Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rmmm20

Andalusian university students' perception of their European identity: international orientation and experiences

María del Carmen Méndez García , Esther Cores-Bilbao & Laura Moreno Gámez

To cite this article: María del Carmen Méndez García , Esther Cores-Bilbao & Laura Moreno Gámez (2021) Andalusian university students' perception of their European identity: international orientation and experiences, Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 42:1, 79-96, DOI: 10.1080/01434632.2019.1682592

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2019.1682592

JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT
2021, VOL. 42, NO. 1, 79–96
https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2019.1682592

Andalusian university students' perception of their European identity: international orientation and experiences

María del Carmen Méndez García [a], Esther Cores-Bilbao [b] and Laura Moreno Gámez[a]

[a]Departamento de Filología Inglesa, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de Jaén, Jaén, Spain; [b]Departamento de Pedagogía, Facultad de Educación, Psicología y Ciencias del Deporte, Universidad de Huelva, Huelva, Spain

ABSTRACT

Multicultural European societies increasingly demand internationally oriented citizens, who are willing to actively participate in civic life and able to successfully access the labour market. The European dimension in education supposedly endows youngsters with civic values, multiculturalist attitudes and plurilingual competences which ultimately lead to raising awareness of their Europeanness. Formative years at university, pivotal to students' individual life course and projects, are a decisive stage in the development of supranational, collective identity-formation. Similarly, pan-European study programmes are aimed at inspiring a sense of European citizenship and identity, the most renowned of which within the Higher Education context is Erasmus+. By conducting focus group interviews, this paper probes Andalusian university students' understanding of their European identity and verifies the causal dynamics between European identity-taking and foreign country sojourns, comparing the perceptions expressed by returnees to those by students who have not had the opportunity to participate in international study programmes (ISP) at higher education yet. Results evidence students' apparent supranational orientation, general awareness of commonalities across Europe and utilitarian outlooks on the EU, although not a clear discernment of its institutions or a marked European identity.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 26 June 2019
Accepted 14 October 2019

KEYWORDS
Europeanness; European identity; international study programmes; supranational orientation; supranational identity

Introduction

One of the main obstacles that the EU polity has consistently confronted is citizen disengagement from its supranational institutions and the mistrust in its system of governance. Habermas (2012) suggests that the apathy and discontent manifested in the public sphere can be traced to and motivated by the EU's complex institutional architecture, a deficit in the citizens' sense of belonging to a multinational political union and the under-development of a European identity.

Understanding the citizens' affiliations, particularly those extending to political or cultural communities beyond the nation-state, has spurred a considerable body of research (Fernández, Eigmüller, and Börner 2016; Kaina and Karolewski 2013; Keating 2016; Verhaegen and Hooghe 2015). Similarly, expediting the acquisition of cosmopolitan dispositions at the individual level,

CONTACT Esther Cores-Bilbao esther.cores.edu@juntadeandalucia.es
Supplemental data for this article can be accessed https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2019.1682592

encompassing openness to and appreciation of other cultures, values, and experiences has steered education policies in Europe since the mid-1990s.

The significance of European identification on participatory forms of European citizenship has also drawn increasing academic attention, as citizens who have a strong sense of European identity are bound to engage to a broader extent in EU issues (Mazzoni et al. 2018), as well as to manifest favourable attitudes towards EU integration and endorse solidarity within the EU community (Verhaegen 2018). Remarkably, however, studies conducted to ascertain Participatory Citizenship across Europe place youth amongst the demographic groups who participate to the most restricted extent in European civic life (Hoskins et al. 2012).

Recently, the European Commission's revision of the *Framework on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning* (2018), with updated areas such as multilingualism, cultural diversity and citizenship, describes the attitudes necessary for constructive civic participation as the citizens' readiness to engage in democratic decision-making from local and national to the European and international level, as well as the 'understanding of the multi-cultural and socioeconomic dimensions of European societies, and how national cultural identity contributes to the European identity' (European Comission 2018, C189/10).

Conceptualising European identity

The construct of European identity is elusive and controverted, one for which multifarious definitions have been offered by authors from equally diverse fields of knowledge. Delanty and Rumford affirm that 'it is possible to conceive of European identity as a cosmopolitan identity […] a form of post-national self-understanding that expresses itself within, as much as beyond, national identities' (2005, 56). Thus, Political Science, Sociology, Psychology and Pedagogy are among the disciplines that inform the field and intersect within it, as multiperspectivalism is consubstantial with cosmopolitanism (Beck and Cronin 2014, 82) and identity studies.

For the purposes of this paper, we understand European identity as a supranational form of social identity (Garib 2012), and social identity as 'that part of the individual's self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel 1978, 63). Concurrently, political theorists have defined European identity as 'a psycho-sociological or socio-political process of citizens' attachment to the European space or to the political community designed by integration' (Duchesne 2010, 7).

Undoubtedly, an individual's self-concept is highly complex and exceeds this conceptualisation, but we endorse its underpinnings regarding the psychological components of identity formation. Most scholars nowadays assent that the European identity question should be approached by examining both its cognitive dimension (that is, seeing oneself as European) as well as its emotional or affective aspects (one's attachment to Europe). In this vein, Mitchell (2015) argues that European identity encompasses individuals' self-categorization as members of the group 'Europeans' and the extent to which they feel a connection with Europe and fellow members, which has also been referred to as 'a sense of belonging together' (Kaina 2013).

As such, European identity is a difficult construct to gauge, and traditional measures to do so have failed to grasp subjective nuances or the intensity of identification (Kaina 2013; Luhmann 2017a, 2017b) and to isolate the personal traits and contextual characteristics which predispose individuals to identify themselves with certain supranational entities. To remedy this, Strohmeier et al. (2017) argue that young people's identification with the European Union is measurable through its potential to trigger civic and political action, ranging from conventional (intended participation in future EU elections) and nonconventional political engagement (supporting petitions about EU-related issues, partaking in demonstrations and marches, holding sit-ins or symbolic occupations) to psychological engagement (debating EU-related topics in social settings, circulating or commenting on content about EU affairs on social media).

Similarly, concurring with Strohmeier et al. (2017) and seeking to define the measurable elements that compose the construct of shared sense of European community, Kaina and Karolewski (2013) operationalise individuals' orientations in terms of their cognition, feelings and evaluations, and behavioural intentions.

European disengagement

Studies dealing with European identity have equally looked into the growing disillusionment of the higher education students with the EU and set out to establish the cause for their sceptical take on its feasibility beyond theory project and their lack of European attachment (Du Bois-Reymond 1998; Fernández 2005; Fuss and Grosser 2006; Udrea 2013; Wilkins et al. 2010).

The Eurosceptic stance or pessimistic view about the future of the EU and its economic predicament are associated with predictors of those who reported a wish that their country should leave the EU (Strohmeier et al. 2017). Similarly, future worries regarding unemployment, climate change, socio-political tensions, and the collapse of the EU are recurrently cited as causal to disengagement or disidentification (Becker and Tausch 2014).

Predictors of endorsement

Recchi (2014) explores two opposed traditions that explain European identity formation: a logocentric culturalist model, in which affiliation is achieved through the mere exposure to Europeanising symbols and identity-laden discourses, and a democentric structuralist model, for which cross-national experiences are paramount.

The former model, supported mainly by Sociology theorists, relies on political socialisation or the assumption that influential verbal messages, such as positive depictions of the EU ('green' or 'social Europe') contained in political speeches, and symbolic markers associated to shared symbols of commonality such as the European flag, anthem or currency can contribute to forging people's identities (Bruter 2003; Risse 2003; Wodak and Weiss 2005). Policy-makers have traditionally relied on the effectiveness of the culturalist approach, investing great efforts in sponsoring EU's visuals to send implicit messages, and launching an image based strategy in the media (Polonska-Kimunguyi and Kimunguyi 2011; Stoeckel 2009), albeit with little success.

It is generally agreed that this top-down approach of the European political authorities, in which citizens are mere recipients of the collective identity formation efforts, has been misguided (Karolewski 2011). Implementing techniques used in past times has little meaning today, when citizens have higher levels of training and critical attitudes that prevent their indoctrination (Kantner 2006).

In contrast, it has been asserted that a higher level of knowledge about EU issues, and the individuals' perception that this knowledge may facilitate their actions as competent EU citizens, that is, their internal efficacy, are pivotal to gaining support for the EU (Garib 2012; Tenenbaum, Fife-Schaw, and Barrett 2019). External or collective political efficacy, on the other hand, refers to the belief that citizens' opinions are heard and can have an impact on political decisions at the European level, which is also positively associated with the endorsement of the EU project (Caprara et al. 2009).

Based on a similar conceptual basis, Political Science scholars have produced a large body of work regarding predictors for the support of European integration, based on Inglehart's (1970) theory of cognitive mobilisation. Succinctly, this theory asserts that as increases in education and access to information occur, citizens develop a more cosmopolitan outlook and that high levels of cognitive mobilisation ensue an individual's capacity to receive and process messages relating to remote political objects (Spannring, Wallace, and Datler 2008; Verhaegen and Hooghe 2015).

Strohmeier et al. (2017) equate conventional and nonconventional performance levels to the individual's commitment to the EU. Thus, seeing the EU as a political arena that has relevance to their own life is an enabling factor of identification with Europe, as the EU is then perceived as a meaningful presence (Cram 2012).

A further predictor of support for the EU is that of entitavity (Campbell, 1958, in Spannring, Wallace, and Datler 2008), which encompasses common interpretations of the past as well as shared visions for the future of the community to vindicate a European Identity. When the perceived entitativity is based on economic, social, and political goals to achieve in the future and organising collective actions to attain those goals, it is said to adhere to an agency-based common project perspective. In this sense, La Barbera, Cariota Ferrara, and Boza (2014) empirically demonstrated that EU representations based on agency achieved much greater support than those relying on common heritage outlooks alone. Similarly, a significant number of studies have corroborated that individual support for the EU correlates with the benefits that membership might afford on a personal level and social groups have been found to be more predisposed to identifying with Europe if they stand something to gain by doing so (Byram, Hu, and Rahman 2017; Fernández 2005; Kritzinger 2005; Osler 1998; Pollmann 2007; Sperling 2013; Thorpe 2008; Udrea 2013).

Participation in international study abroad programmes and European identity

The structuralist theory of identification contends that active involvement in transnational interactions is imperative for acquiring cosmopolitan dispositions (Van Mol, de Valk, and van Wissen 2015). The main principle behind this model is the growing importance of a latent unintended and lived cosmopolitanism which occurs in the private domain of social actors across national borders (Sigalas 2010; Vertovec 2009).

Unsurprisingly, educational mobility programmes are generally considered as catalysts to identity transformation and as central to facilitating the students' assumption of a European sense of belonging. One of the EU's flagship education programmes is Erasmus+, an initiative aimed at promoting a sense of European identity and citizenship among higher education students via intra-European experiences by acquainting them with a new European country, introducing them to the different educational structures, ideas, approaches and skills (Mitchell 2012; Van Mol 2018).

There is a robust body of empirical research regarding international study sojourns and their impact on the intercultural competence developed by higher education students (Hadfield and Summerby-Murray 2016; Llurda et al. 2016; Wilson 2011) which affirms that cross-cultural experience broadens the learners' repertoire to re-examine their own cultural schemas. Against this backdrop a study was conducted to gain insight into university students' perception of their European identity.

A study on Andalusian university students' perception of their European identity

Goals and research questions

This paper looks into Andalusian university students' understanding of their European identity and aims to ascertain whether study abroad returnees display a different perception of their European identity from students who have not had the opportunity to participate in international study programmes (ISP) in higher education yet.

This study is guided by the following research questions:

(1) How do Andalusian students define their European identity?
(2) Is there evidence that, as the literature suggests, experiencing a study programme boosts individuals' international orientation and European identity?

Participants' profile

A cohort of 29 Spanish students from an Andalusian Spanish public university participated in this study (see appendix A), 11 males and 18 females aged between 19–20 (8), 20–23 (15), 24–25 (3) and over 25 (2) (one of them did not indicate his/her age):

- 18 undergraduate students from different areas (English Studies, Spanish Philology, Computer Science, Geography, Primary Education), and from year 1–4, who had not (yet) experienced the study abroad at higher education. For data analysis and presentation of results, these students are coded as NIS (non-international students).
- 11 undergraduate students (year 4) and postgraduate study abroad returnees, all of them either undergraduates or postgraduates in English Studies. Their host countries were Germany (3), the UK (3), Poland (2), France (1), Italy (1) and New Zealand (1). The label IS (international students) has been assigned to these students.

As to foreign languages, 28 interviewees speak English; 16 speak French as well (2 of these 16 also speak Italian and 1 speaks German). All respondents have travelled abroad to different European countries; additionally, 3 have been to the USA and/or to Mexico, 1 to Israel and Palestine, and 1 to New Zealand, China and Thailand. As Figure 1 indicates, most NIS have travelled for leisure whereas most returnees' experiences abroad are both for leisure and study.

Instrument

The study draws upon data obtained from 5 semi-structured, focus-group interviews. Three of these groups were comprised of students who lack university-level study abroad experience, while undergraduate and graduate level study abroad returnees were segregated and constituted the remaining two groups. Each group observed a ratio of 5–10 students per interview session. The working hypotheses which inspired the distinction between these three main groups were that: (a) in comparison with returnees, students without university study abroad experience would be less likely to acknowledge a marked European identity; (b) undergraduate returnees would probably express a stronger sense of European identity than postgraduate returnees as a by-product of their recently experienced stays abroad.

Focus-group interviews enable a unique insight into individuals' feelings, opinions or perceptions about a topic in an interactive environment, becoming key instruments in identity construction research (Gu 2011). They allow participants to generate ideas, articulate and expand on them

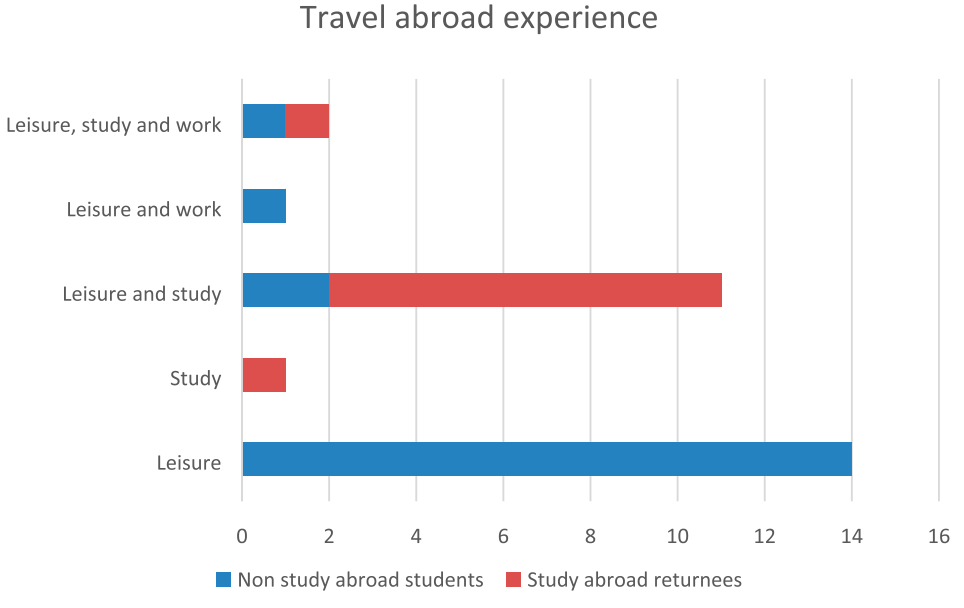

Figure 1. Students' travel abroad experience.

(Breen 2006), yielding rich data. The choice of semi-structured interviews as a research tool also rests on their versatility to allow interviewers to seek clarification and on the possible new light informants may shed on issues not previously contemplated by researchers.

Interviews were relatively long, all of them lasting between 80 and 120 min. They were guided by the following probing questions:

- Do you define yourself as a European citizen?
- What does being European mean to you?
- Are there any situations in which you have felt particularly European?
- How do you feel about the European Union?
- Has your stay abroad had any effect on your European identity?

Procedure

The research was presented in different classes and in seminars or conversations with under and post-graduate students. Given that a large number of students expressed their interest in the research, 5 possible dates were set for the interviews.

Interviews were conducted in Spanish, allowing students to focus on the message, enunciate propositions conveniently and utter complex and precise texts.

Interviews were video and audio-recorded. They consisted of an introduction to the study, initial questions, content and verification questions and concluding prompts. Researchers validated the results by verifying relevant data provided by each group of interviewees with themselves through probing questions, and also by checking key aspects brought up by students in one group with other informants either to corroborate findings or to detect divergent patterns. Data were transcribed in full.

Data analysis

Data comprised 125 pages (60,709 words) of transcribed text. Data were coded and analysed thematically by two of the authors through ATLAS.ti to address the research questions. To ensure inter-rater reliability, raters coded data individually and then compared their analyses until agreement was reached.

The inductive approach of grounded theory, analysing data without pre-determined classifications (Mackey and Gass 2005), was adopted.

ATLAS.ti favours qualitative data analysis, including frequency analysis. Proof of frequency was gained through students' mentions of subthemes.

Results

The first part of this section looks into students' Europeanness. The section ends with an analysis of the relationship between ISP at higher education and European identity.

Europeanness

Seven main themes (Figure 2) and 83 subthemes have been identified (Appendix B). Results are presented according to seven main themes: commonalities across Europe, advantages of being European, Spain's membership of the EU, absence of perceived European identity, unawareness of European identity, feelings of the European identity and supranational orientation.

Perceived commonalities across Europe

Living in Europe, students argue, entails sharing a spectrum of features and factors. Explicitly mentioned elements are physical characteristics, which make Europeans recognisable in other parts of the

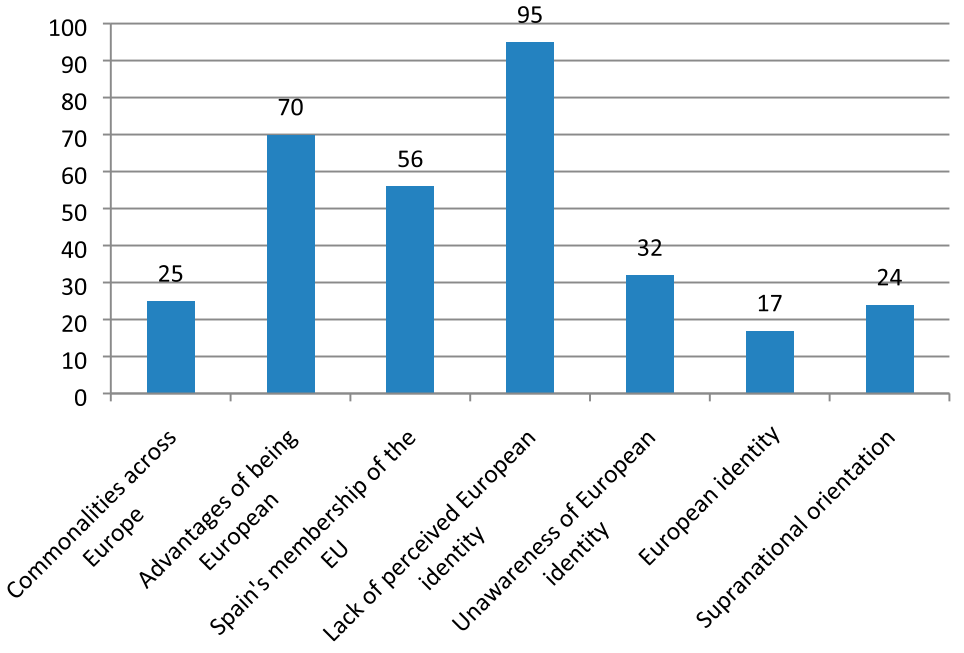

Figure 2. Students' mentions by theme.

world (NIS11); celebrations, like Christmas (IS2); certain values, such as the rights of women in Europe (IS7); and a similar mind-set (IS7). In addition, interviewees underscore a perceptible shared culture and history (NIS12, NIS14, NIS17):

> We share history, we share a general culture, although each country is different. But I think that that's what makes you more or less European. (NIS12)

Likewise, geographical and cultural similarities come to the fore, even though similarities apply almost exclusively to southern European countries, the sample establishing, a clear difference between the culture of Italy, Greece, Portugal or Spain, and other European cultures (IS1, IS7, NIS5, NIS7, NIS9, NIS11). Indeed, with the exception of Mediterranean countries, interviewees express their lack of attachment to other European countries in contrast to their feeling of attachment to Latin America (NIS14):

> We have more things in common with people from Latin America than with Irish people. (NIS14)

This is why they declare that, although we are positioned on the European continent, our cultures differ so substantially (NIS12) that when one meets someone from other parts of Europe, their nationality stands out rather than our belonging to the same supra-national community (IS4).

Economic, legal and political bonds are deemed to be the cornerstones of Europeanness (for instance, a shared currency endorses a fluid relationship among countries, NIS11), which discloses students' vision of Europe and the European Union as an essentially bureaucratic system, devoid of an affective and emotional dimension (IS4, NIS7, NIS10).

Advantages of being European

There are manifest advantages of being European and belonging to the European Union. The first one being mobility across Europe, as it is through mobility that individuals learn to understand Europe (IS6) and develop feelings of closeness to other countries (NIS17). Besides, the sample

emphasises that, legally, Europeans are allowed to move freely within Europe with little or no bureaucracy, mainly if the process is compared with travelling beyond Europe, as NIS12 and IS4 indicate:

> If you want to go to the USA … there is plenty of paperwork, which is not needed in Europe. (NIS12)

> We are not aware of the amount of privileges we have as Europeans. […] When I wanted to go from Israel to Palestine, I had to pass controls, I had to pass double security barriers, the military got on the bus to control the visa and they were holding rifles. (IS4)

It is through European international institutions and programmes that not only mobility, but other ways of intercultural contact and communication are fostered (IS4, NIS10), leading to societal progress and growth (IS9). Indeed, being European is not only perceived as an *advantage* but also as a *privilege* both from a political perspective and in other social dimensions such as safety (IS4, NIS5) or healthcare (NIS17).

Moreover, being European implies sharing a culture (IS11, NIS12, NIS17), collective values and democratic accomplishments, and seems to spur civic awareness; students illustrate this point by referring to a perceived higher environmental and social awareness in other European countries that needs to permeate Spanish society (for example, other European cities seem to be cleaner than Spanish cities, one of the many aspects Spain needs to learn from 'Europe') (NIS2, NIS5, NIS6, NIS9).

Another crucial aspect is the possibility of accessing employment and economic opportunities in a wider labour market (IS11, NIS10, NIS12):

> As Europeans, it is easier for us to get a job. (NIS14)

From an economic perspective, the Euro as a single currency is credited with being a major pillar of (NIS1, NIS5, NIS6, NIS17) trade across Europe (NIS7). However, there are downsides to the single currency as the Euro seems to have widened inequalities between countries (NIS10, NIS12) and has impoverished Spain (NIS11).

Perception of Spain's membership of the European Union

Data evinces an apparent confusion between the concepts of Europe and the European Union, mostly understood as synonyms. For the sample, the defining feature of the EU is its political, economic and trade alliance (NIS7, NIS10, NIS11, NIS12), dismissing any affective ties (NIS7, NIS10). Membership is exclusively attributed to being born in Europe and the EU (NIS2). As EU citizens, students wonder what it would be like to be elsewhere (NIS5), EU membership and citizenship constituting a taken for granted status which primarily entitles individuals to mobility and access to a broader labour market, factors already discussed above.

EU enlargement, heterogeneity and the merging of cultures are recognised as positive factors, although the benefits of the latter are still to be built on in Spain (NIS10, NIS12):

> Certain countries have improved since many people from many cultures went there. So, the culture of that country changes, there is more diversity … But not here in Spain. Maybe we are a little more behind in that aspect because not as many people came here (NIS10).

There is a difference of opinion about perceived proximity to and mutual support in the EU (NIS1), some claiming that other European countries help Spain when in need (NIS11), whereas others affirm that EU citizens do not frequently support each other (NIS10). Students notice marked differences between EU member states, attribute a lack of cultural or ethic bonds to this heterogeneity, and, therefore, question the existence of a shared identity that has simply been presupposed (NIS2). Inequalities among countries are unequivocally emphasised, including issues of inclusion and exclusion of countries in the EU, and a distinctive feeling of a north–south-central Europe divide. Students firmly believe that not all countries are equal (NIS10); in particular, for them Spain has always lagged behind the EU leading group of countries (NIS11, NIS12) and there has

never been a leading (political) figure who could bring the EU closer to Spanish citizens (NIS5). This implies that the development of a supranational identity is still a work in progress:

> They want the unification as if we were a single country, but organizations and government are in central Europe; they are not taking care of the rest of Europe, they are taking care of the centre of Europe (NIS12).

Conversely, there is a marked feeling of belonging to the EU, and *feeling at home* as EU citizens (IS11, NIS17).

Lack of perceived European identity

A pertinent question is whether perceived commonalities across Europe, the reported advantages of being European and membership of the EU lead to the feeling of European identity. However, data reveal that the field with the highest number of mentions is absence of perceived European identity.

The school curriculum constitutes a first predictor of endorsement. Students acknowledge that, whereas their national or regional identity is promoted at school, Europeanness is almost absent from either the explicit or the implicit curriculum; for instance, there is no specific celebration in the calendar for the day of Europe nor Europe is given relevance in the curriculum (IS1, NIS10, NIS12). From the academic perspective, students observe a high divergence or heterogeneity in educational systems across Europe, which hinders the development of a sense of Europeanness (NIS10).

There is an awareness of the drive to forge European identity (NIS12), an identity most of them have never felt or experienced because they acknowledge possessing just a fractional knowledge of what it means (NIS11):

> We can say some characteristics, such as the European Union, currency, some features … But it is because we know it from hearsay, not because we have lived it. We know these things, but it's not that we have been in contact with other people to say 'so, we are equal, we have the same characteristics'. (NIS11)

This under-developed sense of Europeanness (NIS7) also stems from its blurred definition and the nonexistence of specific characteristics to define European citizens. Grasping the notion of Europe is not without complexity (NIS9), mostly owing to its heterogeneity (IS6) and the marked differences between countries (IS1). This leads to scepticism about the unity of Europe and challenges the concept of European identity. As NIS12 questions, '*Is there really a European feeling or is there a European history?*'

Interviewees report on their lack of personal attachment to Europe (NIS7, NIS11, NIS16) since they observe a focus on political and economic matters rather than on feelings (NIS10), Europe being a legislative rather than an emotional construct (IS4). Students confess to having a strong local (NIS9) and national identity (IS8, NIS4, NIS12) or even experiencing a global identity (NIS16) but are not so assertive when it comes to European identity. In fact, some of them state a distinctive absence of European identity (NIS11, NIS12, IS8, IS9): '*I don't think about myself as a European, even if I am*' (NIS13).

One of the most widely debated reasons behind this reaction is geographical distance between north-south-central Europe: '*Seeing us far away from the centre of Europe prevents us from having that feeling*' (NIS7), which is why the sample deems that the feeling of Europeanness is likely to originate at the heart of Europe (NIS12). Besides, most insist on a clear cultural and emotional distance: '*If you don't feel European, how do you make it transpire?*' (NIS12), contrasting once again the differences between Spanish and what they call 'European' culture (NIS1, NIS2, NIS9, NIS10, NIS11, NIS17, IS5, IS6, IS8).

They specify further divergences as obstacles to a development of a European identity: multilingualism (NIS5) —arguing that a limited language repertoire coupled with the existence of a wide array of languages does not arouse their Europeanness—, gastronomy (NIS9), climate (NIS7, NIS9, NIS12, NIS17), economy (NIS10) or politics (NIS2):

> Despite being together in Europe, any country is completely different from the others and we all have almost nothing in common in terms of culture, politics and thought. It's totally different. (NIS2)

Unsurprisingly some stereotypes arise and widen the gap between Spaniards and other European citizens (NIS9, NIS11, NIS12). Students state not feeling identified with *'the classical European personality, since it is less close … more cosmopolitan*' (NIS11) or underline the fact that Spanish personality is different, because other countries are '*colder and calmer*' (NIS9).

Contextual identities or the shades of identities perceived and foregrounded in different situations may be fundamental. Data confirm that students firmly believe in the necessity of travelling and having first-hand experience of otherness abroad (NIS9, NIS10) to be able to cope with their Europeanness. Furthermore, the feeling of European identity is likely to appear when individuals experience otherness away from Europe, gaining from a much-needed sense of detachment:

> We should have, first, knowledge of Europe, travelling, visiting places, or even working in Europe; and, then, go away from Europe, so we could know the difference between the EU and other countries. Then, we would probably be able to say 'ok, now I feel European'. (NIS10)

Unawareness of European identity

Some interviewees express unawareness of their European identity, a layer of their identity they report not having reflected upon before. This unawareness may spring from the absence from school curriculum (IS4, NIS15), the superficial (NIS11) attention given to European matters in class, or the dissimilarity of education across Europe (NIS10). Students admit failing to comprehend what European identity means (IS5) since they exhibit a fragmented knowledge of Europe mainly gathered from the news (NIS12). In sum, some respondents do not feel European largely because they have never considered it before (NIS5, NIS6, NIS9, NIS16, NIS18). The inability to define the European identity (NIS7, NIS11, NIS15) is illustrated by NIS1:

> It is difficult to define what being European means. Is it that I'm in the European Union? There are so many cultures; feeling European is very difficult in that sense. (NIS1)

As it is a new construct to most students, they acknowledge their mixed feelings (NIS10, NIS11) when striving to grasp this unfamiliar and alien concept (NIS16), insisting on the need of first-hand experience abroad (IS1, IS5), since their identities are prone to change depending on the context (IS2, NIS16).

In any case, even if unaware of their own European identity, students recognise and assume the notion of Europeanness as an element debated both inside and outside the continent (NIS10, NIS12). They even hint at the possibility that an outsiders' perspective on European identity (for instance, somebody from Asia or America) would shed light on defining features of this construct (IS6, NIS2).

European identity

Even though a minority of the sample, some students confirm feeling European and attest to having an *adhered supranational identity*, a feeling that emerges in itself without any kind of agency on the part of the individual (NIS12). Contextual identity turns out to be vital as students corroborate that European identity is endorsed when living away from Europe (IS7) and travelling to another continent (IS6, IS11, NIS15). IS11 leaves no room for doubt:

> You realise it when you are in other countries away from the European Union. In that sense, I came back feeling myself more European. (IS11)

However, out of students' multiple identities, European identity is reported to be the weakest one. Sometimes, European identity is noticeable in specific manifestations, such as culture and common traditions (IS2) or the arts; when talking about the difference between European and American films NIS16 says: '*in that case, I like distinguishing myself as a European, and I consider European my way of thinking and creating*' (NIS16). European identity is likewise felt in particular contexts: at airports

(NIS15), when travelling, and using the single currency (NIS1), or when experiencing the validity of a national ID in other European countries (IS10, NIS1):

> You feel like you leave here, but you don't have to do anything with the validation of your ID card. It's like a part of Spain without speaking Spanish. You go away but all your documents are still good. So, you don't have to worry about many things. (NIS17)

Supranational orientation

Most students who have not participated in ISP at higher education (NIS) indicate their interest in this supranational experience. Some of them show an inclination to visit Mediterranean countries (NIS13); particular places they have heard about (NIS18); or just countries that draw their attention (NIS11). While some have personal preferences for choosing a destination, others are looking forward to enjoying the experience of studying and living abroad:

> I want to go to any country. I don't mind where, because I want to learn any language. I know that anywhere you have the opportunity to know a different culture, a different language … And it will be a unique opportunity. (NIS15)

Most intend to apply for an ISP the following academic year, in contrast to others who consider it as a long-term project (NIS16), perhaps once they finish their studies and are able to apply for a prospective job abroad (NIS10). In any case, the main purpose behind the stay abroad is the practice and improvement of English (NIS10, NIS11) or another language:

> The next place that I would like to go to is Canada. It attracts me. It's a place where I can continue improving my English and, furthermore, I can learn French. (NIS14)

International mobility is also motivated by the discovery of a new culture and the possibility of experiencing culture shock. This is the reason why some students intend to apply for a programme that allows them to go to other continents, since they argue that they will not achieve the desired culture shock if they stay in Europe (NIS12). In any case, there is an unquestionable intention of travelling, studying and/or working living abroad and meeting otherness elsewhere.

Most students, 24, acknowledge having friends and/or relatives from another country (versus 4 NIS and 1 returnee). Likewise, whereas 1 interviewee does not know whether s/he would like to live abroad, 3 (2 returnees) would prefer to live in Spain and 3 (1 returnee) are averse to living abroad, most of them (22) express their willingness to live and/or work abroad in the near future. As Appendix C reveals, 8 of the 11 interviewees who have experienced ISP and 14 of 18 students who have not participated in ISP at university state their wish to study and/or work abroad (including 4 of the 5 students who had previously enrolled in an international pre-university programme). Hence, data evince Andalusian students' international orientation.

ISP at higher education and European identity

Some study abroad returnees admit some degree of European identity, but they are not able to specify which factors spur this feeling (IS7). A fleeting feeling of Europeanness seems to be experienced in very specific circumstances, as IS2 and NIS15 affirm:

> I felt European when I travelled during Christmas […] because we Europeans celebrate Christmas; and I could enjoy Christmas streetlights just like I can enjoy them in Spain. (IS2)

> When I travel around Europe, or America, I really feel European, even above all. I don't know how to explain it, it's very strange. European identity has not been fomented so much at home, nor at high school. It's like that: I feel maybe more related to an English person than to an American because we are part of Europe. (NIS15)

The most evident example of an enhanced and lasting sense of European identity is IS11, who studied in New Zealand. This seems to confirm a theory put forward by interviewees, that one

can truly experience Europeanness when removed from Europe, European identity being heightened by distance:

> You realize the advantages of being from Europe. Not only from the EU but also European culture. […] I feel more European since I went to New Zealand. I have been losing my national identity, but I've maintained the European identity instead. (IS11).

To sum up, Appendix C displays participation in ISP and supranational orientation in connection with European identity. Out of the 29 interviewees, only 3 of 11 returnees from ISP and 2 of 18 students who have not yet enrolled in these programmes (although both NIS14 and NIS15 have taken part in pre-university –most of them summer– courses abroad) declare feeling European and having a supranational orientation. Since these 5 students have pre-university or university study abroad experiences it would be possible to conclude that international study programmes boost supranational orientation and Europeanness (IS4, IS6, IS11). However, the remaining 8 of 11 returnees and 16 of 18 NIS (including 3 with pre-university ISP experience) assert either not feeling European or are inconclusive about their Europeanness. Students concur, however, that, rather than intensifying their European identity, their study experience abroad has mainly contributed to enhance their academic, cultural and intercultural skills: '*It's a development. You grow as a person: I sincerely think that the person who left and the person who came back are two different people*' (IS1).

International (IS) and non-international students' (NIS) Europeanness compared

International experiences prove to be crucial in interviewees' concepts of identity, becoming points of reference in their self-definitions. International students' identities are frequently developed and defined against the backdrop of their European or supranational experiences, encompassing eye-opening slip-ups, blunders and anecdotes which typically lead to an increased awareness of the self. Another contributing factor which sparked the constant process of revisiting their own identities was the way that citizens of the host country perceived international students. This supranational and European frame of reference and this reflection on how the perspective of the member of the outgroup affects one's self-descriptions were mostly absent from NIS' reflections on their identities. Unsurprisingly, NIS tend to focus on more pragmatic aspects of Europeanness, such as Spain's membership of the European Union.

Furthermore, IS, irrespective of an acknowledged European or non-European identity, admit to having previously thought about their Europeanness, a layer of identity rarely considered by NIS prior to participating in the interviews.

Conversely, an element in which both NIS and IS concur is their supranational orientation and their willingness to live and work abroad. A second aspect of agreement is non-international and international students' low level of perceived European identity.

As to the hypotheses underlying the distinction of groups in the focus-group interviews, both are refuted in the light shed by data: (a) a generalised, marked European identity was not discovered either among students without university study abroad experience or among returnees as only 5 of the 29 interviewees reported having a European identity; (b) undergraduate returnees did not express a stronger sense of European identity than postgraduate returnees as a by-product of their recently experienced stays abroad. Appendix C shows that 4 out of 6 undergraduate returnees and 4 out of 6 postgraduate returnees either reject having a European identity or are inconclusive about their Europeanness.

Supranational orientation vs. identification

Results presented above are here examined in the context of the research questions. Addressing the first research question – 'how do Andalusian students define their European identity?' – reveals a multifaceted and complex construct, with only a small group of students recognising a moderate

to relatively strong feeling of European identity. Following Mitchell (2015), very few students define themselves as members of the group 'Europeans', most feeling a weak or almost non-existent connection with their fellow members, although there is some 'sense of belonging together' (Kaina 2013). Europeanness, then, is generally perceived through a utilitarian lense, in economic or politic terms rather than as an affective layer of identity (Kritzinger 2005; Verhaegen and Hooghe 2015).

As to the second research question, whether there is evidence that a study programme boosts individuals' international orientation and European identity, results indicate that the study programme may boost international orientation but not necessarily European identity. Even though transnational interactions are thought to be at the core for acquiring cosmopolitan dispositions (Van Mol, de Valk, and van Wissen 2015), transnational experience seems to act as a catalyst to identity transformation in academic, personal, cultural and intercultural skills rather than spurring feelings of European identity, aspects which are further discussed below.

Discussion: European (non)identities

The notion of identity encompasses an individual's own concept of him/herself and especially meaningful values for the self. This applies to multiple identifications (Nestian Sandu and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018) as part of their personal, cultural and social identities (Barrett et al. 2013). Forging a European identity, as one of individuals' social identities, constitutes an exceptionally laborious process.

Findings confirm the terminological and conceptual confusion between Europe and the EU, both being almost indistinguishable for most young university students, a generation of mobile and supposedly internationally oriented individuals. This unawareness or misperception needs to be addressed by authorities and educational institutions if they endeavour to facilitate the development of a supranational identity.

Students are aware of the advantages and privileges of being European and/or citizens of the EU. Even though sharing a culture, history and common values are foregrounded, they primarily view their membership in pragmatic, legal, economic or bureaucratic terms rather than feeling an affective or emotional attachment. This perceived distance is augmented by Andalusia's geographical location, a region situated in southern Europe and physically removed from central Europe, where decisions are made; indeed, students' perception of a north–south-central Europe divide seems to hinder their feelings of European identity. A third element concerns the blurred definition of European identity, somewhat attributed to the perceived absence of specific traits of Europeanness shared by a highly heterogeneous European population.

This sense of detachment from Europe may justify students' unawareness of their European identity, one of the social identities most affirmed not having pondered until the debate generated by the focus-group interview. Likewise, this lack of emotional attachment may account for their weak feelings of European identity or even their reported European non-identities (Grundy and Jamieson 2007). Individuals may not feel attached to a community they do not fully understand, and the sample insists that they have only gained a fragmented, and possibly biased knowledge of Europe, chiefly through the media. In this sense, the school curriculum becomes a relevant predictor of endorsement; European identity is not likely to surface unless European issues are explicitly and thoroughly addressed in the school curriculum and the calendar of school activities include celebrations of students' Europeanness (parallel to local celebrations or international commemorations such as the International Day of Peace or International Women's Day). Results indicate that a greater European dimension needs to be given not only to university modules (La Barbera, Cariota Ferrara, and Boza 2014) but also to primary and secondary education, where the basis of secondary socialisation is laid.

Contrary to the Erasmus+ programme guide, which regards academic mobility as a means to raise participants' awareness and understanding of other cultures and countries, capable of inspiring a sense of European citizenship and identity (European Commission 2019), and to findings reported by previous studies (Genova 2015; Jacobone and Moro 2015), which uphold the transformative and

influential role of European identity developed by international students abroad, in this research some instances of 'adhered' European identity are glimpsed at, although only by some students who have enrolled both in pre-university and university ISP. Thus, our data would support Kuhn's (2012) indication that mere international mobility experiences do not automatically prompt the embracement of European identity, as most students experiencing ISP only acknowledge an international orientation or willingness to further their studies or join the labour market abroad. Indeed, ISP at higher education has an evident 'can do' effect on individual personal, linguistic, academic or intercultural skills, but does not seem to spawn a widespread and heightened European identity.

European identity is exclusively reported to be a permanent and transformational experience by the student who has followed an ISP in Asia. This physical and emotional 'displacement' seems to be paramount for providing the opportunity to reflect on what being European means and how it compares with being a citizen from other parts of the world. This finding concurs with Llurda, Gallego Balsà, Barahona and Martin Rubió's study (2016), which stresses that a sense of European identity is likely to hold special significance when individuals are placed in a context that allows them to compare European and other supranational identities.

Limitations and opportunities of application of research findings

While previous studies have empirically explored whether Erasmus participation promotes European identity change (Mazzoni et al. 2018; Mitchell, 2015), most have done so from a quantitative perspective. The originality of our study resides in its qualitative approach, which affords revealing insights into students' perceptions and representations of European identity.

Despite the substantial size of the focus-group target sample and the wealth of qualitative information extracted, there are limitations in how far the results can be generalised to other higher education contexts.

Nevertheless, the findings presented in this study need to be carefully analysed by authorities and experts in education, since they seem to indicate that pan-European programmes, such as Erasmus+, may not be yielding the desired outcome of enhancing European identity formation. Therefore, future studies could fruitfully explore this issue further by addressing intercontinental mobility study programmes.

Conclusion

As it has been argued elsewhere, a top-down inductive approach has traditionally led to the assumption by the European authorities of a *broad-spectrum Europeanizing effect* of ISP. However, the complexity of individual identification processes, the uniqueness of biographical events experienced and interpersonal soft skills, or the pre-existing cultural schemas of participants, among other factors, seem to have at least an equally important role in the post-ISP effective endorsement of European identity.

The qualitative approach to this research has shed light on some singularities that had previously been disregarded. The salience of participants' affective sphere and emotional traits, surfaced during the interviews, became apparent as focus groups rendered a cathartic experience for ISP returnees.

The broad implication of the present research is threefold. From an affective standpoint, fostering feelings of belonging, celebrating joint achievements, promoting visions about the EU as a community of shared values and cultivating emotional links between nationals of member states might significantly contribute to forging positive attitudes toward the EU and bolstering students' identification as Europeans.

In terms of encouraging European youth civic and political engagement, developing clearly formulated initiatives which invoke the European dimension of participatory citizenship, through both

the formal political system and civil society actions, could help to stimulate positive attitudes towards the EU and the values of democracy, social cohesion and solidarity.

From an educational perspective, curricula and syllabi ought to provide ample learning opportunities regarding European issues alongside national or regional matters, both at initial and continuing education stages. Furthermore, equipping alumni with competences to leverage their study abroad experience for professional advancement, cross-border job mobility and pan-European career prospects seems the sound choice to ensure the sustainability of ISP results.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to the focus group interviewees, whose participation made this study possible.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

This study has been supported by the R + D project 'Musical aptitude, reading fluency and intercultural literacy of European university students" Secretaría de Estado de Investigación, Desarrollo e Innovación ; (FFI2016-75452-R), funded by the Spanish MINISTERIO DE ECONOMÍA, INDUSTRIA Y COMPETITIVIDAD'.

Notes on contributors

María del Carmen Méndez García is a senior lecturer at the Department of English Philology, University of Jaén (Spain), where she teaches pre and post-graduate courses. In 1997, she was awarded a Research and Development scholarship by the Spanish Ministry of Education (1997–2000), and since then has done research in the cultural component in English as a Foreign Language material, intercultural competence and communication in Foreign Language Teaching (FLT), and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). She is the author of books, book chapters and articles on intercultural competence in FLT, and on CLIL. She has participated in international projects such as 'International Competence for Professional Mobility', funded by the European Commission, and has cooperated with the Language Policy Division/Unit of the Council of Europe in the development of the *Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters* and the *Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters through Visual Media*. She has also participated in CLIL projects such as the Junta de Andalucía-funded Proyecto de Excelencia: "Análisis y Garantía de Calidad de la Educación Superior Plurilingüe en la Educación Superior de Andalucía".

Esther Cores-Bilbao is a doctoral candidate at the University of Huelva with interests in identity and European cultural literacy, interculturality, language learning and motivation in adult education. She is the Head Teacher at the EOI Do Mundo Lume, a government-funded Official School of Languages for adults. She is an external advisor to the Spanish National Agency for the Internationalisation of Education (SEPIE), having evaluated Erasmus+ proposals since 2014. She has coordinated several international projects in the Adult Education sector and cooperates with the Language Policy Division/Unit of the Council of Europe participating in the project 'CEFR mediation strategies: towards a socio-emotional and plurilingual education'. She is also the lead researcher of the Education Research Project 'Identity and Cultural Literacy: the use of Music Videos in English Language Teaching to Adults' (PIV-002//17) supported by the Andalusian Department of Education.

Laura Moreno Gámez is research assistant at the Department of English Philology at the University of Jaén. Graduate with a double bachelor's degree: English Studies and Spanish Philology at University of Huelva. She is currently studying a double master of Spanish language and literature at University of Jaén.

ORCID

María del Carmen Méndez García http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9414-2699
Esther Cores-Bilbao http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8239-8969

References

Barrett, M., M. Byram, I. Lázár, P. Mompoint-Gaillard, and S. Philippou. 2013. *Developing Intercultural Competence Through Education*. Pestalozzi series no. 3. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Beck, U., and C. Cronin. 2014. *Cosmopolitan Vision*. Wiley. https://books.google.es/books?id=Ix0-BQAAQBAJ.

Becker, J. C., and N. Tausch. 2014. "When Group Memberships are Negative: The Concept, Measurement, and Behavioral Implications of Psychological Disidentification." *Self and Identity* 13 (3): 294–321. doi:10.1080/15298868.2013.819991.

Breen, R. L. 2006. "A Practical Guide to Focus-Group Research." *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 30 (3): 463–475. doi:10.1080/03098260600927575.

Bruter, M. 2003. "Winning Hearts and Minds for Europe: The Impact of News and Symbols on Civic and Cultural European Identity." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (10): 1148–1179. doi:10.1177/0010414003257609.

Byram, M., A. Hu, and M. Rahman. 2017. "Are Researchers in Europe European Researchers? A Study of Doctoral Researchers at the University of Luxembourg*." *Studies in Higher Education* 0 (0): 1–13. doi:10.1080/03075079.2017.1378634.

Campbell, D. T. (1958). Common fate, similarity, and other indices of the status of aggregates of persons as social entities. *Behavioral science*, *3*(1), 14–25.

Caprara, G. V., M. Vecchione, C. Capanna, and M. Mebane. 2009. "Perceived Political Self-Efficacy: Theory, Assessment, and Applications." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 39 (6): 1002–1020. doi:10.1002/ejsp.604.

Cram, L. 2012. "Does the EU Need a Navel? Implicit and Explicit Identification with the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (1): 71–86. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2011.02207.x.

Delanty, G., and C. Rumford. 2005. *Rethinking Europe: Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*. (1st ed.). L: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203640050.

Du Bois-Reymond, M. 1998. "European Identity in the Young and Dutch Students' Images of Germany and the Germans." *Comparative Education* 34 (1): 27–40. doi:10.1080/03050069828324.

Duchesne, S. 2010. "L'identité européenne, entre science politique et science fiction." *Politique Européenne* 30 (1): 7. doi:10.3917/poeu.030.0007.

European Comission. 2018. "Council Recommendation of 22 May 2018 on key Competences for Lifelong Learning." *Official Journal of the European Union* (C 189/1): 1–13. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32018H0604(01)&rid=7.

European Commission. 2019. Erasmus+Programme guide. doi:10.1109/cicem.2013.6820130.

Fernández, Ó. 2005. "Towards European Citizenship through Higher Education?" *European Journal of Education* 40 (1): 59–68. doi:10.1016/j.jaci.2009.11.036.

Fernández, J. J., M. Eigmüller, and S. Börner. 2016. "Domestic Transnationalism and the Formation of Pro-European Sentiments." *European Union Politics* 17 (3): 457–481. doi:10.1177/1465116516633536.

Fuss, D., and M. Grosser. 2006. "What Makes Young Europeans Feel European?. Results from a Cross-Cultural Research Proyect." *European Identity: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Insights* 36: 209–242. LIT Verlag Münster.

Garib, G. 2012. "Identifying Variables Predictive of Endorsing a European Identity." *Identity* 12 (3): 266–273. doi:10.1080/15283488.2012.691253.

Genova, E. 2015. "To Have Both Roots and Wings: Nested Identities in the Case of Bulgarian Students in the UK." *Identities* 23 (4): 392–406. doi:10.1080/1070289X.2015.1024125.

Grundy, S., and L. Jamieson. 2007. "European Identities: From Absent-Minded Citizens to Passionate Europeans." *Sociology* 41 (4): 663–680. doi:10.1177/0038038507078919.

Gu, M. 2011. "Language Choice and Identity Construction in Peer Interactions: Insights from a Multilingual University in Hong Kong." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 32 (1): 17–31. doi:10.1080/01434632.2010.532876.

Habermas, J. 2012. "The Crisis of the European Union in the Light of a Constitutionalization of International Law." *European Journal of International Law* 23 (2): 335–348. doi:10.1093/ejil/chs019.

Hadfield, A., and R. Summerby-Murray. 2016. "Vocation or Vocational? Reviewing European Union Education and Mobility Structures." *European Journal of Higher Education* 6 (3): 237–255. doi:10.1080/21568235.2015.1099453.

Hoskins, B., H. Abs, C. Han, D. Kerr, and W. Veugelers. 2012. *Contextual Report: Participatory Citizenship in the European Union, Institute of Education report for EU. Southampton: Southampton University*. https://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/about-the-europe-for-citizens-programme/studies/index_en.htm.

Inglehart, R. 1970. "Cognitive Mobilization and European Identity." *Comparative Politics* 3 (1): 45. doi:10.2307/421501.

Jacobone, V., and G. Moro. 2015. "Evaluating the Impact of the Erasmus Programme: Skills and European Identity." *Assessment and Evaluation in Higher Education* 40 (2): 309–328. doi:10.1080/02602938.2014.909005.

Kaina, V. 2013. "How to Reduce Disorder in European Identity Research." *European Political Science* 12 (2): 184–196. doi:10.1057/eps.2012.39.

Kaina, V., and I. P. Karolewski. 2013. "EU Governance and European Identity." *Living Reviews in European Governance* 8 (1): 1–59. doi:10.12942/lreg-2013-1.
Kantner, C. 2006. "Collective Identity as Shared Ethical Self-understanding." *European Journal of Social Theory* 9 (4): 501–523. doi:10.1177/1368431006073016.
Karolewski, I. P. 2011. "European Identity Making and Identity Transfer." *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (6): 935–955.
Keating, A. 2016. "Are Cosmopolitan Dispositions Learned at Home, at School, or Through Contact with Others? Evidence from Young People in Europe." *Journal of Youth Studies* 19 (3): 338–357. doi:10.1080/13676261.2015.1072617.
Kritzinger, S. 2005. "European Identity Building from the Perspective of Efficiency." *Comparative European Politics* 3 (1): 50–75. doi;10.1057/palgrave.cep.6110048.
Kuhn, T. 2012. "Why Educational Exchange Programmes Miss their Mark: Cross-border Mobility, Education and European Identity." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (6): 994–1010. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2012.02286.x.
La Barbera, F., P. Cariota Ferrara, and M. Boza. 2014. "Where are we Coming From Versus who We will Become: The Effect of Priming Different Contents of European Identity on Cooperation." *International Journal of Psychology* 49 (6): 480–487. doi:10.1002/ijop.12073.
Llurda, E., L. Gallego-Balsà, C. Barahona, and X. Martin-Rubió. 2016. "Erasmus Student Mobility and the Construction of European Citizenship." *Language Learning Journal* 44 (3): 323–346. doi:10.1080/09571736.2016.1210911.
Luhmann, S. 2017a. "A Multi-level Approach to European Identity: Does Integration Foster Identity?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55 (6): 1360–1379. doi:10.1111/jcms.12554.
Luhmann, S. 2017b. "The European Identity Survey- a Bridge between Political Science and Psychology." *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 13 (3): 1260–1282.
Mackey, A., and S. M. Gass. 2005. *Second Language Research: Methodology and Design*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. doi:10.1177/0033688217707630.
Mazzoni, D., C. Albanesi, P. D. Ferreira, S. Opermann, V. Pavlopoulos, and E. Cicognani. 2018. "Cross-border Mobility, European Identity and Participation among European Adolescents and Young Adults." *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* 15 (3): 324–339. doi:10.1080/17405629.2017.1378089.
Mitchell, K. 2012. "Student Mobility and European Identity: Erasmus Study as a Transformative Experience." *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 8 (4): 490–518. http://www.imagining.eu/workshop/papers/MITCHELL-Student mobility and European identity.pdf.
Mitchell, K. 2015. "Rethinking the 'Erasmus Effect' on European Identity." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (2): 330–348. doi:10.1111/jcms.12152.
Nestian Sandu, O., and N. Lyamouri-Bajja. 2018. *T-KIT 4. Intercultural Learning. The Training Kits Series*. Council of Europe (Ed.). Strasbourg.
Osler, A. 1998. "European Citizenship and Study Abroad: Student Teachers' Experiences and Identities." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 28 (1): 77–96. doi:10.1080/0305764980280107.
Pollmann, A. 2007. "National and European Identities: Notions of Reconcilability and Inclusiveness in a Case Study of German Trainee Teachers." *Compare* 37 (1): 89–104. doi:10.1080/03057920601061844.
Polonska-Kimunguyi, E., and P. Kimunguyi. 2011. "The Making of the Europeans: Media in the Construction of Pan-national Identity." *International Communication Gazette* 73 (6): 507–523. doi:10.1177/1748048511412283.
Recchi, E. 2014. "Pathways to European Identity Formation: A Tale of Two Models." *Innovation* 27 (2): 119–133. doi:10.1080/13511610.2013.873709.
Risse, T. 2003. "The Euro between National and European Identity." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10 (4): 487–505. doi:10.1080/1350176032000101235.
Sigalas, E. 2010. "Cross-border Mobility and European Identity: The Effectiveness of Intergroup Contact During the ERASMUS Year Abroad." *European Union Politics* 11 (2): 241–265. doi:10.1177/1465116510363656.
Spannring, R., C. Wallace, and G. Datler. 2008. "What Leads Young People to Identify with Europe? An Exploration of the Impact of Exposure to Europe and Political Engagement on European Identity among Young Europeans." *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 9 (4): 480–498. doi:10.1080/15705850802416929.
Sperling, J. 2013. "Belonging, Beyond the Nation: The Significance and Meaning of European Identity for Latin American-Origin Youth in Spain." *National Identities* 15 (1): 67–84. doi:10.1080/14608944.2012.733155.
Stoeckel, F. 2009. "The European Public Sphere, the Media, and Support for European Integration." *SSRN Electronic Journal*. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2144694.
Strohmeier, Dagmar, Martyn Barrett, Carmen Bora, Simona C. S. Caravita, Elisa Donghi, Edmond Dragoti, Chris Fife-Schaw, et al. 2017. "Young People's Engagement with the European Union the Importance of Visions and Worries for the Future of Europe." *Zeitschrift Für Psychologie* 225 (4): 313–323. doi:10.1027/2151-2604/a000314.
Tajfel, H. E. 1978. *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Academic Press.
Tenenbaum, H. R., C. Fife-Schaw, and M. Barrett. 2019. "What Predicts British Young People's Views of Europe? In *Young People's Visions and Worries for the Future of Europe: Findings from the Europe 2038 Project*.

Thorpe, C. 2008. "The Distinguishing Function of European Identity: Attitudes Towards and Visions of Europe and the European Union among Young Scottish Adults." *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 9 (4): 499–513. doi:10.1080/15705850802416945.

Udrea. 2013. "National and European Identity: An Empirical Research on how Romanian Students Experience Identities During their Long-Term Studies Abroad." *Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations* 15 (1(28)): 17–35.

Van Mol, C. 2018. "Becoming Europeans: the Relationship Between Student Exchanges in Higher Education, European Citizenship and a Sense of European Identity." *Innovation* 1610: 1–15. doi:10.1080/13511610.2018.1495064.

Van Mol, C., H. A. G. de Valk, and L. van Wissen. 2015. "Falling in Love with(in) Europe: European Bi-national Love Relationships, European Identification and Transnational Solidarity." *European Union Politics* 16 (4): 469–489. doi:10.1177/1465116515588621.

Verhaegen, S. 2018. "What to Expect from European Identity? Explaining Support for Solidarity in Times of Crisis." *Comparative European Politics* 16 (5): 871–904. doi:10.1057/s41295-017-0106-x.

Verhaegen, S., and M. Hooghe. 2015. "Does More Knowledge About the European Union Lead to a Stronger European Identity? A Comparative Analysis among Adolescents in 21 European Member States." *Innovation* 28 (2): 127–146. doi:10.1080/13511610.2014.1000836.

Vertovec, S. 2009. *Transnationalism*. Oxford: Routledge.

Wilkins, C., H. Busher, T. Lawson, I. Acun, and N. L. Göz. 2010. "European Citizenship and European Union Expansion: Perspectives on Europeanness and Citizenship Education from Britain and Turkey." *European Educational Research Journal* 9 (4): 444–456. doi:10.2304/eerj.2010.9.4.444.

Wilson, I. 2011. "What Should we Expect of 'Erasmus Generations'?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49 (5): 1113–1140. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2010.02158.x.

Wodak, R., and G. Weiss. 2005. Analyzing European Union discourses (pp. 121–135). doi:10.1075/dapsac.13.10wod.