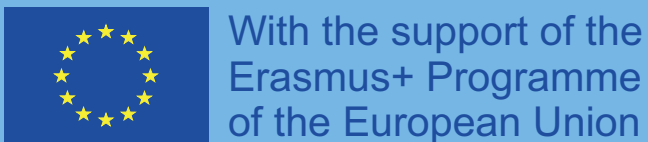


Jean Monnet Module

“Economic Policy in the European Union”

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

Dr Aleksandra Sojka



EUROPEAN ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE: WHERE THE CITIZENS ARE?

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

"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

After the Maastricht Treaty:

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



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

23 JUNE 2016



Vote only once by putting a cross in the box next to your choice

Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?

Remain a member of the European Union

Leave the European Union

23 JUNE 2016



Vote only once by putting a cross in the box next to your choice

Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?

Remain a member of the European Union

Leave the European Union

... AND ITS END

After the Maastricht Treaty:

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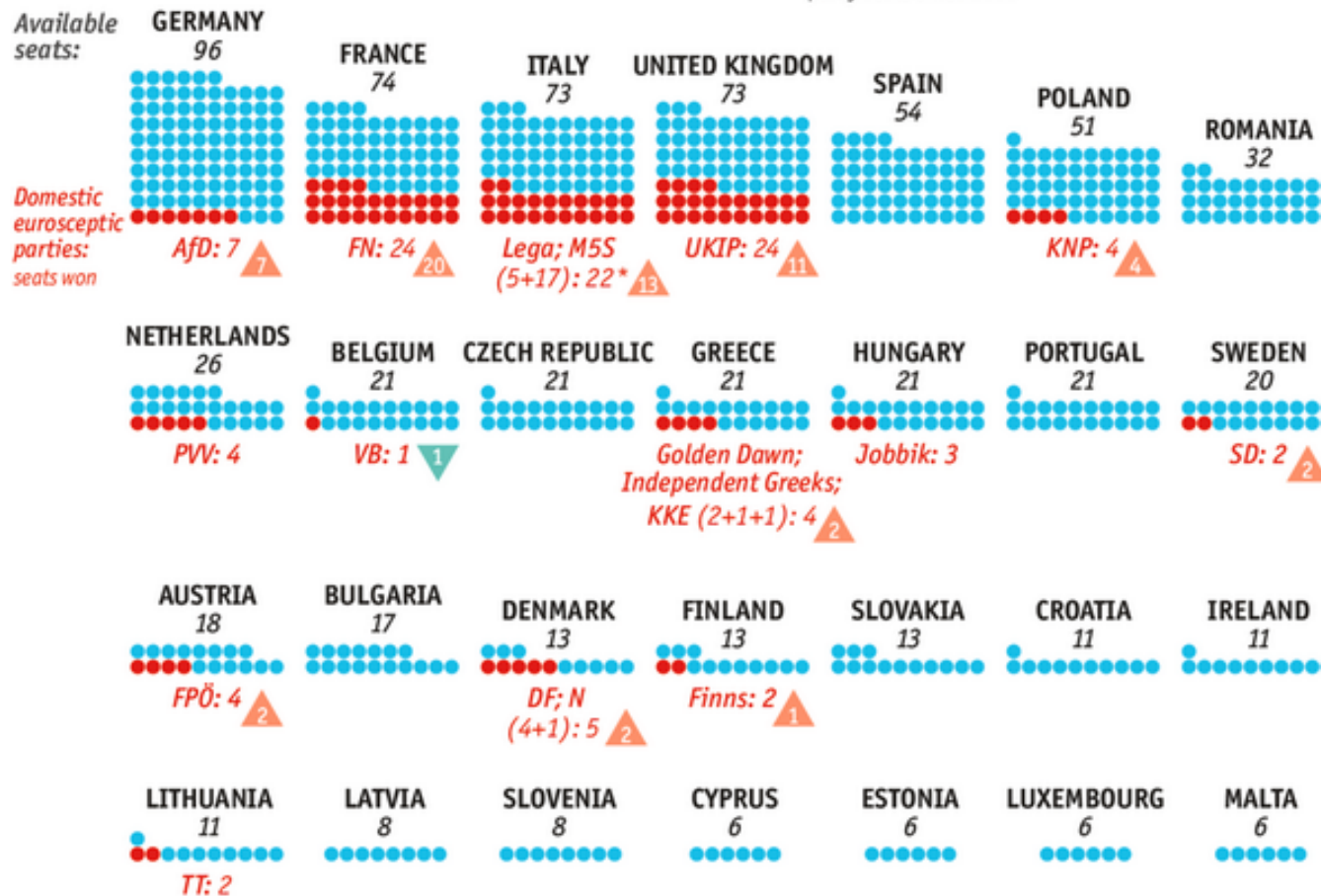
Effect: "**Constraining dissensus**" (Hooghe and Marks 2008)



Eurosceptic party seats

2014 European Parliamentary elections, May 26th results

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

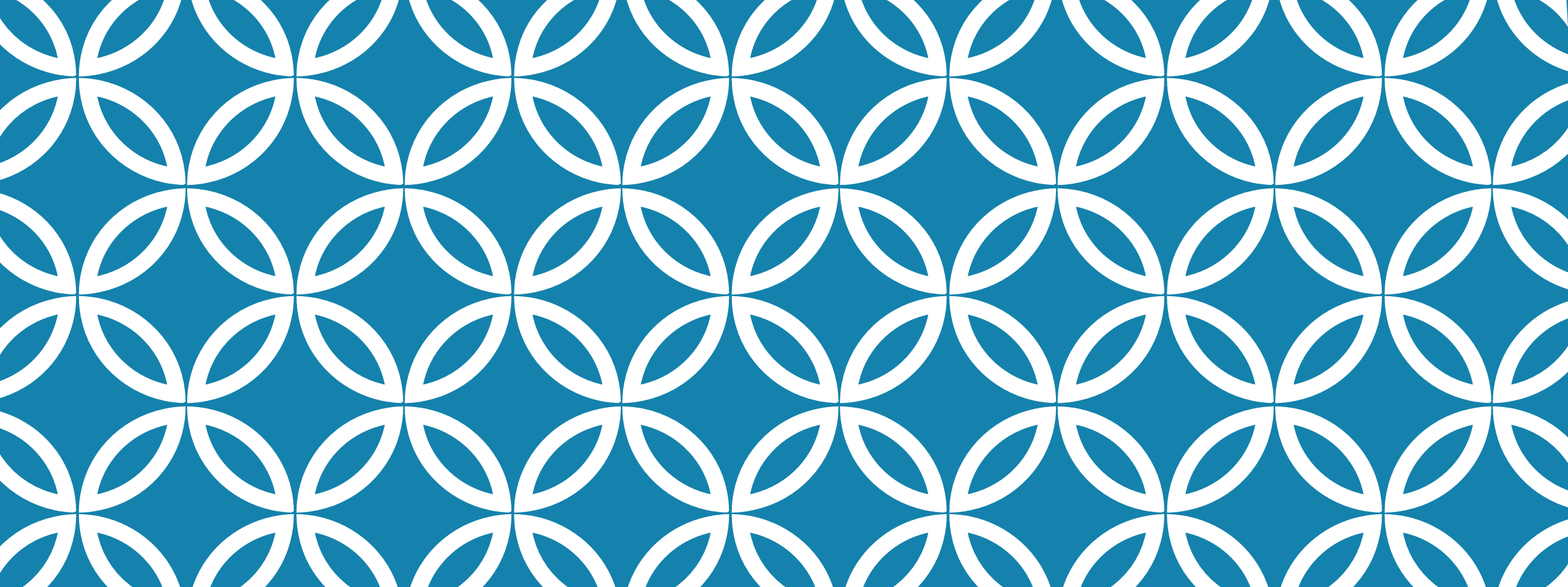


Total seats



Source: Electionista

*Based on provisional results



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
Neofuncionalismo	Social actors (national, supranational)	Economic efficiency	Cooperative	Spillovers, dependence on the road	+ Integration
Intergovernmentalism	States	Economic efficiency	Cooperative	Intergovernmental negotiation	+ Integration, blocking

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**

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INTEGRATION

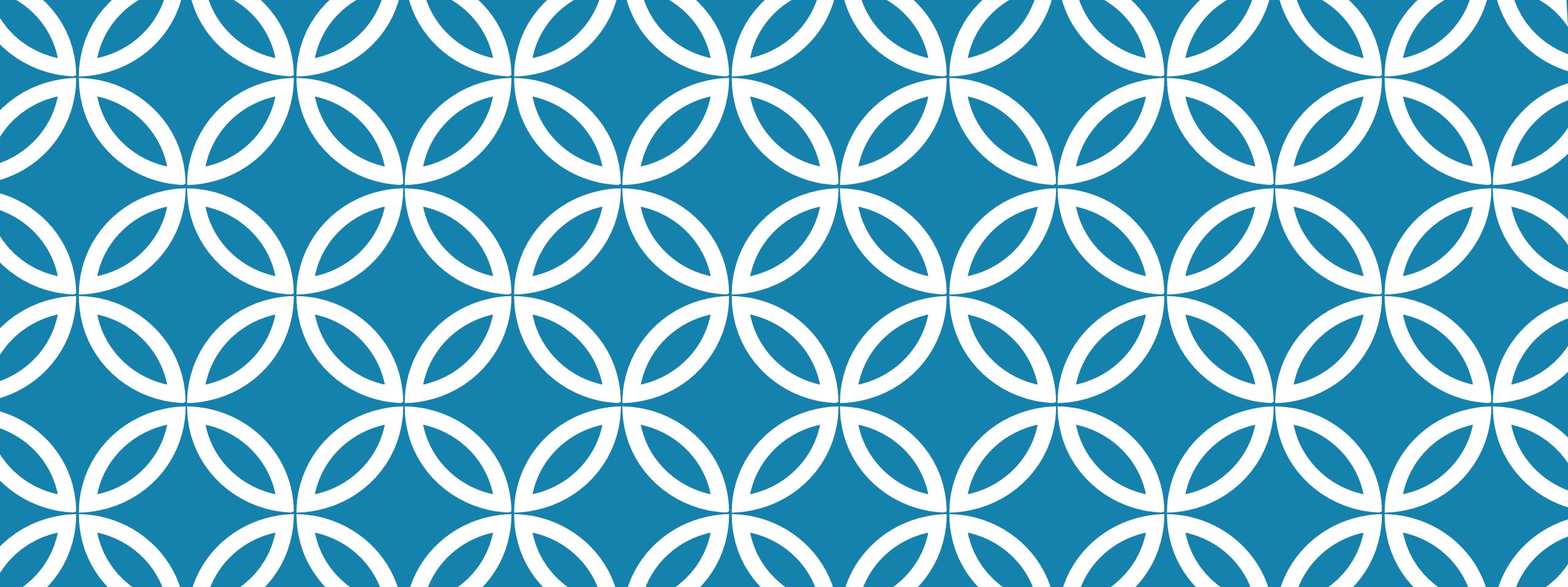
Theory	Key players	Underlying logic	Character of the process	Integration as a result of:	Possible results
Neofunctionalismo	Social actors (national, supranational)	Economic efficiency	Cooperative	Spillovers, dependence on the road	+ Integration
Intergovernmentalism	States	Economic efficiency	Cooperative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

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





WHAT DO EU CITIZENS THINK?



EUROBAROMETER*



Since 1973

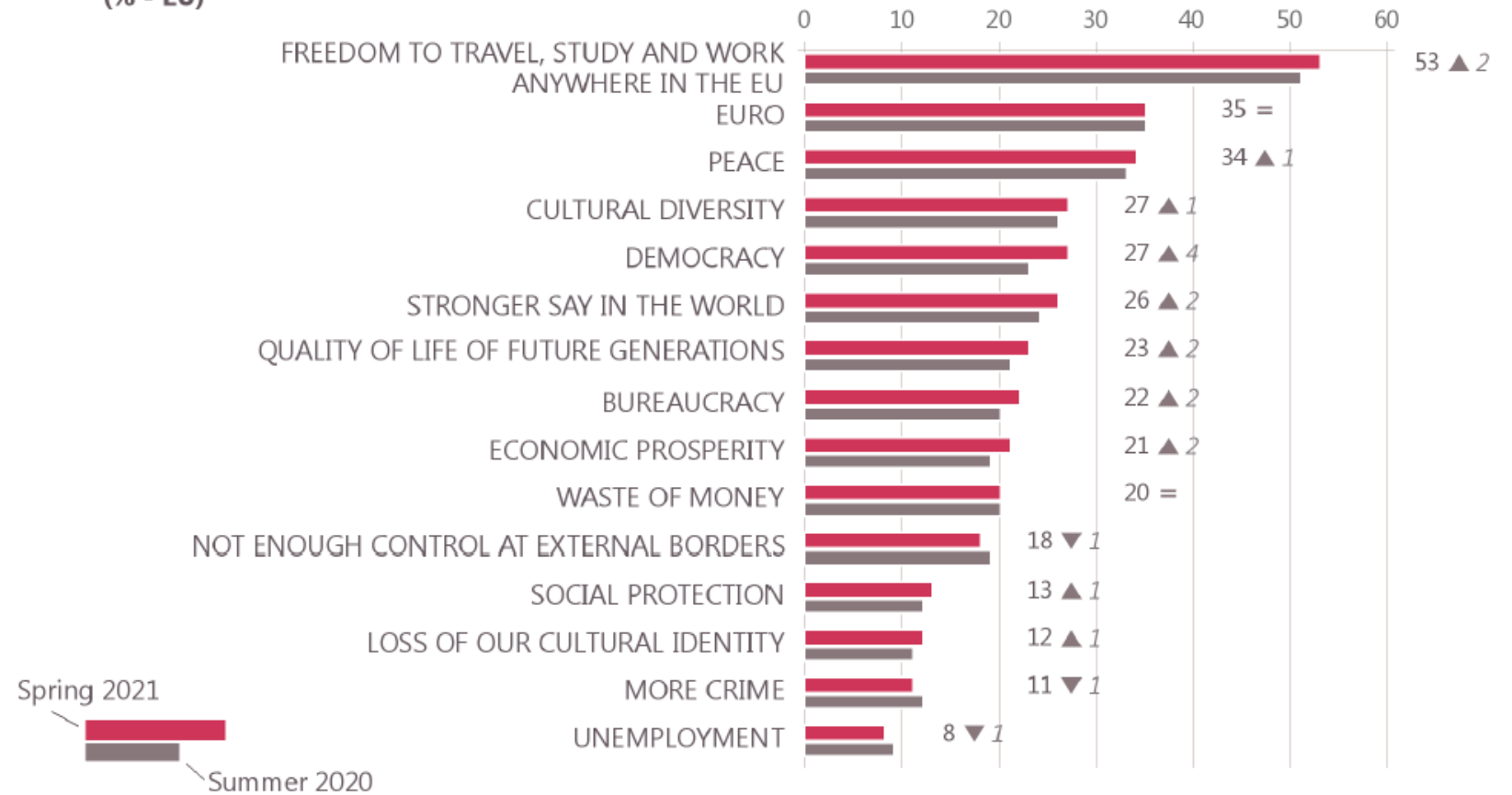
Every 6 months, in all member countries, a sample of 1000 respondents

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

*All data are from the EB95 study, with fieldwork in spring 2021, unless otherwise indicated

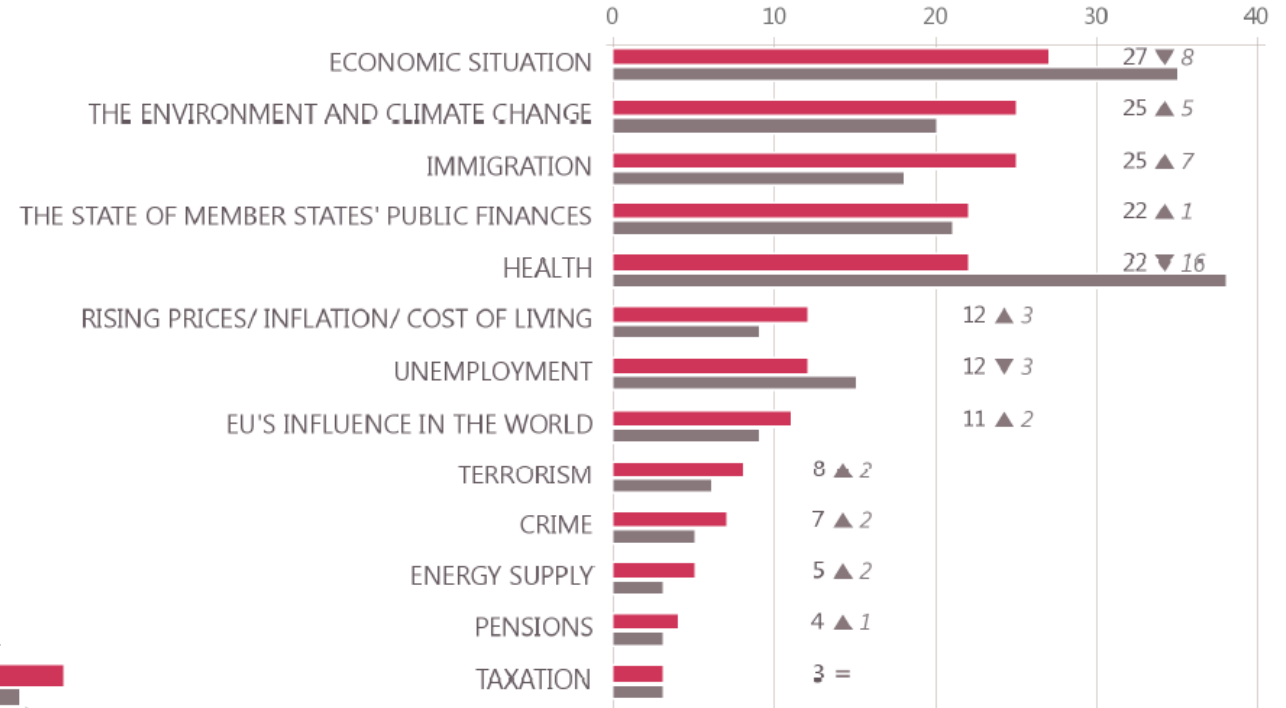
WHAT DOES THE EU MEAN TODAY FOR ITS CITIZENS?

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

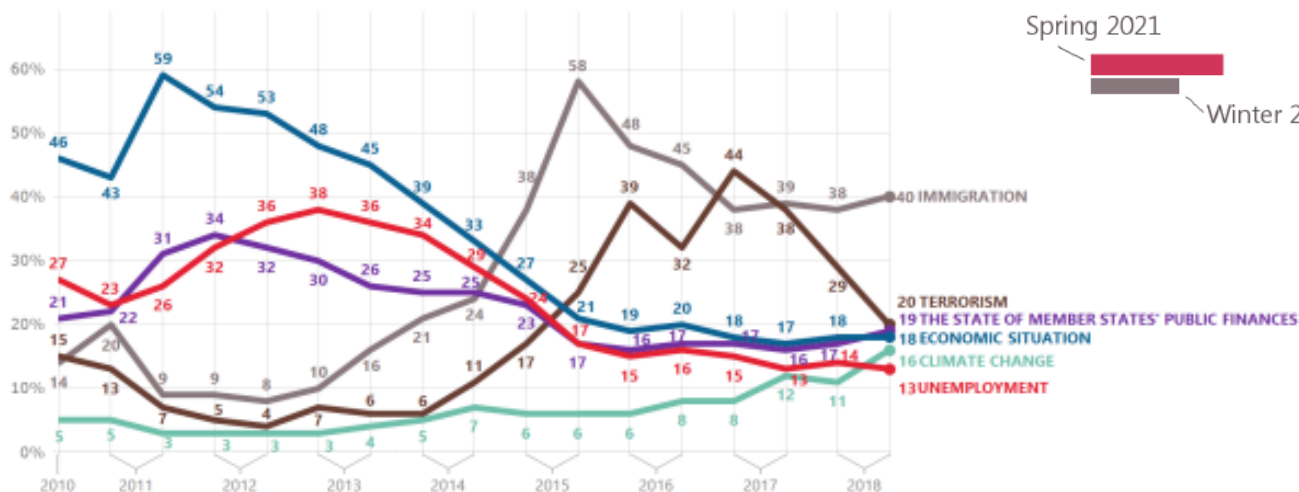


LAS CUESTIONES MÁS IMPORTANTES PARA LA EU SEGÚN LOS CIUDADANOS

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



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

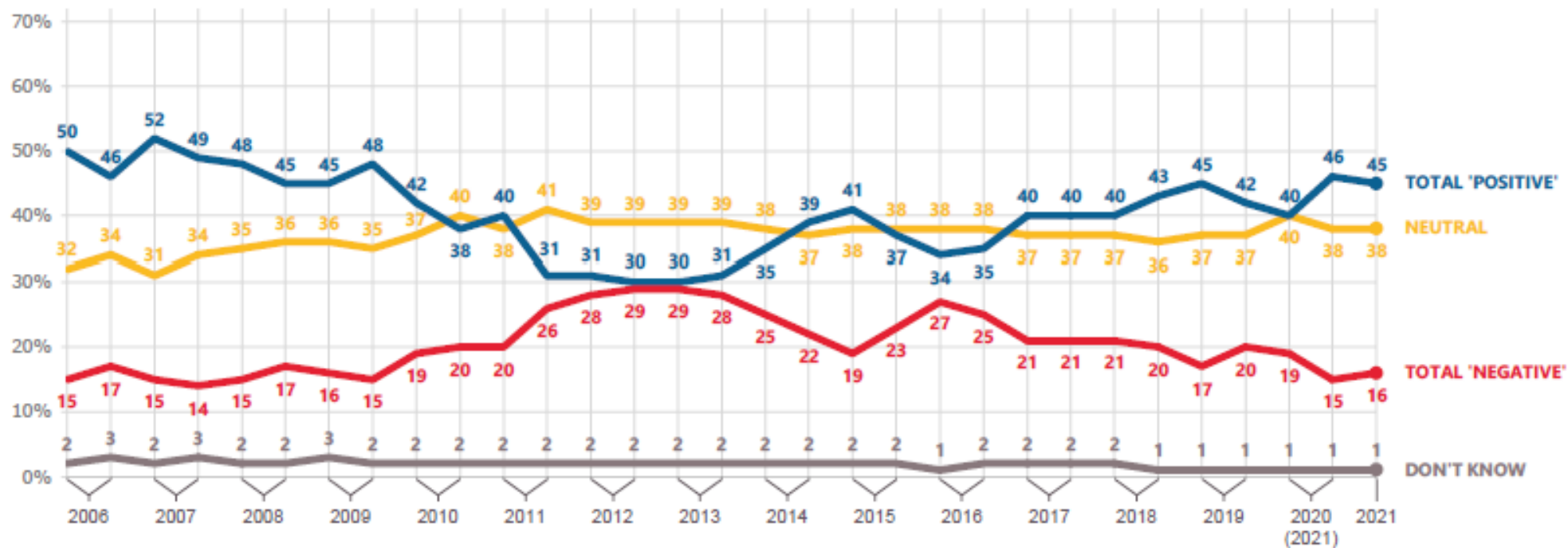


Spring 2021

 Winter 2020/2021

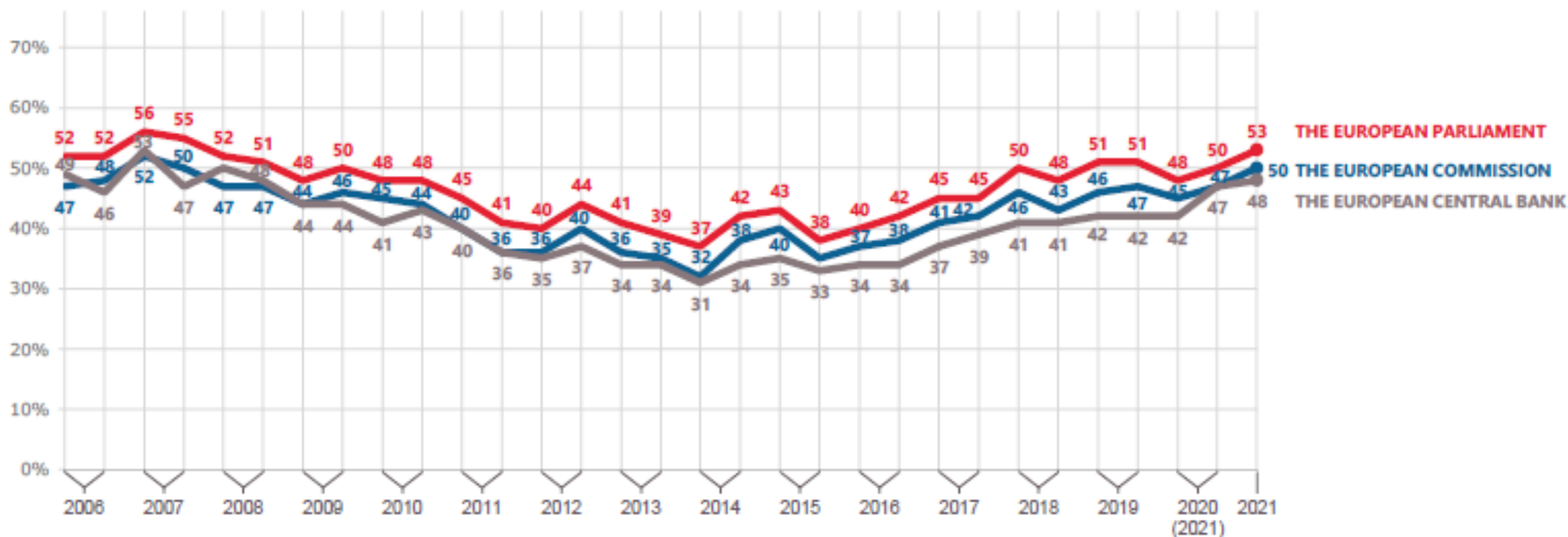
THE IMAGE OF THE EU

D78 In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?
(% - EU)



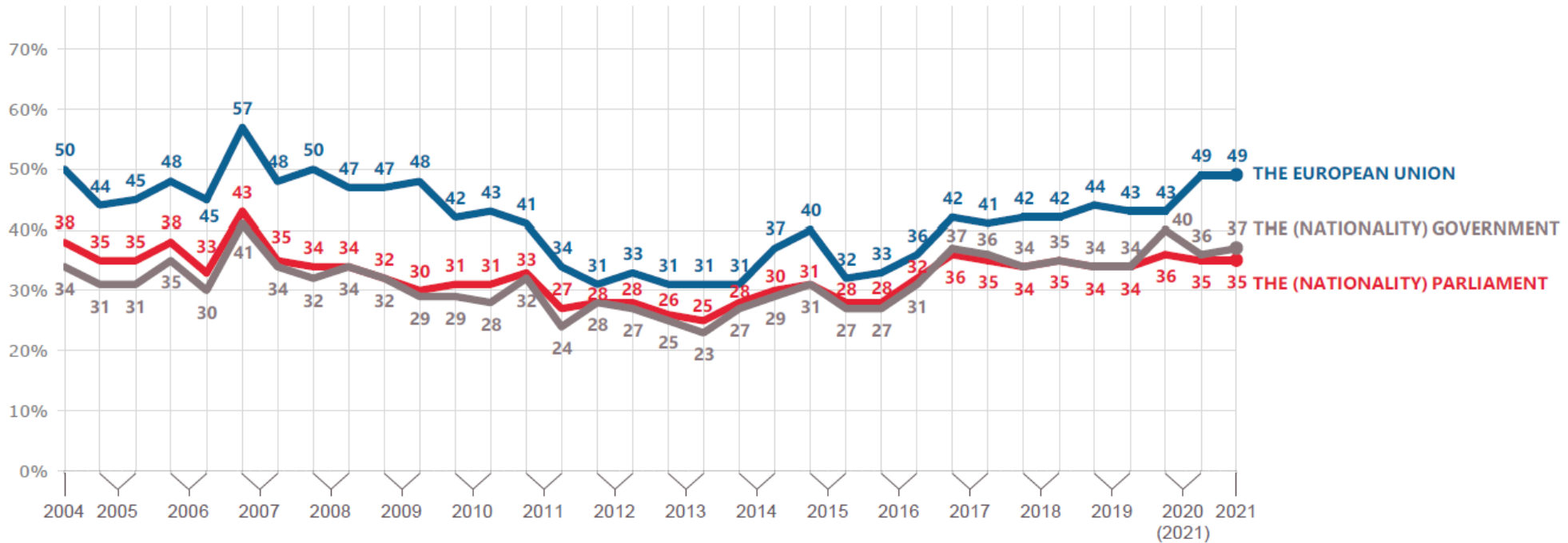
INSTITUTIONAL CONFIDENCE UE

QA10 And do you tend to trust or tend not to trust these European institutions?
(% - EU - TEND TO TRUST)



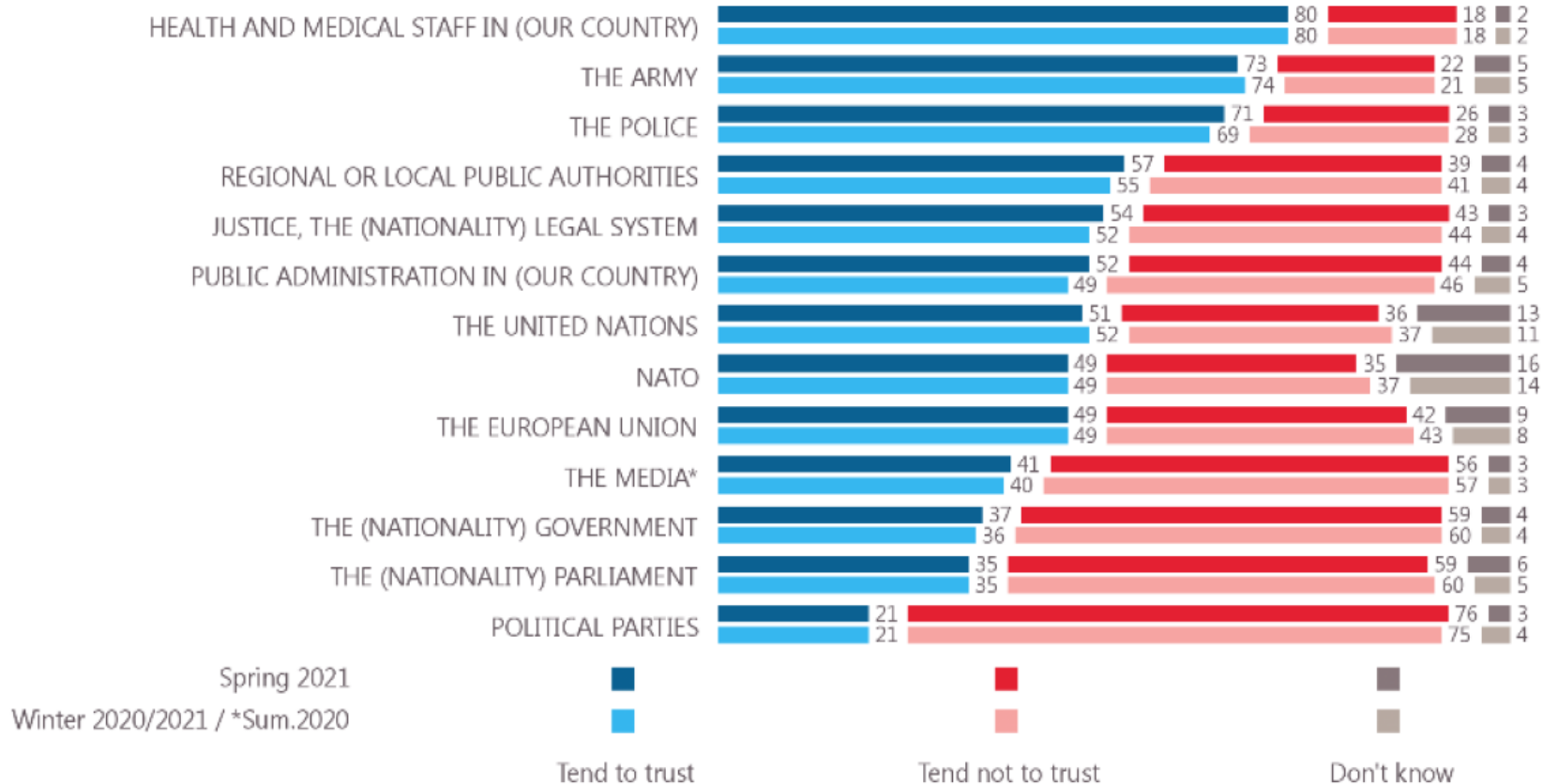
CONFIDENCE IN THE EU IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (I)

QA6a How much trust do you have in certain institutions? For each of the following institutions, do you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?
(% - EU - TEND TO TRUST)



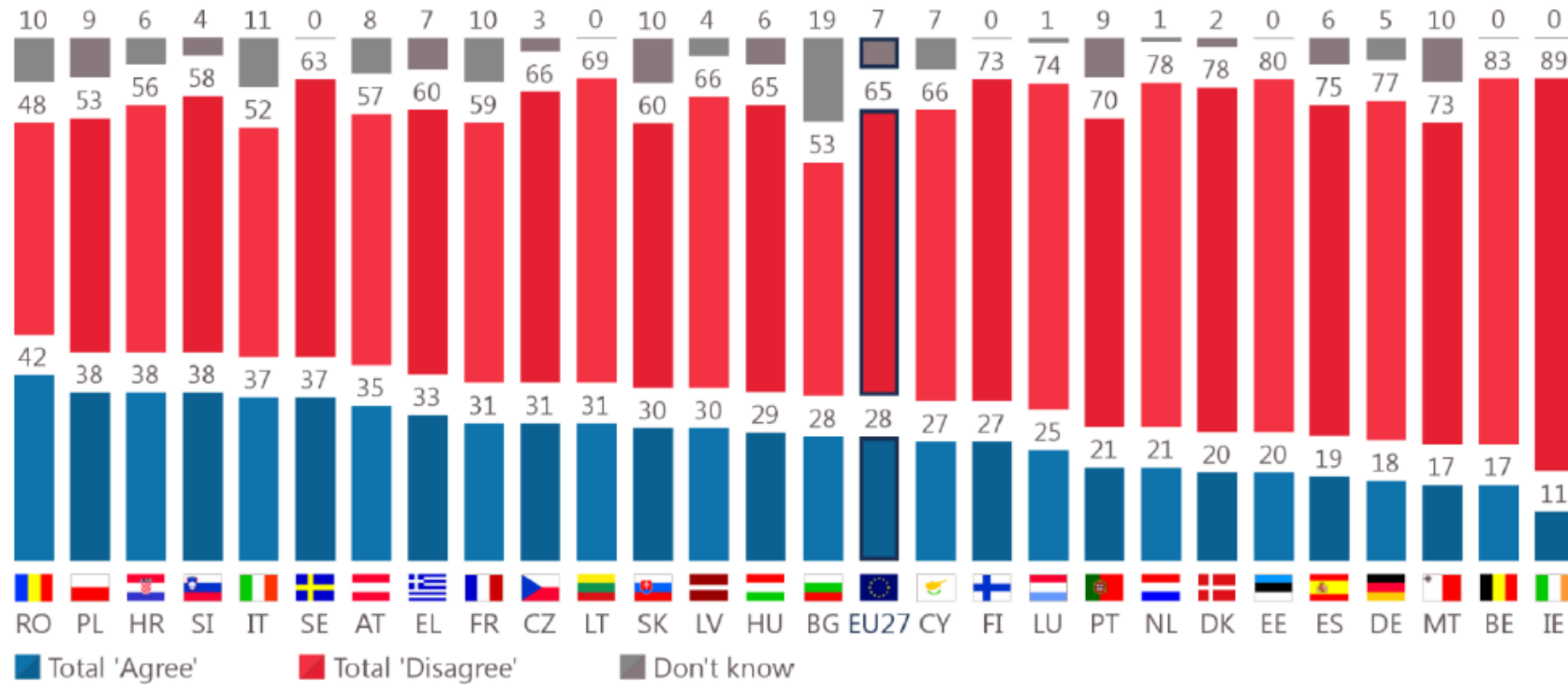
CONFIDENCE IN THE EU IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (II)

QA6a How much trust do you have in certain institutions? For each of the following institutions, do you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it? (% - EU)



HARD EUROSCEPTICISM

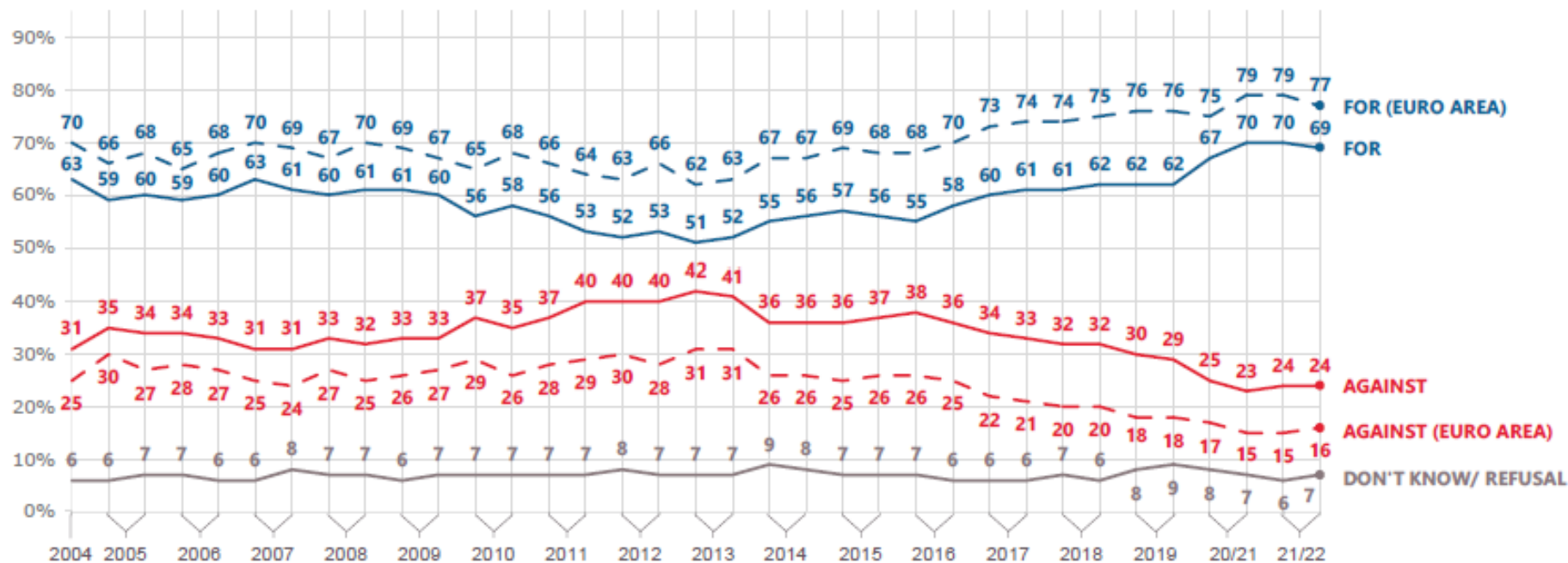
QA11.2 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
(OUR COUNTRY) could better face the future outside the EU (%)



Sorted by 'Total Agree'

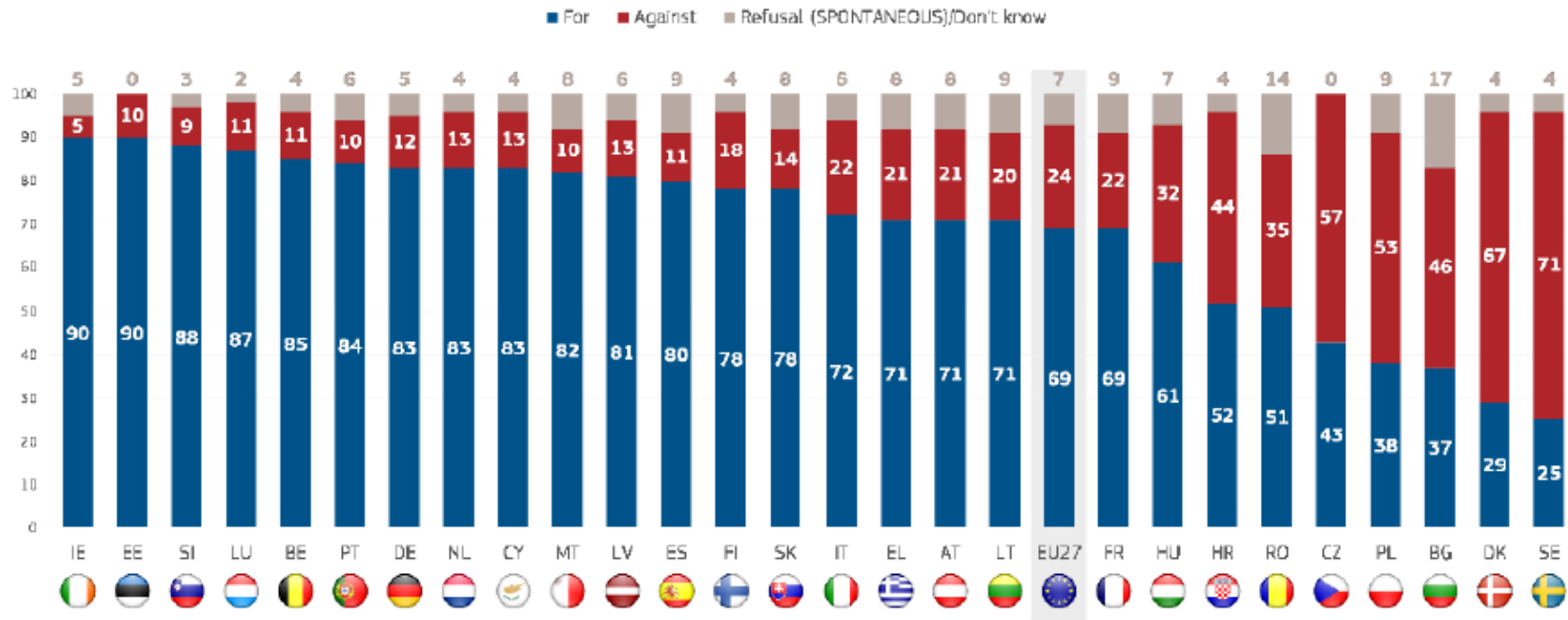
POLICIES: THE COMMON CURRENCY

QB3.1 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.
A European economic and monetary union with one single currency, the euro (% - EU)



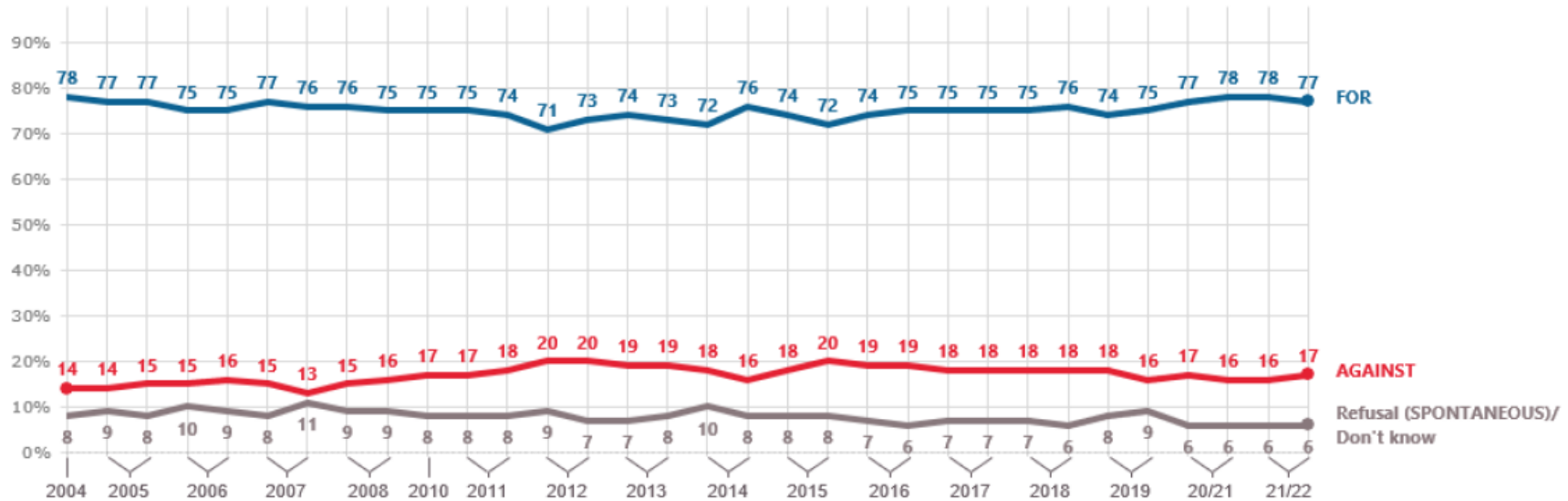
POLICIES: THE COMMON CURRENCY

QB3.1 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.
 (% - A European economic and monetary union with one single currency, the euro)



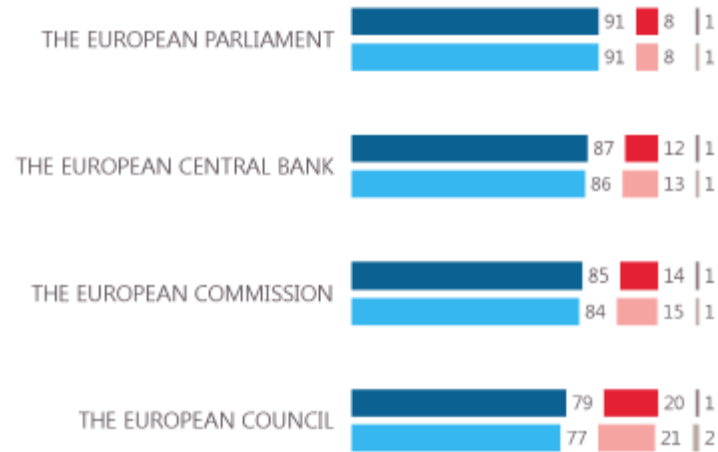
POLICIES: DEFENSE AND SECURITY

QB6.2 What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell for each statement, whether you are for it or against it.
A common defence and security policy among EU Member States (% - EU)



DO EUROPEAN CITIZENS KNOW THEIR INSTITUTIONS?

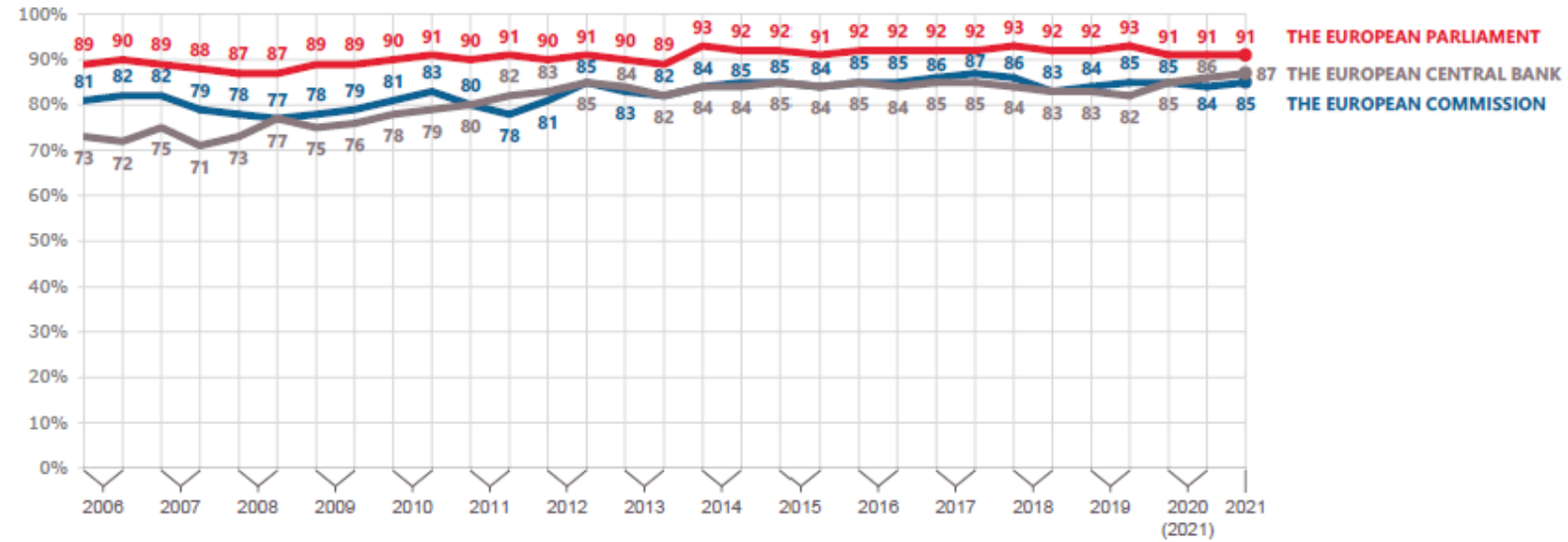
QA9 Have you heard of...?
(% - EU)



Spring 2021
Winter 2020/2021

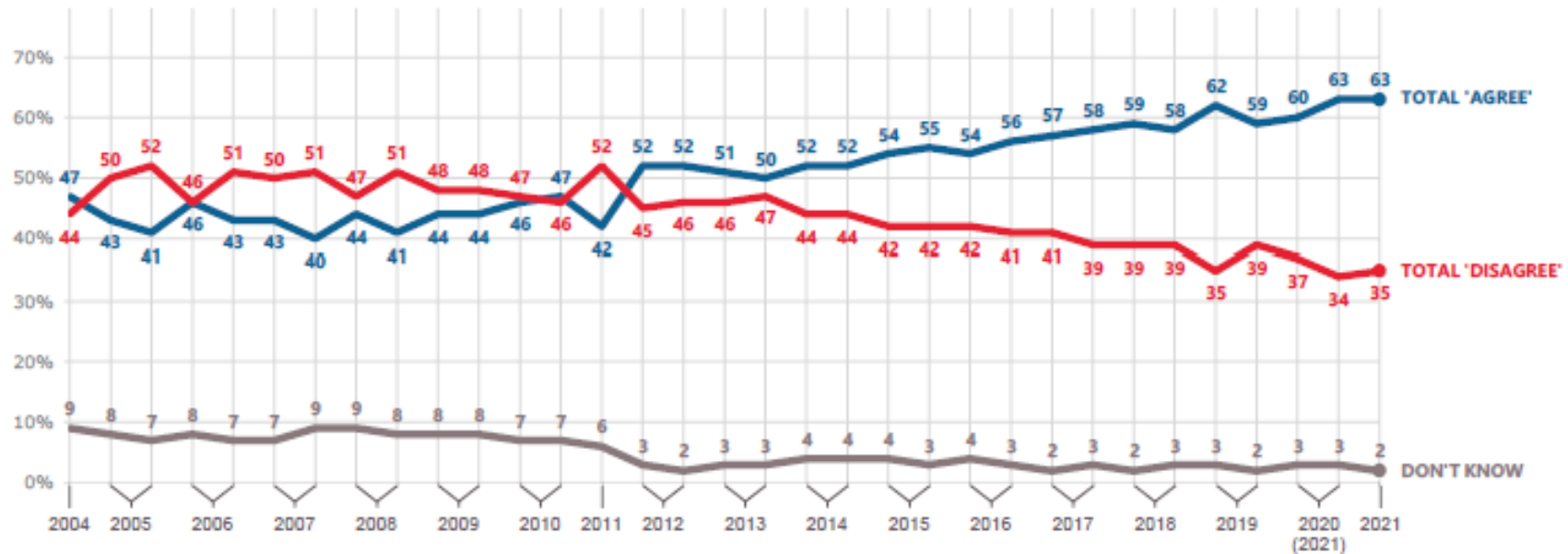
Yes No Don't know

QA9 Have you heard of...?
(% - EU - YES)



DO CITIZENS UNDERSTAND HOW THE EU WORKS?

QA11.1 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
I understand how the EU works (% - EU)

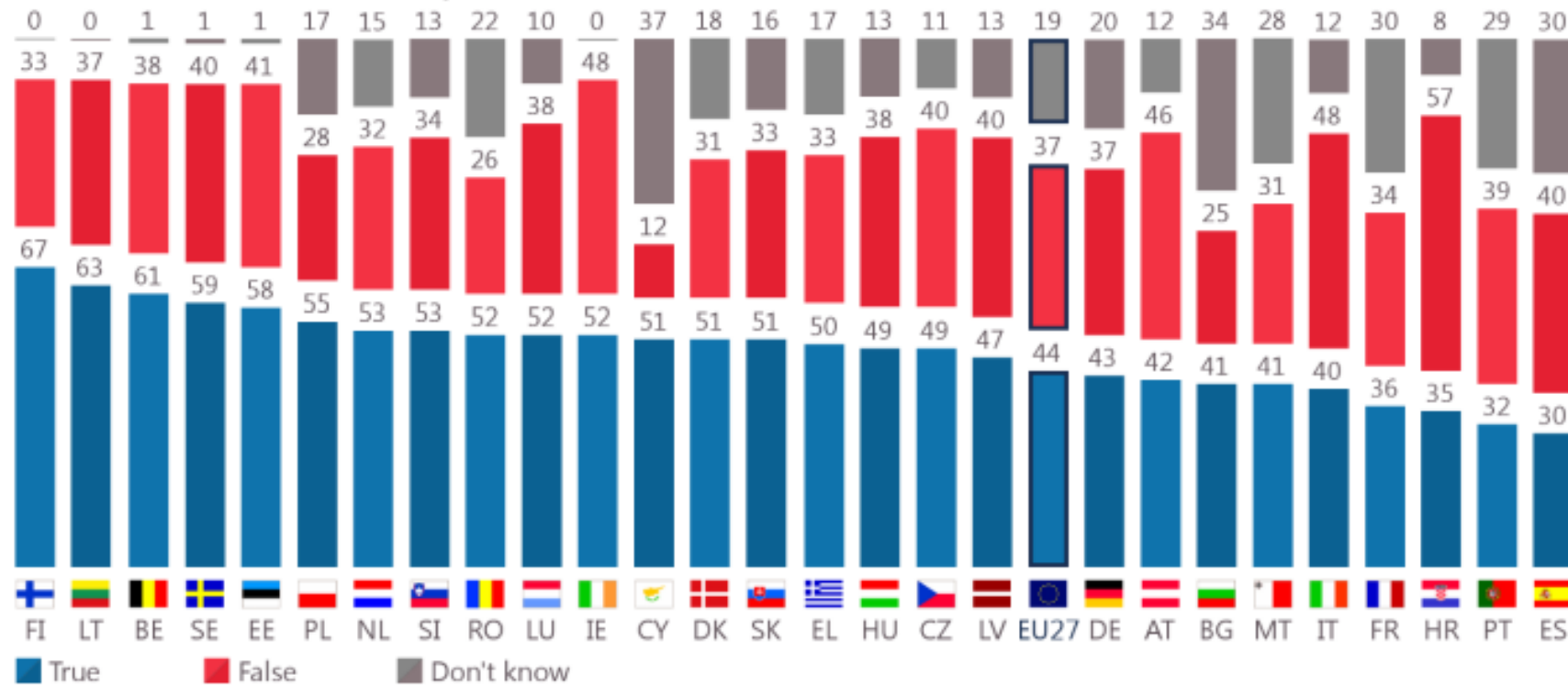


KNOWLEDGE OF THE EU (I)

(THE EURO AREA CONSISTS OF 19 MEMBERS)

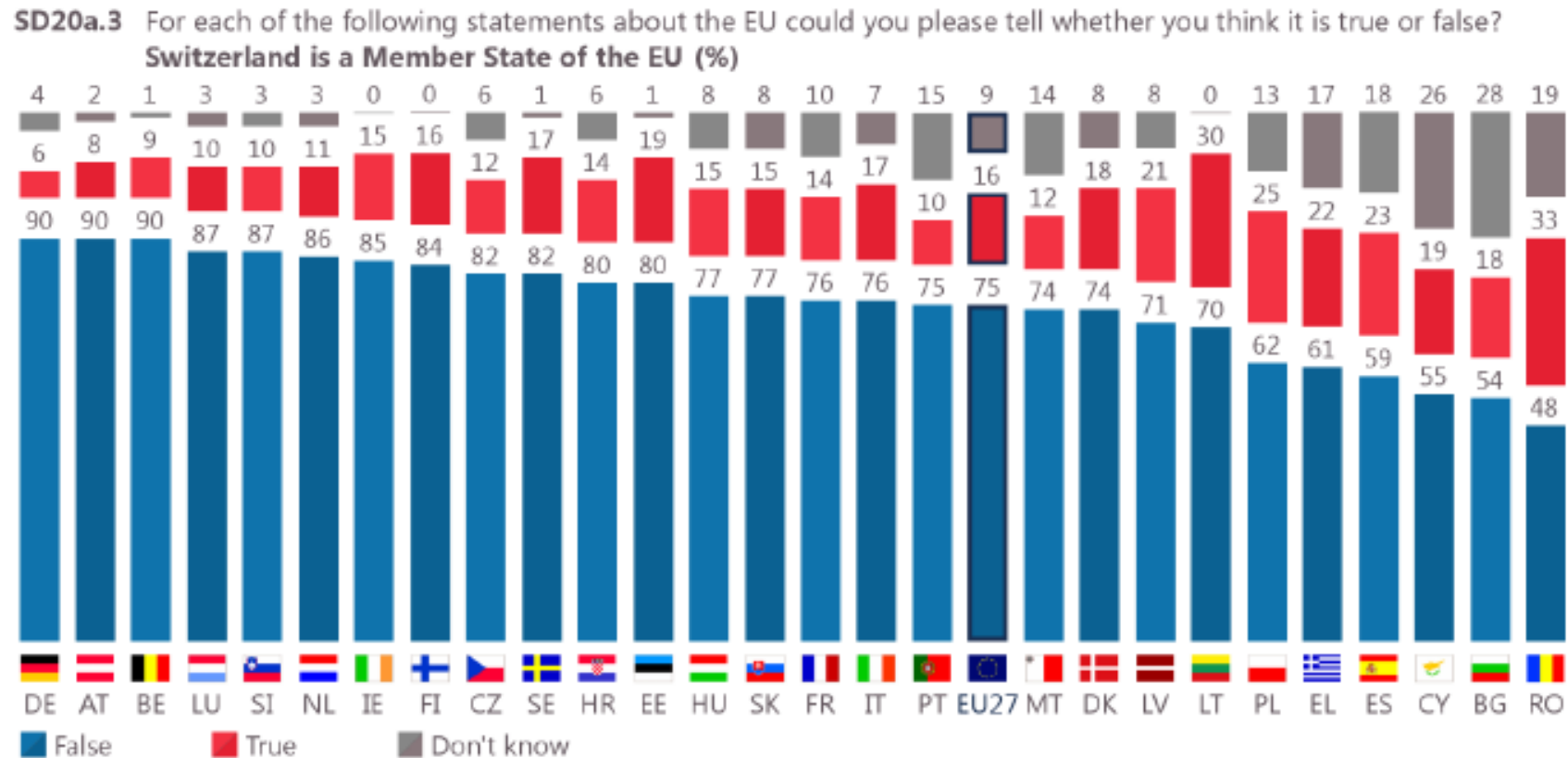
SD20a.1 For each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell whether you think it is true or false?

The Euro area currently consists of 19 Member States (%)



KNOWLEDGE OF THE EU (II)

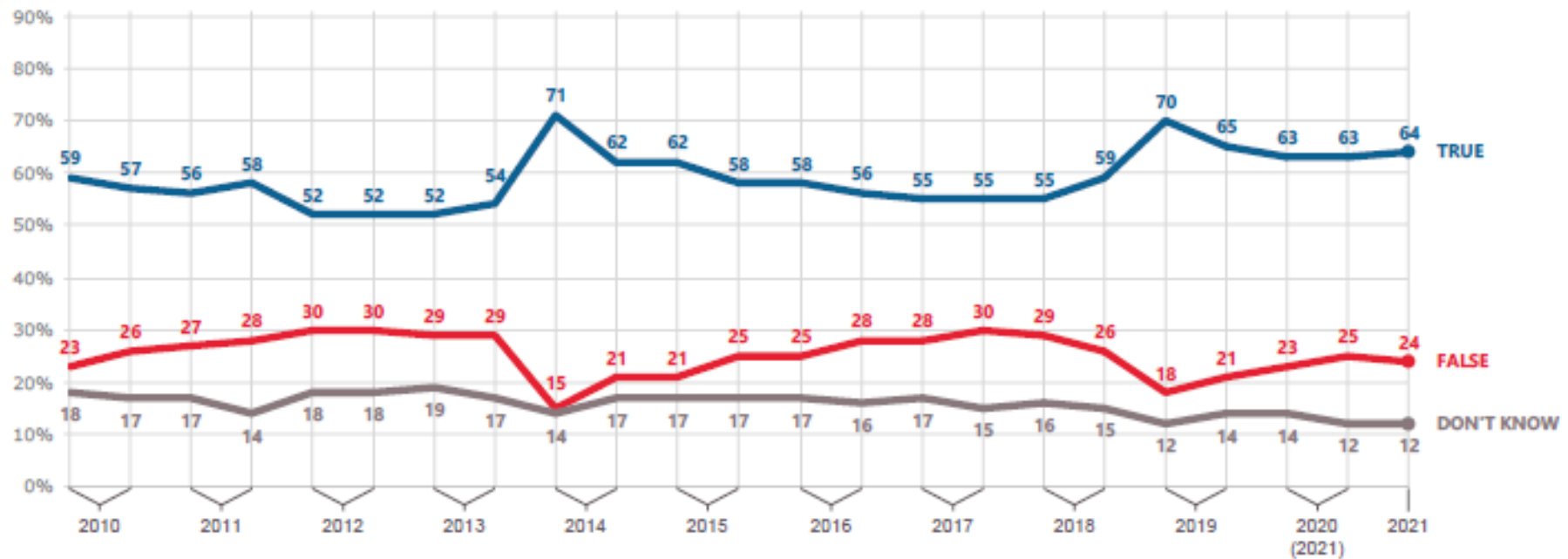
(SWITZERLAND IS A MEMBER OF THE EU)



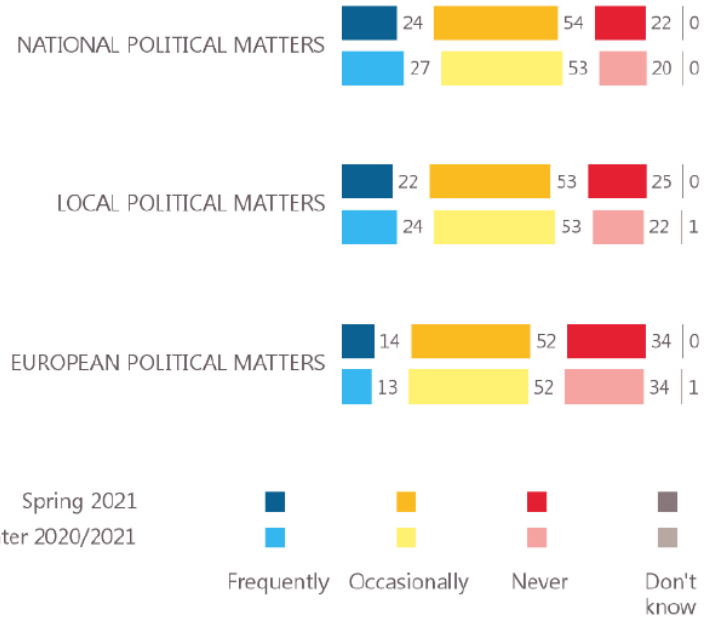
Sorted by 'False'

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

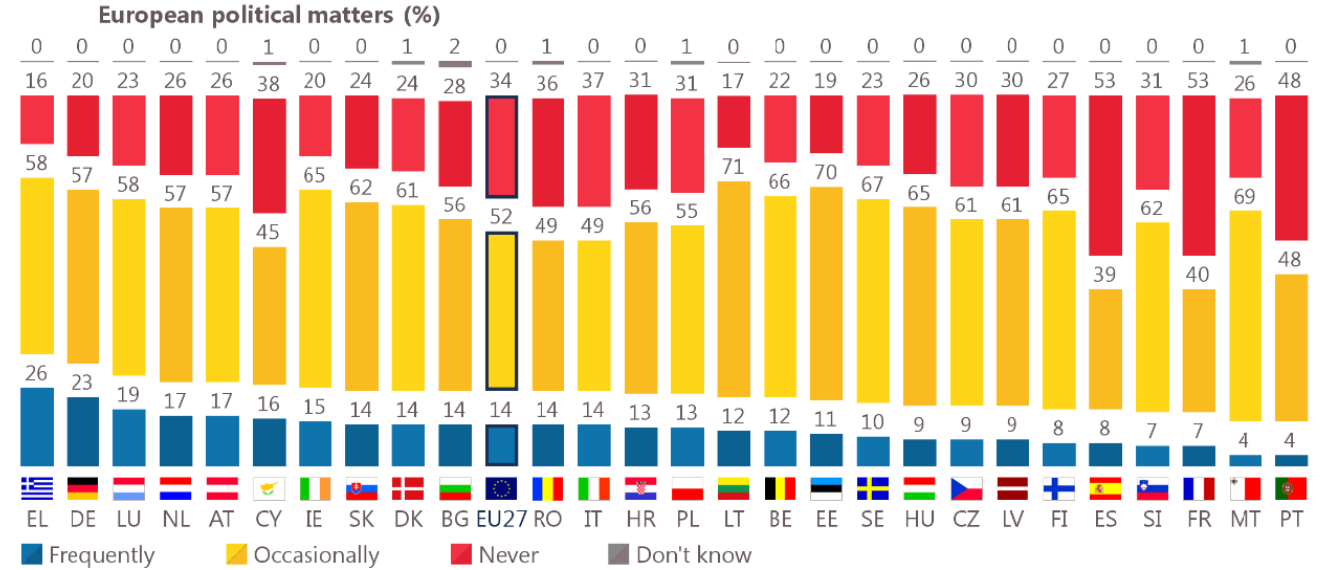
SD20a.2 For each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell whether you think it is true or false?
The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State (% - EU)



D71 When you get together with friends or relatives, would you say you discuss frequently, occasionally or never about...?
(% - EU)



D71.2 When you get together with friends or relatives, would you say you discuss frequently, occasionally or never about...?

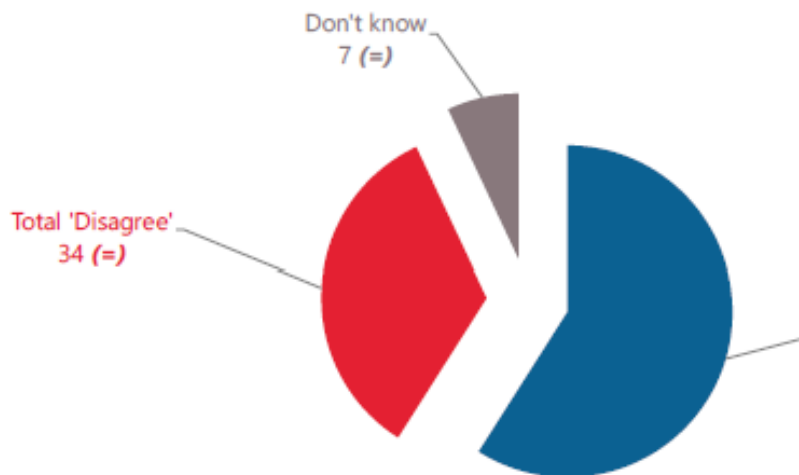


Sorted by 'Frequently'

MORE DECISIONS AT EUROPEAN LEVEL?

QA11.3 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

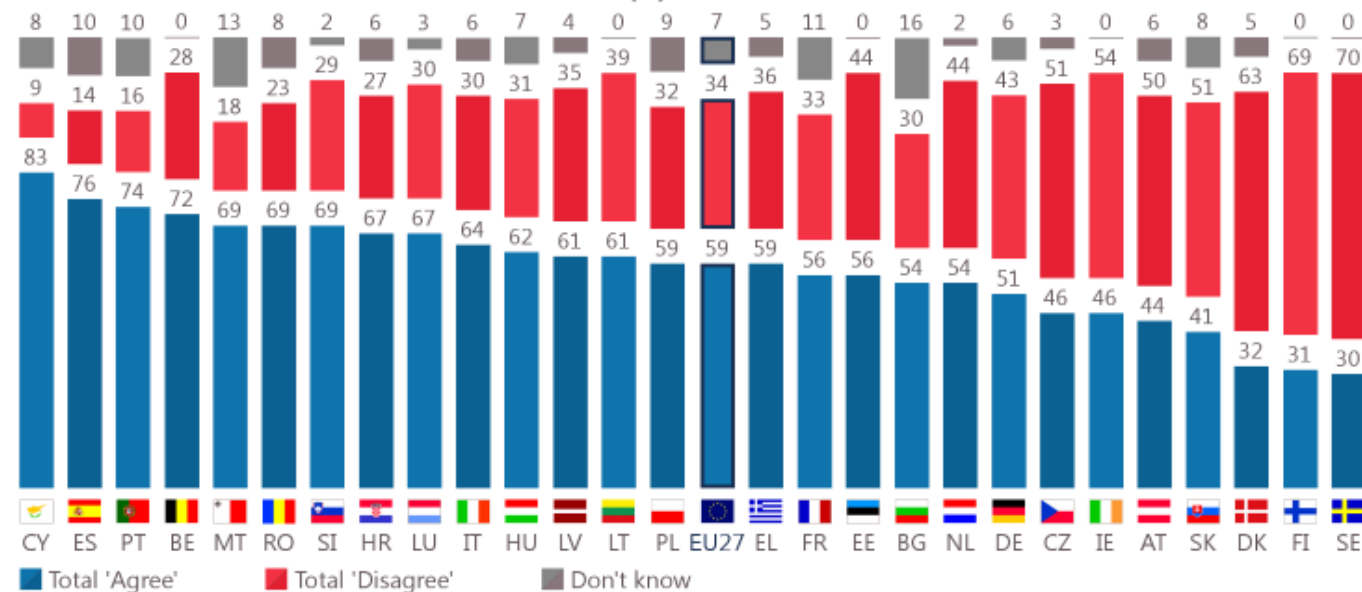
More decisions should be taken at EU level (% - EU)



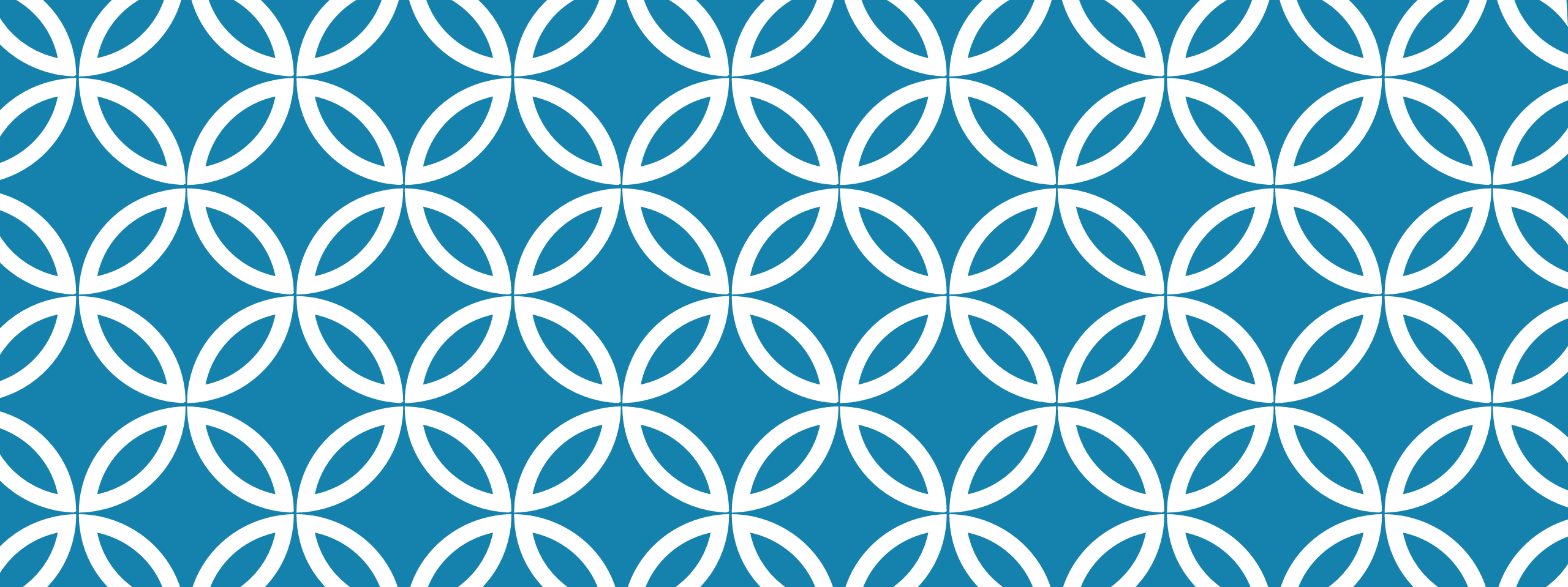
(Spring 2021 - Winter 2020/2021)

QA11.3 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

More decisions should be taken at EU level (%)



Sorted by "Total 'Agree'"



HOW DO WE EXPLAIN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE EU?



HOW CAN WE EXPLAIN THE DIFFERENCES IN INTEGRATION SUPPORT?

Utilitarian/economic
factors (costs and
benefits)

Cultural/identity
factors (threat to
national identity?)

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)

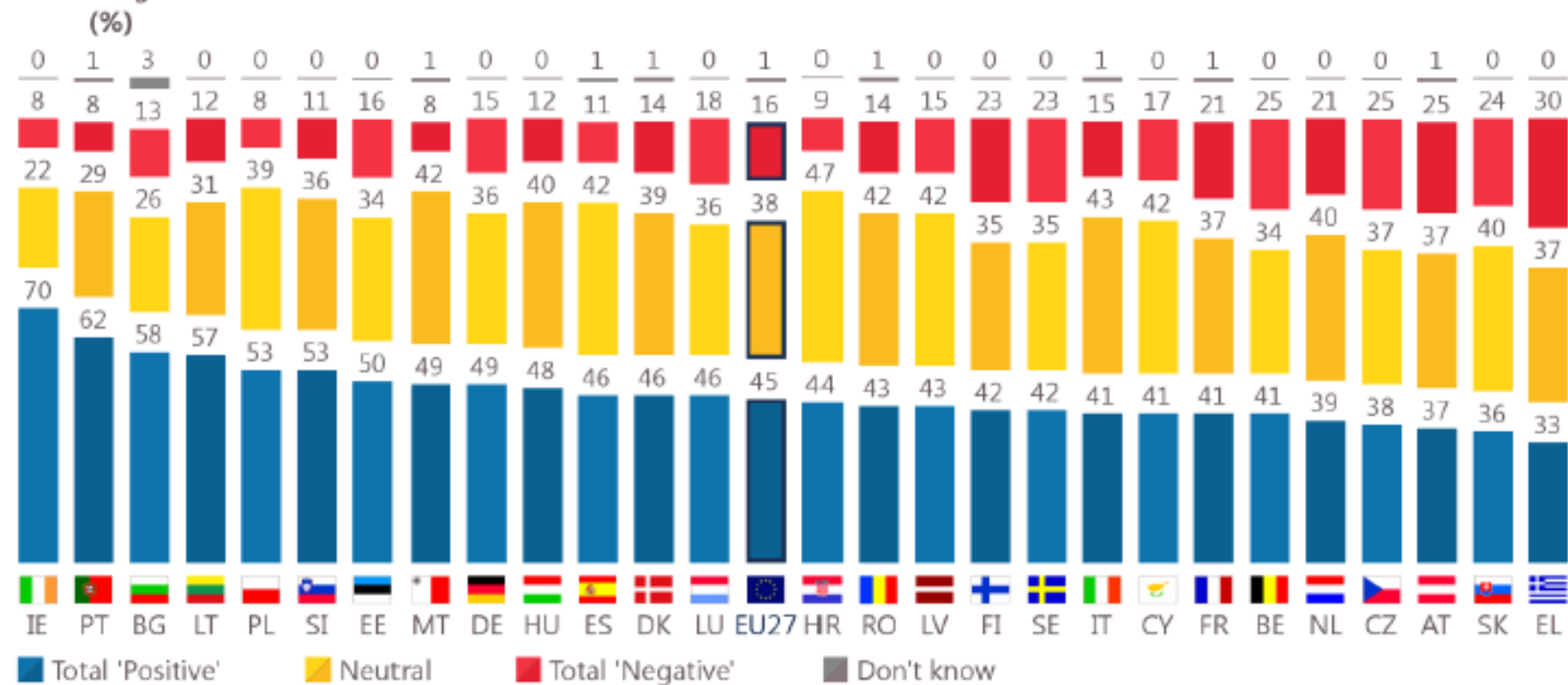
Economic factors (Sanders et al. 2012)

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

Influence – duration of membership (UK vs. Ireland)

THE IMAGE OF THE EU

D78 In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?

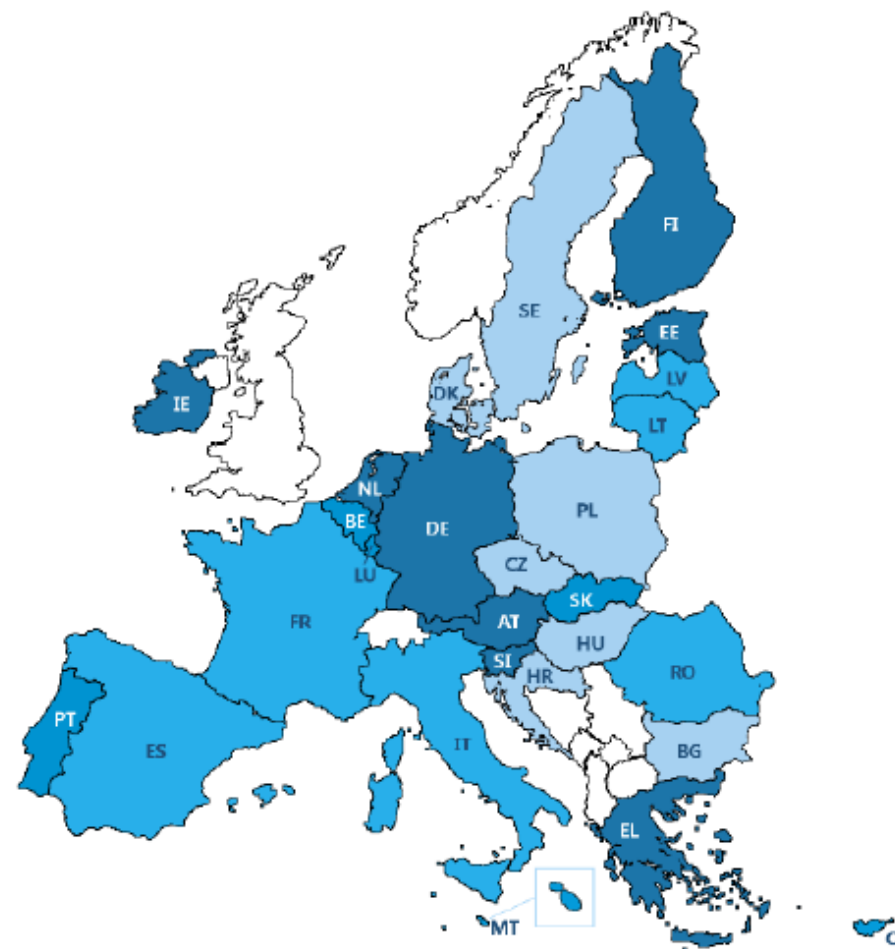
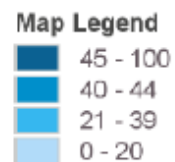


Sorted by "Total 'Positive'"

WHAT DOES THE EU MEAN TO YOU? EURO

EL		52
AT		52
NL		50
EE		48
DE		48
FI		48
SI		48
IE		47
BE		44
SK		44
LU		43
PT		42
MT		41
CY		40
FR		39
EU27		35
IT		34
ES		31
LV		31
LT		25
RO		24
HR		20
CZ		19
DK		14
BG		13
HU		13
PL		12
SE		10

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



WHAT DOES THE EU MEAN TO YOU?

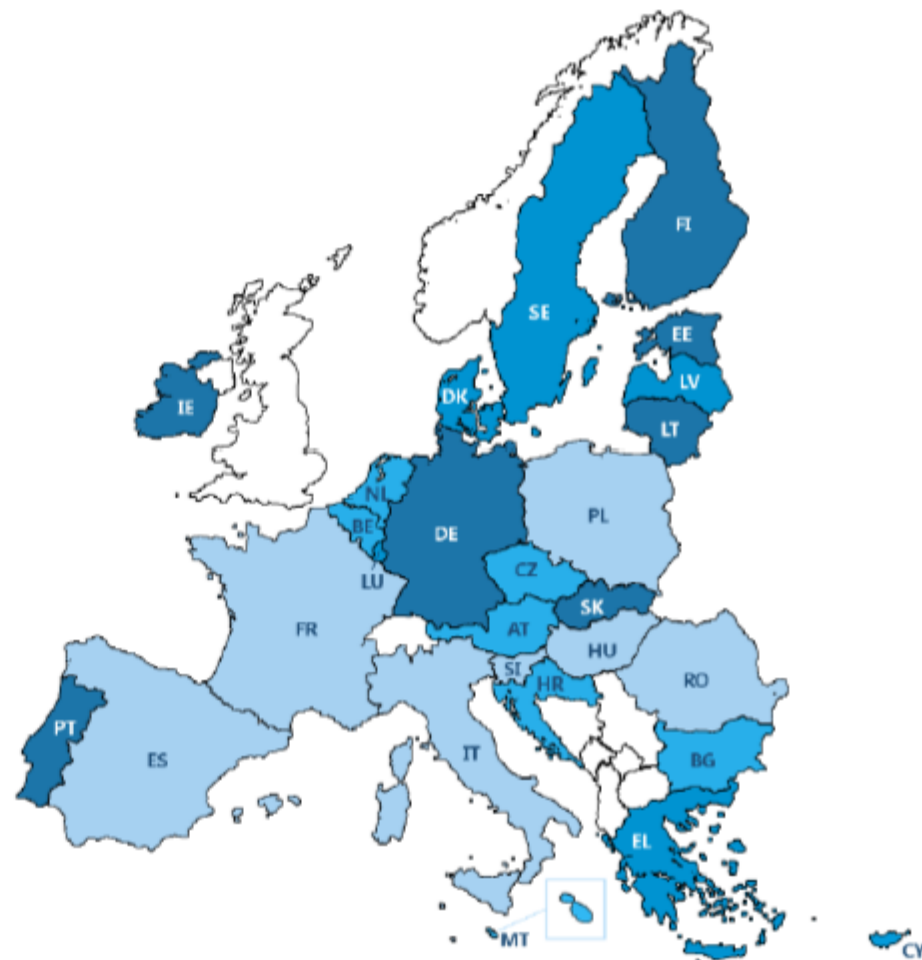
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

IE		75
EE		75
DE		65
LT		65
FI		65
PT		62
SK		62
EL		61
CY		61
DK		60
LU		59
SE		59
LV		59
NL		58
HR		58
BG		57
MT		56
CZ		56
BE		55
AT		55
EU27		53
SI		53
ES		51
HU		50
FR		49
PL		45
RO		44
IT		39

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

Map Legend

- 62 - 100
- 59 - 61
- 55 - 58
- 0 - 54

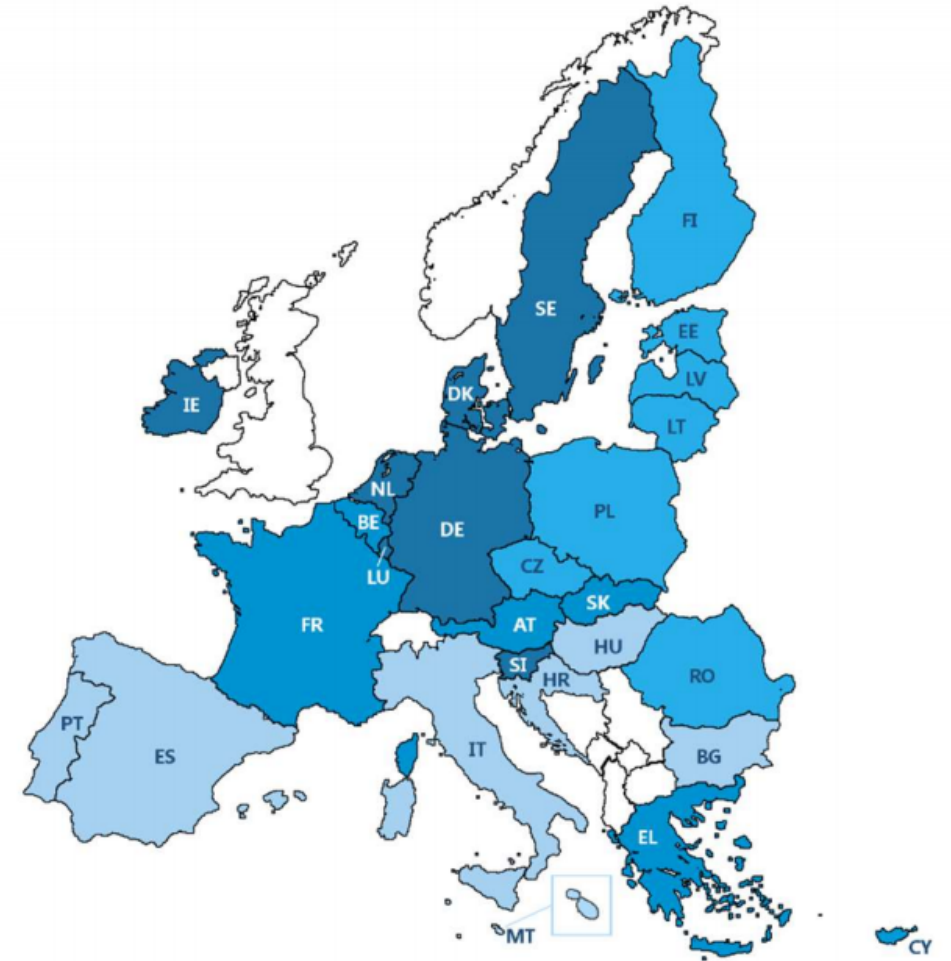


WHAT DOES THE EU MEAN TO YOU?

PEACE

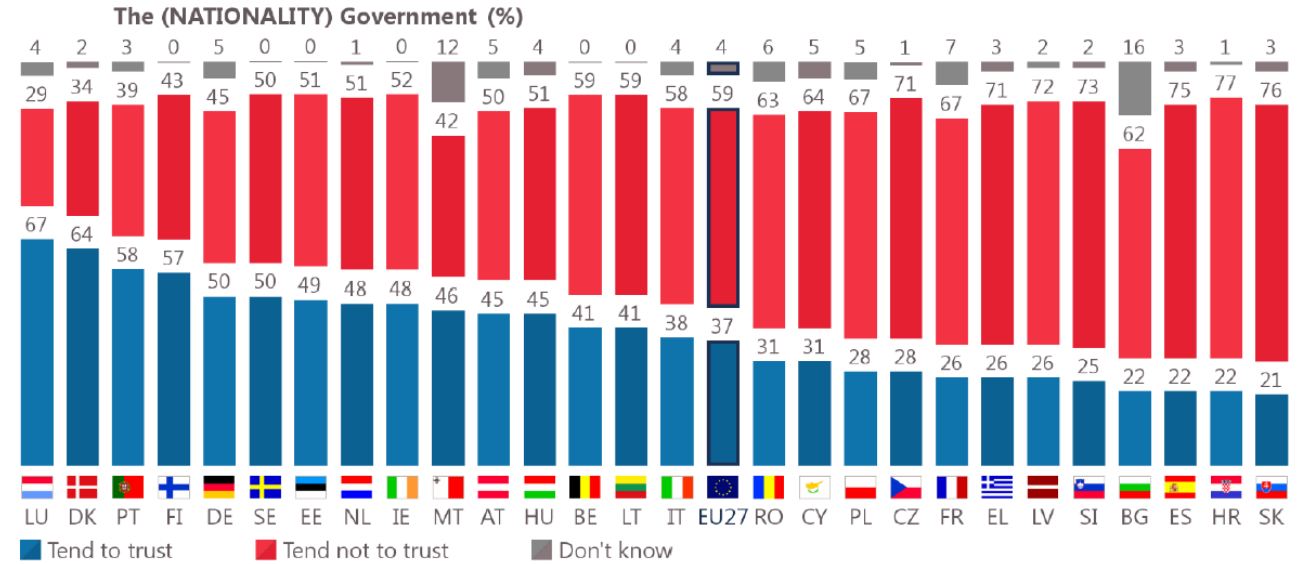
LU		55
DE		55
SE		53
DK		52
NL		51
IE		47
SI		42
AT		40
EL		40
BE		38
FR		36
SK		34
CY		33
EU27		33
RO		31
LT		31
FI		29
LV		29
CZ		25
PL		25
EE		25
HU		23
BG		23
HR		22
MT		20
IT		20
PT		18
ES		11

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

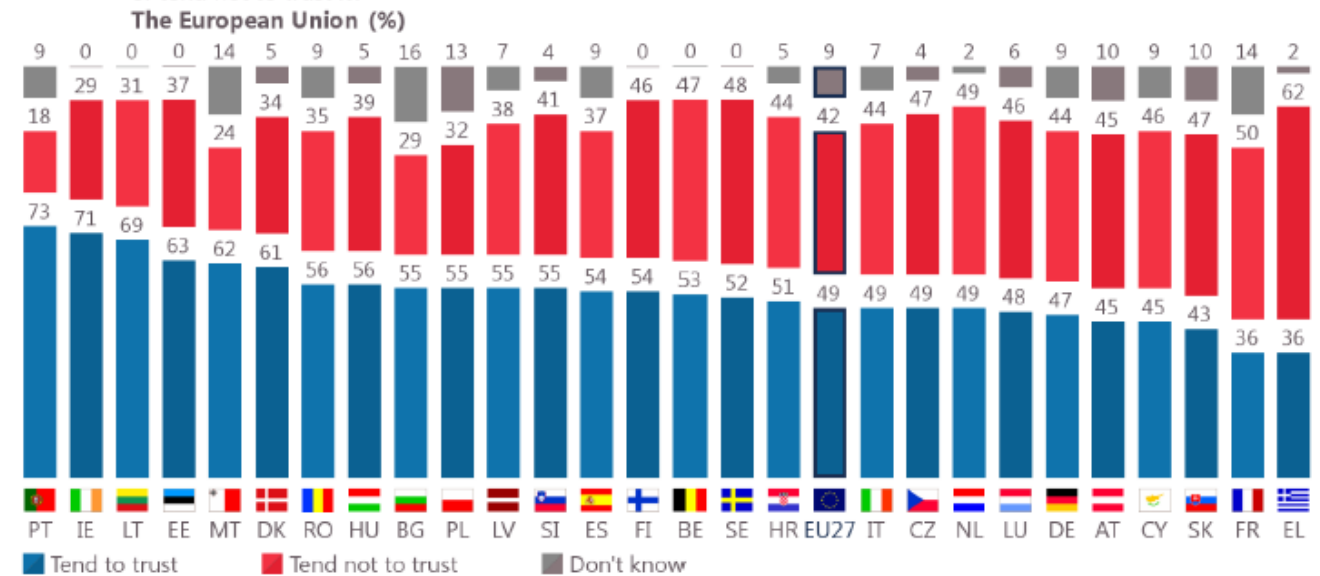


NATIONAL TRUST

QA6a.9 How much trust do you have in certain institutions? For each of the following institutions, do you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?



QA6a.11 How much trust do you have in certain institutions? For each of the following institutions, do you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?



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

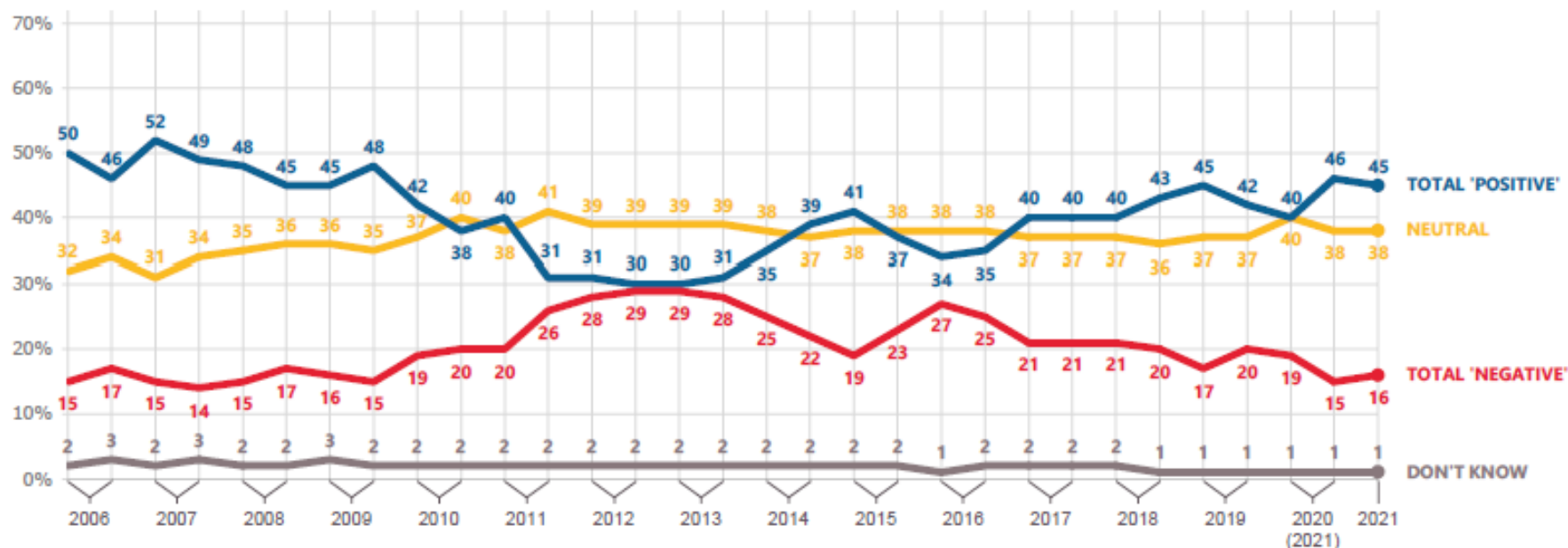
Transnational experience

National identity (Díez Medrano 2003)

Benchmark De Vries, 2018)

THE IMAGE OF THE EU

D78 In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image? (% - EU)

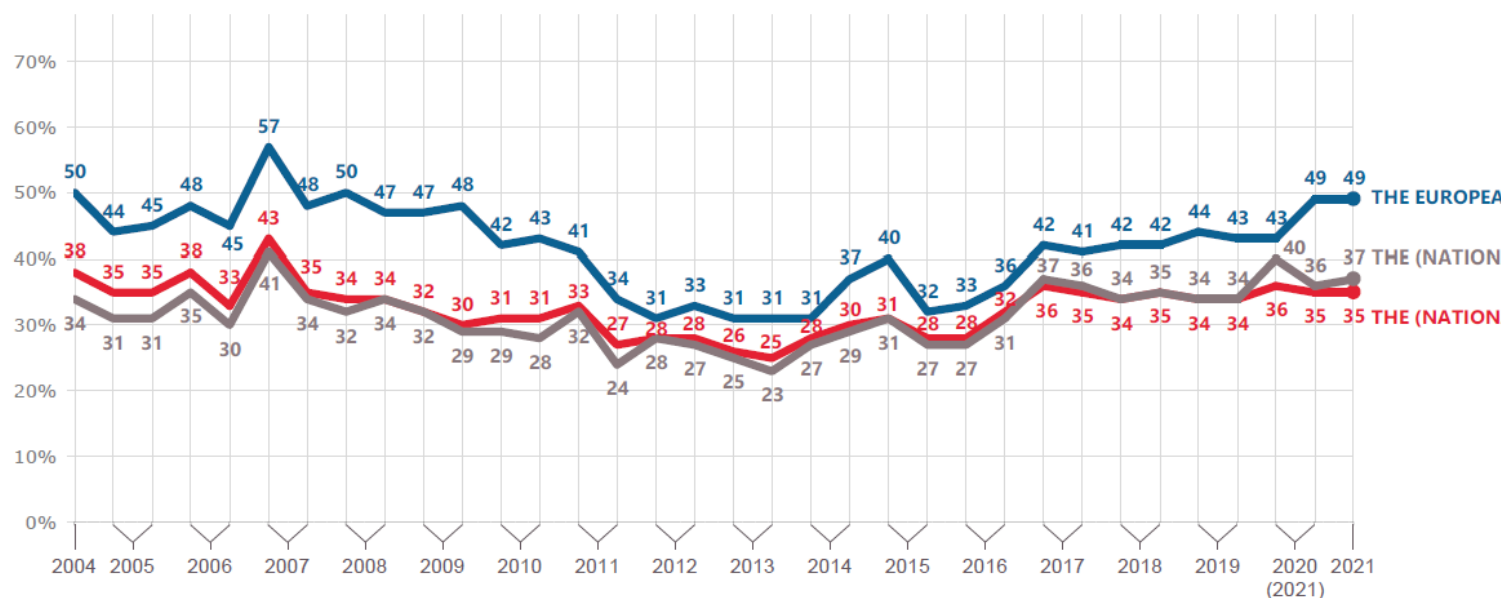


D78 In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image? (% - EU)

	Total 'Positive'	Neutral	Total 'Negative'	Don't know
EU27	45	38	16	1
Gender				
Man	48	34	18	0
Woman	43	42	14	1
Age				
15-24	55	34	10	1
25-39	48	37	15	0
40-54	44	38	17	1
55 +	41	40	18	1
Education (End of)				
15-	36	46	17	1
16-19	40	41	18	1
20+	52	33	15	0
Still studying	60	31	8	1
Socio-professional category				
Self-employed	48	35	17	0
Managers	56	31	13	0
Other white collars	49	37	14	0
Manual workers	40	42	18	0
House persons	37	48	14	1
Unemployed	36	41	23	0
Retired	40	40	19	1
Students	60	31	8	1
Difficulties paying bills				
Most of the time	32	39	28	1
From time to time	37	44	19	0
Almost never/ Never	50	36	13	1

CONFIDENCE IN THE EU IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

QA6a How much trust do you have in certain institutions? For each of the following institutions, do you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it? (% - EU - TEND TO TRUST)

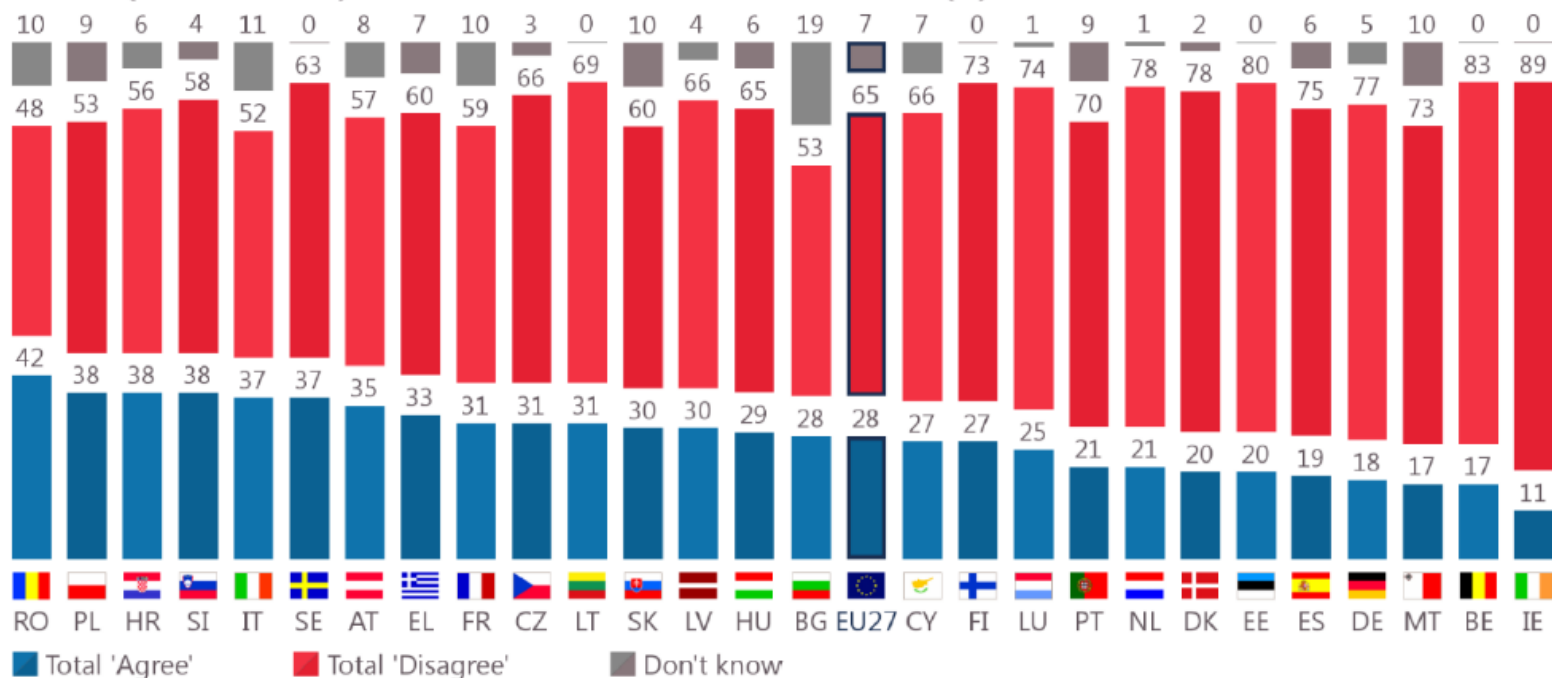


QA6a.11 How much trust do you have in certain institutions? For each of the following institutions, do you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

	Tend to trust	Tend not to trust	Don't know
The European Union (% - EU)			
EU27	49	42	9
Gender			
Man	50	43	7
Woman	49	41	10
Age			
15-24	57	33	10
25-39	52	42	6
40-54	49	44	7
55 +	46	44	10
Education (End of)			
15-	43	44	13
16-19	45	47	8
20+	55	39	6
Still studying	63	27	10
Socio-professional category			
Self-employed	50	45	5
Managers	57	39	4
Other white collars	54	39	7
Manual workers	45	47	8
House persons	44	42	14
Unemployed	39	52	9
Retired	45	44	11
Students	63	27	10
Difficulties paying bills			
Most of the time	37	53	10
From time to time	43	49	8
Almost never/ Never	53	39	8

HARD EUROSCEPTICISM

QA11.2 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
(OUR COUNTRY) could better face the future outside the EU (%)



Sorted by 'Total Agree'

QA11.2 To what extent do 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	28	65	7
Gender			
Man	29	65	6
Woman	27	64	9
Age			
15-24	24	68	8
25-39	27	67	6
40-54	28	66	6
55 +	29	62	9
Education (End of)			
15-	32	55	13
16-19	33	59	8
20+	23	73	4
Still studying	20	74	6
Socio-professional category			
Self-employed	27	68	5
Managers	22	75	3
Other white collars	27	67	6
Manual workers	34	58	8
House persons	33	58	9
Unemployed	32	59	9
Retired	28	62	10
Students	20	74	6
Difficulties paying bills			
Most of the time	37	52	11
From time to time	38	53	9
Almost never/ Never	23	71	6

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, war?)

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