaster, England.

2. Aims and Background

The project aims to provide insight, for local, national and European policy makers into young adults' orientations to 'being European' and to being EU citizens. The study also contributes to academic debate about these issues. The topic required a broad exploration of people's senses of identity including their relationship to local, regional and national domains and their perceptions of the opportunities and constraints shaping their future.

Some academic commentators have suggested that a European identity has the potential to become an important personal identity as an additional layer on top of national identity, providing a sense of integration with other social groups. In contrast, the work of others suggests that European identity is more likely to be a transitory 'identity claim' only made in some social contexts, deployed for particular audiences and occasions, without being fundamental to sense of self or profoundly integrative of any social group. Why, when and where people develop European identities is a key part of the investigation undertaken by this research.

A long standing concern in academic debate about nationality concerns the potential for national identity to take a chauvinistic and racist form. This investigation also contributes to developing an understanding of the possibility of a chauvinistic and racist European identity emerging compared with a more cosmopolitan and tolerant one. Jurgen Habermas (1998) has suggested that 'constitutional patriotism', a heartfelt attachment to the frameworks protecting human rights and democratic citizenships, has the potential to occupy the place that might otherwise be taken up by chauvinistic nationalism. It would be consistent with current academic views on citizenship to suggest that European citizenship is enhanced where people experience a sense of engagement with their national and local citizenship.

3. Research Design

Men and women aged 18-24 were selected as the subjects of the research, allowing a gender comparison and a focus on the youngest group of adults with voting rights and responsibilities of citizenship, 'new citizens'. Respondents were strategically selected to enable two further comparisons. First, they were from paired localities with linked but contrasting histories of local nationalism and support for the project of the European Union. This allowed comparisons of localities within nations and across nations. Within localities, the study focused on young people who were residents of selected towns or a selected city and had lived there for at least five years. This allowed more specific comparisons and a more focused study of the relationships between attachment to town, region, nation and Europe. Second, from within each individual locality two samples were selected for comparison: a 'target sample' of young men and women whose education or employment potentially oriented them to careers in Europe beyond their national boundaries; and a representative sample of young men and women selected from all career paths and socio-economic backgrounds. This allowed comparison between representative samples of all 18-24 year old residents and a more highly educated and potentially Europe-oriented group.

The sites of the project were:

- Vienna and the three main towns in the Bregenz area of Vorarlberg in Austria;

- Madrid the capital and Bilbao in the Basque Country, Spain;

- Chemnitz and Bielefeld, in Germany but in 'east' and 'west' Germany;

- Bratislava and Prague the capitals of the Slovak and Czech Republics but formerly in Czechoslovakia;

● Edinburgh, Scotland and Manchester, England in the UK.

Four pairs of localities (Vienna and the Bregenz area of Vorarlberg, Madrid and Bilbao, Chemnitz and Bielefeld, Manchester and Edinburgh,) are situated in two more or less autonomous parts of the same nation state. In the case of Austria, Spain and the UK one region has a history of local nationalism seeking independence from the other and in the German case there is a recent history of separation and reunification. Prague and Bratislava were once cities within Czechoslovakia. Since their separation, Slovakia has had poorer economic fortunes and there was evidence that Slovaks looked more eagerly towards the European Union. In all cases, their different histories of nationalisms and economic circumstances have arguably resulted in different patterns of engagement with other parts of Europe and the EU.

Map Showing the Research Localities

Table 1. Numbers of 18-24 year olds in the representative (r) and target (T) samples, by locality

	Total	Vorarl-berg Bregenz	Vienna	Bratislava	Prague	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Edinburgh	Manchester
R	3890	400	400	397	396	400	400	424	401	308	364
T	799	14	50	98	89	100	97	99	102	67	83

A structured questionnaire was administered to the samples in 2002 to explore the salience and meanings of 'being European' and respondents' ideals and practices of citizenship. Various types of questions were used to explore attitudes, understandings, experiences and practices. All teams used the same, collaboratively-developed questionnaire although some questions had to be dropped in Austria due to budgetary constraints. Copies of the questionnaire can be found on the project website: www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth/

A small number of semi-structured interviews with both representative and target groups were then conducted in each locality in order to explore in more depth the meanings and processes behind the survey answers. Using one of the survey questions, interviewees who had expressed high and low senses of European identity were strategically selected in order to maximise comparison. Matching numbers of 'high' and 'low' European-identity women and men were sought from the representative sample and, similarly, if the range existed also from among the target sample. Only in the UK was it possible to interview persons with high and low senses of European identity within the more Europe-oriented target sample. In other localities only those expressing high European identity were interviewed because few or no members of the target sample expressed low European identity. The table shows the number of qualitative interviews that were completed.

Table 2. Completed Qualitative Interviews

	Vorarlberg	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Edinburgh	Manchester
Total	12	15	25	27	24	24	20	21	26	30
Representative	9	11	15	16	16	16	12	12	13	16
Target	3	4	10	11	8	8	8	9	13	14
High	10	9	12	17	16	16	12	10	14	14
Low	2	6	5	7	8	8	8	11	12	16

High is defined as answering (3 or 4) and low as (0 or 1) on a scale of 0-4 concerning 'feeling about being European' from 'no feeling at all' (0) to 'very strong feeling' (4). In addition to the figures shown in the table for 'low' and 'high' 3 'medium' respondents (answering 2) were interviewed in Bratislava and 8 in Prague.

All interviews were conducted in the national language, tape recorded and fully transcribed in that language before being paraphrased in English.

4. Key Findings

4.1. What is Europe?

It was much easier for respondents to say what Europe is not than to say what it is. Across localities, respondents defined Europe in contrast to Asia, America and Islam. For many the geography of Europe was not confined to the European Union but the essence of Europe remained elusive. Survey responses indicated that geography and the political alliance of the European Union were important to more respondents than 'values and tradition' or the economic alliance expressed by the Euro.

4.2. European Identity and the Relevance of Europe to Everyday Lives

A composite measure of European identity was constructed. Respondents who chose at least two of three specific possible ways of expressing European identity in answers to the survey were judged to have a sense of European identity. This provided a more robust and valid measure than the answer to a single question but without producing an overly conservative estimate of levels of European identity.

Among the representative samples, at best around half of respondents claimed a European identity. This was the case in Chemnitz, Bielefeld, Bratislava, Prague, and, by extrapolation, (one set of data was missing for Austria) also Vienna and the towns in the Bregenz area of Vorarlberg. On the other hand, there were localities in which less than a quarter of the representative samples expressed a positive sense of European identity. This was the case in Edinburgh, Manchester, and Bilbao. Madrid was an intermediate case with 40% of the representative sample having a European identity. In comparison, among the target samples, over 50% expressed a European identity in all the research cities except Bilbao (38%), Madrid (43%) and Manchester (45%). Differences between men and women were not very large but sufficient to be statistically significant among most of the representative samples. In all the research cities, except Edinburgh and Manchester, more women than men expressed a European identity.

Analysis of the effect of religious views on European identity found similar levels of European identity among Roman Catholics and Muslims, with lower levels among those of no religion and Protestants.

For respondents who expressed a low or no sense of European identity, 'Europe' and European issues were not typically something they felt strongly about or saw as of relevance to themselves. However, a minority had more negative views. These included regarding Europe as belonging to others, as unlovable, or seeing Europe as nothing other than bureaucracy. Even some respondents who claimed a European identity on at least one survey measure, said that they regarded Europe as an insignificant category and that being European was purely an accident of their national citizenship or geographical location. On the other hand, some respondents who expressed a European identity spoke eloquently and with pride of what they saw as the achievements of Europe, or described experiences which gave them a sense of Europe as their home.

4.3. European versus Other Identities

When identification with Europe was measured against identification with city, region and nation, a wide range of identity configurations were apparent. Among the representative samples, the majority expressed greater attachment to their city and nation or region than to Europe in all localities although the degree of difference between attachment to nation/region and Europe varied widely. In the Basque country low proportions of respondents expressing attachment to Spain and to Europe. In Germany there were relatively high proportions of respondents expressing attachment to Europe and a similar proportion expressing attachment to Germany. (Attachment to the nation, Germany, was modest in comparison to attachment to nation in a number of other localities.). In

Manchester there was a very large difference between the high level of attachment to England/Britain and the low level of attachment to Europe.

In a number of localities, comparatively larger proportions of the target sample members identified with Europe than with their nation or state. However, in general high identification with Europe was typically associated with high identification with nation. However, people with strong affiliations to regions or to stateless nations did not always demonstrate enhanced attachment to Europe. It is also perhaps important to note that family, friends, a partner and education are all typically far more likely to be seen by young people as important to 'who I am' than either their nationality or 'being European'.

4.4. Perceptions of the Impact of EU membership and EU Enlargement

The likelihood of respondents demonstrating a positive sense of European identity was influenced by their perceptions of the impact of the EU. Many respondents saw the European Union and Europe as largely irrelevant to their own lives. Respondents from the accession states represented by Prague and Bratislava were significantly more likely than respondents from the established member states to rate EU membership as having a high impact on them, their local area or their nation. Across all localities more respondents saw the EU as having had an impact on their nation-state than on themselves personally. Only in Prague and Bratislava did more than half of the representative samples express a sense that the EU had had an impact on themselves personally. The majority, but not all, described this as positive. Across all localities, significantly higher proportions of the target group said that they thought the EU had had an impact on themselves personally, on their local area and on the nation. Differences between localities were not as marked among the target samples as they were among the representative samples. Among the representative samples the range was between large majorities expressing an impact on their nation in the accession states and very few respondents reporting such an impact in the UK.

Respondents' views of EU enlargement were discussed in in-depth interviews and a wide range of often contradictory hopes and fears emerged across all localities. Some hopes and fears were specific to the accession states: hopes for improved democracy and higher status on the global stage and fears of being treated as second class members, growing divides between 'old' and 'new' Europe, and rising costs of living. Across a number of localities, shared hopes included greater cooperation and tolerance, and economic benefits. Shared fears included stultifying bureaucracy, the domination of the large over the small, loss of national and regional identity and rising economic costs.

5. Orientations to Citizenship

Surveys and interviews were designed to explore orientations to citizenship and the extent to which a sense of self as a European citizen functioned as a potential basis for a European identity. Since it would be consistent with current academic views on citizenship to suggest that European citizenship is unlikely to occur if people are disengaged from their national and local citizenship, it was important to explore orientations to national citizenship.

5.1. Citizenship Education

School-based experience of education in aspects of citizenship varied across localities and sometimes varied markedly between the representative sample and the target sample. General citizenship education was most widely experienced in Germany and Austria, where over 50% of the representative sample experienced discussion of democracy and citizenship at school and there was little difference between the experience of the representative and target samples. Less than 25% of the representative samples experienced the same level of citizenship education in Madrid, Bilbao and Bratislava. Differences between the representative sample and target samples were large in Madrid, Edinburgh, Manchester and Bratislava, where the target sample were much more likely to experience a wide range of elements of citizenship education.

The experience of learning anything at school about the European Union also varied widely. Over 50% of the representative samples in Manchester and Edinburgh in the UK reported learning little or nothing compared to only 18% of the representative sample in Vienna.

5.2. Trust in Nation Political Systems

Across localities, the majority of respondents had neither strong trust nor strong distrust in their national governments. However, among the representative samples trust in government was particularly low in Edinburgh, Manchester and Madrid. In most localities the target samples were more likely than the representative sample to place trust in their national political system, but this was not the case in Madrid and Bilbao. Low trust in the national political system was strongly associated with unwillingness to vote in elections, including European elections.

5.3. Social and Political Awareness

Low trust in political systems did not generally indicate low interest in social and political issues although there was an association in some localities. The majority of respondents in the representative samples were interested in a wide range of social and political issues. However, in Prague and Bratislava less than half of respondents expressed interest in a number of issues that were of interest to 70% or more in all or most other localities, for example, the issue of gender equality. On the other hand, more respondents from Prague and Bratislava were interested in the specific issue of the unification of Europe. Women were typically interested in a wider range of issues than men and in all localities significantly fewer men than women were interested in gender equality.

6. Attitudes to Immigration and Diversity

It was important to establish whether respondents' sense of European identity tended towards a chauvinistic and racist identity or a more cosmopolitan and tolerant identity. Was there any evidence for a European 'constitutional patriotism' occupying the place that might otherwise be taken up by chauvinistic nationalism?

6.1. Qualifications Desired of Citizens

Across all localities, when asked for their views on the necessary qualifications for somebody seeking citizenship, respondents were more likely to emphasise the importance of length of residence, working and obeying laws, 'civic' qualifications, than the ethnic qualifications of having parents and ancestors from the country. Ethnic qualifications for citizenship were emphasised by larger proportions of the representative samples in Edinburgh, Manchester and Madrid than by representative samples elsewhere.

6.2. Openness to Diversity

When asked directly about attitudes to national, ethnic and cultural diversity, the majority of respondents, in both the representative and target samples, across all localities were positive or neutral. Minorities of respondents across all localities expressed less tolerant views. In all localities except Madrid and Bratislava a much larger proportion expressed intolerant views among the representative samples than the target samples. The largest proportions of respondents with less tolerant views were among the representative samples in Manchester, Madrid and Bratislava and the target samples in Madrid and Bratislava.

6.3. Openness to Immigrants

Majorities among the representative samples in Manchester and Edinburgh in the UK, Chemnitz and Bielefeld, Germany, and the accession state cities of Prague and Bratislava wished to restrict all or most categories of immigrants. Among the member states of the European Union, many respondents thought that international migration within the European Union should be more restricted than it actually is. Among the representative samples, majorities thought that restrictions should be placed on migration within the European Union in Chemnitz (64%) and Bielefeld (56%), Edinburgh (61%) and Manchester (73%) and Bratislava (55%). In general, the target samples were more open to immigrants than the representative samples. Among the target samples, the lowest proportion expressing openness to immigrants from the European Union was in the accession state cities of Prague and Bratislava. Respondents were typically more open to immigrants fleeing from human rights violations than seeking employment, but this greater openness to asylum seekers was much less marked in the UK. Respondents in Bilbao were the least likely to want to place restrictions on any kind of immigration.

6.4. Barriers to Openness and Facilitators of More Openness

In-depth interviews revealed respondents' views of the barriers, real or imagined, to more openness to immigration and tolerance of diversity. These included a fear of competition for jobs and other resources and the power of negative stereotypes of immigrants circulating in the popular media. In some cases, respondents cited personal circumstances or experiences which they presented as evidence of competition with immigrants for resources or in support of negative stereotypes.

6.4.1. Languages, Travel and Friends

There were very large differences between the representative samples, but not the target samples, with respect to skills and experiences that facilitated a sense of openness to other cultures and nationalities. The UK and Spanish respondents lagged behind the other representative samples in languages skills and experiences of travel. In a number of localities 95% of the representative samples spoke more than their native language. In the UK almost two-thirds spoke only their native language. While over 90% of the representative sample in most localities had visited another European country, in Edinburgh and Bilbao just over two-thirds had done so, in Manchester only just over a half had done so, and in Madrid the majority had not visited another European country since age of 16. Schools did not provide experience of travel for the majority. School trips or exchanges were experienced by the largest minorities of respondents in Chemnitz (30%) and Bielefeld (40%) and Prague (16%).

Having a substantial proportion of friends of other nationalities or ethnicities facilitated openness to cultural diversity. This was a much more common experience in Vienna (43% representative sample, and 66% target sample) Bregenz/Vorarlberg (32% and 36%) and Bielefeld (40% and 38%) than among residents of the other cities in the study.

7. Facilitators of positive orientations to European identity and European citizenship

The factors facilitating enthusiasm for European identity and European citizenship can be categorized in terms of general background factors and more immediate triggers.

7.1. Background factors: Opportunity Structures, Formal and Informal Education and Political Cultures

Formal education, organized educational trips and informal connections, through friends and family, and leisure travel were part of the background that facilitated a European identity. Local and national political cultures were also important and could provide young people with a stock of predominantly positive or negative views of 'Europe' or the European Union. More specifically, national and local media also provided stereotypes of immigrants and views on immigration, in some cases linking enlargement of the European Union with discussion of immigration issues.

The representative samples in the UK cities of Manchester and Edinburgh and the Spanish cities of Madrid and Bilbao had the fewest respondents with other European language skills, experiences of travel, and friends of other nationalities. The majority of the representative sample at the UK had also had little or no formal education about the European Union. On the most basic measure of 'doing Europe', having traveled to another European country since the age of 16 and speaking one other European language, the representative samples from these cities were at best half as likely to 'do Europe' than those from Bregenz/Vorarlberg, Vienna, Prague, Bratislava, Bielefeld and Chemnitz. The representative samples in Manchester, Bilbao and Edinburgh in particular presented a consistent picture of little experience of 'doing Europe', low exposure to Europe and low European identity, in comparison to the other study sites.

7.2. Trigger Factors: Positive Comparisons and Perceiving the EU as a Positive Agent

In-depth interviews indicated that young adults sometimes experienced situations that heightened awareness of Europe as a significant social category and made them feel more intensely European. These included situations creating a positive comparison between 'Europe' and elsewhere beyond Europe. This often happened during travel but could also be the result of a range of other situations including sporting events. Another trigger factor involved situations creating a sense of the European Union as a positive agent. European opposition to the US led invasion of Iraq was a widely cited example.

8. Conclusion

Varying proportions of young adults expressed European identity ranging from around half of the representative sample of 18-24 year old residents of the Austrian, German and accession state cities included in the study to less than a quarter of the representative samples in Bilbao and the UK cities of Edinburgh and Manchester. In all but the UK, levels were slightly higher among women than men. National identity and European identity were normally associated but Basque and Scottish nationalism were not generally associated with a heightened sense of European identity. European identity was associated with the sense that the European Union had made an impact on the nation. Orientations to national citizenship were important to levels of European identity although the impact of factors such as trust in government or engagement in social and political issues varied across localities. There was some support for the view that engagement with national citizenship enhanced a sense of European identity. Few respondents spoke in terms that might be recognized as 'constitutional patriotism' but some did express considerable pride in the democratic institutions of Europe. There was very little direct support for a racist and chauvinist forms of European identity but widespread willingness to place restrictions on immigration even within the European Union. There were also signs of pervasive low-levels of Islamophobia. The experiences that enhanced European identity included seeing the EU as an effective agent. Among the interviewees, across all localities some respondents used the Iraq war as an instance of feeling more European because of this and as encapsulating comparison between Europe and the USA. Not surprisingly, speaking several European languages, travel and friendship connections across Europe were also important but these were not always sufficient conditions for creating a European identity. The orientation of local political cultures toward Europe, the European Union and the more specific issue of immigration also had important effects on respondents. The target samples that shared high levels of

language skills and travel only partially transcended the differences found among the representative samples because of the effects of such local factors.

8.1. Policy Recommendations

There are a number of messages of relevance for national and European policy makers and other agencies with an interest in promoting European identity or a positive sense of European citizenship. However, it is also clear that there can be no single policy or way of committing resources that would guarantee the more pervasive development of a European identity. This has been demonstrated by the extent of variation in the factors associated with European identities across cities in different regions and nations, and between representative samples of 18-24 year old and more educated Europe-oriented samples of residents in these cities.

8.1.1. Language Education

The research has confirmed the importance of sustaining and further developing policies to promote language education for young people. A direction for development worthy of consideration is specific policies for regions with very low levels of language skill among the majority of young people, as was the case among the representative samples of 18-24 year old residents of the Spanish and UK cities in the research. Consideration should be given to how to connect language learning and international dialogue.

8.1.2. Travel Programmes

In some of the researched localities only the relatively privileged target samples had experience of foreign travel. Consideration should be given to maximizing the likelihood that programmes encouraging travel will reach young people from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds and career paths. Consideration might be given to encouraging member states to monitor rates of travel within Europe among young nationals, paying attention to regional differences and differences by level of education. Programmes might be developed that are specifically targeted at young adults from less privileged backgrounds and at regions with very low rates of travel.

8.1.3. Mobility Programmes and International Dialogues

While the majority of respondents imagined their future as being 'at home', suggested that more young people might take up temporary mobility if they were channelled towards such opportunities. Ideally cross-European international dialogues among young people and periods of supported temporary mobility would be more consistently integrated into national educational systems across Europe. It may be important to both

enable mobility among young people and their participation in international dialogue in their own localities, so that they hear a range of cultural perspectives. It would certainly be possible for national governments to encourage new emphasis in national educational systems on cross-national intra-European schemes, such as twinning schools for the purposes of dialogue involving mobility and building international dialogues that can take place without mobility using internet telephony.

8.1.4. Citizenship Education

Consideration should be given to whether it would be possible to encourage more informative, engaging and systematic citizenship education across member states. The research has demonstrated a link between trust in national political systems as responsive to their citizens and a positive orientation to Europe. It is likely that any education that gives young people a sense of their own political efficacy might enhance their sense of European identity. Among respondents from the accession state cities of Prague and Bratislava, the hope was expressed that membership of the European Union would provide support and empowerment to the process of democratization of everyday politics. In terms of sustaining their high levels of European identity, consideration should be given to how to ensure this hope is realised. The ideal citizenship education in terms of European citizenship would not only leave young people much better informed about the rights of citizens of member states of the European Union but engage with their own interests and connect them with mechanisms which recognize young people's views and allow their voice to count at a European level.

8.1.5. Raising the Profile of the Pervasive Impact of European Institutions

When young adults were aware of the European Union as an effective actor doing something they regarded positively, this clearly enhanced their sense of themselves as European and European citizens. However, the European Union is an actor in many areas and issues of interest to large numbers of young people without this being visible to them. In some national contexts, only claims about the negative impact of the EU and its perceived cumbersome procedures receive media coverage. It is important that policy makers examine the mechanisms that they may have for enhancing the impact they are able to achieve through making the effects of European policies more visible. For example, given the high importance women place on issues of gender equality, sustaining policies of gender mainstreaming will have more potential impact if such policies are as visibly dynamic, relevant and pervasive as possible across member states and especially towards the targeted groups.

8.1.6. Encouraging a European Public Sphere

Any steps that encourage visible and inclusive public debate in which participants hear voices across Europe is likely to help foster European identity. Public perceptions of the relationship between national policies and European policies influence orientations to the EU and European identity. National identity is typically a stronger identity than European identity, therefore when people perceive conflict between national interest and the EU, then they are obviously more likely to distance themselves from the European Union and a European identity. Perceptions of the relationship between the nation and Europe are based on very limited and sometimes distorted information - voices from across Europe are very rarely heard in their national media coverage. There is little obvious public space for engagement in debate about the global position of the EU, its limits and tools. Large effects on the European identity may be achieved by the EU being seen to take a positive position, as with the war on Iraq. It is possible that leadership and action on other global issues, like, for example, global warming, may have similar effects.

8.2. Counteracting the stereotyping of immigrants and Islamophobia

Although this is partly a political issue beyond the reach of policy makers, it is worth considering what the policy mechanisms are for counteracting the negative stereotyping of immigrants and Islamophobia. It is difficult to directly counteract negative local and national popular press discourses that stereotype immigrants or Islamophobic views but it is worth considering what contributions could be made to defuse such discourses. Making information more visible, widening access to collated sources of accurate, reliable and easily understood information about flows of immigrants and asylum seekers might help with the former. Fears concerning immigration associated with the expansion of the EU expressed in popular discourses might be balanced by a more visible discourse about the benefits of an expanded Europe. If tolerance and diversity is to be encouraged, it may be more important than ever that beneficial contributions of EU policies to the welfare of individuals and their environments are not only developed but are widely broadcast and understood. Taking opportunities to talk about European Muslims and Muslims as citizens of the European Union might help undermine the stereotyping of Muslims as if they were always outside of Europe.

II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

1. Background

This research is funded under the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-Economic Knowledge Base' of the European Commission's Fifth Framework Programme (1998-2002). It investigated young men's and women's orientations to European identity and citizenship.

The background to this project includes public interest in the issue of European identity and the political ambition of fostering a sense of a 'People's Europe', a European Union which is recognised and taken to heart by its citizens as their own (Shore and Black, 1994). The academic background concerns debates about locality, nationality, citizenship and the processes of identity formation. Zygmunt Bauman suggests that 'it is the essence of "being a European" to have an essence that always stays ahead of reality' (2004,5). This project explores young adults participation in and perceptions of that 'essence' and reality.

If asked their nationality, most people can give an answer but this does not necessarily mean that nationality is an important category for them or involves strong feelings of belonging with others of the same nationality. For many citizens of nation-states, 'nationality' is synonymous with citizenship and both nationality and citizenship are often experienced as formal abstract ways of categorizing the self that do not carry much emotional resonance, although some authors argue the former is more likely to be of emotional significance than the latter. Sometimes the concepts 'nationality' and 'national identity' are used interchangeably, but, in this project, 'national identity' is defined more narrowly and specifically refers to the significance of nationality for a person's identity, their sense of self. Academic commentators across a number of disciplines have expressed fundamental doubts that a national identity could be replaced by a European identity but some authors have suggested that a European identity has the potential to become an important personal identity as an additional layer on top of national identity, providing a sense of integration with other social groups. Some authors have suggested that European identity is more likely to be a transitory 'identity claim' only made in some social contexts, deployed for particular audiences and occasions (McCrone,1998, McCrone and Kiley, 2000). This raises the possibility of sporadic European identity claims that that are not fundamental to sense of self or profoundly integrative of any social group. Why, when and where people develop European identities is a key part of the investigation undertaken by this research.

The internal cohesion of nation-states in contemporary Europe has historically involved both the universalism of legal frameworks creating mutually responsible democratic citizens and the particularism of notions about 'the nation', sometimes including 'ethnic' elements, such as an imagined natural kinship (Habermas, 1998). A long standing concern in academic debate about nationality is the potential for national identity to become a nationalism that is not only emotionally charged and highly salient to individuals but also takes a chauvinistic and racist form. This investigation makes a contribution to understandings the possibilities of the emergence of a chauvinistic and racist European identity versus a more cosmopolitan and tolerant European identity. Jurgen Habermas (1998) has suggested that 'constitutional patriotism', a heart felt attachment to the frameworks protecting human rights and democratic citizenships has the potential to occupy the place that might otherwise be taken up by chauvinistic nationalism (Delantey, 2000). In some academic understandings of citizenship, fully participating in democratic citizenship means being a conscious active subject in dialogue with other citizens. It would be consistent with many current academic views on citizenship to suggest that European citizenship is unlikely to occur until people experience a sense of engagement with more local citizenship. Some analysts have argued that this kind of engaged citizenship in turn sets the conditions for an expansive human-rights based notion of citizenship in which we are all citizens of the world (Werbner, and Yuval-Davis 1999). A European citizenship identity would then simply be a stepping-stone to a more global identity.

Our approach required us to be sensitive from the outset to the fact that the resources that arguably might be the raw materials of a 'European' or, for that matter, a 'cosmopolitan' identity are not equally distributed. European identity might include experience of travel across the territories of Europe, command of several European languages, and knowledgeable fluency in discussions of European music, art and literature. In some parts of Europe, these are forms of a social and cultural capital that are only available to relatively privileged minorities. Young people, both within and across European nation-states, have to negotiate very different constraints and opportunities for mustering experiences of 'being European'. For example, there is considerable variation in rates of youth unemployment and the opportunities for education and welfare offered to young people. There also remain marked differences between Northern and Southern Europe in terms of young people's access to living independently of family households.[1] Is the entitlement to live and work in Europe,

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[1] For references and details, see the various 'socio demographic reports' for the European Commission funded project 'Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity' published on the website at http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/youth/index.html

which flows from citizenship of a member state of the European Union rather than nationality, consequential for the identities of some young people? This entitlement is not likely to be salient to those whose horizons and ambitions do not go beyond local employment and training.

The overall aim of the project was to explore orientations to European identity and citizenship among strategically selected samples of the young men and women who are Europe's new citizens.

2. Objectives

This study has two main objectives, as outlined below. In the case of each objective, analysis has been derived through comparing strategically-selected samples of young people – by localities within nations or regions, and by gender and career path.

2.1. Objective 1: Orientations to European Identity

To describe and analyse the salience and meanings of 'being European' versus more personal, local, regional and national identities in the everyday worlds of strategically selected samples of young people, using comparison to get analytic purchase – comparison by localities within purposively selected nations or regions, by gender and by career path.

2.2. Objective 2: Orientations to Citizenship

To describe and to analyse orientations to citizenship particularly the extent of emphasis on social obligations and civic participation, entitlements of birth and ethnicity, nation-based or ethnicity-based citizenship, inclusion or exclusion, tolerance or chauvinism and racism - using comparison to get analytic purchase – comparison by localities within purposively selected nations or regions, by gender and by career path.

2.3. Additional objectives

More specific and potentially policy focused objectives are encompassed within the two main objectives:

- **Factors encouraging types of European Identity and Citizenship.**To draw conclusions concerning factors encouraging particular types of European identity and citizenship; to do this with particular reference to accession states versus established states.

- **Citizenship Education**. To document the extent to which respondents remember receiving any formal education concerning regional, national or European citizenship and their reactions to this; to draw conclusions from the research concerning issues that might be addressed effectively by citizenship education.

- **Mobility**, **Migration and Racism**. To improve knowledge of factors encouraging xenophobia and racism versus tolerance among groups of young people; to do this considering respondents' orientation to migration and trans-national links, and respondents' experience and perceptions of migrants.

III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY

This section is the main part of the report and should comprise different sections containing the analysis of the research carried out during the life-time of the project. It should also describe the methodology used and include the description of results highlighting the innovative aspects with respect to the state of the art in the specific field(s) of research (typically 50/60 pages). Where necessary, reference could be made to the annexes below.

1. Overview of the Research Design

Men and women aged 18-24 were selected as the subjects of the research, allowing a gender comparison and a focus on 'new citizens', the youngest group of adults with the voting rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

The young men and women were strategically selected in two senses. First they were from nations and regions with contrasting histories in terms of local nationalism and support for the project of the European Union. The rationale for the selection of regions and nations is described in more detail in the next section. Second, within those nations and regions, a target sample was selected of young men and women oriented to a 'European' career and a representative sample of young men and women was selected from all career paths and socio-economic backgrounds. The target sample was a more highly educated group because they were identified through career paths such as studying European law or European languages, which potentially orient young people to Europe.

The study focused on young people who were residents of particular towns and cities rather than from all parts of their region or nation. This reduced some of the possible sources of variation in attachment to locality, and allowed more targeted comparisons and a more focused study of the relationships between attachment to town and to region, nation and Europe. In the case of the representative and target sample, we aimed to recruit young people who had been resident in the town or region for at least five years. In both cases, we initially aimed to recruit equal numbers of young men and young women. We had planned to recruit 50 young men and 50 young women to the target sample in each locality and 200 young men and 200 young women to the representative sample in each locality but these totals could not always be achieved.

The achieved samples are shown in the table below.

Table 3. Numbers of 18-24 year olds in the representative and target samples, by locality

	Vorarlberg Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh	Total
Representative	400	400	396	397	400	400	424	401	364	308	3890
Target	14	50	89	98	100	97	99	102	83	67	799

There was also deviation from the initial plan of equal numbers of men and women, typically reflecting unequal numbers of young men and women in the population. (See Table 2).

The methods of data collection included a survey gathering quantitative data, and a smaller number of qualitative interviews. Interviewees were selected according to their answers to a survey question measuring strength of feeling about 'being European' on a scale of 0-4 from 'no feeling at all' (0) to 'very strong feeling' (4). It was decided to focus on young people from both extremes in order to maximise the possibility of comparison.

In combination, the methods of data collection enabled the research to go beyond simply counting how many young people had a sense of European identity, to begin to analyse the types of European identities that are emerging. This allowed us to locate the meaning of 'being European' in a range of identity construction processes. The topic required a broad exploration of each participant's sense of who they were including their relationships to local, regional and national domains and their perceptions of the opportunities and constraints shaping their future. This was achieved initially though through surveys and then reinforced through qualitative interviews to gain further insight into identity construction processes. As identity formation is clearly a fluid and complex process, it was felt that survey questions alone were insufficient tools for the purposes of this research.

While the research design recognised the fluidity of identity and the creative role of young people in identity construction, it also recognised the significance of the cumulative effect of both opportunities and choices, and of constraints and lack of opportunity. This was built into the design through comparison between the target samples of highly educated (target) and general (representative) young people.

It was important to the project to understand the differing ways in which the nations and regions of the study structured their educational systems, including the ages and stages

at which they stream young people into different educational routes resulting in different types of qualifications and employment opportunities. In some cases this may lead to different opportunities for careers in Europe beyond immediate regional and national boundaries. Unemployment levels provide one indicator of the different rates of disadvantage across the study site. Experience of unemployment for 18-24 year olds was very variable both between the different national sites of the project and, in some cases, within nations by region, by socio-economic background, by education level, by ethnic group and by gender.

2. Choice of study sites

The element of comparison within and across European states was critical to the research design. The research strategically selected pairs of nations or nations and regions (Scotland/England, Viennese Austria/Vorarlberg, former West/East Germany, Castillian Spain/Euskadi, the Czech Republic/Slovakia), in order to implement studies of the relationship between local, regional, national and European identities, types of citizenship practices, and ideals among young men and women. Each of the paired nations/regions has a history of contrasting views of Europe and contrasting economic fortunes. They include both founder members and accession states. The inclusion of the Czech and Slovak Republics enabled a focus on attitudes to European citizenship in the new accession countries prior to their joining the EU.

Figure 1. Map showing the study localities
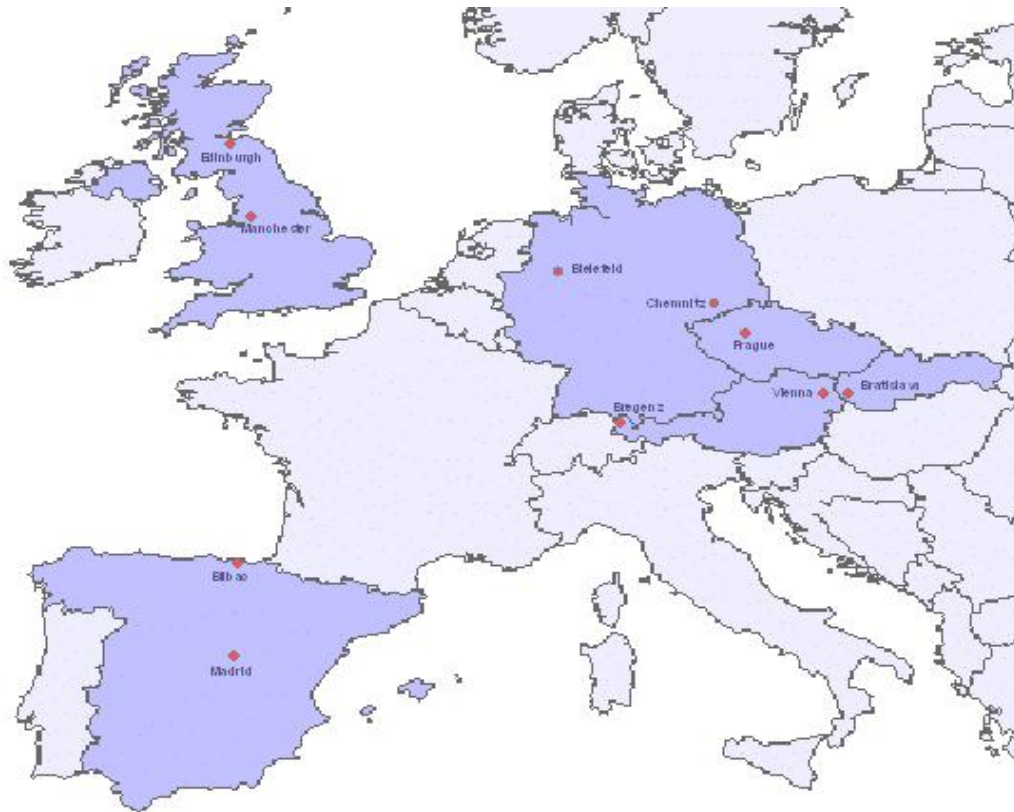
In two of the five selected pairs, political pundits and popular representations in local media have contrasted the culture of the subordinate and the dominant regions or nations. The subordinate regions of Vorarlberg and Scotland have been portrayed as combining local nationalism and pro-European sentiment. By contrast, the cultures of Vienna and England have been characterised as aligning nationalism with anti-European sentiments. In other pairs, indifference or antagonism to Europe has been seen as more culturally characteristic of the subordinate region/nation (East Germany, Euskadi, Slovakia) while the dominant nation/region has been seen as more pro-European (West Germany, Spain, the Czech Republic). Euskadi was perhaps an intermediate case with pro-Europeanism, formerly rejected by Euskadi nationalists as a matter for the Spanish state, generally regarded more favourably.

These characterizations reflect particular histories of regional difference and the research design maximizes contrast and comparison. In Austria, the quintessentially Austrian capital of Vienna is contrasted with the district of Bregenz in Vorarlberg, the most westerly region of Austria in which people speak a Swiss-German dialect and have sought

independence and union with Switzerland in the past. Similar contrast have been chosen in the UK and Spain, states made up of semi-autonomous 'regions' that have degrees of self-government, distinctive cultural and social identities and, in some cases, histories of antagonism to each other. In the UK, the chosen sites are in Scotland and England, territories with histories as separate kingdoms, once at war, centuries ago. The Spanish regions of Madrid and Euskadi are troubled by ongoing conflict over the issue of Basque independence. In Germany the sites are chosen mindful of the recent history of being separate states. Sites in the Czech and Slovak Republics offer comparison to each other given their previous shared history as Czechoslovakia, and different trajectories following the emergence of the Czech and Slovak Republics. Since their separation, the Slovak Republic has had poorer economic fortunes, as well as lower status in international politics, and arguably Slovaks have looked more enthusiastically towards the European Union, hoping that their new membership will improve their economic and social standing.

It was theoretically important to design the study so that people were studied in specific places rather than to draw samples of young adults from across the whole of the participating countries. This is because we believe that it is easier to understand how people feel about 'nation' and 'Europe' if they are studied in comparison to how they feel about a particular local place. For this reason, towns or cities were used as the basic units from which to draw the samples. Although they range from the modestly sized towns of the Bregenz district of Vorarlberg to the metropolis of Madrid, all of the research cities are meaningful social entities to their residents.

The sites of the study were:

- Vienna and the three main towns in the Bregenz area of Vorarlberg in Austria.

- Madrid the capital and Bilbao in the Basque Country, Spain.

- Chemnitz as a city of the former GDR (German Democratic Republic) and Bielefeld as a city of the former FRG (Federal Republic of Germany).

- Bratislava and Prague, capitals of the Slovak and Czech Republics but formerly in Czechoslovakia.

- Edinburgh, Scotland and Greater Manchester, England in the UK.

Four pairs of localities are in two more or less autonomous parts of the same nation state, but which has, or had at one time, sought independence from the other. Their different local nationalisms and economic circumstances have arguably resulted in

different patterns of engagement with other parts of Europe and the EU. Prague and Bratislava were once cities within the same federal state.

3. Methods of Data Collection

There were two main phases of data collection: the surveys of representative and target samples and subsequent follow up interviews with smaller samples of respondents identified as of theoretical interest by the survey analysis.

3.1. Surveys

A questionnaire used by all teams across all sites was designed in English and translated into the languages of the project countries. All teams had an input into the core questionnaire design and conducted pilot interviews in their study sites. Experiences of the pilot were fed back to the whole group so that further refinements could be made to the questionnaire. 'Back translations' were performed to ensure consistency of meaning. In addition to the core questionnaire, which comprised over 80% of the questions asked, there were additional questions and variations used by particular teams to suit their local context.

The core questions were designed to gather baseline data on the characteristics and biographies of the respondents (social class, education, nationality and language of their parents, nationality, language skills, religion, residence history, education and training history, work history and career plans, housing and family life), and their exposure to and interest in 'Europe' (time spent in other European countries, work done, languages spoken, family and friendship connections, membership of Euro-centred organizations). Core questions were also designed to explore the meaning of Europe to respondents, their own definition of it, and their perceptions of the European Union. Specific questions were also designed to explore whether the respondents had learned about the European Union at school or had other educational experiences that could be categorised as 'citizenship education'. A set of questions was designed to explore citizenship practices including their participation in voting in regional, national and European elections, membership of political and civic organisations and professed interest in politics and policy at different levels.

Questions were also designed with respect to the following more complex issues:

- the significance of regional, national and European identity against other sources of identity such as gender, ethnicity, religion and social class;

- the awareness of, salience of and affective attachment to local, national and European entities and issues;

- the specific dimensions of nationalism and citizenship, particularly the balance of support for 'civic' strands of national-citizenship versus 'ethnic' national-citizenship;

- any related issues of sense of security or threat.

While the same questions were asked in all of these sites, budgetary constraints meant that some questions were omitted in Austria.

One key issue that proved particularly difficult to resolve concerned questions about 'region' in the survey. The meaning of 'region' varies across the sample. While all countries are divided for administrative purposes into sub-units, these are not always very meaningful social entities for their residents. It was not possible to identify equivalently meaningful small areas to respondents and we decided to ask about 'regions' using the relatively large but historically meaningful geographical territories that formed the basis of the research design: Vorarlberg, the region of Vienna, the autonomous regions of Madrid, and the Basque country, East Germany, West Germany, Scotland and England. However, this resulted in two problems. It was important not to use the word 'region' in the case of the UK because many of the residents of Scotland are likely to be insulted if Scotland is called a region and not a 'nation' or 'country'. Whatever they are called, these units are equivalent in the study to Vorarlberg and Vienna and to the autonomous regions we have selected in Spain, the Basque country and Madrid. However, the second problem was that there are no divisions of significant equivalence within the Czech or Slovak Republics. Hence we have not asked about 'region' in this case.

A questionnaire in each of the languages of the project was published on the project website at www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth.

Whether or not to restrict the sample to those only in the city of study or to also encompass immediately neighbouring local areas was also discussed. Some flexibility was agreed to allow for the very different circumstances of mobility and turn over of residents. However, the spirit of the design was that the study concentrated on those who had long-standing links with the region or city rather than more transient attachments, such as among those coming recently to the region to study.

While the ideal circumstance was to deliver the same questionnaire, in the same way, to samples of young people selected by broadly similar procedures across all sites, in practice some flexibility had to be allowed. The project team carefully assessed the

merits of face-to-face versus telephone interviewing, quota sampling versus other forms of random sampling, and the consequences of differently constructed lists of respondent address or telephone numbers as sampling frames. It became clear that different local circumstances made some variation in procedures between teams inevitable. The sort of factors that made differences inevitable included variation in services that budgets assigned to local project teams could buy, local routes of access to addresses and phone numbers, and the variations in the way in which local agencies operated. The Austrian and German teams conducted telephone surveys of the 'representative samples' and face-to-face surveys of the target samples. In Spain, the UK, and Czech and Slovak Republic all surveys were conducted on a face to face basis.

Each national team commissioned an appropriate agency to implement the survey of the representative sample and, if appropriate, also the target sample. Some teams chose to implement the survey of the much smaller target sample themselves. National teams supervised the implementation of the local representative and target surveys,

collated and verified the locally gathered data and delivered the local data to the project coordinator for integration and further verification.

Ideally all the surveys would have been completed at the same time. The surveys of the representative samples were conducted first and in most cases were completed between May and June 2002. Due to the severe flooding of the Danube that year the completion of the surveys were delayed in the Slovak and Czech Republic until September. Some of the target sample surveys were conducted within the same time span but in many cases they were not completed until between September and November 2002. The period from September 2001 to February 2002 involved large demonstrations across Europe to protest against the anticipated US led invasion of Iraq. Note that the initial period of intense public awareness of this issue only overlapped with the later surveys.

The intended numbers were not always fully achieved. There were particular difficulties with the representative sample in the UK since there is no identity card system or other means of identifying the addresses or phone numbers of a specific age group. Respondents were contacted by knocking on doors chosen according to the known population distribution from the last census. However, since the UK census data available at the time of the research was already ten years old, assumptions concerning the residence pattern of 18-24 year olds could not be made with any certainty. All teams had more difficulty in contacting the target sample. The number of students taking courses in appropriate subjects such as multiple European languages, European law, and European studies and who also fitted the residence qualifications were smaller than anticipated.

The Austrian team had particular difficulties in identifying students on appropriate courses. Vorarlberg has no university and the number of Vienna-based students who have either been living in Vienna for 5 years or originated from Vienna on such university courses was relatively small. An equal gender balance was also not always achieved and sometimes did not seem wholly desirable given the imbalance of men and women in the populations. A breakdown of the sample by gender is given below.

3.2. The resulting data set

The surveys created data sets of information about representative and target samples of young men and woman aged 18-24 who are residents of Vienna and Vorarlberg in Austria, Chemnitz and Bielefeld in Germany, Madrid and Bilbao in Spain, Manchester and Edinburgh in the UK and from Prague in the Czech Republic and Bratislava in the Slovak Republic. These data sets will be deposited in the UK Data Archive in 2008, three years beyond the end of the project.

Table 4. Completed Sample Sizes by Locality, Target Sample, Men and Women, and Representative Sample, Men and Women

	Voralberg	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh	total
Target	14	50	89	98	100	97	99	102	83	67	799
Young men	5	12	36	48	21	20	49	52	26	25	294
Young women	9	38	53	50	79	77	50	50	57	42	505
Representative	400	400	396	397	400	400	424	401	364	308	3890
Young men	205	197	188	197	223	204	212	199	152	139	1916
Young women	195	203	208	200	177	196	212	202	212	169	1974

3.3. Qualitative Data Collection

Qualitative data were collected in order to explore respondents' views of European citizenship and identity in more depth than was possible through structured questionnaire items. It was hoped that this would help to elucidate the processes underpinning understandings and practices of citizenship and identity construction.

In-depth qualitative interviews were adopted as the form of qualitative data collection used by all teams. When resources permitted, focus groups were used as an additional procedure. Focus groups were implemented by the Austrian and German teams.

Qualitative interviews were the direct responsibility of local teams and were conducted by researchers employed directly by the project rather than by survey agencies.

A preliminary semi-structured interview schedule was piloted in each site and an analysis of the resulting interview performed thereafter by the team responsible. These pilot interviews were all tape-recorded, transcribed and translated into English. Each local team conducted a comparative analysis looking at their own interviewing experience and results against the interview transcript of one other team. Each local team reported on this comparative analysis to the whole project at a face-to-face meeting in Bratislava in February 2003. This coordinated programme of comparative analysis led to further refinements of the interview schedule which was finally agreed before the implementation of the interviews in spring and early summer of 2003.

Interviewees were selected from their answers to a survey question measuring strength of feeling about 'being European' on a scale of 0-4 from 'no feeling at all' (0) to 'very strong feeling' (4). It was decided to focus on young people from both extremes in order to maximise the possibility of comparison.

We aimed to achieve a total of 24 interviews in each site: 4 men and 4 women who were low and 4 men and 4 women who were high on strength of feeling about 'being European' in the representative sample, and a total of 8 young men and women from the target sample. The latter would also be divided into high and low European identity where appropriate. This was not appropriate in sites where all or almost the entire target group expressed strong feelings about being European but was appropriate in sites where even among the target sample there were significant proportions who expressed low feelings about being European.

3.4. Implementing Qualitative Data Collection

The table below shows the number of qualitative interviews that were completed.

Table 5. Completed Qualitative Interviews

	Vorarlberg	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Edinburgh	Manchester
Total	12	15	25	27	24	24	20	21	26	30
Representative	9	11	15	16	16	16	12	12	13	16
Target	3	4	10	11	8	8	8	9	13	14
High	10	9	12	17	16	16	12	10	14	14
Low	2	6	5	7	8	8	8	11	12	16

High is defined as answering (3 or 4) and low as (0 or 1) on a scale of 0-4 concerning 'feeling about being European' from 'no feeling at all' (0) to 'very strong feeling' (4). In addition to the figures shown in the table for 'low' and 'high' 3 'medium' respondents (answering 2) were interviewed in Bratislava and 8 in Prague.

All interviews were conducted in the national language, tape recorded and fully transcribed in that language before being paraphrased in English. In 2003 the project team developed robust analysis procedures to coordinate this aspect of the work across the entire project. This included the use of paraphrasing in English by the researchers to compensate for the fact that the translation of all transcripts into English was beyond the available budget. Between April and June 2003, the project team established a common strategy for paraphrasing and analyzing qualitative material. This was achieved by requiring all teams to paraphrase the same two full transcripts of interviews and then to compare and comment on each other's efforts. Finally, each team wrote an interview summary and compared results. The work of paraphrasing proceeded along with the interviews. A small set of transcripts were fully translated into English and have been anonymised in order to make them ready for final depositing in the UK Data Archive.

In addition to the qualitative interviews a small number of focus groups were also conducted in Austria and Germany.

4. Key Findings by Project Objectives

This section reports key findings, organised by main project objectives. Survey material and qualitative interview data on are presented on both the representative and target samples, drawing on the various outputs of the project.

4.1. Orientations to European Identity

As has been noted, the 10 study sites were chosen to provide comparisons between respondents from areas that were likely to be different in terms of the salience and meaning of 'being European' for residents. Similarly, the representative versus target samples were included in the design to provide comparison, in this case between a relatively educated group of young people oriented to Europe by their career path and a general sample of the 18-24 year old population. In the discussion of findings that follow, tables of data are most often broken down by locality. Where appropriate, both representative and target sample data are presented. However, in cases where the inclusion of information from both datasets leads to over-complex tables, only representative sample data are presented, with any important differences between the representative and target samples noted in the text. The inclusion of young men and women in the sample enables a gender comparison, but such comparisons are generally *only given when they were significant*. The fact that there were not always differences between young men and women with respect to the main issues in the objectives is, in itself, an important finding of the research.

The survey provided some preliminary identification of precisely what Europe meant to the young adult respondents, as well as of its significance. It also examined the relationship between European identity and other aspects of identity. These issues were then explored further in in-depth interviews with smaller numbers of strategically selected target respondents.

4.1.1. Geographical Boundaries of Europe

One survey item asked respondents whether they would include each of a list of seven countries as part of their understanding of Europe. In exploring their understandings of countries in or out of Europe, it was made clear that there was no 'right' list of countries and that Europe meant different things to different people. The countries listed included states that at that time were seeking admission to the European Union (the Czech and Slovak Republics, Estonia, Turkey), countries outside the EU (Iceland, Russia) and one member state (Britain/UK). The countries were chosen with possible understandings of the geographical 'edges' of Europe in mind, the North Atlantic extremes of Iceland and

the UK and the continental 'edges' offered by Russia, Estonia and Turkey. Countries were listed to respondents in a random order but, in the table below, they are reproduced ranked by the frequency with which the representative individuals thought of each as part of their Europe. The countries that were most often excluded from Europe were Russia and then Turkey. Further qualitative interviews with the target sample suggested that many respondents saw both Turkey and Russia as 'Asia' rather than 'Europe'.

While members of the target sample typically were more likely to include most of the countries in their image of Europe than the representative sample, this was not so for Russia and Turkey. In Prague, Bratislava, Chemnitz and Bielefeld, slightly smaller proportions of the target samples than of the representative samples included Russia in their Europe and the same was true with respect to Turkey in Bratislava, Chemnitz, Bielefeld and Edinburgh.

Table 6. Percentage of total representative and target samples which included the listed countries in their 'Europe'

Listed Countries	Representative Sample	Target sample
UK	88%	95%
Czech Republic	71%	82%
Slovak Republic	69%	80%
Estonia	58%	69%
Iceland	57%	68%
Turkey	48%	44%
Russia	45%	49%

Residents of Prague were the least likely to include Turkey in Europe and respondents from localities in the UK were the least inclusive of the other accession states

Table 7. Percentage of representative samples which included the listed countries in their 'Europe': shown by region

Respondents from- Listed Countries	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
UK	89	92	94	82	92	87	78	86	97	96
Czech Republic	73	81	95	98	90	70	66	64	44	58
Slovak Republic	73	81	97	97	81	56	61	61	37	49
Estonia	60	72	63	50	68	52	64	68	36	54
Iceland	61	72	57	54	67	51	61	59	40	47
Turkey	59	50	29	51	53	54	37	43	54	58
Russia	42	46	51	57	53	38	52	54	26	32

4.1.2. The Essence of Europe

In order to further explore the meaning of Europe, respondents were asked to describe how important each of a number of items was for their understanding of Europe. Each item was intended to capture a different dimension of Europe: the European Union, expressing Europe as a political partnership; the Euro currency, expressing Europe as an economic unit; Europe as a geographical entity; Europe as a cultural entity with 'certain values and traditions'.

Table 8. Percentage of representative sample choosing item as 'very important' or 'important' for ''what Europe means' to you'

Respondents from- List of Items	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Membership of the EU	50%	34%	56%	68%	71%	76%	57%	60%	34%	29%
The Euro currency	40%	30%	40%	58%	52%	46%	59%	70%	26%	24%
Geographical location'	54%	64%	59%	56%	59%	43%	53%	62%	26%	26%
Certain values and traditions	41%	37%	70%	61%	53%	52%	41%	41%	41%	39%

The political partnership of the European Union, followed by geographical location were the most widely accepted as important to 'what Europe means'. They were identified in

seven out of the ten localities by more than half of the representative samples as important or very important. Europe as an economic and cultural unit was less widely identified as key to 'what Europe means'. The Euro and 'certain values and traditions' were either important or very important to the majority of representative samples in four of the ten localities. There was wide variety across regions, with low importance levels attached to any of these items by respondents from the UK. This may indicate a lack of salience and a perception of the relative meaninglessness of 'Europe' and of 'being European' among this country's representative sample. However, note that among the target sample, respondents from the British cities were not markedly different from target samples elsewhere and majorities identified all suggested items as important in terms of 'what Europe means' to them.

Table 9. Percentage of target SAMPLE choosing item as 'very important' or 'important' for "what Europe means' to you'

Respondents from- List of Items	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Membership of the European Union	66%	78%	53%	63%	62%	78%	71%	74%
The Euro currency	45%	61%	37%	45%	54%	78%	51%	57%
Geographical location'	64%	69%	74%	61%	66%	72%	50%	64%
Certain values and traditions	85%	69%	55%	47%	48%	58%	46%	45%

Respondents from Prague, both the representative and the target sample, were the most likely to emphasise 'certain values and traditions'. The young people who were interviewed at greater length were often reluctant to give voice to any simple stereotype image of 'Europe'. Many respondents emphasised the plurality of European cultures and the diversity of Europe. At the same time, some respondents from all research sites suggested that the peoples of Europe were or could be united by a shared mentality and a commitment to a set of common values. Across all research sites some respondents explicitly indicated that Muslims lay outside of their vision of common European values. When European values were defined, they were often either seen as a secular liberal democracy or Christian and, either way, Muslim countries were characterised as lacking such values. In interviews a number of respondents talked about the different treatment of women in Muslim countries as evidence of this perceived difference. It should be noted, however, that Muslim's were typically stereotyped by non-Muslim respondents through reference to other countries rather than to Muslims citizens of their own country.

Across localities, references to gender issues occurred spontaneously in both men's and women's statements about what Europe means for them. However, as the following two examples illustrate, with Karol emphasising differences in dress style and Kamila emphasising equality, these comments about the same issue could also take gendered forms.

> "Well, I rather think that these [European] countries have an entirely different way of thinking from Iraq, Iran, Kuwait… Egypt, Libya… For instance, the position of women is completely different in Europe, as far as I know, in Iraq, Kuwait and Syria … women must wear a veil, not over here, rather the opposite (smile) in the summer… Basically, a different way of thinking…" (Karol-Bratislava-male)

> "I have never been to Turkey, but I heard and read something about it… and I know there is a different religion… and I would say that in the countries which are here [in Europe] people are equal. Men-women, the same rights…or similar rights… But it is not the case in Turkey. (…) I simply think Turkey does not belong there." (Kamila-Prague female)

In some examples from Bratislava and Prague the USA was mentioned as a reference country for optimal gender relationships:

> "They [Turkey] are different by their religious way of life and it greatly influences the life there, it is reflected there… in the legal system, the position of a woman... (...) We the Europeans are still like that, I would say that Americans are so emancipated, these women are like, they are equal – a woman and a man, in Europe it is going in that direction, but women are not completely emancipated as in America." (Romana-Bratislava-female)

Across all localities, 4% of respondents (194 young people) who took part in the research identified themselves as of Islamic faith. Analysis by religion demonstrated that in terms of their identities, these young Muslim Europeans contradicted stereotypes of being an 'other' culture to Europe: they were as or more likely to express attachment to their nation and attachment to Europe than were young Roman Catholics, Protestants or the majority of young people who were agnostics.

Muslim countries were not the only 'other' counter-posed to Europe by respondents. In interviews, individuals from each locality also juxtaposed Europe and the USA, often making explicit reference to the differences in political approach to Iraq as evidence of

their different mentalities. Similarly, differences in mentality were claimed by some respondents between Europe and Russia. This view was more often articulated in interviews in Prague and Bratislava.

4.1.3. **The significance of 'Being European' versus other identities**

In order to get a sense from respondents of the significance of 'being European' a series of questions was asked in all surveys which helped to assess the weight of European identity against other aspects of respondents' identities. Three separate sets of items in the surveys set out to achieve this purpose. One set asked about the importance of 'how you feel or think about yourself as a person'. This set made reference to 'citizenship of the European Union'. A second set asked respondents about degrees of 'attachment' to their city, region, country and to Europe. A third set asked about 'strength of feeling' about claiming particular sorts of nationality and included reference to 'being European'.

Set 1: 'How you feel or think about yourself as a person'

This set of survey items allowed respondents to express the importance to them of citizenship of the European Union versus other aspects of their life. It involved declaring how important each of a list of items was to how they felt or thought about themselves on a five-point scale from 'not at all important' to 'very important'. Interpersonal relationships such as friends and family, along with jobs and education were considered by between 70% and 95% of respondents to be important to 'how I feel or think about myself' across all localities. In comparison, it was only in Bratislava that a majority (60%) of respondents said that becoming a citizen of the European Union was important in this way. Elsewhere the proportions ranged from a low of only 15% (Edinburgh) to 44% (Prague).

Table 10. Percentage of representative and target sample saying being/becoming a citizen of the european union is important or very important "to how i feel or think about myself" by locality

Study localities	AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
	Bregenz Vorarlberg	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Representative	41%	33%	44%	60%	31%	32%	17%	37%	26%	15%
Target			69%	70%	39%	36%	30%	37%	35%	42%

(Percentages for the target sample in Austria are omitted in all tables because the Austrian target sample size was too small for the calculation of meaningful percentages.)

European citizenship was typically identified as less important than nationality, although Bratislava was again an exception. There, the representative sample was equally likely to identify (what at the time of the survey was anticipated rather than realised) EU citizenship and national identity as important to 'how I feel or think about myself' (60% & 60%). Circumstances would appear to have produced high expectations concerning European citizenship for Slovaks. Responses to both European citizenship and nationality were much lower in Bielefeld (32% and 38%),Vorarlberg (41% and 49%), Vienna (33% and 42%) and Chemnitz (31% and 46%). 'Being a citizen of the European Union' was chosen as important to how I feel or think about myself by only tiny minorities in Edinburgh and Bilbao (15% and 17%), where larger proportions stressed the importance of more local nationalities, 'being from Scotland' 68%, or 'being from the Basque country' 49%.

Across all localities, being a citizen of the European Union was important to a larger proportion of the target sample than the representative sample. This is shown in the table above. Some of the national differences observed among the representative samples were levelled-out among the target samples. For example, the target samples from Edinburgh and Manchester were no less likely to identify European citizenship as important to their sense of self. However, the greater enthusiasm of the accession localities for European citizenship persisted.

 Set 2: 'Attachment' to city, region, country and to Europe

This survey question stated: '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 card (0=not at all attached – 4=completely attached), please tell me how attached you feel to….' A range of localities were then put to the respondent including 'where you were born', and if they were not born in the study city in which they lived at the time of interview, then 'where you live now' as well as their region, nation and Europe. This set of items demonstrated modest levels in terms of the relative significance of Europe among the representative samples. The largest proportion of respondents claiming strong attachment to Europe was in Madrid at 54%. In no other locality did over 50% claim strong attachment to Europe among the representative samples. Much higher proportions, 68% to 86%, claimed attachment to their city.

As with 'membership of the European Union', the proportions claiming attachment to Europe are higher among the target sample than the representative sample, with the

exception of Bilbao. In Bilbao, strong attachment to Europe was expressed by less than 40% of both samples. The proportion of the target sample expressing strong attachment to Europe was surprisingly low among Slovak respondents at 48% considering the high levels claiming a strong personal significance of membership of the European Union (70%). The interviews showed that the importance of EU membership for many Slovaks was based on hopes for future economic opportunities at a personal level as well as for the economic and political advancement of the Slovak Republic. As discussion of the next set of survey items shows, the lower proportion claiming 'attachment to Europe' did not mean low proportions claiming enthusiasm for 'being European'.

Only among the target samples in Chemnitz, Bielefeld, Bilbao, Manchester and Edinburgh did the proportions of individuals who had a high attachment to Europe exceed those who had a high attachment to nation. When attachment to Europe is cross-tabulated with attachment to nation, even among the target groups with high attachment to Europe in these localities, slightly more than half of also had a high attachment to their nation. An association between attachment to Europe and attachment to nation was confirmed for the representative and target groups by Analysis of Variance.

Table 11. Percentage of representative sample (r) and target sample (t) feeling strong or complete attachment to their city, sub-state nation or region, nation-state and europe

	CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
Localities	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
The Study City*	R 77%	R 77%	R 71%	R 71%	R 82%	R 86%	R 68%	R 79%
Region or sub-state	Not asked	Not Asked	(E.Germany) R 44% T 43%	(W.Germany) R 23% T 34%	(a.r.Euskadi) R 77% T 84%	(a.r.Madrid) R 75% T 81%	(England) R 81% T 53%	(Scotland) R 87% T 76%
Nation-state	R 78% T 71%	R 72% T 66%	R 46% T 45%	R 52% T 46%	R 41% T 32%	R 80% T 81%	R 72% T 48%	R 46% T 55%
Europe	R 42% T 51%	R 44% T 48%	R 43% T 63%	R 47% T 58%	R 39% T 38%	R 54% T 58%	R 39% T 51%	R 32% T 57%

a.r. = autonomous region. *'The Study City' includes those respondents born there and expressing attachment to 'where you were born' and those not born there expressing attachment to 'where you live now'.

Set 3: 'Strength of feeling' about being of city, region, nation and European

Separate questions were also asked in the survey about strength of feeling about European, nation-state and regional or other sub-nation-state nationality. The table below compares representative and target samples.

Table 22. Percentage of representative (r) and target (t) samples feeling strongly or very strongly about european, nation-state or regional/other nationalties

Study localities	AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Edinburgh	Manchester
Being European	R 52% *	R 59% *	R 65% T 77%	R 59% T 74%	R 63% T 73%	R 64% T 76%	R 28% T 40%	R 38% T 50%	R 23% T 52%	R 30% T 44%
Nationality of nation state	Austrian R 66% *	Austrian R 65% *	Czech R 88% T 88%	Slovak R 87% T 89%	German R 72% T 63%	German R 65% T 55%	Spanish R 31% T 30%	Spanish R 68% T 65%	British R 43% T 57%	British R 77% T 56%
Regional or other nationality	Vorarlberger R 74% *	Viennese R 68% *	Not asked	Not asked	East German R 64% T 45%	West German R 41% T 36%	Basque R 68% T 76%	Madrilenian R 67% T 62%	Scottish R 85% T 79%	English R 80% T 57%

Here, the question asked was 'Now I would like to ask you about the strength of how you feel about being different sorts of nationality? On a scale of 0-4 (0=no feeling at all, 4=Very strong feeling) how do you feel about being… *region named*, *nation named*, European?' This table shows the proportion of respondents choosing 3 or 4.

* Numbers in the target sample are too small for percentages to be reliable.

In six of the ten study sites, over half of the representative samples of 18-24 year olds expressed strong feelings about being European, although the proportion was generally lower than those claiming strong feelings of national identity. Feeling strongly European was most marked among the representative and target samples in Prague (65% and 77% respectively). The proportion of the representative samples feeling strongly European was also high in Germany (Bielefeld 64% and Chemnitz 63%), where almost two thirds of respondents did so, and above 50% of respondents expressed strong feeling of being European in Austria. The lowest proportions claiming strong feelings of being European among the representative samples were in Spain (Bilbao and Madrid) and the UK (Edinburgh and Manchester). In Bilbao, Manchester and Edinburgh less than a third of the representative samples of residents felt this way.

Again, not surprisingly, higher proportions of the target sample report strong feelings about being European in all localities, over 70% in Prague, Bratislava, Chemnitz and Bielefeld. Proportions in Spain and the UK remain relatively low by comparison, although the proportion of the target sample in Edinburgh expressing strong feelings of being European was more than half at 52%.

Once again cross tabulation of strength of feeling about being European and strength of feeling about nation show that the majority expressing strong feelings about Europe also have strong feelings about nation and this pattern of association is confirmed by Analysis of Variance.

The findings of this survey fit with the view that national identity typically takes precedence over European identity. It also demonstrated that strong sub-state nationalities or regional nationalities typically are not correlated with a strong European identity, but that state nationalism typically is compatible with European identity. While there was some variation by locality in the pattern of relationships between different types of nationality, across all the localities, nation-state nationality was always more strongly correlated with European identity than regional or sub-state nationality.

4.1.4. Types of Identity configurations: combining European, National-State and Regional-National Identities

Despite these general trends, further in-depth interviews demonstrated that some exceptional individuals in a number of localities claimed that they had gone beyond national identity, achieving what might be called a post-national identity, in which national identity was sometimes replaced by a European identity. Respondents who replaced national identity with European identity have been labelled as having a neo-

European identity. These in-depth interviews allowed the project team to explore configurations of regional, national and European identities in the respondents' discursive presentations of themselves. The range of combinations and positions presented by respondents is listed below:

The Neo-European identity involved stressing post-national identification with the EU over national identity. This configuration was relatively frequent among residents of Vienna & Vorarlberg and Bielefeld & Chemnitz and also appeared in other sites.

The State-National/European configuration described a dominant nation-state nationality, an overlapping regional identity, and compatibility with European identity. This configuration frequently implied nested identities but regional and European nationalities were often relatively insignificant categories that automatically followed on from membership of the nation-state, rather than strongly felt identities. This pattern was found most frequently in Bratislava, Prague and Madrid (although it also appeared in other sites).

The Traditional Nation-state configuration involved strong identification with the nation-state and weak identification with Europe, sometimes to the point of a complete blindness with respect to seeing the EU as a meaningful social category. This pattern was most commonly found among the Manchester interviewees.

The Neo-Region-National/European configuration involved the hegemony of nationality focused on region or sub-state nationalism but compatible with European identity. This was found most frequently among Bilbao interviewees (and also evident in Edinburgh).

The Traditional Region-National configuration involved a hegemonic nationality focused on a geographical unit other than the nation-state but usually compatible with state-related nationality and European nationality. This pattern was most frequent among Edinburgh interviewees.

No identification with any ethno-political category was a pattern which involved claims of either a cosmopolitan identity (a 'citizen of the world', lacking identification with any national category) or of lacking any membership category beyond that of unique individual. Persons with this view typically rejected any social categorization because it implied a stereotyping of individuals. This type of discourse was found in Edinburgh and Bilbao.

While some discourses were more common among respondents at particular sites, all localities produced a diversity of discourse. In some cases, almost the full range of

discourses could be found in interviews at one site. For example, this was the case for Edinburgh. Dual Scottish-British identity was the most frequent configuration in Edinburgh, but Edinburgh interviews also presented the following discourses regarding the relationship between nationalities: Neo-Scottish-British-European, Neo-Scottish-European, and Traditional (single identity) Scottish were also relatively frequent and, finally, some interviewees reported Neo-European (post-national), Modern European-British configurations or, even, no identification with any ethno-political category.

4.1.5. Composite Measures of European Identity

It is important to note that results concerning European identity varied as a consequence of the particular question asked, whether it was: the importance of 'being (or about to become) a citizen of the European Union to how I think or feel about myself' or 'how attached you feel to Europe' or 'strength of feeling about being European'. Individuals often gave responses indicating different levels of European identity to different ways of asking. Also these different ways of tapping European identity resulted in rather different hierarchies between the study sites in terms of the average level of young men's and women's strength of European identity. This can be seen in the table below which shows those indicating high levels of European identity on each of the three items. This variation from question to question suggests that a composite measure combining several questions will have stronger validity than any single question item. There are a number of possible ways of constructing composite measures including either adding and averaging scores across question items (each involved a five point ranking from 0 to 4) or counting the number of high answers that clearly indicate European identity across items. Of these two alternatives, the latter was chose and the following example illustrates the reasoning behind this choice. If respondent A answered 2 and 4 and respondent B answered 3 and 3, across a composite of two items, adding and averaging results in A and B being the same. However, a score of 2, the mid-point between 0 and 4, would not normally be regarded as an indicator of having a European identity. The person answering 2 and 4 is only indicating a European identity on one item but the person answering 3 and 3 is indicating European identity on both items, even if not in the strongest possible terms. Hence the method of counting answers on which people answer either 3 or 4 across items is the method preferred. This would result in B being distinguished from A as having a stronger claim to a European identity, having indicated a European identity on two out of two items, while A had done so on only one out of two.

There were also choices to make concerning how many items to include in constructing a composite measure by counting across questionnaire items in this way. Only two of the question items, however, were asked in all ten sites, as a consequence of the Austrian

team dropping items for budgetary reasons. Because of this a composite measure is constructed using only two items. However, a measure using all three of the items that have been discussed above was also calculated and is presented below. A final choice had to be made concerning whether to measure European identity as only those who indicated a European identity on all of the counted items or whether to include those who indicate a European identity on most of the counted items. In the discussion below the latter strategy was adopted when three items were included but the former when only two items were included. The principle of 'most' rather than 'all' means that uncertainty concerning the meaning of one of three items would not undermine the results for the set of items.

A composite measure, showing the proportion of respondents who indicated a European identity on both these items, is shown below. The results of compositing all three items are also shown for all but the Austrian sites. The table shows the percentages of respondents who indicated a European identity on two out of the three items as well as those who did so on all three items.

Table 23. Percentage of representative (r) and target (t) samples choosing indicators of european identity

Localities	Bregenz Vorarlberg	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
A) being a citizen of European Union important to self*	R41%	R33%	R44% T69%	R60% T70%	R31% T39%	R32% T36%	R17% T30%	R37% T37%	R26% T35%	R15% T42%
B) Strongly attached to Europe	Not asked	Not asked	R42% T51%	R44% T48%	R43% T63%	R47% T58%	R39% T38%	R54% T58%	R39% T57%	R32% T51%
C) Strong feeling of being European	R 52%*	R 59%*	R65% T77%	R59% T74%	R63% T73%	R64% T76%	R28% T40%	R38% T50%	R30% T44%	R23% T52%
A + B	R28%	R26%	R34% T55%	R40% T52%	R27% T35%	R27% T30%	R11% T25%	R24% T29%	R17% T20%	R10% T37%
Two or three of A, B and C	-	-	R49 T69	R48 T59	R45 T63	R46 T55	R24 T38	R39 T43	R24 T41	R16 T49
A + B + C	-	-	R13 T33	R23 T22	R18 T29	R18 T28	R10 T19	R18 T25	R11 T16	R6 T34

Rates of European identity are relatively low if only those who identify themselves as European on both of two measures or on all of three measures are counted. With respect to the former, the proportions of the representative sample professing a European

identity range from 10% in Edinburgh to 40% in Bratislava. If a measure of European identity is set at indicating a European identity on at least two of the three questions, then the range among the representative sample is from 16% in Edinburgh to 49% in Prague; 45-50% of the representative samples have a European identity in Prague, Bratislava Chemnitz, Bielefeld (respectively 49%, 48%, 45%, 46%) and almost 40% in Madrid (39%). On the other hand, less than 25% have a European identity in Bilbao, Edinburgh or Manchester (respectively, 24%, 16% and 24%). A full set of figures is not available for Austria, but existing data suggest that respondents from Vorarlberg and Vienna would look rather similar to those from Chemnitz and Bielefeld.

Using the same measure, 55 to 70% of the target samples feel themselves to have a European identity in Bielefeld, Bratislava, Chemnitz and Prague, nearly 50% in Edinburgh and around 40% in Bilbao, Madrid and Manchester.

Gender differences in European Identity

In all localities except Edinburgh and Manchester, more women than men expressed a European identity.

Table 24. percentage of representative (r) and target (t) with a composite of at least two of three items indicating European identity (as in the previous table) by gender

Prague		Bratis-lava		Chem-nitz		Biele-feld		Bilbao		Madrid		Man-chester		Edin-burgh	
Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
R46%	R51%	R41%	R54%	R40%	R51%	R40%	R52%	R22%	R27%	R37%	R41%	R26%	R23%	R16%	R15%
T67%	T70%	T52%	T66%	T48%	T67%	T65%	T52%	T31%	T46%	T46%	T40%	T50%	T37%	T56%	T45%

The effect of the sex of respondents on their ratings of European identity indicators, were further explored using analysis of variance (a one-way ANOVA).

Table 25. Sex difference in ratings of European identity indicators – all localities (N=3890)

European identity indicators	Sex	Mean	Standard Error	95 % Confidence interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Attachment to Europe	Male	2.116	0.033	2.051	2.180
	Female	2.319	0.032	2.257	2.382
Feeling of being European	Male	2.253	0.028	2.198	2.307
	Female	2.389	0.027	2.336	2.442
Importance of being EU citizen	Male	1.850	0.029	1.792	1.908
	Female	1.925	0.029	1.869	1.981

This revealed significant effects on the answers to *"attachment to Europe"* [F (1, 2775) = 19.628, p =.000] and*"feeling of being European"* [F (1, 3808) = 12.288, p =.000]. With respect to both of these items, women scored significantly higher than men. However, there was no significant effect of the sex of the respondents on the rating of "*importance of being an EU citizen to how you think or feel about yourself*" (p = 0.067, ns).

It was not possible to conclusively establish through the interviews what influenced women's somewhat higher propensity to adopt a European identity. It is possible that gender issues may have been a factor. As is discussed later, issues of gender equality were clearly more important to women than men and, as has been shown, gender issues were used as a point of contrast between Europe and Muslim countries and between Europe and 'less developed' countries. We did not ask directly about awareness of European policies of gender mainstreaming but it was clear that there was much more profound ignorance about all European policies in both Edinburgh and Manchester than elsewhere and this would be consistent with the absence of the gender effect in Edinburgh and Manchester.

Religious Identity, National and European Identity

This research has not substantiated the common assumption that people of Muslim backgrounds will identify with their global faith community at the expense of territorial identities. Among the respondents, those who identified themselves as of Islamic faith were no less likely to identify themselves as attached to Europe and more likely to express attachment to their nation than those identifying themselves with Christian religions.

4.1.6. The Relevance of Europe to Everyday Lives

Face to face interviews allowed the project team to further explore the types of discourse that young people use to speak of their understanding of Europe, and its relevance to them and their lives. The in-depth interviews do not tell us about the prevalence of different sorts of discourse. This has to be inferred from the survey but rather they provide greater depth of insight into the types of thinking that lie behind the distribution of answers found in the survey.

Being European: membership of an insignificant empty category

Across all study sites, some respondents claimed that 'being European' happened without any active will or emotional engagement on their part. Rather, being European just happened, either because of geography, the country they lived in was part of Europe, or by virtue of their nation-state's membership of the EU, sometimes expressed as being European by virtue of an EU passport. This type of discourse suggests that being European is a formal and abstract concept. Being in this category does not involve identification with an imagined community or any real attachment. Given the relatively large proportion of respondents who lacked a 'European identity' as measured by the representative survey, this was likely to be a very common discourse among the representative samples, and particularly in Britain. This discourse was likely to be less common among the target samples.

Europe to be proud of versus unlovable Europe

Some respondents expressed pride in a common European culture or values or lifestyle. Respondents spoke, for example, of Europe's history of achievements in the world, its high standard of living, liberal democratic politics, gender equality and religious tolerance. Some respondents talked of particular political achievements that they were proud of, such as overcoming the problems of nationalism and provincialism. Respondents from many localities, including the UK, took pride in the European opposition to the invasion of Iraq in contrast to the position of the USA.

Rather than feeling proud of Europe some respondents regarded Europe with suspicion if not shame. For some, the EU was associated with things they rejected: examples included exclusion of religious minorities, and a past full of wars and conflicts. Some respondents had specific complaints, such as the suggestion that Europe gave too much power to some countries, claiming for example, 'Europe is just France and Germany, not us'. The notion of Europe, meaning the European Union, as a source of unnecessary bureaucracy, was a discourse common in the UK. A number of respondents resisted

'being European' as an unnecessary identity because their national identity was sufficient.

Not our Europe versus my Europe

Some respondents disavowed Europe, seeing it as somebody else's Europe, not theirs because it had no significance in their lives. Such respondents typically lacked mobility within Europe and had no involvement in talk about European issues. This discourse could alternate with reference to Europe as an insignificant empty category and unlovable Europe.

Personal contact with 'Europe' or 'doing Europe', such as travelling to different parts of Europe, working elsewhere in Europe, speaking or studying European languages, gave some respondents a personal sense of belonging. For some, the EU was perceived as their home.

The accounts of these young adult respondents suggest that certain sorts of activities heighten a sense of being European, particularly travel and languages but also awareness of the EU as a positive social and political actor. Many discourses reflect lack of awareness of any impact of the European Union on respondents' lives. A subsequent section of this report explores respondents' knowledge of the impact of EU citizenship in more detail. Another section explores variations across the study sites in young adults' experiences of travel and languages showing that these map onto differences in levels of European identity.

4.1.7. Perceived impact of the EU membership

Averaged across all sites, about a third of the representative sample and just over half of the target sample reported that membership of the European Union had a high or very high impact on them personally. Larger proportions reported that the European Union had made a high impact on their region and their nation. For the majority who perceived EU membership as having a large impact, the impact was positive rather than negative.

Table 26. Perceived impact of 'our **membership** of the European Union', representative and target samples compared, summing across all localities

Impact on	You personally		your region		Your nation state	
Sample	Representative	Target	Representative	Target	Representative	Target
None or don't know	34%	15%	25%	11%	18%	6%
Low	33%	32%	31%	26%	26%	17%
High	33%	53%	45%	62%	56%	77%
Total	100% 3890	100% 796	100% 3890	100% 798	100% 3980	100% 799

The highest proportion of respondents attributing a high impact to EU membership at all levels (personal, regional and national) and in both samples (representative and target) was in Prague and Bratislava. The majority perceived a high impact on them personally (Prague and Bratislava: representative sample 58% and 54%, target sample 79% and 67%). Very large majorities perceived high impacts on their local area (R 72%, 68%; T 84%, 83%) and on their nation (83%, 79% T 94% and 91%). At the time of the survey, these respondents were anticipating EU membership rather than reporting on actual membership. What was being measured, therefore, included perceptions of the impact of the economic and social change that had been made in preparation for EU membership and expectations of changes consequent on membership. As elsewhere, the overall majority believed that the perceived impact was positive but, at the same time, among the representative samples significant minorities reported negative impacts. 28% of the representative sample who reported a high personal impact from Bratislava and 23% from Prague saw that impact as negative (72% from Bratislava and 77% from Prague saw it as positive). The equivalent percentages among the target samples were 14% and 86% from Bratislava and 8% and 82% from Prague. The project's interview material further indicates that hopes of the European Union were particularly high in Bratislava but also that a range of fears were expressed.

Table 27. Percentage of representative(R) and target (T) samples reporting high impact of EU membership, by locality

Study localities	AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
	Bregenz Vorarlberg	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Personal Impact	R38	R41	R58 T79	R54 T67	R25 T53	R28 T52	R18 T37	R40 T48	R12 T39	R11 T51
Regional Impact	R47	R46	R72 T84	R68 T 83	R30 T53	R29 T52	R33 T55	R66 T70	R25 T55	R25 T52
National Impact	R54	R56	R83 T94	R79 T91	R42 T77	R45 T66	R57 T65	R73 T79	R32 T60	R33 T79

4.1.8. Subjective meanings of the EU enlargement

Understandings of a new enlarged European Union could be broken down into hopes and fears. Sometimes both hopes and fears were expressed by respondents. Many hopes and fears were expressed across all of the study sites but, not surprisingly, there were also differences in the typical discourse of hopes and fears expressed by respondents in accession states and in established member states.

Respondents living in Bratislava and Prague shared many of the hopes expressed by respondents from other sites but also had particular hopes that reflected their specific historical and political context. These included hopes for a strengthening of democracy and respect for civil rights in their own states, as well as hopes of seeing their nation states gain higher status in European/global politics. And while across all the study sites some respondents stressed the value of the right to move freely to work and study across the European Union, respondents from Bratislava and Prague specifically looked forward to the freedom to travel without a passport. Respondents from the accession states also had some specific hopes concerning economic change and particularly of beneficial economic investment and development.

The situation of being on the eve of becoming members of the European Union also produced specific fears for respondents in Bratislava and Prague. These included economic fears, for example of the higher cost of living, of greater competition and regulation, and concern about the impact of the Common Agricultural Policy and EU regulations on food production. Some respondents expressed doubts about whether their

EU membership would attenuate economic and political differences between their country and the richer more solidly democratic established member states. Some respondents expressed bitterness that their country's EU membership would not result in access to full EU citizenship rights from the very beginning, referring particularly to restrictions on the free circulation of labour. Fear of a further deepening of differences between EU member states and other non-EU European countries was also expressed, as some respondents could imagine a narrowing of the meaning of 'being European' to a category denoting only those possessing EU membership.

The following hopes and fears were expressed by respondents across a number of sites often including both accession states and established member states. Localities in which respondents gave particular emphasis to the hope or fear described are shown in brackets.

Hopes included:

Positive structural changes within the EU, encompassing expectations of a further democratisation of decision-making at the EU level; more transparency; improved control of corruption practices at the national level (Bratislava); the creation of functional institutions with more power over national interests and with general legislative competencies.

Greater unity and cooperation among European countries, encompassing more strength and union among EU members; more trade between countries and better cultural exchange; strengthening of European identity and togetherness – connected with economic integration and the use of the Euro currency.

More tolerance and openness, encompassing cultural exchange and openness; thinking in a broader framework; less xenophobia; enriching Europe's cultural diversity and achieving an open and tolerant attitude in Europe's citizens; contact and exchange between different cultures overcoming historical problems of nationalism and conflicts within the EU; (although some respondents also acknowledge a danger of replacing nationalism with a European nationalism).

Economic benefits, including opening of new markets, fighting unemployment; and economic investment.

Strengthening the global position of Europe through a common 'defence' mainly against US global dominance; greater security and less risk in case of military conflict.

Fears included:

The dysfunction of EU institutions including obscure bureaucratic structures, excessive centralism within the EU and senseless instructions from Brussels, as well as lack of transparency or democracy in European decision-making.

Lack of European unity including concern about the impossibility of reaching understanding in an enlarged Europe, quarrelling between European countries and the danger of future inability to reach a 'European' opinion on significant issues.

Substantial differences between new and old members including the fears of respondents in accession states already noted that differences between 'old' and 'new' would not narrow and that new divisions would emerge between the those in and out of the EU. Some respondents in member states expressed fears that the accession states were not suitably prepared for joining the EU, because of their lack of democratic awareness, different culture and mentality, different historical experience as well as different economy and standard of living.

Economic inequalities in the labour market including the fear of some participants from member states of economic weakening due to the transfer of EU subsidies and funds to new member countries. Some German interviewees explicitly rejected the EU enlargement for economic reasons: they were worried by what they saw as the enormous financial costs for Germany of the transfer of EU support subsidies for Eastern Germany to the accession states. Other respondents mentioned the danger of competition from both cheap labour and highly qualified experts enabled by EU enlargement. In Prague, competition for Czech enterprises on the national market was mentioned. Some participants feared that life in their countries would become even more expensive and respondents from accession states feared the impact of the Common Agricultural Policy,as well as the EU regulations on food production.

Possible loss of national and cultural identity, including fear of cultural homogenisation, were expressed by some. Several respondents from smaller countries expressed fears of being dominated by big countries within the EU. Some participants revealed their reluctance to abandon the national currency - a symbol of national identity.

While in-depth interviews with target respondents revealed a wide range of hopes and fears which seemed effectively to counter-balance each other, it is reasonable to infer from the survey that, for those who are beyond relative indifference, hopes tended to out weigh fears. Remember that the survey showed that the majority of those who perceived the European Union as having a significant impact on them personally, on their region or their nation, also saw that impact as positive. Interviews also offered further insight into

the high levels of associated European identity and enthusiasm for European citizenship among respondents from accession states. In Bratislava and Prague, it was perhaps not surprising that very high hopes of political and economic gains from membership of the EU were also shadowed by fears of potential costs and the observation that existing member states might seek a two tier European Union in which the accession states remain second class citizens.

4.2. Orientations to Citizenship

In the previous discussion, the importance of being a citizen of the European Union was used as one of a number of indicators of European identity. This section further explores the contribution of European citizenship to European identity by discussing orientations to the European Union and European citizenship in more depth and in the context of a broader focus on orientations to citizenship. Placing attitudes to the European Union and European citizenship in the context of wider citizenship addresses the hypothesis that an engaged European citizen is only possible in the context of active local or national citizenship. The section describes respondents' experiences of citizenship education while at school, explores their attitudes to the European Union and then the extent of their engagement as local or national citizens.

The analysis of orientations to citizenship includes exploration of attitudes to appropriate prerequisites and requirements for entitlement to citizenship, in particular, the extent of emphasis on social obligations and civic participation versus entitlements of birth and ethnicity. Exploration of this aspect of orientations to citizenship touches on attitudes to inclusion or exclusion, tolerance or chauvinism and racism.

4.2.1. Citizenship Education

A list of items was designed to explore the range of experiences that young people had at school that might be described as citizenship education. These included discussions of democracy and citizenship, opportunities for pupils to give their opinions about how things should be done in school, learning about the festivals and feast days of other religions or cultures, the possibility of talking to or having a talk from a national or local politician, raising money for charity and collecting signatures for a petition or any form of canvassing or campaigning. Clearly what 18-24 year olds remembered of their school days may not reflect the curriculum as it was taught or the range of citizenship activities they participated in while at school. Nevertheless, experiences that can be recalled are arguably more likely to have an effect than those that cannot. Also what can be called remains a valid measure for the purposes of comparison, as there is no reason to suppose that people were more likely to be forgetful in one region than another.

There were large differences in the number of respondents reporting levels of citizenship education between regions. Discussion of citizenship and democracy at school was much more common in Germany, Austria and also in Prague in the Czech Republic. In Spain, England and Scotland participation in this kind of discussion was very low. Opportunities for pupil participation in schools were much higher in Chemnitz and Bielefeld in Germany, followed by Vienna and Vorarlberg in Austria. However, learning about festivals and feast days occurred most frequently in the two UK cities. The opportunity to talk to politicians was highest in the Austrian research locations and also in Bielefeld, Germany. Young people in the UK were more active in raising money for charities than in other countries. Collecting signatures for petitions and/or canvassing for campaigns was more evenly spread between countries, but nevertheless highest in Germany. Therefore, on many of the examples considered, Germany, followed by the Austrian research sites and then the Czech Republic offered the highest amount of active citizenship education at school. Only in collecting for charities and learning about other religions did residents of the two UK cities outstrip the rest.

Representative and target sample, percentages of respondents who have experienced at least 4 out of 6 "citizenship experiences" (N=10x~400 representative/N=9^2x50-100 target)

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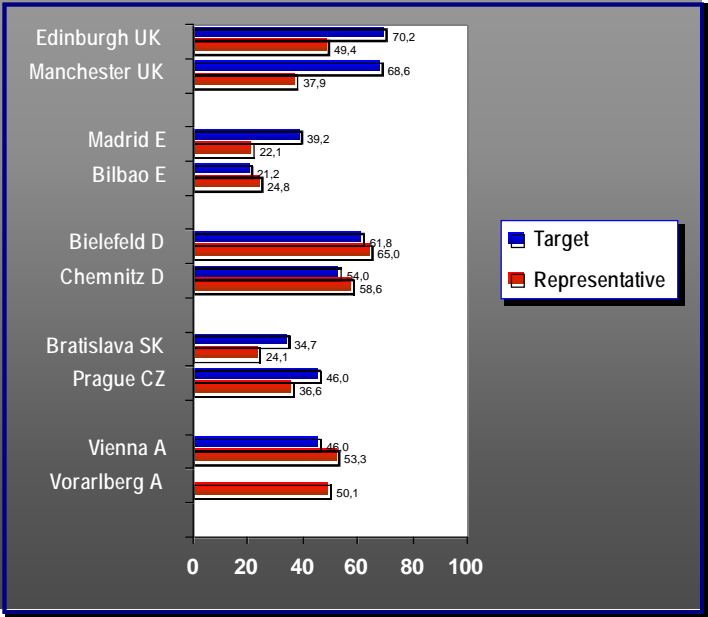
[2] The target sample in Vorarlberg is too small to draw valid conclusions. It is therefore omitted in this table.

There were large differences between the target sample and the representative sample in some localities. In Germany and Austria there was little difference between these two sample groups. It may be inferred that more or less everyone in these countries gets a general citizenship education. In Madrid, Spain and Bratislava in the Slovak Republic, respondents reported low levels of citizenship education and there were big differences between the target and the representative samples. In Manchester, England and Edinburgh, Scotland there were likewise very large differences between the target and the representative sample. In these localities, at least according to what the respondents remember of the curriculum when they were at school, citizenship education was relatively rare and more likely to be experienced by the highly educated. By contrast, in the research sites in Germany and Austria such citizenship education and experience was found to be more widespread among the representative sample than in other countries.

One question in the surveys asked if the respondent remembered 'being taught anything about the European Union or the European Community, the parliament, laws, policies or states' when they were at school. The table below shows those who remember that they were taught nothing or very little[3].

Table 28. Percentage learning nothing or little about the eu or ec at school

AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Edinburgh	Manchester
28%	18%	36%	31%	34%	36%	25%	31%	56%	61%

Interviewees in Edinburgh and Manchester were significantly less likely to be exposed to any formal education about the European Union than those from other sites participating in the study.

4.2.2. Engagement as Local, National then European Citizens?

The high proportions of respondents from Bratislava and Prague who expressed enthusiasm for citizenship of the European Union did not reflect high levels of 'active citizenship' among these same respondents. Their enthusiasm seemed to contradict the

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[3] Those who 'don't remember' have not been excluded from the calculation of valid percentages.

hypothesis that those who are most likely to be actively interested in and engaged with issues of supra-state citizenship will also be engaged with civil society in their local states. This hypothesis itself was developed in the context of states with long histories of liberal democracy. Citizenship has had a very different meaning in the context of socialist totalitarian states.

A variety of national and international programmes are now geared towards trying to promote the 'active citizenship' of young people. The survey was designed to identify whether young people were actively involved in politics and/or other forms of civic engagement. Questions asked about membership or attendance of pressure groups, local associations and organizations and explored everyday interests in social and political issues.

Trust in National Political Systems

Four questions indicated the extent of young people's trust in the formal party political system of their nation state: whether or not they thought that it was worth voting, whether or not it made any difference which party was in power, whether they could influence what government does and whether one should vote as a moral obligation. These factors were combined together in a scale that was labelled 'trust in national party politics'.

Table 29. Trust in National Party Politics

Respondents from-	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Representative sample										
No Trust	8%	6%	18%	15%	11%	9%	19%	22%	25%	22%
Highest Level of Trust	14%	13%	8%	10%	11%	12%	9%	10%	4%	8%
Target sample										
No Trust	-	-	10%	10%	6%	3%	15%	21%	8%	4%
Highest Level of Trust	-	-	19%	24%	10%	21%	6%	7%	17%	27%

Most respondents were around the middle of this scale, so they were neither completely distrustful nor trusting in their political system. Only in Austria and Germany did more than 10% of the representative sample express complete trust in their political system. Among the representative samples, over a fifth of the sample has no such trust in

Manchester and Edinburgh in the UK and Madrid in Spain. Respondents in Bilbao and Prague were also very close to this level of distrust. The target sample more or less sustained the level of lack of trust in their political system in Madrid, Bilbao and Chemnitz but, in Prague, Bratislava, Bielefeld, Manchester and Edinburgh, the more educated target sample had greater faith in the political system. The difference between the representative and target samples was particularly marked in Edinburgh where only 8% of the representative sample expressed the highest level of trust in their party political context in comparison with 27% of the target sample. Among the representative samples, trust in the national political system had a statistically significant association with measures of European identity but there was not a statistically significant relationship in Vienna, Chemnitz or Bilbao.

Unwillingness to Vote

There were strong positive associations between trust in the national political system and willingness to vote (as measured by indications of whether respondents would be willing to vote in future elections). This tendency holds true at the regional, national and European level as well as across all study sites. High willingness to vote was also associated with identification with Europe in most study localities.

High levels of unwillingness or uncertainty about voting in European elections reflected high levels of unwillingness or uncertainty about voting in national elections and once again it was respondents from Manchester and Edinburgh in the UK and Madrid in Spain that were at the top of the league tables on this particular measure. It was clear from the interviews that, for some of the respondents, a failure to vote reflected a tactical withdrawal from a system they saw as unlikely to respond to their concerns, rather than a lack of interest in social and political issues.

Table 30. Percentage of representative samples who said they would not vote or did not know if they would vote in various elections and for whom no party reprsents their views

Respondents from- Type of election	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
European	31%	23%	31%	30%	44%	40%	38%	49%	70%	65%
Quasi-federal/National	20%	15%	26%	20%	20%	21%	31%	35%	44%	40%
Regional/Basque/Scottish	26%	27%	40%	59%	25%	26%	15%	40%	-	33%
District/Local	38%	32%	41%	59%	33%	30%	26%	32%	48%	45%
Which party represents your views?										
% 'no party'	17%	24%	32%	22%	24%	15%	31%	57%	21%	26%
% 'don't know'	6%	8%	10%	20%	14%	14%	2%	11%	12%	16%

The survey also showed that some young adults felt that no political party represented their view or felt that they did not know enough to say whether a party would represent their views or not. This was true for over 40% of respondents in Prague, Bratislava and Edinburgh and the majority of respondents in Madrid.

Membership and participation in societies and organisations

Less than 20% of the representative samples participated in societies and organisations in Manchester, Bratislava, Prague, Edinburgh and Madrid and around 30% participated in Chemnitz, Bielefeld and Bilbao with the highest rate of participation in Bregenz at 45%. The type of organisation in which respondents participated most frequently was a sports club. This was highly gendered, resulting in higher participation rates of young men in most sites except in Bratislava and Madrid where women's and men's participation in sports clubs was relatively low and relatively equal.

Table 31. Participation in an organisation, representative and target sample

Respondents from- Any membership or participation	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Representative sample	45%	37%	18%	10%	28%	32%	31%	18%	10%	18%
Target sample	36%	26%	27%	15%	48%	51%	29%	33%	41%	68%

While participation in societies was often higher, and sometimes much higher, among the target samples, only small proportions were involved in organisations with explicitly political aims such as social movement organisations, pressures groups, trade unions or political parties. The issue of local citizenship was raised in another way in the more in-depth interviews with respondents. Respondents were asked about their willingness to engage in campaigning to defend local facilities and amenities and responses suggested low levels of engagement in local concerns.

Awareness of Social and Political Issues

This did not mean, however, that respondents had little or no interest in social and political issues. On the contrary, with the exception of respondents from Bratislava and Prague, most professed interest in a wide range of social and political issues. When interest in social and political issues among the representative samples was cross-tabulated with their level of trust in national political system, there was no statistically significant association in half of the localities but some association in Prague, Bratislava, Chemnitz, Madrid and Edinburgh (Pearson's chi squared was significant at the.05 level).

The table shows the percentages of the representative sample professing interest in each of a list of issues. In all the study localities other than Bratislava and Prague between 38% and 64% expressed interest in at least 8 of the ten social and political issues they were asked about.

Table 32. Percentage of representative samples interested or very interested in these issues

Respondents from	Bregenz Vorarlberg	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Job and training opportunities	92%	90%	70%	78%	92%	90%	90%	93%	88%	86%
Quality and content of education	88%	84%	60%	68%	87%	84%	72%	87%	82%	82%
Equality between men and women	82%	74%	48%	46%	70%	72%	80%	81%	80%	80%
Public services or facilities (transport, leisure)	76%	70%	53%	44%	54%	54%	79%	76%	79%	80%
Terrorism	63%	52%	51%	48%	66%	72%	83%	92%	79%	71%
Poverty	77%	76%	42%	42%	68%	70%	77%	84%	70%	71%
Discrimination against immigrants or other minority groups	72%	70%	50%	32%	62%	74%	70%	76%	70%	61%
Animal Rights	72%	58%	41%	39%	53%	50%	57%	56%	70%	58%
Environmental Issues	81%	75%	63%	49%	61%	66%	70%	78%	59%	62%
Unification of Europe	55%	53%	50%	52%	47%	53%	28%	52%	39%	30%
Interested in at least 6 of the 10	83%	75%	49%	41%	68%	71%	78%	87%	78%	72%
Interested in at least 8 of the 10	56%	49%	17%	17%	38%	44%	47%	64%	49%	42%

In most localities, the representative samples were less likely to be interested in the issue of European Unification than other issues that were put to them. The exceptions were respondents from Prague and Bratislava who showed low levels of interest in many other issues. In Bratislava, more respondents were interested in European Unification than discrimination against immigrants, animal rights, poverty, public services and facilities, equality between men and women, terrorism and environmental issues. In Prague, the list was shorter but also contains animal rights, poverty, and equality between men and women. Also in Vienna respondents were equally uninterested in terrorism and in the unification of Europe. However, although the overall picture is one of less interest in the unification of Europe than many other issues, about half of the representative samples expressed some interest in this issue in most localities. The exceptions were young adults in Madrid, Edinburgh and Manchester, where only

minorities of the representative samples (28%, 30% and 39% respectively) expressed any interest at all in the issue. Among the target sample, interest in the issue of European unification was higher across all sites and the differences between localities was less marked.

Few of the issues attracted the interest of more than 50% of the representative samples in Prague and Bratislava, where only 17% of respondents were interested in at least eight of the ten issues. (This rose to 31% in Prague and 24% in Bratislava among the target samples.) Interest in 'discrimination against immigrants or other minority groups' was particularly low in Slovakia (32%) indicating that interest does not automatically follow from the presence of an ethnic minority population. The Roma remain a relatively stigmatized group lacking popular sympathy from the non-Roma population in both the Czech and Slovak republics. By contrast, 70% or more of respondents expressed interest in this issue in Bregenz, Vienna, Bielefeld, Bilbao, Madrid and Manchester.

The lower levels of interest for Slovak, and, to a lesser extent, Czech respondents, in the range of social and political issues listed, may reflect the legacy of the communist period. Non-governmental single issue campaigns could not flourish under the communist period and although they have now emerged as a more visible part of the political landscape, social change with respect to issues such as discrimination against minorities is still in its infancy. Local and national circumstances could also heighten interest in particular issues. Interest in terrorism was particularly high in Madrid and Bilbao, as a consequence of continued incidence of bombings and killings attributed to the Basque separatist organization, ETA.

In general, women were more likely to be interested in many issues than men. In all localities, higher proportions of women than men were interested in eight or more of the ten issues. In some localities there were marked gender differences on particular issues. For example, significantly more women than men were interested or very interested in the following: education (Bilbao), environmental issues and poverty (Bielefeld and Chemnitz), terrorism (Bregenz, Vienna and Chemnitz), discrimination against ethnic minorities (Bielefeld and Bilbao), animal rights (Bratislava, Chemnitz, Edinburgh and Manchester). In all localities, women were more interested than men in gender equality. Differences between men and women on this issue were typically larger than on any other. However, in most localities there was very little difference between the proportions of men and women expressing interest in the unification of Europe but more women than men did express interest in Bilbao (23% of men, 32% of women), Edinburgh (26% of men, 34% of women) and Manchester (34% of men, 42% of women).

Those who were interested in at least 8 out of 10 social and political issues were more likely to identify themselves as European than those who were only interested in a small number of issues. There was a statistically significant association between these two measures in most of the study localities. However, note that respondents in the accession states who had a keener interest in European citizenship than elsewhere also had lower levels of professed interest in many other social and political issues. There was also a positive association between interest in European integration and trust in national political systems across all localities under study. Trust in national political systems was also associated with willingness to vote and identification as European. These findings provides some support to those theorists who have suggested that active engagement as local or national citizens is likely to foster an interest in or engagement with European citizenship.

4.3. Attitudes to Immigration and Diversity

4.3.1. Qualifications for Citizenship: Civic versus Ethnic Citizenship

One of the subsidiary aims of the project was to explore the extent to which citizenship was imagined in terms of the divisions sometimes used in academic literature between 'ethnic' or 'civic' nationalism. Mapping citizenship onto this division would produce 'ethnic citizenship' and 'civic citizenship'. 'Ethnic citizenship would be an ascribed citizenship, expressing acknowledgement of a birth right, a result of being born into and connected by blood and kinship to the ethnic group or people of the nation-state. 'Civic citizenship', on the other hand, would emphasize entitlements achieved through participation in the life of the society that is also the nation-state, for example through obedience of its laws, participation in paid employment and payment of taxes. It has often been assumed in the literature on nationalism that ethnic nationalism can lead to chauvinism and racism whereas civic nationalism can tend towards an identity based more on citizenship *per se*. This imagines a version of civic citizenship that binds people together in the common cause of working with the State to maintain a society for the common good. This form of civic citizenship has been seen as a potential basis for European identity, a kind of European 'constitutional patriotism' (Habermas, Delantey).

There are variations between European countries in the extent to which legal systems acknowledge 'ethnic rights' versus 'civic participation' when defining or bestowing citizenship. For example, the preservation of the entitlement of 'ethnic Germans' to citizenship in Germany (at least until the new nationality law of 2001 limited the ethnic elements of *ius sanguinis*) is an explicit acknowledgement of ethnic rights absent from

many legal systems. However, people's everyday understandings of citizenship need not reflect the legal situation.

We explored the issue by asking respondents about their views of the appropriate requirements for 'somebody seeking citizenship' in their country, offering a list of possible requirements to rate from 'not at all important' to 'very important'. Some of the items expressed more 'ethnic' forms of entitlements, such as nationality of parents and ancestry. Some of the items expressed more 'civic' notions of entitlement to citizenship, such as obedience of the laws, engagement in paid employment and long term residence. This enabled comparisons to be made between the balance of choice for each respondent with respect to ethnic and civic items. Overall, less variation was found between countries in the factors that respondents saw as important in terms of bestowing citizenship than might be predicted from historical differences in their legal-political contexts.

Table 33. Percentage of representative samples chosing items as important or very important requirements of people seeking citizenship

Respondents from	AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Edinburgh	Manchester
Abide by laws and institutions	91%	88%	93%	94%	88%	89%	52%	72%	85%	87%
Working in the country	68%	63%	66%	65%	60%	59%	39%	77%	60%	66%
Feel that they belong in the country	55%	39%	55%	58%	51%	57%	35%	43%	63%	66%
Speak the main language	76%	71%	67%	82%	75%	82%	32%	56%	50%	62%
Born in the country	32%	20%	20%	26%	27%	27%	43%	55%	50%	59%
Living in the country for at least 5 years	57%	50%	62%	65%	38%	39%	36%	68%	56%	58%
A parent from the country	24%	16%	20%	30%	31%	27%	16%	39%	47%	51%
Oath of Allegiance to the country	18%	13%	15%	25%	14%	15%	10%	30%	24%	48%
National Ancestors	14%	9%	15%	17%	16%	20%	14%	31%	25%	39%
Pass a test about the country	23%	20%	18%	25%	28%	25%	5%	12%	19%	37%

Question asked was 'In your opinion, how important should the following be as requirements for somebody seeking Austrian/Czech/Slovak/German/Spanish/British citizenship (that is full entitlement to any state-provided benefits, voting rights, a passport etc). SCALE 0=not at all important; 4=very important. Table shows the proportion choosing 3 or 4.

The only item endorsed as important by a large majority of respondents from all sites, with one exception, was that those seeking citizenship 'abide by the laws and institutions of the country'. The exception was among interviewees from Bilbao, perhaps because forms of civil disobedience and resistance to the authority of the Spanish state have been a persistent feature of their political landscape. In Bilbao, only 52% of respondents saw

this item as important in comparison to 91% in the Bregenz region of Vorarlberg in Austria. No other item achieved majority support among respondents in Bilbao.

Given the history of *ius sanguinis*, in Germany, it was particularly interesting to see that slightly fewer interviewees in Chemnitz and Bielefeld identified the importance of 'national ancestors' or 'a parent from the country' than interviewees from Madrid, Edinburgh and Manchester. Nowhere did 'national ancestors' get majority support and only in Manchester did 'a parent from the country' achieve endorsement as important by 50% of respondents.

Higher proportions of respondents in Britain, and particularly in Manchester, opted for many of the items that only attracted very small proportions of support elsewhere, reflecting the rhetoric associated with the negative media coverage given to asylum seekers and illegal immigrants in Britain at the time of the study. Interviews in the UK found a number of respondents repeating the view circulating in the popular press that unscrupulous immigrants chose Britain for their destination because it was easier to abuse the British immigration and welfare systems than in other countries.

Not all items were clear indicators of either 'civic citizenship' or 'ethnic citizenship'. Several items were open to interpretation in a number of ways. For example, an interviewee might have thought it important that somebody speaks their national language because they want an ethnically and culturally homogenous society, consistent with 'ethnic citizenship' or because they saw language as important for enabling civic participation in their society, and hence 'civic citizenship'. However, the items that were the most unambiguously 'civic' are: 'to abide by the laws and institutions of the country'; 'working in the country'[4]; 'living in the country for at least five years'. The items that were the most unambiguously 'ethnic' refer to parentage and ancestry.

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[4] Even these items can have alternative readings. For example, in qualitative interviews one Edinburgh-based respondent revealed that they did not choose 'working in the country' because they did not want to discriminate against unemployed people.

Tabel 34. Percentage of representative (r) and target (t) samples stressing civic or ethnic citizenship or both

Respondents from	AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
High Civic (high on all three civic items)	R48% T38%	R38% T40%	R51% T38%	R53% T41%	R28% T48%	R30% T28%	R17% T25%	R51% T41%	R49% T49%	R40% T54%
High Ethnic (high on both ethnic items)	R12%	R7%	R13% T12%	R13% T17%	R13% T11%	R16% T12%	R10% T10%	R29% T32%	R34% T19%	R22% T 9%
High Civic but also High Ethnic	R7%	R4%	R5% T6%	R5% T6%	R5% T5%	R7% T4%	R4% T4%	R23% T18%	R24% T10%	R14% T 8%

More respondents endorsed 'civic' rather than 'ethnic' entitlements to citizenship. In other words, more respondents agreed with requirements to be living in, working in and obeying the laws of the country, than to have parents and ancestors from the country. However, in no locality did many more than half of respondents see all three civic items as important. The largest proportion endorsing all three items as important was 53% in Bratislava. The fact that there were no large majorities of respondents endorsing clusters of items may have been because the items on offer did not sum up citizenship adequately for respondents. Face to face interviews attempted to explore further the meaning of citizenship and found that many respondents did not have ready-made ways of speaking about citizenship nor were they readily able to articulate rights and duties of national or European citizenship.

It is relevant to note that there were some very marked differences between localities in the proportion of respondents stressing the importance of civic and ethnic items of entitlement to citizenship. A much smaller percentage of both the representative and target samples in Bilbao endorsed civic items. The overwhelming majority of respondents in Bilbao placed little importance on either civic or ethnic items. As the next section of the report demonstrates, respondents from Bilbao had the most relaxed attitudes among respondents from all study localities concerning immigration, and their lack of enthusiasm for restrictions on acquiring citizenship was consistent with this outlook. The proportion of respondents seeing ethnic items as important was below 20% in most

localities but again there were large variations. Ethnic items were seen as important by 34% of the representative samples in Manchester, 29% in Madrid and 22% in Edinburgh compared to 7% in Vienna and 10% in Bilbao.

Contrary to popular wisdom, respondents who thought that ethnic items were important sometimes also stressed the importance of civic items. This pattern of endorsing both civic and ethnic items was adopted by about a quarter of the representative samples in Manchester and Madrid, although it was adopted by less than 10% of the samples elsewhere. As discussed in the next section, interviews suggest that a racialised discourse around immigration may have had a particular impact in Madrid and Manchester, perhaps encouraging respondents to endorse a list of possible hurdles that would have to be achieved before a migrant could achieve citizenship.

In some localities, the target samples were markedly more likely to stress civic items than the representative sample. This was true in Edinburgh and Chemnitz where 52% and 48% of the target samples respectively endorsed civic requirements for citizenship and 9% (Edinburgh) and 11% (Chemnitz) endorsed ethnic items. This compared to 38% (Edinburgh) and 28% (Chemnitz) of the representative samples endorsing civic items and 20% and 13% endorsing ethnic items. On the other hand, in Madrid, Bilbao, Bielefeld and Bratislava the target samples were not markedly more likely to prefer civic items over ethnic items than the representative sample. Indeed, in Madrid the target sample were slightly less likely to endorse civic items and slightly more likely to endorse ethnic items. So in terms of their understanding of the necessary hurdles for the achievement of citizenship, in Madrid the more highly educated and potentially Europe-oriented target sample and the representative sample of 18-24 year olds were likely to hold similar views, whereas in Edinburgh the two samples were likely to take very different positions. Attitudes to civic and ethnic entitlements to citizenship interact with attitudes to immigration and to cultural, ethnic and national diversity which are discussed further in the next section.

4.3.2. Diversity and tolerance: attitudes to cultural, ethnic and national diversity

A common method of exploring attitudes was adopted in the project surveys in order to measure the extent of tolerance or intolerance of diversity. Respondents were presented with a statement and asked to rank the extent to which they agreed. The statements used were: 'there should be fewer people of different nationalities living here'; 'it is better for our country if everyone shares the same traditions and customs' and 'ethnic minority cultures are good for the culture of our country'.

The majority of respondents from both the representative and target samples were positive or neutral about national, cultural and ethnic diversity. In each locality, minority proportions of respondents rejected diversity and strongly endorsed cultural and national homogeneity, ranging from less than 10% among the representative samples in Vienna and Chemnitz to around a third for some items in Bratislava, Madrid and Manchester. The target samples tended to be more positive about cultural and ethnic diversity in all localities but in Bratislava and Madrid substantial minorities among the target samples rejected cultural, ethnic and national diversity. Indeed, in Madrid the proportion agreeing it is better 'if everyone shares the same traditions and customs' achieved 42% of the target sample.

Tabel 35. Percentages rejecting diversity and endorsing cultural and ethnic homogeneity

	AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinbrgh
Agreeing that 'it is better for our country if everyone shares the same traditions and customs'	R14%	R12%	R25% T14%	R34% T22%	R7% T6%	R14% T3%	R15% T9%	R33% T42%	R33% T6%	R18% T7%
Disagree that 'ethnic minority cultures are good for the culture of our country'	R23%	R20%	R19% T13%	R28% T17%	R26% T7%	R27% T5%	R19% T11%	R25% T23%	R26% T8%	R18% T6%
Agreeing 'There should be fewer people of different nationalities living here'	R18%	R14%	R22% T8%	R39% T21%	R17% T2%	R18% T3%	R14% T6%	R30% T23%	R8% T17%	R7% T8%
Respondents taking on all three*	R2%	R3%	R3% T2%	R3% T0%	R2% T0%	R2% T0%	R2% T0%	R6% T6%	R4% T0%	R2% T0%
Respondents taking on two or three items*	R12%	R5%	R14% T8%	R20% T16%	R8% T1%	R12% T2%	R7% T3%	R18% T17%	R18% T2%	R8% T2%

*Respondents rejecting diversity and endorsing homogeneity

The proportions of respondents endorsing cultural, ethnic and national homogeneity and disagreeing with the benefits of multi-culturalism and national/ethnic diversity could be regarded as an indirect indication of levels of racism and xenophobia. However, this is contentious and a degree of simplification is involved: advocacy of cultural homogeneity is not always equated with racism and it is clearly wrong to equate anti-racism and multiculturalism. It has been forcefully argued in a number of national contexts, for example, that the inclusion of multi-cultural elements in a school curriculum is not a substitute for an anti-racist policy. Nevertheless, the last two rows of the table may give some indication of levels of racism. The second-to-last row show the proportion of respondents who have rejected diversity and endorsed homogeneity on all three of the items and the last row shows the proportion of respondents who take this position for two or three of the items.

While there were larger minorities of respondents in Bratislava rejecting diversity on each of the three items, this did not indicate a higher likelihood that individually these respondents endorsed all three items. Only very small minorities of respondents took what might be described as the less inclusive and more intolerant position on all three items. This minority was highest in Madrid (6%) and Manchester (4%). Looking at respondents who endorse two or three of the items, however, Bratislava (20%), Madrid (18%), and Manchester (18%) appear on the same footing as the sites with the largest minorities of respondents taking less inclusive positions. Note that in Madrid and Bratislava very similar proportions of the target samples (17% Madrid, 16% Bratislava) also took this position, while, as in most other localities, this is the case for only 2% of the target sample.

4.3.3. Openness to Immigration

A set of items were designed to explore attitudes to immigration in the surveys. The question put to respondents was: 'In your opinion, should the following groups of people be accepted into [*name of country*] without any restrictions, be accepted with certain restrictions or not be accepted?' Respondents were then asked about immigration from within the EU; from Europe beyond the EU; immigrants from beyond Europe, seeking work; and those suffering from human rights violations who are seeking asylum.

Tabel 36. Percentages of the representative (r) and target (t) samples suggesting immigrants should be accepted without restrictions

Respondents	AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Citizens of Countries in the EU wishing to settle here	R60%	R71%	R53% T60%	R45% T57%	R36% T80%	R44% T73%	R76% T80%	R56% T81%	R27% T76%	R39% T84%
People suffering from human rights violations	R60%	R62%	R40% T54%	R26% T38%	R42% T72%	R47% T65%	R77% T79%	R60% T61%	R25% T37%	R25% T51%
People from European countries outside the EU wishing to work here	R26%	R34%	R21% T18%	R13% T20%	R20% T37%	R23% T39%	R56% T58%	R41% T46%	R17% T17%	R21% T25%
People from other countries outside Europe wishing to work here	R25%	R33%	R16% T18%	R11% T14%	R17% T31%	R19% T37%	R53% T51%	R35% T45%	R19% T12%	R15% T16%

Although citizens of all member states of the European Union have the right to settle in any other member states, some interviewees thought that such immigrants should only be accepted in their country 'with certain restrictions'. As shown in the first row of the table, the majority of the target samples from all areas stated that EU citizens should be accepted without restrictions, and in most areas this majority was over 75%. However, the majority was somewhat lower in the accession states of Prague and Bratislava. This is perhaps not surprising given that the Czech and Slovak Republics were not yet members of the EU and EU citizens did not yet have a legal right to settle there. Among the representative sample variation is much greater. The majority of the representative samples in Bilbao (76%), Vienna (71%), Bregenz (60%), Madrid (56%), and Prague (53%, despite not yet existing within an EU state) endorsed openness to EU citizens who wanted to settle in their country. But only a minority did so in Bratislava (45%), Chemnitz (36%), Edinburgh (39%) and Manchester (27%), despite the latter three cities being part of the EU. There were some gender differences in how interviewees answered these questions, although not in all study sites. Gender differences were particularly marked in Austria and Germany, where among the representative sample women were less likely than men to suggest accepting immigrants without restrictions.

Majorities from the representative samples from Vienna (71%), Bregenz/Vorarlberg (60%), and Madrid (56%), like Bilbao (76%), endorsed openness to 'people suffering from human rights violations. The representative and target samples in Bratislava and Manchester, and the representative sample in Edinburgh were the least likely to endorse openness to 'people suffering from human rights violations.' The representative and target samples in Prague, Bratislava, Edinburgh and Manchester and the representative sample in Chemnitz were the least open to accepting people from beyond the European Union without restrictions.

In all locations, more interviewees endorsed openness to people suffering from human rights violations than other categories of immigrants from outside the EU. Indeed, in all the study sites except Edinburgh and Manchester, among the representative samples about twice as many chose openness to those 'suffering human rights violations' than to economic migrants from outside the EU. In these British localities, far fewer interviewees endorsed admitting any immigrants without restrictions and only marginally more endorsed openness to those suffering from human rights violations than to economic migrants.

Tabel 37. Percentages of the representative (r) and target (t) samples wishing to see restrictions on all or most categories of immigrants

Respondents	AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Restrictions on all types of immigrants	R19%	R14%	R31% T21%	R33% T30%	R35% T10%	R28% T14%	R12% T10%	R28% T14%	R46% T15%	R40% T6%
Restrictions on at least three of the four categories	R48%	R41%	R59% T58%	R60% T59%	R69% T27%	R62% T36%	R27% T24%	R45% T38%	R68% T61%	R58% T44%

The sites with majorities of the representative samples wishing to restrict all or most categories of immigrants were in the UK, Germany and the accession state cities of Prague and Bratislava. The representative and target samples from Bilbao were the most open to all categories of immigrants. In no other locality did the majority of both the representative and target samples endorse acceptance without restrictions of all the categories of immigrants listed in the questionnaire. Only about a quarter of respondents in Bilbao wished to see restrictions placed on most categories of immigrants compared to nearly 70% of the representative samples in Manchester and Chemnitz, over 50% of representative samples in Bielefeld and Edinburgh and over 50% of both representative and target samples in Bratislava and Prague.

The more in-depth interviews with young people found a wide range of both positive and negative views concerning immigration across all localities and these are described in more detail below. However, it is noted here with respect to Bilbao that respondents sometimes saw the Basque country as a region with relatively low levels of immigration from beyond Spain in comparison to some other regions of Spain and high levels of immigration from other parts of Spain. The range of positive views of immigration was rather more diverse than in some other localities and positive views were expressed by both the representative and target samples. In addition to statements about the positive benefits of immigrants, their contribution to beneficial diversity and their compensation for a falling birth rate, respondents from Bilbao also particularly emphasized the reciprocal rights of people to migrate, for example:

> "Because if here there's insufficient labour supply in a sector,… well, or the other way round, if, for example, in my case, there's a lack of professionals in England, well, I can go to England and work there if I can't here". Pedro, male, representative sample.

> "there are times when I have no luck, I can't find work here, I'm out of luck, but I go to France and things go well, and there are times when it might be the other way around". Cristina, female, representative sample.

Also some respondents from Bilbao completely rejected the concept of restricting the right of entry to particular categories of people.

> "I don't understand the concept of putting limitations on people because they come from this or that place". Carlos, male, target sample.

4.3.4. Barriers to more openness

The chart below presents a number of the measures discussed above visually and shows that higher proportions of intolerance to diversity were not consistently associated with endorsement of restrictions on the entry of immigrants or an emphasis on 'ethnic citizenship' across localities[5]. In Manchester relatively high proportions of the representative sample adopted all three positions. In Madrid relatively high proportions of the representative samples expressed intolerance to diversity and emphasised 'ethnic' qualifications for citizenship. In Bratislava a high level of the representative sample expressing intolerance of diversity was accompanied by a relatively high level wishing to place restrictions on immigrants.

Percentages of representative samples in each locality with less tolerant views

Legend:
- Rejected at least two of the following: cultural, ethnic and national diversity*
- Endorsed ethnic citizenship (must have parents and ancestors from the country)
- Wished to place restrictions on immigrants from within the EU**
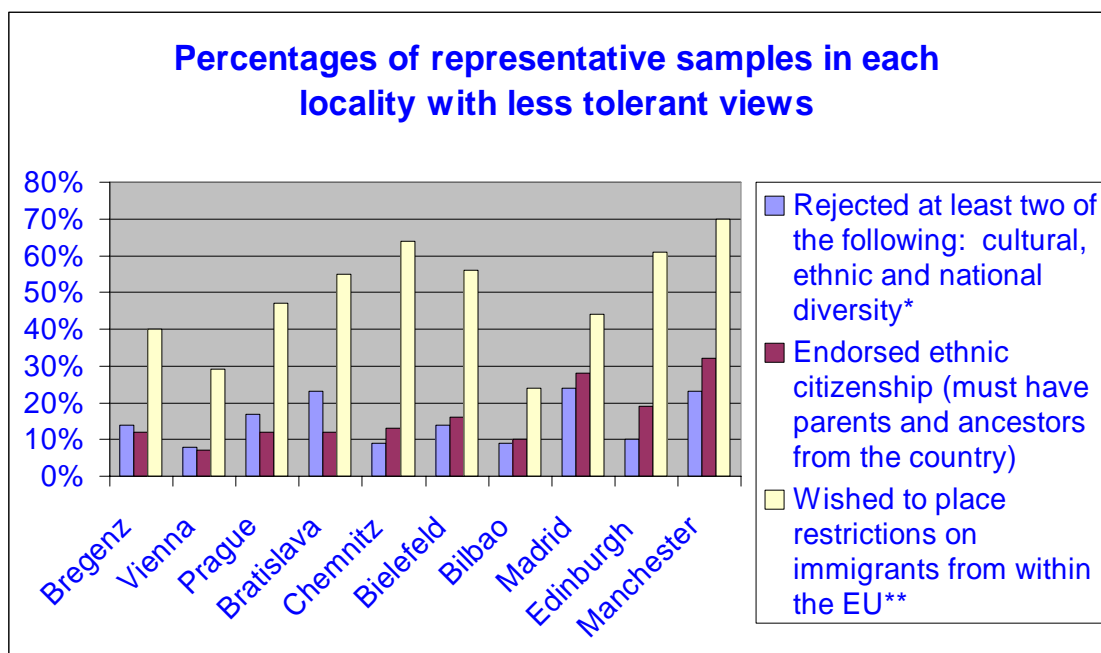
* That is taking two or three of the following positions: agreeing that 'it is better for our country if everyone shares the same traditions and customs'; disagreeing that 'ethnic minority cultures are good for the culture of our country'; agreeing 'there should be fewer people of different nationalities living here.'

** Includes a very small number of respondents who would reject such immigrants entirely.

In-depth interviews with respondents, gave a richer insight into their views of immigration, immigrants and tolerance or intolerance of diversity. Positive views of immigration were found across all localities. These included stressing the skills and labour

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[5] At the individual level, there were significant associations between high levels of intolerance of diversity and high levels of seeking restrictions on immigrants in most localities but not in Edinburgh.

that immigrants bring, noting a corrective to population decline, and/or asserting a multi-cultural society to be enriching. Valuing immigrants as an enriching source of diversity was more common among respondents who had direct experience of diversity within their own social network. For example, Michaela was a typical respondent expressing this view. She lived in Vienna, had a Turkish boyfriend, some of her family had moved from Austria to Belgium. She had friends of many nationalities, and said, 'The more different people the better' (Vienna female, representative sample).

Fears about immigration were also expressed across all the localities in the study. Many respondents stressed the need to limit the number of immigrants. The most common reason was fear of competition, particularly for jobs: 'I don't want to run into the situation that I'll be pushed into a labour market somewhere abroad just because others are pressing into our labour market' (Chemnitz male, representative sample). Respondents across all localities also expressed caveats about the need for the 'right kind' of immigrant, for example: 'As long as they come to work' (Madrid female, target sample). Negatively stereotyping immigrants and/or asylum seekers as undesirable (e.g. criminals, drug dealers, prostitutes, 'scroungers' who do not want to work but to live on state benefits) was expressed by some respondents across all localities and were particularly common in Madrid, Manchester and Edinburgh. 'If you ask me about the immigrants who come here to steal and all that, I'm not happy, I get angry' (Madrid female, target sample).Some respondents called for 'integration' in a way that seems to suggest the eradication and assimilation of immigrant cultures rather than cultural pluralism. 'You come to a country; accept what there is - accept, integrate - don't isolate yourself, don't impose' (Madrid male, target sample). Across all localities, some respondents singled out Muslims for negative comment, for example, by negatively caricaturing differences, 'The way they treat women is awful' (Madrid male, representative sample). When discussing the meaning of Europe, a number of respondents contrasted Europe and Islam and some explained their inclusion of Turkey in Europe by suggesting that Turkey was somehow not like other Muslim countries.

4.3.5. The impact of national and local circumstances on tolerance and racism

A strong sense of European Identity and positive attitudes to the European Union are associated with attitudes to national diversity and openness to immigration in some localities and not others. In Bilbao, for example, openness to immigration is the norm and much more common than in other localities but relatively few respondents have a strong sense of European identity.

More detailed discussion with respondents in interviews indicated a combined impact on tolerance of popular national discourses about immigration and local perceptions of competition for resources or threats to standards of living. The higher levels of rejection of national, cultural and ethnic diversity in Madrid should be seen in the context of both negative stereotypes circulating in popular culture and the distinctive experiences of citizens of Madrid. These include high levels of unemployment, the visible presence of beggars and hawkers from immigrant populations on city streets and high levels of fear of street crime. Madrid has the highest rate of unemployment of all the localities and unemployment affects graduates as well as less qualified workers. In Madrid, respondents who expressed the least tolerant views often singled out immigrants from Morocco and from certain South American countries as particularly undesirable. For example, a woman (representative sample) complained about Moroccan and South American immigrants 'Because they're the ones that have caused me most problems personally' and continued by attempting to fend off anticipated accusations of being racist by adding 'I'm not generalizing'.

Some respondents referred to their own personal experience when making negative statements about some ethnic minorities. Such claims were made in a number of localities. For example, begging was reported as being experienced as both intimidating and associated with particular ethnic minorities by a respondent from Bratislava. Among respondents from Bratislava, negative comments about people from different cultural, ethnic or national backgrounds were more often made about Roma rather than about immigrants. In the following example, a Bratislava resident complained about refugees from Afghanistan and then went on to make a comparison with Roma: 'So, what I did not like was that when I came outside there were many beggars asking for money and so I was rather scared of it… and I am also scared of Roma, because they have a totally different lifestyle'.

In some circumstances, respondents' experience led them to feel as if they were in direct competition for resources with asylum seekers or immigrants. This was said very explicitly, for example, by a young woman from the representative sample in Edinburgh:, 'I was on the waiting list [for a local authority house] and I've got to wait another three years to get a main door [a ground floor flat with its own front door] for three kids. They [asylum seekers] come over and they can have a main door' (Edinburgh female, representative sample). For some respondents, although not the majority, local conditions and their own experiences - competition for jobs or housing, difficulty in accessing benefits, feeling threatened on the streets, being the victim of crime - sometimes seemed to resonate with negative portrayals of immigration and immigrants circulating in popular culture.

As the next sections of the report further explain, the importance of education and of experiences orienting people to Europe was also suggested by these findings. The target sample and those with higher education in the representative samples were less likely to reject national, cultural and ethnic diversity and sometimes controlling for education eradicates differences between localities. Higher education appeared not only to improve job opportunities and, hence, reduce anxiety about competition, but also to provide resources enabling the critical questioning of discourses that negatively stereotype other cultures, ethnicities and nationalities. Those who had the least education were the most likely to feel vulnerable to competition for jobs or other resources and the least likely to imagine exercising their own right to move within the EU, which in turn gave them less reason to support the mobility of others. Less educated respondents also tended to be less aware of the existing right of EU citizens to settle and work in member states.

4.4. Facilitators of Openness: exposure to Europe and 'doing Europe'

### 4.4.1. Languages Travel and Mobility

A 'European identity' is not given at birth but developed by way of 'doing'. Project surveys measured the number of European languages spoken, experiences of travel across Europe, and willingness to travel beyond national borders in the future as indicators of 'doing Europe'. The impact of such indicators of 'doing Europe' on European identity was then measured.

In the surveys respondents were asked, 'What other languages do you speak well enough to have a conversation?' The findings demonstrated enormous differences in foreign language proficiency between the different countries. Whereas, for example, in the Austrian sites of Vienna and Bregenz and in Bratislava, Slovakia, around five percent of the respondents were able to speak only their native language, the percentage was almost two-thirds in the UK samples (Edinburgh and Manchester). Conversely, only four percent and one percent of the Spanish and UK participants respectively spoke three or more foreign languages, while in Prague and Bratislava, 17% and 34%, respectively, did.

The differences in language proficiency across localities narrowed among the target samples. The percentages of respondents who only spoke their native language dropped to just over five percent, while almost 70% of them spoke two or more foreign languages. In these potentially Europe-oriented target samples, UK and Spanish young people did not lag behind the other nationalities as much as they do in the representative sample.

The finding of differences between representative samples and young people on Europe-oriented trajectories (our target sample)—being most pronounced in Spain and the United Kingdom—emerged again when looking at travel as another means of 'doing Europe'. In Vienna and Vorarlberg in Austria, Chemnitz and Bielefeld in Germany, Bratislava in Slovakia, and Prague in the Czech Republic, 90% or more of the representative samples had visited another European country since they turned 16. The picture was rather different in the UK and Spain. Among the samples in Edinburgh and Bilbao just over two-thirds had visited another European country, and in Manchester only just over a half had done so, while in Madrid the majority of the representative sample had never visited another European country. The surprise comes when looking at young people on Europe-oriented trajectories. Among the target sample, there we see no difference between young people in the UK research sites and young people from the Austrian, German, Slovak, or the Czech Republic research sites: at least 98% had been abroad since the age of 16. In Spain, however, even among the target samples, substantial proportions (17% from Bilbao and 26% from Madrid) had never been to another European country. Certainly, from Madrid, Edinburgh, or Manchester, foreign countries are farther away in kilometres than, for example, from Bratislava, Vienna, or Chemnitz. Nevertheless, from a 'doing Europe' perspective, we must again conclude that representative urban youth from Manchester and Edinburgh in the UK and Bilbao and Madrid in Spain are less well resourced to 'do Europe' than youth from the other research countries. When looking at the travel activities of young people, it emerged even more clearly than with foreign language proficiency that in the UK, and to some degree in Spain, 'doing Europe' is very much a matter of elite groups deliberately pursuing certain interests, rather than part of the experience of the average young man or woman.

`Doing Europe' among young Europeans (representative samples)

Legend:

■ (orange) Portion of young people who have mastered at least one foreign language

□ (light purple) Portion of young people who have visited at least one other European country since the age of 16

■ (teal) Adjusted portion of young people finding it likely or very likely they will live in
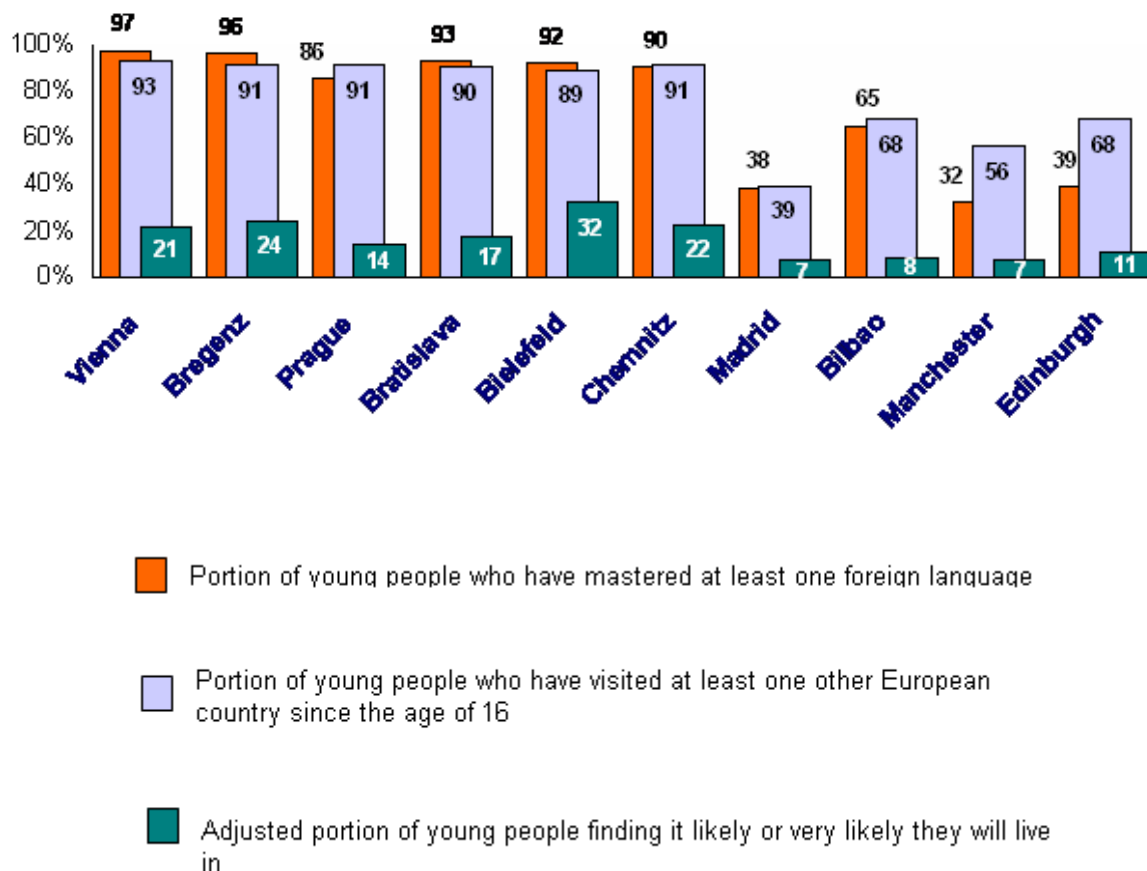
Travel is only a facet of youth mobility, and may sometimes be a superficial one: travelling to another country does not necessarily mean to 'do' that country, to 'do Europe'. The main reason respondents gave for visiting another European country in the years since they were 16, was for a 'holiday, sightseeing or cultural visit'. The proportion of respondents giving this reason was much higher than any other reason in all the study sites. No other main reason was given for visiting another country by anything other than very small proportions of respondents in Bilbao, Madrid, Edinburgh and Manchester. In the case of interviewees from Bratislava, going to 'buy something', to make a specific personal purchase was also an important reason, (42%). School trips or exchanges were experienced by a significant minority of respondents from Chemnitz (30%) and Bielefeld (40%) and Prague (16%), but far less common for respondents from Bratislava, the Spanish and British cities. Only in Prague and Bratislava did 10% or more of interviewees give 'work or work experience' as a reason for travel to another European country. Additionally, only in Prague did as many as 10% of respondents travel to another European country to watch or participate in sport.

When addressing mobility in a more general way, willingness to consider relocation in Europe may be a more decisive indicator of willingness to 'do Europe'. Respondents were asked about where they planned to be living when they were aged 30, and how likely they would find it that at age 30 they would be living elsewhere in Europe. Both in the representative samples of young people and in the target samples, a clear majority expected to live in their own country at age 30, three quarters in the representative sample, some 60% among the young people in the target sample. When looking at those young people who saw it as likely or very likely that they will live outside of their native land in another European country, once again large differences between localities were evident. In the representative samples, well below 10% of the British and the Spanish representative samples found it likely that they would live in another European country at age 30, while around a quarter from Germany and Austria had that expectation. In the target sample, the picture was quite different. Here young people in Manchester and Edinburgh in the UK were among those who voiced the highest expectations of being abroad, surpassed only by their Austrian peers. Among this potentially Europe-oriented sample, Slovaks expressed surprisingly little intent to live abroad (17%), and more importantly, their intentions differed only very slightly from the intentions of their representative compatriots who showed plans to go abroad to a relatively high degree when compared to youth from other countries. The figure summarizes the reported information graphically.

Our representative samples of residents from Edinburgh and Manchester in the UK and Bilbao and Madrid in Spain were the least equipped to 'do Europe'. In terms of recognising a sense of 'attachment to Europe' or 'being European' as a form of nationality or 'citizenship of the European Union' as important to their sense of self, Edinburgh, Bilbao, Manchester and Madrid were also respectively the localities with the lowest levels of 'Europeanness'.

4.4.2. Friends and family connections across Europe

One possible way of gaining a sense of connectedness to other parts of Europe is through friends and family. Interviewees who had friends and family drawn from or scattered across Europe often used this by way of explanation for their own feelings of being European.

The surveys did not attempt to explore connections across Europe in depth but asked respondents: 'Do you have any friends of a different nationality or ethnicity to yourself?' The table below shows the proportion of respondents in each of study site claiming more than a few such friends.

Tabel 38. Percentage saying 'about half', 'many' or 'all' friends are of a different nationality or ethnicity

AUSTRIA		CZECH REPB.	SLOVAK REPB	GERMANY		SPAIN		BRITAIN	
Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
R32% T36%	R43% T66%	R4% T18%	R6% T9%	R4% T20%	R40% T38%	R3% T7%	R4% T7%	R16% T10%	R10% T34%

Having a substantial proportion of friends of other nationalities or ethnicities was a much more common experience in Vienna (43% representative sample, and 66% target sample) Bregenz/Vorarlberg (32% and 36%) and Bielefeld (40% and 38%) than in the other sites of that were studied. This partially reflects the varying proportions of non-nationals living in different cities. For example, Bielefeld is dramatically more heterogeneous than Chemnitz in this respect and hence people in Bielefeld have more opportunity to have contact with somebody of a different nationality or ethnicity to those in Chemnitz. In Chemnitz 50% of the representative sample had no friends of a different nationality or ethnicity to themselves. However, lack of diversity in the city population cannot be the explanation for the high proportions of the representative samples with no friends at all of other nationalities or ethnicities in Madrid. In addition to Chemnitz, substantial minorities of respondents in the representative samples had no friends of other nationalities or ethnicities in Bilbao (47%), Bratislava (32%), Prague (30%), Manchester (29%) and Edinburgh (28%).

Table 39. Percentage of Representative (r) and target (t) sample indicating the top positions on the scale for: Doing Europe, exposure to europe and expressing European identity

| | AUSTRIA | | CZECH REPB. | SLOVAK REPB | GERMANY | | SPAIN | | BRITAIN | |
	Bregenz	Vienna	Prague	Bratislava	Chemnitz	Bielefeld	Bilbao	Madrid	Manchester	Edinburgh
Basic 'doing Europe'*	R87%	R90%	R80% T98%	R83% T98%	R84% T100%	R84% T99%	R41% T72%	R22% T60%	R16% T88%	R31% T88%
More 'doing Europe'**	R47%	R46%	R50% T84%	R60% T89%	R33% T79%	R39% T71%	R10% T28%	R3% T14%	R3% T70%	R8% T51%
Exposure to Europe***	R27%	R40%	R4% T18%	R5% T8%	R3% T20%	R32% T37%	R1% T6%	R2% T6%	R4% T28%	R6% T29%
European – identity****	R27%	R26%	R34% T55	R40% T52%	R27% T35%	R27% T30%	R11% T25%	R24% T29%	R16% T21%	R10% T37%
European- identity*****	Not asked	Not asked	R13% T33%	R23% T22%	R18% T29%	R18% T28%	R10% T19%	R18% T25%	R11% T16%	R6% T34%
European identity ******	-	-	R49 T69	R48 T59	R45 T63	R46 T55	R24 T38	R39 T43	R24 T41	R16 T49

* Has visited at least one other European country since aged 16 and speaks at least one other European language

** Has visited at least one other European country since aged 16 and speaks at least two other European languages

***Has visited at least one other European country since aged 16, speaks at least one other European language and has at least half of friends are of a different nationality or ethnicity.

****European identity – expressing strong feeling of being European and rating being a citizen of the European Union as important in terms of how feel or think about self as a person.

***** European identity – expressing strong feeling of being European, rating being a citizen of the European Union as important in terms of how feel or think about self as a person and feeling strong attachment to Europe.

******European identity - expressing at least two of the three items above.

The localities with the highest levels of representative samples of respondents 'doing Europe' in the sense of speaking European languages and travel are Prague and Bratislava. When exposure to Europe is calculated by also adding in whether or not people have a significant proportion of friends of different nationalities then the league table changes. Because low proportions of the representative samples in Prague and Bratislava have friends of different nationalities, Prague and Bratislava slide down the rank order and Vienna, Bielefeld, and Bregenz are the localities with the highest exposure to Europe. Representative samples from Manchester, Madrid, Edinburgh and Bilbao had the lowest levels on all measures of 'doing Europe' and exposure to Europe. For the representative samples resident in Manchester, Bilbao and Edinburgh there is a consistent picture between 'doing Europe', exposure to Europe and their sense of European identity, all are low in comparison to the other study sites.

4.5. Facilitators of positive orientations to European identity and European citizenship

Analysis of variance showed that national context, education and career path were the key predictors of the extent to which young adults had a sense of European identity. More detailed analysis of survey material and in-depth interviews have further identified the factors that help make European identity something more meaningful than

membership of an insignificant empty category entered simply by virtue of residence in a member state of the EU.

The actual experiences that make people feel they are 'doing Europe' and 'being European' include travel and use of language skills. National context, education and career path were key predictors of how equipped young adults were to 'do Europe' by speaking European languages other than their mother tongue and by having experienced travel within Europe. There was a direct association between exposure to Europe and European identity among the representative samples in Vorarlberg, Vienna, Prague, Bratislava and Edinburgh although the relationship was not statistically significant in the other localities.

In combination, the survey data and the follow-up, one-to-one interviews with smaller groups of respondents indicate the sorts of background circumstances and more immediate trigger situations that made respondents feel European and aware of being European citizens. The analysis brings out the following main categories of situations:

4.5.1. Background Factors: Opportunity Structures, Formal and Informal Education and Political Cultures

Factors underlying differences between localities in enthusiasm for European identity included the different formal and informal opportunities that young adults had for personal, educational and career development. There was considerable variation among young adults in the representative samples, both within but also across localities, in terms of their histories of opportunities for education and employment. In Austria, for example, there has always been low unemployment for young people in comparison with other European countries. Unemployment rates for young people in Spain, by comparison, and particularly for young women, have been consistently high. Opportunities to learn about and to 'do' Europe, whether in formal education or through friends and family, were very important in facilitating European identities.

Opportunities for learning about European history, culture and languages including knowledge of the history of the European Union were very different across localities. State provided opportunities for learning about the European Union were noticeably lacking in Britain. Informal family experiences that involved mobility and a sense of connections across Europe through relatives and friends were also very variable. Interviews suggested that parents' political ideologies could also have an impact as well as more or less local political cultures. For example, the dominant media messages about Europe, nationalisms, and immigration were drawn on by respondents and could be an influential sources that young adults worked with in forming their own views. In Prague

and Bratislava young people's greater interest in the Unification of Europe and relatively high European identity has to be seen in the context of the political situation of their nation-states as accession states in which the national media was circulating a predominantly positive and enthusiastic discourse about membership of the European Union.

The distinctiveness of the target samples from the representative samples was, by design, their different experiences of education and different employment opportunities. These have enabled the target sample to have a stronger European identity. National differences were much more muted among the target samples than among the representative samples although they did not disappear completely. These more educated target groups, who generally shared high levels of language skills and experience of travel, enabled a further insight into the effects of national contexts on European identity. At the same time, the inclusion of regions in the design also allowed further exploration of the effects of national versus more local cultures. This can be illustrated by further more detailed discussion of two cases with very low European identity: Edinburgh and Manchester.

Among the target samples, on all the possible measures, the lowest level of European identity was found in Bilbao and Manchester. The target samples in Madrid and Edinburgh also tended to show lower levels of European identity than other localities. These are cities where the representative sample, like the target samples, displayed the lowest levels of European identity. National differences had not been entirely obliterated by the different career trajectories of the target and representative samples. In the case of the Spanish target samples, in Madrid and Bilbao, their levels of language skills, travel and cross-national friendships remained lower than among the target samples elsewhere and so, like the representative samples in Bilbao, Madrid, Edinburgh and Manchester, they had fewer occasions of experience that built awareness of being European.

Lower language skills and less experience of travel is not a part of the main explanation for the lower European identity among the target sample in Manchester, however. In Manchester the target sample did not lag seriously behind target samples elsewhere in these respects. It seems likely that the local or national culture weighed heavily in shaping orientations to Europe in Manchester. The element of 'regional' comparison in the design becomes important here because this shows substantial differences between the target samples in the two UK cities of Edinburgh and Manchester suggesting local rather than UK wide factors. However, the interviews showed similar types of dominant discourse in each locality. Neither respondents in Edinburgh nor Manchester, unlike respondents in Bilbao were likely to cite fair reciprocity for their own (in the case of

Bilbao, often unexercised) right to go elsewhere as a reason for openness to immigration. The most frequently used discourses involved both positive and negative views and did not appear to clearly differentiate Edinburgh and Manchester although the range of discourse in Edinburgh was perhaps more diverse.

Significant differences between the Edinburgh and Manchester target groups included the much stronger Scottish identity among the Edinburgh target sample than English or British identity among the Manchester target sample and the somewhat greater trust in the national political system among the Edinburgh target sample. Trust in the national political system was associated with European identity across a number of localities including Edinburgh and Manchester but there was no such automatic association between European identity and a strong regional identity. Indeed there was no statistical association between attachment to Scotland and attachment to Europe in Edinburgh among either the target or representative samples. Nevertheless these differences might offer the kernel of an explanation. It is likely that more highly educated target sample had higher levels of knowledge of the Scottish parliament than the representative sample. It is possible that, for the Edinburgh target group, trust in the political system was boosted by the Scottish parliament and this in turn promoted a European identity. This is consistent with the Edinburgh target samples high levels of identification with Scotland and their much higher levels of membership and participation in clubs and organizations. This would suggest that greater pride in civic institutions including political institutions among the target sample in Edinburgh than in Manchester helped to distinguish the levels of European identity between the Edinburgh and Manchester target samples. (Some UK commentators have argued that, within the UK, Scotland has a more vibrant civil society than England but there little evidence of this among the representative samples only the target groups). An additional factor in Manchester was recent widely publicized local incidents of racism and tension around issues of ethnicity including electoral success of a party widely perceived as racist. It is also possible that local cultures reinforced much more widely circulating negative stereotyping of immigrants and negative themes concerning 'Europe' and linking Europe with the issue of immigration to some extent among the target sample in Manchester.

4.5.2. Trigger Factors: Positive Comparisons and Perceiving the EU as a Positive Agent

Opportunities for experiences of travel and connection with others across Europe have been highlighted as background factors but particular experiences of travel and meeting others could sometimes be triggers for thinking about 'being European' for individual respondents. Informal experiences which encouraged comparisons across national boundaries yet highlighted shared characteristics reinforced European identity. Some respondents talked of rather mundane circumstances that that made them reflect on their EU citizenship and of being the same as other European citizens, such as using the Euro in currency exchange, and carrying an EU passport. Respondents also reported more personal experiences which made them aware of 'being European', most commonly travelling within or beyond Europe in ways which raised their awareness of shared cultural characteristics within Europe and contrasting cultural characteristics outside of Europe, for example between Europe and North America; sports events and political confrontation also raised such awareness (for example the EU vs USA).

Situations that allowed the development of the EU as a social category that was meaningful for people also included perceiving the EU as a political actor which represented their views or otherwise impacted on their lives. European resistance to the US led invasion of Iraq was widely cited as an instance which made respondents feel European. Awareness of the EU as an international actor dealing with affairs external to the EU was not the only way in which respondents reported a sense of the EU as being politically relevant to their lives. This could also result from awareness of internal EU processes such as the adoption of a common policy that had an impact on their locality. However, in some localities there was little awareness of EU policies with a beneficial domestic impact because their operation was mediated by national government.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The research has advanced the state of the art by exploring young adults' views of the essence and reality of Europe, their orientations to European identity and citizenship, from strategically selected sites across Europe. The comparisons that were built into the design have allowed us to comment on regional differences, national differences, gender differences, differences between accession states and established EU member states, as well as differences between representative samples of 18-24 year old resident young men and women and more privileged minorities whose educational and employment trajectories have the potential to take them on careers to parts of Europe beyond their national boundaries.

1. Orientations to European Identity

1.1. What is Europe

It was much easier for the respondents to say what Europe is not than to say what it is. Respondents defined Europe in contrast to Asia, America and Islam. It was also clear that for many the geography of Europe was not confined to the European Union. The essence of Europe remained illusive but survey responses indicated that geography and the political alliance of the European Union were more important than values and tradition or the economic alliance expressed by the Euro.

1.2. European Identity and the Relevance of Europe to Everyday Lives

European Identity can be variously measured. A composite measure was constructed combining three survey question items and counting as European those who identify themselves as such on at least two of the three items. Arguably this provided a more robust measure than answers to any single question without producing a conservative estimate. The composite measure indicated a cluster of research sites in which a relatively high proportion of the representative samples, around 50%, had a European identity. These sites were Chemnitz (in the former GDR) and Bielefeld (in the former FRG) Germany, Bratislava and Prague, the capitals of the Slovak and Czech Republics, and, by extrapolation (one set of data was missing for Austria) also Vienna and the towns in the Bregenz area of Vorarlberg, Austria. The measure also identified a cluster of research sites in which European identity among the representative sample was very low, expressed by less than 25%. This included Edinburgh, Scotland and Manchester, England in the UK and Bilbao in the Basque Country, Spain. Madrid was an intermediate case. The level of European identity in Madrid was lower than 50% but much higher than in the low cluster at 40%. Among the target samples, the majority of localities exhibited relatively

high European identity. Over 50% of the target samples expressed a European identity in all the research cities except Bilbao, Madrid and Manchester. Differences between men and women were not very large but sufficient to be significant. In all the research cities except Edinburgh and Manchester more women than men expressed a European identity.

Discussion with respondents further explored the significance and relevance of 'Europe' and 'being European' to everyday lives among those expressing high and low European identity. For those with low European identity, 'Europe' and European issues were typically of little everyday relevance to them. However, a minority of respondents had more negative views. These included regarding Europe as belonging to others, not their Europe, as unlovable for this or other reasons, such as seeing Europe as nothing other than bureaucracy. Among those who claimed a European identity on at least one survey measures, some, nevertheless, felt Europe was an insignificant category and that being European was purely an accident of their national citizenship or geographical location involving neither emotional attachment nor identification with an imagined community. On the other hand, some who expressed a European identity spoke eloquently and with pride of what they saw as the achievements of Europe or itemised experiences which gave them a sense of Europe as their home.

1.3. European versus Other Identities

When identification with Europe was measured against identification with city, region and nation there were a wide range of identity configurations. Among the representative samples, the majority expressed greater attachment to their city and nation or region than to Europe in all localities but the degree of difference between attachment to nation/region and Europe varied widely. In the Basque country there were similar low proportions of respondents expressing attachment to Spain and to Europe. In Germany there were relatively high proportions of respondents expressing attachment to Europe and a similar proportion expressing attachment to Germany. (Attachment to the nation Germany was modest in comparison to attachment to nation in a number of other localities.). While in Manchester there was a very large difference in the high level of attachment to England and Britain versus the low level of attachment to Europe. While among the target sample larger proportions identified themselves with Europe than with nation in a number of localities, for individuals, high identification with Europe was more often associated with high identification with nation than not. Strong attachments to regions or nations such as Scotland that are below the level of the nation state did not enhance the likelihood of attachment to Europe.

1.4. Perceptions of the Impact of EU membership and EU Enlargement

How respondents saw the impact of the European Union was one factor in the likelihood of them having a European identity. Many respondents saw the European Union and Europe as largely irrelevant to their lives. Respondents from the accession states represented by Prague and Bratislava were significantly more likely than respondents from the established members of the European Union to rate EU membership as having a high impact on them, their local area and their nation. The majority, but not all, described the perceived or anticipated impact as positive.

Across all localities more respondents perceived an impact on the nation than on themselves personally. It was only in Prague and Bratislava the more than half of the representative samples reported an impact on them personally. Significantly higher proportions of the target group reported high impacts on them personally, on their local area and on the nation. Differences between localities were not as marked among the target samples.

Among respondents in the established member states, the residents of Madrid were the most likely to report a high impact of the European Union membership on their nation Respondents form the representative sample in the UK sites of Edinburgh and Manchester were the least likely to perceive a high impact on their nation.

Respondents views of EU enlargement were discussed in in-depth interviews and a wide range of often contradictory hopes and fears emerged across all localities and some hopes and fears that were specific to the accession states. Hopes included improved democracy, greater cooperation and tolerance, and economic benefits. Fears included stultifying bureaucracy, growing divisions between 'old' and 'new' Europe, the domination of the large over the small, loss of national and regional identity and economic losses.

2. Orientations to Citizenship

Surveys and interviews were designed to explore orientations to citizenship and the extent to which a sense of self as a European citizen was a potential basis for a European identity. Orientations to national citizenship were explored as necessary background including respondents' memories of citizenship education at school.

2.1. Citizenship Education

School-based experience of education in aspects of citizenship varied across localities and sometimes varied markedly between the representative sample and the target sample. General citizenship education was most widely experienced in Germany and Austria,

where over 50% of the representative sample experienced discussion of democracy and citizenship and differences between the representative and target samples were small. Less than 25% of the representative samples experienced the same level of citizenship education in Madrid, Bilbao and Bratislava. Differences between the proportion experiencing citizenship education in the representative sample and target samples were large in Madrid, Edinburgh, Manchester and Bratislava, where the target sample were more likely to experience such education.

The experience of learning anything at school about the European Union also varied widely. Over 50% of the representative samples in Manchester and Edinburgh in the UK reported learning little or nothing compared to only 18% of the representative sample in Vienna.

2.2. Trust in Nation Political Systems

Across localities, the majority of respondents had neither strong trust nor strong distrust in their national governments but among the representative samples trust was particularly low in Edinburgh, Manchester and Madrid. In most localities the target sample were more likely to place trust in their national political system than the representative sample, but this was not the case in Madrid and Bilbao. Low trust in the national political system was strongly associated with unwillingness to vote in elections, including European elections.

2.3. Social and Political Awareness

Low trust in political systems did not generally indicate low interest in social and political issues although there was a weak association in some localities. The majority in the representative samples, across all localities except the accession state cities of Prague and Bratislava, were interested in a wide range of social and political issues. Less than half of respondents from Prague and Bratislava expressed interest in some issue that were of interest to 70% or more in all or most the other localities, for example, the issue of gender equality. On the other hand, more respondents from Prague and Bratislava than in any other locality were interested in the specific issue of unification of Europe. Across all localities women were typically interested in a wider range of issues than men and in all localities significantly fewer men than women were interested in gender equality.

2.4. Qualifications Desired of Citizens

Across all localities, when asked for their views on the necessary qualifications for somebody seeking citizenship, respondents were more likely to emphasise the importance of length of residence, working and obeying laws, 'civic' qualifications, than the ethnic qualifications of having parents and ancestors from the country. Ethnic citizenship was emphasised by larger proportions of the representative samples in Edinburgh, Manchester and Madrid than by representative samples elsewhere.

2.5. Openness to Diversity

When asked directly about attitudes to national, ethnic and cultural diversity, the majority of respondents, in both the representative and target samples, across all localities were positive or neutral. Minorities of respondents across all localities expressed less tolerant views. In all localities except Madrid and Bratislava a much larger proportion expressed intolerant views among the representative samples than the target samples. The largest proportions of respondents with less tolerant views were among the representative samples in Manchester, Madrid and Bratislava and the target samples in Madrid and Bratislava.

2.6. Openness to Immigration

When asked about openness to immigration, among the member states of the European Union many respondents thought that international migration within the European Union should be more restricted than it actually is. Among the representative samples, majorities in Chemnitz (64%) and Bielefeld (56%) in Germany and even larger majorities in Edinburgh (61%) and Manchester (73%)in the UK as well as a majority from Bratislava (55%) thought that restrictions should be placed on migration from the European Union. In general, the target samples were more open to migrants than the representative samples. Among the target samples, the lowest proportion expressing openness to immigrants from the European Union was in the accession state cities of Prague and Bratislava. Respondents were typically more open to immigrants suffering from human rights violations than to economic migrants, but this greater openness to asylum seekers was much less marked in the UK. Respondents in Bilbao were the least likely to want to place restrictions on any kind of immigration. The cities where majorities among the representative samples wished to restrict all or most categories of immigrants were Manchester and Edinburgh in the UK, Chemnitz and Bielefeld, Germany, and the accession state cities of Prague and Bratislava.

2.7. Barriers to Openness and Facilitators of More Openness

In-depth interview revealed respondents' views of the barriers, real or imagined, to more openness to immigration and tolerance of diversity. These included a fear of competition for jobs and other resources and the power of negative stereotypes of immigrants circulating in the popular media. In some cases, respondents cited personal circumstances or experiences which they presented as evidence of competition with immigrants for resources or in support of negative stereotypes.

2.8. Languages, Travel and Friends

There were very large differences across the representative samples but not the target samples with respect to skills and experiences that facilitated a sense of openness to other cultures and nationalities. The UK and Spanish respondents lagged behind the other representative samples in languages skills and experiences of travel. In a number of localities only five percent of the representative samples spoke only their native language; this was true of almost two-thirds in the UK samples (Edinburgh and Manchester) and high proportions of respondents in Madrid. While the over 90% of the representative sample in most localities had visited another European country, in Edinburgh and Bilbao just over two-thirds had done so, in Manchester only just over a half had done so, and in Madrid the majority had never visited another European country. Schools had not helped many young people to travel and school trips or exchanges were only experienced by large minorities of respondents in Chemnitz (30%) and Bielefeld (40%) and Prague (16%).

Having a substantial proportion of friends of other nationalities or ethnicities facilitated openness to cultural diversity. This was a much more common experience in Vienna (43% representative sample, and 66% target sample) Bregenz/Vorarlberg (32% and 36%) and Bielefeld (40% and 38%) than among residents of the other cities in the study.

3. Facilitators of positive orientations to European identity and European citizenship

The factors facilitating enthusiasm for European identity can be categorized in terms of general background factors and more immediate triggers.

3.1. Background factors: Opportunity Structures, Formal and Informal Education and Political Cultures

General background factors included the formal and informal opportunities that young adults had for personal, educational and career development involving learning about and 'doing' Europe. Formal education, organized educational trips and informal connections, through friends and family, and leisure travel were part of the background that facilitated a European identity. Local or national political cultures were also important and could provide young people with a stock of predominantly positive or negative views of 'Europe' or the European Union. National and local media also provided stereotypes of immigrants and views on immigration in some cases suggesting negative aspects of the enlargement of the European Union.

The representative samples in the UK cities of Manchester and Edinburgh and the Spanish cities of Madrid and Spain had the fewest respondents with the elements of 'doing Europe' and exposure to Europe: language skills, experiences of travel, and friends of other nationalities. Unlike elsewhere, the majority of the representative sample at the UK had also had no little or no formal education about the European Union. On the most basic measure of 'doing Europe', having traveled to another European country since the age of 16 and speaking one other European language, the representative samples from these cities were at best half as likely to 'do Europe' than those from Bregenz/Vorarlberg, Vienna, Prague, Bratislava, Bielefeld and Chemnitz. The representative samples in Manchester, Bilbao and Edinburgh in particular presented a consistent picture of little experience of 'doing Europe', low exposure to Europe and low European identity, in comparison to the other study sites.

3.2. Trigger Factors: Positive Comparisons and Perceiving the EU as a Positive Agent

In-depth interviews indicated that young adults sometimes experienced situations that heightened awareness of Europe as significant social category and made them feel more intensely European. These included situations creating a positive comparison between 'Europe' and elsewhere beyond Europe. This often happened during travel but could also be the result of a range of situations including sporting events. Another trigger factor involved situations creating a sense of the European Union as a positive agent. European opposition to the US led invasion of Iraq was a widely cited example.

4. Policy Recommendations

There are a number of messages of relevance for national and European policy makers and other agencies with an interest in promoting European identity or a positive sense of European citizenship. The research has identified factors that contribute to European identity and a positive awareness of European citizenship that could be amenable to modification by targeted policies and appropriate investments. Some of the factors that have been identified by the research are already the subject of policies. These include language skills, travel and mobility. The research may help with the further targeting of programmes in these areas and strengthen resolve to devise programmes which maximize opportunities for creating connections and friendship across national boundaries or positive experiences of shared cultures and appreciations of difference.

However, it is also clear that there can be no single policy or way of committing resources that would guarantee the pervasive development of a European identity. This has been demonstrated by the extent of variation in the factors associated with European identities across cities in different regions and nations, and between representative samples of 18-24 year old and more educated Europe-oriented samples of resident in these cities.

4.1. Language Education

The research has confirmed the importance of sustaining and further developing policies to promote language education for young people. A direction for development worthy of consideration is specific policies for regions with very low levels of language skill among the majority of young people, as was the case among the representative samples of 18-24 year old residents of the Spanish and UK cities in the research. It is beyond the scope of the research to suggest what incentives could be devised at a European level to encourage more active and consistent fostering of language skills across Europe or how to encourage national governments to take more initiatives in providing incentives to national educational systems in this direction. In regions of low language skills, it is clearly a particular challenge for practitioners of education to engage ordinary young people with language learning in ways which foster cross-national dialogues. It is the active use of language to connect to others across language boundaries, creating awareness of cultural difference and similarity that helps generate a sense of Europe. Teaching and learning is most likely to be successful in this direction if it builds on the interests of young people themselves and uses developments in information technology such as internet telephony (using widely available free software such as Skype) and the educational use of 'blogging'. Research into language learning is beyond the remit of this

report and such research may already indicate whether there are particular difficulties for young people who speak more international languages such as English and Spanish in gaining benefits from visits overseas. If this is the case then total immersion programs that do not allow reverting to one's native tongue may be a solution but ultimately it is important to encourage a move from learning a language to dialogue with people who speak the language.

4.2. Travel Programmes

Similarly the research confirms the importance of promoting travel among young people. In some of the researched localities only the relatively privileged target sample travelled and consideration should be given to maximizing the likelihood that programmes will reach young people from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds and career paths. Consideration might be given to encouraging member states to monitor rates of travel within Europe among young nationals, paying attention to regional differences and differences by level of education. Programmes might be developed that are specifically targeted at young adults from less privileged backgrounds. It might be possible to develop policies which encourage member states such as Spain and the UK with very low rates of travel to achieve targets. Particular schemes could be developed or resources made available to nations or regions where rates of travel are shown to be low. Those who work to foster travel among young people need to be very mindful of current knowledge and best practice concerning maximizing the likelihood that travel will creates awareness and understanding of other cultures and opportunities for friendships across national boundaries.

4.3. Mobility Programmes and International Dialogue

While the majority of the respondents across localities imagined their future as being 'at home', interviews with young adults suggested more might take up temporary mobility if they were channelled towards such opportunities. Temporary mobility for a purpose such as study or work is more likely to maximize possibilities for creating connections and friendship across national boundaries or positive experiences of shared cultures and appreciations of difference than brief periods of travel. In several localities it is only the highly educated and relatively privileged who take up existing possibilities. Policies and programmes to assist the mobility of young people need to consider how to enable periods of mobility among young people from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds and how to ensure that mobility provides opportunities to develop positive relationships with a host locality. The details of mobility polices and programmes are beyond this research and it is clear that support for practitioners supporting young

people's mobility and raising the profile of existing information sources directed at young people (such as Eurodesks) would be important parts of such programmes. Ideally both facilitating home-based cross-European international dialogues among young people, and periods of supported temporary mobility should be more consistently integrated into national educational systems across Europe. It would certainly be possible for national governments to encourage new emphasis in national educational systems on cross-national intra-European schemes, such as twinning schools and pen-palling systems using internet telephony.

4.4. Citizenship Education

Consideration should be given to encouraging more informative and systematic citizenship education across member states. The research has demonstrated a link between trust in national political systems as responsive to their citizens and a positive orientation to Europe. It is possible that any education that gives young people a heightened sense of their own political efficacy within their locality, their nation state, Europe or a world community is likely to enhance their sense of European identity. Among respondents from the accession state cities of Prague and Bratislava, the hope was expressed that membership of the European Union would help provide support for the process of democratization of everyday politics. If their enthusiasm for European identity is to be sustained, it is important that this hope is realized. The ideal citizenship education in terms of European citizenship would engage young people, leave them much better informed about the rights of citizens of member states of the European Union and help give them voice.

While most national educational systems provide some level of 'citizenship education' the research suggests this is extremely varied, often lacks opportunities that would actively engage young people as citizens and in some cases contain little or no reference to European citizenship. The terms 'citizen' and 'citizenship' are not necessarily introduced, problematised or discussed and few respondents in Spain or the UK remembered much discussion of democracy or citizenship at school. However, talking about democracy in schools is unlikely to be very effective without more directly engaging young people as citizens. Experiences of 'doing citizenship' within school contexts are limited and do not typically include opportunities to influence policy or decision making or to connect young people with informal or formal structures such as youth parliaments, national or international efforts to consult young people or the youth work of bodies such as the Council of Europe.

Formal teaching about the history and institutions of the European Union is also very varied and some of the respondents had learned nothing at all at school that would help them understand that they have rights as citizens of member states of the European Union. This was particularly the case in the UK. However, for European citizenship education to genuinely engage young people it would be important to ensure there were mechanisms for giving recognition to young people's views and opportunities for their voice to count at a European level.

4.5. Raising the Profile of the Pervasive Impact of European Institutions

When young adults were aware of the European Union as an effective actor doing something they regarded positively, then this clearly enhanced their sense of themselves as European and European citizens. However, the European Union is an actor in many areas and issues of interest to large numbers of young people without this being visible to young people. In some national contexts, only bad news about the negative impact and cumbersome procedures of the European Union makes the media. It seems important that policy makers examine the mechanisms that they may have for enhancing the impact they are able to achieve through making the positive effects of European policies more visible. If such mechanisms are absent then arguably this absence should be addressed. For example, given the high importance women place on issues of gender equality, sustaining policies of gender mainstreaming will have more potential impact if such policies are as visibly dynamic, relevant and pervasive as possible across member states and especially towards the targeted groups.

4.6. Encouraging a European Public Sphere

Any steps that encourage visible and inclusive public debate in which participants hear voices across Europe might help foster European identity. Public perceptions of the relationship between national policies and European policies influence orientations to the EU and European identity. Because national identity is typically a stronger identity than European identity, when people perceive conflict between national interest and the EU, then they are obviously more likely to distance themselves from the European Union and a European identity. This study was not a study of media representations of the European Union but it is clear from the respondents that in some national contexts perceptions of the relationship between the nation and Europe are based on very limited and sometimes distorted information and that voices from across Europe are very rarely heard in the national media coverage. The issue of immigration and its relationship to national costs and benefits of the enlargement of the European Union is a specific example of this which has been discussed in the report.

The comments of the respondents about the situation in Iraq also make it very clear that interest in and positive orientations towards the European Union were intensified by the perception of the EU as an actor on the global stage. There is little obvious public space for engagement in debate about the global position of EU, its limits and tools.

4.7. Counteracting the stereotyping of immigrants and Islamophobia

While this is partly a political issue beyond the reach of policy makers, it is worth considering what the policy mechanism are for counteracting the negative stereotyping of immigrants and Islamophobia. It would be difficult to directly counteract negative local and national popular press discourses that stereotype immigrants or that express Islamophobic views, but it is worth considering what contributions could be made to defuse such discourses. Making information more visible, in order to widen access to collated sources of accurate, reliable and easily understood information about flows of immigrants and asylum seekers might be of some assistance with the former. Fears concerning immigration associated with the expansion of the EU expressed in popular discourses might be balanced by a more visible discourse about the benefits of an expanded Europe. If tolerance and diversity is to be encouraged, it may be more important than ever that the beneficial contributions of EU policies to the work and welfare of individuals are widely broadcast and understood.

With respect to this issue and Islamophobia, stock could be taken of how to make relevant research that contradicts simplistic and racist more views more visible in the public domain.

4.8. Future Research

4.8.1. Survey measures of European Identity

The research has demonstrated that levels of European identity are sensitive to the specific survey question asked and use of a composite measure of European identity is recommended in future survey research rather than relying on any single survey question. At the same time, care has to be taken not to produce a measure which tends towards an over conservative estimate of European identity by requiring a complete battery of items to be answered in a particular way before being recognizing European identity.

4.8.2. Gender and European Identity

It was not possible to fully explain the slightly higher level of European identity among women than men in most localities with the exception of the UK. This would benefit from further research. This might include more directly exploring women's and also men's awareness of gender mainstreaming as an EU policy and how and when the EU is perceived as a positive agent for change.

V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS

The dissemination strategy involved a planned range of outputs targeted at three different sets of audiences: the academic community, policy communities (local, national and European) with an interest in European identity and/or young people's citizenship, and youth organisaitons working for and with young people as well as young people themselves. Conference papers, academic publications and working papers were the main output directed at the academic community. A list of publications and conferences is provided in the appendix. Some working papers and briefings were directed at policy and practice communities. Talks to youth organizations, short written briefings, bulletins on youth organization websites and some media presentations were directed at youth practitioners and young people. These included participation in a number of events organized by the Council of Europe and Euro-Desk as well as national youth organizations.

From the outset the website was a key part of the dissemination strategy. Survey instruments, working papers, briefings and conference papers are published on the website. Material can be found there in both English and the national languages of the project http://www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth. The website is advertised on printed working papers and briefings. Visual presentations given at conferences also routinely advertise the website. The appendix contains a list of papers that are mounted on the website in English. The website also hosts sets of materials in the national languages of the project (click on the appropriate flag).

Each team took responsibility for dissemination to their national academic community, to relevant sets of policy makers and practitioners in their country and to their respondents and other young people. A full report of the dissemination activities of the German team is included in the appendix as an example of good practice with respect to dissemination at the national level. Collectively we have developed a wide ranging set of contacts with youth organizations, national policy makers and national practitioners concerned with young people European identity and national working papers have been widely circulated as well as mounted on the website.

In August 2003 the report of international, national and regional variation in surveys of European Identity (Working paper 1F) was circulated to all National Agencies, all Members of European Parliament and to all members of the Committee of Youth, Culture, Education, Media and Sport and Committee of Citizens and Rights and also to a number of potentially interested organisations. A total of over 600 letters and documents were sent out.

A set of written and oral briefings were prepared for policy makers and practitioners and delivered at a widely advertised day conference in Brussels on July 8th 2004. This was attended by a range of organizations including the European Parliament, European Students' Forum, European Youth Forum, JINT- Coordination Agency for International Youth Work, Council of Europe, Eurodesk, DG IV and DG for Education and Culture of the European Commission, as well as a number of representatives of more local and national authorities.

VI. REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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VII. ANNEXES

1. List of Publications

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS ARISING FROM THE PROJECT

1.1. Publications (in print or in press)

Bianchi, G and Lasticova, B. (2004) 'Gender and Sex Aspects of Multiple Identities: Young Women and Men from Bratislava and Prague Heading Towards the EU' *Sociológia*, 53(3), 293-313.

Fuss, D.; Garcia-Albacete, G and Rodriguez-Monter, M. (2004) 'The Role of Language Skills and Foreign Country Experiences in the Development of European Identity' *Sociológia*, 53(3), 273-292.

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Fuss, D.; Garcia-Albacete, G and Rodriguez-Monter, M. (2004) Language, values and European identity. Results from a cross-cultural research project. In S. Schmidt & A. Thomas (Ed.), *Impact of Values and Norms on Intercultural Training and Education.* Vienna: Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe, 93-104.

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Jamieson, L. (2002). 'Theorising Identity, Nationality and Citizenship: Implications for European Citizenship Identity'. *Sociológia* 34, 507-532.

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1.2. Published on the web

The following are available to be downloaded from the website

http://www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth/index.html

Project working papers and reports on the website in english. please note that there are publications on our website arising from the project and which are in the national languages of the partner countries behind the country flags.

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State of the Art Report: Theorizing Identity, Nationality and Citizenship: Implications for European Citizenship Identity (Lynn Jamieson). Published in Slovak Sociological Review, Volume 34 No 6, Fall 2002.

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State of the Art Report: Germany (Daniel Fuss, Klaus Boehnke and Bernhard Nauck).

State of the Art Report: Germany - Additional 1 (Daniel Fuss, Klaus Boehnke and Bernhard Nauck).

State of the Art: Germany - Appendix 1 (Daniel Fuss, Klaus Boehnke and Bernhard Nauck).

State of the Art Report: Research about Youth and European Identity in Slovakia (Ladislav Machacek).

State of the Art Report: Social Psychology Research on Identities in the Czech and Slovak Republics 1989-2001 (Barbara Lasticova and Gabriel Bianchi).

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Working paper 1F: Report of international, national and regional variation in surveys of European Identity (All Partners) September 2003.

Working paper 3A: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in the UK.

Working paper 3B: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in Austria.

Working paper 3C: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in Germany.

Working paper 3D: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in Spain.

Working paper 3E: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Working paper 4A: Processes of racism, civic and ethnic citizenship identity: UK.

Working paper 4B: Processes of racism, civic and ethnic citizenship identity: Austria.

Working paper 4C: Processes of racism, civic and ethnic citizenship identity: Germany.

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December 2001: Fuss, D. a short portray of the project design was given in the context of a colloquium at the Chemnitz University of Technology.

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1-6 July 2002: Lášticová, B. Le genre et la nation dans les entretiens avec les intellectuels slovaques. *Actes de l´université d´été "Le genre: enjeux politiques et sociaux*", Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lyon.

1-9 June 2002: Lášticová, B. *National and European Identity Construction in the Slovak Republic (1993-2002).* Paper presented at the 8th International Summer School on Social Representations and Communication, Rome/Genazzano.

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July 2002: Macháček, L. Youth and Civic Participation in Slovakia. Paper presented at the 15th World Sociology Congress, Brisbane, Australia, (see http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/youth).

7–13 September 2002: Spannring, R. "International Youth Training Seminar" in Moscow, Russia, organised by the Council of Europe and the Research Committee Youth (RC34) of the International Sociological Association; introduction of the project.

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19-21 September 2002: Boehnke, K. and Fuss, D. Presentation to working group on Youth, Globalisation and the Law in Paris 'Does Globalization Foster the Emergence of Supranational Personal Identities Among Youth', Meeting of the Social Science Research Council in Paris, France.

7-11 October 2002: Fuss, D. *Einstellungen zu Staatsbürgerschaft (Attitudes towards Citizenship).* Interactive Paper/Poster presented at the 31st Conference of the German Sociological Association in Leipzig, Germany.

24-26 October 2002: Fuss, D. *Einstellungen deutscher Jugendlicher zur EU-Osterweiterung – einige empirische Befunde (Attitudes of German Youths towards the EU Enlargement – some empirical findings)*. Paper presented at the 6th Symposium of Regional and Political Sciences in Chemnitz, Germany.

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12-16 July 2003: Fuss, D. Social Identity and the Acceptance of Others: Cross-Cultural Comparisons among Young Persons. Paper delivered at the Symposium "Youth and European Identity", convened by Prof. K. Boehnke. VIth European Regional Congress of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Budapest.

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September 2003: Condor, S. 'A rough guide to young English people's opposition to the EU: personal identity, cultural alterity and the pleasures of travel'. In Symposium *Constructing and Resisting European Identity*, Annual Conference of the Social Psychology Section of the BPS, London School of Economics, London.

September 2003: Gibson, S. 'Safe European Home? Constructions of European Identity' In Symposium 'Constructing and Resisting European Identity', Annual Conference of the Social Psychology Section of the BPS, London School of Economics, London.

18-19 September 2003: Boehnke, K. and Fuss, D. Ethnocentrism of Youth in Times of Rapid Social Change. Paper presented the 2nd Workshop on Youth, Globalization and the Law (sponsored by the Social Science Research Council). New York.

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23-26 September 2003: Jamieson, L. "European Identity?" at the European Sociological Conference at Murcia, Spain.

23-26 September 2003: Macháček, L. "Youth and European Identity: Bratislava-Praque, at the European Sociological Conference at Murcia, Spain.

25 September 2003: Spannring, R. and Datler, G. Paper Presentation for the Youth Council in Bregenz "Jugend und europäische Identität", Bregenz.

October 2003: Grundy S - *Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity* Talk at Youth Workers Training Session, Council of Europe, Budapest.

24-25 October 2003: Fuss, D. & Kindervater, A. *Europa gleich Europa?* (Europe = Europe?) Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the Method-Section of the German Association of Sociology in Bremen, Germany.

13 November 2003: Bianchi, G. & Lášticová, B. Mnohovrstevnosť identity: Európa, Slovensko, muži a ženy. (Identity as a multilayered construct: Europe, Slovakia, men, women). Paper presented at the workshop of the Slovak government funded project

"Contemporary Civilisational and Cultural Processes in Changing Slovak society", University of Constantin the Philospher, Nitra.

23-26 November 2003: Bianchi, G. & Lášticová, B. Youth Mobility, Gender & Attitudes towards Immigrants in Six European Countries. Paper presented at the Austrian Sociological Association conference "Integrating Europe. Potential and Performance of the Social Sciences in the Process of EU Enlargement", Vienna.

24-26 November 2003: Jamieson, L. 'Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity' Council of Europe and European Commission, Youth Research Partnership, Research Seminar Programme - What About Youth Political Participation? Strasbourg.

25-28 November 2003: Fuss, D. Garcia, G & Rodriguez, M. "Language, Values and European Identity: Results from a Cross-Cultural Youth Research project". Paper presentation in: "Interknow-EuroWorkshop for Young Researcher. The impact of values and norms on education and training for intercultural assignments and management", Schloss Spindelhof, Regensburg in Germany.

March 2004: Grundy S (2004) 'Young Adults' Place Identities: Home is where my friends and family are'. *BSA Annual Conference*, York, March 2004

4-5 June 2004: Lášticová, B. Anticipatory representations of EU membership and constructions of European identity in new EU member states: Case of Bratislava (Slovakia) and Prague (Czech Republic). Paper presented at the Journées de Psychologie Politique Sociétale, Maison des Sciences de l´Homme, Paris.

18-20 June 2004 Fuss, D. *The role of the 'ethnos-principle' in the relationship between regional, national and European identity.* Paper Presentation at the 17th Conference of Peace Psychology in Marburg, Germany.

18-20 June 2004 Boehnke, K. *National identity and European identity as risk factors and protection factors for ethnocentrism of youth.* Paper Presentation at the 17th Conference of Peace Psychology in Marburg, Germany.

July 8, **2004** Ros Garcia M., Grad, H., Rodriguez-Monter, M. & Garcia-Albacete, G. "Who do you think you are? Regional, National and European Identities in Interaction" Research Briefing No 2. Paper Presentation at the final conference on the project 'Youth and European identity' in Brussels, Belgium.

July 8, **2004** Bianchi G. and Lasticova, B. "Hopes and Fears: Attitudes to the EU and its Enlargement" Research Briefing No 3 Paper Presentation at the final conference on the project 'Youth and European identity' in Brussels, Belgium.

July 8, **2004** Boehnke, K. & Fuss, D. *'Doing Europe': Languages, travel and mobility.* Paper Presentation at the final conference on the project 'Youth and European identity' in Brussels, Belgium Paper Presentation at the final conference on the project 'Youth and European identity' in Brussels, Belgium.

July 8, **2004** Wallace, C. and Datler, G "Active Citizens? The engagement of young people in Europe" Paper Presentation at the final conference on the project 'Youth and European identity' in Brussels, Belgium.

July 8, **2004** Jamieson, L and Grundy, S. "Fortress, Melting Pot or Multi-Cultural Society: Attitudes to Immigration and Cultural Diversity" Paper Presentation at the final conference on the project 'Youth and European identity' in Brussels, Belgium..

July 8, **2004** Condor, S. "Europe's 'Others': Young people, Islam and European identity" Paper Presentation at the final conference on the project 'Youth and European identity' in Brussels, Belgium.

July 15-18, **2004** Fuss, D. *Identity constructions among European youth and the acceptance of others.* Paper Presentation at the 27th Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP) in Lund, Sweden.

August 8-13, **2004** Boehnke, K. *Globalization and the emergence of supranational identities.* Convenor of an invited symposium at the 28th International Congress of Psychology (ICP) in Beijing, China.

22-24 September 2004. Lášticová B. *(2004) Národná a európska identita: kompatibilita, konflikt, ilúzia?* (National and European identities: compatibility, conflict, illusion?) Paper presented at the international conference "Sociálne procesy a osobnosť", Stará Lesná, Slovakia,

September 26-30, 2004 Boehnke, K. *'Good practice' in der kulturvergleichenden Sozialforschung ('Good practice' in the cross-culture comparative social research).* Paper Presentation at the 44th Congress of the German Society for Psychology (DGPs) in Göttingen, Germany.

1st-2nd October 2004 Grad, H.M. (2004). La articulación discursiva de identidades nacionales y supra-nacionales [The articulation of national and supranational identities in discourse]. Jornadas "El joc de les identitats en els discursos orals" [Conference "Play of

identities in oral discourses"], Xarxa d'Estudis del Discurs (XED) y Xarxa sobre l'educació lingüística i la formació d'ensenyants en contextos multilingües i multiculturals (XELFEMM), Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona.

28th October 2004 Jamieson, Lynn and Wallace, Claire "Orientations of young men and women to citizenship and European Identity" invited presentation to Eurodesk Network Meeting, Bled, Slovenia.

23-24 November 2004. Bianchi, G. and Lášticová, B. *(2004) Obavy a očakávania z Európy.* (Hopes and fears: attitudes towards the EU enlargement.) Paper presented at the conference "Stabilita a zmeny hodnôt v 20. storočí", Bratislava, Slovakia.

23-24 November 2004. Lášticová, B. and Bianchi, G. *(2004) Národná a európska identita ako hodnota.(*National and European identity as a value.) Paper presented at the conference "Stabilita a zmeny hodnôt v 20. storočí", Bratislava, Slovakia.

3. List of Deliverables

As specified in the technical report (dates given in months of the project: 0=October 2001; 2=December 2001; 5=March 2002 etc.)				
D No	**Deliverable Title**	**Date**	**Level**	**Current Status**
D1	Report on the State of the Art	2	PU	Published on web site.
D2	Comparative report on socio-demographic characteristics of 18-24 year olds in each study region/nation	4	PU	Reports from each team published on website along with overview comparative report.
D3	Coordinator's Six Monthly Report to the EU	5	CO	Delivered
D4/W1	Workshop on questionnaire design	3	PU	Two workshops were devoted to questionnaire design, one at a project meeting in Edinburgh on January 25th and 26th 2002 and an additional workshop and project meeting in Vienna on 5th and 6th April 2002
D5	Finalised questionnaire in languages of the project	5	PU	The English version was available at the beginning of May 2002 and a finalized version in all the languages of the project by the end of May. Published on website.
D6	Data set: UK surveys	8	CO	Data set of representative sample surveys delivered by survey agency in September 2002. Data set of target samples completed by November 2002.
D7	Data set: Austrian surveys	8	CO	Data set of representative surveys delivered to researchers in August. Target samples completed by end November 2002.
D8	Data set: German surveys	8	CO	Data set of representative sample surveys delivered to researchers in August. Data set of target sample surveys completed by researchers in July with a slightly reduced sample in Bielefeld.

D9	Data set: Spanish surveys	8	CO	Data set of representative sample surveys delivered to researchers in August 2002 Data set of target samples completed in October 2002
D10	Data set: Czech and Slovak surveys	8	CO	Data set of representative samples' and target samples delayed by flooding and completed by November/December 2002.
D11	Collated Data set of survey as portable SPSS file	9	CO	Delivered to all teams January 2003 subsequent minor corrections over the following months
D12	Coordinator's Six Monthly Report to the EU	11	CO	Delivered

	As specified in the technical report (dates given in months of the project: 12=October 2002; 23=September 2003 etc.)			
D No	**Deliverable Title**	**Date**	**Level**	**Current Status**
D14	Working paper 1A: Report comparing survey results in Manchester and Edinburgh and discussing gender differences	12	RE	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/Research_docs.html
D15	Working paper 1C: Report comparing survey results in East and West Germany and discussing gender differences	12	RE	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/Research_docs.html
D16	Working paper 1D: Report comparing survey results in Madrid and Euskadi and discussing gender differences	12	RE	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/Research_docs.html
D17	Working paper 1E: Report comparing survey results in Czech Republic and Slovakia and discussing gender differences	12	RE	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/Research_docs.html
D18/W2	Workshop on survey findings	15	PU	Took place at the Bratislava meeting, Feb. 27th to March 1st 2003
D19	Briefings 1A, derived from survey for UK youth policy/practitioners and young people's organisations:	15	PU	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/docs/UK_findings1.pdf
D20	Briefings 1B, derived from survey for Austrian youth policy/practitioners and young people's organisations:	15	PU	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/docs/Austrian_briefing.pdf
D21	Briefings 1C, derived from survey for German youth policy/practitioners and young people's organisations:	15	PU	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/docs/Germany-briefing.pdf

D22	Briefings 1D, derived from survey for Spanish youth policy/practitioners and young people's organisations:	15	PU	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/docs/Spain_Findings1 .pdf
D23	Briefings 1E, derived from survey for Czech and Slovak youth policy/practitioners and young people's organisations:	15	PU	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/docs/Slovak_Czech_Findings1.pdf
D24	Working paper 1F: Report of international, national and regional variation in surveys of European Identity	16	RE	Completed. On website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/sociol/ youth/docs/International_analysis.pdf
D25	Briefings 1F, derived from surveys for policy makers/practitioners at the EU level.	18	PU	Working paper with executive summary sent to wide range of policy-makers with cover note seeking feedback on their needs for more targeted briefings.
D26	Working paper 2A: Using the survey data to argue procedures and topic priorities for qualitative data collection in the UK	15	CO	Completed for internal discussion at Bratislava meeting Feb 27th - March 1[s].
D27	Working paper 2B: Using the survey data to argue Using the survey data to argue procedures and topic priorities for qualitative data collection in Austria	15	CO	Completed for internal discussion at Bratislava meeting Feb 27th - March 1st.
D28	Working paper 2C: Using the survey data to argue procedures and topic priorities for qualitative data collection in Germany	15	CO	Completed for internal discussion at Bratislava meeting Feb 27th - March 1st.

As specified in the technical report (dates given in months of the project: 12=October 2002; 23=September 2003 etc.)				
D No	**Deliverable Title**	**Date**	**Level**	**Current Status**
D29	Working paper 2D: Using the survey data to argue procedures and topic priorities for qualitative data collection in Spain	15	CO	Completed for internal discussion at Bratislava meeting Feb 27th - March 1st.
D30	Working paper 2E: Using the survey data to argue procedures and topic priorities for qualitative data collection in the Czech Republic and Slovakia	15	CO	Completed for internal discussion at Bratislava meeting Feb 27th - March 1st.
D31/W3	Workshop on development of interview and focus group schedules	15	PU	Completed at Bratislava meeting Feb 27th - March 1st.
D32	Instruments for in-depth follow-up interviews and focus groups	17	RE	Interview guide completed immediately following Bratislava meeting.
D33	Coordinator's Six Monthly Report to the EU	17	CO	Delivered
D34	Data set of interviews/focus groups: UK	24	CO	Completed – will be placed in UK data archive three-four years after the end of the project
D35	Data set of interviews/focus groups:Austria	24	CO	Completed –will be placed in UK data archive three-four years after the end of the project
D36	Data set of interviews/focus groups: Germany	24	CO	Completed -will be placed in UK data archive three-four years after the end of the project
D37	Data set of interviews/focus groups: Spain	24	CO	Completed- will be placed in UK data archive three-four years after the end of the project

D38	Data set of interviews/focus groups: Czech Republic & Slovakia	24	CO	Completed-will be placed in UK data archive three-four years after the end of the project
D39/W 4	Workshop on interview analysis strategies	23	CO	Took place at project meeting in Madrid 20th -22nd September 2003.
D40	Coordinator's Six Monthly Report to the EU	23	CO	Delivered
D41	Working Paper 3A: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in the UK	27		Completed
D42	Working Paper 3B: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in Austria	27	PU	Completed
D43	Working Paper 3C: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in Germany	27	PU	Completed
D44	Working Paper 3D: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in Spain	27	PU	Completed
D45	Working Paper 3E: Preliminary report on added value of interviews for understanding variation in European identity in the Czech Republic and Slovakia	27	PU	Completed

	As specified in the technical report (dates given in months of the project: 27=January 2004 etc.)				
D No	**Deliverable Title**	**Date**	**Level**	**Current Status**	
D46/W5	Workshop on preliminary analysis of findings from interviews and focus groups	27	PU	Took place at project meeting in Bregenz, March 5th & 6th 2004	
D47	Working Paper 4A: Processes of racism, civic and ethnic citizenship identity: UK	30	RE	Completed and on the web site	
D48	Working Paper 4B: Processes of racism, civic and ethnic citizenship identity, Austria	30	RE	Completed and on the web site	
D49	Working Paper 4C: Processes of racism, civic and ethnic citizenship identity, Germany	30	RE	Completed and on the web site	
D50	Working Paper 4D: Processes of racism, civic and ethnic citizenship identity, Spain:	30	RE	Completed and on the web site	
D51	Working Paper 4E: Processes of racism, civic and ethnic citizenship identity, Czech Republic and Slovakia:	30	RE	Completed and on the web site	
	Coordinator's Six Monthly Report to the EU	30	PU	Completed	
D52	Briefings 2A, for youth policy/practitioners on youth mobility, racism, and lessons for citizenship education, UK	31	PU	Incorporated into briefings presented to policy makers and practitioners invited to conference in Brussels, then circulated with cover letter to UK based policy makers and practitioners; on website.	
D53	Briefings 2B, for youth policy/practitioners on youth mobility, racism, and lessons for citizenship education, Austria	31	PU	Incorporated into briefings presented to policy makers and practitioners invited to conference in Brussels, then circulated with cover letter to Austrian based policy makers and practitioners; on website.	

D54	Briefings 2C, for youth policy/practitioners on youth mobility, racism, and lessons for citizenship education, Germany	31	PU	Incorporated into briefings presented to policy makers and practitioners invited to conference in Brussels, then circulated more widely through press releases; on website.
D55	Briefings 2D, for youth policy/practitioners on youth mobility, racism, and lessons for citizenship education, Spain	31	PU	Incorporated into briefings presented to policy makers and practitioners invited to conference in Brussels, then circulated with cover letter to Spanish based policy makers and practitioners; on website.
D56	Briefings 2E, for youth policy/practitioners on youth mobility, racism, and lessons for citizenship education, Czech Republic and Slovakia	31	PU	Incorporated into briefings presented to policy makers and practitioners invited to conference in Brussels, Slovak version circulated to local policy makers and practitioners; on website.
D57	Working paper 4F: Regional, national and international variation in processes of racism, civic and ethnic citizenship identity across Europe	33	PU	Incorporated into briefings presented to policy makers and practitioners invited to conference in Brussels; on website.

4. A More Detailed Account of Dissemination in Germany

The German team pursued a dissemination strategy that achieved a maximum of information spreading about the project and its results. According to the different target persons and institutions a number of activities were undertaken. Particular emphasis was placed on the inclusion of 'multipliers', such as youth organisations, institutions of political education, and the media. During the project work many information fliers, posters and presentations have been prepared. A comprehensive output list with complete references and links can be found in the attached appendix. The vast majority of documents is also published on the project website (see *http://www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth/*). After finalising the project in September 2004, the dissemination of its results is about to be completed by sending out the detailed

briefings, which have been presented at the final conference in Brussels and by providing an additional press release.

Press releases have proven to be a very efficient means to reach a wider audience. Three press releases in German have been produced so far, each at a different phase of the project. In the first statement in March 2002, the design and the objectives of the project *'Youth and European Identity'* were introduced. The second press release in August 2003 reported the ten most important results from the German survey. In June 2004, a third press release was published with regard to the relatively low interest of German youth in the European election, despite their high level of identification with Europe. These three documents were distributed with the help of IDW-Informationsdienst Wissenschaft ('information service sciences'), an online-based network that connects scientific institutions with the public including more than 11.000 subscribed journalists from Germany and abroad. This strategy has resulted in multifarious feedback, such as a number of articles in regional, national and international newspapers, a handful of articles in online-magazines and several interviews on the radio. In November 2004, a final statement to the press will be released, summarising the most relevant conclusions from all analyses.

The cooperation with the media has caused a sort of 'snowballing-effect' due to which a number of additional contacts with interested persons have been established. Additionally, **official letters** to educational institutions and teachers' organisations, youth associations and research institutions, and politicians in regional, national and European parliaments allowed for the presentation to the project and its main results to numerous relevant policy makers in Germany. The intention of these letters and information fliers was not only to inform but also to offer further cooperation. It was also asked to establish links to our project website. Many of the addressees have complied with that request. Another consequence was an invitation by the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, a big political foundation close to the Social Democratic Party, to write a longer article for their discussion forum in the Internet. This article, in turn, has been used by the Federal Agency for Civic Education as the most relevant institution for political education in Germany, run by the Division of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, for compiling a module about European integration. This module is part of a software package named 'GrafStat' which is especially addressed to teachers and other persons concerned with political education. One can either order it free of charge or download it from the website of the Federal Agency for Civic Education.

Further efforts to reach interested persons were made by presenting the project and its results at several **public events**. During the 'European Week' in May 2003 and 2004,

Daniel Fuss was invited to take part in an information event for pupils in the town hall of Bremen, titled 'Youth makes Europe'. Information about the project was also presented in a discussion forum called 'Eurovisions' that brought together high-school graduates and Mrs Ursula Schleicher, at that time MEP. The event in Munich was organised by the European Movement Germany. In July 2003, a public colloquium was held in Chemnitz where eight student teams from Technical University Chemnitz have introduced the results of their internship work on the project data. In autumn 2004, Daniel Fuss gave an invited guest talk for students of 'European Studies' at University of Applied Sciences in Bremen. Finally, all 800 participants of the survey in Germany received a letter with words of thanks and a short information about the main survey results. Those of them who replied and asked for it were provided with further newsletters via email.

Not the least, much emphasis was placed on a contribution to the **academic debate** on citizenship and European identity. Numerous posters and papers were introduced by Klaus Boehnke and Daniel Fuss at national as well as international conferences. According to the transdisciplinary nature of the project these presentations were given in the context of various academic disciplines such as social, political and cross-cultural psychology, sociology and political science. At the same time, it was the aim to publish our results in scientific journals and books. Three articles are already published, another article for a volume on 'European identity' (edited by I. P. Karolewski and V. Kaina) will be issued in spring 2005. Moreover, a chapter on 'Ethnocentrism of youth in times of rapid social change' (edited by S. Venkatesh) is in preparation. Two further articles are published as online documents in the Internet; one is a common work with Sue Grundy from Edinburgh for the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), the other one is the already mentioned discussion paper for the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation. Further publications are planned or in preparation, e.g. a paper about different forms of national identity among German youth. Already finished is a diploma thesis about "Methods of the project 'Youth and European Identity': European identity among East and West German youth" by Ms Carolin Conrad from Chemnitz University of Technology who worked as student assistant in the project. Also dealing with the issue of European identity and based on the empirical material of the project, Daniel Fuss is expected to complete his dissertation project in 2005. Currently Klaus Boehnke, the principal investigator of the German project is using the data set of the project as part of his Statistics II lecture. Students participating in this lecture are preparing 12 power point presentations on their analyses of the project data. Provided these presentations are of sufficient quality, they will be uploaded to the project website after editing.

A further strategy of dissemination was to make closer **contact with other projects and researchers** in the field of citizenship and European identity. Therefore, a short

portray of *'Youth and European Identity'* was put into the FORIS data bank. FORIS is the most comprehensive compilation of new, current and completed research projects in Germany that can be investigated in the Internet. A particularly close cooperation was established with a project that tackles the question: *'Does the enlargement of the European Union to Eastern Europe mobilize right-wing attitudes? Fears of disintegration and hopes: A causal analysis based on a cross-cultural survey study'*. This study is commissioned by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research and coordinated by Klaus Boehnke. In January 2005, both projects will host a workshop together with a third project on *'Processes of Regional Identification. The Example of Saxony'* by Prof. Dr. Karl-Dieter Opp, Emeritus from University Leipzig. The workshop will take place at International University Bremen and will assemble most of the German academics in the field of empirical identity research. The aim of this workshop, titled *'Identities in the field between region, nation and Europe'*, is to develop a set of common hypotheses which then will be independently tested on the basis of different quantitative data sets. In other words, a kind of meta-analysis of German data with regard to regional, national and European identities is foreseen and intended to be published in a special issue of an academic journal.

4.1. Online-Publications

Fuss, D. (2003). *Jugend und Europäische Identität* (Youth and European Identity). Discussion Paper for Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Social Democrats Foundation in Germany), URL: *http://www.fes-online-akademie.de/index.php?&scr=txt&tmode=detail&t_id=57*

Fuss, D. & Grundy, S. (2003). The Meaning of Nationality and European Identity among Youth from Different Nations. ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops; URL: *http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/jointsessions/paperarchive/edinburgh/ws2/Fuss.pdf*

4.2. Reports at the Project Website (http://www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth/index.html)

Research Briefing 4: *Doing Europe. Languages, Travel and Mobility* (D. Fuss & K. Boehnke).

Working Paper D49: *Report on Processes of Racism, Civic and Ethnic Citizenship Identity in Germany* (D. Fuss, G. Blümlein & K. Boehnke).

Working Paper D43: *Report on added Value of Interviews in understanding European Identity in Germany* (D. Fuss & K. Boehnke).

Working Paper D17: *Survey Findings from the German Survey* (D. Fuss & K. Boehnke).

Working Paper D4: *Socio-demographic Background of German Youth* (D. Fuss & K. Boehnke).

Working Paper D1: *State of the Art Report. Research about Youth and European Identity in Germany + Additional Notices + Appendix* (D. Fuss & K. Boehnke).

Additional Reports and Material in German Language

Working Paper 43: Bericht über zusätzliche Erkenntnisse im Verständnis europäischer Identität auf der Grundlage qualitativer Interviews mit deutschen Jugendlichen (D. Fuss & K. Boehnke).

Focus Groups in Chemnitz: Bericht zur Diskussion mit Chemnitzer Jugendlichen zum Thema ‚Europäische Identität – Was steckt dahinter?' (C. Conrad & D. Fuss).

Info Flyer: Kurzmitteilung zum Forschungsprojekt ‘Jugend und europäische Identität' (Short Notice on German Survey Findings) by Daniel Fuss & Klaus Boehnke,.

4.3. Press Releases

Press Release on June 8, 2004: *Europawahlen für junge Deutsche trotz Europa-Verbundenheit kein Top-Thema* (European election are not an important topic for young Germans, despite their attachment to Europe) by Daniel Fuss.

URL: *http://idw-online.de/pages/de/news81376*

Press Release on August 11, 2003: *Junge Deutsche zwischen nationaler und europäischer Identität* (Young Germans between national and European identity) by Daniel Fuss.

URL: *http://idw-online.de/pages/de/news67634*

Press Release on March 30, 2002: *Internationale Studie: Wie wohl fühlen sich junge Menschen im ‘europäischen Haus'?* (International Survey: How comfortable do young people feel in the ‘European house'?) by Daniel Fuss.

URL: *http://idw-online.de/pages/de/news48598*

4.4. Articles in the Press

Freie Presse on July 9, 2004: Ankommen im europäischen Haus. Junge Deutsche mögen Europa und fühlen sich als Europäer – aber die europäische Identität ist bei vielen noch abstrakt und inhaltsleer. (Arriving at the European house. Young Germans like Europe and feel as Europeans – but for many European identity is still an abstract and meaningless matter) by Eva Prase.

Politik & Kommunikation in April 2004: Flyer im Abfall. Am 13. Juni sind Europawahlen. Die Wähler aber scheint das nicht sonderlich zu interessieren. (Flier in trash can. European elections at June 13. But voters seem not to be particularly interested) by Antje Hoppe.

URL: *http://www.politik-kommunikation.de/pdf/ausgaben/15_thema_europa.pdf*

Das Parlament on October 27, 2003: *Junge Deutsche identifizieren sich stark mit Europa. Aber sie wissen wenig über die EU-Institutionen.* (Young Germans identify themselves strongly with Europe. But they do not know much about the EU institutions) by Matthias Lohre.

URL: *http://www.das-parlament.de/2003/44/JugendimDialog/004.html*

EU-Nachrichten on October 17, 2003: *Europa in die Schule.* (Europe into school).

URL: *http://www.eu-kommission.de/pdf/eunachrichten/36_03_INTERNET.pdf*

Der Tagesspiegel on October 14, 2003: *Lust auf Europa, aber keine Ahnung.* (To fancy Europe, but without having a clue) by Ruth Kuntz-Brunner.

URL: *http://archiv.tagesspiegel.de/archiv/14.10.2003/787841.asp*

Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ am Sonntag): *Europa – Was ist das? Eine EU-Studie in zehn Ländern zeigt, dass junge Menschen noch kaum europäisch fühlen und denken.*(Europe – What is it? A EU-project in ten countries shows that young people hardly feel and think European) by Ruth Kuntz-Brunner, September 21, 2003.

Weser Kurier on August 19, 2003: *Sind Deutsche die besten Europäer? IUB-Umfrage unter Studierenden.* (Are Germans the best Europeans? Survey among students) by Horst Frey.

URL: *http://www.iu-bremen.de/news/press/32904/*

Die Norddeutsche on August 15, 2003: Deutsche Jugendliche sind Europa stark verbunden. IUB Wissenschaftler stellen erste Ergebnisse der Studie 'Jugend und europäische Identität' vor. (German youth are strongly attached to Europe. IUB scientists present first results from the project ‚Youth and European Identity') by Michael Brandt.

Freie Presse on June 1, 2002: Emnid befragt junge Leute. Telefonische Umfrage bei 400 Chemnitzern zum Thema Europa. (Emnid surveys young people. About 400 people from Chemnitz will be asked about Europe by telephone) by MST.

4.5. Articles on the Internet

Eurasisches Magazin on October 25, 2003: *Umfrage unter Schülern: Wie stark ist die Verbindung mit Europa?* (Survey among youth: How strong is the attachment to Europe?).

URL: *http://www.eurasischesmagazin.de/info/archive_article.asp?article=100303*

Europa-Digital on August 28, 2003: *Was ist der Unterschied zwischen der EU und Europa?* (What is the difference between the EU and Europe?) by Matthias Zier.

URL: *http://europa-digital.de/aktuell/fdw/youthand.shtml*

Jungle World on August 20, 2003: *Jung, national und europäisch.* (Young, national, and European).

URL: *http://jungle-world.com/seiten/2003/34/1492.php*

Spiegel-Online on August 15, 2003: *In Treue zu Europa.* (In trust to Europe) by Matthias Lohre.

URL: *http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,261234,00.html*

Mediencity-Online on August 15, 2003: *Zu Hause in Europa* (At home in Europe).

URL: *http://www.mediencity.de/index.php?art_id=2078*

4.6. Radio Interviews (by Daniel Fuss)

Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR Info) on June 08, 2004: *Redezeit* (Time to speak).

Hessischer Rundfunk (HR2) on September 06, 2003: *Blickpunkt Europa* (Focus Europe).

Funkhaus Europa (Radio Bremen) on August 23, 2003: *Vis a Vis*.

Südwestrundfunk (SWR2) on August 18, 2003: *Journal*.

BBC International on August 15, 2003: *Europe Today*.

Radio Eins (RBB) on August 15, 2003: *Schöne Woche* (Nice Week).

Funkhaus Europa (Radio Bremen) May 10, 2003: *Vis a Vis*. *http://www.radiobremen.de/funkhaus-europa/sendungen/jugend_macht_europa2.html*

Funkhaus Europa (Radio Bremen) on May 05, 2003: *Verso*.

4.7. Internet Links to our Project Homepage

Europäisches Jugendparlament in Deutschland e.V. (European Youth Parliament in Germany)

URL: *http://www.eyp.de/content/index.php?object=12&menu=6*

Netzwerk Ahead: Forward Thinking Network of Young Europeans (Political Education Service)

URL: *http://www.netzwerk-ahead.de/modules/mylinks/viewcat.php?cid=6*

Jugendserver (Info Portal of IJAB, the German Government and the German Federal States).

URL:*http://www.jugendserver.de/wai1/newsletter.asp?aktion=show_archiv&inhalteID=3 7*

Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung (Federal Center of Political Education in Germany).

URL: *http://www.bpb.de/methodik/0PRQHM,0,0,Jugend_und_Europa.html*

Hessische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung (Center for Political Education of Hesse).

URL: *http://www.hlz.hessen.de/links/europainfos.html*

Brief zum Politikunterricht (Political Education Newsletter Service).

URL: *http://komm.bildung.hessen.de/pipermail/politik-old/2003-October/002497.html*

Politische-Bildung (Information Portal, provided by the Federal Center of Political Education in Germany and the State Centers of Political Education).

URL: *http://www.politische-bildung.de/links/voll.php?viewCat=63* (meanwhile removed)

Deutsches Jugendinstitut in München (German Youth Institute in Munich)

URL: *http://cgi.dji.de/cgi-bin/inklude.php?inklude=dasdji/links_inc.htm#id*

Institut für Europäische Politik in Berlin (Institut for European Research in Berlin).

URL: *http://www.iep-berlin.de/aktuelles/index.htm* (meanwhile removed)

Uni-Protokolle (German Information Portal for Training, Study, and Job).

URL 1: *http://www.uni-protokolle.de/nachrichten/id/34856/*

URL 2: *http://www.uni-protokolle.de/nachrichten/id/2151/*

URL 3: *http://www.uni-protokolle.de/nachrichten/id/21203/*

Gallileus: The Power of Knowledge (German Information Server).

URL 1:
http://www.gallileus.info/gallileus/disciplines/WirtschSozialWi/PolitikWi/toptopics/toptoEuropa/

URL 2:
http://www.gallileus.info/gallileus/disciplines/WirtschSozialWi/Soziologie/toptopics/Junge_Deutsche

Innovationsreport (Information Forum for Science, Industry and Economy).

URL 1: *http://www.innovations-report.de/html/berichte/studien/bericht-20466.html*

URL 2: *http://www.a3p.de/html/berichte/studien/bericht-10279.html*

Lehrer-Online (Information Portal for Teachers).

URL 1: *http://www.lehrer-online.de/dyn/9.asp?url=365571.htm*;

URL 2: *http://www.lehrer-online.de/dyn/9.asp?url=295015.htm*

psychologie.de (Information Portal for Psychology).

URL: *http://www.psychologie.de/newsticker/artikel.php?nummer=6258*

europaheute.de (Information Portal about European Topics).

URL: *http://eh.bluesrocks.de/news.php?news_ID=6*

Campus Germany (Information Portal for Students: Study and Research in Germany).

URL: *http://www.campus-germany.de/german/10.471.1.37.html*

4.8. Project Conference Papers and Presentations

Fuss, D. (December 2001). *Orientations of young men and women to citizenship and European identity: Design of an international project.* Colloquium Presentation at the Chemnitz University of Technology in Chemnitz, Germany.

Fuss, D. (July 16-19, 2002). *Youth and European identity.* Poster Presentation at the 25th Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP) in Berlin, Germany.

Boehnke, K. & Fuss, D. (September 19-21, 2002). *Does globalization foster the emergence of supranational personal identities among youth?* Paper Presentation to a working group on 'Youth, Globalisation and the Law' at a meeting of the Social Science Research Council in Paris, France.

Fuss, D. (October 7-11, 2002). *Einstellungen zu Staatsbürgerschaft (Attitudes towards citizenship).* Poster Presentation at the 31st Conference of the German Sociological Association in Leipzig, Germany.

Fuss, D. (October 24-26, 2002). *Einstellungen deutscher Jugendlicher zur EU-Osterweiterung – einige empirische Befunde (Attitudes of German youth towards the EU enlargement – some empirical findings)*. Paper Presentation at the 6th Symposium of Regional and Political Sciences in Chemnitz, Germany.

Fuss, D. & Grundy, S. (March 28 - April 2, 2003). *The meaning of nationality and European identity among youth from different nations.* Paper Presentation at the 31st Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) in Edinburgh, Scotland.

Boehnke, K. (July 12-16, 2003). *Youth and European identity.* Convenor of a Symposium at the 6th European Regional Congress of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) in Budapest, Hungary.

Fuss, D. (July 12-16, 2003). *Social identity and the acceptance of others: Cross-cultural comparisons among young persons.* Paper Presentation at the 6th European Regional Congress of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) in Budapest, Hungary.

Boehnke, K. & Fuss, D. (September 18-19, 2003). *Ethnocentrism of youth in times of rapid social change.* Paper Presentation at the 2nd Workshop on 'Youth, Globalization and the Law' (sponsored by the Social Science Research Council) in New York, USA.

Fuss, D., Kindervater, A. & Boehnke, K. (October 24-25, 2003). *Europa gleich Europa? Zur Bedeutungsäquivalenz europabezogener Einstellungen bei Deutschen, Polen, Tschechen und Slowaken (Europe = Europe? To the equivalence of meaning with regard to European attitudes among Germans, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks).* Paper Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Method-Section of the German Association of Sociology in Bremen, Germany.

Boehnke, K. & Fuss, D. (October 30, 2003). *Ethnocentrism of youth in times of rapid social changes.* Invited Lecture to the DFG-Research Group 'Discriminarion and Tolerance in Intergroup Relations' in Jena, Germany.

Fuss, D., Garcia, G. & Rodriguez, M. (November 25-28, 2003). *Language, values and European identity: Results from a cross-cultural youth research project.* Paper Presentation at the Interknow-EuroWorkshop for Young Researcher in Regensburg, Germany.

Fuss, D. (June 18-20, 2004). *The role of the 'ethnos-principle' in the relationship between regional, national and European identity.* Paper Presentation at the 17th Conference of Peace Psychology in Marburg, Germany.

Boehnke, K. (June 18-20, 2004). *National identity and European identity as risk factors and protection factors for ethnocentrism of youth.* Paper Presentation at the 17th Conference of Peace Psychology in Marburg, Germany.

Boehnke, K. & Fuss, D. (July 8, 2004). *'Doing Europe': Languages, travel and mobility.* Paper Presentation at the final conference on the project 'Youth and European identity' in Brussels, Belgium.

Fuss, D. (July 15-18, 2004). *Identity constructions among European youth and the acceptance of others.* Paper Presentation at the 27th Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP) in Lund, Sweden.

Boehnke, K. (August 8-13, 2004). *Globalization and the emergence of supranational identities.* Convenor of an invited symposium at the 28th International Congress of Psychology (ICP) in Beijing, China.

Boehnke, K. (September 26-30, 2004). *,Good practice' in der kulturvergleichenden Sozialforschung (,Good practice' in the cross-culture comparative social research).* Paper

Presentation at the 44th Congress of the German Society for Psychology (DGPs) in Göttingen, Germany.

January 2005: Daniel Fuss and Klaus Boehnke are organising a workshop – together with Prof. Karl-Dieter Opp – about the relations between local, regional, national and European identifications.

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