EUROMED SURVEY OF EXPERTS AND ACTORS

CHANGING EURO-MEDITERRANEAN LENSES

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The state of Europe

Q1. Compared to 1995 when the Barcelona Declaration was signed, overall the European Union today is in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SEM respondents</th>
<th>EU respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better shape</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worse shape</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A majority of respondents think that the European Union (EU) is today in worse shape than in 1995. Respondents from South and East Mediterranean countries (SEM) are less critical with the state of the EU than EU respondents.

Q2. What is the main threat to the European integration process? (respondents were asked to choose 2 options out of 6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>SEM countries</th>
<th>EU countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Populism and nationalism</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of cohesion and unity</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability to reform the European Union and to make it closer to the citizens</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow economic growth, unemployment and inequalities</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerability to threats from outside</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Internal phenomena (and in particular populism and nationalism) rather than external ones threaten the European integration process.

Q3. What is most likely to affect the EU’s credibility in the Mediterranean? (respondents were asked to choose 2 options out of 8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>SEM respondents</th>
<th>EU respondents</th>
<th>All respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divisions within the EU on key issues and re-bilateralisation of relations between EU member states and SEM countries</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Securitisation of migration policies</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistency of the EU’s approach vis-à-vis different SEM countries</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak role within conflict zones</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability of the EU to renew its offer to the “Southern neighbourhood”</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support to authoritarian regimes</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractual asymmetry between the EU and its partners</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brexit</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Divisions within the EU on key issues and re-bilateralisation of relations affect EU’s credibility in the Mediterranean, while Brexit plays a minor role.
Q4. Which of the following actors are more likely to have a negative effect on the stability of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean region?

The EU is not seen as an “instability provider” unlike other actors such as the USA.

Q5. From the following options that relate either to the situation of the EU or to its policies, which ones are likely to have the most negative effect on the stability of SEM countries? (respondents were asked to choose 2 options out of 6)

- Some of EU actions can have negative effects, in particular “securitization of migration policies”.
- For SEM respondents “military interventions from some EU member states” are the main destabilizing factor while for EU respondents “securitisation of migratory policies” comes first.

Engaging with Europe

- A majority of respondents considered that, while EU’s attractiveness among civil society in SEM countries increased since 2011, it declined in the eyes of governmental authorities in SEM countries.
- Overall EU respondents are less confident about EU’s attractiveness than SEM respondents.

Q6. Overall, since 2011, the EU’s attractiveness for civil society in SEM countries has increased or decreased?

Q6. Overall, since 2011, the EU’s attractiveness for governmental authorities in SEM countries has increased or decreased?
EU respondents seem to be keener than SEM respondents to consider that bilateral cooperation with some specific EU member states is more relevant than EU policies/frameworks.

78% of SEM respondents think that the EU is a foreign policy priority of their countries. Respondents from Mashreq countries and from Turkey are less prone to identify EU as top foreign policy partner than Maghreb respondents.

Q12. To what extent do you think the following partners or frameworks are relevant to SEM governments? (mean 0-very low extent, 10-very high extent, EU respondents only)

Q7 . To what extent is the European Union a priority for your country’s foreign policy? (only respondents from SEM countries)

Q11. As you see it, the top foreign policy partners of your country are (only respondents from SEM countries)

Respondents from Mashreq countries and from Turkey are less prone to identify EU as top foreign policy partner than Maghreb respondents.

Q9. The most important aspects, when it comes to my country’s relationship with the EU should be: (respondents were asked to choose 3 options out of 12, only respondents from SEM countries)

• In general, SEM respondents consider that democracy promotion as well as education and cultural cooperation should be key aspects of SEM countries’ relationship with the EU.

• The EU and its policies (in particular under the ENP framework) are seen by SEM respondents as the most appropriate framework across the board to achieve all the different aspects mentioned.

• When engaging with the EU, SEM respondents would want their respective governments to be more pro-active.
Reinventing Euro-Mediterranean relations

Q18. Do you think that the ENP should be replaced by another framework?

- **No**: 71%
- **Yes**: 29%

Q16. To what extent would you agree with the following statement: There is a need for yet another review of the European Neighbourhood Policy?

- Very high extent: 63%
- High extent: 21%
- Neither low nor high extent: 6%
- Low extent: 6%
- Very low extent: 4%

Q17. How should the ENP be re-designed? What should be the main focus? (main categories developed from the open answers)

- A more equal footing partnerships: 14%
- Promote economic development: 11%
- Democracy and Human Rights Promotion: 11%
- Involve civil society actors in the negotiation processes: 10%
- More cultural cooperation and education: 6%
- Greater financial assistance/more investments: 8%
- Migration management: 9%
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- Migration management: 9%

Q20. To what extent has the Union for the Mediterranean succeeded, as stated in the Joint Declaration, in newly encouraging the following: (mean 0-very low extent, 10-very high extent)

- Upgrading the political level of the EU’s relationship with its Mediterranean partners: 4.8 (SEM), 4.6 (EU)
- Providing for further co-ownership to our multilateral relation: 4.6 (SEM), 4.5 (EU)
- Making multilateral relations more concrete and visible through additional regional and sub-regional projects: 4.7 (SEM), 4.6 (EU)

Q22. Do you think that the Union for the Mediterranean should be empowered and its mandate should be extended?

- **No**: 25%
- **Yes**: 75%

- A large majority of respondents calls for an extension of the UfM’s mandate, even though they are critical with how the institution achieved its assigned objectives so far.
- From the main areas of actions identified in the 2017 UfM roadmap, respondents think that “enhancing regional stability and human development” should be prioritized.
The Questionnaire and the survey sample

The Survey was conducted among 4,500 experts and actors from the 43 countries that are members of the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), 817 responses were received, which can be considered a representative sample.

The questionnaire of the 9th edition has a total of 22 questions and has been designed with the idea to challenge preconceived ideas that underpin Euro-Mediterranean relations.

Breakdown of respondents by type of institution

- Experts 54%
- Academic 38%
- NGO 20%
- Civil society 25%
- Other international organisations 6%
- EU institution 3%
- Diplomatic 3%
- Governmental 8%
- Media 2%
- Think tank 14%
- Company 5%
- Political party 1%
- Other 1%

Distribution by geographical area

- EU countries 49%
- SEM countries 50%
- Other 1%

Distribution by gender

- Men 65%
- Women 35%
- Other 1%

The European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed) has carried out nine Surveys of actors and experts so far with the objective of assessing the progress, achievements and shortcomings of Euro-Mediterranean relations and policies.

Based on a broad sample of stakeholders, the Euromed Survey offers a unique platform for experts and actors involved in Euro-Mediterranean relations to express their evaluation of key topical issues on the agenda of the region and to put forward proposals and ideas.

This project is in line with the IEMed’s overall mission. As a research and public diplomacy institution dedicated to Euro-Mediterranean relations, the IEMed is indeed committed to generate and disseminate ideas and policy options that could serve to consolidate the building of a genuine Euro-Mediterranean area. While doing so, the IEMed is keen to channel views and concerns from both EU and southern and eastern Mediterranean countries.

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