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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL FIELDS AS A SOURCE OF EUROPEAN IDENTIFICATION

Tea Golob¹, Matej Makarovič²,

Abstract

The issue of European identity has been a topic of various political and academic discourses, which nonetheless narrate more about the functioning of particular institutions, integration projects or cultural politics on national or supranational levels, than the European identity itself. The article attempts to recognise, which factors influence the social processes enabling identifications with European space and who can participate in them. It is argued that the intensity of identifications on the European level depends significantly on the participation in European transnational social fields, where symbolic capital, embracing social and cultural capital, substantially influences the existence of European (transnational) habitus and accordingly the identifications. The most significant result of the analysis thus lies in the relationship between the structural properties in terms of what the people are and practices in terms of what they do within the (transnational) social fields and how are both related to the European identification. Applying binary logistic regression analyses to the survey data from all EU member states provides evidence that the practices within the transnational social fields do contribute to the European identification.

Keywords: European Union, European identification, transnational social fields, social practices

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The existence of European identity has inspired a myriad of academic, professional and political contributions on the topic. It is a complex and ambiguous issue denoting multiple levels of perceptions of the European space as geographic and imagined territory on the one hand, and European Union as a political and social entity on the other. Accordingly, it can be tackled from different angles, which entail exploration of various historical, economic, political and social contexts influencing its construction. Important perspective lens, which seem to consider ambivalent ideas of European identity, distinguish at the first instance between the identity as political projects and as social processes (Checkel in Katzenstein, 2009). An escalating interest in European identity certainly coincided with concerns of the architects of the European Union, which failed to build the foundations for a cohesive European demos. The role of common European history, heritage and culture as crucial ingredients of European identity has thus become tightly knitted with the project of more successful integration. The essentialist ideas of European Union as the imagined community based on national conceptual roots or more recent cosmopolitan ideas seeing Europe as diversity of cultures (Mokre, 2007) are certainly a most interesting topic to examine. Nevertheless, those examinations narrate more about the work of particular institutions, integration projects or cultural politics on national or supranational levels, than the European identity itself. While there is undoubtedly a social category of national collective identity, we believe that no such thing exists on the European level. There are many, but still rather ambiguous, reasons for the latter. One can recognise particular social processes on supranational level enabling identifications with the European Union and common European space but as some scholars argue, those processes are supposed to be limited to certain social groups. As Pichler illustrates in his paper, "Europe and European identity are clearly perceived as options among the better off" (2008a: 392). Beside that, identity as something representative of late-modernity or postmodernism is in itself extremely dynamic, variable, never entirely formulated and therefore evasive. According to Zygmunt Baumann, this realisation strongly opposes the modern age that constantly tends to construct a fixed identity and makes great efforts to keep it within clearly defined boundaries (Baumann, 1992). Identities are sources of meaning for the actors themselves, and by themselves, constructed through the process of individuation and self-construction (Castells, 1997, 6-7). Therefore, it seems to be more

appropriate to talk about identification as a process of constant (self)-recognition rather than about an identity as a static “property of the individual” (Hall and Du Gay, 2000, 16). In order to understand social realities of contemporary society, one needs to focus more on action and interaction than just on feelings of belonging and belief (Petithomme, 2008). In that light, we attempt to recognise which factors have actual influence on the social processes enabling identifications with European space and who can participate in them. We ensue from the presumption that a crucial role is played by actual daily or regular practices and activities on the European level. As Favell argues, being European is as much likely to be about this, as it is about shopping across borders, buying property abroad, handling a common currency, looking for work in a foreign city, taking holidays in new countries, buying cheap airline tickets, planning international rail travel, joining cross-national associations. What seems to be important are actions facilitated by the European free movement accords (Favell, 2005: 1113). This thesis, however, lacks empirical testing. Therefore, with empirical findings we intend to substantiate those prepositions and theoretically enriched ideas of European identification within a framework of transnational social fields, which can offer a deeper understanding of the issue. Our main goals herein are:

- To explain that the exploration of identification in a contemporary world demands different perspective lens as it was assumed before, since increasing global flows of ideas, and popular culture, money and employment coinciding with a changes in communications, have transformed traditional, positional view on identities.
- To recognise the factors influencing identifications on the European level, while ensuing from the important role of everyday practices and activities on supranational instance.
- To evaluate the meaning of transnational social fields in that context that insinuate on the existence of the European habitus. The latter reflects the role of various social fields (national and transnational) in the construction of European identities, and highlights the ideas of situated inter subjectivity (Bottero, 2010).

We argue that the intensity of identifications on the European level depends on the participation in European (transnational) social fields.

Particular symbolic capital, embracing social and cultural capital, have a substantial influence on the existence of European (transnational) habitus and accordingly on the identifications.

From identity to identification

Identifications with the European Union illustrate the changing conditions of (post)modern world, resulting on global, national and local level. It is beyond doubt that global processes caused by technological development and mass media have significantly changed certain aspects of people's everyday life. New views on people and the world they live in have come to the fore. It has become widely recognised that social and cultural processes regularly exceed boundaries of nation-states, and thus enable cultural circulation, identification and action (Kearney, 1995; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Appadurai, 1996; Crang et al., 2003). Social transformations conditioned by global processes, which connect different regions of the world through trade and labour exchange, as international laws and organisations, and rapidly advancing transportation and communication technology have enabled new perspectives on space detached from local places. Global processes denote simultaneous connections of people from different parts of the globe comprising various activities, individuals and their identifications. Limitations of social time and geographical places, as a key coordinates of modern social life, do not pose insurmountable obstacles to various forms of social interactions and organisations anymore (Held and McGrew, 2003: 3). Social life is increasingly seen as constituted by the material world, which reflects new distinguishing connections enabling and providing new mobilities (Urry, 2003: 122). The intensity of global connections and interactions and their everyday presence in social reality certainly have a great impact to the meaning of nation states and they therefore influence national identities. Rapidly advancing transportation and communication technology have contributed to ideas of imagined communities exceeding national borders, while visual images and popular culture complements the role of the language in constituting the communities. As Anderson (1983) postulated, language and printed media established national and cultural boundaries to a large extent, while nowadays especially rapid internet connections may redefine them or perhaps even offer some new elements of identifications. Therefore, new perspectives considering individuals and their attachments to territories have come to the fore

(Hannerz, 1996). The latter does not mean that territory has become irrelevant; nonetheless under global conditions it has become re-imagined and situated into global context (Held in McGrew, 2003:8). New intersections have emerged between national units and their actors on the one side and transnational actors, identities, social spaces and situations on the other side (Rek, 2006: 47).

A flow of goods, people, and services across national borders and geographic regions present a complex set of conditions that affect construction, negotiation and reproduction of identities. These identities play out and position individuals in the course of their everyday life within and across each of their places of attachment or perceived belonging (Vertovec, 2001). In order to encompass global, transnational, and translocal spatial transformations produced by the economy of a late capitalism, focusing on people on the move, the concept of transnational or global space has come to the fore (Low and Zúñiga, 2003: 23-25). Transnational social spaces present a complex set of conditions that affect construction, negotiation and reproduction of identities. Taking into consideration that each habitat or locality represents a range of identity-conditioning factors, the experiences gathered in multiple habitats enable the construction of multiple identities (Hannerz, 1996).

The concept of multiple identities is nevertheless a contested one. One needs to consider that it has taken an exquisite position also in the European cultural and integration political projects, as an appropriate explanation for European identities as a supplement identity to national ones, but nonetheless without any substantial explanation (Sassateli, 2002). Assuming harmonic coexistence of national and European identities does not embrace a complex relation of individuals to the European space and the European Unity. Contemporary social processes enable high heterogeneity of social networks, which can emerge as a consequence of the attachment of individual to the European space or vice versa: it influences these attachments. We argue that mutual interactions among individuals or social groups contribute to the existence of multiple identifications, which also include an element of Europeaness. Those identifications emerge from the actual social practices, which individuals choose to perform, and expect some sort of benefits from them. They do not necessarily emotionally belong to the European Union, but regular movement in European

physical and cognitive space increasingly contributes to their attachments to the European Union. Accordingly, individuals' perception of the unity and construction of their identities gradually changes in terms of being Europeans to a much greater extent.

In order to understand the constructions of European identities, we consider identifications in a transnational context, seeing them as a result of participation in supra-national or transnational social fields. We ensue from the conceptualisation of social fields as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977), but we predominantly deploy a further elaboration of the notion as suggested by Baschet. al. (1994). They define transnational social fields as a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships, through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organised and transformed. The participation in European transnational social fields is certainly conditioned by the participation in other fields that disposes them to a particular lifestyle, or a way of living associated with the particular social group from which they derive. The individual has to possess particular economic and symbolic resources which 'open the gate' to transnational fields. As it was written elsewhere, socio-structural elements certainly hold an impact on the identification processes with Europe (Petithomme, 2008; Pichler, 2008a; Fligstein, 2009). We argue that particular social fields could provide individuals with resources enabling them to implement social practices that help them to attach to the European space. Their participation in transnational social fields does not necessarily mean that they will identify with the European Union but it makes the identification significantly more likely. Transnational fields should be considered as sites of resistance, implying a higher level of agency (Guarnizo, 1998; Low and Zúñiga, 2004). The conceptualisation of transnational social fields suggested by Lewitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) highlights the difference between the ways of being as opposed to the ways of belonging. The former refers to actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to identities associated with their action. Social fields comprise institutions, organisations and experiences that generate categories of identities that are ascribed to or chosen by individuals or groups. On the other hand, ways of belonging refer to the practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. Individuals within transnational social fields combine both ways differently in specific

context (Lewitt and Glick Schiller, 2004: 10-11). This could explain why national identity does not endanger the European one. Individuals are able to choose whether to be European or not, but certain conditions have to be fulfilled. Transnational social spaces should be thus considered as multi-dimensional, encompassing structured interactions of differing forms (Basch et al., 1994; Lewitt and Glick Schiller, 2004), involving individuals' active production of social space exceeding national borders (Low and Zúñiga, 2003). Interpersonal interactions among individuals and groups within transnational social networks can influence the existence of European habitus acting as a result of dialectical relationship between individuals' actions and intersubjective consideration of their actions. As Bottero argues, in order to understand contemporary identifications, we have to take into account the dialectic relationship between the reflexive, collective and dispositional components of the identification processes. Therefore, in the efforts to explore European identifications, it is important to consider "the intersubjective nature of practice, and the concrete 'calls to order' that arise from networks of variously disposed agents, whose actions must be accounted for, negotiated and aligned" (Bottero, 2010: 20).

National social fields are limited by national borders, while transnational social fields connect actors through direct and indirect relations across borders (Lewitt and Glick Schiller, 2004: 9). But as we mentioned before, particular national social fields determine the individuals' possibility and ways of participating in transnational ones. As Fligstein argues, not everyone is likely to adopt a European identity, but those who tend to be specific strata of a society: managers, professionals, white-collar workers, educated people and young people (2009: 133).

We assume that the major factors influencing European identification include:

- Economic development of the state and an economic status of individual may therefore be an important factor in identifications on European level. Economic development and economic resources have a great impact on social stratification and thus influence on individual's ability to participate in transnational social fields. Focusing on actual social practices on the European level, such as traveling, shopping, buying property abroad, certain material resources seem to be crucial.

- Another indicator presumed to be important herein is gender. In his study on social structural differences and identification with Europe, Pichler argues that subordinated role of women in European political, economy and culture influence their much weaker identification with Europe comparing to males (2008a: 384). Women still occupy more traditional positions and have more traditional roles in society than men (McNay, 1999).

Taking into account social-structural-differences, age of individuals might be an important indicator as well. We intend to include the indicator in our empirical research, presuming that younger people can be more involved in social practices on European level. Nevertheless, there may also be some factors influencing the identification, that are related to older generations, for instance going abroad after retirement, buying property abroad, taking holidays.

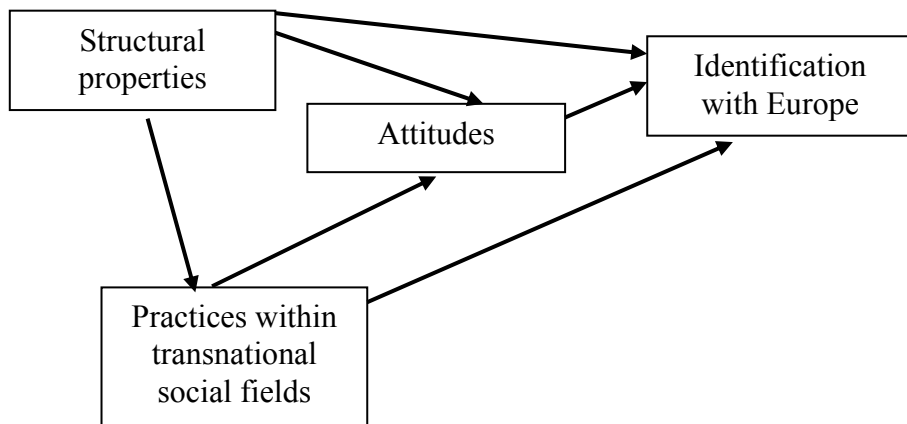
We expect cognitive mobilisation to be much more important than age in identifications with European Union. We presume that education can be considered as a proxy indicator of cognitive mobilisation. More educated people occupy a better position in social ladder, have a better occupation, a better economic situation, and have better prepositions to participate in social practices on the European level. Education is also an important factor in the emerging transnational civil society or transnational citizenship. Knowledge about European civil rights, political institutions and projects can influence political motivation, participation and civil competence (Fuchs and Schlenker, 2006). Beside that, more educated individuals are more likely to have a particular cultural capital, which influences their perception and position in social fields. The latter is tightly knitted with another important aspect, we assume to confirm, i.e. cosmopolitan, open-minded world view.

As Thorpe argues, individuals entering fields oriented to Europe possess a particular cultural capital comprising experiences of European travel, knowledge about European cultural form and practices (2008: 502). Therefore, openness of society and individuals are important factors influencing the identifications on the European level. It can contribute to the decision to participate in transnational social fields, while participation also increases the cosmopolitan view.

Testing the impact on European identification: structure, attitudes and transnational social fields

The typical factors that are supposed to influence individual's European identification can be summarised into three major categories of indicators, namely (1) the structural properties of the individual's social status such as her or his gender, age, education, income; (2) attitudes towards one's nation, cosmopolitanism, Europe and its institutions, which may also be related to some more general attitudes and basic values; and (3) the actual practices within the transnational social fields. While structural properties can be mostly considered as an independent variable within this conceptual framework, attitudes and practices are supposed to have the intervening role influencing the level of identification with Europe. Although, in fact, the causation is more complicated since the attitudes (and some underlying basic values in particular), for instance also have a significant impact on social practices and, indirectly, even status properties, our hypothetical model is simplified to focus only on the causation resulting in European identifications – as the central point of our interest in this paper (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: A hypothetical model of the categories influencing the European identification



Fligstein (2009) has mostly focused on the impact of structural properties, including gender, age at school completion, income, age, occupation, country of living in his logit regression model. The only attitude aspect he included together with this structural dimension was individuals' self-positioning at the left-right scale. His model thus mostly lacks most of the values-attitudes category and does not deal at all with the impact of practices in the super-national fields.

Mostly the same can be argued concerning the research of Pichler who has also examined only the structural categories, which were analysed versus logit regression analysis, including gender, age, education, domicile in terms of rural or urban environment and social class in terms of occupational categories. (Pichler, 2008a). In an earlier study he investigated some of the attitudes related to the European identification noting the identifying the cultural and political aspects of European identification through both exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses (Pichler, 2008b).

Unlike Fligstein and Pichler, we intend to combine more categories within a single model to observe their relative relevance. For the purpose of this paper, we do not make a distinction between the independent and intervening categories of variables. Instead we have chosen to focus on

the relative impact of the selected variables to the dependent variable of European identification using the binary logistic regression model.

First, we have used the dataset from the European Values Study 2008 (EVS, 2010). As the proxy indicator for European identification we have applied the combination of the questions, to which geographical group a respondent belongs first of all and to which she or he belongs secondly – selecting in both cases between locality or town, region, country, Europe and the world as a whole. The respondents who selected Europe either under the first or under the second question have been classified as identifying with Europe. Our regression model has thus been formally based on predicting the probability of identifying with Europe. Obviously, our ambition has not been to develop a complete predicting model, since we are aware that the issue is too complex to be explained mostly by a few variables included in the survey but only to observe the relative impact of particular independent variables.

From the European Values Study dataset we have selected the following variables as approximate indicators of our three dimensions for which we hypothesise to have relevant impact on the European identification: The structural properties consist of gender, age, education (in terms of the distinction between those with tertiary education and the rest), monthly income and the occupational status in terms of distinction between large employers, managers and professionals on the one hand and the rest on the other.

The attitudes category includes:

- some basic value orientations that can be implied from the answers to the questions on the qualities children should be encouraged to learn at home; we have assumed that selecting obedience reflects some typical traditional values, selecting work and responsibility classical modern values, while independence and tolerance may imply postmodern values;
- a general political orientation expressed in terms of self-placement on the left-right continuum, which we have decided to include in the model mostly to enable a comparison with the findings of Fligstein(2009);

- the attitudes towards cosmopolitanism, national identity and the foreigners expressed by one's concern how people live all around the world, the level of national pride, and the reluctance to accept the members of different races, immigrants and Muslims as one's neighbors;
- the concrete attitudes towards the EU including the fear of losing the national identity and culture because of the EU and the confidence towards the European Union and the concern for how people live in Europe.

The practices in the transnational fields are almost absent from the European Values Study. The closest – but still rather questionable – approximation can be found in the questions on some particular non-governmental organisations for which we can assume to be engaged in the rather transnational and cosmopolitan issues. We have thus included the belonging to and working voluntarily for the associations dealing with the development of the Third World and human rights, professional associations and peace movement. Additionally, we have also included the questions whether a respondent belongs and works for none of the civil society associations listed in the EVS 2008.

Applying the logistic regression with the backward conditional method in Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software has generated the final model presented in Table 1.

The explanatory (predictive) power of the model remains rather limited, since Nagelkerke R square only equals 11.1 per cent. The value of the model, however, is in the insights provided about the relations between particular variables to the European identification.

Within the structural category of variables, women, as hypothesised and confirmed by research of Fligstein (2009) and Pichler (2008a) tend to identify with Europe significantly less than men. The same is true for older people though the relationship is less intensive. Occupational position turns to be another significant aspect, since large owners, managers and professionals identify with Europe more than the rest. It may be argued that this is at least to some extent related of greater activity of the people with these occupations within the transnational social fields. Cultural capital expressed through the structural dimension

of education turns out to have significant positive effects on identifying with Europe as well. Among the structural properties included in the initial model, only monthly income has turned out to have no independent effect and has thus been omitted from the final model.

Table 1: Binary logistic regression for European identification based on the European Values Study, 2008

Variables in the Equation		B	S.E.	Sig.
Step 8(a)	Belonging to the Third World development and human rights groups	0.267	0.106	0.012
	Belonging to no NGO/movement	-0.105	0.050	0.035
	Working for peace movement	0.531	0.285	0.063
	Refusing muslims as neighbours	-0.376	0.075	0.000
	Having confidence in EU	0.421	0.032	0.000
	Concerned about Europeans	0.107	0.033	0.001
	Concerned about humanity	0.072	0.031	0.018
	Having tertiary education	0.185	0.059	0.002
	Being proud to his/her nation	-0.230	0.032	0.000
	Fearing losing national identity and culture because of EU	-0.100	0.008	0.000
	Gender: Female	-0.246	0.048	0.000
	Age	-0.007	0.001	0.000
	Occupation: large employer. manager. Professional	0.476	0.057	0.000
	Children should learn independence	0.110	0.049	0.025
	Children should learn to work	0.104	0.050	0.037
	Children should learn obedience	-0.151	0.062	0.015
	Constant	-1.721	0.183	0.000

Source: EVS, 2010, own calculations.

Some basic value orientation turned out to be significant as well. Traditional values as manifested by the emphasis on obedience contribute negatively to the European identification. On the other hand, the more modern concept of work and independence as an example of a post-modern (in the sense of Inglehart, 1997) or late modern values of individualisation (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) are positively related to European identification. Political orientations in terms of left-right placement turn out to have no significant effect. Concerns for how

people in the world live are also positively related to European identification as manifestations of cosmopolitan value orientation. In a similar way, the rejection of having Muslims as neighbours is negatively related to the dependent variable. There is also some negative connection with the national pride. Very strong national feelings thus do not seem to be entirely compatible with high probabilities of European identification.ⁱ Among the concrete attitudes towards Europe being concerned with how Europeans live and having confidence to the European Union are positively related to European identification, while this relationship is negative with the fears of losing national identity and culture because of the EU. The results are thus rather close to what could have been expected. They also do not contradict the previous findings.

On the other hand, it is questionable whether we can conclude anything from the EVS data on the participation within the transnational social fields. Working for peace movements and belonging to the Third World development and human rights organisations is also positively related to European identification while belonging to no NGO or movement is negatively related to it. However the former does not necessarily indicate the actual inclusion into transnational social fields but only the individual's cosmopolitan values and attitudes. On the other hand, there may also be many more individuals that are regularly active in transnational social fields without being (active) members of peace movements, human rights and third world development groups. As far as these transnational practices are concerned one should look for better indicators for these particular aspects, which cannot be found in the EVS survey.

Consequently, we have applied the data from the Eurobarometer 73.4 survey from 2010 (European Commission 2010). Although this dataset includes less indicators dealing with general human values and attitudes than the EVS, it provides some useful insights into human practices within the transnational social fields. Following our basic categorisation, the following categories of variables have been selected:

The structural properties have included gender, age, education (whether a person had been 20 or more years when finishing his/her education as an Eurobarometer proxy indicator of having at least some postsecondary

or tertiary education) and occupational status in terms of distinction between managers and professionals on the one hand and the rest on the other. Unfortunately, there has been no proper measure of person's income available.

The attitudes category for Eurobarometer provides a more limited selection than in the case of EVS: therefore, we have not been able to include some general attitudes concerning cosmopolitanism, nationalism etc. We have thus included:

- a general political orientation expressed in terms of self-placement on the left-right continuum;
- the concrete attitudes towards the EU including the perception of the EU image; trust in the European Union; trust in the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, respect for one's country's interest within the EU; the issues whether globalisation requires common global rules ('worldwide governance'), whether the EU has sufficient power and tools to defend economic interests in the global economy, and whether it helps to protect the European citizens from the negative effects of globalisation; and being familiar with EU citizens' rights

The practices in the transnational fields could be inferred from the questions on visiting other EU countries; reading books, newspapers and magazines in languages other than one's mother tongue; socializing with people from another EU country; watching TV programmes in tongue other than one's mother tongue; using internet in order to purchase products and services from another EU country; benefiting from less border controls when travelling abroad, from improved consumer rights when buying products and services in another EU country and from less expensive communication costs when using a mobile phone in another EU country. In addition, we have included the questions whether volunteering in the fields of intercultural and interreligious dialogue as well as in building European identity are considered important. These may be both proxy indicator of active engagement in transnational NGO activities and simply an indicator of transnational and cosmopolitan attitudes.

For the dependent variable indicating the European identification, we have selected the distinction between those who claim that they definitely feel to be European citizens and the rest (namely those who claimed that they only feel that to some extent, not really, not at all, or do not know), since we needed an indicator of a relatively clear feeling of belonging.

The result of applying binary logistic regression based on the SPSS backward conditional method is presented in Table 2. Clearly, the new model makes a significant difference and provides some relevant insights. Moreover, with Nagelkerke R Square of 31.2 per cent, our second regression model has significantly higher predictive capabilities than the previous one obtained from the EVS dataset.³

Among the structural aspects, both education and gender have turned out to be significantly related to the European identification in a way consistent with our previous model and with the previous studies: men (see: Pichler, 2008a: 384) and more educated (see: Fligstein, 2009: 133) tend to identify with Europe to a higher extent. The effects of age and occupational status, however, turned out to be insignificant in statistical terms in this combination and have thus been dropped from the model. This may imply that it is less important what people are in terms of their occupational statuses and age but what they actually do, particularly within the transnational social fields. In other words, age and occupation do not seem to have a significant independent effect as such to the probability of identifying with Europe when actual practices in transnational social fields are taken into account.

³ We have also tested alternative models with only a single category of variables. A binary regression model consisting of values and attitudes only produces the Nagelkerke R Square of 29.1 per cent, which is understandable due to the fact that identification is itself an attitude that is thus quite consistently related to other attitudes. On the other hand, the model that includes only structural properties generates Nagelkerke R Square of only 3.4 per cent. Finally, for the model that includes only the indicators of practices in the transnational social fields Nagelkerke R Square is 10.0 per cent. Although the European identification as an attitude is most clearly related to other attitudes, the independent (and intervening) role of the practices in the transnational social fields should clearly not be ignored.

Table 2: Binary logistic regression for European identification based on the Eurobarometer survey, 2010

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	df	Sig.
EU image-positive	0.461	0.045	1	0.000
Trusting EU(yes)	0.202	0.078	1	0.010
Trusting Council of the EU			2	0.006
Trusting Council of the EU (yes)	0.001	0.086	1	0.989
Trusting Council of the EU (no)	-0.268	0.103	1	0.009
Country's interest respected			2	0.000
Country's interest respected(yes)	0.419	0.134	1	0.002
Country's interest respected (no)	-0.044	0.139	1	0.753
Globalisation requires global rules – worldwide governance	0.199	0.042	1	0.000
EU sufficient power in globalisation	0.165	0.041	1	0.000
Knowing European citizen's rights	0.826	0.041	1	0.000
Reading in other language			2	0.000
Reading in other language (several times)	0.516	0.085	1	0.000
Reading in other language (once, twice)	0.057	0.090	1	0.523
Socialising with people from another EU country			2	0.028
Socialising with people from another EU country (several times)	0.206	0.080	1	0.010
Socialising with people from another EU country(once twice)	0.060	0.086	1	0.485
Internet purchaseabroad			2	0.069
Internet purchase from another EU country (several times)	-0.228	0.101	1	0.024
Internet purchase from another EU country (once, twice)	0.002	0.089	1	0.985
Benefit from less bordercontrols	0.154	0.069	1	0.025
Benefit from lower mobile phone costs	0.144	0.066	1	0.030
Volunteering – intercultural	0.239	0.099	1	0.016
Gender (female)	-0.271	0.061	1	0.000
Finished education at age 20+	0.151	0.065	1	0.020
Constant	-6.439	0.276	1	0.000

Source: European Commission 2010; own calculations.

Among the general attitudes, the self-positioning on the left-right scale turns out to be insignificant just like in our previous model and has thus also been dropped from the regression equation. Both models indicate that the European identification clearly lies beyond the classical distinctions between the political right and the political left.

On the other hand, several concrete attitudes towards the European Union turn out to be significantly related to European identification. Believing in a positive image of the EU, trusting EU, believing that country's interests are respected by the EU, that EU has sufficient power in globalisation, that globalisation requires worldwide governance; and knowing EU citizen's rights are all positively related to our dependent variable.

The issue of trust towards some EU institutions is less straightforward. Distrust in the Council of the EU is negatively related to the European identification, which does not seem surprising. However, this is not the case for the trust in the European Parliament and the European Commission where the B coefficients are statistically insignificant and thus dropped from the model. It may be argued that trust into certain political institutions is not necessarily related to the identification with a given community – in a similar manner that people who do not trust their national parliaments and governments are not necessarily less patriotic than those who do.

Among the practices in the transnational social fields as we have specified them, reading books, newspapers and magazines in non-native languages, which takes place several times (not just once or twice), turns out to be the relatively most important contribution to the European identification. It may be tempting to compare this to the findings of Anderson (1983) who also saw reading printed materials as the key factor of producing the identification with the national 'imagined communities'. Despite the indications in our model we still consider it premature to draw the same conclusion for the transnational European level – the special role of the printed materials can only be a hypothesis that requires further testing but it may be assumed that they do play a significant role in the reproduction of transnational social fields.

Regular socialising with the people from another EU country (again, not just once or twice) also has a significant positive impact on the European identification. Growing body of research on social capital clearly shows the relevance of social interaction (c.f. Adam and Rončević, 2003). Direct social interaction thus also turns out to be an important aspect of transnational social fields in their contribution to the European identification signifying the importance of social capital in this respect. Nevertheless, not all practices are relevant. Travelling to another country indicated no significant relation with the European identification. It may be argued that simply travelling to another country as such generates relatively superficial relationships that do not guarantee the interactions deep and intensive enough to generate the transnational social fields that would actually contribute to the European identification. The same is the case for watching TV in non-native languages.

Regular internet purchasing from another EU country is even negatively related to European identification, which seems somehow surprising. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that relationships that are only based on consumption do not represent a basis for kind of identification and that the virtual worlds as such are not always able to generate sufficient community identifications as well. As noted by Wellman et al. (2001) there is a clear difference between using the internet for social activities, which promote interaction (and may contribute to one's identification) and using it for asocial activities, such as Web surfing (and, of course, on-line shopping). They claim that while social users may build and maintain social capital, networked individualism reduces social cohesion and 'weakens their sense of community online' (Wellman et al., 2001: 451). Finally, being able to benefit from less border control and lower mobile phone costs are also two practical issues related to higher probabilities of identifying with Europe. Consequently, despite some understandable exceptions, the concrete practices that contribute to the (re)production of the transnational social fields are also clearly positively related to the European identification.

Towards a conclusion

European identification is a rather vague concept. It is an attitude closely related to other attitudes concerning Europe and the European Union. This may explain why most of the predictive potential to determine the probability of European identification in our regression models is

explained by them. However, explaining attitudes by similar attitudes does not provide a very beneficial scientific insight.

The most significant result of our analysis thus lies in the relationship between the structural properties in terms of what the people are and practices in terms of what they do within the (transnational) social fields. Our analysis provides evidence that the practices within the transnational social fields do contribute to the European identification.

We believe that the people's practices within the transnational social fields that are gradually becoming more and more everyday practices offer a particularly beneficial starting point for further research how the identification with Europe as well as other attitudes towards Europe and the European Union are produced and (re)produced. Clearly, we cannot claim that the practices in transnational social fields are the only or even the most significant single factor contributing to the probability of identifying with Europe. One's European identification can also be significantly influenced not by one's personal experiences but, for instance, by a variety of the media, political, economical, expert and other discourses that influence the people beyond their direct personal experience (in these processes the national elites may play a significant role as demonstrated, for example, by Adam et al., 2009). However, there are also the practices in the European transnational fields that may make one more European – in explicit or implicit and more latent terms. Transnational social fields encompass the networks and ties through different countries of the European Union and present a complex set of conditions that affect construction, negotiation and reproduction of identities (Vertovec, 2001). Those who predominantly identify with Europe are not just individuals occupying a better position within national sphere. They possess certain economic and symbolic capital which exceeds national borders. Their perception and attitudes toward European Union ensue from the specific European (transnational) habitus, which reflects their participation in multiple social fields (national and transnational). Practices and social positions, which spread across borders, produce conscious and non-conscious dispositions to act in specific ways in specific situations (Guarnizo, 1998). European habitus functions as a result of dialectical relationship between individuals' actions and intersubjective consideration of their actions (Bottero, 2010). Interpersonal interactions among individuals and groups within

transnational social networks, and the circulation of particular symbolic capital thus have certain impact on multiple identifications, including European. Those identifications certainly do not refer to 'ways of belonging' but refer more to actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in (Lewitt and Glick Schiller, 2003: 10), and accordingly denote new categories of contemporary world, exceeding the traditional conceptualisation of imagined community.

Notes

1 In some specific situations this may have been reversed as well, such as in the case of Slovenia during the 1990s when social surveys demonstrated that people expressing strong national pride also supported entering the European integration to a higher extent (Uhan et al., 2000). This was based mostly on the fact that Slovenian nationalism of that time was mostly based on identifying with Europe as contrasted with the former Yugoslavia.

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