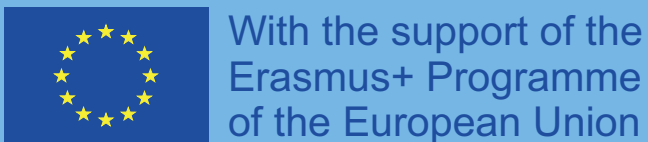



# Jean Monnet Module

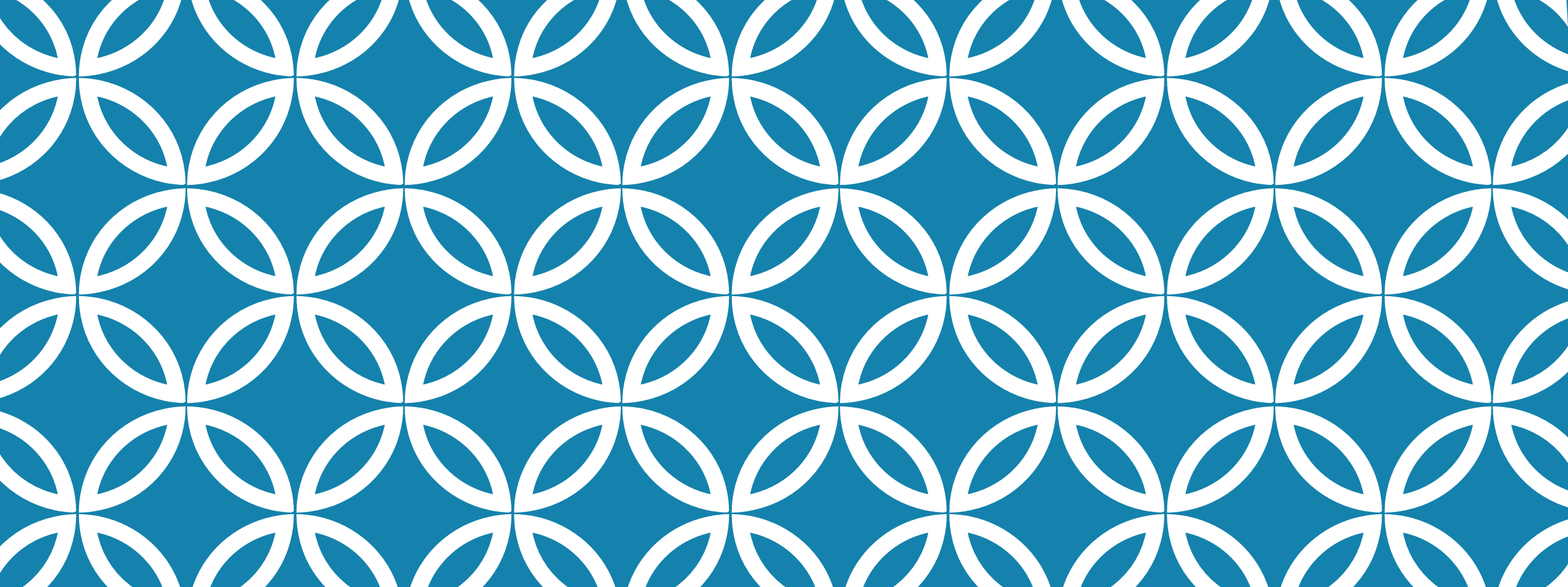
## “Economic Policy in the European Union”

Session 5.3. European economic governance: where are the citizens?

Dr Aleksandra Sojka



- 
1. Where are the citizens? Public opinion as an element of the EU's political system
  2. European citizenship
  3. What do EU citizens think?
  4. How do we explain attitudes towards the EU?



# **THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EU**



# WHY DOES PUBLIC OPINION MATTER FOR THE EU STUDY?

Integration beyond the economic, EU institutions - increasingly directly affect citizens

Increasing **politicization** of the integration process

Do the European institutions have a "**democratic deficit**"?

**Objective:** To understand the origin of public attitudes towards the EU to learn about the possibilities and future of European integration

# POLITICAL SUPPORT (EASTON 1965, 1975)

**Political support:** an individual's evaluative orientation towards an object (political community, regime and authorities) through their attitudes or behaviour.

**Diffuse support** involves linking the political system through strong bonds of loyalty and affection; regardless of the specific advantages that individuals judge to report to them to belong to the system;

**Specific support** comes in exchange for the specific benefits and benefits that members of a political system experience

# THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INTEGRATION

Theory	Key players	Underlying logic	Character of the process	Integration as a result of:	Possible results
<b>Neofunctionalismo</b>	Social actors (national, supranational)	Economic efficiency	Cooperative	Spillovers, dependence on the road	+ Integration
<b>Intergovernmentalism</b>	States	Economic efficiency	Cooperative	Intergovernmental negotiation	+ Integration, blocking
<b>Post-functionalism</b>	Voters	Political psychology (economic preferences vs identities)	Conflictive	Ideological conflict	+ Integration, blocking, disintegration

# POST-FUNCTIONALISM (HOOGHE AND MARKS, 2009)

Post-functionalism focuses on how functional pressures interact with **the dynamics of domestic conflict** (in contrast to how neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism see integration as a process of improving efficiency)

Focuses on the causes and effects of **politicization**

Roots: **political psychology**, citizen-restricted integration and therefore not necessarily functionally efficient

Starting point: mismatch between the status quo and pressures for multilevel governance to improve efficiency, derived from interdependence, but the **scenario** where solutions are discussed determines the level of politicization and the nature of the conflict (mass policy or elite driven)

**Social polarization** as a systemic by-product of integration, creating a cultural divide that could constitute a new cleavage, **integration vs. demarcation** (Kriesi)

The end of the era of **permissive consensus** that until then facilitated elite-driven decisions on efficiency assumptions, the new role of public opinion in generating **restrictive dissents**

# EXAMPLE: THE EUROZONE CRISIS

## **Post-functionalist perspective: restrictive effects of politicization**

publicly restricted national governments remain inactive despite the rising cost of inactivity

politicization of the crisis at the national level reduced options for functionally efficient solutions

resulted in a spiral of crisis and inadequate response

attempts to depoliticize the crisis as a regulatory issue and delegate it to supranational institutions



# "PERMISSIVE CONSENSUS"...

- Until the early 1990s – **"permissive consensus"** (Lindberg and Scheingold 1970), a small consensus of citizens in favor of integration, disinterest, little importance as a political issue
- Until the 1980s – the attitudes of citizens towards the EU were not studied, in 1991 - 71% of Eurobarometer respondents thought their country's membership of the EU was "a good thing"

## ... AND ITS END

After the Maastricht Treaty:

- Integration beyond economic integration
- Rejection of the Maastricht treaty in Denmark
- Increasing **politicization** of European policies
- Anti-European, **Eurosceptic** parties getting better and better results in European elections



## ... AND ITS END

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- 2005 - **Rejection** of the Constitutional Treaty (France and the Netherlands)
- 2008 - Rejection of the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland



## ... AND ITS END

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- 2008 - Rejection of the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland

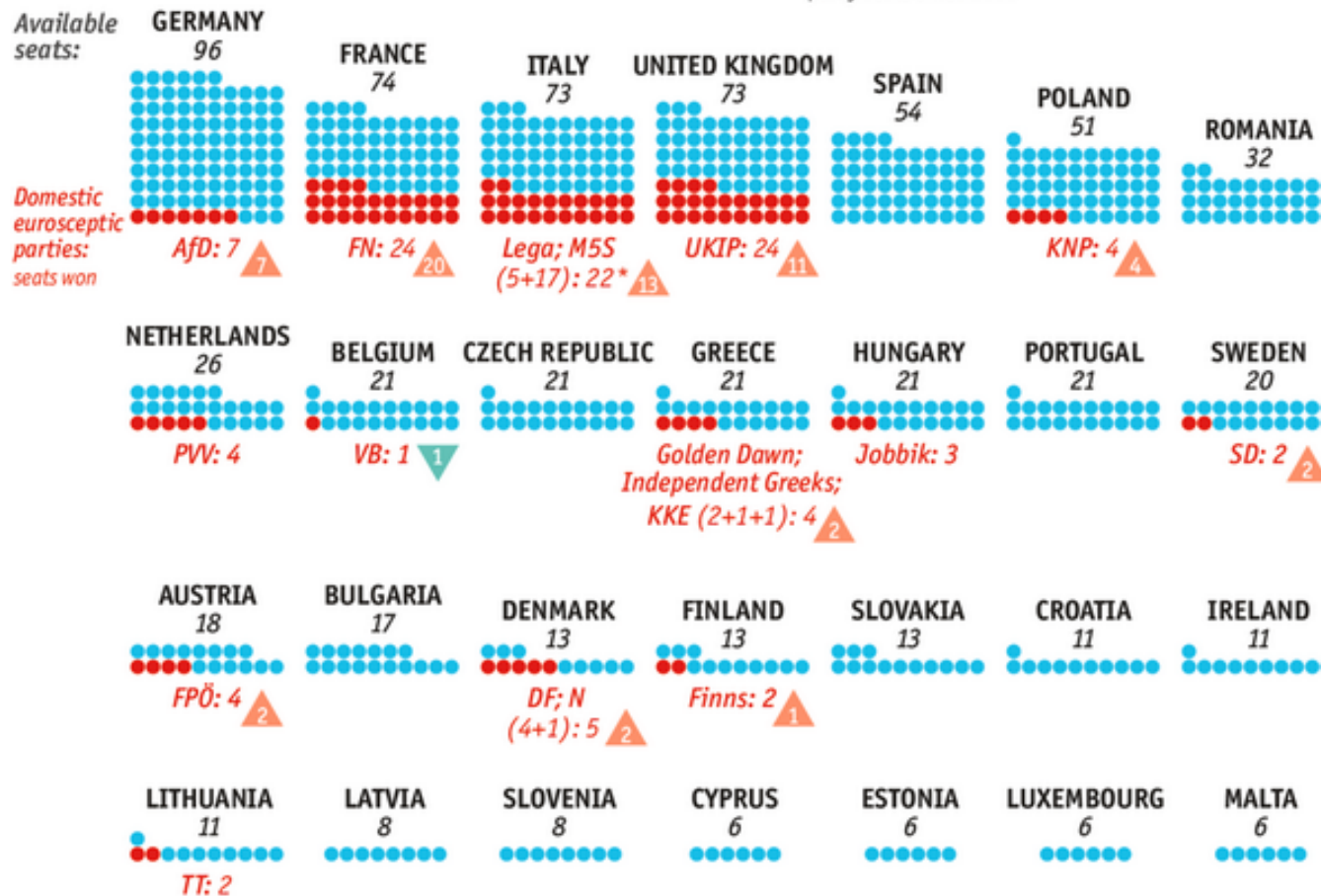
Effect: "**Constraining dissensus**" (Hooghe and Marks 2008)



# Eurosceptic party seats

2014 European Parliamentary elections, May 26th results

● Seats won by strongly eurosceptic parties  
 ▲ Change in eurosceptic party seats since 2009



## Total seats



Source: Electionista

\*Based on provisional results

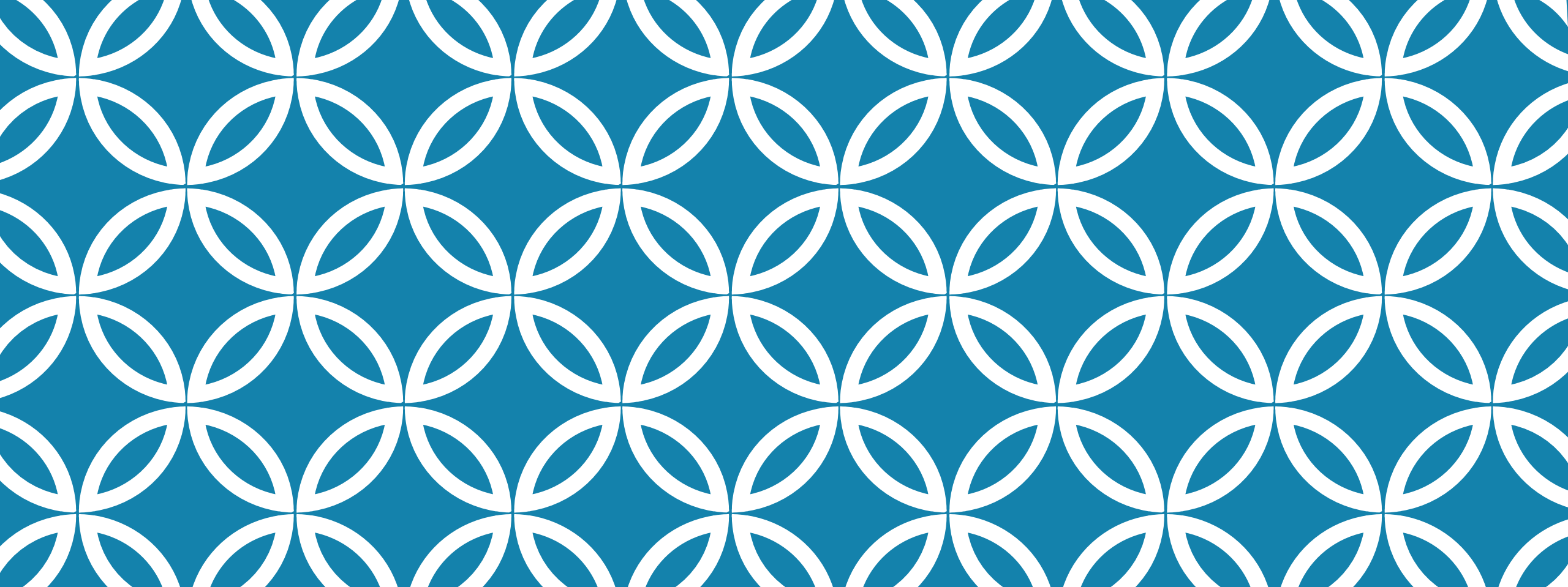
## A tricky question

Selected referendums on Europe

Where and when	About what	Result, %	✗ Against	✓ In favour
Denmark (Jun 1992)	<i>Maastricht treaty</i>	50.7	✗	Reversed a year later, with Danish opt-out
Ireland (Jun 1992)	<i>Maastricht treaty</i>	68.7	✓	A rare bout of Irish enthusiasm
France (Sep 1992)	<i>Maastricht treaty</i>	51.1	✓	Mitterrand's "petit oui"
Switzerland (Dec 1992)	<i>EEA* membership</i>	50.3	✗	Ten more years of talks for bilateral arrangements
Denmark (Sep 2000)	<i>Euro membership</i>	53.2	✗	DKr has been "shadowing" the euro since
Ireland (Jun 2001)	<i>Treaty of Nice</i>	53.9	✗	Reversed a year later, with small concessions
Sweden (Sep 2003)	<i>Euro membership</i>	56.1	✗	A shock, with all parties and the establishment in favour
Spain (Feb 2005)	<i>European Constitution</i>	76.7	✓	Spain shows itself a long-time Euro-enthusiast
France (May 2005)	<i>European Constitution</i>	54.9	✗	The French vote against Chirac and the Polish plumber
Netherlands (Jun 2005)	<i>European Constitution</i>	61.5	✗	The Dutch show anger in first referendum since 1808
Luxembourg (Jul 2005)	<i>European Constitution</i>	56.5	✓	A vote for a treaty that is already dead
Ireland (Jun 2008)	<i>Treaty of Lisbon</i>	53.2	✗	Again, reversed a year later with small concessions

Source: *The Economist*

\*European Economic Area



**EU CITIZENSHIP** |

# *Alternative Theoretical Models of Citizenship*

*Liberal: citizenship as a set of rights*

*Republican: citizenship as a participatory process -  
need for social capital and spaces for participation*

*Cosmopolitan: (Delanty) takes into account national  
differences within a universalist framework*



# Concepts of Citizenship: Universalist vs. Privateist

- **Universalist model:** human rights are universal, (Habermas) and guaranteed in the Constitution - Constitutional Patriotism
- **Particularist model:** citizenship is an important part of national construction and democracy. So is the sense of belonging. EU citizenship should be minimal and should be built with national affiliations.

These two models are currently in tension within the EU

# Citizenship Policy Development

**Treaty of Rome** (right to seek work in any MS)

**Single European Act** (free movement of workers)

**Maastricht Treaty** (Justice and Internal Affairs – Third Pillar) + 'European School'

**Amsterdam Treaty** (added areas of 'freedom, security and justice')

**Charter of Fundamental Rights** (European Convention)

**Treaty of Nice** (until MS was expelled for breaking fundamental rights)

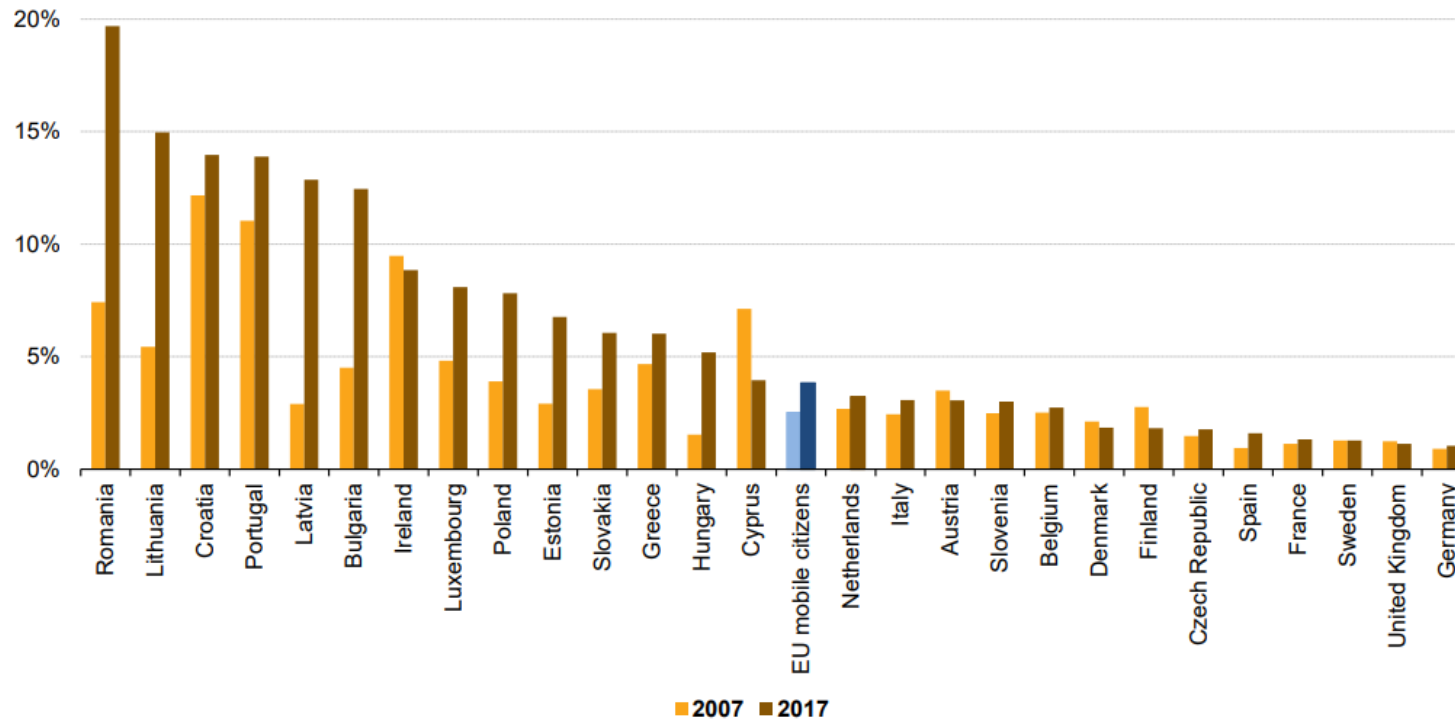
**Lisbon Treaty** (Fundamental Charter of Rights included)

## Fragmented notion of European citizenship

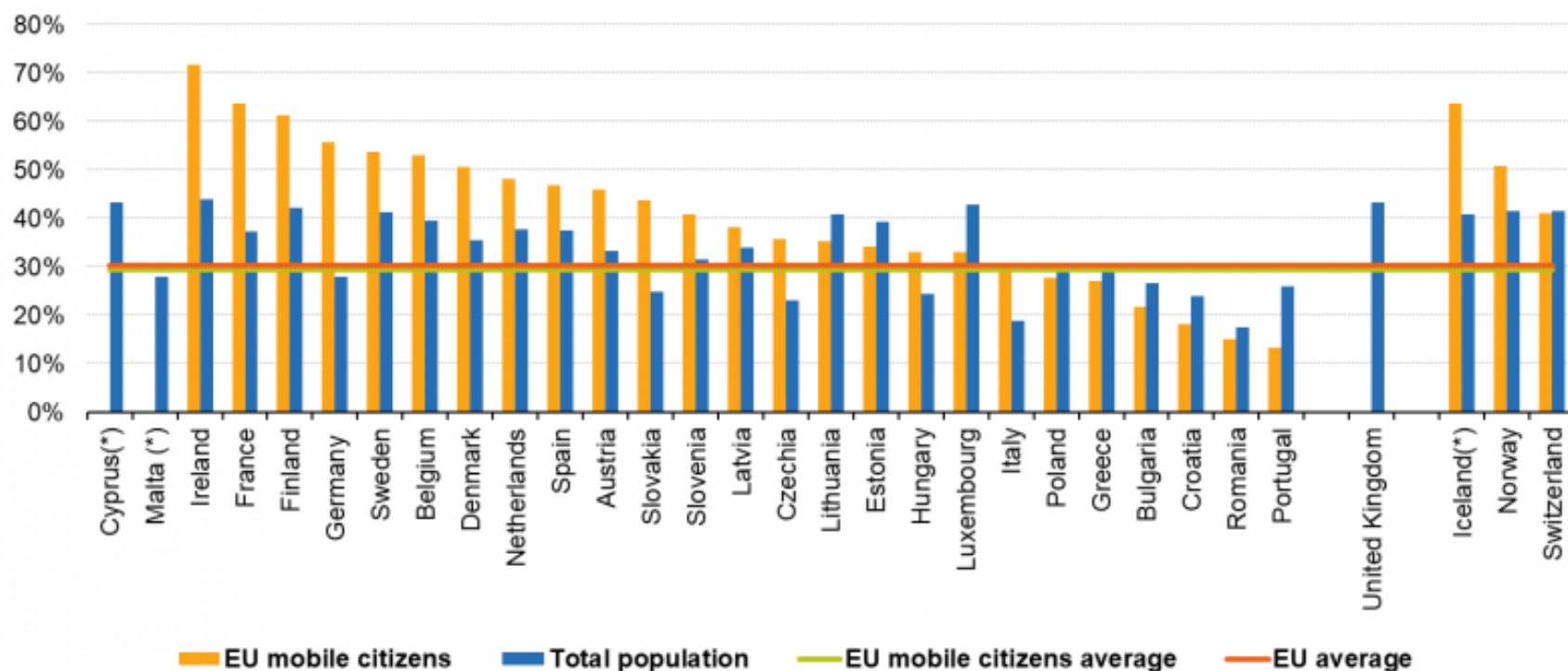
- Citizens who are workers
- Citizens who are not workers
- Non-citizen workers
- People who are neither citizens nor workers

# WHO'S MOVING?

**EU mobile citizens of working age (20-64), by country of citizenship, 2017**  
(as % of their home-country resident population in the corresponding age group)



## Population aged 20-64 with tertiary educational attainment (ISCED 5–8) by country of citizenship, 2019

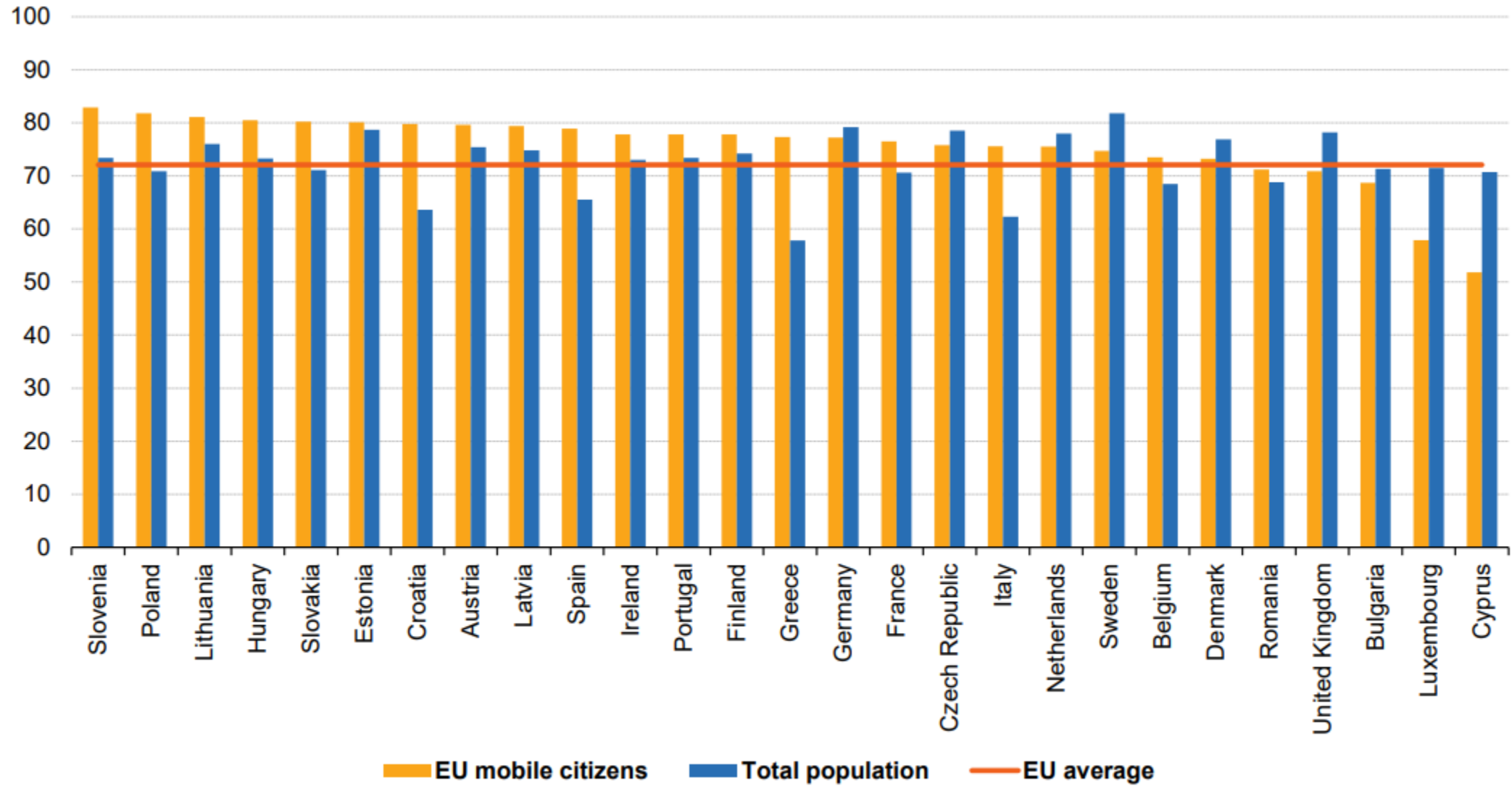


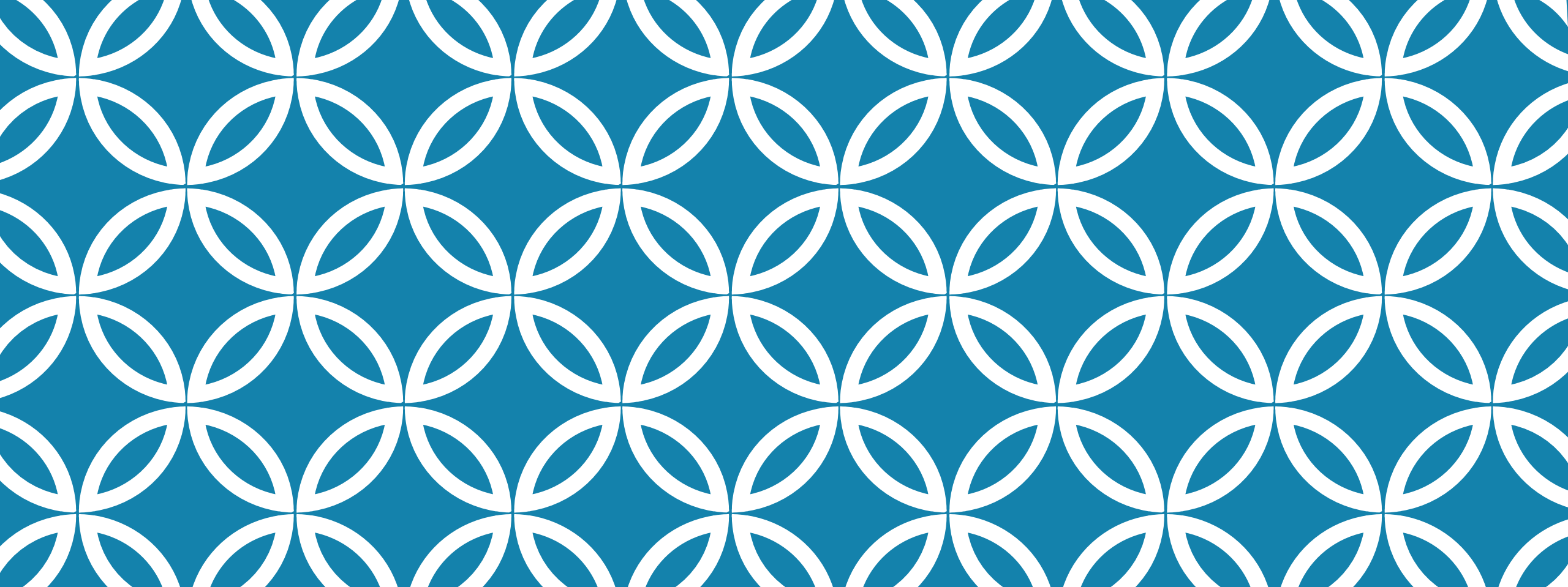
In descending order by % among EU mobile citizens.

(\*) Figure of low reliability for EU mobile citizens

Source: Eurostat (online data code: Ifst\_Imbpcited and Ifsa\_pgaed)

Employment rate of persons aged 20-64, by country of citizenship, 2017





**WHAT DO EU CITIZENS THINK?** |

# EUROBAROMETER



Since 1973

Every 6 months, in all member countries, a sample of 1000 respondents

Support for integration, support for concrete policies, national and European institutional confidence, citizenship perceptions and current issues



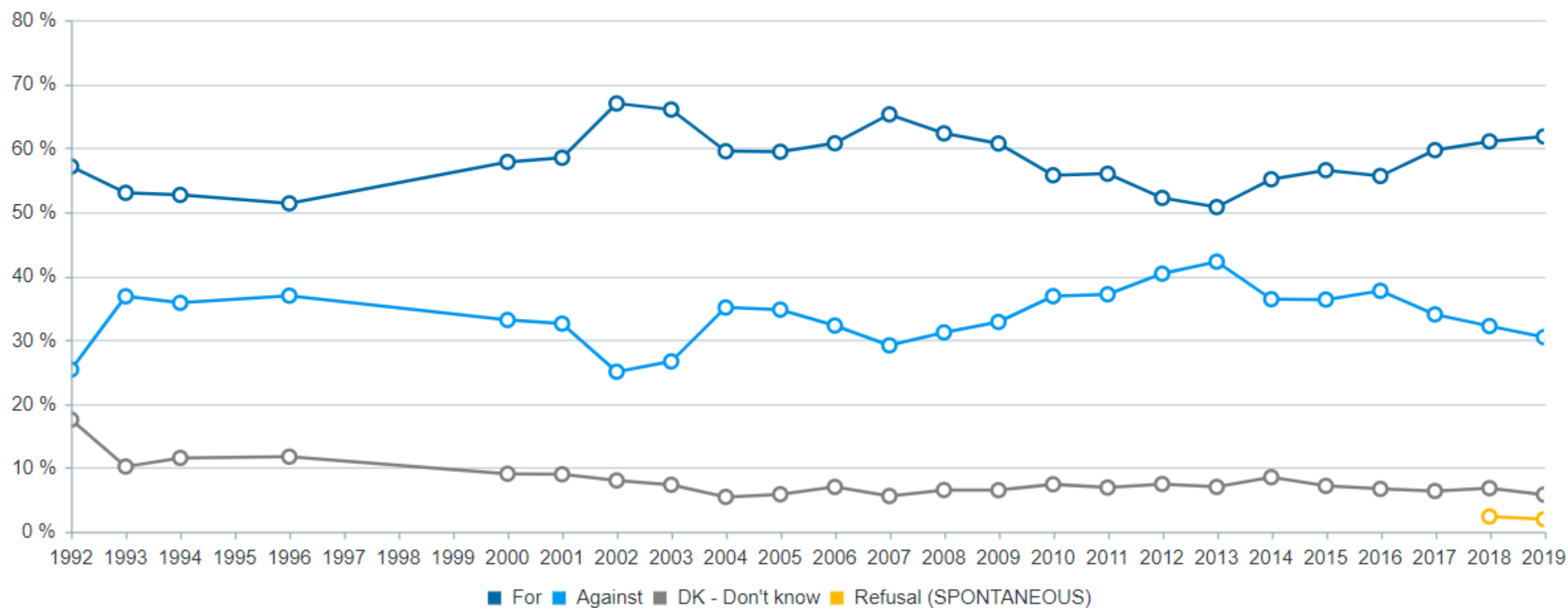
# WHAT DOES THE EU MEAN TODAY FOR ITS CITIZENS?

**QA7** What does the EU mean to you personally? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)  
(% - EU)

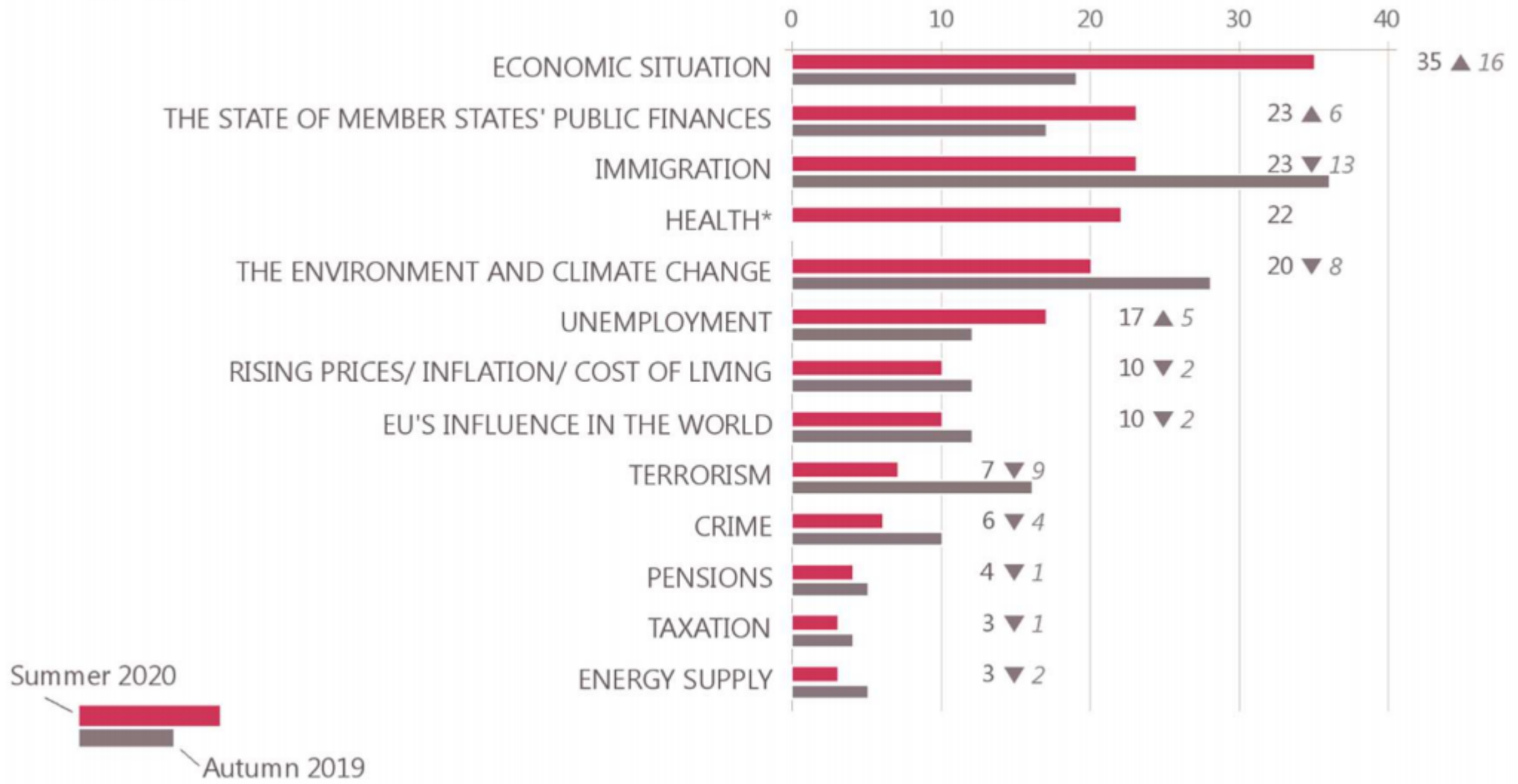


What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.

A European economic and monetary union with one single currency, the euro  
European Union (from 09/1992 to 11/2019)

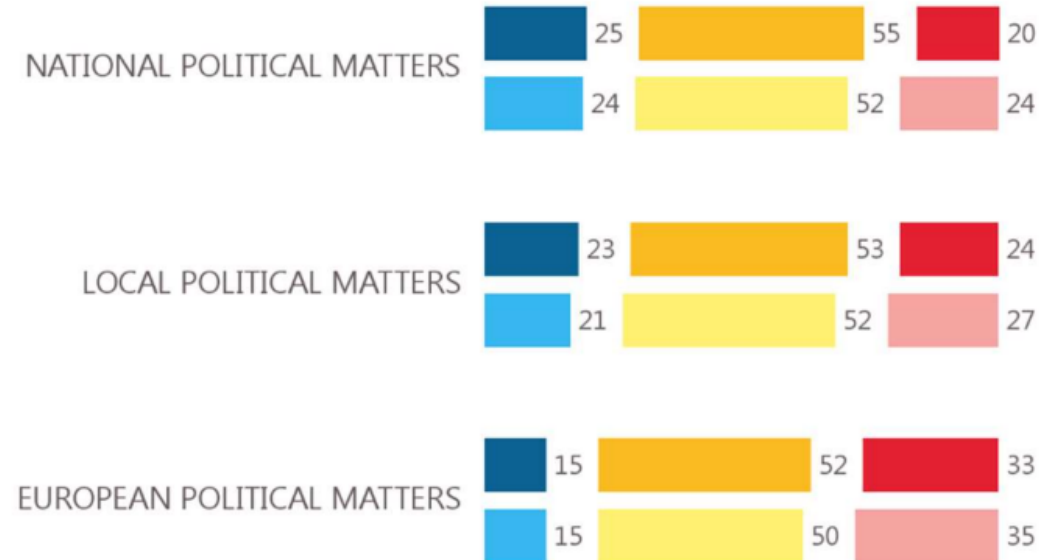


**QA5** What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment? (MAX. 2 ANSWERS)  
 (% - EU)



# POLITICAL DISCUSSION

**SD14a** When you get together with friends or relatives, would you say you discuss frequently, occasionally or never about...?  
(% - EU)



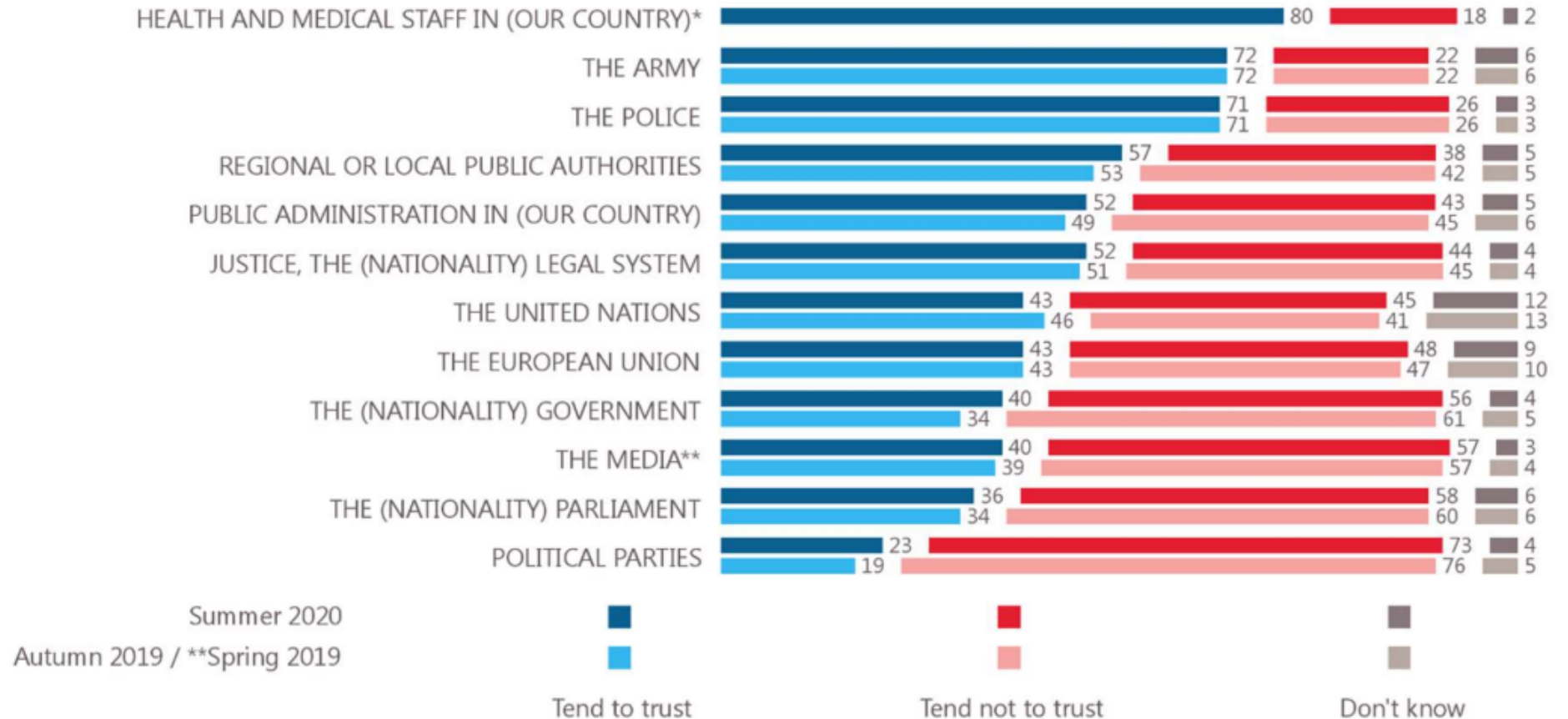
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# INSTITUTIONAL TRUST

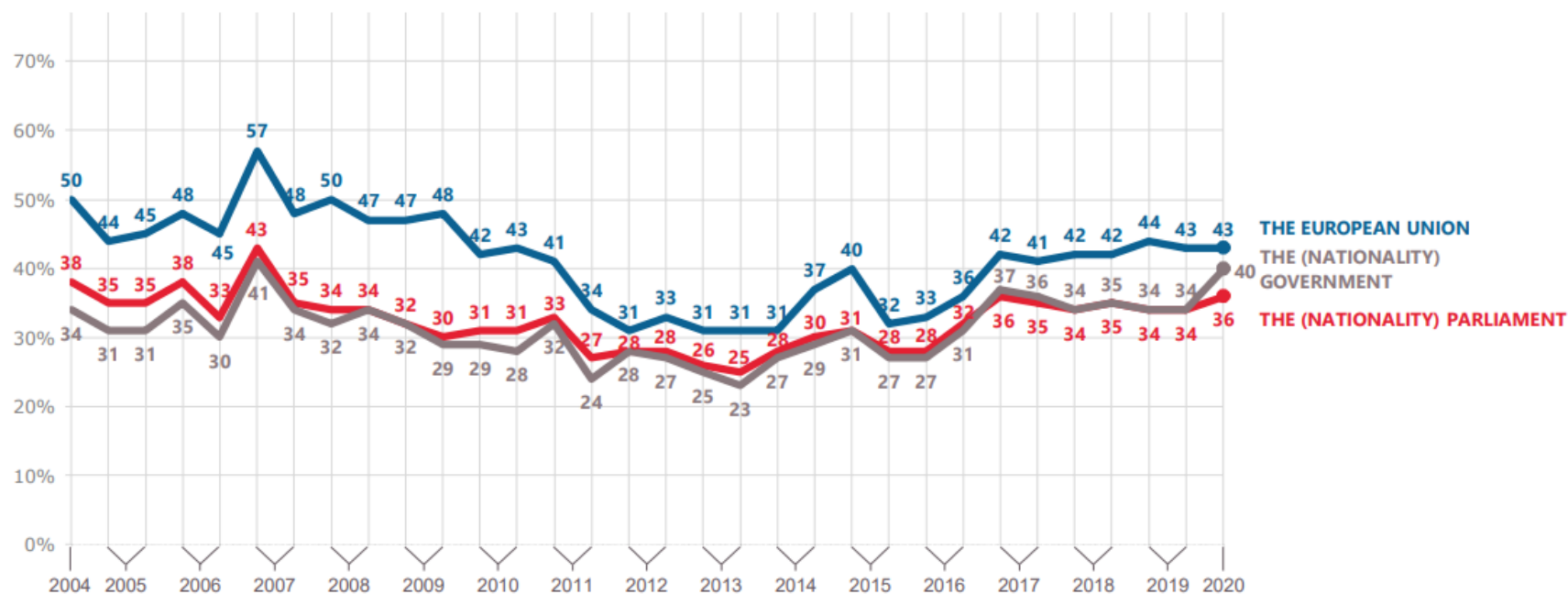
**QA6a** I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.  
(% - EU)



# TRUST IN THE EU

**QA6a** I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

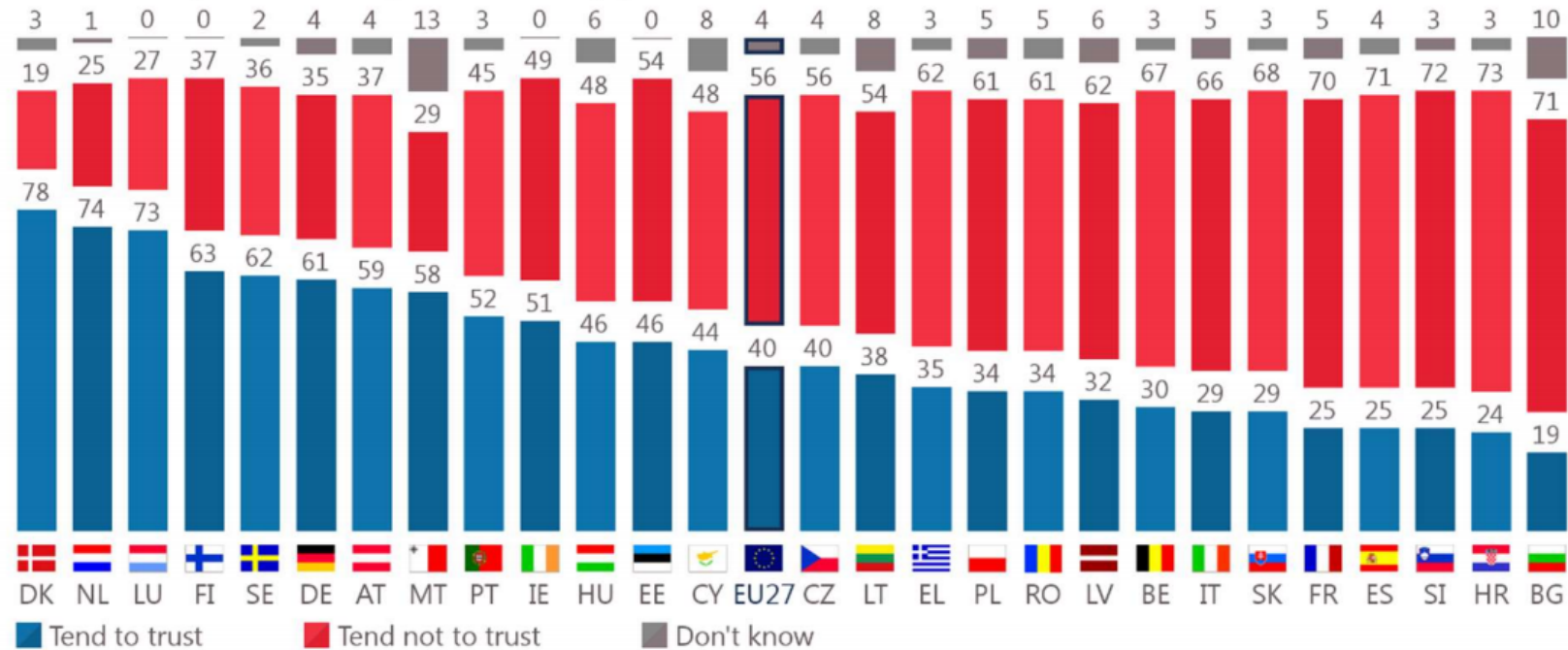
(% - EU - TEND TO TRUST)



# NATIONAL TRUST

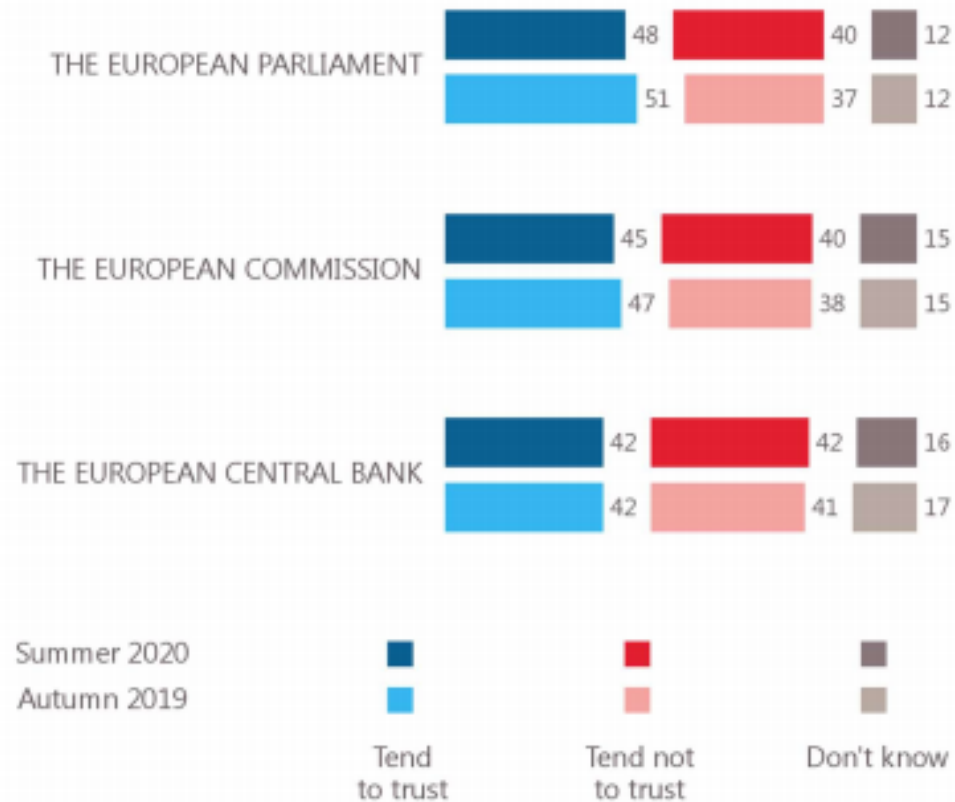
QA6a.9 I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

The (NATIONALITY) Government (%)



# CONFIANZA INSTITUCIONAL UE

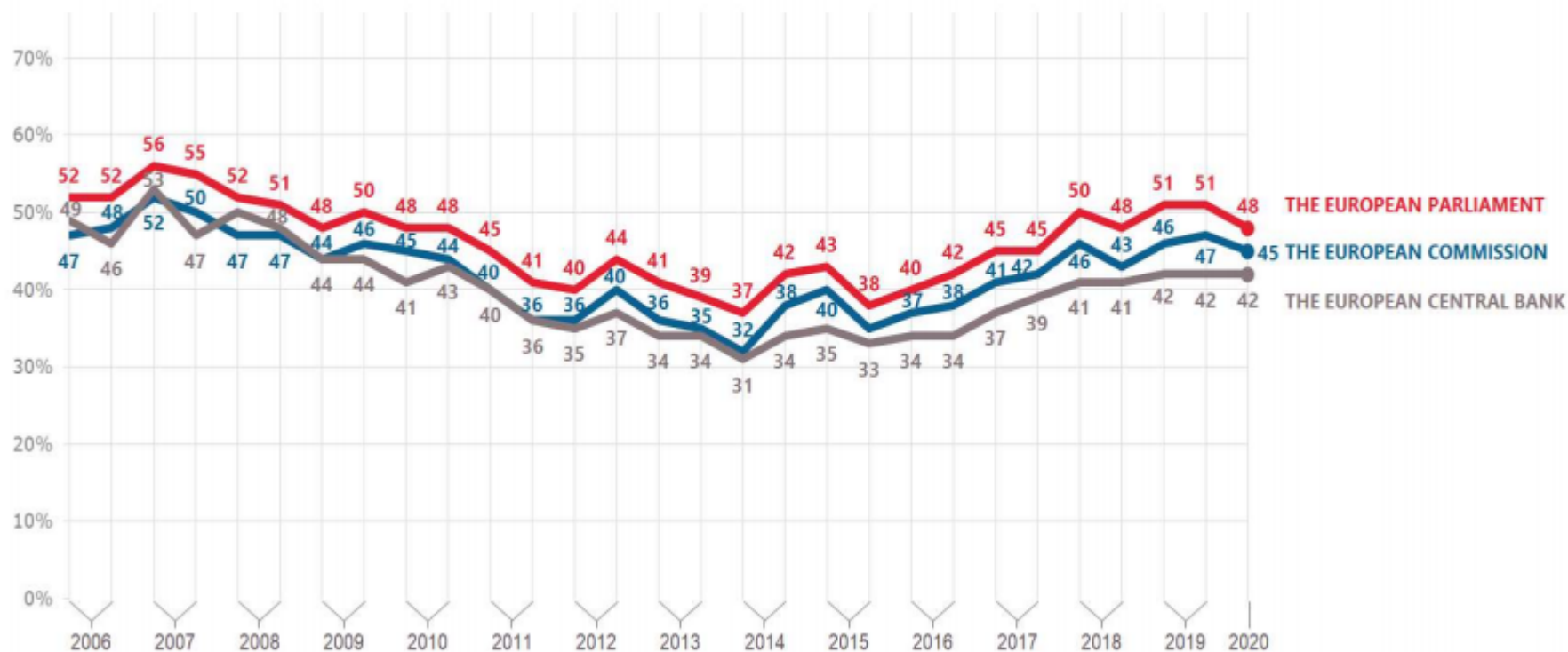
QA12 And please tell me if you tend to trust or tend not to trust these European institutions.  
(% - EU)





# INSTITUTIONAL EU TRUST

QA12 And please tell me if you tend to trust or tend not to trust these European institutions.  
(% - EU - TEND TO TRUST)



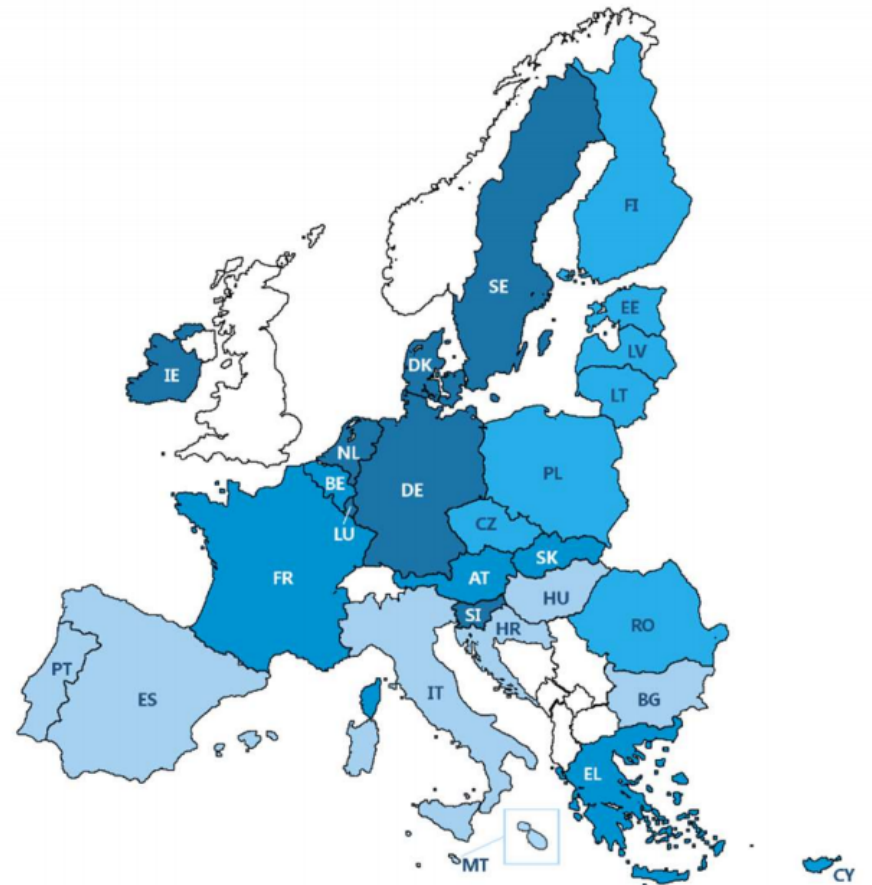
# WHAT DOES THE UE MEAN TO YOU? (PEACE)

LU		55
DE		55
SE		53
DK		52
NL		51
IE		47
SI		42
AT		40
EL		40
BE		38
FR		36
SK		34
CY		33
EU27		33
RO		31
LT		31
FI		29
LV		29
CZ		25
PL		25
EE		25
HU		23
BG		23
HR		22
MT		20
IT		20
PT		18
ES		11

QA7 What does the EU mean to you personally? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)  
(% - PEACE)

Map Legend

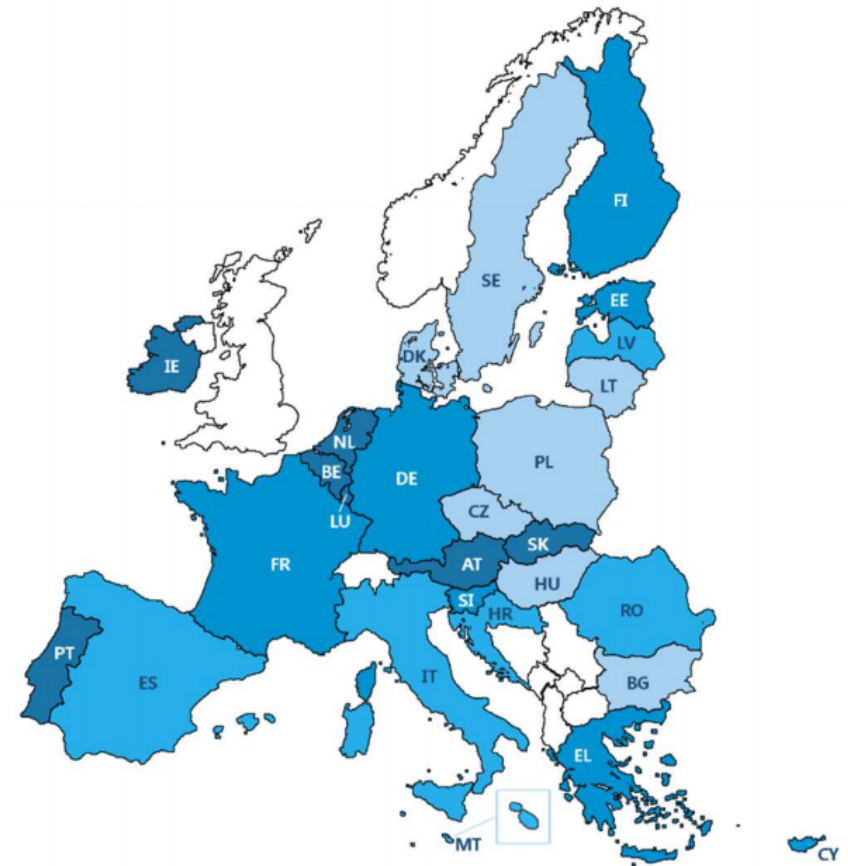
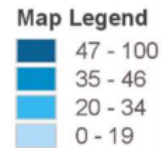
	41 - 100
	33 - 40
	25 - 32
	0 - 24



# WHAT DOES THE UE MEAN TO YOU? (THE EURO)

NL		53
SK		51
AT		50
LU		49
PT		49
BE		48
IE		47
EL		46
FI		46
SI		46
DE		45
CY		43
EE		43
FR		36
EU27		35
ES		33
IT		32
LV		26
MT		25
RO		25
HR		23
CZ		19
BG		17
LT		16
HU		16
SE		15
DK		15
PL		15

QA7 What does the EU mean to you personally? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)  
(% - EURO)



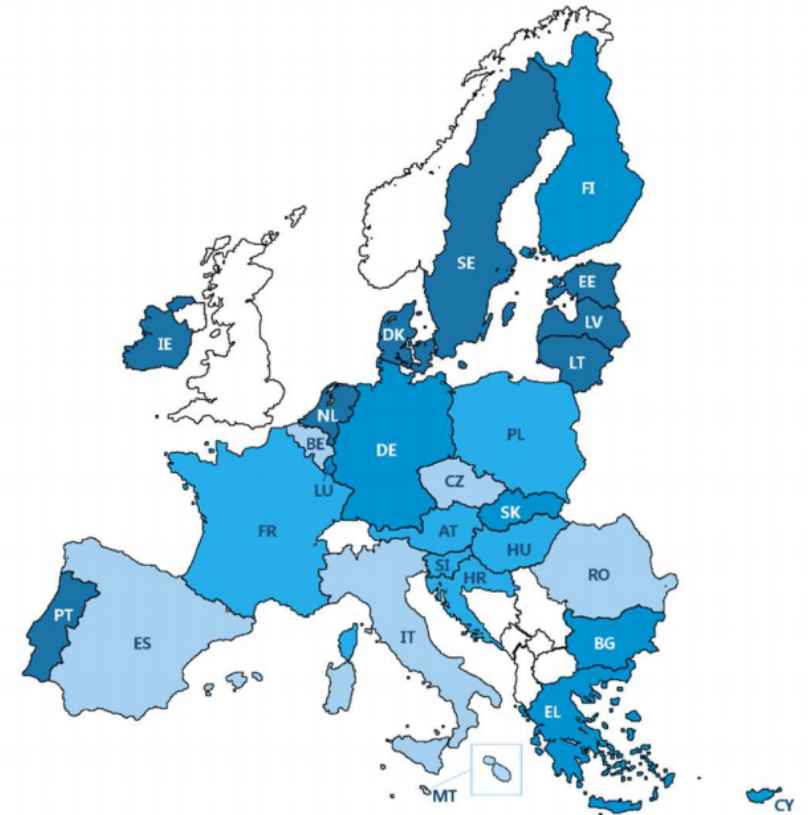
# WHAT DOES THE UE MEAN TO YOU? (FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT)

IE		76
EE		73
LT		72
NL		68
SE		67
LV		65
DK		64
PT		63
LU		62
SK		62
DE		61
BG		61
EL		60
FI		60
CY		60
HR		55
EU27		51
SI		49
PL		48
FR		48
HU		48
AT		48
BE		47
MT		47
RO		46
CZ		45
ES		43
IT		37

QA7 What does the EU mean to you personally? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)  
(% - FREEDOM TO TRAVEL, STUDY AND WORK ANYWHERE IN THE EU)

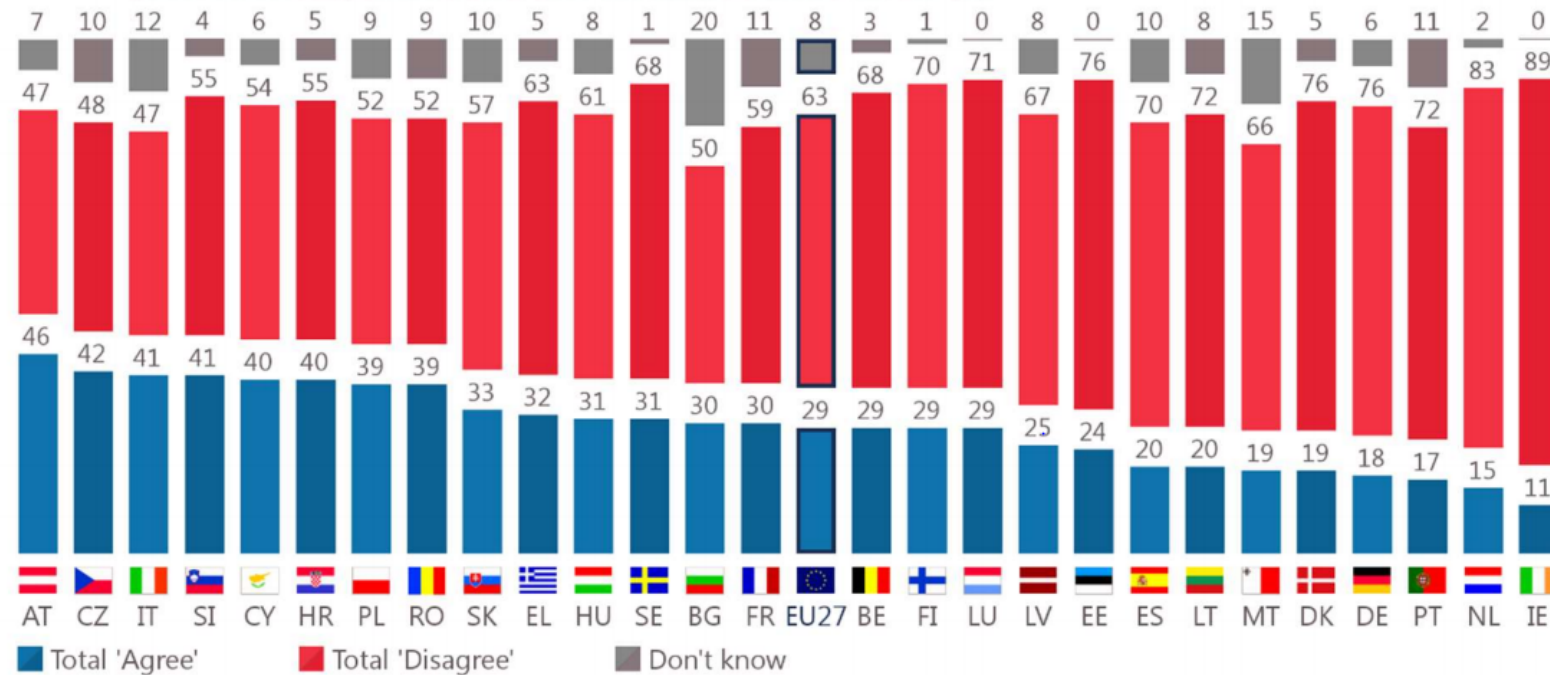
Map Legend

- 63 - 100
- 60 - 62
- 48 - 59
- 0 - 47



# HARD EUROSCEPTICISM

QA13.2 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.  
**(OUR COUNTRY) could better face the future outside the EU (%)**

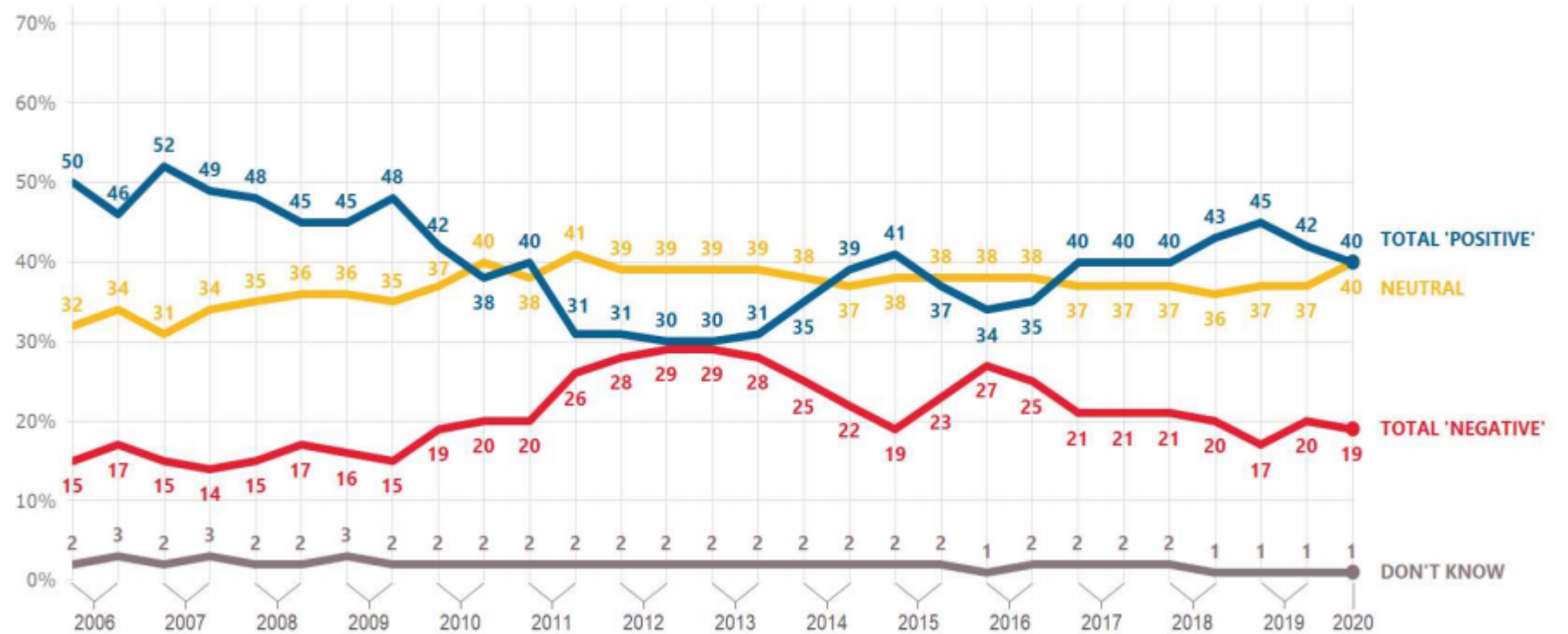


QA13.2 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.  
**(OUR COUNTRY) could better face the future outside the EU (% - EU)**

	Total 'Agree'	Total 'Disagree'	Don't know
EU27	29	63	8
<b>Gender</b>			
Man	30	63	7
Woman	27	63	10
<b>Age</b>			
15-24	24	66	10
25-39	29	64	7
40-54	33	60	7
55+	28	62	10
<b>Education (End of)</b>			
15-	33	52	15
16-19	33	59	8
20+	24	70	6
Still studying	23	68	9
<b>Socio-professional category</b>			
Self-employed	29	66	5
Managers	22	73	5
Other white collars	30	64	6
Manual workers	33	58	9
House persons	32	55	13
Unemployed	36	53	11
Retired	27	63	10
Students	23	69	8
<b>Difficulties paying bills</b>			
Most of the time	40	47	13
From time to time	37	52	11
Almost never/ Never	25	68	7
<b>Consider belonging to</b>			
The working class	32	55	13
The lower middle class	34	57	9
The middle class	28	65	7
The upper middle class	19	78	3
The upper class	23	74	3

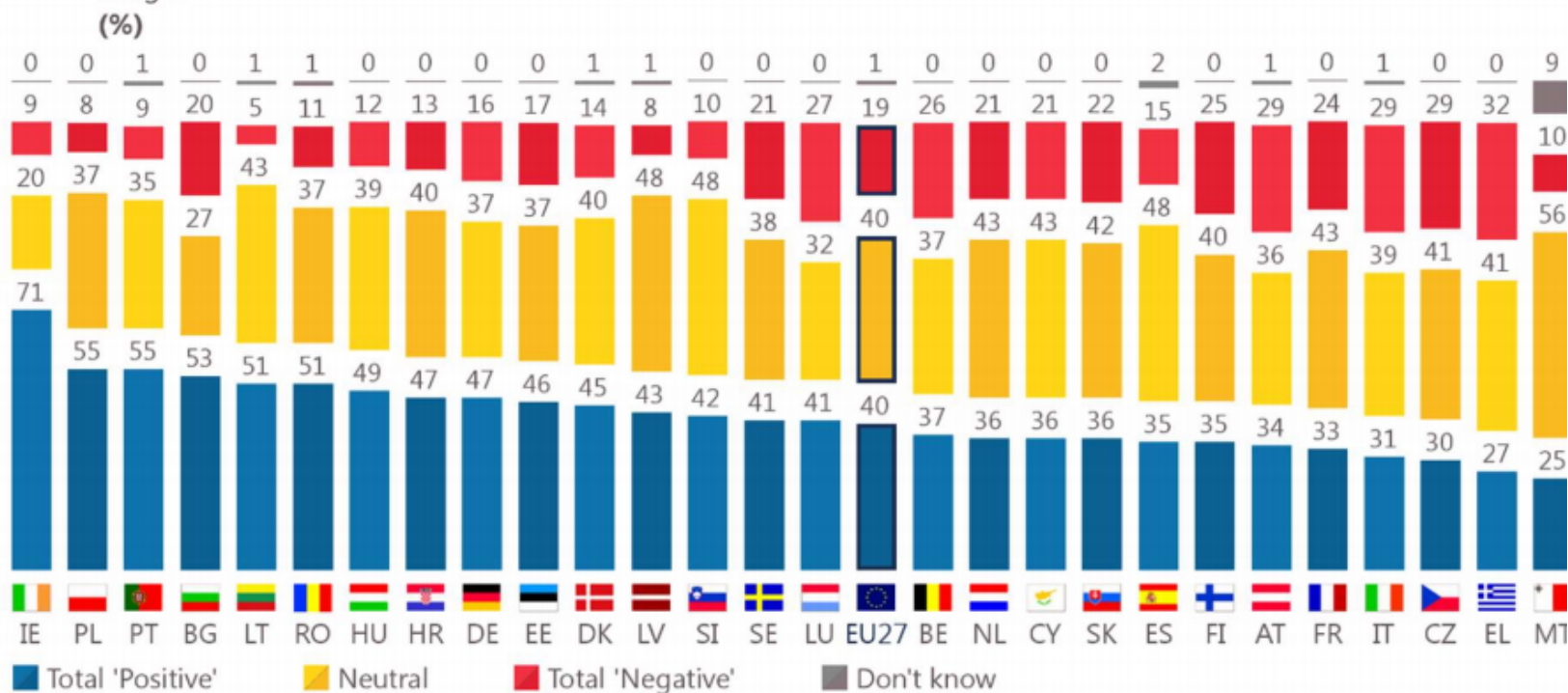
# THE IMAGE OF THE UE

**SD16** In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?  
(% - EU)



# LA IMAGEN DE LA UE

**SD16** In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image? (%)



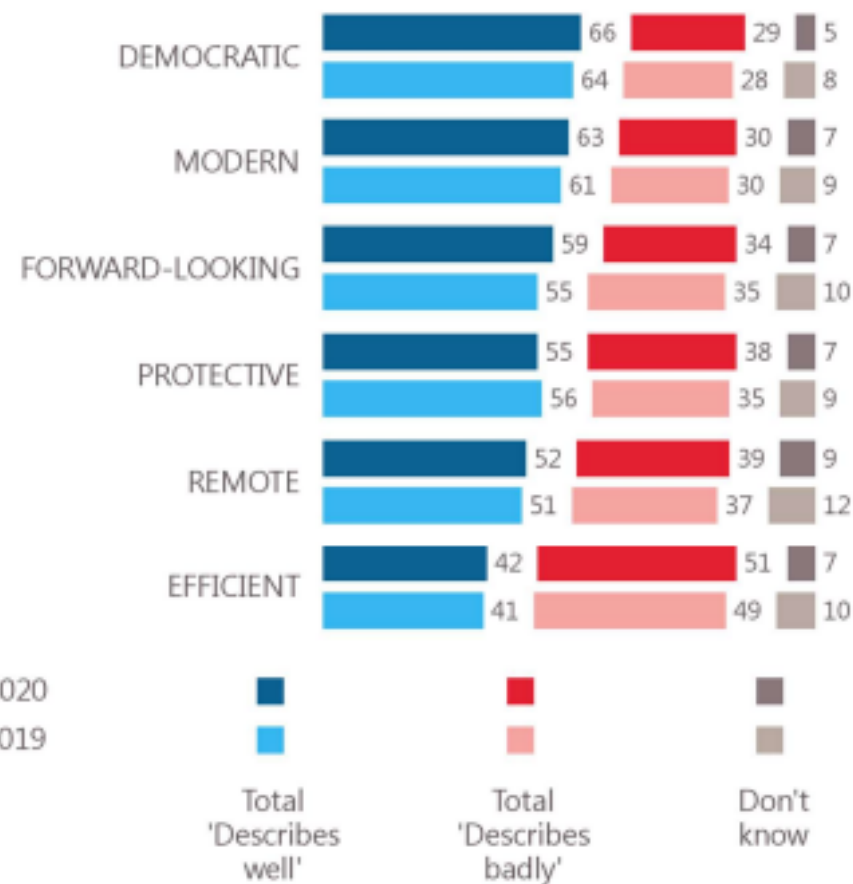
Sorted by "Total 'Positive'"

**SD16** In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image? (% - EU)

	Total 'Positive'	Neutral	Total 'Negative'	Don't know
EU27	40	40	19	1
<b>Gender</b>				
Man	42	38	20	0
Woman	39	43	17	1
<b>Age</b>				
15-24	50	40	9	1
25-39	42	41	17	0
40-54	40	39	21	0
55+	36	40	23	1
<b>Education (End of)</b>				
15-	31	44	24	1
16-19	36	43	21	0
20+	46	36	18	0
Still studying	55	36	8	1
<b>Socio-professional category</b>				
Self-employed	43	38	19	0
Managers	53	34	13	0
Other white collars	43	38	19	0
Manual workers	35	45	20	0
House persons	34	44	21	1
Unemployed	29	43	28	0
Retired	36	40	23	1
Students	54	36	9	1
<b>Difficulties paying bills</b>				
Most of the time	23	41	36	0
From time to time	33	43	24	0
Almost never/ Never	45	39	16	0
<b>Consider belonging to</b>				
The working class	32	45	22	1
The lower middle class	32	42	26	0
The middle class	45	38	17	0
The upper middle class	54	32	14	0
The upper class	59	24	17	0
<b>Subjective urbanisation</b>				
Rural village	39	41	20	0
Small/ mid size town	38	42	19	1
Large town	45	36	19	0

# HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE EU?

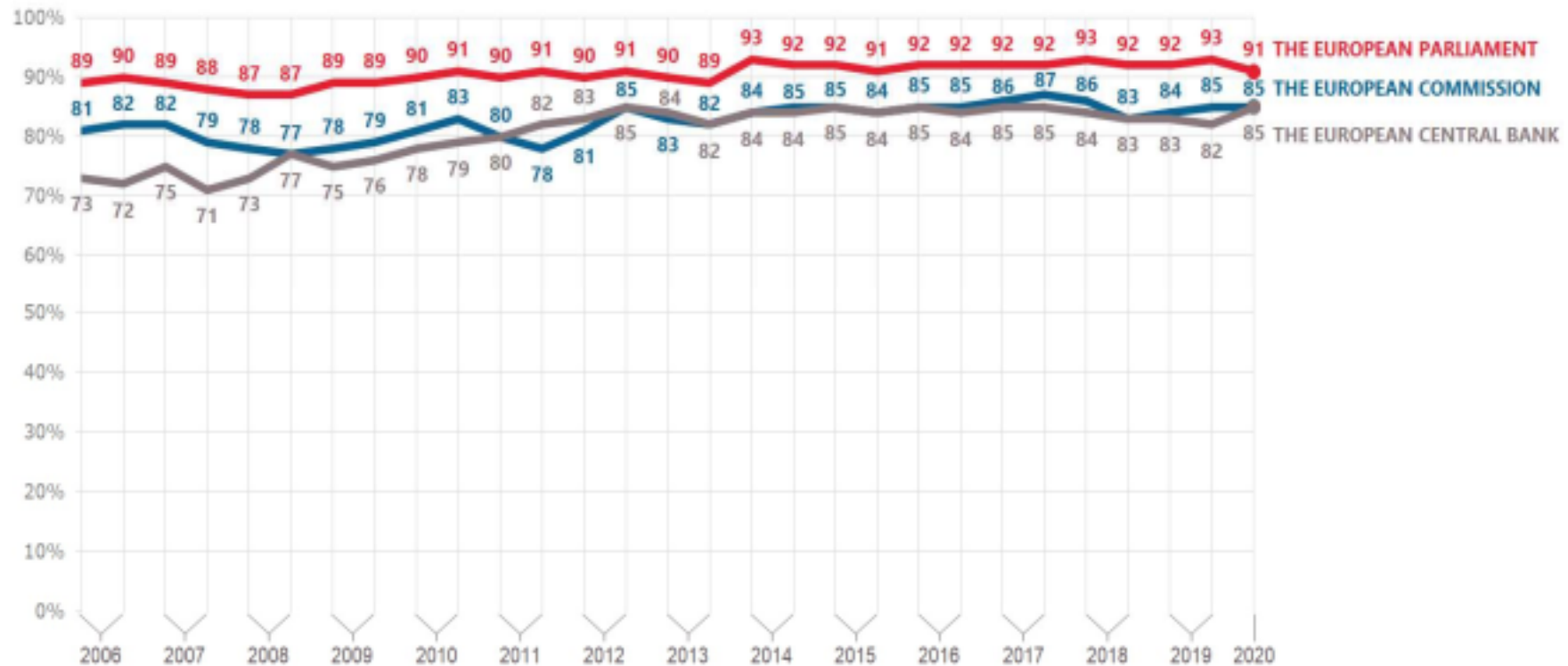
**QA8** Please tell me for each of the following words if it describes very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly the idea you might have of the EU.  
(% - EU)





# DO EU CITIZENS KNOW ABOUT THEIR INSTITUTIONS?

QA11 Have you heard of...?  
(% - EU - YES)

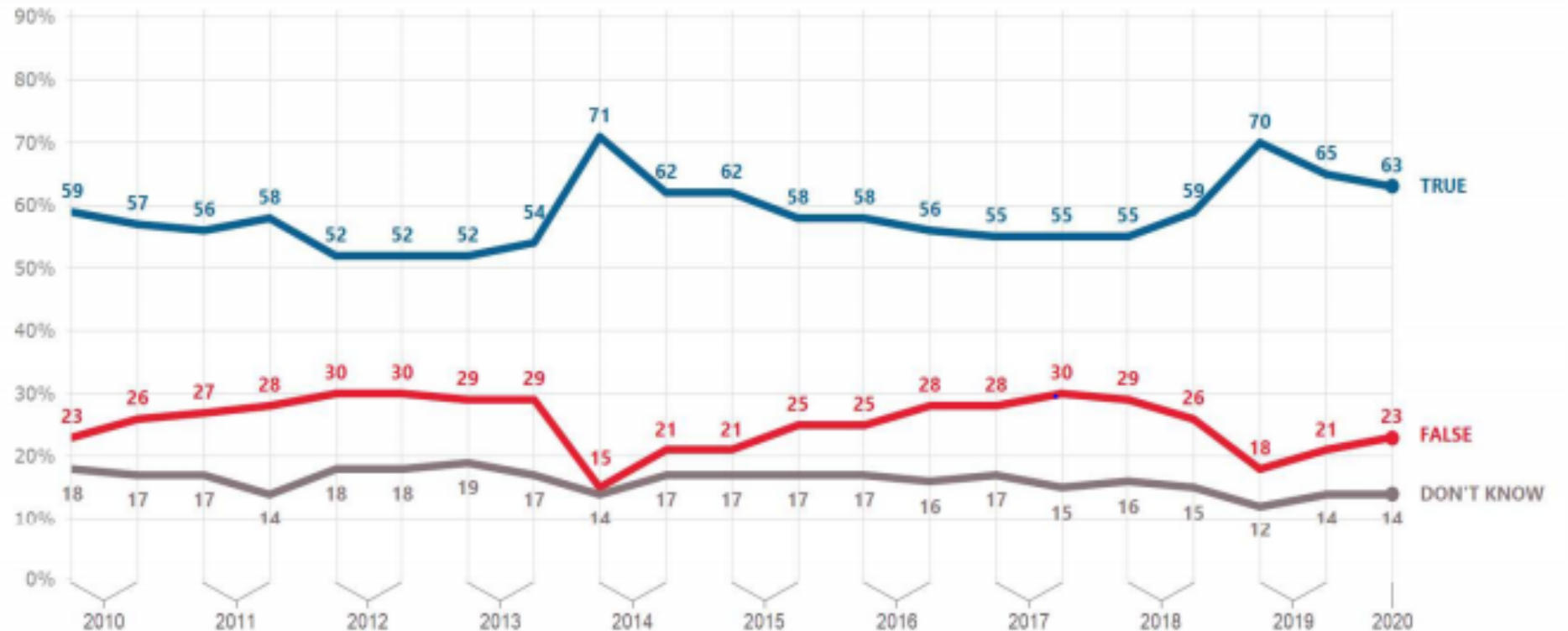


# KNOWLEDGE OF THE EU

(MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ARE ELECTED IN DIRECT ELECTIONS)

SD20.2 For each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false.

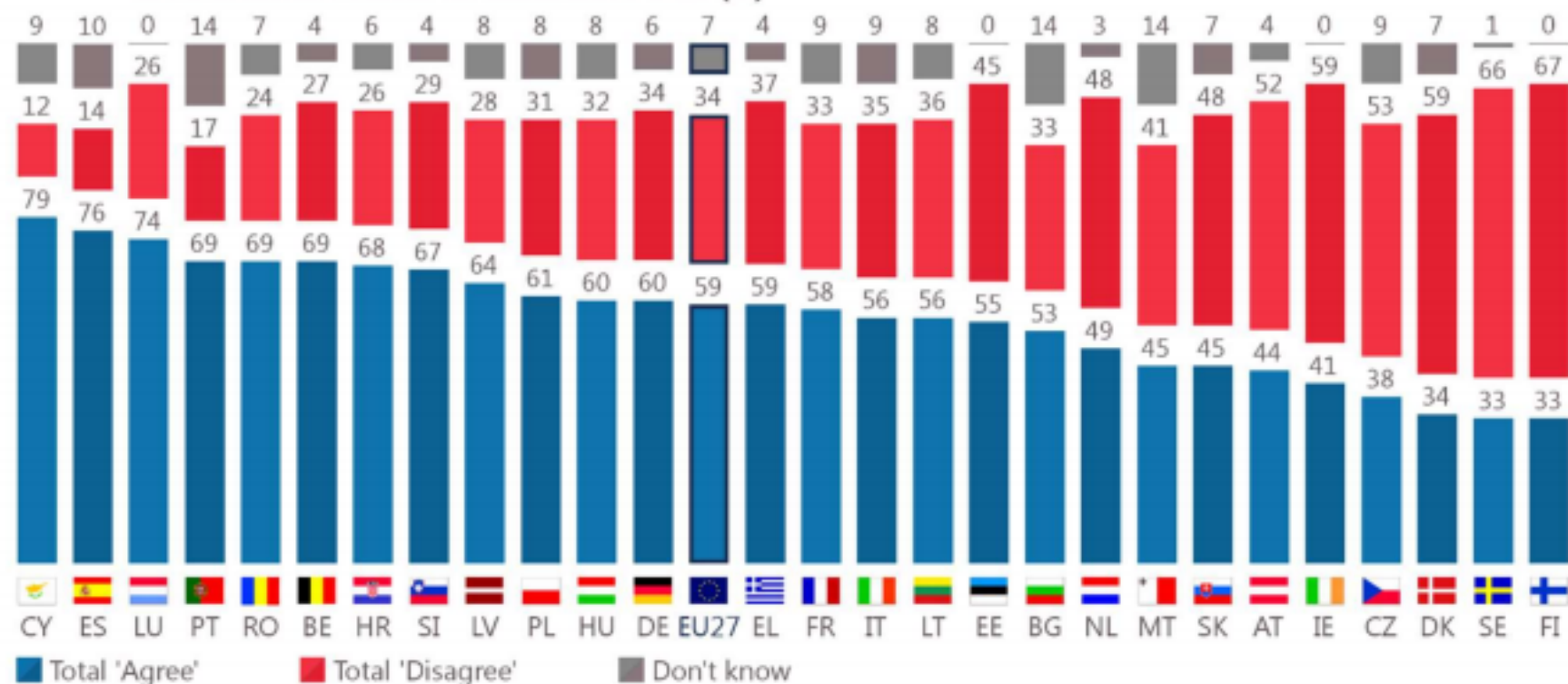
The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State (% - EU)



# MORE DECISIONS AT EUROPEAN LEVEL?

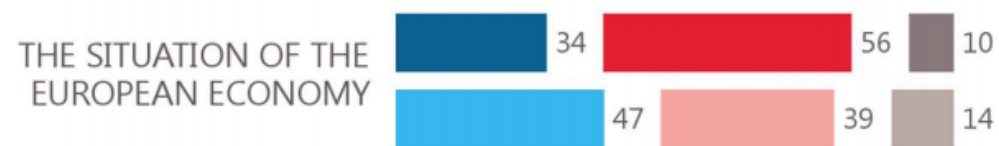
QA13.3 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

More decisions should be taken at EU level (%)



# PERCEPTIONS OF THE NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN ECONOMY

QA1a How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?  
(% - EU)



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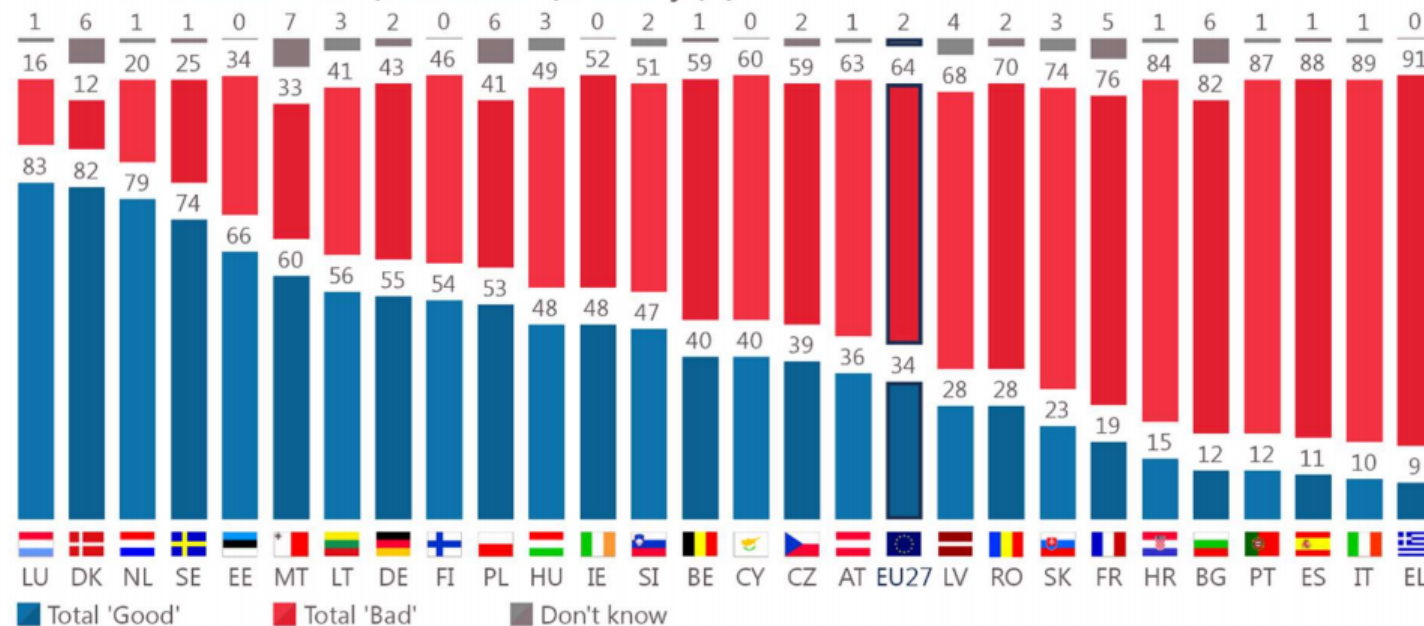
Total 'Good'

Total 'Bad'

Don't know

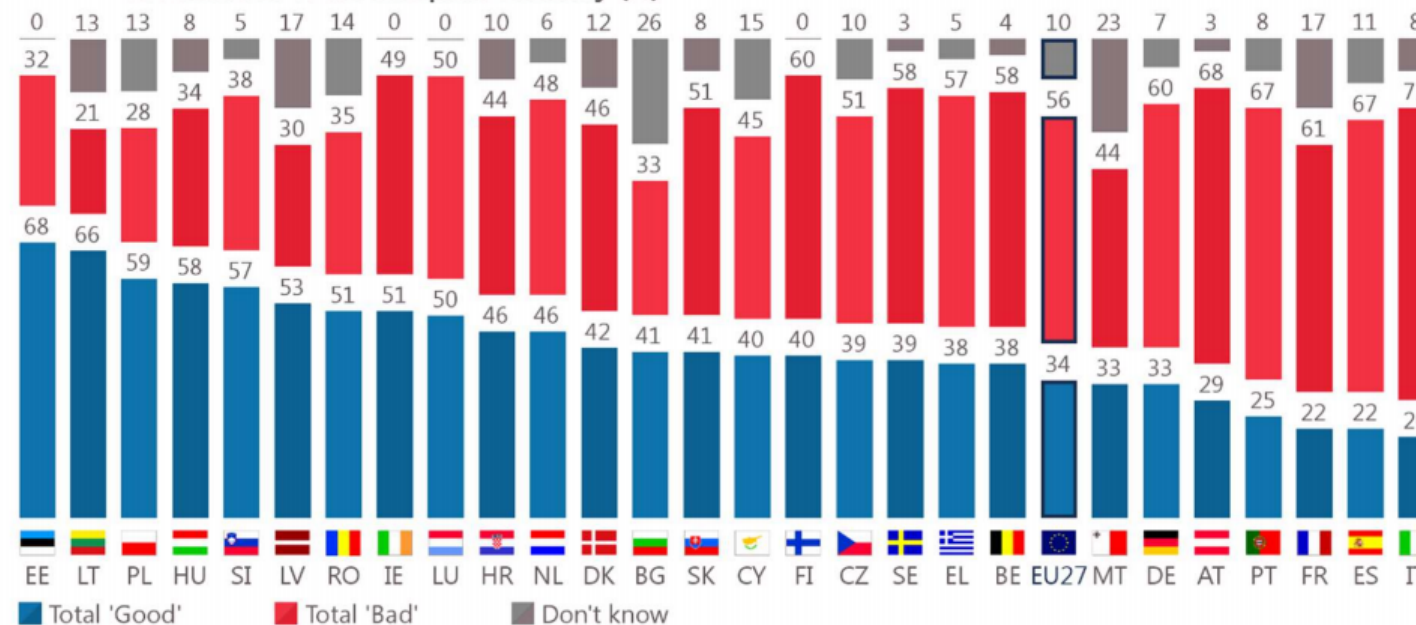
QA1a.2 How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?

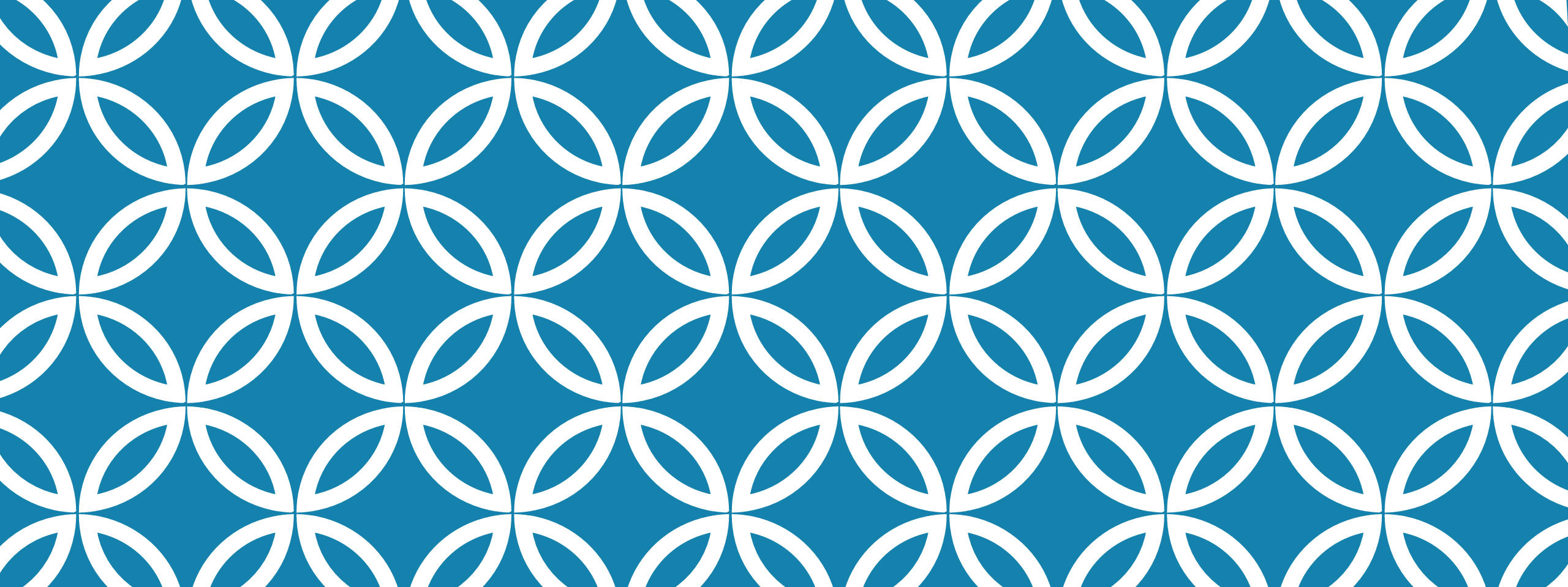
The situation of the (NATIONALITY) economy (%)



QA1a.3 How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?

The situation of the European economy (%)





# HOW DO WE EXPLAIN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE EU?



# HOW CAN WE EXPLAIN THE DIFFERENCES IN INTEGRATION SUPPORT?

Economic factors (costs and benefits)

Cultural/identity factors (most important?)

Perception of the functioning of national institutions

# HOW CAN WE EXPLAIN THE DIFFERENCES IN INTEGRATION SUPPORT?

## Differences at the country level:

Political factors (Muñoz et al 2011), quality of institutions, institutional trust (compensation)

Economic factors (Sanders et al. 2012)

National "Frames" (national identity vs. Europe) (Díez Medrano, 2004)

Influence – duration of membership (UK vs. Ireland)



# HOW CAN WE EXPLAIN THE DIFFERENCES IN INTEGRATION SUPPORT?

## Differences at the individual level:

Utilitarian Factors (Gabel 1998)

"Cognitive Mobilization" (Inglehart 1977), education as key

Transnational experience

National identity (Díez Medrano 2003)

Benchmark De Vries, 2018)

# SUMMARY: CITIZENS AND (ECONOMIC) GOVERNANCE OF THE EU

What citizens think is increasingly important to the future of the EU, politicisation and social polarisation as inevitable

Eu politicisation vs. EU politicisation Attribution of responsibilities

Diffuse support (stable?) vs. Specific support

Crises politicize the EU, but also strengthen support for supranational solutions (economic crisis, pandemic)

Highly valued but incomplete citizenship

This Jean Monnet Module has obtained co-financing from the European Union through the Erasmus + Program

Call for Proposals: 2020 – EAC-A02-2019-JMO

Reference: 620595-EPP-1-2020-1-ES-EPPJMO-MODULE



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