European identity and dual citizenship

European identity measured among Dutch students in the city of Groningen and the possibility of dual citizenship

Bachelor Thesis

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Summary

National identities have already existed for many years, but it is not clear what exactly it means to have a European identity. It is argued that European identity could run parallel with national identities and that it thus sets out to complement national identities instead of replacing them (Wintle, 2005). That is why the research question that is central in this research is as follows: What kind of European identity would be suitable for contemporary Europe and what factors play a role in the manifestation of it? As it has been proven before that a younger age and a higher education level positively influence European identity (Pichler, 2008) this research was conducted among Dutch university students in the city of Groningen. A small quantitative sample was gathered among this population to see to what extent dual identity already exists and some in-depth interviews were conducted among the same population to see what other factors could influence European identity. Even though the data sample of 47 students was small, over 85% of the sample claimed to already have both a national and a European identity. In the three in-depth interviews conducted it seems like someone's attitude towards the European Union and perceived European identity positively correlate with each other, which has been proven earlier (Maier & Rittberger, 2008).

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Since the recession struck Europe in 2009 there have been many primarily right-wing political parties in the EU member states that showed a desire to leave the EU (Adam & Maier, 2011). In the UK the desire to leave the European Union was large enough to gain a majority in the referendum that would ultimately decide whether or not the UK would leave or remain in the EU (Curtice, 2016). Perhaps if citizens of the European Union would have a stronger sense of European identity then they would not desire to leave as soon as a problem arises. This is because the perception of people towards a large variety of subjects regarding the EU becomes more positive as someone's degree of European identity rises (Maier & Rittberger, 2008). Sometimes a shared history can make people feel more connected, but in Europe there is also a lot of shame about the shared history. European countries have left a positive mark on the world we live in today, but also has a past of racism, colonialism and genocide, which people rather are not reminded of (Lowenthal, 2000). " The political, cultural and social make-up of Europe is changing fast. A new European identity is under construction, but old contradictions and diversity challenge its contents, forms and boundaries " (Raento 2008, p.347). This gives us a reason to move to a more modern approach to European Identity, an approach that could hopefully unite a large amount of countries with many differences.

1.2 Research problem

What it means to be European and what a European identity is, has changed a lot during the last century. Before the second world war there was no European Union or European identity and the countries that would later join the EU were then just competing with each other while the cooperation between the countries was minimal. Today there is more cooperation and integration within the EU than there has ever been in the region before.

How Britain voted
Older people with fewer formal qualifications most likely to have voted Leave

		Remain	Leave
Age	18-24	71	29
	25-49	54	46
	50-64	40	60
	65+	36	64
Education	GCSE or lower	30	70
	A level	50	50
	Higher below degree	48	52
	Degree	68	32

YouGov | yougov.com   Figure 1: Britain's referendum votes by age and education
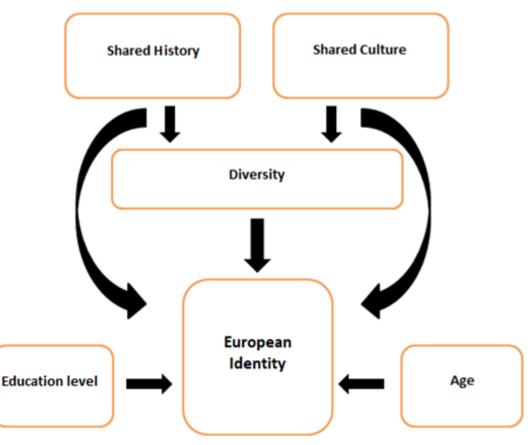Source: YouGov.Uk

That is why it is interesting to research what kind of European Identity would be suitable for contemporary Europe and what factors contribute to the manifestation of European identity. It has already been proven that characteristics such as gender, age, education, area of living and social class have an impact on perceived European identity (Pichler, 2008). According to statistics regarding the Brexit referendum which was discussed earlier, it were mainly young and educated people that voted to remain in the EU. The older and lesser educated generation mainly voted to leave the EU (Curtice, 2016). This is further illustrated in figure 1. That is why it would also be interesting to conduct this research among Dutch students in the City of Groningen. Perhaps their access to higher level education, their relatively young age category and their geographic location have an impact on perceived European identity. Educated people with similar interests and desires are likely to interact with other intellectuals who share these interests. These people are also more likely to travel for interaction with similar people in other locations and societies. Those on the other side of the spectrum who are less prosperous and live their life within the boundaries of their region are more likely to express nationalistic feelings (Fligstein et al., 2012). That makes it interesting to study the city of Groningen, which connects many young intellectuals from many different backgrounds with similar interests by means of higher education. It is even argued that European awareness among university students should be stimulated by promoting active EU citizenship and participation to let university students help shape European Identity (Fernándes, 2005). Another issue is that nation states have emphasized state-based identity so much in the past, that European citizenship can be hard to grasp. On top of that the geographical boundaries of the EU are vague to many, because the composition of EU member states keeps changing. This makes it difficult for people to know who their fellow Europeans are who they associate with. (Raento, 2008). When it is not clear to members of the EU who the in-group is that they associate with, it also is not clear who the out-group is that they do not associate with. Historically this has been a detrimental factor in the shaping of a group identity, which also plays a role in the shaping of European identity (Curley, 2009). The population that will be studied in this research grew up while the EU already existed, which might influence their attitude towards European identity. It should be interesting to compare their vision of a European identity with that of The Netherlands as a whole.

1.3 Structure of the thesis
This paper will start out by discussing literature that is relevant to this research. After that the aims of this research and the means to achieve this will be discussed. This will be followed up with the results of both the qualitative and quantitative research and finally this paper will be concluded by drawing conclusions and making recommendations for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework
It is possible that people fear that they will lose their own national identity for a stronger European identity or that between countries people have different views on many different

themes or values. It is possible that between countries there are clashing views regarding to these themes that make it harder for people to have one European identity that is shared by all (Ballas et al., 2017). The European region and its members have been very diverse and influential in the past and still are today. The big diversity and the large amount of differences between the member states of the European Union can be a weakness when trying to create a single homogeneous identity within the European Union, but this diversity can also be seen as a strength. Facilitating the large diversity of European countries can be used to combine them as a strong European force (Cram, 2009). Ivic et al. (2011) argue that the idea of a European identity that exists within the framework of European declarations and charters has to be changed to allow for a more flexible post national vision on European identity. This would make it easier for people to be aware of multiple identities at once, which would be more in line with the diversity that European citizens experience today. It is also not necessary for a national identity to clash with that of a European identity, since one does not replace the other. This has not always been the case, however. Politicians have been occupied with the idea of a European identity for a long time. The concept of European identity that was initially developed was one of a supranational identity which developed similarly to a national identity. It was set out to compete with and replace the already existing and deeply rooted national identities (Toplak & Šumi, 2012). However, European identity is not a threat to national identity or even to the nation state because these two different identities can develop to be compatible with the other (Wintle, 2005). Castano (2004) confirms this and says that it is not important for communities to acquire a cultural homogeneity but to acquire a psychological existence. His research also shows a positive correlation between national and European identity, possibly indicating that more territorial awareness leads to more territorial identity in general. It is argued that intercultural communication skills should be taught in schools throughout Europe to prepare people from a young age for the diversified world that we live in today (Pinxten et al., 2007). This could make it easier to collaborate and communicate with people from different cultures and nationalities that we have in Europe. There have been studies and surveys to compare the average opinions regarding a broad range of topics across the EU member states already, but most of this research has been done with quantitative data on the national or European scale (Eurobarometer & European value survey. This study will add both qualitative and quantitative data to that with the case study of Dutch students at the university at Groningen. Perhaps young intellectuals can add interesting insights to this topic and hopefully this will give a better understanding of what has to be done to successfully create a European identity that people agree with.

Conceptual Model

Figure 2: Conceptual Model

With the model illustrated in figure 2 I would like to look at a couple of themes that could have an impact on how people perceive European identity. First of all a shared history and a shared culture positively influence National identity (Carrard et al., 1997). It is thus possible that shared culture and history, or a lack of those two, probably has a large impact on European identity as well. Because most countries also have their own history and culture this will probably also influence diversity, which then has an influence on the manifestation of European identity. Both Education Level and Age are variables that have a direct impact on how people perceive European identity (Pichler, 2008). This is further expanded on by Makarovic and Golob (2015). They argue that educated individuals generally tend to be part of a better social class and that on average their economic situation is better as well. These conditions make it easier to participate in numerous social practices on the European scale and this leads to better perceptions of the European Union. In the case of the Brexit example mentioned earlier, it was mainly the older and uneducated generation that voted to leave the EU. Up to 75% of all students voted to remain in the European Union (Reader, 2016) to illustrate how big of a discrepancy there could be between the younger and older generations as well as a low and a high level of education. Age and Education level were included in the conceptual model as theory confirms that these two factors play a significant role in shaping European identity and are thus a foundation for this research, but this will

not be further examined. This approach was chosen because the amount of Dutch respondents in the European Value Survey dataset amounted to a total of 48 and the dataset of the survey in Groningen amounts to a total of 47 respondents, which makes it hard to draw meaningful conclusions regarding these factors. This will be compensated for by adding more in depth explanations by means of interviews.

2.1 Hypotheses

The first hypothesis that is central in this research is that Dutch students in Groningen will prioritize their national identity over a European identity if they were asked to choose one. The second hypothesis that will be tested is that history and culture both have a significant influence on perceived European identity. The third hypothesis relevant to this research is that as people travel more often through Europe, they are also more likely to feel like a citizen of the European Union than those who don't. The fourth and last hypothesis is that people who trust the European Union are also more likely to be confident in the European Union.

3. Methodology

In this research a mixture of both quantitative and qualitative data is used, with an emphasis on qualitative research. Eurobarometer provides a wide variety of quantitative data regarding people's opinion towards the EU. Some data from that dataset will be used to make comparisons with the dataset gathered among Dutch students in the city of Groningen. Examples of this are the factors that are seen as most contributing to creating a sense of community in the EU and whether or not EU citizens see themselves as European. The main goal of this research is to measure how Dutch students in Groningen perceive European identity, how this compares to their national identity and also if this differs from the Netherlands and Europe as a whole. With questionnaires the presence of National and European identity is measured and in-depth interviews are conducted to explain attitudes towards European identity. In order to gain insights in different points of view regarding European identity three in-depth interviews were scheduled. One person with a negative, one person with a neutral and one person with a positive attitude towards the European Union were interviewed to gain insights in the underlying mechanisms that shape European identity and attitudes towards the EU.

In this research there shouldn't be any ethical problems, because people will not be asked any questions that are very sensitive and personal. The acquired data will also be stored anonymously so that it cannot be traced back to any respondents. With this research I have no personal interests which makes it unlikely for me to be biased. As part of the questionnaire, respondents were asked for the first four digits of the zip-code from the house where they grew up. The first four digits are enough to know where someone grew up without knowing exactly what house someone grew up in. This was done in order to gain insights in the distribution of respondents in the Netherlands without unnecessarily invading

their privacy. This distribution is shown in figure 3. The questionnaire is included in appendix one.
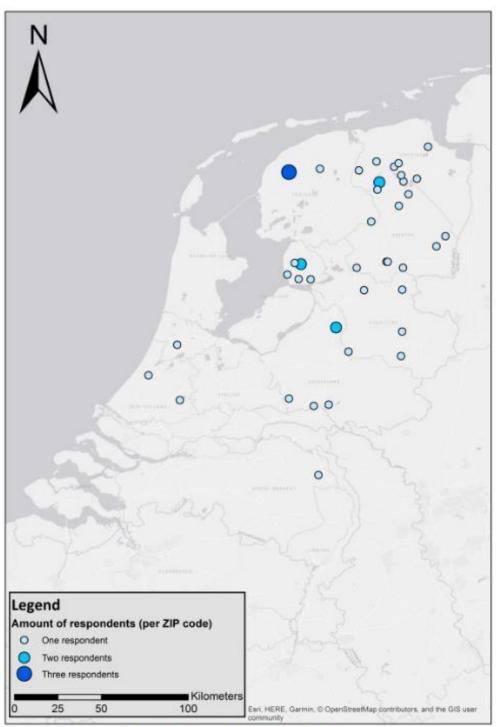

Figure 3: Geographical distribution of respondents

Even though the survey was conducted in the city of Groningen, respondents came from a wide variety of locations in the Netherlands as illustrated in figure 3. Most respondents grew up in the Northern half of the country, but there are also respondents from the southern half of the country represented in the dataset.

The questionnaire for this research was distributed digitally among groups that contained Dutch students in the city of Groningen. The distribution of the questionnaire was not completely random, because only students that were connected to those groups that I approached could fill in the questionnaire. After filling in the questionnaire students were asked for their attitudes towards the European Union and whether or not they would be interested in taking part in an interview.

4. Results

In this section the results of the questionnaire will be shown and when possible these will also be compared with results from earlier work in the Netherlands or Europe as a whole. These results should be interpreted with caution as the relatively low sample size of 47 respondents makes it hard to draw any concrete conclusions. However, it is still interesting to make comparisons since there are indicators that there could be significant differences between these groups.

In this section quotes from the interviews will also be used to provide insights in the results. The person with negative attitudes towards the EU will be addressed as respondent one, the person with neutral attitudes towards the EU will be addressed as respondent two and the person with negative attitudes towards the EU will be addressed as respondent three. These should also be interpreted with caution as the small amount of in-depth interviews does not necessarily accurately represent their respective point of view.

The first hypotheses that we'll look at is the influence of shared history and culture on perceived European identity. In the most recent Eurobarometer survey of 2017 respondents were asked which factors they saw as most contributing to creating a feeling of community among EU citizens. The results of this question are illustrated in figure 4.

	Culture	Values	History	Economy	The rule of law	Geography	Sports	Solidarity with poorer regions	Healthcare, education and pensions	Inventions, science and technology	Languages	Religion
EU28	28	23	22	21	20	19	18	14	13	12	12	9
BE	29	27	24	23	19	13	20	14	19	17	13	7
BG	25	23	20	20	12	24	8	13	9	14	6	9
CZ	31	26	34	18	13	20	22	13	11	15	9	8
DK	30	26	26	21	20	19	25	17	18	19	9	5
DE	29	27	20	24	29	17	19	15	8	11	10	8
EE	27	22	17	23	15	20	17	7	9	15	12	5
IE	32	21	22	28	18	18	35	13	19	12	15	7
EL	42	22	27	25	10	31	16	12	4	19	9	14
ES	23	19	20	24	24	14	14	15	6	8		3
FR	31	25	28	16	17	20	24	16	14	14	17	8
HR	24	16	20	23	16	19	16	18	13	18	9	14
IT	23	22	21	20	16	18	13	14	8	12	11	13
CY	35	21	10	29	14	11	26	14	12	18	17	15
LV	31	12	18	22	9	35	27	11	9	12	18	9
LT	30	18	21	28	5	21	27	12	11	28	16	10
LU	29	29	24	18	21	20	15	15	11	8	27	9
HU	27	14	26	22	12	18	18	17	20	14	11	15
MT	34	26	23	23	20	15	14	17	18	14	19	10
NL	25	29	29	27	22	36	19	12	12	16	8	7
AT	34	33	29	22	19	25	19	12	14	16	20	14
PL	26	21	24	30	17	18	16	15	13	14	12	10
PT	36	22	20	13	17	20	11	18	9	11	15	5
RO	21	18	17	20	20	17	19	19	19	16	13	15
SI	25	17	22	25	13	17	36	12	13	16	10	8
SK	22	19	23	17	14	32	14	12	14	9	15	12
FI	26	37	23	23	32	22	17	14	23	13	9	7
SE	30	32	30	19	26	33	17	20	13	19	8	5
UK	31	21	17	13	16	11	20	7	18	10	14	7

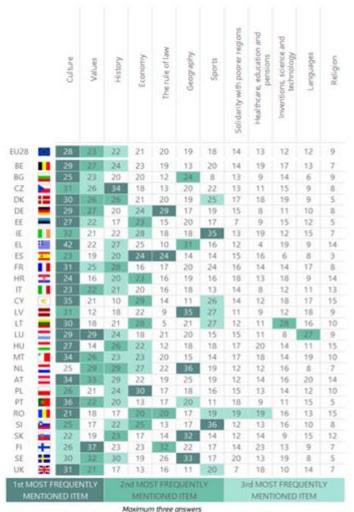| 1st MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED ITEM	2nd MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED ITEM	3rd MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED ITEM

Maximum three answers

Figure 4 : Among the following issues, which are those that most create a feeling of community among eu citizens?
Source: Eurobarometer 2017

On average Europeans say that culture and history are the two factors that have the biggest impact on community creation among EU citizens. In the Netherlands the factors history and culture are ranked second and fifth respectively, which is lower than Europe as a whole (Eurobarometer, 2017). Nevertheless these figures show that both culture and history are indeed perceived as valuable factors in creating a feeling of community among EU citizens.

These results are in contrast with the literature discussed earlier. As mentioned earlier European nations have a past of racism, colonialism and genocide. In the eyes of many Europeans this is part of a painful past which people do not want to be reminded of (Lowenthal, 2000). In the past couple of centuries of European history there have also been many wars where European countries fought each other instead of cooperating with each

other. When asked in an interview if a shared history made respondent two feel more European the person answered "I think that if anything it's more the opposite of a shared history. We've been conquered by the Spanish, we've been conquered by the Germans. I think that this would only contribute to more nationalistic feelings than European feelings." This thought was also shared by respondent one, who said: "At one point in history all wealthy European nations were going to the same areas to expand territory. However, this was not done with each other but against each other." Respondent three expands on this by saying the following: "I think that the history that we share with other Europeans has indeed been negative at times, but it's a shared history regardless and I think that in the end it actually connects us and brings us closer together." Interestingly enough all respondents agree that most of the history that Europeans share has primarily been negative, but the respondent with the most positive attitude towards the EU turns that into a factor that ends up uniting Europe.

Whether history is seen as dividing or uniting Europe seems to be very subjective and arguments for both sides could be made. Nevertheless its impact on shaping European identity cannot be denied, as there is a lot of shared history between European member states. Attitudes towards the EU could be used to explain if someone perceives history as a positive or a negative factor for bring Europe closer together, but more interviews should be conducted to confirm this.

Another factor that could play a role in shaping European Identity is culture. In the survey I conducted among Dutch students in Groningen one question was whether or not one would give up their national culture or identity for a united European identity. As illustrated in figure 5 Over 70% of all respondents said that they would not trade their national culture or identity for a European one, which gives reason to accept the first hypothesis which states that Dutch students would not trade their national identity for a European one. It is strange however, that according to figure 3 culture is the single most important aspect that brings

Value Label	Value		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Give up identity?	No		33	70,21	70,21	70,21
	No Answer		1	2,13	2,13	72,34
	Yes		13	27,66	27,66	100,00
		Total	47	100,0	100,0	

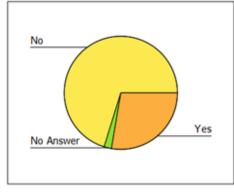**Would you give up your national identity/culture for a united European identity?**

Figure 5: Would someone give up their national identity for a European one?

about a feeling of community among EU citizens. If cultures across Europe are seen as so similar and so important for creating a feeling of community in the EU, why would so many people then be against the creation of one single European culture? Are cultures in Europe actually as similar as people think they are? In the interview respondents were asked if they think that different cultures within Europe would make it hard to create a European identity. Both respondents two and three answered the following. "I do not think that this is a problem. If you look at Dutch people and Germans or Belgians then the differences are minimal and I do not think that this would be a problem for creating a single European community." When the interviewees were asked why they used these countries as examples they stated that they did not know enough about countries far away from the Netherlands to make claims about their culture as their previous experiences with those countries are minimal. This is explained by Bottero and Prandy (2003) as they argue that social distance and interaction leads to more social closeness and cultural similarity. It is possible that culture is thus perceived as more similar than it actually is due to most cultural interaction happening in relative proximity.

As discussed before there are actually many differences between the different EU nation states on the broader scale, which make it difficult for one homogenous culture or identity to arise (Ballas et al., 2017). The answer to this problem could be found in imagined communities. "A nation is an imagined political community … It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an image of their community" (Anderson 2006, p.6). What this means is that essentially all communities only exist because at some point they were created. This is also true for nations and other political entities. Tamir (1995) expands on this by saying that nationalists can create their own story by interpreting history in ways to fit their needs and beliefs. Language, traditions, and many other aspects can be changed or created for the development of the nation and its community. The European Union has also done this by creating EU symbols that contain European values. Examples of these symbols are the European flag, the European anthem, Europe day and the EU motto. Essentially this leads to the creation of a common culture which brings about more unity across the EU. The second hypothesis that was central in this paper was that history and culture play a significant role in the perception of European identity. Though there is reason to assume that these factors play an important role, more research would have to be done to confirm this. This means that for now the hypothesis cannot be accepted.

There might be many differences between the member states of the European Union, but as discussed before the many differences can be used to create a strong European force that is centered around its diversity (Cram, 2009). With the European motto, united in diversity, the European Union tries to bring nationalities together. Respondent three confirms that this is working. "I do not think that all these different nationalities and cultures are a bad thing. In fact, I am actually very interested in unique regional differences

and it actually makes me want to visit those places." What was long seen as a weakness of the European Union is thus turned into a strength. Respondent one does not share this opinion, however. "I think it is impossible to create one European identity that could replace national identities. There are many similarities between Western European countries and I think that those are quite alike, but the countries in Eastern Europe differ from us in so many ways. Countries would have to make compromises and I do not ever see that happening." This is also in line with the argument made by Ivic et al. (2011) discussed earlier, that European identity should be flexible and compatible with that of national identities. Countries would not have to make those compromises and the diverse cultures could remain.

In the survey respondents were asked how many times a year they travel to other European countries on average and all respondents were also asked if they feel European. This was used to test if people are more inclined to feel European as the amount of times that people travel to other European countries goes up. As illustrated in figure 6 there is no evidence to back this up, as the average amount of visits to other European countries is even higher in the group that does not feel European, but that could be due to the low sample size used in this questionnaire. For now it does give us reason to reject the third hypothesis. This hypothesis was that someone is more likely to feel like a citizen of the EU as they travel more often through countries in the EU than those who do not.

T-Test

Group Statistics

	Do you feel like a citizen of the following geographic entities?-_-Europe___Yes	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
How many times per year do you travel to other countries within the European Union?	yes	39	2,67	1,707	,273
	no	7	4,29	2,984	1,128

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference		Lower	Upper
How many times per year do you travel to other countries within the European Union?	Equal variances assumed	4,814	,034	-2,042	44	,047	-1,619	,793		-3,217	-,021
	Equal variances not assumed			-1,395	6,721	,207	-1,619	1,161		-4,386	1,148

Figure 6: Independent samples T-Test of feeling European and traveling within the EU.

As discussed before the majority of the respondents of the questionnaire would not give up their national culture or identity for a European one, but what about having both their national and a European identity?

This was tested by asking the respondents if they felt like a Dutch citizen, a European citizen and also if they feel like a citizen of the world. Asking the respondents if they feel like they are a citizen of the world is added to see if people who feel like they are citizens of Europe would also feel like they are a citizen of the world and thus indifferent to the size of the geographic entity that they associate with. Respondents were also asked if they think a dual

identity is possible, which in this case would mean that it's possible for them to both have a Dutch and a European identity.

As shown in the illustration below, all respondents say they feel like Dutch citizens and over 85% says they also feel like European citizens. This means that in this sample of Dutch students in Groningen already 85% claim to have a dual identity. There was also only one person who said that they do not think it is possible to have both a Dutch and a European identity. It seems like there is reason to believe that a European identity would not need to replace national identities and that European identity can grow and develop without threatening national identities. This is in line with Wintle (2005) who argues that national identities and European identity can coexist and be compatible with each other. In the interview respondents were also asked if they feel European and as a follow up question what it means to them to be European. All respondents said that they felt European, but when asked why they felt European and what it meant to be European they struggled to answer this. Respondent 3 said: "Hmm.. I do not know. It is just a feeling that I have because I am from Europe and thus European, just like I am Dutch because I am from the Netherlands. I think it is mainly geographic location that makes me feel European." Interestingly enough all respondents shared this thought and say that it is simply a feeling that you do not question much. It could be that cohort effects can be used to explain this, as these people all grew up in a time where the European union already existed, but further research that looks in to the underlying mechanisms is necessary.

In the Eurobarometer survey respondents were asked if they saw themselves in the near future as a citizen of their nationality, as a citizen of Europe, or a combination of the two. The results of this are illustrated in figure 8. As every single respondent in the survey conducted in Groningen answered that they feel like a citizen of the Netherlands and 85.11% answered that they feel like citizens of Europe, it means that over 85% of the people in this sample have a dual identity already, which is illustrated in figure 7. In the Eurobarometer sample from 2013 a total of 49% of the respondents see themselves in the future as a citizen of their nationality in the first place, but also European and 7% as European in the first place, but also as a citizen of their own nationality. 3% of all

DutchCitizen

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	Yes	47	100,00	100,00	100,00
	Total	47	100,0	100,0	

EuropeanCitizen

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	No	7	14,89	14,89	14,89
	Yes	40	85,11	85,11	100,00
	Total	47	100,0	100,0	

WorldCitizen

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	Missing	1	2,13	2,13	2,13
	No	20	42,55	42,55	44,68
	Yes	26	55,32	55,32	100,00
	Total	47	100,0	100,0	

PossibleToHaveDutchAndEuropeanIdentity

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	Missing	2	4,26	4,26	4,26
	No	1	2,13	2,13	6,38
	Yes	44	93,62	93,62	100,00
	Total	47	100,0	100,0	

Figure 7: Perceived identity and dual citizenship

In the near future do you see yourself as...

Legend:
- (Nationality) only
- (Nationality) and European
- European and (Nationality)
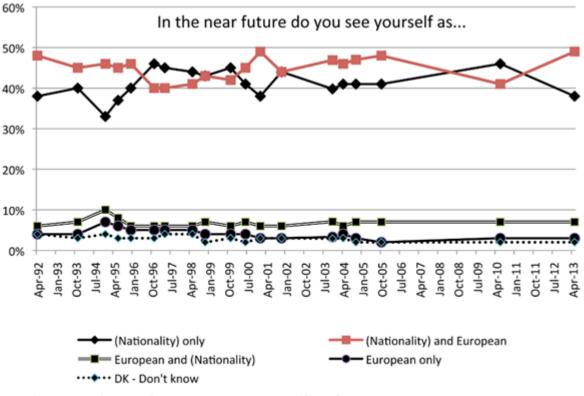- European only
- DK - Don't know

Figure 8: In the near future, Do you see yourself as...?
Source: Eurobarometer

respondents feel European only (Eurobarometer, 2013). If these are taken together then 59% of all Europeans in 2013 saw themselves as possessing a European identity of some sort in the future. This is quite a difference when compared to the 85.11% of students in Groningen who already see themselves as having both identities at the moment of the questionnaire in 2018. Even though the questions that were asked are measuring very similar things, they are not the same and there are five years in between these measurements. Caution should be used when interpreting these results but there is reason to assume that awareness of a dual identity among Dutch students in Groningen is higher than the European average, but further research is needed to confirm this.

Respondents were asked on a scale of one to ten how much they trusted the European Union and how much confidence they had in the European Union. Because the sample was too small for a Chi-square test I have chosen to create two new categories for trust in the EU, where one to five now means no trust in the EU and six till ten means trust in the EU. The Mann-Whitney test illustrated in figure 9 shows the result of that.

Mann-Whitney Test

Ranks

	Do you trust the European Union?	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Do you have a lot of confidence in the European Union?	no	3	4,67	14,00
	yes	34	20,26	689,00
	Total	37		

Test Statistics[a]

	Do you have a lot of confidence in the European Union?
Mann-Whitney U	8,000
Wilcoxon W	14,000
Z	-2,441
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,015
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	,011[b]

a. Grouping Variable: Do you trust the European Union?

b. Not corrected for ties.

Figure 9 Mann-Whitney Test of Trust and confidence in the European Union

The weak implications of a Mann-Whitney test already makes it hard to draw a meaningful conclusion from this test, but the low sample size and especially the small amount of people in the group with no trust in the European Union makes it impossible to do so. Nevertheless the test is still significant with a 2-tailed significance of 0.15, which gives reason to assume that there is a possibility that trust in the European Union indeed leads to more confidence in the European Union. This would be in line with hypothesis four, but the dataset is too small to accept the hypothesis. If this would indeed be the case then it would be interesting if trust in the European Union could be stimulated to generate more confidence in the EU by EU citizens. This is purely speculative however, as more research is needed to look into this mechanism.

5. Conclusions and Discussion

The research question that was central in this research is what kind of European identity would be suitable for contemporary Europe and what factors play a role in the manifestation of it. As shown by Ballas (2017) there are many differences among member states of the EU that make it unlikely that European identity could eventually replace national identities. European identity could , however, use the large amount of diversity in

Europe to create a different kind of European identity. An identity that does not try to replace national identities but an identity that is compatible with and complements national identity (Cram, 2009; Ivic et al., 2011). It seems like dual identity is already prevalent among Dutch students in the city of Groningen, which is in line with earlier research (Pichler, 2008). This is based on a small dataset of Dutch students in Groningen, which means that more research is necessary to confirm this. Future research could gather larger datasets and compare young adults in a city with a university and a city without it to measure the impact of a university on European identity.

It has already been proven that characteristics as gender, age, education level, area of living and social class all play significant roles in the shaping of European identity (Pichler, 2008), but the similarity or dissimilarity of culture and history also seem to play important roles (Eurobarometer, 2017). Whether or not culture and history are seen as increasing or decreasing a sense of European identity is very subjective however and could be explained by someone's attitudes towards the EU (Maier & Rittberger, 2008). There is reason to believe that people who are positive about the EU are more likely to feel connected to other EU member states because of shared history and similar cultures, while people who are negative about the EU are more likely to see history and culture as factors that divide the EU member states. This assumption is based on a small amount of in-depth interviews, which makes it impossible to draw definitive conclusions. Further research could conduct more in-depth interviews and look for patterns regarding to European identity based on someone's opinion about the EU.

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7. Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Background information respondent
1: What's your age?
2: What's your gender?
3: What are the first 4 digits of the zipcode from where you grew up?

Place identity related questions

Do you feel like a citizen of the following geographic entities?	Yes	No
The Netherlands	○	○
Europe	○	○
The World	○	○

Which geographic entity do you associate the most with?

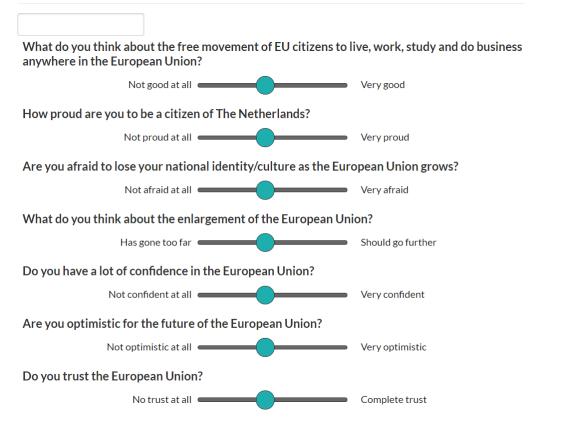○ The Netherlands
○ Europe
○ The World

Do you think that it's possible to have both a Dutch identity and a European identity at the same time?

○ Yes
○ No

Would you give up your national identity/culture for a united European identity?

○ Yes
○ No

How many times per year do you travel to other countries within the European Union?

[   ]

What do you think about the free movement of EU citizens to live, work, study and do business anywhere in the European Union?

Not good at all ●————————● Very good

How proud are you to be a citizen of The Netherlands?

Not proud at all ●————————● Very proud

Are you afraid to lose your national identity/culture as the European Union grows?

Not afraid at all ●————————● Very afraid

What do you think about the enlargement of the European Union?

Has gone too far ●————————● Should go further

Do you have a lot of confidence in the European Union?

Not confident at all ●————————● Very confident

Are you optimistic for the future of the European Union?

Not optimistic at all ●————————● Very optimistic

Do you trust the European Union?

No trust at all ●————————● Complete trust

Do you support the Euro?

○ Yes
○ No

How would you rate the Dutch economy?

Not good at all ▬▬▬●▬▬▬ Very good

How would you rate the European economy?

Not good at all ▬▬●▬▬▬▬ Very good

Appendix 2: Interview guide

English

-Do you feel like you have a Dutch identity? Why?

-Do you feel like you have a European identity? Why?

-Would you give up your Dutch identity for a stronger European identity?

-Do you feel like the large amount of diversity in Europe is a problem
 for creating a European identity?

-How do you think this can be avoided? (Base European identity on something else?)

-Do you feel like you share a history with other Europeans? Does that make you feel more European?

-Do you feel like you share a culture with other Europeans? Does that make you feel more European?

-What do you think of the enlargement of the European Union?

-Do you think that it's okay for EU legislation to grow at the expense of national legislation? (More power to the EU)

Dutch

-Vind je dat je een Nederlandse identiteit hebt? Waarom?

-Vind je dat je een Europese identiteit hebt? Waarom?

-Zou je je Nederlandse identiteit opgeven voor een sterkere Europese identiteit?

-Denk je dat de grote diversiteit in Europa een probleem is voor het creëren van een Europese identiteit?

-Zou dit op een manier voorkomen kunnen worden? (Europese identiteit op basis van iets anders?)

-Vind je dat je een geschiedenis deelt met andere Europeanen? Voel je je daardoor meer Europees?

-Vind je dat je een cultuur deelt met andere Europeanen? Voel je je daardoor meer Europees?

-Wat vind je van de uitbreiding van de Europese Unie?

-Vind je het oké als het aantal Wetten en Regels van de Europese Unie toeneemt ten koste van de nationale wetgeving? (Meer macht naar de EU)