Regional Identity between Inclusion and Exclusion

Elisabeth Donat

Do Regions Provide Cause for Optimism in a Turbulent Europe?

These days, waiting for decisions to be made at EU level requires patience. The EU 28 appear to have lost their fizz. Recently, both 'internal' matters, such as the appointment of a new European Commission, and 'external' questions, such as the EU's ongoing attempts to deal with what is often referred to as 'the migrant crisis', have made one thing very clear: At the level of its member states, the EU is divided – into north and south, east and west, old and new members, and a United Kingdom that, thanks to Brexit, is largely preoccupied for the time being. In many countries, populist movements appear to be determining the direction of government policy; political ideas incubated by these movements are being adopted – more or less willingly – by the political mainstream, thereby sowing the seeds of Euroscepticism among broad swathes of voters. These developments, the political vacuum and the powerlessness currently affecting many EU decision-making processes, have caused many to reconsider the concept of a 'Europe of the Regions' (Ruge 2004) for new ideas and renewed hope. The concept of a 'European Republic' (Guérot 2016) is not the only proposal that includes a greater role for Europe's regions; an anthology recently published in German (Hilpold et al. 2016) explores strategies for enhancing the regions' influence in the European context. But why should we assume that regions would be 'more reasonable', more amenable to uniting in a federal Europe consisting of regions and would not act merely as smaller versions of today's nations, which would find it just as hard to achieve unity among their many particular interests? The formation of regional identity strengthens and supports a political community and is a key variable when considering the reorganisation of regions and their competencies at the EU level. This chapter asks what regional identity means and how much common interest a political community requires. At the same time, it considers the balancing act that needs to be performed between an inclusive and an exclusive (in the sense of exclusionary) regional identity.

Opinion polls periodically reveal that, in terms of territorial reference points, regional identity is one of the most relevant sources of identification, immediately behind national identity, and well ahead of any European identity (Mühler/Opp

2004, Haller 2009, European Commission/European Parliament 2017).[1] Regional identity shows incredible persistence: even though identities are becoming increasingly cosmopolitan, global, hybrid and multiple, regional identity is a consistent key factor in the self-definition of most respondents (Pohl 2001). Interest in regional identity has also grown, not least as a result of the boom in social geography. Conversely, the 'spatial turn' in the humanities and social sciences since the 1980s has also seen the concept of space grow in prominence in analyses of social structures and social action (Schroer 2008). In the 1990s, extensive studies were carried out of the importance of national identity and the distinction between nationalism and patriotism (Fleiss et. al. 2009; Parker 2010; Blank/Schmidt 2003; Weiss/Reinprecht 2004; Kosterman/Feshbach 1989). As the European Union underwent successive major enlargements, research started to focus on questions of European identity. Political scientists are particularly interested in the various levels of identity – regional, national, European and cosmopolitan – because a shared identity is an important aspect of a political community (Herrmann/Brewer 2000; Peters 2005; Meyer 2009; Datler 2012; Galais/Serrano 2019). Nonetheless, little attention has so far been paid to 'regional identity' in the political sciences, and though it is one of the dimensions of 'identity' regularly included in major surveys of opinion, it is rarely analysed in depth (see also the chapter by Praprotnik in this volume).

As a result, our knowledge of the substance and specific forms of manifestation of regional identity is limited. In large international surveys of attitudes, regional identity is most commonly dealt with using the concept of 'attachment' to the region, alongside questions on attachment to town or city, nation and the EU/Europe. Yet this operationalisation covers only one aspect of regional identity, namely the degree of identification with the region. It does not explain what substantive elements regional identity draws upon, whether there is an emotional spectrum of 'attachment', and what forms of planned behaviour (Ajzen et al. 2005) it can motivate. Unfortunately, opinion surveys and research often use the concept of 'identity' hastily and in an unreflective way, a fact that has already been subject to criticism (Brubaker/Cooper 2000). Even if 'identity' can shift in the course of life and is influenced by socialisation processes (Erikson 1974), we can assume that it is not renegotiated each day but is more or less habitually present (on the example of national identity, Deschouwer et. al. 2015) and only becomes salient in a given situation or context (Herrmann/Brewer 2000).

This chapter begins by summarising the findings of research carried out in the social sciences on the measurement of national and European identity and uses this to identify problems of the definition and measurement of regional identity.

1 Asked about attachment, 89 percent of respondents answered that they feel attached to their city, town or village, 92 percent to their country, and only 54 percent to the European Union.

Drawing on survey data from a study of regional identity in the Tyrol, it then considers whether the distinction between a constructive identity and a chauvinistic attitude should also be made at the regional level. Finally, it considers the implications for relations between regions in a federation of European regions.

Defining and Measuring Regional, National and European Identity

We use territorial designations quite naturally to describe all kinds of collective identities: thus, we can speak of a local, regional, national and European identity, with reference in each case to a territory that we can easily envisage. As early as 1903, Georg Simmel (Simmel 1903: 15) in his essay on the sociology of space argued that 'This is why consciousness of boundedness is not at its most precise with so-called natural boundaries (mountains, rivers, oceans or deserts) but rather with merely political boundaries which only place a geometrical line between two neighbours.' Simmel was one of the first to stress the social component of the construction of space. Space is no longer a static given fact, but is defined, shaped and transformed by social activity. Relations of objects in space, of people, the organisation of space in general are expressions of existing power relations, because they create hierarchies. By means of 'Spacing' (Löw 2000), the appropriation of space, space is constructed in material and immaterial terms (via values, norms, rules). It only becomes space in itself by means of (re)construction processes that take the form of acts of synthesis. These acts of synthesis encompass the perception, imagination and memory of spaces. In the temporal dimension, spatial relations are reinforced by unchanging routines and (cognitive) reproduction and only called into question when conflicts arise (Keating 2013). Precisely such conflict situations and power struggles make us aware of how spaces are emotionally charged: spatial identity is always also social identity. To speak of purely 'territorial identity' appears to be misleading: social relations are reflected in space and in this way give space meaning. We are not dealing with mere 'place-ism' (i.e. a need for territorial belonging, Lewis 2016; Evans 2012), but also and above all the social relations associated with a given space.

To return to the questions we posed at the start, this raises the matter of whether regional identity can be 'more constructive' per se than national identity, and whether, for example, regions would act 'more reasonably' in a European-level political entity than do nation states. If, however, it is not possible to speak of spatial identity in itself, we can assume that regions are also deeply infused with social identity and emotionalised and undertake the same processes of demarcation and drawing of borders as nations. Since it has so far proved impossible, in the case of nations, to empirically demonstrate the existence of a constructive, collective identity, a constitutional patriotism (Habermas 1993), a rational solidarity community,

we may also assume that in the case of regions, attachment always goes hand in hand with processes of demarcation and exclusion. In studies of national identity, it has been observed that individuals who (are said to) embody a patriotic position continually flirt with nationalist attitudes (Wagner et. al. 2012). In concrete terms, this finds empirical expression in the difficulty of distinguishing a nationalist factor from a patriotic, civic 'rational' factor (Schatz et al. 1999): Both constructs (and their measurement errors) exhibit such consistently high correlation that it is hard to distinguish cleanly between them (Fleiss et. al. 2009; Parker 2010; Blank/Schmidt 2003; Weiss/Reinprecht 2004; Kosterman/Feshbach 1989). Nor do the two concepts stand up well to testing via construct validation, since they show similar correlations with external factors. It therefore cannot be said that they represent two distinct attitude patterns.

At the regional level, Chacha (2012) attempts to distinguish between 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' attachment to region, where the former includes identification with the nation alongside identification with the region, and where the analysis also shows a small, positive correlation with European identity. By contrast, exclusive regional identification demonstrates no correlation with European identity – though it is questionable, given the low coefficient, whether the distinction between these two stances can be considered proven. Moreover, it may not be correct to assume that this correlation automatically indicates a pro-European stance: Wallace (2020, in this volume) notes a general increase in the desire to identify with a territory or group. Simultaneously identifying with region, nation and the EU/Europe does not necessarily indicate a cosmopolitan attitude but may merely reflect this general desire to identify with territories and/or groups. To explain this situation requires a more precise determination of substance, emotional content, and potential behavioural consequences, as undertaken, for instance, by Roudomentof (2019) with reference to the 'local'. When only a single indicator is applied (the question of attachment), it remains unclear what this attachment consists of, how it may be expressed in terms of emotions, and what kinds of action it might precipitate.

When considering regional identity in a political context, it is particularly important to distinguish it from a 'regionalism' that might bring the agendas of the group in question to the fore (potentially at the cost of others) (Pohl 2001: 12919): 'The line between vague regional identity and active political regionalism is not sharp and the motifs are mixed together.' Models of 'mixed' and 'nested' identities assume that the coexistence of regional and European identity indicates an inclusive and open attitude (Hermann/Brewer 2000; Galais/Serrano 2019; Medrano/Gutiérrez 2001). In light of research on secession and autonomy movements within the EU, however, this extrapolation appears somewhat dangerous: whether such professions of identity are in fact pro-European or merely pay lip service to Europeanism as a means of resisting a restrictive nation state needs to be exami-

ned in each individual case: 'Through subsidiarity, regions have come to perceive the EU "as an ally against the central state".' (Jolly 2007: 4)

Research at the level of European identity has also attempted to differentiate between 'cultural' and 'civic' identity, though no tests on representative samples have so far been carried out (Bruter 2003, 2004). Measuring the emotional component of collective identity has proven particularly difficult. Duchesne (2008) and Duchesne & Frognier (2008) have suggested that political identity is adequately operationalised using the concept of 'identification'; the concept of 'citizenship' has been deployed as a means of explaining who respondents include within their own group and who they exclude (Reeskens/Hooghe 2010): however, such analyses remain trapped at the level of 'social categorisation', i.e. the cognitive classification of people into groups. Using this approach tends to mask the consequences of such acts of categorisation: Attitudes always also include affective and connotative components (Allport 1967; Herrmann/Brewer 2000; Kaina 2009). Precisely this positive, emotional relation would be the basis for the legitimation for political action at the regional, national or European level.

Collective identity is generated at the level of the individual (attitudes) and reinforced at the collective level via the social construction of cultural norms (narratives, discourses etc.) (Wiesner 2017). The cognitive components of a constructive identification with region/nation/Europe appear to be relatively clear (at least in theory): it involves a commitment to fundamental democratic values, civil rights, the rule of law and recognition of the constitution (Habermas 1993; Laborde 2002). However, here we are dealing with abstract, postmaterialist structures that many respondents would likely have difficulty in identifying and categorising in an empirical test. The definition of the affective components of such an attitude is unclear (Deschouwer et. al. 2015; Fleiss et al. 2009): Is it a matter of 'pride' at certain constitutional achievements that binds 'patriots' to a certain territory or group? Or does a constructive regional identity consist of a combination of 'love' of a territory together with certain values?

Nor is regional identity immune to preferential evaluation of one's own group and the deprecation of outside groups, in the appropriate context (Tajfel 1982). 'Pride' in one's own region always includes an element of comparison: 'proud' in contrast to whom or what? Even where 'pride' focuses 'merely' on democratic achievements such as constitutionalism or the rule of law, it cannot avoid a degree of idealisation. It is therefore not only worth varying the substantive features used to measure collective identity but also, at the level of affect, to model the nuances of feeling associated with attachment. Weiner's (2004) attribution theory provides a useful framework for analysing the various possible forms of emotional attachment: 'The most basic assumption of an attribution view of emotion is that feelings are determined by thoughts, and specifically by beliefs about causality.' (ibid. 355). Causal beliefs triggered by an event are distributed along the dimensions of

causal locus (internal/external), causal stability (stable/unstable) and causal control (controllable/uncontrollable). In accordance with the fundamental attribution error, people tend to attribute events, and particularly successes, to internal qualities rather than situational circumstances. In the case of self-serving bias, for instance, we attribute our successes to our own aptitudes and efforts than to situational factors. Attribution errors of this kind are also committed with regard to groups: group-serving attributional bias describes this phenomenon in relation to the attribution of successes to the internal qualities of the group to which one belongs. If we arrange emotions along these dimensions, focusing in particular on those that are attributed to internal causes, we generate the following classification (Table 1):

Table 1: Attribution, causal dimension, behaviour relations (Weiner 2004: 357)

Outcome	Cause	Relevant Causal dimension	Emotion		Motivational Consequences	
			Self-directed	Other-directed	Achievement	Social
Success	All causes	None	*Happiness*		+	+
	Aptitude	Internal	*Pride*			
	Effort	Internal	*Pride*			
	Others	External		*Gratitude*		+
Failure	Aptitude	Internal	*Shame*		-	-
	Effort	Internal	*Guilt*		+	+
	Others	External		*Anger*		-

In the following analysis of emotional attachment to the region, the focus will therefore lie on the emotions of pride, happiness, gratitude, and shame. As a completely neutral emotion, 'indifference' will also be included. It should be noted that the emotion 'pride', in particular, is attributed to an internal cause in multiple instances: once as a consequence of aptitude and again as a result of effort. By contrast, Weiner classifies happiness as a 'relatively "thoughtless" emotion' (ibid. 357), as it arises independently of any specific cause. Weiner describes 'gratitude' as an emotion that is capable of evoking pro-social behaviour, as it may arouse a desire to 'balance the scales of justice'. While, according to this schema, pride has no effect on the motivational basis for further action, shame leads to withdrawal and inhibits future action. The next section examines these relationships in terms of causal attribution to one's own group for data relating to regional identity in Tyrol.

Survey Results: A Passion for Tyrol

In the following section, which considers the case of regional identity in Tyrol, we consider what elements constitute this identity, what emotional nuances they contain, and whether it is possible to distinguish between inclusive and exclusive (in the sense of exclusionary) attachment. The data discussed here was gathered in 2011 by means of a representative random sample of 500 Tyrolean men and women.[2] Prior to gathering this quantitative data, 29 narrative interviews were carried out with Tyrolean residents, consisting of a biographical component and a problem-centred component focusing on the respondents' regional identity. The qualitative interviews were carried out by trained personnel from Tyrol, i.e. by members of the 'in-group', which proved highly conducive to an open atmosphere for the discussions. These interviews proved extremely helpful when it came to designing the questionnaire, as they indicated just how very strongly Tyoleans identify with their region. These ties are so strong that the attachment is even expressed in terms of physical, corporeal images and metaphors (the heart, the five senses, blood, genes). Detailed descriptions of one's own group with an emphasis on their authenticity (authentic like the miners, authentic like *Tyrolean* sportsmen and women, authentic and committed to solidarity like Tyrolean freedom fighters) contrast with vague descriptions and evasive speculations about other groups. The interview material also provided numerous metaphors for social inclusion and exclusion.

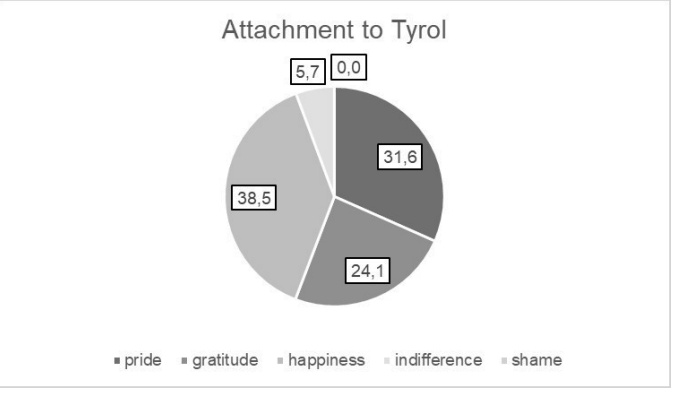
The strong emotional attachment to Tyrol is also evident in the quantitative data. 86 percent of respondents stated that they had deep roots in Tyrol and 87 percent that they love the region. By contrast, only 27 percent answered that they only live in Tyrol because of the high quality of life – a purely functional attachment thus appears to be rare. The data reveals – as do the qualitative interviews – generally very strong attachment to the region on the part of its inhabitants. In accordance with the considerations of the previous section, emotional attachment to the region has been broken down as the result of various styles of attribution in a more detailed manner than is usually the case in studies of this kind. Respondents were asked to choose between five emotional states when considering their attachment to Tyrol. Drawing on Weiner's (2004) attribution theory, the survey covers a full spectrum of emotions of attachment by distinguishing between pride, gratitude, happiness, indifference, and shame. According to this theory, events associated with 'pride' are interpreted as internal, controllable and stable results of sequences of occurrences by those who experience them. By contrast, 'gratitude' is attributed to an external cause – events and successes are caused by other people. 'Happiness' is a weak expression of a positive emotional state, in contrast to 'indifference', which describes

2 The survey was made possible thanks to the support of the Tyrolean Science Fund (*Tiroler Wissenschaftsfond*).

a neutral emotional state, and was present above all in the interviews with individuals who considered attribution on the basis of territories or groups to be of little relevance in general. For reasons of balance, an explicitly negative emotion was also included in the survey in the form of 'shame'. To give an example: successes on the part of one's own group – even where one was perhaps not personally involved in an immediate sense – could lead to an increase in self-worth by being experienced in the form of pride, since 'pride' is attributed to internal, stable and controllable causes. This leads to a boost in esteem for one's own group – and simultaneously for oneself (cf. Tajfel 1982).

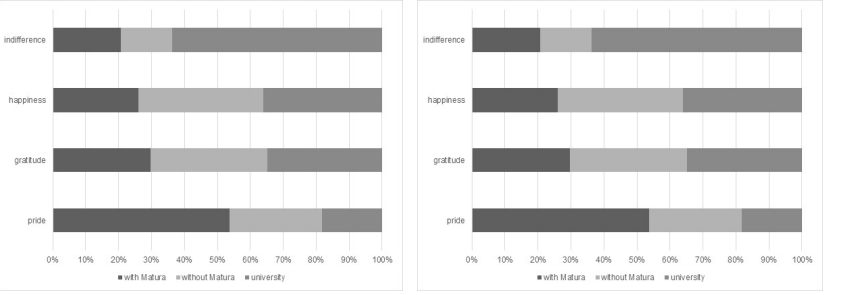
Around a third of respondents stated that they were 'proud' when they thought of Tyrol; 24 percent felt gratitude; 38.5 percent, happiness; and only 5.7 percent expressed indifference. None of the respondents reported feeling shame in connection with Tyrol (Figure 1). There were no differences in attribution by different age groups or generations, though differences were apparent among respondents with different levels of education and places of birth.

Figure 1 Attachment to Tyrol



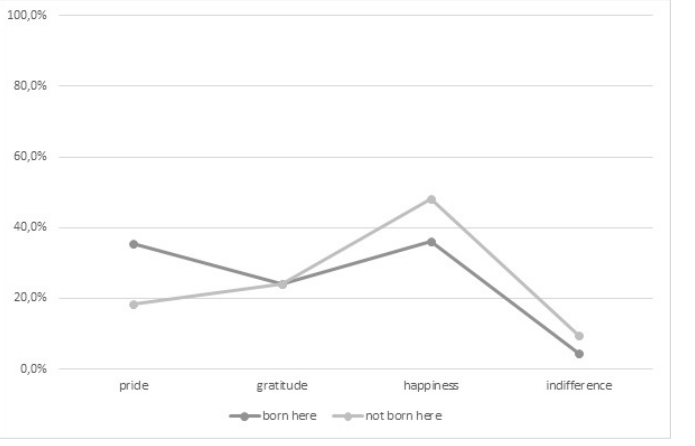
The sociostructural characteristics 'education' and 'place of birth' have a clear influence on emotional attachment to the region. The lower the level of school education, the more likely the respondent is to report feeling the emotion of 'pride' in connection with the region. By contrasts, respondents with higher levels of educational attainment have a more dispassionate stance towards the region (Figure 2) and are more likely to express their emotional connection in terms of 'indifference' or 'happiness'. Higher levels of education thus appear to lead to a 'cooler' relationship to the region or indicate that such attributions are generally less significant for these respondents.

Figure 2: Educational Attainment and Regional Attachment[3]



Place of birth naturally plays a large role in determining attachment to the region: respondents who were born in Tyrol were more likely to be proud of the region, while those who moved there later in life were most likely to select the comparatively neutral emotion of 'happiness' (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Place of Birth and Attachment to the Region



Following this overview of the data and discussion of how emotional attachment varies according to sociostructural characteristics, we will now consider how these emotions correlate with other attitude patterns. The focus here is on which

3 The Matura is the highest school leaving certificate in Austria, achieved after usually twelve years of schooling.

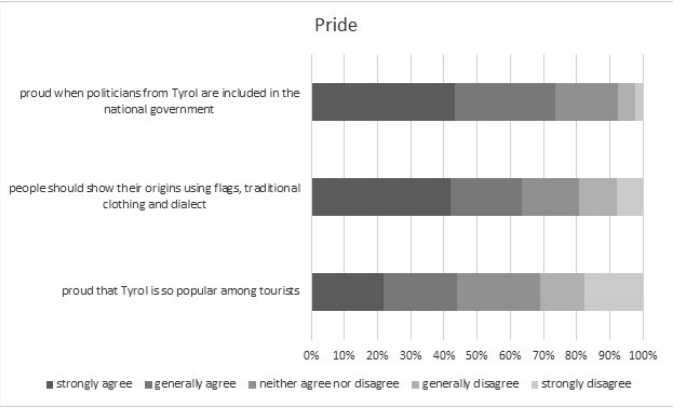
emotions, if any, can be linked with exclusionary activities or associated with chauvinism. In a logical regression, the influence of attitudes towards incomers and the correlation with conservative attitudes were examined. Two indexes were constructed: the first models the expectations made of new arrivals, the second consists of conservative values (for the individual items in the indexes, see Table 3 in the appendix). When new residents arrive in Tyrol, they are expected to adapt. More than 80 percent of respondents agreed with the statement that new arrivals should not be given preferential treatment ('strongly agree' and 'generally agree'), and nearly as many respondents agreed that new residents should comply with prevailing norms ('strongly agree' and 'generally agree'). A greater variety of emotional responses were elicited on the question of whether newcomers to Tyrol should bring their own culture and way of life with them: only around half of respondents agreed (strongly) that they should. Respondents also demonstrated a very high level of conservative values (cf. Appendix, Table 3). They were almost unanimous in considering 'security and order' and 'conscientiousness' to be important values. The value 'being hardworking and ambitious' also found the approval of a high proportion of respondents – more than 80 percent considered this to be an important virtue ('important and 'very important'). Only with respect to the value 'sense of tradition' was there a degree of variation in the answers given (cf. Table 3 in the Appendix). We performed a multinomial regression to examine the influence of critical attitudes towards new residents and conservative values on the various categories of emotional attachment (Table 2). 'Indifference' was selected as the reference category. For the model of the variable 'pride', both factors appeared to have a significant influence. In the case of the other two models ('gratitude' and 'happiness'), only conservative values appeared significant. 'Gratitude' and 'happiness' thus appear to have less of an exclusionary character than 'pride'.

Table 2: Multinominal Regression (Reference Category 'Indifference')

		Significance	Exp(B)
Pride	Constant term	0.442	
	Critical attitude towards new residents	0.050	1.205
	Conservatism	0.000	0.375
Gratitude	Constant term	0.384	
	Critical attitude towards new residents	0.929	1.009
	Conservatism	0.001	0.454
Happiness	Constant term	0.770	
	Critical attitude towards new residents	0.341	1.099
	Conservatism	0.016	0.583

It is worth examining the substance of 'pride' more closely in terms of these results. There is a strong sense of pride in belonging, and this is clearly projected towards the 'outside' (Figure 4). Nearly all the respondents stated that they were at least partly proud that Tyrol is so popular among tourists. Almost two thirds were of the opinion that people should use clear 'markers' to indicate their origins to the outside world, and nearly half of respondents answered that it makes them proud when politicians from Tyrol are included in the Austrian national government. Once again, these distributions indicate a strong tendency towards differentiation into ingroups and outgroups on the part of the respondents.

Figure 4: Pride (N= 500)



If these items are combined to create a 'pride scale', a correlation with exclusionary attitudes is again revealed. Pride shows a correlation of 0.327** with a critical attitude towards new arrivals, indicating a significant (p=0.01) correlation between pride in one's region and a critical attitude towards incomers.

In summary we can conclude that regional attachment has several emotional dimensions, which entail a variety of implications (for action). The dimension of 'pride' stands out in particular: drawing on Weiner's (2004) attribution theory, it can be argued that an attitude of pride makes one relatively receptive to the promotion of chauvinistic attitudes and prejudices towards other groups. The data also generally indicates a strong attachment to the region. Other analyses (cf. Donat 2020) show that regional pride is also closely associated with an uncritical stance towards history and a sceptical attitude with regard to the modernisation of the region. Conservative positions are also prominently represented throughout the entire sample. The range of opinions revealed by this survey is relatively uniform, which is why it is virtually impossible to apply clustering procedures, and multino-

mial regression reveals low coefficients and generally weak correlation in a generally homogeneous set of opinions. The respondents reported an almost uniformly high level of attachment to the region, as the qualitative interviews had already shown. The survey reveals a region that is highly 'self-assertive' with high levels of regional attachment in virtually every population group.

Social Closure in a Europe of the Regions

In the results presented here, Tyrol gives the impression of being a self-assertive region. This places high expectations on new arrivals seeking to join Tyrolean society. Tyroleans express their identity to the outside world (with pride) and have a clear understanding of what it means to belong. Their desire to uphold existing norms is evident in their wish for Tyrol to remain as it is (cf. Donat 2020). How would a region that is so self-assertive conduct itself in a 'Europe of the regions'? Although the results presented here certainly do not allow us to draw conclusions about how a regional identity of this kind would influence behaviour in a union with other (strong?) regional identities, nonetheless, they do outline a number of parameters that the processes of demarcation and exclusion associated with a very strong regional identity reveal. It is legitimate to ask how cooperation and the pursuit of a united common interest can be achieved when several self-assured regions of this kind come together. In view of the growing disparities among Europe's regions, the issue of the regional balance of power also arises – and the related matter of who would call the tune. A self-assured region such as Tyrol is certain to see itself as a key player, as the 2019 European Parliament election campaign demonstrated: 'Europe Needs Tyrol', but does Tyrol need Europe?

Figure 5: The 2019 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in Tyrol

(Source: VP Tirol)

Keating (2013) takes the view that the wealthier regions in a European union of regions would also agree to an expansion of resource redistribution among the regions. But this has to be weighed against the existence at the present time of many separatist movements, many prominent examples of which are economically powerful and seek to disengage from national structures that bind them together with economically weaker regions. It would therefore be hasty to make a blanket judgement, and the situation calls for observation of individual cases and detailed analysis of the components of regional identity that would provide further information on processes of demarcation and exclusion.

Alongside the substantive features of regional identity, greater attention should also be paid to emotional components, as they give a particularly useful insight into the fine line that is crossed when collective identities drift into regionalism. Although this research has outlined only some basic elements of one specific regional identity, it is based on a comprehensive sample and extensive preparation in the form of qualitative interviews. In this regard, it has an advantage over large, international comparative surveys: For instance, the 2017 Eurobarometer sought the opinions of only 86 individuals from Tyrol. This is why it is important that detailed surveys of this kind are undertaken in the future.

In a world that is very much structured by the supposedly neutral meritocratic ideal and the notion of singularity (Reckwitz 2017) as the path to social success, it

makes sense to apply attribution theory as a model that can explain causal attributions of success and failure. These attributions also apply to groups, particularly when they allow us to raise our self-evaluations. The emotional spectrum of attachment a region's inhabitants have to the region is broad and does not always follow functional and rational considerations. The political situation in Europe in the early 21st century has again revealed the explosive power of such emotions.

References

Allport, Gordon (1967): "Attitudes." In: Fishbein, Martin (ed.): Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement, NY/London/Sydney: Wiley, pp. 1–14.

Ajzen, Icek/Fishbein, Martin/Lohmann, Sophie/Albarracín, Dolores (2005): "The influence of attitudes on behavior." In: Albarracín, Dolores/Johnson, Blair T. (eds.): The handbook of attitudes, Lawrenc.

Blank, Thomas/Schmidt Peter (2003): "National Identity in a United Germany: Nationalism or Patriotism? An Empirical Test with Representative Data." In: Political Psychology 24/2, pp. 289–312

Brubaker, Rogers/Cooper, Frederick (2000): "Beyond 'Identity'." In: Theory and Society 29/1, pp. 1–47.

Bruter, Michael (2003): "Winning hearts and minds for Europe. The impact of News and Symbols on Civic and Cultural European Identity." In: Comparative Political Studies 36/10 pp. 1148–1179.

Bruter, Michael (2004): "On what Citizens mean by feeling "European": Perceptions of News, Symbols and Borderless-ness." In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 30/1, pp. 21–39.

Chacha, Mwita (2012): "Regional attachment and support for European integration." In: European Union Politics 14/2, pp. 206–227.

Datler, Georg (2012): "'Europäische identität' jenseits der Demos Fiktion." In: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 4/8, pp. 57–61.

Deschouwer, Kris/De Winter, Lieven/Dodeigne, Jérémy/Reuchamps, Min/Sinardet, Dave (2015): "Measuring [Sub]National Identities in Surveys. Some Lessons from Belgium." Paper presented at The state of the federation 2015, Liege, Belgium.

Donat, Elisabeth (2020): "Regionale Identität(en) in der EU." In: Hermann, Andrea Tony/Ingruber, Daniela/Perlot, Flooh/Praprotnik, Katrin/Hainzl, Christina (eds.): regional.national.föderal – Zur Beziehung politischer Ebenen in Österreich, forthcoming.

Duchesne, Sophie (2008): "Waiting for a European Identity … Reflections on the Process of Identification with Europe." In: Perspectives on European Politics and Society 9/4, pp. 397-410.

Duchesne, Sophie/Frognier, André-Paul (2008): "National and European Identifications: A Dual Relationship." In: Comparative European Politics 6, pp. 143–168.

European Commission/European Parliament (2017): Eurobarometer 87.1 (2017). TNS opinion, Brussels [producer]. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6861 Data file Version 1.2.0.

Erikson, Erik H. (1974): Identität und Lebenszyklus. Drei Aufsätze. 2. Auflage, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Evans, Gillian (2012): "The aboriginal people of England." In: Focaal 2012/62, pp. 17–29.

Fleiss, Jürgen/Höllinger, Franz/Kuzmics, Helmut (2009): "Nationalstolz zwischen Patriotismus und Nationalismus? Empirisch-methodologische Analysen und Reflexionen am Beispiel des International Social Survey Programme 2003 ‚National Identity'." In: Berliner Journal für Soziologie 2009/3, pp. 409–434.

Galais, Carlo/Serrano, Ivan (2019): "The effects of regional attachment on ideological self-placement: a comparative approach." In: Comparative European Politics, pp. 1–23.

Guérot, Ulrike (2016): Warum Europa eine Republik werden muss!. Eine Politische Utopie, Bonn: Diez.

Habermas, Jürgen (1993): "Staatsbürgerschaft und nationale Identität." In: id. (ed.): Faktizität und Geltung. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 632-660.

Haller, Max (2009): Die Europäische Integration als Elitenprozess. Das Ende eines Traums?, Wiesbaden: Springer.

Herrman, Richard/Brewer, Marilynn (2000): "Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU." In: Herrman, Richard/Risse, Thomas/Brewer, Marilynn (eds.): Transnational Identities. Becoming European in the EU, Lanham/Boulder/NY/Toronto/Offord: Rowman & Litllefield.

Hilpold, Peter/Steinmair, Walter/Perathoner, Christoph (eds.) (2016): Europa der Regionen, Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.

Jolly, Seth K. (2007): "The Europhile Fringe?. Regionalist Party Support for European Integration." In: European Union Politics, Vol. 8/1, pp. 109–130.

Kaina Viktoria (2009) "Kollektive Identität und europäisches Einigungswerk – Konzepte und empirische Befunde." In: Wir in Europa. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Keating, Michael (2013): Rescaling the European State. The Making of Territory and the Rise of the Meso, Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online.

Kosterman, Rick/Feshbach, Seymour (1989): "Toward a Measure of Patriotic and Nationalistic Attitudes." In: Political Psychology 10/2, pp. 257–274.

Laborde, Cécile (2002): "From Constitutional to Civic Patriotism." In: British Journal of Political Science 32/4, pp. 591–612.

Lewis, Camilla (2016): "'Regenerating community'? Urban change and narratives of the past." In: The Sociological Review 64/4, pp. 912–928.

Löw, Martina (2001): Raumsoziologie, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Medrano, Juan D./Gutiérrez (2001): "Nested identities: national and European identity in Spain." In: Ethnic and Racial Studies 24/5, pp. 753-778.

Meyer, Thomas (2009): "Europäische Identität." In: Meyer, Thomas/Hartmann-Fritsch, Christel (eds.): Europäische Identität als Projekt. Innen- und Außensichten, Wiesbaden: Springer, pp. 15–30.

Mühler, Kurt/Opp, Karl-Dieter (2004): Region und Nation. Zu den Ursachen und Wirkungen regionaler und überregionaler Identifikation, Wiesbaden: Springer.

Parker, Chrstopher S. (2010): "Symbolic versus Blind Patriotism: Distinction without Difference?" In: Political Research Quarterly 63/1, pp. 97–114.

Peters, Bernhard (2005): "Public discourse, identity and the problem of democratic legitimacy." In: Eriksen Erik O. (ed.): Making the European Polity : Reflexive Integration in the EU, Routledge Studies on Democratizing Europe, London: Routledge, pp. 84–123.

Pohl, John (2001): "Regional Identity." In: International Encyclopedia of Social & Behavioral Sciences, pp. 12917–12922.

Reckwitz, Andreas (2017): Die Gesellschaft der Singularitäten: Zum Strukturwandel der Moderne, Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Reeskens, Tim/Hooghe, Marc (2010): "Beyond the civic–ethnic dichotomy: investigating the structure of citizenship concepts across thirty-three countries." In: Nations and Nationalism 16/4, pp. 579–597.

Roudometof, Victor (2019): "Recovering the local: From glocalization to localization." In: Current Sociology Review 67/6, pp. 801–817.

Ruge, Undine (2004): "Eine konservative Vision — das 'Europa der Regionen." In: Leviathan, Vol. 32/4, pp. 495–513.

Simmel, Georg (1903): "Soziologie des Raumes." In: Eigmüller, Monika/Vobruba, Georg (eds..) (2016): Grenzsoziologie, Wiesbaden: Springer, pp. 9–18.

Tajfel, Henri (1982): Social identity and intergroup relations, Cambridge.

Taylor, Donald M./Doria, Janet R. (1981): "Self-Serving and Group-Serving Bias in Attributions." In: The Journal of Social Psychology 113, pp. 201–211.

Schatz, Robert T./Staub, Ervin/Lavine, Howard (1999): On the Varieties of National Attachment: Blind versus Constructive Patriotism. In: Political Psychology Vol.20/1, pp. 151-174.

Schroer, Markus (2008): "Bringing space back in. Zur Relevanz des Raums als soziologischer Kategorie." In: Döring Jörg/Thielmann Tristan (eds.): Spatial Turn. Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften, Bielefeld: Transcript, pp. 125–148.

Weiner, Bernard (2004): "The Attribution Approach to Emotion and Motivation: History, Hypotheses, Home Runs, Headaches/Heartaches." In: Emotion Review 6/4, pp. 353–361.

Wagner, Ulrich/Becker, Julia C./Christ, Oliver/Pettigrew, Thomas F./Schmidt, Peter (2012): "A Longitudinal Test of the Relation between German Nationalism,

Patriotism, and Outgroup Derogation." In: European Sociological Review 28/3, pp. 319-332.
Weiss, Hilde/Reinprecht, Christoph (2004): Nation und Toleranz? Empirische Studien zu nationalen Identitäten in Österreich, Wien: Braumüller Verlag.
Wiesner, Claudia (2017): "Was ist europäische Identität? Theoretische Zugänge, empirische Befunde, Forschungsperspektiven und Arbeitsdefinition." In: Hentges, Gudrun/Nottbohm, Kristina/Platzer, Hans-Wolfgang (eds.): Europäische Identität in der Krise?, Wiesbaden: Springer, pp. 21-56.

List of Tables and Figures

Appendix

Table 3: Expectations Placed on New Arrivals in Tyrol and Conservative Values

	Should adapt to prevailing norms	Should bring their own culture and way of life with them[4]	Should keep to themselves	Should not be given preferential treatment
Strongly agree	57.3	28.3	4.9	67.5
Generally agree	24.5	26.5	5.1	15.8
Neither agree nor disagree	15.0	33.5	14.8	11.0
Generally disagree	2.4	8.3	22.8	2.4
Strongly disagree	0.8	3.4	52.4	3.2
	Sense of tradition	Being hard-working and ambitious	Conscientiousness	Security and order
Very important	36.2	41.2	57.4	59.8
Relatively important	32.2	39.4	32.3	30.3
Neither important nor unimportant	20.0	16.8	8.7	9.1
Relatively unimportant	10.1	1.8	1.4	0.8
Not Important at all	1.4	0.8	0.2	0

[N= 500]