Manufacturing Discontent

The Rise to Power of Anti-TTIP Groups

Launch of ECIPE Report
Monday, 28 November 2016
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European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE), Brussels
Why this study?

TTIP IST BÖSE

I'm saying NO to TTIP
Sign the petition to expose the deal

Global Justice Now

1 million say #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](http://www.s2bnetwork.org) and [stopttip.dk](http://stopttip.dk)

Transnational Institute states:

- “TNI plays a particularly significant role in the European [Seattle to Brussels (S2B) network](http://www.s2b-network.org), actively working in the [Coordination Group](http://www.s2b-network.org) [...]”

- “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 Dairymen 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”
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
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

- Germany is anti-TTIP groups’ **major political battleground**

- Public opinion about TTIP: (only) 32% of Germans think positive about TTIP

**Why?**

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

Aggressive and **highly deceptive metaphors, headlines and narratives**
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

Global Google Search Interest for “TTIP”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Sweden</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Query</th>
<th>Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TTIP demo [TTIP demonstration]</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU TTIP</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTIP trade</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop TTIP</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was ist TTIP [what is TTIP]</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CETA</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTIP CETA</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTIP wiki</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTIP Berlin</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTIP Freihandelsabkommen [TTIP free trade agreement]</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freihandelsabkommen [free trade agreement]</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gegen TTIP [against TTIP]</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petition TTIP</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPP TTIP</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is TTIP</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro TTIP</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTIP que es [what is TTIP]</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nachteile TTIP [disadvantages of TTIP]</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTIP news</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTIP Abkommen [TTIP agreement]</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Government-planned Economic System (%)</th>
<th>Market Economy (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sufficient supply of…</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosperity</td>
<td>40% (68%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greed</td>
<td>40% (56%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruthlessness</td>
<td>28% (53%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploitation</td>
<td>28% (51%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Prices</td>
<td>35% (49%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>19% (48%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucracy</td>
<td>7% (47%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>13% (51%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarcity</td>
<td>23% (40%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Equality</td>
<td>12% (43%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inefficiency</td>
<td>11% (40%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanity</td>
<td>10% (27%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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**”
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

Why is Germany different?

37 out of Germany’s top 50 speakers are affiliated with one or declared more anti-TTIP organisations.
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

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

2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

Empirical basis of this study:

– Event analysis: 1,508 public “TTIP information events” in Germany

– Categories: event organisers, experts & speakers and institutional affiliations, event headers

– February 2015 to February 2016

– Political parties, NGOs and local civic alliances, businesses and business organisations...
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

TTIP event header: sentiment conveyed to the public (positive versus negative)
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

TTIP event organisers:

- Member of Anti-TTIP Campaign Group: 58%
- Political Party w/o Anti-TTIP Campaign Group Members: 30%
- Business Federations: 11%
- Individual Businesses: 1%
## 2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Number of Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IHK/DIHK (Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDU Mittelstandvereinigung/Wirtschaftsrat (CDU Business Circles)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handwerkskammern (Chamber of Crafts)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verband der Bayrischen Wirtschaft vbw Association of Bavarian Industry</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Chamber Germany</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Anti-TTIP Groups incl. Stopp TTIP and TTIPunfairhandelbar</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRUENE (Bündnis90/Die Grünen, Alliance ’90/The Greens, German Green Party)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attac Germany (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Citizen’s...</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIE LINKE (Left-wing Party, Democratic Socialist Political Party in Germany)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland e. V. (BUND, German Federation...</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, Confederation of German Trade Unions)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katholische Arbeiterbewegung (KAB, Catholic Labour Movement)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

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

- SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 383
- Piratenpartei (Pirate Party of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 208
- ÖDP (Ecologic Democratic Party of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 8
- GRUENE (Greens Party of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 226
- Freie Wähler (Free Voters of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 125
- FDP (Liberal Party of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 10
- DIE LINKE (Left-wing Party of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 20
- CSU (Christian Social Union) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 59
- CDU (Christian Democratic Union of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 123
- Bayernpartei (Bavaria Party of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 5
- ALFA (Alliance for Progress and Renewal Party of Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 1
- AfD (Alternative for Germany) - Number of 'TTIP, CETA, TiSA' Event Owners: 1

Number of Panelists/Speakers:
- SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 8
- Piratenpartei (Pirate Party of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 28
- ÖDP (Ecologic Democratic Party of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 22
- GRUENE (Greens Party of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 28
- Freie Wähler (Free Voters of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 10
- FDP (Liberal Party of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 32
- DIE LINKE (Left-wing Party of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 31
- CSU (Christian Social Union) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 31
- CDU (Christian Democratic Union of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 183
- Bayernpartei (Bavaria Party of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 8
- ALFA (Alliance for Progress and Renewal Party of Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 6
- AfD (Alternative for Germany) - Number of Panelists/Speakers: 8
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

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

- SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany): 1740.9
- GRUENE (Greens Party of Germany): 1738.5
- DIE LINKE (Left-wing Party of Germany): 1366.7
- Others: 1050.0
- FDP (Liberal Party of Germany): 533.3
- Christian Democrats (CDU and CSU): 522.9
- AfD (Alternative for Germany): 88.9
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

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

- Germany:
  - degrowth Summer School (skills for system change)
  - Naturfreunde e.V. (Friends of Nature, TTIP Demo Berlin) | €8,000
  - Source: Campact.
  - Note: Campact was funded by members of attac Germany in 2004.
  - In 2015, Campact's overall budget was 7 million Euros.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Country/Group</th>
<th>Funding (€)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>Ireland (Uplift, TTIP/CETA)</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden (Skiftet, CETA/TTIP)</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Italy (PROGRESSI)</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poland (Fundacja Akcja Demokracja)</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Austria (Aufstehn)</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| United States and Oceania | USA (SumOfUs, TTIP/CETA/ISDS) | 50,000 |
|                          | Australia (GetUP, TPP)          | 41,069  |
|                          | New Zealand (ActionStation, TPP) | 50,000 |

| Total Funding: | 265,155 € |
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:

- EU28 ex Germany (1.7mn) 52%
- German citizens (1.6mn) 48%
2. The Politics of TTIP in Germany

Germany is Russia Today’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.