

**Perceptions of Europe in political and economic elites.  
A geographical compared analysis of  
Germany, Spain and Poland**

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*"I do not need to tell you either how necessary or how urgent it is that the peoples of Europe should unite. You would not be here were you not already convinced of that. Your views differ only with regard to the immediate objectives of such unification, the methods to be employed and perhaps the rate at which reforms should be carried out"*

(Speech by Robert Schuman, in Council of Europe-Consultative Assembly)  
(Strasbourg, 10 December 1951)

## **Introduction**

Processes of European integration and EU's political development and institution building are shaped by interactions between elites and masses. While large empirical evidence is available revealing mass attitudes and orientations towards processes of European integration and identity building there is still a serious deficit of systematic comparative research on European elites (Best, Cotta and Verzichelli, 2005).

Elite perception about Europe is a significant point to understanding the current European integration process as well as the future perspectives for the continent (Slater, 1994; Wessels 1999; Holmberg, 1999; Jenny, Pollak and Slominski, 2006).

To a certain extent since European elites are predominantly national elites "operating together" at the European level, we can count upon a rich collection of studies existing at the national level. Yet these studies have been conducted fundamentally from a national perspective and without a systematic reference to the specific problems of the EU. In order to gain a comprehensive knowledge from a systematic retrieval of these studies has arisen the INTUNE ("Integrated and United. A Quest for Citizenship in an Ever Closer Europe") Project, approved under the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission<sup>1</sup>.

This study, as a part of the INTUNE project, makes a specific comparison among the perceptions which political and economical elites in some European countries have about the European Union process and its

instruments of government. The main goal is, on the one hand, to identify the differences in the positions of each type of elites, in addition to the variations among countries; on the other hand, to find out which is more important –and to what degree– in influencing how Europe is perceived: the type of elite (economic or political) or its territorial factor. In other words, we will trace an interpretation of the current patterns of agreement and/or deviancy among the elites' within the EU, and more importantly, provide an explanation about variations between some specific countries in Europe: Germany, Spain and Poland.

### **Methodology**

We have used the database coming from the INTUNE Project Survey on European Elites and Masses. The questionnaire was applied between February and May, 2007, in 18 European countries (all of them members of the European Union, except Serbia). Table 1 details the distribution of interviews by country and type of elite.

**Table 1**  
**Elite interviews by country**

Country	Political elite	Economic elite	Total
Austria	44	21	65
Belgium	75	0	75
Bulgary	83	45	128
Czech Republic	80	42	122
Denmark	60	40	100
Estonia	33	40	73
France	78	40	118
<b>Germany</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>123</b>
United Kingdom	45	16	61
Greece	86	12	98
Hungary	80	42	122
Italy	84	42	126
Lithuania	80	40	120
<b>Poland</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>122</b>
Portugal	80	40	120
Serbia	80	40	120
Slovakia	80	40	120
<b>Spain</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>149</b>
Total	1308	625	1962

In the analysis we have shown some general descriptive statistics about the perception of Europe taking as a reference two specific dimensions of the INTUNE project with some variables:

1. Identity:

- Attachment to different levels of political communities.
- Most important elements to be a truly national citizen.
- Most important aspects to be a truly European citizen.
- Threats against the cohesion of the UE.

2. Representation:

- Position about representation (only Political Elites).
- Trust in institutions.
- National-European power sharing.

In addition, we have added a third dimension called general situation and future, where we have asked about:

- Benefits from being a member of the European Union.
- Main goals of the UE in the future.

The results are presented distinguishing between political (national MP's in low chambers) and economical elites (presidents of corporations, general managers...) and, at the same time, among three countries: Germany as an original member of the European Union, Spain, incorporated in 1986, and Poland, a new member since 2004 (Rae, 2007). Our proposal is to take into consideration the time as member states in order to show possible differences among these states. Germany, among other states in Western Europe, is an original member since 1957 (Schweiger, 2006). Today is one of the most –maybe the most– important cornerstones in the European

Union with a long and non interrupted democratic tradition since the end of the Second World War. Spain, in Southern Europe, became member the first of January of 1986, as a clear example of a country with a restored democracy after almost 40 years of dictatorship, and with a membership of more than 20 years. (Heywood & Clossa, 2004) Poland, as a post-communist country, is a very new member with only four years.

## Analysis

### *Dimension 1: Identity*

#### **Attachment to different levels of political communities**

As can be seen below, Polish elites are more attached to the state (and sub-state) levels than in Germany and Spain, despite the fact that in the case of economic elites, they show a stronger identification to Europe than Germany and Spanish elites. Political elites, generally speaking, tend to develop more ties towards the different sub-state levels. Both elites in the three countries express a very strong identification with the European level, higher than 90%, although economic elite in Germany is notably less pro-European (83.7%); at the same, pro-European positions in Poland and Spain are more visible among economic elites than political ones.

**Table 2**  
**Attachment to different levels of political communities**

		To feel attachment to their town		To feel attachment to their region		To feel attachment to their country		To feel attachment to Europe	
		Political Economic		Political Economic		Political Economic		Political Economic	
		Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite
Austria	%	92,5	88,6	92,6	80	97,5	94,3	86,4	82,9
	N	80	35	81	35	81	35	81	35
Belgium	%	95	61,4	88,8	56,8	73,8	79,1	88,8	86,4
	N	80	44	80	44	80	43	80	44
Bulgaria	%	98,8	80	95,1	77,3	100	93,2	80,49	59,5
	N	81	45	81	44	83	44	82	42
Czech Republic	%	97,5	78,6	96,3	63,4	100	85,7	75	78
	N	80	42	80	41	80	42	80	41
Denmark	%	93,3	67,5	80	65	98,3	95	89,8	80
	N	60	40	60	40	60	40	59	40
Estonia	%	95,8	95	85,7	70	100	100	84,1	90
	N	71	40	70	40	71	40	69	40
France	%	96,3	70	79,7	62,5	98,8	95,2	88,6	95,2
	N	80	40	79	40	80	42	79	42

<b>Germany</b>	%	<b>98,7</b>	81,4	<b>83,3</b>	69,8	<b>94,9</b>	90,7	<b>94,9</b>	83,7
	N	78	43	78	40	78	43	78	43
Great Britain	%	95,9	93,3	84	95	76	90	44	70
	N	49	15	50	20	50	20	50	20
Greece	%	96,6	75	95,5	71	98,9	93,9	80,7	74,2
	N	87	32	88	31	89	33	99	31
Hungary	%	100	73,8	76,3	64,3	98,8	90,5	80	87,8
	N	79	42	80	42	80	42	82	41
Italy	%	93,9	90,2	89,2	65,9	94	100	92,7	83,3
	N	82	41	83	41	84	42	70	42
Lithuania	%	94,7	89,7	79,7	72,2	97,4	97,4	84,3	78,4
	N	76	39	69	36	77	38	80	37
<b>Poland</b>	%	<b>100</b>	<b>92,7</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97,6</b>	93,8	<b>97,6</b>
	N	80	41	80	41	80	42	80	42
Portugal	%	91,1	87,5	80,0	65	98,8	100	96	95
	N	79	40	80	40	80	40	80	40
Slovakia	%	97,5	87,5	93,8	75	97,5	92,5	91,3	75
	N	80	40	80	40	80	40	80	40
<b>Spain</b>	%	<b>96,8</b>	81,8	<b>95,7</b>	69,1	93,5	96,4	91,5	<b>92,7</b>
	N	94	55	94	55	93	55	94	55
Western Europe	%	94,6	73,0	85,4	68,7	89,5	90,6	81,9	84,5
	N	349	174	350	179	351	180	349	181
Postcommunist countries	%	97,4	83,9	88,0	70,4	98,9	93,1	84,6	78,0
	N	467	248	460	243	471	246	461	241
Southern Europe	%	94,0	85,0	92,8	67	97,2	98,3	89,6	85
	N	248	113	251	112	253	115	250	113
Total	%	96,2	81,5	89,3	69,7	95,6	93,7	86,5	83,7
	N	1316	674	1313	673	1326	681	1312	675

Source: IntUne elite interviewing- first wave, 2007.

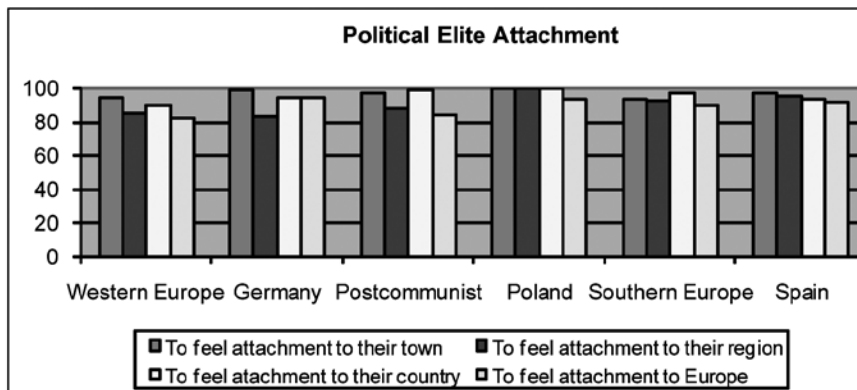
Question: People feel different degrees of attachment to their town or village, to their region, to their country and to Europe. What about you? Are you very attached, somewhat attached, not very attached or not at all attached to the following: your town/village; your 'region'; your country; Europe. Answer option: very attached; somewhat attached; not very attached; not at all attached; DK / can't say (volunteered); Refuse (volunteered).

Note: % percentage of elite who answer very or somewhat attached.

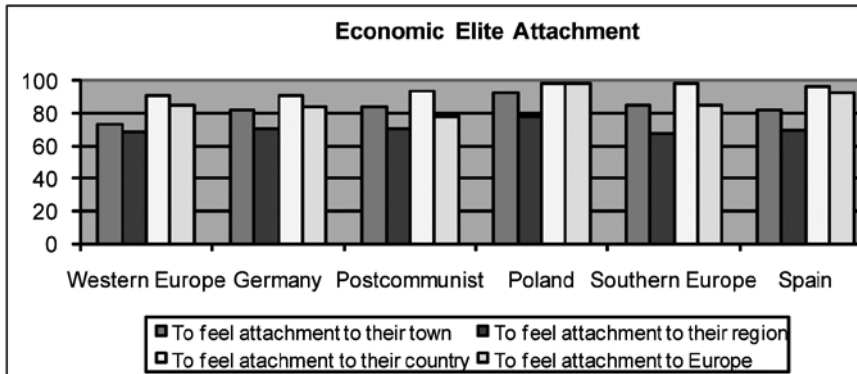
**Summary table 2**

		To feel attachment to their town		To feel attachment to their region		To feel attachment to their country		To feel attachment to Europe	
		Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite
Germany	%	98,7	81,4	83,3	69,8	94,9	90,7	<b>94,9</b>	83,7
Poland	%	<b>100</b>	<b>92,7</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>100</b>	97,6	93,8	<b>97,6</b>
Spain	%	96,8	81,8	95,7	69,1	93,5	96,4	91,5	92,7
Western Europe	%	94,6	73,0	85,4	68,7	89,5	90,6	81,9	84,5
Postcommunist countries	%	97,4	83,9	88,0	70,4	98,9	93,1	84,6	78,0
Southern Europe	%	94,0	85,0	92,8	67	97,2	<b>98,3</b>	89,6	85
Total	%	96,2	81,5	89,3	69,7	95,6	93,7	86,5	83,7

**Graphic 1**  
Attachment to different levels of political communities (Political Elite)



**Graphic 2**  
Attachment to different levels of political communities (Economic Elite)



**Elements to be a national citizen**

While “being Christian” is highly emphasized by political as well economic elites in Poland in order to be a national citizen, it has much less importance in Germany and, particularly in Spain. At the same time, “to share cultural traditions” is dramatically important in Poland, but less demanded in Germany and even less in Spain, particularly among political elites. There are greater territorial differences related to the question “to be



born in the country” and to “have national parents”. Poland, as well as the postcommunist group, gives a large importance to both elements, while they are less relevant in Spain and, specially in Germany and Western Europe, showing no difference between economic and political elites. Regarding the relevance of “feeling national”, it is stronger in Spain than in Germany but, above all, in Poland, with cent per cent in both elites.

**Table 3**  
**Most important elements to be a truly national citizen**

		To be Christian (to be a national citizen)		To share cultural traditions (to be a national citizen)		To be born in the country (to be a national citizen)		To have national parents (to be a national citizen)	
		Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite
Austria	%	30,9	20	81,5	82,9	33,3	28,6	25,9	17,1
	N	81	35	81	35	81	35	81	35
Belgium	%	12,5	14	55	79,5	39,2	47,7	39,2	50
	N	80	43	80	44	79	44	79	44
Bulgaria	%	69,6	61,4	98,8	97,7	75,6	72,7	83,8	84,1
	N	79	44	81	44	82	44	80	44
Czech Republic	%	25	7,3	96,3	81	70	45,2	81,3	54,8
	N	80	41	80	42	80	42	80	42
Denmark	%	25,4	32,5	89,7	70	31,7	42,5	38,9	38,5
	N	59	40	58	40	60	40	59	39
Estonia	%	40,3	10	97,2	95	83,3	70	83,3	72,5
	N	72	40	72	40	72	40	72	40
France	%	21	11,6	92,6	86	51,9	27,9	61,7	55,8
	N	81	43	81	43	81	43	81	43
<b>Germany</b>	%	20,5	<b>40,5</b>	80,8	<b>90,7</b>	11,5	<b>44,2</b>	11,5	<b>62,8</b>
	N	78	42	78	43	78	43	78	43
Great Britain	%	10	21,1	81,6	89,5	16	5,3	14	57,9
	N	50	19	49	19	50	19	50	19
Greece	%	57,8	41,7	84,4	75	57,8	47,2	66,7	66,7
	N	90	36	90	36	90	36	90	36
Hungary	%	33,8	20,5	100	97,6	59,5	51,2	79,5	65,9
	N	80	39	79	42	79	41	78	41
Italy	%	48,8	45,2	86,9	92,9	71,4	64,3	73,8	69,0
	N	84	42	84	42	84	42	84	42
Lithuania	%	47,5	45	88,8	77,5	56,25	67,5	72,5	85
	N	80	40	80	40	80	40	80	40
<b>Poland</b>	%	<b>76,3</b>	50	98,8	<b>100</b>	<b>77,5</b>	61,9	<b>86,3</b>	78,6
	N	80	42	80	42	80	42	80	42
Portugal	%	26,3	35	93,8	95	66,3	70	77,5	75
	N	80	40	80	40	80	40	80	40
Slovakia	%	40	17,9	97,5	82,1	55	43,6	61,3	46,2
	N	80	39	80	39	80	39	80	39
<b>Spain</b>	%	14,0	<b>27,3</b>	72,8	<b>87,3</b>	<b>69,9</b>	63,6	<b>64,5</b>	56,4
	N	93	55	92	55	93	55	93	55
Western Europe	%	20,5	19,4	79,4	80,7	36,2	33,7	37,7	43,3
	N	351	180	349	181	351	181	350	180

Postcommunist countries	%	42,7	27,6	96,4	88,7	66,4	58,5	76,8	68,3
	N	471	243	472	247	473	246	470	246
Southern Europe	%	44,9	40,7	88,2	88,1	65	61	72,4	70,3
	N	254	118	254	118	254	118	254	118
Total	%	35,9	29,9	87,9	87,2	55,8	52,1	61,5	61,4
	N	1327	680	1325	686	1329	685	1325	684

Source: IntUne Elite interviewing- first wave, first wave 2007.

Question: People differ in what they think it means to be (national). In your view, how important is each of the following to be (national)? To be Christian; To share (country) cultural traditions; To be born in (country); To have (national) parents; To respect (national) laws and institutions; To feel (national); To master language of the country; To be a country citizen. Answer: very important, somewhat important, not very important, not important at all, DK; Refusal.

Note: % of elite who answer very or somewhat important.

**Table 3 (cont.)**

		To respect (national) laws and institutions		To feel national (to be a national citizen)		To master language (to be a national citizen)		To be a country citizen (to be a national citizen)	
		Political	Economic	Political	Economic	Political	Economic	Political	Economic
		Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite
Austria	%	95,1	88,6	88,9	85,7	88,9	94,3	67,9	57,1
	N	81	35	81	35	81	35	81	35
Belgium	%	92,5	95,5	59,0	79,1	91,3	100	70	73,8
	N	79	44	78	43	80	43	80	42
Bulgaria	%	98,8	93,2	98,8	100	98,8	97,7	91,5	93,2
	N	80	44	80	44	82	44	82	44
Czech Republic	%	93,8	88,1	97,5	76,2	96,3	90,5	78,8	66,7
	N	80	42	80	42	80	42	80	42
Denmark	%	100,0	100,0	94,9	92,5	98,3	95	86,4	75
	N	60	40	59	40	60	40	59	40
Estonia	%	98,6	100,0	97,2	97,5	95,8	100	87,5	92,5
	N	72	40	72	43	72	40	72	40
France	%	96,3	88,4	92,6	88,4	95,1	90,7	85,7	81,4
	N	81	43	81	43	81	43	56	43
<b>Germany</b>	%	<b>93,6</b>	88,4	61	<b>76,7</b>	98,7	<b>100</b>	68,8	<b>74,4</b>
	N	78	43	77	43	77	43	77	43
Great Britain	%	98	84,2	89,6	68,4	100	94,7	89,8	88,9
	N	50	19	48	19	50	19	49	18
Greece	%	93,3	83,3	95,6	88,9	82,2	77,8	74,4	52,8
	N	90	36	90	36	90	36	90	36
Hungary	%	90,7	67,5	100	94,9	98,8	100	54,5	45,2
	N	75	40	79	39	80	42	77	42
Italy	%	98,8	90,5	92,9	90,5	88,1	90,5	83,3	81
	N	84	42	84	42	84	42	84	42
Lithuania	%	95	87,5	97,5	90	95	92,5	87,5	72,5
	N	80	40	80	40	80	40	80	40
<b>Poland</b>	%	<b>93,8</b>	81,0	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	88,8	<b>97,6</b>	<b>81,3</b>	69
	N	80	42	80	42	80	42	80	42
Portugal	%	97,5	97,5	97,5	100	98,8	100	93,8	75
	N	80	40	80	40	80	40	80	40
Slovakia	%	92,5	92,3	93,8	76,9	93,8	94,9	77,5	65,8
	N	80	39	80	39	80	39	80	38

<b>Spain</b>	%	93,5	<b>98,2</b>	82,6	<b>89,1</b>	84,9	<b>94,5</b>	79,6	<b>80</b>
	N	93	55	92	55	93	55	93	55
Western Europe	%	96,0	92,3	84,1	84,4	94,0	95	78,2	74,2
	N	352	181	347	180	352	180	325	178
Postcommunist countries	%	94,9	88,2	97,5	89,3	96,4	96	79,6	72,8
	N	469	245	471	244	474	247	471	246
Southern Europe	%	96,5	90,7	95,3	93,2	89,4	89,8	83,5	70,3
	N	254	118	254	118	254	118	254	118
<b>Total</b>	%	95,2	90,1	90,5	88,6	93,3	94,9	79,5	73,2
	N	1326	684	1321	682	1330	685	1300	682

**Summary table 3**

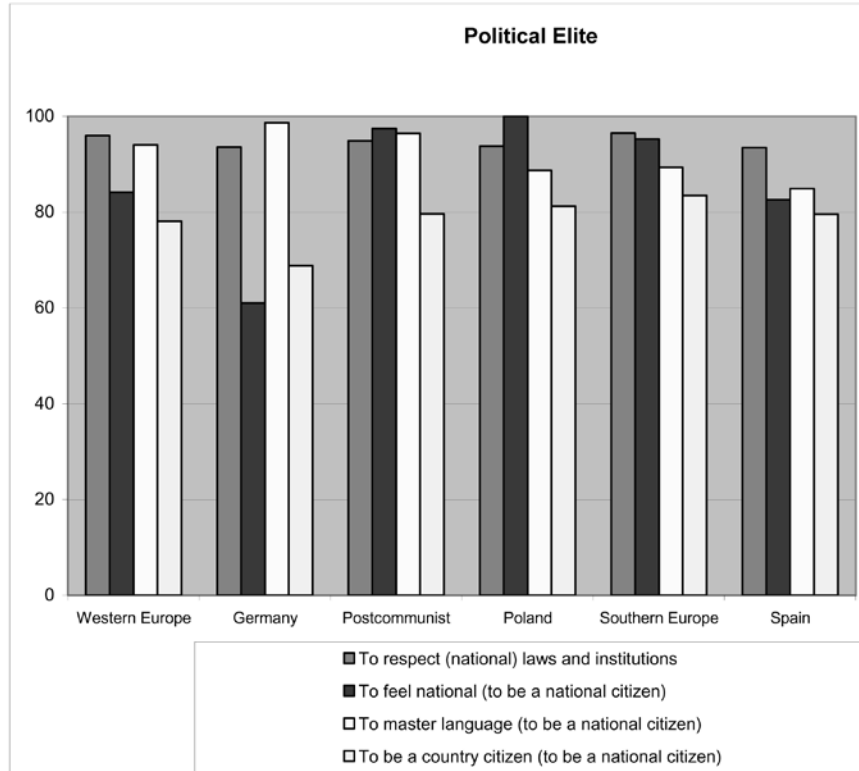
		To be Christian (to be a national citizen)		To share cultural traditions (to be a national citizen)		To be born in the country (to be a national citizen)		To have national parents (to be a national citizen)	
		Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite
		Germany	%	20,5	40,5	80,8	90,7	11,5	44,2
Poland	%	<b>76,3</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>98,8</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>77,5</b>	61,9	<b>86,3</b>	<b>78,6</b>
Spain	%	14,0	27,3	72,8	87,3	69,9	<b>63,6</b>	64,5	56,4
Western Europe	%	20,5	19,4	79,4	80,7	36,2	33,7	37,7	43,3
Postcommunist countries	%	42,7	27,6	96,4	88,7	66,4	58,5	76,8	68,3
Southern Europe	%	44,9	40,7	88,2	88,1	65	61	72,4	70,3
<b>Total</b>	%	35,9	29,9	87,9	87,2	55,8	52,1	61,5	61,4

**Graphic 3**

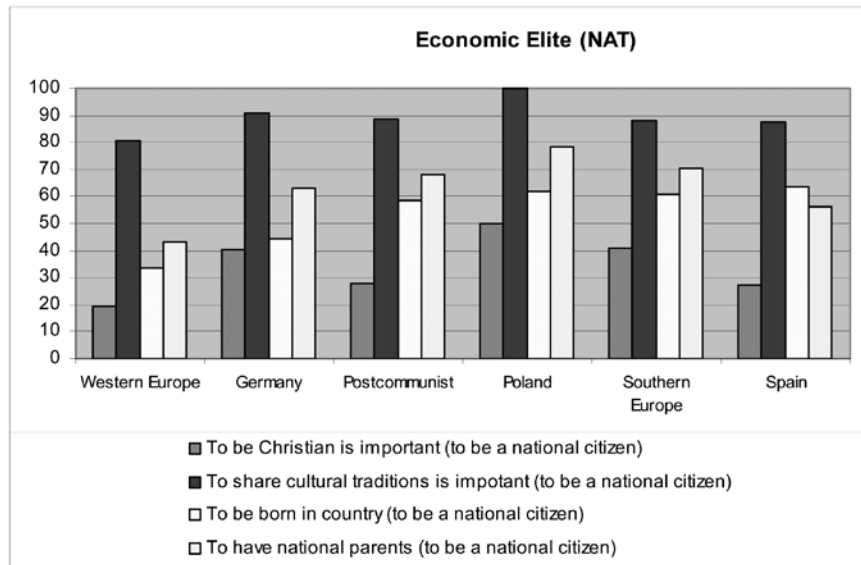
**Most important elements to be a truly national citizen (Political Elite)**



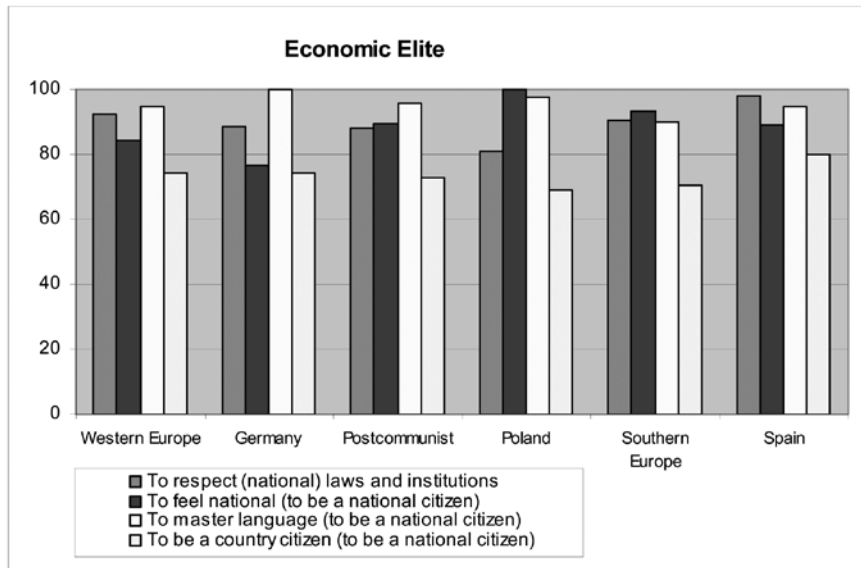
Graphic 3. 2 (cont.)



**Graphic 4**  
**Most important elements to be a truly national citizen (Economic Elite)**



**Graphic 4.2 (cont.)**



## Elements to be a European citizen

**Table 4**  
**Most important aspects to be a truly European citizen**

		To be Christian is important to be a European		To share European cultural traditions is important to be a European		To born in Europe is important to be a European		To have European parents is important to be a European	
		Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite
Austria	%	21,5	23,5	75,9	85,3	37,2	26,5	35,9	23,5
	N	79	34	79	34	78	34	78	34
Belgium	%	10,3	9,3	81,3	88,6	21,3	47,7	26,3	54,5
	N	78	43	80	44	80	44	80	44
Bulgaria	%	48,1	29,5	91,3	95,6	43,8	66,7	44,3	57,8
	N	81	44	80	45	80	45	79	45
Czech Republic	%	33,3	19,5	85,9	81	46,8	45,2	51,9	40,5
	N	78	41	78	42	79	42	79	42
Denmark	%	22	27,5	66,7	62,5	36,2	32,5	31,6	42,5
	N	59	40	57	40	58	40	57	40
Estonia	%	47,2	21,1	95,8	87,2	78,3	66,7	76,4	61,5
	N	72	38	71	39	69	39	72	39
France	%	23,4	17,9	81,1	94,4	56,6	35,9	52,6	66,7
	N	77	39	74	36	76	39	76	39
<b>Germany</b>	%	27,8	<b>37,2</b>	84,4	<b>90,7</b>	23,8	<b>53,5</b>	22,8	<b>58,1</b>
	N	79	43	77	43	80	43	79	43
Great Britain	%	4	5	70,2	75	24	25	18	35
	N	50	20	47	20	50	20	50	20
Greece	%	32,9	26,5	77,4	88,2	53,5	42,4	50,6	47,1
	N	85	34	84	34	86	33	85	34
Hungary	%	36,3	19	98,8	97,6	48,8	45,2	57,5	66,7
	N	80	42	80	41	80	42	80	42
Italy	%	44	28,6	86,7	81	67,5	66,7	56,6	45,2
	N	84	42	83	42	83	42	83	42
Lithuania	%	40	33,3	82,9	84,6	45,9	51,3	60	46,2
	N	75	39	76	39	74	39	75	39
<b>Poland</b>	%	<b>64,6</b>	38,1	92,5	<b>97,6</b>	<b>64,6</b>	59,5	<b>72,2</b>	57,1
	N	79	42	80	42	79	42	79	42
Portugal	%	16,3	30	87,3	87,5	63,8	60	53,8	70
	N	80	40	79	40	80	40	80	40
Slovakia	%	43	15,8	91,3	86,8	59,5	36,8	64,6	39,5
	N	79	38	80	38	79	38	79	38
<b>Spain</b>	%	15,4	<b>25,9</b>	75,5	<b>85,5</b>	<b>54,8</b>	54,5	<b>48,9</b>	43,6
	N	91	54	94	55	93	55	92	55
Western Europe	%	16,9	17,6	76	81,6	35,7	35	34	46,3
	N	343	176	337	174	342	177	341	177
Postcommunist countries	%	41,3	23,1	91	88,9	53,4	52,2	58,8	52,2
	N	465	242	465	244	461	245	464	245
Southern Europe	%	31,3	28,4	83,7	85,3	61,4	57,4	53,6	54,3
	N	249	116	246	116	249	115	248	116
Total	%	31,8	24,7	84,3	86,8	49,2	49,3	49,3	51,0
	N	1306	673	1299	674	1304	677	1303	678

Source: IntUne elite interviewing, first wave 2007.

Question: People differ in what they think it means to be a European. In your view,

how important is each of the following to be a European?: a. To be a Christian; b. To share European cultural traditions ;c. To be born in Europe ; c. To have European parents; e. To respect the European Union's laws and institutions f. To feel European; g. To master a European language. Answer: very important, somewhat important, not very important, not important at all, DKs, and refusal (V). Note: % of elite who answer very or somewhat important

**Table 4 (cont.)**

		To respect European Unions laws and institutions is important to be a European		To feel European is important to be a European		To master an European language is important to be a European	
		Political	Economic	Political	Economic	Political	Economic
		Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite
Austria	%	93,7	97,1	92,4	94,1	96,2	97,1
	N	79	34	79	34	79	34
Belgium	%	92,5	97,7	88,6	86	91,3	97,7
	N	80	44	79	43	80	44
Bulgaria	%	97,5	100	93,8	95,6	84,8	95,5
	N	81	45	80	45	79	44
Czech Republic	%	87,3	83,3	92,4	81	94,9	92,9
	N	79	42	79	42	78	42
Denmark	%	93,2	92,5	84,5	87,2	93,2	95
	N	59	40	58	39	59	40
Estonia	%	97,2	100	95,8	100	100	100
	N	72	39	72	39	72	39
France	%	94,7	92,5	96,1	97,4	92,1	97,5
	N	75	40	76	39	76	40
<b>Germany</b>	%	90	<b>90,7</b>	81,3	<b>88,4</b>	91,3	<b>95,3</b>
	N	80	43	80	43	80	43
Great Britain	%	86	80	86	85	94	95
	N	50	20	50	20	50	20
Greece	%	96,5	94,3	98,9	97,1	90,7	91,2
	N	85	35	87	34	86	34
Hungary	%	91,1	87,8	98,7	97,6	96,3	92,9
	N	79	41	78	41	80	42
Italy	%	97,6	97,6	93,8	85,7	92,9	92,9
	N	82	42	81	42	84	42
Lithuania	%	96,1	94,9	97,5	89,7	90,7	97,4
	N	76	39	79	39	75	38
<b>Poland</b>	%	<b>85,9</b>	83,3	98,7	<b>100</b>	88,5	<b>92,9</b>
	N	78	42	79	41	78	42
Portugal	%	86,1	100	97,5	100	97,5	100
	N	79	40	79	40	80	39
Slovakia	%	97,4	97,4	97,5	97,4	93,7	100
	N	78	38	79	38	79	38
<b>Spain</b>	%	<b>97,9</b>	96,3	95,7	<b>98,2</b>	87,2	<b>87,3</b>
	N	94	54	94	55	94	55
Western Europe	%	92,4	93,3	90,1	90,3	93,3	96,6
	N	343	178	342	175	344	178
Postcommunist countries	%	94,4	93,9	95,9	93,4	93,3	96,3
	N	465	244	467	244	463	243

Southern Europe	%	93,5	97,4	96,8	94	93,6	94,8
	N	246	117	247	116	250	115
Total	%	93,2	93,7	93,8	93,2	92,5	95,1
	N	1306	678	1309	674	1309	676

Summary table 4

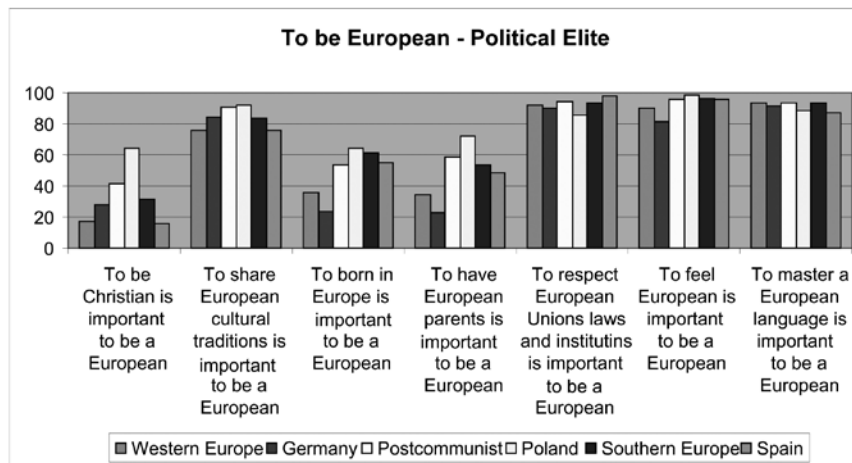
		To be Christian is important to be a European		To share European cultural traditions is important to be a European		To born in Europe is important to be a European		To have European parents is important to be a European	
		Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite
		Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite
Germany	%	27,8	37,2	84,4	90,7	23,8	53,5	22,8	<b>58,1</b>
Poland	%	64,6	38,1	<b>92,5</b>	<b>97,6</b>	<b>64,6</b>	<b>59,5</b>	<b>72,2</b>	57,1
Spain	%	15,4	25,9	75,5	85,5	54,8	54,5	48,9	43,6
Western Europe	%	16,9	17,6	76	81,6	35,7	35	34	46,3
Postcommunist countries	%	41,3	23,1	91	88,9	53,4	52,2	58,8	52,2
Southern Europe	%	31,3	28,4	83,7	85,3	61,4	57,4	53,6	54,3
Total	%	31,8	24,7	84,3	86,8	49,2	49,3	49,3	51,0

Concerning the most important elements “to be a truly European person”, religious factor keeps being especially relevant among political elite in Poland, but not for economic ones, with percentages more or less close to Germany. Conversely, MPs in Spain, Germany and Western Europe in general are less interested in Christianity than their businessmen connationals. However, Southern Europe as well as postcommunist countries (Poland included), seems to be more interested in the religious component. Spanish political elite is the least concerned with this element as a determining factor to be a “good European”, as can be seen in the table above. As in the case for being a national citizen, Poland is also the hardest supporter of the necessity of sharing cultural traditions and having parents coming from a member state, in order to be a European citizen. Germany and especially Spain display a very high valuation about the obligation of “respecting European laws and institutions”. Something lower is the elite support in Poland for the some item, where “to feel European” is particularly important, followed by Spain and Germany to a certain distance. Similar remarks could be made regarding “the need for mastering a European language” among the national elites –both MPs and businessmen-. There is a general consensus about these last three elements (respect EU laws and

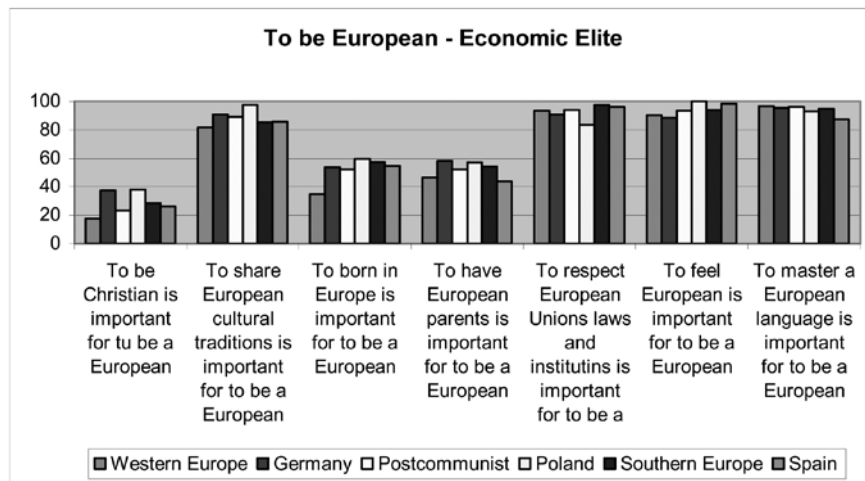


institutions, to feel European and to master a European language) added to the necessity for sharing cultural traditions as the main ingredients to build the “European essence”.

**Graphic 5**  
**Most important aspects to be a truly European citizen (Political Elite)**



**Graphic 6**  
**Most important aspects to be a truly European citizen (Economic Elite)**



## Threats against the cohesion of the EU

**Table 5**  
**Threats against the cohesion of the EU**

		Immigration from non EU countries is a threat		The growth of national attitudes is a threat		The effects of globalization on welfare is a threat		Economic and social differences among member states is a threat	
		Political	Economic	Political	Economic	Political	Economic	Political	Economic
		Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite
Austria	%	32,1	26,5	82,7	82,9	67,5	11,4	66,7	31,4
	N	78	34	81	35	80	35	81	35
Belgium	%	37,5	46,5	66,25	93,2	45	29,5	45	56,8
	N	80	43	80	44	80	44	80	44
Bulgaria	%	51,2	58,5	87,5	88,6	37,5	38,5	66,3	57,8
	N	82	41	80	44	80	39	83	45
Czech Republic	%	46,25	35,7	82,3	83,3	48,8	31,7	51,9	50
	N	80	42	79	42	80	41	79	42
Denmark	%	38,3	53,8	78,3	69,2	18,6	28,2	53,3	62,5
	N	60	39	60	39	59	39	60	40
Estonia	%	74,6	65	50,7	47,5	21	7,9	34,3	35
	N	71	40	71	40	62	38	70	40
France	%	46,7	39	92,5	85,4	52,6	25,6	61,3	48,8
	N	75	41	80	41	76	39	80	43
<b>Germany</b>	%	30	<b>33,3</b>	60,8	<b>69</b>	<b>47,5</b>	40,5	41,3	<b>55,8</b>
	N	80	42	79	42	80	42	80	43
Great Britain	%	24,5	55	65,3	65	26,5	20	30	20
	N	49	20	49	20	49	20	50	20
Greece	%	26,1	24,2	86,4	82,9	34,9	21,2	62,1	44,1
	N	88	33	88	35	86	33	87	34
Hungary	%	48,1	36,6	74,7	78	45,2	35,9	56,3	66,7
	N	79	41	79	41	73	39	80	42
Italy	%	28,0	36,6	76,8	92,7	43,4	15,0	59	54,8
	N	82	41	82	41	83	40	83	42
Lithuania	%	52,5	62,5	56,4	75	37,2	28,2	59,5	32,5
	N	80	40	78	40	78	39	79	40
<b>Poland</b>	%	<b>50,6</b>	31,7	<b>65,3</b>	64,3	<b>32,9</b>	22	<b>57,7</b>	33,3
	N	79	41	75	42	73	41	78	42
Portugal	%	19,2	52,6	75	79,49	43,8	52,5	63,75	62,5
	N	78	38	80	39	80	40	80	40
Slovakia	%	54,4	50	81	87,5	39	28,2	46,3	55
	N	79	40	79	40	77	39	80	40
<b>Spain</b>	%	13,8	<b>20</b>	75,3	<b>77,8</b>	<b>34,4</b>	14,5	<b>52,1</b>	49,1
	N	94	55	93	54	93	55	94	55
Western Europe	%	36,5	43,5	78	81,0	44,8	23,7	53	47,3
	N	342	177	350	179	344	177	351	182
Postcommunist countries	%	54,1	51,2	72,5	76,9	38,7	28,5	52,9	49,8
	N	471	244	466	247	450	235	471	249
Southern Europe	%	24,6	38,4	79,6	85,2	40,6	30,1	61,6	54,3
	N	248	112	250	115	249	113	250	116
Total	%	39,4	42,2	74,4	78,2	40,6	26,7	54,1	49,2
	N	1314	671	1313	679	1289	663	1324	687

Source: IntUne elite interviewing, first wave 2007.

Question: Do you think that (ITEM) is a threat or not a threat for the cohesion of the

EU? Answer: a big threat, quite a big threat, not that big a threat, not a threat at all, DK/can't say (volunteered), Refuse.

Items (rotate randomly, except for b1-b2): (a) Immigration from non EU countries; (b1), Expansion of the EU to include Turkey; (b2), The expansion of the EU to include countries other than Turkey; (c), The growth of nationalist attitudes in European member states; (d) The close relationships between some EU countries and the United States; (e) The effects of globalization on welfare; (f) Economic and social differences among member states; (g) The interference of Russia in European affairs.

Note: % percentage who answer "big threat" or "quite a big threat".

**Table 5 (cont.)**

		Enlargement of EU to include Turkey is a threat		Enlargement of the EU include countries other than Turkey		Close relationship between EM- USA		Interference of Russia in European affairs	
		Political Economic		Political Economic		Political Economic		Political Economic	
		Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite	Elite
Austria	%	49,4	42,4	30,3	12,1	28,8	28,6	30,9	17,6
	N	79	33	76	33	80	35	81	34
Belgium	%	63,8	50	60,8	50	38,8	34,1	35,1	52,3
	N	80	44	74	40	80	44	77	44
Bulgaria	%	47,4	62,5	27,3	26,2	14,5	18,6	30,9	42,9
	N	78	40	77	42	83	43	81	42
Czech Republic	%	33,8	47,6	15,6	31,7	15	21,4	45,6	54,8
	N	80	42	77	41	80	42	79	42
Denmark	%	49,2	61,5	38,5	38,2	20	10	28,8	37,5
	N	59	39	52	34	60	40	59	40
Estonia	%	57,7	51,3	29	33,3	11,4	5	84,3	82,5
	N	71	39	69	36	70	40	70	40
France	%	58,4	61	57,4	69,8	43	37,5	36,1	39,5
	N	77	41	47	43	79	40	61	38
<b>Germany</b>	%	34,2	<b>51,2</b>	36,8	<b>42,9</b>	<b>24,1</b>	9,3	<b>33,8</b>	27,9
	N	79	43	68	42	79	43	77	43
Great Britain	%	14,3	38,1	6,1	14,3	22	4,8	34,7	26,3
	N	100	21	49	21	50	21	49	19
Greece	%	33,7	60,6	24,7	38,2	42,5	40	18,6	24,2
	N	86	33	85	34	87	35	86	33
Hungary	%	58,2	68,3	32,4	31,4	22,5	33,3	45,5	30
	N	79	41	74	35	80	42	77	40
Italy	%	18,3	38,1	22,1	43,9	17,3	19,5	33,8	26,2
	N	82	42	77	41	81	41	80	42
Lithuania	%	46,8	65	23,1	23,1	3,8	17,5	66,7	92,5
	N	79	40	78	39	78	40	78	40
<b>Poland</b>	%	<b>46,8</b>	34,1	12	<b>12,2</b>	<b>7,8</b>	4,8	<b>74</b>	69
	N	77	41	75	41	77	42	77	42
Portugal	%	25,3	40	19	35,1	8,75	15	23,75	25
	N	79	40	63	37	80	40	80	40
Slovakia	%	57,5	55	12,8	10	16,25	12,5	43	50
	N	80	40	78	40	80	40	79	38
<b>Spain</b>	%	23,7	<b>35,2</b>	13	<b>25,9</b>	<b>13,8</b>	9,1	34,4	<b>40,7</b>
	N	93	54	92	54	94	55	93	54

Western Europe	%	49,7	52,2	39,6	40,9	31,8	25	33	36,6
	N	344	178	298	171	349	180	327	175
Postcommunist countries	%	50,1	58,3	23,2	25,8	14	18,2	51,9	58,7
	N	467	242	453	233	471	247	464	242
Southern Europe	%	25,9	45,2	22,2	39,3	23,4	24,1	25,2	25,2
	N	247	115	225	112	248	116	246	115
Total	%	42,4	50,7	26,3	32,3	20,7	18,9	41	44,4
	N	1307	673	1211	653	1318	683	1284	671

Summary table 5

		Economic and social differences among member states is a threat							
		Immigration from non EU countries is a threat		The growth of national attitudes is a threat		The effects of globalization on welfare is a threat			
		Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite
Germany	%	30	33,3	60,8	69	<b>47,5</b>	<b>40,5</b>	41,3	<b>55,8</b>
Poland	%	50,6	31,7	65,3	64,3	32,9	22	57,7	33,3
Spain	%	13,8	20	75,3	77,8	34,4	14,5	52,1	49,1
Western Europe	%	36,5	43,5	78	81,0	44,8	23,7	53	47,3
Postcommunist countries	%	<b>54,1</b>	<b>51,2</b>	72,5	76,9	38,7	28,5	52,9	49,8
Southern Europe	%	24,6	38,4	<b>79,6</b>	<b>85,2</b>	40,6	30,1	<b>61,6</b>	54,3

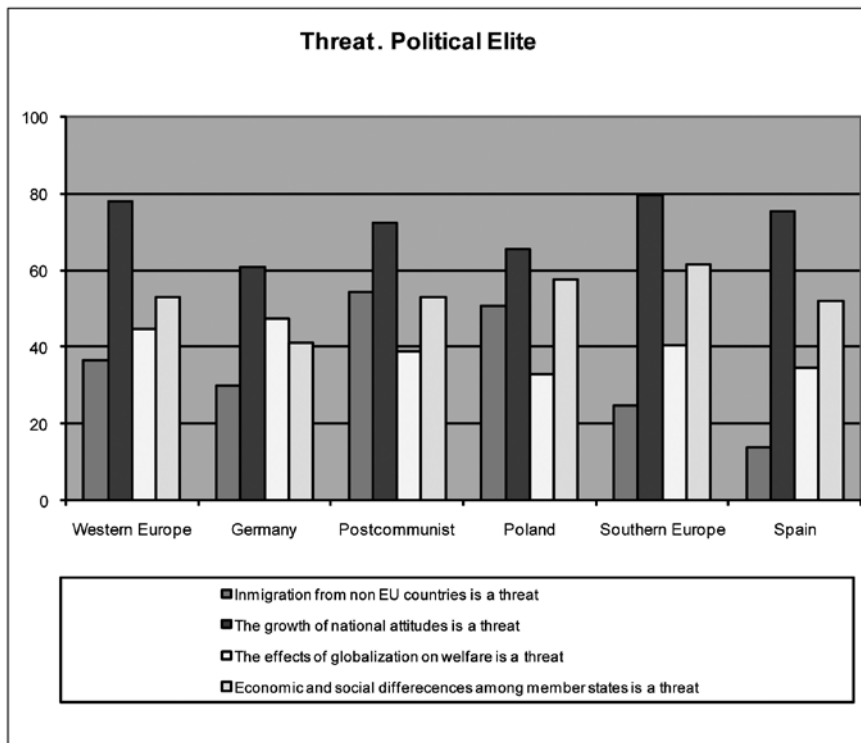
  

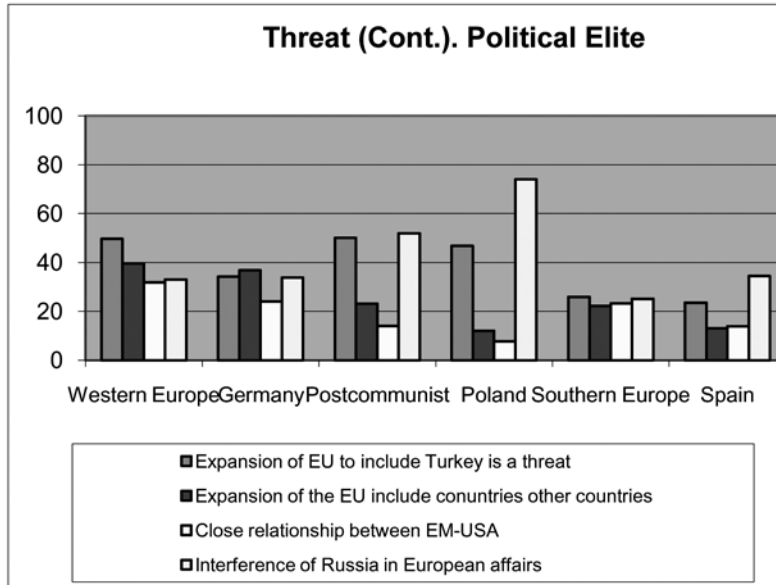
		Economic and social differences among member states is a threat							
		Immigration from non EU countries is a threat		The growth of national attitudes is a threat		The effects of globalization on welfare is a threat			
		Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite	Political Elite	Economic Elite
Germany	%	34,2	51,2	36,8	<b>42,9</b>	24,1	9,3	33,8	27,9
Poland	%	46,8	34,1	12	12,2	7,8	4,8	<b>74</b>	<b>69</b>
Spain	%	23,7	35,2	13	25,9	13,8	9,1	34,4	40,7
Western Europe	%	49,7	52,2	<b>39,6</b>	40,9	<b>31,8</b>	25	33	36,6
Postcommunist countries	%	<b>50,1</b>	<b>58,3</b>	23,2	25,8	14	18,2	51,9	58,7
Southern Europe	%	25,9	45,2	22,2	39,3	23,4	<b>24,1</b>	25,2	25,2

The “growth of nationalist attitudes” is the most important topic perceived by political elites in the three analyzed countries and their respective territorial blocks. In Southern European countries (Spain included) and Western Europe (Germany included) non European immigration is a less evident danger than in the postcommunist countries. Similar positions may be found regarding the effects of globalization, as shared by political elites, with stronger incidence in Germany and Western Europe. In postcommunist area “the potential interference of Russia in European affairs” is seen an important threat, as well as the future integration of Turkey in the EU. The position of economic elites towards the different threats for the cohesion

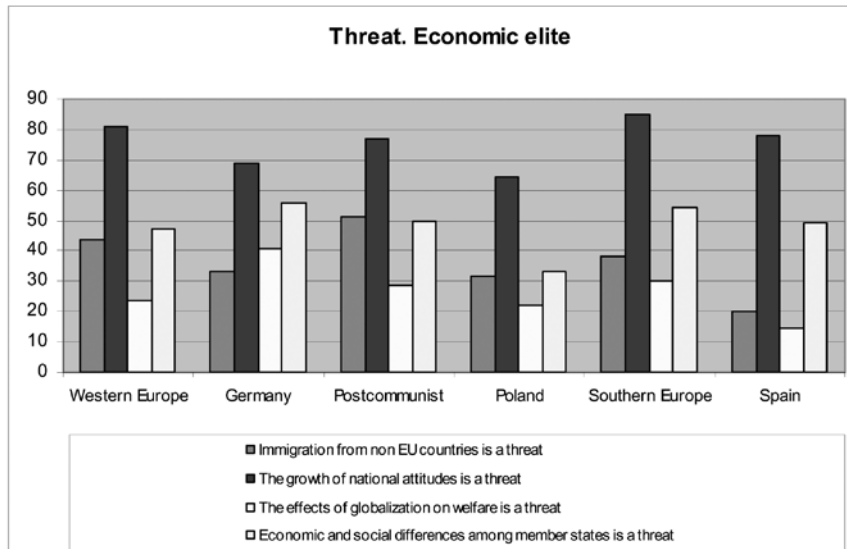
is, generally speaking, similar to those of political elites, although they are more concerned about the possibility of economic and social differences among member states.

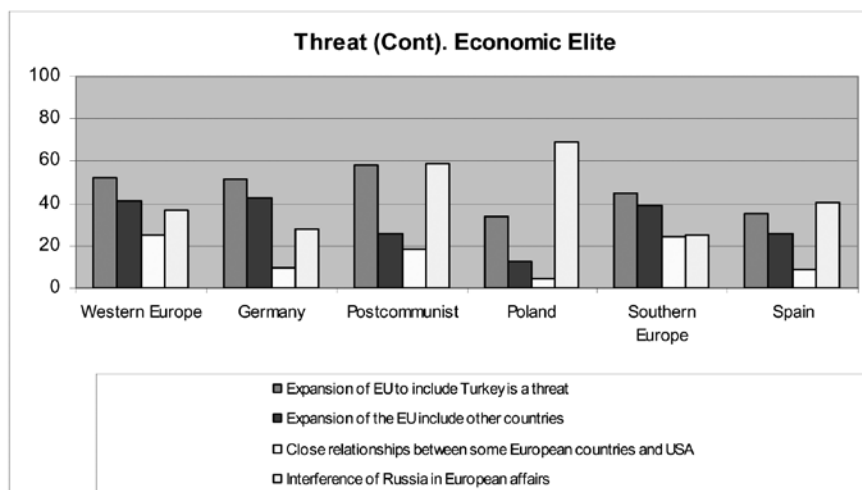
**Graphic 7**  
**Threats against the cohesion of the EU (Political elite)**





**Graphic 8**  
Threats against the cohesion of the EU (Economic Elite)





**Dimension 2: Representation**

**Position about representation**

**Table 6**  
**Position about representation (Only Political Elites)**

	Representative of your constituency	Representative of your party	Representative of a particular social group	Representative of the citizens of your country as a whole	Refused to choose only one	N
Austria	52,5	12,5	11,3	23,8	0	80
Belgium	25	20,8	16,7	37,5	0	72
Bulgaria	54,5	9,1	4,5	31,8	0	66
Czech Republic	48,8	6,3	3,8	41,3	0	80
Denmark	13,5	46,2	1,9	38,5	0	52
Estonia	2,8	13,9	11,1	72,2	0	72
France	33,8	2,6	0	58,4	5,2	77
<b>Germany</b>	35,1	8,1	4,1	<b>52,7</b>	0	74
Great Britain	75	12,5	0	12,5	0	32
Greece	22,4	14,9	1,5	61,2	0	67
Hungary	42,1	14,5	11,8	31,6	0	76
Italy	22,4	17,1	6,6	53,9	0	76
Lithuania	17,7	5,1	7,6	64,6	5,1	79
<b>Poland</b>	<b>60</b>	2,5	5	31,3	1,3	80
Portugal	14,7	4	0	81,3	0	75
Slovakia	7,6	17,7	5,1	63,3	6,3	79
<b>Spain</b>	32,3	18,3	2,2	<b>46,2</b>	1,1	93
Western Europe	37,4	17,6	7	36,7	1,3	313
Postcommunist countries	28,5	11,1	7,3	51,1	2	452
Southern Europe	19,7	11,9	2,8	65,6	0	218
Total	32	12,7	5,7	48,5	1,2	1230

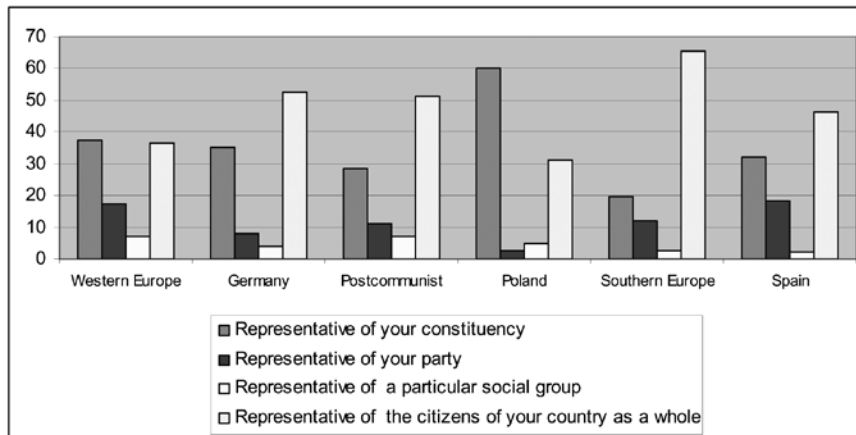
Source: IntUne elite interviewing- first wave, 2007.

Question: Do you think of yourself primarily as ...representative of your constituency, representative of your party, representative of a particular social group, representative of the citizens of your country as a whole ?, refuse to choose only one answer (volunteered).

**Summary table 6**

	Representative of your constituency	Representative of your party	Representative of a particular social group	Representative of the citizens of your country as a whole	Refused to choose only one	N
Germany	35,1	8,1	4,1	52,7	0	74
Poland	<b>60</b>	2,5	5	31,3	1,3	80
Spain	32,3	<b>18,3</b>	2,2	46,2	1,1	93
Western Europe	37,4	17,6	7	36,7	1,3	313
Postcommunist countries	28,5	11,1	<b>7,3</b>	51,1	2	452
Southern Europe	19,7	11,9	2,8	<b>65,6</b>	0	218
Total	32	12,7	5,7	48,5	1,2	1230

**Graphic 9**  
**Position about representation (Only Political Elites)**



Most of the analyzed political elite perceives itself as “representative of the citizens of its country”, although in Postcommunist area this position is shared with the “representation of its own constituency”, a perception even more important in the case of Poland. Only a minority of MPs perceived themselves as representatives of their party or a particular group. However, this minority reaches almost 20% in the case of Spain.



## Trust in national/European institutions

**Table 7**  
**Trust in institutions**

	TRUST IN:	Political Elite			Economic Elite					
		E.P.	E.C.	E.C.M.	Nat. P.	E. P.	Nat. government	E.C.	E.C.M.	Reg. or local government
Austria	Mean	6,81	5,06	5,20	5,91	4,97	6,03	5,43	5,71	5,59
	N	80	80	80	34	35	34	35	35	34
	Std. Deviation	1,917	1,938	1,945	1,798	2,065	1,930	2,062	1,888	2,524
Belgium	Mean	6,48	5,65	5,46	6,36	5,86	6,50	6,50	5,97	6,21
	N	80	80	78	44	44	21	44	44	42
	Std. Deviation	1,949	2,020	1,952	1,296	1,424	1,000	1,372	1,464	1,855
Bulgaria	Mean	5,77	5,78	5,86	4,16	5,41	4,25	5,50	5,59	4,07
	N	77	79	78	44	44	44	44	44	44
	Std. Deviation	2,328	2,257	2,340	2,134	1,821	2,201	1,947	1,921	2,425
Czech Republic	Mean	5,26	4,89	5,31	4,21	4,15	4,55	4,18	4,45	5,73
	N	80	80	80	42	41	42	40	40	41
	Std. Deviation	1,986	2,087	1,797	1,802	2,104	1,890	2,275	2,195	1,911
Denmark	Mean	5,97	5,55	6,32	7,85	5,93	7,93	6,33	6,10	6,70
	N	60	60	60	40	40	40	40	40	40
	Std. Deviation	2,597	2,664	2,554	1,167	1,559	1,071	1,403	1,429	1,698
Estonia	Mean	5,92	6,25	6,04	6,92	6,65	7,48	6,80	6,45	4,98
	N	72	72	72	39	40	40	40	40	40
	Std. Deviation	1,361	1,402	1,368	1,306	1,460	1,301	1,506	1,467	2,201
France	Mean	5,84	4,45	5,50	5,67	5,65	5,85	5,00	5,03	5,11
	N	79	77	76	42	40	40	40	39	38
	Std. Deviation	2,296	2,064	1,927	1,946	1,805	1,861	2,038	1,678	1,914
<b>Germany</b>	Mean	<b>7,41</b>	5,96	<b>6,05</b>	6,35	5,21	<b>6,07</b>	5,05	5,19	<b>5,84</b>
	N	75	77	76	43	43	43	42	42	43
	Std. Deviation	1,453	1,713	1,688	1,888	2,042	1,907	1,807	1,700	1,731
Great Britain	Mean	5,16	4,14	4,65	5,00	3,62	5,62	4,19	5,10	5,17
	N	49	49	49	21	21	21	21	20	6
	Std. Deviation	2,444	2,092	2,471	1,897	2,012	1,465	1,914	1,252	0,983
Greece	Mean	7,11	6,03	6,30	5,31	6,08	5,39	6,31	6,28	3,06
	N	90	90	90	36	36	36	36	36	36
	Std. Deviation	1,645	2,025	1,851	2,214	2,222	2,296	1,954	2,106	2,484
Hungary	Mean	6,37	6,13	6,16	4,50	5,54	4,43	5,68	6,05	5,12
	N	79	80	79	42	41	42	41	40	42
	Std. Deviation	1,834	1,885	1,815	2,452	1,976	2,254	2,043	2,062	2,086
Italy	Mean	6,17	5,54	5,53	5,07	5,43	4,83	5,83	5,52	4,49
	N	83	83	83	42	42	42	42	42	41
	Std. Deviation	1,840	2,044	1,741	1,659	1,876	1,912	1,886	1,941	1,951
Lithuania	Mean	6,38	6,29	6,38	3,85	5,49	5,65	6,34	6,08	4,22
	N	80	80	80	40	39	40	38	37	37
	Std. Deviation	1,951	1,917	1,803	2,293	2,235	2,167	1,805	2,060	2,359
<b>Poland</b>	Mean	5,18	5,08	5,10	3,05	4,29	3,31	4,55	4,57	5,55
	N	80	80	80	42	42	42	42	42	42
	Std. Deviation	2,299	2,293	2,120	2,208	1,686	2,042	1,468	1,484	2,051
Portugal	Mean	5,93	5,90	6,24	5,65	5,21	6,38	6,15	5,74	4,53
	N	80	80	80	40	39	40	40	39	40
	Std. Deviation	2,097	2,162	2,070	1,511	1,592	1,444	1,272	1,332	2,088
Slovakia	Mean	5,68	5,58	6,41	4,03	4,75	3,68	4,98	4,94	4,28
	N	80	80	80	40	40	40	40	36	40
	Std. Deviation	2,005	1,756	1,620	2,154	1,864	2,379	1,833	2,292	2,418
<b>Spain</b>	Mean	6,29	<b>6,16</b>	<b>6,05</b>	<b>6,57</b>	<b>5,89</b>	6,02	<b>6,00</b>	<b>5,80</b>	5,15
	N	94	94	93	54	54	52	54	54	52
	Std. Deviation	1,806	1,512	1,590	1,849	1,910	2,063	1,387	1,323	1,984
Western Europe	Mean	6,14	5,02	5,44	6,29	5,39	6,48	5,65	5,64	5,90
	N	348	346	343	181	180	156	180	178	160
	Std. Deviation	2,269	2,209	2,183	1,846	1,878	1,774	1,907	1,618	2,044

Postcommunist countries	Mean	5,89	5,81	6,03	4,59	5,33	4,98	5,57	5,60	4,73
	N	468	471	469	247	245	248	243	237	244
	Std. Deviation	1,968	1,961	1,847	2,288	2,052	2,391	2,080	2,106	2,297
Southern Europe	Mean	6,43	5,83	6,03	5,34	5,56	5,53	6,08	5,83	4,06
	N	253	253	253	118	117	118	118	117	117
	Std. Deviation	1,925	2,078	1,914	1,803	1,923	1,994	1,723	1,830	2,256
Total	Mean	6,13	5,60	5,82	5,34	5,36	5,48	5,62	5,58	5,05
	N	1318	1321	1314	685	681	659	679	670	658
	Std. Deviation	2,072	2,068	1,967	2,249	1,971	2,256	1,907	1,838	2,251

Source: IntUne elite interviewing- first wave, 2007.

Question: Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the following EU institutions to usually take the right decisions. 0 means that you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust. What about the [national] parliament (Nat. P.)?; The European Parliament (EP)?; The [ your national] government?; The European Commission (EC)?; The European Council of Ministers (ECM)?; The 'regional' government? [or 'local', depending on national system]?

**Summary table 7**

	TRUST IN:	Political Elite				Economic Elite				
		E.P.	E.C.	E.C.M.	Nat. P.	E. P.	Nat. government	E.C.	Reg. or local government	
Germany	Mean	<b>7,41</b>	5,96	<b>6,05</b>	6,35	5,21	6,07	5,05	5,19	5,84
Poland	Mean	5,18	5,08	5,10	3,05	4,29	3,31	4,55	4,57	5,55
Spain	Mean	6,29	<b>6,16</b>	<b>6,05</b>	<b>6,57</b>	<b>5,89</b>	6,02	6,00	5,80	5,15
Western Europe	Mean	6,14	5,02	5,44	6,29	5,39	<b>6,48</b>	5,65	5,64	<b>5,90</b>
Postcommunist countries	Mean	5,89	5,81	6,03	4,59	5,33	4,98	5,57	5,60	4,73
Southern Europe	Mean	6,43	5,83	6,03	5,34	5,56	5,53	<b>6,08</b>	<b>5,83</b>	4,06
Total	Mean	6,13	5,60	5,82	5,34	5,36	5,48	5,62	5,58	5,05

Political elites were inquired about their trust in EU institutions (Parliament, Commission, and Council). Economic elite questions also included national institutions (national parliament and government, and regional government). German political elite stands out because of their high trust in European Parliament, with values above the mean in Europe, and clearly above Poland, the country, close to UK, with the smallest confidence towards this representative institution. With regard to the European Commission and the European Council of Ministers, there are not very significant differences among geographic areas or between types of elites. However, we have to emphasize once more the higher degree of trust shown by the Spanish political elites, and those of other Southern European countries for economic elite, toward these institutions. Also German political elites show a high degree of trust for these organs of European government. In fact, the Polish elite is the least pro-European country in

our analysis. Regarding national parliaments (economic elites only) there were significant differences among geographic areas. While in Spain the mean (within a scale between 0 –“no trust at all”– and 10 –“complete trust”) was at 6,57 points, in the Post-Communist countries, and especially in Poland (3,05) this figure is much lower; only Southern Europe is above 5, and in Western Europe 6,29. Moreover, economic elites in Germany, and in Western Europe as a whole, are on the top of confidence towards state and sub-state executives.

### National-European power sharing

**Table 8**  
**National-European power sharing (Political Elite)**

Political Elite	Member states remain the central actors of EU		European Commission should become the true government of EU		Powers of EP ought to be strengthened	
	% Agree	N	% Agree	N	% Agree	N
Austria	72,8	81	39,5	81	90,1	81
Belgium	65	80	72,2	79	84,8	79
Bulgaria	84,6	78	68	75	81,8	77
Czech Republic	88,8	80	32,5	80	47,5	80
Denmark	88,1	59	16,7	60	63,8	58
Estonia	81,9	72	44,4	72	43,1	72
France	40,5	79	48,8	80	53,8	80
<b>Germany</b>	72,7	77	34,7	75	92,3	78
Great Britain	92	50	4	50	63,3	49
Greece	81,1	90	61,1	90	92,2	90
Hungary	65,8	79	67,5	80	72,5	80
Italy	53,6	84	70,2	84	81,0	84
Lithuania	97,5	80	48,8	80	58,8	80
<b>Poland</b>	<b>87,5</b>	80	50	80	58,8	80
Portugal	76,3	80	42,5	80	75	80
Slovakia	88,8	80	35	80	46,8	77
<b>Spain</b>	67,7	93	<b>77,4</b>	93	<b>92,5</b>	93
Western Europe	69,1	349	40	350	72,3	347
Postcommunist	84,6	469	49,3	467	58,6	466
Southern Europe	70,5	254	58,3	254	83,1	254
Total	76,1	1322	49,7	1319	71,3	1318

Source: IntUne elite interviewing- first wave, 2007

Question: How much do you agree with the following statements:

- The member states ought to remain the central actors of the European Union.
- The European Commission ought to become the true government of the European Union
- The powers of the European Parliament ought to be strengthened

Options: 1. Agree strongly ; 2. Agree somewhat ; 3. Disagree somewhat; 4.

Disagree strongly; 5. Don't know (V); 6. Refuse (V)

Note: % of respondents who strongly or somewhat agree.

**Table 9**  
**National-European power sharing (Economic Elite)**

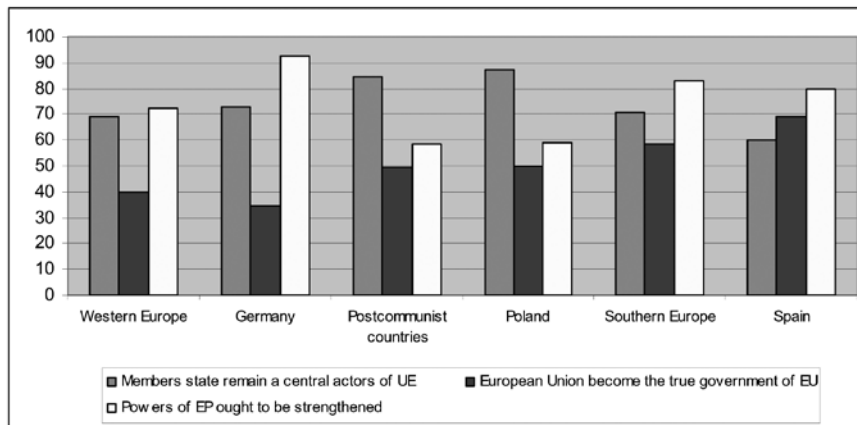
Economic Elite	Member states remain the central actors of EU		European Commission should become the true government of EU		Powers of EP ought to be strengthened	
	% Agree	N	% Agree	N	% Agree	N
Austria	65,7	35	42,9	35	65,7	35
Belgium	61,4	44	77,3	44	90,9	44
Bulgaria	90,7	43	73,8	42	78,0	41
Czech Republic	92,9	42	40	40	52,5	40
Denmark	87,5	40	25	40	55,0	40
Estonia	85	40	52,5	40	40,0	40
France	69,8	43	39,5	43	72,1	43
<b>Germany</b>	78,6	42	33,3	42	79,1	43
Great Britain	100	15	10	20	68,4	19
Greece	63,9	36	61,1	36	88,9	36
Hungary	56,1	41	66,7	42	54,8	42
Italy	64,3	42	81	42	81,0	42
Lithuania	87,5	40	40	40	57,5	40
<b>Poland</b>	<b>88,1</b>	42	45,2	42	59,5	42
Portugal	75	40	57,5	40	62,5	40
Slovakia	75	40	35	40	51,3	39
<b>Spain</b>	60	55	<b>69,1</b>	55	<b>80,0</b>	55
Western Europe	73,4	177	42,9	182	71,3	181
Postcommunist countries	81,3	246	51,6	244	55,8	242
Southern Europe	67,8	118	66,9	118	77,1	118
Total	75,4	680	51,8	683	67,3	681

**Summary tables 8 & 9**

Political Elite	Member states remain the central actors of EU		European Commission should become the true government of EU		Powers of EP ought to be strengthened	
	% Agree	N	% Agree	N	% Agree	N
Germany	72,7	77	34,7	75	<b>92,3</b>	78
Poland	<b>87,5</b>	80	50	80	58,8	80
Spain	60	55	<b>69,1</b>	55	80,0	55
Western Europe	69,1	349	40	350	72,3	347
Postcommunist countries	84,6	469	49,3	467	58,6	466
Southern Europe	70,5	254	58,3	254	83,1	254

Economic Elite	Member states remain the central actors of EU		European Commission should become the true government of EU		Powers of EP ought to be strengthened	
	% Agree	N	% Agree	N	% Agree	N
Germany	78,6	42	33,3	42	79,1	43
Poland	<b>88,1</b>	42	45,2	42	59,5	42
Spain	60	55	<b>69,1</b>	55	<b>80,0</b>	55
Western Europe	73,4	177	42,9	182	71,3	181
Postcommunist countries	81,3	246	51,6	244	55,8	242
Southern Europe	67,8	118	66,9	118	77,1	118

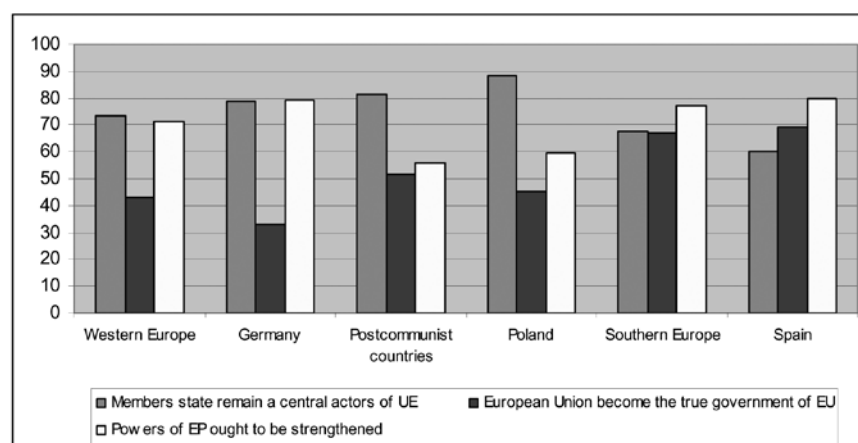
**Graphic 10**  
**National-European power sharing (Political Elite)**



While Western and Southern Europe (Germany and Spain included), clearly support, politically speaking, more power and a more relevant role for the European Parliament, in the Postcommunist area, especially Poland, the main objective is focused on “remaining member states as central actors in the UE”. Political elites along Europe share the idea of giving less importance to the idea of a European Union becoming the true government in the Union. However, in Spain the option that got most support was the idea of maintaining member states as the central actors.

Among economic elite the situation is something different. In Poland and its Postcommunist scene, “supporting states as central actors” versus the idea of a future European government is still the most important goal. Again in Spain, the tendency in favour of the federalization of Europe is more important than the statist positions, even in economic elite. In Western Europe, the common position is strengthening the European Parliament but at the same time keeping the sovereignty of member countries.

**Graphic 11**  
**National-European power sharing (Economic Elite)**



### ***Dimension 3: General situation and future directions***

#### **Balance of being a member of the European Union**

**Table 10**  
**Benefit from being a member of the EU**

	Political Elite		Economic Elite	
	%	N	%	N
Austria	93,2	100	73	34
Belgium	98,7	100	79	44
Bulgaria	96,3	100	81	38
Czech Republic	88,8	95,1	80	41
Denmark	86,4	97,5	59	40
Estonia	98,6	100	70	36
France	91,3	100	80	42
<b>Germany</b>	97,4	<b>100</b>	76	43
Great Britain	89,8	94,7	49	19
Greece	97,7	97,1	88	35
Hungary	87,2	95,1	78	41
Italy	96,3	95,1	82	41
Lithuania	97,4	97,5	76	40
<b>Poland</b>	89,2	<b>100</b>	74	40
Portugal	94,9	100	78	40
Slovakia	100	95	70	40
<b>Spain</b>	97,9	<b>100</b>	94	55
Western Europe	92,4	98,9	340	179

Postcommunist countries	94,5	97	455	236
Southern Europe	96,4	97,4	248	116
Total	94,4	98,2	1287	669

Source: IntUne elite interviewing, first wave 2007.

Question: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that your country has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union? Answer: has benefited, has not benefited, don't know (volunteered).

Note: % of respondents who think their country has benefited.

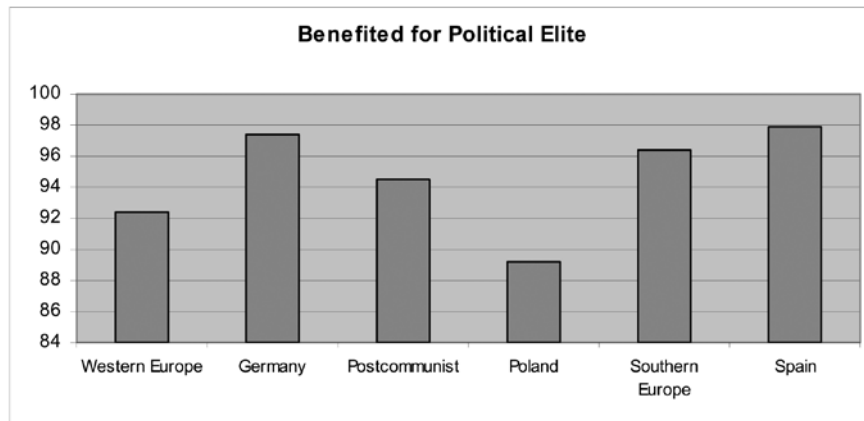
**Summary table 10**

	Political Elite %	Economic Elite %
Germany	97,4	<b>100</b>
Poland	89,2	<b>100</b>
Spain	<b>97,9</b>	<b>100</b>
Western Europe	92,4	98,9
Postcommunist countries	94,5	97
Southern Europe	96,4	97,4

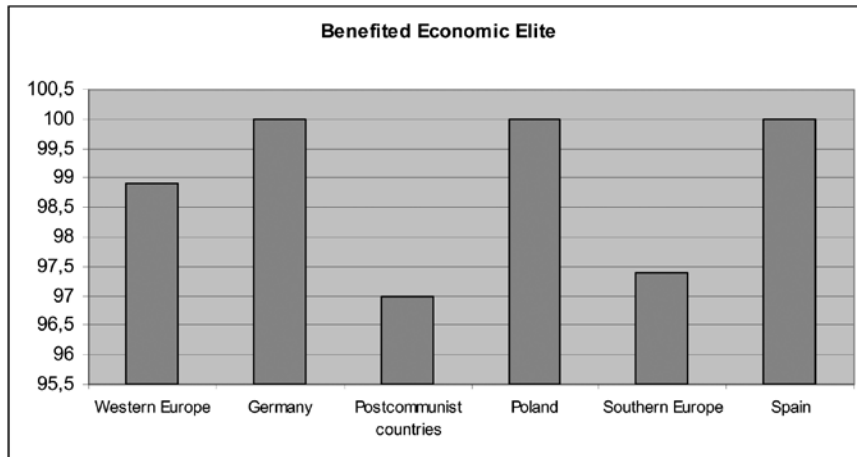
Table 10 clearly shows that in Spain and Germany, the elite mostly perceive being a EU member as beneficial. This fits with the pro-EU standing held by the majority of the public mass in Spain and in Europe. Similarly, elites in Mediterranean countries also manifested a positive perception –almost 95%). The percentage for Postcommunist and Western Europe is slightly lower, but above the 90% of satisfied interviewees, except for political elite in Poland. Post-Communist countries in general were a little below the mean, although almost nine out of ten of the interviewed elite felt positively about their countries becoming a EU member. Finally, the column for the whole sample of countries showed that there was a clear consensus on the subject.

Considering each type of elite separately (Graphs 12 and 13), we find quite similar results, economic elites being more susceptible to having a positive opinion about their countries being EU members. In Spain, Germany and Poland 100% of the economic elites think that EU membership has benefited the country, while the percentage in Spanish MPs is slightly lower, with a greater gap between political and economic elites in Poland as we have seen above.

**Graphic 12**  
**Benefit from being a member of the European Union (Political Elite)**



**Graphic 13**  
**Benefit from being a member of the European Union (Economic Elite)**





## Main goals of the European Union

**Table 11**  
Main goals of the European Union in the future (Political Elite)

Political Elite	More competitive	Better social security	Both	none / can't say	N
Austria	26,3	63,8	10	0	80
Belgium	36,3	47,5	16,3	0	80
Bulgaria	28,4	3,7	65,4	2,5	81
Czech Republic	57,5	32,5	8,8	1,3	80
Denmark	40	53,3	6,7	0	60
Estonia	50	45,6	4,4	0	68
France	17,7	27,4	48,4	6,5	62
<b>Germany</b>	43,6	44,9	9	2,6	78
Great Britain	44	14	28	14	50
Greece	7	33,7	59,3	0	86
Hungary	58,8	28,8	12,5	0	80
Italy	23,2	50	26,8	0	82
Lithuania	48,8	45	5	1,3	80
<b>Poland</b>	<b>61,3</b>	11,3	23,8	<b>3,8</b>	80
Portugal	30	37,5	30,0	2,5	80
Slovakia	66,3	20	13,8	0	80
<b>Spain</b>	14,9	<b>51,1</b>	<b>33</b>	1,1	94
Western Europe	32,2	43,7	20,8	3,3	332
Postcommunist countries	51,6	28,8	18,8	0,9	469
Southern Europe	19,8	40,3	39,1	0,8	248
Total	38,0	36,3	23,9	1,8	1301

Source: IntUne elite interviewing.

Question: I'm going to read you two statements. Please tell me which of them comes closer to your view:

1. The main aim of the EU should be to make the European economy more competitive in world markets" and 2. The main aim of the EU should be to provide better social security for all its citizens". Answer: More competitive, better social security, both (volunteered), none / can't say (volunteered), refused (volunteered).

**Table 12**  
Main goals of the UE in the future (Economic Elite)

Economic Elite	More competitive	Better social security	Both	none / can't say	N
Austria	91,4	5,7	0	2,9	35
Belgium	68,2	9,1	20,5	2,3	44
Bulgaria	53,3	4,4	40	2,2	45
Czech Republic	81	7,1	7,1	4,8	42
Denmark	72,5	20	7,5	0	40
Estonia	67,5	25	7,5	0	40
France	66,7	0	33,3	0	42
<b>Germany</b>	<b>90,2</b>	0	9,8	0	41

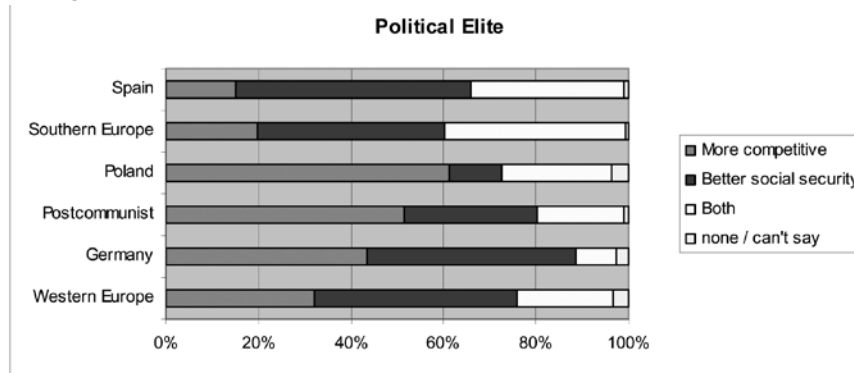
Great Britain	61,9	0	23,8	14,3	21
Greece	34,3	8,6	57,1	0	35
Hungary	73,8	14,3	9,5	2,4	42
Italy	78,6	11,9	9,5	0	42
Lithuania	92,5	7,5	0	0	40
<b>Poland</b>	85,7	4,8	4,8	<b>4,8</b>	42
Portugal	82,5	12,5	5	0	40
Slovakia	79,5	15,4	5,1	0	39
<b>Spain</b>	54,5	<b>10,9</b>	<b>34,5</b>	0	55
Western Europe	72,5	7,7	17	2,7	182
Postcommunist countries	74,2	12,1	12,1	1,6	248
Southern Europe	66,7	11,1	22,2	0	117
Total	72,6	9,5	16,4	1,6	685

**Summary tables 11 & 12**

	More competitive	Better social security	Both	none / can't say	N
Political Elite					
Germany	43,6	44,9	9	2,6	78
Poland	<b>61,3</b>	11,3	23,8	<b>3,8</b>	80
Spain	14,9	<b>51,1</b>	33	1,1	94
Western Europe	32,2	43,7	20,8	3,3	332
Postcommunist countries	51,6	28,8	18,8	0,9	469
Southern Europe	19,8	40,3	<b>39,1</b>	0,8	248

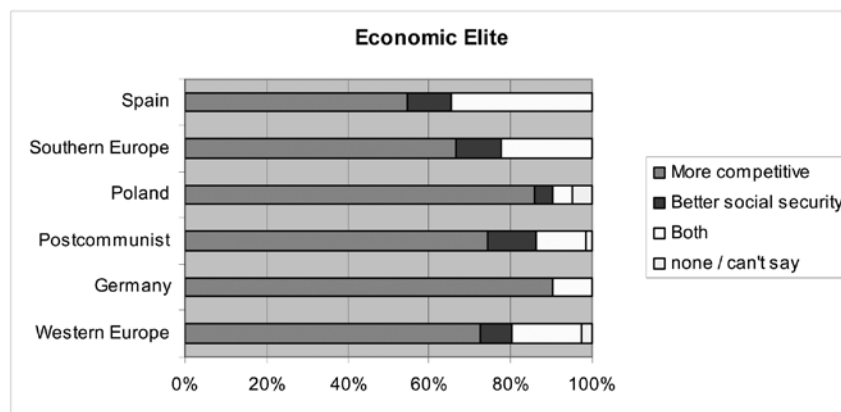
	More competitive	Better social security	Both	none / can't say	N
Economic Elite					
Germany	<b>90,2</b>	0	9,8	0	41
Poland	85,7	4,8	4,8	<b>4,8</b>	42
Spain	54,5	10,9	<b>34,5</b>	0	55
Western Europe	72,5	7,7	17	2,7	182
Postcommunist countries	74,2	<b>12,1</b>	12,1	1,6	248
Southern Europe	66,7	11,1	22,2	0	117

**Graphic 14**  
**Main goals of the UE in the future (Political Elite)**



Political elites in Postcommunist countries, especially in Poland, support the idea of developing a more competitive European economy in world markets. Germany shares this option, but adding the need to give more social security to citizens. This one is the majority option expressed by Western countries and to a greater extent by the Spanish ruling class.

**Graphic 15**  
**Main goals of the UE in the future (Economic Elite)**



There is a wide consensus among economic elites about the priority of economical competence over any other target, although in Spain and other southern countries there is some more social awareness.

## Notes

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1. See the official website [www.intune.it](http://www.intune.it)

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**ANNEXES**>Identity

(\*) E.ID1. ATTACHMENT TO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF POLITICAL COMMUNITIES:

People feel different degrees of attachment to their town or village, to their region, to their country and to Europe. What about you? Are you very attached, somewhat attached, not very attached or not at all attached to the following:

- a. Your town/village,
  - b. Your 'region' [use the appropriate term according to the countries / code the same for sub-regional but non local] / mass: whatever you understand as your region.
  - c. [Country] (e.g. 'Italy')
  - d. Europe
- 
1. Very attached
  2. Somewhat attached
  3. Not very attached
  4. not at all attached
  5. (DK / can't say) (volunteered)
  6. Refuse (volunteered)

(\*) E.ID9.

People differ in what they think it means to be (national). In your view, how important is each of the following to be (national)?

(randomly rotate them)

- a. To be a Christian
- b. To share (country) cultural traditions
- c. To be born in (country)
- d. To have (national) parents (e.g. 'Italian parents')
- e. To respect (national) laws and institutions
- f. To feel (national)
- g. To master (*language(s) of the country*) / [*in relevant cases*] one of the official languages of the country
- h. To be a country citizen [never put as first]

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
5. DK (V)
6. Refusal (V)

\* EID10 MOVED HERE. Former E.ID.10.

People differ in what they think it means to be a European. In your view, how important is each of the following to be a European?

- a. To be Christian
- b. To share European cultural traditions
- c. To be born in Europe
- d. To have European parents
- e. To respect the European Union's laws and institutions
- f. To feel European
- g. To master a European language

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
5. DKs
6. Refusal (V)

#### E.ID13. THREATS

Do you think that (ITEM) is a threat or not a threat for the cohesion of the EU?

1. A big threat
2. Quite a big threat
3. Not that big a threat
4. Not a threat at all
5. DK/can't say (volunteered)
6. Refuse (V)

Items (rotate randomly, except for b1-b2)

- a. Immigration from non EU countries
- b1. Expansion of the EU to include Turkey
- b2. The expansion of the EU to include countries other than Turkey

- c. The growth of nationalist attitudes in European member states
- d. The close relationships between some EU countries and the United States
- e. The effects of globalization on welfare
- f. Economic and social differences among member states
- g. The interference of Russia in European affairs

### >Representation

(\*) E.RP9 « Subjective » Representation: Trust in Institutions

#### *For political elites*

Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the following EU institutions to usually take the right decisions. 0 means that you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust.

RP9.2 The European Parliament?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
complete trust

RP9.4 The European Commission?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
complete trust

RP9.5 The European Council of Ministers  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
complete trust

#### *For economic elites*

Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the following institutions to usually take the right decisions. 0 means that you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust.

RP9.1 What about the [national] parliament ?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
complete trust

RP9.2 The European Parliament?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
complete trust

RP9.3 The [national] government?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
complete trust

RP9.4 The European Commission?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
complete trust

RP9.5 The European Council of Ministers  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
complete trust

RP9.6 The 'regional' government?  
[or 'local', depending on national system]  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
complete trust

(\*) M.RP8.1b. Some say European unification should be strengthened. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a 10-point-scale. On this scale, '0' means unification "has already gone too far" and '10' means it "should be strengthened". What number on this scale best describes your position?

0-10

11. DK (S)

12. Refusal (S)

E.RP8.1. How much do you agree with the following statements:

- a. The member states ought to remain the central actors of the European Union.
- b. The European Commission ought to become the true government of the European Union
- c. The powers of the European Parliament ought to be strengthened

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree somewhat
3. Disagree somewhat
4. Disagree strongly
5. Don't know (V)
6. Refuse (V)

>General / Future

(\*) EV2.

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

1. Has benefited
2. Has not benefited
3. Don't know (volunteered)
4. Refused (volunteered)

Former (\*) E.SG4. I'm going to read you two statements. Please tell me which of them comes closer to your view:

1. The main aim of the EU should be to make the European economy more competitive in world markets"
2. The main aim of the EU should be to provide better social security for all its citizens"

- 1 More competitive
- 2 Better social security
- 3 Both (volunteered)
- 4 None / Can't say (volunteered)
- 5 Refused (volunteered)