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European citizenship; How European are young Europeans expected to be and how European are they in fact?

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Citation

Dekker, H. (1993). European citizenship; How European are young Europeans expected to be and how European are they in fact? In *Reconceptualizing Politics, Socialization, and Education; International Perspectives for the 21st Century* (pp. 519-545). Oldenburg: BIS. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/13217>

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

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27	<i>European Citizenship</i>	
	How European Are Young Europeans Expected To Be and How European Are They in Fact?	

27.1 Abstract

Reconceptualizing political education and socialization in Western Europe for the 21st century will focus on the European dimension in education, among others.

Twelve states in Western Europe have decided to create a new political entity (the European Community and after January 1, 1993 the European Union) which will replace some major functions of these nation states to a large extent. From a political socialization point of view, it is interesting to

research whether or not the Union's founding fathers have any concept for a new citizenship and if so, what that content is; whether or not they have taken measures to promote this new European citizenship; whether or not they know how much their citizens meet these new requirements as well as relevant research findings and conclusions; and to compare these findings with related political science literature on citizenship, political integration, and supra-national political entities.

Conclusions from our literature search and interviews with EC policy makers and civil servants are as follows. All EC policy-making actors (the European Council, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the European Parliament) have expressed a need for European citizenship. The EC tries to promote European/EC citizenship through four categories of actions: providing information/propaganda, promoting EC symbols, promoting the European dimension in education and training, and offering opportunities to exercise specific features of citizenship. The EC (e.g., the Directorate-General for Information of the Commission) has commissioned studies on opinions of young people (and adults) with respect to the European Community. A major finding is that most young Europeans ". . . are drawn to the major European ideas and recognize the importance to their country of membership of the Community but . . . do not involve themselves in European affairs" (Commission, 1982, p. 138). Comparing our findings from the EC European citizenship policy goals, activities promoting European citizenship, the actual European citizenship level among younger Europeans, and the political science literature on (European) citizenship, we conclude that there is a gap between policy goals and research designs, that EC activities aiming at the growth of European citizenship are limited in quantity and quality, and that the concept of European citizenship in EC policy is unsophisticated.

The actual level of European citizenship among the younger generation is disappointing, at least from the EC citizenship point of view. Finding out why these efforts have had a limited effect and how to improve the quality of actions in this field would be in the interests of both the EC elites and individual citizens as well as in the interest of popular democracy.

27.2 Political Elites and European Citizenship

"We do not lack a plentiful supply of European butter, cheese, eggs or even pigs. What is in short supply is the truly European citizen" (Jessica Larive, MEP, 1990).

Do the founding fathers/builders of the new European Union have a concept of the new citizenship and, if so, what is its content?

The ultimate aim of the EC is, in the words of the preamble to the Rome Treaty, to establish "an ever closer union among the European peoples."

Already in 1969, the "Summit" (the Meeting of Heads of State or Government [later called the *European Council*]) stated that: "All measures decided upon here for the creation and growth of Europe will be assured of a better future if the younger generation is closely associated with them. The governments have this consideration very much in mind and the Communities will make provision for it." The concept of "European identity" was on the agenda of the Copenhagen Summit in 1973. In 1975, a report on European Union was presented.

At the Stuttgart Summit in 1983, the Heads spoke about "awareness of a common cultural heritage" and "European awareness." In 1984, the Council talked about European *citizenship* and an "image" of the Community which should be promoted in the minds of its citizens. It installed an *ad hoc* citizenship committee of senior civil servants, which Pietro Adonnino chaired. This committee presented a two-part report in 1985, entitled "A Peoples' Europe" (see Council, 1985). The first part concentrated on abolishing frontiers of all kinds to permit the free circulation of persons. Concrete proposals were made in the second part for special citizen's rights; cooperation on public information, communication, and culture; cooperation in the health field, including combatting drug abuse; establishing a European Academy of Science, Technology, and Art; promotion of youth exchanges involving joint sports teams; promotion of town twinning; designation of a Community ombudsman; promotion of a lottery to finance cultural projects; information campaigns to convince citizens of the Community's importance; and strengthening the Community's image through a flag, an anthem, emblems, postage stamps, and a passport. The report stated:

"What has been achieved until now in Europe has been the work of those who experienced the horrors and destruction of war. Continuation of the venture rests on the assumption that future generations will also understand and appreciate one another across borders, and

will realize the benefits to be derived from closer cooperation and solidarity" (Commission, 1989, p. 5).

This report was accepted at the Milan Summit in 1985. In 1991, in Maastricht, the European Council decided to formally establish citizenship in the European Union. This citizenship is comprised of five political and civic rights: the right to reside and move freely within the Community; the right to vote (and be elected) in municipal elections and for the European Parliament in the state of residence; the right to diplomatic or consular protection by other member states if the national member state of a Union citizen is not represented in the non-Community country where he/she is located; the right to petition the European Parliament; and the right to bring a complaint against Community bodies before the Ombudsman.

The *Community's Ministers of Education* declared that their ultimate aim is "to define a European model of culture correlating with European integration" (Council, 1971). Giving a European dimension to pupils' experience was one of the Ministers' objectives in a 1976 Resolution (Council, 1976). In 1988, the Ministers of Education decided to "include the European dimension explicitly in their school curricula in all appropriate disciplines" (Council, 1988, resolution on the European dimension in education). In the "Conclusions sur la coopération et la politique communautaire en matière d'éducation dans la perspective de 1993", one of the goals is "un sentiment renforcé d'appartenance à une communauté européenne" (Council, 1989a). In the Resolution of the Council against racism and xenophobia, civic-mindedness and mutual understanding were also mentioned as important goals (Council, 1989b).

The *European Parliament* expressed the opinion "que les citoyens européens actuels et futurs ont besoin de connaître l'existence, les objectifs et le fonctionnement de la Communauté européenne dans laquelle ils sont appelés à vivre." The goal of teaching the European dimension in the school is "de faire prendre conscience aux jeunes générations que la Communauté européenne existe, se développe et prend un ensemble de décisions qui influent sur leur présent et orienteront leur avenir" (European Parliament, 1987).

The *Commission* proposed that a particular effort should be made in secondary education so that all pupils could receive education about the EC. The three content areas were: the Community in its European context; the Community at work; and the Community in its world context (Commission,

1978). In the report "Teaching about Europe" (Commission, 1985) the following objectives were identified: to make European citizens aware of the rights and obligations which arise for them out of Community institutions and of the influence that Community institutions will have on their living conditions; to enable young people to be better acquainted with the member states and the Community's situation in Europe and in the world; to ensure that the construction of Europe is a joint and long-term enterprise which young people should be able to pursue according to individual choice (Ibid.). In 1988, the Commission published a report "Greater emphasis for the European Dimension in Education." In the "Education and Training in the European Community. Guidelines for the medium term: 1989-1992", (approved by the Community's Education Ministers, October 6, 1989), the Commission stated that an emphasis on human resources "is essential if all Europeans are to assert the Community's identity and basic values more effectively in the face of current challenges." One of the three objectives for cooperation in education is:

". . . to promote the shared democratic values of the Member States, and increased understanding of the multicultural characteristics of the Community and of the importance of preparing young people for *citizenship* which involves the Community dimension in addition to their national, regional and local affiliations. . . . [If so, the European dimension] . . . can highlight the common democratic values of European civilization" (Council, 1985, p. 12).

All EC policy-making actors (the European Council, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the European Parliament) have expressed a need for the concept and development of European citizenship. The Council of Ministers documents (a: Resolution on the European dimension in education, 1988; b: Conclusions, 1989a; and c: Resolution against racism and xenophobia, 1989b) say that young people should be prepared to take part in making concrete progress toward European union, as stipulated in the European Single Act (a), should have civic-mindedness (c), and should have mutual understanding (c). They should have knowledge of and insights into: the Community (a); European integration (a); the Member States of the EC in their historical, cultural, economic, and social aspects (a); the realities of life in other European countries (a); the significance of the cooperation of the Member States of the EC with other countries of Europe and with the world (a). They should be aware of the advantages which the Community represents and the challenges the Community involves in opening up an enlarged economic and social area to them (a). They should have

a stronger image of Europe, in the sense of the People's Europe Report (a), a clear understanding of the foundations on which the European peoples intend to base their development today, that is in particular the safeguarding of the principles of democracy (a), social justice (a), respect for human rights (a) and a stronger sense of European identity (a); and "un sentiment renforcé d'appartenance à une communauté européenne" (b). They should accept the value of European civilization (a), democracy (a), social justice (a), respect for human rights (a), pluralism (c), and tolerance (c).

27.3 Activities

What EC measures have been taken to promote a new European, EC citizenship?

The EC Commission has a separate "Directorate-General for the audio-visual sector, Information, Communication and Culture", a "Spokesman's Service", including a "People's Europe" Section and a "Bureau for Official Publications." The other EC institutions have a separate information department, as well. In all 12 member states, the Commission and the Parliament have national information bureaus. This results in a constant flow of professional and popular publications (many of them in all nine official EC-languages).

Since the acceptance of the Adonnino report Council, 1985), EC citizens see the word "EC" and its flag more often. The EC anthem is not very frequently used.

Education and training have become important tools to promote European citizenship. One of the aims of various EC programs is to:

". . . provide opportunities for learning European citizenship, consisting as it does of tolerance and respect for cultural values . . . and friendship between nations, especially those which have banded together in the EC . . . giving people a greater say in their own affairs, i.e. of enhancing the sense of citizenship of each and every European" (Kerchove d'Exaerde, 1990).

In a Resolution of the EC Ministers of Education (Council, 1988), a large number of activities were funded to give greater emphasis to the European dimension in education and teacher training. Examples are: documentation on the Community and its policies; basic information on educational systems in member states; support for joint study programs; measures to boost

contacts between pupils and teachers from different member states; support for exchange programs and study visits; organizing summer universities; and fostering cooperation in educational research. In 1987, 56% of the young Europeans (15-19 years old) said that they had been taught something about the EC. At the same time, only 2% knew a great deal and 21% knew a certain amount in the same group of respondents. Education about Europe has obviously not been very successful and, as the Commission concluded, ". . . that such instruction is ineffective or inadequate" (Commission, 1989, p. 96).

Opportunities to exercise EC citizenship are: direct European Parliamentary elections; access to MEPs; a right to petition (in 1989/1990, there were 774 such petitions); access to the Court of Justice; professional, consumer, or other organization representation (in the Economic and Social Committee); and, probably in the future, direct contact with an EC Ombudsman.

The EC has tried to promote this new European/EC citizenship through information/propaganda, promotion of EC symbols, promotion of the European dimension in education and training, and offering other opportunities for exercising EC citizenship.

But what about actual practice? The European flag (12 stars in gold with a blue background) and anthem (the first movement of Beethoven's ninth symphony) are rarely used in ceremonies or rituals and, thus, unknown to many Europeans. There is no European "head of state", no European King/Queen or President. People in Europe do not have a personal symbol of "Europe" with which they can identify. Opportunities for meeting European politicians and for European political participation are scarce as well. Only a few countries have held an EC referendum (Ireland, 1972; Denmark, 1972 and 1992; Norway, 1972; France, 1972; and the United Kingdom, 1975). Only once in the last five years has there been an election (campaign) for the European Parliament. There is no European military force as yet. All these socializers are not present. There is, however, a huge flow of pro-EC propaganda. No empirical data are available about uses and effects of these materials. My estimation is that these EC pamphlets have a limited number of readers and that they may suffer from a "boomerang effect." This attitude could be strengthened or be more extreme after confrontation with some counter-EC information, such as that appearing after the anti-union Danish 1992 referendum.

27.4 European Citizenship

"Poised between alienating, sterile collectivism on the one hand and exuberant and socially intolerable individualism on the other, democratic Europe has been able to keep its balance, in a living humanism which is its alone" (Jacques Delors, September 29, 1989).

Are the EC builders interested in whether or not young citizens meet the new requirements of EC citizenship? If so, what are the relevant findings and conclusions?

27.4.1 Relevant Studies

The EC (the Directorate-General for Information of the Commission) has commissioned studies on opinions of youth and adults with respect to the Community. The EC founders are "far-sighted enough to see that the long-term survival of the Community in a democratic age would depend on its finding legitimacy with the general public" (Slater, 1983, p. 72, cited in Hewstone, 1986, p. 19).

One study, called "The Young Europeans" (Commission, 1982), was based on data from 3,867 youth in ten member states. A second study, "Young Europeans in 1987" (Commission, 1989), was carried out in all 12 states. The number of young people interviewed was increased to 7,000. A third study, "Young Europeans in 1990" (Commission, 1991), was carried out in all 12 member states as well, including the former GDR. This time, the study was undertaken at the request of the Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training, and Youth of the EC Commission. Among the 55 million young people (aged between 15 and 24) in the EC, 7,600 were questioned.

"The Young Europeans", "Young Europeans in 1987", and "Young Europeans in 1990" are three publications from the so-called *Eurobarometer* series. Twice a year (since 1973), the EC Commission has commissioned research on EC citizens' orientations. Results include demographic criteria, cross-tabulations between replies to different questions, and some multivariate analysis. In some of the other *Eurobarometer* reports, other data on young people are presented as well (for example, *Europe 2000*, Commission, 1987).

27.4.2 Some Findings on EC Knowledge, Opinions, and Attitudes

Findings from the three EC studies on the European political orientations of youngsters in the EC are as follows.

Knowledge

Most young Europeans (15- to 19-year-olds) feel themselves not sufficiently well-informed about the problems dealt with by the EC (Commission, 1982 and 1988). In 1990, only 16% felt they knew enough about the EC and what it does; 72% wanted to know more. The strongest desire for EC information was expressed in Portugal, Greece, and Italy; the weakest in Belgium, the FRG, and the Netherlands (Commission, 1991).

In 1990, 56% claimed not recently to have read in the papers, heard on the radio, or seen on television anything about the European Commission in Brussels (Commission, 1991). More than one-third of the respondents (in 1987 and 1990) had no impression about the Commission (Commission, 1989 and 1991). Therefore, the conclusion is that "European institutions seem distant and unknown to young people" (Commission, 1989, VIII).

Only 4% of young people interviewed in 1990 correctly identified all member states; this percentage varied between 10% in Luxembourg and 2% in Greece, Italy, Portugal, and the United Kingdom (Commission, 1991).

Opinions

A growing majority (1982: 52%; 1987: 65%; and 1990: 71% of the 15- to 24-year-olds) have the opinion that one's own country's EC membership is a good thing. Between member states, strong disparities exist. The most favorable opinions are observed in Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The least, in Denmark and the United Kingdom (Commission, 1991). It should be noted that the formulation of this question tends to prime positive responses (Dalton, 1980).

A growing majority (1987: 58% and 1990: 67%) have the opinion that their country has on balance benefitted from being an EC member. Figures for individual states indicate great differences. Young people in Luxembourg, Portugal, Italy, Ireland, and the Netherlands see the most benefits; young Spaniards see the least benefits (Commission, 1991).

EC problems are considered "very important" for the future of the respondent's country and people in the opinion of more than a quarter of the

youngsters, aged 15-19 years in 1987. Half of the group thought they were "important" (Commission, 1989).

A small majority (58%) of the young Europeans (aged 15-24) thought (1987) that the EC Single Market in 1992 would be a good thing (Commission, 1989). A country-by-country analysis revealed very marked differences. In Italy, support is the greatest; in Denmark, the weakest. Greater than this general support for the EC Single Market is support for various resultant market measures. Eight out of ten young Europeans (aged 15-24) thought that the following measures will be an advantage: the opportunity to go and live without limitation in any other country (80%); to work in any other country (80%); to buy any product lawfully sold in other countries (79%); and the ability to make payments without complication within the whole EC (77%). A majority also had positive expectations with respect to bringing together the value added tax rates (67%); to possess any amount of money when travelling to other countries (77%); the possibility to acquire land or property throughout the EC (73%); and the possibility to open a bank account in any EC country (71%). Only two aspects received a moderately positive response, namely eliminating customs controls (58%) and opening up public procurement (50%) (Commission, 1989)

Efforts made to unify Western Europe have a large majority of supporters (1982: 72%; 1987: 74%; 1990: 82%). Opinions in all member states are very similar, with two exceptions. In Portugal, the support is the greatest, while in Denmark, it is least favored (Commission, 1991). On the whole, young Europeans (aged 15-24) wanted to see the process of unification speeded up (Commission, 1989 and 1991).

In favor of going even further than the Single Market toward the unification of Europe was almost half (48%) of the 15-to 24-year-old Europeans. Support for this idea greatly varied, however, from country to country. It was strongest in Italy and Portugal and weakest in Denmark and the UK. For those in agreement with going further than the Single Market, "a true cooperation in science and technology", received support from a majority in each member state (on the average, 62%). "A single common currency" had support of a majority of young people in Belgium (60%), Luxembourg (56%), and France (52%). However, the average was less than half of young Europeans (43%). None of the other possible policies commanded a majority in any country: "a political union among the member states" (39%) and "a strong common defense" (32%) (Commission, 1989).

Favoring "an actual European government which would have the final say in decisions in some important areas" received 40% approval from the 15- to 24-year-olds (Commission, 1982).

Attitudes

The figures for really being interested in how people live in other parts of Europe were only 20%, 21%, and 23% in 1982, 1987, and 1990, respectively (Commission, 1982, 1989, and 1991). "Very interested" (16%) in the problems of the EC and "a little interested" (56% and 57%, respectively in 1982 and 1987) were revealed. Interest in European problems seems to be strongly and positively linked to the feeling of being sufficiently well-informed (or not) about these problems. "A degree of complexity is inherent in approaching European problems and may reduce interest in Europe among younger and less-educated groups" (Commission, 1982, p. 117).

Many young people aged 15-24 (1982: 44%; 1987: 45%; 1990: 40%) in the EC would be indifferent if they were to be told tomorrow that the EC had been scrapped. "Young people currently show considerable acceptance of their country's membership in the Common Market, but a majority of them are indifferent to its scrapping" (Commission, 1982, p. 120).

In 1982, respondents saw a list of "kinds of fears which are expressed about the future, say in the next 10 or 15 years, of the world we live in." They were asked to tell which of these "really concern you or worry you." The loss of European influence for one's own country was at the bottom of the list (10%), together with reduced Western European influence in the world.

In all three years, only a small minority saw "the unification of Europe" as examples of great causes "which nowadays are worth the trouble of taking risks and making sacrifices for" (1982: 8%; 1987: 8%; 1990: 12% of the 15- to 24-year-olds). Young Europeans are less drawn than the older respondents to the idea of a unified Europe. The best-educated young people are more in favor of unification than other respondents. Many more men than women are ready to "take risks" and "accept sacrifices" to unify Europe.

Respondents placed the unification of Europe at the bottom of the list of "things which might bring about changes in the next 10 or 15 years in the way people live in our country." When asked which factors are "the most promising" or offer "the most hope for the future", only 14% mention the unification of Europe. A relevant conclusion is that ". . . young people are doubtless less aware than adults of the commonality of interests between . .

. the countries of Europe" (Commission, 1982, p. 60). Most youngsters do not primarily think of Europe as an idea, but rather in terms of concrete, everyday experiences (e.g., meeting people from other countries). The political idea of Europe is negatively evaluated, while concrete experiences are positively valued. Most youngsters now take for granted (Commission, 1982) progress made toward European integration since World War II. "As the past recedes, so present generations can no longer imagine France and Germany at war" (Armitage, 1988, p. 91).

Trust in peoples of other European countries differs considerably from country to country (Commission, 1982). The most trustworthy are perceived to be the Swiss, Danes, Luxembourgers, and the Dutch (80% or more). The least are the Greeks, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians (less than 50% think they are "very" or "fairly" trustworthy).

An indication of 15- to 19-year-olds' attitudes toward the EC was obtained in the 1982 and 1987 studies through an index of values assigned to answers on two opinion questions about EC membership (as a "good" or "bad" thing) and on possibly scrapping the EC ("very sorry" or "relieved" about it). The distribution of values shows strong EC support by 30% and 35% respectively of youngsters (15- to 24-year-olds), moderate support by 27% and 33%, a neutral position by 30% and 26%, moderate opposition by 8% and 4%, and strong opposition by 5% and 2%, respectively in the years 1982 and 1987. "The distribution of values in the indicator represents evidence of young peoples' relative lack of involvement in the EC" (Commission, 1982, p. 121). In the 1990 study, another opinion question related to efforts to unify Western Europe. On the basis of these two questions, a positive, an ambivalent, and a negative European attitude were established: 64% of 15- to 24-year-olds have a positive attitude. Women were generally less positive than men and had a stronger tendency to express an ambivalent attitude. The higher the educational level, it was found, the higher the percentage of positive attitudes. Positive attitudes differ considerably from country to country (e.g., in the UK: 46% and in the Netherlands: 73%).

In 1982, 26% of the 15- to 24-year-old Europeans said they were "very proud" of their nationality, 39% "quite proud", 17% "not very proud", and 9% "not at all proud" (9% no reply). The feeling of national pride was found to be less widespread among the younger (15-24 years) than among older respondents (25+ years). This was the case in all EC countries, although there are some slight differences.

Only 15% of the 15- to 24-year-old Europeans "often" thought of themselves as being "a citizen of Europe" in 1982, while 38% and 44% respectively responded "sometimes" and "never." Young people and older people are equally drawn to this feeling.

Summarizing these reports, most young Europeans:

"... are drawn to the major European ideas and recognize the importance to their country of membership of the Community but ... do not involve themselves in European affairs: they have little interest in European problems and, more often than not, view the prospect of the Community being scrapped with indifference" (Commission, 1982, p. 138). "All in all, the attitude of young people toward Europe seems to be characterized by a certain discordance" (Commission, 1989, VIII). "It must be understood that young peoples' greater dissatisfaction with information seems, in fact, to be a key source of their low level of involvement in European problems" (Commission, 1982, p. 128). [If young people] "are informed and feel themselves capable of adopting a position, then they become involved in the problems. If, on the other hand, they regard their knowledge as insufficiently reliable, they remain neutral. . . . Young people cannot really involve themselves in European problems unless they feel sufficiently well informed about them" (Commission, 1982, p. 132).

Popular involvement in the elections for the European Parliament in 1979, 1984, and 1989 have turned out to be low in all EC member states. In countries without a compulsory voting system, an extremely low percentage of citizens used their right to vote. In countries with a compulsory voting system, the percentage of voters was lower than in national elections (Table 1).

27.4.3 Behavior

Table 1: Turnout in European Parliament elections and declared intention to vote, by year and country (in percent).

	1979 Turn- out *	1984 Turn- out *	Inten- tion **a	1987 Turn- out **	1989 Turn- out **	Inten- tion **a
Belgium (b)	91.4	92.2	-		91	52
Luxembourg (b)	88.9	88.8	-		88	51
Italy	84.9	83.4	76		82	70
Greece	78.6	77.2	81		80	75
FRG	65.7	56.8	67		62	64
France	60.7	56.7	73		49	66
Denmark	47.8	52.4	55		46	56
Netherlands	58.1	50.6	64		47	54
Ireland	63.6	47.6	55		68	47
UK	32.3	32.6	36		36	35
Spain				69	55	41
Portugal				72	51	60

Notes: a: N=11,678; b: In Belgium and Luxembourg, nonparticipation constitutes an illegal infringement of civic obligations.

Sources: * European Parliament Information Service. ** *Eurobarometer* (Commission of the European Communities, 1984 and 1989).

Table 2: Percentage of female candidates and percentage of female members of the European Parliament (MEPs) in 1984 and 1989, by country.

	Candidates			Elected		
	'84 To- tal	'84 Women %	'84 Women %	'84 Total	'84 '89 Women	'84 '89 Women %
Belgium	215	53	24.6	24	4	16.6
Denmark	165	40	24.2	16	6	37.5
France	882	223	25.2	81	47	20.9
Germany	234	50	21.3	81	16	19.7
Greece	378	42	11.1	24	2	8.3
Ireland	34	4	11.7	15	2	13.3
Italy	702	67	9.5	81	8	9.8
Luxembourg	84	18	21.4	6	1	16.6
Netherlands	111	18	16.2	25	7	28.0
United Kingdom	271	48	17.7	81	12	14.8
Community (10)	3076	563	18.3	434	75	17.3
Community (12)				518	98	18.9

Sources: Women and voting, supplement to Women in Europe (Commission, 1985, p. 28); Women in figures, supplement to Women in Europe (Commission, 1989, p. 30).

Most striking about the figures about the "passive" right to vote is the low percentage of women candidates/MEPs (Table 2).

27.5 Political Science and Citizenship

What does the political science literature say about citizenship and the relationship between citizenship and political integration in supra-national political entities?

27.5.1 Citizenship

A fundamental distinction is the one between citizenship as a legal concept and citizenship as a political-psychological concept. The legal concept focuses on national laws (e.g., being born in the UK of British parents means you are a British citizen with full British legal rights and duties) and European and other international law and legislation (e.g., the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms from the Council of Europe in 1950, the Council of Europe's European Social Charter of 1961, and the EC's Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of 1989).

If we focus on the political-psychological concept, citizenship is a combination of particular knowledge, insights, opinions, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behavior (which is the most important element). The other elements are supportive of that behavior.

One's citizenship cognitions, affections, and behavior relate to citizens' rights and duties in a political entity, fundamental political values, and the feeling of belonging to that entity. Two categories of rights may be distinguished: economic and social rights (e.g., the rights to housing, food, clothes, education, health care, a job, trade unionism, and collective bargaining) and political and civil rights (e.g., the right to vote, freedom to organize politically, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of movement, and equality before the law). Also, two categories of duties/responsibilities are distinguished: economic and social duties (e.g. earning a living, being financially independent, serving the community through volunteer work, helping those in need, educating children, looking after one's own family, protecting the vulnerable, preserving the environment, doing one's job at a high standard, and respecting public property) and political and civil duties (e.g., the right to vote, political participation beyond voting; the right to protest against bad laws; and the obligation to pay taxes,

defend the country, obey the law, accept majority decisions, and respect the rights of others).

Citizenship is seen as a fundamental part of the identity of individuals. Citizenship is "a way of thinking and feeling that acts as an anchor in situating oneself in society" (Conover, et.al., 1990, p. 4). It is part of the "self-schema, a cognitive structure containing information about oneself", which intricately links the sense of self to the notion of what it means to be a citizen. It is considered being part of broader concepts, such as political literacy (Crick and Lister, 1978 and 1979), political competence (Dekker, 1991), political identity, or political understanding.

Citizenship is not an absolute condition; a distinction between people with and people without citizenship cannot be easily made. Rather, citizenship has different levels (e.g., minimal and advanced); there is a scale ranging from "very bad" to "very good" citizens.

27.5.2 Political Citizenship

In the political science literature, attention is given to citizenship in connection with political philosophy/theory, political systems, political change, political integration, and political psychology/socialization, and education. Appropriate points of departure for this discussion are the political system and the individual, respectively.

The concept of citizenship differs in parliamentary democracy and other political systems. Even among parliamentary democracies/philosophies, different political rights, duties, and roles are ascribed to citizens. A fundamental distinction is the one between elite democratic theories versus participatory democratic theories. In other words, we can distinguish between proponents of liberalism and proponents of communitarianism and their corresponding views on the contractual and communal citizenship (Conover, et al., 1990; Heater, 1990).

The contractual version of citizenship tends to be legalistic. It has at its core a strong conception of individualism and individual rights. Citizens are seen as autonomous individuals who make choices, who are bound together by a "social contract", rather than as friends and neighbors united by any common activity. The calculating citizen uses rights and fulfills duties/responsibilities not from a moral, ideological obligation, but as it best serves his/her own interests. Political participation is mainly instrumental and mainly serves private interests rather than any common good or person-

al self-development. Rights are emphasized and interpreted in terms of protection for the individual (against interference from government or society) and of his/her autonomy. Duties are usually relegated to the back-ground because they constitute obligations that restrict freedom. From a contractual perspective, one's identity as a citizen involves identification not with a community of people but, instead, with the abstract category of "legal citizen", the bearer of rights (Conover, et al., 1990).

The communal vision of citizenship has at its core a conception of citizens who are not so much autonomous individuals making private choices, as social and political people whose lives are intertwined with those of their neighbors. They share common traditions and understandings and pursue certain common goals with their neighbors. Engaging in public activities result from these common traditions, understandings, and goals, from what people share, and has much to do (for that reason) with their identities. Identities are as central to the communal vision as rights are to the contractual. Citizens not only have the right to participate in politics but are expected to do so for the community's sake as well as for their own. Individual rights are regarded as contextually defined and are voiced in a community background. Duties, being obligations that are to be welcomed rather than scorned, are brought forward. From the communitarian perspective, citizens identify themselves with a community of people and, in its most-developed form, have a sense of collective consciousness about the meaning of that identity, resulting in an encumbered sense of self (Conover, et al., 1990).

Theorists differ also in their views about the relationship between citizenship, the political system, and political integration. Three viewpoints can be distinguished. In the first, the political system/political integration affects citizenship. Citizenship reflects or follows political elites' decisions. In the second viewpoint, citizenship affects the political system and political integration. In the third view, no relationship is seen between citizenship and political system. The findings of Dalton and Duval (1986) in the United Kingdom argue against the expectation that continued exposure to Community institutions and policies will develop support for European integration. The reasons are that stable opinions have not developed and the long-term base line for British opinions on the EC is predominantly negative. Our view is that, ultimately, the survival of a political entity depends on the existence of some demonstrable, popular, public support. Political elites' decisions should coincide to a certain degree with their constituents' opinions

and attitudes. According to this line of thought, the long-term survival of the present EC and the development of a still-more-integrated "European Union" will only be possible if the majority of the citizens possess knowledge about "European" matters, are convinced of its intrinsic importance and value, are prepared to identify themselves with the new Europe, and are prepared and willing to contribute to its realization.

27.5.3 European Citizenship

Economic and political elites have initiated and strengthened the political integration process in Western Europe. Following Deutsch (1967, p. 251), bold steps toward substantially greater European unity "would have to be sold" to mass opinion by the sustained and concerted efforts of leaders and elites" (quoted in Hewstone, 1986, p. 11). Important ingredients of the product to be "sold" are: basic knowledge, positive opinions and attitudes, and the willingness to play by the "rules of the game."

Basic knowledge is seen as an important condition for opinions, attitudes, intentions, and behaviors. People should be aware of the existence of the EC; they should possess information about EC institutions, decision-making structures and processes, and European Parliamentary elections once every five years. Not only is basic knowledge of the EC itself considered to be necessary, also required are basic knowledge of politics in general, "political empathy" (Hanley, 1977), and political "cognitive mobilization" ("political skills necessary to cope with an extensive political community") (Inglehart, 1970, p. 47). Individuals need to possess knowledge of general political concepts and simple political frameworks, including what politics is all about (Armitage, 1988, pp. 87-88).

In the literature on this theme, positive opinions and attitudes are often presented under the heading of "support." The two kinds of support (Hewstone, 1986) are affective and utilitarian. Affective support is seen as an emotional sentiment in response to the idea of European integration (e.g., a new loyalty to the EC, in addition to loyalty to the national political system). Utilitarian support is based on the perception of larger pay-offs with respect to the national economy and/or one's personal situation, more so than that resulting from one's independent nation state. Support also relates to the three basic levels of a political system: the authorities, the regime, and the political community. Support can be specific (e.g., environmental policy) and/or diffuse.

Other attitudes, seen as instrumental for increased EC political integration at the individual level are limited nationalism, trust in other EC peoples, a "European identity", sentiment for European integration; "attachment to the European ideal or dream"; a readiness to help other countries; political interest (especially in European Parliamentary elections); and being in favor of a directly elected Parliament. Although trust in other nations is not directly linked to EC success, it may be closely related to EC attitudes because the EC can be perceived of as a combination of other nations and peoples. A European identity makes an individual think of him/herself as a "European" or as a "citizen" of the EC.

Integration, in the political-psychological sense, can be described as the process whereby citizens in several distinct regional and national settings change (or are persuaded to do so) their knowledge, opinions, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behavior toward a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing regional authorities and national states.

We have developed a theory of European political socialization, based on an interactive theory for national political socialization (Dekker, 1986, 1988, and 1991). European political socialization is the sum of political orientations relating to European political systems (in this case, the European Community political system), as well as structures and processes through which individuals and groups acquire these orientations. The central components in this theory are the individual's European political competence as he/she is socialized; the European political knowledge, insights, opinions, attitudes, behavioral intentions, and behavioral patterns of the individual being socialized; interrelationships between these categories and the relationship between these categories and other personal and social characteristics, as well as the general (national) political competence and both the non-political and politically relevant general competence of this individual. The second elements in this theory are the agencies of socialization. Falling under these different agencies are various socializers; that is, persons, groups, categories, institutions, organizations, objects, and events which contribute to the individual's socialization. The most important agencies of political socialization are primary groups, churches, educational systems, mass communication media, peer groups, and political/economic structures and processes. The third component is the dominant subsystem of the society, divided into a dominant subsystem in power and a dominant subsystem which is in opposition. The final part comprises the peripheral subsystems

of the society. The connections among these four components are influence relationships. The first influence relationship is the one between the individual being socialized and the agencies of socialization, including the active socializers contained within it. The next influence relationship is the one among the different agencies of socialization themselves, as well as among their respective socializers. The third relationship of influence is the one between the dominant subsystems and socialization agencies. The anticipated influence which the dominant subsystem in power exerts is a stabilizing one; the oppositional part of the dominant subsystem intends to break down the existing power structures. A fourth influence relationship is that between peripheral subsystems and the agencies of socialization. In addition to these influence relationships, we may consider the interdependence between the dominant subsystems and the peripheral subsystems. Since the dominant subsystems are capable of directly influencing the structure of a society, they can also directly influence peripheral subsystems. It could also be assumed that there is another influence relationship, though a much weaker one, in the opposite direction.

27.6 Conclusions

All EC policy-making actors (i.e., the European Council, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the European Parliament) have expressed the need for European citizenship within the EC. The EC has tried to promote a new European, EC-citizenship through providing information/propaganda, promoting EC-symbols, encouraging the European dimension in education and training, and offering opportunities for exercising one's EC citizenship.

The EC has commissioned studies on the knowledge, opinions, and attitudes of young people (and adults) with respect to the Community. The significant findings may be summarized as follows. Most young Europeans "are drawn to the major European ideas and recognize the importance to their country of membership in the Community but . . . do not involve themselves in European affairs (Commission, 1982, p. 138).

Table 3: Knowledge, opinions, and attitudes on European citizenship in EC policy documents and research.

Variables	Policy document	Study		
<i>Knowledge:</i>				
- Estimation of having knowledge of EC		1	2	
- Knowledge of the European Community				3
- Knowledge of European integration	a			
- Knowledge of the EC member states	a			
- Knowledge of significance of EC	a			
- Awareness of advantages of EC	a			
- Awareness of challenges of EC	a			
- Strong image of Europe	a			
- Understanding of foundations	a			
<i>Opinions:</i>				
- EC membership for one's own country		1	2	3
- Scrapping the EC		1	2	3
- Gains and losses from membership			2	
- (Un)importance of EC problems		1		
- Effectiveness of EC policies		1	2	
- Single European Market			2	
- Unification of Europe		1	2	3
- Rate of European unification			2	3
- Commission of the EC			2	3
<i>Attitudes:</i>				
- Stronger sense of European identity	a			
- Sentiment renforcé d'appartenance à une communauté européenne	b			
- Value of European civilization	a			
- Value of democracy	a			
- Value of social justice	a			
- Respect for human rights	a			
- Value of pluralism	c			
- Tolerance	c			
- Interest in people in other parts of Europe		1	2	3
- Interest in problems in the EC		1		
- Demand for information on the EC			2	3
- Attitudes toward the EC		1	2	3
- Value of unification of Europe		1	2	
Table 3 (con'd.)				
- Unification of Europe as a hope		1		
- Fear of one's own country's loss of influence in Europe		1		
- Fear for reduction in the influence of Western Europe in the world		1		
- Trust in peoples in Europe		1		
- Nationalism		1		
- Europeanism		1		

Note: a = Council, 1988. b = Council, 1989a. c = Council, 1989b. 1 = Commission, 1982. 2 = Commission, 1989. 3 = Commission, 1991

Comparing the study findings regarding the EC citizenship policy goals, activities promoting European citizenship, actualities of European citizenship, and the political science literature review on (European) citizenship, we may conclude, that:

- Policy goals and policy effects research items are not the same (see Table 3).
- EC activities aimed at achieving European citizenship are limited in quantity and quality.
- The concept of European citizenship (in the legal, political-psychological sense) has not been developed in a sophisticated way in formal EC policies, compared to the basic requirements therefore found in the relevant political science literature.

What is actually known about European citizenship and the younger EC generation in research reports is disappointing from the point of view of EC citizenship goals. Means employed to increase the degree of European citizenship have not been very successful until now. Most striking is the low percentage of citizens who have used (or intend to use) their right to vote for the European Parliament. Discovering why this is the case and how to improve the quality of education and information, and policy actions in this field is in the interest of EC elites, EC democracy, and individual EC citizens.

27.7 References

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