Perception and Evaluation of Regional and Cohesion Policies by Europeans and Identification with the Values of Europe

PERCEIVE

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Deliverable 2.2

"Mapping the determinants of EU citizen's perception and identification"

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Outline

1. Introduction: aims and scope of this deliverable

Why individuals identify with Europe? In the absence of direct personal experiences with the EU and with people of other member states, how can the identification with the European project be developed? Despite the great number of EU competences, legislation and policy programmes, they are mostly implemented by member states. Are these EU policies amplifying citizens' exposure to the idea of the EU? And finally, are citizens aware of the aims and perceive the benefits of the Cohesion Policy? If so, does it contribute to strengthen the shared political values under the European Social Model and, consequently, is it a driver of the identification with Europe? Giving answer to these questions is the main objective of this deliverable.

This work tries to give some light to answer, at least partially, these questions by means of a key assumption. For most people in Europe, their experience with the EU takes place in the national political arena. In fact, one of the major EU policies is the Cohesion Policy that accounts for some 350 billion euros in the 2007-2013 programming period, about a third of total EU budget. Still, this policy is managed mostly locally. When individuals think on Europe they usually do it from a local point of view. The consequences of European integration depend not only on EU policies but also on how national, regional and local governments manage them.

The Cohesion Policy is basically a regional development policy. Consequently, the territorial dimension is a key aspect that needs to be considered. In fact, most imbalances in economic and social (e.g. education) terms take place within every country and even within every region. In this respect, the perception of the Cohesion Policy and their impact on the development of a European identity could well vary between individuals in rural and urban areas. Therefore, we provide a specific look at the urban – rural divide of the way mechanisms and determinants impact on citizens' European identification.

The work carried out for this deliverable considers inputs from other deliverables of the PERCEIVE project:

- We consider the outputs from the first Working Package, mostly the PERCEIVE Survey, although we also gain some knowledge on the specificities of the application of Cohesion Policy in the Case Study regions.
- We use the literature review developed in Deliverable 5.1 (Barberio et al. 2017) as a point of departure for the framework of analysis and the literature review on the definition and the determinants of European identity.
- We consider as well results in Working Package 4, as far as we work with a territorial urban-rural differentiation that arises as a crucial mechanism to determine citizens' identification with Europe.

- We combine data from the PERCEIVE Survey at the individual level with aggregate magnitudes from the PERCEIVE's EU Regional Dataset (Charron, 2017). In particular, this is the source for data on indicators of the Cohesion Policy in each region.

We also benefit from public knowledge resulting in H2020 projects with a very close connection with PERCEIVE. In particular we have learned from outputs summarising the state of the art in European identity (Mendez and Batchler, 2017) and also from additional work inspecting the role of some determinants on citizens' identification with Europe (such as Capello and Perucca, 2017a, b).

The specific objectives of this deliverable are:

- To develop a theoretical framework of analysis in which we provide an understanding of European identity and the grounds of mechanisms and determinants driving citizens' identification with Europe (sections 2 and 3), stressing the role of the territorial dimension on European identity formation (section 4).

- By means of the results provided by the PERCEIVE Survey (section 5), to provide a descriptive analysis of EU citizens' perceptions, with a special emphasis on the spatial dimension by reviewing between national patterns, north/south and east/west divides, and rural versus urban differences. We aim at providing descriptive statistics plus appropriate map analysis to study the geographical distribution of the magnitudes of interest, using country and Case Study region's aggregate data from the PERCEIVE's Survey, and accounting for the urban-rural dimension (section 6).

- The use of multivariate techniques, in particular principal component and factor analysis, on the variables provided by the PERCEIVE survey (briefly described in section 5), divided by perceptions and determinants, and including the generic dimensions of European identity assumed in the theoretical framework of the previous sections. This way we want to distinguish the determinants of citizens' identification patterns in the EU, with a specific attention to the Case Study regions, and represent them through synthetic indicators by dimension (section 7).

- To group the previous results by means of a cluster analysis in order to identify similarities and differences among the Case Study regions, providing an informative background for the interpretation and contextualization of the survey's results (section 7).

- To analyse the partial correlation between individual and regional characteristics on citizens' identification with Europe and their perception of Cohesion Policy. Using multilevel regression models, and individual and regional data we aim at analysing geographical disparities in identification and perception, as well as testing for a urban-rural divide and, finally, measuring the influence of the citizens' exposure to the Cohesion Policy interventions in the region. We also analyse how the effect of this exposure on identification with the European project and perception of the Cohesion Policy vary between urban and rural areas (section 8).

- To provide a list of conclusions which include food for thought for policy recommendations and for subsequent deliverables of the PERCEIVE project (section 9).

2. Framework of analysis. The concept of European identity

Since its inception in 1957, European integration has been parallel to a general idea of Europe: conceptually, the idea of cooperation was stronger than that of integration. Still, the obtained benefits of this collaboration have resulted in deeper and wider integration, what is nowadays extended to a large list of domains of every day's people life. Filgstein et al (2012) describe how the architects of the EU designed an initial economic integration to be followed by a political integration through a spillover mechanism (Haas, 1961), resulting in more co-operation and more supranational rule-making and even in a convergence of beliefs, values and aspirations, generating a new nationalism (Haas, 1968), as citizens see themselves as members of Europe, a new common entity. Consequently, the result of an institutional building, starting with the European Economic Community and ending in the actual European Union, is expected to be a European identity. The benefits resulting from such cooperation are expected to strengthen loyalty to the European integration, as proposed by the economic utilitarian theory (Gabel and Palmer, 1995).

Bergbauer (2018) points at 1973 as the first stage of the recognition of the European identity at the governmental level, when the European Communities adopted a declaration of European identity to strengthen cohesion between member states, followed by intentional European identity politics in the 1980's. This coincides with the first of the three phases of the study of European integration listed in the Deliverable 5.1 of the PERCEIVE project (Barberio et al., 2017), the exploratory phase, with two opposing approaches: intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism.

According to the former, supranational institutions resulted from the bargains between national governments with specific interests (Hoffmann, 1966), while according to the latter, supra national institutions emerged as interactions between societal and market patterns, 'spilling-over' among policy areas and consequently less policy driven (Haas, 1958, 1961, 1970; Haas and Schmitter, 1964; Lindberg, 1963).

The second analytical phase is dated on the 1980's and early 1990's and broadened the scope of the research on integration, as researchers started to inquire on the impact of Euro-polity on national and European policies and politics, in which governance and policy analysis became central. The questions of identity received new interest after the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, as scholars debated if and how EU institutions were democratically legitimated and if such European democracy required a collective identity, following a functional perspective (Habermas, 2001; Cerutti, 2003, 2008).

The third constructivist phase is dated between the late 1990's and the present. Research interests shifted from rules and institutions, to diffusing ideas, identities and political discourses, as the social processes behind the construction of ideas are the keystone of the concepts of integration and identification, following the ideas at the work of Berger and Luckmann (1967) on the social construction of reality. This phase coincided with the post-Maastricht period, in which European integration implied an increase of policy areas in which the EU took the control over national governments, including redistributive policies directing financial resources towards poorer countries and regions, such as the Cohesion Policy. At this stage, the legitimacy of the EU was seen to depend on the existence of a European identity.

More recently, new episodes fostered the debate on European identity: the enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe, the financial crisis, the Brexit, the ambiguous link between terrorist attacks and immigration episodes, the growth of populism, and the growth of regional identities aiming at independence of their national states, questioning the nested nature of territorial identities within Europe. The growth of the identification with the idea of Europe is far from being sustained. In fact, the perceived loss of legitimacy of the EU is also seen as a lack of support to the political system, as national identities are also a sense of fidelity toward a political architecture. Loyalty to the political system is easier not only if it reflects preferences but also if it is perceived as an effective problem-solving system (Braun and Tausendpfund, 2014; Harteveld et al., 2013).

Mendez and Batchler (2017) and Bergbauer (2018) use social psychology to build the concept of *individual* identification with Europe, defined as citizens' self-categorisation as European. According to Tajfel (1981), social identity is "that part of

an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). This subjective perception of identification implies cognitive, affective and evaluative dimensions of identity. The *cognitive* dimension refers to the self-categorisation as member of a group, whether people categorise themselves as European. The *evaluative* dimension is associated with value connotations, comparing people from the group with people out of the group. According to Mendez and Batchler (2017) this dimension relates to the defining content that braces this classification - the civic and cultural/ethnic distinctions of EU identity research. The *affective* dimension implies emotional attachment, developing feelings of care, love and concern for the members of the collective, relating to the emotional significance, the 'we-feeling'. This triple distinction does not imply that all identity dimensions need to be simultaneously present to qualify as a collective identity. Based on these arguments, Bergbauer (2018) defines individual identification with Europe as "citizens' self-categorisation as European together with their evaluations of their membership in the European collective and their affective attachment to Europe and other Europeans" (Bergbauer, 2018, p. 18).

Together with the idea of individual identification with Europe we face the definition of the *collective* European identity. Bergbauer (2018) lists two approaches: the collective identity based in social psychology and the sociological approach to collective identity. The former approach suggests that the collective identity is "a situation in which individuals in a society identify with the collective and are aware that other member identify with this collective as well" (David and Bar-Tal, 2009, p. 361). This implies that individuals are aware that other group members identify with the group, what is necessary, for instance, for collective mobilisation, what associates some sort of functionalism to collective identities at the group level. The sociological approach is based on the idea of "sense of community" or "we-feeling" (Easton, 1965), the affective ties and degree of political cohesion and solidarity between members of a community. From a practical point of view, these definitions implies a huge challenge, as the sum of citizens' identification with Europe is only a fraction of the collective identity, as it does not allow to account the awareness of the mutual identification with Europe, the perception of others' feelings and beliefs. As a result, the usual approach is accounting for the share and intensity of citizens' identification with Europe, discarding aspects associated with shared awareness (Bergbauer, 2018, p. 25).

Similarly, Agirdag et al (2012) lists two main theories to explain *collective* European identity: the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981 and Tajfel and Turner, 1986) and the self-categorization theories (Oakes et al, 1994). The first approach assumes that any

collective identity is part of an *individual* social identity, understanding than an individual is a member of a social group. The second one develops the idea of the former and affirms that *social contexts* provide the conditions for individuals' identities becoming relevant.

A collective identity is linked with the idea that a collection of individuals (a group) accepts a central similarity, driving to a feeling of solidarity within the group. This concept assumes that there are other individuals, with who there are social interactions. There is a wide list of fundamentals acting as drivers of similarities: religion, ethnicity, language, social class, gender, and of course, nations. Fligstein et al (2012) quote Anderson (1983, p. 5) for finding a definition of a nation:

> *"In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. (…) Regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings".*

This definition declares nations as communities, capable of creating social rules and even limits and boundaries when they become states. In fact, nation-states actually create rules for reproducing the national side of the social construct.

As for the European identity, Hooghe and Verhaegen (2017) distinguish two streams in the academic literature, which are linked with the above global ideas on collective identities. The society based-approach assumes that individuals have to identify themselves with other European citizens in order to establish a European community. Trusting other Europeans, feeling that one is part of a democratic community of citizens is key to determine the legitimacy of the process of European integration (Habermas, 2011, and Risse, 2014). The functionalist institutional approach proposes that the European identity is based on trust on the way European institutions are promising and effective on promoting economic growth and prosperity. In fact, it is easier to understand European citizenship, linked with rights granted by European laws, than a European identity, that is called to a feeling of belonging with the European Union that is an integral part of an individual's social identity (Risse, 2010). This feeling of belonging can be separated into two components. The first one is cultural: Europeans share a common cultural background, including the right wing sentiment that Europeans are Christians sharing common history (Holmes, 2009). Cultural dimensions include common history, traditions and moral norms and values (Bruter, 2003). The other one is civic,

built on rights and duties derived from European treaties and laws (Reeskens and Hooghe, 2010).

European identity is usually proxied using surveys, in which individuals are asked if they feel European in one's day-to-day life, or if they feel attached to the European Union, if they are glad to be European and even using reversed scales, for instance if they feel that Europe is worthless. Several works use the average or the sum of more than one question in order to capture the level of European identification.

Mendez and Bachtler (2017) identify up to 14 different survey questions on European identity, grouped in five categories: geographical belonging, thinking of self as European, attachment to Europe/EU, national versus European and proud to be European. Still, no measure is free of critique, as all suffer from limitations, such as a lack of measure of the intensity or the meaning of the identity (Luhmann, 2017). European identity is usually proxied by means of the Eurobarometer by questions about the support to European integration or about the feeling to be European (citizen of the EU) (Scheuer and Schitt, 2009, Verhaegen et al., 2014), and some use trust in Europe as the analysed variable (Arnolnd et al., 2012). As indicated in Hobolt and de Vries (2016), a distinct advantage of Eurobarometer data is that this source allows analysing differences across countries and over time in the identification with Europe. Other works using specific surveys are those of Agirdag et al. (2012) by collective self-esteem scale applied to European feelings, Hooghe and Verhaegen (2017) looking at feeling European in one's day-to-day life and attachment to the EU, and Rünz (2015) using a battery of questions such as the Europeans Values Index, or Support to the EU. Finally Luhman (2017) proposes a survey asking respondents 'Do you see yourself as European?'.

3. Mechanisms and Determinants of European identity.

In this section we follow the model of mass opinion towards the EU and European identity (Zaller, 1992; Fuchs, 2011 and Bergbauer, 2018) based on how individuals form political preferences on issues beyond their immediate experience and full personal understanding, this is, where citizens have little first-hand experience. The basic of this approach is that political attitudes are a function of information in the discourse and the attention paid by individuals. Next we review the mechanism through which citizens develop a collective identification, and the determinants that promote or hinder the European identity.

3.1. Mechanisms of European identity

According to Bergbauer (2018), the *mechanisms* of individual identification with Europe refer to how citizens develop such a collective identification. Two main types can be described: information-based and experience-based.

The *information-based mechanism* is based on the idea of convincing messages as a source of group identification and if and how individuals are *exposed* to such messages. From the supply side, such messages are provided by political elites and mass communication as sources of public opinion, and also by other people transmitting such messages in personal communication. From the demand side, exposure to Europe-related information depends on the level of *awareness* of citizens to EU issues and to citizens' attentiveness and interest to such type of messages, what includes their cognitive resources, such as their level of education. Consequently, both the provision and the processing of information will affect individuals' identification with Europe.

The *experience-based mechanism* is built on the idea of personal contacts and direct experiences as a source of identification with Europe: increased contacts and personal connections change group members' perceptions. There are several types of contacts, such as personal contacts with other Europeans (e.g. the Erasmus exchange program); personal experience with the repercussions of EU integration in national contexts such as free movements of goods and labour and also citizens' exposure to EU policies (e.g. the Cohesion Policy); and historical experiences within the collective memory of every context, as national identities filter how the EU is perceived (e.g. Europe is seen as a reconciliation mechanism for Germans after World War II and a way to democratisation in Spain after Franco).

3.2. Determinants of European identity

The *determinants* of individual identification with Europe listed in Bergbauer (2018) are differentiated at two levels: the individual and the system level. At the individual level she lists three: political awareness, attitudes towards the European and national bodies, and personal transnational experiences. At the system (country) level she proposes party messages related to European and national community, the economic position and degree of international integration, and the ethnocultural identification.

Political awareness. Interest in politics and political knowledge, both in general and in EU matters, are two aspects that are associated with European identity. Both interest and knowledge will positively (negatively) affect identification with Europe the higher the information on the benefits (risks and downsides) of European integration is.

Attitudes towards the European and national bodies. There is a widespread assumption that identities can be distinguished between civic (inclusive) and ethnic (exclusive), an oversimplification but still useful and influencing binary division (Kohn, 1944). As for the idea of Europe, two linked conceptions of the civic side includes an emphasis on the values of human rights, civil liberties, and democracy, and the cultural idea, rooted in the ideas of the Enlightenment, Greco-Roman legacy, humanism and roots in Christianity.

The strength of the national identification will affect as well the European identity. One can accept the possibility of multiple or nested identities, and consequently see that both feelings are complementary. On the contrary, concerns on integrity and sovereignty can drive to conflicting identities. The type of nation is important in fact. Bergbauer (2018) quotes Anderson (1991) and Brubaker (1992) by distinguishing two types of nations: the cultural type, based on ethnic, language, religion grounds, with a sharp differentiation from outsiders; and the universalistic type, based on common beliefs in democratic values, civil rights, etc. A strong national identity can have a positive or negative association with a European identity depending on the type of national grounds. In this vein, the question whether European identity is more civic oriented than cultural or ethnic in character is of course an empirical matter. Fligstein et al. (2012) review the empirical literature (Green, 2007; Kufer, 2009; Risse, 2010) and argues that both aspects are linked. People with a European identity are in favour of tolerance, peace, democracy, rule of law, etc., what they label as Enlightenment values. As such values are also shared within nations, it is possible, consistent and actually a reality, holding dual identities, what Díez Medrano and Gutierrez (2001) describe as nested identities, from European to national, regional and even local identities, which may or may not be in conflict or be complementary.

According to Hooghe and Verhaegen (2017), sharing these values is not enough to developing a collective identity, as some form of trusting relationship is needed: “trust is a fundamental condition for the development of a sense of community” (Scheuer and Schmitt, 2009, p. 559), as it facilitates co-operation and pursuing collective action. Such trust can take place with other individuals, what can be promoted at the European level trough physical interaction, such as the Interrail Global Pass and Erasmus educational program, and trust with political institutions, the European Union as a whole in this case. Political trust evaluates the political structure, which would include the legislature, the executive and the judicial divisions of administration, and also the running and effectiveness of the body.

One issue here is if individuals see the EU as a common effort and endeavour, with a shared political destiny, or as a means for improving individual material benefits, such as freedom to travel or to do business.

Personal transnational experiences. Frequent personal contacts with other EU citizens are expected to improve the identification with Europe. This includes cross border trips (e.g. Erasmus program) of living together with intra-European immigrants and even with other people with foreign citizenship.

Party messages related to European and national community. This country level determinant of European identification includes party messages related with EU matters. These messages can have an economic or a political-cultural dimension. Parties can be more liberal or more regulatory oriented. Similarly, parties can favour national sovereignty of EU governance. The more parties are pro-EU in a country, the higher will be the exposure of citizens to messages signalling the benefits of the European integration. The opposite is also true.

National economic position and degree of international integration. Since its inception, the European project has had an economic dimension, and consequently most debates on the EU have had a strong economic accent. Aspects such as membership to the EU or using the euro are positively associated with European identity. Besides, the net balance on the EU budget is also an important determinant of identification with Europe and with the EU project. The way EU policies and in particular the Cohesion Policy are implemented is, then, an important aspect to account for. Besides explicit EU policies, membership to the EU has positive economic outcomes, such as a positive trade balance for some countries. Consequently, trade openness in general and intra-EU trade in particular, and the trade balance of an economy are two important determinants of the identification of individuals with Europe, as far as they drive to a positive or negative perception of the benefits and costs of integration. Verhaegen et al. (2014) review the work of Cram (2012), Gabel and Palmer (1995) and McLaren (2004) and argue that the support to European integration depends on the economic benefits that individuals can get from the EU, and that it can be primarily instrumental (Jimenez et al. 2004).

Ethnocultural identification. This dimension captures the opportunities of citizens to interact with non-nationals. This can include the share of EU nationals in a country and also the overall share of immigrants. We can infer both positive and negative results of this effect, as far as one can gain experiences that influence their identification with Europe by contacting with other Europeans, but at the same time one can experience the costs associated with migration, such as domestic labour market competition or loss of national identity and traditions.

Individual identification with citizens of your country or from other parts of the EU links to the idea of trust in others and subsequently trust in political institutions at each level. There is a clear link between political trust at different levels: trust in regional, national and European institutions are connected, and actually there is a

positive correlation between trust on national and European institutions (Arnold et al 2012): “if citizens have a trusting attitude toward their own national institutions, apparently this is also extended toward the European Union” (Hooghe and Verhaegen, 2017, p. 166).

The empirical literature has analysed the identification with the idea of Europe and considers a wide list of determinants, including concrete indicators of the dimensions proposed by the theoretical approaches. Appendix 1 displays the summary of several works. The literature considers the use of some individual controls, generically, demographic and predisposing characteristics. Age, gender, ethnicity, religion, education, occupation, the perceived situation of the economy and or society (e.g. perceived financial situation of the household) and even psychological traits, such as life satisfaction, partly (or even mostly) driven by external circumstances.

And, finally, it includes several variables of interest to analyse the impact of one or several theoretical approaches. Some refer to the Political capital including cognitive mobilization (persuading friends holding an opinion), satisfaction with domestic democracy, perceived benefits from EU membership, and trust in institutions (although this variable is also considered as a proxy to identification with such institutions). Ideological stances are also usually considered, such as left-right placement and democratic satisfaction at the EU and country level.

Finally, most works consider the socio-economic context. Some as mere control variables, such as GDP growth, inflation and unemployment (Verhaegen et al., 2014), others consider the duality between rural - urban environment (Luhman, 2017) and others the nationality from a temporal perspective (old versus new EU member states or years of EU membership). Still, many works use country level variables to analyse the influence of the social context on different dimensions of European identification. These variables include the corruption index, the scope of the welfare state and some related with the economic benefit of belonging to the EU: net contribution to EU budget, received structural funds, spread on sovereign bonds and intra EU export.

4. The regional dimension of European identity. The role of Cohesion Policy and the urban-rural divide.

Among all factors and determinants influencing individuals' identification with Europe, there is a list of EU policies and institutions with a clear impact on the everyday life of citizens, such as the adoption of a common currency, having a common flag, the Erasmus program, etc. Still, as stressed by Capello and Perucca (2017a, b), there is almost no evidence verifying the role of Cohesion Policy on the construction of European identity. These authors list up to four reasons for expecting a positive impact of Cohesion Policy on the citizens' identification with Europe:

- The Cohesion Policy is designed to solve specific regional needs and, consequently it is a "tangible manifestation" of the EU in citizens' everyday lives.
- The Cohesion Policy represents about a third of the total EU budget, some 350 billion € over the 2007-2013 programming period, and consequently it is a relevant investment tool.
- The request and management of the Cohesion Policy is developed mostly at the regional level, with an important participation of local actors.
- Over 80% of the budget of Cohesion Policy is allocated to less developed ('convergence') regions, what implies a strong redistribution effect of the policy over the EU, what strengthens the idea of solidarity and care for others within Europe, a pillar of the civic dimension of the European identity.

The incentive of governments to strategically allocate regional transfers in order to influence the public opinion has been the focus of the extant literature. But as indicated by Osterloh (2011), the empirical literature has not analysed in detail the reaction of citizens. The Osterloh's study assumes a sizeable effect of the EU structural funds on the attitudes of the citizens in regions that benefited most for these funds. This is so because of the amount of funds allocated and due to their wide visibility. His results confirm that the EU regional policy affects the awareness of citizens and, through this mechanism it impacts on their support to the EU. The study also found that awareness and support is conditioned by some socio-economic characteristics, such as education.

The regional dimension of Cohesion Policy, then, is out of doubt. Still, we believe that there are regional particularities in the process of building a European identity. As for the mechanisms of individual identification with Europe, we see that levels of awareness of individuals will dramatically change within every country. Differences between regions and more importantly between urban and rural areas in terms of education are quite significant. Rodriguez-Pose and Tselios (2009, 2010) review the

important role of education inequalities within the EU as a source of income inequalities and also as a mediator of economic growth. Besides, there is an important urban–rural dimension (Rodriguez-Pose and Tselios, 2011). Overall, educational inequality is fundamentally a within-region phenomenon, as 90 percent of the educational inequality in Europe occurs between citizens living in the same region.

The experience-based mechanism at the regional level is also important. Clearly, contact with other European citizens is easier in urban than in rural areas, what favours the growth of a European identity in cities compared to smaller villages. The perception of the impact of EU policies will dramatically change as well, as far as the European Agricultural Policy is, by definition, mostly rural. As for the Cohesion Policy, one can expect that a spatially differentiated implementation will matter as well to produce a positive impact on citizens.

As for the determinants of European identity, one can find important regional identities within every country, what can mediate as well on the way territorial identities are built, either civic or ethnic. If a strong regional identity grounded on ethnic aspects is present, it can hinder the growth of identification with Europe. Still, a European orientation can arise if it is associated with the possibility to overcome the national identity by the regional identity, being the former substituted by the European one. It is not clear if the ethnic or civic dimension of local identities are stronger in the rural or in the urban areas, but one can think on a differentiation to be considered.

This is clearly linked with the ethnocultural identification of every territory. The opportunities to interact with EU non-nationals can be different in cities than in rural areas. And not only this: the type of EU non-nationals will be dramatically different over the territory, as more educated and wealthier EU15 citizens living in foreign countries are expected to live in larger cities, while citizens from EU13 living in other EU countries may be distributed more homogeneously over the territory.

The existence of a strong regional party system, opposed to the national party structure, will be also an important feature of the determinants of European identity. Messages can strongly vary over the country.

We end analysing the national economic position and the degree of international integration. Clearly, the Cohesion Policy is regionally defined, and consequently there are net beneficiary regions and net paying regions, what is a clear driver of European identity in its economic utilitarian version. Still, these poorer regions can see themselves as losers in the free-trade open market competition that is under the EU building. This perception can clearly hinder the identification with Europe and in particular with the EU.

5. The PERCEIVE survey

The PERCEIVE project aims at linking the concept of European identity with the perception of the Regional and Cohesion Policy. As reported above, several works have analysed the influence of European policies on European identification under the economic utilitarian approach. Still, specific analyses on the role of one of the major policies of the EU, the Cohesion Policy, are partial and still scarce. The PERCEIVE project developed an unique survey totalling 17,147 interviews (see Charron and Bauhr, 2017) that cover 15 EU member states (see Table 5.1). This space represents over 85% of the EU population and were selected on the basis of variation in terms of geography, size and institutional quality. Besides, 9 EU regions were surveyed with 500 respondents in order to cover the PERCEIVE project research plan.

Table 5.1. Survey sample size distributed by countries and regions

Country		Respondents	Case Study Region		Respondents
Austria	AT	1,000	Burgenland	AT11	517
Bulgaria	BG	503			
Estonia	EE	5,000			
France	FR	1,500			
Germany	DE	1,500			
Hungary	HU	1,000			
Italy	IT	2,000	Emilia-Romania	ITD5	581
			Calabria	ITF6	535
Latvia	LV	500			
Netherlands	NL	500			
Poland	PL	2,000	Dolnośląskie	PL51	579
			Warmińsko-mazurskie	PL62	538
Romania	RO	1,015	Sud Est	RO22	532
Slovakia	SK	1,014			
Spain	ES	2,014	Extremadura	ES43	541
Sweden	SE	580	Norra Mellansverige.	SE31	516
UK	UK	1,500	Essex	UKH3	524
Total		17,147			

Charron and Bauhr (2017) report the main descriptive statistics of the aspects raised in the survey. The survey asks about the identification with Europe in two separate questions, which are close to the classical Eurobarometer questions. Other aspects try to capture the demographics of the respondents, including age and gender, but

also household income, occupation, education and years of residence. The social context of respondents can be proxied by aggregate datasets, as the survey captures the region of origin (up to the NUTS3 level). Besides, it captures the size of the place where the respondent lives.

Other conditionings of the identification with Europe covered in the survey are those of political involvement, including the voted political party and the participation in EU parliamentary elections, the individual perception of the (economic) reality, and the individual's knowledge of EU and EU policies.

Finally, the survey covers a wide list of aspects associated with several determinants of national / European identity. Some are associated with the division between civic / ethnic approach. Some others ask about trust and several are linked with the economic utilitarian theory.

6. Descriptive analysis of the citizens' identification with the EU project and their perception of the regional policy

This section describes territorial variations in the degree of citizens' identification with the EU project and in their awareness and perception of the benefits of the Cohesion and Regional Policies implemented by the EU (Cohesion Policy henceforth). It does so by exploiting the rich information from the PERCEIVE's Survey on a number of questions. Specifically, we have considered the three dimensions of interest for the project:

- Citizens' identification with the EU project
- Citizens' awareness of the EU Cohesion Policy
- Citizens' perception of the benefits and support to the Cohesion Policy

As we developed in section 3, the formation of collective identification with Europe depends on the European discourse and the attention paid by individuals. An important role of the European dialogue depends on the perception of the policies designed and developed by the EU, being the Cohesion Policy a major potential driver of this speech. Nevertheless, Cohesion Policy can only contribute to the identification with the EU project if citizens are aware of it (information based mechanism), and if being aware they perceive that such policy interventions benefit them in a way or another, and/or if they agree with a territorial redistribution of opportunities and wealth (national and regional net position as a result of EU belonging and the applied EU policies).

Information for each dimension has been proxied by a group of items in the Survey's questionnaire as shown in Table 6.1. Although it could be argued that other measures also capture the dimensions described above, they highly correlate with the ones considered here and, above all, we have preferred to analyse just a tractable number of indicators from which, in our opinion, a general picture can be drawn. The corresponding aggregate measures for each territory were computed as indicated in the second column of the table.

Table 6.1. Definition of the magnitudes under analysis.

Citizens' identification with the EU project	
Q8. In general, do you think that (YOUR COUNTRY'S) EU membership is: a good thing, a bad thing, neither good nor bad, not sure. (UK not included).	Percentage of responders that think that EU membership is a good thing. (%)
Q9. People may feel different degrees of identity with their region, their country, or with Europe on whole. On a 0-10 scale, with '0' being 'I don't identify at all, and '10' being 'I identify very strongly', how strongly you identify yourself with the following?: c. Europe	Degree of identification with Europe. (scale: 0 to 10; Average)
Citizens' awareness of the EU Cohesion and Regional policy	
Q1a. In general, have you ever heard about the EU Cohesion Policy? (Yes, No)	Percentage of responders that heard about the EU Cohesion Policy. (% of "Yes")
Q1b. In general, have you ever heard about the EU Regional Policy? (Yes, No)	Percentage of responders that heard about the EU Regional Policy. (% of "Yes")
Q1c. In general, have you ever heard about the Structural Funds? (Yes, No)	Percentage of responders that heard about the Structural Funds. (% of "Yes")
Q1d. In general, have you ever heard about any EU funded project in your region or area? (Yes, No)	Percentage of responders that heard about any EU funded project in their region or area?. (% of "Yes")
Citizens' perception of the benefits and support to the Cohesion and Regional policy	
Q3. To your knowledge, have you ever benefited in your daily life from any project funded by the EU? Yes; No; Don't know	Percentage of responders that benefited in their daily life from any project funded by the EU. (% of "Yes")
Q20. "In your opinion, the EU should continue this policy (Cohesion Policy), where wealthier countries contribute more, and poorer EU regions receive more funding." Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree, Strongly disagree	Percentage of responders that support the Cohesion Policy. (% of "Strongly agree" plus "Agree")

The description of the geographical variation of the magnitudes of interest is made for the 15 countries covered by the PERCEIVE's Survey and for the 9 Case Study regions. Although it would have been interesting to explore within country variations in the degree of identification with the EU and in the perception of the EU Cohesion

Policy, the lack of representativeness of the sample for a higher level of territorial disaggregation has prevented the extension of the analysis to the complete set of regions of the 15 surveyed EU countries. In this regard, it should be mentioned that we explored the possibility of complementing the analysis with data from similar questions available in the Eurobarometer. Unfortunately, samples from this source also lack regional representativeness, being the number of observations per region not large enough to guarantee the robustness of results at the regional scale.[1]

The descriptive analysis in this section is guided by the interest of the project on the geographical distribution of the magnitudes analysed according to the North/South and West/East dividing lines. In addition, it includes a relevant dimension for the project, which is the distinction between rural and urban areas in the degree of identification with the EU project and in the perception of the Cohesion Policy. Actually, the hypothesis that guides the analysis is that the individuals' perception of the EU funded policy interventions and of the resulting effect on the identification with the EU project varies between rural and urban areas.

6.1. Geographical variations. Differences across countries

A description of the main characteristics of the data from the PERCEIVE's Survey can be found in Charron and Bauhr (2017), including the average values of the magnitudes defined in Table 6.1 for each of the 15 countries covered by the survey. However, the focus of Deliverable 1.3 was not on the geographical dimension, which is the one that we stress in this section. We do so by representing the variables defined in the second column of Table 6.1 in a series of choropleth maps to ease the identification of geographical patterns.[2] To put it simply, we aim to identify differences in identification, awareness and perception in the North-South and East-West axes, and whether the patterns are similar in the three groups of magnitudes.

Identification with the EU project

The two magnitudes used to proxy for the citizens' identification with the EU are represented in the maps of Figure 6.1. It is observed that countries in the Central and Eastern part of the Union (CEE) have scores above the median in both magnitudes, whereas the degree of identification seems to be the lowest in Italy, France and the Netherlands. However, in general it is not possible to identify a clear geographical pattern in this dimension as Spain, and even Sweden, could be added to the first group. In turn, although most Romanians are among the reporters that

[1] We computed confidence intervals for the questions of interest from the PERCEIVE's Survey and from the Eurobarometer. In both cases, the low number of individuals in the regional samples resulted in rather wide confidence intervals, which makes the analysis at this level of territorial disaggregation unrealistic.

[2] Four categories defined by the quartiles of the distribution of countries are used in all cases.

see the EU membership as a good thing, they score at the bottom when it comes to the degree of identification with Europe.

Awareness of the Cohesion Policy

The percentage of individuals in each country that responded that they heard about each EU policy is represented in the maps of Figure 6.2. The first thing to be mentioned from their inspection is that the geographical pattern of the awareness varies substantially between policies. In the case of the Cohesion Policy, it is possible to identify two clusters of countries with degree of awareness above the median. On the one hand, countries in the South-East of the Union (Spain, Italy and France) and in the North-Centre (Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Hungary). However, the same does not apply to the Regional Policy. In this case, the degree of awareness is also high in the North and Central Member States but, interestingly, not in the Mediterranean countries. It is also worth mentioning that awareness of the Cohesion and Regional policies is rather low in Bulgaria and Romania. It is also low, but perhaps less shocking, in UK and the Netherlands.

High awareness of the Structural Funds is also observed among the populations of some CEE Member States. However, as in the case of the Regional Policy, Bulgaria and Romania clearly deviate from this group. Values above the median are also observed in two of the Mediterranean countries, Spain and Italy, whereas the share of respondents that declared to have heard about the Structural Funds in France is similar to that of the Regional Policy and, thus, well below the case of the Cohesion Policy. Again, scores for this indicator are among the lowest in core economies of the Northern part of Europe (UK, the Netherlands, and Sweden).

Finally, the picture derived from the map of the share of respondents that heard about any EU funded project in their region or area summarises to some extent the information on the geographical distribution of the awareness of the Cohesion and Regional policies. On the one hand, we observe a cluster with the highest values in three CEE countries, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary. Bulgaria and Latvia could be included in this group as they also show values clearly above the median. On the other, Italy and Spain form a group of Southern member states with substantial levels of awareness of projects funded by the EU that have an impact on the individuals' regions or areas. In sharp contrast, the percentage of individuals that declared to have heard about this type of projects is rather low in the economic core of the EU (Netherlands, UK, Germany and Austria), with Sweden and France close enough in their scores to be included in this group of countries.

Perception of the Cohesion Policy

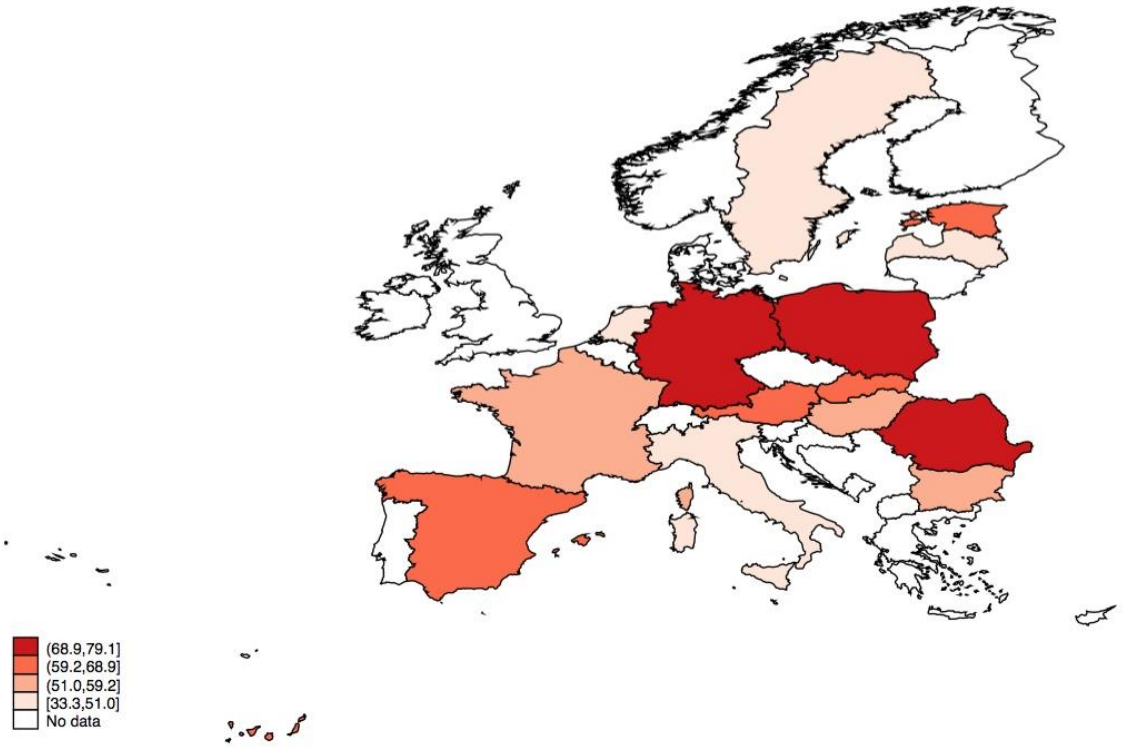
The maps for the two indicators of the perception of the benefits and support to the Cohesion Policy are included in Figure 6.3. It is observed that positive answers to the question about the perceived benefits of EU funded projects are more abundant in the CEE group of countries, including the Baltic Member States. The only exception from this geographical group is Romania, where the percentage of positive answers is far below that in its closer neighbours (half the value observed in Bulgaria). On the other side of the distribution is a group of countries in the Western side of Europe. To be clear, positive perceptions are rather unusual among Italian, Dutch, French, and German respondents (between 1 out of 10 and 1 out of 5 individuals). Therefore, in that case we could talk about a sort of West-East divide, which by and large correspond to the groups of the founding members of the EU and the one resulting from the enlargement to CEE.

With some remarkable exceptions, this geographical grouping is observed as well in the case of the other indicator of this category. The highest percentage of respondents that (implicitly) supported the aim of the Cohesion Policy is observed in the CEE countries. However, in contrast with the other indicator, support to the Cohesion Policy is lower in the Baltic member states. In any case, the lowest support is found in the core Western countries (UK, Netherlands, France, Austria, and Italy). In this case, Germany is not included in this group because it occupies an intermediate position in the ranking of countries based on the support of the respondents to the Cohesion Policy. Finally, it is worth mentioning the difference in responses observed for individuals in two of the Mediterranean countries, Italy and Spain. While Italy is below the median distribution of the 15 countries under analysis, Spain is at the top of this distribution. Actually, the difference between the two countries in the percentage of respondents that declared support for the Cohesion Policy is of 14 percentage points.[3]

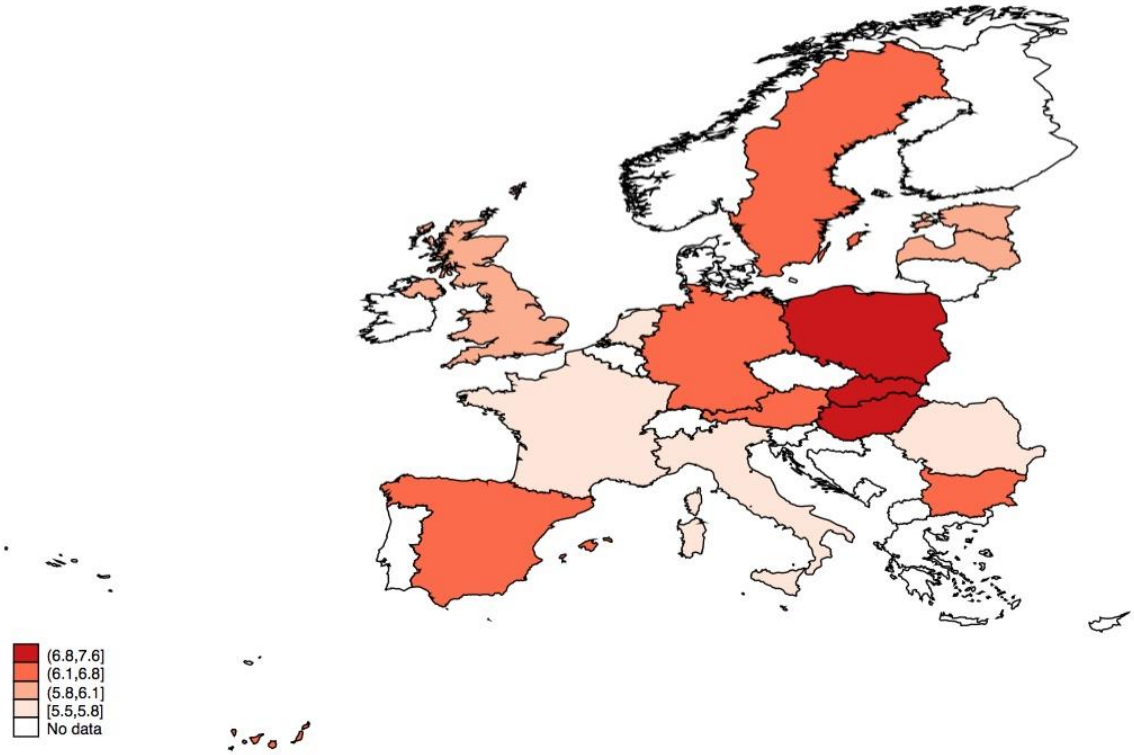
[3] The difference between the countries with the highest and lowest support is of 24 percentage points.

Figure 6.1. Citizens' identification with the EU project.

a. Percentage of individuals that think that EU membership is a good thing[1]



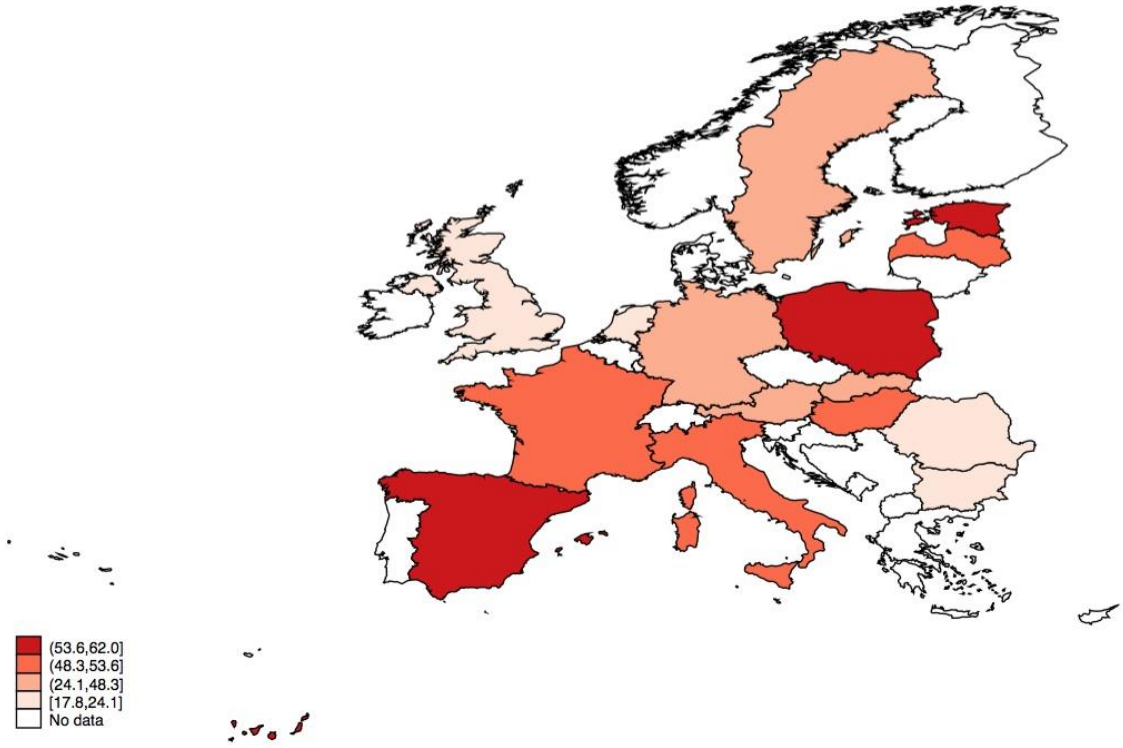
b. Degree of identification with Europe[2]



Note: [1] This question was not asked to UK citizens. [2] Responses in a 0-10 scale, with 0 being *I don't identify at all*, and 10 being *I identify very strongly*.

Figure 6.2. Heard about the following EU policies.

a. Percentage of individuals that heard about Cohesion Policy



b. Percentage of individuals that heard about Regional Policy

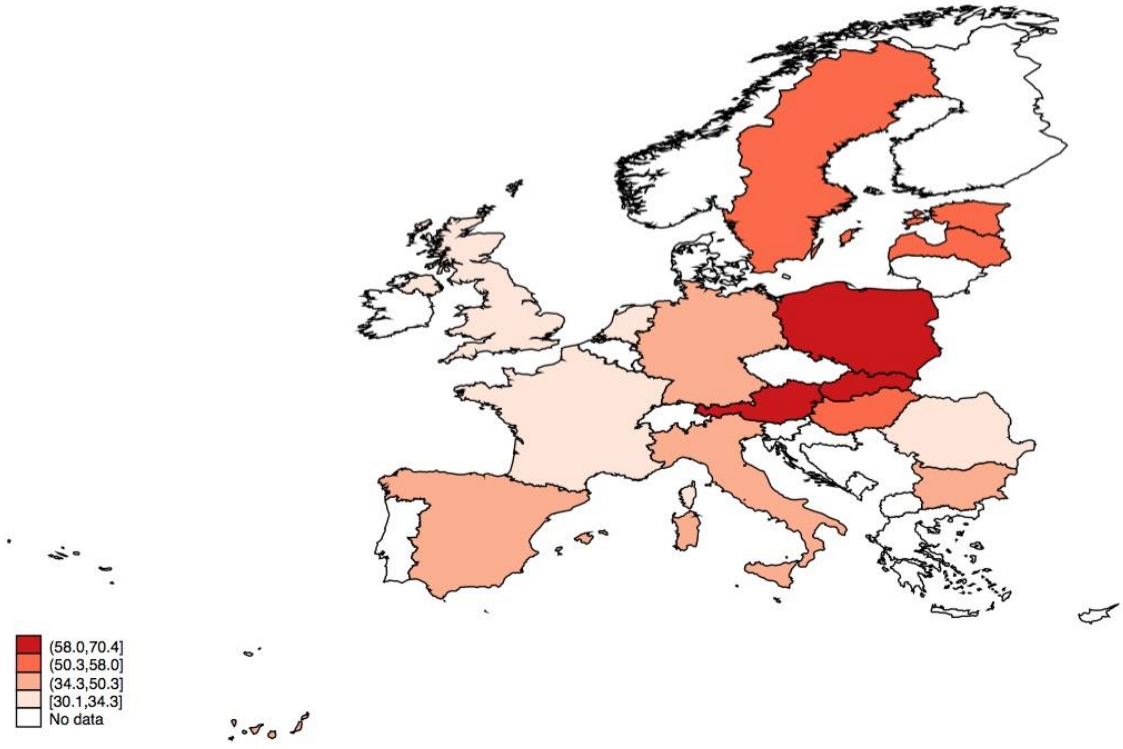
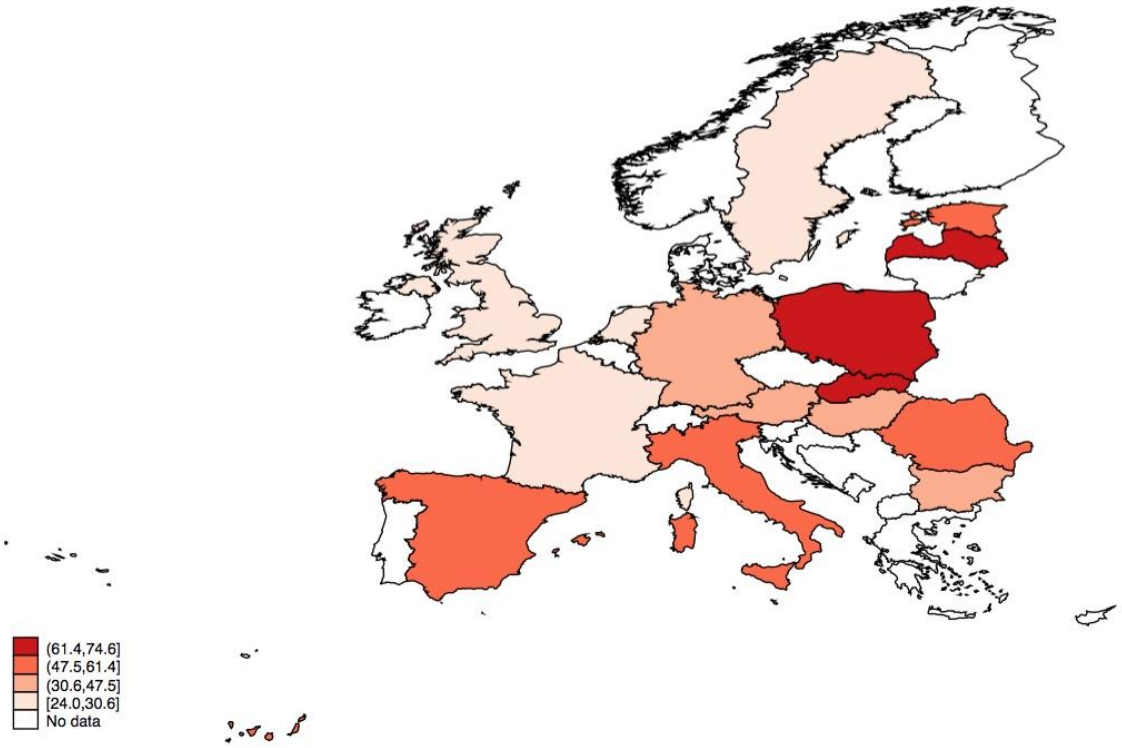


Figure 6.2. (cont). Heard about the following EU policies.

c. Percentage of individuals that heard about Structural Funds



d. Percentage of individuals that heard about any EU funded project in the region or area

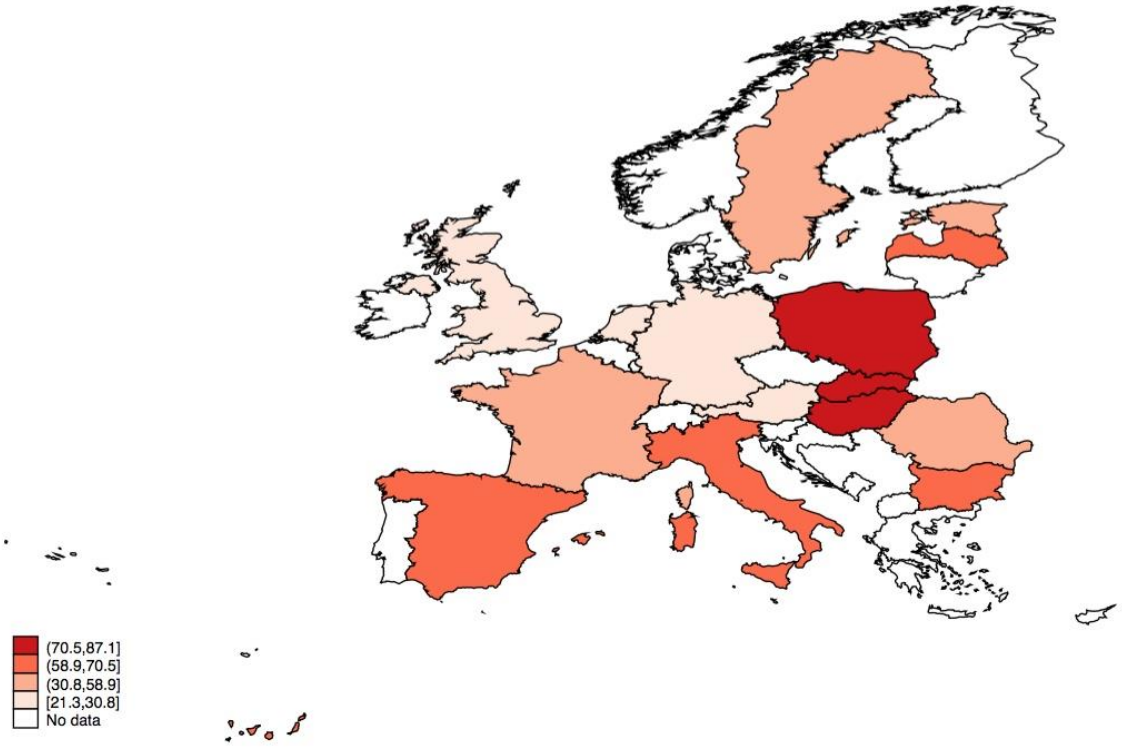
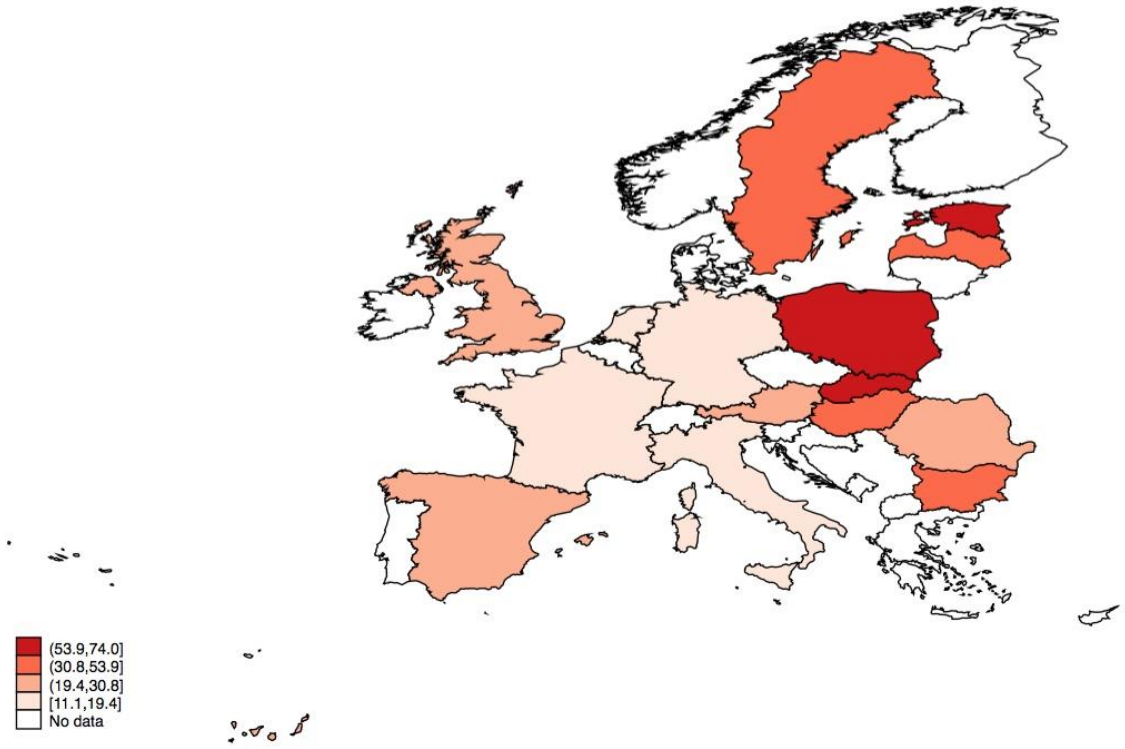
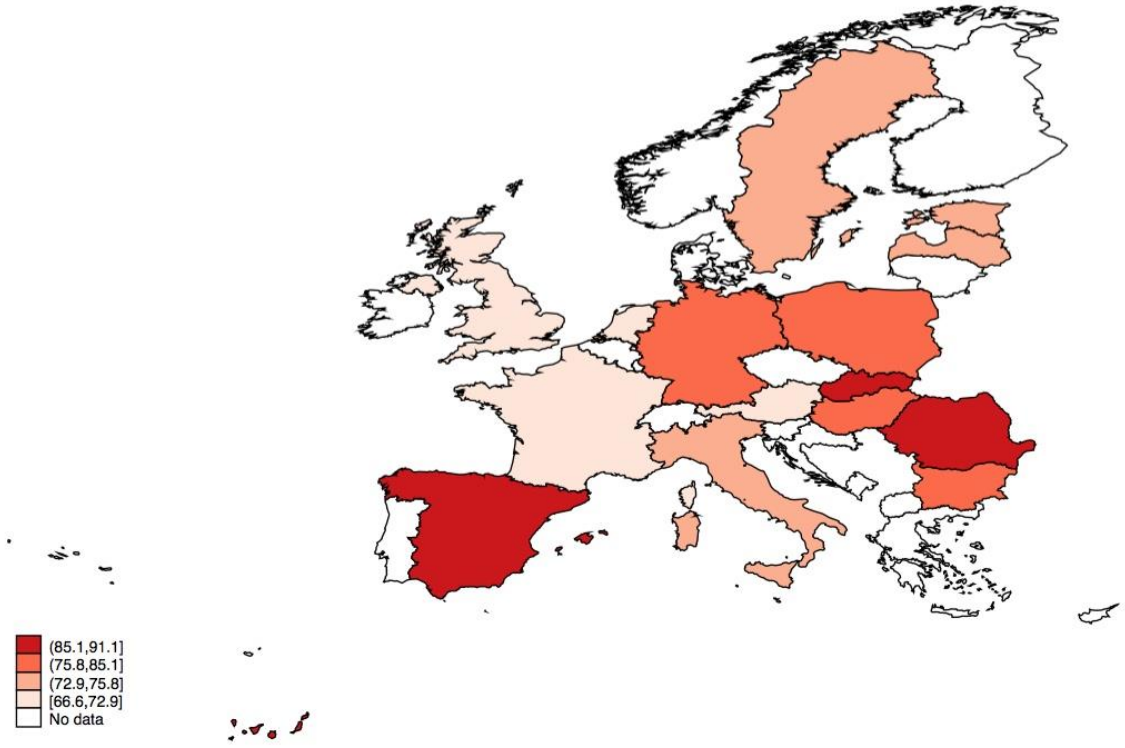


Figure 6.3. Perception of the EU Regional Policy.

a. Percentage of individuals that benefited in daily life from any project funded by the EU



b. Percentage of individuals that support the Cohesion Policy



Note: Percentage of individuals that *Strongly Agree* or *Agree* that the EU should continue Cohesion Policy, where wealthier countries contribute more, and poorer regions receive more funding.

6.2. Differences between the Case Study regions

As mentioned above, the design of the sample of the PERCEIVE's Survey does not allow studying the spatial distribution of the magnitudes of interest from the perspective of the entire set of regions for the 15 countries covered by the Survey. However, given the interest of the PERCEIVE project in the nine Case Study regions, they were oversampled in a way that allows us to describe in detail the differences among them in the indicators of identification, awareness and perception.

With this aim, we have computed the values for the indicators defined in the second column of Table 6.1, for each of the nine Case Study regions and for all of them as a group. We also compare the values obtained for these regions with that for the entire Survey sample, that is for the whole sample for the 15 surveyed countries (*EU 15 – Survey*). In all cases, the corresponding weights have been used to guarantee the representativeness of the measures computed from the individual data. To be clear, the population weights (Pweight) are used when computing the sample-wide/EU-wide means of proportions, whereas country and region means are computed using the Post-stratification weights (PSweight).[4] In addition to the proportion of respondents in each spatial unit under analysis, we have computed the corresponding confidence interval at the 95% level of confidence to account for the margin of error (which depend on the number of observations and the value of the proportion).

Identification with the EU project

Table 6.2 summarises the information regarding the two indicators of the degree of identification with the EU project. As for the first one, there is large variability in the Case Study regions in the percentage of respondents that declared that EU membership is a good thing. The range goes from as much as 79% in the Romanian region of Sud Est to only 33% in the Italian region of Calabria. As can be observed, the confidence intervals do not overlap, meaning that we can conclude that the proportion in Sud Est is significantly higher than in Calabria. To some extent, significant differences are confirmed in a number of cases. Actually, it seems reasonable to distinguish three groups of regions. One formed by regions with a high percentage of respondents that think that EU membership is a good thing: the Romanian, Polish, and Spanish regions. Another with a rather low proportion of these respondents, composed by the two Italian regions. And a final group composed by the Austrian and Swedish regions, whose percentages are clearly above that of the Italian regions but below enough the first group. Actually, the percentage in the first group is clearly above the average in the entire sample of

[44] Further details on the weights in the PERCEIVE Survey database are provided in Deliverable 1.3 (Charron and Bauhr, 2017).

Case Study regions and also of the overall Survey sample, while the opposite is true for the group of Italian regions.

Table 6.2 Citizens' identification with the EU project in the Case Study regions.

a. Individuals that think that *EU membership is a good thing*.

Region	Proportion YES	Sample size	Confidence Interval – Low	Confidence Interval – High
Burgenland – AT	67.8	517	63.8	71.9
Norra Mellansverige – SE	51.1	516	46.8	55.4
Essex – UK[1]	--	524	--	--
Calabria – IT	32.7	535	28.7	36.6
Emilia-Romagna – IT	42.1	581	38.1	46.1
Extremadura – ES	70.7	541	66.8	74.5
Dolnośląskie – PL	75.5	579	72.0	79.0
Warmińsko-mazurskie – PL	74.6	538	70.9	78.3
Sud-Est – RO	78.6	532	75.1	82.1
Case Study Regions	56.5	4863	55.1	57.9
EU 15 – Survey	58.9	17147	58.2	59.6

Note: [1]This question was not asked to UK citizens.

b. Degree of identification with Europe.

Region	Average	Median	Sample size
Burgenland – AT	6.3	7	517
Norra Mellansverige – SE	6.4	7	516
Essex – UK	5.7	6	524
Calabria – IT	5.6	6	535
Emilia-Romagna – IT	5.8	6	581
Extremadura – ES	6.7	7	541
Dolnośląskie – PL	7.6	8	579
Warmińsko-mazurskie – PL	7.3	8	538
Sud-Est – RO	6.9	7	532
Case Study Regions	6.6	7	4863
EU 15 – Survey	6.3	7	17147

Note: Responses in a 0-10 scale, with 0 being *I don't identify at all*, and 10 being *I identify very strongly*.

A similar picture is obtained when the average values for the responses regarding the degree of identification with Europe are considered. There seems to be a clear distinction in the average scores between the two Polish regions and the two Italian

regions. In this case, it is observed that the average value for Essex is similar to the one of the latter group. The values in Sud Est and Extremadura are also above the average in the Case Study regions and the overall Survey sample, although in particular for Extremadura, it is not very far from that of the Austrian and Swedish regions. This is confirmed by the comparison of the medians, which by construction are less affected by extreme values.

Awareness of the Cohesion Policy

Information regarding the percentage of respondents that heard about each of the EU policies of interest in the Case Study regions is reproduced in Table 6.3. As in the case of the description made for the country values in the previous section, it can be observed that there are significant variations in the amount of awareness of the three types of policies in the different Case Study regions. Still, it is possible to identify some important regularities. First, the two Polish regions rank first in the degree of awareness of the three policies. Second, in all cases, Essex is the region with the lowest degree of awareness. Actually, the percentage of population that seems to be conscious of each policy is far below that in any other Case Study region and in the overall sample. Extremadura is not far from Dolnośląskie and Warmińsko-mazurskie in the case of awareness of the Cohesion Policy and the Structural Funds, but drastically decreases when it comes to Regional Policy. A similar situation applies to Sud Est, although in this case it is the awareness of the Cohesion Policy that seems to be much less extended among the population. Meanwhile, awareness in Norra Mellansverige is clearly below the Case Study and overall Survey averages but in the case of the Regional Policy, where a bit more than half of its population declared having heard about it. The amount of deviations from the averages in Calabria, Emilia-Romagna, and Burgenland can be considered as less pronounced and more similar across policies than in the case of the other regions.

Finally, results for the percentage of respondents that heard about any project funded by the EU in the region or area are shown at the bottom of Table 6.3. As mentioned above, they combine information of general awareness of the Cohesion Policy with more precise knowledge of projects carried out in the region where the individual lives. Results are clear enough to allow us to distinguish between a group of regions with a percentage of awareness far above the average, composed by Dolnośląskie, Warmińsko-mazurskie, and Extremadura, and a group with values well below it, formed by Essex, Sud Est, and Norra Mellansverige. As for the other regions, Calabria is closer than the other Italian region, Emilia-Romagna, to the first group, whereas the percentage in Burgenland is not significantly different to that in the sample of the Case Study regions and the overall sample.

Table 6.3 Heard about the following EU policies in the Case Study regions.

a. Individuals that heard about Cohesion Policy

Region	Proportion YES	Sample size	Confidence Interval – Low	Confidence Interval – High
Burgenland – AT	47.1	517	42.8	51.4
Norra Mellansverige – SE	35.8	516	31.7	40.0
Essex – UK	17.4	524	14.1	20.6
Calabria – IT	53.5	535	49.3	57.7
Emilia-Romagna – IT	50.0	581	45.9	54.1
Extremadura – ES	60.1	541	55.9	64.2
Dolnośląskie – PL	68.4	579	64.7	72.2
Warmińsko-mazurskie – PL	63.2	538	59.1	67.2
Sud-Est – RO	24.0	532	20.3	27.6
Case Study Regions	46.8	4863	45.4	48.2
EU 15 – Survey	45.3	17147	44.5	46.0

b. Individuals that heard about Regional Policy

Region	Proportion YES	Sample size	Confidence Interval – Low	Confidence Interval – High
Burgenland – AT	69.8	517	65.9	73.8
Norra Mellansverige – SE	52.2	516	47.9	56.5
Essex – UK	26.6	524	22.8	30.4
Calabria – IT	55.5	535	51.3	59.8
Emilia-Romagna – IT	45.8	581	41.8	49.9
Extremadura – ES	53.0	541	48.8	57.2
Dolnośląskie – PL	70.3	579	66.6	74.0
Warmińsko-mazurskie – PL	63.5	538	59.5	67.6
Sud-Est – RO	51.6	532	47.3	55.8
Case Study Regions	54.3	4863	52.9	55.7
EU 15 – Survey	46.8	17147	46.1	47.6

Table 6.3 (cont) Heard about the following EU policies in the Case Study regions.

c. Individuals that heard about Structural Funds

Region	Proportion YES	Sample size	Confidence Interval – Low	Confidence Interval – High
Burgenland – AT	51.0	517	46.7	55.3
Norra Mellansverige – SE	31.4	516	27.4	35.4
Essex – UK	19.8	524	16.4	23.2
Calabria – IT	66.5	535	62.5	70.5
Emilia-Romagna – IT	61.6	581	57.6	65.6
Extremadura – ES	67.6	541	63.7	71.6
Dolnośląskie – PL	78.9	579	75.6	82.2
Warmińsko-mazurskie – PL	76.9	538	73.3	80.5
Sud-Est – RO	66.0	532	62.0	70.1
Case Study Regions	59.9	4863	58.6	61.3
EU 15 – Survey	49.3	17147	48.5	50.0

d. Individuals that heard about any EU funded project in the region or area

Region	Proportion YES	Sample size	Confidence Interval – Low	Confidence Interval – High
Burgenland – AT	51.0	517	46.7	55.3
Norra Mellansverige – SE	39.1	516	34.8	43.3
Essex – UK	17.7	524	14.5	21.0
Calabria – IT	68.5	535	64.6	72.4
Emilia-Romagna – IT	64.5	581	60.6	68.4
Extremadura – ES	73.1	541	69.4	76.8
Dolnośląskie – PL	81.3	579	78.1	84.5
Warmińsko-mazurskie – PL	84.1	538	81.0	87.2
Sud-Est – RO	25.2	532	21.5	28.9
Case Study Regions	56.5	4863	55.1	57.9
EU 15 – Survey	48.6	17147	47.8	49.3

Perception of the Cohesion Policy

The comparison of the information in Table 6.4 for the indicators used to proxy the two dimensions of the perception of the Cohesion Policy reveals a notorious difference between them. Not only the share of respondents that support the Cohesion Policy in all regions is far above the one that declared that benefited in their daily life from a project funded by the EU, but there are also significant variations among them in the amount of positive responses.

Table 6.4 Perception of the Cohesion Policy in the Case Study regions.

a. Individuals that benefited in daily life from any project funded by the EU

Region	Proportion YES	Sample size	Confidence Interval – Low	Confidence Interval – High
Burgenland – AT	25.4	515	21.7	29.2
Norra Mellansverige – SE	27.0	499	23.1	30.8
Essex – UK	24.7	521	21.0	28.5
Calabria – IT	8.0	533	5.7	10.3
Emilia-Romagna – IT	11.3	580	8.7	13.9
Extremadura – ES	35.5	514	31.4	39.7
Dolnośląskie – PL	73.5	566	69.9	77.1
Warmińsko-mazurskie – PL	63.5	523	59.3	67.6
Sud-Est – RO	22.4	532	18.9	26.0
Case Study Regions	33.9	4863	32.6	35.3
EU 15 – Survey	26.8	17147	26.2	27.5

b. Individuals that support the Cohesion Policy

Region	Proportion YES	Sample size	Confidence Interval – Low	Confidence Interval – High
Burgenland – AT	71.5	517	67.6	75.4
Norra Mellansverige – SE	82.0	516	78.7	85.4
Essex – UK	73.8	524	70.0	77.6
Calabria – IT	76.0	535	72.4	79.6
Emilia-Romagna – IT	73.2	581	69.6	76.8
Extremadura – ES	89.7	541	87.2	92.3
Dolnośląskie – PL	88.2	579	85.6	90.9
Warmińsko-mazurskie – PL	85.7	538	82.7	88.6
Sud-Est – RO	91.6	532	89.2	93.9
Case Study Regions	82.2	4863	81.2	83.3
EU 15 – Survey	79.1	17147	78.4	79.7

Note: Percentage of individuals that *Strongly Agree* or *Agree* that the EU should continue Cohesion Policy, where wealthier countries contribute more, and poorer regions receive more funding.

The two Polish regions, Dolnośląskie and Warmińsko-mazurskie, are at the top of the ranking in the two measures. However, while support to the Cohesion Policy is at least as widespread in Extremadura and Sud Est, the percentage of respondents who claimed to have benefited from EU funded projects is about a half in Extremadura and a third in Sud Est, in comparison to that in the two Polish regions.

At the other side of the distribution, only one out of four individuals in Essex, Burgenland, and Norra Mellansverige claimed to have benefited from any EU project. This is consistent with the lower share of positive responses for support to the Cohesion Policy in these regions, which in any case is significantly higher in the Swedish region of Norra Mellansverige than in Essex and Burgenland. Nevertheless, as a whole, the lowest perception of the Cohesion Policy in the Case Study regions corresponds to the Italian regions, Calabria and Emilia-Romagna. Only about 10% of individuals in those regions responded having benefited in their daily life from a project funded by the EU. Meanwhile their support for the Cohesion Policy is similar to the one reported in Essex and Burgenland.

Regardless of the differences among the regions, the average for the two indicators of this dimension allows us to conclude that the citizens' perception of the Cohesion Policy is significantly higher in the group of Case Study regions than in the overall 15 countries sample.

6.3. Variations in the urban-rural dimension

The discussion so far has not taken into consideration the urban-rural dimension. In fact, the description of the indicators in the previous subsections assumed that responses in rural and urban areas within the countries and regions are homogeneous. In other words, that there is not an urban/rural gap in the citizens' identification with the EU project and in the perception of the Cohesion Policy. However, as indicated in the proposal, the urban-rural dimension is key for the Project:

> "*Therefore, in order to properly meet the PERCEIVE's goal, that is, understanding the relation between the Cohesion Policy and citizen's identification with European project, we also need to consider the urban and rural dimensions, given their potential role and interaction with the Cohesion Policy.*" (…) "*In fact, understanding whether urban and rural citizens have a different perception of Cohesion Policy is fundamental to derive useful recommendations for better targeting local policies to be implemented in urban and rural areas while addressing the issues emerging from their interconnectedness*." (page 16/70)

Therefore, this section adds the urban-rural dimension to the description of the indicators. More precisely, we have computed the average proportions in each of the 15 countries for urban and rural areas separately. Then, they have been represented in maps that, as before, make easier the identification of spatial patterns. Also, using the entire sample, we have computed statistical tests to check the significance of differences in the responses of citizens living in urban and rural

areas. To save space, only the results of the tests are reported in the main text, whereas the choropleth maps are available in Appendix 2 (Figures A2.1 to A2.8).

To classify respondents in urban and rural areas we have used an item in the PERCEIVE's Survey:

> ***D6**. About how many people live in the place the interview was conducted?*

Valid responses were recoded in 4 categories as follows:

1. *Less than 10,000 (rural)*
2. *10,000-100,000 (small town or city)*
3. *100,000-1,000,000 (large city or urban area)*
4. *Greater than 1,000,000 (Very large city or urban area)*

This is the information available in the Survey's database regarding the size of the place of living. However, for the analysis in this section we further grouped the last two categories (3 and 4) in a single one.[5] As a result, our analysis of the urban-rural dimension distinguishes between *Rural areas*, as those with less than 10,000 inhabitants, *Small and Middle-sized towns*, with between 10,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, and *Large towns*, as those greater than 100,000 inhabitants. In addition, and after a preliminary inspection of the results, the test statistics were obtained for the comparisons between Large towns and Rural areas and between Towns (Large and Small and Middle-sized) and Rural areas.

Identification with the EU project

The geographical representation of the two indicators of the identification with the EU project for the three types of areas is represented in the maps of Figures A2.1 and A2.2 in Appendix 2. It can be observed that the distribution of countries in the different quartiles is quite stable across places of different size in the two indicators. For the percentage of respondents that claimed that the EU membership is a good thing, the most outstanding difference from the urban-rural perspective is observed for Sweden. Swedish respondents in rural areas are more prone to agree with such a claim than their counterparts living in urban environments, regardless of their size. However, such a difference in Sweden is not observed as for the degree of identification with Europe. Actually, only changes to the closest quartile are observed in just few cases for this indicator (for instance, higher degree of

[5] This minimises the issue of underrepresentation of the category of very large cities in some regions.

identification of respondents in urban than in rural areas in France and UK, and the opposite in the Baltic Member States).

The results for the formal tests of equality in the responses for the two indicators are reported in Table 6.5. As for the first one, it is observed that the percentage of respondents that think that EU membership is a good think is somewhat higher in large towns than in small and medium-sized town and rural areas. In fact, the hypothesis of equality in the proportions is only rejected when figures in large towns and rural areas are confronted. The same does not apply for the other indicator, as the tests suggest that there are significant differences even when the small and middle-sized towns are included in the urban category jointly with the large towns. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the difference in the degree of identification with Europe, favourable to the citizens in urban areas, is moderate in magnitude, particularly when it comes to the comparison between small and middle-sized towns and rural areas. As a whole, these results confirm that the degree of identification with the EU project could be somewhat higher for respondents living in large cities than for those in rural areas.

Table 6.5 Differences between rural and urban areas in the citizens' identification with the EU project

a. Individuals that think that *EU membership is a good thing*.

Groups	Group "Town"	Group "Rural"	Test Statistic – z	p-value
Large town vs Rural	59.2	56.8	2.5	0.0141
Town[1] vs Rural	56.8	56.8	0.0	0.9976

b. Degree of identification with Europe

Groups	Group "Town"	Group "Rural"	Test Statistic – z	p-value
Large town vs Rural	6.7	6.3	7.9	0.0000
Town[1] vs Rural	6.5	6.3	5.4	0.0000

Note: [1] Town includes Large and Small-Middle size towns.

Awareness of the Cohesion Policy

Figures A2.3 to A2.6 in Appendix 2 show the maps of the geographical distribution of the country proportion of respondents that declared having heard about the

different policies under analysis. As in the previous case, changes at the country level between urban and rural areas in the amount of awareness of the policies are not dramatic. This is so both as for the number of countries for which variations are observed and as for the intensity of the variation. Actually, the only substantial difference worth to mention is that observed for Sweden in the degree of awareness of any EU funded project in the region or area. The proportion of respondents that heard about it in the Swedish rural areas is considerably higher than for those living in cities, regardless of their size.

The results of the tests statistics in Table 6.6 indicate that there is not a clear pattern of the urban-rural gap in the awareness of the different EU policies. In the case of the Cohesion Policy and the Structural Funds, awareness is significantly higher in large towns than in rural areas, whereas there are no differences for the Regional Policy. Awareness of any EU funded project in the region is even somewhat higher among respondents in rural areas. It is also important to note that in these last two cases the difference between urban and rural areas increases when the small and middle-sized towns are added to the urban group. This is due to the lower amount of awareness of the Regional Policy and of EU funded projects in the region, of respondents living in small and middle-sized cities in comparison to those in large cities and urban areas. This suggests non-linearity for some of the indicators and confirms the importance of distinguishing between the two types of urban areas.

Perception of the Cohesion Policy

The analysis of the maps in Figures A2.7 and A2.8 reveals that there are not remarkable deviations from the overall picture of the geographical distribution of the two indicators used to represent the perception of the Cohesion Policy – discussed in section 6.1– when the urban-rural divide is considered. Again in this case, differences between urban and rural areas in the classification of countries in quartiles are quite limited in number and intensity, which lead us to conclude that the spatial distribution of the perception of the Cohesion Policy is roughly the same regardless of the size of the place of living of the respondents.

However, such stability in the spatial distribution does not imply that the perception of the Cohesion Policy is the same for individuals living in urban and rural areas. On the contrary, results of the test statistics in Table 6.7 tell us that the proportion of individuals that benefited in their daily life from EU funded projects is significantly higher in large towns than in rural areas. This is also the case as for the respondents that support the Cohesion Policy, although the gap is not as wide as in the other indicator. The fact that the difference losses significance for the two indicators when the small and middle-sized towns are included in the urban group confirms that the positive perception of the Cohesion Policy is higher only among individuals living in large cities.

Table 6.6 Differences between rural and urban areas in the awareness of the EU regional policies

a. Individuals that heard about Cohesion Policy.

Groups	Group "Town"	Group "Rural"	Test Statistic – z	p-value
Large town vs Rural	48.2	45.4	2.8	0.0052
Town[1] vs Rural	45.3	45.4	-0.1	0. 9063

b. Individuals that heard about Regional Policy.

Groups	Group "Town"	Group "Rural"	Test Statistic – z	p-value
Large town vs Rural	51.8	51.8	0.0	0. 9896
Town[1] vs Rural	50.2	51.8	-2.0	0. 0450

c. Individuals that heard about Structural Funds.

Groups	Group "Town"	Group "Rural"	Test Statistic – z	p-value
Large town vs Rural	55.3	50.5	4.9	0.0000
Town[1] vs Rural	52.6	50.5	2.6	0. 0096

d. Individuals that heard about any EU funded project in the region or area.

Groups	Group "Town"	Group "Rural"	Test Statistic – z	p-value
Large town vs Rural	54.4	56.5	-2.2	0.0317
Town[1] vs Rural	53.7	56.5	-3.4	0. 0007

Note: [1] Town includes Large and Small-Medium size towns.

Table 6.7 Differences between rural and urban areas in the perception of the EU Regional Policy

a. Individuals that benefited in daily life from any project funded by the EU

Groups	Group "Town"	Group "Rural"	Test Statistic – z	p-value
Large town vs Rural	39.6	33.4	6.5	0.0000
Town[1] vs Rural	34.3	33.4	1.2	0.2237

b. Individuals that support the Cohesion Policy

Groups	Group "Town"	Group "Rural"	Test Statistic – z	p-value
Large town vs Rural	81.5	79.1	3.1	0.0021
Town[1] vs Rural	80.3	79.1	1.9	0.0599

Note: [1] Town includes Large and Small-Medium size towns.

7. Analysis of the determinants of citizens' identification with the EU

The descriptive analysis developed in the previous section makes clear that the description of the vast information contained in the PERCEIVE's Survey can be a hard task, what can be even more complicated if one aims at analysing the association between alternative concepts. At this stage, several options arise, although we concentrate our efforts in two of them. First, we plan to link the information contained in the Survey with the theoretical framework developed in the first part of this deliverable. We do so by inspecting the data so that it can drive us to the latent theoretical concepts defined in our framework of analysis. To achieve this purpose in the current section we use multivariate techniques grounded on factor analysis and principal components. The second option that we follow in this work, and that will be developed in the subsequent section, is the use of multivariate regression techniques to account for partial correlations of every determinant of a list of key variables associated with European identification and the role played by Cohesion Policy on its construction, specifically through citizens' awareness and perception of this policy.

Next we describe the followed procedure to combine the collected information with the reported theoretical concepts. At this stage, the researcher faces several alternatives. Shulman (2002) assigns *a priori* specific items to every studied

theoretical concept, namely civic, cultural and ethnic dimensions of national identity. Reeskens and Hogue (2010) use factor analysis to detect the underlying structure of citizen's items and consequently assign correctly every item to a latent concept. Still, using multivariate techniques is far from naïve. Using oblique versus orthogonal rotations drive to uncorrelated versus correlated factors, what implies that different theoretical dimensions (e.g. civic versus ethnic) might be correlated, an output that can also be obtained in solutions such as the ones proposed by Shuman (2002). Reeskens and Hooghe (2010) describe a debate on the possibility that some concepts might be correlated: according to Miller (2000) the ethnic and civic citizenship concepts cannot be combined, as societies hold on to either a civic or an ethnic concept, and is not conceivable to hold a middle position. On the contrary, Brubaker (2004) strongly faces this view and claims that all these elements can be simultaneously determining the membership to a community.

Multivariate techniques can be used for two distinct but interrelated outcomes. Factor analysis can be used to summarize the underlying dimensions that describe the data in a smaller number of concepts. In addition one can use multivariate techniques for data reduction by deriving an empirical value for each dimension. Two methods are usually employed: common factor analysis and component analysis. The first one is preferred if we want to identify underlying factors reflecting what variables share in common, while the second is used when the objective is summarizing most information in a minimum number of factors.

In our case, we apply multivariate techniques in both directions: we will use principal components to summarize several aspects, such as identification with the EU, that were collected by several variables in the Survey; and we will use common factors in order to proxy theoretical dimensions of citizens' identification with the European Union. We will be interested on the common variance for estimating the factors, and not on the unique and error variance of variables.

Another aspect that needs to be considered is the qualitative nature of collected variables, being most of them ordinal. Multivariate analysis is grounded on the use of correlation matrices that are expected to result from quantitative variables. Consequently, we will consider also the use of polychoric correlation matrices for building our factor analysis.

Our approach is based on two stages. We first divide the Survey questions in four blocks, namely: Identification with Europe; Individual knowledge of EU and EU policies; Individual perception of Cohesion Policy; Individual perception of reality; and Determinants of European Identity. And second, we apply multivariate techniques to summarise key aspects that are surveyed by means of several

questions, and to extract factors approaching latent variables that we connect with the above described theoretical dimensions.

7.1. Identification with Europe

Two questions in the PERCEIVE's Survey address the identification of respondents with Europe, their country and region, what results in four different variables.

> Q8. In general, do you think that (YOUR COUNTRY'S) EU membership is (NOT for UK): *a good thing; a bad thing; neither good nor bad; (not sure).*
> Q9. On a 0-10 scale, with '0' being 'I don't identify at all, and '10' being 'I identify very strongly', how strongly you identify yourself with the following? *Your region; Your country; Europe.*

The specific analysis of building a composite index will be developed in Deliverable 2.3. Still, we have followed the same technique that will be applied in the rest of this section and consequently for this dimension we apply a principal components approach, as we aim at summarising the identification with national/local identities versus the European identity. Table 7.1 displays the polychoric correlations and the Varimax orthogonal rotation loadings of the first two components, which capture over three quarters of the total variance. Panels a and b of figure 7.1 display the scree plot and the loading plot of the rotated solution. As we can see, with two components we capture the national/local identity (Component 1) and the European identity (Component 2). In fact, the first component also captures some sort of European identification of individuals. Consequently one can also see this dimension as a generic *territorial* identity against the overall European identification. The rotated solutions display balanced components in terms of variance: 41% for the national local and 34% for the European.

Table 7.1. Polychoric correlation and Principal components results for Identification with Europe

	Q8	Q9_1	Q9_2	Comp_1	Comp_2
Q8. In general, do you think that (YOUR COUNTRY'S) EU membership is good/bad/neither?	1			0,115	0,813
Q9_1. On a 0-10 scale, with '0' being 'I don't identify at all, and '10' being 'I identify very strongly', how strongly you identify yourself with your **region**	-0.162	1		0,713	0,115
Q9_2. On a 0-10 scale, with '0' being 'I don't identify at all, and '10' being 'I identify very strongly', how strongly you identify yourself with your **country**	-0.227	0.515	1	0,649	-0,059
Q9_3. On a 0-10 scale, with '0' being 'I don't identify at all, and '10' being 'I identify very strongly', how strongly you identify yourself with **Europe**	-0.435	0.319	0.437	0,240	-0,568
Cumulative variance				0.410	0.753

Figure 7.1. Scree plot (a) and Loading plot (b) of the rotated solution for Identification with EU

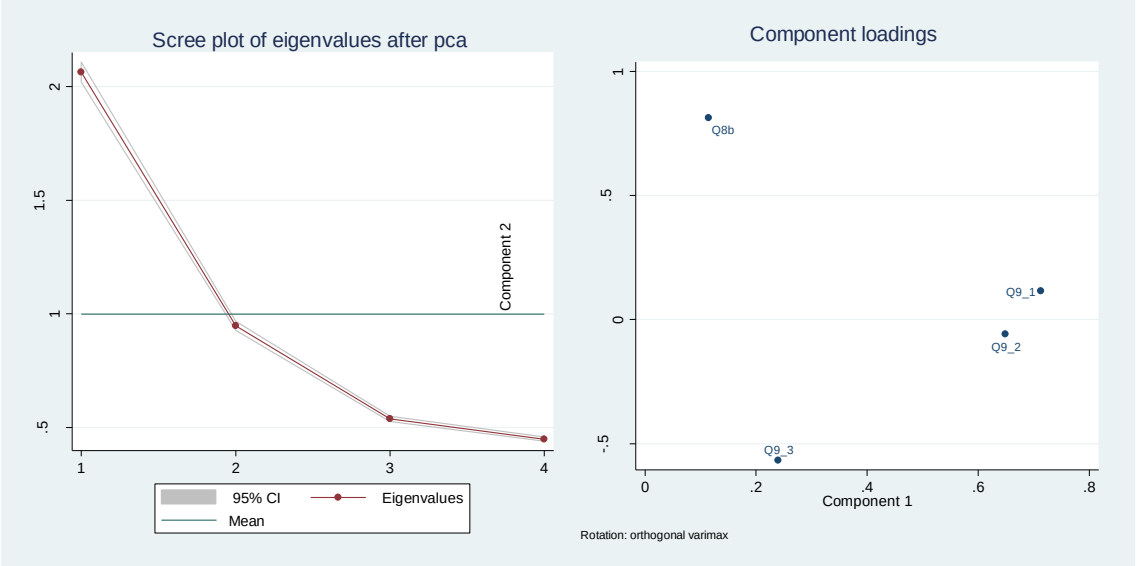
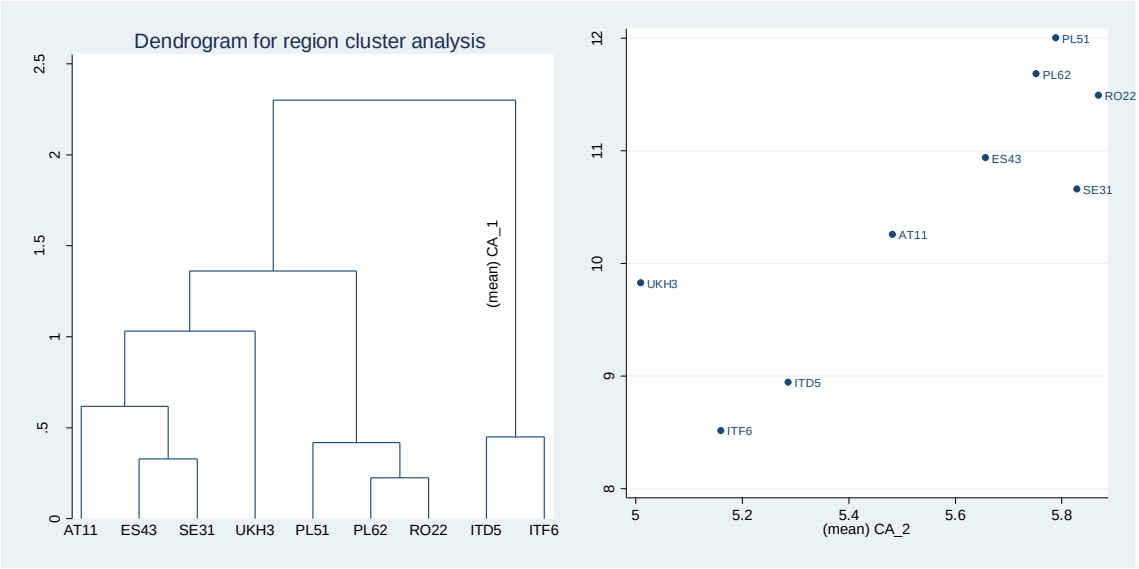


Figure 7.2. Characterisation of Case Study regions according to PC Dendogram - Scatter



Using the two selected components we classify the PERCEIVE's Case Study regions by means of a hierarchical cluster analysis. As can be seen in figure 7.2a, a first divide is found between Italian regions and the rest. The subsequent divide exists between EU15 countries (Austria, United Kingdom, Spain and Sweden) versus Polish and Romanian regions. This divide is also found in the scatter plot between the two components. Interestingly, Essex (UKH3) is relatively close to Italian regions in the scatterplot but far away in the dendogram.

7.2. Individual knowledge of EU and EU policies

Among the individual determinants of citizens' identification with Europe we listed in first stage *political awareness*: individual knowledge of EU and EU policies can be analysed separately from the identification with EU. Two questions address the knowledge of EU and EU policies:

> Q1. In general, have you ever heard about the following EU policies? EU Cohesion Policy; EU Regional Policy; EU Structural Funds; any EU funded project in your region or area; (None of these). *Yes ; No.*
> Q3. To your knowledge, have you ever benefited in your daily life from any project funded by the EU? *Yes; No; (Don't know/Refused)*

Question Q1 results is a list of up to five possible binary answers, although the last one (never heard about any policy) is a combination of the former four. Here we intend to find a variable summarizing consciousness of EU policies. For that purpose we face two options. The first one is using polychoric correlations of the considered variables, and the second one is building a quantitative variable summing the number of EU policies that individuals have heard of and subsequently using quantitative correlation matrix to compute the principal components. After considering both options we prefer the first possibility, as it reports some refinement in the consideration of knowledge of EU. Table 7.2 displays the Polychoric correlation and the Varimax orthogonal rotation loadings of the first two components, which capture over three quarters of the total variance. Figures 7.3a and 7.3b display the scree plot and the loading plot of the rotated solution. Component 1 captures awareness of general EU policy while Component 2 summarises knowledge of local impact of such policies. The first component apprehends 46% of total variance, while the second captures 29%.

We classify the Case Study regions using the two components. As can be seen in figure 7.4a, a cluster first divide is found for the Polish regions, with high values in both components (figure 7.4b). Essex (UKH3) displays the lowest value for general knowledge of EU policies and the rest of regions report similar average values for both variables, with a median position in both variables for Extremadura (ES43).

Table 7.2. Polychoric correlation and Principal components results for Individual knowledge of EU and EU policies

	Q1_1	Q1_2	Q1_3	Q1_4	Comp_1	Comp_2
Q1_1. In general, have you ever heard about the following EU policies? **EU Cohesion Policy**	1				0,616	-0,085
Q1_2. In general, have you ever heard about the following EU policies? **EU Regional Policy**	0.681	1			0,580	-0,003
Q1_3. In general, have you ever heard about the following EU policies? **EU Structural Funds**	0.608	0.615	1.000		0,519	0,084
Q1_4. In general, have you ever heard about the following EU policies? **any EU funded project in your region or area**	0.391	0.399	0.430	1,000	0,103	0,614
Q3. To your knowledge, have you ever benefited in your daily life from any project funded by the EU?	0.261	0.332	0.351	0,464	-0,068	0,780
				Cumulative variance	0.462	0.751

Figure 7.3. Scree plot (a) and Loading plot (b) of the rotated solution for Identification with EU

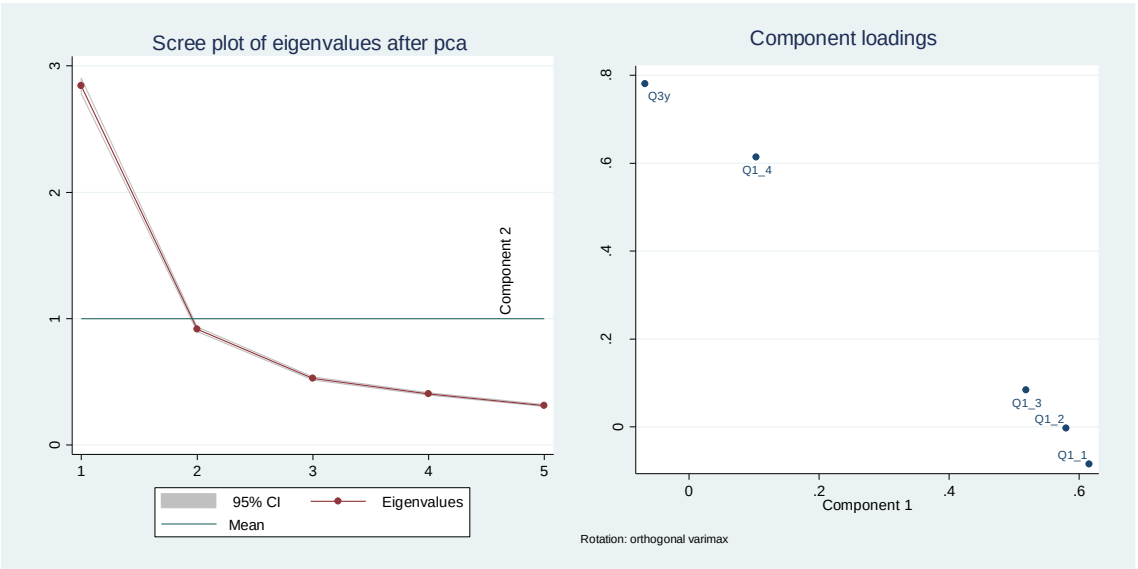
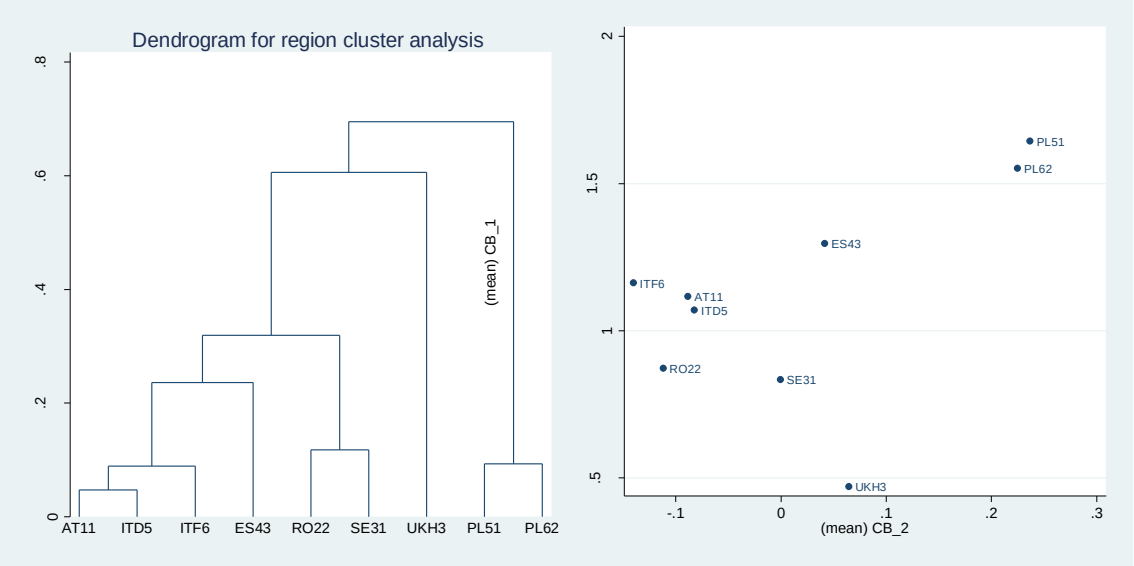


Figure 7.4. Characterisation of Case Study regions according to PC Dendogram - Scatter



7.3. Individual perception of Cohesion Policy

This section reviews the individual perception of Cohesion Policy, the main policy tool analysed in this work. Among the listed determinants described in section 3, we understand that this aspect is under the attitudes towards European policies in general and towards Cohesion Policy in particular. Our assumption is that the judgement of the Cohesion Policy is close to an overall assessment of the civic orientation of EU, as it proxies the values of solidarity between individuals in different regions and countries.

The PERCEIVE Survey assumes that individuals could have limited knowledge about the aim of this policy. Consequently, before asking about the perception, first a short text reports information on the policy: *Interviewer reads to all*: "As you might have heard, EU cohesion policy aims to reduce regional differences within the EU in things like economic development, and employment. While all members contribute and receive some funds, the wealthier EU countries generally contribute more and poorer EU regions receive more funding on average."

Once surveyed citizens have this information, they are requested on several items:

> Q20. "In your opinion, the EU should continue this policy, where wealthier countries contribute more, and poorer EU regions receive more funding." *Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree; d/k*
> Q21. In your opinion, compared with what it spends today, should (COUNTRY) contribute, more, about the same, or less to this EU policy? *More; About the same; Less*

Some follow up questions proxy the reasons for the answers in Q21. Still, here we just concentrate our analysis in these two aspects. Respectively, Table 7.3 and Figure

7.5 display the Polychoric correlation and the Varimax orthogonal rotation loadings, and the scree plot and the loading plot of the rotated solution. The first component captures almost two thirds of the overall variance and consequently summarises the generic support to Cohesion Policy. We have built both the dendogram and scatter plot (Figure 7.6) based on both components. Unsurprisingly, the scatter plot shows that the rotated factors report very close results for all regions in both dimensions. We have to admit that Q20 is widely resulting in a positive view towards the Cohesion Policy, and consequently any difference is associated to more or less enthusiastic support in a generally positive framework. The classification of regions is particularly interesting. On one extreme we find Polish (PL51 and PL62) and Swedish regions (SE31), more reluctant to increase the spending compared to todays' contribution. In the other extreme we find Spanish and Romanian regions, both of them net beneficiaries of the policy and declaring that their countries should contribute more.

Table 7.3. Polychoric correlation and Principal components results for Individual perception of Cohesion Policy

	Q20	Comp_1
Q20. "In your opinion, the EU should continue this policy, where wealthier countries contribute more, and poorer EU regions receive more funding." *Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree; d/k*	1	0.707
Q21. In your opinion, compared with what it spends today, should (COUNTRY) contribute, more, about the same, or less to this EU policy? *More; About the same; Less*	0.298	-0.707
Cumulative variance		0.6491

Figure 7.5. Scree plot (a) and Loading plot (b) of the rotated solution for Individual perception of Cohesion Policy

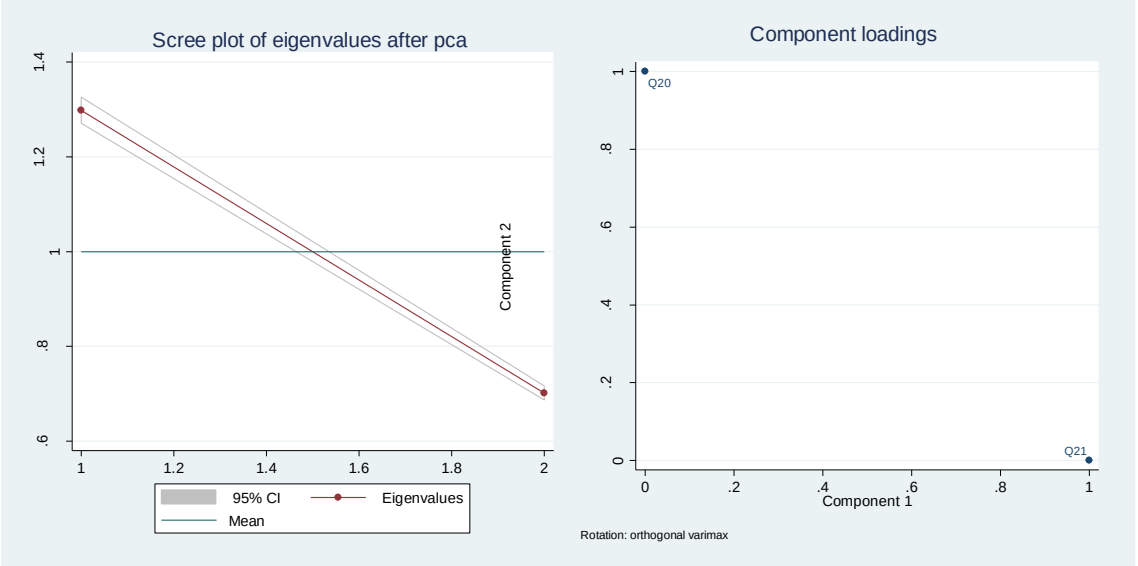
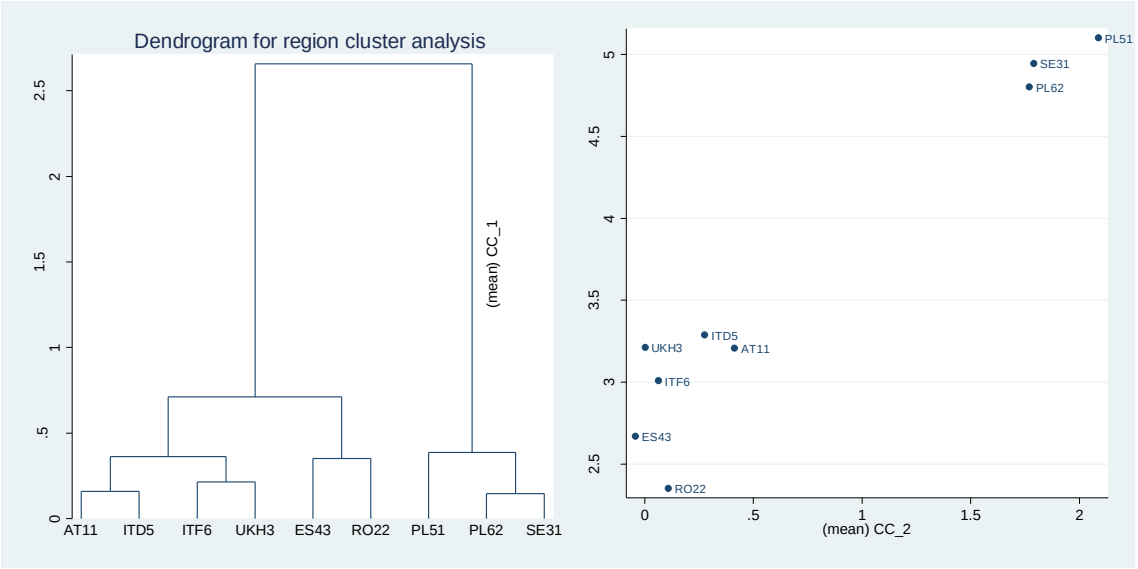


Figure 7.6. Characterisation of Case Study regions according to PC Dendogram - Scatter plot. Individual perception of Cohesion Policy.



7.4. Individual perception of reality

Several works, such as Arnolnd et al (2012) and Luhman (2017), consider personal subjective dimensions as a modulator of the national identification. These aspects can be seen as the perception of the national economic position and degree of international integration, that is, if and how individuals perceive that belonging to the EU favours their daily life. The PERCEIVE's Survey includes several aspects that allows for proxying the individual perception of reality:

Q4. In the past 5 years or so, which of the following do you think has been the biggest problem facing your region? *Poor education; Poor infrastructure & transportation; Corruption and poor governance; Unemployment; Environmental concerns; Poor wages / poverty; (other)*
Q17. How satisfied are you with the current economic situation in your region today? *Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat unsatisfied; Very unsatisfied*
Q18. "compared with (5 years ago), do you think the economy in your region is: *Better; About the same; Worse*

Next we concentrate on the economic perception of reality. We use questions Q17 and Q18 and in addition a variable based on Q4e that is equal to 1 if the respondent identifies as major problem in the region Unemployment or Poor wages / poverty. As above, Table 7.4 and Figure 7.7 display the basic results of PC analysis. Clearly, the first component summarises individual *satisfaction* with the economic situation, what we understand as the self-assessment of the personal situation, while the second component identifies whether economic problems are the major aspect of concern.

According to the dendogram and the scatter plot of the nine Case Study regions (Figure 7.8), Calabria (ITF6) has a particularly high position in the first component and low in the second (the cluster analysis groups Extremadura ES43 with this Italian region), the opposite result than Burgenland (AT11) and the two Polish regions (Dolnośląskie, PL51 and Warmińsko-mazurskie, PL62). Again, Essex (UKH3) displays a distant position from the majority of the other regions, in this case in the second component.

Table 7.4. Polychoric correlation and Principal components results for Individual perception of reality

	Q4e	Q17	Comp_1	Comp_2
Q4e. In the past 5 years or so, which of the following do you think has been the biggest problem facing your region? **Unemployment; Poor wages / poverty**	1		-0.002	0.992
Q17. How satisfied are you with the current economic situation in your region today? Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat unsatisfied; Very unsatisfied	0.177	1	0.689	0.091
Q18. "compared with (5 years ago), do you think the economy in your region is: Better; About the same; Worse	0.100	0.473	0.725	-0.083
Cumulative variance			0.491	0.827

Figure 7.7. Scree plot (a) and Loading plot (b) of the rotated solution for Individual perception of reality

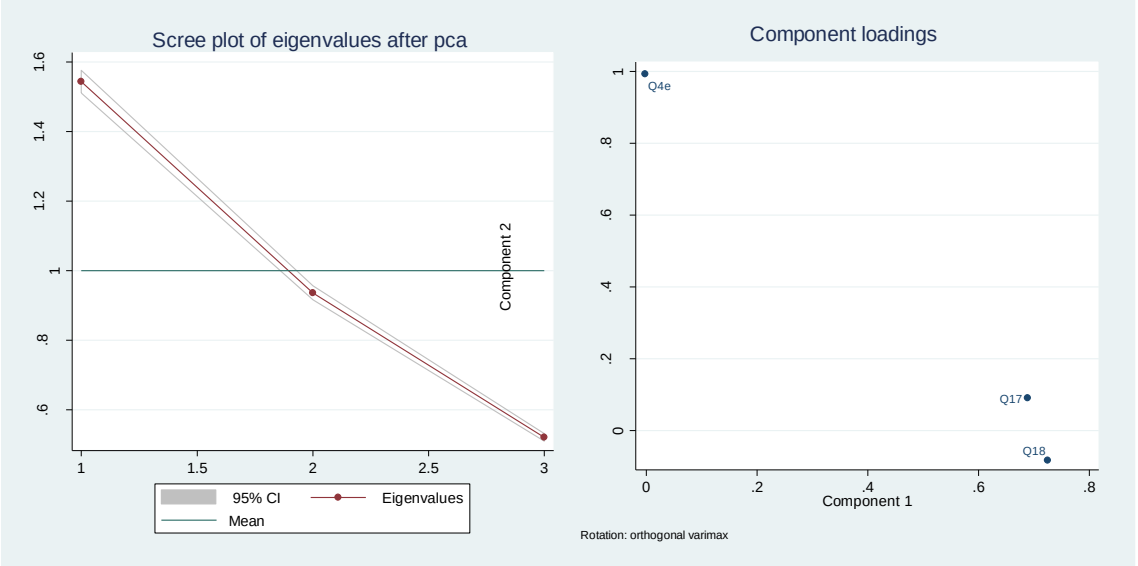
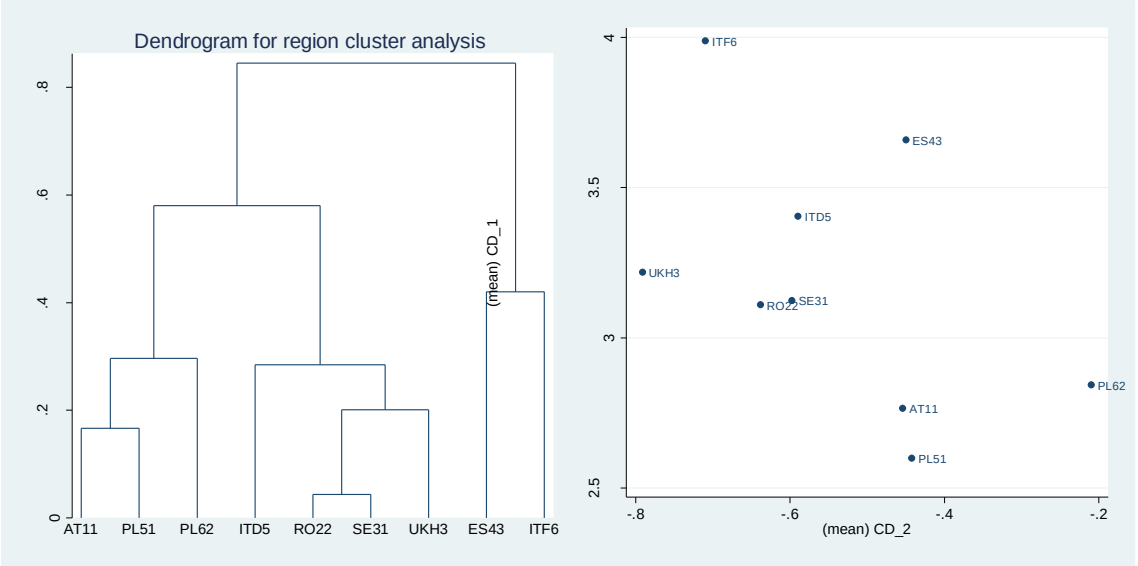


Figure 7.8. Characterisation of Case Study regions according to PC Dendogram-Scatter



7.5. Other determinants of European Identity

This section reviews the remaining list of the determinants of European identity by inspecting the latent factors that proxy theoretical dimensions of citizens' identification with the European Union. Here we work with the information that selected variables share in common to extract the underlying dimensions. These variables are:

Q5. How effective do you think the following institutions will be at dealing with the biggest problem in your region? a. The European Union; b. (COUNTRY's) national governing institutions; c. Your regional/local governing institutions. *1-Very effective; 2-Somewhat effective; 3-Not so effective.*

Q10. People have many different opinions about what 'being European' means. On a scale from 0-10, where '0' means "not at all important" and '10' means "very important", how important are the following for you in terms of 'being European'?

a. The right for all EU citizens to live and work in any other EU country
b. Having the common Euro currency
c. The Christian religion
d. Having a common European flag
e. Sharing a common European history and culture

Q11. Generally speaking, using a scale on which 0 means that "people cannot be trusted" and 10 means that "most people can be trusted", where would you locate yourself on this scale?

Q12. (COUNTRY) should have more restrictions on immigration than it does today

Q13. (COUNTRY's) national government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels among people in (COUNTRY)

Q14. (COUNTRY) should have a strong leader that can solve problems quickly, who does not have to worry about elections and parliamentary rules.

Q15. (RANDOMISED QUESTION) "The EU should continue to let more countries become members, under the condition that they meet all of EU's membership requirements"

a. "The EU should continue to let more countries become members, under the condition that they meet all of EU's membership requirements"
b. "The EU should continue to let more countries become members, SUCH AS NORWAY, under the condition that they meet all of EU's membership requirements"
c. "The EU should continue to let more countries become members, SUCH AS TURKEY, under the condition that they meet all of EU's membership requirements"
d. "The EU should continue to let more countries become members, SUCH AS SERBIA, under the condition that they meet all of EU's membership requirements"

Q15combined reports the overall support to the entry of any country.

Q16. On a 0-10 scale, with '0' being that 'there is no corruption' and '10' being that corruption is widespread, how would you rate the following institutions?

a. The European union
b. (COUNTRY'S) national governing institutions
c. Your regional/local governing institutions

Table 7.5 displays the polychoric correlations, Table 7.6 the loadings of the rotated factors using an oblique rotation, and Table 7.7 the correlation between the rotated factors. Figure 7.9 displays the screeplot and Figure 7.10 the loading plot of the first three common factors. These outputs report the different dimensions that are behind the 16 selected variables. The factor analysis results selecting up to seven common factors, being each of them linked to a theoretical aspect. Next we describe our interpretation of every factor and how they are linked to each other.

- Factor 1 is associated with **corruption** issues, and in particular with the local and national dimensions, as the European level of corruption is less intensely associated with it (this variable has a moderate loading in Factor 7). This factor can be linked with *political awareness*, as perceived corruption can either hinder or promote interests in politics. Besides, perceived corruption can influence party messages on national and European matters.

- Factor 2 is associated with some determinants of European identity. In particular, factor loadings are high with the interpretation of respondents on what 'being European' means: having a common European flag, history and culture, having the common Euro currency and the right for citizens to live and work in any EU country. This factor is clearly associated with **attitudes towards European bodies**. Both civic and cultural aspects are present in this factor, although symbols are an important aspect.

- Factor 3 is the first dimension that we accommodate within the economic utilitarian theory, as it reports the **effectiveness of institutions** to deal with the biggest problem in the region, and consequently with the national economic position and degree of international integration determinant of citizens' identification with Europe. This factor is more closely associated with national and regional governments than with the European polity.

- We see factor 4 as a reflection of the **ethnic dimension of European identity**: restrictions to mobility, solidarity within countries, need of a strong leader and being European is linked with the Christian religion. These variables are the expression of an exclusive way of seeing Europe rather than inclusive, a cultural Europe rather than a universalistic body.

- We interpret Factor 5 as a proxy of **civic attitudes**. This factor captures the willingness to accept new countries as EU members, with policies favouring equity at the European level, and partially with the right of mobility for citizens within the EU. It is also associated with a measurement of trust in others, even in countries out of the EU.

- Factor 6, again, is linked with the **economic utilitarian theory**, as it is associated with EU spatial mobility and having a common currency, two pro-EU arguments more linked with economic efficiency. Interestingly, this factor is also linked with positive attitudes towards spatial redistribution within countries.

- Finally, we understand that factor 7 is closer to the idea of **trust.** We covered the concept of trust in the determinant of ethnocultural identification and also in the one of attitudes towards polities. Interestingly, this factor has higher rotated loadings with the role of the EU to solve problems, a proxy to the concept of **European civic solidarity**, as it is associated with the idea of EU as a problem-solving institution.

We take advantage of the oblique rotation of the factor analysis and we analyse the correlation between factors. In table 7.6 we see the following associations:

- Factor 1 (corruption) is positively associated with factor 4 (ethnic dimension of European identity) and negatively associated with factor 7 (trust and the concept of European civic solidarity).
- Factor 2, attitudes towards European bodies, is positively associated with factor 5, civic attitudes.
- Factor 3, effectiveness of institutions, is the one with a lower association with the rest of the factors.
- Factor 4, ethnic dimension of European identity, is negatively linked with factor 6, economic utilitarian theory.
- Factor 5, civic attitudes, presents a strong positive association with factor 6 (economic utilitarian theory).
- Finally, factor 7 (linked with trust and the idea of European civic solidarity) is negatively associated with factors 5 (civic attitudes) and 6 (economic utilitarian theory).

Using cluster analysis we can see in Figures 11 (dendogram) and 12 (scatter plots of the first four factors) that the Romanian Sud Est region (RO22) has an isolated position, mainly leaded by its high level in factor 1 (corruption) and low level in factor 2, attitudes towards European bodies, and factor 3, effectiveness of institutions, the three factors with higher variance.

Next we find two competitiveness regions, Essex (UKH3) and Norra Mellansverige (SE31), both with low scores in the corruption factor (factor 1) but also low values associated with **attitudes towards European bodies** (factor 2) and also a bad perception in the effectiveness of institutions to handle problems (factor 3). Close to this pair of regions we find a convergence phasing out region, Burgenland (AT11). It is similar to the former regions in terms of low levels of perceived corruption and, again, a bad perception in the effectiveness of institutions.

Polish and Italian regions are nationally clustered and subsequently merged together with Extremadura (ES43). These five regions represent a quite homogenous body.

Table 7.5. Polychoric correlation matrix. Determinants of European Identity.

	Q5_1	Q5_2	Q5_3	Q10_1	Q10_2	Q10_3	Q10_4	Q10_5	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15c	Q16_1	Q16_2
Q5_1. How effective do you think the following institutions will be at dealing with the biggest problem in your region? **The European Union**	1														
Q5_2. How effective do you think the following institutions will be at dealing with the biggest problem in your region? **(COUNTRY's) national governing institutions**	0.48	1													
Q5_3. How effective do you think the following institutions will be at dealing with the biggest problem in your region? **c. Your regional/local governing institutions**	0.38	0.61	1												
Q10_1. People have many different opinions about what 'being European' means. **a. The right for all EU citizens to live and work in any other EU country**	-0.23	-0.09	-0.08	1											
Q10_2. People have many different opinions about what 'being European' means. **b. Having the common Euro currency**	-0.15	-0.07	-0.08	0.36	1										
Q10_3. People have many different opinions about what 'being European' means. **c. The Christian religion**	-0.05	-0.03	0.02	0.06	0.03	1									
Q10_4. People have many different opinions about what 'being European' means. **d. Having a common European flag**	-0.10	-0.02	-0.05	0.27	0.40	0.20	1								
Q10_5. People have many different opinions about what 'being European' means. **e. Sharing a common European history and culture**	-0.06	0.02	-0.01	0.30	0.29	0.16	0.51	1							

Q11. Generally speaking, using a scale on which 0 means that "people cannot be trusted" and 10 means that "most people can be trusted", where would you locate yourself on this scale?	-0.04	-0.10	-0.14	0.11	0.12	-0.02	0.09	0.14	1							
Q12. (COUNTRY) should have more restrictions on immigration than it does today	0.10	0.02	0.04	-0.14	-0.10	0.23	-0.03	-0.07	-0.08	1						
Q13. (COUNTRY's) national government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels among people in (COUNTRY)	-0.09	0.02	0.03	0.14	0.04	0.08	0.04	0.05	-0.03	0.10	1					
Q14. (COUNTRY) should have a strong leader that can solve problems quickly, who does not have to worry about elections and parliamentary rules.	-0.07	-0.01	0.05	0.00	-0.06	0.20	0.04	0.00	-0.13	0.26	0.24	1				
Q15c. "The EU should continue to let more countries become members, under the condition that they meet all of EU's membership requirements"	-0.20	-0.08	-0.06	0.27	0.17	0.04	0.17	0.16	0.10	-0.11	0.11	0.05	1			
Q16. How would you rate the corruption of the following institutions? **a. The European union**	0.13	0.11	0.11	-0.06	-0.11	0.08	-0.07	-0.05	-0.15	0.18	0.08	0.16	-0.07	1		
Q16. How would you rate the corruption of the following institutions? **b. (COUNTRY'S) national governing institutions**	-0.08	0.13	0.11	0.11	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.00	-0.16	0.05	0.20	0.23	0.10	0.43	1	
Q16. How would you rate the corruption of the following institutions? **c. Your regional/local governing institutions**	-0.05	0.09	0.15	0.07	0.02	0.04	0.00	-0.02	-0.13	0.07	0.14	0.16	0.06	0.36	0.62	

Table 7.5. Common Factor loadings after oblimin oblique rotation. Determinants of European Identity.

	Factor_1	Factor_2	Factor_3	Factor_4	Factor_5	Factor_6	Factor_7
Q5_1	-0.06	-0.04	0.52	-0.03	-0.10	-0.06	0.17
Q5_2	0.02	0.02	0.76	-0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01
Q5_3	0.02	0.00	0.71	0.04	0.02	0.01	-0.07
Q10_1	0.06	0.33	-0.05	-0.02	0.20	0.18	-0.02
Q10_2	0.01	0.49	-0.04	-0.09	-0.01	0.16	-0.01
Q10_3	-0.04	0.24	-0.03	0.37	-0.01	-0.10	0.00
Q10_4	0.00	0.70	0.00	0.04	-0.04	-0.02	-0.02
Q10_5	-0.01	0.62	0.05	-0.01	0.07	-0.04	0.04
Q11	-0.13	0.12	-0.10	-0.10	0.17	0.03	0.18
Q12	0.00	-0.03	0.00	0.45	-0.10	-0.05	0.08
Q13	0.04	-0.04	0.05	0.33	0.17	0.15	-0.01
Q14	0.07	-0.03	0.00	0.49	0.04	0.02	-0.07
Q15combined	0.02	0.12	-0.05	0.02	0.27	0.09	-0.05
Q16_1	0.54	-0.03	0.01	0.08	-0.09	-0.09	0.13
Q16_2	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.03	-0.02
Q16_3	0.71	0.02	0.00	-0.04	-0.01	0.00	-0.03

Table 7.6. Correlation matrix between oblique rotation of Common Factors. Determinants of European Identity.

	Factor_1	Factor_2	Factor_3	Factor_4	Factor_5	Factor_6	Factor_7
Factor_1	1						
Factor_2	-0.018	1					
Factor_3	0.322	-0.225	1				
Factor_4	0.463	0.054	0.133	1			
Factor_5	0.169	0.660	-0.341	-0.128	1		
Factor_6	0.208	0.392	-0.274	-0.451	0.879	1	
Factor_7	-0.489	-0.214	0.176	-0.100	-0.733	-0.735	1

Figure 7.9. Scree plot (a) of Common Factors. Determinants of European Identity.

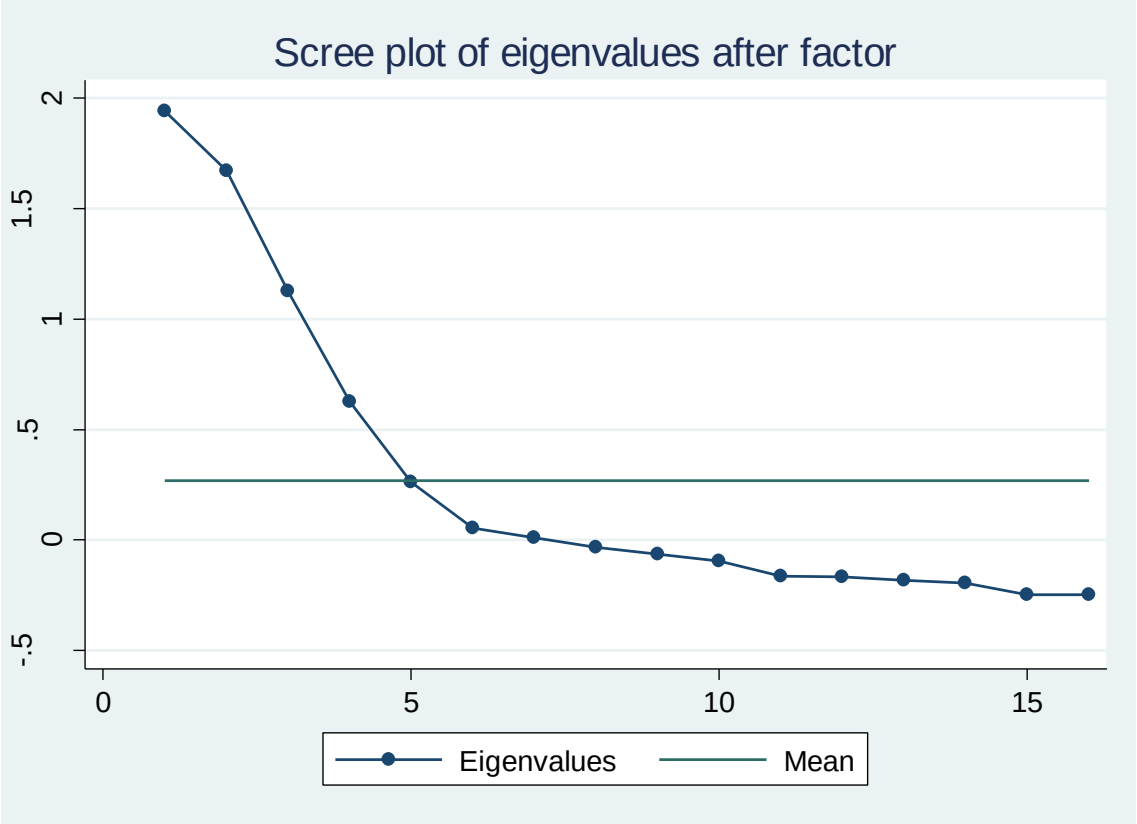


Figure 7.10. Loading plot of the first three Common Factors. Determinants of European Identity.

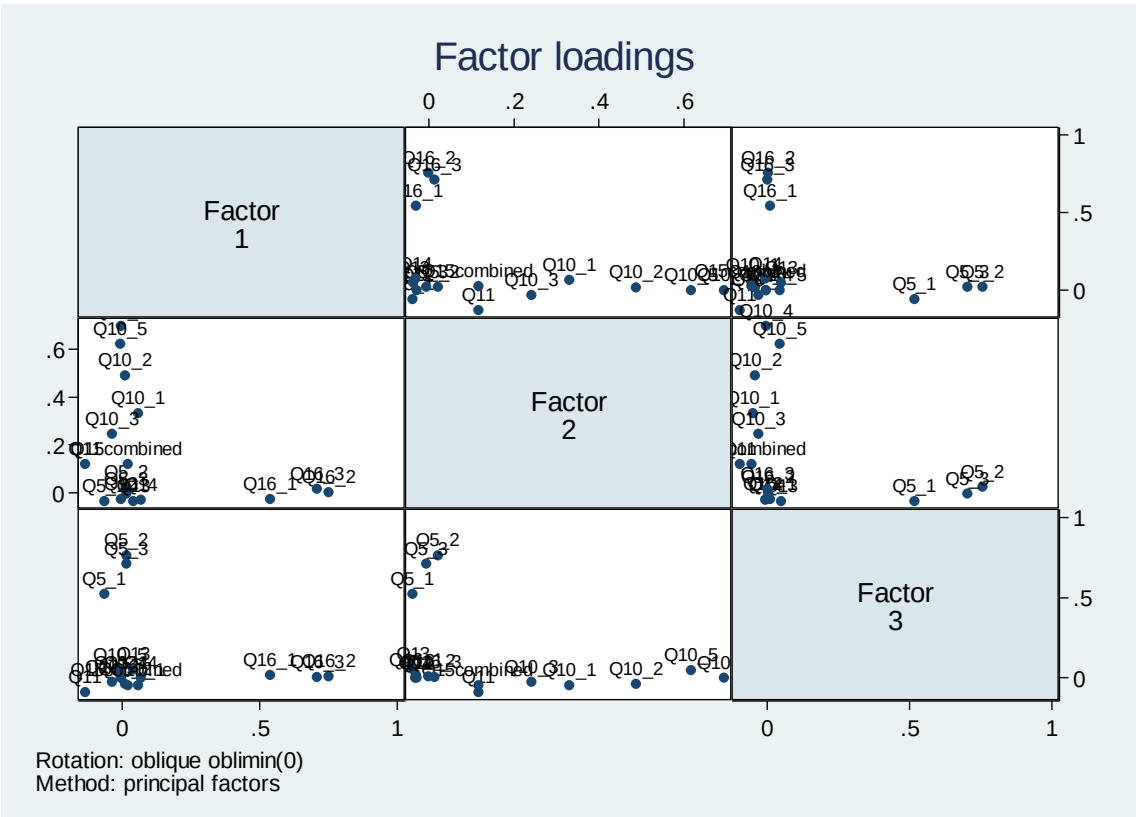


Figure 7.11. Characterisation of Case Study regions. Dendogram

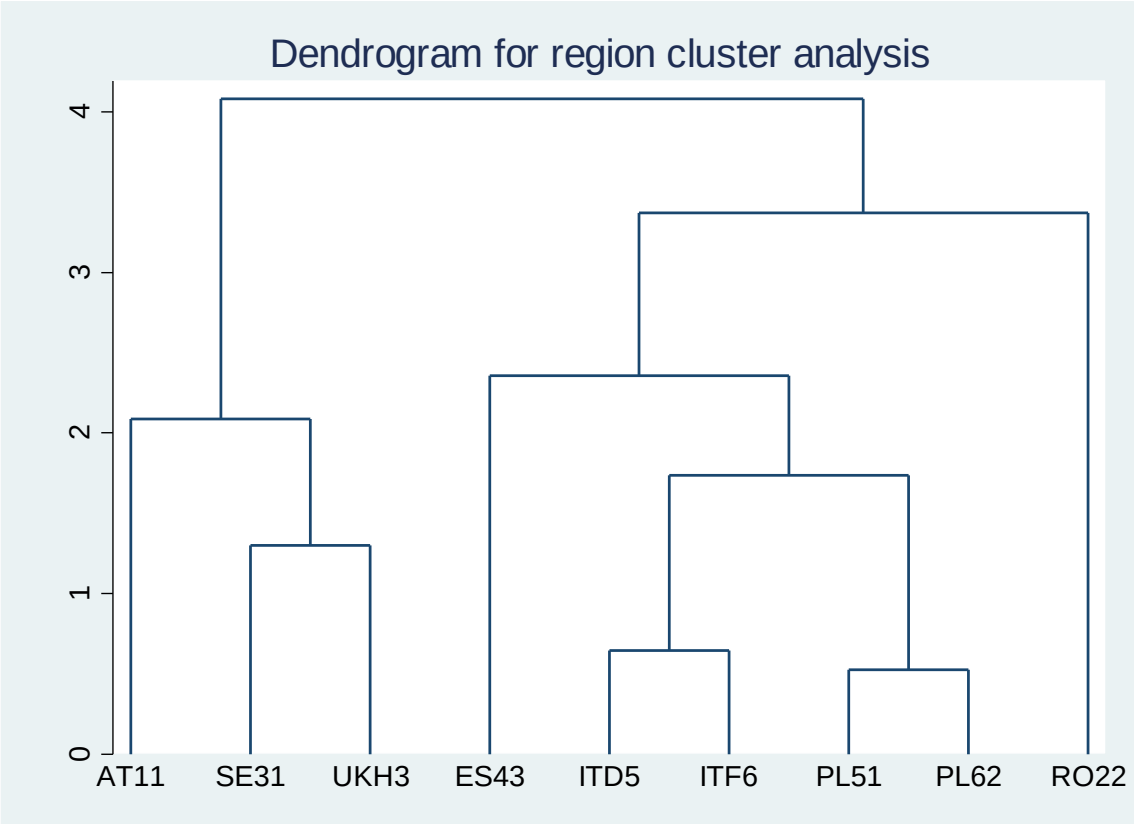
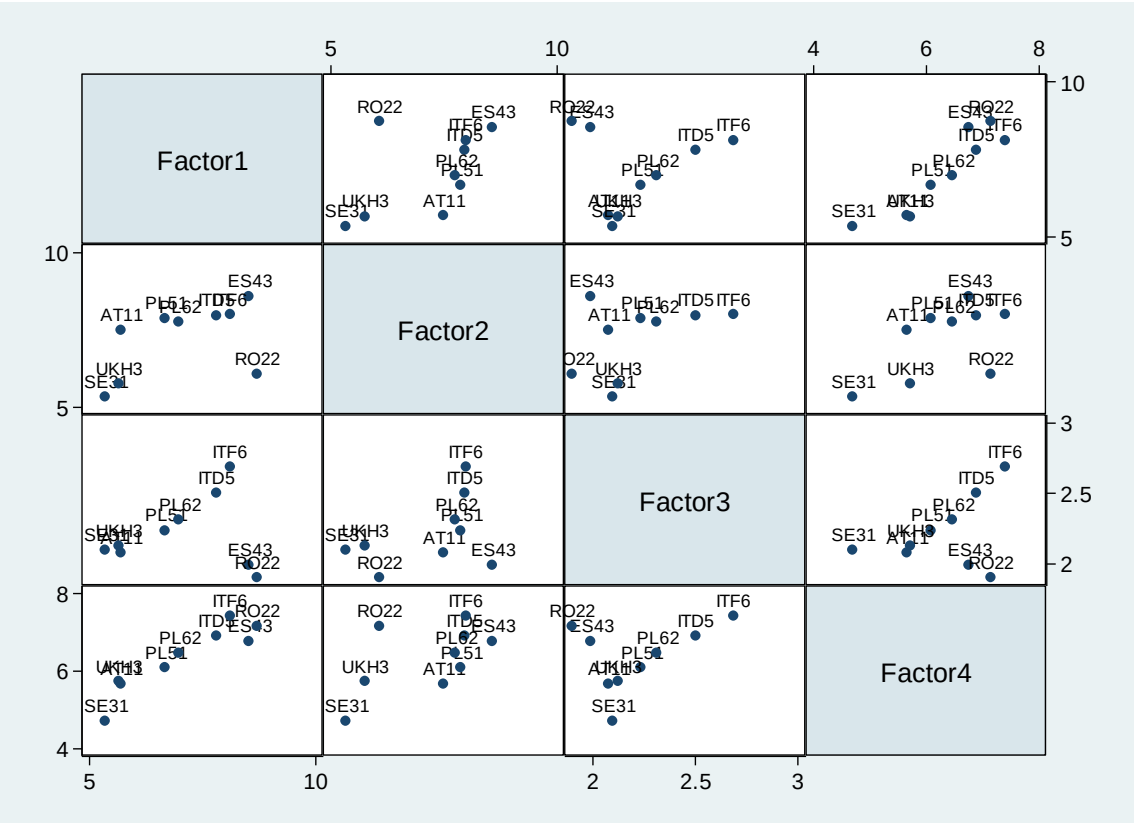


Figure 7.12. Characterisation of Case Study regions. Scatter plots first four factors



7.6. Association between citizens' European identification, determinants and perceptions

This section discusses the results of a simple correlation analysis between the obtained factors in the previous sections. In particular we focus our analysis on the association between the component linked with European identity captured in section 7.1 and the components found in the remaining subsections. In addition we consider different thresholds of urbanisation, in order to inspect the role of the territory on the link between determinants and the identification with Europe.

Table 7.7 summarises the information of this correlation. We first see that the correlations are not particularly large, an aspect that can be somehow expected, given the qualitative nature of the original information, the individual level nature of the data, and that territorial identities are determined by a large list of elements. A second aspect to remark is that the principal component summarising the identification with Europe is defined *negatively*. To be clear, the higher the score, the lower the identification with Europe.

Having this into account we see that individuals with a stronger ethnic view of the European identity are less identified with Europe. On the contrary, those individuals favouring an economic utilitarian point of view, sharing civic attitudes, and with a positive attitude towards European bodies, are more prone to be positively identified with Europe. It is important to remark that the individual identification with Europe has a low association with the individual perception of Cohesion Policy, and if any, it can be labelled as negative.

We perform this correlation analysis looking at individuals living in territories with different urbanisation thresholds: we analyse the association between European identity and its determinants in rural areas (places below 10,000 inhabitants) which account for 30% of the sample, in small towns and cities (places between 10,000 and 100,000 inhabitants) which represent 37% of the sample, and in larger cities (over 100,000 inhabitants) about 31% of total sample. We see that people living in small towns and cities have stronger associations than those living in rural areas or large cities. In fact, correlations are smaller in large cities, what can signal a more complicated relationship between European identity and its determinants. Consequently, we believe that there is some basis to support the need for a regional and local analysis of the European identity. This calls for a wider attention on the mechanisms through which the determinants affect territorial identity. Still, political awareness has a low correlation with the identification of citizens with the idea of Europe.

These results call for further research in several ways:

- There is a need for a multiple correlation analysis, accounting simultaneously for mechanisms, determinants and their interaction.

- The territorial dimension, either regional and/or urban-rural needs to be considered, as it can be capturing some of the transmission mechanisms of the determinants.
- We need to investigate more on the way the perception of Cohesion Policy may influence European identity, including for instance interaction with some of the mechanisms mediating this relationship.

Next section will take the lead to answer some of these questions.

Table 7.7. Correlation matrix between citizens' identification with Europe and determinants and perceptions of individuals.

	All territories	Less than 10,000 (rural areas)	10,000-100,000 (small and middle-sized cities)	Greater than 100,000 (Large cities)
Knowledge of general EU policy	0.042	0.027	0.080	0.015
Knowledge of local impact of EU policies	0.030	0.048	0.011	0.038
Individual perception of Cohesion Policy	0.042	0.055	0.029	0.042
Individual satisfaction with the economic situation	-0.023	-0.015	-0.025	-0.025
Economic problems are the major aspect of concern	0.054	0.054	0.059	0.046
Perception of Corruption	0.052	0.080	0.037	0.047
Attitudes towards European bodies	-0.071	**-0.118**	-0.027	-0.087
Effectiveness of institutions	-0.001	0.003	0.011	-0.016
Ethnic dimension of European identity	**0.191**	**0.179**	**0.202**	**0.193**
Civic attitudes	-0.096	**-0.109**	-0.089	-0.092
Economic utilitarian theory	**-0.159**	**-0.152**	**-0.167**	**-0.156**
European civic solidarity and trust	0.093	0.086	**0.122**	0.062

Note: Given the large sample size, most correlation coefficients are significant at 1%. In this table we bold only those determinants with a correlation over 0.10. 30.4% of the sample corresponds to rural areas, 37.4% to small towns or cities, and 30.7% to large or very large cities. The remaining 1.5% corresponds to respondents who refused to answer or did not know.

8. The impact of the Cohesion Policy on the citizens' identification with the EU project and their perception of the Cohesion Policy

As described above, the second investigative procedure to analyse the association between citizens' identification with Europe and the mechanisms and determinants of identity formation is the use of multivariate regression techniques. In particular next we face multivariate modelling, and specifically a mixed-effect logit specification. As we did in section 6, we study here three dimensions of interest for the project:

- Citizens' identification with the EU project
- Citizens' awareness of the EU Cohesion Policy
- Citizens' perception of the benefits and support to the Cohesion Policy

We understand that it is of interest not only studying the association of the determinants of individuals' formation of a European identity, but also analysing the fundamental mechanisms affecting such formation process. As the main focus of this project is the analysis of the role of Cohesion Policy, we provide a detailed analysis of both awareness and perception of such policy.

8.1. Description of the multivariate modelling setting

This section summarises and discusses the results of a more sophisticated description of the indicators used to proxy for the citizens' identification with the EU project and their perception of the EU Cohesion Policy. As mentioned above, it does so by means of a multivariate modelling setting that allows estimating the partial correlation between the variables of interest, while controlling for differences between respondents in some personal characteristics and features of the socio-economic context of the region in which they live.

According to some of the main aims of the PERCEIVE project (as indicated in the proposal), this section pays particular attention to the effect on the citizens' identification and perception of:

- The Cohesion Policy. It does so by considering two indicators of this policy. On the one hand, if the region in which the individual lives is included in the category of Less Developed/Convergence/Objective 1. On the other, the amount of EU funds in the region as a measure of the intensity of the policy.
- The urban-rural dimension, using the same indicator as in the descriptive analysis of section 6. The aim is testing whether there is still some evidence of an urban-rural divide after conditioning for a comprehensive set of individual and region characteristics.

- The date of accession to the EU, as there could be differences in identification and perception between citizens of the founding Member States and those that access the Union in different enlargements. This can also be seen as an indirect way to account for geographical differences in the degree of identification and perception.

It should be mentioned that the analysis in this section does not include the effect of differences across regions in the Quality of Governance, as this will be the focus of a subsequent deliverable within Working Package 2 (Deliverable 2.6). However, we include as control a subjective measure of the respondent's perception of corruption in the EU, the country, and the region, based on responses to the corresponding questions in the PERCEIVE's Survey.

Non-linear probabilistic specifications are fitted due to the characteristics of the indicators used for the identification and perception of the respondent (dichotomous variables). More precisely, a logit model is estimated. The only exception is the "degree of identification with Europe", which is a variable that takes values between 0 and 10. In that case, for simplicity, a linear approximation has been used. It is important to note that data from the PERCEIVE's Survey includes several respondents from each region in the 15 surveyed countries. To account from this hierarchical structure and for the likely correlation in responses for individuals in the same region due to unobservables characteristics, a mixed-effects model is estimated in all cases. A brief description of the main features of this model is provided in Box 8.1 for the logit specification (the extension to the lineal regression model is straightforward). It should be noticed that due to the non-linearity of the logit specification, the coefficients are not measuring the magnitude of the effect of the corresponding variables. A proper estimate of the effect sizes can be obtained from the coefficient estimates by computing the odd ratios (exponentiating the coefficients) or the marginal effects. They are not reported in this section to avoid further complications and to minimise the risk of deriving causal effects from the partial correlations implicit in the estimated coefficients.

As for the explanatory variables included in the specifications, we warn the reader that we apply the same theoretical framework to the three considered variables: Citizens' identification with Europe; awareness of the Cohesion Policy; and perception of the benefits and support to it. We understand that both awareness and perception of the Cohesion Policy are key aspects to build the European identity. Part of the work within Working Package 2 of the PERCEIVE project aims at developing this task. Consequently, rather than interacting awareness and perception with a wide list of variables to see their effect on the formation of European identity, we have opted for studying the factors associated with them, with

the aim of performing a descriptive association analysis of the three variables of interest.

The explanatory variables considered in the specifications are grouped in two broad categories: characteristics of the individual and features of the regional context. In turn, the individual level information distinguishes between demographic characteristics, perception of own socio-economic situation, political and social values, perception of corruption, and place of living. The system level data covers the regional context and includes, on the one hand, the citizens' perception of the region's economy and, on the other, some objective measures of the economic performance and information about the date of accession to the EU of the country. Finally, the variables that account for the incidence of the Cohesion Policy are included as key factors of the regional context.[6]

The link of these variables with the mechanisms and determinants of the theoretical framework proposed in section 3 is as follows. We consider variables *affecting the level of awareness* of citizens to EU issues and to citizens' attentiveness and interest to EU matters. This is mainly a mechanism (information based mechanism), as refer to *how* citizens develop such a collective identification. Among these, we consider citizens' education, occupation, income, gender and age, variables that we understand that may be affecting the processing of information and subsequently individuals' identification with Europe. These variables are also considered in several other applied works in the literature (see Appendix 1 for further details). Awareness is also a determinant: both interest in politics and political knowledge, as they are linked with the amount of information on the benefits or risks and downsides resulting from of European integration. We control for this aspect by means of a variable accounting if the surveyed individual voted in the last two elections. We also control for the *perception* of corruption, a variable that we interpret as a further proxy of interest in political matters.

The experience-based mechanism covers the personal experiences as a source of identification with Europe. Together with personal contacts with other Europeans, not considered in the survey, this mechanism encompasses *citizens' exposure to EU policies*, such as the focus of the work, the Cohesion Policy. We include being a "Less Developed" region, as it implies the highest EU co-funding rate (as high as 85% in comparison to 60% for "Transition" regions and 50% in the "More Developed" regions) and also has an impact on thematic concentration. Moreover, we consider the amount of Structural Funds per capita received in the region in a year. These

[6] We analysed the effect of several regional indicators available in the Project's Regional Dataset. We finally included in the specification those more commonly used by the extant literature and the ones with the highest correlation with the measures of identification and perception.

two variables cover partially the local position faced by territories to be benefited by EU policies and subsequently to experience positive attitudes towards the EU project. They are complemented with the general subjective economic situation of the individual and the region and with objective measures such as the GDP per capita. Contextual variables are also seen as a sort of mechanism influencing the way individuals construct their collective identity. We consider the type of area (rural versus urban, distinguishing between two city size categories) in which the individual lives in terms of the population size. As we described in section 4, personal experiences can be dramatically mediated by the environment faced by individuals, mostly in terms of exposure (other EU citizens, European Agricultural Policy, etc.).

An important aspect to be considered is the type of collective identity that individuals face. The usual distinction between civic and ethnic is a key aspect to control for, as exposure to foreigners can be a positive or a negative determinant depending on the type of national identity of a citizen. We control for political and social values by including variables such as trust, being in favour of more restrictions to immigration, increasing income redistribution, and preference for stronger leaders. We also consider the years the individual has lived in the area as proxy of citizens' exposure to local identities other than the ones of the place of birth.

Information for all the magnitudes used in the analysis is from the PERCEIVE's datasets. To be clear, all the variables referring to individual characteristics and from the perception of the regional context are from the PERCEIVE's Survey database, whereas the objective measures of the region and the variables of the Regional Policy are taken from the PERCEIVE's EU Regional Dataset provided in Deliverable 2.1 (Charron, 2017). Details on the variables are provided in Box 8.2.

Results are organised by dimension of interest: Identification with the EU project; Awareness of the Cohesion Policy; and Support to the Cohesion Policy. In each case, we firstly show a simple analysis of the relationship between the indicators of the Cohesion Policy and the magnitudes of identification, awareness and support and then we move to discuss the results of the analysis of the partial correlations (i.e. controlling for the effect of the individual characteristics and the regional context).

8.2. Identification with the EU project

As showed in Table 6.1, we proxy citizens' identification with the EU project by means of two variables collected in the PERCEIVE Survey:

Q8. In general, do you think that (YOUR COUNTRY'S) EU membership is: *a good thing, a bad thing, neither good nor bad, not sure. (UK not included).*
Q9. People may feel different degrees of identity with their region, their country, or with Europe on whole. *On a 0-10 scale, how strongly you identify yourself with Europe*

Box 8.1 Empirical Specification: Mixed-Effect Logit

A mixed-effect logit specification is used to analyse the partial correlations between the indicators of interest and the individual and contextual characteristics. The term mixed effects refers to the inclusion in the model of both fixed and random effects. In the case of this study, the fixed effects correspond to the observed respondent and regional characteristics, whereas the random term accounts for intra-region correlation, that is, correlation between respondents located in the same region caused by unobservable factors. The starting point is a hierarchical specification for a latent variable y_{ir}^{*}, where *i* denotes the individual and *r* the region:

$$y_{ir}^{*} = \beta_{0r} + \sum_{k=1}^{K} \beta_{kr} I_{kir} + \varepsilon_{ir} \qquad \text{(B8.1)}$$

I_{kir} (*k*=1,..., K) denotes the value for individual *i* in region *r* of each of the K variables that affect the latent variable. β_{0r} and β_{kr} are, respectively, the intercept and the vector of slopes for each region *r*. The intercept is allowed to vary across regions depending on the set of contextual factors (R_{jr} , *j*=1,..., J) and a random component (u_{0r}, *k*=1,..., K):

$$\beta_{0r} = \gamma_{00} + \sum_{j=1}^{J} \gamma_{0j} R_{jr} + u_{0r}\,, \quad u_{0r} \sim N\left(0, \sigma_{u_{0r}}^{2}\right) \qquad \text{(B8.2)}$$

However, for simplicity we assume equal slopes across regions, i.e. $\beta_{kr} = \beta_k \; \forall r$.

Substituting the equations for β_{0r} and β_{kr} in equation (B8.1) results in:

$$y_{ir}^{*} = \gamma_{00} + \sum_{j=1}^{J} \gamma_{0j} R_{jr} + \sum_{k=1}^{K} \beta_k I_{kir} + \varepsilon_{ir} + u_{0r} \qquad \text{(B8.3)}$$

From this specification, it is clear that the latent variable conditioned to the characteristics of the individuals varies depending on the observed contextual factors (R_{jr}) and on unobservables in each region, captured by the random term u_{0r}. This error term accounts for the correlation between individuals located in the same region. The impact of the contextual regional factors on the latent individuals' variable is measured by the γ_{0j} coefficients.

As the latent variable cannot be observed, we use the traditional correspondence between this type of variable and a binary response variable (*y*=1 if y^{*}>0 and 0 otherwise). More precisely, under the assumption that individual errors, ε_{ir}, are distributed as logistic, with mean 0 and variance $\pi^2/3$, and independent of the random component u_{0r}, the corresponding multilevel mixed-effects logit model is given by:

$$\text{prob}\left(y_{ir} = 1 \middle| I_{kir}, R_{jr}, u_{0r}\right) = H(v) \qquad \text{(B8.4)}$$

where

$$v = \gamma_{00} + \sum_{j=1}^{J} \gamma_{0j} R_{jr} + \sum_{k=1}^{K} \beta_k I_{kir} + u_{0r}$$

H denotes the logistic cumulative distribution function, $H(v) = \exp(v)/[1+\exp(v)]$. The parameters of the specification in (B8.4) are estimated by a maximum likelihood procedure.

Box 8.2 Definition of variables

Note: omitted category for dummy variables in italics.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Demographics:

Gender (Female, *Male*)
Age and Age^2 (in years)
Occupation Status (*Employee in the public sector*, Employee in the private sector, Self-employed, Unemployed, Housewife/Houseman, Pensioner/retired, Student/Trainee, Other)
Education (*Less than Secondary*, High-School, University, Post-Graduate)

Perception of own economic situation:

Income level (*Low*, Medium, High, Don't know/refused)

Political and social values:

Trust in people (0 – "people cannot be trusted" to 10 – "most people can be trusted")
More restrictions on immigration (0 – "Fully disagree" to 10 – "Fully agree")
Increase income redistribution (0 – "Fully disagree" to 10 – "Fully agree")
Strong leader (0 – "Fully disagree" to 10 – "Fully agree")
Voting in the last two elections (*Neither*, Once, Both times, Don't know/refused)

Perception of corruption of:

The European Union (0 – "There is no corruption" to 10 – "Corruption is widespread")
The National governing institutions (0 – "There is no corruption" to 10 – "Corruption is widespread")
The Regional/local governing institutions (0 – "There is no corruption" to 10 – "Corruption is widespread")

Place of living:

Type of area (Large town, Small and Medium-sized town, *Rural area*)
Years in the area

REGIONAL CONTEXT

Perception:

Satisfaction with the economic situation (Yes, *No*)
Economy in the region today in comparison to 5 years ago is… (*Better*, About the same, Worse)

Objective:

GDP per inhabitant in Euro as % of EU average
Accession to EU (*1957*, 1973-1995, 2004-2013)

EU REGIONAL POLICY

Less Developed region: Dummy variable coded as 1 if the region falls under "Objective 1" status (2000-2006 parlance), "Cohesion" status (2007-2013 parlance) or "Less Developed" status (2014-2020 parlance), and 0 otherwise.

Structural Funds per capita: yearly average of the 2007-2013 period of the total annual Structural Fund expenditures in a region (includes the region's OP and National OP) over the region's total population of the corresponding year.

The comparison of the percentage of respondents that think that the EU membership of their countries is a good thing in Figure 8.1 reveals that there are no significant differences between individuals in the group of Less Developed regions and those that do not live in this group of eligible regions. In contrast, this percentage increases with the amount of Structural Funds per inhabitant expended in the region, although in a non-monotonic way, as it is observed a decline in the upper quartile, corresponding to regions that received the highest amount of these funds. As for the other indicator, the degree of identification with Europe seems to be higher in the Less Developed regions and also in regions in the upper two quartiles of the distribution of Structural Fund expenditures per inhabitant (Figure 8.2).

All in all, these simple results suggest that identification with the EU project could be somewhat higher in regions more exposed to the EU Cohesion Policy and in territories more benefitted by the European integration. But this association could also be the result of the omission of some confounding factors of the respondents and/or the regions. The multivariate setting described above allows us to control for most of these factors and therefore to obtain a more precise estimate of the relationship of interest.

The results for the estimate of the parameters of the mixed-effect logit for the indicators of identification are summarised in Table 8.1. They correspond to a comprehensive specification that includes all individual and region level factors. Alternative specifications that allow assessing the contribution of the individual and region variation to the total variation in the variables of interest are available in Tables A2.1 and A2.2 of Appendix 2. Although it is not the main focus of this analysis, it can be said that the estimate of the coefficients for the individual characteristics are in line with the ones reported in the extant literature, mostly associated with awareness of EU messages. In brief, identification increases with the level of education, is higher for students and self-employed, and for those respondents in the group of high income. It decreases with age up to a threshold from which it increases, and it is lower for individuals that live in the same place for a long time. As for the differences by gender, females are less prone to assess the EU membership as a good thing, although the difference with males is only marginally significant. In contrast, females are clearly more identified with Europe than their male counterparts.

Identification also increases with trust and with the individual's support to income redistribution, whereas decreases for those favouring more restrictions on immigration and the need of stronger leaderships. Finally, the respondent's perception of corruption in the European institutions affects negatively their identification with the EU project, while corruption in national and regional

institutions increases identification, although to a lesser extent. Again, these results are in line with those in the literature in the sense that they support that the EU integration project is associated with a civic view of a European collective identity rather than with an ethnic dimension.

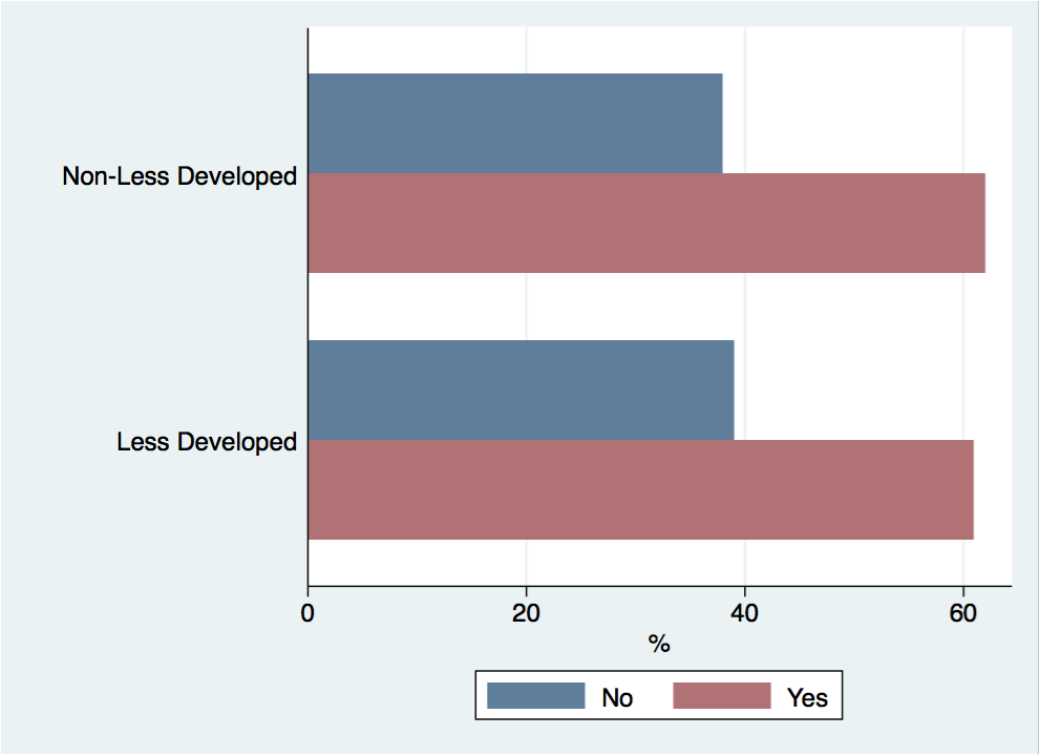
As for the effect of the controls for the regional context, the estimates confirm that individuals who have a more positive perception of the economic situation in the region are more identified with the EU project, what supports the idea that citizens that benefitted more from the EU project are expected to have a better evaluation of it. Still, this is in sharp contrast with the lack of significance of the effect of the GDP per capita, as an objective measure of the relative situation of the regional economy.[7]

Regarding the effect of the variables of interest for this study, the corresponding estimates are those shaded in Table 8.1. In the first place, it is observed that the type of area where the respondent lives has not a significant effect in the first indicator. That is to say, once controlling for differences in the composition of the individuals in the sample and for the regional factors, there is no evidence of an urban-rural divide in the positive assessment of the EU membership. But this is not the case for the other indicator. Results suggest that respondents in large cities feel more identified with Europe than similar individuals in rural areas. Interestingly, there is not a significant gap between rural areas and small and middle-sized town. These results confirm the intuition that the exposure to EU messages and the possibilities of experiences with other EU citizens (which we understand that will be higher in larger cities) is positively associated with the process of identification with the EU. It also questions if social values (civic versus ethnic) are different between the urban and the rural. Results also confirm that the identification with the EU project is higher for individuals in countries that joined the EU in the first and second waves of enlargements. Actually, this is particularly so for enlargements in the 1973-1995 period. Again, we have evidence of a positive association between benefits obtained by the EU project and a better citizens' judgement.

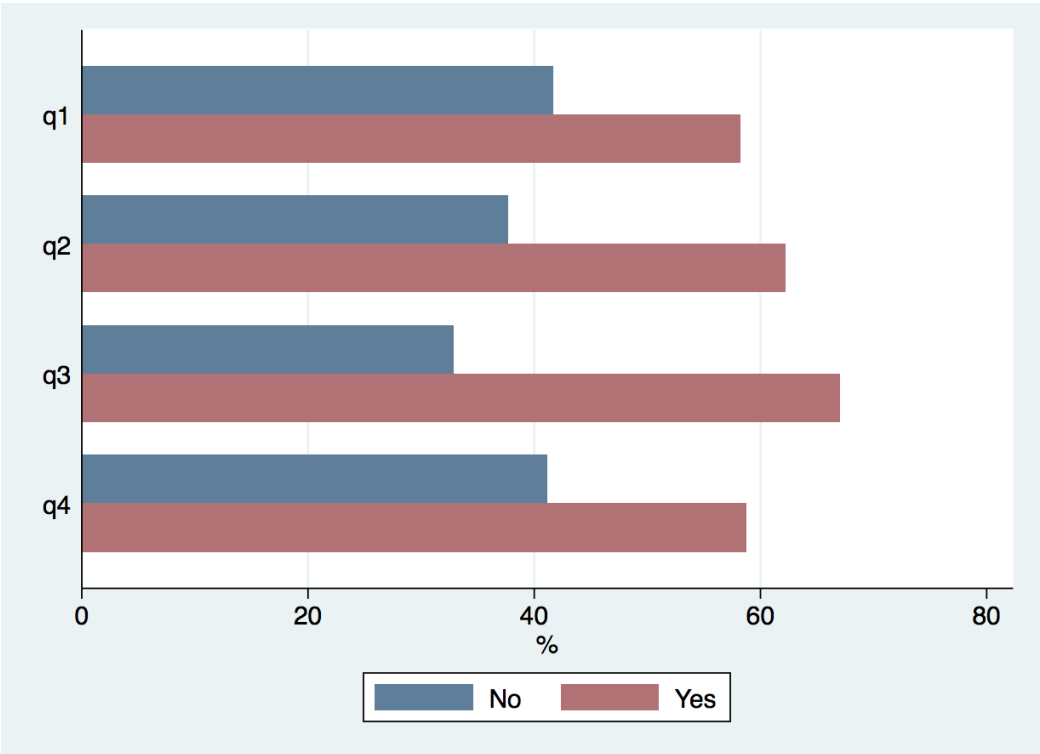
[7] Verhaegen et al (2014) conclude that indicators for perceived benefits are more strongly related to support for European integration and to identity as a European citizen than real life indicators.

Figure 8.1. *EU membership as a good thing* and …

a. Less Developed regions



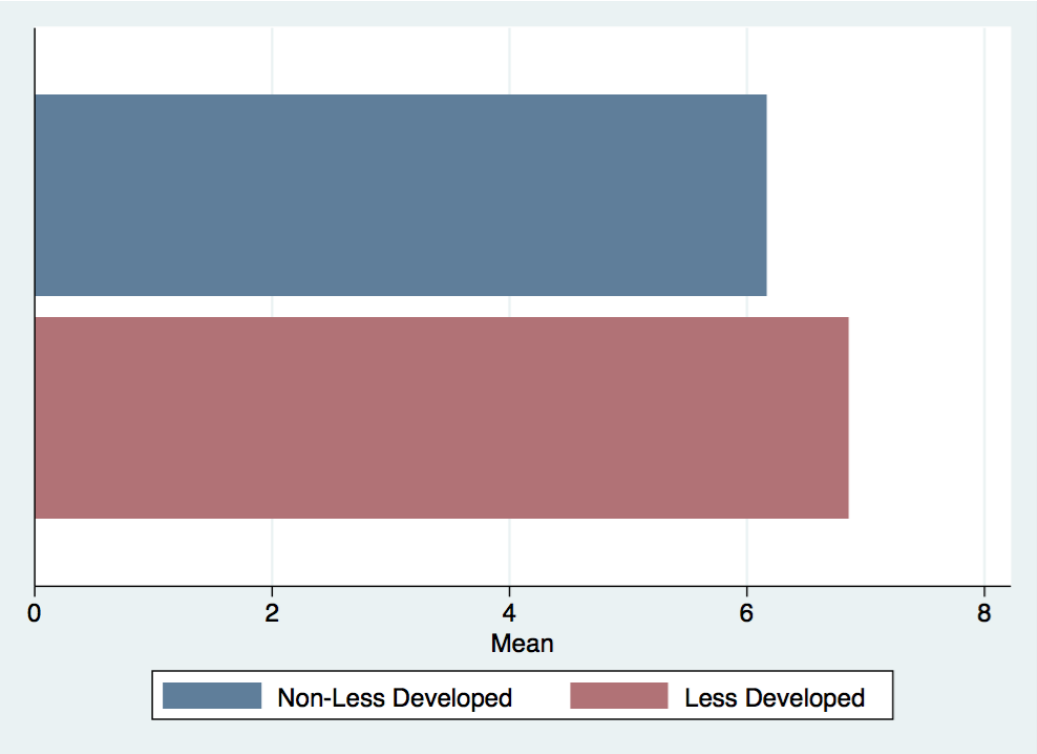
b. Structural Funds



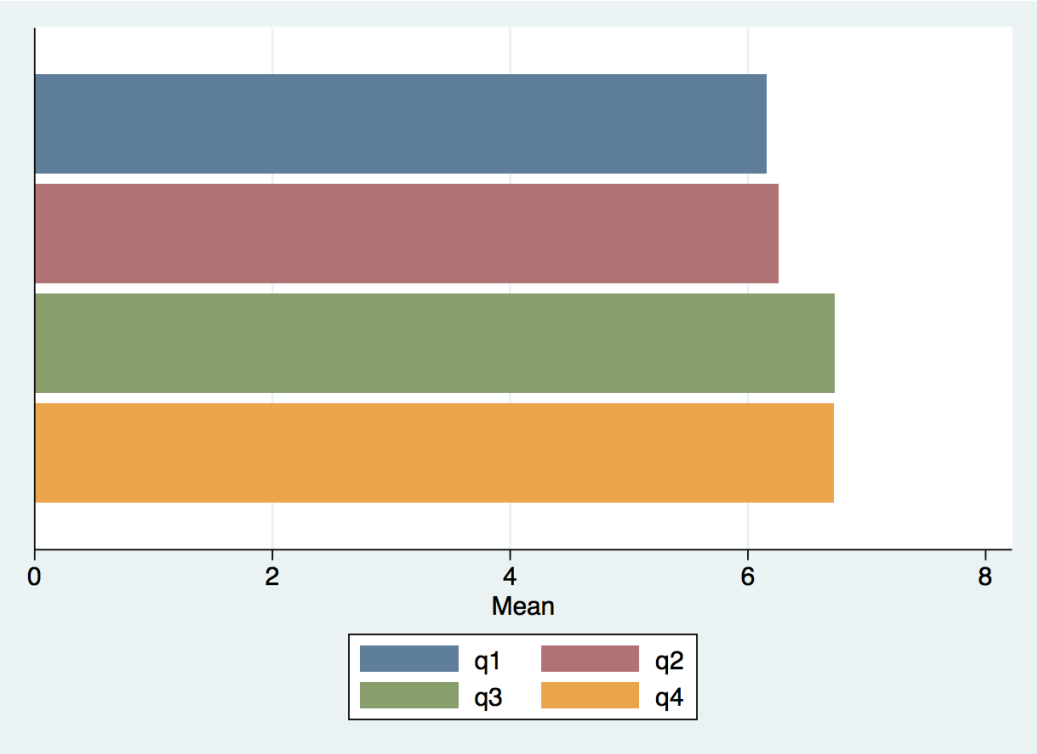
Note: q1 to q4 denote the quartiles of the yearly average Total Structural Funds per capita received by the region in the period 2007-2013.

Figure 8.2. Degree of identification with Europe and …

a. Less Developed regions.



b. Structural Funds.



Note: q1 to q4 denote the quartiles of the yearly average Total Structural Funds per capita received by the region in the period 2007-2013.

Table 8.1. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *Identification with the EU project*.

	EU Membership	Identif. Europe
INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS		
Gender (Female=1)	-0.0722*	0.199***
	(0.0400)	(0.0584)
Age	-0.0103	-0.0362***
	(0.00812)	(0.0122)
Age square (/100)	0.0221***	0.0494***
	(8.43e-03)	(0.0123)
Education		
High-school	0.119**	0.170**
	(0.0532)	(0.0828)
University	0.379***	0.347***
	(0.0598)	(0.0851)
Post-graduate	0.634***	0.729***
	(0.0765)	(0.104)
Occupation status		
Empl. Private sector	0.103*	0.160
	(0.0575)	(0.111)
Self employed	0.125*	0.278**
	(0.0756)	(0.116)
Unemployed	-0.0499	0.0874
	(0.0897)	(0.146)
Housewife / Houseman	0.0693	0.178
	(0.0997)	(0.174)
Pensioner, retired	0.0653	0.133
	(0.0816)	(0.137)
Student / Trainee	0.390***	0.565***
	(0.114)	(0.186)
Other	0.115	0.0810
	(0.139)	(0.187)
Type of area		
Small & Medium town	0.0146	0.102
	(0.0469)	(0.0847)
Large town	0.0369	0.285***
	(0.0525)	(0.0712)
Income level		
Medium	0.0481	0.0460
	(0.0517)	(0.0857)
High	0.317***	0.298***
	(0.0527)	(0.0847)
Don't know/Refused	0.433***	0.0645
	(0.0896)	(0.218)
Years in the area	-0.00316**	-0.00546***
	(0.00131)	(0.00181)
Voting in last two EU elections		
Once	0.250***	0.353***
	(0.0596)	(0.0758)
Both times	0.432***	0.618***
	(0.0483)	(0.0755)
(d/k-refused)	-0.0861	-0.109
	(0.128)	(0.186)
Trust in people	0.139***	0.173***
	(0.00858)	(0.0157)

More restrictions on immigration	-0.0774***	-0.0702***
	(0.00620)	(0.0130)
Increase income redistribution	0.0296***	0.0306**
	(0.00837)	(0.0150)
Strong leader	-0.0442***	-0.0306***
	(0.00632)	(0.00973)
Perception of corruption of …		
The European Union	-0.157***	-0.126***
	(0.00948)	(0.0191)
National institutions	0.0182*	-0.0235
	(0.0110)	(0.0220)
Regional/local institutions	0.0293***	0.0341*
	(0.00963)	(0.0175)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception		
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	0.419***	0.322***
	(0.0450)	(0.0864)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:		
About the same	-0.409***	-0.273***
	(0.0484)	(0.0717)
Worse	-0.715***	-0.539***
	(0.0590)	(0.102)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective		
GDP per inhabitant	-0.00151	0.00251
	(0.00174)	(0.00283)
Accession to EU		
1973–1995	0.570***	0.490***
	(0.125)	(0.132)
2004-2013	0.399**	0.0506
	(0.173)	(0.319)
EU REGIONAL POLICY		
Less Developed region	-0.589***	0.465
	(0.173)	(0.369)
Structural Funds per capita	0.00157**	0.00278**
	(0.000660)	(0.00114)
Constant	0.228	5.172***
	(0.313)	(0.577)
Observations	14,670	14,823
Number of groups	135	137
ICC	0.0518	0.0657
Joint significance (chi2)	1890	1573
p-value	0	0
log Likelihood	-8224	-35433
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	267.0	– –
p-value	0	– –

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient.

Lastly, there is no evidence of more identification with the EU project in the regions eligible as Less Developed. On the contrary, a significant negative effect is even found in the case of the first indicator. However, the effect is positive and significant for the amount of Structural Funds per capita expended in the region. Overall, it can be said that for a similar level of Structural Fund expenditures per capita the positive assessment of the EU membership is less frequent among individuals living in the Less Developed regions. Similarly, within this group of regions, the proportion of positive assessments increases with the amount of EU funds expended in the region. In turn, there is not a significant difference for respondents in Less Developed regions as regards the degree of identification with Europe.

However, the sizeable magnitude of the estimated coefficient and its large standard error suggest that the effect could differ for subgroups of regions within this category. In any case, the degree of identification with Europe increases significantly with the amount of Structural Funds expended in the region. This is consistent with a utilitarian view of the identification with the EU.

8.3. Awareness of the Cohesion Policy

Citizens' awareness of the EU Cohesion and Regional policy is captured in the PERCEIVE survey through a multiple but interrelated set of questions:

Q1a. In general, have you ever heard about the EU Cohesion Policy? (Yes, No)
Q1b. In general, have you ever heard about the EU Regional Policy? (Yes, No)
Q1c. In general, have you ever heard about the Structural Funds? (Yes, No)
Q1d. In general, have you ever heard about any EU funded project in your region or area? (Yes, No)

In Figures 8.3 to 8.6 we show the simple comparison of the measures of awareness of the different EU policies with regional impact and the two factors capturing the incidence of the EU Cohesion Policy in the region where the respondent lives. For all policies, it can be observed how awareness is more frequent among respondents in regions eligible as Less Developed, although the gap between that group and the one of individuals in non-eligible regions is much wider for the awareness of Regional Policy and the Structural Funds than for the Cohesion Policy. Not surprisingly, the difference between one group and the other is even more pronounced when it comes to the percentage of individuals that heard about any project funded by the EU in their region or area.

The above-mentioned figures also include information about the evolution of awareness with the amount of Structural Funds received by the region. A positive association is observed, particularly in the case of the Regional Policy and the Structural Funds, although for the latter there is a decline in awareness between the third and fourth quartiles of the Structural Fund expenditures per capita in the

region. Interestingly, awareness of the Cohesion Policy seems to be more independent of the amount of funds received by the region. In any case, the clearer signal of positive association is obtained for awareness of any project funded by the EU in the region. As seen in panel b of Figure 8.6, the measure of awareness increases dramatically for each consecutive quartile, from slightly above 30% in the first quartile to close to 80% in the last quartile. The evidence from the two measures of the EU Regional policy is therefore consistent with the idea that citizens' awareness is more likely when they are exposed to EU messages and experiences, which are more likely when projects funded by the EU are "close" to the citizens, that is when they perceive that there is a real and direct incidence in their region or area.

The results of the corresponding multivariate analysis are summarised in Table 8.2, where each column corresponds to the estimate of the effects on the awareness of the policies under analysis. As in the previous case, only estimates from the comprehensive specification that includes all controls are shown, whereas the detailed results are included in Tables A2.3 to A2.6 of Appendix 2. Before discussing the effect of the variables of interest for the study, it is worth mentioning that awareness is more frequent among males than females, and increases with citizens' cognitive resources, which we capture through the level of education and income. There are no differences associated to the respondent's age in the case of the Cohesion Policy and the Regional Policy, but age exerts a positive effect on awareness of the Structural Funds, although up to a certain threshold from which the effect is reversed. As for the occupation status of the respondent, it is not possible to identify a clear pattern. Awareness is more frequent among unemployed but only in the case of the Regional Policy and the Structural Funds. Interestingly, they seem to have heard less about projects in their region or area funded by the EU. Unemployed citizens might be aware of European Social Fund, earmarked for human capital investment and with a strong emphasis on labour active policies for the unemployed. There is a differentiated positive effect for students, again only clearly significant for the Regional Policy.

Awareness of the EU policies is positively associated with interest in politics and political knowledge and, generally speaking, with civic values: it tends to be more frequent among those that vote in the EU elections and who declared higher levels of trust in people, and less frequent among the less favourable to immigration and those who claim stronger leaders. Lastly, the only significant effect of the perception of corruption is observed in the case of awareness of the Regional Policy. But the sign of the effects is somewhat unexpected: higher perception of corruption of EU institutions acting in favour of awareness and that of the Regional/local governing bodies against it.

As for the influence of the regional context, citizens' satisfaction with the situation of the region's economy does not seem to exert a strong effect on awareness. However, those thinking that the economy has improved in the last five years tend to be more aware than respondents with a more pessimistic view. Regarding the effect of the objective situation of the region's economy, awareness decreases significantly with the level of per capita GDP in the case of the Cohesion Policy, Structural Funds, and any project in the region or area funded by the EU. For the Regional Policy the estimated effect works in the opposite direction, although it is just marginally significant.

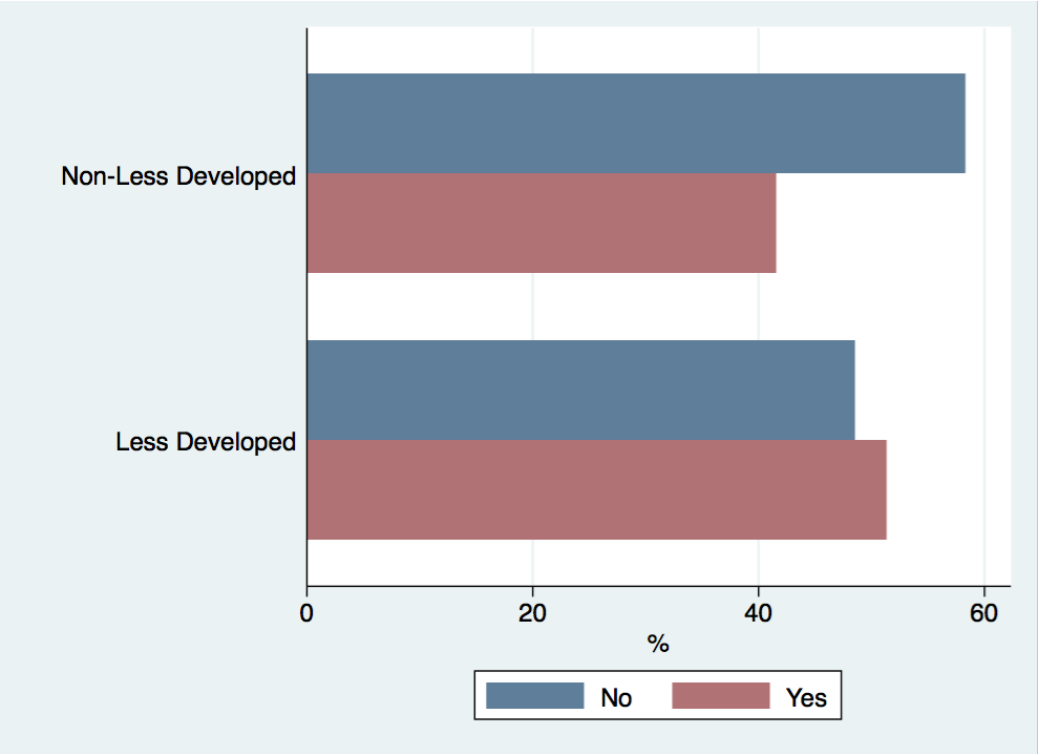
Regarding the effects of main interest for the study, the estimates suggest that respondents in large cities tend to be more aware of the Cohesion and the Structural Funds than their counterparts in rural areas and in small and middle-sized towns. However, the size of the place of living does not seem to affect awareness of the Regional Policy. This is so as well for the percentage of individuals that heard about any EU funded project in the region or area. As in the case of identification, awareness of the policies is more extended among individuals in countries that joined the EU in the period 1973-1995. In contrast, there is not a significant difference between respondents in the founding countries and those in countries that joined the EU in the 2004-2013 period, the exception being the Cohesion Policy for which awareness in less common among individuals from this group of countries.

Finally, the estimates suggest that interventions of the EU Regional Policy correlate positively with awareness. On the one hand, in general, individuals in the group of Less Developed regions are more aware of the EU policies than similar respondents in non-eligible regions. On the other, higher amounts of Structural Funds expenditures per capita are associated to a higher propensity to be aware of the policies. In any case, it should be noted that, quite surprisingly, such positive effect is not statistically significant in the case of awareness of the Structural Funds. Overall, this evidence indicates that, for a similar level of expenditures in the region by the EU, awareness is higher among individuals in the group of Less Developed regions. Similarly, within this group, awareness increases with the amount of funds expended in the region.

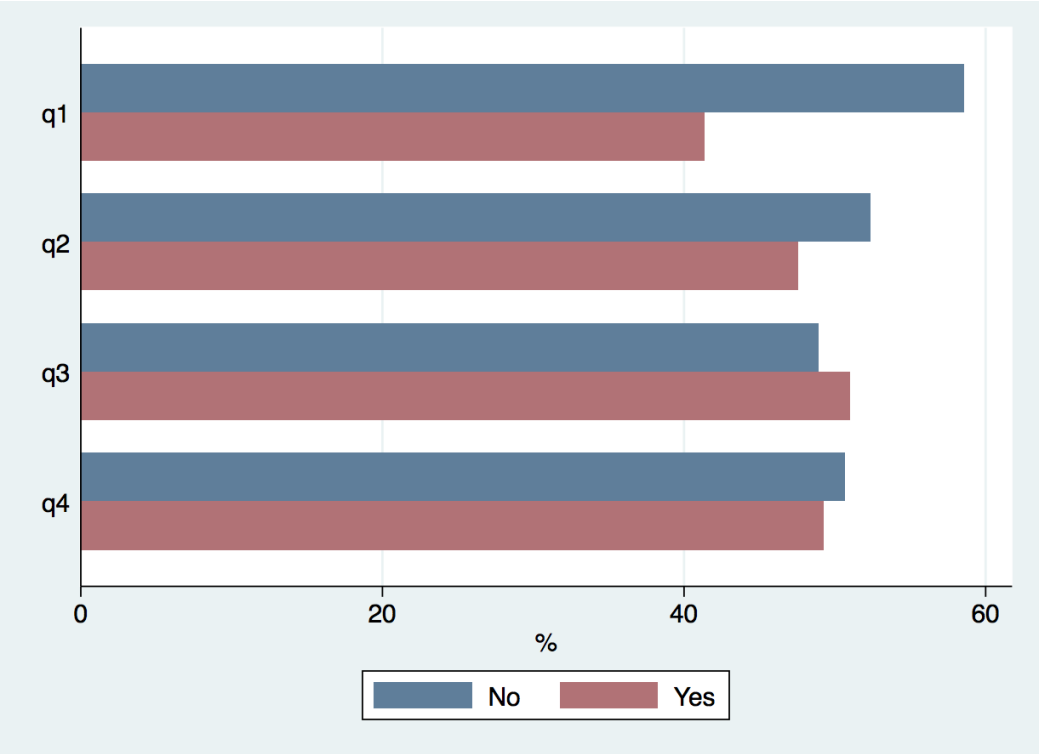
Overall, then, we find that those citizens either with a more pessimistic view of the evolution of the economy or suffering heavier the impact of the crisis are the ones with lower levels of awareness. Nevertheless, this negative effect is mediated through direct experiences achieved in the Less Developed regions and where the expenditure from Structural Funds is stronger.

Figure 8.3. Heard about Cohesion Policy and …

a. Less Developed regions.



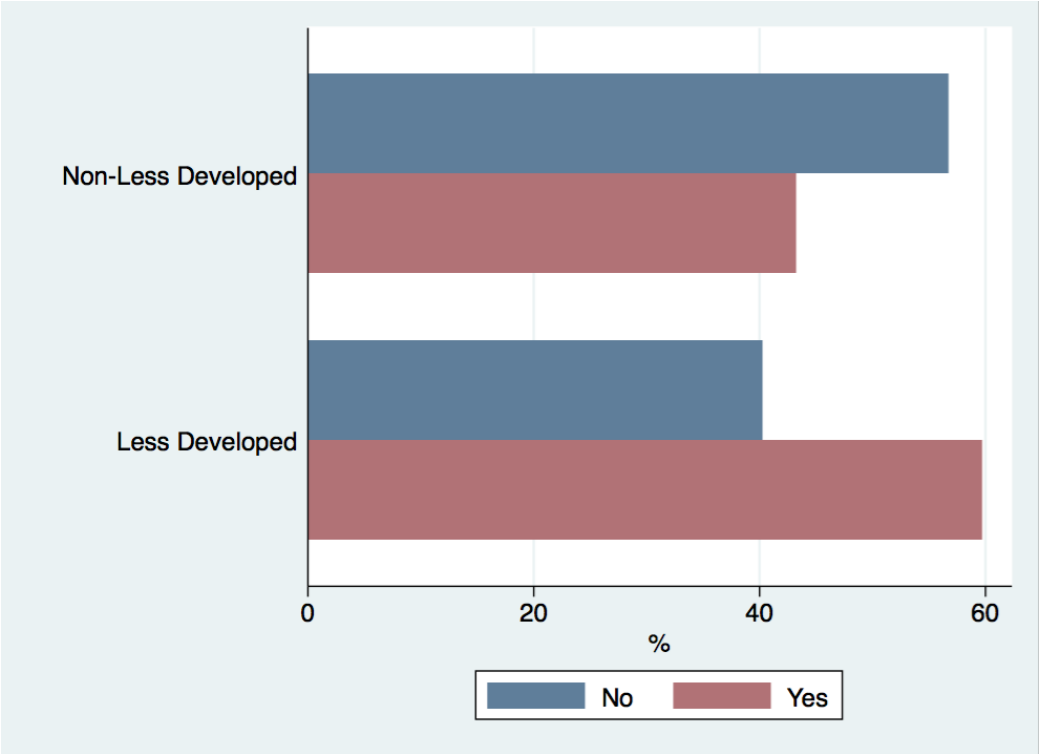
b. Structural Funds.



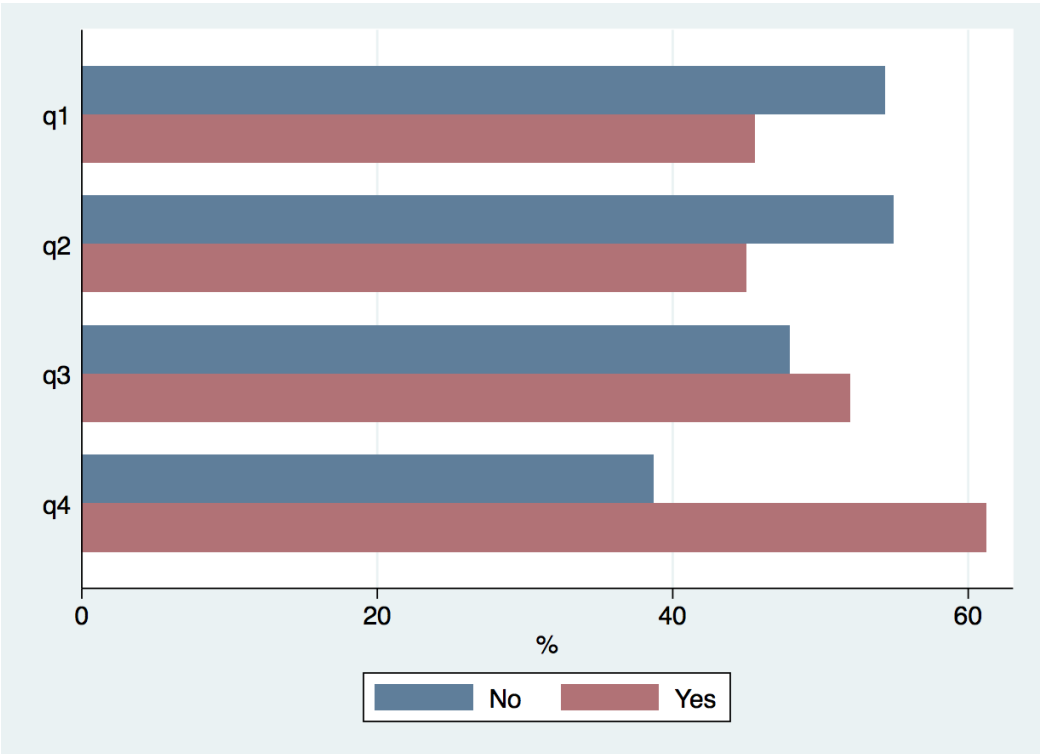
Note: q1 to q4 denote the quartiles of the yearly average Total Structural Funds per capita received by the region in the period 2007-2013.

Figure 8.4. Heard about Regional Policy and …

a. Less Developed regions.



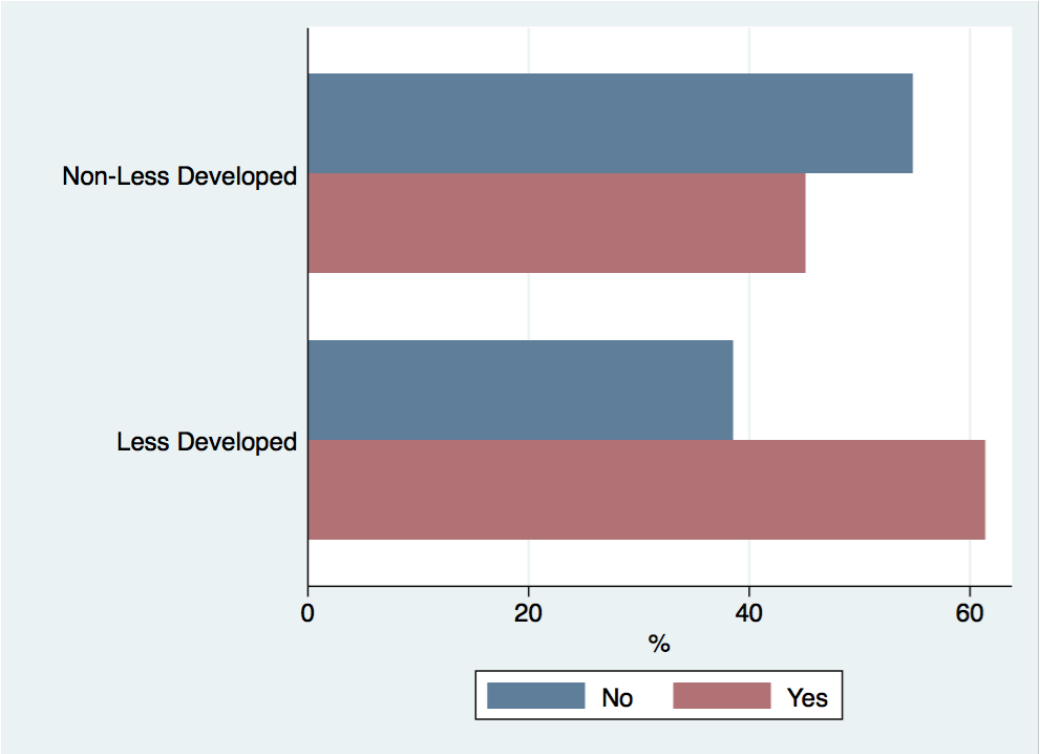
b. Structural Funds.



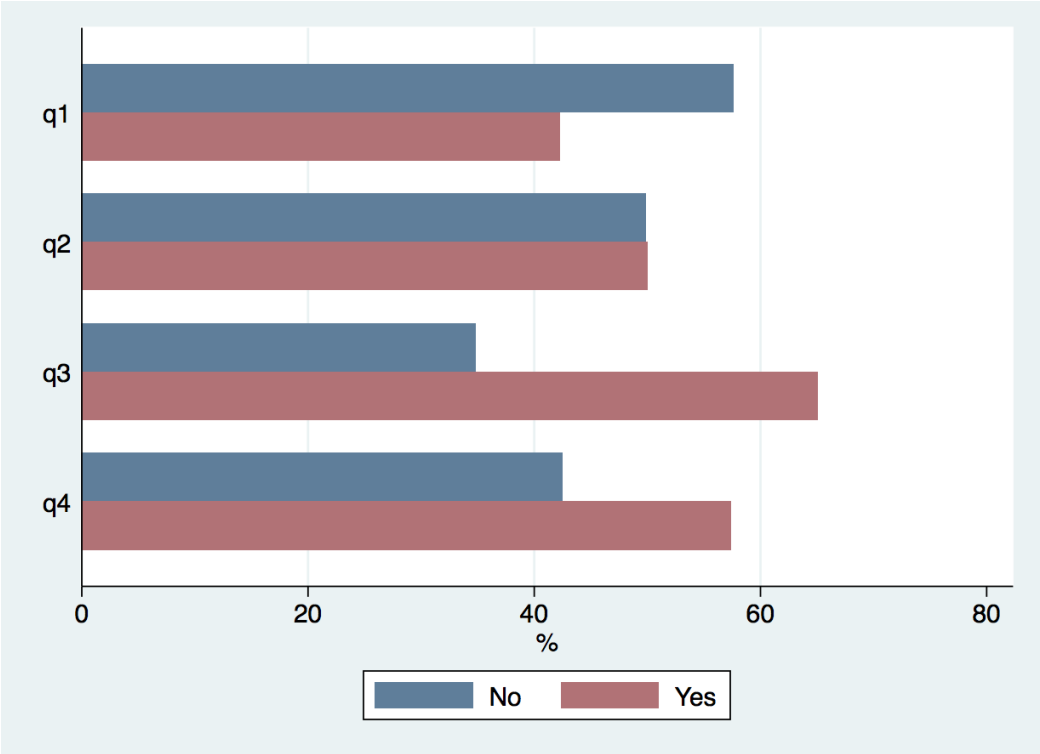
Note: q1 to q4 denote the quartiles of the yearly average Total Structural Funds per capita received by the region in the period 2007-2013.

Figure 8.5. Heard about Structural Funds and …

a. Less Developed regions.



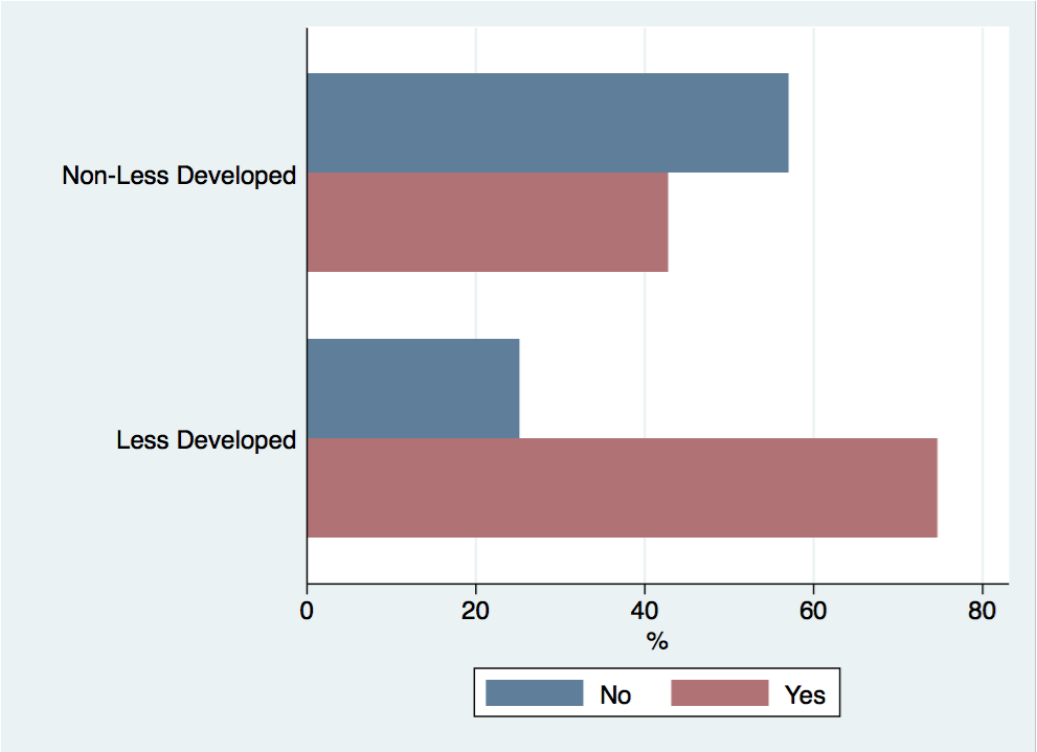
b. Structural Funds.



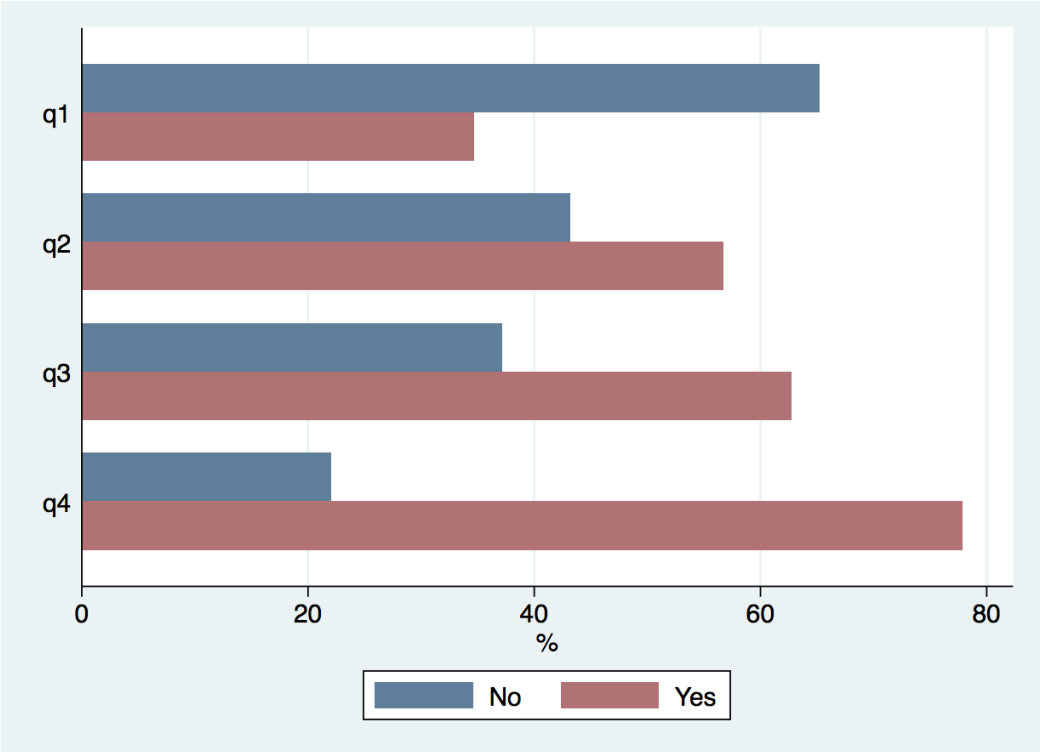
Note: q1 to q4 denote the quartiles of the yearly average Total Structural Funds per capita received by the region in the period 2007-2013.

Figure 8.6. Heard about any EU funded project in the region or area and …

a. Less Developed regions.



b. Structural Funds.



Note: q1 to q4 denote the quartiles of the yearly average Total Structural Funds per capita received by the region in the period 2007-2013.

Table 8.2. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *Heard about EU funds*.

	Cohesion Policy	Regional Policy	Structural Funds	Any EU Project
INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS				
Gender (Female=1)				
	-0.0976***	-0.139***	-0.204***	-0.0981**
	(0.0362)	(0.0357)	(0.0370)	(0.0389)
Age	0.00938	-0.000325	0.0234***	0.0352***
	(0.00740)	(0.00731)	(0.00753)	(0.00790)
Age square (/100)	1.66e-03	9.96e-03	-0.0185**	-0.0328***
	(7.61e-03)	(7.53e-03)	(7.76e-03)	(8.14e-03)
Education				
High-school	0.138***	0.117**	0.314***	0.204***
	(0.0497)	(0.0491)	(0.0505)	(0.0531)
University	0.503***	0.415***	0.719***	0.336***
	(0.0550)	(0.0545)	(0.0563)	(0.0591)
Post-graduate	0.458***	0.433***	0.690***	0.448***
	(0.0675)	(0.0670)	(0.0702)	(0.0728)
Occupation status				
Empl. Private sector	-0.0350	-0.0685	0.115**	-0.0391
	(0.0524)	(0.0517)	(0.0538)	(0.0568)
Self employed	-0.00431	0.0738	0.186***	0.116
	(0.0672)	(0.0669)	(0.0700)	(0.0742)
Unemployed	0.0762	0.215***	0.195**	-0.204**
	(0.0833)	(0.0824)	(0.0853)	(0.0880)
Housewife / Houseman	0.0959	0.108	0.0551	0.0308
	(0.0948)	(0.0929)	(0.0957)	(0.100)
Pensioner, retired	-0.0189	-0.0801	0.142*	-0.0565
	(0.0739)	(0.0731)	(0.0761)	(0.0798)
Student / Trainee	0.199*	0.205**	0.196*	0.170
	(0.104)	(0.102)	(0.105)	(0.110)
Other	0.452***	0.483***	0.292**	0.149
	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.134)	(0.144)
Type of area				
Small & Medium town	0.00760	-0.0429	-0.0201	-0.0113
	(0.0430)	(0.0425)	(0.0441)	(0.0466)
Large town	0.165***	0.0453	0.136***	0.0451
	(0.0477)	(0.0470)	(0.0491)	(0.0515)
Income level				
Medium	0.211***	0.192***	0.222***	0.373***
	(0.0481)	(0.0475)	(0.0490)	(0.0515)
High	0.311***	0.333***	0.422***	0.497***
	(0.0483)	(0.0477)	(0.0497)	(0.0522)
Don't know/Refused	0.0848	0.182**	0.107	0.300***
	(0.0786)	(0.0774)	(0.0809)	(0.0843)
Years in the area	0.00225*	0.00305***	0.00164	0.000777
	(0.00118)	(0.00117)	(0.00121)	(0.00127)
Voting in last two EU elections				
Once	0.0331	0.170***	0.221***	0.377***
	(0.0548)	(0.0541)	(0.0557)	(0.0590)
Both times	0.184***	0.231***	0.364***	0.439***
	(0.0441)	(0.0437)	(0.0451)	(0.0475)
(d/k-refused)	-0.309***	-0.294**	-0.128	0.127
	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.124)	(0.129)
Trust in people	0.00933	0.0216***	0.0136*	0.0108

	(0.00785)	(0.00776)	(0.00805)	(0.00849)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0166***	-0.0133**	-0.0108*	-0.00745
	(0.00553)	(0.00548)	(0.00569)	(0.00602)
Increase income redistribution	0.00148	-0.00266	0.00214	0.00533
	(0.00739)	(0.00736)	(0.00770)	(0.00807)
Strong leader	-0.0123**	-0.0188***	-0.0376***	-0.0247***
	(0.00557)	(0.00553)	(0.00580)	(0.00614)
Perception of corruption of …				
The European Union	0.00273	0.0249***	0.00285	-0.0136
	(0.00842)	(0.00828)	(0.00859)	(0.00904)
National institutions	0.0132	-0.0136	-0.00330	0.0151
	(0.00980)	(0.00967)	(0.0101)	(0.0107)
Regional/local institutions	-0.0165*	-0.0208**	-0.00419	-0.0137
	(0.00866)	(0.00856)	(0.00890)	(0.00946)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception				
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	-0.0852**	-0.0372	0.0127	0.0345
	(0.0419)	(0.0413)	(0.0429)	(0.0450)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:				
About the same	-0.137***	-0.0807*	-0.137***	-0.000854
	(0.0430)	(0.0423)	(0.0440)	(0.0468)
Worse	-0.269***	-0.187***	-0.332***	-0.213***
	(0.0540)	(0.0531)	(0.0551)	(0.0576)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective				
GDP per inhabitant	-0.00443**	0.00320*	-0.00684***	-0.0101***
	(0.00218)	(0.00166)	(0.00237)	(0.00249)
Accession to EU				
1973–1995	0.396**	0.379***	0.671***	0.304*
	(0.161)	(0.123)	(0.175)	(0.183)
2004-2013	-1.129***	0.198	-0.143	-0.425
	(0.231)	(0.175)	(0.251)	(0.263)
EU REGIONAL POLICY				
Less Developed region	0.511**	0.598***	0.395	0.539**
	(0.238)	(0.179)	(0.258)	(0.271)
Structural Funds per capita	0.00157**	0.00120*	0.000356	0.00299***
	(0.000903)	(0.000682)	(0.000981)	(0.00104)
Constant	-0.790**	-1.410***	-0.900**	-0.821**
	(0.344)	(0.294)	(0.364)	(0.382)
Observations	14,823	14,823	14,823	14,823
Number of groups	137	137	137	137
ICC	0.108	0.0592	0.128	0.138
Joint significance (chi2)	536.8	535.4	859.0	688.8
p-value	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-9684	-9821	-9344	-8670
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	679.2	354.0	839.5	1074
p-value	0	0	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient.

8.4. Perception of the Cohesion Policy

The individuals' perception of the Cohesion Policy is proxied by the information in the PERCEIVE's Survey through two questions. The first one captures both awareness of and exposure to Cohesion Policy, while the second incorporates an evaluative aspect:

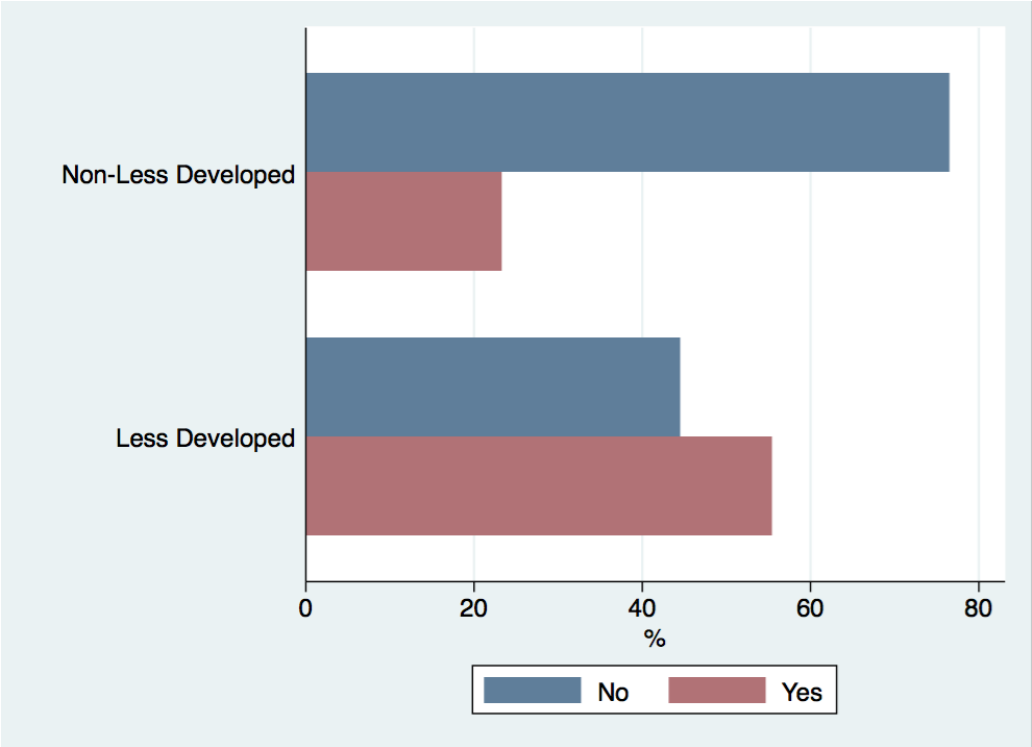
Q3. To your knowledge, have you ever benefited in your daily life from any project funded by the EU? *Yes; No; Don't know*
Q20. "In your opinion, the EU should continue this policy (Cohesion Policy), where wealthier countries contribute more, and poorer EU regions receive more funding." *Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree, Strongly disagree*

Figures 8.7 and 8.8 provide preliminary evidence on the association between the two indicators of the intensity of the EU Cohesion Policy and the perception of benefits on the daily life of any EU funded project and support to Cohesion Policy, respectively. It is quite clear that in the case of the former, the perception of benefits is higher among the respondents from the Less Developed group of regions and that it increases with the amounts of Structural Funds expended in the region. However, the association is not that straightforward for the support to the Cohesion Policy. In this case, the gap between the group of regions eligible as Less Developed and that of non-eligible is quite narrow, while the increase with the amount of funds expended in the region is less intense, and even declines at the top of the distribution of expenditures per capita. As in the previous cases, we should account for the effect of confounding factors at the individual and regional level before concluding on the association between the indicators of the EU Cohesion Policy and those aiming at capturing the citizens' perception of such Policy.

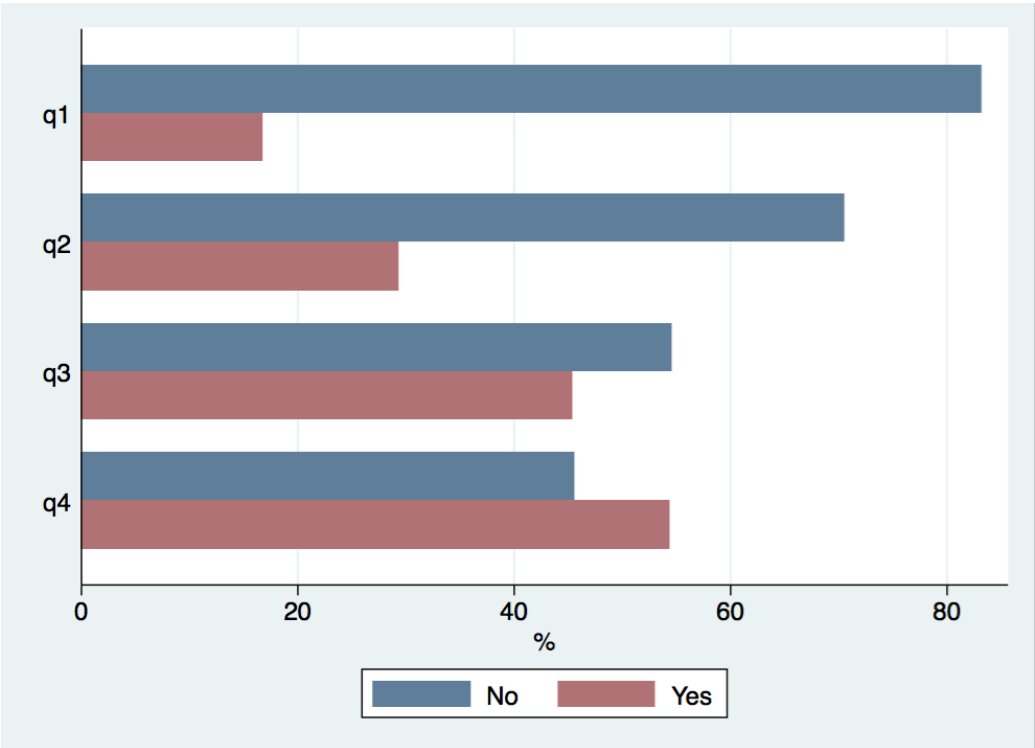
Results of the estimation of the mixed-effect logit models for the two indicators used to proxy for the citizens' perception of the Cohesion Policy are shown in Table 8.3. They correspond to the comprehensive specification including all individual and region contextual factors, whereas the detailed results for other specifications of interest are reported in Tables A2.7 to A2.8 of Appendix 2. As in the previous cases, before discussing the effect of the variables of main interest for the study, it is worth summarising the most salient findings for the individual and region controls. The propensity to benefit in daily life from an EU project is lower for females, although women are more supportive to the Cohesion Policy.

Figure 8.7. Benefited in daily life from any project funded by the EU and …

a. Less Developed regions.



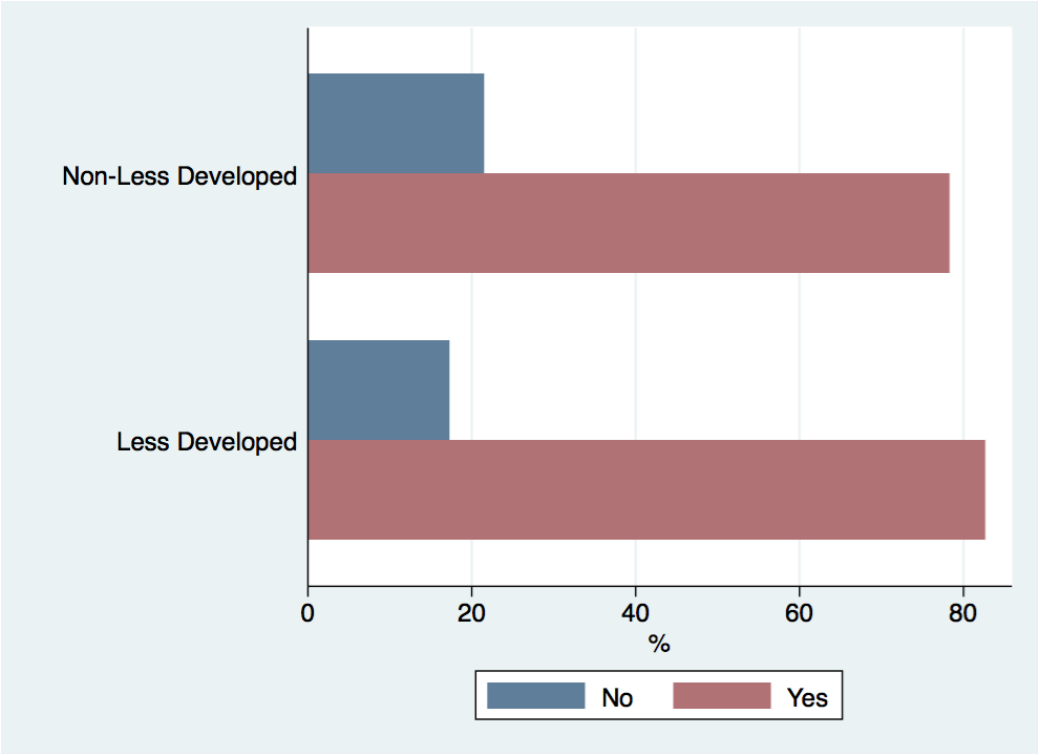
b. Structural Funds.



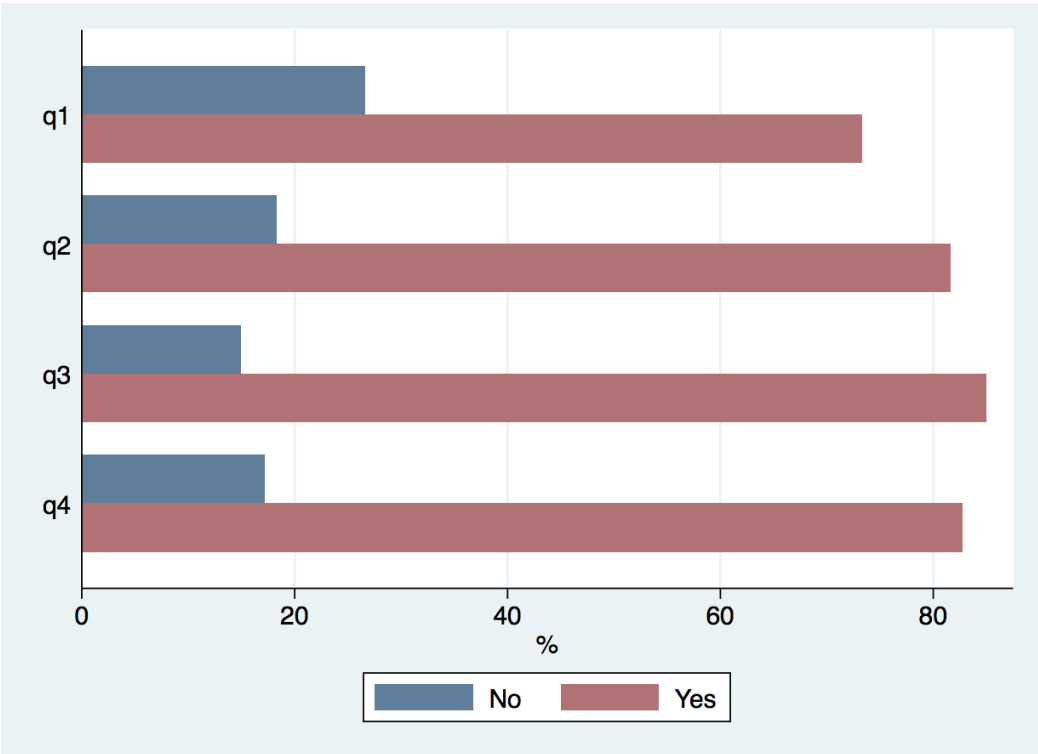
Note: q1 to q4 denote the quartiles of the yearly average Total Structural Funds per capita received by the region in the period 2007-2013.

Figure 8.8. Support to Cohesion Policy and ...

a. Less Developed regions.



b. Structural Funds.



Note: q1 to q4 denote the quartiles of the yearly average Total Structural Funds per capita received by the region in the period 2007-2013.

A similar discrepancy between the two indicators is observed for the respondents' age. In the case of the level of education and income, they have a positive effect but it is only significant for the perceived benefits indicator. Interestingly, once controlling for the other characteristics, there is no significant variation for the occupation status in the two indicators. We see then that contrary to the awareness question, citizens' cognitive resources are weakly or not correlated with their evaluation of the policy. We interpret this as a proof that the transmission channel to support the Cohesion Policy is an information based mechanism grounded in the level of awareness.

As can be expected for the evaluation of the policy, political and social values of respondents significantly correlate with perceived benefits and support to the Cohesion Policy. To be clear, the propensity of both events correlates positively with participation in the EU elections, with trust and support to further income redistribution, and negatively with claims for more restrictions to immigration and stronger leaders.

Finally, higher perception of corruption of the EU can be associated to lower propensity to respond affirmatively to the questions regarding the benefits of EU funded projects in daily life and support to the Cohesion Policy. In turn, perception of corruption of national governing institutions is linked to a higher propensity only in the case of support to the Cohesion Policy. In brief: European policies have a stronger support the higher is the distrust in national polities and the higher is the faith in the EU.

As for the region context indicators, satisfaction with the economic situation correlates positively with the two indicators, but only significantly with the support to the Cohesion Policy. Meanwhile, a significantly higher propensity for the two indicators is observed for those respondents with a more optimistic perception of the current economic situation in the region with respect to the one five years ago. This links with the previous findings for awareness of the policy: those not experiencing the economic recovery are the ones with lower levels of awareness and also with a worst perception of the policy. As we argued above, awareness is a crucial variable for the evaluation of the Cohesion Policy and finally for the formation of a European identity.

As for the objective measure of the economic context in the region, the coefficient of the per capita GDP is only significant in the case of the support indicator, suggesting that support to the Cohesion Policy decreases with the level of development of the region, and thus that is lower in areas that are net contributors to this policy.

As in previous cases, results for the main variables under analysis are shaded in Table 8.3. In the first place, it can be observed that once controlling for the observed individual and region characteristics, there are some significant differences between urban and rural areas in the indicators of perception. In comparison to individuals in rural areas, those in small and middle-sized towns seem to be less likely to perceive the benefits of EU funded projects in their daily life. However, the propensity could be somewhat higher among respondents in large towns (although the difference is only marginally significant). The urban-rural divide is different in the case of support to Cohesion Policy, as there is no significant difference in this case between rural areas and small and middle-sized towns, but there is a significant one between this two categories and large cities. To be clear, individuals in large towns tend to support the Cohesion Policy more than otherwise similar individuals in rural areas and in cities of smaller sizes. At this stage we wonder again if social values (civic versus ethnic) are different among territories, despite having controlled for some variables associated with these aspects.

Results regarding the date of accession to the EU of the countries where the individuals live are also interesting and quite robust. Overall, the perception of the Cohesion Policy tends to be more positive among individuals from countries that joined the Union in one of the enlargements, in comparison with similar individuals from the founding Member States. The distinctive positive effect associated to the countries that joined the EU during the first wave of enlargements (1973-1995) is observed both in the case of perception of benefit in daily life of EU funded projects and for support to the Cohesion Policy. In the case of countries in the most recent enlargements, the effect is only significant for the perception of benefits but not for support to the policy.

Table 8.3. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *Perception of the Cohesion Policy*.

	Benefited EU Projects	Support to CP
INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS		
Gender (Female=1)	-0.198***	0.122***
	(0.0427)	(0.0449)
Age	0.0159*	-0.0115
	(0.00907)	(0.00903)
Age square (/100)	-0.0264***	0.0160*
	(9.46e-03)	(9.38e-03)
Education		
High-school	0.309***	0.0983
	(0.0622)	(0.0600)
University	0.644***	0.00127
	(0.0673)	(0.0666)
Post-graduate	0.882***	0.0991
	(0.0803)	(0.0834)
Occupation status		
Empl. Private sector	-0.0633	0.0483
	(0.0601)	(0.0654)
Self employed	0.0293	-0.252***
	(0.0774)	(0.0810)
Unemployed	-0.0361	0.167
	(0.103)	(0.102)
Housewife / Houseman	-0.0508	0.142
	(0.117)	(0.118)
Pensioner, retired	-0.0294	-0.00749
	(0.0880)	(0.0928)
Student / Trainee	0.149	0.0907
	(0.121)	(0.129)
Other	-0.0382	-0.263*
	(0.147)	(0.150)
Type of area		
Small & Medium town	-0.125**	0.0743
	(0.0514)	(0.0527)
Large town	0.0966*	0.124**
	(0.0558)	(0.0588)
Income level		
Medium	0.212***	0.0699
	(0.0584)	(0.0593)
High	0.634***	0.114*
	(0.0579)	(0.0593)
Don't know/Refused	0.130	-0.132
	(0.0953)	(0.0940)
Years in the area	0.000868	-0.00181
	(0.00143)	(0.00145)
Voting in last two EU elections		
Once	0.221***	0.269***
	(0.0654)	(0.0683)
Both times	0.409***	0.242***
	(0.0531)	(0.0533)
(d/k-refused)	0.342**	-0.0576
	(0.142)	(0.144)
Trust in people	0.0356***	0.0516***
	(0.00931)	(0.00942)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0401***	-0.0844***

	(0.00639)	(0.00727)
Increase income redistribution	0.0254***	0.0850***
	(0.00883)	(0.00891)
Strong leader	-0.0311***	-0.0402***
	(0.00652)	(0.00715)
Perception of corruption of …		
The European Union	-0.0338***	-0.111***
	(0.00967)	(0.0109)
National institutions	0.00205	0.0376***
	(0.0113)	(0.0124)
Regional/local institutions	0.00565	-0.00904
	(0.00988)	(0.0110)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception		
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	0.0375	0.368***
	(0.0493)	(0.0515)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:		
About the same	-0.338***	-0.218***
	(0.0488)	(0.0557)
Worse	-0.523***	-0.281***
	(0.0635)	(0.0670)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective		
GDP per inhabitant	0.00273	-0.00663***
	(0.00218)	(0.00146)
Accession to EU		
1973–1995	0.715***	0.420***
	(0.162)	(0.112)
2004-2013	1.052***	0.0135
	(0.230)	(0.155)
EU REGIONAL POLICY		
Less Developed region	0.736***	-0.448***
	(0.233)	(0.160)
Structural Funds per capita	0.00229***	0.00174***
	(0.000882)	(0.000617)
Constant	-2.776***	1.984***
	(0.375)	(0.314)
Observations	14,477	14,823
Number of groups	137	137
ICC	0.0998	0.0360
Joint significance (chi2)	1210	782.3
p-value	0	0
log Likelihood	-7394	-6850
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	520.4	151.0
p-value	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient.

Finally, partial correlations between the indicators of the EU Regional Policy and the respondents' perception and support provide a clear and interesting picture of the effects of interest. In the first place, results suggest that there is a significant gap between individuals in the group of the Less Developed regions and those in non-eligible areas. However, the sign of the gap differs between the two indicators. To be clear, individuals in the Less Developed regions are more likely to perceive benefits in their daily life from EU funded projects, whereas they are less prone to support the Cohesion Policy. This is an interesting result that proves that perception of benefits and support to the policy are not symmetrically influenced by the implementation of the EU Regional Policy. In any case, once controlling for the effect of living or not in a region eligible as Less Developed, both the perception of the benefits and support to the Cohesion Policy increase significantly with the amount of Structural Funds expenditures per capita. That is to say, the intensity of the policy intervention matters for both indicators of perception of the Cohesion Policy. Therefore this result supports the utilitarian view with respect to the perception of the policy. A positive perception of the Cohesion Policy is more likely when the individual realises that more resources are allocated to fund projects in her region. However, it should be taken into account that for similar amount of expenditures, support to the policy is likely to be lower among individuals in regions that are a priority for the EU Regional Policy. This evidence poses a challenge for the design of communication strategies of these policies among the population, stressing again the importance of awareness of the policy.

8.5. Differences between rural and urban areas in the impact of the Cohesion Policy on citizens' identification and perception

The evidence shown so far confirms the existence of some interesting differences between urban and rural areas in the propensity of respondents of the PERCEIVE's Survey to identify with the EU project and in their perception of the Cohesion Policy. Similarly, results confirm that EU policies with a direct impact in the region influence the citizens' identification and perception. However, the specifications used to derive this evidence have not considered that the impact of the policies could differ between individuals living in rural areas and in cities of different sizes. It may well be the case that individuals living in places of moderate size were more aware of some particular policy interventions than the ones in large cities. Similarly, distinctive features of cities in comparison with rural areas can affect the way in which individuals perceive the efforts of the European institutions to promote opportunities for the less developed territories and, through this channel, affect their identification with the EU project. Aspects such as the level of awareness, the exposure to experiences with other EU citizens or simply different types of social values (civic versus ethnic) are likely to be affecting the mechanism of perception, evaluation and finally identity formation.

In this subsection we show and discuss the results of the estimation of an extended model that account for this type of interaction. To be clear, the effect of the two measures of the EU Regional Policy, the dummy variable that identifies regions eligible as Less Developed and the variable that measures the intensity of the Structural Fund expenditures in the region, are allowed to vary between large cities, small and middle-sized cities, and rural areas. Since there are no significant differences in the estimated coefficients for the individual characteristics and the other magnitudes of the region's context, we will just show in Table 8.4 the estimates of the effect of the magnitudes involved in the interaction, which are the ones shaded (the completed set of estimates are included in Table A2.9 of Appendix 2).

The first two columns of results in the table correspond to the two indicators for the identification with the EU project. It can be observed that living in a town, regardless of its size, has no direct effect in the individuals' propensity to think that EU membership of their countries is a good thing. However, there seems to be an indirect effect through the impact of being in a region eligible as Less Developed. The estimates suggest that respondents in small and middle-sized cities of regions in this category are less prone to have a negative view of EU membership than those in the same type of regions but living in rural areas. On the other hand, conditioned to the distinction between eligible and non-eligible regions, there is no evidence of an urban-rural divide in the impact of the Structural Funds expenditures on the assessment of EU membership. As for the indicator about the degree of identification with Europe, there is a significant gap favourable to individuals living in large cities with respect to those in smaller cities and rural areas. However, no differences across locations of different size are observed in the effect of the EU Regional Policy. In other words, neither the interaction with the Less Developed regions nor the one with the amount of Structural Fund expenditures per capita in the region are significant from a statistically point of view.

The next four columns in Table 8.4 summarise the results for the indicators of awareness of the EU policies with an immediate regional impact. The estimated effect of the type of area, both the direct one and the indirect through the modulation of the impact of the EU Regional Policy, is very similar for the awareness of the Cohesion Policy and the Regional Policy. In brief, there are no significant differences between areas of different size and there is no effect through the interaction with living in a Less Developed region. However, the positive impact of the intensity of the Structural Funds in the region is significantly higher for individuals living in large cities. Remarkably, neither there are significant differences associated to the area size nor there is an effect of the EU Regional Policy indicators on the citizens' awareness of the Structural Funds. This is in contrast with the evidence derived for awareness on any EU project in the region or area, particularly

because of the effect through the interactions. Results in this case suggest that the probability of awareness is higher in the rural areas of the Less Developed regions than in their cities, particularly in the largest ones. On the contrary, the increase of awareness with the amount of funds per capita expended in the region is significantly more pronounced in cities than in rural areas. Two aspects arise here. First, large cities in less developed countries are likely to be eligible for Structural Funds, although the citizens there (more developed areas within their countries) may not perceive such a negative relative position in European terms and consequently the options to receive funds. And second, despite controlling for individual cognitive resources, such as education, the concentration of more skilled people in larger cities might be the reason for a positive awareness against the rural.

Finally, the last two columns report estimates for the indicators of perception and evaluation of the Cohesion Policy. In the case of the first one, there is no evidence supporting a significant interaction effect on having benefited in the daily life from any EU project. As in most indicators of awareness, there is no substantial difference related to the size of the place of living beyond the lower propensity for respondents in small and middle-sized towns. The conclusion is different in the case of the indicator of evaluation of the Cohesion Policy, as there are significant differences between urban and rural areas through the interaction with the policy indicators. It is observed how the negative impact on the support to the Cohesion Policy of living in a region eligible as Less Developed is driven entirely by respondents of these regions living in cities. Interestingly, the same applies to the positive effect exerted by the amount of Structural Funds. Only individuals in cities of regions receiving increasing amounts of these EU funds are more prone to support the Cohesion Policy, whereas they have a negligible effect on individuals in rural areas. As above, we interpret that significance of parameters only for urban areas are the expression of higher levels of awareness and likelihood of experiences in these territories.

Overall, these results confirm one of the main hypotheses in the PERCEIVE project, in the sense that there exists an urban-rural divide in the citizens' identification with the EU project and in their perception of the EU Cohesion Policy. They also show that the effect that EU policies have on identification and perception can well vary among individuals in rural and urban areas, and even between those who live in large and small and middle-sized cities.

Table 8.4. Results of models with interactions of regional policy and place size.

	EU membership	Identif. Europe	Cohesion Policy	Regional Policy	Structural Funds	Any EU project	Benefited EU projects	Support to Cohesion P.
Type of area								
Small & Medium town	-0.0391	0.126	-0.0967	-0.0306	-0.0731	-0.0887	-0.179**	-0.0127
	(0.0698)	(0.133)	(0.0639)	(0.0631)	(0.0654)	(0.0679)	(0.0829)	(0.0742)
Large town	0.0577	0.370***	-0.0266	-0.0729	0.0952	-0.0656	-0.00364	0.0893
	(0.0785)	(0.112)	(0.0710)	(0.0700)	(0.0723)	(0.0758)	(0.0878)	(0.0835)
EU REGIONAL POLICY								
Less Developed region	-0.786***	0.404	0.470*	0.728***	0.408	0.746**	0.662**	-0.140
	(0.204)	(0.354)	(0.258)	(0.204)	(0.277)	(0.293)	(0.260)	(0.202)
additional effect in Small-Medium Towns	0.381**	0.349	0.136	-0.212	0.0743	-0.268	0.0485	-0.480**
	(0.172)	(0.344)	(0.162)	(0.157)	(0.163)	(0.173)	(0.184)	(0.206)
additional effect in Large Towns	0.159	-0.253	-0.0614	-0.168	-0.149	-0.357*	0.167	-0.437*
	(0.188)	(0.251)	(0.178)	(0.170)	(0.178)	(0.192)	(0.196)	(0.226)
Structural Funds per capita	0.00197***	0.0031**	0.00184*	0.000772	0.000136	0.00214*	0.00227**	0.000652
	(0.000745)	(0.00132)	(0.000953)	(0.00074)	(0.00103)	(0.00110)	(0.000952)	(0.000725)
additional effect in Small-Medium Towns	-0.000683	-0.00105	0.000265	0.000469	0.000161	0.00127**	0.000136	0.00200***
	(0.000598)	(0.00111)	(0.000564)	(0.00055)	(0.000571)	(0.000632)	(0.000634)	(0.000732)
additional effect in Large Towns	-0.000650	4.93e-05	0.00148**	0.0014**	0.000648	0.00180**	0.000161	0.00146*
	(0.000703)	(0.00097)	(0.000667)	(0.00064)	(0.000664)	(0.000745)	(0.000729)	(0.000860)

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient.

9. Conclusions

Next we summarise the main findings of the research developed in this deliverable.

1. The modern study of *European identity* is strongly grounded on social constructivism, assuming that social processes are strongly grounded on the construction of ideas: the legitimacy of the EU is assumed to depend on the existence of a European identity. These studies strongly emerged in the post-Maastricht period, and have been even fostered by the expansion of EU to Central and Eastern European countries, the financial crisis, the Brexit, the ambiguous link between terrorist attacks and immigration episodes, the growth of populism, and the growth of regional identities aiming at independence of their national states. Both individual and collective definitions of a European identity imply an evaluative episode balancing the costs and benefits of being part of the EU project, what can call for an evaluation of EU policies, such as the Cohesion Policy.

2. Both *mechanisms* through which citizens develop a collective identification and *determinants* that promote or hinder the European identity matter (Bergbauer, 2018). Among mechanisms, the literature reports information-based and experience-based mechanisms. The former depends on the exposure to messages and awareness of citizens to EU issues. The latter is mostly associated with personal contacts with other Europeans, experience with the repercussions of EU integration, and historical experiences within the collective memory of every context.

3. The determinants of European identity can be individual or system based. At the individual level we list three: political awareness, attitudes towards the European and national bodies, and personal transnational experiences. At the system (country) level we find party messages related to European and national community, the economic position and degree of international integration, and the ethnocultural identification.

4. Among all factors and determinants influencing individuals' identification with Europe, there are a list of EU policies and institutions with a clear impact on the everyday life of citizens, being the Cohesion Policy a major example to analyse. As stressed by Capello and Perucca (2017a, b), Cohesion Policy is designed to solve specific regional needs, represents about a third of the total EU budget, the request and management is developed mostly at the regional level, and over 80% of the budget of Cohesion Policy is allocated to less developed regions, implying a redistribution effect over the EU.

5. The territorial dimension is an important mechanism to develop the identification with Europe. Together with the regional analysis, the rural-urban divide strongly influences the experience-based mechanism, and in particular how the Cohesion Policy is perceived. We expect strong rural-urban differences, among others, in terms of the ethnocultural identification of every territory, the party system, the economic position within Europe and within every country, and the degree of international integration.

6. There is not a clear geographical pattern in the amount of citizens' identification with the EU project. If something, identification could be higher in the centre of Europe and in some Eastern Member States. In contrast, the degree of identification seems to be lower in some Western core countries of the EU. Meanwhile the difference in the degree of identification with the EU project is very large between the two Mediterranean countries under analysis, namely Spain and Italy.

7. As a whole, the degree of the citizens' identification with the EU project in the Case Study regions is not significantly different to that in the entire Survey sample. The highest degree of identification is observed in the Eastern Case Study regions, Dolnośląskie, Warmińsko-mazurskie, and Sud Est, and in the Spanish region of Extremadura. In contrast, identification with the EU project seems to be rather low in the two Italian regions and in Essex. Burgenland and Norra Mellansverige occupy intermediate positions.

8. As for awareness of the Cohesion Policy, the most salient feature is that there is not a common spatial pattern for the different types of interventions. In contrast, awareness of EU funded projects in the region or area of the respondent seems to follow a much clearer pattern. It is high in most of the CEE and Mediterranean countries and relatively low in the core countries of Western Europe. This association is likely to be driven not just by the knowledge of the existence of the policy but also by precise information on particular projects carried out in the region of residence of the respondent.

9. The average amount of awareness of the different policies in the Case Study regions is above the one in the whole Survey sample. But it should be noted that the gap is wider in the case of the Structural Funds and the Regional Policy than for the Cohesion Policy. It can be said that citizens in the Case Study Polish regions are the ones more aware of the EU policies under analysis, whereas those in Essex are by far the less aware. It is important to note that it is possible to identify a sort of trade-off between the three types of policies. In regions were Regional Policy is more popular, awareness of Cohesion Policy and Structural Funds is rather limited (at least in relative terms), while the opposite is also true.

10. As a general rule, the evidence suggests that the positive perception of the Regional Policy is higher in the Eastern than in the Western part of the EU. By and large such divide corresponds to the group of Member States from the enlargement to the CEE and from that of the founding members of the EU.

11. The perception of the Cohesion Policy is somewhat more positive in the group Case Study regions than in the sample for the 15 countries covered by the Project's Survey. In all Case Study regions the support to the Cohesion Policy is by far wider than the perceived benefits from the projects funded by the EU. Still, large differences among them have been identified.

12. There are no significant differences between urban and rural areas in the spatial distribution of citizens' identification and perception. Changes are limited both in terms of the number of countries for which there are significant variations between urban and rural areas, and in terms of the intensity of the changes observed. Such stability in the geographical landscape does not imply that identification with the EU project and perception of the Cohesion Policy is similar between individuals living in places of different size. On the contrary, results point to some significant differences between rural and urban areas, particularly in the case of large cities.

13. We use multivariate techniques to summarize the underlying dimensions that describe the data in a smaller number of concepts (factor analysis) and for data reduction by deriving an empirical value for each dimension (principal components). We apply these techniques for the following aspects: Identification with Europe; Individual knowledge of EU and EU policies; Individual perception of Cohesion Policy; Individual perception of reality; and Determinants of European Identity. For the latter, we identify the following factors: perception of corruption; attitudes towards European bodies; effectiveness of institutions; ethnic dimension of European identity; civic attitudes; economic utilitarian theory; and European civic solidarity and trust.

14. We use cluster analysis to identify similarities and differences among the case study regions, providing an informative background for the interpretation and contextualization of the survey's results. We find Essex (UKH3) with an isolated position in several analysed dimensions (Identification with Europe, Individual knowledge of EU and EU policies, Individual perception of reality and in Determinants of European Identity). Other competitiveness regions (Norra Mellansverige, SE31), also display a differentiated pattern in Determinants of European Identity, while Polish regions (Dolnoslaski, PL51, and Warmińsko-mazurskie, PL62) show also a differentiated pattern from the rest of regions.

Clearly, there are important regional differences not only in terms of European identity, but also in terms of awareness, perception and determinants.

15. The analysis of the association between citizens' European identification, determinants and perceptions clarify two aspects: first, European identity is not strongly correlated one-by-one with the considered mechanisms and determinants, what calls for the development of a multivariate analysis. And second, the territorial dimension, either regional and/or urban-rural, needs to be considered, as it can be capturing some of the transmission mechanisms of the determinants.

16. By means of mixed-effect logit regressions we develop a partial correlations analysis to assess variations in identification and perception by type of area, country, and region's exposure to the Cohesion Policy. The results reveal the importance of controlling for demographic characteristics, the individuals' perception of their economic situation and that of the region in which they live, their political and social values, and the objective economic context of the region. Otherwise, conclusions on the above-mentioned dimension would be misleading.

17. Net of the influence of differences in the composition of the sample of respondents, we conclude that identification with the EU project, and awareness and perception of the Cohesion Policy is higher among individuals in countries that joined the EU in the first and second waves of enlargements, in comparison to those living in the founding Member States. Actually, this is particularly so for countries that joined the EU in the 1973-1995 period. Since enlargements had a sort of geographical dimension, particularly in the case of the last wave, this evidence can be interpreted in terms of a sort of spatial division in identification with the EU and perception of the Cohesion Policy.

18. There is not strong evidence supporting an urban-rural divide in the identification with the EU project once the composition effect is taken into account. If something, there is a marginal positive bias in large cities. In fact, our results suggest that individuals in large cities tend to be more aware of the Cohesion Policy and the Structural Funds, while they are also more supportive of the Cohesion Policy. This calls for an important association between awareness and social civic values, and citizens' identification with Europe.

19. As for the effect of the interventions of the Cohesion Policy, we found no evidence of more identification with the EU project in the regions eligible as Less Developed. However, the amount of Structural Funds per capita expended in the region significantly increases the propensity of identification with the EU project. Nonetheless, both measures correlate positively and significantly with the

citizens' perception of the Cohesion Policy, both in terms of awareness of the policy interventions and the perception of benefits and support to the Cohesion Policy.

20. Beyond that mentioned in the previous two points, the effect that the EU policies under analysis in the Project have on identification and perception can well vary among individuals in rural and urban areas, and even between those living in large and smaller size cities. Therefore, the urban-rural divide would be more sophisticated than expected on a priori ground. It would be conditioning the impact of the policy instruments on the identification and perception of the citizens depending on the type of area in which they live.

The obtained results have a list of implications from a policy perspective. Briefly, they can be summarised as follows:

1. Social processes are strongly grounded on the construction of ideas. Nowadays the legitimacy of the EU is viewed to depend on the existence of a European identity. Both individual and collective definitions of a European identity imply an evaluative episode balancing the costs and benefits of being part of the EU project, what can call for an evaluation of EU policies, such as the Cohesion Policy, although this message can be applied for all policies run or mediated by the EU.

2. It is important to evaluate first all EU policies and institutions with a clear impact on the daily life of citizens, being the Cohesion Policy a major example to analyse. The territorial dimension (both across countries and regions, and the urban-rural divide) influence the mechanism for identity formation, what calls for explicitly spatial analyses of the formation of the European identity.

3. A major driver of citizens' identification with Europe is not only if and how Cohesion Policy is applied, but also and more importantly how citizens are aware of it and whether and how they experience the benefits and costs of being part of the EU project. This is supportive on the social constructivism approach, stressing the need for a discourse to allow citizens to evaluate the EU project.

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GA nr. 693529

Deliverable 2.2

"Mapping the determinants of EU citizen's perception and identification"

Appendices

Appendix 1. Applied Works analysing European Identity

- Agridag, O., Hoyst, P. and Van Houtte, M. (2012) "Determinants of the formation of a European identity among children: individual- and school-level influences", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50(2), pp. 198-213.
- Arnold, C., Sapir, E.V. and Zapryanova, G. (2012) "Trust in the institutions of the European Union: a cross-country examination", *European Integration Online Papers,* 16, article 8
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	Source	Indicator of identification with Europe	Demographics - individual controls	Political capital	Ideological Stances	Social context	Method	N
Arnolnd et al (2012)	Eurobarometer 2005-2010. All EU member states.	Level of trust in 5 EU institutions	Age Gender Satisfaction with one's life	Cognitive mobilization: persuading friends holding an opinion Satisfaction with domestic democracy Perceived benefits from EU membership	Left-right 1- 10 placement	Scope of the welfare state Country's decision making power in EU level institutions Corruption perception index	Logit	58.658

	Source	Indicator of identification with Europe	Demographics - individual controls	Political capital	Ideological Stances	Social context	Method	N
Agirdag et al (2012)	Survey on 68 Begian (Flanders) schools.	Average of five different items on collective self-esteem scale applied to European *feelings*	Age Gender Occupation of the parents Ethnicity (country of birth of grandmothers) Religion			Proportion of pupils coming from working-class background Ethnic school diversity School sector (Catholic - non-Catholic)	Muiltilevel regression analysis	2.845

	Source	Indicator of identification with Europe	Demographics - individual controls	Political capital	Ideological Stances	Social context	Method	N
Bergbauer (2018)	Eurobarometer 2000-2012	Attachment to Europe and citizens' attachment to the EU	Age Gender Education Personal economic expectations	Common political project Individual benefits National identification Transnational background	European political interest EU knowledge	Rural/urban Party messages Net paying transfers Trade EU and total immigration Eurozone Unemployment	Multilevel analysys	142.028

	Source	Indicator of identification with Europe	Demographics - individual controls	Political capital	Ideological Stances	Social context	Method	N
Hoogue and Verhaegen (2017)	IntUne Mass Survey 2009. 16 EU member states.	Sum of two items: feeling European in one's day-to-day life and attachment to the EU	Age (and age^2) Gender Education Origin (Ethnicity)	Political trust in EU institutions Social trust in European citizens Support European Integration Political trust in national institutions General social trust	Democratic satisfaction EU Democratic satisfaction country	Level of perceived corruption Years of EU membership	Multilevel regression analysis	16.613

	Source	Indicator of identification with Europe	Demographics - individual controls	Political capital	Ideological Stances	Social context	Method	N
Luhman (2017)	This work presents a survey proposal. No data, then. This work includes psycological issues	Do you see yourself as European?	Age Gender Education What countries did you visit recently? Personality questions (anxiety, optimism, etc.)	Is good promoting rule of law? Fighting poverty? Cultural and religious diversity? Peace and prosperity? Behavioural questions (did you vote in the past European elections?) Have you done something profoundly European? Identity drawing (me, family, religion, country, Europe)	Left-right placement	Rural / Urban environment		

	Source	Indicator of identification with Europe	Demographics - individual controls	Political capital	Ideological Stances	Social context	Method	N
Rünz (2015)	Quasi-experimenal panel data. Surveys participants of Model European Union (MEU) 2012	Many things in common with other Europeans Europeans Values Index Europeans have more in common than other continents in terms of values No European values, only Western values Support the EU: positive image of EU; country membership is good	Age Gender Study programme: course on EU?	MEU experience: acquiant participants with the ordinary legislative procedure of the EU The European Commission introduces proposals to the EP and the Council	National pride (low-high)	Nationality: old MS / new MS	OLS	98 treatment and 44 control. 98 complete panel (3waves)

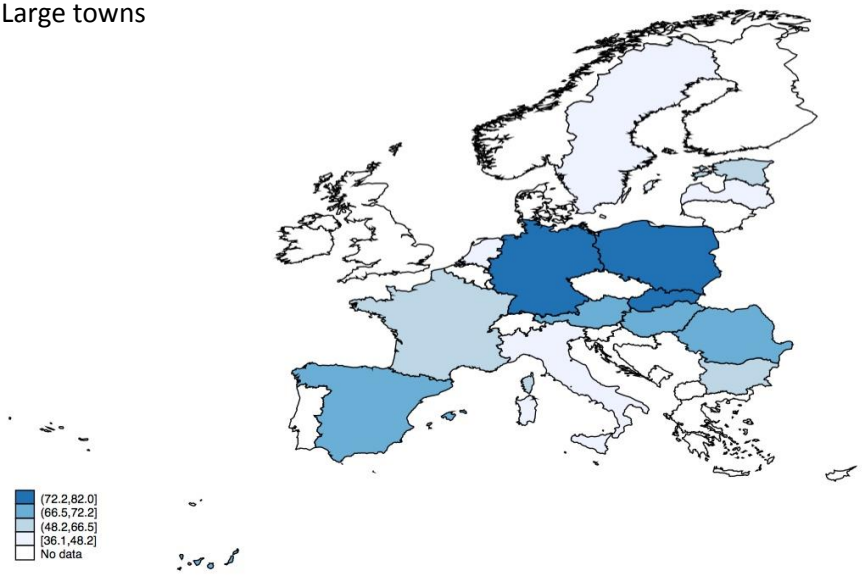
	Source	Indicator of identification with Europe	Demographics - individual controls	Political capital	Ideological Stances	Social context	Method	N
Scheuer and Schitt (2009)	European Election Study (2004) and Eurobaromeber. All EU countries, although over time changes are computed for EU15	Identification: - Perceived citizenship: is people considering themselves as European citizens? - Pride in being European: are you proud or not to be an European citizen?						
		We-feelings: - How much trust you have in people from various countries? - Acceptance of new members						

	Source	Indicator of identification with Europe	Demographics - individual controls	Political capital	Ideological Stances	Social context	Method	N
Verhaegen et al. (2014)	Eurobarometer 2011. 27 EU member states	Support European integration: EU membership is a good thing? European identity: you feel you are a citizen of the EU?	Age Gender Occupation Perceived financial situation of the household Europe means economic prosperity for teh individual			Net contribution to EU budget Received structural funds Spread on sovereign bonds Intra EU export GDP growth Inflation Unemployment	Multilevel analysis. 2 level multinomial logit	25.682

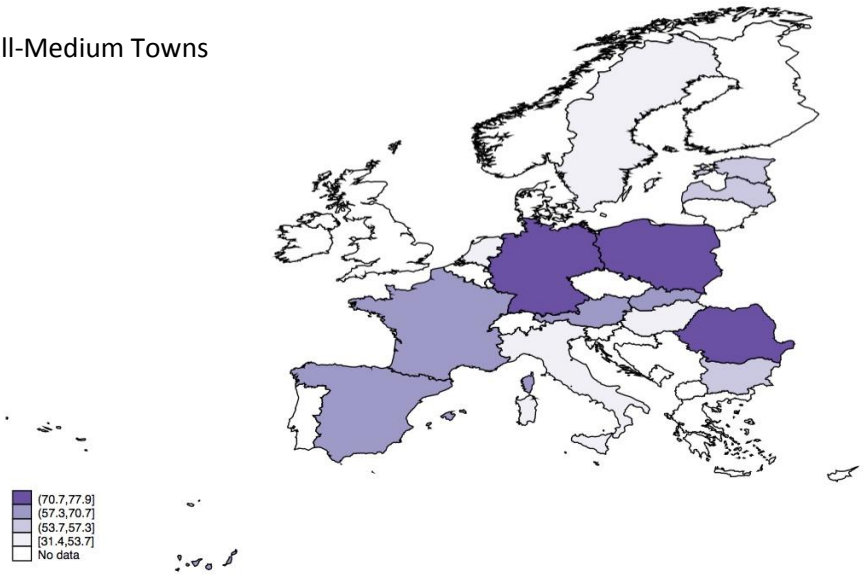
Appendix 2. Additional information for the descriptive analysis

Figure A2.1. EU membership as a good thing by size of place.

a. Large towns



b. Small-Medium Towns



c. Rural areas

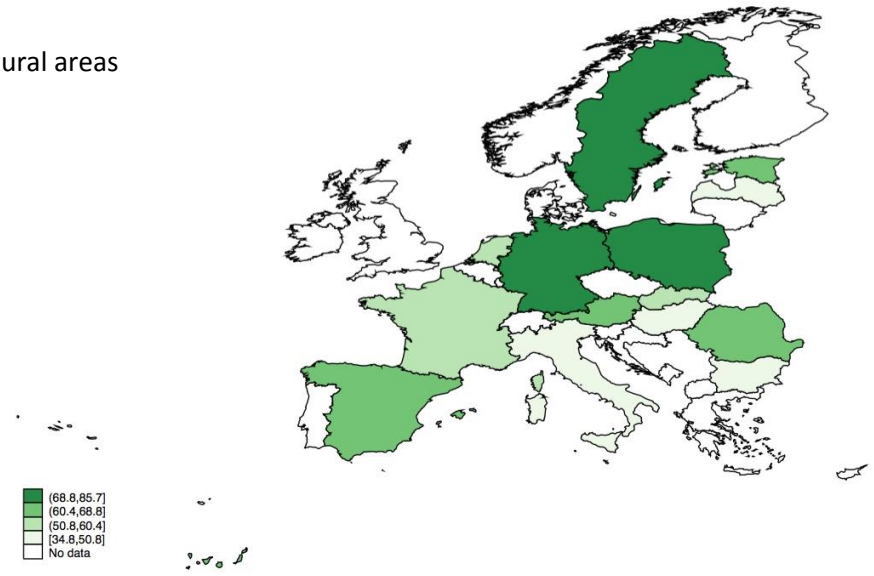
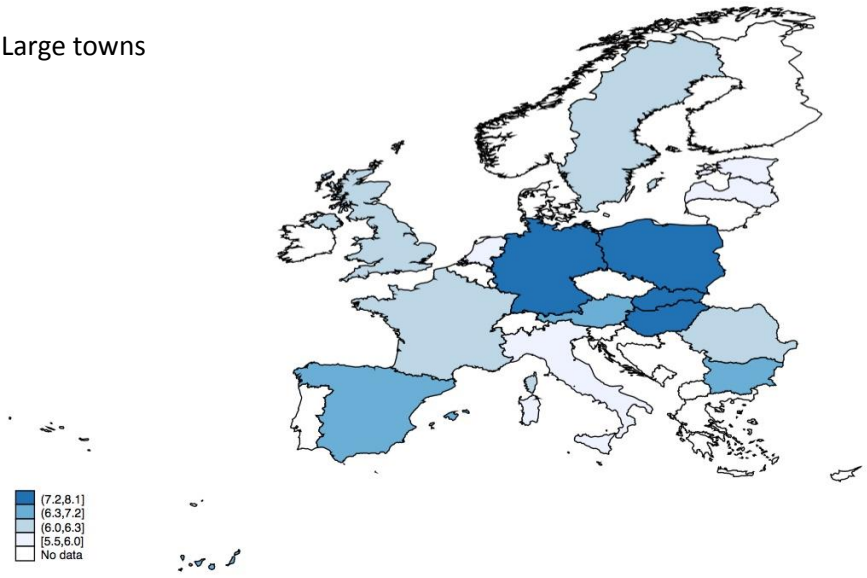
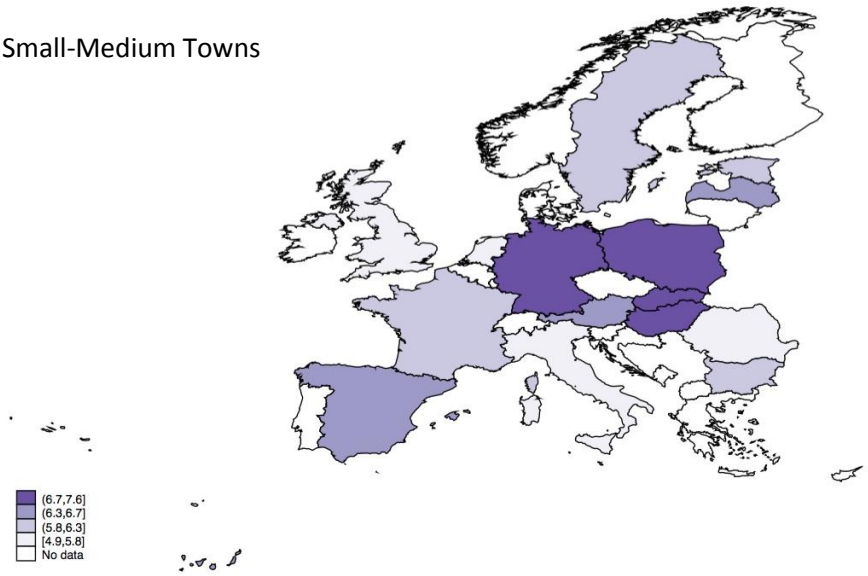


Figure A2.2. Degree of identification with Europe by size of place.

a. Large towns



b. Small-Medium Towns



c. Rural areas

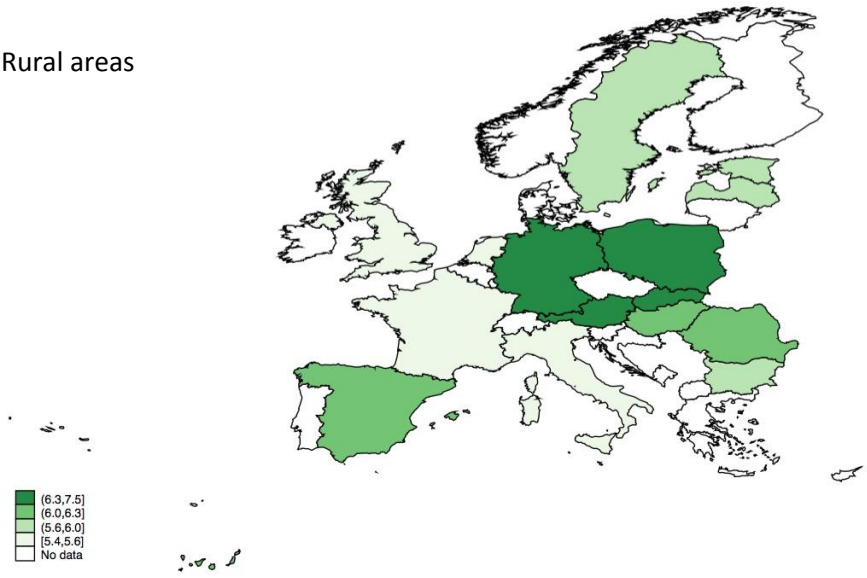
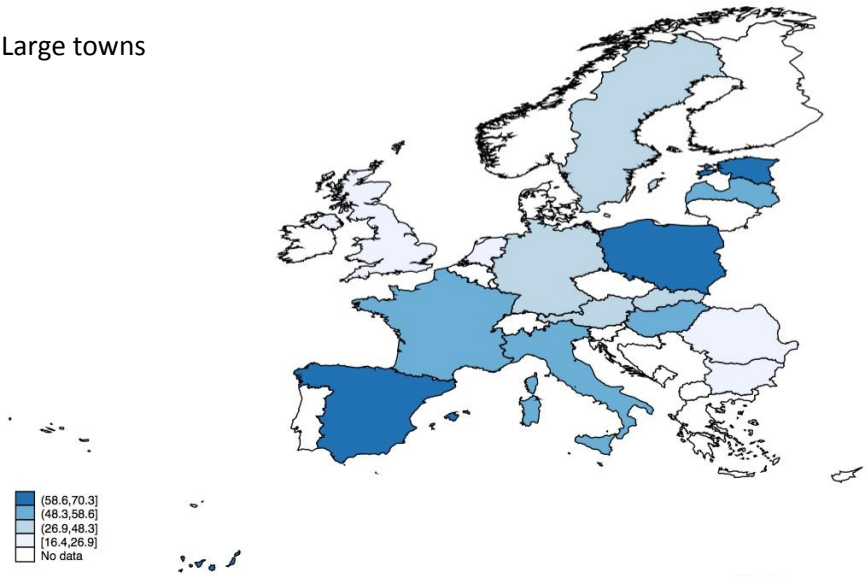
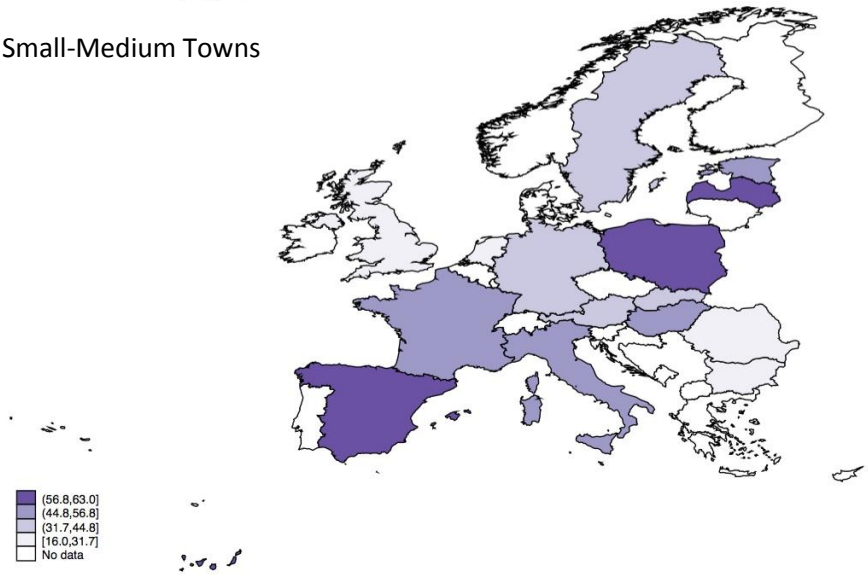


Figure A2.3. Heard about the Cohesion Policy by size of place.

a. Large towns



b. Small-Medium Towns



c. Rural areas

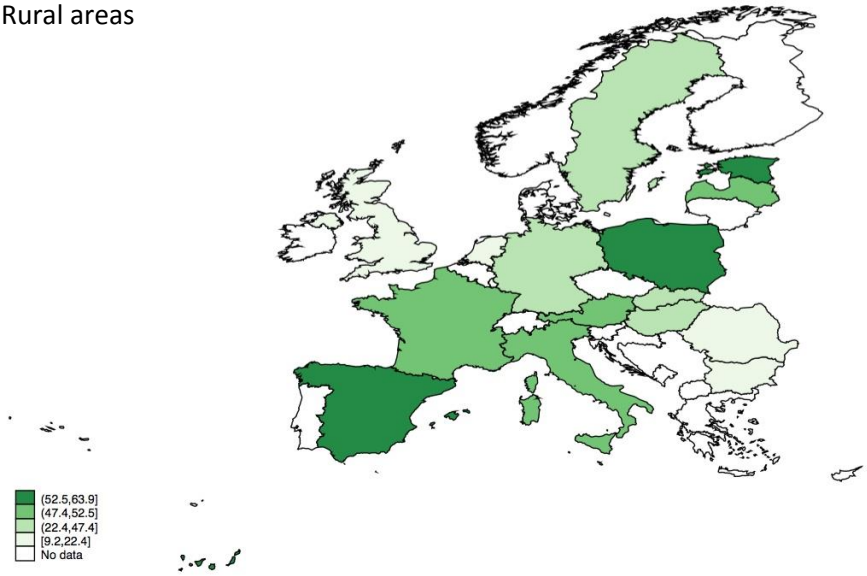
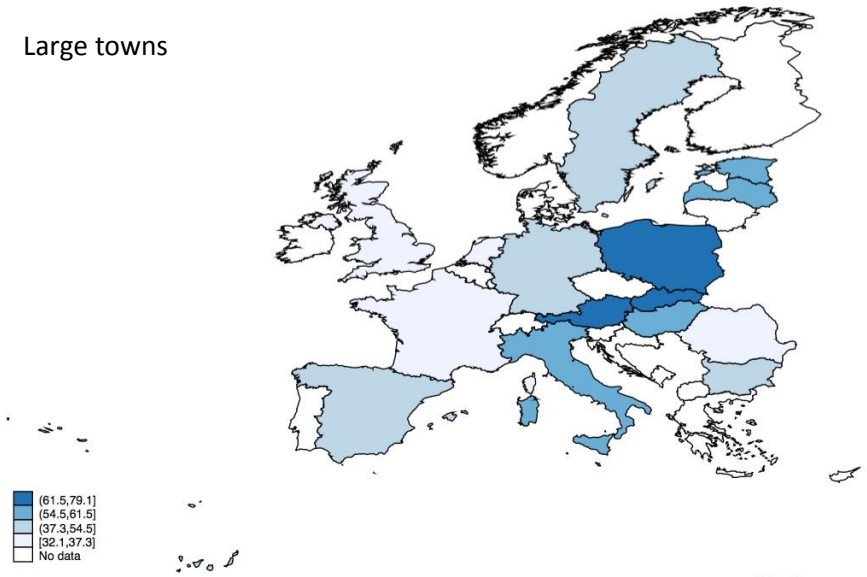
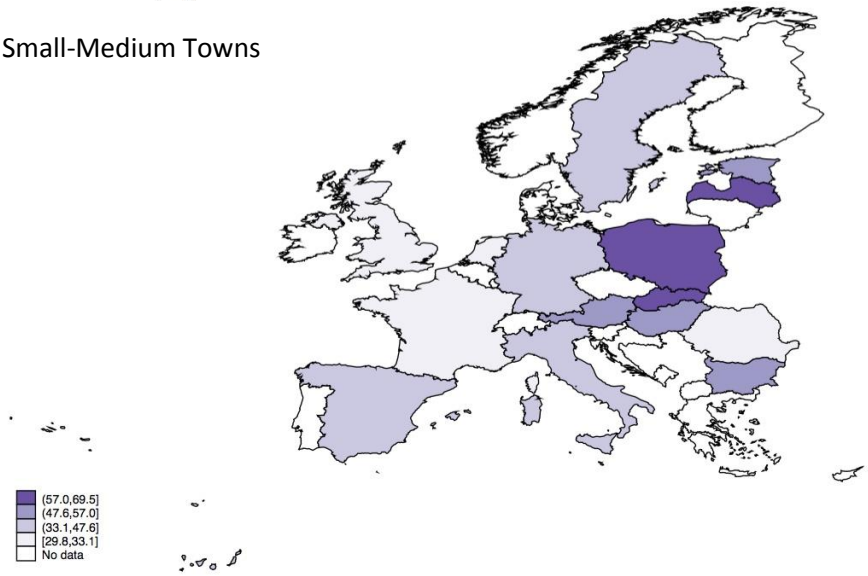


Figure A2.4. Heard about the Regional Policy by size of place.

a. Large towns



b. Small-Medium Towns



c. Rural areas

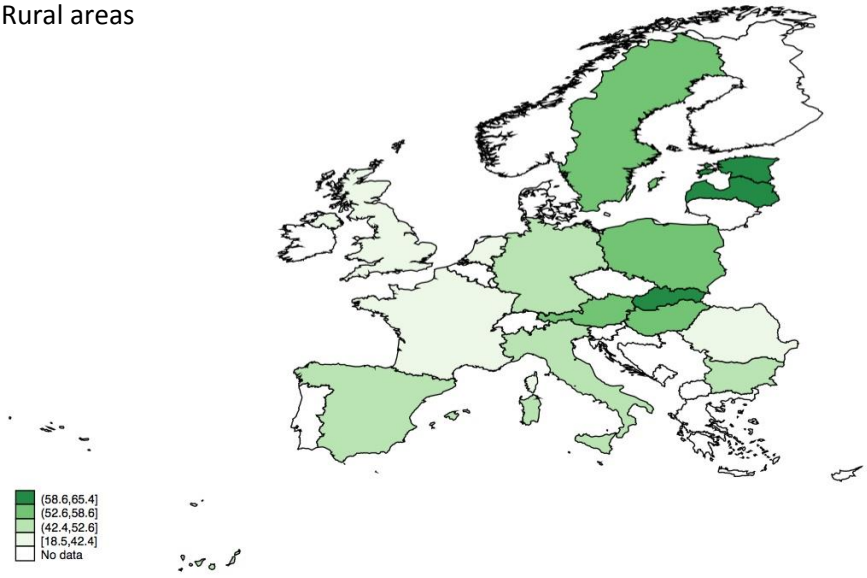
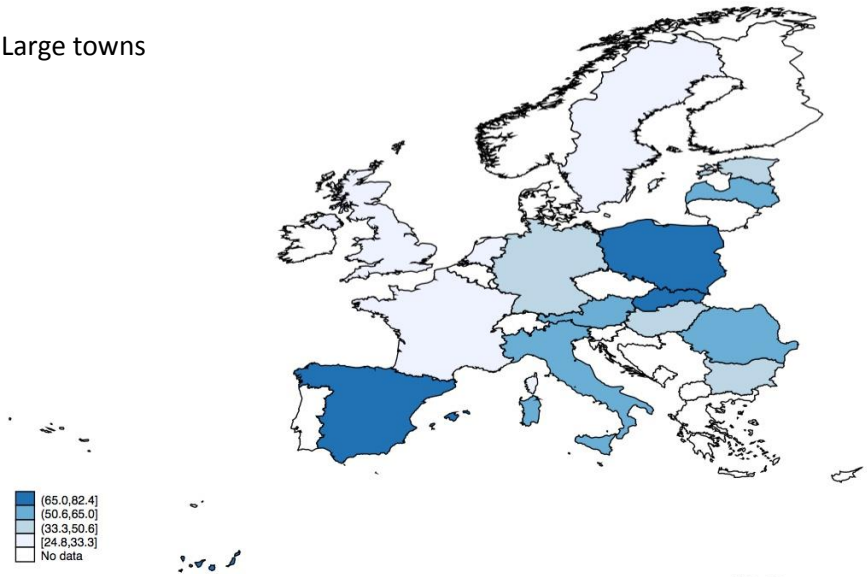
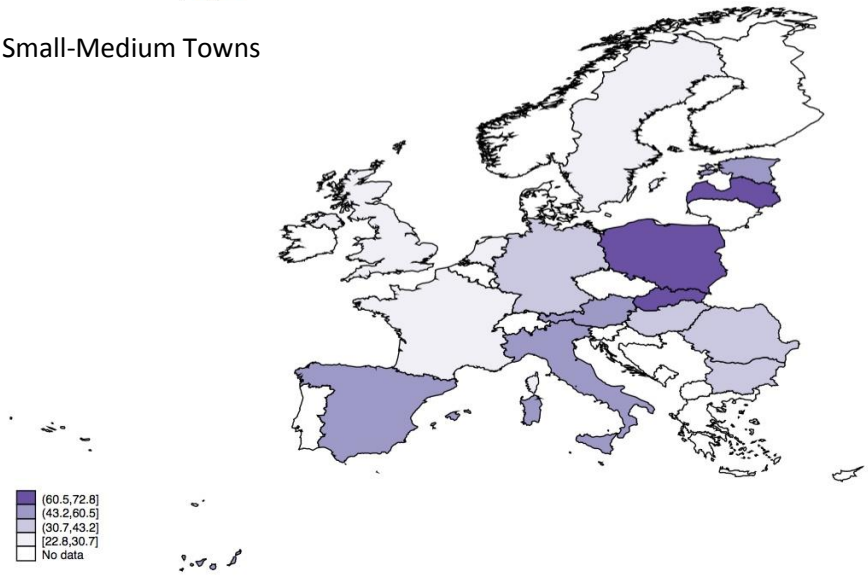


Figure A2.5. Heard about Structural Funds by size of place.

a. Large towns



b. Small-Medium Towns



c. Rural areas

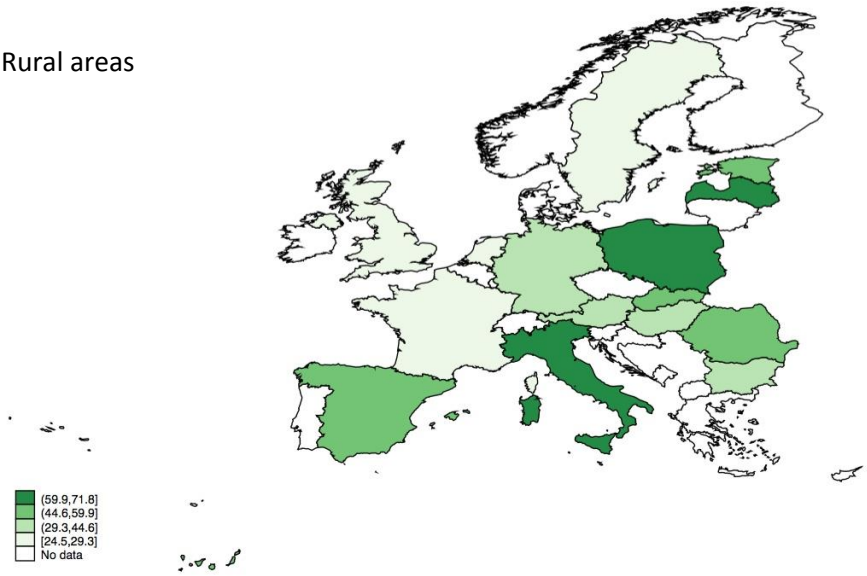
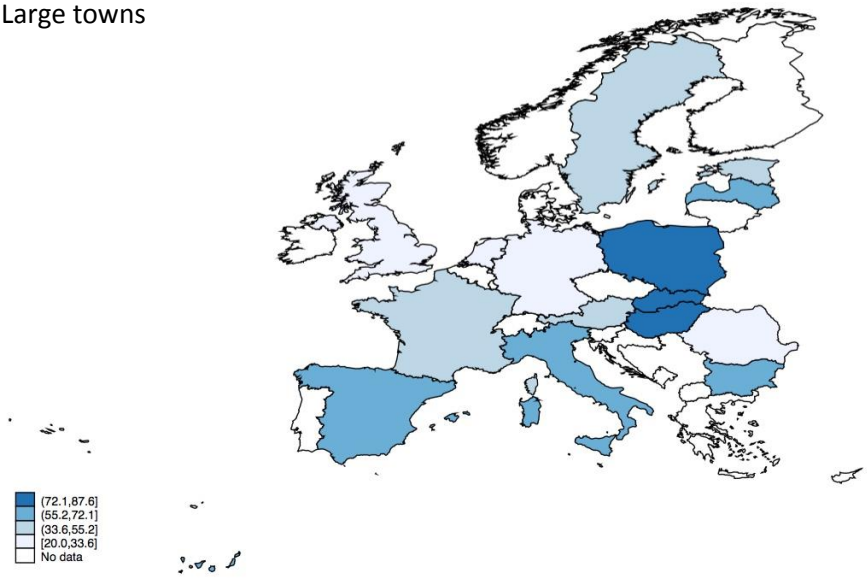
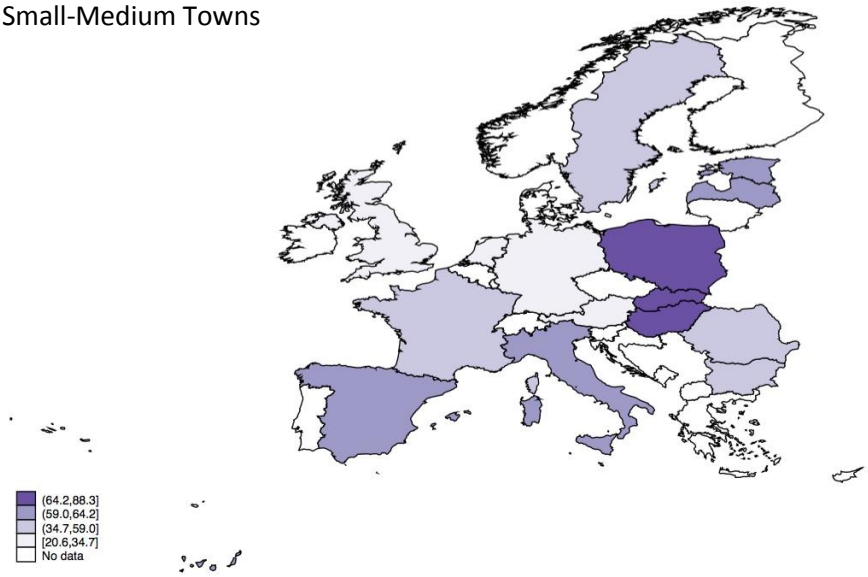


Figure A2.6. Heard about any EU funded project in the region or area by size of place.

a. Large towns



b. Small-Medium Towns



c. Rural areas

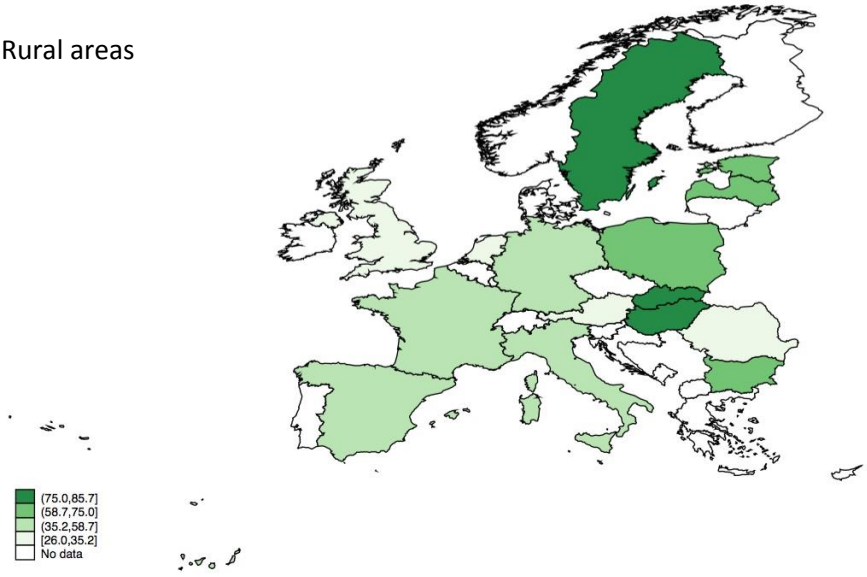
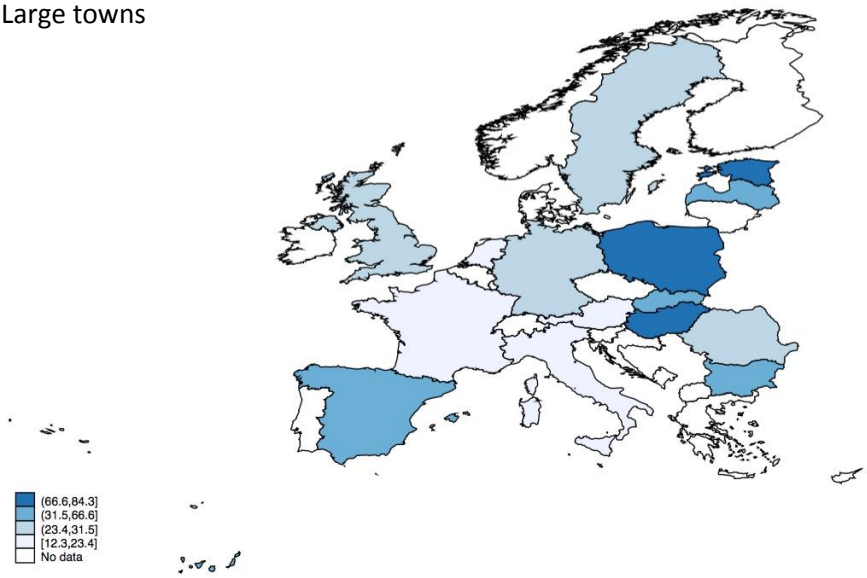
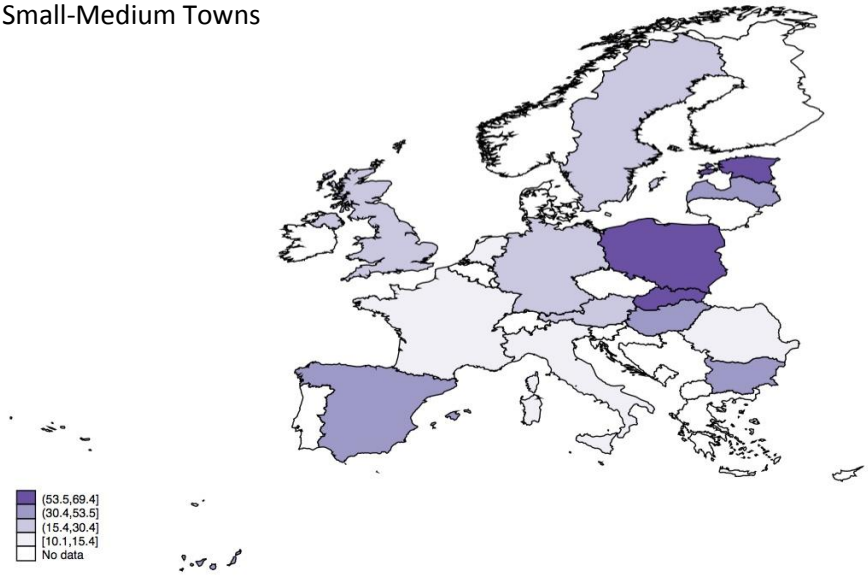


Figure A2.7. Individuals that benefited in daily life from any project funded by the EU by size of place.

a. Large towns



b. Small-Medium Towns



c. Rural areas

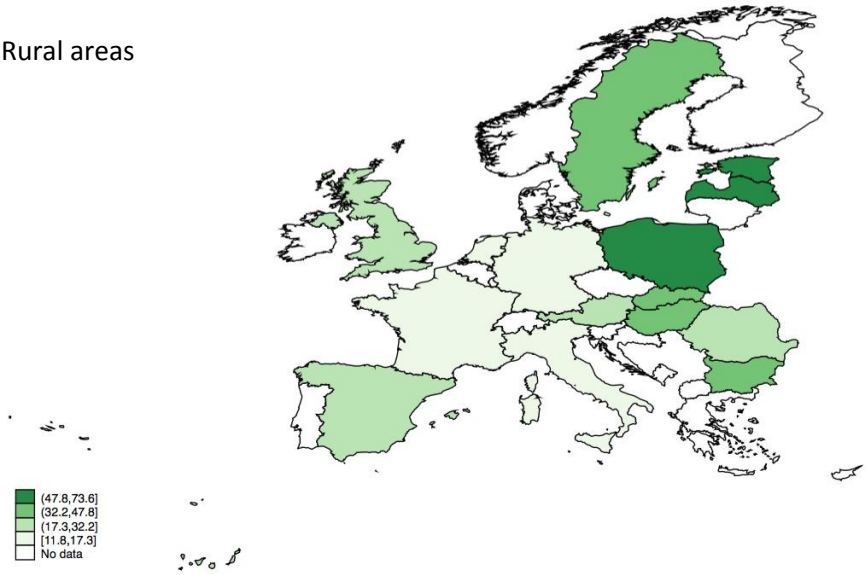
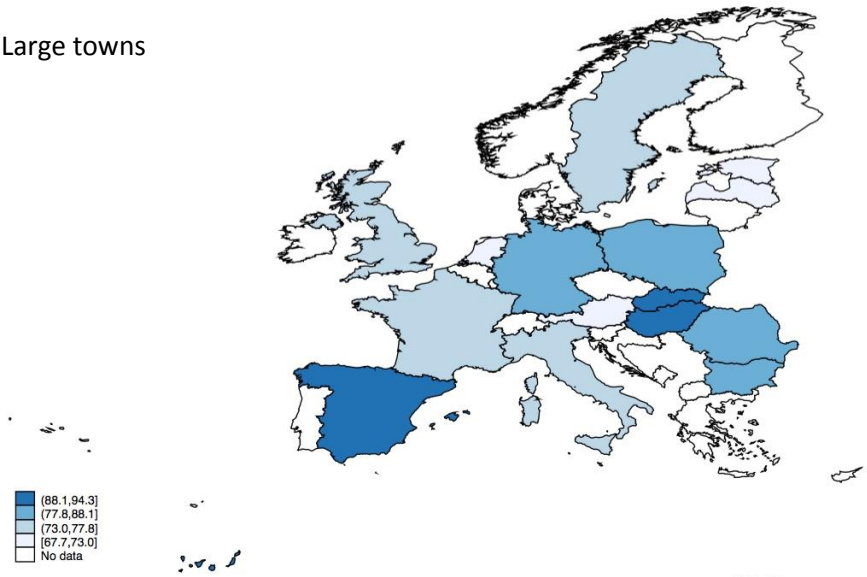
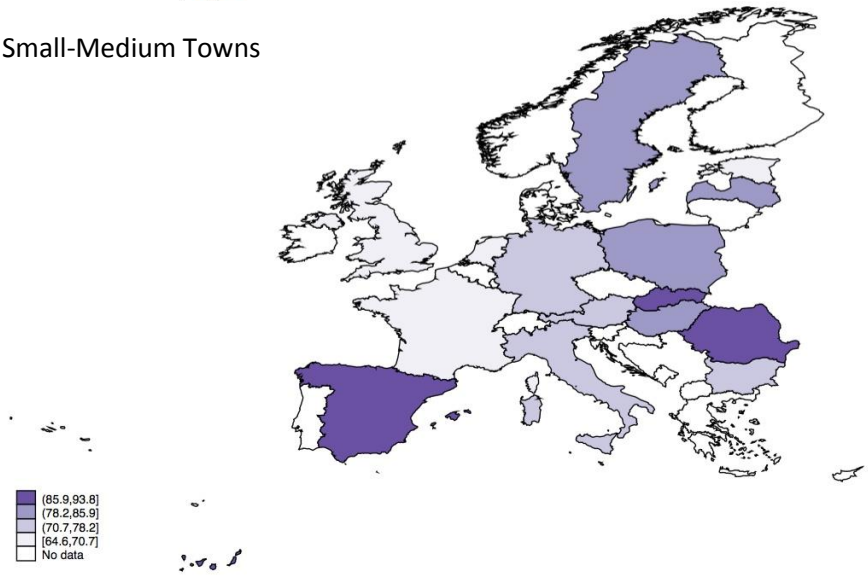


Figure A2.8. Individuals that support the Cohesion Policy by size of place.

a. Large towns



b. Small-Medium Towns



c. Rural areas

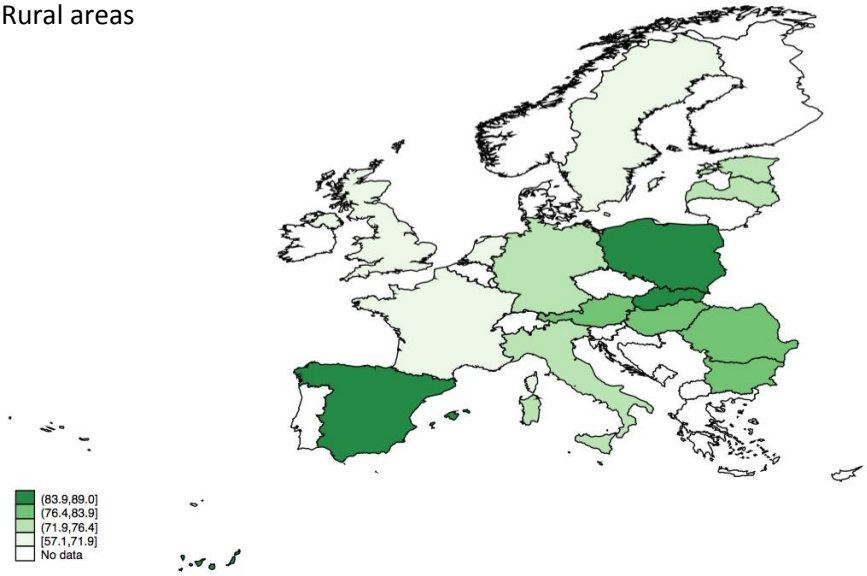


Table A2.1. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *EU Membership is a good thing*.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS							
Gender (Female=1)	-0.0785**	-0.0786**	-0.0746*	-0.0736*	-0.0758*	-0.0734*	-0.0722*
	(0.0396)	(0.0396)	(0.0400)	(0.0400)	(0.0396)	(0.0400)	(0.0400)
Age	-0.0101	-0.0101	-0.00968	-0.00998	-0.0105	-0.00981	-0.0103
	(0.00807)	(0.00807)	(0.00813)	(0.00813)	(0.00805)	(0.00812)	(0.00812)
Age square (/100)	0.0224***	0.0224***	0.0215**	0.0216**	0.0231***	0.0218***	0.0221***
	(8.39e-03)	(8.39e-03)	(8.45e-03)	(8.44e-03)	(8.37e-03)	(8.44e-03)	(8.43e-03)
Education							
High-school	0.128**	0.128**	0.126**	0.130**	0.115**	0.118**	0.119**
	(0.0528)	(0.0528)	(0.0531)	(0.0531)	(0.0529)	(0.0532)	(0.0532)
University	0.379***	0.379***	0.387***	0.387***	0.369***	0.382***	0.379***
	(0.0594)	(0.0594)	(0.0599)	(0.0598)	(0.0593)	(0.0598)	(0.0598)
Post-graduate	0.621***	0.620***	0.625***	0.640***	0.612***	0.624***	0.634***
	(0.0755)	(0.0755)	(0.0765)	(0.0765)	(0.0754)	(0.0765)	(0.0765)
Occupation status							
Empl. Private sector	0.101*	0.100*	0.103*	0.106*	0.0983*	0.100*	0.103*
	(0.0569)	(0.0569)	(0.0575)	(0.0575)	(0.0568)	(0.0575)	(0.0575)
Self employed	0.116	0.116	0.125*	0.128*	0.114	0.122	0.125*
	(0.0749)	(0.0750)	(0.0757)	(0.0757)	(0.0749)	(0.0757)	(0.0756)
Unemployed	-0.0586	-0.0587	-0.0515	-0.0477	-0.0583	-0.0572	-0.0499
	(0.0893)	(0.0893)	(0.0896)	(0.0896)	(0.0893)	(0.0897)	(0.0897)
Housewife / Houseman	0.0759	0.0759	0.0780	0.0786	0.0663	0.0687	0.0693
	(0.0994)	(0.0994)	(0.0997)	(0.0997)	(0.0995)	(0.0997)	(0.0997)
Pensioner, retired	0.0551	0.0549	0.0689	0.0706	0.0480	0.0655	0.0653
	(0.0808)	(0.0808)	(0.0816)	(0.0816)	(0.0808)	(0.0816)	(0.0816)
Student / Trainee	0.436***	0.437***	0.403***	0.399***	0.430***	0.394***	0.390***
	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.114)	(0.114)	(0.113)	(0.114)	(0.114)
Other	0.0969	0.0958	0.105	0.107	0.101	0.114	0.115
	(0.138)	(0.138)	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.138)	(0.139)	(0.139)
Type of area							
Small & Medium town	0.00623	0.00651	0.0170	0.0148	0.00513	0.0173	0.0146
	(0.0466)	(0.0466)	(0.0470)	(0.0469)	(0.0465)	(0.0469)	(0.0469)
Large town	0.0259	0.0264	0.0454	0.0452	0.0220	0.0390	0.0369
	(0.0520)	(0.0520)	(0.0526)	(0.0525)	(0.0520)	(0.0526)	(0.0525)
Income level							
Medium	0.0347	0.0347	0.0452	0.0441	0.0389	0.0474	0.0481
	(0.0514)	(0.0514)	(0.0518)	(0.0518)	(0.0513)	(0.0518)	(0.0517)
High	0.278***	0.278***	0.308***	0.312***	0.287***	0.312***	0.317***
	(0.0522)	(0.0522)	(0.0528)	(0.0528)	(0.0521)	(0.0528)	(0.0527)
Don't know/Refused	0.407***	0.408***	0.422***	0.426***	0.420***	0.429***	0.433***
	(0.0894)	(0.0895)	(0.0897)	(0.0897)	(0.0894)	(0.0897)	(0.0896)
Years in the area	-0.00325**	-0.00328**	-0.00317**	-0.00293**	-0.00343***	-0.00341***	-0.00316**
	(0.00130)	(0.00130)	(0.00131)	(0.00131)	(0.00130)	(0.00131)	(0.00131)
Voting in last two EU elections							
Once	0.235***	0.235***	0.257***	0.254***	0.227***	0.255***	0.250***
	(0.0588)	(0.0588)	(0.0596)	(0.0596)	(0.0588)	(0.0596)	(0.0596)
Both times	0.434***	0.434***	0.439***	0.438***	0.425***	0.435***	0.432***
	(0.0475)	(0.0475)	(0.0482)	(0.0482)	(0.0475)	(0.0483)	(0.0483)
(d/k-refused)	-0.0812	-0.0827	-0.0921	-0.0830	-0.0871	-0.0945	-0.0861
	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.127)	(0.128)	(0.128)
Trust in people	0.141***	0.141***	0.139***	0.139***	0.142***	0.139***	0.139***
	(0.00849)	(0.00850)	(0.00859)	(0.00858)	(0.00849)	(0.00858)	(0.00858)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0774***	-0.0773***	-0.0778***	-0.0776***	-0.0768***	-0.0777***	-0.0774***
	(0.00614)	(0.00614)	(0.00622)	(0.00621)	(0.00612)	(0.00621)	(0.00620)
Increase income redistribution	0.0314***	0.0313***	0.0305***	0.0304***	0.0297***	0.0302***	0.0296***
	(0.00823)	(0.00824)	(0.00838)	(0.00837)	(0.00824)	(0.00838)	(0.00837)
Strong leader	-0.0406***	-0.0407***	-0.0429***	-0.0428***	-0.0428***	-0.0438***	-0.0442***
	(0.00622)	(0.00623)	(0.00632)	(0.00631)	(0.00623)	(0.00632)	(0.00632)

Perception of corruption of …							
The European Union	-0.163***	-0.163***	-0.159***	-0.160***	-0.160***	-0.158***	-0.157***
	(0.00939)	(0.00939)	(0.00946)	(0.00946)	(0.00941)	(0.00948)	(0.00948)
National institutions	0.0256**	0.0255**	0.0234**	0.0229**	0.0197*	0.0195*	0.0182*
	(0.0108)	(0.0108)	(0.0109)	(0.0109)	(0.0109)	(0.0110)	(0.0110)
Regional/local institutions	0.0287***	0.0287***	0.0296***	0.0296***	0.0284***	0.0295***	0.0293***
	(0.00958)	(0.00958)	(0.00965)	(0.00964)	(0.00957)	(0.00964)	(0.00963)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception							
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	0.414***	0.415***	0.417***	0.416***	0.424***	0.419***	0.419***
	(0.0444)	(0.0444)	(0.0449)	(0.0449)	(0.0445)	(0.0450)	(0.0450)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:							
About the same	-0.434***	-0.433***	-0.414***	-0.416***	-0.423***	-0.408***	-0.409***
	(0.0479)	(0.0480)	(0.0484)	(0.0484)	(0.0479)	(0.0484)	(0.0484)
Worse	-0.734***	-0.732***	-0.716***	-0.721***	-0.724***	-0.714***	-0.715***
	(0.0582)	(0.0584)	(0.0589)	(0.0590)	(0.0584)	(0.0590)	(0.0590)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective							
GDP per inhabitant (% EU average)					-0.00430**	-0.000933	-0.00151
					(0.00168)	(0.00181)	(0.00174)
Accession to EU							
1973–1995					0.482***	0.642***	0.570***
					(0.122)	(0.129)	(0.125)
2004-2013					0.369**	0.287	0.399**
					(0.175)	(0.178)	(0.173)
EU REGIONAL POLICY							
Less Developed region		0.0418		-0.600***	-0.395***		-0.589***
		(0.114)		(0.177)	(0.151)		(0.173)
Structural Funds per capita			0.00104**	0.00280***		0.000329	0.00157**
			(0.000406)	(0.000651)		(0.000573)	(0.000660)
Constant	0.323	0.311	0.189	0.162	0.624**	0.165	0.228
	(0.228)	(0.230)	(0.235)	(0.234)	(0.303)	(0.319)	(0.313)
Observations	15,244	15,244	14,670	14,670	15,244	14,670	14,670
Number of groups	138	138	135	135	138	135	135
ICC	0.0800	0.0800	0.0740	0.0665	0.0593	0.0581	0.0518
Joint significance (chi2)	1888	1888	1845	1858	1924	1874	1890
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-8440	-8440	-8242	-8236	-8424	-8230	-8224
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	478.9	477.7	442.4	375.4	323.6	304.3	267.0
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient. The ICC in the null specification (without individual and region characteristics) equals 0.113.

Table A2.2. Estimation from mixed effect lineal model. *Degree of identification with Europe*.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS							
Gender (Female=1)	0.208***	0.208***	0.199***	0.199***	0.208***	0.199***	0.199***
	(0.0575)	(0.0574)	(0.0585)	(0.0585)	(0.0574)	(0.0585)	(0.0584)
Age	-0.0278**	-0.0275**	-0.0363***	-0.0362***	-0.0275**	-0.0364***	-0.0362***
	(0.0116)	(0.0116)	(0.0123)	(0.0123)	(0.0116)	(0.0123)	(0.0122)
Age square (/100)	0.0404***	0.0404***	0.0495***	0.0494***	0.0405***	0.0496***	0.0494***
	(0.0119)	(0.0119)	(0.0124)	(0.0124)	(0.0119)	(0.0124)	(0.0123)
Education							
High-school	0.177**	0.169**	0.171**	0.169**	0.168**	0.173**	0.170**
	(0.0804)	(0.0806)	(0.0831)	(0.0834)	(0.0804)	(0.0825)	(0.0828)
University	0.352***	0.352***	0.348***	0.347***	0.349***	0.348***	0.347***
	(0.0822)	(0.0822)	(0.0850)	(0.0849)	(0.0825)	(0.0851)	(0.0851)
Post-graduate	0.774***	0.757***	0.731***	0.726***	0.755***	0.735***	0.729***
	(0.0995)	(0.0992)	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.0997)	(0.105)	(0.104)
Occupation status							
Empl. Private sector	0.130	0.133	0.160	0.159	0.132	0.160	0.160
	(0.103)	(0.104)	(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.103)	(0.112)	(0.111)
Self employed	0.175	0.175	0.280**	0.280**	0.173	0.279**	0.278**
	(0.112)	(0.112)	(0.117)	(0.116)	(0.112)	(0.117)	(0.116)
Unemployed	0.0557	0.0572	0.0899	0.0890	0.0580	0.0906	0.0874
	(0.142)	(0.141)	(0.148)	(0.147)	(0.140)	(0.148)	(0.146)
Housewife / Houseman	0.152	0.155	0.178	0.178	0.155	0.178	0.178
	(0.168)	(0.169)	(0.174)	(0.174)	(0.169)	(0.175)	(0.174)
Pensioner, retired	0.116	0.117	0.133	0.133	0.116	0.133	0.133
	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.126)	(0.138)	(0.137)
Student / Trainee	0.455***	0.469***	0.566***	0.567***	0.469***	0.563***	0.565***
	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.185)	(0.186)	(0.175)	(0.186)	(0.186)
Other	-0.0483	-0.0602	0.0780	0.0770	-0.0588	0.0820	0.0810
	(0.190)	(0.189)	(0.187)	(0.187)	(0.190)	(0.187)	(0.187)
Type of area							
Small & Medium town	0.0991	0.102	0.100	0.101	0.101	0.101	0.102
	(0.0789)	(0.0789)	(0.0851)	(0.0849)	(0.0789)	(0.0851)	(0.0847)
Large town	0.287***	0.295***	0.288***	0.288***	0.292***	0.283***	0.285***
	(0.0704)	(0.0706)	(0.0716)	(0.0716)	(0.0705)	(0.0713)	(0.0712)
Income level							
Medium	0.0372	0.0399	0.0463	0.0470	0.0394	0.0454	0.0460
	(0.0803)	(0.0801)	(0.0855)	(0.0854)	(0.0804)	(0.0858)	(0.0857)
High	0.277***	0.279***	0.298***	0.298***	0.281***	0.299***	0.298***
	(0.0810)	(0.0809)	(0.0845)	(0.0845)	(0.0811)	(0.0847)	(0.0847)
Don't know/Refused	-0.000291	-0.00337	0.0663	0.0660	-0.00284	0.0649	0.0645
	(0.207)	(0.209)	(0.219)	(0.218)	(0.209)	(0.219)	(0.218)
Years in the area	-0.00567***	-0.00596***	-0.00533***	-0.00539***	-0.00597***	-0.00536***	-0.00546***
	(0.00177)	(0.00177)	(0.00182)	(0.00181)	(0.00177)	(0.00183)	(0.00181)
Voting in last two EU elections							
Once	0.276***	0.273***	0.350***	0.350***	0.275***	0.352***	0.353***
	(0.0760)	(0.0761)	(0.0765)	(0.0765)	(0.0756)	(0.0761)	(0.0758)
Both times	0.558***	0.554***	0.615***	0.615***	0.556***	0.618***	0.618***
	(0.0753)	(0.0755)	(0.0760)	(0.0760)	(0.0752)	(0.0756)	(0.0755)
(d/k-refused)	-0.127	-0.141	-0.109	-0.111	-0.141	-0.107	-0.109
	(0.187)	(0.187)	(0.186)	(0.186)	(0.187)	(0.186)	(0.186)
Trust in people	0.167***	0.168***	0.174***	0.174***	0.168***	0.173***	0.173***
	(0.0152)	(0.0153)	(0.0158)	(0.0158)	(0.0152)	(0.0157)	(0.0157)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0846***	-0.0847***	-0.0703***	-0.0705***	-0.0845***	-0.0699***	-0.0702***
	(0.0132)	(0.0132)	(0.0130)	(0.0130)	(0.0132)	(0.0131)	(0.0130)
Increase income redistribution	0.0401***	0.0392***	0.0303**	0.0304**	0.0392***	0.0303**	0.0306**
	(0.0139)	(0.0139)	(0.0149)	(0.0150)	(0.0140)	(0.0150)	(0.0150)
Strong leader	-0.0220**	-0.0234**	-0.0308***	-0.0309***	-0.0234**	-0.0306***	-0.0306***
	(0.00948)	(0.00955)	(0.00996)	(0.00997)	(0.00939)	(0.00976)	(0.00973)

Perception of corruption of …							
The European Union	-0.145***	-0.144***	-0.126***	-0.126***	-0.144***	-0.126***	-0.126***
	(0.0189)	(0.0190)	(0.0198)	(0.0197)	(0.0185)	(0.0192)	(0.0191)
National institutions	-0.0143	-0.0157	-0.0235	-0.0234	-0.0159	-0.0240	-0.0235
	(0.0203)	(0.0202)	(0.0219)	(0.0219)	(0.0202)	(0.0219)	(0.0220)
Regional/local institutions	0.0425**	0.0425**	0.0337*	0.0336*	0.0429**	0.0339*	0.0341*
	(0.0176)	(0.0176)	(0.0175)	(0.0175)	(0.0175)	(0.0175)	(0.0175)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception							
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	0.334***	0.338***	0.325***	0.325***	0.338***	0.322***	0.322***
	(0.0808)	(0.0803)	(0.0857)	(0.0854)	(0.0813)	(0.0868)	(0.0864)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:							
About the same	-0.297***	-0.290***	-0.274***	-0.274***	-0.289***	-0.272***	-0.273***
	(0.0668)	(0.0666)	(0.0707)	(0.0706)	(0.0683)	(0.0717)	(0.0717)
Worse	-0.484***	-0.470***	-0.539***	-0.539***	-0.469***	-0.539***	-0.539***
	(0.0937)	(0.0951)	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.0958)	(0.102)	(0.102)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective							
GDP per inhabitant (% EU average)					0.000690	0.00221	0.00251
					(0.00247)	(0.00271)	(0.00283)
Accession to EU							
1973–1995					0.280**	0.443***	0.490***
					(0.118)	(0.125)	(0.132)
2004-2013					0.118	0.152	0.0506
					(0.319)	(0.282)	(0.319)
EU REGIONAL POLICY							
Less Developed region		0.864***		0.241	0.917***		0.465
		(0.159)		(0.333)	(0.324)		(0.369)
Structural Funds per capita			0.00335***	0.00264**		0.00377***	0.00278**
			(0.000414)	(0.00103)		(0.000994)	(0.00114)
Constant	5.810***	5.578***	5.567***	5.580***	5.392***	5.196***	5.172***
	(0.381)	(0.386)	(0.417)	(0.416)	(0.507)	(0.575)	(0.577)
Observations	16,696	16,696	14,823	14,823	16,696	14,823	14,823
Number of groups	150	150	137	137	150	137	137
ICC	0.0892	0.0696	0.0718	0.0710	0.0680	0.0677	0.0657
Joint significance (chi2)	1205	1278	1343	1375	1453	1498	1573
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-39321	-39304	-35438	-35438	-39303	-35435	-35433

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient. The ICC in the null specification (without individual and region characteristics) equals 0.0833.

Table A2.3. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *Heard about Cohesion Policy*.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS							
Gender (Female=1)	-0.0955***	-0.0957***	-0.0992***	-0.0992***	-0.0948***	-0.0973***	-0.0976***
	(0.0348)	(0.0348)	(0.0362)	(0.0362)	(0.0348)	(0.0362)	(0.0362)
Age	0.0106	0.0108	0.00911	0.00911	0.0110	0.00912	0.00938
	(0.00704)	(0.00705)	(0.00740)	(0.00740)	(0.00704)	(0.00740)	(0.00740)
Age square (/100)	-2.81e-04	-2.50e-04	2.00e-03	2.01e-03	-5.68e-04	1.86e-04	1.66e-03
	(7.24e-03)	(7.24e-03)	(7.61e-03)	(7.61e-03)	(7.24e-03)	(7.61e-03)	(7.61e-03)
Education							
High-school	0.131***	0.129***	0.137***	0.137***	0.129***	0.140***	0.138***
	(0.0488)	(0.0488)	(0.0497)	(0.0497)	(0.0488)	(0.0497)	(0.0497)
University	0.462***	0.462***	0.504***	0.504***	0.460***	0.504***	0.503***
	(0.0535)	(0.0534)	(0.0550)	(0.0550)	(0.0535)	(0.0550)	(0.0550)
Post-graduate	0.445***	0.440***	0.449***	0.449***	0.441***	0.463***	0.458***
	(0.0648)	(0.0648)	(0.0674)	(0.0675)	(0.0648)	(0.0674)	(0.0675)
Occupation status							
Empl. Private sector	-0.0417	-0.0413	-0.0367	-0.0367	-0.0410	-0.0345	-0.0350
	(0.0505)	(0.0505)	(0.0524)	(0.0524)	(0.0505)	(0.0524)	(0.0524)
Self employed	0.00393	0.00352	-0.00656	-0.00655	0.00387	-0.00360	-0.00431
	(0.0638)	(0.0638)	(0.0672)	(0.0672)	(0.0638)	(0.0672)	(0.0672)
Unemployed	0.0889	0.0898	0.0860	0.0860	0.0819	0.0788	0.0762
	(0.0812)	(0.0811)	(0.0833)	(0.0833)	(0.0811)	(0.0833)	(0.0833)
Housewife / Houseman	0.0666	0.0674	0.101	0.101	0.0635	0.0965	0.0959
	(0.0932)	(0.0932)	(0.0948)	(0.0948)	(0.0932)	(0.0948)	(0.0948)
Pensioner, retired	-0.00646	-0.00643	-0.0237	-0.0237	-0.00431	-0.0195	-0.0189
	(0.0709)	(0.0709)	(0.0739)	(0.0739)	(0.0709)	(0.0739)	(0.0739)
Student / Trainee	0.194*	0.199**	0.202*	0.202*	0.199**	0.197*	0.199*
	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.104)	(0.104)	(0.100)	(0.104)	(0.104)
Other	0.418***	0.413***	0.444***	0.444***	0.417***	0.453***	0.452***
	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.126)	(0.129)	(0.129)
Type of area							
Small & Medium town	0.0135	0.0144	0.00790	0.00789	0.0141	0.00711	0.00760
	(0.0417)	(0.0417)	(0.0431)	(0.0431)	(0.0416)	(0.0430)	(0.0430)
Large town	0.170***	0.172***	0.159***	0.159***	0.179***	0.164***	0.165***
	(0.0459)	(0.0459)	(0.0477)	(0.0477)	(0.0459)	(0.0477)	(0.0477)
Income level							
Medium	0.185***	0.185***	0.212***	0.212***	0.185***	0.210***	0.211***
	(0.0462)	(0.0462)	(0.0481)	(0.0481)	(0.0462)	(0.0481)	(0.0481)
High	0.308***	0.309***	0.307***	0.307***	0.311***	0.312***	0.311***
	(0.0467)	(0.0467)	(0.0484)	(0.0484)	(0.0467)	(0.0483)	(0.0483)
Don't know/Refused	0.0624	0.0625	0.0792	0.0792	0.0663	0.0846	0.0848
	(0.0763)	(0.0763)	(0.0786)	(0.0786)	(0.0762)	(0.0785)	(0.0786)
Years in the area	0.00166	0.00154	0.00230*	0.00230*	0.00155	0.00235**	0.00225*
	(0.00113)	(0.00113)	(0.00118)	(0.00118)	(0.00113)	(0.00118)	(0.00118)
Voting in last two EU elections							
Once	0.0756	0.0745	0.0324	0.0324	0.0747	0.0322	0.0331
	(0.0527)	(0.0527)	(0.0548)	(0.0548)	(0.0527)	(0.0548)	(0.0548)
Both times	0.219***	0.218***	0.186***	0.186***	0.216***	0.184***	0.184***
	(0.0422)	(0.0422)	(0.0441)	(0.0441)	(0.0422)	(0.0441)	(0.0441)
(d/k-refused)	-0.317***	-0.322***	-0.315***	-0.315***	-0.319***	-0.308**	-0.309***
	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.119)	(0.120)	(0.120)
Trust in people	0.00899	0.00945	0.0102	0.0102	0.00887	0.00961	0.00933
	(0.00755)	(0.00755)	(0.00785)	(0.00785)	(0.00755)	(0.00785)	(0.00785)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0171***	-0.0172***	-0.0161***	-0.0161***	-0.0176***	-0.0163***	-0.0166***
	(0.00530)	(0.00530)	(0.00553)	(0.00554)	(0.00530)	(0.00553)	(0.00553)
Increase income redistribution	0.00586	0.00551	0.000810	0.000808	0.00608	0.00119	0.00148
	(0.00700)	(0.00700)	(0.00740)	(0.00740)	(0.00700)	(0.00739)	(0.00739)
Strong leader	-0.00788	-0.00831	-0.0125**	-0.0125**	-0.00845	-0.0124**	-0.0123**
	(0.00531)	(0.00532)	(0.00557)	(0.00557)	(0.00532)	(0.00557)	(0.00557)

Perception of corruption of …							
The European Union	-0.00141	-0.000975	0.00328	0.00328	-0.00140	0.00291	0.00273
	(0.00802)	(0.00802)	(0.00841)	(0.00841)	(0.00803)	(0.00842)	(0.00842)
National governing institutions	0.0154*	0.0148	0.0133	0.0133	0.0151	0.0128	0.0132
	(0.00935)	(0.00935)	(0.00979)	(0.00979)	(0.00937)	(0.00979)	(0.00980)
Regional/local governing institutions	-0.0157*	-0.0156*	-0.0163*	-0.0163*	-0.0158*	-0.0166*	-0.0165*
	(0.00835)	(0.00835)	(0.00866)	(0.00866)	(0.00835)	(0.00866)	(0.00866)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception							
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	-0.0980**	-0.0966**	-0.0900**	-0.0900**	-0.0906**	-0.0857**	-0.0852**
	(0.0400)	(0.0400)	(0.0419)	(0.0419)	(0.0400)	(0.0419)	(0.0419)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:							
About the same	-0.137***	-0.133***	-0.134***	-0.134***	-0.137***	-0.137***	-0.137***
	(0.0414)	(0.0415)	(0.0430)	(0.0430)	(0.0415)	(0.0430)	(0.0430)
Worse	-0.263***	-0.256***	-0.261***	-0.261***	-0.264***	-0.268***	-0.269***
	(0.0514)	(0.0514)	(0.0540)	(0.0540)	(0.0515)	(0.0540)	(0.0540)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective							
GDP per inhabitant (% EU average)					-0.00610***	-0.00480**	-0.00443**
					(0.00227)	(0.00222)	(0.00218)
Accession to EU							
1973–1995					0.00531	0.347**	0.396**
					(0.157)	(0.162)	(0.161)
2004-2013					-1.083***	-1.016***	-1.129***
					(0.253)	(0.229)	(0.231)
EU REGIONAL POLICY							
Less Developed region		0.460***		-0.00660	0.875***		0.511**
		(0.154)		(0.253)	(0.225)		(0.238)
Structural Funds per capita			0.00155***	0.00157*		0.00327***	0.00219**
			(0.000546)	(0.000928)		(0.000767)	(0.000903)
Constant	-1.196***	-1.320***	-1.238***	-1.238***	-0.570*	-0.761**	-0.790**
	(0.209)	(0.213)	(0.227)	(0.228)	(0.341)	(0.348)	(0.344)
Observations	16,696	16,696	14,823	14,823	16,696	14,823	14,823
Number of groups	150	150	137	137	150	137	137
ICC	0.167	0.157	0.142	0.142	0.139	0.112	0.108
Joint significance (chi2)	504.5	512.3	498.9	498.9	530.8	531.3	536.8
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-10553	-10548	-9701	-9701	-10539	-9686	-9684
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	1302	1177	911.0	907.3	1063	723.2	679.2
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient. The ICC in the null specification (without individual and region characteristics) equals 0.153.

Table A2.4. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *Heard about Regional Policy*.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS							
Gender (Female=1)	-0.137***	-0.137***	-0.138***	-0.139***	-0.137***	-0.139***	-0.139***
	(0.0341)	(0.0341)	(0.0358)	(0.0357)	(0.0341)	(0.0358)	(0.0357)
Age	0.000579	0.000940	-0.000654	-0.000319	0.000964	-0.000815	-0.000325
	(0.00690)	(0.00689)	(0.00731)	(0.00731)	(0.00689)	(0.00731)	(0.00731)
Age square (/100)	9.40e-03	9.36e-03	0.0101	9.92e-03	9.36e-03	0.0103	9.96e-03
	(7.11e-03)	(7.10e-03)	(7.53e-03)	(7.53e-03)	(7.10e-03)	(7.53e-03)	(7.53e-03)
Education							
High-school	0.109**	0.103**	0.120**	0.115**	0.102**	0.120**	0.117**
	(0.0481)	(0.0481)	(0.0491)	(0.0491)	(0.0481)	(0.0491)	(0.0491)
University	0.419***	0.417***	0.417***	0.415***	0.415***	0.417***	0.415***
	(0.0527)	(0.0526)	(0.0545)	(0.0545)	(0.0527)	(0.0545)	(0.0545)
Post-graduate	0.482***	0.465***	0.442***	0.431***	0.462***	0.444***	0.433***
	(0.0639)	(0.0639)	(0.0668)	(0.0670)	(0.0639)	(0.0669)	(0.0670)
Occupation status							
Empl. Private sector	-0.0620	-0.0602	-0.0677	-0.0686	-0.0607	-0.0674	-0.0685
	(0.0495)	(0.0495)	(0.0517)	(0.0517)	(0.0495)	(0.0517)	(0.0517)
Self employed	0.0668	0.0667	0.0760	0.0752	0.0647	0.0750	0.0738
	(0.0628)	(0.0628)	(0.0669)	(0.0669)	(0.0628)	(0.0669)	(0.0669)
Unemployed	0.232***	0.232***	0.216***	0.214***	0.236***	0.221***	0.215***
	(0.0799)	(0.0798)	(0.0824)	(0.0824)	(0.0799)	(0.0824)	(0.0824)
Housewife / Houseman	0.110	0.115	0.106	0.106	0.118	0.108	0.108
	(0.0912)	(0.0912)	(0.0929)	(0.0929)	(0.0912)	(0.0929)	(0.0929)
Pensioner, retired	-0.0430	-0.0422	-0.0808	-0.0808	-0.0430	-0.0812	-0.0801
	(0.0699)	(0.0698)	(0.0732)	(0.0731)	(0.0698)	(0.0732)	(0.0731)
Student / Trainee	0.234**	0.250**	0.201**	0.205**	0.252**	0.200**	0.205**
	(0.0981)	(0.0981)	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.0981)	(0.102)	(0.102)
Other	0.470***	0.454***	0.485***	0.482***	0.453***	0.486***	0.483***
	(0.124)	(0.125)	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.125)	(0.129)	(0.129)
Type of area							
Small & Medium town	-0.0442	-0.0412	-0.0445	-0.0437	-0.0421	-0.0443	-0.0429
	(0.0409)	(0.0409)	(0.0426)	(0.0426)	(0.0409)	(0.0426)	(0.0425)
Large town	0.0416	0.0496	0.0504	0.0517	0.0438	0.0432	0.0453
	(0.0451)	(0.0450)	(0.0470)	(0.0470)	(0.0450)	(0.0470)	(0.0470)
Income level							
Medium	0.195***	0.196***	0.192***	0.193***	0.196***	0.191***	0.192***
	(0.0453)	(0.0452)	(0.0475)	(0.0475)	(0.0452)	(0.0475)	(0.0475)
High	0.332***	0.334***	0.335***	0.333***	0.335***	0.335***	0.333***
	(0.0458)	(0.0458)	(0.0477)	(0.0477)	(0.0458)	(0.0477)	(0.0477)
Don't know/Refused	0.175**	0.173**	0.186**	0.185**	0.172**	0.184**	0.182**
	(0.0745)	(0.0745)	(0.0774)	(0.0774)	(0.0745)	(0.0774)	(0.0774)
Years in the area	0.00313***	0.0029***	0.00323***	0.00310***	0.00289***	0.00321***	0.00305***
	(0.00111)	(0.00111)	(0.00117)	(0.00117)	(0.00111)	(0.00117)	(0.00117)
Voting in last two EU elections							
Once	0.187***	0.185***	0.164***	0.165***	0.188***	0.167***	0.170***
	(0.0515)	(0.0515)	(0.0540)	(0.0540)	(0.0515)	(0.0541)	(0.0541)
Both times	0.285***	0.282***	0.227***	0.226***	0.286***	0.231***	0.231***
	(0.0415)	(0.0414)	(0.0437)	(0.0437)	(0.0414)	(0.0437)	(0.0437)
(d/k-refused)	-0.205*	-0.221*	-0.291**	-0.296**	-0.220*	-0.290**	-0.294**
	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.118)	(0.120)	(0.120)
Trust in people	0.0215***	0.0231***	0.0221***	0.0221***	0.0226***	0.0219***	0.0216***
	(0.00740)	(0.00739)	(0.00776)	(0.00776)	(0.00740)	(0.00776)	(0.00776)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0189***	-0.019***	-0.0134**	-0.0138**	-0.0186***	-0.0129**	-0.0133**
	(0.00521)	(0.00521)	(0.00548)	(0.00548)	(0.00521)	(0.00548)	(0.00548)
Increase income redistribution	0.00503	0.00417	-0.00299	-0.00278	0.00425	-0.00317	-0.00266
	(0.00689)	(0.00689)	(0.00736)	(0.00736)	(0.00689)	(0.00736)	(0.00736)
Strong leader	-0.0163***	-0.018***	-0.0187***	-0.0190***	-0.0180***	-0.0187***	-0.0188***
	(0.00522)	(0.00522)	(0.00552)	(0.00552)	(0.00523)	(0.00553)	(0.00553)

Perception of corruption of …							
The European Union	0.0240***	0.0255***	0.0248***	0.0251***	0.0253***	0.0252***	0.0249***
	(0.00782)	(0.00781)	(0.00826)	(0.00826)	(0.00783)	(0.00828)	(0.00828)
National governing institutions	-0.0158*	-0.0172*	-0.0141	-0.0137	-0.0167*	-0.0145	-0.0136
	(0.00915)	(0.00912)	(0.00964)	(0.00964)	(0.00916)	(0.00968)	(0.00967)
Regional/local governing institutions	-0.0209**	-0.0208**	-0.0212**	-0.0213**	-0.0203**	-0.0209**	-0.0208**
	(0.00820)	(0.00819)	(0.00856)	(0.00856)	(0.00820)	(0.00856)	(0.00856)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception							
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	-0.0506	-0.0447	-0.0329	-0.0319	-0.0479	-0.0380	-0.0372
	(0.0391)	(0.0391)	(0.0412)	(0.0412)	(0.0391)	(0.0413)	(0.0413)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:							
About the same	-0.0924**	-0.0834**	-0.0825*	-0.0829*	-0.0822**	-0.0793*	-0.0807*
	(0.0406)	(0.0406)	(0.0423)	(0.0423)	(0.0406)	(0.0423)	(0.0423)
Worse	-0.199***	-0.182***	-0.191***	-0.190***	-0.181***	-0.187***	-0.187***
	(0.0502)	(0.0501)	(0.0531)	(0.0531)	(0.0502)	(0.0531)	(0.0531)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective							
GDP per inhabitant (% EU average)					0.00246	0.00279	0.00320*
					(0.00159)	(0.00173)	(0.00166)
Accession to EU							
1973–1995					0.185*	0.318**	0.379***
					(0.110)	(0.127)	(0.123)
2004-2013					0.244	0.325*	0.198
					(0.176)	(0.178)	(0.175)
EU REGIONAL POLICY							
Less Developed region		0.751***		0.458***	0.797***		0.598***
		(0.103)		(0.174)	(0.155)		(0.179)
Structural Funds per capita			0.00246***	0.00111*		0.00249***	0.00120*
			(0.000390)	(0.000640)		(0.000592)	(0.000682)
Constant	-0.816***	-1.026***	-0.961***	-0.939***	-1.385***	-1.372***	-1.410***
	(0.200)	(0.200)	(0.214)	(0.214)	(0.276)	(0.300)	(0.294)
Observations	16,696	16,696	14,823	14,823	16,696	14,823	14,823
Number of groups	150	150	137	137	150	137	137
ICC	0.0989	0.0689	0.0712	0.0667	0.0659	0.0657	0.0592
Joint significance (chi2)	578.5	626.2	509.8	518.5	632.3	520.4	535.4
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-10805	-10783	-9831	-9827	-10780	-9827	-9821
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	880.0	500.1	455.5	414.8	457.1	405.9	354.0
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient. The ICC in the null specification (without individual and region characteristics) equals 0.0941.

Table A2.5. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *Heard about Structural Funds*.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS							
Gender (Female=1)	-0.223***	-0.224***	-0.205***	-0.205***	-0.223***	-0.203***	-0.204***
	(0.0355)	(0.0355)	(0.0370)	(0.0370)	(0.0355)	(0.0370)	(0.0370)
Age	0.0269***	0.0270***	0.0236***	0.0237***	0.0268***	0.0233***	0.0234***
	(0.00716)	(0.00716)	(0.00753)	(0.00753)	(0.00716)	(0.00753)	(0.00753)
Age square (/100)	-0.0200***	-0.0199***	-0.0188**	-0.0189**	-0.0197***	-0.0184**	-0.0185**
	(7.37e-03)	(7.37e-03)	(7.76e-03)	(7.76e-03)	(7.37e-03)	(7.76e-03)	(7.76e-03)
Education							
High-school	0.324***	0.322***	0.316***	0.315***	0.321***	0.314***	0.314***
	(0.0497)	(0.0497)	(0.0505)	(0.0505)	(0.0497)	(0.0505)	(0.0505)
University	0.693***	0.693***	0.722***	0.721***	0.690***	0.719***	0.719***
	(0.0546)	(0.0546)	(0.0563)	(0.0563)	(0.0547)	(0.0563)	(0.0563)
Post-graduate	0.735***	0.728***	0.695***	0.692***	0.725***	0.693***	0.690***
	(0.0672)	(0.0672)	(0.0702)	(0.0702)	(0.0672)	(0.0702)	(0.0702)
Occupation status							
Empl. Private sector	0.125**	0.126**	0.117**	0.116**	0.126**	0.116**	0.115**
	(0.0517)	(0.0517)	(0.0538)	(0.0538)	(0.0517)	(0.0538)	(0.0538)
Self employed	0.140**	0.139**	0.186***	0.185***	0.139**	0.187***	0.186***
	(0.0659)	(0.0659)	(0.0700)	(0.0700)	(0.0659)	(0.0700)	(0.0700)
Unemployed	0.217***	0.218***	0.199**	0.198**	0.217***	0.197**	0.195**
	(0.0830)	(0.0830)	(0.0853)	(0.0853)	(0.0830)	(0.0853)	(0.0853)
Housewife / Houseman	0.0424	0.0460	0.0583	0.0584	0.0437	0.0553	0.0551
	(0.0941)	(0.0941)	(0.0957)	(0.0957)	(0.0941)	(0.0957)	(0.0957)
Pensioner, retired	0.140*	0.139*	0.145*	0.145*	0.138*	0.142*	0.142*
	(0.0729)	(0.0729)	(0.0761)	(0.0761)	(0.0729)	(0.0761)	(0.0761)
Student / Trainee	0.244**	0.253**	0.199*	0.200*	0.252**	0.195*	0.196*
	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.101)	(0.105)	(0.105)
Other	0.309**	0.298**	0.286**	0.285**	0.301**	0.293**	0.292**
	(0.131)	(0.131)	(0.134)	(0.134)	(0.131)	(0.134)	(0.134)
Type of area							
Small & Medium town	-0.0298	-0.0272	-0.0232	-0.0228	-0.0264	-0.0208	-0.0201
	(0.0426)	(0.0426)	(0.0441)	(0.0441)	(0.0425)	(0.0441)	(0.0441)
Large town	0.113**	0.117**	0.133***	0.133***	0.121***	0.135***	0.136***
	(0.0471)	(0.0471)	(0.0491)	(0.0491)	(0.0471)	(0.0491)	(0.0491)
Income level							
Medium	0.215***	0.215***	0.222***	0.222***	0.214***	0.222***	0.222***
	(0.0470)	(0.0470)	(0.0490)	(0.0490)	(0.0470)	(0.0490)	(0.0490)
High	0.412***	0.411***	0.421***	0.421***	0.414***	0.423***	0.422***
	(0.0479)	(0.0479)	(0.0497)	(0.0497)	(0.0479)	(0.0497)	(0.0497)
Don't know/Refused	0.0819	0.0804	0.105	0.105	0.0824	0.107	0.107
	(0.0782)	(0.0783)	(0.0809)	(0.0809)	(0.0783)	(0.0809)	(0.0809)
Years in the area	0.000630	0.000492	0.00177	0.00173	0.000489	0.00170	0.00164
	(0.00115)	(0.00115)	(0.00121)	(0.00121)	(0.00115)	(0.00121)	(0.00121)
Voting in last two EU elections							
Once	0.215***	0.215***	0.220***	0.221***	0.213***	0.220***	0.221***
	(0.0534)	(0.0534)	(0.0557)	(0.0557)	(0.0534)	(0.0557)	(0.0557)
Both times	0.366***	0.366***	0.366***	0.366***	0.364***	0.364***	0.364***
	(0.0430)	(0.0430)	(0.0451)	(0.0451)	(0.0431)	(0.0452)	(0.0451)
(d/k-refused)	-0.111	-0.120	-0.125	-0.126	-0.121	-0.126	-0.128
	(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.123)	(0.124)	(0.124)
Trust in people	0.0137*	0.0144*	0.0134*	0.0134*	0.0148*	0.0138*	0.0136*
	(0.00772)	(0.00772)	(0.00805)	(0.00805)	(0.00772)	(0.00805)	(0.00805)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0109**	-0.0111**	-0.0109*	-0.0111*	-0.0109**	-0.0106*	-0.0108*
	(0.00543)	(0.00543)	(0.00569)	(0.00569)	(0.00543)	(0.00569)	(0.00569)
Increase income redistribution	0.00191	0.00137	0.00249	0.00255	0.000959	0.00196	0.00214
	(0.00724)	(0.00724)	(0.00770)	(0.00770)	(0.00725)	(0.00770)	(0.00770)
Strong leader	-0.0349***	-0.0356***	-0.0366***	-0.0366***	-0.0366***	-0.0376***	-0.0376***
	(0.00550)	(0.00550)	(0.00579)	(0.00579)	(0.00551)	(0.00580)	(0.00580)

Perception of corruption of …							
The European Union	0.000893	0.00124	0.00153	0.00155	0.00227	0.00303	0.00285
	(0.00816)	(0.00815)	(0.00857)	(0.00857)	(0.00816)	(0.00858)	(0.00859)
National governing institutions	-0.000777	-0.00107	-0.00113	-0.000985	-0.00289	-0.00365	-0.00330
	(0.00965)	(0.00964)	(0.0101)	(0.0101)	(0.00965)	(0.0101)	(0.0101)
Regional/local governing institutions	-0.000991	-0.000623	-0.00389	-0.00388	-0.000890	-0.00427	-0.00419
	(0.00857)	(0.00857)	(0.00890)	(0.00890)	(0.00857)	(0.00890)	(0.00890)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception							
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	0.0155	0.0174	0.00748	0.00775	0.0233	0.0123	0.0127
	(0.0408)	(0.0408)	(0.0428)	(0.0428)	(0.0408)	(0.0429)	(0.0429)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:							
About the same	-0.176***	-0.171***	-0.140***	-0.140***	-0.168***	-0.137***	-0.137***
	(0.0423)	(0.0423)	(0.0440)	(0.0440)	(0.0423)	(0.0440)	(0.0440)
Worse	-0.331***	-0.321***	-0.332***	-0.332***	-0.320***	-0.332***	-0.332***
	(0.0523)	(0.0523)	(0.0550)	(0.0550)	(0.0523)	(0.0551)	(0.0551)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective							
GDP per inhabitant (% EU average)					-0.00798***	-0.0071***	-0.00684***
					(0.00239)	(0.00239)	(0.00237)
Accession to EU							
1973–1995					0.172	0.633***	0.671***
					(0.166)	(0.175)	(0.175)
2004-2013					-0.198	-0.0541	-0.143
					(0.266)	(0.246)	(0.251)
EU REGIONAL POLICY							
Less Developed region		0.808***		0.279	0.466**		0.395
		(0.159)		(0.258)	(0.236)		(0.258)
Structural Funds per capita			0.00257***	0.00174*		0.00119	0.000356
			(0.000565)	(0.000948)		(0.000823)	(0.000981)
Constant	-1.456***	-1.673***	-1.557***	-1.541***	-0.857**	-0.881**	-0.900**
	(0.215)	(0.217)	(0.232)	(0.232)	(0.354)	(0.367)	(0.364)
Observations	16,696	16,696	14,823	14,823	16,696	14,823	14,823
Number of groups	150	150	137	137	150	137	137
ICC	0.191	0.165	0.150	0.149	0.153	0.130	0.128
Joint significance (chi2)	871.5	892.2	834.9	836.0	904.7	856.4	859.0
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-10227	-10215	-9356	-9355	-10209	-9345	-9344
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	1576	1245	993.5	957.7	1181	894.9	839.5
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient. The ICC in the null specification (without individual and region characteristics) equals 0.170.

Table A2.6. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *Heard about any EU funded project in the region or area*.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS							
Gender (Female=1)	-0.124***	-0.124***	-0.0995**	-0.0998**	-0.123***	-0.0979**	-0.0981**
	(0.0371)	(0.0371)	(0.0389)	(0.0389)	(0.0371)	(0.0389)	(0.0389)
Age	0.0374***	0.0376***	0.0352***	0.0353***	0.0374***	0.0350***	0.0352***
	(0.00748)	(0.00748)	(0.00790)	(0.00790)	(0.00748)	(0.00790)	(0.00790)
Age square (/100)	-0.0345***	-0.0344***	-0.0329***	-0.0330***	-0.0341***	-0.0326***	-0.0328***
	(7.72e-03)	(7.71e-03)	(8.13e-03)	(8.13e-03)	(7.71e-03)	(8.13e-03)	(8.14e-03)
Education							
High-school	0.199***	0.196***	0.209***	0.207***	0.193***	0.206***	0.204***
	(0.0521)	(0.0521)	(0.0531)	(0.0531)	(0.0521)	(0.0531)	(0.0531)
University	0.351***	0.350***	0.340***	0.339***	0.346***	0.337***	0.336***
	(0.0572)	(0.0571)	(0.0591)	(0.0591)	(0.0571)	(0.0591)	(0.0591)
Post-graduate	0.482***	0.469***	0.458***	0.452***	0.464***	0.452***	0.448***
	(0.0694)	(0.0694)	(0.0727)	(0.0728)	(0.0694)	(0.0727)	(0.0728)
Occupation status							
Empl. Private sector	-0.0364	-0.0366	-0.0368	-0.0377	-0.0368	-0.0381	-0.0391
	(0.0543)	(0.0542)	(0.0568)	(0.0568)	(0.0542)	(0.0568)	(0.0568)
Self employed	0.0970	0.0945	0.117	0.116	0.0941	0.117	0.116
	(0.0693)	(0.0693)	(0.0741)	(0.0741)	(0.0693)	(0.0742)	(0.0742)
Unemployed	-0.211**	-0.208**	-0.197**	-0.198**	-0.210**	-0.201**	-0.204**
	(0.0855)	(0.0855)	(0.0880)	(0.0880)	(0.0855)	(0.0880)	(0.0880)
Housewife / Houseman	0.0377	0.0405	0.0383	0.0380	0.0358	0.0319	0.0308
	(0.0984)	(0.0983)	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.0983)	(0.100)	(0.100)
Pensioner, retired	-0.0842	-0.0875	-0.0524	-0.0531	-0.0905	-0.0562	-0.0565
	(0.0762)	(0.0762)	(0.0799)	(0.0798)	(0.0762)	(0.0798)	(0.0798)
Student / Trainee	0.150	0.163	0.172	0.174	0.162	0.168	0.170
	(0.106)	(0.106)	(0.110)	(0.110)	(0.106)	(0.110)	(0.110)
Other	0.113	0.0957	0.144	0.142	0.0989	0.151	0.149
	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.144)	(0.144)	(0.139)	(0.144)	(0.144)
Type of area							
Small & Medium town	-0.0548	-0.0518	-0.0134	-0.0127	-0.0510	-0.0123	-0.0113
	(0.0448)	(0.0447)	(0.0466)	(0.0466)	(0.0447)	(0.0466)	(0.0466)
Large town	0.00399	0.00850	0.0392	0.0398	0.0143	0.0438	0.0451
	(0.0493)	(0.0492)	(0.0514)	(0.0514)	(0.0492)	(0.0515)	(0.0515)
Income level							
Medium	0.381***	0.384***	0.371***	0.372***	0.385***	0.372***	0.373***
	(0.0491)	(0.0491)	(0.0515)	(0.0515)	(0.0491)	(0.0515)	(0.0515)
High	0.471***	0.471***	0.495***	0.494***	0.476***	0.498***	0.497***
	(0.0501)	(0.0501)	(0.0522)	(0.0522)	(0.0501)	(0.0522)	(0.0522)
Don't know/Refused	0.308***	0.307***	0.296***	0.295***	0.309***	0.300***	0.300***
	(0.0811)	(0.0811)	(0.0843)	(0.0843)	(0.0812)	(0.0843)	(0.0843)
Years in the area	0.000487	0.000228	0.000984	0.000898	0.000185	0.000870	0.000777
	(0.00120)	(0.00120)	(0.00127)	(0.00127)	(0.00120)	(0.00127)	(0.00127)
Voting in last two EU elections							
Once	0.382***	0.384***	0.378***	0.378***	0.381***	0.375***	0.377***
	(0.0561)	(0.0561)	(0.0590)	(0.0590)	(0.0561)	(0.0590)	(0.0590)
Both times	0.465***	0.469***	0.442***	0.442***	0.465***	0.438***	0.439***
	(0.0450)	(0.0450)	(0.0475)	(0.0475)	(0.0450)	(0.0475)	(0.0475)
(d/k-refused)	0.167	0.158	0.132	0.130	0.156	0.128	0.127
	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.127)	(0.129)	(0.129)
Trust in people	0.0117	0.0116	0.0107	0.0106	0.0121	0.0111	0.0108
	(0.00810)	(0.00810)	(0.00849)	(0.00849)	(0.00810)	(0.00849)	(0.00849)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0183***	-0.0187***	-0.00746	-0.00769	-0.0184***	-0.00719	-0.00745
	(0.00572)	(0.00571)	(0.00602)	(0.00602)	(0.00571)	(0.00602)	(0.00602)
Increase income redistribution	0.0192**	0.0186**	0.00570	0.00582	0.0180**	0.00508	0.00533
	(0.00754)	(0.00754)	(0.00806)	(0.00806)	(0.00755)	(0.00807)	(0.00807)
Strong leader	-0.0255***	-0.0259***	-0.0236***	-0.0237***	-0.0274***	-0.0248***	-0.0247***
	(0.00581)	(0.00580)	(0.00613)	(0.00613)	(0.00581)	(0.00614)	(0.00614)

Perception of corruption of …							
The European Union	-0.0182**	-0.0184**	-0.0148	-0.0149	-0.0168**	-0.0133	-0.0136
	(0.00855)	(0.00855)	(0.00903)	(0.00903)	(0.00855)	(0.00904)	(0.00904)
National governing institutions	0.00949	0.0107	0.0171	0.0174	0.00834	0.0146	0.0151
	(0.0101)	(0.0101)	(0.0107)	(0.0107)	(0.0101)	(0.0107)	(0.0107)
Regional/local governing institutions	-0.00748	-0.00724	-0.0129	-0.0130	-0.00798	-0.0137	-0.0137
	(0.00904)	(0.00904)	(0.00946)	(0.00946)	(0.00904)	(0.00946)	(0.00946)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception							
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	-0.00189	-0.00222	0.0266	0.0268	0.00541	0.0341	0.0345
	(0.0426)	(0.0425)	(0.0450)	(0.0450)	(0.0425)	(0.0450)	(0.0450)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:							
About the same	-0.00198	0.00624	-0.00344	-0.00341	0.0107	-0.000431	-0.000854
	(0.0449)	(0.0448)	(0.0468)	(0.0468)	(0.0449)	(0.0468)	(0.0468)
Worse	-0.198***	-0.183***	-0.213***	-0.212***	-0.180***	-0.213***	-0.213***
	(0.0545)	(0.0545)	(0.0576)	(0.0576)	(0.0545)	(0.0576)	(0.0576)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective							
GDP per inhabitant (% EU average)					-0.0117***	-0.0105***	-0.0101***
					(0.00242)	(0.00253)	(0.00249)
Accession to EU							
1973–1995					0.0957	0.253	0.304*
					(0.166)	(0.184)	(0.183)
2004-2013					-0.271	-0.306	-0.425
					(0.267)	(0.259)	(0.263)
EU REGIONAL POLICY							
Less Developed region		1.584***		0.519*	1.019***		0.539**
		(0.167)		(0.267)	(0.237)		(0.271)
Structural Funds per capita			0.00591***	0.00437***		0.00414***	0.00299***
			(0.000590)	(0.000982)		(0.000874)	(0.00104)
Constant	-1.367***	-1.789***	-1.960***	-1.930***	-0.546	-0.797**	-0.821**
	(0.229)	(0.226)	(0.243)	(0.243)	(0.360)	(0.386)	(0.382)
Observations	16,696	16,696	14,823	14,823	16,696	14,823	14,823
Number of groups	150	150	137	137	150	137	137
ICC	0.268	0.177	0.159	0.155	0.154	0.142	0.138
Joint significance (chi2)	672.0	747.9	654.7	660.2	782.5	682.2	688.8
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-9584	-9549	-8682	-8680	-9536	-8672	-8670
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	2781	1500	1205	1157	1334	1131	1074
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient. The ICC in the null specification (without individual and region characteristics) equals 0.251.

Table A2.7. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *Benefited in daily life from any project funded by the EU*.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS							
Gender (Female=1)	-0.181***	-0.181***	-0.197***	-0.197***	-0.180***	-0.197***	-0.198***
	(0.0403)	(0.0403)	(0.0428)	(0.0428)	(0.0403)	(0.0427)	(0.0427)
Age	0.0102	0.0107	0.0160*	0.0165*	0.0101	0.0154*	0.0159*
	(0.00841)	(0.00842)	(0.00907)	(0.00908)	(0.00841)	(0.00907)	(0.00907)
Age square (/100)	-0.0187**	-0.0188**	-0.0269***	-0.0272***	-0.0179**	-0.0261***	-0.0264***
	(8.77e-03)	(8.78e-03)	(9.46e-03)	(9.46e-03)	(8.77e-03)	(9.46e-03)	(9.46e-03)
Education							
High-school	0.299***	0.292***	0.321***	0.316***	0.284***	0.313***	0.309***
	(0.0607)	(0.0607)	(0.0622)	(0.0622)	(0.0607)	(0.0622)	(0.0622)
University	0.625***	0.629***	0.651***	0.648***	0.621***	0.645***	0.644***
	(0.0647)	(0.0647)	(0.0673)	(0.0673)	(0.0648)	(0.0673)	(0.0673)
Post-graduate	0.885***	0.881***	0.895***	0.884***	0.876***	0.890***	0.882***
	(0.0761)	(0.0760)	(0.0803)	(0.0803)	(0.0759)	(0.0803)	(0.0803)
Occupation status							
Empl. Private sector	-0.0613	-0.0596	-0.0619	-0.0628	-0.0608	-0.0621	-0.0633
	(0.0570)	(0.0570)	(0.0602)	(0.0602)	(0.0569)	(0.0601)	(0.0601)
Self employed	0.0435	0.0436	0.0332	0.0317	0.0391	0.0316	0.0293
	(0.0719)	(0.0718)	(0.0775)	(0.0775)	(0.0717)	(0.0775)	(0.0774)
Unemployed	-0.00269	-0.00928	-0.0416	-0.0451	0.00223	-0.0305	-0.0361
	(0.0984)	(0.0983)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.0984)	(0.103)	(0.103)
Housewife / Houseman	-0.0191	-0.0201	-0.0524	-0.0518	-0.0189	-0.0511	-0.0508
	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.113)	(0.117)	(0.117)
Pensioner, retired	-0.0577	-0.0577	-0.0241	-0.0241	-0.0653	-0.0297	-0.0294
	(0.0832)	(0.0832)	(0.0880)	(0.0880)	(0.0831)	(0.0880)	(0.0880)
Student / Trainee	0.162	0.170	0.150	0.155	0.167	0.146	0.149
	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.121)	(0.121)	(0.115)	(0.121)	(0.121)
Other	-0.0274	-0.0379	-0.0401	-0.0430	-0.0339	-0.0369	-0.0382
	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.142)	(0.147)	(0.147)
Type of area							
Small & Medium town	-0.121**	-0.119**	-0.123**	-0.122**	-0.124**	-0.126**	-0.125**
	(0.0490)	(0.0489)	(0.0514)	(0.0514)	(0.0489)	(0.0514)	(0.0514)
Large town	0.0597	0.0744	0.107*	0.110**	0.0617	0.0939*	0.0966*
	(0.0530)	(0.0529)	(0.0559)	(0.0559)	(0.0529)	(0.0559)	(0.0558)
Income level							
Medium	0.185***	0.190***	0.205***	0.207***	0.193***	0.210***	0.212***
	(0.0550)	(0.0550)	(0.0584)	(0.0584)	(0.0550)	(0.0584)	(0.0584)
High	0.590***	0.591***	0.632***	0.630***	0.599***	0.636***	0.634***
	(0.0549)	(0.0549)	(0.0579)	(0.0579)	(0.0548)	(0.0579)	(0.0579)
Don't know/Refused	0.0924	0.0946	0.129	0.129	0.0972	0.129	0.130
	(0.0911)	(0.0911)	(0.0954)	(0.0955)	(0.0909)	(0.0953)	(0.0953)
Years in the area	0.000352	-0.000101	0.00123	0.00103	-0.000170	0.00108	0.000868
	(0.00134)	(0.00133)	(0.00143)	(0.00143)	(0.00133)	(0.00143)	(0.00143)
Voting in last two EU elections							
Once	0.220***	0.217***	0.221***	0.222***	0.216***	0.219***	0.221***
	(0.0616)	(0.0616)	(0.0654)	(0.0654)	(0.0616)	(0.0654)	(0.0654)
Both times	0.455***	0.449***	0.410***	0.409***	0.450***	0.409***	0.409***
	(0.0499)	(0.0498)	(0.0532)	(0.0532)	(0.0498)	(0.0532)	(0.0531)
(d/k-refused)	0.338**	0.330**	0.341**	0.338**	0.337**	0.344**	0.342**
	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.141)	(0.142)	(0.139)	(0.141)	(0.142)
Trust in people	0.0400***	0.0413***	0.0356***	0.0354***	0.0413***	0.0361***	0.0356***
	(0.00884)	(0.00883)	(0.00932)	(0.00932)	(0.00882)	(0.00931)	(0.00931)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0486***	-0.0499***	-0.0398***	-0.0405***	-0.0493***	-0.0394***	-0.0401***
	(0.00602)	(0.00602)	(0.00640)	(0.00640)	(0.00600)	(0.00639)	(0.00639)
Increase income redistribution	0.0358***	0.0351***	0.0262***	0.0265***	0.0338***	0.0249***	0.0254***
	(0.00817)	(0.00817)	(0.00883)	(0.00883)	(0.00816)	(0.00883)	(0.00883)
Strong leader	-0.0313***	-0.0324***	-0.0299***	-0.0302***	-0.0336***	-0.0312***	-0.0311***
	(0.00611)	(0.00610)	(0.00651)	(0.00651)	(0.00610)	(0.00652)	(0.00652)

Perception of corruption of …							
The European Union	-0.0451***	-0.0439***	-0.0369***	-0.0368***	-0.0406***	-0.0335***	-0.0338***
	(0.00907)	(0.00906)	(0.00965)	(0.00966)	(0.00906)	(0.00967)	(0.00967)
National governing institutions	0.00563	0.00483	0.00433	0.00498	0.00181	0.00122	0.00205
	(0.0106)	(0.0106)	(0.0113)	(0.0113)	(0.0106)	(0.0113)	(0.0113)
Regional/local governing institutions	0.00580	0.00453	0.00670	0.00642	0.00396	0.00571	0.00565
	(0.00940)	(0.00941)	(0.00988)	(0.00988)	(0.00940)	(0.00987)	(0.00988)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception							
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	0.0330	0.0399	0.0389	0.0411	0.0405	0.0358	0.0375
	(0.0463)	(0.0462)	(0.0494)	(0.0493)	(0.0461)	(0.0494)	(0.0493)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:							
About the same	-0.327***	-0.324***	-0.345***	-0.346***	-0.315***	-0.336***	-0.338***
	(0.0466)	(0.0466)	(0.0488)	(0.0488)	(0.0465)	(0.0488)	(0.0488)
Worse	-0.454***	-0.445***	-0.532***	-0.533***	-0.437***	-0.521***	-0.523***
	(0.0591)	(0.0590)	(0.0635)	(0.0635)	(0.0589)	(0.0635)	(0.0635)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective							
GDP per inhabitant (% EU average)					0.00130	0.00220	0.00273
					(0.00197)	(0.00227)	(0.00218)
Accession to EU							
1973–1995					0.771***	0.641***	0.715***
					(0.137)	(0.167)	(0.162)
2004-2013					1.186***	1.216***	1.052***
					(0.218)	(0.233)	(0.230)
EU REGIONAL POLICY							
Less Developed region		1.628***		0.854***	1.078***		0.736***
		(0.146)		(0.242)	(0.190)		(0.233)
Structural Funds per capita			0.00623***	0.00369***		0.00384***	0.00229***
			(0.000556)	(0.000890)		(0.000767)	(0.000882)
Constant	-1.499***	-1.916***	-2.326***	-2.278***	-2.430***	-2.733***	-2.776***
	(0.249)	(0.245)	(0.269)	(0.267)	(0.339)	(0.383)	(0.375)
Observations	16,322	16,322	14,477	14,477	16,322	14,477	14,477
Number of groups	150	150	137	137	150	137	137
ICC	0.245	0.137	0.141	0.128	0.0965	0.109	0.0998
Joint significance (chi2)	1140	1244	1127	1149	1330	1187	1210
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-8331	-8287	-7415	-7409	-8264	-7399	-7394
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	2463	1030	980.9	850.6	538.9	608.3	520.4
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient. The ICC in the null specification (without individual and region characteristics) equals 0.243.

Table A2.8. Estimation from mixed effect logit. *Support to Cohesion Policy*.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS							
Gender (Female=1)	0.131***	0.130***	0.119***	0.119***	0.134***	0.121***	0.122***
	(0.0424)	(0.0424)	(0.0449)	(0.0449)	(0.0424)	(0.0449)	(0.0449)
Age	-0.0138	-0.0135	-0.0105	-0.0109	-0.0142*	-0.0109	-0.0115
	(0.00840)	(0.00839)	(0.00904)	(0.00904)	(0.00839)	(0.00903)	(0.00903)
Age square (/100)	0.0178**	0.0178**	0.0149	0.0151	0.0187**	0.0156*	0.0160*
	(8.70e-03)	(8.70e-03)	(9.39e-03)	(9.39e-03)	(8.69e-03)	(9.38e-03)	(9.38e-03)
Education							
High-school	0.0847	0.0822	0.102*	0.109*	0.0740	0.0938	0.0983
	(0.0582)	(0.0582)	(0.0600)	(0.0601)	(0.0581)	(0.0600)	(0.0600)
University	0.00642	0.00925	0.00946	0.0114	-0.00817	0.00148	0.00127
	(0.0635)	(0.0635)	(0.0667)	(0.0667)	(0.0635)	(0.0666)	(0.0666)
Post-graduate	0.126	0.116	0.1000	0.115	0.0944	0.0866	0.0991
	(0.0788)	(0.0788)	(0.0833)	(0.0834)	(0.0786)	(0.0833)	(0.0834)
Occupation status							
Empl. Private sector	0.0540	0.0539	0.0528	0.0556	0.0490	0.0456	0.0483
	(0.0621)	(0.0621)	(0.0655)	(0.0655)	(0.0620)	(0.0654)	(0.0654)
Self employed	-0.250***	-0.252***	-0.253***	-0.249***	-0.258***	-0.256***	-0.252***
	(0.0754)	(0.0754)	(0.0810)	(0.0810)	(0.0753)	(0.0810)	(0.0810)
Unemployed	0.162*	0.162*	0.170*	0.176*	0.165*	0.157	0.167
	(0.0981)	(0.0980)	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.0981)	(0.102)	(0.102)
Housewife / Houseman	0.164	0.166	0.155	0.158	0.158	0.140	0.142
	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.116)	(0.118)	(0.118)
Pensioner, retired	-0.0134	-0.0146	0.00526	0.00632	-0.0277	-0.00630	-0.00749
	(0.0871)	(0.0871)	(0.0929)	(0.0928)	(0.0870)	(0.0929)	(0.0928)
Student / Trainee	0.0830	0.0915	0.102	0.100	0.0910	0.0924	0.0907
	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.124)	(0.129)	(0.129)
Other	-0.262*	-0.275*	-0.280*	-0.280*	-0.272*	-0.263*	-0.263*
	(0.143)	(0.144)	(0.150)	(0.150)	(0.144)	(0.150)	(0.150)
Type of area							
Small & Medium town	0.0662	0.0702	0.0677	0.0668	0.0746	0.0750	0.0743
	(0.0501)	(0.0501)	(0.0527)	(0.0527)	(0.0499)	(0.0527)	(0.0527)
Large town	0.120**	0.126**	0.118**	0.117**	0.135**	0.125**	0.124**
	(0.0557)	(0.0557)	(0.0587)	(0.0587)	(0.0557)	(0.0589)	(0.0588)
Income level							
Medium	0.0668	0.0670	0.0676	0.0658	0.0689	0.0704	0.0699
	(0.0555)	(0.0555)	(0.0593)	(0.0593)	(0.0554)	(0.0593)	(0.0593)
High	0.115**	0.115**	0.104*	0.107*	0.129**	0.110*	0.114*
	(0.0565)	(0.0565)	(0.0594)	(0.0594)	(0.0565)	(0.0593)	(0.0593)
Don't know/Refused	-0.115	-0.116	-0.143	-0.142	-0.105	-0.134	-0.132
	(0.0899)	(0.0898)	(0.0941)	(0.0940)	(0.0897)	(0.0940)	(0.0940)
Years in the area	-0.00284**	-0.00313**	-0.00169	-0.00144	-0.00318**	-0.00209	-0.00181
	(0.00136)	(0.00136)	(0.00145)	(0.00146)	(0.00135)	(0.00145)	(0.00145)
Voting in last two EU elections							
Once	0.254***	0.255***	0.271***	0.270***	0.252***	0.272***	0.269***
	(0.0643)	(0.0643)	(0.0683)	(0.0682)	(0.0643)	(0.0683)	(0.0683)
Both times	0.237***	0.237***	0.248***	0.250***	0.231***	0.242***	0.242***
	(0.0500)	(0.0500)	(0.0533)	(0.0533)	(0.0500)	(0.0533)	(0.0533)
(d/k-refused)	-0.0346	-0.0511	-0.0565	-0.0471	-0.0591	-0.0664	-0.0576
	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.144)	(0.144)	(0.142)	(0.144)	(0.144)
Trust in people	0.0376***	0.0385***	0.0509***	0.0509***	0.0391***	0.0511***	0.0516***
	(0.00887)	(0.00887)	(0.00943)	(0.00942)	(0.00887)	(0.00943)	(0.00942)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.103***	-0.103***	-0.0855***	-0.0851***	-0.102***	-0.0850***	-0.0844***
	(0.00690)	(0.00690)	(0.00729)	(0.00728)	(0.00689)	(0.00727)	(0.00727)
Increase income redistribution	0.0997***	0.0989***	0.0869***	0.0866***	0.0972***	0.0858***	0.0850***
	(0.00821)	(0.00822)	(0.00890)	(0.00890)	(0.00822)	(0.00891)	(0.00891)
Strong leader	-0.0386***	-0.0393***	-0.0385***	-0.0380***	-0.0421***	-0.0401***	-0.0402***
	(0.00669)	(0.00668)	(0.00716)	(0.00715)	(0.00667)	(0.00716)	(0.00715)

Perception of corruption of …							
The European Union	-0.121***	-0.120***	-0.115***	-0.116***	-0.116***	-0.111***	-0.111***
	(0.0101)	(0.0101)	(0.0109)	(0.0109)	(0.0101)	(0.0109)	(0.0109)
National governing institutions	0.0389***	0.0383***	0.0432***	0.0435***	0.0332***	0.0381***	0.0376***
	(0.0115)	(0.0115)	(0.0124)	(0.0124)	(0.0115)	(0.0124)	(0.0124)
Regional/local governing institutions	-0.00200	-0.00160	-0.00768	-0.00747	-0.00214	-0.00901	-0.00904
	(0.0103)	(0.0103)	(0.0110)	(0.0110)	(0.0103)	(0.0110)	(0.0110)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception							
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	0.288***	0.291***	0.357***	0.354***	0.307***	0.370***	0.368***
	(0.0481)	(0.0481)	(0.0514)	(0.0514)	(0.0481)	(0.0515)	(0.0515)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:							
About the same	-0.251***	-0.242***	-0.229***	-0.230***	-0.225***	-0.219***	-0.218***
	(0.0527)	(0.0527)	(0.0556)	(0.0556)	(0.0527)	(0.0557)	(0.0557)
Worse	-0.315***	-0.298***	-0.282***	-0.286***	-0.288***	-0.281***	-0.281***
	(0.0623)	(0.0624)	(0.0668)	(0.0669)	(0.0625)	(0.0670)	(0.0670)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective							
GDP per inhabitant (% EU average)					-0.00717***	-0.00633***	-0.00663***
					(0.00137)	(0.00150)	(0.00146)
Accession to EU							
1973–1995					0.286***	0.474***	0.420***
					(0.0953)	(0.114)	(0.112)
2004-2013					0.110	-0.0744	0.0135
					(0.151)	(0.156)	(0.155)
EU REGIONAL POLICY							
Less Developed region		0.319***		-0.417**	-0.156		-0.448***
		(0.0996)		(0.163)	(0.134)		(0.160)
Structural Funds per capita			0.00194***	0.00318***		0.000759	0.00174***
			(0.000365)	(0.000601)		(0.000525)	(0.000617)
Constant	1.817***	1.717***	1.303***	1.278***	2.398***	1.954***	1.984***
	(0.238)	(0.239)	(0.257)	(0.256)	(0.291)	(0.317)	(0.314)
Observations	16,696	16,696	14,823	14,823	16,696	14,823	14,823
Number of groups	150	150	137	137	150	137	137
ICC	0.0613	0.0555	0.0519	0.0481	0.0382	0.0392	0.0360
Joint significance (chi2)	871.9	881.9	734.8	742.3	929.8	772.7	782.3
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-7677	-7672	-6871	-6868	-7650	-6854	-6850
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	262.3	245.6	221.0	200.9	162.1	164.9	151.0
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient. The ICC in the null specification (without individual and region characteristics) equals 0.0710.

Table A2.9 Results of models with interactions of regional policy and place size.

	EU membership	Identif. Europe	Cohesion Policy	Regional Policy	Structural Funds	Any EU project	Benefited EU projects	Support to Cohesion P.
INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS								
Gender (Female=1)	-0.0732*	0.197***	-0.0987***	-0.139***	-0.205***	-0.0995**	-0.197***	0.121***
	(0.0400)	(0.0584)	(0.0362)	(0.0358)	(0.0370)	(0.0389)	(0.0428)	(0.0449)
Age	-0.0102	-0.0363***	0.00967	-0.000173	0.0234***	0.0352***	0.0162*	-0.0117
	(0.00812)	(0.0123)	(0.00740)	(0.00731)	(0.00754)	(0.00790)	(0.00907)	(0.00903)
Age square (/100)	0.0221***	0.0494***	1.38e-03	9.80e-03	-0.0186**	-0.0328***	-0.0265***	0.0162*
	(8.44e-03)	(0.0124)	(7.61e-03)	(7.53e-03)	(7.76e-03)	(8.14e-03)	(9.46e-03)	(9.38e-03)
Education								
High-school	0.119**	0.167**	0.138***	0.117**	0.311***	0.201***	0.310***	0.0932
	(0.0532)	(0.0832)	(0.0497)	(0.0492)	(0.0505)	(0.0531)	(0.0623)	(0.0601)
University	0.380***	0.340***	0.501***	0.414***	0.715***	0.332***	0.645***	-0.00401
	(0.0599)	(0.0847)	(0.0551)	(0.0546)	(0.0564)	(0.0592)	(0.0674)	(0.0667)
Post-graduate	0.633***	0.719***	0.461***	0.437***	0.687***	0.447***	0.885***	0.0973
	(0.0766)	(0.103)	(0.0675)	(0.0671)	(0.0702)	(0.0729)	(0.0803)	(0.0834)
Occupation status								
Empl. Private sector	0.100*	0.158	-0.0383	-0.0693	0.114**	-0.0394	-0.0639	0.0511
	(0.0575)	(0.109)	(0.0524)	(0.0517)	(0.0539)	(0.0568)	(0.0601)	(0.0655)
Self employed	0.123	0.273**	-0.00438	0.0746	0.183***	0.113	0.0317	-0.257***
	(0.0757)	(0.115)	(0.0672)	(0.0669)	(0.0700)	(0.0742)	(0.0775)	(0.0810)
Unemployed	-0.0491	0.0903	0.0744	0.212**	0.196**	-0.204**	-0.0354	0.167
	(0.0898)	(0.145)	(0.0834)	(0.0824)	(0.0853)	(0.0880)	(0.103)	(0.102)
Housewife / Houseman	0.0655	0.180	0.0944	0.107	0.0571	0.0372	-0.0538	0.155
	(0.0998)	(0.172)	(0.0949)	(0.0929)	(0.0957)	(0.100)	(0.117)	(0.118)
Pensioner, retired	0.0681	0.139	-0.0224	-0.0839	0.143*	-0.0575	-0.0324	-0.00594
	(0.0816)	(0.137)	(0.0739)	(0.0732)	(0.0761)	(0.0799)	(0.0880)	(0.0929)
Student / Trainee	0.393***	0.563***	0.197*	0.201**	0.195*	0.167	0.150	0.0896
	(0.114)	(0.184)	(0.104)	(0.102)	(0.105)	(0.110)	(0.121)	(0.129)
Other	0.123	0.0915	0.460***	0.478***	0.299**	0.154	-0.0391	-0.250*
	(0.139)	(0.189)	(0.130)	(0.129)	(0.135)	(0.144)	(0.147)	(0.150)
Type of area								
Small & Medium town	-0.0391	0.126	-0.0967	-0.0306	-0.0731	-0.0887	-0.179**	-0.0127
	(0.0698)	(0.133)	(0.0639)	(0.0631)	(0.0654)	(0.0679)	(0.0829)	(0.0742)
Large town	0.0577	0.370***	-0.0266	-0.0729	0.0952	-0.0656	-0.00364	0.0893
	(0.0785)	(0.112)	(0.0710)	(0.0700)	(0.0723)	(0.0758)	(0.0878)	(0.0835)
Income level								
Medium	0.0482	0.0479	0.209***	0.191***	0.222***	0.372***	0.210***	0.0709
	(0.0518)	(0.0852)	(0.0482)	(0.0475)	(0.0490)	(0.0515)	(0.0584)	(0.0593)
High	0.317***	0.301***	0.307***	0.331***	0.421***	0.495***	0.632***	0.115*
	(0.0528)	(0.0846)	(0.0484)	(0.0477)	(0.0497)	(0.0522)	(0.0579)	(0.0593)
Don't know/Refused	0.433***	0.0712	0.0791	0.180**	0.106	0.297***	0.127	-0.134
	(0.0896)	(0.216)	(0.0786)	(0.0774)	(0.0810)	(0.0844)	(0.0953)	(0.0940)
Years in the area	-0.00322**	-0.00549***	0.00224*	0.0031***	0.00160	0.000756	0.000880	-0.00185
	(0.00131)	(0.00181)	(0.00118)	(0.00117)	(0.00121)	(0.00127)	(0.00143)	(0.00146)
Voting in last two EU elections								
Once	0.251***	0.351***	0.0334	0.171***	0.221***	0.376***	0.223***	0.270***
	(0.0596)	(0.0757)	(0.0549)	(0.0541)	(0.0557)	(0.0590)	(0.0654)	(0.0683)
Both times	0.435***	0.621***	0.184***	0.230***	0.365***	0.438***	0.409***	0.242***
	(0.0483)	(0.0753)	(0.0441)	(0.0437)	(0.0452)	(0.0475)	(0.0532)	(0.0533)
(d/k-refused)	-0.0849	-0.109	-0.314***	-0.298**	-0.128	0.125	0.339**	-0.0557
	(0.128)	(0.186)	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.124)	(0.129)	(0.142)	(0.144)
Trust in people	0.139***	0.173***	0.00907	0.0213***	0.0136*	0.0106	0.0353***	0.0514***
	(0.00858)	(0.0155)	(0.00786)	(0.00776)	(0.00805)	(0.00849)	(0.00932)	(0.00942)
More restrictions on immigration	-0.0776***	-0.0702***	-0.0165***	-0.0132**	-0.0107*	-0.00729	-0.0401***	-0.0842***
	(0.00621)	(0.0129)	(0.00554)	(0.00548)	(0.00569)	(0.00602)	(0.00639)	(0.00727)
Increase income redistribution	0.0298***	0.0307**	0.00169	-0.00261	0.00210	0.00512	0.0255***	0.0847***
	(0.00838)	(0.0150)	(0.00740)	(0.00736)	(0.00770)	(0.00808)	(0.00883)	(0.00891)

Strong leader	-0.0441***	-0.0310***	-0.0123**	-0.019***	-0.0378***	-0.0249***	-0.0308***	-0.0405***
	(0.00632)	(0.00974)	(0.00557)	(0.00553)	(0.00580)	(0.00614)	(0.00652)	(0.00715)
Perception of corruption of …								
The European Union	-0.157***	-0.126***	0.00236	0.0248***	0.00301	-0.0132	-0.0342***	-0.110***
	(0.00949)	(0.0187)	(0.00843)	(0.00829)	(0.00859)	(0.00905)	(0.00967)	(0.0109)
National governing institutions	0.0181*	-0.0237	0.0139	-0.0131	-0.00312	0.0156	0.00223	0.0376***
	(0.0110)	(0.0220)	(0.00980)	(0.00968)	(0.0101)	(0.0107)	(0.0113)	(0.0124)
Regional/local governing institutions	0.0292***	0.0346**	-0.0175**	-0.0214**	-0.00435	-0.0142	0.00521	-0.00896
	(0.00964)	(0.0174)	(0.00867)	(0.00856)	(0.00891)	(0.00946)	(0.00988)	(0.0110)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Perception								
Satisfaction with econ situation in region	0.419***	0.324***	-0.0862**	-0.0376	0.0128	0.0338	0.0367	0.366***
	(0.0450)	(0.0860)	(0.0419)	(0.0413)	(0.0429)	(0.0450)	(0.0494)	(0.0516)
Economy in the region today vs 5 years ago is:								
About the same	-0.407***	-0.272***	-0.137***	-0.0814*	-0.136***	-0.000908	-0.337***	-0.217***
	(0.0484)	(0.0712)	(0.0430)	(0.0423)	(0.0440)	(0.0468)	(0.0488)	(0.0557)
Worse	-0.720***	-0.544***	-0.271***	-0.185***	-0.334***	-0.212***	-0.524***	-0.278***
	(0.0591)	(0.102)	(0.0541)	(0.0532)	(0.0551)	(0.0577)	(0.0635)	(0.0670)
REGIONAL CONTEXT – Objective								
GDP per inhabitant	-0.00162	0.00226	-0.00406*	0.00349**	-0.00679***	-0.00984***	0.00294	-0.00653***
	(0.00174)	(0.00283)	(0.00217)	(0.00166)	(0.00237)	(0.00250)	(0.00218)	(0.00147)
Accession to EU								
1973–1995	0.568***	0.485***	0.402**	0.385***	0.670***	0.303*	0.721***	0.411***
	(0.125)	(0.133)	(0.160)	(0.123)	(0.175)	(0.183)	(0.162)	(0.112)
2004-2013	0.405**	0.0477	-1.113***	0.201	-0.139	-0.427	1.066***	0.00455
	(0.174)	(0.312)	(0.229)	(0.174)	(0.250)	(0.263)	(0.229)	(0.155)
EU REGIONAL POLICY								
Objective 1 region	-0.786***	0.404	0.470*	0.728***	0.408	0.746**	0.662**	-0.140
	(0.204)	(0.354)	(0.258)	(0.204)	(0.277)	(0.293)	(0.260)	(0.202)
additional effect in Small-Medium Towns	0.381**	0.349	0.136	-0.212	0.0743	-0.268	0.0485	-0.480**
	(0.172)	(0.344)	(0.162)	(0.157)	(0.163)	(0.173)	(0.184)	(0.206)
additional effect in Large Towns	0.159	-0.253	-0.0614	-0.168	-0.149	-0.357*	0.167	-0.437*
	(0.188)	(0.251)	(0.178)	(0.170)	(0.178)	(0.192)	(0.196)	(0.226)
Structural Funds per capita	0.00197***	0.00307**	0.00184*	0.000772	0.000136	0.00214*	0.00227**	0.000652
	(0.000745)	(0.00132)	(0.000953)	(0.000748)	(0.00103)	(0.00110)	(0.000952)	(0.000725)
additional effect in Small-Medium Towns	-0.000683	-0.00105	0.000265	0.000469	0.000161	0.00127**	0.000136	0.00200***
	(0.000598)	(0.00111)	(0.000564)	(0.000550)	(0.000571)	(0.000632)	(0.000634)	(0.000732)
additional effect in Large Towns	-0.000650	4.93e-05	0.00148**	0.00137**	0.000648	0.00180**	0.000161	0.00146*
	(0.000703)	(0.000967)	(0.000667)	(0.000644)	(0.000664)	(0.000745)	(0.000729)	(0.000860)
Constant	0.259	5.178***	-0.743**	-1.421***	-0.869**	-0.788**	-2.755***	2.022***
	(0.315)	(0.584)	(0.343)	(0.294)	(0.365)	(0.383)	(0.375)	(0.315)
Observations	14,670	14,823	14,823	14,823	14,823	14,823	14,477	14,823
Number of groups	135	137	137	137	137	137	137	137
ICC	0.0521	0.0657	0.106	0.0587	0.127	0.139	0.0993	0.0356
Joint significance (chi2)	1895	1659	550.3	544.9	862.0	693.9	1213	789.6
p-value	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
log Likelihood	-8220	-35426	-9677	-9816	-9342	-8667	-7393	-6846
Signif. Random comp. (chi2)	267.6		662.1	351.2	822.7	1079	514.6	149.6
p-value	0		0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ICC: intraclass correlation coefficient.