The future of Europe according to students

A comparative case study on the views of students from Athens, Leeds and Groningen on the EU

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Summary

This bachelor thesis analyses the views of students from Athens, Groningen and Leeds on the European Union (EU) and how their views relate to the general opinion of their respective countries. The reason that students are the main focus point for this research is that there is a research gap on the topic of opinions of students from the EU. The main research question is as follows: *What are the views of students from Groningen, Leeds and Athens on European identity and the future of the European Union and how does this compare to the general national opinion?*

To answer this question, surveys were conducted on students from Athens, Groningen and Leeds. To compare this data with the general opinion a Eurobarometer survey was used. This is a survey which is annually done by the European Commission and which has data of over 1000 respondents per European country. This bachelor thesis presents two maps in which the Eurobarometer data is displayed next to the primary data collected.

The results from the statistical analysis revealed various relations within the data. Students that felt more attached to the EU showed a higher trust and a more positive image of the EU. The second part of the statistical analysis aimed to find reasons and motivations for these students based on descriptive questions within the survey. It was found that the opinions from the student group from Groningen were only influenced by their age, whereas the Leeds student group was influenced by their political orientation.

When the student groups were compared, the students from Groningen felt the most positive about the EU. The Greek students had the lowest amount of trust and the worst image of the EU, but they did foresee a positive future of the EU. This is contradictory with the students from the UK who had a better trust in and a better image of the EU, but did not foresee a positive future of the EU.

These findings resulted in the conclusion that there is a significant difference on different topics between the students that were questioned. The data did not allow for a statistical comparison between the Eurobarometer data and the collected primary data. However, this comparison is made in two maps using percentages instead of a statistical analysis.

Introduction

Background

The European Union was struck hard by the 2008 economic crisis (Fukuyama, 2011). The announcement of Brexit had another major impact on the stability of the Union (Galston, 2016). On the economic spectrum, there have been difficulties with the Banking Union, which hindered European unification (Mayer, 2017). In times like these it is important to look at the future, in order to make predictions and to adapt policies when necessary. Verhaegen et al. (2014) found that support for more European integration is related more to economic benefits than to European identity. Duchesne and Frognier (2008) conducted a research on the relationship between European identity and national identity.

The findings of these studies are based on the views of all European citizens. While this might seem reasonable at first, there are several reasons to change the scope of research. Some examples are the opinions of the youth on the Brexit; if citizens above the age of 50 in the UK had not voted, the Brexit would have been prevented (Dorling, 2016). The study of Eurobarometer (2005) suggests that younger people have a more positive view on Europe. Therefore, it is important that more research on the views of students is conducted. Not only because they appear to have a different opinion on the EU but also because their voice will have an impact for many years to come. Even the future members of the European Parliament will one day be filled with today's students.

To fill this research gap, this research focusses on the views of students on the future of the European Union. It is a case study on students from Groningen (The Netherlands), Leeds (United Kingdom) and Athens (Greece) in which their views will be compared. These cities make an excellent example because they are located in countries that vary greatly. The United Kingdom (UK) is 2th in the EU GDP rankings, Netherlands is 7th and Greece sits at 19th place (International Monetary Fund, 2016). The financial crisis of 2008 and its effects had a major impact on the economy of Greece (Ozturk et al. 2015).

Research problem

The aim of this research is to investigate how students from Groningen, Leeds and Athens think about the future of the EU and whether they have a feeling of European identity. These outcomes will be compared to the general trends in their home country. The main research question will be: *What are the views of students from Groningen, Leeds and Athens on European identity and the future of the European Union and how does this compare to the general national opinion?* The secondary questions that arise out of this question are: (1) *What variables are needed to conclude a view on the future of Europe?* (2) *Are there differences or similarities between the opinions of students and the general opinion? (3) Can possible motivations or reasons be found for the opinions of these students based on statistical analysis?*

Structure of thesis

This thesis starts with an introductory chapter. After this, the theoretical framework will be explained which contains the main relevant literature. In the next chapter, the methodology will be explained and endorsed. The results section of this research, which comes after, is divided into three parts. In the first part, the Eurobarometer data will be compared with the collected primary data on a descriptive level and in maps. In the second section, relations between different variables and possible motivations from students based on statistical analysis will be explained. In the third part, results will be summarized and the research question will be answered. The next chapter will contain the conclusions, placed in a broader framework. This chapter will also include limitations, weaknesses, and recommendations for further research. The last chapter will be used for references.

Theoretical Framework

An increasing amount of data is available on the views of European citizens on the European Union. Annually, various questionnaires are conducted throughout Europe to investigate which opinion citizens have about different topics. Eurobarometer monitors the changes in the way European citizens think about the European Union by conducting approximately 1000 face-to-face interviews in each EU member state (Eurobarometer, 2018). The results of these surveys are published in reports for each country and are available online. In this research, whenever the term 'general opinion' is addressed, it points to the results of the Eurobarometer. The Eurobarometer data will be the main secondary data source for this research and will provide the necessary data on the general public opinion on the EU in the Netherlands, the UK and Greece. There is however criticism on the Eurobarometer data. This data uses the so-called 'Moreno' question. For example, the Moreno question measures European identity in comparison to national identity, which makes it dependent on the national identity (Moreno, 2006). Bruter (2008) is sceptical about 'Moreno' questions. He claims these questions do not fully capture European identity, since it considers national identity as a main part.
Duchesne & Frognier (2008) conducted a research on the relation between national identity and European identity. Based on data from Eurobarometer, they statistically analysed this relation with the Kendall Tau correlation test. They observed a significantly positive relation between national identification and European identification.
Moes (2008) conducted a mixed-methods research on European identity using multilevel regression models and factor analysis on the quantitative part. He discovered a significant negative relation between a person's age and the way they identify with European culture. He also concluded that higher educated people are more likely to identify with Europe, which is an interesting finding and may help in this study. Moes's final statement is that we cannot view national and European identity as two separate phenomena.
Kenig and Spasovski (2017) conducted a qualitative research on the European identity of Macedonian students. They concluded, just like Moes (2008), that national and European identity have strong links and should be studied together.
A lot of research has been carried out on European identity, but the aim of this research is to investigate the European identity of students. Therefore, surveys are conducted among students in Athens, Leeds and Groningen. This survey can be found in the appendix. Surveys are a great tool to elicit people's opinions and attitudes towards social, political, economic or environmental issues (Clifford et al., 2013). Variables that will be concluded in this research are subject of study, rural or urban background, gender, political orientation (left/right), the amount of countries they have visited over the past two years and whether the students have participated in an international exchange programme. These independent variables will be used in the analysis to see if they influence or correlate with a dependent variable.

After these surveys are conducted, the Eurobarometer survey data can be used to compare the opinions of the students to the opinions of the national populations. This can provide insights what students think of the EU, the future of the EU and how their European identity compares to the national opinion of their home country.

Conceptual Model
In the conceptual model below (Figure 1) is shown how the data is collected and analysed. The data will be collected through a survey, which contains the variables in the first and third row of the model. The variables in the first row will be tested using a correlation test. The results of the survey analysis will be combined with the Eurobarometer data and analysed using a Chi-

square test. A Chi-square test can be used to statistically discover whether there is a relation between two groups. The averages of the Netherlands, the UK and Greece will be compared with several of the Eurobarometer questions. This way significant differences between the students and their corresponding population can be established.

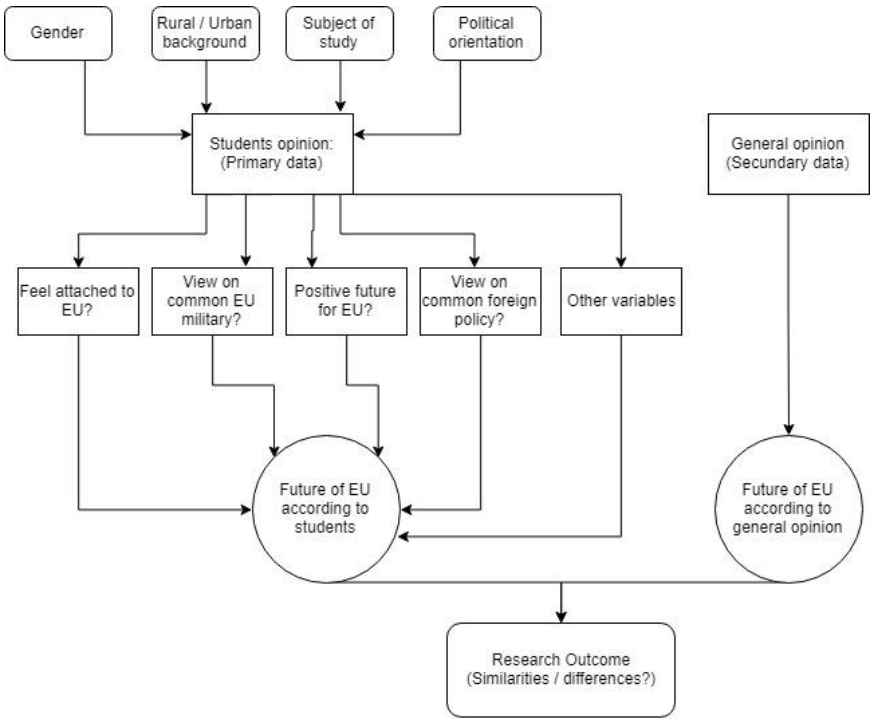


Figure 1: Conceptual Model

Hypotheses

The research Dorling conducted on the Brexit in 2016 already suggested that there are political differences between young and elderly people in the UK. The past has shown similar differences, for example the youth hippie movements in the 60's and the occupy movements in the 2010's. Because of these tendencies in the past, the hypothesis for this study is that students do have a different opinion on the EU compared to elder citizens.

Another hypothesis is that students from Greece, which is a country that has been hit hard by economic crises, are more negative about the EU. This could be caused by the reforms the EU imposed on Greece.

The last hypothesis is that students who have participated in an international exchange programme or have been to multiple other European countries over the last two years feel more connected with the EU than their peers who did not go on an international exchange programme.

Methodology

The research methods used in this study were a statistical analysis based on primary and secondary data sources and analysis based on GIS. To collect the primary data, surveys were conducted on students from Athens, Leeds and Groningen. A survey is a great way to quickly gain access to large amounts of data about people's opinions and attitudes (Clifford et al, 2013). The surveys responses from the students from Athens and Groningen were collected during a one week field trip to Athens. The students that were surveyed in Athens were students from the Panteion University. The students from Leeds that were surveyed were students from the University of Leeds. The survey responses from the students from Groningen were collected on the Zernike campus in Groningen on students from the University of Groningen. When this data was collected, respondents had at all times the right to withdraw from the study. The respondents were informed about the research and what would happen with the data. They were not exposed to any harm when responding to the survey and all surveys are stored anonymously. The secondary data source was the Standard Eurobarometer 87 by the European Commission (2017). This dataset contains a lot of data on a wide variety of questions.

The first statistical method that was used is the Chi-Square test. This Chi-Square test searched for a relation between different answers the students gave. The results from this analysis displayed whether the attachment of a student to the EU is influenced by for example its trust in the EU or the gender of the respondent.

The primary survey data also has great potential for a statistical correlation. With an ordinal logistical regression test, a dependent ordinal variable can be predicted using other independent variables. This analysis provides the possibility to discover correlations within the data. It also makes it possible to investigate the direction and the strength of the relation. The directions and strength can be used to explain the possible relations.

The students will be questioned on different topics, for example their attachment to the EU and their own country, their trust in the EU, whether they are optimistic about the future of the EU and their opinion on several policies.

The quality of the primary data has some limitations. The surveys that were conducted on the students are not representative for students from all over the country nor the city. The surveys conducted on students from Athens were conducted for the most part on a single undergraduate class while 12 surveys were conducted on master students. The surveys on the students from Leeds were all conducted on a class of undergraduates. The surveys on students from Groningen are a bit more representative, since the surveys were conducted on a more diverse population, being students around the University campus.

The second research question: '*Are there differences or similarities between the opinions of students and the general opinion?*' cannot be answered based on statistics using this data. The type of data does not allow for statistical comparison without making too much presumptions. This would blur the quality of the outcomes. Instead, the Eurobarometer data is presented next to the survey data in a descriptive form. This allows for a superficial comparison. Two maps are added to this analysis to clarify.

Results

Descriptive statistics

The data will first be reviewed on a descriptive level, after which statistical analysis will be done. In Table 1, the general results of the surveys are presented next to the Eurobarometer data. Since both questionnaires used the exact same data, interpretation of the data is less complicated. For each of the country's and corresponding student groups, the percentages of *Fairly attached* and *Very attached* are higher amongst students when compared to the national results. The percentages of *Not very attached* and *Not at all attached* are lower amongst students when compared to the results on national level.

Please tell me how attached you feel to the European Union	Greece	Greece Survey	Netherlands	Netherlands Survey	United Kingdom	United Kingdom Survey
TOTAL	**1010**	**56**	**1008**	**57**	**1365**	**43**
Very attached	7%	11%	9%	11%	12%	14%
Fairly attached	26%	43%	38%	51%	32%	44%
Not very attached	37%	29%	38%	32%	32%	30%
Not at all attached	30%	11%	14%	7%	21%	9%
DK	0%	7%	1%	0%	3%	2%

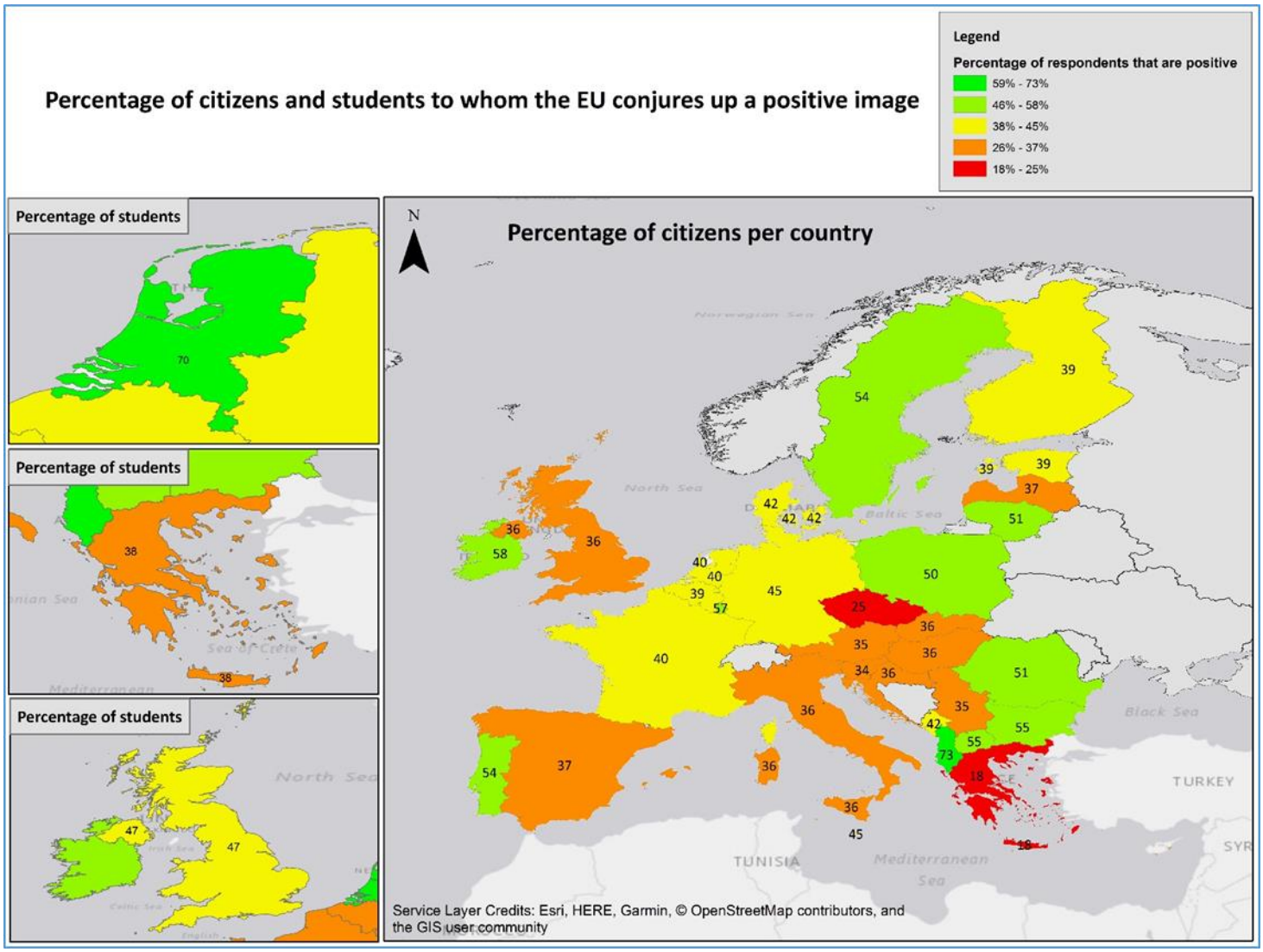
Table 1

The same pattern is visible when investigating Table 2. Overall, students seem to have a more positive image of the EU than the average image of the EU in their country.

In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?	Greece	Greece Survey	Netherlands	Netherlands Survey	United Kingdom	United Kingdom Survey
TOTAL	**1010**	**56**	**1008**	**57**	**1365**	**43**
Very positive	2%	5%	3%	16%	9%	16%
Fairly positive	16%	30%	37%	53%	27%	30%
Neutral	34%	36%	36%	21%	30%	37%
Fairly negative	29%	16%	21%	5%	18%	14%
Very negative	18%	5%	3%	4%	11%	0%
DK	1%	7%	0%	2%	5%	2%

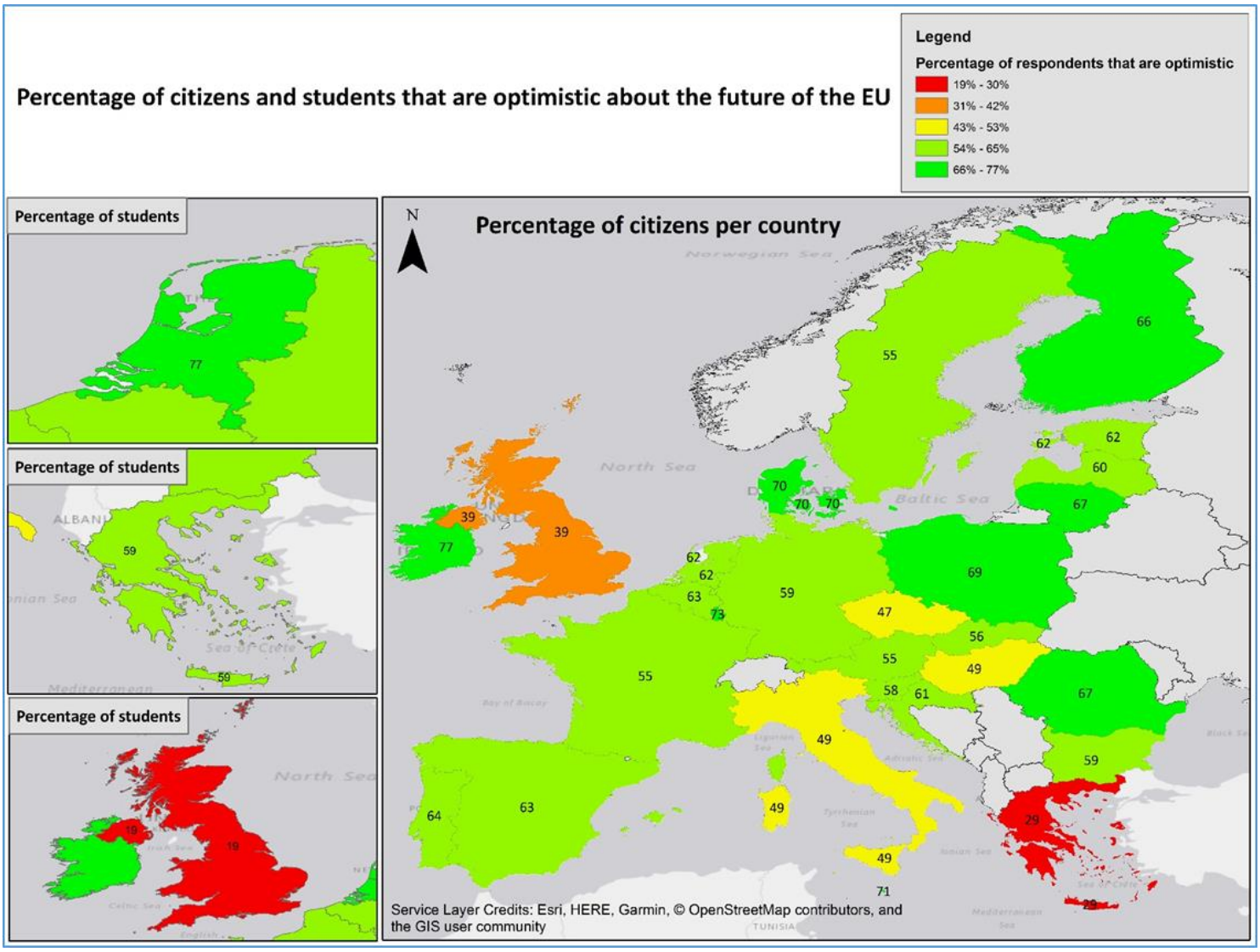
Table 2

The data from the Eurobarometer allows for a geographical analysis. The data consists of answers of every European country on all questions asked. Presenting this data in a map can provide much clarity. In Map 1 below, the percentages of respondents to whom the EU conjured up a positive image are displayed. In the smaller maps on the left hand side the percentage of the students to whom the EU conjured up a positive image are displayed. In this map it is clearly visible that the EU conjures up a positive image to half of the people in North-Western Continental Europe. For the three countries in this case study, it becomes clear that students are more positive than the average general opinions. For the UK, the average opinion is that 36% have a positive image of the EU. For the students this is 47%. For Greece, the average opinion is that 18% have a positive image of the EU, while 38% of the students have a positive image of the EU. The largest discrepancies are in the Netherlands, where 40% of the average opinion has a positive image of the EU, while 70% of the students share this positive image. Albania and Macedonia, both candidate member states of the EU, have amongst the highest scores of the image of the general opinion on the EU.



Map 1

In map 2, the percentage of citizens and students that are optimistic about the future of the EU are displayed. Greek students are a lot more optimistic than the average of their country, as 59% of the students have an optimistic view of the future of the EU whereas this number is 29% for the general opinion. In the UK, students seem to be less optimistic than the average UK citizen. 19% of the students are optimistic while 39% of the UK citizens are optimistic. This is an exception in this research, as most of the times the students are more positive about the EU than the general opinion in their country. In the Netherlands, similar to map 1, students are a lot more optimistic than the average Dutch. There are a lot of countries where the EU does not conjure up a very positive image to the general opinion, but where there is a lot of optimism about the future of the EU. This is the case in for example Finland, where at only 39% of its citizens the EU conjures up a positive image, but 66% is positive about the future of the EU. The same goes for Spain and some Balkan countries.



Map 2

Statistical analysis

To answer the research question, more exploration using statistical analysis was needed. With the use of a Chi-square test, significant results have been identified in the data. A Chi-square test is used to investigate whether two categorical variables are related. The primary data used in this research is suitable for a Chi-square test. The Chi-square test was used to find relations between the variable: 'Attachment to the EU' and other variables. The variables 'Trust in the EU', 'Gender', 'Exchange programme', 'Area of youth' and 'Image of the EU' were tested to see whether there is a relation with the variable 'Attachment to the EU'.

The Chi-Square test for the variables 'Attachment to the EU' and 'Trust in the EU' were statistically significant related for all three student groups. The output from the analysis for Athens is shown in Table 3 below. As presented in the table, the p-value is 0,00 which means it is significant. The tables for the student groups from Groningen and Leeds are presented in Table 4 in the appendix. Based on the output data it is possible to conclude that students from Athens, Groningen and Leeds with a higher trust in the EU also feel more attached to the EU.

Athens Chi-Square Tests Attachment EU * EU Trust					
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,420[a]	1	0,00		
Continuity Correction[b]	15,035	1	0,00		
Likelihood Ratio	18,904	1	0,00		
Fisher's Exact Test				0,00	0,00
Linear-by-Linear Association	17,042	1	0,00		
N of Valid Cases	46				
a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10,04.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Table 3

The variable 'Gender' did not show any significant results when analysed using a Chi-Square test. For all three student groups the p-values were insignificant. It is, based on this data, possible to conclude that there is no relation between a student's gender and their attachment to the EU. Similar results were found when the variables 'Exchange programme' and 'Area of youth' were analysed using the same statistical analysis.

The results of the Chi-square test of the variable 'Image of the EU', suggested that there is a significant relation between a student's Image of the EU and their attachment to it. This is the case for all three of the student groups. These results are presented in Table 5 in the appendix.

Explanatory variables and motivations for students

To find explanatory variables and motivations of the students, an ordinal logistic regression test was conducted. As stated by Norušis (2012) in her book on SPSS: "The SPSS Ordinal Regression procedure, or PLUM (Polytomous Universal Model), is an extension of the general linear model to ordinal categorical data" (p.69). With this analysis, it is possible to make predictions without having to give up on categories by transforming your data to nominal data. This method also eliminates the need to make assumptions by transforming data into interval variables (Norušis, 2012).

Athens

For Athens, the ordinal logistic regression test was insignificant. The p-value exceeded the maximum of 0.05. Based on this dataset, there are no variables that have an impact on the improvement of the model. These results are displayed in Table 6 in the appendix.

Groningen

As presented in table 7 in the Appendix, the p-value of the final model is significant. This means that the final model is an improvement upon the first model. The null-hypothesis, which states that the addition of the predictors does not have an impact, can be rejected. Under the header 'Parameter Estimates', the parameter estimates of the analysis are shown. The only significant parameter is 'Age'. This parameter 'Age' has a positive coefficient, which means that people with a higher age are more likely to have a higher attachment to the EU. The other parameters do not appear to have a significant influence. Since the other parameters were not significant, these are not discussed.

Leeds

Similar to the results of the analysis of the students from Groningen, the p-value of the final model on the data from the Leeds students is significant. This means that the final model is an improvement upon the first model. The null-hypothesis, which states that the addition of the predictors does not have an impact, can be rejected. The only significant parameter is 'Politics'. In this variable, the political orientation of the students is measured on a scale from 1 to 9. The parameter 'Politics' has a positive coefficient, which means that people with a political orientation that is more left oriented are more likely to have a higher attachment to the EU. The other parameters do not appear to have a significant influence. Since the other parameters were not significant, these are not discussed. These findings are presented in Table 8 in the appendix.

Differences in EU identity across student groups

The main question of this research was finding differences between student groups and the national opinion and finding reasons and explanations for these findings. There is however room for another interesting analysis. The primary data is very suitable for comparison between the student groups. Since there are three similar groups, which have answered the same questions, a statistical analysis should be able to investigate similarities or differences. With a Kruskall-Wallis test, one can compare different ordinal variables (Moore, 2005).

The results of the Kruskal-Wallis test of the variable 'Image of the European Union' are presented in table 9 below. The column Mean Rank shows the different ranks of the student groups per country. The higher the mean rank, the better image these students have of the EU. Students from the Netherlands have the most positive image of the EU, followed by the UK and lastly Greece. It can be stated that there are statistically significant differences between the groups since the p-value is smaller than 0,05, namely 0,002.

Ranks			
	Country	N	Mean Rank
7EUImage	Greece	59	65,93
	UK	43	80,56
	Netherlands	57	94,14
	Total	159	

Test Statistics[a,b]	
	7EUImage
Chi-Square	11,99
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	0,002
a. Kruskal Wallis Test	
b. Grouping Variable: Country	

Table 9

The results of the same analysis using the variable 'Trust in the EU' shows similar results. The students from the Netherlands have the most trust in the EU, followed by the UK students and lastly the Greek students. These results are presented in Table 10 in the appendix.

The variable 'Future of the EU' holds data about whether the respondents felt optimistic or pessimistic about the future of the EU. The comparison of the student groups resulted in interesting findings. Contradictory to the ranking in the previous analysis, the Greek students are very high ranked in this analysis. This implies that they are optimistic about the future of the EU. The Dutch students have the highest rank, but are closely followed by the Greek students. The students from the UK have the lowest rank, which implies that they are pessimistic about the future of the EU. The results from this analysis are displayed in Table 11 below.

Ranks			
	Country	N	Mean Rank
9EUFuture	Greece	56	80,2
	UK	43	50,52
	Netherlands	57	97,94
	Total	156	

Test Statistics[a,b]	
	9EUFuture
Chi-Square	32,032
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	0,00
a. Kruskal Wallis Test	
b. Grouping Variable: Country	

Table 11

Summarizing results

Table 1 and 2 gave insights in the distribution of the data. Although these tables have not been statistically analysed, it aids in interpreting the statistical analysis. On every aspect in these tables, the students are more positive and attached to the European Union than the national average of their home country.

The maps provided insight in the distribution of the data across Europe. The additional smaller maps allowed for a descriptive comparison, which displayed big differences across the national averages and the student opinions. It also displayed that some candidate member states have a more positive image than most of the European countries. When comparing the two maps, differences in European countries on different topics became clear. In countries where the image of the EU was not that positive, the citizens were very optimistic about the future of the EU.

The Chi-Square test used in this research revealed that the variable Attachment to the EU was related to two other variables. 'Trust in the EU' and 'Image of the EU' both had a significant relation with this variable for all three of the student groups. This means that students who have a higher attachment to the EU also have more trust in the EU and have a more positive image of the EU.

A way to find possible answers and explanations for the distribution of the data is an ordinal logistic regression. For the student group from Athens, this analysis did not find any significant correlations. For the student group from Groningen, this analysis found that based upon the data gathered the only possible explanatory variable is the age of the respondents. Based on this analysis it is possible to conclude that the higher the age of the respondent in this sample, the more likely they are to have a higher attachment to the European Union. The results from the analysis on the student group from Leeds showed that their political preference can be used to explain their attachment to the EU.

The comparison of the different student groups revealed that there are differences across student groups in different cities. The student group from the Netherlands has the most positive image of the EU. This shows that there are, similar to the results on the national level, big differences across the European Union. The comparison of the variable 'Trust in the EU' showed comparable results. The variable 'Future of the EU', however, presented a different outcome. The students from the UK were the most pessimistic about the future of the EU, while the Greek and Dutch students showed a lot of optimism.

Conclusion

This research has given insight in the world of students around Europe and the way they perceive the European Union. The study of the Eurobarometer (2005) stated that younger people had a more positive view of Europe. Adding this to the problems the European Union is facing, for example the Brexit (Dorling, 2016) and the difficulties with the Banking Union (Mayer, 2017), the aim of this study becomes even more relevant.

In this study, surveys were conducted on students from Athens, Groningen and Leeds. In these surveys, the students were asked about their views on the EU and its future. The data from this survey was used to investigate whether there is a relation between their answers and similarities across these student groups. This data is also compared to the Eurobarometer data on a descriptive level.

The table with descriptive statistics at the beginning of the Results section highlighted the differences between the general opinion and the student opinion. At first sight, it seemed that the students were more pro-European than the average of the people in their home country. The statistical analysis in this research substantiated this. Students from all three student groups who felt more attached to the EU also had more trust in the EU. This is an interesting result since having trust in something does not naturally imply more attachment to it. The students who felt more attached to the EU also had a more positive image of the EU. This also applied to all three of the student groups. An interesting question that arises is whether this image is more positive because they feel more attached or whether they feel more attached because they have a more positive image. Questions like these can be the outset of subsequent research.

An ordinal logistic regression test is used to explain the relation between a dependent ordinal variable and independent ordinal variables. The results from the Groningen student group indicated a positive relation with the variable ‘Age’. This would suggest that elder students feel more attached to the EU. This is, however, not a premise that can be made, since this could also be caused by a relationship between the variable ‘Age’ and another variable. The ordinal regression test on the data of the students from Leeds revealed a relation between the attachment of students and their political orientation. Left orientated students seemed to feel, based on the results of this analysis, more attached to the EU than their right orientated peers. This is, just as the assumption about the Dutch students, something that is not statistically substantiated. Additional data exploration is needed on this topic to clarify these still shrouded areas of this research. The ordinal logistic regression of the students from Greece was not statistically significant. A possible explanation for this insignificance is the large amount of students from Greece who answered ‘Don’t know’ to many survey questions.

The differences between the three student groups provided some interesting insights as well. Although all student groups disagree with the general opinion of their home country at most points, their opinions all seem to differ from each other as well. There is no unified student opinion, which might be a predictor for future differences between countries. This also complies with the results of Petithomme (2008), who found large differences between various EU countries on the topic of European identity. When students were asked about their opinion on the future of the EU, the UK students were the least positive. This might very well have something to do with Brexit. Interestingly enough, the Greek students were positive about the future of the EU. This is, based on their low trust and pessimistic image of the EU, a surprising outcome. The combined results from these different analyses can deliver a coherent answer to the research question as it answers all its components.

Limitations and recommendations

Although the analyses that have been done were valid and precise, some weaknesses can be found in the data. The primary data was gathered on specific classes of students. These classes don't represent all students from that single university, nor do they represent the students from the whole country. This research can thus be improved by collecting data that is representative for all students from a certain country.

The type of data that was gathered could also be improved. By using the same set of questions that were used in the Eurobarometer, the comparative analysis could become more precise. Although this appeared to be positive at the start of this research, it became apparent that this was a limitation. The Eurobarometer data is all measured ordinal, which eliminates the use of precise statistical analysis. Improvements in the questions for both the population and the student group could enhance the achievability of precise statistical analysis and thus the quality of results.

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Appendix

Leeds Chi-Square Tests Attachment EU * EU Trust					
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,465[a]	1	0,035		
Continuity Correction[b]	2,985	1	0,084		
Likelihood Ratio	4,467	1	0,035		
Fisher's Exact Test				0,056	0,042
Linear-by-Linear Association	4,321	1	0,038		
N of Valid Cases	31				
a. 1 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,26.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Groningen Chi-Square Tests Attachment EU * EU Trust					
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,647[a]	1	0,002		
Continuity Correction[b]	7,357	1	0,007		
Likelihood Ratio	9,865	1	0,002		
Fisher's Exact Test				0,003	0,003
Linear-by-Linear Association	9,472	1	0,002		
N of Valid Cases	55				
a. 2 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,05.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

*Table 4: Chi-Square tests Attachment EU * Image EU*

Athens Chi-Square Tests Attachment EU * EU Image			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11,270[a]	4	0,024
Likelihood Ratio	13,285	4	0,01
Linear-by-Linear Association	8,163	1	0,004
N of Valid Cases	50		
a. 5 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,88.			

Leeds Chi-Square Tests Attachment EU * EU Image			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16,809[a]	3	0,001
Likelihood Ratio	20,208	3	0
Linear-by-Linear Association	13,005	1	0
N of Valid Cases	41		
a. 4 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,34.			

Groningen Chi-Square Tests Attachment EU * EU Image			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,932[a]	4	0,001
Likelihood Ratio	19,943	4	0,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	15,956	1	0
N of Valid Cases	56		
a. 6 cells (60,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,75.			

*Table 5: Chi-Square tests Attachment EU * Image EU*

Case Processing Summary

		N	Marginal Percentage
3AttEU	1	6	12,20%
	2	15	30,60%
	3	22	44,90%
	4	6	12,20%
14Gender	0	18	36,70%
	1	31	63,30%
15AreaYouth	0	38	77,60%
	1	11	22,40%
18Exchange	0	45	91,80%
	1	4	8,20%
Valid		49	100,00%
Missing		7	
Total		56	

Pseudo R-

Cox and Snell	0,189
Nagelkerke	0,206
McFadden	0,085

Link function: Logit.

Model Fitting Information

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	118,376			
Final	108,117	10,259	6	0,114

Link function: Logit.

Goodness-of-Fit

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	131,883	126	0,342
Deviance	105,344	126	0,909

Link function: Logit.

Parameter Estimates

		Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
							Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Threshold	[@3AttEU = 1]	-2,605	2,109	1,527	1	0,217	-6,738	1,528
	[@3AttEU = 2]	-0,661	2,074	0,101	1	0,75	-4,725	3,404
	[@3AttEU = 3]	1,932	2,094	0,851	1	0,356	-2,173	6,037
Location	@13Age	-0,106	0,08	1,73	1	0,188	-0,263	0,052
	@16Politics	0,28	0,143	3,825	1	0,05	-0,001	0,56
	@17EUVisits	0,403	0,23	3,057	1	0,08	-0,049	0,854
	[@14Gender=0]	0,075	0,574	0,017	1	0,896	-1,051	1,201
	[@14Gender=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
	[@15AreaYouth=0]	-0,439	0,677	0,421	1	0,516	-1,765	0,887
	[@15AreaYouth=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
	[@18Exchange=0]	0,432	0,988	0,191	1	0,662	-1,504	2,368
	[@18Exchange=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.

Link function: Logit.

a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Table 6 Ordinal Regression Athens

Case Processing Summary

		N	Marginal Percentage
3AttEU	1	4	7,00%
	2	18	31,60%
	3	29	50,90%
	4	6	10,50%
14Gender	0	24	42,10%
	1	33	57,90%
15AreaYouth	0	33	57,90%
	1	24	42,10%
18Exchange	0	43	75,40%
	1	14	24,60%
Valid		57	100,00%
Missing		0	
Total		57	

Pseudo R-

Cox and Snell	0,248
Nagelkerke	0,277
McFadden	0,126

Link function: Logit.

Model Fitting Information

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	128,96			
Final	112,692	16,268	6	0,012

Link function: Logit.

Goodness-of-Fit

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	166,241	159	0,331
Deviance	112,692	159	0,998

Link function: Logit.

Parameter Estimates

		Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
							Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Threshold	[@3AttEU = 1]	4,622	3,493	1,751	1	0,186	-2,224	11,469
	[@3AttEU = 2]	7,151	3,544	4,072	1	0,044	0,205	14,098
	[@3AttEU = 3]	10,321	3,7	7,783	1	0,005	3,07	17,572
Location	@13Age	0,361	0,141	6,514	1	0,011	0,084	0,638
	@16Politics	-0,218	0,156	1,963	1	0,161	-0,524	0,087
	@17EUVisits	0,186	0,098	3,55	1	0,06	-0,007	0,379
	[@14Gender=0]	-0,175	0,61	0,083	1	0,774	-1,371	1,02
	[@14Gender=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
	[@15AreaYouth=0]	-0,244	0,583	0,175	1	0,676	-1,387	0,899
	[@15AreaYouth=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
	[@18Exchange=0]	-0,26	0,622	0,175	1	0,676	-1,48	0,96
	[@18Exchange=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.

Link function: Logit.

a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Table 7 Ordinal Regression Groningen

Case Processing Summary			
		N	Marginal Percentage
3AttEU	1	4	9,80%
	2	12	29,30%
	3	19	46,30%
	4	6	14,60%
14Gender	0	18	43,90%
	1	23	56,10%
15AreaYouth	0	25	61,00%
	1	16	39,00%
18Exchange	0	33	80,50%
	1	8	19,50%
Valid		41	100,00%
Missing		2	
Total		43	

Pseudo R-	
Cox and Snell	0,276
Nagelkerke	0,302
McFadden	0,132
Link function: Logit.	

Model Fitting Information				
Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	99,009			
Final	85,79	13,218	6	0,04
Link function: Logit.				

Goodness-of-Fit			
	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	112,148	108	0,373
Deviance	84,404	108	0,955
Link function: Logit.			

Parameter Estimates								
		Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
							Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Threshold	[@3AttEU = 1]	-11,81	10,748	1,207	1	0,272	-32,877	9,256
	[@3AttEU = 2]	-9,655	10,654	0,821	1	0,365	-30,537	11,227
	[@3AttEU = 3]	-6,909	10,631	0,422	1	0,516	-27,746	13,929
Location	@13Age	-0,313	0,477	0,429	1	0,512	-1,248	0,623
	@16Politics	-0,476	0,199	5,711	1	0,017	-0,866	-0,086
	@17EUVisits	0,008	0,117	0,004	1	0,947	-0,222	0,238
	[@14Gender=0]	0,627	0,667	0,884	1	0,347	-0,68	1,935
	[@14Gender=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
	[@15AreaYouth=0]	-0,145	0,65	0,05	1	0,824	-1,418	1,129
	[@15AreaYouth=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
	[@18Exchange=0]	-0,691	0,852	0,657	1	0,418	-2,36	0,979
	[@18Exchange=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
Link function: Logit.								
a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.								

Table 8 Ordinal Regression Leeds

Ranks			
	Country	N	Mean Rank
8EUTrust	Greece	49	55,81
	UK	32	67,13
	Netherlands	55	80,61
	Total	136	

Test Statistics[a,b]	
	8EUTrust
Chi-Square	15,714
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	0,00
a. Kruskal Wallis Test	
b. Grouping Variable: Country	

Table 10: Kruskal Wallis test 'Trust in the EU'

Questionnaire

Hello,

My name is Bart Roelofs and I am a student from the University of Groningen (NL). I am doing research on the European Identity of students from Athens, Leeds and Groningen. I would like to ask you a few questions. Your answers will be anonymous and not used in anything besides this research.

What country do you consider your home country?

…….

People may feel different degrees of attachment to their town or village, to their region, to their country or to Europe. Please tell me how attached you feel to…

Your home country

Not at all attached Not very attached Fairly attached Very attached

Don't Know

The European Union

Not at all attached Not very attached Fairly attached Very attached

Don't Know

To which geographic group do you feel you belong the most? (please select one)

My locality or town My region My country Europe World as a whole

To which geographic group do you feel you belong (second) most? (*second*, after the response above - please select one)

My locality or town My region My country Europe World as a whole

Do you ever think of yourself as not only (nationality), but also European? Does this happen often, sometimes or never?

Often Sometimes Never Don't know

In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?

Very Negative Fairly Negative Neutral Fairly Positive Very Positive

Don't Know

I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in The European Union. Please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

Tend not to Trust Tend to Trust Don't Know

Would you say that you are very optimistic, fairly optimistic, fairly pessimistic or very pessimistic about the future of the EU?

Very pessimistic Fairly pessimistic Fairly Optimistic Very Optimistic

Don't Know

What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it:

A common foreign policy of the 28 Member States of the EU

For Against Don't Know

A common defence and security policy among EU Member States

For Against Don't Know

Further enlargement of the EU to include other countries in future years

For Against Don't Know

And some final questions:

What is your age?

…….

What is your gender:

Male Female Other

Which of the following best describes the area you grew up in:

Urban Rural

What is your political orientation:

Left 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 **Right**

How many (<u>and which</u>) countries in the European Union have you visited the last two years? (Exclude your home country)

……

Have you ever participated in an international student exchange programme? For example Eramus or Marco Polo

Yes No

Thank you very much for participating.