

Cambridge Elements =

Elements in European Politics
edited by
Catherine De Vries
Bocconi University
Gary Marks
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and European University Institute

DEMAND FOR EU POLITY BUILDING IN THE SHADOW OF THE RUSSIAN THREAT

Ioana-Elena Oana
European University Institute

Alexandru D. Moise European University Institute

Zbigniew Truchlewski
University of Amsterdam
European University Institute
London School of Economics and Political Science







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,

New Delhi – 110025, India 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009497602

DOI: 10.1017/9781009497596

© Ioana-Elena Oana, Alexandru D. Moise, and Zbigniew Truchlewski 2025

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, with the exception of the Creative Commons version the link for which is provided below, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

An online version of this work is published at doi.org/10.1017/9781009497596 under a Creative Commons Open Access license CC-BY-NC 4.0 which permits re-use, distribution and reproduction in any medium for non-commercial purposes providing appropriate credit to the original work is given and any changes made are indicated. To view a copy of this license visit https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0

When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI 10.1017/9781009497596

First published 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-009-49760-2 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-49762-6 Paperback ISSN 2754-5032 (online) ISSN 2754-5024 (print)

Additional resources for this publication at www.cambridge.org/polity_building

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Demand for EU Polity Building in the Shadow of the Russian Threat

Elements in European Politics

DOI: 10.1017/9781009497596 First published online: March 2025

Ioana-Elena Oana European University Institute Alexandru D. Moise European University Institute

Zbigniew Truchlewski
University of Amsterdam
European University Institute
London School of Economics and Political Science

Author for correspondence: loana-Elena Oana, ioana.oana@eui.eu

Abstract: The Russian invasion of Ukraine came on the heels of a series of crises that tested the resilience of the EU as a compound polity and arguably re-shaped European policymaking at all levels. This Element investigates the effects of the invasion on public support for European polity building across four key policy domains: refugee policy, energy policy, foreign policy, and defence. It shows how support varies across four polity types (centralized, decentralized, pooled, and reinsurance) stemming from a distinction between policy and polity support. In terms of the drivers of support and its evolution over time, performance evaluations and ideational factors appear as strong predictors, while perceived threat and economic vulnerability appear to matter less. Results show strong support for further resource pooling at the EU level in all domains that can lead to novel and differentiated forms of polity-building. This title is also available as Open Access on Cambridge Core.

Keywords: public opinion, state-building, polity formation, European integration, Ukraine

© Ioana-Elena Oana, Alexandru D. Moise, and Zbigniew Truchlewski 2025 ISBNs: 9781009497602 (HB), 9781009497626 (PB), 9781009497596 (OC) ISSNs: 2754-5032 (online), 2754-5024 (print)



Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	EU Polity Support – A Theoretical and Empirical Framework	7
3	Refugee Policy	27
4	Energy Policy	38
5	Foreign Policy	49
6	Military Policy	58
7	Conclusions	69
	References	78
	An online appendix for this publication can be accessed at	

www.cambridge.org/polity_building