

## ENGAGING WITH EUROPE

The second block of the Survey was focused on policies and strategies developed by SEM countries vis-à-vis the EU and other partners. To this end, the questionnaire had some specific questions for SEM participants and others for EU participants, with one question on the attractiveness of the EU, which could be answered by all participants. Thereby, the questions of this block provide useful insights regarding how the EU is perceived in SEM countries but also how EU respondents think the EU is perceived in SEM countries.

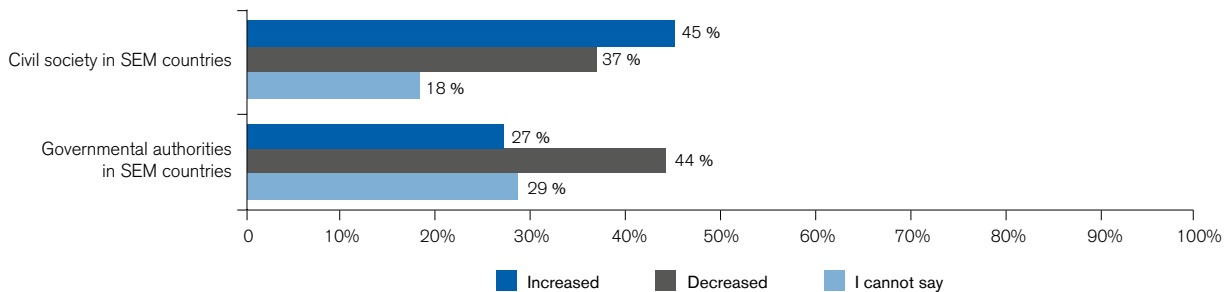
### Main findings:

- Overall, a majority of respondents considered that the EU gained attractiveness among civil society in SEM countries while a majority of respondents assessed that it declined in the eyes of governmental authorities in SEM countries.
- However, EU respondents are consistently less confident about the EU's attractiveness than SEM respondents. The latter think in higher proportions than the former that both civil society and governmental authorities in their respective countries find the EU more attractive now than in 2011.
- A significant majority of SEM respondents are also of the opinion that the EU is a foreign policy priority of their respective countries. The EU is seen as the top foreign policy partner by Maghreb respondents while it only comes in second and third place for Mashreq and Turkish respondents respectively.
- European respondents are less confident with the foreign policy relevance of the EU for SEM countries than respondents from SEM countries themselves. In turn, European respondents seem to overrate the foreign policy relevance of the EU for Turkey and underestimate its relevance for Palestine or Egypt.
- When engaging with the EU, SEM respondents would want their respective countries to be more pro-active, in terms of agenda setting (i.e. coming up with proposals of issues to be prioritised in the cooperation) and in terms of promoting more symmetric and balanced agreements.
- "Democracy promotion" and "Educational cooperation" are the most important priorities of cooperation with the EU according to SEM respondents.
- 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. In second place "One or some specific EU member states", particularly in counter-terrorism aspects, is the most relevant partner identified by the respondents. The UfM has its higher percentages in aspects related to climate change and migration management.
- European respondents seem to be more confident with bilateral mechanisms and less with EU mechanisms than SEM respondents.

## ON THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

**Question 6** was directed to all respondents with the objective of assessing whether the attractiveness of the EU had increased or not since the 2011 juncture. The results are mixed. It appears that a majority of respondents considered that the EU gained attractiveness among civil society in SEM countries while a majority of respondents assessed that this attractiveness declined in the eyes of governmental authorities in SEM countries (see Graph 13).

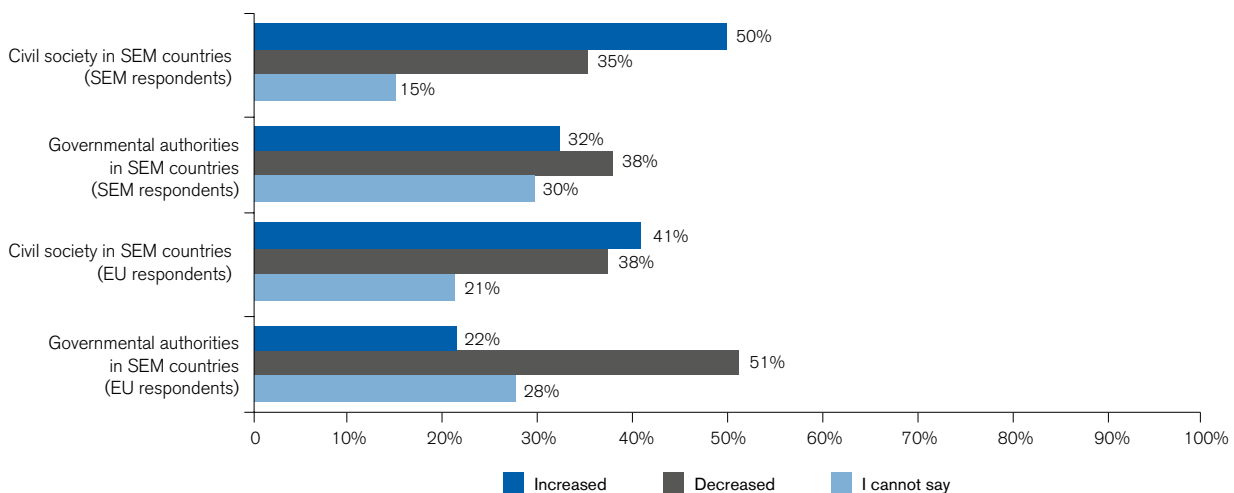
**Graph 13: Overall, since 2011, the EU's attractiveness for the following actors has increased or decreased?**



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

The picture is different and more positive for the EU when the respondents from SEM countries are invited to evaluate the EU's attractiveness in their respective countries. Overall, it appears that respondents from SEM countries seem to be more positive than their European counterparts regarding the EU's attractiveness. The former do not think in particular that "Governmental authorities in SEM countries" find the EU less attractive today than in 2011. However, there are some differences of patterns between Maghreb and Mashreq respondents: Mashreq respondents are a bit less prone than their Maghreb counterparts to think that the EU's attractiveness has increased in the eyes of civil society in their respective countries (see Graph 14).

**Graph 14: Overall, since 2011, has the EU's attractiveness for the following actors increased or decreased?**



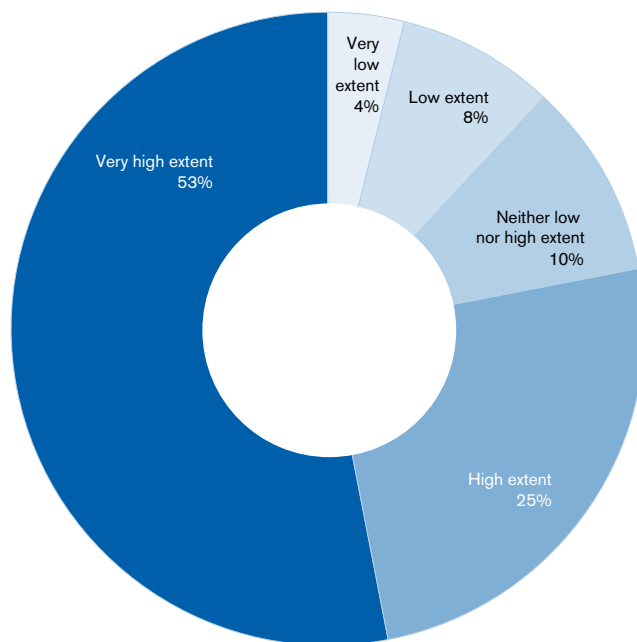
Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

## ENGAGING WITH THE EU: SEEN BY RESPONDENTS FROM SOUTHERN AND EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES

Questions 7 to 10 were only made available to participants from SEM countries and provide interesting insights into how the EU is perceived in this part of the Mediterranean.

**Question 7** shows the extent to which the EU is seen as a foreign policy priority. A significant majority of respondents are of the opinion that the EU is a foreign policy priority of their respective countries (see Graph 15).

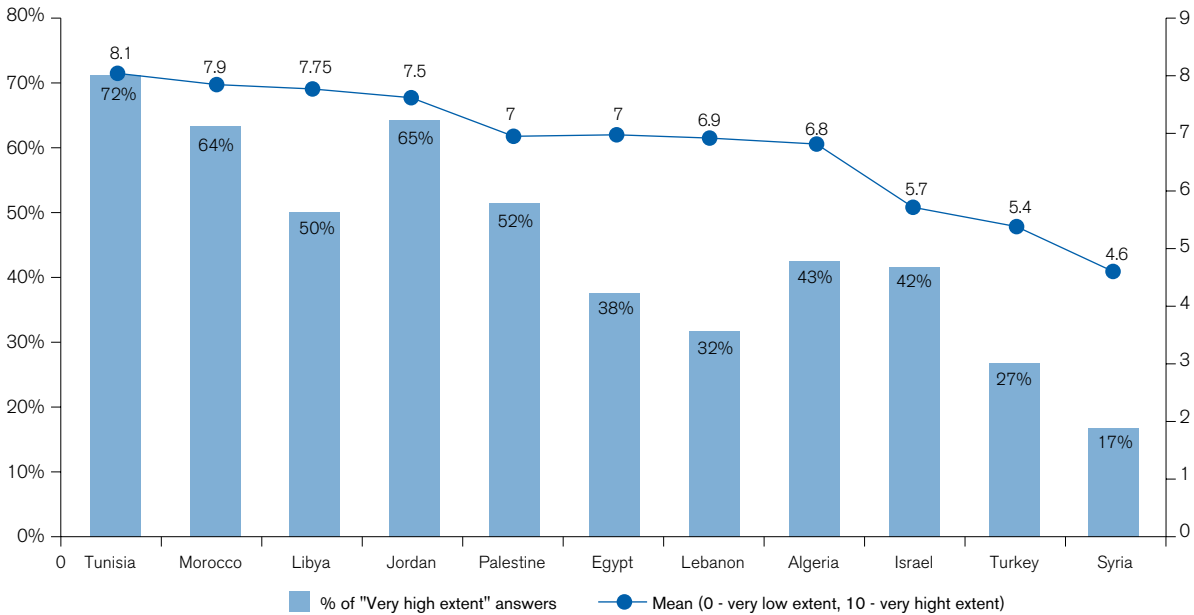
**Graph 15: To what extent is the European Union a priority for your country's foreign policy?**  
(only respondents from SEM countries)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

Respondents from Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Jordan particularly consider that the EU is a priority foreign policy partner for their respective countries, with a significant percentage of “Very high extent” answers (see Graph 16). Israel, Turkey and Syria have the lowest values.

**Graph 16: To what extent is the European Union a priority for your country's foreign policy?**  
(only respondents from SEM countries)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

Pour le pays, l'UE ne peut-être qu'une priorité dans sa politique étrangère, surtout pour la frange moderniste du gouvernement et de la société civile. Pour les islamistes au pouvoir et la société civile qui lui est rattachée, les rapports avec l'UE représentent une vitrine d'apparence moderniste pour une acceptation de leur existence et participation au pouvoir, mais restent fondamentalement rétrogrades et hostiles à tout ce qui provient de l'occident apostat non musulman.

Tunisian respondent

Morocco is reorienting its foreign policy to Africa. Including migration policy, which is now used as a diplomatic offense to regain the trust of the African continent.

Moroccan respondent

Les changements climatiques, les besoins énergétiques et les changements de modèles de consommation, dont les NTIC et leur place dans la gouvernance, en plus de tout le développement technologique et l'innovation, l'UE a toute sa place dans la politique extérieure de mon pays.

Algerian respondent

Israel, wrapped in a friendly American hug, is not taking the EU as a priority and disregards its recommendations. The EU is considered a main trade partner. Additionally, it is a "battleground" to combat BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) campaign.

Israeli respondent

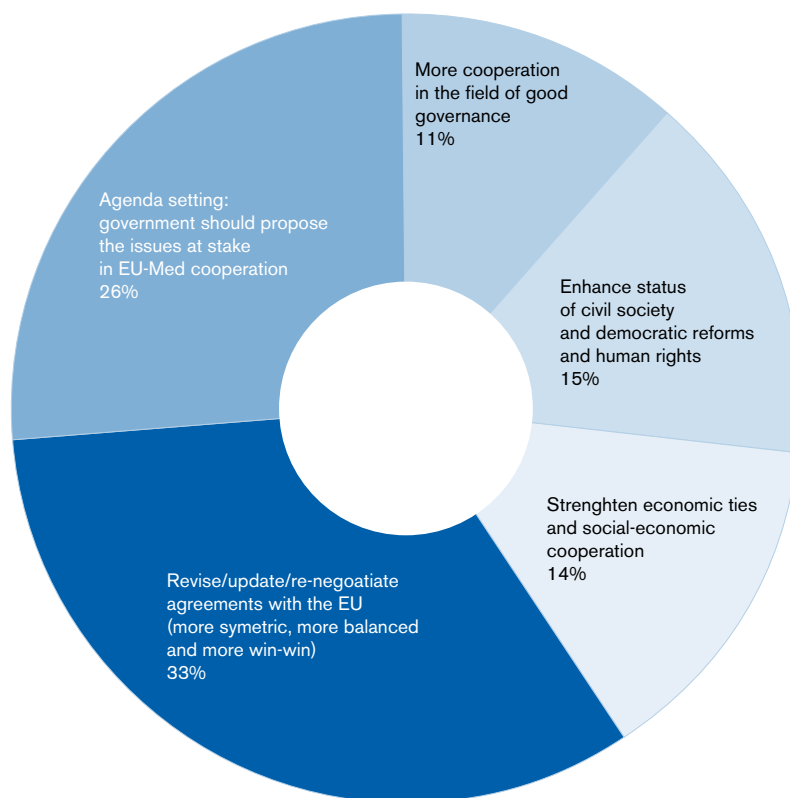
Half of the population in Turkey is liberal and democrat, whose priority is full accession into the EU. The remaining part (which population growth has increasing) has no EU priority at all.

Turkish respondent

**Question 8** was an open-ended and broadly formulated question where respondents from SEM countries were invited to elaborate on how the governments of their respective countries should engage with the EU. Several categories were developed from these open-ended answers. Most of the answers relate to rather methodological aspects. Other comments relate to priority issues that should be considered in the cooperation (Graph 17).

**Graph 17: In general, what do you think that your government should do with regards to its relations with the EU?**

(categories developed from the open-ended answers, only respondents from SEM countries)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

On methodology, it appears that respondents expect their respective governments to be more pro-active in the cooperation with the EU, in terms of agenda setting (i.e. coming up with proposals of issues to be prioritised in the cooperation) and in terms of promoting more symmetric and balanced agreements (in particular for Moroccan, Algerian and Lebanese respondents – see Graph 18).

La diplomatie marocaine se base dans ses relations avec l'UE sur des pays partenaires comme la France et l'Espagne ; il faut donc renforcer une diplomatie Maroc-UE.

Moroccan respondent

Renforcer ces relations mais vers plus de symétrie. Revoir les politiques trop sécuritaires en matière d'émigration qui entraînent des drames humains. Considérer les intérêts mutuels des deux parties en matière économique et douanière. Faciliter la mobilité des jeunes. Dynamiser le dialogue tripartite, UE, États, Société Civile.

Tunisian respondent

First, the Egyptian government should focus on bilateral relations with key EU countries. To a lesser degree, work with the EU on development issues and, finally, maintain a dialogue with the EU on security and culture in the Mediterranean.

Egyptian respondent

On priority issues to be considered in the cooperation, open answers could be regrouped into three main categories: enhance good governance, enhance status of civil society (in particular for respondents from Turkey), and strengthen economic ties.

I think the Algerian government should engage in a more inclusive and long-term partnership with the EU, with more political and deep economic reforms, fighting bureaucracy and corruption, offering an easier investment ecosystem and transparency.

Algerian respondent

While the economic ties between my country and the EU are expanding, the current government is constantly demonizing the EU involvement in the region. Thus, it ought to be more honest about the EU role in our economy.

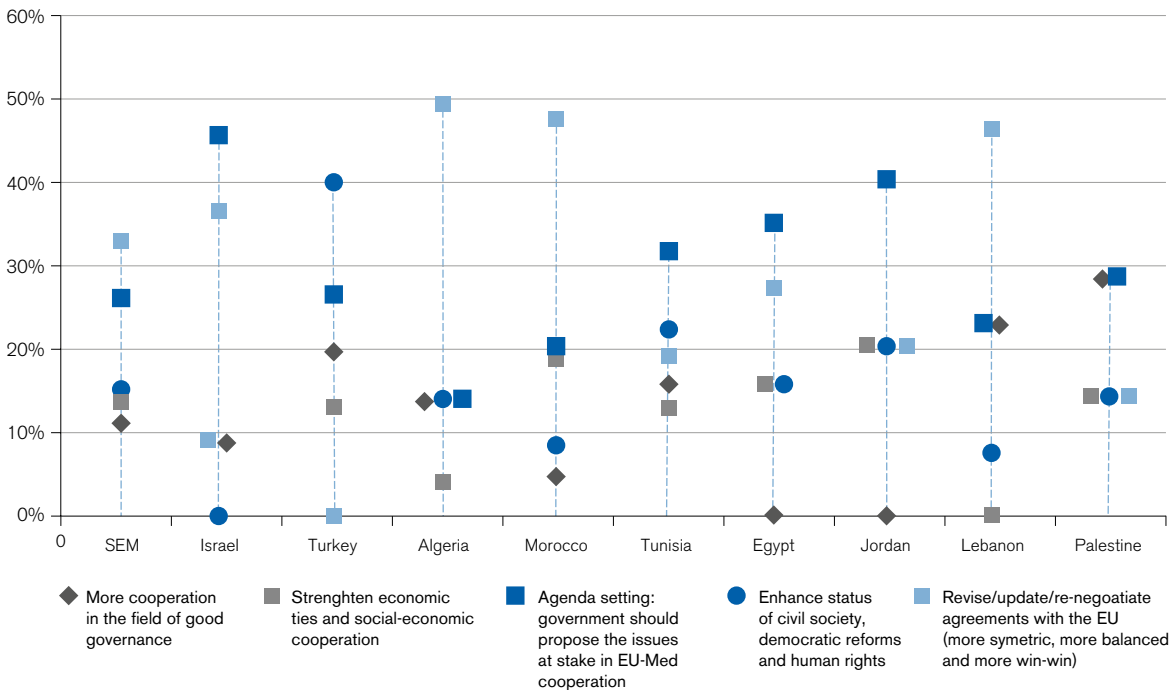
Israeli respondent

De manière plus volontariste. En anticipant les événements au lieu de les subir. En mettant en place des réformes substantielles de son système de Gouvernance politique et économique.

Moroccan respondent

**Graph 18: In general, what do you think that your government should do with regards to its relations with the EU?**

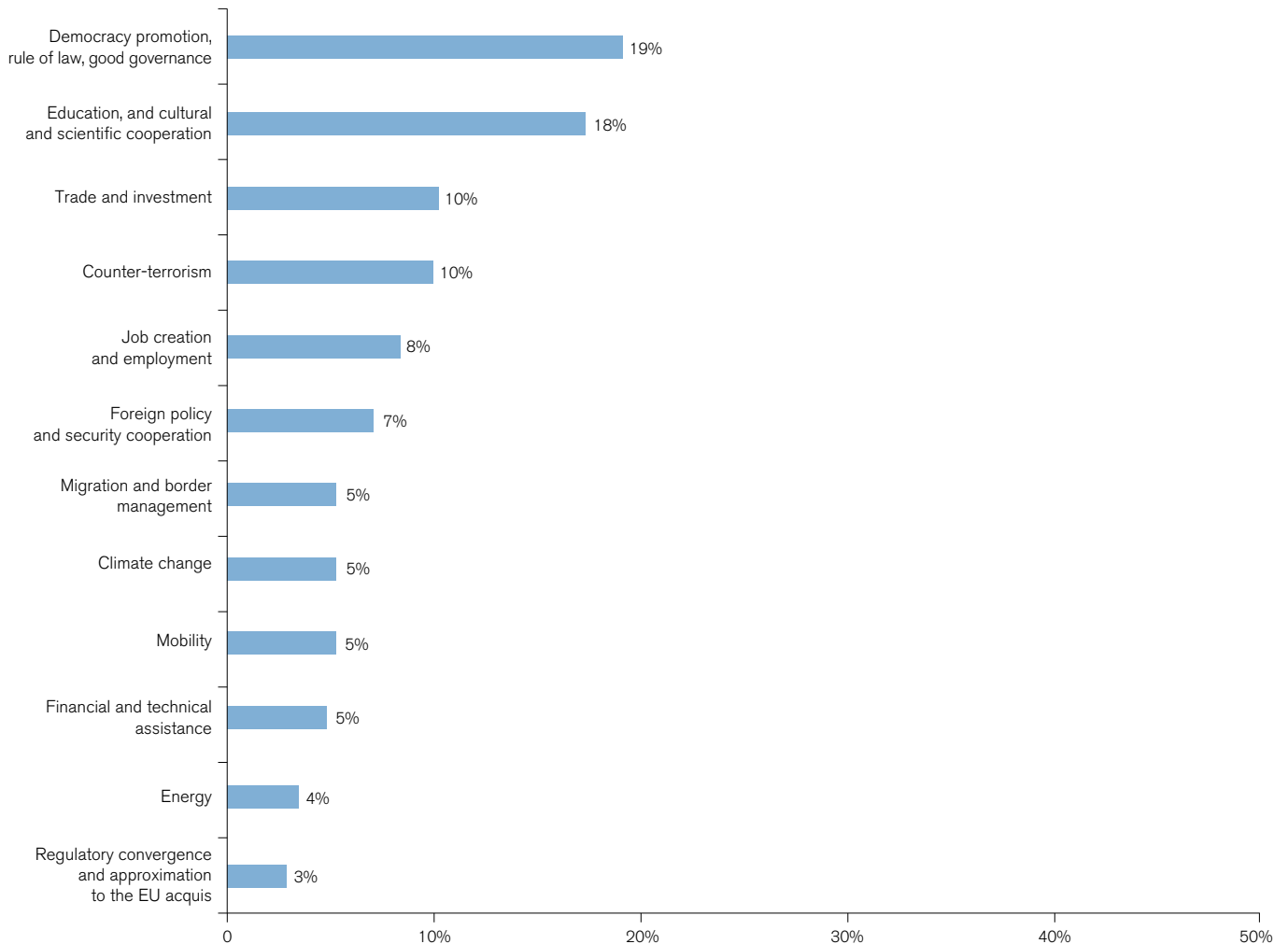
(categories developed from the open-ended answers, only respondents from SEM countries)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

**Question 9** was conceived to sound out the respondents on those aspects that are considered most important in the relationship of their respective countries with the EU. “Democracy promotion” and “Educational cooperation” gather 37% of all answers (see Graph 19) while “Counter-terrorism” and “Migration/border management” that tend to make headlines were mentioned by only 15% of the respondents.

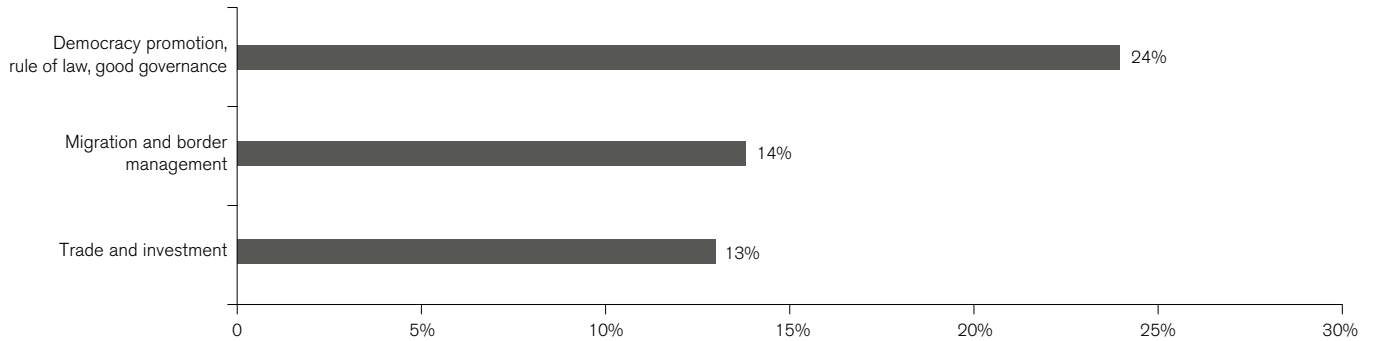
**Graph 19: The most important aspects, when it comes to my country’s relationship with the EU should be:**  
(respondents were asked to choose 3 options out of 12, only respondents from SEM countries)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

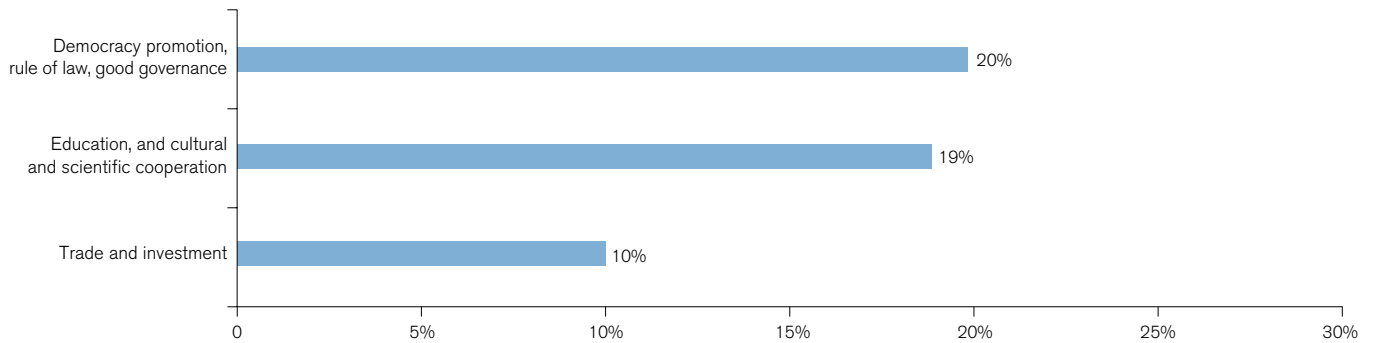
Results clustered according to the geographical origin of the respondents show some variations (see Graph 20 to 22). The most recurrent option given by Turkish respondents for instance is “Democracy promotion, rule of law and good governance” while “Migration and border management” comes in second place (see Graph 20).

**Graph 20: The most important aspects, when it comes to my country’s relationship with the EU should be: Turkish respondents** (respondents were asked to choose 3 options out of 12)



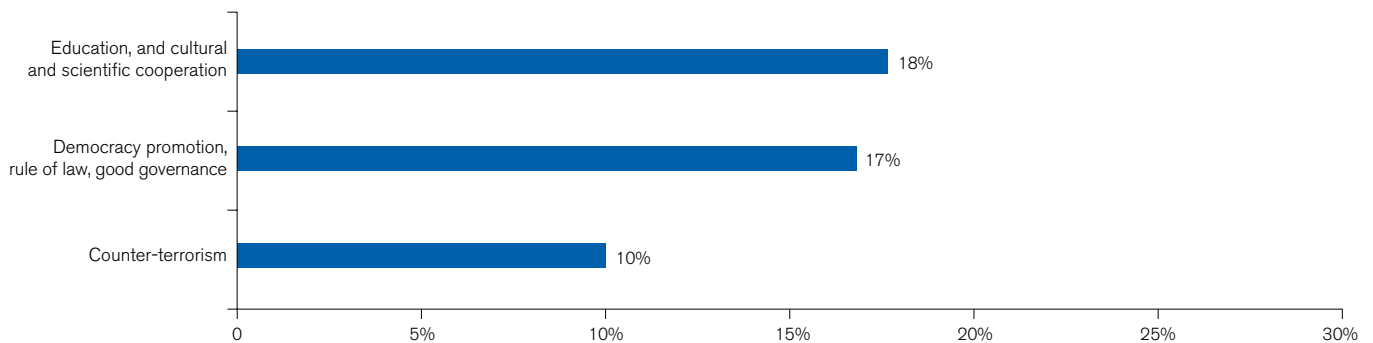
Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

**Graph 21: The most important aspects, when it comes to my country’s relationship with the EU should be: Maghreb respondents** (respondents were asked to choose 3 options out of 12)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

**Graph 22: The most important aspects, when it comes to my country’s relationship with the EU should be: Mashreq respondents** (respondents were asked to choose 3 options out of 12)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

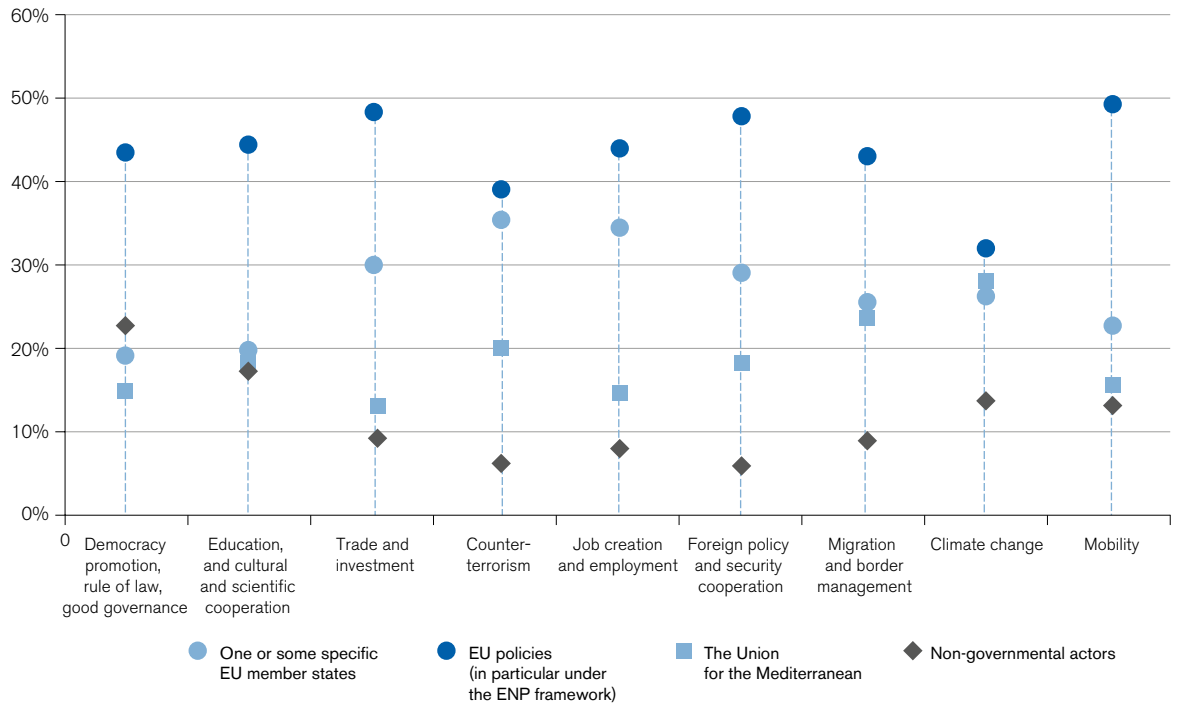


With **Question 10** the Survey asked SEM respondents which partners or frameworks are most important in order to achieve the priorities identified in Q9. The EU and its policies (in particular under the ENP framework) are seen as the most appropriate framework across the board to achieve all the different aspects mentioned in Q9 (see Graph 23).

In second place “One or some specific EU member states”, particularly in counter-terrorism aspects, is the most relevant framework identified by the respondents. The UfM has its higher percentages in aspects related to climate change and migration management.

**Graph 23: In order to achieve Q9 most important priorities, the most important partners or frameworks should be:**

(only respondents from SEM countries)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

Cooperation on counter-terrorism at the EU level has not been at the most desired level yet, particularly because it is related to the EU countries' exclusive competences. Therefore, specific EU member states are more important than others. Regarding migration and border management, EU level policies are of particular importance. As for education and cultural and scientific cooperation, non-governmental actors should be the most important partners since they are more effective and independent when implementing and suggesting the latest developments in related areas.

Turkish respondent

Les ONGs portant les valeurs d'égalité et de démocratie peuvent être des groupes de pression voire des facteurs de changement.

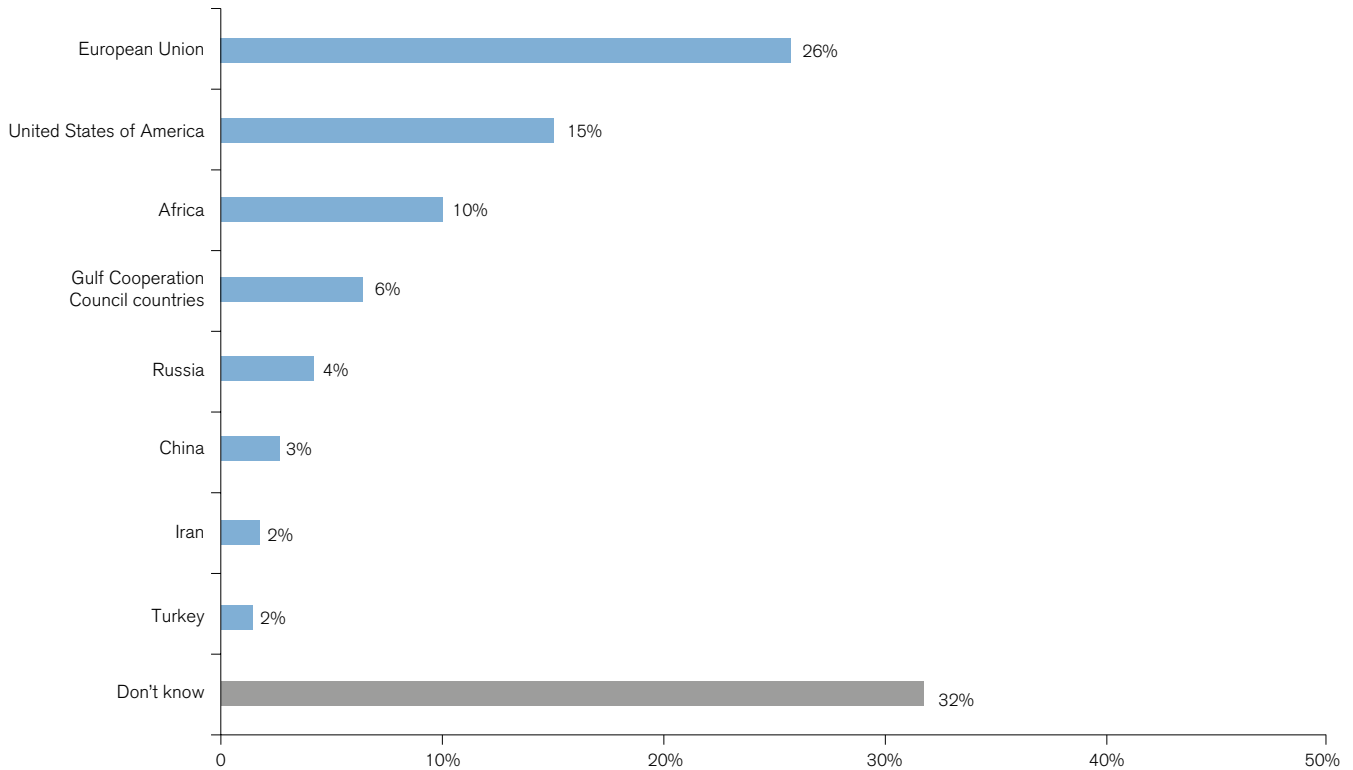
Tunisian respondent

Au lieu de 5 + 5, il vaut mieux avoir un cadre unifié pour dialoguer : l'Union pour la Méditerranée. Mais le statut de cette Union née avant terme doit être revu pour sortir du cadre étroit des premiers membres fondateurs.

Moroccan respondent

In **Question 11**, echoing and complementing Question 7, respondents from SEM countries were invited to identify the top two foreign policy partners of their respective countries. The EU was the most recurrent answer, followed by the USA (see Graph 24).

**Graph 24: As you see it, the top two foreign policy partners of your country are:**  
(respondents were asked to choose 3 options out of 12, only respondents from SEM countries)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

However, a closer look at the results based on the geographic origin of the respondents shows a slightly different and nuanced picture. The EU is seen as the top foreign policy partner by Maghreb respondents while it only comes in the second place for Mashreq and Israel respondents and third place for Turkish respondents (see Graph 25).

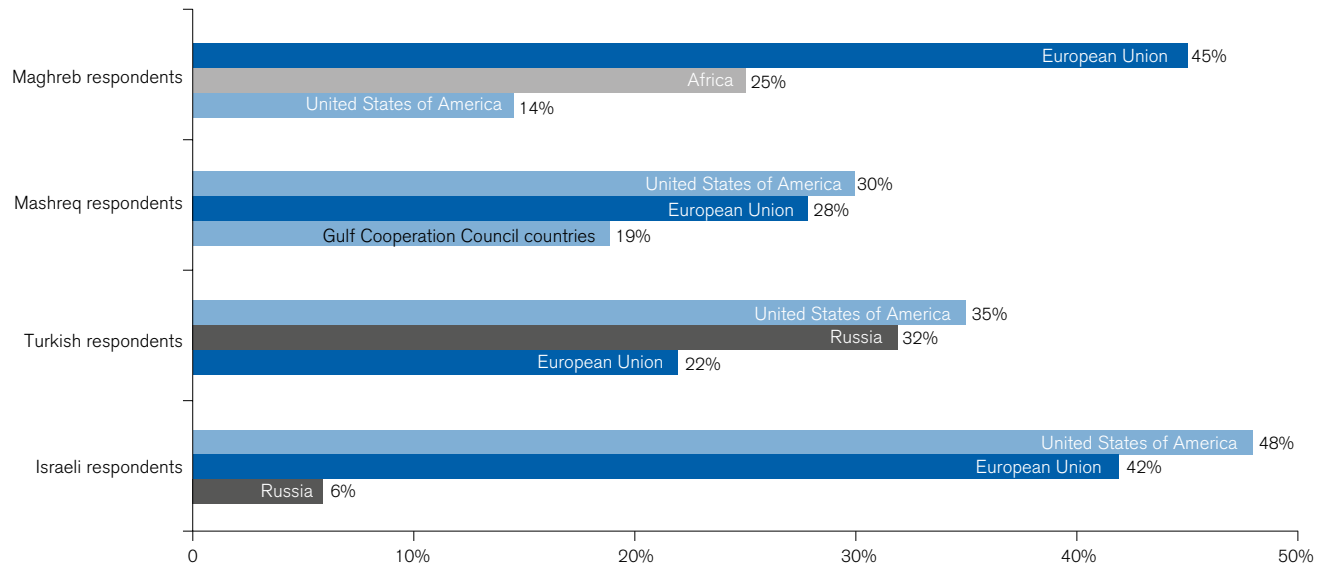
The world is being reconfigured. Reaching out to a variety of partners is important. Traditional partners are bound to see their relative importance decrease.

Egyptian respondent

L'Europe doit revoir ses cartes pour que le Maroc puisse jouer un rôle d'union et de rapprochement entre l'Afrique et l'Europe, et ce pour accélérer la cadence des projets de coopération entre les deux continents.

Moroccan respondent

**Graph 25: As you see it, the top foreign policy partners of your country are**  
(respondents were asked to choose 3 options out of 12, only respondents from SEM countries)



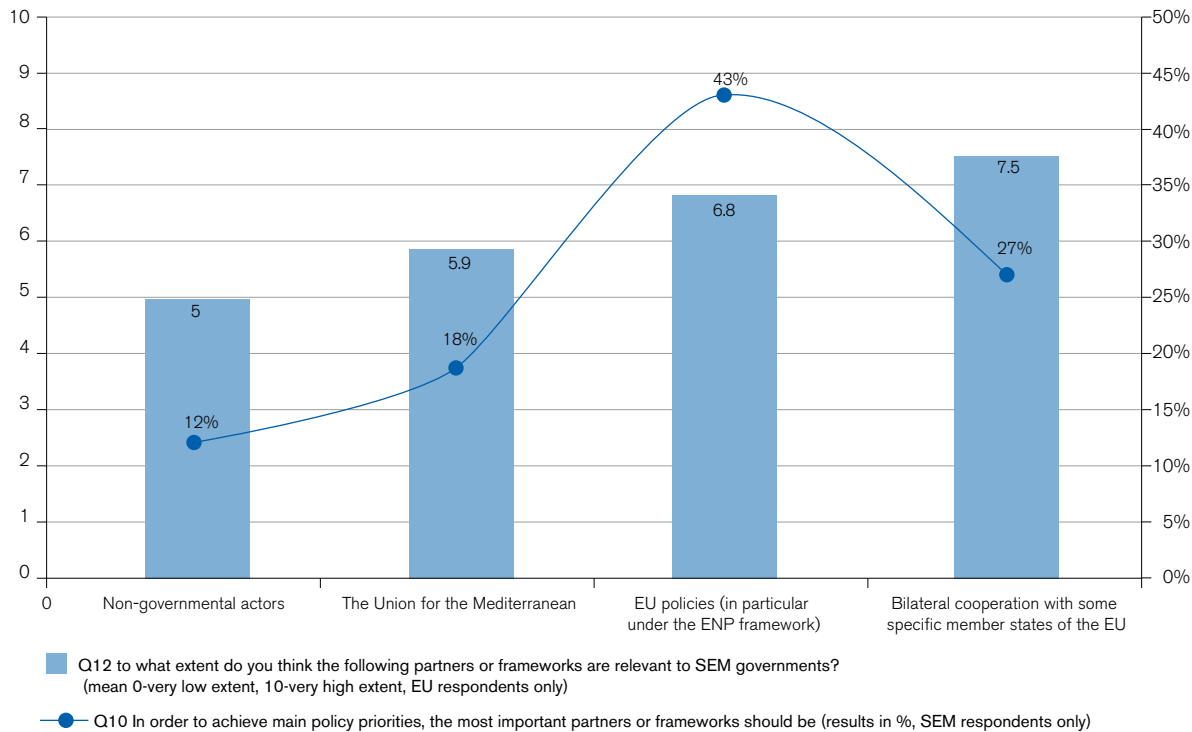
Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

## ENGAGING WITH THE EU: SEEN FROM THE EU

Q12 and Q13 were only targeting EU respondents with the idea of identifying how they perceive the way SEM countries engage with the EU.

**Question 12** mirrored Question 10 to some extent, with the objective of finding out the opinion of European respondents regarding the relevance of partners and frameworks for SEM governments. A comparison between the results deriving from Question 12 and 10 tends to show that European respondents seem to be more confident with bilateral mechanisms and less with EU mechanisms than SEM respondents (see Graph 26).

**Graph 26: In general, to what extent do you think the following partners or frameworks are relevant to Southern and Eastern Mediterranean governments?**



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

EU policies are undefined, poorly communicated and have had little impact on the ground. Only individual EU member states still remain relevant.

German respondent

De nouveau, la question est focalisée sur les gouvernements des pays du Sud et de l'Est. La question posée pour leurs résidents, notamment les moins représentés dans les dialogues euro-méditerranéen, donnerait des réponses différentes, justement celles qui manquent à l'UE et aux preneurs de décisions.

French respondent

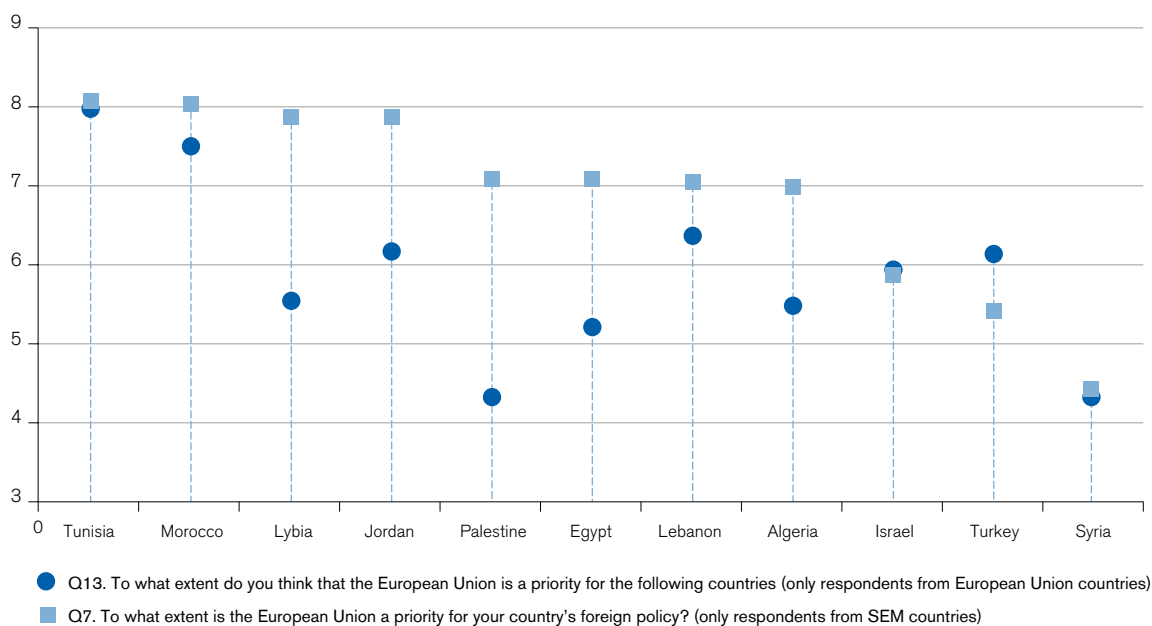
As to the order of significance, I would specify both bilateral cooperation of EU member states and related Mediterranean governments, as well as non-governmental actors, as the most effective frameworks. They appeal to the public in particular countries.

Polish respondent

Finally, the results of **Question 13** show to what extent European respondents think that the EU is a priority for SEM countries. Answers show that two Maghreb countries (Tunisia and Morocco) are seen as those where the EU is a strong priority in terms of foreign policy.

Overall, European respondents are less confident with the foreign policy relevance of the EU for SEM countries than respondents for SEM countries themselves. In turn, European respondents seem to overstate the foreign policy relevance of the EU for Turkey and underestimate its relevance for Palestine or Egypt.

Graph 27: The EU as a foreign policy priority (mean 0-very low extent, 10-very high extent)



Source: Compiled by the IEMed based on the results of the 9th Euromed Survey

The prioritization of external partners including the EU changes dynamically in the foreign policies of most countries of the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean.

Bulgarian respondent

This question does not imply easy answers that can be synthesized in a number. The priority of certain EU countries for this group of EU partner countries is much higher than the EU itself (look for instance at how strong relations between France and Egypt are at the moment). On the other hand, Turkey is not an EU partner country, as it is still an accession country. Therefore, it follows a different pattern, precisely because of its accession perspectives (or lack of) and the EU-Turkey statement.

Spanish respondent