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Choosing Democracy:
Citizen Attitudes and the Eastern Enlargement
of the European Union

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EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE

**ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE
FOR ADVANCED STUDIES**

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Citizen Attitudes and the Eastern Enlargement
of the European Union**

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ABSTRACT

Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries are at a historic point as they stand at the door step of the European Union (EU). Much like the second European enlargement, the accession of CEE countries is clearly tied to a desire to help foster the growth of democracy-capitalism in these formerly communist countries. Research has shown that citizen support for these newly democratizing political systems is important for the stability of democracy in the region. Will citizen support play as crucial a role in the successful integration of CEE countries into the European Union? The following analysis examines public support for membership in the European Union amongst five applicant countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Drawing from both the enlargement literature and public opinion scholarship the study posits a set of testable hypotheses highlighting the main factors influencing citizen attitudes towards EU membership. In the second part of the article, I empirically test these alternative hypotheses using data from a 1996 survey. The findings challenge dominant explanations for public opinion in member states, and suggests how we might better adapt these models to examine attitudes in applicant countries.

INTRODUCTION

Central and eastern European (CEE) countries are at a historic point as they stand on the door step to the European Union (EU). The European Union is similarly in an unprecedented position. The number of applicant countries and the socio-political differences between them and present EU member states are larger than ever before. Currently, ten countries from central and eastern Europe have applied for membership, and five have begun EU membership negotiations.¹ In March of 1998, the EU adopted legislation outlining the economic conditions and principles that will guide the accession process in each CEE country.² Coupled with this commitment to market reforms, the enlargement is also tied to a desire to help foster the growth and development of democracy-capitalism in these former communist countries.

Does public opinion make a difference to these reforms and to the eastern enlargement of the EU? The volatile Maastricht referenda in Denmark and France, and the unsuccessful Norwegian accession referenda suggest the significant impact popular attitudes and actions can have on EU politics. More generally, mass attitudes have been critical to the rise of democracy in central and eastern Europe and they continue to play a crucial role in the consolidation of democratic institutions and the implementation of market reforms (Mishler and Rose 1997; Linz & Stephan 1996). Similarly, mass attitudes appear to be crucial to the success of new institutions and reforms associated with the process of European integration. While scholars have focused on the factors influencing these attitudes in member state countries (e.g. Anderson 1998; Dalton & Eichenberg 1998, Eichenberg & Dalton 1993; Gabel 1998; Gabel & Whitten 1997; Inglehart 1970; 1977; Shepherd 1975), we lack a systematic explanation of mass support in applicant countries. Is public opinion in applicant countries shaped by a different dynamic than in member countries? Do democratic and market reforms serve as catalysts for EU support? These questions are of increasing significance: the EU is experiencing a historic low in public support and there appears to be a renewed commitment, among scholars and heads of government, to view citizens as an integral part of the European project.³

The following analysis examines public support for EU membership in the five applicant CEE countries recommended for the first phase of the next enlargement: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. The purpose of the analysis is twofold. First, it contributes to a growing body of scholarship which examines the correlates of public opinion and European integration; in particular, this analysis represents one of the first cross-national studies of public opinion in applicant countries. Second, the analysis offers comparative research on the interplay between domestic politics and international institutions in the process of democratization. In identifying the

domestic dynamics of public support, this study provides a guide for understanding not only the prospects for successful EU enlargement, but also how enlargement is related to the stability of democracy in the region.

The analysis seeks to explain the variation in citizen attitudes cross-nationally at two levels. First, I examine *aggregate* levels of support. This aggregate variation is significant for a nation's membership potential. Second, the analysis focuses on the factors that influence *individual* attitudes of EU support within each nation. The first section discusses the relevant theoretical perspectives that might help to explain variation. Given the relative paucity of research on support for integration in applicant countries, I develop a set of hypotheses based on general theories of support for integration and research on past enlargements. Consistent with this past research, I conceptualize citizen support for the EU as a function of both economic and political factors. Furthermore, I also examine how domestic political factors may serve as a proxy for individual attitudes about European integration. The second section tests the validity of these hypotheses using data from a 1996 survey carried out in the five countries.

Historical CEE - EU Linkages

How do citizens form specific opinions about distant international institutions which possess little formal association with their country? While these publics do not belong to the European Union, their governments have been engaged in a variety of EU-related policies since 1990.⁴ In 1992, the European Agreements established formal trade links between the EU and Poland, Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia. The Agreements implemented considerable market liberalizing reforms, such as the removal of EU restrictions on industrial goods, with the ultimate goal of setting up a free trade zone between the EU and CEE countries by the year 2002. Thus, the Agreements represent a considerable shift for both CEE economies and political systems towards compliance with the supranational standards constructed by the EU. More recently in 1995, the EU established a free-trade agreement with Estonia, and the other Baltic states, which provided "unrestricted" access for manufacturers into the EU (Barnes and Barnes 1995). However, the more formal links associated with the European Agreements were still awaiting ratification in both Estonia and Slovenia at the time of this study.

Over the last three to six years, the citizens of the five CEE countries have also begun to witness the political debates that accompany these adjustments (see Kolankiewicz 1994). "Europe" remains a dominant political issue in these countries. The impact of political events such as the recent resignation and reinstatement of Czech Prime Minister Klaus and the pending Hungarian general

election are discussed in terms of its effect on EU accession (Robinson 1997; Anderson & Done 1997). As the historical linkages to the EU, and thus political salience of the EU, vary across the five countries, one would also expect a variation in aggregate levels of EU support. The longer a country is involved in relations with the EU, the more likely its populous will hold a favorable opinion (or at least decided opinion) of European integration. Scholars have shown that this "socialization" effect influences public support both within member state countries and also amongst citizens in applicant countries (Anderson & Kaltenthaler 1996; Inglehart 1977; Tsoukalis 1981).

long process → more public support for EU
socialization

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND PAST ENLARGEMENTS

While little systematic public opinion research has been carried out in applicant countries, accounts of the political debates taking place in the applicant countries can provide us with a general understanding of citizen attitudes. In particular, this study will draw from scholarship examining the European Community's (EC) first enlargement (United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland-January 1, 1973) and second enlargement (Greece- January 1, 1981; Spain, Portugal- January 1, 1986). The third enlargement (Austria, Finland, Sweden-January 1, 1995) is less relevant to the CEE case, as it involved a relatively homogenous group of small wealthy countries with long traditions of democracy and open trade with Europe.

Furthermore, the analysis draws from a well established body of scholarship examining the determinants of public support for European integration in member state countries. This scholarship has developed in terms of three general models: utilitarian, value and political economic perspectives. The utilitarian perspective suggests that individual attitudes result from a cost/benefit calculation in the context of welfare losses and gains associated with integration (e.g. Gabel 1998). Historically one of the first explanations to be examined by public opinion scholars, the value perspective, argues that political values and cognitive capabilities affect a citizen's ability to form concrete opinions about abstract and distant institutions, such as the European Union (e.g. Inglehart 1970; 1977). Finally, the political economic approach adopts a traditional comparative argument that positive macro-economic conditions are more likely to leave citizens with positive evaluations of government performance and applies this model to citizen support for EU policies and performance (see Gabel & Palmer 1995).

In an ever changing European Union, the continued utility of these sometimes rigid models has come into question (e.g. Eichenberg 1998). In particular, the political economic approach is criticized for failing to explain the

current decline in citizen support for the EU and instead suggested the opposite. However, there is considerable consensus around the need to reevaluate rather than discard these models: in particular, future work ought to elaborate on the general models, by examining new variables which reflect an evolving, rather than a static EU (Eichenberg 1998; Anderson & Kaltenthaler 1998). The following analysis contributes to this reevaluation. In particular, this section provides a brief review of the defining variables associated with the utilitarian and value perspectives and posits how these approaches can be elaborated to examine the central and eastern European case. The subsequent section tests the explanatory power of these alternative models. The analysis focuses on these two approaches, rather than all three, as the hypotheses driving the political economic model are less relevant and instructive to these applicant countries. The political economic model relies heavily on a citizen's attitudes towards EU government performance, and as CEE citizens are not yet formally governed by these institutions their opinions about specific EU governing structures and policies are less developed.

Economic Perceptions

The relationship between economic conditions and a citizen's support for national political institutions is well established in the literature (see Lewis-Beech 1988; Norpoth, et. al. 1991). Thus, one way of understanding this relationship between utilitarian variables and EU support is through an individual's perceived economic well-being. An individual's ability to evaluate whether they will gain or lose from membership is viewed through the perceptions of their current economic reality. Consistent with the conclusions derived from economic voting models, Eichenberg and Dalton (1993) hypothesize that perceptions of personal economic well-being, not only objective economic measures, influence the public's evaluations of political issues.⁵ Their findings demonstrate that personal economic evaluations are positively related to support for integration. Gabel and Whitten (1997) test this relationship by examining evaluations of household financial situation and support for the EU. Similarly, they also find that support for integration is positively related to a citizen's perceived household financial well-being.

The economic costs and benefits of joining a free trade agreement have also been a key issue for the public in applicant countries. A series of surveys, conducted between 1950-1972 in the UK, revealed a growing hostility towards joining the Community.⁶ Scholars agree that these attitudes were primarily motivated by economic concerns with joining the common market (Shepherd 1975; Preston 1997). A similar trend was found in both Denmark and Ireland. These findings were not based on systematic public opinion research, however they illustrate a general pattern. Danish government policy towards EC

membership was largely governed by a concern to maintain their main export markets (UK and Germany). One scholar describes the Danish internal debates regarding future membership as “driven by rational economic calculations of national interest which overruled any misgivings concerning the possible political shape of the Communities” (Preston 1997, p. 42). Similarly, the Irish national debates were shaped in terms of economic concerns with the vulnerability of Irish industry and, in particular, the predominance of the agriculture sector in their economy (Preston 1997).

How do these findings enlighten our understanding of economic concerns in the central and eastern European case? The applicability of these findings to CEE countries is not readily certain. For example, Czechs experiencing economic hardships may look positively towards future financial opportunities created through EU membership. Or Hungarians may see their current household financial stability as a result of market liberalizing reforms, and so would favor future EU membership as a way to ensure the continuation and permanence of these reforms. However, given what we know about those most “hurt” by market reforms (labor, pensioners, farmers), the EU does not offer them a quick resolution to their economic hardships (Shepherd 1975). European integration stands as the further institutionalization of free market reforms, a prospect not necessarily welcomed by these individuals. Thus, the utilitarian model would argue that those individuals possessing negative evaluations of their household financial situation are more likely to favor a return to a previous economic order or at least not favor the elaboration of free market reforms. Consistent with this argument, we might expect economic perceptions to be an underlying factor in forming attitudes about European integration. Therefore, we hypothesize that: CEE citizens possessing positive evaluations of their personal financial situation are more likely to support membership in the European Union.

Democracy

In the CEE context, EU membership is viewed not only in terms of economic living standard increases; but it also means strengthening the institutional base for democracy and capitalism. The consolidation of democratic institutions is as much an interest to these citizens as personal economic benefit (Lieven 1997). Wider European unity is conceptualized in terms of stabilizing democratic norms as they develop in the post-communist societies of central and eastern Europe. Debates surrounding the enlargement of the European Union eastward are explicit in regards to the political goals to be achieved:

“The objective must be to ensure that the full potential of enlargement is developed to strengthen the European model, namely a Europe built on a set of values shared by all its societies and combining the characteristics of

democracy with those of an open economy underpinned by market forces, internal solidarity and cohesion....Enlargement is an investment in peace, stability and prosperity for the people of Europe" (European Commission 1997, p. 95, 133).

The motivations behind the CEE interest in joining the Union is also not unlike that of applicant countries involved in the second phase of European enlargement. While economic benefits were certainly part of their cost/benefit calculations, these newly democratizing countries applied for membership in order to stabilize and consolidate their new political institutions. Accession would decrease their chances of reverting back to authoritarian regimes (Wallace 1989). The public attitudes towards future EC membership in Greece, Portugal and Spain show this relationship. Upon ratification of Portugal's democratic constitution in 1976, the Soares government stated that the continued political stability of Portugal was closely linked to its political and economic integration with the EC. Public discussions further emphasized this point by suggesting that the EC was a "means to consolidate this new regime" (Tsoukalis 1981, p. 117). The Spanish accession involved a similar consensus around the utility of integration for democratic consolidation. During the transition period following Franco's death in 1975, all political parties remained in agreement over membership in the EC. While the political debates were infused with different expectations of membership, parties agreed (except for the extreme left and extreme right) that membership in the Community would help to consolidate the new democratic regime. As one scholar observed, "Europe became almost a symbol of democracy for most Spaniards" (Tsoukalis 1981, p. 122).

Similarly, we might expect CEE citizens to link accession to the continuation and permanence of their new democracies. European integration becomes the bridge to democratic dreams as symbolized in the West. Yet for the practical knowledge of what exactly this democracy entails, CEE citizens rely on personal experience from the democratic reforms in their country. As Mishler and Rose (1997, p. 6) argue, the citizens of these new democracies "have little experience in the workings of democratic institutions and even less formal training in abstract democratic norms and principles" and thus public support is "experiential". If the EU represents a reinforcement of democratic institutions, the CEE citizens may understand these institutions with reference to the costs and benefits they have experienced with national political reforms since the fall of the Communist regime. Similar to the effect of economic perceptions, a utilitarian model would argue that individual attitudes about democracy may affect levels of EU support. If they are satisfied with the democracy they have experienced so far, they are more likely to favor the permanence and continuation of a democratic system. Therefore, we hypothesize that: CEE

greater satisfaction with d → ↑ support for EU

citizens possessing greater satisfaction with democracy in their country are more likely to support membership in the European Union.

Free Market Economy

While scholars have explored the general relationship between public opinion and market reforms in new democracies, we have not yet explored how this relationship can affect levels of EU support (Przeworski 1996; Stokes 1996). However, one might expect a similar effect as hypothesized for attitudes about democracy. EU support may be linked to the benefits of establishing a free market economy. By integrating into an economic framework based on capitalist ideals, the central and eastern European countries can help secure the success of their new economic reforms. CEE politicians are keenly aware of this relationship and view the EU as a mechanism to stabilize their market reforms. Furthermore, like the political statements made by member state governments, these politicians use the EU to add "legitimacy and credibility" to their domestic reforms (Moravcsik 1993, p. 515).

For the CEE countries, the economic calculations involved with membership are not only based on specific industry costs or benefits, but instead pertain to the overarching structure of their economies. There was a similar pattern of attitudes in the second enlargement. This emphasis on larger economic reforms rather than particular sector benefits developed for two reasons. First, in the case of Spain and Portugal, these economies were emerging from almost two decades of state bureaucracy/authoritarian rule. The EU would help guide these new market institutions through their infancy. Second, these citizens were clearly more isolated from the other countries of western Europe. Thus, attitudes about the EC tended to follow general opinions of market liberalization and economic affiliation with the West, rather than industry specific benefits (Tsoukalis 1981; Duchêne 1982; Vaitos 1982). EC membership was perceived as ensuring the liberalization of economic markets by modernizing a system which suffered from the burdens of state bureaucracy (Vaitos 1982). To the extent that CEE citizens are confronted with a similar situation, we may expect a similar effect on public attitudes towards European integration. Thus, those citizens that hold a favorable opinion of free market reforms in their country, will welcome the permanence of this system through integration with the capitalist markets in the West. Therefore, we might expect: *The more CEE citizens favor free market reforms the more they are likely to support membership in the European Union.*

more citizens favour free market reforms → ↑ support for EU

Cognitive Capabilities and Human Capital

A value perspective can also enlighten our understanding of central and eastern European attitudes. Inglehart's (1970: 1977) cognitive mobilization hypothesis asserts that individuals possessing high levels of political awareness and communication skills are better able to understand, and identify with a supranational community. This is based on two assumptions. First, that a relatively high degree of cognitive skills are needed to understand the implications and effects of European integration. Second, Inglehart contends that cognitive mobilization affects an individual's world view. Individuals possessing higher cognitive capabilities will be more cosmopolitan in their perspective and knowledgeable of abstract political issues. His empirical studies on citizen attitudes in member states reinforced these conclusions (1970: 1977). He also found that levels of education and occupational status are linked to cognitive mobilization, as those with higher status occupations and incomes tend to be better educated and better informed about politics, and more active politically than their compatriots.

However, in terms of occupation and education, this "cognitive mobilization" argument complements rather than rivals the utilitarian explanation. Scholars argue that individuals possessing a high level of "human capital" are better equipped to reap the benefits of integration (Gabel 1998). Primarily, these include occupations that are advantaged by the liberalization and integration of markets. A survey carried out in 1957 and 1962 in the six member states, demonstrated that business groups were consistently more favorable to the Common Market than were agriculture and labor groups (Shepherd 1975, p. 204). As liberalization of trade becomes a reality in these CEE countries, the integration of labor markets is seen as the following step (Barnes and Barnes 1995).

In the central and eastern European case, occupational status may also play a significant role in informing and structuring general political values and opinions about the EU (Lieven 1997). As the various economic sectors become aware of the positive and negative repercussions associated with integration, sector leaders are informing their constituencies of this impact. To the extent that the CEE agriculture community has voiced their opposition to EU membership, we might expect an individual working in the agrarian sector to possess political attitudes that are less favorable to integration.

Furthermore, the former technocratic elite, descendants of the precommunist middle class, and those involved in the second economy under state socialism are most likely to be more receptive and open to integration into liberalized market economy. Those individuals possessing less valuable skills or

capabilities are hypothesized to be the bureaucratic elite, the poor and most manual workers (Nee 1989; Szelényi and Kostello 1996; Walder 1996). Current connections with the West, such as the European Agreements, have made the EU a less distant reality to certain citizens. Thus, individuals working in a sector of the economy that is openly more favorable to integration will be more positive about EU membership. Also, if this perspective is right we would expect those individuals with higher education levels to be more accepting of integration, as they are more engaged in political discussions and stand to gain greater employment opportunities through integration. ~~Past scholarship has drawn a causal link between an individual's cognitive capabilities and occupation and their attitudes towards European integration.~~ Thus, we might expect a similar effect on central and eastern European attitudes towards membership in the EU. Therefore, we might expect to find that those: *CEE citizens with higher levels of education and whose occupational sector is favorable to integration are more likely to support membership in the European Union.*

↑ education → ↑ support for EU

Political Partisanship

We can also examine how political values, as embedded in party politics, serves as a proxy for EU support attitudes.⁷ In the past, there was an assumption that political parties had little impact on EU politics (Hix 1995). This assumption seemed to be confirmed by studies that found little correlation between support for integration and left/right party affiliations (Featherstone 1988; Wessels 1995). However, recent scholarship dispels this argument, and provides new evidence that party politics matter to European integration (Anderson 1998; Franklin, Marsh, & McLaren 1994; Rattinger 1994; Taggart 1998). Generally, these studies concur that support does not align on a left/right cleavage, yet they find political parties playing an increasingly important role in attitude formation. They find that explicit opposition to European integration by an anti-establishment or new party leaves its supporters less favorable to integration. Whereas, supporters of establishment parties are more likely to favor integration.

What does this tell us about party politics and EU attitudes in applicant countries? We can hypothesize that partisanship matters for three reasons. First, political parties espouse political positions that reflect their supporters political opinions more generally and in particular, about EU membership. Thus, if a political party opposes EU membership one would expect its supporters to hold a similar view. This is consistent with Anderson's (1998) findings that argue party support structures preferences regarding European integration. We can then look to levels of party support as a "proxy" for EU membership support. Second, partisanship reflects a set of political interests that potentially are helped

or hindered through integration. However, popular knowledge of these interests can be limited, and thus citizens rely on the positions espoused by political parties. The public debates in Greece prior to membership illustrate this dynamic. These debates were highly enmeshed in party politics. The political parties and their charismatic leaders served as the main influence in constructing and informing political attitudes as 'civil society' and more widespread political organizations had yet to develop in this newly democratizing country (Tsoukalis 1981). Finally, it is increasingly evident that political partisanship matters to the EU accession process. Referenda have in the recent past been fought along partisan lines.

In the five countries, political parties generally include statements in their party programs regarding their position on EU membership. In the Czech Republic, three of the main political parties state firm support for integration with the west (Bugge 1994). The Civic Democratic Party led by Vaclav Klaus "seeks Czech integration in western economic, political and military structures" (Bugge 1994, p. 165). Unlike the western model, the Communist Party of Bohemia clearly states in its program that it accepts "the perspective of joining the EU" (Bugge 1994, p. 166). Conversely, the Czech Liberal National Social Party is less concerned with integration into the West; instead, the party takes more conservative view to reform emphasizing its nationalistic roots.⁸

In Hungary and Poland, political parties that align themselves with a social democratic or liberal political position are more likely to include explicit statements supporting integration in their programs. The Hungarian Socialist Party "supports EU membership", while the Hungarian Alliance of Young Democrats makes a more urgent call for the "rapid integration with the EU and NATO" (Pittaway and Swain 1994, p. 208). The Polish UW is also described as "fervently pro-European and pro-NATO" (Millard 1994, p. 333). Furthermore, parties representing rural or agricultural issues are less supportive of EU membership. The Hungarian Independent Smallholder's Party opposes foreign investment and the Slovenian SLS advocates agriculture and rural issues with no explicit position on EU membership (Pittaway and Swain 1994; Allock 1994). Single issue parties, such as the Czech Pensioner's Movement for Security in Life and the Estonian Pensioner's and Families Union, are also ambivalent in their political positions toward EU membership. Instead their programs focus on immediate domestic issues affecting pensioners (Nørgaard, Johannsen & Pedersen 1994; Bugge 1994). If political party support serves as a proxy for attitudes regarding European integration, we would expect these party positions to have a predictable impact on levels of EU support. Therefore, we hypothesize that: *Supporters of political parties taking favorable positions toward European integration will be more likely to support membership in the European Union.*

Data Sources

To test these hypotheses, I utilize a 1996 survey⁹ carried out in 20 countries from central and eastern Europe, *Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 7.0* (CEEB). The survey was coordinated with the help of GFK EUROPE/ Ad hoc Research in cooperation with Fessel and GFK Austria. Data processing was undertaken by GFK Data Services Germany. The analyses utilize the data collected for the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia in the Fall 1996. Each country survey includes a sample of around 1000 persons who were interviewed in their homes. The surveys are nationally representative. This data set is particularly insightful to this study as it enables us to avoid many of the problems confronted by comparative public opinion research: that is, inconsistent wording across independent surveys or changes in sampling procedures. Instead, the CEEB represents a series of cross-national surveys possessing identical questions and procedures that were carried out systematically across these applicant countries. Furthermore, this survey provides us with a set of questions regarding general EU support attitudes alongside the more specific economic and political measures utilized in previous EU public opinion research.¹⁰

To indicate support for integration, the analysis uses a general question regarding future membership in the European Union. This serves as the dependent variable throughout the study. The question is as follows:

If there were to be a referendum tomorrow on the question of (OUR COUNTRY'S) membership in the European Union, would you personally vote for or against membership?

(1) vote for membership (2) undecided (3) vote against membership

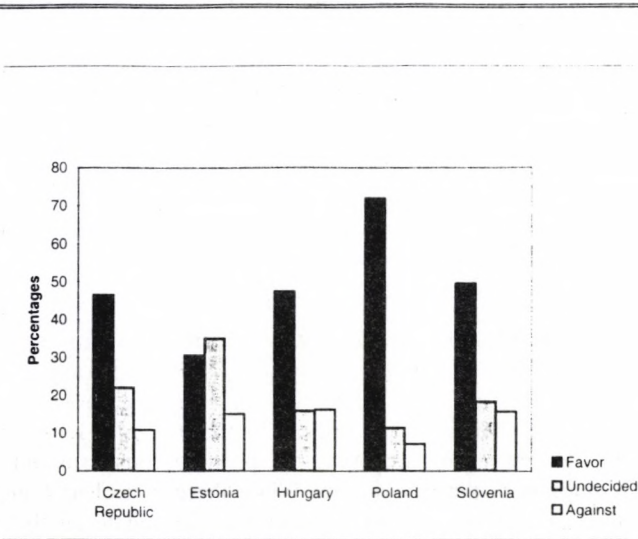
Figure 1 presents the general attitudes toward EU membership across all five countries. The most interesting part of this figure is that the comparison shows an overwhelming base support for integration. Furthermore, those citizens who are clearly against EU membership appear to be at a low level in all five countries. Although not a clear majority, this positive consensus bids well for membership referenda in the near future. While there is a clear foundation of support, the data also show a definite variation in aggregate levels. The high levels of Polish support may be attributed to a public consensus across the political spectrum that European integration is a necessary step for Poland's future. Furthermore, the "undecided" category is also particularly instructive in the case of central and eastern Europe. Public opinion scholars agree that surveys demonstrating low levels of EU interest and knowledge in these countries should not be interpreted as isolationist (Rose & Haerpfer 1995). Instead, being linked both economically and politically to the EU is a new phenomenon for this populous and thus opinions are still forming. This is

important so that lower levels of support are not misinterpreted. Estonian low levels of support are not necessarily a result of decided opposition, but instead represent an amount of uncertainty. This may be a result of the "socialization effect", as Estonian links to the West are comparatively new.

THE ROOTS OF CITIZEN SUPPORT FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION

We have seen that certain factors, both utilitarian and value based can impact citizen attitude's of support for the European Union. The hypotheses posited in the previous section suggest predictable outcomes regarding the effects of utilitarian and political value factors on support for integration. The following bivariate and multivariate analyses will test the explanatory value of utilitarian and value based predictors in understanding citizen attitudes in central and eastern Europe.¹¹

FIGURE 1 SUPPORT FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION BY COUNTRY



Source: Central and Eastern Eurobarometer No. 7 1996

financial well-being
democratic institutions
free market

Utilitarian Predictors

I hypothesized that an individual's perceived economic well-being will influence their support for European integration.¹² This is a particularly salient issue in the five CEE countries as their domestic economies have undergone considerable flux in the last five years and one's financial well-being stands to be evaluated as an effect of these reforms. As membership in the EU represents a further extension of these economic and political reforms (market liberalization, in particular), one might expect that an individual's favorable evaluation of their personal financial status will be positively related to support for EU membership.

Table 1 demonstrates how perceptions of financial well-being impact support for EU membership. Estonian ambivalence is evident since only 35 percent of those believing that their household financial situation was improved supported membership in the EU. Whereas, their Polish counterparts were considerably more decided and favorable, 40 percent more, with nearly 70 percent of those with perceived worsened conditions still favoring integration. The Hungarian data reveal similar patterns, as those possessing negative evaluations of their financial status are 20 percent less likely to support integration than their positive outlook counterparts. In general, the data demonstrate that individuals possessing positive evaluations of their household financial status are more likely to support future membership in the European Union. They view integration as an extension of the positive benefits they have so far received from the liberalization and transformation of their national economies. Thus, these attitudes regarding economic well-being may become a basis for individual attitudes about European integration.

In addition to potential economic benefits, the European Union also presents citizens with a set of benefits related to the newly created democratic institutions. Table 2 explores the impact that attitudes towards democracy had on a citizen's support for EU membership. The analysis uses a general question on satisfaction with democracy to test these attitudes.¹³

Table 2 demonstrates that individuals satisfied with democratic development are almost 20 percent more likely to support integration than their unsatisfied counterparts. Out of respondents who are satisfied with democratization, Polish respondents are almost twice as confident of their future in the European Union as their Estonian counterparts. Conversely, when looking at those individuals who are against membership, the results show that across all five countries more unsatisfied citizens hold this opinion than do those individuals satisfied with the development of democracy.

These data also present a general trend that is of significant importance to the stability of democracy in this region. Citizens are clearly unsatisfied with the way democracy is developing in their country. In the case of Hungary, dissatisfaction is almost four times as frequent as the contentment with democracy. Estonia and Slovenia show similar levels with almost a third more respondents dissatisfied with democracy. Citizens have drawn the link between this dissatisfaction and EU membership. These data would suggest that citizens look to the EU to help strengthen their democracy in the hopes of quelling their dissatisfaction. We can only hope, for the sake of democratic stability in the region, that the EU "dreams" can meet up to their expectations.

In addition to stabilizing democratic institutions, CEE citizens look to the European Union to consolidate capitalism and free market reforms in their countries. Membership in the EU represents the permanence and stability of liberal market institutions in the five countries. However, this public opinion and knowledge of capitalism is based on the personal experiences of these CEE citizens. As earlier hypothesized, one might expect individuals who favor free market reforms in their country to be more likely to support membership in the EU.

Table 3 demonstrates the relationship between individual attitudes regarding a free market economy and levels of EU support.¹⁴ Of those individuals believing the free market is right for their country, 60 percent support integration whereas only 40 percent of their anti-free market counterparts favor integration. These data also detect a general level of uncertainty surrounding evaluations of a free market economy. In the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia, aggregate levels of free market supporters are similar to the levels of individuals possessing negative attitudes about market liberalization. While differing on their certainty about integration, Estonian and Polish attitudes are clearly in agreement that the free market is right for their country.

It is also interesting to note that over half of the Polish respondents, who believe the free market is wrong, also favor membership in the EU. One wonders how "Western dreams" have become detached from the reality of western capitalism. Consistently across all countries there is a generalizable relationship between an individual's attitude on the free market and their support for EU membership. The data suggest that an individual's positive attitudes toward a free market economy may form the basis for greater levels of support for the integration project.

TABLE 1 SUPPORT FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION BY EVALUATION OF HOUSEHOLD FINANCIAL STATUS

	Improved	Worsened	<i>r</i>
Czech Republic			
Favor EU	56.4	35.3	.21**
Against EU	7.5	19.5	
(N)	(241)	(329)	
Estonia			
Favor EU	34.6	23.1	.11**
Against EU	12.2	18.1	
(N)	(286)	(360)	
Hungary			
Favor EU	65.4	45.1	.13**
Against EU	7.7	17.4	
(N)	(52)	(720)	
Poland			
Favor EU	75.5	69.9	.06*
Against EU	6.0	7.1	
(N)	(200)	(382)	
Slovenia			
Favor EU	55.9	44.2	.10*
Against EU	13.2	20.0	
(N)	(152)	(405)	

Note: 'Undecided' and 'Stayed the same' categories are included in the calculation of percentages but are excluded from this table.

r = Pearson correlation coefficients

*Significance at the .05 level

**Significance at the .01 level

Source: Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 7.0 1996

TABLE 2 SUPPORT FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION BY SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

	Satisfied	Don't Know	Unsatisfied	r
Czech Republic				
Favor EU	61.0	8.0	37.7	.26**
Against EU	6.2	16.0	14.0	
(N)	(418)	(25)	(578)	
Estonia				
Favor EU	35.6	21.2	27.5	.18**
Against EU	11.0	--	19.0	
(N)	(438)	(33)	(600)	
Hungary				
Favor EU	60.7	28.1	45.5	.20**
Against EU	9.7	3.1	19.3	
(N)	(206)	(64)	(732)	
Poland				
Favor EU	81.1	56.6	66.7	.17**
Against EU	4.8	6.1	9.7	
(N)	(439)	(99)	(466)	
Slovenia				
Favor EU	61.3	17.1	42.6	.20**
Against EU	12.3	2.4	19.4	
(N)	(470)	(41)	(603)	

Note: 'Undecided' category are included in the calculation of percentages but are excluded from this table.

r = Pearson correlation coefficients

**Significance at the .01 level

Source: Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 7.0 1996

TABLE 3 SUPPORT FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION BY ATTITUDES OF WHETHER A FREE MARKET ECONOMY IS RIGHT FOR THE COUNTRY

	Right	Don't Know	Wrong	r
Czech Republic				
Favor EU	62.2	31.1	34.7	.22**
Against EU	7.2	5.4	16.9	
(N)	(458)	(148)	(415)	
Estonia				
Favor EU	34.6	18.2	26.0	.20**
Against EU	16.9	9.1	13.9	
(N)	(611)	(99)	(361)	
Hungary				
Favor EU	65.1	33.3	39.5	.28**
Against EU	10.1	12.1	28.2	
(N)	(387)	(306)	(309)	
Poland				
Favor EU	81.5	60.4	51.9	.23**
Against EU	6.1	5.7	11.5	
(N)	(637)	(159)	(208)	
Slovenia				
Favor EU	59.5	35.2	43.3	.22**
Against EU	13.7	14.2	19.0	
(N)	(518)	(176)	(420)	

Note: 'Undecided' category are included in the calculation of percentages but are excluded from this table.

r = Pearson correlation coefficients

**Significance at the .01 level

Source: Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 7.0 1996

Cognitive and Value Predictors

As earlier discussed, the cognitive mobilization hypothesis tells us that the prospects of integration become more understandable and thus more supported, by the better educated. Furthermore, I hypothesized that individuals with higher levels of education are better able to adapt to changes that accompany integration and also more likely to benefit from the opportunities afforded through integration.

Table 4 illustrates that education level is positively related to support for the EU across all five countries. Czech citizens possessing advanced levels of education are almost twice as likely to support membership in the EU as their counterparts with only an elementary education. While Estonian levels of support are decidedly lower, the results show that all individuals possessing at least a secondary degree are almost 20 percent more supportive of integration than their elementary educated counterparts. Support for membership in the EU remains at a fairly constant level amongst Slovenians, if slightly elevated amongst the educated elite.

Table 5 reveals a distinct pattern between occupation and EU support. Individuals in occupations involving the private sector or civil service are on average more supportive of integration than other sectors. Farmers are more decided than any other sector on opposing membership in the EU. Across the five countries, an average of almost 20 percent of farmers is opposed to further integration with Western Europe. Similarly, on average pensioners possess 10 percent lower support levels than civil servants. When examining EU support attitudes across countries within occupation, we see how Polish Euro-optimism has influenced even the most down trodden, the unemployed. More generally, the unemployed population is skeptical of integration, as the Czech and Estonian data demonstrate, because they have already experienced the hardship associated with market reforms. Consistent with previous research, these data suggest that occupation may be a significant factor in determining an individual's attitudes towards European integration.

Finally, the data in Table 6 suggests that party politics may play a significant role in structuring central and eastern European attitudes about integration. I examined this relationship through a question which asks respondents to declare which political party they currently support.¹⁵ From accounts of past enlargements, we know that political parties in applicant countries often provide key political cues to citizens which are crucial to their general attitudes about the EU. The political parties also reflect a set of values that are related to the public's support and opposition to the integration project.

Table 6 illustrates the relationship between partisan attachments and EU support. Political parties that represented a clear position on EU support were more likely to have supporters who favor EU membership. The ROP embodies Polish nationalistic interests which currently envision a Poland strengthened through integration into Western markets. Similarly, the Czech data reveal that the most pro-European parties, the Communist Party and the Civic Democratic Party, have supporters who are more favorable to EU membership. The Hungarian Socialist Party and Alliance for Young Democrats supporters are clearly more decided on support for EU membership than their counterparts. Estonian respondents were clearly undecided on EU support. Estonian political parties at the time of this study had not included positions on EU integration in their party programs and thus we would expect a weak relationship between partisanship and EU support in this case.

Ambivalence and opposition to EU membership are also clearly associated with single issue and agrarian party supporters. The Czech Pensioner's Movement for Security members were clearly more undecided on EU integration than the other four political parties. Similarly, the Hungarian Independent

Smallholder's Party supporters, whose party firmly opposed foreign investment and represent agrarian interests, possess lower levels of support for EU membership. The Slovenian SLS, which advocates rural and agriculture issues rather than concerning itself with larger international issues, appears to reflect its supporters' EU attitudes. These individuals are not only less likely to support EU membership, but are more likely than the other political party supporters to remain undecided over integration. Generally, the data suggest political party support may serve as a proxy for attitudes regarding European integration. Supporters of parties representing explicit favorable positions on EU membership were more likely to possess higher levels of support for the integration project. As much as these newly developing political parties can be categorized on a left/right scheme, the data confirm recent scholarship that suggests that EU support levels are not necessarily related to traditional left/right attachments.¹⁶

TABLE 4 PERCENTAGE FAVORING MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION BY EDUCATION LEVEL

	Elementary		Some Secondary		Secondary Graduated		Higher Education		<i>r</i>
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	
Czech Republic	38.0	(84)	42.7	(162)	52.0	(167)	60.8	(59)	.18* *
Estonia	18.6	(19)	28.6	(65)	32.5	(189)	34.2	(55)	.15* *
Hungary	37.8	(140)	52.0	(131)	51.5	(138)	59.8	(67)	.21* *
Poland	62.6	(142)	69.6	(215)	76.1	(284)	86.3	(82)	.17* *
Slovenia	46.8	(118)	44.1	(89)	49.6	(229)	58.6	(116)	.13* *

r = Pearson correlation coefficients

Significance at the .01 level

Source: Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 7.0 1996

TABLE 5 SUPPORT FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION BY OCCUPATION

	Civil Service	Private Owner	Private Employee	Agrarian	Pensioner	Unemployed
Czech Republic						
Favor EU	65.9%	64.8%	45.1%	29.6%	37.6%	26.3%
Against EU	2.3	13.0	12.2	18.5	11.8	15.8
(N)	(44)	(54)	(237)	(27)	(186)	(19)
Estonia						
Favor EU	36.5	42.5	27.7	25.0	26.5	31.3
Against EU	18.2	12.3	20.7	18.2	15.2	12.5
(N)	(159)	(73)	(213)	(44)	(230)	(80)
Hungary						
Favor EU	54.9	46.2	50.9	45.0	42.2	50.0
Against EU	9.9	26.9	17.0	20.0	14.0	21.9
(N)	(91)	(52)	(112)	(20)	(422)	(96)
Poland						
Favor EU	90.4	82.1	71.8	50.6	70.2	75.4
Against EU	5.8	5.4	4.6	19.1	6.3	5.8
(N)	(52)	(56)	(131)	(89)	(272)	(69)
Slovenia						
Favor EU	45.5	47.0	57.5	57.1	53.2	50.7
Against EU	17.6	25.8	17.8	21.4	11.1	20.9
(N)	(176)	(66)	(73)	(14)	(333)	(67)

Note: 'Undecided' category and other occupational categories are included in the calculation of percentages but are excluded from this table.

Source: Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 7.0 1996

TABLE 6 SUPPORT FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION BY POLITICAL PARTISANSHIP

	Political Parties				
	1	2	3	4	5
Czech Republic	Communist Party of Bohemia (Communist)	Liberal National Social Party (Socialist)	Civic Democratic Party (Right Liberal)	Czech-Moravian Union of the Center (Regional)	Pensioner's Movement for Security in Life (Single issue)
Favor EU	72.1	22.5	68.5	71.4	50.7
Undecided	23.3	25.0	23.3	23.4	31.6
Against EU	4.7	52.5	8.2	5.2	17.8
(N)	(43)	(40)	(73)	(192)	(152)
Estonia	Estonia Center Party (Liberal)	Estonia Reform Party (Right Liberal)	Pensioner's and Families Union (Single issue)		
Favor EU	38.3	38.1	27.5		
Undecided	35.0	43.3	51.0		
Against EU	26.7	18.7	21.6		
(N)	(60)	(134)	(51)		
Hungary	Hungarian Socialist Party (Social Democratic)	Alliance of Young Democrats (Liberal)	Christian Democratic People's Party (Christian Democratic)	Independent Smallholder's Party (Agrarian)	
Favor EU	70.0	65.9	65.2	56.7	
Undecided	15.8	11.0	10.9	19.6	
Against EU	14.2	23.2	23.9	23.7	
(N)	(120)	(82)	(82)	(97)	
Poland	SLD (Socialist)	UW (Liberal)	ROP (Nationalist)	UPR (Right Liberal)	
Favor EU	64.4	66.7	83.3	83.4	
Undecided	21.9	15.7	10.0	9.5	
Against EU	13.7	17.6	6.7	7.1	
(N)	(73)	(51)	(150)	(169)	
Slovenia	SDS (Social Democratic)	LDS (Liberal)	SLS (Christian Democratic)		
Favor EU	55.7	71.7	43.6		
Undecided	17.0	17.9	30.9		
Against EU	27.3	10.4	25.5		
(N)	(88)	(307)	(110)		

Note: This table includes the political parties from each country which received at least 5% of respondent support. General political party family classifications for each party appear in parentheses.

Source: Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 7.0 1996 and Klingemann 1997

Predicting Citizen Support for European Integration

Conclusions drawn from the bivariate analyses are confirmed by the multivariate analyses. Furthermore, a multivariate analysis can give us a more precise understanding of whether findings associated with the utilitarian and political value models hold when applied to the publics of central and eastern Europe and also test their independent explanatory power when controlling for the effects of the other variables. In order to demonstrate the relative impact of given variables, while controlling for the effects of others, I used Multiple Classification Analyses (MCA). Support for EU membership is the dependent variable in these analyses. The analyses combine the three utilitarian predictor variables (economic perception, satisfaction with democracy, and attitudes toward capitalism) and the three cognitive/ political value variables (education level, occupation, and political partisanship) into a multivariate analyses in all five countries.¹⁷ Table 7 reports the predicted mean level of support for membership in the EU within the respective categories of the predictor variables, and also the summary statistics of the MCA.

The data suggest that two potential factors influencing EU support in CEE applicant countries can be dismissed by these results. First, when combined with the other variables, generally, the economic perceptions of CEE citizens may not be a significant factor promoting greater support for EU membership at the individual level. While individual financial well-being appears to have an independent effect on Czech attitudes towards European integration, its effect on attitudes in the other four countries are considerably weaker, if not insignificant. These findings may provide further evidence for recent scholarship that questions the strength of economic variables in explaining citizen attitudes towards the European Union (e.g. Duch & Taylor 1997). Second, while occupational status has served as a cue for negative or positive attitudes towards further integration in western Europe, this factor may not be a defining predictor amongst central and eastern Europeans. Furthermore, these findings demonstrate that the most dominant utilitarian and value predictors follow a different pattern than found in member state public opinion.

The analyses of Table 7 suggest that the pro-EU attitudes of central and eastern Europeans arise from a combination of both utilitarian and political value factors. Attitudes towards democracy and free market economy prove to be two of the strongest utilitarian predictors across all five countries. This holds true of both the zero-order relationship (as noted by the eta coefficients) and the partial relationship, controlling for the effects of all the other predictors included in the analysis (as noted by the beta coefficients). The impact of democracy and capitalism is not a spurious one; it is not related to the fact that those satisfied with democracy and free market reforms are more educated for example.

Instead, the EU symbolizes the future institutional strength of democracy and capitalism in these countries. Consistent with earlier analyses of the Mediterranean enlargement, the data suggest that an individual's evaluation of democratization and market liberalization becomes a powerful link to their support for European integration.

The data also demonstrate the strong independent effect that political partisanship has on popular attitudes regarding EU membership. Consistent with studies on member state publics, the data suggests that party support may serve as a proxy for central and eastern European attitudes towards European integration. What is distinctive about this effect, however, is that it does not follow a left-right pattern and it is not necessarily linked to support for establishment parties. Instead, as the bivariate analyses demonstrated, support is linked to a party's public position on EU membership, rather than general patterns of left Euro-skepticism and right optimism. While the effect is slightly weaker in Estonia, the public debates between political parties on EU membership in all five countries had considerable impact on party supporter attitudes. Similar to the patterns found in the earlier EC enlargements, the data suggest that independent of personal economic factors or even education level, CEE citizen's positive support for EU membership may to a significant extent be driven by support for political parties with clearly defined pro-European positions.

CONCLUSIONS: INTEGRATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION

Membership in the European Union remains a pending decision for the citizens of central and eastern Europe. The results presented in this article indicate an overwhelming base support for EU membership across all five applicant countries. Although not a clear majority, this positive consensus bids well for membership referenda in the near future. Yet as national governments enthusiastically prime themselves for membership, the individual level data warns that the enthusiasm is not shared by all citizens. In particular, pensioners and farmers are clearly more skeptical about their future as "Europeans". This is confirmed by a recent study of the Hungarian agriculture community which showed that EU membership "casts a shadow" amongst farmers, an attitude which comes in stark contrast to the perceptions of the country's "raring to go" image as a whole (Lieven 1997). The findings in this article help explain these conflicting attitudes.

The analyses suggest that citizen support for European integration in central and eastern European applicant countries is influenced by a combination of both utilitarian and political value factors. The research provides new insights

to utilitarian models by expanding their explanatory capacity beyond conventional economic variables; and furthermore, it complements recent public opinion scholarship which conceptualizes support for European integration as a combination of domestic political factors (Anderson 1998). Equally important, the findings may demonstrate the limitations of public opinion models developed for member state publics when directly transferred to applicant countries. I will list these conclusions as a set of broader lessons for integration scholars.

First, the research demonstrates that European integration can mean different things to different people. While this is a relatively simple concept, public opinion models may distort, or completely miss, this nuance by assuming a set of benefits for all publics. Furthermore, this can be subject to greater variation when examining applicant countries, as these citizens' experience with and knowledge of the EU can be even more limited than a member state populous. The findings suggest that in the case of central and eastern Europe, the strongest utilitarian factors shaping attitudes are not based on measures of specific industry economic benefit.

Instead, the research indicates that cross-nationally, a citizen's general attitudes toward democracy and free market economy are the strongest predictors of support for the EU. Citizens who are satisfied with the democratic transition in their country and favor a free market economy may be more likely to favor future membership in the EU. In the CEE context, EU membership may not only be viewed in terms of living standard increases; instead, and even more significantly it is viewed as a means of strengthening the institutional base for democracy and capitalism. This pattern is consistent with citizen attitudes in the newly democratizing Mediterranean states involved in the second enlargement.

Secondly, the results suggest that political parties are playing an increasingly important role in influencing public attitudes towards Europe. Consistently across all five countries, political partisanship was the strongest predictor of citizen attitudes, next to democracy and free market economy. The results presented in this article lend support to a growing body of research arguing that political parties matter to integration (Anderson 1998; Rattinger 1994; Taggart 1998). The data suggests, that amongst central and eastern European citizens, party support structures preferences regarding EU membership. Such evidence may help us better understand variation in public opinion, and provide a clearer explanation of why economic conditions may have a more limited and indirect effect on levels of EU support.

Equally of interest, the party data provide further evidence of why we must look beyond general left-right partisan attachments to understand how

party politics is important to EU accession. The analysis suggests that regardless of ideology, citizen attitudes in these central and eastern European countries are most affected by partisanship in terms of a political party's position on European integration. Thus, a political party that took a clear public position on support for EU membership was more likely to have supporters who were also clearly decided on support for integration, regardless of left-right ideology. An endorsement of the EU by the Czech Communist Party left its supporters as favorable to integration, as the more right-liberal Civic Democratic Party supporters, whose party also made a clear declaration of integration with the West. The fact that all Estonian parties lacked a public position on integration at the time of the survey, may also help explain the uncertainty of EU attitudes amongst this populous. The most basic lesson we learn from this data is that, in applicant countries, voters may use party attachment as a proxy to answer questions on EU membership.

Furthermore, given the relative paucity of public opinion research in applicant countries, this analysis also provides a foundation for future research in this area and suggests some promising avenues of inquiry.¹⁸ The research design utilized data collected at one point in time to examine the general logic determining central and eastern European citizen attitudes about Europe. Thus, while the findings reveal a distinct pattern in citizen attitudes at the time of my study, I would expect these to change over time. Citizen attitudes regarding domestic institutions, let alone European integration, are in their infancy in these newly democratizing countries. As more reliable time series data becomes available, our scholarship would be enriched by an examination of these attitudes over time. Furthermore, interesting research questions surround the effect that the greater consolidation of political and economic domestic reforms would have on citizen attitudes. Will political parties play a different mediating role as citizens begin to gain more personal experience with the EU as accession reforms are implemented? Will popular attitudes in applicant countries begin to resemble patterns found in member state countries the longer a country is engaged in EU reforms and trade? Similarly, as the data becomes available, studies examining support for specific EU policy areas might also elicit a more nuanced understanding of attitudes in applicant countries, as demonstrated by previous research on public opinion in member states (Eichenberg & Dalton 1998).

From another perspective, the analysis contributes to the larger comparative politics literature through the examination of the interplay between domestic politics and international relations. Recent scholarship has alerted students of both comparative politics and international relations to the powerful constraints that domestic politics can have on a state's behavior in the international arena (e.g. Evans, Jacobsen, & Putnam 1993; Garrett & Lange

1995; Keohane & Milner 1996). Yet this scholarship focuses primarily on the impact that domestic politics has on national governments as international actors.

As we begin to observe a general blurring of domestic and international political processes, especially in Europe, our scholarship can no longer ignore the crucial impact that citizens, as domestic and international actors, can exert on both national and international policy outcomes (Caporaso 1997). Thus, democratization in central and eastern Europe is not separate from larger supranational political and economic reforms in Europe; and as the analyses demonstrate, the citizens of these newly democratizing countries are acutely aware of this connection and can exert considerable constraints on it. Their favorable attitudes towards domestic political and market reforms are essential for their continued support for integration. However, as the hardships incurred from these reforms become a greater reality than the earlier dreams of democracy and capitalism: this research suggests we might also expect a decline in support for integration. Eastern enlargement of the European Union is not the only project that could suffer from such an outcome. Instead, as the findings demonstrate, these mass attitudes are equally linked to the stability of democracy in Europe as a whole.

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APPENDIX A

PEARSON CORRELATIONS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES BY COUNTRY

		Eco. Percept.	Demo.	Free Market	Edu.	Occup.	Pol. Part.
Czech Republi c	Economic Perceptions	1.00	.35**	.21**	.10**	.05	.04
	Democracy	.35**	1.00	.31**	.11**	.04	.11**
	Free Market	.21**	.31**	1.00	.12**	.04	.03
	Education	.09**	.11**	.12**	1.00	.37**	.26**
	Occupation	.05	.01	.04	.37**	1.00	.20
	Political Partisanship	.04	.11**	.03	.26**	.20**	1.00
Estonia	Economic Perceptions	1.00	.32**	.21**	.06	.05	.12**
	Democracy	.32**	1.00	.31**	.09**	.03	.14**
	Free Market	.21**	.31**	1.00	.17**	.07*	.17**
	Education	.06	.09**	.17**	1.00	.34**	.16**
	Occupation	.05	.03	.07**	.34**	1.00	.22**
	Political Partisanship	.12**	.14**	.17**	.16**	.22**	1.00
Hungary	Economic Perceptions	1.00	.30**	.10**	.11**	.15**	.08*
	Democracy	.30**	1.00	.15**	.08*	.04	.10**
	Free Market	.10**	.15**	1.00	.26**	.11**	.11**
	Education	.11**	.08*	.30**	1.00	.29**	.15**
	Occupation	.15**	.04	.11**	.29**	1.00	.03
	Political Partisanship	.08*	.10**	.11**	.15**	.21**	1.00
Poland	Economic Perceptions	1.00	.27**	.18**	.18**	.11**	.02
	Democracy	.27**	1.00	.23**	.10**	.05	.14**
	Free Market	.18**	.23**	1.00	.20**	.09**	.15**
	Education	.11**	.10**	.20**	1.00	.27**	.08**
	Occupation	.02	.05	.09	.27**	1.00	.08*
	Political Partisanship	.06*	.14**	.15**	.08**	.08*	1.00
Slovenia	Economic Perceptions	1.00	.25**	.14**	.12**	.03	.01
	Democracy	.25**	1.00	.20**	.08*	.01	.09**
	Free Market	.14**	.20**	1.00	.23**	.05	.04
	Education	.12**	.08*	.23**	1.00	.23**	.18**
	Occupation	.03	.02	.05	.23**	1.00	.08**
	Political Partisanship	.01	.09**	.04	.18**	.08**	1.00

*Significance at the .05 level

**Significance at the .01 level

Source: Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 7.0 1996

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NOTES

¹ Applicant countries and date of application: Hungary and Poland (1994); Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia (1995); Czech Republic and Slovenia (1996).

Accession negotiation countries: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia.

² The applicant countries are working with the EU to implement these economic conditions in a relationship which has become known as the "Accession Partnerships".

³ A recent American Political Science Association panel was dedicated to the topic of public opinion and European integration. At the Turin summit in 1996, the President of the European Council, emphasized that "citizens are at the core of the European construction" and that the EU must respond to their "needs and concerns".

⁴ The Central Eastern European States formed the Central European Free Trade Area (CEFTA) in 1991, as a way to prepare for EU membership.

⁵ While this conclusion was derived from a political economic model of support, this hypothesis is congruent with the utilitarian argument posited by Gabel and Whitten (1997).

⁶ For a thorough discussion of these United States Information Agency public opinion polls see Shepherd 1975.

⁷ Unlike the previous predictor variables examined in this article, past research conceptualizes political party support as a proxy for levels of EU support rather than a casual determinant (see Anderson 1998). Consistent with this research, I adopt a similar conceptualization for examining the impact of partisanship on EU support levels.

⁸ Formerly the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in 1948, this party has tried to rid itself of the image that is was subordinate ally of the Communist party in the National Front. Thus, it took a name change in 1989 and moved further to the right representing a more liberal position.

⁹ The data was made available for this study by Hans-Dieter Klingemann of the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin. It is now available through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, ICPSR Study 6835.

¹⁰ While the CEEB surveys have been carried out annually since 1990, these 5 applicant countries were not included in all of the earlier surveys. Furthermore, CEEB 7.0 is the first survey carried out after all 5 countries had established formal economic linkages with the EU (the last being Estonia in 1995) and all had begun accession negotiations with the EU (the last being the Czech Republic and Slovenia in 1996). These are important factors as they provide citizens with at least enough first hand experience with EU relations to form attitudes about the subject. This survey is sufficient to test the propositions contained in this article. Further examination is needed to test whether these findings hold across time.

¹¹ Note that the independent variables possess both theoretically and empirically distinct effects on levels of EU support. As elaborated in the previous section, the variables included in these analyses are derived from an extensive literature which establishes their theoretical relevance to EU public opinion (e.g. Eichenberg 1998). Furthermore, from this research I've only included variables that are theoretically relevant to the central and eastern European case. While the variables are clearly all positively related, the overall bivariate correlations are fairly low. See Appendix A.

¹² I used the following question to test this relationship: Compared to 12 months ago, do you think the financial situation of your household has... (1) Got a lot or a little better (2) Stayed the same (3) Got a little or a lot worse.

¹³ On the whole are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is developing in (OUR COUNTRY)? (1) Very or fairly satisfied (2) Don't know (3) Not very or not at all satisfied.

¹⁴ To measure individual attitudes toward the free market I use the following question: Do you personally feel that the creation of a free market economy, that is one largely free from state control, is right or wrong for (OUR COUNTRY'S) future? (1) Right (2) Don't know (3) Wrong.

¹⁵ If there were a General Election tomorrow, which party would you vote for, or might you be inclined to vote for?

¹⁶ Scholars have begun to categorize the new and evolving political parties of eastern and central Europe in terms of Western party families (e.g. Klingemann 1997). However, as democratic party politics is still in its infancy in these countries it would be inaccurate to assume that citizen support for a particular political party necessarily correlates with an individual's self categorization on left-right alignment. General left/right data was not available in this survey; yet, I was able to code all political parties included in this analysis according to the party family classifications provided by the Klingemann data (1997). I have included these general classifications in Table 6. Thus, we are able to draw preliminary conclusions regarding the relationship between traditional left/right party alignment and levels of EU support.

¹⁷ Additional demographic variables were included in preliminary analyses, but those which had neither theoretical or empirical significance were excluded from the final analyses.

¹⁸ See Kucia (1999) for a discussion of qualitative public opinion research on CEE accession countries.



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