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Public Governance across Borders

TRUST IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND EU SUPPORT LEVELS

A Comparative Study of Germany and Romania

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Abstract

As Brexit and the increasing nationalism in Europe poses a threat to the future of the European Union it is important to better understand the foundations, explanations, and dynamics of EU support. This bachelor thesis seeks to bring some clarity on the issue by investigating the relationship between governmental trust and attitudes towards the EU. Because levels of trust in the national government can vary not only over time but also between European countries, a comparative, longitudinal research design is used. A post-communist democracy (Romania) is being compared with a Western democracy (Germany) because they are expected to show different results based on their historical, economic, and political differences. Within-country as well as cross-country variance is analyzed by using descriptive statistics and regression analysis relying on quantitative Eurobarometer Standard Public Opinion surveys from 2009, 2015, and 2018. The impact of governmental trust on EU support is described and the strength of the relationship as well as third factors explaining EU support are assessed. The results showed that people who trust the government are also more likely to support the EU in both countries and revealed that trust in the national government is a much more important predictor variable for Germany than it is for Romania.

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1. Introduction

Public support for the European Union (EU) has been a widely discussed topic in scholarly research and yet gaps in knowledge about the dynamics and causes of support persist. Previous research has mainly focussed on three different approaches to explain variations in EU support: economic cost-benefit analysis, identity approaches, and political explanations (Hobolt & de Vries, 2016). To broaden the knowledge on political factors that explain EU support levels, this study investigates to what extent trust in the national government influences variations in EU support over time and between countries.

Early on, Dahl (1989) identified trust to be an essential factor for system support as it contributes to the input- legitimacy of a regime. However, given the supranational nature of the EU, further theories of regime support are needed. Previous research has investigated the effect of domestic politics on specific and on diffuse EU support. Studies on specific support mainly focussed on questions posed in referenda concerning EU- enlargements and EU-representation (e.g Franklin, Marsh & Wlezien, 1994; Rohrschneider, 2002; Siune & Svensson, 1992), whereas studies on diffuse support analyzed more general attitudes towards the European Union (e.g. Anderson, 1998; Sanchez-Cuenca, 2000). However, these studies have come to opposing results about the effect of political variables on EU support - the question at stake is how citizens use the opinions of their national governments when making decisions about the EU (Anderson, 1998; Franklin et al., 1994). While Anderson (1998) and Franklin et al. (1994) supported the hypothesis, stating that citizens are not well enough informed about European politics, Sanchez-Cuenca (2000), Rohrschneider (2002) and Siune (1993) opposed that view. Sanchez-Cuenca (2000) argued that support for the EU is high when trust in the national government is low because citizens have less to lose when giving up sovereign rights to the EU. Siune (1993) found that people resisted voting in line with the governing party's opinion regarding the decision about the Maastricht Treaty which implies that citizens do not use national opinions to form decisions about the Union (Siune 1993). As the national context seems to shape opinions about the EU significantly, and because previous studies mainly focussed on cross-sectional research, this study only focuses on two cases using a longitudinal research design. Germany, an established Western Democracy is being compared with Romania, a post-communist democracy because they typically show different levels of trust for the national government. Due to their fundamental historical and economic differences such as having a net contributor country on the one hand and a net beneficiary country on the other hand, the effect of trust in the national government on EU support is estimated to be different in the two countries. This study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by investigating changes over time and the possible reasons behind it.

As Brexit has shown, public support for the European Union influences European politics and can shape the integration process significantly. Not only Brexit but also the rise of nationalist and Eurosceptic parties threatens public support for the Union and thereby the basis of democracy. The future of the

European Union, however, is dependent on its democratic support by the societies of the member states and also its legitimacy is endangered if EU support decreases. Not only the governments can influence the integration process, but also the public is a part of the European Union. It is important to investigate whether the public can differentiate between national and European opinions in order to improve public support and to raise societal awareness. Given the current challenges, national governments and European institutions strongly rely on public support to safeguard democratic principles and it gets increasingly important to better understand its foundations.

To fill the lack of clarity, this research will investigate the following explanatory research question: *What impact does trust in the national government have on EU support in Germany and Romania?*

To evaluate the within-country as well as the cross-country variance, the following three subquestions have been formulated:

SQ1: How can citizens' levels of EU support and governmental trust in Romania and Germany between 2009 and 2018 be described?

SQ2: To what extent can fluctuations in EU support be explained by citizens' trust in their national government in Germany and Romania?

SQ3: What third factors influence the relationship between citizens' level of governmental trust and their EU support?

2. Theory

The following section sets out the theoretical framework for analysis. Theories regarding the relationship between governmental trust and EU support are presented and based on the theoretical expectations the hypotheses are derived.

2.1 Trust as a Basic Component of Regime Support

Trust in political institutions forms the basis for public support, not only for nation-states, but also for the European Union. A prominent theory by Dahl (1989) argues that the legitimacy of a regime is split between input- and output-legitimacy. Input-legitimacy constitutes itself through trust in political institutions by creating the possibility for citizens to participate in the political process. Output-legitimacy is created when political regimes produce outcomes that are favorable for the citizens (Dahl, 1989). Trust can, according to Easton (1975), also be specific or diffuse. Specific trust describes the satisfaction with specific political outcomes and political personalities while diffuse trust is a more general attitude toward the regime, regardless of the political outcomes (Easton, 1975). If the abovementioned requirements are not met, trust can only hardly be established for any political regime, and it is especially problematic for democratic regimes as they rely on the active participation of their citizens. Caused by historical events and economic factors, the degree of trust in political institutions

varies between European countries such as Germany and Romania. Different theories about the origins of trust must be consulted when comparing two fundamentally different countries which will be presented in the next section.

2.2 Trust in Post-Communist Democracies

When evaluating the foundations of trust in democratic regimes, it is useful to distinguish between post-communist democracies and Western democracies. Lack of trust is a common circumstance in Eastern Europe that traces back to the fact that communist leaders suppressed any political activity for a long time. Cultural and institutional theories explain the origins of political trust by following two different approaches. Mishler and Rose (2001) argued that in line with institutional theories political trust in post-communist democracies is endogenous and must be earned by the government. Trust is output-oriented and earned when the institutions create satisfactory outcomes for the citizens (Mishler & Rose, 2011). Cultural theories on the other hand that expect institutional trust to build upon exogenous factors such as a deep belief to trust people or institutions, has not been proven to be that influential. (Mishler & Rose, 2011). Given their findings, perceived positive economic, political, and social results by the citizens are expected to be influential factors in Romania in order to establish system support.

2.3 Trust in Western Democracies

As trust is already further established in Western democracies, different aspects are influential for the establishment of system support. According to Dalton (2005), citizens in advanced industrial democracies have higher expectations on the government and democratic processes. Denters, Gabriel and Torcal (2006) confirmed that view and argued that social trust, "- citizens satisfaction with democratic performance, their perception of the responsiveness of the politicians, and whether their preferred party is represented in the government" (Denters et al. 2006, p.84) are vital factors for building political trust. Due to the high expectations of the citizens, there has been a decline in political trust in many advanced democracies in recent years (Denters et al. 2006). Nevertheless, Dalton (2005) argued that the people who are dissatisfied with democratic processes are still "committed to democratic ideals" (Dalton, 2005, p.149) which is an important factor to consider when talking about EU support. As these two theories analyze trust on the national level, the following section investigates the literature on the relationship between trust in domestic politics and EU support.

2.4 EU Support as a Multi-Dimensional Concept

A variety of scholars has attempted to define EU support over the years by using different distinctions and categories. To avoid confusion, the most prominent approaches will be explained.

According to the typology of Easton (1975), EU support can be distinguished between its "modes" (specific and diffuse) and its "objects" (community, regime, authorities). He argued that people evaluate political regimes either based on specific considerations such as the incumbent government and specific policy regulations or based on more general attitudes (Easton, 1975). EU support can also be the result

of positive opinions about one's political and territorial community which is, in the case of the EU, one's own country or the community of the member states. Support for the community arises out of the thought of political collectivity and of sharing a common political structure with other people (Boomgaarden, Schuck, Elenbaas & Vreese, 2011). Furthermore, support can be motivated on the grounds of approval of regime processes and evaluations of regime outcomes. Given Eastons (1975) distinction between the "modes" and the "objects" of EU support, Boomgaarden et al. (2011) emphasized that EU support cannot be seen as a one-dimensional concept, and that its "multifaceted nature" (Boomgaarden et al., 2011, p.242) must be considered and clarified in scientific papers.

Lindberg and Scheingold (1970) used a different approach and distinguished between affective and utilitarian attitudes towards the Union. The authors argued that the distinction between economic vs. emotional explanations towards the Union is most influential. People choose to support the EU because they receive benefits from the membership or because they believe that the EU in itself is a good thing (Lindberg & Scheingold, 1970).

Lastly, the input- vs. output-oriented distinction of political support by Scharpf (1999) complements the two aforementioned theories and shows that they must not be treated separately. Input-oriented support correlates with diffuse and affective support because all of them describe a vague and emotional orientation towards the Union. Output-oriented, specific and utilitarian support, however, concerns explicit policies or policy areas.

2.5 EU Support as a Result of Political and Economic Explanations

A considerable amount of literature has found evidence that the nation-state is an important actor when it comes to EU support levels (cf. Anderson, 1998; Kritzinger 2003; Sanchez-Cuenca, 2000). But, although its importance has been clarified, no consensus about the direction and the dynamics of the relationship has been found.

An influential study was done by Anderson (1998) who argued that the public uses the opinions and values of their national government when answering questions about the European integration process. Because citizens are not well enough informed about European political matters and do not always distinguish between the two levels, they rely on the evaluations of their national governments (Anderson, 1998). He further argued that diffuse support for democracy was the most significant variable which implies that citizens who are satisfied with the democratic performance in their country also show higher levels of support for the EU (Anderson, 1998).

However, other scholars found conflicting results. Sanchez-Cuenca (2000) argued that Anderson's findings are only correct if there is no control variable for the supranational level, such as satisfaction with European institutions. He argued that the effect reverses and that citizens who are not satisfied with their national government and where corruption is high, are more likely to give up sovereign rights to

the supranational level because they have less to lose (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2000). Therefore, in countries where governmental trust is high, EU support is accordingly low. To the same conclusion came Rohrschneider (2002) who argued that when national institutions function properly, EU levels are lower because the citizens receive the representational deficit to be worse. In a later study, Rohrschneider and Loveless (2010) also discovered that citizens in nations with less financial resources evaluate the EU mainly based on economic performance while citizens in more affluent countries use political criteria when comparing the EU's representation deficit with their national democracies (Rohrschneider and Loveless, 2010).

Based on the literature, evaluations of the nation-state's performance and its values towards the EU can be used as proxies by the public to shape opinions towards the EU. As performance and evaluation criteria differ between European countries, and consequently in Germany and Romania, following hypotheses are derived:

H1: German citizens who have trust in their national government have a more positive opinion of the EU than German citizens who have no trust in their national government.

H2: Romanian citizens who do not have trust in their national government have a more positive opinion of the EU than Romanian citizens who do trust their national government.

As a lot of the previous literature has focused on the static effect of political variables on EU support, this study should also bring some clarity on the dynamic effects. Or more precisely, if the impact on trust in the national government on EU support has become stronger, weaker, or remained the same between 2009 and 2018. If, according to Anderson (1998) people rely on the opinions of the national government when making decisions about the EU, the relationship could become less important if citizens rely on their own opinions instead. As a study by Hobolt (2009) confirmed, people who are more politically aware tend to make their own decisions, instead of using the opinions of the government or political parties. Another possible reason for a change in the intensity of the effect is decreasing levels of trust over the years. If people do not trust their government anymore, they are probably less likely to rely on them to form decisions about the EU. As Andersons' (1998) study is not that recent, people might develop a better understanding of European political matters over time, and also political crises or changes in government might have an effect on EU support over the years. Based on these evaluations, the following third hypothesis can be derived:

H3: The strength of the relationship between governmental trust and EU support varies over the years in both countries.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

To test the three hypotheses, a longitudinal, retrospective research design is followed. Quantitative Eurobarometer data from 2009, 2015, and 2018 is used to compare the strength of the relationship between governmental trust and EU support in Germany and Romania over time. Two steps are used to describe the within-country as well as the cross-country variance. First descriptive statistics describe the levels of governmental trust and EU support in both countries and second, a linear and multiple regression analysis is performed to evaluate the extent to which EU support can be explained by trust in the national government.

Contrary to cross-sectional studies that focus on observations of one single point in time, longitudinal studies monitor various points in time which gives evidence over general attitudes and irregular events (Babbie, 2015). The longitudinal design can detect to what extent EU support is bound to specific national conditions each year and evaluate whether the strength of the relationship changes over time. One disadvantage of using a longitudinal research design is that the Eurobarometer survey samples rely on different respondents each year. Therefore, different people can have randomly opposing opinions about the same questions which poses a threat to the generalizability of the results. The threat cannot be avoided but is minimized by the large sample size (n=1000) of the study. Another weakness is the ready-made answer categories that might not accurately measure what people think (Flick, 2009). Respondents might understand questions differently than they were intended which poses another threat to the reliability of the data. In contrast, using quantitative data allows for easier, aggregated comparisons and statistical analysis of the relationship between two variables, as done in this study (Babbie, 2009). Using quantitative Eurobarometer data makes in-depth results and comparisons over time possible, but it can, however, miss contextual details.

The years chosen for analysis are 2009, 2015, and 2018. Due to data availability, it was not possible to analyze equal 5-year intervals. Nevertheless, the years display a good variation over time and represent different societal challenges and government satisfaction levels. As Romania only joined the EU in 2007, 2009 is a reasonable starting point for the analysis because it allows enough time for Romanian citizens to evaluate its benefits from the EU membership. 2015 was chosen because the refugee crisis represented a huge challenge for the national governments, especially in Germany, which expressed itself in lower levels of trust for the national government. The year of 2018 was used because it is the most recent year to retrieve data from and it gives insight about the situation as of today. Besides the time dimension, also a comparative approach is used. To still be able to examine each of the compared countries extensively, the number of cases is limited to two.

3.2 Case Selection and Sampling Process

The countries chosen for analysis are Romania and Germany based on their historical, political, and economic differences. Because governmental trust is typically low in Romania and support for the government is typically high in Germany, it can be examined how the different national context shapes EU support levels.

To represent the population, the Eurobarometer Public Opinion surveys rely on samples of about 1000 face to face interviews in each of the member states. The sampling design used is a multi-stage random (probability one), which means that the samples are drawn randomly, based on prior classifications, proportionate to population size, population density, and regarding the distribution of rural and metropolitan areas (Gesis, 2020). Based on the NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units)- classification system that is used by EUROSTAT to make the different European countries comparable, primary sampling units are selected from every country. Within the units, addresses and respondents in the household are chosen randomly, for instance, based on the first birthday of the year (Gesis, 2020). According to Flick (2009) using probability-based sampling instead of choosing each case individually, allows for a higher generalizability of the results.

3.3 Operationalization

To operationalize governmental trust and EU support, questions that are included in the Eurobarometer public opinion surveys 72.4, 84.3, and 90.3 are used. The questions that have been chosen occurred with the same wording in all three surveys. I rely on one question each to operationalize the two main concepts which both portray diffuse attitudes of the respondents towards the institutions. Using an index to measure concepts can be more accurate, however, due to the scope of this research and because this study is using a more general approach, the question is limited to one. Nevertheless, one can never eliminate the possibility that the concept could have been measured in a better way by using different questions.

Independent Variable: Governmental Trust

To measure the independent variable, the question *"I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it"* was chosen. The institution that is controlled for is *the national government*. According to Easton's (1975) distinction of political trust, the question measures diffuse rather than specific political trust which aligns with the aim of this study. The governmental trust variable was coded with (1) "tend to trust", (2) "tend not to trust", (3) "don't know", and (9) "Inappropriate answers". The missing values, namely the third category „don't know" and "inappropriate answers" were excluded from the analysis. Excluding missing data can influence the outcome of an analysis, produce bias, and restrain the representativeness of the findings (Babbie, 2009).

However, including the missing data in this study is not beneficial or necessary for answering the research hypotheses validly.

Dependent Variable: EU Support

As portrayed earlier, EU support is a two-dimensional concept that can be distinguished between the modes and the objects of support (Boomgaarden et.al., 2011). By using the question: "*In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?* again, a diffuse attitude towards the EU is measured. The variable was coded into the following answer categories (1) "very positive", (2) "positive", (3) "neutral", (4) "fairly negative", (5) "negative" and (6) "don't know". For reasons of simplicity the variable was recoded into (1) "positive" and (2) "negative" for the descriptive statistics and included the third category "Neutral" for the crosstab distributions to ensure the validity of the data. For the regression analysis, the original variable was used, and in all three cases, the missing values were excluded.

The question does not, in the sense of Boomgaarden et al. (2011) specifically identify which object of EU support is measured here, but it does most likely capture a general attitude towards the regime or the community instead of a particular authority. Both dimensions are partly covered by the question which is favorable for the validity of the results. It must be taken into account, however, that the question only refers to diffuse support and that it does overlook the opinion towards particular authorities.

Control Variables

The effect of several control variables is estimated by using multiple regression analysis. It must be noted that there are numerous variables, that can have an impact on variations in EU support and that due to the scope of this research it was not possible to include a comprehensive set. The control variables mainly consist of sociodemographic factors, but it is also tested for an economic assessment of the respondents as well as for knowledge about European processes. The variables chosen are assumed to be especially influential for the relationship between the dependent and the independent variable. In the following, the reasons behind including the variables and how they are expected to influence EU support are presented.

As mentioned before, EU support is mainly explained by three different approaches. Beside political explanations, economic and emotional explanations can also have a significant effect on EU support levels. Previous research has found that economic considerations, in particular, have an impact on political decisions per se and also on EU support. Hobolt et al. (2011) and Sanchez-Cuenca (2000) discussed that the perception of (economic) benefits from the EU has a strong impact on EU support levels. It is argued that people who perceive their government as not performing well are more likely to support the EU because they have less to lose (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2000). Moreover, it is argued that net beneficiary countries have higher levels of support than net contributor countries. However, the latter

has only found mixed evidence (Hobolt et al., 2011). To accommodate the numerous studies about the relationship between economic considerations and EU support, it was controlled for a general salience on economic issues. The question: *What do you think are the most important issues your country faces at the moment?* was being used. Respondents who chose *"economic situation"* are included in the analysis and were coded with (0) "not mentioned" and (1) "mentioned". Respondents who attach a higher salience to the issue are expected to have a more positive attitude towards the EU.

Besides economic factors also an understanding of European political matters is assumed to influence the relationship between trust in the national government and EU support levels. Early on, Anderson (1998) established a relationship between the two variables. Because he claims that people who do not know enough about European politics vote in line with their governments' opinions when making decisions about the EU, a relationship between the two variables is expected (Anderson, 1998). More knowledge which goes hand in hand with higher interest about European political affairs is expected to increase EU support levels. To assess the influence of the variable, the question: "*Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements: I understand how the EU works"* is included in the analysis. The respondents could choose between a 3-point scale consisting of (1) "tend to Agree", (2) "tend to not agree", (3) "don't know" in the Eurobarometer survey of 2009, and on a 5-point scale consisting of the two further answer categories (1) "totally agree" and (5) "totally disagree" in 2015 and 2018. To fit the variables into the multiple regression model they were dummy coded into the two categories (1) "agree" and (2) "disagree" in 2015 and 2018. The last category (3) "Don't know" was excluded in all three years.

The sociodemographic variables that are controlled for are age, gender, occupation, and political orientation. According to Boomgaarden et al. (2011), elderly people and females are usually found to be less Eurosceptic which is also expected in this analysis. However, other scholars have found mixed evidence for this and the national context as well as the level of education, must be kept in mind when analyzing the relationship between gender, age and EU support. Based on the findings of Inglehart, Rabier & Reif (1987), it is also expected that people of a younger age are more likely to support the EU because they tend to have a more cosmopolitan world view. The age variable was dummy coded into four variables with the categories young (15-24), medium (25-39), old (40-54), and very old (55+). The gender variable was coded with (1) "male" and (2) "female". Another variable that is commonly used in studies regarding EU support levels is occupation. The unemployed and people with lower-paid or comparably insecure jobs are often found to be more Eurosceptic than people with higher status jobs (e.g. Kiess, Brähler, Schmutzer & Decker, 2017). This can, for instance, be explained by the fact that people with higher paid jobs have more knowledge about European processes and that entrepreneurs can profit more from the economic benefits of the EU. To control for a possible effect the variable was coded into the three categories "employed", "self-employed" and "non-active". It is expected that self-employed people show more support than respondents in the employed or non-active category. A

comprehensive list consisting of the job categories is included in the appendix. Lastly, a political orientation variable is included in the analysis. Respondents were asked to indicate their political orientation on a left-right scale which was later recoded into the three dummy variables "left", "center", and "right". It is generally assumed that people who identify with the left have a more positive opinion of the EU, whereas people on the right-wing tend to be more Eurosceptic.

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

The data was analyzed for the three years separately and followed two main statistical methods. First, descriptive statistics were used to describe the dependent and the independent variable and to test the main assumptions of the thesis. Within that category, crosstab frequency distributions were run to answer the research hypotheses and to get a first impression about the data distributions. To determine the strength of the relationship between governmental trust and EU support, the nominal correlations measure Cramers V was used, relying on the correlation coefficient table by Diaz-Bone (2006), and later the results were compared and verified with the results of Pearsons R.

The second statistical step consists of the regression analysis. A linear and multiple regression analysis was conducted to confirm the validity of the descriptive statistics and to obtain further information. Before running the regression analysis, the assumptions for linear regression have been tested. The linear regression analysis provides information about the strength of the relationship while the multiple regression analysis controlled for the effect of third variables. For both steps of the analysis, different variables have been recoded. To check whether the recoded variable was measured correctly, frequency distributions were run before and after the recoding.

4. Statistical Analysis

The next chapter seeks to answer the research questions and lays down the results of the analysis. First, the descriptive statistics are presented to describe the levels of EU support and governmental trust in Germany and Romania over the years. Secondly, the results of the regression analysis assess to what extent fluctuations in EU support can be explained by governmental trust, and also, the influence of third variables is explored. The results are presented for each country separately, followed by a conclusion about the most important findings.

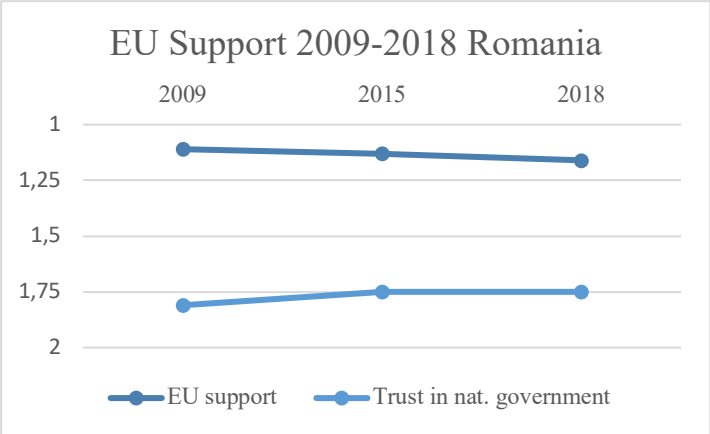
4.1 Romania

4.1.1 Descriptives

The descriptive statistics of the dependent and the independent variable, confirmed one of the main assumptions of the thesis, stating that on average Romanian citizens do not have a lot of trust in the national government but have a positive opinion about the EU. On the governmental trust scale with values ranging from (1) "tend to trust" and (2) "tend not to trust" the mean value was a 1,75 and on the EU support scale, the average answer was a 1,11, with the value of (1) being very positive towards the

EU and the value of (5) being very Eurosceptic. Contrary to what was expected before performing the analysis, the mean of the two variables was almost consistent over the three years, hence, no significant fluctuations in EU support or governmental trust occurred. The dynamics of the variables are presented in Figure 1. The strength of the relationship between governmental trust and EU support on the other hand did vary over the years. While the strength of the relationship was weak in 2008 and moderate in 2015, the effect of governmental trust on EU support was even weaker in 2018. The strength of the relationship was determined by using the Cramers V value according to the correlation coefficient table by Diaz-Bone (2006) and the results were later validated by the multiple correlation coefficient, Pearsons R. The Pearsons R values between 2009 and 2018 can be found in Figure 2.

To further identify if a relationship between the two variables exists and to check if the hypothesis is true that Romanian citizens who tend not to trust the government are more likely to support the EU than Romanian citizens who do trust their government, the crosstabs distributions were analyzed. For clarification purposes, the 5-point scale describing the dependent variable was recoded into a 3-point scale, where (1) is a “positive” (2) a “neutral”, and (3) a “negative” image of the EU. The findings do support the hypothesis quite clearly in all three years which aligns with the theoretical findings by Sanchez-Cuenca (2000), stating that people are more likely to support the EU in corrupt and less affluent countries because they have less to lose. In 2009, among the 744 people who voted that they do not trust the government, 477 people (64,1 %) also voted that they have a positive image of the EU. 27% of the Romanian citizens had a neutral image and only 8% had a negative opinion. Among the 604 respondents who had a positive image of the EU, a clear majority of respondents (79%) chose to also have a negative opinion towards the national government. In 2015, the crosstab distribution did not show significant changes. The most influential change was that among the people who voted not to trust the government, the number of people who voted to have a neutral image of the EU increased from 27% to 35%. Nevertheless, the majority of the people who voted not to trust the government remained to have a positive image of the EU. Also in 2018, evidence for the hypothesis was found. Among the respondents who had a positive image of the EU, 70,7% had a negative opinion of their national government while only 29,3% had a positive one.



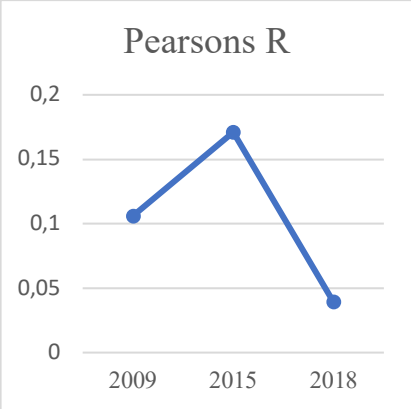


Figure 1: Mean of the independent and the dependent variable on a 2-point scale with (1) positive Image of the EU/ tend to trust the government and (2) negative Image of the EU/ tend not to trust the nat. government

Figure 2: Pearsons R value of the linear regression between 2009 and 2018 with values ranging from 0 to 1

4.1.2 Regression Analysis

To further assess the reliability of the descriptive results and to answer to what extent EU support can be explained by governmental trust, a linear and a multiple regression analysis was conducted. The results are presented in the following section.

2009

The results of the linear regression analysis showed a weak but significant relationship between the two variables. The Pearson correlation coefficient was very small with a value of 0.106 and an R^2 value of 0.011 which indicated that trust in the national government does not explain much of the variance in EU support. Given the weak relationship between the variables, and the fact that numerous independent variables can influence each other and EU support, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to eliminate the possibility of a spurious correlation. As there can be a problem with multicollinearity in multiple regression models which can falsify the R^2 value, a test of collinearity was conducted. The results did not show a cause of concern, none of the independent variables showed a correlation higher than 0,7. The results of the multiple regression analysis did increase the R-value to 0,238 and the R^2 value to 5,6 % which nevertheless is a very weak model. The coefficients reveal why the model was not a good fit for the data. Taking together all independent variables, just one showed to be significant, which was knowledge about the EU. Respondents who did not have an understanding of how the EU works also chose to be more Eurosceptic. The governmental trust variable as well as the economic, and the sociodemographic variables did not show a significant relationship to EU support in Romania in 2009. Governmental trust, therefore, does not explain fluctuations in EU support in Romania in 2009.

2015

Contrary to 2009, in 2015, governmental trust was a significant variable in the multiple regression model. R^2 for the overall model was 13,8 % with an adjusted R^2 of 12,6%. Therefore, all variables that have been used in this model explain 13,8 % of the variance in EU support. Compared to the R^2 value of 5,6% in 2009, this is a significant increase. The predicted value for EU support is for respondents who tend not to trust the government, 0,256 times higher than for people who tend to trust the government. As the highest value on the EU support scale is (5) Eurosceptic, people who tend not to trust the government are also more Eurosceptic. This conflicts with the second hypothesis but can be explained if one refers back to the crosstab distributions. The crosstab distributions for 2015 showed that a lot more people who did not trust the government, also had a neutral image of the EU (37%). Therefore, people who do not trust the government were probably more likely to have a neutral image of the EU instead of a positive one. In this regard, the multiple regression analysis also showed that the control variables have a significant influence on the relationship between governmental trust and EU support because it revealed a positive direction of the relationship, opposed to the results of the crosstab distributions. Other significant variables in 2015 were again knowledge about the EU, as well as having a right-wing political orientation. While governmental trust and knowledge about the EU show a positive relationship with EU support, having a right-wing political orientation has a negative relationship. Meaning that respondents with a right-wing political orientation showed slightly more support for the European Union. As stated above, these findings do not necessarily indicate that people with a right-wing political orientation have a positive opinion of the EU, but rather that the respondents moved slightly higher on the Image of the EU scale towards less support.

2018

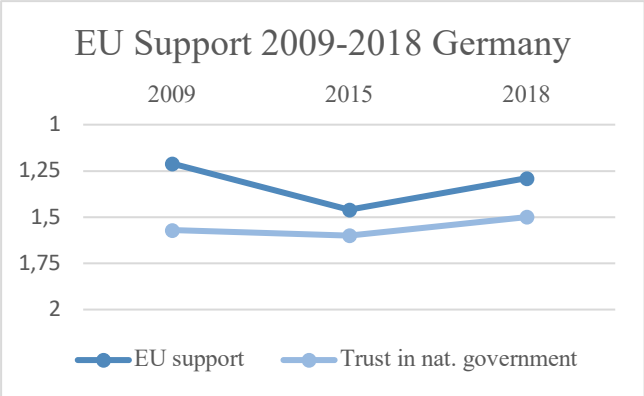
In 2018, governmental trust was an even weaker predictor for EU support and did not show a significant relationship to the dependent variable. Accordingly, the fit of both regression models was very low. The overall multiple regression model showed significance with an R^2 value of 6,7% and an adjusted R^2 of 5,3 %. The linear regression model showed even weaker results. The results of the regression analysis confirmed the findings of the Cramers V value which indicated a weak relationship between the two variables in 2009, a moderate relationship in 2015, and an even weaker relationship in 2018 (cf. Figure 2). Taking together the results of the multiple regression analysis for Romania it is striking that the correlation was always positive between 2009 and 2018. Even though governmental trust does not explain why Romanian citizens support the EU, in 2009 and 2018, the relationship between governmental trust and EU support was nevertheless positive, opposing to what was assumed in the second hypothesis. The coefficients of the multiple regression analysis are presented in Figure 5.

4.2 Germany

4.2.1 Descriptives

By looking at the descriptive statistics for Germany between 2009 and 2018, it is striking that the levels of governmental trust were not significantly different from the ones in Romania. In Germany, the distribution between people who tend to trust and tend not to trust the government is relatively even, however, there is a slight majority of people who tend not to trust the government. Compared to Romania, German citizens trust the government more, but the difference is not that crucial (1,60 vs. 1,81). The mean of governmental trust did not fluctuate significantly over the three years and remained around an average of 1,56. The image of the EU, on the other hand, fluctuated a lot. As shown in Figure 3, EU support was comparably high in 2009 with a mean of 1,21, comparably low in 2015 (1,46), and rose again in 2018 (1,21). The descriptive statistics suggest a relationship between the two variables because the levels of governmental trust rose and fell accordingly to the levels of EU support. When EU support was low in 2015, also governmental trust was lower than the average, and when EU support was high in 2018, also governmental trust was higher than the average. The Pearsons R value also indicated an at least moderate relationship in all three years. As shown in Figure 4, the strength of the relationship also varied over the years and is significantly stronger compared to Romania.

Evidence for the first hypothesis, stating that German citizens who have trust in the national government have a more positive opinion of the EU than German citizens who do not trust the government was found in the crosstab distributions at all three points in time. As an example, in 2009, within the category of people who trust the government, 68,3 % voted to have a positive opinion of the EU, 27,9% had a neutral image and 3,9% had a negative image. The percentage of Eurosceptic respondents who chose to also have a negative opinion about the national government and the EU was at 19,2 %. In 2015, drastic changes within that category were found. While in 2009 there were only 19,2 % of the respondents stating that they have a negative opinion towards the EU and the national government, the number increased to 40,8% in 2015. On the positive end of the spectrum, also less people chose to have a positive opinion towards the EU and the German government (58%). In 2018, the negative opinion of the EU did decrease again and the percentage of the respondents who chose to have a negative opinion of the EU and the national government was at 30%. The percentage of people having a positive opinion towards both institutions increased again to 64%.



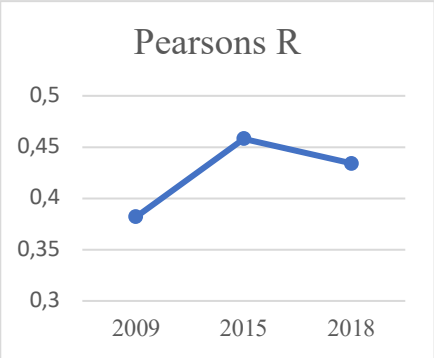


Figure 3: Mean of the independent and the dependent variable on a 2-point scale with (1) positive Image of the EU/ tend to trust the government and (2) negative Image of the EU/ tend not to trust the nat. government

Figure 4: Pearsons R value of the linear regression between 2009 and 2018 with values ranging from 0 to 1

4.2.2 Regression Analysis

2009

The results of the linear and the multiple regression analysis showed a significant relationship between governmental trust and EU support. The R^2 value for the linear regression model was 14,6% with an adjusted R^2 of 14,5%. Those values increased in the multiple regression model to 21,5% and 20,8% which indicates a much stronger relationship than in Romania. The two significant variables, knowledge about the EU and governmental trust both show positive correlations to EU support. Therefore, respondents who do not trust the government and who do not understand how the EU works tend to be more Eurosceptic. Moreover, trust in the national government is a more important predictor for EU support than knowledge about the EU, and thus partly explains fluctuations in EU support in Germany in 2009.

2015

In 2015, again a significant relationship between governmental trust and EU support has been found in both regression models. The coefficients show that respondents who tend not to trust the government are a lot more likely to have a negative opinion towards the EU than respondents who tend to trust the government. In the linear regression model, governmental trust was already a stronger predictor with an R^2 value of 21 % which increased to 26% in the multiple regression model. In the comparison over time, this model was the best fit for the data and the relationship between governmental trust and EU support was the strongest. In 2015, again the knowledge about the EU variable was significant, as well as having a central or a left-wing political orientation. Both orientations resulted in lower scores on the EU support scale and therefore a better opinion of the EU. Not only did the strength of the relationship between the independent and the dependent variable varied between 2009 and 2015, but also different variables were important.

2018

The relationship between governmental trust and EU support remains quite high in 2018. R^2 and adjusted R^2 for the linear regression model were 18,8 %, showing a comparably strong relationship. The values increased to 24,4% and 23,8 % in the multiple regression model and governmental trust was again a significant variable. Besides knowledge about the EU, which was like in Romania significant in all three years, in 2018, also a young age, and a left-wing and right-wing political orientation were found to be significant on the 0,005 level and correlated negatively with EU support. Hence, younger people were found to be more positive towards the EU which confirms the theory by Inglehart, Rabier & Reif (1987). More influential and significant on the 0,001 level, however, was having a left-wing political orientation. The coefficients showed that the predicted value for the image of the EU was -0,236 times lower for people who chose to have a left-wing political orientation than for people who chose otherwise. As the image of the EU scale is coded from (1) very positive to (5) very Eurosceptic, people with a left-wing political orientation and a young age were found to have a better image of the EU. As shown in Figure 5, governmental trust correlated positively with EU support and was significant in all three years.

Year	Romania	Germany
2009	0,133	0,582***
	(0,085)	(0,000)
2015	0,305***	0,826***
	(0,000)	(0,000)
2018	0,047	0,714***
	(0,510)	(0,000)

*** Unstandardized regression coefficients significant at p<0.01

Figure 5: Unstandardized Coefficients of Trust in National Government in Multiple Regression Analysis

5.Conclusion

To sum up, this section seeks to answer the central research question: *What impact does trust in the national government have on EU support in Germany and Romania?* by summarizing the key findings of the two sub-questions and its practical implications. Furthermore, the limits of this research are presented and recommendations for future research are given.

Sub-question 1: How can citizens' levels of EU support and governmental trust in Romania and Germany between 2009 and 2018 be described?

The first part of the analysis revealed that the levels of governmental trust and EU support did not vary between 2009 and 2018 in Romania. In general, Romanian citizens remained to have a positive image of the EU and a negative image of their national government. In Germany, however, both variables

fluctuated over time. EU support was high in 2009, decreased significantly in 2015, and rose again in 2018. The levels of governmental trust did not fluctuate as strongly but they fell and rose accordingly to EU support. When EU support was low in 2015, also governmental trust was lower than the average and when EU support increased, also governmental trust increased. Contrary to what was assumed in the beginning, German citizens did not show much higher levels of support for their national government than Romanian citizens. The crosstab distributions showed support for both hypotheses, stating that German citizens who trust their national government have a positive image of the EU and that Romanian citizens who do not trust the government have a positive image of the EU. While evidence for the first hypothesis was also found in the regression analysis, the results for the second hypothesis were proven to be wrong, indicating that also in Romania, the citizens who trust the government are more likely to show higher levels of support on the image of the EU scale.

Sub-question 2: To what extent can fluctuations in EU support be explained by citizens' trust in their national government in Germany and Romania?

The findings of the regression analysis suggested that governmental trust is a much more important predictor variable for EU support in Germany than it is in Romania. The regression models for Germany showed stronger relationships and governmental trust was significant in all three years. In 2015, the relationship between governmental trust and EU support was the strongest, and governmental trust alone at least explained 21% of the variance in EU support. The results of the multiple regression analysis increased the R^2 value to 26% and the coefficients showed support for the hypothesis stating that German citizens who trust their national government also have a more positive opinion of the EU than citizens who chose not to trust the government. It is striking that in Germany as well as in Romania, the direction of the relationship between governmental trust and EU support was positive. Contrasting to the second hypothesis, also in Romania respondents who tend not to trust the government were more likely to show higher scores on the image of the EU scale which indicates less EU support.

Over the years, the strength of the relationship between the two variables was found to be different in both countries, confirming the third hypothesis. In 2015, the relationship was the strongest indicating that governmental trust was the most important predictor variable for EU support between 2009 and 2018. 2015 was the only year in which governmental trust also achieved statistical significance in Romania.

Concerning third factors that explain EU support, knowledge about the EU was the most important predictor variable in both countries showing less EU support for people who do not understand European political processes. Among the sociodemographic variables, none was especially important in either country. Interesting was, however, that different variables showed stronger relationships in different years. Political orientation was most influential in both countries and showed significant results at least once. For Germany, having a left-wing political opinion resulted in more EU support in 2015, and 2018

and for Romania, having a right-wing political orientation resulted in slightly higher results on the EU support scale in 2015. Respectively, governmental trust can partly explain fluctuations in EU support levels in Germany and in Romania.

The findings have different practical implications for Germany and Romania. In line with Kritzingers' (2003) findings, also this study showed that in some countries EU support seems to be determined by the performance of the nation-state. German citizens do not separate between the national and the supranational level and project their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their national government onto the EU. Therefore, the national governments must consider themselves as the main actor responsible for creating public support for the Union. Levels of governmental trust and EU support fluctuated a lot more in Germany which indicates that public support levels are more endangered and react more strongly to changes in national performance and crises. The German government must pay special attention to its performance in order to safeguard public support for the Union. For individuals to make independent decisions about the EU further education is needed with an emphasis on European processes and institutions.

In Romania, public support for the Union does not seem to be as strongly endangered, because the levels of governmental trust and EU support did not vary between 2009 and 2018. This implies that contrary to Germany, Romanian citizens are not as likely to be influenced by its governments' opinions when making decisions about the EU, and citizens seem to have a better understanding of the separation between the national and the European level. To safeguard public support in Romania, the government does not play a crucial role and other factors must be exceedingly more influential. What the findings also imply is that distrust in the national government does not necessarily result in a general distrust in political institutions. People can have a negative opinion about their government and support the European Union. Nevertheless, the people who trust the government were also in Romania more likely to support the EU. Hence, the Romanian government must also contribute in building a stable domestic foundation. Compared to Germany, however, the link between governmental performance and EU support is not strong. As knowledge about the EU was also found to be an important predictor variable in both countries in all three years, education about European processes must be a top priority to safeguard public support for the Union and thereby its legitimacy.

As stated earlier, there are some limitations to this research. One of them being its small scale. Romania and Germany only offer a small insight into the relationship between governmental trust and EU support which does not allow for a generalization of results. Investigating a longer period of time could have shed some more light on the question and could have validated the key findings. The use of quantitative data does not accurately measure what people think and a different set of respondents each year might have blurred the accuracy of the results. Because multiple factors influence EU support levels, more control variables could have been included in the analysis to ensure its validity.

Based on the limitations of this study, future research could investigate the same relationship over a longer period in different member states. Future studies could focus on whether the general tendency that people who trust the government are also more likely to have a positive image of the EU also holds in different countries and include further control variables to validate the results. It could be explored whether the same patterns exist in advanced vs. post-communist democracies and how a country's' condition shapes EU support levels. Furthermore, it could be investigated why levels of EU support and governmental trust vary more in Germany and if high expectations of political performance might be a possible reason for that (Denters et al., 2011). Because governmental trust was not found to be a significant predictor variable for EU support in Romania, it would be interesting to examine what factors EU support consists of in Romania in order to safeguard the EUs positive image in the future.

To lastly refer back to the question posed in the beginning: *What impact does trust in the national government have on EU support in Germany and Romania?* it can be concluded that governmental trust has a much bigger impact on EU support levels in Germany than it does in Romania. The impact of governmental trust on EU support is positive, meaning that people who trust the government are also more likely to support the EU in both countries. Nevertheless, EU support is comprised of a variety of factors, and trust in the national government is just one of multiple factors explaining it. The actions of the national government and the national political situation per se can influence EU support levels and a greater demand for education and a need for governments to assess themselves as an actor who shapes the European integration process can be derived based on the key findings of this thesis.

6. Discussion

Because public support levels are fluctuating over the years and new challenges keep arising, it is uncertain what the future holds for the European Union. Close attention should be paid to underline its political and economic importance to safeguard European support and legitimacy. In this regard, two final thoughts shall be discussed based on the findings of this study. Firstly, the national context matters. Member states are fundamentally different which shapes opinions about the European Union and requires different approaches. As Denters et al. (2006) argued citizens in advanced democracies have very high expectations of political performance. High expectations are possibly the reason for more fluctuations in support levels in Germany and hence different approaches are required. Strategies that work in one country cannot simply be applied to another member state and the underlying factors that EU support consists of in the respective country must thoroughly be assessed before developing strategies to increase public support levels. National governments can play a crucial role in shaping opinions about the EU, but they are not always an important actor. Even though the national governments are participating in the European Council, they perform different tasks on different levels

and should not be treated as the same thing. Unfortunately, not all European citizens seem to be able to separate between the two levels just yet as seen in the example of Germany. But there has been a change in the citizens' perception of political processes which gives hope for the future. Contrary to what was assumed by Anderson (1998), citizens seem to now be able to make use of their own national opinions instead of the opinions of their national government. One key indicator for that was the low levels of EU support in Germany during the "refugee crisis" in 2015. During the influx of refugees, the German government and especially Angela Merkel emphasized a very pro-European approach which was met with a lot of criticism by the German public and expressed itself in significantly lower levels of EU support. As Andersons (1998) theory is not that recent, the findings indicate that a learning process took place. If the public can by now make use of their own opinions when making decisions about the EU, in the next step the public might also be able to separate between the national and the supranational level. The repercussions of Brexit might also initiate a new way of thinking about the importance and the future of the European Union.

7. List of References

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8. Data Appendix

8.1 Romania

Descriptives EB 2009[a]

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std.-Deviation
Image_Positive_Negative	715	1	2	1,11	,29927
QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT	954	1	2	1,81	,393
Valid N (listwise)	672				

a. NATION – ALL SAMPLES ISO 3166 = RO

Descriptives EB 2015[a]

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std.-Deviation
Image_Positive_Negative	666	1,00	2,00	1,13	,34051
TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	908	1	2	1,75	,434
Valid N (listwise)	609				

a. COUNTRY CODE – ISO 3166 = RO

Descriptives EB 2018[a]

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std.-Deviation
Positive_Negative	520	1,00	2,00	1,16	,36299
TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	998	1	2	1,75	,435
Valid N (listwise)	506				

a. COUNTRY CODE – ISO 3166 = RO

EU Image Trust in nat. government Crosstabs EB 2009*[a]

			Trust in nat. government		
			Tend to trust	Tend not to trust	Total
EU Image	Positive	Count	127	477	604
		% within EU Image	21,0%	79,0%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat.government	73,8%	64,1%	65,9%
	Neutral	Count	43	201	244
		% within EU Image	17,6%	82,4%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat.government	25,0%	27,0%	26,6%
	Negative	Count	2	66	68
		% within EU Image	2,9%	97,1%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat.government	1,2%	8,9%	7,4%
Total		Count	172	744	916
		% within EU Image	18,8%	81,2%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat.government	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

a. NATION – ALL SAMPLES ISO 3166 = RO

EU Image Trust in nat. government Crosstabs 2015*[a]

			Trust in nat.government		
			Tend to trust	Tend not to trust	Total
EU Image	Positive	Count	165	361	526
		% within EU Image	31,4%	68,6%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	72,7%	54,0%	58,7%
	Neutral	Count	53	234	287
		% within EU Image	18,5%	81,5%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	23,3%	35,0%	32,0%
	Negative	Count	9	74	83
		% within EU Image	10,8%	89,2%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	4,0%	11,1%	9,3%
Total		Count	227	669	896
		% within EU Image	25,3%	74,7%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

a. COUNTRY CODE – ISO 3166 = RO

*EU Image * Trust in nat. government Crosstabs 2018[a]*

			Trust in nat. government		
			Tend to trust	Tend not to trust	Total
EU Image	Positive	Count	165	361	526
		% within EU Image	31,4%	68,6%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	72,7%	54,0%	58,7%
	Neutral	Count	53	234	287
		% within EU Image	18,5%	81,5%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	23,3%	35,0%	32,0%
	Negative	Count	9	74	83
		% within EU Image	10,8%	89,2%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	4,0%	11,1%	9,3%
Total		Count	227	669	896
		% within EU Image	25,3%	74,7%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

a. COUNTRY CODE – ISO 3166 = RO

Symmetric Measures EB 2009[a]

		Value	Approx. Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,121	,001
	Cramer-V	,121	,001
N of Valid Cases		916	

a. NATION = ROMANIA

Symmetric Measures EB 2015[a]

		Value	Approx. Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,172	,000
	Cramer-V	,172	,000
N of Valid Cases		896	

a. COUNTRY CODE – ISO 3166 = RO

Symmetric Measures 2018[a]

		Value	Approx. Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,094	,034
	Cramer-V	,094	,034
N of Valid Cases		772	

a. COUNTRY CODE – ISO 3166 = RO

Model Summary Linear Regression 2009[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,106[b]	,011	,010	,832

a. NATION – ALL SAMPLES ISO 3166 = RO

b. Predictor (Constant): QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT

Model Summary Multiple Regression 2009[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,237[b]	,056	,043	,821

a. NATION – ALL SAMPLES ISO 3166 = RO

b. Predictors (Constant): SelfEmployed, Right, QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT, D10 GENDER, Age_Young, QA5A IMPORT ISSUES CTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, QA19A EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS, Age_Old, Left, Employed2, Age_VeryOld

ANOVA 2009 Multiple Regression [a,b]

Modell		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	31,164	12	2,597	3,852	,000[c]
	Residual	520,497	772	,674		
	Total	551,661	784			

a. NATION – ALL SAMPLES ISO 3166 = RO

b. Dependent Variable: QA11 EU IMAGE – POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

c. Predictors (Constant): SelfEmployed, Right, QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT, D10 GENDER, Age_Young, QA5A IMPORT ISSUES CTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, QA19A EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS, Age_Old, Left, Employed2, Age_Medium, D11 AGE EXACT

Coefficients 2009[a,b]

Modell		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std.-Error	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1,693	,393		4,303	,000
	QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT	,133	,077	,061	1,726	,085
	QA19A EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS	,317	,062	,186	5,117	,000
	QA5A IMPORT ISSUES CTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION	-,002	,060	-,001	-,040	,968
	D10 GENDER	,008	,060	,005	,130	,896
	D11 AGE EXACT	-,002	,005	-,045	-,397	,691
	Age_Young	-,160	,263	-,062	-,610	,542
	Age_Medium	,055	,191	,029	,285	,776
	Age_Old	,049	,132	,025	,376	,707
	Left	,138	,079	,064	1,742	,082
	Right	-,057	,074	-,028	-,778	,437
	Employed2	-,063	,077	-,036	-,815	,415
	SelfEmployed	-,197	,110	-,070	-1,782	,075

a. NATION – ALL SAMPLES ISO 3166 = RO

b. Dependent Variable: QA11 EU IMAGE – POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

Model Summary Linear Regression 2015[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error oft he Estimate
1	,171[b]	,029	,028	,853

a. COUNTRY CODE – ISO 3166 = RO

b. Predictors (Constant): TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Model Summary Multiple Regression 2015[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,371[b]	,138	,126	,791

a. COUNTRY CODE – ISO 3166 = RO

b. Predictors (Constant): Right, Age_Old, IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, Self_Employed, EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS, Left, Age_Young, Employed, Center, Age_Medium

ANOVA Multiple Regression 2015[a,b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean of Squares	F	Sig.
1	Regression	81,959	11	7,451	11,900	,000[c]
	Residuals	513,421	820	,626		
	Total	595,380	831			

a. COUNTRY CODE – ISO 3166 = RO

b. Dependent Variable: EU IMAGE – POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

c. Predictors (Constant): Right, Age_Old, IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, Self_Employed, EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS, Left, Age_Young, Employed, Center, Age_Medium

Coefficients 2015[a,b]

Modell		Non Standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std.-Deviation	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1,445	,182		7,923	,000
	TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	,305	,064	,156	4,734	,000
	UnderstandEU_2Cat	,437	,060	,242	7,244	,000
	IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION	-,039	,061	-,021	-,636	,525
	GENDER	-,005	,056	-,003	-,086	,932
	Self_Employed	,017	,119	,005	,139	,890
	Non_Active	-,030	,069	-,018	-,427	,670
	Age_Young	,157	,096	,058	1,632	,103
	Age_Medium	-,080	,085	-,040	-,948	,343
	Age_Old	-,017	,080	-,009	-,210	,834
	Left	,154	,075	,072	2,044	,041
	Center	-,039	,065	-,021	-,596	,551
	Right	-,178	,041	-,148	-4,394	,000

a. COUNTRY CODE - ISO 3166 = RO

c. Dependent Variable: EU IMAGE - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

Model Summary Linear Regression 2018[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,039[b]	,001	,000	,860

a. COUNTRY CODE - ISO 3166 = RO

b. Predictors (Constant): TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Model Summary Multiple Regression 2018[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,259[b]	,067	,053	,834

a. COUNTRY CODE - ISO 3166 = RO

b. Predictors (Constant): Employed, GENDER, TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, Right, IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, UnderstandEU_2Cat, Age_Young, Self_Employed, Age_Medium, Left, Age_Old

ANOVA Multiple Regression 2018[a,b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean of Squares	F	Sig.
1	Regression	35,836	10	3,584	5,140	,000[c]
	Residuals	518,707	744	,697		
	Total	554,543	754			

a. COUNTRY CODE - ISO 3166 = RO

b. Dependent Variable: EU IMAGE - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

c. Predictors (Constant): Non_Active, IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, Right, UnderstandEU_2Cat, TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, Self_Employed, Age_Young, Age_Medium, Left, Age_Old

Coefficients 2018[a,b]

		Non Standardized Coeffiecients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std.-Deviation	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	2,248	,188		11,966	,000
	TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	,047	,071	,024	,659	,510
	UnderstandEU_2Cat	,365	,071	,184	5,105	,000
	IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION	,043	,069	,022	,621	,535
	GENDER	-,088	,062	-,051	-1,422	,155
	Age_Young	-,262	,099	-,105	-2,651	,008
	Age_Medium	-,125	,100	-,060	-1,241	,215
	Age_Old	-,067	,093	-,036	-,714	,475
	Left	-,040	,082	-,019	-,488	,626
	Right	,073	,070	,040	1,042	,298
	Self_Employed	,053	,180	,011	,293	,770
	Employed	-,156	,081	-,091	-1,913	,056

a. COUNTRY CODE - ISO 3166 = RO

b. Dependent Variable: EU IMAGE - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

7.2 Germany

Descriptives EB 2009[a]

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std.-Deviation
Image_Positive_Negative	888	1,00	2,00	1,21	,40875
QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT	1411	1	2	1,57	,495
Valid N (listwise)	839				

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

Descriptives EB 2015[a]

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std.-Deviation
Image_Positive_Negative	930	1,00	2,00	1,46	,49851
TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	1476	1	2	1,60	,490
Valid N (listwise)	895				

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY (ONLY) = DE - Germany (East+West)

Descriptives EB 2018[a]

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std.-Deviation
Positive_Negative	883	1,00	2,00	1,29	,45239
TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	1440	1	2	1,50	,500
Valid N (listwise)	848				

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

*EU Image * Trust in nat. government Crosstabs 2009[a]*

			Trust in nat. government		
			Tend to trust	Tend not to trust	Total
EU Image	Positive	Count	407	255	662
		% within EU Image	61,5%	38,5%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	68,3%	31,8%	47,4%
	Neutral	Count	166	393	559
		% within EU Image	29,7%	70,3%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	27,9%	49,0%	40,0%
	Negative	Count	23	154	177
		% within EU Image	13,0%	87,0%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	3,9%	19,2%	12,7%
Total		Count	596	802	1398
		% within EU Image	42,6%	57,4%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

Symmetric Measures 2009[a]

		Value	Approx. Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,376	,000
	Cramer-V	,376	,000
N of Valid Cases		1398	

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

EU Image Trust in nat. government Crosstabs 2015[a]*

			TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT		
			Tend to trust	Tend not to trust	Total
EU Image	Positive	Count	343	142	485
		% within EU Image	70,7%	29,3%	100,0%
		% iwithin Trust nat. government	58,1%	16,2%	33,1%
	Neutral	Count	194	377	571
		% within EU Image	34,0%	66,0%	100,0%
		% iwithin Trust nat. government	32,9%	43,0%	38,9%
	Negative	Count	53	357	410
		% within EU Image	12,9%	87,1%	100,0%
		% iwithin Trust nat. government	9,0%	40,8%	28,0%
Total		Count	590	876	1466
		% within EU Image	40,2%	59,8%	100,0%
		% iwithin Trust nat. government	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY (ONLY) = DE - Germany (East+West)

Symmetric Measures 2015[a]

		Value	Approx. Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,470	,000
	Cramer-V	,470	,000
N of Valid Cases		1466	

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY (ONLY) = DE - Germany (East+West)

EU Image Trust in nat. government Crosstabs 2018[a]*

			TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT		
			Tend to trust	Tend not to trust	Total
EU Image	Positive	Count	443	160	603
		% within EU Image	73,5%	26,5%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	64,5%	23,1%	43,7%
	Neutral	Count	207	326	533
		% within EU Image	38,8%	61,2%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	30,1%	47,0%	38,6%
	Negative	Count	37	208	245
		% within EU Image	15,1%	84,9%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	5,4%	30,0%	17,7%
Total		Count	687	694	1381
		% within EU Image	49,7%	50,3%	100,0%
		% within Trust in nat. government	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

Symmetric Measures 2018[a]

		Value	Approx. Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,449	,000
	Cramer-V	,449	,000
N of Valid Cases		1381	

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

Model Summary Linear Regression 2009[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,382[b]	,146	,145	,776

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

b. Predictor (Constant): QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT

Model Summary Multiple Regression 2009[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,464[b]	,215	,208	,745

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

b. Predictors (Constant): SelfEmployed, QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT, QA5A IMPORT ISSUES CTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, Age_Medium, D10 GENDER, Left, Age_Young, QA19A EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS, Employed2, Age_Old, RIght, D11 AGE EXACT

ANOVA Multiple Regression 2009[a,b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean of Squares	F	Sig.
1	Regression	191,396	12	15,950	28,702	,000[c]
	Residuals	697,399	1255	,556		
	Total	888,795	1267			

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

b. Dependent Variable: QA11 EU IMAGE - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

c. Predictors (Constant): SelfEmployed, QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT, QA5A IMPORT ISSUES CTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, Age_Medium, D10 GENDER, Left, Age_Young, QA19A EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS, Employed2, Age_Old, RIght, D11 AGE EXACT

Coefficients Multiple Regression 2009[a,b]

Model		Non standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std.-Deviation	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1,330	,270		4,928	,000
	QA10 TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NAT GOVERNMENT	,582	,044	,344	13,227	,000
	QA19A EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS	,421	,045	,249	9,386	,000
	QA5A IMPORT ISSUES CTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION	-,043	,042	-,026	-1,023	,307
	D10 GENDER	-,062	,043	-,037	-1,442	,150
	D11 AGE EXACT	-,002	,003	-,047	-,637	,524
	Age_Young	-,240	,173	-,087	-1,382	,167
	Age_Medium	-,074	,129	-,035	-,572	,568
	Age_Old	,039	,085	,020	,453	,650
	Left	-,055	,062	-,031	-,888	,375
	RIght	,044	,058	,026	,756	,450
	Employed2	-,025	,052	-,015	-,489	,625
	SelfEmployed	-,072	,093	-,021	-,776	,438

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

b. Dependent Variable: QA11 EU IMAGE - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

Model Summary Linear Regression 2015[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,458[b]	,210	,209	,847

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY (ONLY) = DE - Germany (East+West)

b. Predictor (Constant): TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Model Summary Multiple Regression 2015[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,510[b]	,260	,254	,826

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY (ONLY) = DE - Germany (East+West)

b. Predictors (Constant): Right, Age_Old, IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS, Self_Employed, Age_Young, TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, Left, Age_Medium, Employed, Center

ANOVA Multiple Regression 2015[a,b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean of Squares	F	Sig.
1	Regression	342,346	11	31,122	45,628	,000[c]
	Residuals	976,071	1431	,682		
	Total	1318,417	1442			

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY (ONLY) = DE - Germany (East+West)

b. Dependent Variable: EU IMAGE - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

c. Predictors (Constant): Right, Age_Old, IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, EU STATEMENTS: UNDERSTAND HOW EU WORKS, Self_Employed, Age_Young, TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, Left, Age_Medium, Employed, Center

Coefficients 2015[a,b]

Model		Non Standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std.-Deviation	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1,477	,144		10,239	,000
	TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	,826	,046	,424	18,140	,000
	UnderstandEU_2Cat	,272	,046	,140	5,959	,000
	IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION	,148	,085	,040	1,740	,082
	GENDER	-,010	,045	-,005	-,220	,826
	Self_Employed	,100	,104	,023	,960	,337
	Non_Active	-,049	,054	-,026	-,918	,359
	Age_Young	-,153	,080	-,046	-1,921	,055
	Age_Medium	-,131	,066	-,053	-1,989	,047
	Age_Old	-,037	,063	-,016	-,584	,559
	Left	-,374	,063	-,179	-5,918	,000
	Center	-,268	,058	-,140	-4,615	,000
	Right	,117	,049	,055	2,383	,017

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY (ONLY) = DE - Germany (East+West)

b. Dependent Variable: EU IMAGE - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

Model Summary Linear Regression 2018[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,434[b]	,188	,188	,850

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

b. Predictors (Constant) TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Model Summary Multiple Regression 2018[a]

Model	R	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,494[b]	,244	,238	,823

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

b. Predictors (Constant): Employed, GENDER, Right, TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, Age_Young, Self_Employed, UnderstandEU_2Cat, Age_Medium, Age_Old, Left

ANOVA Multiple Regression 2018[a,b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean of Squares	F	Sig.
1	Regression	291,369	10	29,137	42,914	,000[c]
	Residuals	911,848	1343	,679		
	Total	1203,217	1353			

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

b. Dependent Variable: EU IMAGE - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

c. Predictors (Constant): Employed, Left, IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION, UnderstandEU_2Cat, Age_Young, Self_Employed, TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, Age_Medium, Age_Old, Right

Coefficients 2018[a,b]

		Non Standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std.-Deviation	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1,247	,122		10,255	,000
	TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	,714	,047	,379	15,331	,000
	UnderstandEU_2Cat	,370	,049	,187	7,514	,000
	IMPORTANT ISSUES CNTRY: ECONOMIC SITUATION	-,138	,118	-,028	-1,171	,242
	GENDER	,086	,046	,046	1,878	,061
	Age_Young	-,260	,089	-,072	-2,911	,004
	Age_Medium	-,122	,065	-,053	-1,892	,059
	Age_Old	-,062	,064	-,027	-,963	,336
	Left	-,236	,065	-,117	-3,638	,000
	Right	-,172	,060	-,091	-2,854	,004
	Self_Employed	-,020	,104	-,005	-,188	,851
	Employed	,007	,054	,004	,123	,902

a. NATION - UNITED GERMANY = Germany

b. Dependent Variable: EU IMAGE - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE

8.3 Other Tables

Occupation of Respondent - classifications

(1) Self - employed

- Farmer
- Fishermen
- Professional (lawyer, medical practitioner,accountant, etc.)
- Owners of shops or companies, craftsmen, self-employed persons
- Business proprietors, owner (full or partner) of a company

(2) Employed

- Employed professional (employed lawyer, practitioner, accountant)
- General management, director or top management
- Middle management, other management
- Employed position, working mainly at a desk
- Employed position, not at a desk but travelling (salesmen, driver)
- Employed position, not at a desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, firemen, etc)
- Supervisors
- Skilled manual workers
- Other (unskilled) manual workers, servants

(3) Non-active

- Responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home or without any current occupation, not working
- Student
- Unemployed or temporarily not working
- Retired or unable to work through illness