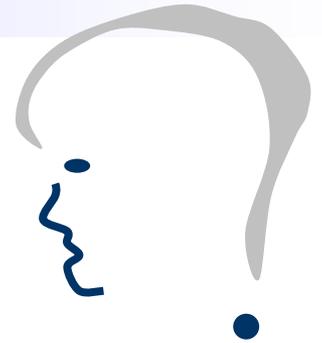


**From the crisis to Brexit –  
Transformations and challenges of  
citizens' European identity**

Prof. Michael Bruter  
Electoral Psychology Observatory  
LSE



# Cris(e)s and identity



- Crises of solidarity, populism, and the Brexit shockwave
- A faltering demos?
- Identity, appropriation and rebellion

# The thorny concept of identity



- Challenges of conceptualisation and measurement
- Who feels European and what does it mean?
- Has a mass European identity emerged and is it splitting our societies?

# Identity and subconsciousness



- The question of consciousness – an experiment
- Escaping the language prison – identity without words?
- Qualitative or quantitative approaches?
- The pitfalls of hasty conceptualisation – what European identity is not
- Traditional instruments and assumptions – the example of the “Moreno question”

# Models of European identity



Multiple identity models

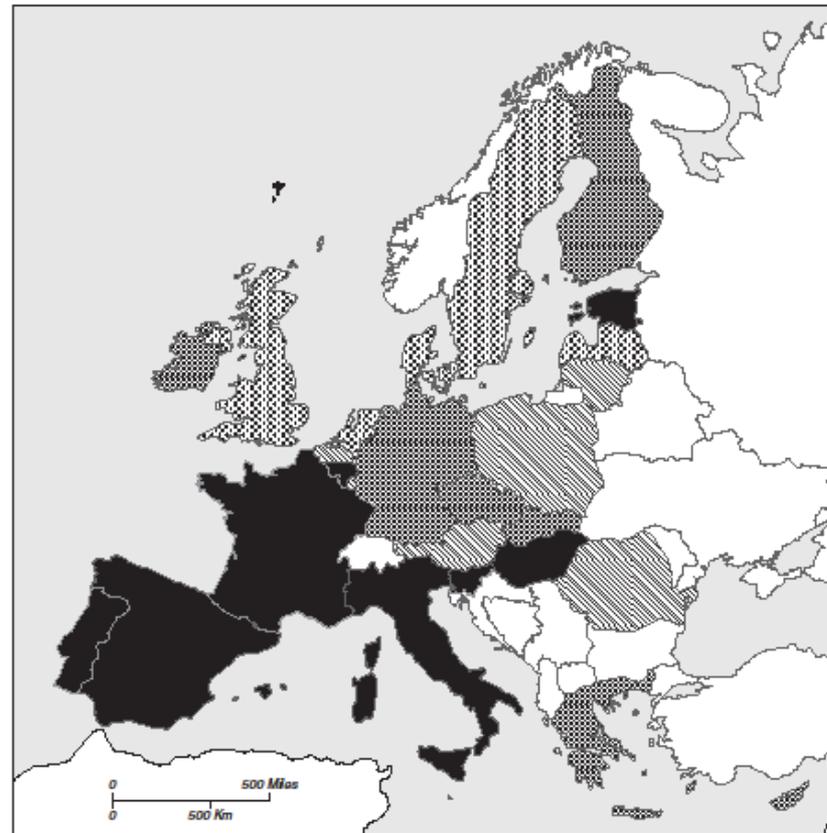
Civic and cultural identities

Identity, democracy, and legitimacy

# Levels of European identity across the EU

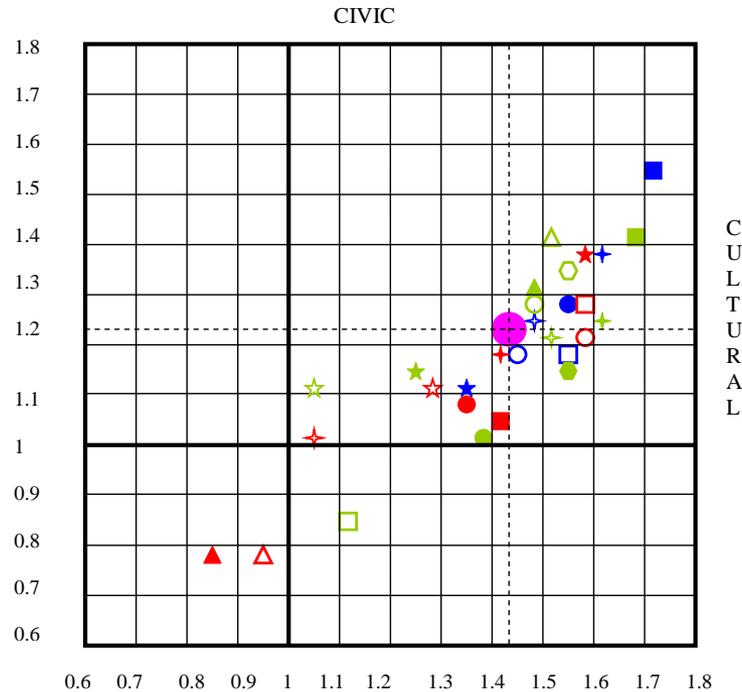


DOMINANT CIVIC OR CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION OF CITIZENS PER COUNTRY



-  Civic and cultural identities balanced (above average)
-  Identity predominantly strong in civic terms
-  Identity predominantly strong in cultural terms
-  Civic and cultural identities balanced (below average)

# European identity levels



Founding member states		Joiners 1973-1995		New member states 2004-07	
+	Belgium (FR)	+	Austria	+	Bulgaria
+	Belgium (NL)	+	Denmark	+	Cyprus
●	France	●	Finland	●	Czech Republic
○	Germany	○	Greece	○	Estonia
■	Italy	■	Ireland	■	Hungary
■	Luxembourg	■	Portugal	■	Latvia
★	Netherlands	★	Spain	★	Lithuania
		☆	Sweden	☆	Malta
		▲	UK (GB)	▲	Poland
		△	UK (NI)	△	Romania
				●	Slovakia
●	EU average: 0.0			○	Slovenia

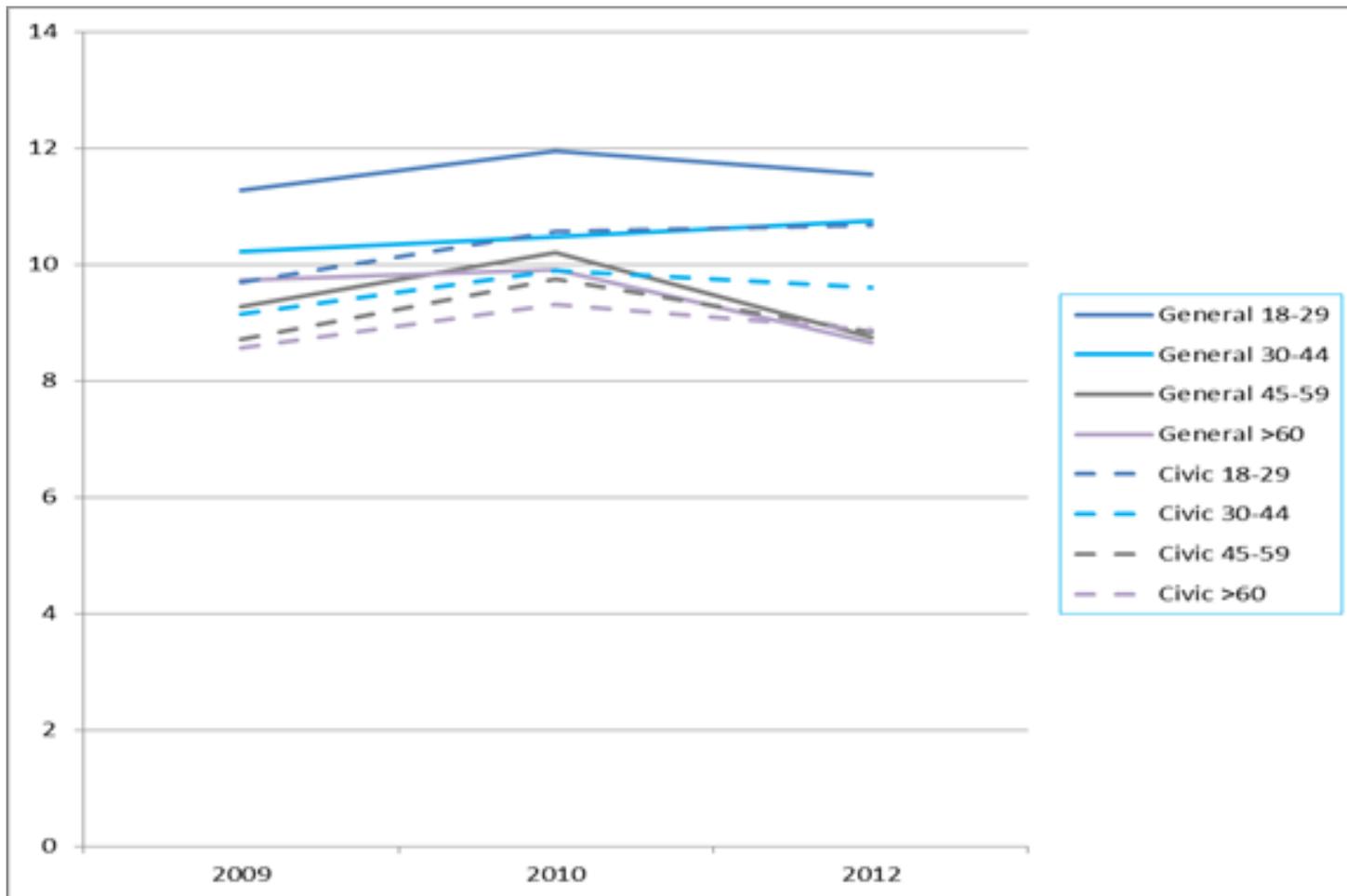


# Young and old: two visions of Europe



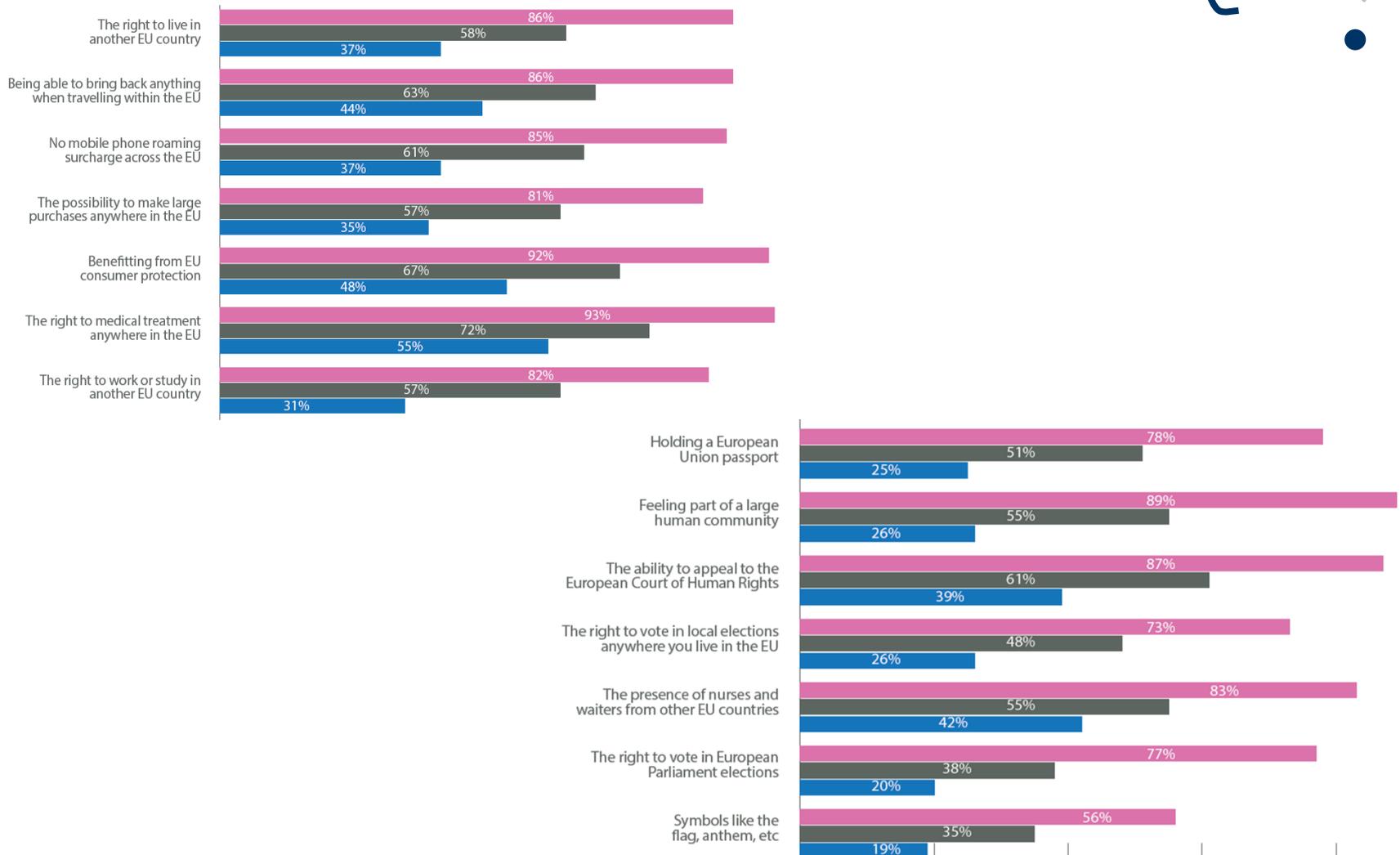
If the European Union was...	The Young...	The Old...
A colour	Blue	Blue
A flower	A spring daisy	A spring daisy
An animal	A lion	An elephant
A painting	Matisse's La Danse	Picasso's Guernica
A drink	Wine or coffee	Still water
A deadly sin	Pride	Greed
Intelligent or stupid*	Intelligent	Stupid

# Young and old: two reactions to the Eurocrisis

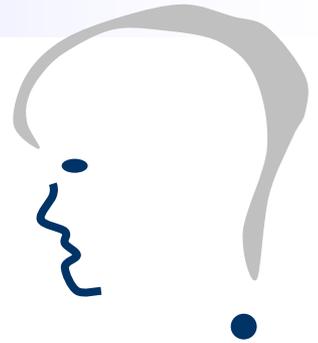


# Consumers or citizens?

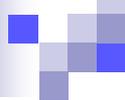
## Two visions of what EU membership means



# A new brand of 'lame duck'



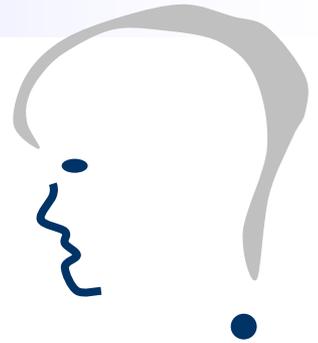
- No honeymoon for Brexit
- No convergence or reconciliation – polarization intact
- The appropriation of populist approaches by the mainstream
- The centre-liberal orphans
- Contrasted projections



# Mediterranean crises, populism, and the test of solidarity

- Enacting identity
- Populism between Euroscepticism and cultural identity counter-revolution
- Hostility, frustration, and critical citizenship

# What next?



- Future risks
- The question of solidarity
- The question of compliance
- The risk of a double systemic rebellion