

Manufacturing Discontent

The Rise to Power of Anti-TTIP Groups

Launch of ECIPE Report

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Why this study?

**TTIP
IST
BÖSE**

I'm saying
NO
TO TTIP

36 DEGREES

Sign the petition to expose the deal

 **Global
Justice
Now**



1 million say
#noTTIP

#noTTIP
wdm.org.uk/TTIP

 **STOP
TTIP**

**EUROPEAN INITIATIVE
AGAINST TTIP AND CETA**

Why this study?

- The realisation that powerful metaphors and deceptive narratives about TTIP and CETA “fly” in the Internet and traditional media
- TTIP is an “Attack on Democracy”, “TTIP is toxic”, “TTIP is a “Trojan Horse” of US multinational corporations” = fundamental opposition to any set of proposed rules
- The rise of a flourishing anti-TTIP NGO protest scene in Germany (more than 90% of online media reporting abt. TTIP) and other European countries
- Deliberate management of emotions of primarily ill-informed citizens, no education
- Tremendous feedback effect on public opinion in Germany and Austria (abt. TTIP, CETA and EU policymaking in general)

1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

“DEAR” - EU Commission
DG International Cooperation and Development

“Development education and awareness raising (DEAR) aims to inform EU citizens about development issues, mobilise greater public support for action against poverty, give citizens tools to engage critically with global development issues, to foster new ideas and change attitudes.”

1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

EC project “Making EU investment Policy work for Sustainable Development”

- According to “asktheeu.org”, concluded in 29/01/2013 between the EU – represented by the European Commission – and “Stichting Transnational Institute”; **grant: about 700,000 EUR** (in 2013/14)

Formal objective:

- “[...] to raise awareness among citizens, CSOs [civil society organisations], academics and policy makers and to **gain their active support for a reformed EU Investment Policy** for Sustainable Development.”

1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

“TTIP is a very dangerous animal. It is an animal that does not deserve to be on the list of protected species [...]”

“[TTIP] is a treaty that has to be refused absolutely and entirely.”

Susan George (How to Win a Class War), President of the Transnational Institute (TNI, Amsterdam, Honorary President of ATTAC-France, former Board Member of Greenpeace Intl.), key note speech at the conference „Stop TTIP, CETA, TISA“ - For a Citizens' trade Agenda, 9 December 2014, European Parliament, Brussels (available on Youtube).



1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

Expected results explicitly agreed between DG DevCo and TNI in 2013(!)/14:

- To reach 3 million EU citizens
- 40,000 citizens “will take action”
- Reach 600 NGOs
- Ensure that 200 NGOs engage in “e-action” (petitions, open letters etc.)
- Reach 100 elected MEPs and 200 MEP candidates



1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

Delivered:

- EC funding for websites of www.s2bnetwork.org and stopttip.dk

Transnational Institute states:

- “TNI plays a particularly significant role in the European Seattle to Brussels (S2B) network, actively working in the Coordination Group [...]”
- “1,150,000 signatures collected with TNI’s help by end 2014 for self-organised European Citizens’ Initiative (ECI) against TTIP with 50,000 signatures in The Netherlands”

1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

Delivered:

– Today's hard core of anti-TTIP, anti-CETA, anti-EU Trade Policy organisations

Seattle to Brussels network – declared anti-TTIP, Aitec, France – declared anti-TTIP, ATTAC France – declared anti-TTIP, attac Austria – declared anti-TTIP, Both ENDS, Netherlands – declared anti-TTIP, Le Centre National de Coopération au Développement (CNCD), 11.11.11., Belgium – declared anti-TTIP, Chamber of Labour (Vienna), Austria – declared anti-TTIP, NO2ISDS, Corporate Europe Observatory, Belgium – declared anti-TTIP, Fairwatch, Italy – declared anti-TTIP, France America Latina, France – according to our research not a declared anti-TTIP organisation, Institute of Global Responsibility, Poland – declared anti-TTIP, Milieudefensie, Netherlands – declared anti-TTIP, Oficina Internacional de los Derechos Humanos Acción Colombia (OIDHACO), Colombia – declared anti-TTIP (signatory to letter published by the TNI in 2015 calling to stop TTIP negotiations), Powershift, Germany – declared anti-TTIP, Re-Common, Italy – declared anti-TTIP, Stop TTIP – Italy – declared anti-TTIP, Vedegylet Egyesulet, Hungary – declared anti-TTIP, SOMO, Netherlands – declared anti-TTIP, FNV, Netherlands – according to our research not a declared anti-TTIP organisation, WEMOS, Netherlands – according to our research not a declared anti-TTIP organisation, Foodwatch, Netherlands – declared anti-TTIP, Dutch Dairyman Board, Netherlands, Nederlandse Akkerbouw Bond – according to our research not a declared anti-TTIP organisation, ASEED, Netherlands – declared anti-TTIP, Vrijschrift, Netherlands – anti-TTIP, Platform Authentieke Journalistiek, Netherlands, Platform ABC, Netherlands – according to our research not a declared anti-TTIP organisation, Ecologistas en Acción, Spain – declared anti-TTIP, Traidcraft, UK – according to our research not a declared anti-TTIP organisation, War on Want, UK – declared anti-TTIP.

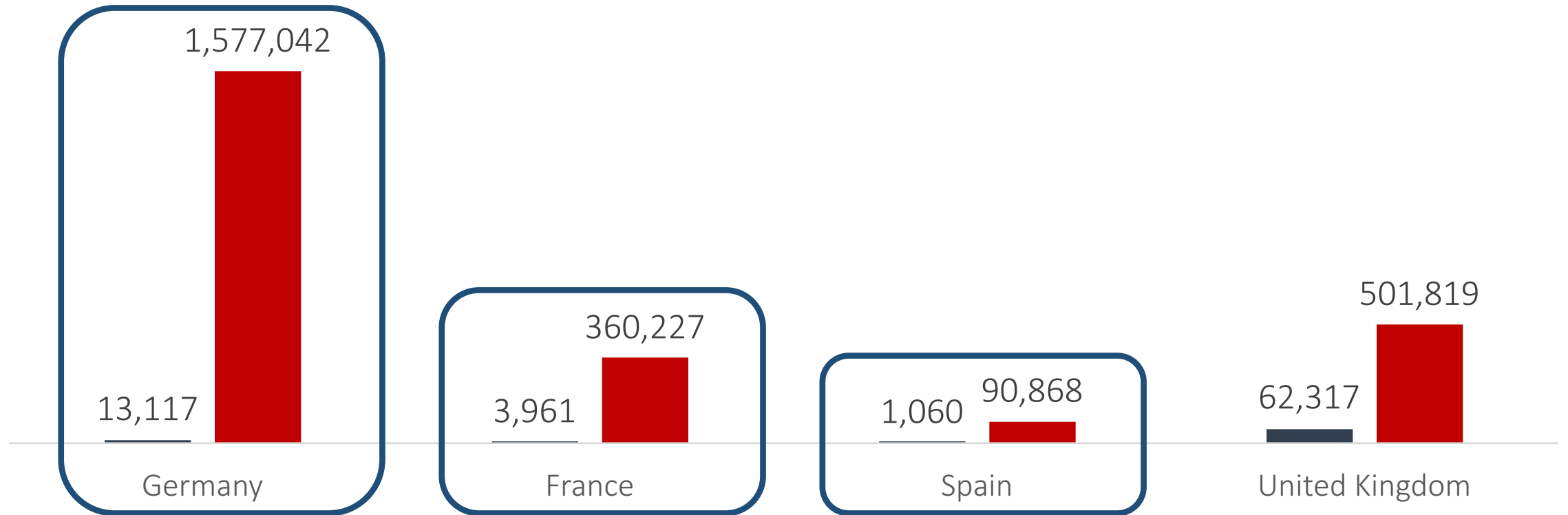
1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

What else?

- A hijacked public consultation on investor-state-dispute settlement in 2014
- In total, 149,399 replies were received – 97 percent of all replies were submitted by a small number of anti-TTIP campaign groups
- A new investment court system for CETA and TTIP?
- A EU Commission decision to effectively give up competences in trade policy?
- Wallonia rejecting CETA on selfish and dubious grounds?

1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

What else?



■ Visits of EU Commission negotiation texts website in country-specific language, 29 April 2015 - 6 October 2015

■ Signatures for ECI against TTIP (closing date: 6 October 2015)

1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

What remains?

- “**WE** are against...”, “**Stop**...”, “Say **NO** to...”
- Manufactured discontent about TTIP, CETA and EU Trade Policy in general
- Agressive anti-TTIP campaigning funded with EU taxpayer money
- No effective mechanisms for ordinary people to check what is going on in the jungle of Brussels politics
- Grist to the mill for nationalist movements – “National interests are being sold out in Brussels”

1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

What remains?

The authors of the NGO Report (2016) argue that the “*relationship between the European Union (EU) and civil society is marked by an unbalanced distribution of funding, favoring a small number of highly interconnected NGOs. The EU and NGOs rely on one another for information, creating a closed echo chamber, undisturbed by any external input or independent evaluation.*”

They also argue that “*[t]he biggest beneficiary NGOs are highly interconnected – with overlapping memberships in multiple networks and shared board members.*”

1. The Politics of TTIP at EU Level

2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

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- Germany is anti-TTIP groups' major political battleground
- Public opinion about TTIP: (only) 32% of Germans think positive abt. TTIP

Why?



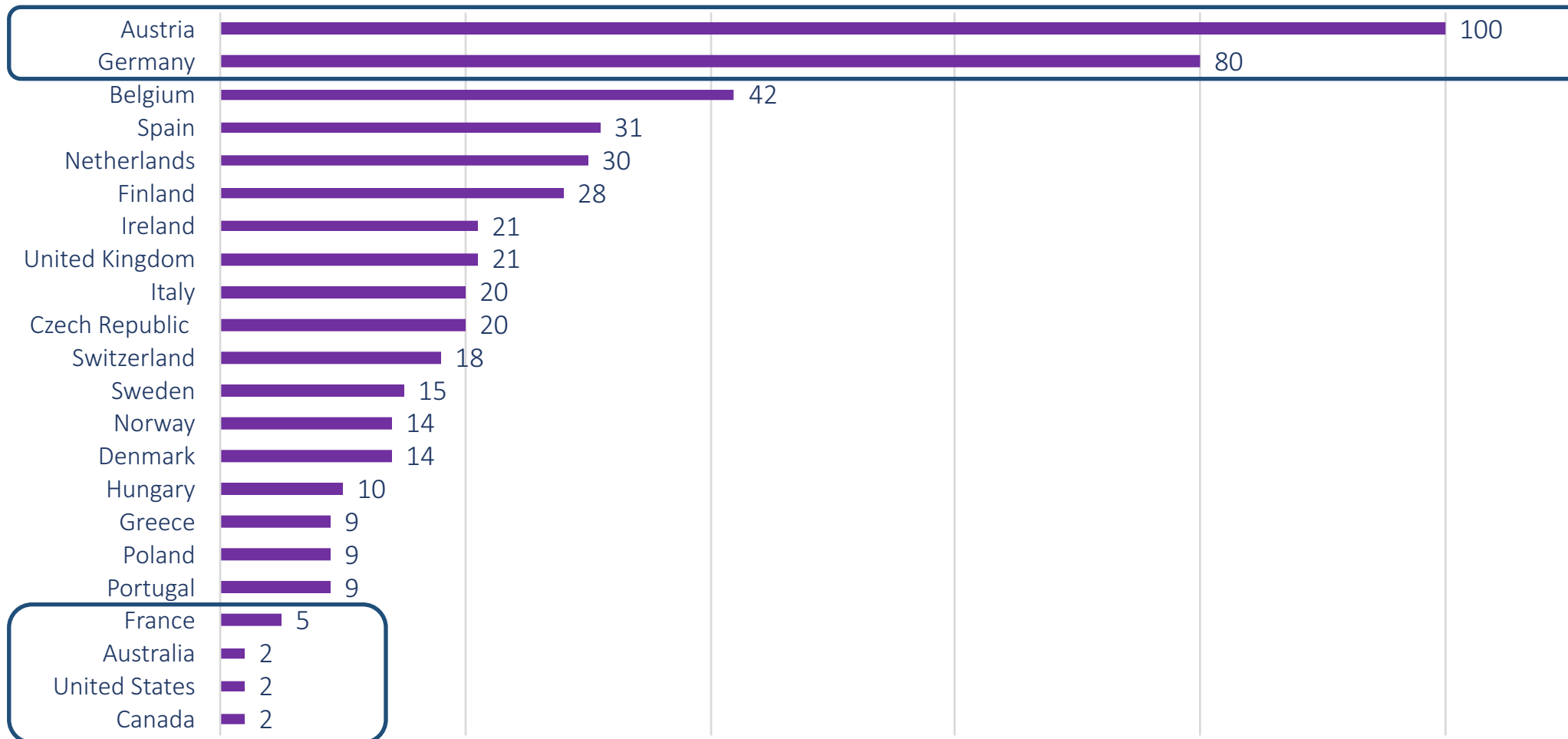
Anti-TTIP campaigning orchestrated by small number of NGOs and political parties searching for “anti-establishment” profiles



Agressive and highly deceptive metaphors, headlines and narratives

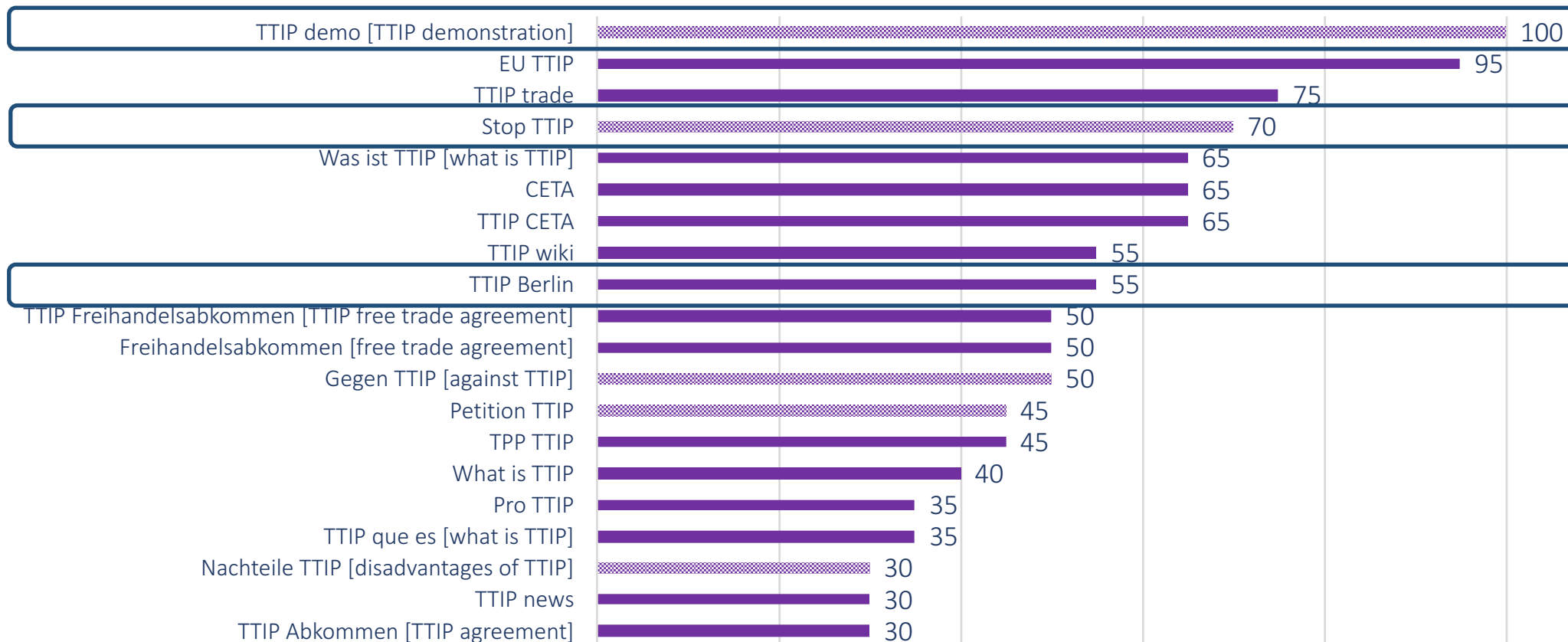
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Global Google Search Interest for “TTIP”



2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

Global Google Search Interest for “TTIP”, most popular queries



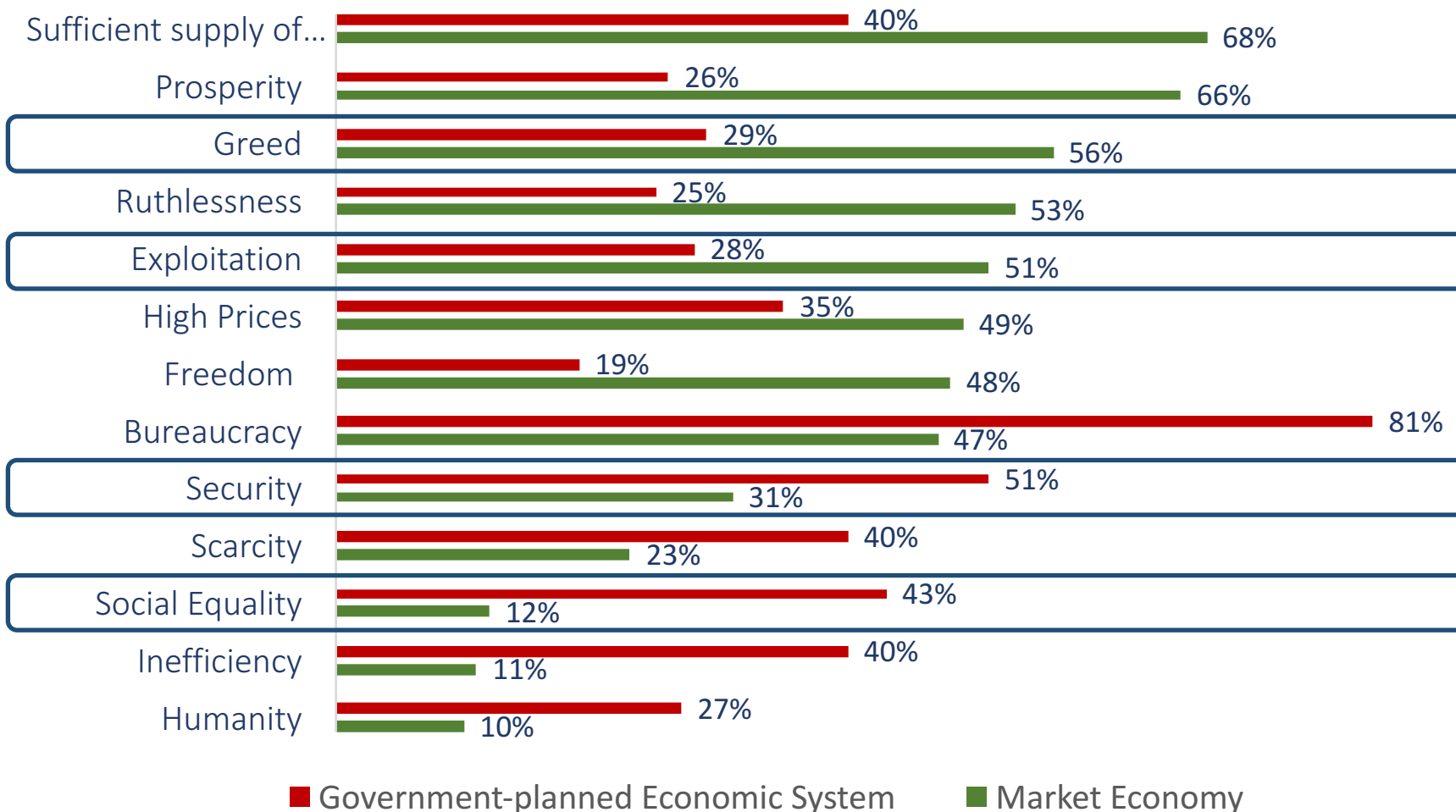
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

Why is Germany different?

- Europe's export powerhouse (GER's trade surplus with the US: 54bn EUR in 2015)?
- Latent anti-Americansm reinforced by Snowden revelations and NSA scandal
- Latent anti-globalisation sentiment and perceived inequality
- No trust in Brussels-centred policymaking (due to mismanagement of Eurozone crisis)
- German's secret love for central planning (Thomas Petersen, ifd Allensbach)

2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

German citizens' secret love for government-planning:



In per cent. IfD Allensbach (2013), Thomas Peterson (2015). **November 2013** survey. Percentage of respondents.

Underlying survey question: Which of the following terms do you associate with market economies/ government-organised economic systems? See association profile provided by IfD Allensbach (2010).

2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

Why is Germany different?

- Green and left-wing political parties GRUENE and DIE LINKE performed poorly in the federal elections of 2013, standing at 8.4 and 8.6 percent of total votes
- That makes a political opposition desperately looking for new thematic issues to maintain and establish (anti-establishment) political profiles
- (Affiliated) civil society organisations campaigning for donations and (individual) political influence
- Plus labour unions, clerical organisations, Germany's "cultural council"

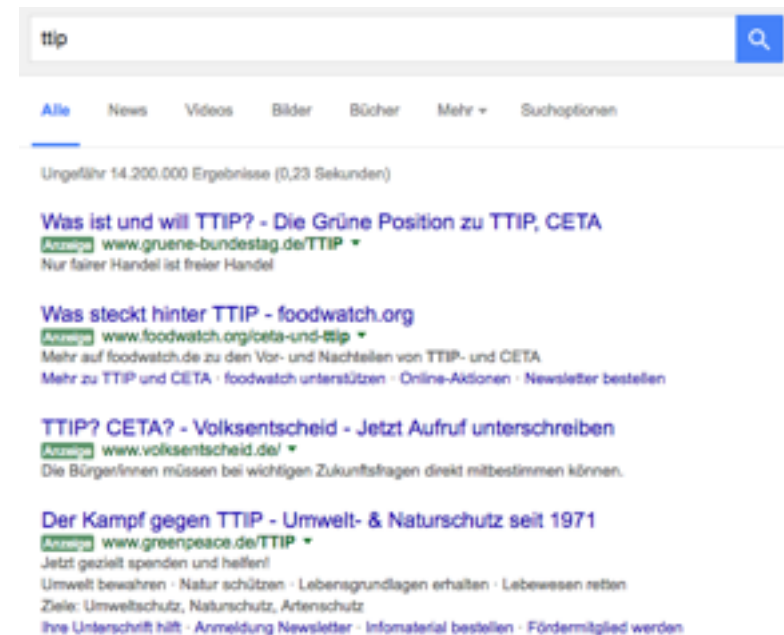
Why is Germany different?



2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

Paid advertising of TTIP-related political messages on Google and other search engines:

14 September 2016, Advertised messages: “What does TTIP want?”, “Who is behind TTIP?”, “TTIP? CETA? Referendum – Sign call against TTIP”, “Fight against TTIP – Environmental Protection since 1971”, “Stop TTIP now!”, “Stop CETA and TTIP”.



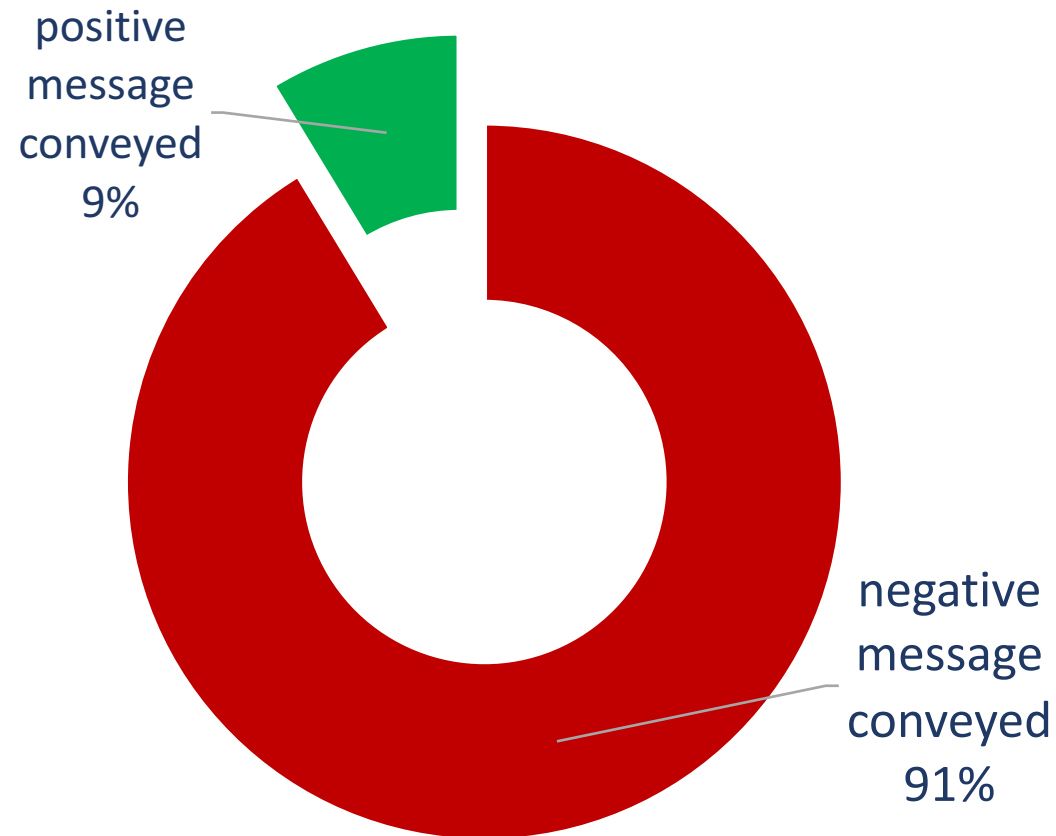
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Empirical basis of this study:

- Event analysis: 1,508 public “TTIP information events” in Germany
- Categories: event organisers, experts & speakers and insitutional affiliations, event headers
- February 2015 to February 2016
- Political parties, NGOs and local civic alliances, businesses and business organisations...

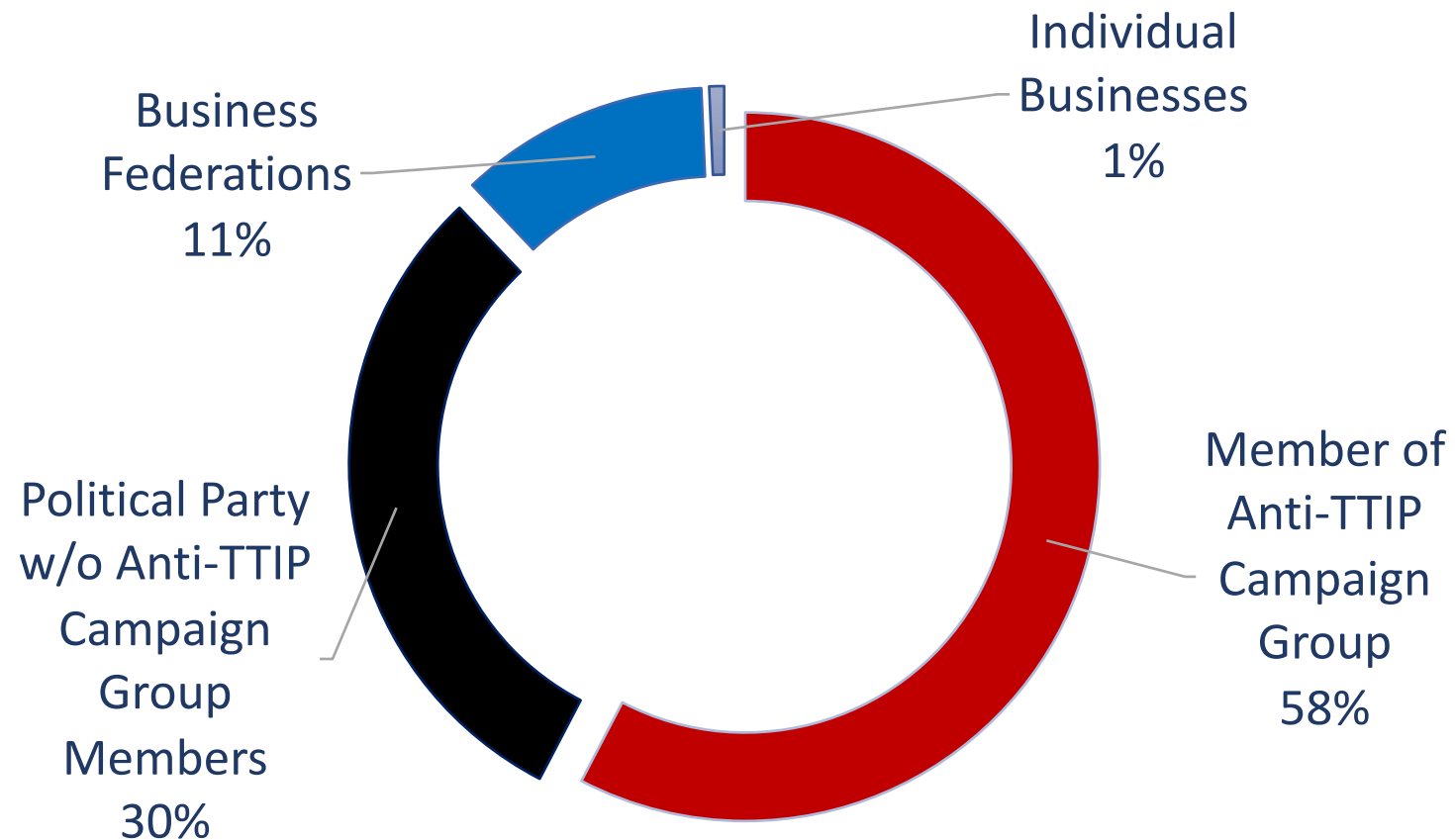
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TTIP event header: sentiment conveyed to the public (positive versus negative)



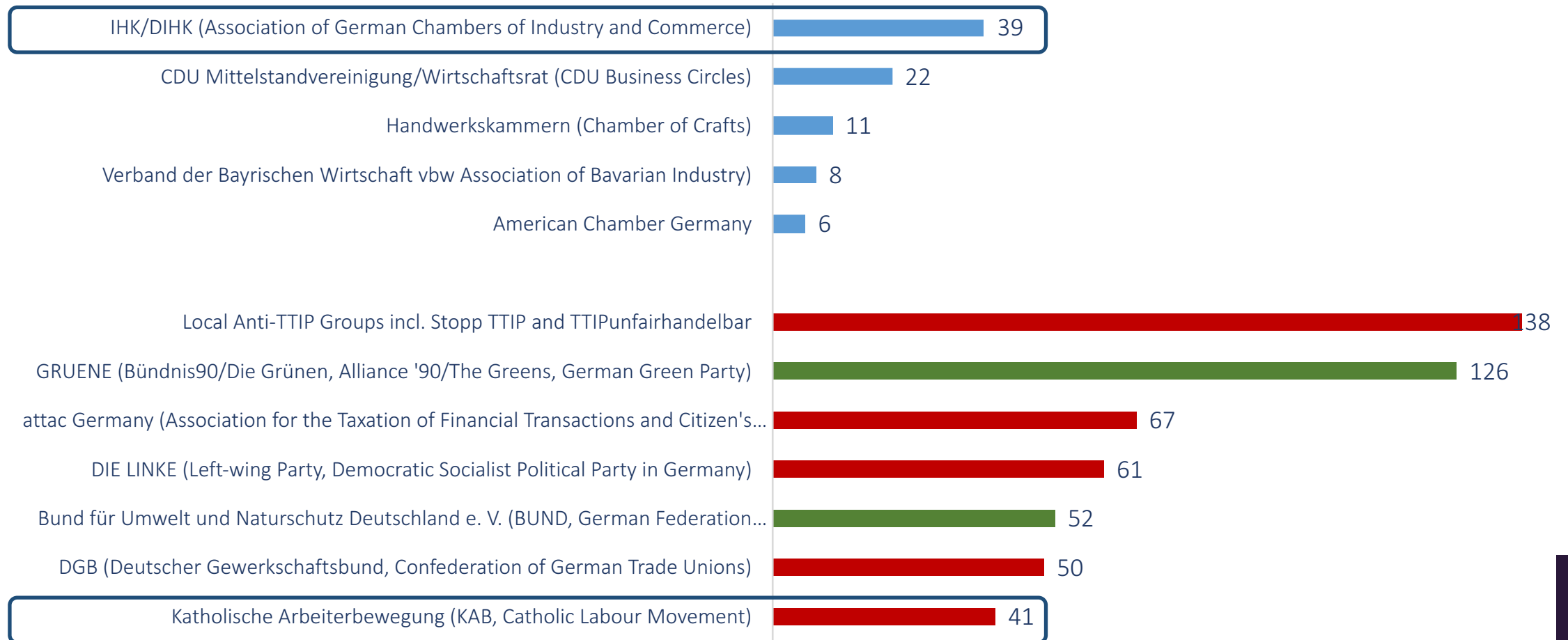
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TTIP event organisers:



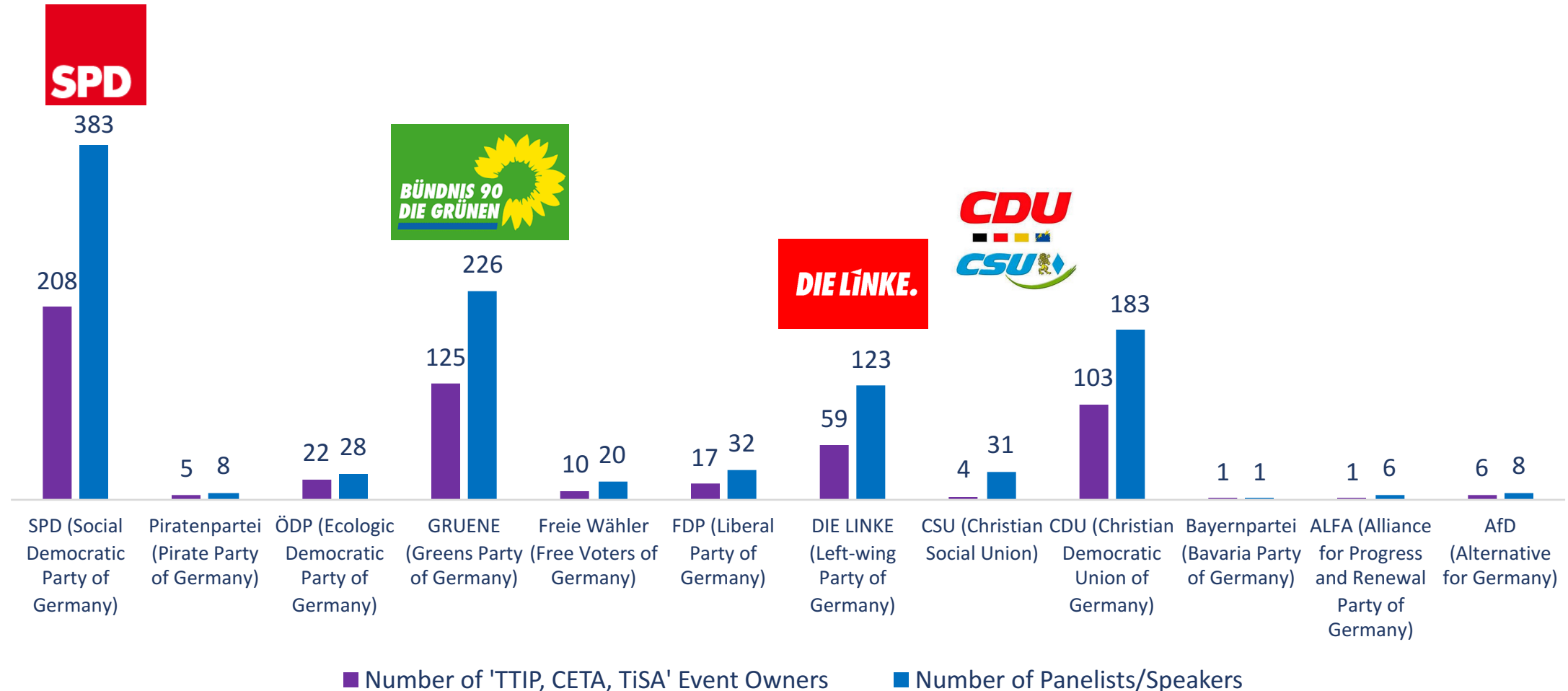
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Number of organised events, top “anti-TTIP” groups versus top business associations:



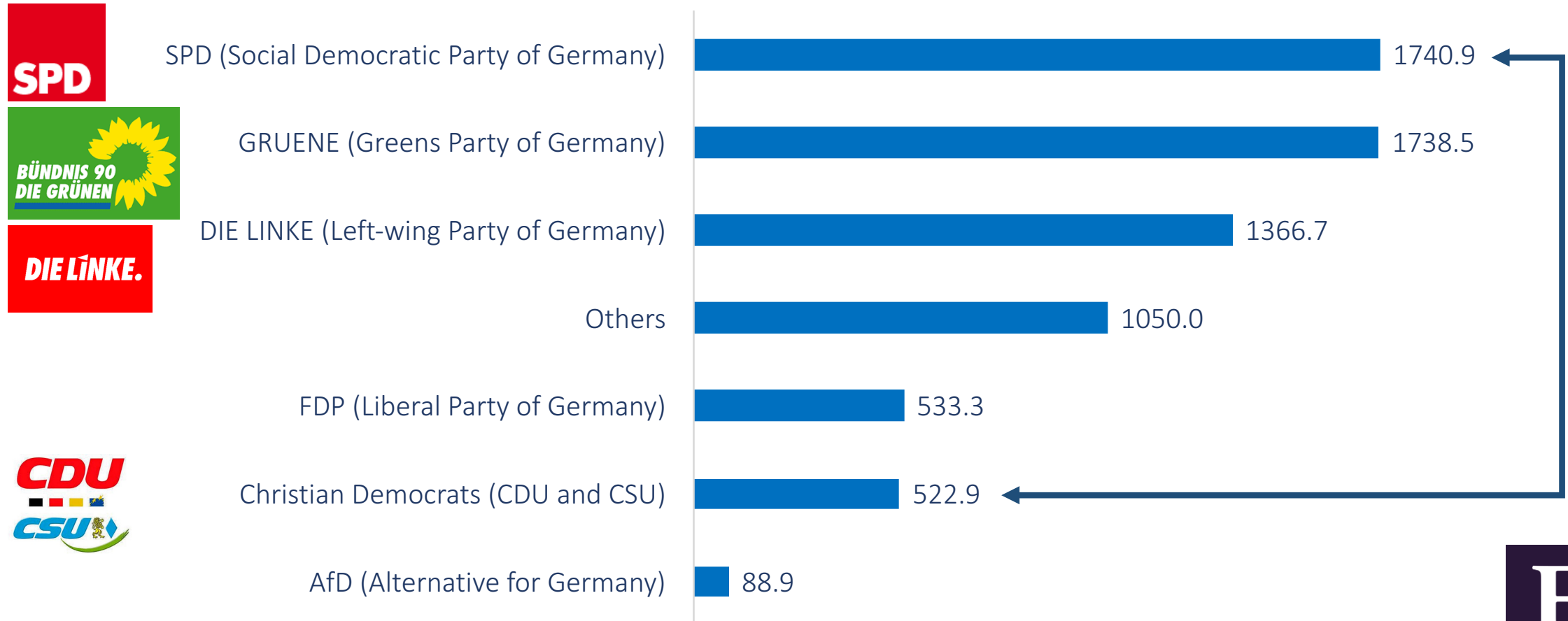
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Engagement of Germany's political parties (events versus speakers):



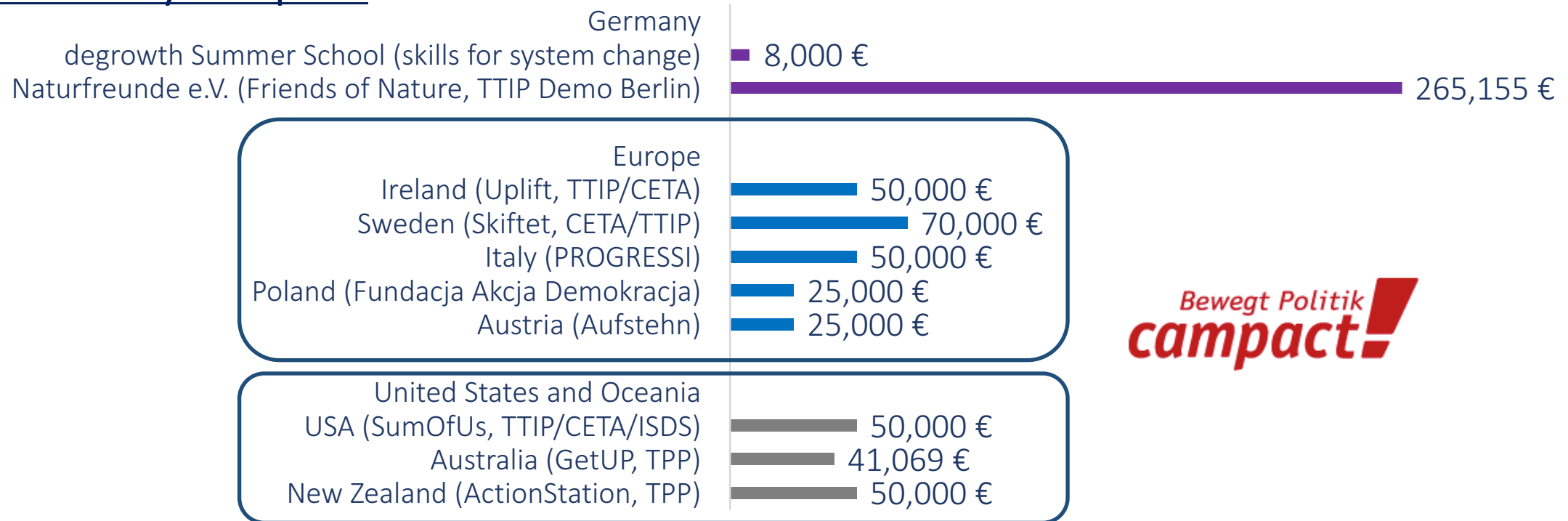
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Number of political parties' speakers, adjusted by voters support (Forsa, July 2016):



2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

German influence in Europe's anti-TTIP scene, declared anti-TTIP, anti-TPP Organisations funded by Campact:

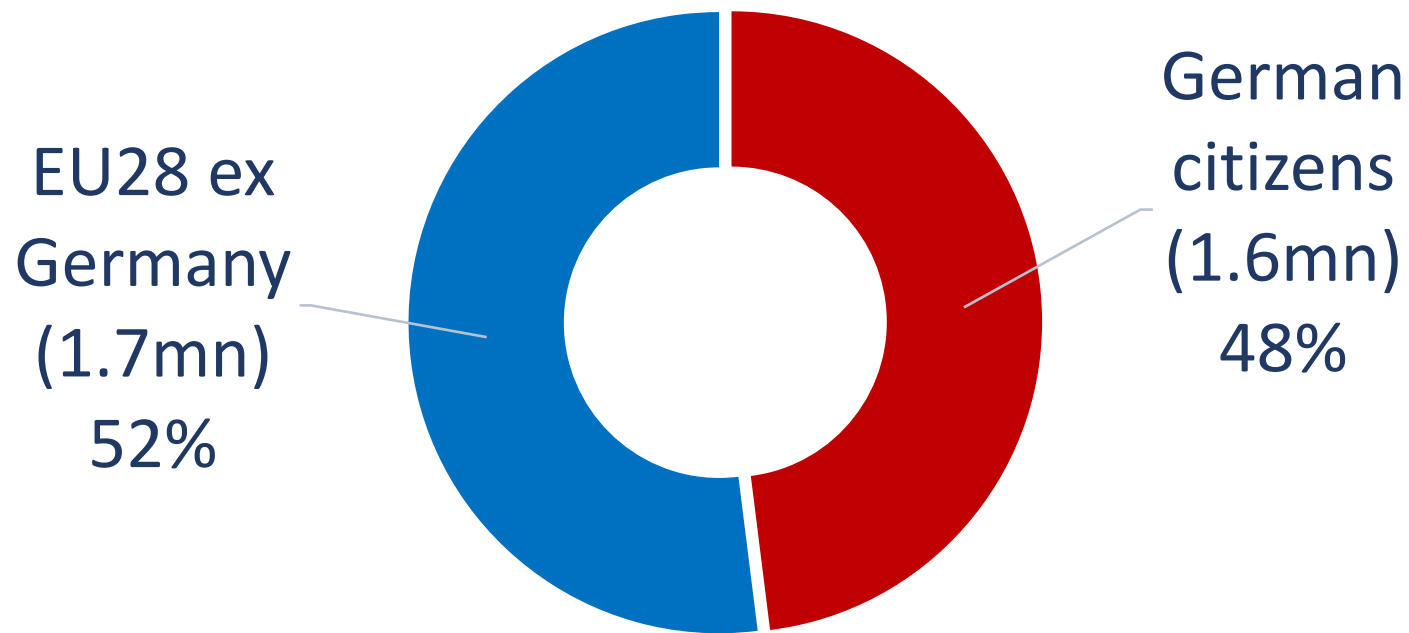


Source: Campact.

Note: Campact was funded by members of attac Germany in 2004.
In 2015, Campact's overall budget was 7 million Euros....

2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

German influence in Europe's anti-TTIP scene, share of signatures for "self-organised" European Citizens Initiative (ECI) against TTIP:



2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany



Germany is RussiaToday's biggest marketplace for (anti-)TTIP news reporting

- (Anti-)TTIP online reporting of Russia Today in Germany is about 4 times higher Russia Today's TTIP-reporting in France, and almost 10 times higher than in the United Kingdom
- Negative sentiment reporting of Russia Today is particularly profound for Germany (66 percent of a total of 896 RT contributions), the Netherlands (75 percent of 156 RT contributions), the United Kingdom (82 percent of 96 RT contributions), and the United States (80 percent of 1,219 RT contributions)
- Russia Today provided an exclusive livestream of the protesters' march in Berlin (September 2016) – in an attempt to increase public awareness of TTIP protests in Germany

Theses and Conclusions

- Public awareness of (EU) law-making is important.
- The vast majority of anti-TTIP groups act on the grounds of self-interest – searching for anti-establishment political profiles and/or donations for political business models.
- The vast majority of anti-TTIP groups effectively play ill-informed citizens emotions.
- The vast majority of anti-TTIP groups exploit the political power of going negative in the same way as the promoters of Brexit, Donald Trump and right-wing, nationalist movements in Europe (e.g. PEGIDA, Front National, Poland's Nationalist-Catholic Movement).
- By granting substantial amounts of taxpayer money to a closed echo chamber of NGOs, the European Commission manufactures widespread discontent about the European Union (the European Project).

Theses and Conclusions

- Political participation requires a balanced debate and education.
- Good policies need advocacy work too.
- No mental leaps: explanation and clarification of purpose of regulation of complex issues needed (TTIP = jobs and economic growth ???).
- No sense of urgency: undercommunication of the benefits of trade agreements, investment protection and regulatory cooperation found for policymakers, political parties and businesses.

Theses and Conclusions

- Common denominators of all anti-TTIP protests are the perceived abuse of market power and perceived income and wealth inequality (distributional inequality).
- Anti-competitive practices and corporate power concentration are important issues to be addressed by competition law (the constitutional principle of a Social Market Economy).
- Intransparent and discriminatory trade barriers always work as a subsidy for big business.
- Inequality is an issue to be addressed by local, regional or national laws.
- Trade policy is NOT the appropriate battleground to attack these issues.
- “Easy” trade encourages social change bottom-up – not top-down

That's the Logic of the Market

- Free trade is not trade free from regulatory restrictions. It is about non-discriminatory rules.
- Two (or more) individuals can exchange whatever goods and/or services they own, subject only to mutual consent and non-discriminatory regulations.
- Free trade encourages social interaction.
- Free trade prevents (national) isolation.
- Free trade contributes to peace.
- “STOP...”, “Say NO to...” spurs frustration and resignation. It does not help to address global problems.

