

Department of History and Civilization

To Belong or not to Belong:
can we Research People's Attitudes
to EU Citizenship?

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Abstract

What is the relationship between citizens of the member states and the EU? How can we research people's attitudes to EU citizenship. Whether we speak of consent (allegiance), belonging (loyalty, identity), or democratic deficit (participation in the public sphere), we are dealing with subjective perceptions and dispositions. Attitudinal data may be considered too subjective for other research topics, but it is precisely the citizens' subjective views about EU citizenship that are needed the most. Loyalties to countries and to the union are affected by feelings, opinions and prejudice, which are best accessed through attitudinal qualitative research, and cannot be inferred from political economy.

We will review the existing available attitudinal research on citizenship in the UK, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden, both in special qualitative surveys and through national polls and surveys. Our previous research suggests that attitudinal questions included in these national surveys (mainly quantitative) highlight the primary relevance of national identity or the unproblematic compatibility of national identity and European Union identity. These surveys tend to ask questions broad regarding identity or citizenship, without unpacking the concepts and probing the realities behind these concepts. However, attitudinal research in other areas usually succeeds in testing people's readiness to act and make decisions, for example on social issues like abortion, the protection of the environment, alternative sources of energy, or concerning military intervention abroad. We will discuss whether more specific questions on practical issues (e.g. relocation, employment, retirement, family networks) would gather more relevant information on ideas and feelings about European Union citizenship.

Furthermore, we will discuss how theoretically informed research on attitudinal data could serve to test established theories of the relationship between the citizens and the Union, such as consent (allegiance), belonging (loyalty), or democratic deficit (participation in the public sphere). For example, a utilitarian version of allegiance, as far as it is applicable to the European Union, could be challenged if, in their responses to these kind of attitudinal research, EU citizens failed to value the material benefits of EU citizenship. We will present similar working hypotheses for the main theoretical alternatives.

European Citizenship in Questions

We have restricted our search to research on Europe since 1992, and do not include in each country their contribution to the Eurobarometer, which is discussed in a separate section for the whole of the EU. Our compilation is based on Internet research and on information provided by the research institutions themselves.

United Kingdom

There are a lot of research projects about Europe in the UK, but not many of them ask people questions about European citizenship. Several projects have received public funding, but no periodical national survey directly polls the citizens on Europe on a regular basis.

We searched for surveys of attitudes to European citizenship in two UK databases: regard, the database of research funded by the ESRC (<http://www.regard.ac.uk>), and the search engine of the Data Archive, based at the University of Essex (<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk>). The studies listed in this section are the result of following all references to studies about European citizenship found through these starting points.

The annual British Social Attitudes Survey is a major large-scale opinion survey in the UK and it includes modules on a number of social issues. In 1998, it included a module on citizenship, comprising questions on the system of governance (the monarchy, House of Lords, proportional representation, participation) and trust in political parties and the police (Social and Community Planning Research, British Social Attitudes Survey, 1998 [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: The Data Archive [distributor], 8 June 2000. SN: 4131.) In 1999 a module on English Nationalism has been added, somehow managing not to use the word Europe even once.

In 1997, the Economic and Social Research Council, the leading UK funding body for social research, allocated £4 million to the program 'One Europe or Several? The Dynamics of Change across Europe' for the period 1998-2002. Awards were made to 24 projects, 17 UK Universities and research institutions, engaging over 75 appointed researchers. The projects can be searched by country of interest and keywords at: <http://www.one-europe.ac.uk/cgi-bin/esrc/world/db.cgi/search.htm>. Four of them are about citizenship and only two about national identity and European citizenship: 'Rethinking Nation-State Identities in the New Europe. A Cross-National Study of School Curricula and Textbooks', directed by Yasemin Soysal (University of

Essex), and 'Regional Identity and European Citizenship', directed by Joe M. Painter (University of Durham). Only Painter's research involves in-depth interviews about citizenship and identity with key people in a range of institutions in four regions (two West European (Scotland and Catalunya), two East European regions (Upper Silesia, Poland, and north-east Estonia). The interviewees include people in local and regional governments, political parties and voluntary organizations, as well as in the European institutions.

Baker (Nottingham Trent University), Gamble (University of Sheffield) and Seawright (University of Lincolnshire and Humberside) were funded by the ESRC in 1998 to map changes in British Parliamentarians' Attitudes to European Integration. 255 MPs responded (using Likert Scales) to a postal questionnaire covering the following topics: debate about Europe, economic activity, federal Europe, sovereignty, single currency, referenda on Europe, national identity, power and nature of EU institutions, funding, social issues and the EU, taxation, environmental issues, British policy in Europe and advantages/disadvantages of membership of the EU.

The Runnymede Trust and the Commission for Racial Equality also have researched young people's attitudes and opinions about Europe, Europeans and the European Union (1998). That study obtained 505 interviews of 14 to 25 year olds, and considered race and ethnicity as the main variable (61.6% white, 14.1% Black, 19.8% South Asian, 4.6% other) (available at <http://www.runnymedetrust.org.uk>). The research mentioned in its introduction that, despite numerous studies about youth in the UK, 'there was a notable lack of research on youth in relation to Europe in general, and an even greater void of research relating to black and ethnic minority youth with this focus'. Due to its focus on identity (ethnic, national, European) and Europe, that study asked repeated questions about self-identification, knowledge of the European Union, European identity, and attitudes and opinions about European society and culture:

- Do you see Britain as part of Europe?
- Do you think of British people as Europeans?
- To what extent do you think yourself as European?
- Never-rarely/ Occasionally/ Increasingly/Frequently
- What images come to mind when you think of the word European?
- Do you think that young people are interested in European issues and nationality?
- Are you aware of the effect of legislation and decisions made at European level on your life?
- Are you given enough information about how decisions made at European government level affect Britain?

Two more projects are related to the study of citizens' attitudes to European citizenship, although they were not designed for this purpose. Webber and Longhurst, at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Birmingham, were funded by the ESRC as part of the Youth, citizenship and social research program. They studied youth perceptions of citizenship and security in Russia, Germany and the UK (1998-2000). Their methodology was qualitative and included focus groups, interviews, observing anti-conscription campaign groups and officer trainees, and diary methods. Their main topics were notions of civic duty, allegiance to the national state and legitimacy of the armed forces. Stewart, Mandel and Pattie, at the department of social anthropology, University College London, also received funding from the ESRC between 1998-2001 to study 'Citizenship and belonging: local expressions of political and economic restructuring' in three diaspora communities: Hungarians in Slovakia, Romania and Serbia, returning ethnic Germans in Germany vis-à-vis Turkish guest-workers, and Armenians in Los Angeles, Syria and Armenia. This program aimed to discover the everyday practices and institutional relationships which underlie notions of identity, belonging and homeland.

Finally, two projects have studied European citizenship on the theoretical and conceptual level, including secondary data analysis, but without conducting interviews or attitudinal surveys. Shaw, Bellamy and Castiglione are funded by the ESRC for the period 1999-2002 to study 'Strategies of civic inclusion in pan-european civil society' (based on the University of Exeter). Bellamy, at the University of Reading, coordinates a Thematic Network on 'European Citizenship and the Social and Political Integration of the European Union'. There are seven other research institutions from Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Germany, Portugal and Austria comparing the different models of citizenship and 'assessing the extent to which European citizenship could and does promote the identification of Europeans with the institutions of the Union' (<http://www.rdg.ac.uk/EIS/research/tser/tser.htm>).

France

There are several organisations which conduct research into peoples' attitudes/voting intentions in France. The main ones are listed below, and the huge bulk of their surveys concern French domestic politics. The most up to date surveys for all these organisations (i.e. from 1998 to present) are accessible at <http://www.politique-opinion.com/recherche/view>. National funding bodies are also supporting academic research, such as "L'Identité Européenne En Questions", funded by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, and directed by Bruno Cautres (e-mail address: prog-europe.cnrs@msh-alpes.upmf-grenoble.fr)

The majority of questions concerning Europe refer to the launch of the Euro. The largest surveys tend to be carried out on a wider EU basis, for example the AFP/IPSOS survey of March 2000 was more or less solely concerned with the euro, and is part of a quarterly research programme entitled 'European Public Opinion Trends' which conducts telephone interviews in selected EU countries. (For this survey a representative sample of 5000 aged 18 and more were interviewed in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom, see <http://www.canalipsos.com>). IPSOS/SOFINCO also carry out more specific surveys, such as the March 2000 one on young Europeans (15-29 year olds). Around the time of the 1999 European Elections, there were several national surveys with questions about:

- the construction of Europe and whether it should be speeded up
- the desire for a Federal Europe or a Europe of nation states
- whether the European Institutions were
 - a) too distant from the daily concerns of people
 - b) too concerned with pernickety regulations
 - c) not democratic enough. (CSA Opinion-France Inter 13/06/99, France Info 13/06/99, Le Parisien 14/06/99, L'Événement 17/06/99, see <http://www.politique-opinion.com/recherche/view.asp?question=84>; <http://www.politique-opinion.com/recherche/view.asp?question=124/125/126>)

Other surveys reviewed asked about specific topics, for example:

- A common European Army
- A common European government
- EU enlargement
- The direct election of a European president by universal suffrage. (See Louis Harris – Le Monde 01/06/99; <http://www.politique-opinion.com/rechercheview.asp?question=84>)

The vast majority of the surveys were conducted by telephone, with some home visits and increasing use made of Internet. Most of the European election surveys were carried out by questionnaire completed at the exit of polling booths after the European elections. We must also note that some organisations were not willing to give us their questions, as was the case in Germany, but not in the other countries studied.

A brief list of the major surveys reviewed includes:

- SOFRES/Figaro magazine. Commentary by Alain Duhamel on 'Les Français et l'Europe' http://www.sofres.com/etudes/pol/070301_chron_n.htm

- Tableau de Bord BVA Paris-Match
- IFOP,JDD (Journal de Dimanche)
- LOUIS HARRIS, Valeurs Actuelles
- Action Politique IPSOS, Le Point
- Economie, social BVA, L'Expansion,LCI
- CSA, La Vie
- Promodes

Germany

The following are six groups of relevant institutions and surveys.

1. Statistisches Bundesamt (Presse-und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung) <http://www.statistic-bund.de> provide Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung with material for Datenreport (1999),Bd.365 2000. This is the official statistical office of the Federal government, which commissions surveys from various organisations and institutes. Among the Institutes participating are: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WzB) and the Zentrum für Umfragen,Methoden und Analysen, Mannheim (ZUMA)
2. Institut für Demoskopie Ifd-Allensbach (mailto: presse@ifd-allensbach.de). One of the largest of this type of organisations. Frequent surveys with standard question type. They produce also frequent allensbacher berichte (allensbach reports) with comments on recent opinion polls. This is a list of the most relevant ones.
 - a) 'Greater loss of trust over euro' 2000/Nr.11 ISSN 0176-9251 report on IfD –Umfrage 6091 (Mai/Juni2000) The question asked was 'Are you for or against the single European currency? It is note worthy that 50% were against, while just 31% were in favor. There has been a decrease in support since 1999. The IfD has published other reports on recent surveys regarding EU sanctions against Austria, and enlargement with Turkey.
 - b) 'Europa – kein Thema' IfD-Allensbach Dokumentation Nr. 6144 von Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. Comments on IfD Umfrage 6089 März 2000. Article about survey in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) Nr. 108 10/05/2000 (German version) in English edition Nr. 30 10/05/2000. The questions used were:
 - Do you agree / disagree that the EU should: harmonise criminal law, VAT, motorway tolls, amount of pension contributions.
 - Taking it from a worldwide perspective are you proud to be European? (percentages in favor are in parenthesis) Unconditionally

- (18), mainly (45), rather not (15), absolutely not (8), no view (14) n= 1057.
- Other questions: further EU integration will lead to loss of German identity (Yes 50%, No 38%)
- c) 'European elections out of the blue' Dok. Nr. 6017 von Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. Article in FAZ Nr.114 19/05/99. IfD Umfrage 6047,6076. Questions:
- Would you say that EU member states have mainly common interests or different interests? (Study No. 6076)
 - Should German MEPs vote in the EU interest or national interest? (Study No. 6076)
 - Date of next EP elections (asked in April for June 1999; 61% did not know) (6076)
 - Do you think that in the next generation there will be such a thing as a love of Europe as fatherland ? (europäische Vaterlandsliebe) (6076) (Yes 15%, No 71%)
- d) 'Before Maastricht II'. Dok Nr. 5795 in FAZ Nr. 132 11/06/97 IfD Umfrage 6044. Questions:
- On the Euro: Turn the wheel of history back and there was no EU (Yes 18%, No 55%)
 - Also series of surveys from 4/94 onwards (5094, 6022, 6035,3283,6044) on what Europe means to respondents e.g. Variety, Future, Criminality, Culture, Bureaucracy, Risk, Progress... Welfare
 - Love of Europe as fatherland (Yes 14%, No 68%)
- e) 'Kühle Realisten' Germans sceptical but unemotional about EMU. Dok. Nr. 5600 in FAZ Nr. 266 15/05/95.
3. Zentralarchiv für Europäische Bildung (<http://www.za.uni-koeln.de>). The ZA holds data on a whole series of different types of surveys carried out by various organisations. They are all coded by ZA number. Some of these are listed below:
- a) ALLBUS General Population surveys available on <http://www.gesis.org> Mainly using questions on internal issues but also:
- General Population Surveys 1980 – 1998 ALLBUS ZA 1795, asked a question about Immigration: EU/Non EU workers
 - General Population Survey (Mar-Jun 1996) ALLBUS ZA 2800, with

the question on EU or German competence on environmental legislation

b) POLITBAROMETER - Surveys available on: <http://www.gesis.org/Datenservice/Suche/Qbase/index.htm> (Most recent first)

- Politbarometer Wahlstudie 1998 ZA Nr. 3160. Questions on asylum seekers in EU, whether foreigners enrich Germany or pose a threat, the EU influence in Germany and the Euro.
- Politbarometer 1997 Cumulated Data Set ZA-Nr 3045. Questions on: Approval of EU military intervention in Albania; Judgment on the consequences of introduction of the euro regarding the political influence of Germany in Europe, unemployment in Germany, the cost of living in Germany and the safety of savings; Judgment on the stability of the future European currency in comparison to the DM.

c) German attitudes to Current Questions of Domestic Policy (1995) ZA Nr.2625. Survey carried out by IPOS (Institut für Praxisorientierte Sozialforschung) Mannheim.

d) Wirtschaftsstandort Deutschland 1998 (Germany's economic position) ZA Nr. 3029.

4. International Social Survey Programme, see www.ISSP.org

- a) ISSP 1995 National Identity ZA Nr. 2880. Questions concerning feelings about closeness to Europe, moving to another European country for work.
- b) ISSP 1996 Role of Government III. A questionnaire on attitudes towards regional and national institutions includes a last question on Europe concerning the final competence for environmental legislation.

5. Euromodel survey (WzB) currently in preparation European Social Survey(ESS)

6. J 1999 Kat 15 C Europawahl 1999 ZA Nr. 3238; J 1999 Kat 31 C Die 'Berliner Republik' ZA Nr. 3223; J 1998 Kat 31 C Deutschland Richtung geben ZA Nr. 3220

Italy

Other than the Eurobarometer series, no other opinion survey is held by the ADPSS (Archivio Dati e Programmi per le Scienze Sociali), part of the Istituto Superiore di Sociologia and supported by five universities and other agencies.

We could conclude from this that no periodical national polls are carried out by the state regarding Europe.

Leading private polling companies, such as Doxa (www.doxa.it), have included European questions in their national polls, especially regarding support for the Euro and awareness of its implications.

Recently, the European University Institute in Florence coordinated the Euro Spectator, based on opinion polls regarding the perception of European Monetary Union in several member states (<http://www.iue.it/law/eurospectator/whatis.htm>). The Italian report for the year 2000 was compiled by the IAI Istituto Affari Internazionali (http://www.iai.it/master_english.htm), but it drew from polls carried out by Doxa, Ispos-Afp and the French agency Promodes.

Spain

The CIS (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, main government-run, nation-wide, Public Opinion Institute in Spain) has conducted several surveys of the attitudes towards the European Union. In 1994, 95, 96, 99 and 2000, they have added modules on Europe to their monthly barometer-style polls, therefore producing a series that enables longitudinal studies of the evolution of these attitudes. On average 2500 interviews are conducted covering a range of about 25 topics within the broad area of European citizenship and governance. In 1994 the CIS conducted a survey on the European feelings of the Spanish people. In addition to items used by the Eurobarometers, they asked detailed social-demographic questions (sex, age, educational level attained, job status, place of birth in the country, income, vote in last elections) and presented the interviewees with a number of interesting situations:

- Questions about the international travel experience, and experience of working or living in another European country, both for the respondent and for the respondent's parents.
- Agreement/disagreement with a statement of protectionism ('Spanish products should be protected from the competition of products from other EU member states') (P22)
- Support for preference given to Spanish candidates in recruitment in a situation in which the candidate from another EU member state was 'slightly better qualified than the Spanish one' (53.7% would hire the national candidate).
- Description of the EU and the country by seven variables the extent to which they apply is assessed by the respondent (very much, much, a little, very little, not at all). The variables are: high productivity, competitive companies, low salaries, good working conditions, corruption, a nice lifestyle, a society in which things do not work.

- Also, subjective assessment of the development of EU and Spain in a 0-10 scale from very poor to very rich (EU average 7.07, Spain average 4.94); of justice (6.06 v 4.94), and of modernity (7.11 v 5.86)
- First and second geographic space to which people feel they belong in a scale that starts from the local town/city and goes to the world. Only 1% pick Europe first and only 4.3% pick it in the second round, even though the average agreement with the sentence 'Spain benefits from being in the EU' is 6.45 in a 0-10 scale.

For example, the latest Eurobarometer of this kind conducted in Spain asked for the level of information received about the EU and interest in it, opinion about the images of Europe in the media, impact of membership on Spain, feeling of belonging and potential for change of that feeling in the future, feelings towards a hypothetical breakup of the EU (45.1% would simply feel indifferent in such an event), influence of EU policies on regional inequality, balance contribution/aid to/from the EU, level of trust in the EU to reduce unemployment, reception of the Euro, assessment of the government's defense of Spanish interests in Brussels, etc.

In addition to these annual polls, the best-selling liberal newspaper (broadsheet) 'El Pais' has published polls conducted by Demoscopia SA (a privately owned company) which frequently includes questions on Europe. Demoscopia's 'Barometro' poll is carried out quarterly and cross-national comparisons of their data on Europe have appeared on The Guardian and Le Monde, with whom El Pais is associated. The 1999 Demoscopia Eurobarometer, ahead of the European Parliament elections, contained seven questions about participation in and opinion concerning the impact and meaning of European Parliament elections. Incidentally, 46% of those interviewed believed that European elections would become as important or more so than national elections.

Sweden

DEMOSKOP (<http://www.demoskop.se>) is a private organisation that has conducted telephone surveys about the European Union, asking several questions about joining the European Monetary Union:

- Sweden is a member of the EU since 1995. Do you think Sweden should continue being a member?
- Do you think that the government should declare its position on whether Sweden should apply for or reject EMU-membership?
- Do you want Swedish membership of EMU to be decided in a referendum?

FSI (Forskningsgruppen för Samhälls - och Informationsstudier) (<http://www.forskningsgruppen.com>) is another independent research institution that has used many of the most common questions on the Eurobarometer, including also a question about plans of moving to other EU countries. The same type of research on Europe has been conducted by SCB (Statistiska Centralbyran) which is owned by the state (<http://www.scb.se>).

TEMO (www.temo.se) is a private organisation that studies people's knowledge and opinion about the EU by asking fact-based questions. It draws parallels between knowledge and position on the EU and has utilized some original questions:

- Do you think it is good or bad that the EU exists?
- Do you think it is good or bad that Sweden participates in 'Eurocorps', with 60000 soldiers from Member States participating in peacekeeping tasks?
- Do you think it is good or bad that 12 new countries are joining the EU?

SIFO (<http://www.sifo.se>) is part of an international research company. It asks the same type of questions on the EU and EMU as SCB. They conduct research focusing on specific issues for newspapers (i.e. 'Should Sweden have the same rules for bringing in alcohol as most of the other EU-countries?'). And also wider projects such as the SIFO for AFTONBLADET (Sweden's main evening newspaper) survey on 'Sweden - five years in the EU' (see the results on <http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/9912/28/eusifo.html>). One of the questions used was the following:

- With the experience you have today - would you vote yes or no to EU-membership?

GALLUP (<http://www.gallup.se>) has also conducted surveys in Sweden regarding joining the Euro.

Most of these organisations survey regularly (every month or every second or third month) and ask questions about the vote in prospective EMU referenda or hypothetical EU referendum.

European Union

Perhaps it is a revealing detail that the unit responsible for the Eurobarometer is called 'Citizens' centre'. It is part of the Directorate-General for Education and Culture and deals with five types of surveys:

1. The traditional **Standard Eurobarometer** (EB - established in 1973): ±1000 representative face-to-face interviews per member country carried out between 2 and 5 times per year with reports published twice yearly. In-depth studies are carried out for various services of DG Education and Culture (on their behalf and account) and likewise for any DG of the Commission needing them, as well as for other EU institutions (if and when they so wish, as Parliament regularly does).
2. The **Flash Eurobarometers** are conducted, by phone, throughout the EU if and when needed by a service of the Commission or other institutions/agencies of the EU. Possibilities are numerous: variable interview techniques, variable sample size, "special target groups" (e.g. teachers, managers, opinion leaders, etc.) or "public at large" studies. Here again, it is the responsibility of the respective services to release their results.
A Top-Decision Makers Eurobarometer has also been prepared by a pilot study of which summary report has been published in May 1996
3. **Qualitative studies** (focus groups, in depth interviews, etc.) on demand and on behalf of the different Commission Services.
4. The **European Continuous Tracking Survey (CTS)** was carried out, for the Commission Services, from January 1996 until December 1998. It succeeded the small pilot telephone "Monthly Monitoring" created in 1994. The CTS consisted of some 200 telephone interviews done in each Member State, each week, 44 weeks a year. These results were regularly published in *Europinion* reports until the end of 1997. A special edition, *European Public Opinion on the Single Currency*, was also released in January 1999.
5. The Central and Eastern Eurobarometer (CEEB) was an annual general public survey which had been organised from 1990 to 1998. In the course of the year 2001, the Commission will launch a new instrument, the **Applicant countries Eurobarometer**, modeled on the Standard Eurobarometer. The survey will be carried out in the 13 candidate countries. (cf. <http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg10/epo/org.html>)

The Eurobarometer (EB) is the benchmark for researching European citizens' attitudes. The exact questions asked have changed over time, some have been added from time to time to focus on a particular subject, while basic questions about European integration have featured in all Eurobarometers. The following is a list of those special modules that are relevant to our inquiry in the 1990s.

The first finding is that citizenship is not included in the Eurobarometers until several years after the Maastricht Treaty, whereas allegiance to the European Union interpreted as 'feeling European' is one of the staple questions of the Eurobarometer and has been asked in the years preceding Maastricht.

Eurobarometer 44 (1995) saw the inclusion of questions about the regions and a federal structure for Europe. The question on the level of attachment to different regional entities was new and has not been used again until April 1999 (EB 51), perhaps due to the fact that allowing respondents to choose identification has relegated the feeling of Europeanness to a distant fourth, behind nationality, region and locality. We have to wait until 1996 to see a clear concern with citizenship. In 1996, EB 45 included several sections dealing with citizens. The second section profiled European Union citizens and included an interesting typology of attitudes to European integration. Such a typology was based on a factorial analysis of 161 variables, and yielded 20 factors, which lead to 4 types. Preoccupation with national identity and culture is one of those factors, but the variables asking explicitly about citizenship are not. Two other sections were directly relevant to citizenship: one on employment and one on 'citizens attitudes towards Europe'. The employment section asked relevant questions such as:

- Whether opportunities to find a job in the EU, improving equal opportunities between men and women and for minorities should be a priority of the EU.

Section 7 on citizens' attitudes marks the first time the EB asked about

- the need for European citizenship
- awareness of citizens' rights in the media
- knowledge and importance of citizens' rights
- influence of citizens

That chapter also added under the citizenship heading known questions about:

- feeling European
- reliability of institutions of government

And re-branded as pertaining to citizenship the question about fears (negative expectations for the future) and levels of information (the section's heading is 'Are European citizens informed?').

From that moment, the presence of citizenship in the Eurobarometers has been maintained and refined, but after EB 47 it has ceased to have a separate chapter. EB 46 (conducted in November 1996) placed the questions included in EB 45-chapter 7 in the different context of 'Media usage and the rights of citizenship'. The variable information about EU issues had been used much earlier, but this was the first time it was used specifically regarding citizens' rights.

- feeling informed (about rights) and the need for information
- sources of information about citizens rights

Most importantly, EB 46 introduced another interesting formulation of questions about European identity and national trust, including these new dimensions:

- trust between peoples
- how trusting are people of their own nationality?
- trust in citizens from European Union Member States
- trust in people from third countries

EB 47 (fieldwork February-June 97) added three items to the chapter on 'European Citizenship-rights and freedoms':

- what Europe means to young people
- interest in citizens' rights
- respect for rights and freedoms

Europinion 10 (January 1997, Continuous Tracking survey) also included several questions about immigration, which allowed for further elaboration on the trust variable and the diversity aspects of citizenship.

- Do you think that people from different countries south of the Mediterranean who wish to work here in the European Union should (be accepted without restrictions, but with restrictions, not, don't know)
- ...from Central and Eastern Europe...
- What about people suffering from human rights violations in their country who are seeking political asylum?
- ...citizens from other countries within the EU who wish to settle in your country
- Generally speaking how do you feel about the number of people living in your country who are from countries which are not members of the European Union. Do you think they are (far too many, too many, just right, not too many, not enough, don't know/refusal)
- What do you think of the rights of people who are living in your country and who come from countries which are not members of the EU? Do you think these rights should be (extended, restricted, left as they are, don't know)

The Eurobarometer 47 served as the basis for two other reports on young people's and women's attitudes to the European Union, published in December

97 and March 98 respectively, in addition to Eurobarometers 47.1 (Racism and Xenophobia in Europe) and 47.2 (Young Europeans). We shall come back to the attitudinal reports in the following section.

The Eurobarometer 48 (1998) included a section 6 on the European Year against Racism, which asked about acceptance of cultural difference.

- Acceptance of people from no-EU countries
- Attitudes towards foreigners and people of different races, including a new question on the acceptance of people of another race/nationality (not disturbing, disturbing)

EB48 must be read in conjunction with EB 47.1 'Opinion poll: Racism and Xenophobia in Europe', which was requested by DGV of the European Commission. The report claims that no similar poll had been carried out since 1988. Among the most relevant questions included are:

- Declared racism: self-identification as 'feeling they are racist' on a 1-10 scale. This declared racism was then crossed with age and level of education, support for the EU, political preference, personal insecurity and fear of the future.
- Ways of seeing minorities were polled through agreement/disagreement with statements such as:
 1. People from minority groups are being discriminated against in the job market
 2. My country always consisted of various cultural and religious groups.
 3. Where schools make the necessary efforts, the education of all children can be enriched by the presence of children from minority groups.
 4. In schools where there are too many children from these minority groups, the quality of education suffers.
 5. Minorities pay less into the social security system that they claim.
 6. Their presence is a cause of insecurity/ increases unemployment/benefit not benefit.
 7. Minorities do jobs nobody else wants to do.
 8. Integration: 'In order to be fully accepted members of the society, people belonging to these minority groups must give up such parts of their religion or culture which may be in conflict with the law'.
 9. Assimilation: 'In order to be fully accepted members of society, people belonging to these minority groups must give up their own culture'.
- Opinion on immigrants rights. Yes/no and agree/disagree questions were posed regarding: their right bring members of their family, have

the same basic rights as nationals, ability to naturalize more easily, repatriation of illegal immigrants who convicted serious offenses, repatriation of legal immigrants if unemployed

- Action against racism through education and European institutions.

The EB 47 included 23 questions for 15-24 year old respondents, which were analyzed in the EB 47.2 on Young Europeans (Melich, A. (1999), Eurobarometer 47.2OVR: Young Europeans, April-June 1997 [computer file], Brussels, Belgium: INRA (Europe) [producer], 1997. Koeln, Germany: Zentralarchiv fuer Empirische Sozialforschung/Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributors], 1999). This group of questions was innovative in several respects.

- Used an accessible language in the options given, was open to spontaneous questions and allowed several answers.
 1. For example when asking: Which of the following statements best describe(s) what the European Union means to you personally? Some of the options were: 'a way to create a better future for young people', but also 'a lot of bureaucracy, a waste of time and money'.
- Original questions such as:
 1. *Forecast of the EU*: 'Taking everything into consideration, what will the European Union have brought in ten years time?', with one of the options being 'There won't be a European Union anymore'.
 2. *Discrimination*: 'Do you feel uneasy in the presence of any people in your daily life?'. In this case the options were people of another nationality, race, religion, but also physically or mentally handicapped, homosexuals, drug addicts, or people who dress differently from you.
 3. *Obstacles to mobility*: 'Let's suppose you wanted to work or study abroad, what, do you think, would be the main difficulty you would face? Options: I would not know how to find a job, language difficulties, administrative difficulties, I'd be homesick, I am not interested in working or studying abroad.
 4. *Support for EU policies*, issues of priority and subsidiarity (take action or not)

From the EB 49 and 50 (1998) up until the most recent one, EB 53 (2000) citizenship is addressed as a matter of information and knowledge of the European Union. These Eurobarometers devote considerable space to current policy issues such as enlargement and the euro. But simultaneously, more specific questions appear that link citizenship with the democratic process. For example:

- The European Parliament's ability to protect citizens' interests, asked in EB 49 and the following years.
- A new section in EB 53: 'Democracy and citizenship', studying together satisfaction with democracy (both national and European, asked already in EB 51) and European and national identity.

Secondary analysis

Recently, the Eurobarometer has studied attitudes by means of different techniques, such as clusters analysis and factorial analysis, which elaborate upon the data gathered by the questions presented above. For example, EB 45 (1996) defined 4 types of attitudes towards integration:

1. Hesitant to Unification, Yes vis-à-vis non-EU countries
2. Yes to a Europe which protects social rights
3. Yes to an integrated, responsible and social Europe
4. No to Europe - nationalist

Groups 1 (32.6%) and 4 (17.4%) total 50% of the EU public opinion. This technique identified the following 20 factors as common to the data gathered by several questions:

1. Richness of aspirations
2. Fear of low cost imports
3. All decisions to be taken at national level
4. Rejection of common policies
5. Preoccupation with national identity and culture
6. Disregard for the SMEs
7. Optimistic
8. No escalation of the economic crisis
9. The expenditure on the CAP does not constitute the main element in the budget
10. The bureaucracy costs too much
11. No to payments to less developed regions and for enlargement
12. Do not fear sharp changes, increases in tax, excessive centralised control
13. Support political integration
14. No to concerns about delocalisation, the transfer of jobs
15. Priority - fight against drugs and crime which constitute real danger for the Union
16. No common decision in foreign affairs
17. New countries must join the Union
18. Priority for defence, maintenance/peace
19. The right to appeal to a European Ombudsman
20. Fear that large member states impose views, loss of sovereignty

As mentioned earlier, statistical analyses were conducted to identify attitudinal groups among young people and women. In this case, the underlying concepts

in 52 questions (or variables) were isolated through Principal Component Analysis, leaving us with the following 18 concepts. The actual labels are the analyst's invention, but the statistical analysis produces groups of like-minded responses, patterns of responses. In the study on young people three groups were found: sympathisers (38%), sceptics (28%) and positive pragmatics (33%). The relevant clusters of women's attitudes were five: sympathisers (25%), sceptics (19%), pragmatics (20%), 'middle-of-the-roaders' (14%), and undecideds (22%). This type of analysis also permits to build a profile by the variables available in the data file, i.e. sex, age, nationality, political identification, etc. According to this analysis, the following are the issues that best distinguish attitudinal groups among a class of people. If we take together the analysis carried out on young people and women, then we have a complete list of the concepts which have explained variance between groups among women and young people: a good indication of how the population could fare.

<i>Y</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>% var. expl. young</i>	<i>% var. expl. Women</i>	<i>Q. No</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Exact wording of question</i>
1	1	23.3	23.9	20	Attitudes towards enlargement of the EU	SUPPORT FOR ENLARGEMENT For each of the following countries, are you in favour or not of it becoming part of the European Union in the future: 1 Bulgaria 2 Cyprus 3 etc. until 17
2		5.5		23f	Level of political responsibility for basic rules for broadcasting and press	DECISION-MAKING POWER: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OR EU Some people believe that certain areas of policy should be decided by the (National) government, while other areas of policy should be decided jointly within the European Union. Which of the following areas do you think should be decided by the (National) government and which should be decided jointly within the European union.

3		4.1		23d	Level of political responsibility for matters relating to co-operation with developing countries, Third World
4	1	3.5	1.9	23t	... fight against drugs
	5				
5	8	3.4	3	22/5	EC should have support from EP
6		3.4		9	Levels of feeling informed about EU
7	6	3.2	3.3	22/8	Citizen of other member country has right to stand in local elections
8	4	3.1	3.6	22/3	EU should have a common defence and military policy
9		3.0		23h	Level of political responsibility for matters relating to immigration policy
10	1	2.9	2.7	16	Country has benefited from EU membership
	0				
11		2.8		23j	Level of political responsibility for matters relating to agriculture and fishing policy

STATEMENTS ABOUT CURRENT POLICY ISSUES

What is your opinion on each of the following proposals? Please tell me for each proposal whether you are for it or against it

All things considered, how well informed do you feel you are about the European Union, its policies and its institutions? (very well, quite well, not very well, not at all well, don't know)

Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (our country) as on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?

12	1	2.1	1.8	23q	Level of political responsibility for matters relating to cultural policy
	8				
13	1	2.1	1.9	22/1	Support for single European currency
	6				
14	1	2.0	2	40	Pride in nationality
	1				
15	1	2.0	2	441c	Unification of Europe is important priority
	2			4	
16	1	1.9	1.9	19	European identity
	4				
17	1	1.9	1.9	442c	Committed to unification of Europe
	3			4	
18	1	1.9	1.9	22/9	Teaching children in school about EU
	7				
	2		9.1	23e	Level of political responsibility for matters relating to health and social welfare
	3		4	23r	Level of political responsibility for matters relating to rules for political asylum

Would you say you are proud, fairly proud, not very proud or not at all proud to be (nationality)?

PRIORITIES OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS/RESPONDENTS

Would you please tell me which three of the following aims you think the (nationality) government should address as a priority? b) and which are the three aims you personally would be most willing to commit yourself to?

In the near future, do you see yourself as nationality only, nationality and European, European and nationality, European only, Don't know?

5	3.4	8	Knowledge of how the EU is organised	In general, would you say you know very well or not at all well how the EU is organised and works?
7	3.3	23a	Level of political responsibility for matters relating to defence	
9	2.8	23l	Level of political responsibility for matters relating to supporting regions in economic trouble	

However, we cannot know the distribution of these attitudes by socioeconomic groups, by ethnicity or by regions within member states. Why? Because the Eurobarometer do not have that data. Unless each file sent by each member institutions includes these demographic questions (ethnicity, region and socioeconomic group, among others), there is no way to cross-tabulate attitudes -- as inferred from any EB -- with these variables.

What is a European Citizenship question?

There are some questions that we have selected as relevant to researching the attitudes towards EU citizenship, even though they did not explicitly contain the expression EU citizenship or despite not being included under a citizenship heading by the EB. For example, we selected questions about employment, immigration and racism. What was the criterion? This is the key problem of definition of citizenship as a survey variable. Every researcher has to make informed and theoretically sound decisions as to what citizenship is all about, and then proceed to break it up into variables and design appropriate questions.

Not surprisingly, though all six countries studied have used a certain number of common questions on European integration, there are substantial differences between the European questions in their domestic surveys. The surveys reviewed show different priorities and agendas for European integration in different countries. For example, only the French surveys give their respondents the choice between a Federal Europe and a Europe of Nations, as in the CSA Opinion-France Inter exit polls conducted on 13/06/99. Only questions found in the Swedish questionnaires ask the respondents whether their opinion towards the Euro would be influenced by the decision of a second country (Denmark; SIFO survey 1999). We have not found anywhere else a national survey linking the behavior of citizens of two member states. Furthermore, the German surveys are the only ones to ask about the pride of being European, Europe as a fatherland, but also about more specific things such as payment of pensions abroad; the harmonisation of motorway tolls, and key institutional issues such as the hierarchy of competences (who has the final competence for environmental protection). Only the UK fails to give the possible answer of European feeling when surveying its citizens on feelings of nationalism (British Social Attitudes survey 1999).

The long-standing use of the Eurobarometer in all countries studied, except in Sweden, allows comparison of the responses to a common set of questions. We have argued that the Eurobarometer has studied citizens' attitudes to a very wide range of European issues. However, not all of these questions allow us to understand people's allegiances. For example, it is doubtful that degrees of awareness about how much of the EU budget is spent in the Common Agricultural Policy can help us study allegiances. And yet that question was used in the factorial analysis of Eurobarometer 45 (1996). Hence, we have focused on citizen's attitudes to citizenship.

In this sub-group of European attitudinal research, we are left with the questionnaires designed and the data gathered by Eurobarometers. The 1998 Runnymede Trust and the Commission for Racial Equality survey in the UK and the 1994 CIS survey on European feelings of the Spanish people stand out as the most focused on feelings of belonging and European identity among the domestic studies. These two studies focused on loyalty as the key underlying

theory that describes the relationship between individuals and government. Accordingly, they ask about 'images' of Europe, of the self, and of the national community. Not surprisingly, the loyalty to Europe scores very low levels. A theoretically inspired criticism of this approach is that there is a mismatch between the nature of the relationship between citizens and Europe and the theory of emotional loyalty to an institution. The latter was largely developed in the XIX century to rally support for the nation-state projects, and has been buttressed ever since by a mandatory common language and a mass education/religious system. The distilled product is XX century emotional loyalty. This should not be a surprise, but the natural hypothesis derived from a widespread understanding of the nation-state project. Moreover, if that system had been completely successful, then the proportion of people who embrace Europeanness alone (the alternative hypothesis), given these type of questions, could not be more than 5%, a standard level of statistical confidence. We can safely conclude that something is wrong with this hypothesis, in light of the fact that those who regard themselves more as Europeans are 42% among Italian youth, and 21% in British youth, leaving Germany and France in the middle of that interval, according to the latest MORI survey for TIME FORTUNE (Time, April 2, 2001; p. 46). [Insert here average for EU15 from latest Eurobarometer] Defenders of the loyalty model will claim that they still command the majority of the population, or that emotional attachment and loyalty can be shared on a number of levels. But they will be advised to be careful. While it is true that the levels of Europeanness drop dramatically when asking people to pick a first and second geographic space if they are given the option of identification with their local towns and cities, the levels of identification with the nation also drop. For example, an above average pro-European country such as Spain scores only 1% as respondents who select Europe as their first level of geographic identification, and only 4.3% do it as second (1994 CIS survey on European feelings), but the rate of 'national' (i.e. Spanish) identification also plummets and the unified loyalty is shattered.

A similar predominance of the national level is one of the key limitations of the Eurobarometer to test the loyalty hypothesis. Every variable is presented by country, and complementary analysis by federal states or by regions is not supplied. Indeed, one could safely assume that this is not made available by the survey agencies, even though they should have used them in sampling.

As far as the practical meaning of European citizenship in Eurobarometers, DG X of the Commission has supplemented the loyalty model by following the Marshall evolutionary, rights-based definition of citizenship as consisting on civil, political and economic rights. Hence, the first question regarding citizenship that becomes a staple question is 'feeling European', with choices that exclude identification with regions and towns. We have argued that it is only in 1996 when a wider concern with citizenship emerges. Then, the second most common citizenship question concerns awareness of citizens' rights

(civil/political citizenship), and reliability of institutions of government (political citizenship) which evolves into questions of access to information about citizens rights (particularly dominant for the period 1998-2000). The loyalty model, which so dominated citizenship questionnaires in Europe, could also be seen in the introduction of questions about fears (negative expectations for the future), trust (between peoples as in EB 46, of immigrant groups as in Euroinion 10, 1997), and acceptance of cultural difference (EB 48, 1998, including section 6 on the European year against Racism).

Of course, although there have been questions in Eurobarometers about employment and social and economic rights, we are merely describing the fact that they have not been linked with citizenship in formulating questions. Furthermore, the re-focus of citizenship questions on issues of access to information and the media seems to suggest that European citizenship risks becoming and even more soft-core Public Relations concern in the age of the Internet.

This linkage between questions that explicitly tackle citizenship and issues that are related but are not presented as citizenship provides us the opportunity to put more interesting theories to the test.

Even within the loyalty view, also known as the national-liberal model of citizenship, of which all West European countries participate to a large extent, some interesting relationships should be explored. The detail of the social and demographic questions asked by the Spanish surveys on the European Union would allow a researcher to cross-tabulate the feelings of attachment to the locality/province/nation/Europe with actual places of birth, therefore telling us whether sub-state nationalisms are or not pro-European and in what sense. Moreover, the variable 'feeling European' could be cross-tabulated with socio-economic status, to explore if it is only the upper classes who feel European while the worse off lie in fear of cheap imports and globalization. Only the British Social Attitudes surveys and the ISSP 1995 National Identity in Germany have a design comparable to the Spanish ones and including such socio-demographic variables. Yet alas the former is not too concerned about identification with Europe, so that we do not have the 'feeling European' variable in that dataset. The factorial analysis conducted in EB 47.2 tells us what types of attitudinal profiles can be found across Europe, but their ultimate theoretical and empirical relevance is limited. What are we to make of the fact that 14% of European women have an attitudinal profile labeled 'middle-of-the-roads'? Though there is nothing more practical than a good theory, the idea behind this attitudinal profiling is not very practical.

We could use statistical analysis to test other theories of the relationship between individuals and the state. Let us assume Van Kersbergen (2000: 5) definition of allegiance, following Milward (1997) in a utilitarian way as 'the willingness of a national public to approve of and to support the decisions made by a government, in return for a more or less immediate reward to which the

public is entitled on the basis of it having rendered approval and support'. Even without the benefit of designing ad-hoc questions, we could cross-tabulate the subjective assessment of whether a country has benefited from EU membership with the opinion on the best level of political responsibility for certain policies. Ideally, the EB should make more specific questions under the umbrella of the overall 'benefit from EU membership', so that answers on the benefit to a country from EU membership in health and social welfare could be cross-tabulated with support to European level of political responsibility in social affairs. Utilitarian allegiance would have us predict that a given benefit from EU membership should correlate positively with support for European responsibility in that policy field. Unlike in the loyalty/identity theory, the Eurobarometer is not designed in a way that allows an easy test 'of-the-shelf', but our hypothesis is that the relation between the two will not be statistically significant in areas of social and economic policy. It would be partly easier to test in a similar way the relationship between the actual political participation of citizens in their local, national and European institutions and their support for certain forms of institutional reform. We are not thinking about simple voting patterns, but of cross-tabulating questions about the perceived importance of the European Parliament in the future and agreement with the statement 'the European Commission should have support from the European Parliament'.

Unfortunately, sociological imagination alone will not be able to squeeze as much out of the data currently available as if theories of citizenship had informed the design of the questionnaires. For that, we can list examples of best practices that we have encountered. Together with the theoretically inspired hypothesis-testing outlined above, they should ensure that surveys become much more productive.

- Behavioural and classification questions should complement attitudinal variables. The 1994 CIS survey in Spain asked for factual information about international travel experience, in addition to other classification variables such as income, region of residence, vote in national elections and vote in European elections. When it came to probing attitudes, this Spanish survey was the boldest in presenting anti-European situations (e.g. do you agree that Spanish products should be protected from competition from other EU member states?, see section on Spain for further examples).
- The Eurobarometer 48 (1998) presented the most detailed questionnaire about attitudes of acceptance (rejection) of cultural differences and ways of seeing minorities (see section on European Union). It also included questions about equal opportunities in employment.
- The Eurobarometer 47.2, which included questions for 15-24 year olds, did also a good job at offering a wide range of possible answers to each question, not restricting people in pro-integration multiple choices. For example, respondents could forecast the disappearance of the EU in 10 years

time, acknowledge feeling "uneasy" in the presence of people of different race, religion, or nationality.

- The British Module on Nationalism in BSA 1999 did not include feelings of Europeaness, but will be able to explore nationalism by ethnicity, which is not possible in the rest of the countries analyzed, and was remarkably crafty in measuring attitudes through behaviour in everyday situations (e.g. would you ask your next door neighbour for butter?, would you ask for directions?, etc.)
- The CSA Opinion-France Inter poll (13/6/1999) simplified the task enormously and therefore created a control question for every other domestic and European survey. They asked citizens whether they felt enthusiastic, confident, indifferent. Worried, or hostile (and presumably some other adjectives) when they thought about the construction of Europe.
- The Swedish SIFO survey presented respondents with the scenario of Denmark joining the Euro. Since political theory has developed complex historical accounts of how some countries have influenced others, this seems a very clever design that could be used more often.

Conclusion

The reason why the Eurobarometer provides the benchmark for European opinion is because it is run by DG X of the European Commission, perhaps the only institution in the world genuinely concerned about European public opinion. Having reviewed the questions, one cannot help a feeling of dismay at the answers. EB 47.1 opened by stating that the survey shows 'a worrying level of racism and xenophobia in Member States, with nearly 33% of those interviewed openly describing themselves as 'quite racist' or 'very racist'. In the same special report, the EU15 average of opinion about the institutions and political establishment shows that only 24% have a positive opinion, while 43% have a negative and the remaining 33% critical. Finally, EB 52 (published in April 2000) shows that the EU average support for EU membership has remained almost flat between 1981 and 1999, except for a pick in 1991. It is currently 51%, reportedly up from 50% earlier in 1999. Those who think membership is a bad thing are the same in number since 1981 at 13%, and those who think it is neither good nor bad have not changed either over the past 20 years and remain accounting for 27% of the opinion. In other words, the EU might even lose a EU-wide referendum about EU membership, specially bearing in mind that the likely turnout could be just 57% (the average in 1999 European Parliament elections).

The conclusion is that citizenship sits at the crossroads of problems in its two dimensions: politico-constitutional, where people's participation in their democratic institutions is conspicuous by its absence; and identity/multicultural; where people's allegiance to their local groups and their high levels of racism and xenophobia do not warrant a boring social life.

That is why in addition to more theoretically informed statistical analysis, we should explore the process of opinion formation and the relationship between variables that people themselves make, not that we can derive from our secondary analysis. Face-to-face interviews, and focus groups shall help us understand the nature and the likely outcome of this wave of 'watchful consent'. Every major political party uses them to define their strategy across Europe. It is high time that they are used in the same systematic way to test our political theories.

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