

Citizenship after the Nation State

The Comparative Territorial Politics series

Series editors:

Charlie Jeffery, Professor of Politics, School of Social and Political Science, University of Edinburgh, UK.

Michael Keating, Professor of Politics, University of Aberdeen, UK.

Territorial politics is one of the most dynamic areas in contemporary political science. Devolution, regional government and federal reform have reshaped the architecture of government at sub-state and transnational levels, with profound implications for public policy, political competition, democracy and the nature of political community. Important policy fields such as health, education, agriculture, environment and economic development are managed at new spatial levels. Regions, stateless nations and metropolitan areas have become political arenas, contested by old and new political parties and interest groups. All of this is shaped by transnational integration and the rise of supranational and international bodies like the European Union, the North American Free Trade Area and the World Trade Organization.

The *Comparative Territorial Politics* series brings together monographs, edited collections and area studies that further scholarship in the field of territorial politics and policy, decentralization, federalism and regionalism. The series aims to be an outlet for innovative research in this area, grounded in political science, political geography, law, international relations and sociology.

Titles include:

Christopher Carman, Robert Johns and James Mitchell
MORE SCOTTISH THAN BRITISH
The 2011 Scottish Parliament Election

Régis Dandoy and Arjan Schakel (*editors*)
REGIONAL AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE
Territoriality of the Vote in Thirteen Countries

Alain-G Gagnon and Michael Keating (*editors*)
POLITICAL AUTONOMY AND DIVIDED SOCIETIES
Imagining Democratic Alternatives in Complex Settings

Ailsa Henderson, Charlie Jeffery and Daniel Wincott (*editors*)
CITIZENSHIP AFTER THE NATION STATE
Regionalism, Nationalism and Public Attitudes in Europe

Michel Seymour and Alain-G Gagnon (*editors*)
MULTINATIONAL FEDERALISM
Problems and Prospects

Irina Stefuriuc
GOVERNMENT FORMATION IN MULTI-LEVEL SETTINGS
Party Strategy and Institutional Constraints

The Comparative Territorial Politics series **Series Standing Order ISBN 978-0-230-29293-2**

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

Citizenship after the Nation State

Regionalism, Nationalism and Public Attitudes in Europe

Edited by

Ailsa Henderson

Professor of Political Science, University of Edinburgh, UK

Charlie Jeffery

Professor of Politics, University of Edinburgh, UK

and

Daniel Wincott

*Blackwell Law and Society Chair, Head of Cardiff Law School,
Cardiff University, UK*

palgrave
macmillan



Selection and editorial matter © Ailsa Henderson, Charlie Jeffery and Daniel Wincott 2014

Remaining chapters © Respective authors 2014

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2014 978-0-230-29657-2

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2014 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries

ISBN 978-1-349-33378-3

ISBN 978-1-137-31499-4 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9781137314994

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xv
1 Introduction: Regional Public Attitudes beyond Methodological Nationalism <i>Charlie Jeffery</i>	1
2 Citizenship after Devolution in the United Kingdom: Public Attitudes in Scotland and Wales <i>Ailsa Henderson, Charlie Jeffery, Daniel Wincott and Richard Wyn Jones</i>	31
3 A Comparative Study of Citizenship in Three Spanish Autonomous Communities <i>Carol Galais, Enric Martínez-Herrera and Francesc Pallarés</i>	52
4 Regional Citizenship in Germany: Solidarity and Participation in a Unitary Federal State <i>Julia Oberhofer, Dieter Roth, Julia Stehlin, Roland Sturm and Felix Wille</i>	80
5 Public Attitudes to National and Regional Citizenship in a Unitary Federal State: The Case of Austria <i>Franz Fallend, Peter A. Ulram and Eva Zugmeister</i>	109
6 Regional Citizenship and Scales of Governance in France <i>Romain Pasquier</i>	135
7 Citizenship in Europe: A Comparative Examination of the Territorial Scales of Political Life <i>Ailsa Henderson</i>	155
8 Conclusion: Citizenship After the Nation State: The 2009 Survey and Beyond <i>Daniel Wincott and Richard Wyn Jones</i>	181

<i>Appendices</i>	206
<i>Bibliography</i>	225
<i>Index</i>	243

List of Figures

4.1	Regional control index and uniformity scale	90
7.1	Patterns of social solidarity across territorial scales	158
7.2	Support for policy uniformity by policy field	162
7.3	The importance of territorial scales	166
7.4	Region-state territorial scales	167
7.5	Regional policy control and policy uniformity	168
7.6	Support for regional policy control	170
7.7	Desired regional influence and its consequences	172
7.8	Perceived regional wealth and support for state intervention	174

List of Tables

1.1	Case selection	11
1.2	Bi-polar identity scale	15
1.3	Relative attachment to region	16
1.4	Regional authority	17
1.5	Relative importance of regional decisions	18
1.6	Which does, which should have most influence	19
1.7	Constitutional options	20
1.8	Regional GDP	21
1.9	Regional economic situation compared to the rest of the state	22
1.10	Importance of voting at regional and state levels	23
1.11	Most suitable level of government for policy control	24
1.12	Uniform policies, or matters for the regions to decide?	25
1.13	Relative affinity	26
1.14	Limits to state-wide solidarity	27
2.1	Support for devolution in the 1997 referendums	33
2.2	Multi-level citizenship in Scotland and Wales	37
2.3	Independent variables	39
2.4	Social solidarity in Scotland and Wales	40
2.5	Fiscal solidarity in Scotland and Wales	41
2.6	Multi-level political participation	42
2.7	Public policy in a multi-level environment	43
2.8	Greater regional influence and regional policy control	45
2.9	Greater regional influence and policy uniformity	45
2.10	Multi-level citizenship in Scotland and Wales	48
3.1	Regional and state attachment and pride	56
3.2	Relative identities (bi-polar scale) and AC definition as a 'nation' or a 'region'	57
3.3	Institutional authority and perceived economic situation	59
3.4	Dependent variables	61
3.5	Perceived importance of voting at regional and state-wide elections	62

3.6	Regional policy control	63
3.7	State-wide policy uniformity	65
3.8a	Predictors of inter-regional solidarity, subjective political engagement and attitudes towards policymaking: identity	67
3.8b	Predictors of inter-regional solidarity, subjective political engagement and attitudes towards policymaking: perceived regional institutional authority	68
3.8c	Predictors of inter-regional solidarity, subjective political engagement and attitudes towards policymaking: perceived regional wealth	69
3.9	Relative affinity	71
3.10	Fiscal solidarity	72
3.11	Relative perceived importance of voting in regional elections	73
3.12	Index of regional control of public policies	74
3.13	Index of state-wide policy uniformity	75
4.1	Regional and state attachment	86
4.2	Single attachments	86
4.3	Regional identity (bi-polar scale)	87
4.4	Perceptions of regional institutions	88
4.5	Perceived importance of political decisions	88
4.6	Regional economic situation	89
4.7	Perceived importance of voting in elections	90
4.8	Support for fiscal solidarity	91
4.9	Affinity to other groups	92
4.10	Perceived importance of voting and solidarity	92
4.11	Relative regional attachment and regional citizenship	94
4.12	Perceived institutional importance and regional citizenship	97
4.13	Relative regional participation and relative regional solidarity	99
4.14	The economy and regional citizenship	100
4.15	Regional citizenship by demographic groups	102
4.16	Multivariate analysis	104
5.1	Relative attachment	114
5.2	Bi-polar identity scale	114
5.3	Importance of decisions of the regional and the national parliament	116

5.4	Should have most political influence	116
5.5	Perceived institutional concern and wish for influence	117
5.6	Economic indicators	118
5.7	Perception of relative economic performance	118
5.8	Perceived importance of voting	119
5.9	Policy control	120
5.10	Preference for state-wide policy uniformity	121
5.11	Nation-building and national pride	122
5.12	'Social guarantee-ism' and policy control	123
5.13	Regional affinity	123
5.14	Preference for state intervention	124
5.15	Regional identity, political participation and social solidarity	125
5.16	Institutional authority, political participation and social solidarity	126
5.17	Economic disparity, political participation and social solidarity	127
5.18a	Multivariate analysis of multi-level citizenship – Salzburg	128
5.18b	Multivariate analysis of multi-level citizenship – Upper Austria	129
5.18c	Multivariate analysis of multi-level citizenship – Vienna	130
6.1	Scale of territorial attachments	140
6.2	The bi-polar identity scale	141
6.3	Perceived and desired importance of territorial levels	142
6.4	Desired institutional authority	142
6.5	Regional GDP per capita	143
6.6	Perceived economic disparities	143
6.7	Importance of voting in different elections	145
6.8	Most suitable level of government for policy control	145
6.9	Affinity scale	145
6.10	Uniform policies or regional variation	146
6.11	Economic and inter-regional solidarity	146
6.12	Uniformity scale and bi-polar identity scale	148
6.13	State should intervene and bi-polar identity scale	149
6.14	Regional solidarity, importance of participation, and regional policy	149

6.15	Multi-level citizenship in France	151
7.1	Support for regional policy control	159
7.2	Importance of voting	163
7.3	Multivariate analysis of multi-level citizenship	177
8.1	% Very attached ...	188
8.2	Regional policy control in North America and Europe	189
8.3	Bi-Polar identity scale	192
8.4	Relative attachment to region	193
8.5	Which parts of England are looked after better, 2011?	199
8.6	Constitutional preferences for England, 2011	201

Acknowledgements

This book has quite a pre-history. Its earliest inspiration was a series of projects on public attitudes on devolution in the various parts of the United Kingdom commissioned as part of the Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) Devolution and Constitutional Change Programme in 2000. Led by Anthony Heath (England), Alison Park (Scotland), Richard Wyn Jones (Wales) and Roger Mac Ginty (Northern Ireland), and informally coordinated by John Curtice, these projects built or extended datasets on public attitudes on the devolution reforms that extend (at least) back to the devolution referendums in Scotland and Wales in 1997, and which continue in various ways through to today. As Director of the ESRC programme, I was aware both of how rich these datasets were, but also how little we were able to contextualize them with comparative data from elsewhere.

So, towards the end of the ESRC programme, and building out from a core United Kingdom group of Park and Wyn Jones plus Ailsa Henderson and Daniel Wincott, we convened a group of colleagues from Austria (Franz Fallend and Peter Ulram), Belgium (Lieven de Winter), France (Romain Pasquier), Germany (Dieter Roth and Roland Sturm), Spain (Enric Martínez-Herrera and Francesc Pallares) and Sweden (Mikael Hjerm) to see whether research that would collect data systematically about the public's attitudes on decentralized systems of government was desirable and feasible.

The answer on both counts was yes, and in spring 2007 an application was made under the title Citizenship after the Nation-State (CANS) to the European Science Foundation (ESF) for a 'European Collaborative Research Project' which included all the above, except de Winter (Belgium's idiosyncratic system of decentralized government meant that de Winter's region, Wallonia, was not a signatory to the ESF). At least three national components of the project had to be supported if it were to go forward. Some months later the ESF, working with national research funders, approved the Austrian, German and Spanish components of the project, but not the French, Swedish or the U.K. projects. The U.K. component was crucial in providing coordination for the whole, and the ESF's rules were that if the coordinator was not funded, the whole project fell.

Some fairly frantic bargaining with the ESRC then produced a small coordination budget which satisfied the ESF's requirements and allowed at least the Austrian, German and Spanish research to go ahead (although the Spanish funding awarded was much less than asked for, putting the viability of the Spanish component at risk). In the following months additional funding for Spain was secured, as were alternative funding sources for the French component of the project and for two thirds of the U.K. component (for surveys in Scotland and Wales, but not England). No alternative funding became available in Sweden, which dropped off the project. In the end, the research reported in this book was supported by the following 12 funders, to whom our thanks are due and recorded here:

- Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió (Spain)
- Commission on Scottish Devolution (United Kingdom)
- Conseil Régional d'Alsace (France)
- Conseil Régional de Bretagne (France)
- Conseil Régional d'Ile de France (France)
- Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (Germany)
- Economic and Social Research Council (United Kingdom)
- Fonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Austria)
- Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (Spain)
- Region Alsace (France)
- University of Edinburgh (United Kingdom)
- Welsh Assembly Government (United Kingdom)

All this took some time – as did the agreement of a common, core questionnaire in English between five country teams with different traditions of survey research that could then be translated and back-translated to produce as closely as possible the same meaning across several languages. In the end this common survey went into the field in the spring of 2009.

Findings were presented in various forums: at ESF-funded workshops at the European University Institute in Florence and the University of Edinburgh, and in CANS team meetings in Brussels and Heidelberg. Among those who gave their good advice and insights to our analysis are: Marta Arretche, Michael Bauer, Luciano Bardi, Daniele Caramani, Marc Debus, Kris Deschouwer, Elodie Fabre, Scott Greer, Liesbet Hooghe, Michael Keating, Guy Lodge, Bart Maddens, Emanuele Massetti, Gary Marks, Jochen Müller, Arjan Schakel, Katie Schmuecker, Oliver

Strijbis, Wilfried Swenden, Simon Toubeau, Alexander Trechsel, Filippo Tronconi, Ine Vanlangenakker, Luca Verzichelli, Carol Weissert, Alex Wilson and the late and very sadly missed Peter Mair. We thank them for their support, and absolve them from responsibility for any shortcomings that remain.

Notes on Contributors

Franz Fallend is Senior Scientist at the Department of Politikwissenschaft und Soziologie at the Universität Salzburg, Austria.

Carol Galais is Postdoctoral researcher in political science at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain.

Ailsa Henderson is Professor of Political Science in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom.

Charlie Jeffery is Professor of Politics and Vice Principal for Public Policy and Impact at the University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom.

Enric Martínez-Herrera is Adjunct Professor in Political Science and Administration at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, Spain.

Julia Oberhofer is a PhD student at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany.

Francesc Pallarés is Professor of Political Science and Administration at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, Spain.

Romain Pasquier is Head of Research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) at the Institut d'Études Politiques, Rennes, France.

Dieter Roth is Adjunct Professor of Political Science at the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences of the Universität Heidelberg, Germany.

Julia Stehlin is a student at the Universität Heidelberg, Germany.

Roland Sturm is Professor of Political science at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany.

Peter Ulram is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Vienna, Austria.

Felix Wille is a student at the Universität Heidelberg, Germany.

Daniel Wincott holds the Blackwell Law and Society Chair at Cardiff Law School, United Kingdom.

Richard Wyn Jones is Professor of Welsh Politics and Director of the Wales Governance Centre at Cardiff University, United Kingdom.

Eva Zugmeister is an analyst at GfK Austria, Austria.