Compatibility of National and European Identities among British and German University Students

— A Lesson for Japanese Identities within Asia —

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Abstract

*The harmony between national identity and European identities based on European citizenship will be a cornerstone of the coexistence of dual and multiple identities in the twenty-first century. Can British people harmonise their national identities with European citizenship? This question applies not only to the possibility of becoming a European citizen without losing British identity, but also on a broader scale the prospect of becoming global citizens without losing one's national identity. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the underlying question of how Euro-skeptical Britain can balance her national identities with European citizenship through qualitative and quantitative approaches. Firstly, it examines the kernel o*f "*British national identity." Secondly it examines the British national identities and pride through the responses to interviews and questionnaires given to 100 British citizens, including 46 British students of Leeds University in comparison with those of 49 German students of Bochum University, 40 Thai graduate students and 216 Japanese students of Konan University in 2005 and 2006. Thirdly, it discusses the significance of European citizenship and its relevance to* "*British national identity." Exploring the compatibility of British national identity with European citizenship can serve as a useful precedent for the rest of the world, especially Japanese identities within Asia as a point of departure for global citizenship and peaceful coexistence in today's divided world.*

Key Words：British identities, European Union, citizenship, multiculturalism

> *Being British is the ability to live in harmony with people of all nationalities with respect for the cultural roots of all those who choose to be or are British citizens.*
> *(A Scottish student of Leeds University, UK)*

> *German national identity lies in history influenced by the past (World War II) and the lessons to learn from these events. Our identity is a strong awareness of historical responsibility.*
> *(A German student of Bochum University, Germany)*

We can learn the value of peace from our tragic history. We must pass the lesson of our history on to the next generation.

(A Japanese student of Konan University, Japan)

1. Introduction

Does the emergence of European citizenship threaten British national identities? Are British and European identities mutually exclusive? European Integration Online Papers (EIOP)[1] in 2004 reported that as much as 62 percent of British respondents did, in fact, state that they did not feel European. It also states that exclusive national identity holders outnumber dual identity holders in Great Britain by 28 percent.

Why are so many British citizens Euro-skeptical? Do they really refuse to be part of an integrated Europe, despite the fact that Britain is an influential member state of the European Union (EU)? The question of an integrated Europe has created divided opinions among the British public and it has been kept under close scrutiny in the UK.

The UK has been a significant member of the EU, although it maintains the pound as the only currency used in Britain. The UK is a good political partner of the United States and the former Commonwealth, too. Since the 1960s various initiatives have been taken whereby the Government attempted to respond to the reality of a multicultural, multilingual and multifaith Britain, culminating in the Swann Report in March 1985 which represented an ideological shift away from assimilation and integration towards cultural pluralism and whose aim in the area of religion was to celebrate diversity (Doyle, 2006). Over the last decade, the UK has been proud of its multiculturalism due to its large population of immigrants and asylum seekers. Dunkerley et al. (2002) reported that in the UK in 2000, more asylum applications (97,860 asylum seekers) were received than in any other EU country. However, the negative result of the referendum on the Constitution of European Union in France and the Netherlands has brought about more Euro-skepticism in the UK.

Britain is an island nation with a long history of political sovereignty since 1066. As Britain is a non-Euro currency nation, euro-skepticism is more distinct than in any other EU member state. Therefore, it is worth examining how British national identities are relevant and compatible with European citizenship as a meaningful lesson for the rest of the world, especially, Japanese identities within Asia.

2. Methodology

### The Interview and Questionnaire

The interview and questionnaire covered six main areas:

1. Major factors of national identities among British, German, Thai and Japanese university students
2. Major factors of national pride among British, German and Japanese university students
3. Awareness of European citizenship
4. Awareness of dual identities: "British and European" "German and European" "Japanese and Asian"
5. EU Constitution
6. EU Integration

The Fieldwork

The data collection from British citizens and British students of Leeds University (students from all parts of UK) took place between August 2004 and July 2005. Questionnaires were given to 100 British citizens and 54 interviews were conducted. Locations were selected to reflect cultural, racial and ethnic diversity in Britain. The locations represent urban towns, rural towns and local villages, and included Leeds, Harrogate, York, Skipton, Knaresborough, Malham, Horsforth and Wakefield (Yorkshire), Nantwich (Cheshire), Cambridge (Cambridgeshire), Newport and Woore (Shropshire), Chorley (Lancashire), Banbury and Horley (Oxfordshire), London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Inverness and Edinburgh. Interviews and questionnaires for university students were mainly administered at Leeds University, UK, Bochum University, Germany in 2005, and Konan University, Kobe, Japan in 2005 and 2006. Graph 1 and 2 show the breakdown of the respondents to the questionnaire and interviewees according to socio-demographic variables.

Graph 1: Age Group (British Citiznes)
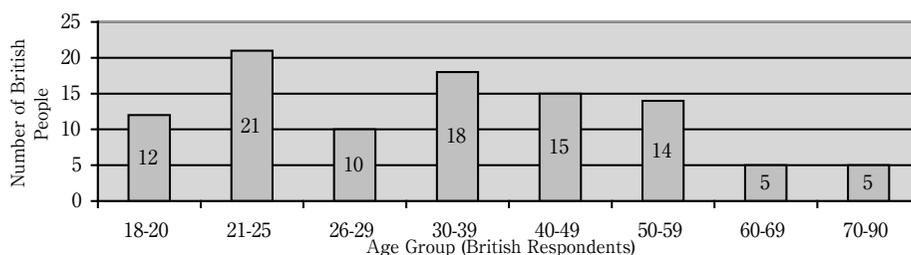
British Respondents and Interviewees (100): Gender: female (49), male (51), (including 46 Students of University of Leeds, UK)

Graph 2: Occupation (British Citizens)
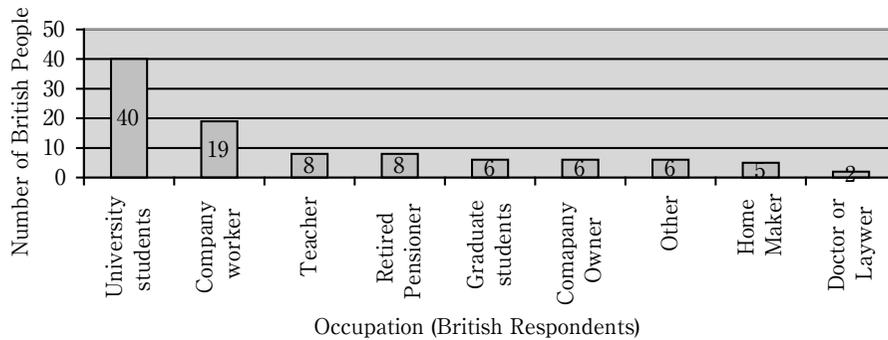
German Respondents (49): Gender: female (39), male (10), Age Group: 20-25
Occupation: 49 Students of Bochum University, Germany

Japanese Respondents (216): Gender: female (116), male (100), Age 20-24
Occupation: 216 Students of Konan University, Kobe, Japan

Thai Respondents (40): Gender: female (40), male (10), Age Group 22-30
Occupation: 40 Thai graduate students of Srinakharinwirot Univ. in Bangkok, Thailand

3. Redefining Identity in a Cross-cultural Century

What are British identities and European identities? Before looking into British identities and European citizenship, it is important to define the concept of identity which is now becoming one of the crucial components of international studies in our cross-cultural century. Chimisso (2003) states that the term 'identity' suggests that something is identified, in other words, that it is made or considered identical to something else. He continues to talk about identity in relation to human beings by means of answering one of the questions 'What are we?' or 'What make us human?' or 'What makes me who I am?'

In Western Europe today, the more people become aware of cultural and national identities in interactive and diversified cultural contexts, the more people tend to confront, share, accept and integrate dual and multiple identities. As a result, they become more interested in exploring the possibility of sharing several

layers of identities in shared cultures in order to reconcile themselves for coexistence and instrumental benefits.

Therefore it can be said that the process of confronting, sharing, accepting and integrating dual and multiple cultural/national identities in Europe is a process of forming European identities. Jimenez and et al. (2004) state that civic theory stresses the development of identities around agreement over rules for peaceful political co-existence, shared cultural norms, and common beliefs (Mancini 1998, Weiler 1999, and Kersbergen 1997).

One's identity is basically conditioned by one's own culture and influenced, modified or transformed by the interactions with other cultures. The more we have been involved in and have absorbed different cultures in our social life, the more tolerant and generous we become to other cultures. As a result we will be able to reconcile ourselves to accept dual or multiple cultural identities.

It is self-evident that modern nations are moving in the direction of a multicultural society. It is a multicultural society that can respect and accept dual, plural and multiple identities. It is historically proven that human civilization flourishes and develops where multiple cultures are encountered. Consequently we can transcend the limits of individual cultures by sharing multiple cultures. This concept of sharing cultural diversity and legitimized citizenships, whether they are supranational or transnational, will sow the seeds of new identities guaranteed by the entitled citizenship in Europe.

## 4. British Identities: Multi-Ethnic Britain vs. Anglo-Saxon Britain

National identity is one of the most discussed, but least understood concepts of the late 20th century. It is of considerable relevance, with allegiance to state identity, citizenship or 'nationality' under threat not only from the rise of different national identities within states, but also by the growth of systems (such as the European Union) that seek to encompass a plurality of states (McCrone, 1998).

The pendulum of British national identities has been swinging between a multi-ethnic Britain with cultural pluralism integrated into Europe and an Anglo-centric Britain with collective memories of national glories and sovereignty. Let us look into the latest expression of British identities seen among British citizens and students of Leeds University.
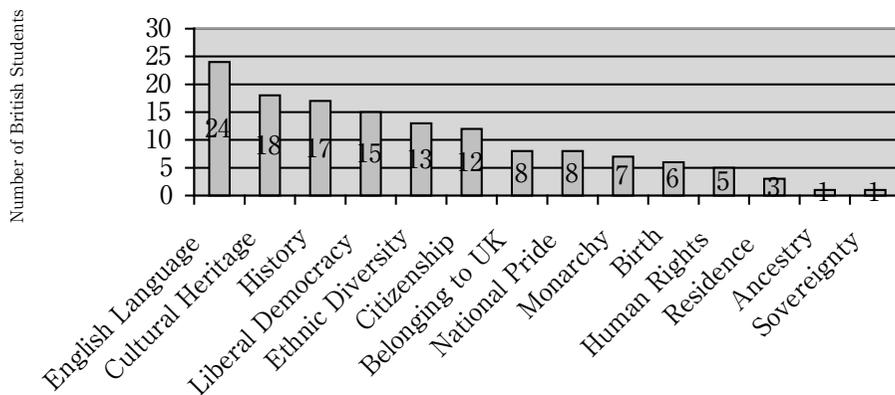
According to the questionnaire administered to 100 British citizens, the elements of British identities that respondents answered as being the three most important factors are cultural heritage (41.0%), English language (40.0%), birth (35.0%), history (30.0%), liberal democracy (26.0%), citizenship (21.0%), human

rights (18.0%), ethnic diversity (18.0%), national pride (17%), residence (16.0%), monarchy (13.0%), Belonging to U.K. (11.0%), ancestry (9.0%), sovereignty (5.0%) and religion (0.0%). We can view the general picture of what British identities are made up of in Graph 3.

Graph 3: The three most important factors of British identities for British citizens
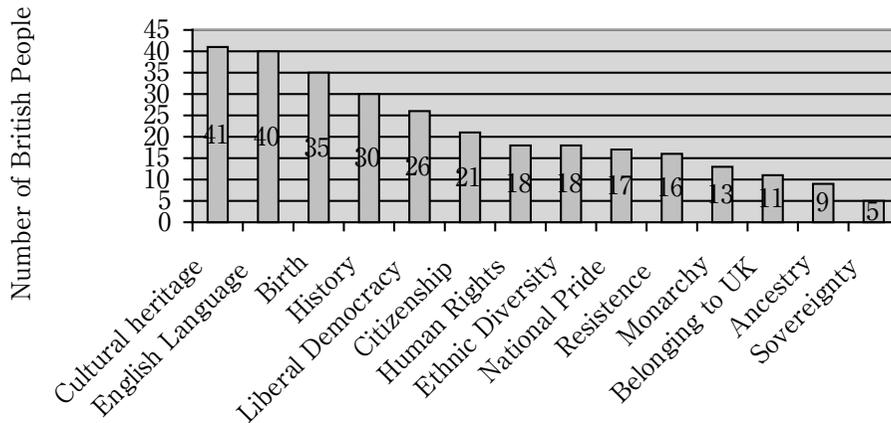
Graph 4: The three most important factors of British identities for British students of Leeds University

   Similarly, according to the questionnaire administered to 46 British university students of Leeds University in 2005, the element of British identities that respondents answered as being the three most important factors (Graph4) are English language (52.2%), cultural heritage (39.1%), history (37.0%), liberal democracy (32.6%), ethnic diversity (28.3%), citizenship (26.1%), belonging to UK (17.4%), national pride (17.4%), birth (13.0%), human rights (10.9%), residence (6.5 %), ancestry (2.2%) and sovereignty (2.2%).

It is worth noting that both British citizens and university students of Leeds regard their cultural heritage, English language, history and liberal democracy as the most important factors of British identities that have made Britain Britain today.

In comparison, while German students of Bochum University regards history, liberal democracy, human rights, language and cultural heritage as important factors of national identities, Japanese university students of Konan University prioritize Japanese language, human rights, cultural heritage, history and liberal democracy. It is clear that language, cultural heritage, history and liberal democracy are common factors of national identities for British, German and Japanese students. Table 1 shows the comparison of the three most important factors of national identities among British, German and Japanese students.

Table 1. The comparison of important factors of national identities

	British Students (n=46)	German Students (n=49)	Japanese Students (n=216)
Language	52.2%	40.8%	66.2%
Cultural Heritage	39.1%	30.6%	37.0%
History	37.0%	61.2%	35.6%
Liberal democracy	32.6%	51.0%	26.9%
Ethnic Diversity	28.3%	14.3%	0.0%
Human Rights	10.9%	44.9%	43.5%

Graphs 3 and 4 parallel Jowell's (1998) assertion that: "The five most important items for the British are English language, borders, culture, ancestry, pride and sovereignty." Some factors of British identity are based on sovereignty-based national identities. British colonial history has made the British become more exclusive of others as an Anglo-Saxon Britain. British identities are constructed out of a series of historical episodes such as the British Empire, Imperial wars, the Industrial Revolution, the building of liberal democracy, the welfare state, and so on.

On the other hand, we can find many multi-ethnic British views among people in multi-cultural Britain. For example, According to the Daily Telegraph in October 2000, Charles Kennedy, a Liberal Democrat leader and a Scotsman, emphasizes diversity, multiple identities and the shared British values of 'tolerance and decency, a spirit of innovation and willingness to get the job done together'. Kennedy's view of multicultural Britain is completely different from the Anglo Saxon view of British identities.

According to interviews in this study, although contemporary British values and identities are becoming more inclusive of and welcoming to ethnic pluralism and

diverse cultures, mixed feelings of multi-cultural Britain and Anglo-centric Britain can be seen among British citizens today. The following are some representative voices on the British identities from different walks of life from the interviews in 2004 and 2005 in the UK:

British are people who are not afraid to stand up for what they believe in. We prefer to discuss our problems rather than use military force. Military force is only a last resort. I believe our prime minister, Blair is a good leader for our country and he makes me very proud to be British.

(Irish, male, 23, university student, Manchester)

British identities are independence, tolerance, honesty, and open-minded generosity.

(Scottish, female, 72, homemaker, Edinburgh, Scotland)

British are people who are not afraid to stand up for what they believe in. We prefer to discuss our problems rather than use military force. Military force is only a last resort.

(Irish, male, 23, university student, Manchester)

Personally I feel that people are people first. Strong national identities cause conflicts. Being " British" is not something I feel proud of as British has a history of colonization and slavery. **(English, male, 45, postgraduate, artist, Leeds, Yorkshire)**

British identities are belief in fair play, good manners, being a gentleman, and having a spirit of generosity and helping hands.

(English, male, 68, retired soldier, Woore, Shropshire)

Today, there is no such thing as one British identity. All its citizens, although legally British as they were born in UK, came from many different blood lines. I believe that British people today are very generous and want to help others in the world, but have lost faith in the government. **(Welsh, male, 20, student, Hinckley, Leicestershire)**

British identities are reservation and caring. We are not shy but reserved. We have respected reserved manners in social life. Although we are reserved, we are always ready to give helping hands whenever people are in trouble. I think these two characters are the heart of British identity. **(Irish, male, 59, High school art teacher, Chorley, Lancashire)**

I have supported the Tory (Conservative Party), however, I am also very proud of ethnic diversity in UK and the fact that Britain is moving on the right line of multi-cultural and ethnic integration. **(Scottish, male, 65, pastor, Essex)**

For me being British is the ability to live in harmony with people of all nationalities with respect to the cultural roots of all those who choose to be or are British citizens.

(Scottish, male, 25, university student, Glasgow, Scotland)

The British identity comes from membership of a community which shows a common language, culture, historical experience. All its British culture displays a respect for the individual, tolerance of difference and a lack of deference towards authority.

(English, male, 55, High school teacher, Liverpool

British have a mix of multiculturalism, freedom of speech and the democratic press with a strong element of traditional values.

(English, female, 23, university student, Leeds, Yorkshire)

Although the number of interviewees is regionally limited, there is a general

tendency for the multi-ethnic British identity and the Anglo-centric British identity to coexist in the hearts of British people, regardless of age, sex and regional differences. However, judging from both interviews and questionnaire responses, the pendulum of British identities is leaning towards multi-ethnic Britain rather than Anglo-centric Britain as British society has been increasingly transformed into a more multi-cultural and ethnic orientation in a parallel direction with the European Union.

Next, let us look at British national pride. According to the questionnaire on the three most important factors which make the British proud of UK in 2005, many respondents are proud of Britain's multiculturalism (58.0%), liberal democracy (49.0%), philanthropy and public generosity (29.0%), and social welfare (28.0%). These responses are also compatible with the kernel of European citizenship advocated by the EU Constitution.

On the other hand, as Graph 5 shows, not a few British citizens are proud of Sterling (the British pound) (20.0%), British political influence in the world (20%), British Armed Forces (19.0%), science and technology (18.0%), economic performance (16.0%), Monarchy (15.0%), the Commonwealth of England (12.0%), Parliament (9.0 %) and British Empire (7.0%).

Although it is sometimes said that the British are conservative and nationalistic, the responses to the questionnaire show that British citizens today are proud of their multiculturalism in liberal democracy and have a spirit of philanthropy. Parekh (2000) argues in The Future of Multi-ethnic Britain that it can develop as a community of citizens and communities in which difference and diversity are welcomed and celebrated. An option would, the report argues, require radical changes in British society, which would include:

Graph 5: What makes the British people proud of UK?
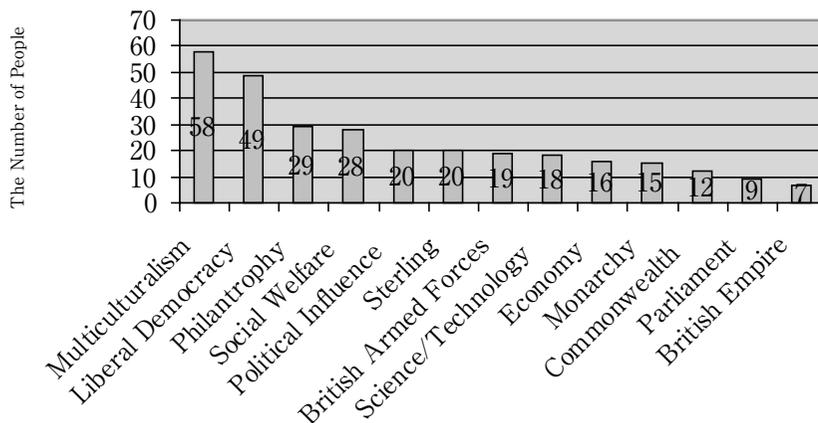
developing a balance between cohesion, equality and difference;
addressing and eliminating all forms of racism
rethinking the national story and national identity
reducing material inequalities;
understanding that all identities are in a process of transition;
building a pluralistic human rights culture   (Parekh, 2000)

Tories (The Conservative Party) and high tax payers of the upper-middle class have generally been against the multicultural and Europhile policy of the Labour Party. However, minorities, the elderly, disabled people, newcomers, economic refugees, admitted asylum seekers, unemployed people and people in the labour class have been protected by the National Health Service (NHS) and a generous social welfare system in Britain.

Although there remain many social and educational problems in the UK, as is often the case with most developed nations today, the future of multi-ethnic Britain, seems to promise an egalitarian and pluralistic human rights culture with less material inequalities. It is true that multicultural Britain cannot be a role model for every industrial nation of today's free world, but at least it can be a mirror to reflect diverse societies of today's world suffering from material inequalities and ethnic and racial confrontations. At least, we could argue, that Britain today proves how to balance the gap between haves and have-nots in a liberal democratic society and how to balance the conflict between national identities and European identities in the arena of the European Union.

In conclusion, although the British public still hold on to traditional Anglo-centric concepts of British identities such as British history and sovereignty, cultural heritage and the English language, more than half of the British population today see multiculturalism and ethnic diversity as one of the significant and positive factors of British identities and contemporary British values. Figueroa (2004) emphasizes that the values of democracy and pluralism and the corresponding civic virtues need to be worked at and promoted through all possible means. Dynamic, multilevel, multiple British identities need to be developed so that the nation consists of committed, mutually accepting citizens (Figueroa, 2004). This multi-cultural view could lead Britain to more thoroughly embrace European identities and citizenship in diverse societies.

5. Euro-Skeptics and Europhiles

Euro-skepticism is a reflection of the conflict between British national identities and European identities. Europhiles reflect multiculturalism and trans-nationalism in a liberal democracy, which is compatible with the philosophy of the European

Union. The following are representative voices of Euro-skeptics and Europhiles among the British people interviewed:

> *It is not a bad thing for Britain to be a member state of the European Union. However, I am strongly against the European control over the British domestic and international policies. The members of European Commission are not fairly elected but are appointed. This is a serious problem and it does not reflect the fair representation of the member states.*
> **(English, male, 68, retired High School teacher, Woore, Shropshire)**
> *Europeans have been fighting repeatedly on the European continent for many years and they know how to compromise and reconcile themselves tactfully. That has resulted in the European Union. Britain has not been invaded and conquered since 1066. We British have consistently kept our culture and tradition away from Europe. We have been independent and nobody can tell us what to do. We are proud of our traditional culture and our own sovereignty and we should keep them.*
> **(Jewish British, male, 53, Businessman, Harrogate, Yorkshire)**
> *I think European integration is very important to Britain. I think Britain should take a leadership role in the EU in terms of strong economy and cultural diversity. I respect Tony Blair and support the Labor Party. I live in Manchester but I am very proud of being Irish. I think of myself as a European citizen, too.***(Irish, male, 23, University Student, Manchester)**
>
> *I am proud of the Scottish cultural heritage. I am proud of being Scottish. But I feel myself as a European, too. Britain is an influential member of the Union. I think that Britain should play a key role in the European Parliament without losing British identities.*
> **(Scottish, male, 22, University Student, Scotland)**

These quotations from the British interviewees show that Euro-skepticism and Europhilism coexist in the British heart and this dichotomy adjoins in today's multicultural Britain. Among EU member states, the British public has been least keen on the EU. They have been skeptical of the notion of European integration. There are several reasons why many British people, especially English people, tend to shy away from European integration.

First of all, the United Kingdom is geographically separated from the European continent. The British, separated from Europe by more than 20 miles of water, are basically different from other Europeans on the continent. Second, Britain has kept the sterling (pound), as a hard currency in the world. Third, Britain was not a founder member of the European community in a political context. Fourth, Britain's balance-of-power foreign policy has caused it to avoid European entanglements and remain aloof and skeptical of EU expansion. Fifth, Britain's historical and political context to maintain a special relationship with the United States has prevented acceptance of a new Europe to avoid losing its distinctiveness. Sixth, many Euro-skeptical British are critical of the system of the European Commission which they claim does not fairly represent European citizens. Finally,

and most significant of all, Britain has not been conquered by other Europeans since 1066. Thus, Britain's glorious long history as a model for self-government, has produced a proud commitment to sovereign independence, a belief that Britain knows how to govern itself.

It is very true that people can praise cultural diversity and pluralistic society as positive social phenomena whenever they witness them in foreign countries, but the story is often entirely different when they arise in their own country, town, community and village. This is one of the most complex parts of human nature among the island nation and one of the causes of euro-skepticism.

6. European Identities

European identities are diverse, complex and interrelated. European identities are transient, malleable, transformative and influenced by political, social and cultural influences. Nobody can assume that what is confirmed today will necessarily be true in the future. Social, economic, political and cultural changes are likely to have a significant impact on how people regard themselves and others

Historically, Europeans have come to identify themselves through their cultural contacts, rejection, confrontations, conflicts, acceptance, coexistence and integration. How is European identity in the European Union conceptualized? The six most important notions for the European Union are liberal democracy, mobility, residence, language, strong economy and human rights. These factors parallel instrumental considerations in the EU, that is, the common currency, efficient economy, free market and the right of free movement and residence protected by liberal democracy.

Many European people can speak more than one language. They are, more or less, bilingual or trilingual in a multicultural and multilingual context. It is a thrilling culture shock for monolingual and mono-cultural people to see multilingual and multicultural people communicating with each other in Europe. Thanks to the expansion of the European Union and EU educational initiatives, we can see many European citizens who have several layers of identities for instrumental reasons.

This is especially true for Europeans living within nations within the EU who are linguistically and culturally competent and tolerant in order to coexist in dual and plural cultural contexts. There are many Dutch, Swiss, Belgian, Luxembourgian and Italians who enjoy multilingual and culturally hybrid lives for instrumental causes in Europe. As a result, it is possible to have an attachment to "dual" or "multiple identities" involved in multiculturalism in Europe.

Data collected in this study indicates that, students of Leeds University tend to welcome cultural diversity and European integration more positively than their parents' and grandparents' generations.

As far as the most important factors of German and British national identities are concerned, we could find a certain similarity and difference in the responses of questionnaire for German and British university students. According to the questionnaire for 49 German students of Bochum University in Germany in May 2005, we can find the three most important factors of German identities as the Graph 6 shows.

Graph 6: What are the three most important factors of German Identity for German students of Bochum University, Germany?

The three most important factors of national identities among German University Students
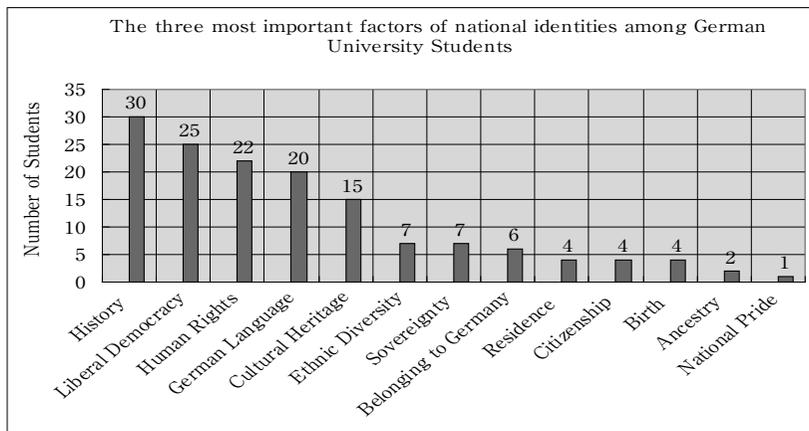
The three most important factors of German identities for 49 German students of Bochum university are history (61.2%), liberal democracy (51.0%), human rights (44.9%), followed by German language (40.8%) and cultural heritage (30.6%), ethnic diversity (14.3%), sovereignty (14.3%), belonging to Germany (12.2%), residence (8.2%), citizenship (8.2%),   birth (8.2%), ancestry (4.1%) and national pride (2.0%).

It is worth noting that German students of Bochum university regards history followed by liberal democracy and human rights as the three most important factors of German identity. This must have been largely influenced by the reflective German history education and the widely held national awareness of historical responsibility which has been respected not only by the neighboring European nations but also the rest of the world. As an answer to the question of "What are German identities for you?", a German student answered as follows: "German identity is history influenced by the past (World War II) and the lesson to learn from these events." Other German student defines German identity as "a

strong awareness of historical responsibility.ˮ These are really pregnant and fascinating awareness which never blind the past and future. In the age of cross-cultural century, the rest of the world, especially Japan, can learn many things from the voices of German university students fostered by the reflective education of history in Germany.

It is meaningful to compare the three most important factors of German identities for German students of Bochum University with those of British students of Leeds University and Japanese students of Konan University. As we have looked at the Graph 4 already, the three major factors of British identities for British university students are English language (52.2%), cultural heritage (39.1%), history (37.0%), followed by liberal democracy (32.6%) and ethnic diversity (28.3%). Unlike German university students the British university students regard English language, British cultural heritage and history as the three most important factors of British identities. History British students chose as the third important factors of British identities needs to be examined in comparison with German studentsʼ historical views and historical awareness.

As for Japanese students of Konan University, the three most important factors of Japanese identities are Japanese Language (65%), human rights (40%) and national pride (31%) followed by cultural heritage (30%), history (27%), liberal democracy (25%) and belonging to Japan (23%). We can see the three most important factors of Japanese identities among 216 Japanese students of Konan University, Kobe Japan as the Graph 7 shows.

By comparing these three different Graphs (4, 6 and 7), it is amazing to know that all British, German and Japanese students regard language, cultural heritage, history, human rights, liberal democracy as the common major factors of national

Graph 7. What are the three most important factors of Japanese identity among Japanese students of Konan University?
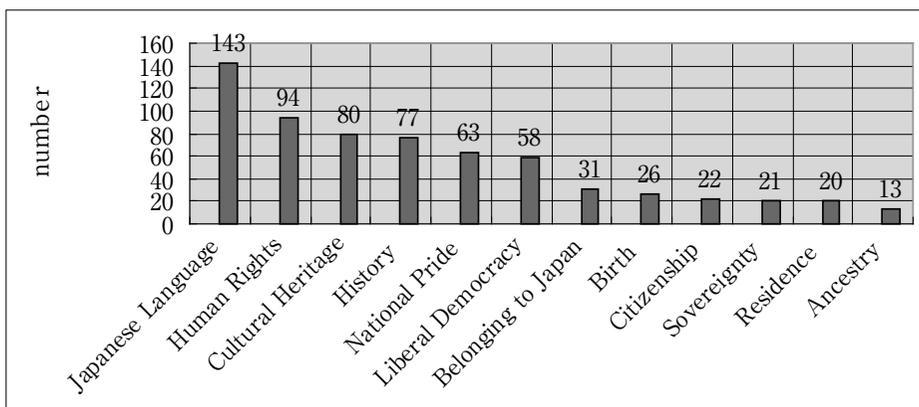
identities. The difference is that British and German university students highly regard ethnic diversity as the sixth major factor of national identities, representing multicultural and pluralistic society in Europe. It is worth reflecting that the ethnic diversity seems not to be valued in the mind of Japanese students in their homogeneous and conformity society.

On the contrary, it is encouraging fact for the Europhiles that both German and British university students regard liberal democracy, cultural heritage, history, language as the dominant factors of national identities. We can see many potential factors of fostering shared awareness of European citizenship in the results of the questionnaire and interviewing among German and British students.

As for the three most important factors which make the British students proud of the UK, among 46 British students, more than half of them answered multiculturalism (76.09%), while other popular answers included liberal democracy (47.83%), the English pound (32.61%) and social welfare (23.9%).

It is interesting to compare these responses from British students to those of the German students of Bochum University (See Graph 8 and 9). The German students are very proud of their social welfare (67.47%), liberal democracy (61.22%) and multiculturalism (55.1%), which are the bare bones of the European Union.

Also, regarding European integration, 56.52% of British students want Britain to be part of an integrated Europe. Surprisingly, 71.74% of British students feel themselves to be European citizens. 65.22% of them think of themselves as both British and European citizens, with some of them being strongly aware of European citizenship (23.91%).

In comparison, it is interesting to note that 91.84 % of the German students feel themselves to be European citizens and 91.84% of them want Germany to be part of an integrated Europe. Although British university students are not so Euro-passionate as their German counterparts, we can see a certain parallel tendency among British and German students in terms of awareness of being European citizens and taking pride in multiculturalism in their liberal democracies. This basically shows the compatibility of national identity and European citizenship among university students in Europe and it will have a significant influence on the future of the EU.

In order to explore the compatibility of shared European identities between 46 British students of Leeds University and 49 German students of Bochum University, I would like to show how British and German university students are proud of their countries in the Graph 8 and 9:

It is worth noting that both British and German university students identified liberal democracy and multiculturalism as two of the three most important factors

Graph 8: What makes 46 British students of Leeds University proud of UK?
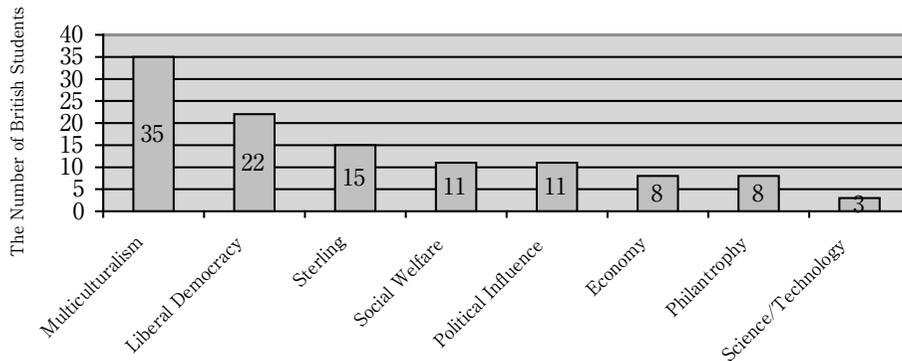
Graph 9: What makes 49 German students of Bochum University proud of Germany?
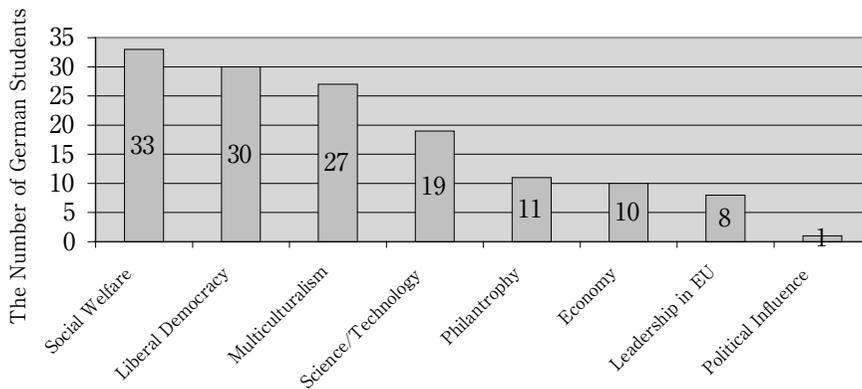
which make them proud of their countries. It is impressive that while some British university students are proud of the English pound (32.61%), social welfare (23.91%) and British political influence (23.91%), German university students are most proud of their social welfare (67.35%). German university students are also proud of their science and technology (38.78%) and they are not proud of their political influence (2.04%).

In comparison, Graph 10 shows that Japanese students are proud of science and technology (61%), security and crime rate (45%) and economic performance (42%). This shows that British and German students are proud of their post-industrial and multicultural society blessed with social welfare, while Japanese students seem to be proud of the components of an economic giant with high technology. It takes years for economic giant in a homogeneous island to realize the post-industrial values and the power of diversity. Table 2 shows the comparison of national pride among British, German, Japanese and Thai university students.

Graph 10: What makes 216 Japanese students of Konan University proud of Japan?
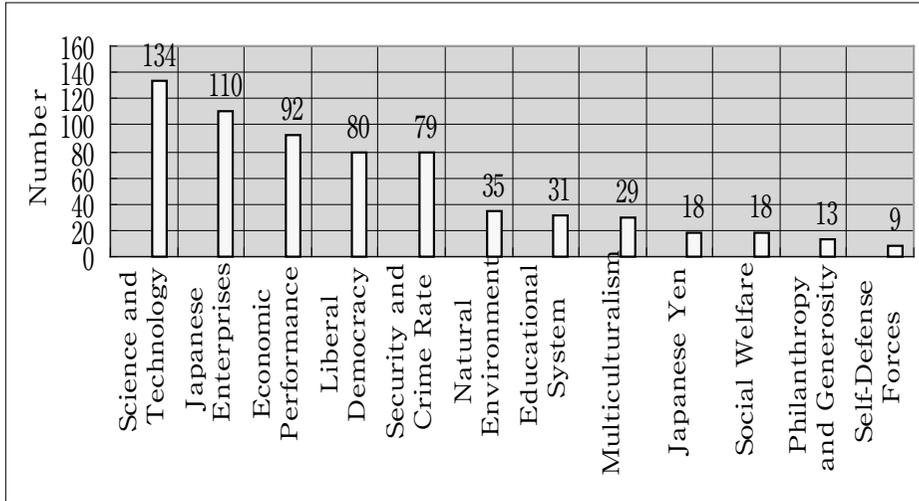
On the whole, British and German university students take pride in their multiculturalism and social welfare in liberal democracy, which are essential parts of highly advanced civic societies. We could argue that this shared pride in citizenship found in British and German university students will be the seed of European identity for the expanding and integrated European Union.

The EU has played a key role in international forums and conferences dealing with transnational and transcultural issues such as the environment, human rights,

Table 2. The comparison of national pride among students

British students of University of Leeds, UK
- multiculturalism   (76.09%) (n=35)
- liberal democracy   (47.83%) (n=22)
- English pound   (32.61%) (n=15)
- Social Welfare   (23.9%)   (n=11)

German students of Bochum University, Germany
- Social Welfare   (67.47%) (n=33)
- Liberal Democracy   (61.22%) (n=30)
- Multiculturalism   (55.1%) (n=27)

Japanese Students of Konan University, Kobe Japan
- Science and technology   (62.0%)(n=134)
- Business Companies   (50.9%)(n=110)
- Economic performance   (42.6%) (n=92)
- Liberal Democracy   (37.3%)(n=80)

Thai graduate students of Srinakharinwirot University, Bangkok Thailand
- King and Royal Family   (87.5%)(n=35)
- Religion (Buddhism)   (52.5%)(n=21)
- Multiculturalism   (38%)   (n=17)
- Love for others   (38%)   (n=17)

population, pressure, global poverty and interdependence, economic disparity educational initiative, peace education, foreign language education and information technology. These facts are a reflection of European initiatives and they can be a kernel of European pride and identities. To foster European identities as a European citizen does not weaken cultural identities of each European citizen. It is becoming clear that European identity has several layers of shared instrumental components and rests not in loyalty to the European Union but in European citizenship, which can lay the groundwork for the passage to global citizenship in a distant future.

7. European Citizenship

What does citizenship in diverse societies imply? Figueroa (2004) states that a synthesis of liberal, republican, and communitarian notions of citizenship is involved. "European citizenship" can be understood as being closely related to shared human rights and civic duties. It is also related to economic and political benefits. As a result, people sometimes are able to support regional integration beyond culture and national borders. In today's world, citizenship is based on basic civil rights and institutions to support individual security and well-being. Namely, citizens in a modern democratic society are entitled to enjoy the freedom and justice provided by courts and judicial systems, and political participation in the process of decision-making for fair representation. They are also entitled to get proper education and social welfare for health and well-being.

Marshall (1950) emphasized that the modern drive towards social equality is the latest phase in the evolution of citizenship. Therefore, it seems that modern citizenship in a liberal democracy entails equality, equity and fair representation in a pluralistic society. We can see much evidence for this type of citizenship in the philosophy of citizenship in the European Union.

The kernel of citizenship in the European Union lies in sharing and ensuring the common values of human rights and obligations, freedom, equality, autonomy and solidarity as peace-loving citizens within the framework of liberal democracy in diverse societies. The European citizenships declare that the Union respects the diversity of the cultures and traditions as well as each national and cultural identity. We can see reference to the universal and inalienable values of human dignity and civic rights, and a strong support of ethno-cultural diversity based on liberal democracy in the philosophy of the Charter of the European Union. The Preamble of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the Union in the Constitution

of the European Union (2004) declares as follows:

> *The peoples of Europe, in creating an ever closer union among them, are resolved to share a peaceful future based on common values.*
> *Conscious of its spiritual and moral heritage, the Union is founded on the indivisible, universal values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity: it is based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law. It places the individual at the heart of its activities, by establishing the citizenship of the Union and by creating an area of freedom, security and justice.*
> *The Union contributes to the preservation and to the development of these common values while respecting the diversity of the cultures and traditions of the people of Europe as well as the national identities of the Member States and the organization of their public authorities at national, regional and local levels; it seeks to promote balanced and sustainable development and ensures free movement of persons, services, goods, and capital, and the freedom of establishment.*
> *To this end, it is necessary to strengthen the protection of fundamental rights in the light of changes in society, social progress and scientific and technological development by making those rights more visible in a Charter…*
> **(The Preamble of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the Union)**

According to the questionnaire, 38.0% of British respondents agree or strongly agree with the Constitution of the European Union and 28.0% of them disagree or strongly disagree with it. About 50% of students of Leeds University support it. As the British public is not generally familiar with the European Constitution, 34.0% answered "Neither." These divided public opinions on the European Constitution are presented in Graph 11.

**Graph 11: Do you agree to the EU Constitution?**
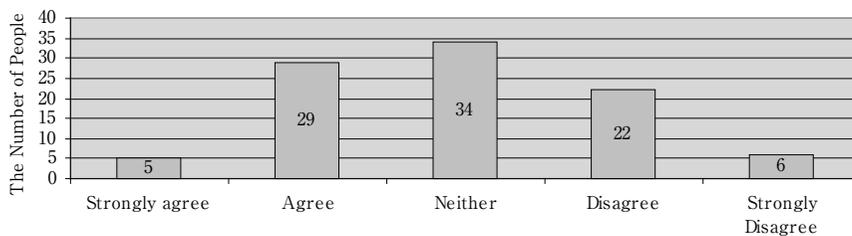
It is likely that as the British public become more familiar with the EU Constitution, especially European citizenship which is relevant to British citizenship, the number of supporters of the Constitution may gradually increase.

As far as the awareness of European citizenship is concerned, the questionnaire shows that more than half of the British respondents (58.0%) think of themselves as European citizens and (37%) of them disagree with it. The degree to which British respondents think of themselves as European is charted in Graph 12.

Graph 12: Do you think of yourself as a European citizen?
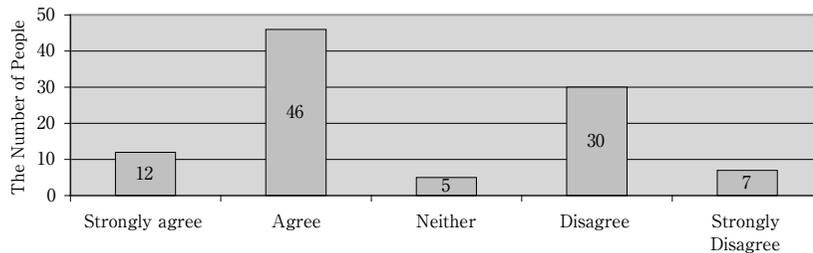
As for dual identities of both British and European, 58.0% of the British think of themselves as both British and European at the same time and 35.0% of them disagree with it as Graph 13 shows.

Graph 13: Do you think yourself as both British and European citizen?
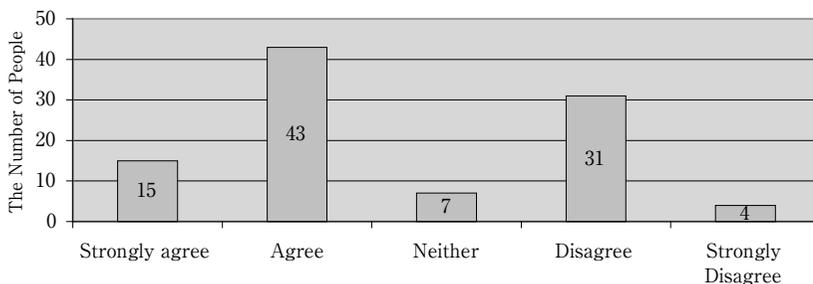
It is surprising again to note that among the 46 students of Leeds University, 71.74% of them feel themselves to be European and 65.22% of them feel themselves to be both British and European. It can be safely said that British university students are more aware of being European citizens than any other age group in the UK.

In comparison, it is interesting to note that responses from the 49 German students of Bochum University show that 91.8% think of themselves as European citizens and 81.6% think of themselves as both German and European. It is true that German university students are more aware of being European citizens than British university students regarding dual identities. However, in spite of the limited number of British respondents and regions, the positive result of these questionnaires has a significant meaning in terms of British attitudes towards Europe.

As for an integrated Europe, 47.0% agree with European integration and 32.0 % are against it. 21.0 % answered "Neither" and these people will influence the future of Britain in the European Union. Graph 14 shows the attitude of the British towards an integrated Europe.

After the Labor Party barely stayed in power in the General Election in May 5,

Graph 14: Do you want Britain to be part of an integrated Europe?
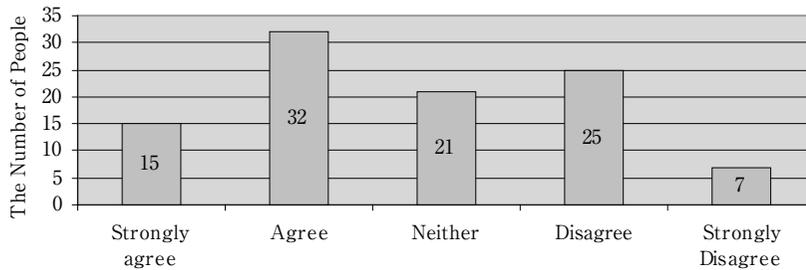
2005, Tony Blair emphasized a multicultural Britain with a strong economy and a Europhile Britain without losing British identities.

In conclusion, European citizenship is based on multiculturalism in liberal democracy and it is coherent and relevant to the sense of citizenship in the individual member states of the Union. In practice, this encourages the formation of European citizenship to harmonize with individual national and cultural identities of the member states. Britain is not an exception. It is too early to conclude whether it will result from historical inevitability. However, we could argue that European citizenship is the first supranational citizenship, and that it allows us to explore the possibility of global citizenship in the distant future before the global village becomes extinct with political and religious conflicts.

A key similarity between the integrated European societies and British society today is that both contexts can share a multi-ethnic and multicultural orientation. That is, both European citizens and British citizens can take pride in multicultural and ethnic diversity in liberal democracy.

8. What Japanese people can learn from the compatibility of national identities and European citizenship

History is not kind to arrogance and ignorance. Japan, a faceless industrial nation notorious for its global isolation and multicultural deficiency, is now at risk in the middle of globalization. Japan should learn from what Germany did in order to get trust and credibility from neighboring countries in Europe and the efforts British people have made to have made Britain multicultural Britain today, which makes British people proud of.

In contrast, Japan is still a closed society for people, especially for non-Japanese people, although Japan has been an open society for material, technology and information for nearly one century. Japanese immigration law is extremely rigid and out-of-date, and consequently it creates a mono-cultural, conformity-intensive, closed society. Japan is a relatively rich country in material terms but many

intellectuals point out that Japan is still backwards in gender and ethnic balance. Japan's immigration policy and regulations for economic and political refugees are so strict and closed that a multicultural and multilingual climate is still out of sight.

However, Japanese university students demonstrate different views which can explore the possibility of a United Asia or an Asian Union in the distant future. Questionnaires were given to 216 students of Konan University who came from all departments. As for the dual identities of Japanese citizen and Asian citizen, 72.7% of students feel that they are Asian citizens and 63.4% of the students feel that they are both Japanese and Asian citizens at the same time. Also 46.6% of them agree with the idea of "Asian Union" like European Union in the future of Asia. It is interesting to know that 95%(n=38)of Thai graduate students of Srinakharinwirot University, Bangkok feel that they are Asian citizens and 95% (n=38) of them feel that they are both Thai and Asian citizens. Furthermore, 70% (n=28) of them agree with the idea of Asian Union like European Union in the future of Asia. We can say that Thai students are more aware of being Asian citizens and they welcome the idea of the integrated Asian to stabilize the economic disparity in divided Asia.

Regarding the Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution which renounces war forever, 88.9 % (n=192) of Japanese students of Konan University agree with the Article 9. Of these respondents 54.2% (n=117) strongly agree with it and 6.0% (n=9) disagree with it and 5.1% (n=11) answered "Neither." It is very significant to leam that majority of the Japanese students support the renunciation of war despite the fact that the Liberal Democratic Party in power is going to revise the Article 9 through national referendum into a more realistic one involved in the Japan-US Security Treaty in order to cope with potential threats in Far East.

Despite the limited scale of this survey, these responses help us to explore the possibility of a more peaceful and united Asia in the distant future like the European Union today. Graph 15 and 16 represent Japanese students' awareness of dual identities of being Japanese and Asian citizens. It is very meaningful to compare the responses of the dual identities of British citizens and European citizens among 100 British citizens with those of Japanese in 2005. As 58% of the British think of themselves as both British and European at the same time, it is interesting to know that the dual identities of Japanese and Asian citizens (63.4%) parallel those of British and European citizens.

These responses by Japanese university students will imply the significance of peaceful coexistence in a united Asia like a united Europe in the future. We educators and researchers have to work on peace education for the security and

Graph 15: Do you think of yourself as an Asian citizen?

Do you think of yourself as an Asian citizen?

Number

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
30	127	44	12	3
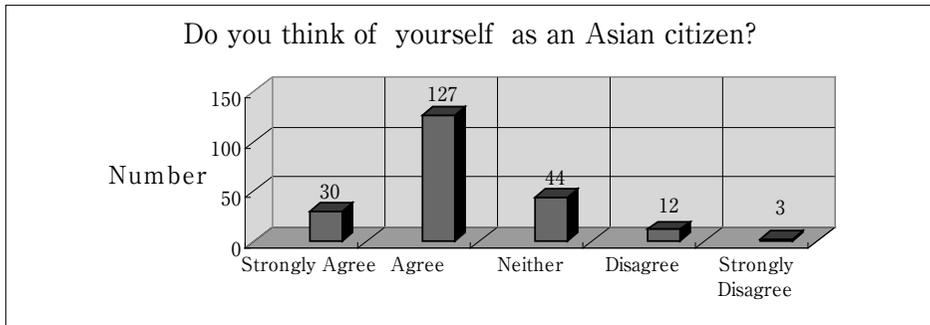
Graph 16: Do you think of yourself as a Japanese and Asian Citizen?

Do you think of yourself as a Japanese and Asian citzen?

Number

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
24	113	51	22	6
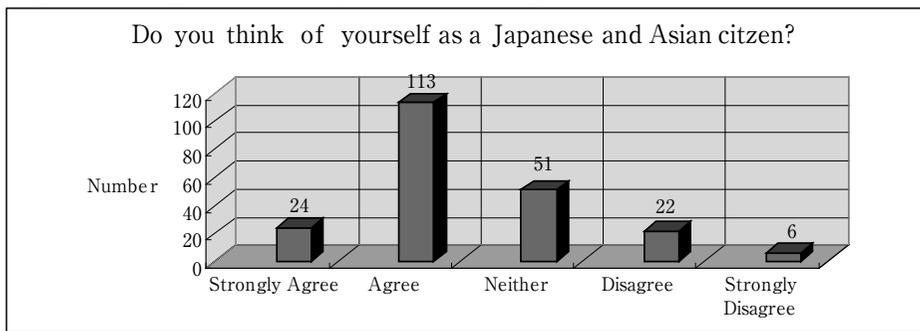
sustainability of Asia to avoid possible and shared regional conflicts. In the future, Japanese citizenship will parallel Asian citizenship as British people are proving themselves within the framework of European citizenship. We could argue that this will be the process of history in terms of multiculturalism and social welfare in liberal democracy as the universal legacy of human beings, beyond the traditional notion of "nation state." Japan should keep abreast with the challeng of the European Union not only in terms of instrumental benefits but also in terms of "supra-national" benefits.

9. Conclusion

This study has examined the compatibility of British identities and European citizenship by presenting questions and hypotheses. The first question was "Does the emergence of European citizenship threaten the British national identities?" The answer is relatively negative because European citizenship entails British multicultural pride and fundamental human rights supported by liberal democracy. Furthermore, the result of the writer's questionnaire also verifies that British

identities are inclusive of European citizenship based on the reasons mentioned above.

The second question was "Are British and European identities mutually exclusive?" The answer is negative. Although European Integration Online Papers (EIOP) in 2004 reported that as many as 62 percent of British respondents did in fact state that they did not feel European, we have found slightly different result from the present study conducted in 2004 and 2005. That is, 58.0% (n=58) of the respondents think of themselves as European citizens and 37.0% (n=37) disagree with it.

Also, as for the dual identities of both British and European, 58.0% of the respondents think of themselves as both British and European at the same time. The point is that even some conservative Euro-skeptical English people answered that they feel both British and European at the same time. Only 35.0% disagree with it.

As discussed before, the fact that 71.74% of British students (out of 46 students of Leeds University) feel themselves to be European citizens is worth noting because it is an important phenomena for the future of Britain, though the scale and location are limited. We can say that British identities and their awareness of European citizenship are relatively coexistent among the British citizens but not in equal degrees.

Today's British are made up of English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh and also other Europeans, Asians, Africans and Caribbean peoples. As the results of this study suggests, we could say that the Scottish, Irish, Welsh people and those who have chosen to be British citizens are more aware of multicultural Britain, and consequently they have become more accepting of European integration than the English, especially those who have been influenced by their historical and cultural backgrounds.

British people have been racially and internationally intermingled more or less in British diverse societies. Consequently they have developed multicultural and transcultural literacy by fighting against social and economic deprivation, class and racial discrimination, xenophobia and Islamaphobia. This British multicultural orientation parallels what the European Union pursues.

The third question was "Do they really refuse to be part of an integrated Europe despite the fact that Britain is an influential member state of the EU?" The answer is again negative. As mentioned before, 47.0% of the respondents agree with the European integration and only 32.0% are against it. Despite the limited scale and region of this questionnaire, the result of this response has significant meaning for the future of Britain in the expanding European Union.

The writer has reexamined the entity of British identities in terms of cultural and national perspectives by exploring the compatibility of those identities with European citizenship within the framework of the European Union as a lesson for the rest of the world. The conclusion is that there is sufficient compatibility between British identities and European citizenship, and we can confirm that the increasing trend of multicultural and multi-ethnic British citizens will be more open and positive towards a united Europe.

It is simply a matter of time before British people will find the convergence of their British citizenship and citizenship in the European Union in terms of multicultural diversity, fundamental human rights, social welfare, European philanthropy and solidarity for developing countries in the common philosophy of liberal democracy. As Figueroa (2004) states, "Citizenship in a diverse society builds on the notions that people, as human beings, are essentially the same and of intrinsic worth." Citizen's own identity, especially in a diverse society, will inevitably be multiple, open and dynamic (Figueroa, 2004).

In conclusion, the compatibility of British identities with European citizenship can be a mirror that reflects the discrepancy and harmony of multiple identities in a multicultural civil society, and it serves as a lesson for every nation and government. Hopefully today's divided world must be truly united, balancing national identities and global citizenship in the future. As Japan is an island nation in Asia, there must be not a few things to learn from the compatibility of British identities with European citizenship in order to help stabilize, and hopefully unite, today's confused Asia. As Kofi Anan (2006), the Secretary General of the United Nations said, "You cannot choose your neighbors."

Note. 1. EIOP stands for European Integration online Papers. The source is from European and National Identities in EU's Old and New Member states: Ethnic, Civic, Instrumental and Symbolic Components, Vol.8 (2004).

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Appendix

Questionnaire for national *identities and the EU* (2005)

1. Are you female or male?   ☐ female ☐ male

2. How old are you? ☐18-20 ☐21-25 ☐26-29 ☐30-39 ☐40-49 ☐5-59 ☐60-69 ☐over70

3. Your occupation: ☐student ☐post graduate student ☐company worker ☐teacher
☐official ☐company owner ☐doctor/lawyer ☐homemaker, ☐retired pensioner, ☐other

4 . What do you think are the <u>three</u> most important factors for your national identities?
☐ birth ☐citizenship ☐residence ☐cultural heritage ☐history ☐ancestry
☐liberal democracy ☐language ☐religion ☐ human rights ☐sovereignty
☐ethnic diversity ☐belonging to U.K. ☐national pride ☐Monarchy

5. What makes you feel proud of your country? Please tick <u>three</u> factors.
☐political influence in the world ☐Parliament ☐liberal democracy
☐multiculturalism ☐the Commonwealth of England ☐British empire
☐British Armed Forces ☐ economic performance ☐social welfare ☐ Sterling/ Euro/Yen
☐Monarchy ☐Science and Technology ☐ philanthropy and public generosity

6. Which country do you think is culturally closest to you?
☐Australia ☐New Zealand ☐Canada ☐South Africa ☐France ☐Germany ☐ US

7. (Only British Students)
Do you think of yourself as ☐English ☐Scottish British ☐Irish British ☐Welsh British
☐European British, ☐Asian British, ☐Afro British, ☐Caribbean British ☐Other

8. Do you think of yourself as a European citizen/ Asian citizen?
☐Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neither ☐ Disagree ☐Strongly Disagree

9. Do you think of yourself as both a British and a European citizen? (British students)
☐Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neither ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

Do you think of yourself as both a German and a European citizen? (German students)
☐Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neither ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

Do you think of yourself as both a Japanese and an Asian citizen? (Japanese students)
☐Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neither ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

Do you think of yourself as both a Thai and an Asian citizen? (Thai students)

10. (Only British and German Students)

Do you agree with the Constitution of the European Union?
☐Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neither ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

11. (Only British and German Students)

Do you want Britain (Germany) to be part of an integrated Europe?
☐Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neither ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

12. (Only British students)

Do you think Britain should keep the pound as the only currency for Britain?
☐Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neither ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree