

- **Announcements**
 - Begin thinking about your topic for the seminar paper
 - See instructions in the IS
 - Nov 5: Midterm exam
 - Exam review sheet will appear in the IS
- **The plan for today**
 - What is identity?
 - European identity in the EU (some empirics)
 - How is identity related to support for the EU?

Three major explanations of support for the EU

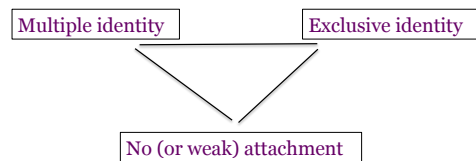
- Utilitarian explanation
- Cueing rationality
 - Domestic proxies (cues)
- **Identity**

What is political identity?

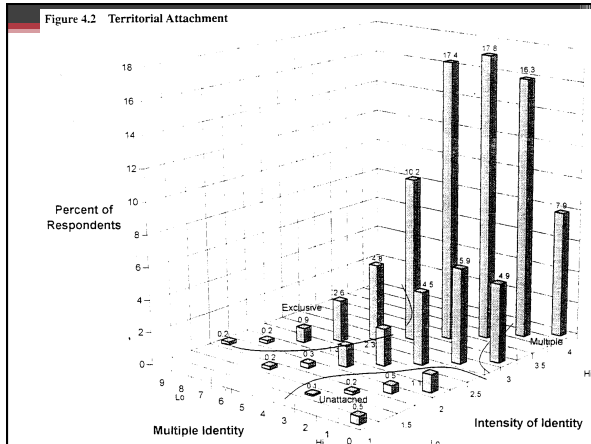
- Affective (emotional) attachment to the political community (e.g. the EU or the nation)
 - Strength of the attachment
 - Exclusivity of the attachment (exclusive v. multiple identity)

Exclusive identity v. multiple identity

- Marks (1999): conceptualizing territorial identity



Source of the figure that follows: Marks (1999). Territorial Identities in the European Union. In Anderson Jeffrey (ed.), *Regional Integration and Democracy*. Rowman and Littlefield, NY.

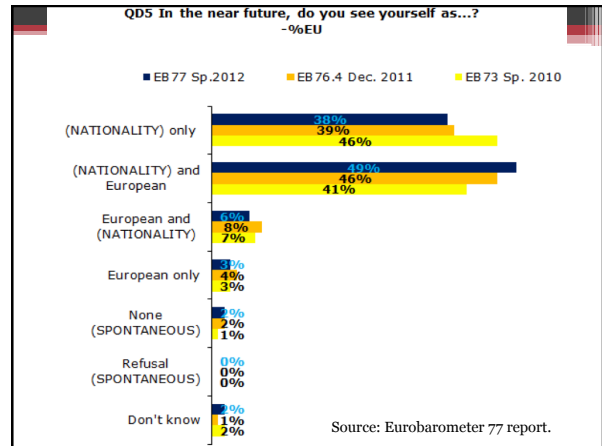


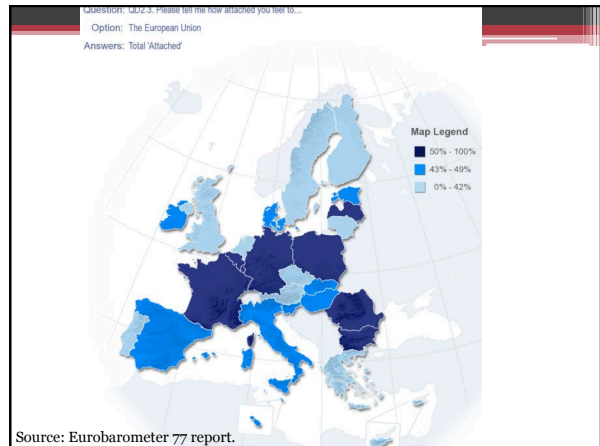
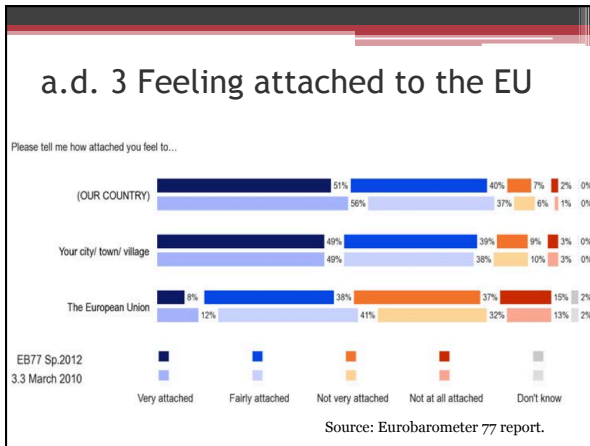
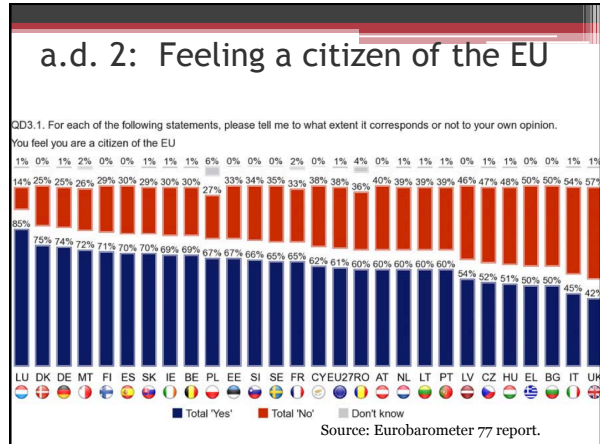
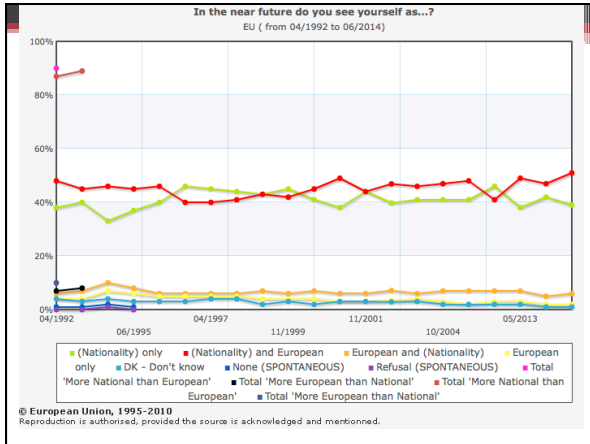
Exploring European identity:
Some empirical data

- Eurobarometer data:
- 3 ways of measuring EU identity:
 1. Future identity
 2. Feeling an EU citizen
 3. Feeling attached to the EU

a.d. 1

- “In the near future, do you see yourself as
 - Nationality only
 - Nationality and European
 - European and nationality
 - European only”





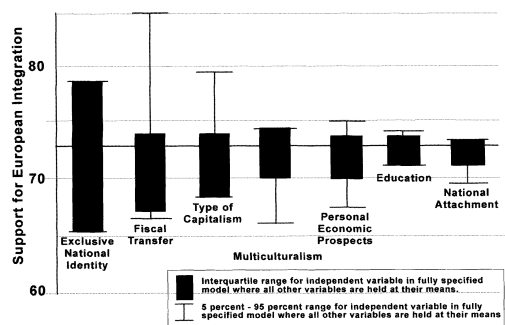
Reading empirical articles: Some more explanation

- Interquartile range
 - Take all observations on a variable (all respondents in a survey)
 - Order the values from lowest to highest
 - Interquartile range is between the value on the 25th percentile and the value on the 75th percentile
 - Reach the 25th by going from the top of the line until you reach 25% of respondents. The same for 75% percentile.

Group work

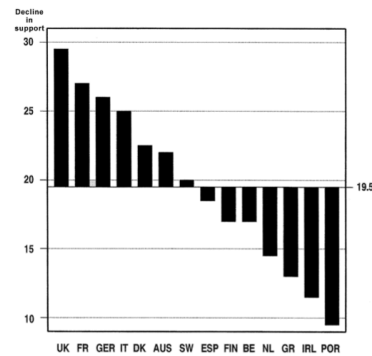
- How is identity related to attitudes towards the EU?
- Work in groups of 3-4
 - Be prepared to share with the class
 - When other groups present, write down notes and think about overall conclusions

Figure 1
Effects of Independent Variables

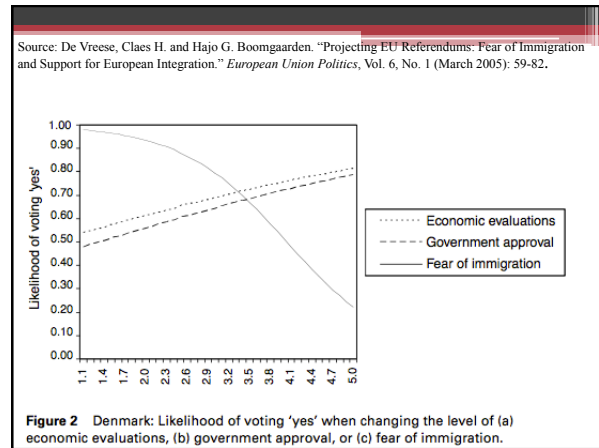
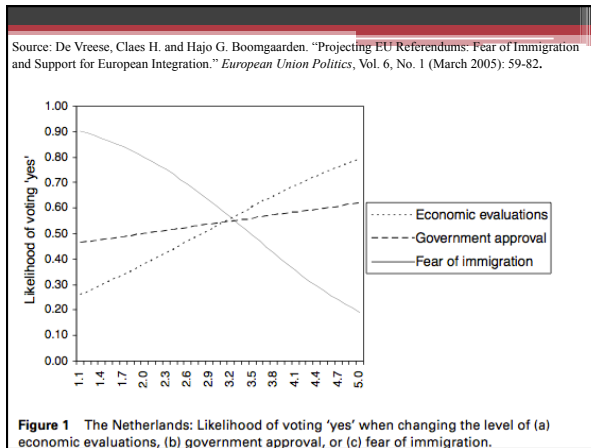
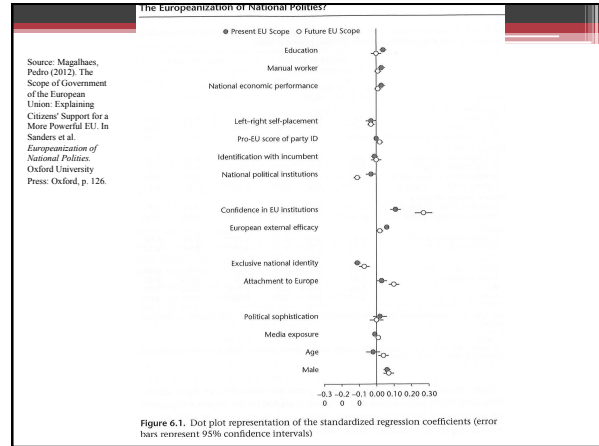
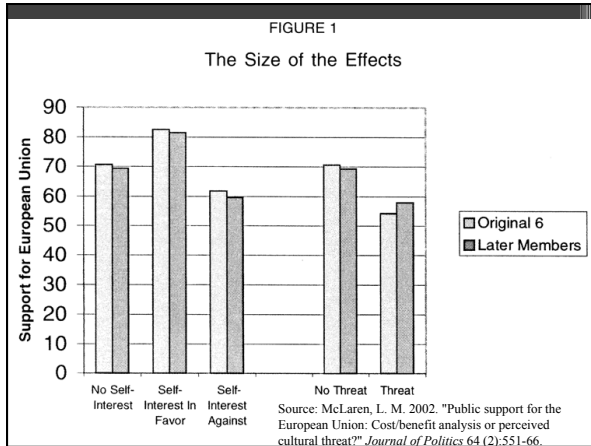


Source: Hooghe and Marks (2004). Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration? *PS&Politics* 37(3).

Figure 2
Exclusive National Identity and Support for European Integration

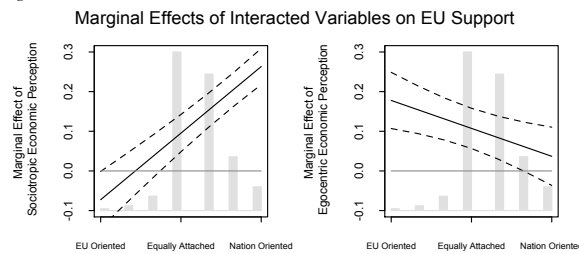


Source: Hooghe and Marks (2004). Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration? *PS&Politics* 37(3).



Source: Levy, Naomi and Bonnie Phan. 2014. "The Utility of Identity: Explaining Public Support for the EU after the Crash" *Polity*, 46 (4).

Figure 3:



Overall conclusions?

- Exclusive national identity, fear of immigration, and fear of other cultures are related to support for the EU
 - Lower support for the EU
 - Support for the EU is related to identity at least as strongly as to factors such as self-interest or trust in national political institutions
- Identity conditions the effect of sociotropic and egocentric economic considerations
 - Each of the economic considerations affect people differently, based on what kind of identity they have

What does this mean for the EU as a political regime?

- Does it make the EU well equipped for surviving a time of crisis?