

TRANSWORLD

To Agree or Not to Agree?

New insights and questions arising from
TRANSWORLD Elites Survey

European External Action Service, Brussels, 1st July 2014



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TRANSWORLD Elites Survey (TES): an overview



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Sample: 2,014 elites

- **295** Opinion leaders (Trade unions, Academics, Think tanks, media);
- **316** Political leaders (MEPs, MPs);
- **1,403** Business leaders – different sectors (small-medium size)
- **284-293** interviewed per country (France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, United Kingdom and the US).
- **Methodology**: CATI (political and opinion leaders)/CAWI (business leaders); Greek business leaders: mixed mode CATI/CAWI.
- **Fieldwork**: 6th September 2013 - 4th February 2014

Main findings & comparisons



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Main questions:

- Divergence or convergence between US and EU?
- EU internal cohesion? Focus on Greece, Germany, UK;
- Are all elite the same? Focus on the business sector;
- Is there a gap between mass and elites?

Thematic sections:

- ✓ I. International Security & Use of Force
- ✓ II. Global Economy & Eurozone
- ✓ III. Special focus on China
- ✓ IV. Global Environment and Climate Change
- ✓ V. Human Rights and Democracy Promotion

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Section I

International Security & Use of force

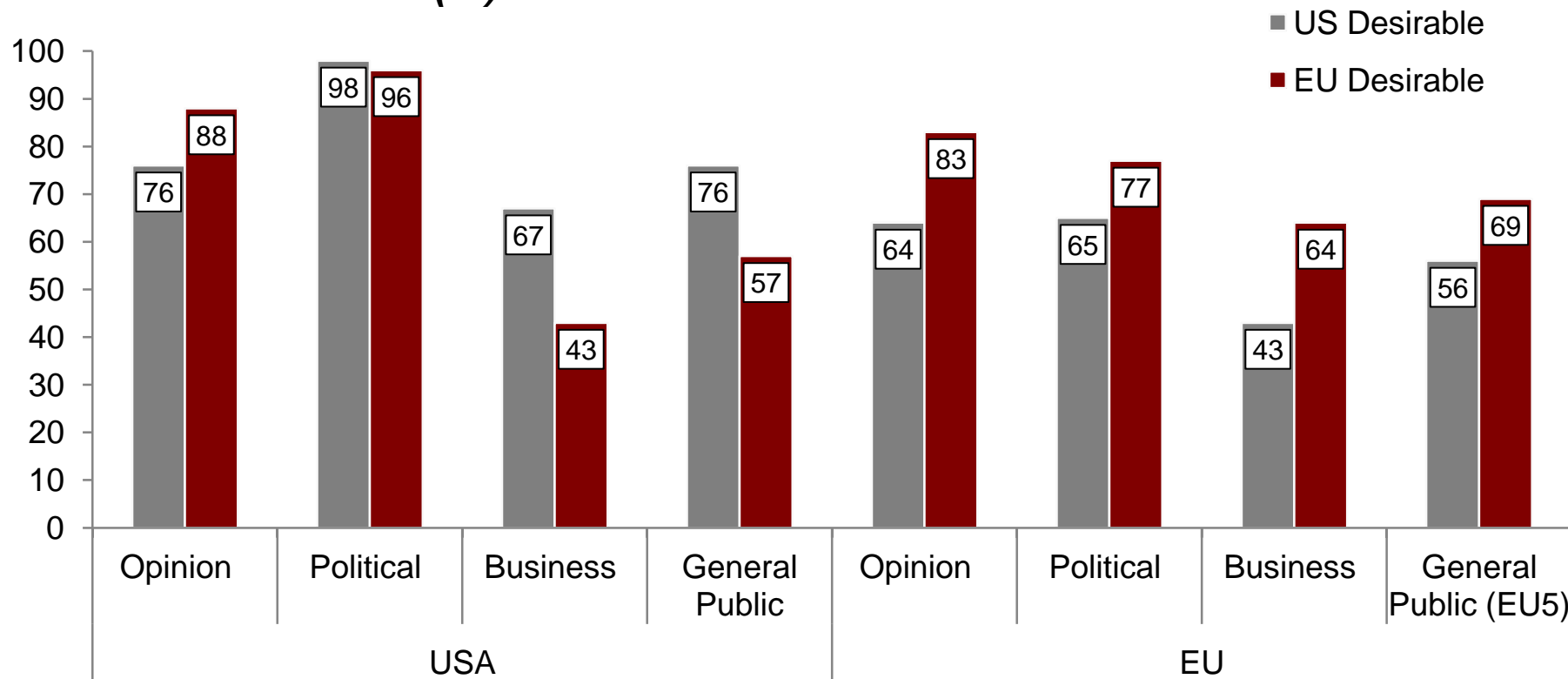


Transatlantic partnership

The leadership of the transatlantic partner is desirable ...



How desirable is it that the EU/the USA exerts strong leadership in world affairs? (%)



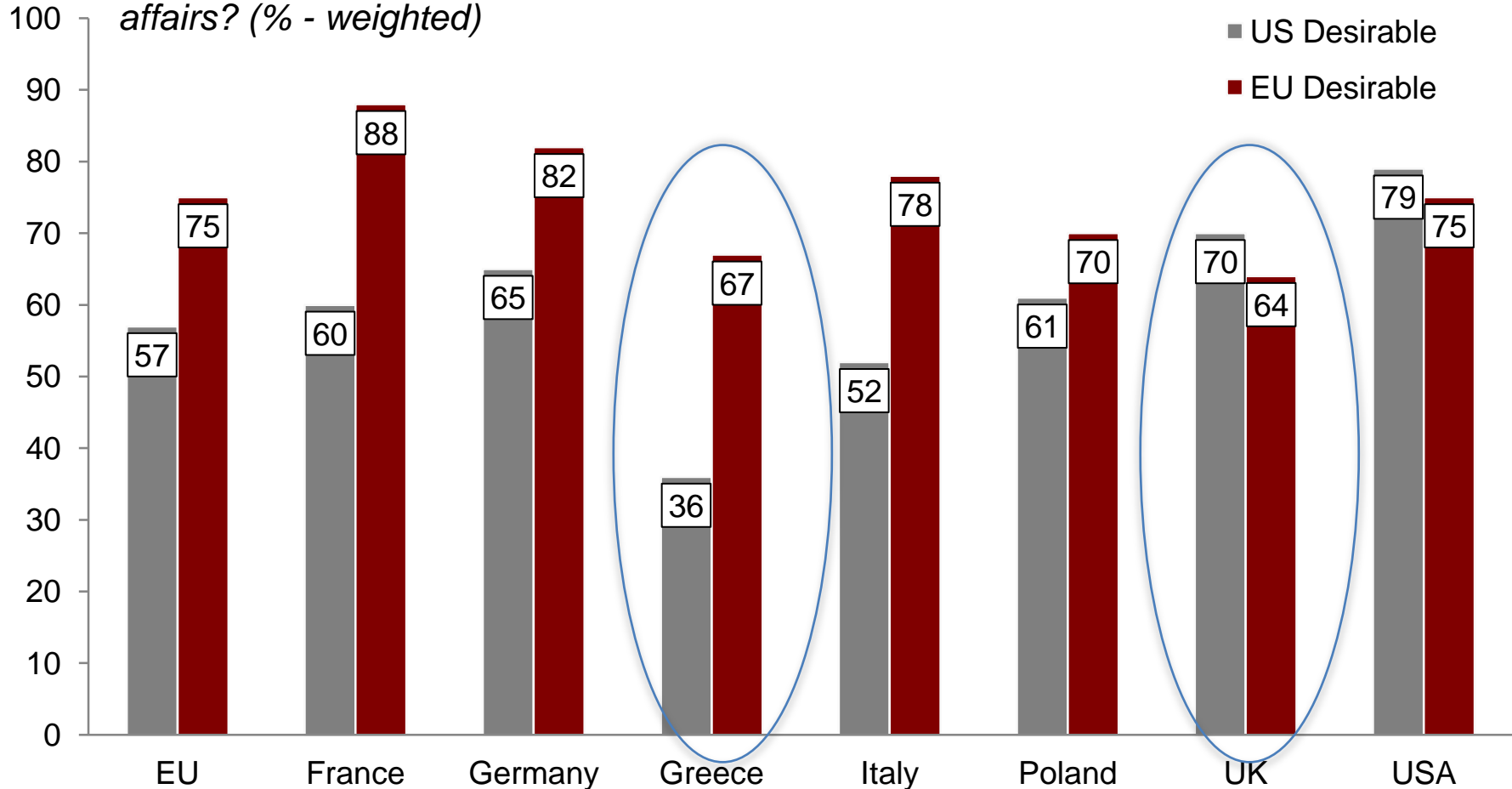
Sources: TES 2014; TTS 2013

Transatlantic partnership

The leadership of the transatlantic partner is desirable ...



How desirable is it that the EU/the USA exerts strong leadership in world affairs? (% - weighted)

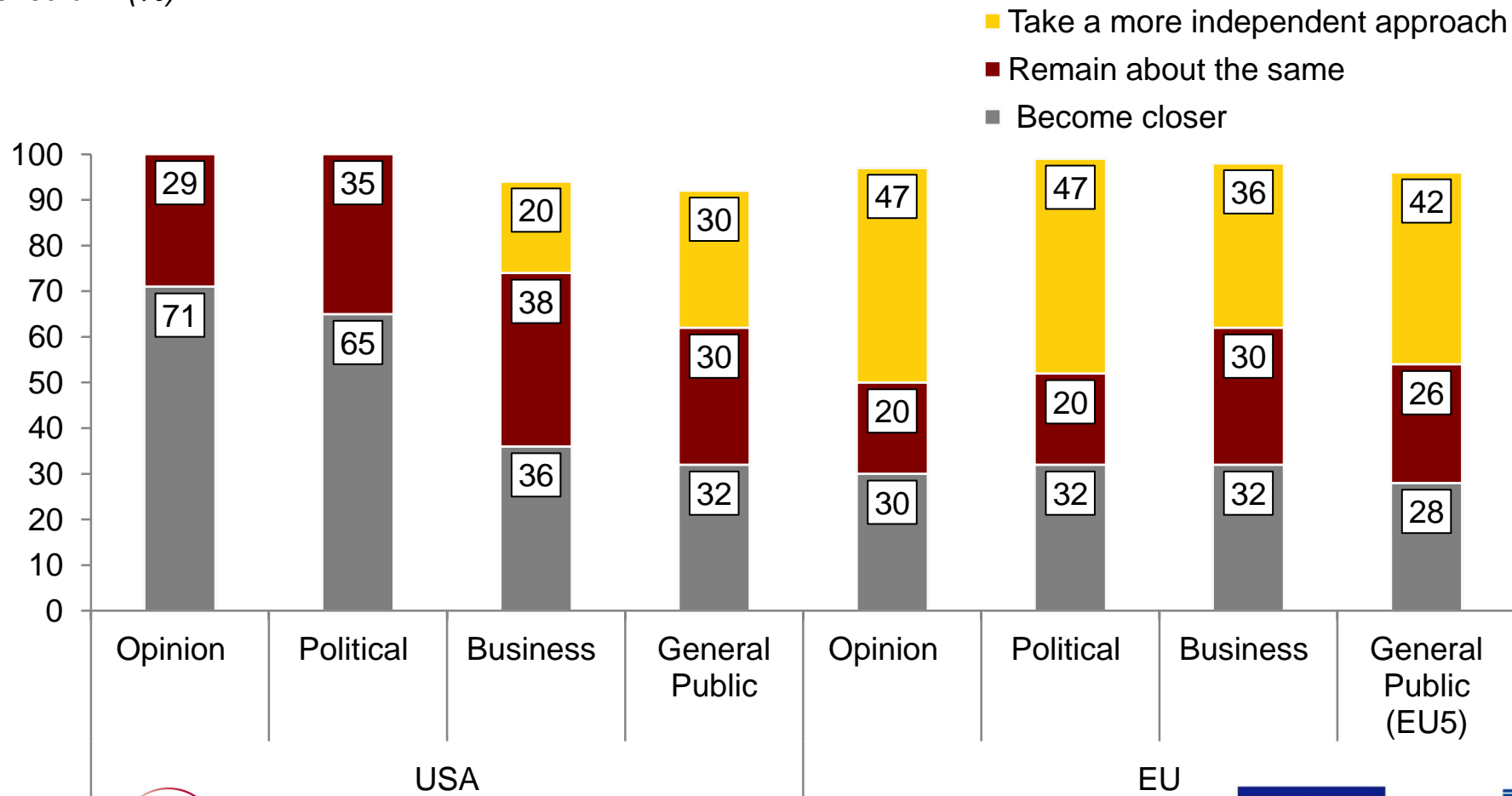


Transatlantic partnership

...But for different reasons: 'burden sharing' vs 'more independence'



Do you think that partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between the EU/USA should ... (%)

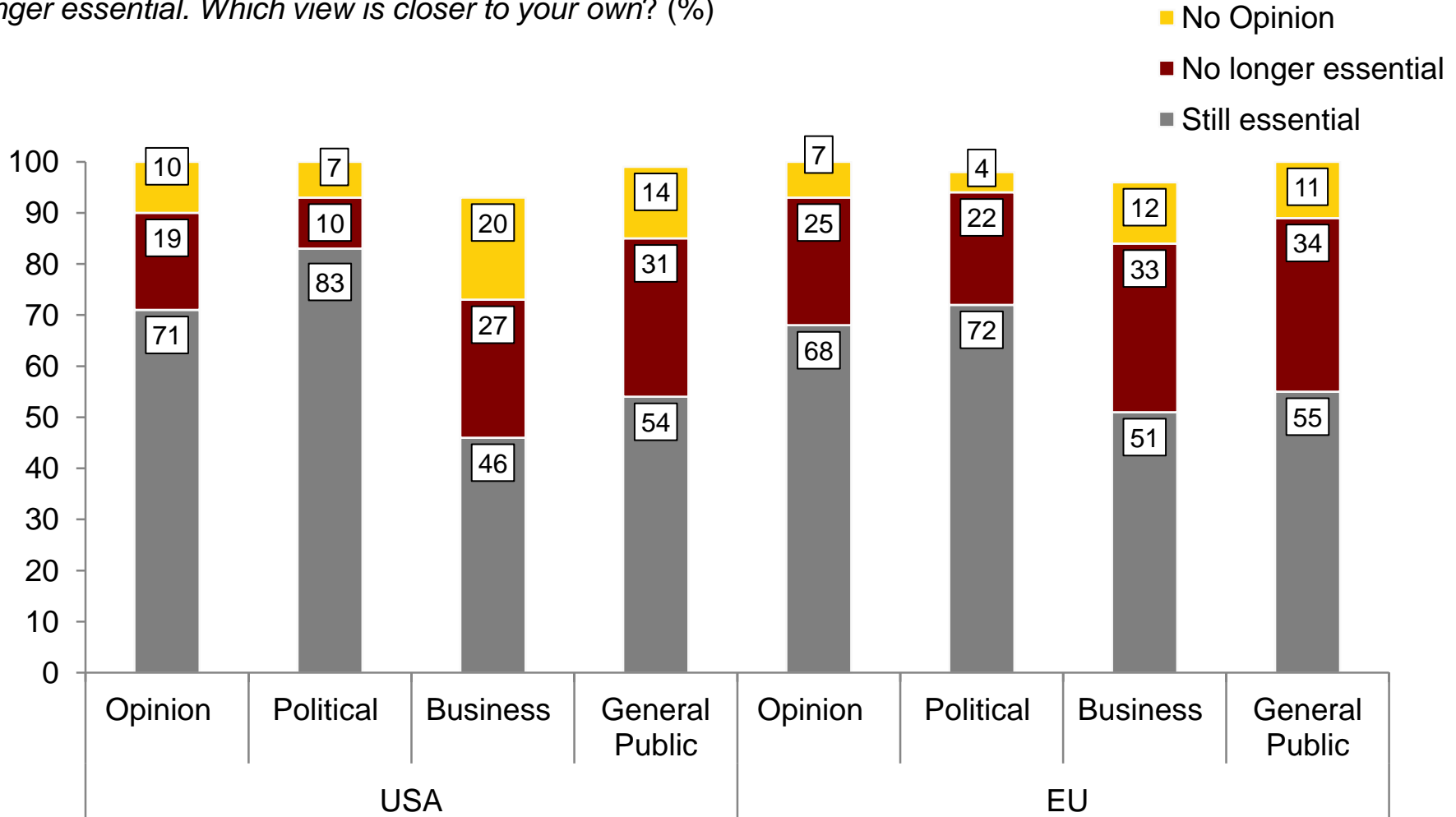


Transatlantic partnership

NATO is still essential



Some people say that NATO is still essential to [COUNTRY] security. Others say it is no longer essential. Which view is closer to your own? (%)



Sources: TES 2014, TTS 2013

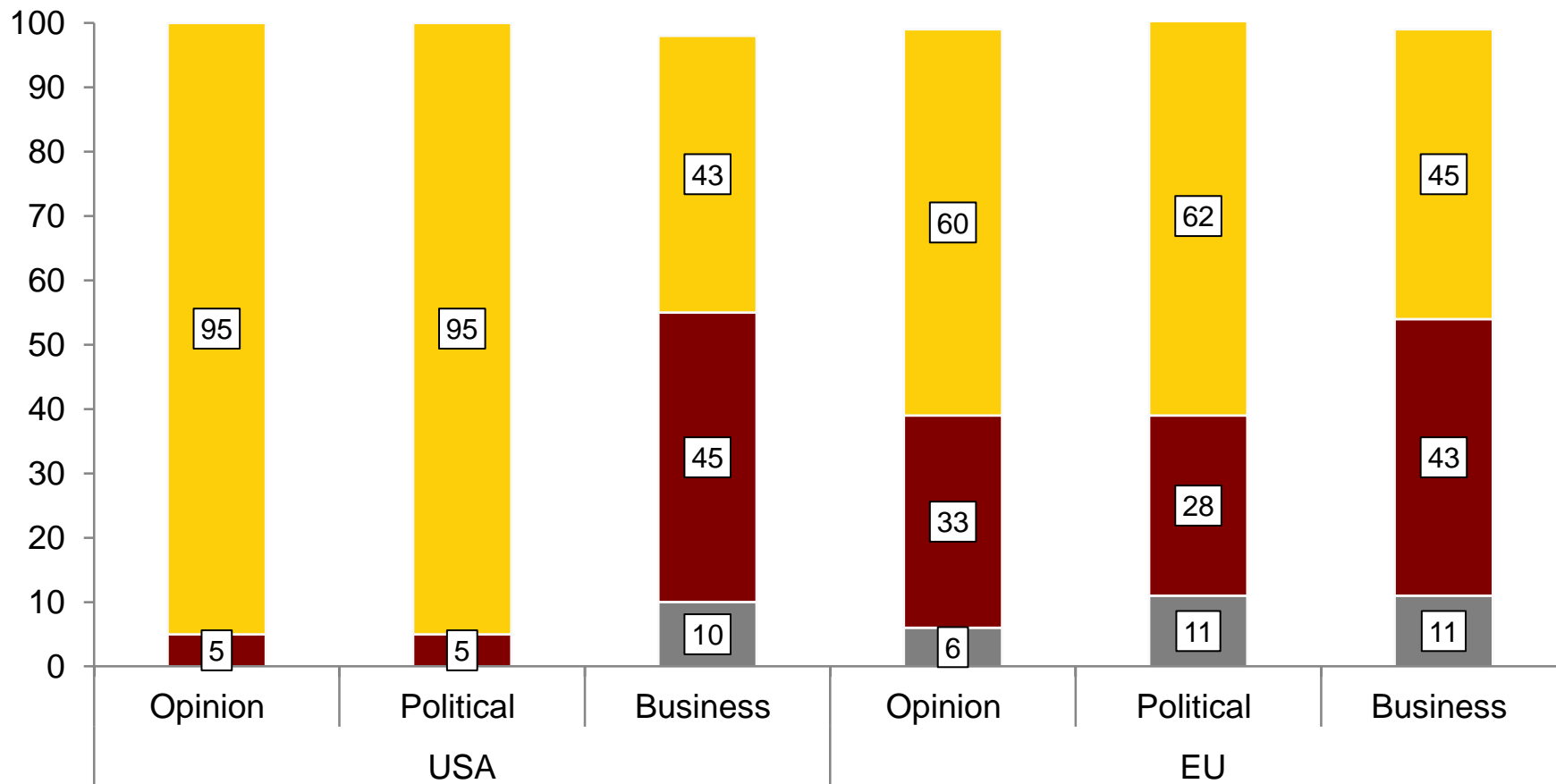
Transatlantic partnership

Who is more Atlanticist?



Index of Atlanticism (%)

■ High ■ Moderate ■ Low



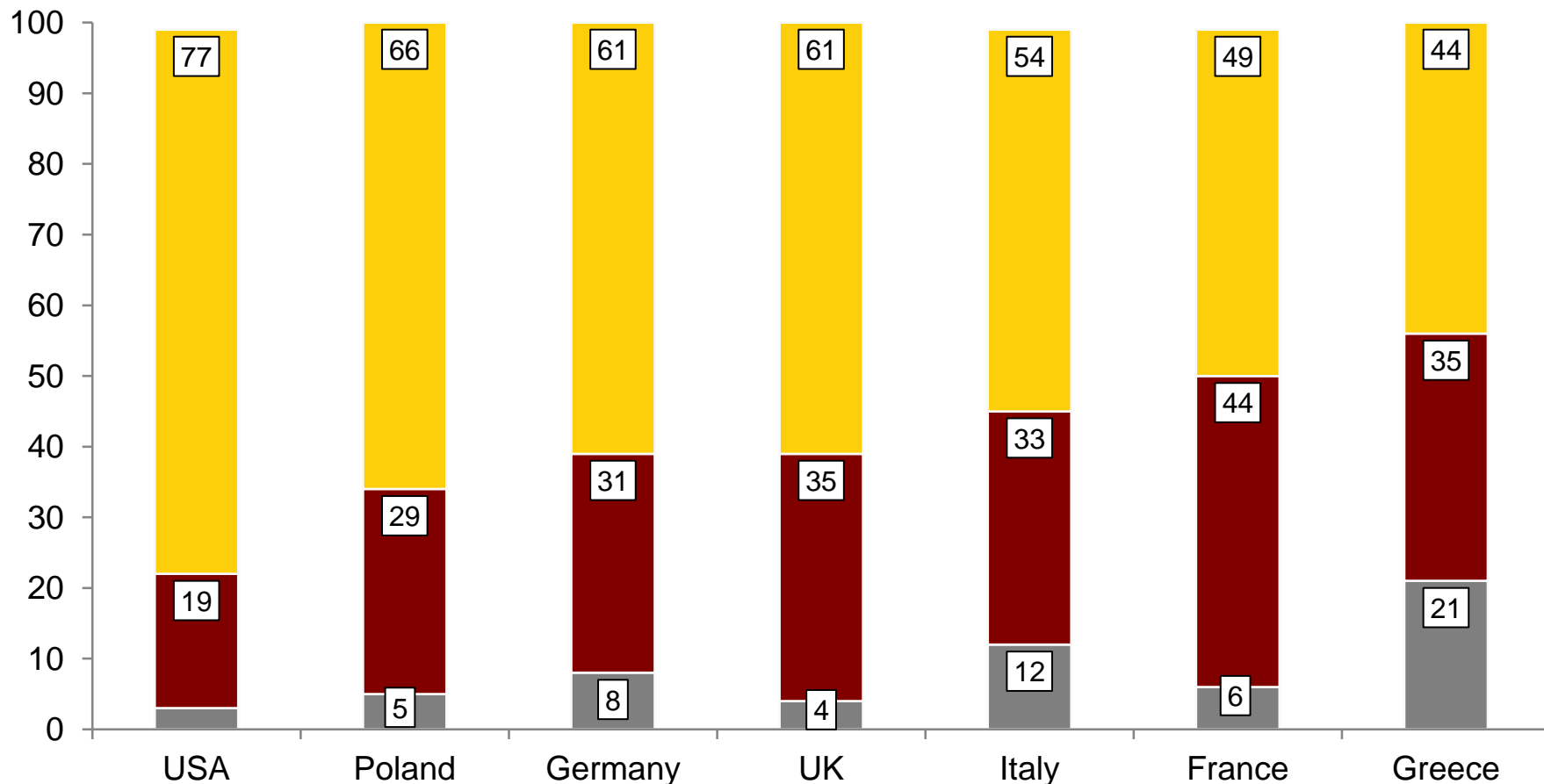
Transatlantic partnership

Who is more Atlanticist?



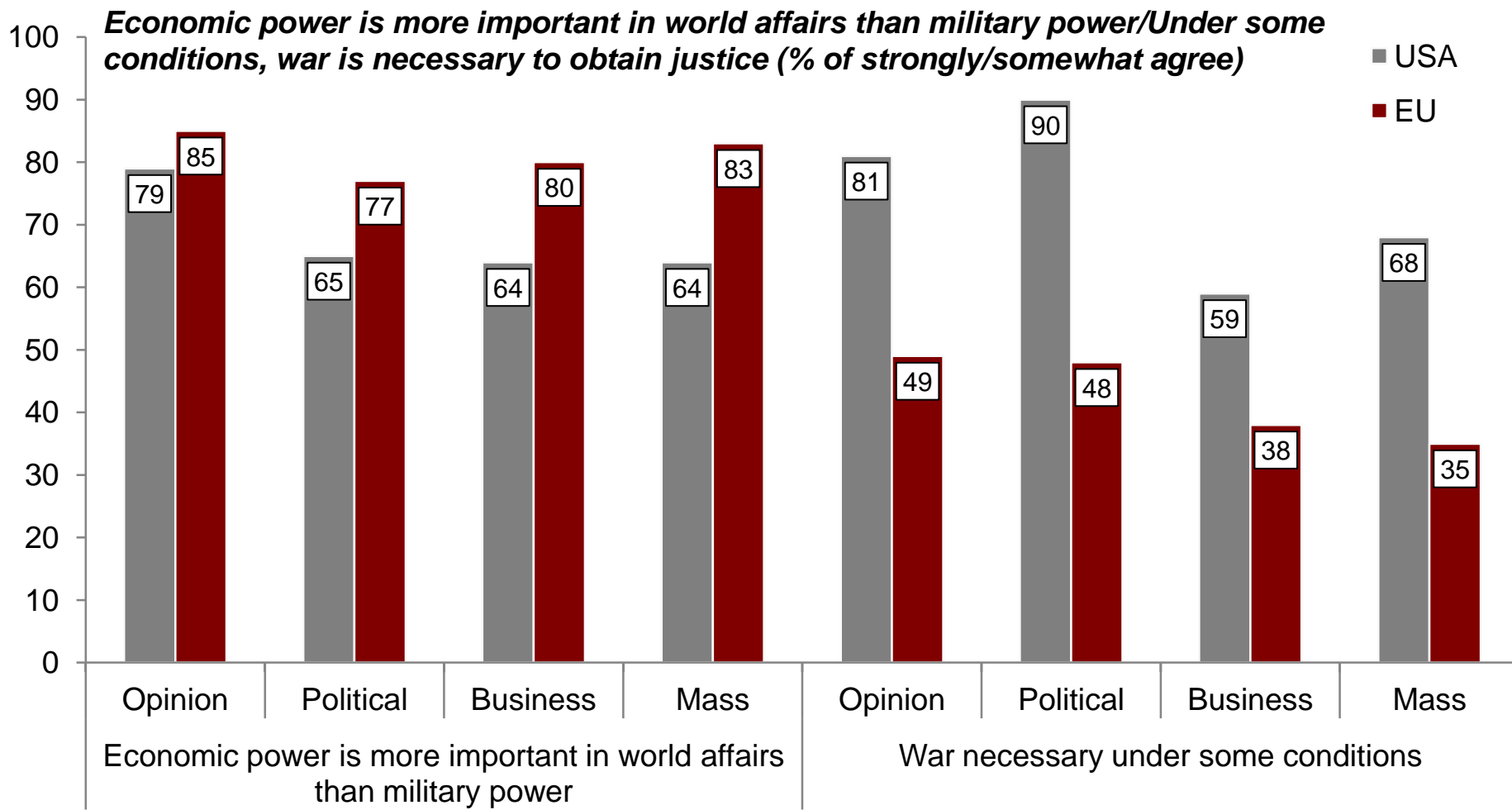
Index of Atlanticism (%-weighted)

■ High ■ Moderate ■ Low



Use of force

The Transatlantic Gap



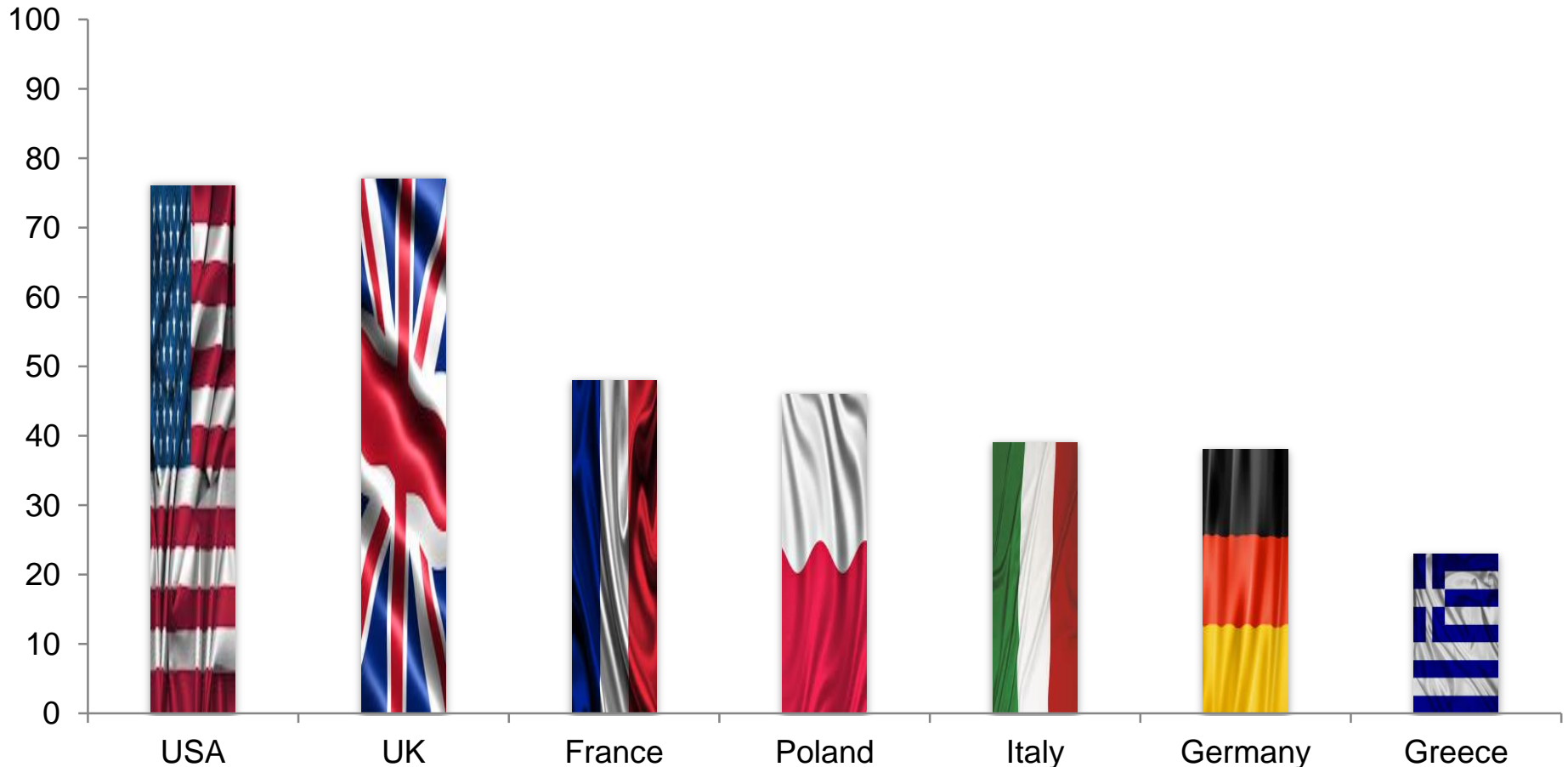
Sources: TES 2014; TTS 2013

Use of force

The Transatlantic Gap and Europe



Under some conditions, war is necessary to obtain justice (% of strongly/somewhat agree – weighted)



Use of force

Hawks vs Doves?



	US	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Poland	UK
<i>Pragmatists</i>	45	37	31	14	35	32	49
<i>Doves</i>	20	39	51	75	45	48	21
<i>Hawks</i>	20	9	4	5	5	7	17
<i>Isolationists</i>	9	10	10	6	12	11	11

Section I. International security and use of force

Summary

- Transatlantic partners desire strong leadership by each other...
- ...But for inherently different reasons: 'burden sharing'(USA) v. 'more independence' (EU).
- Atlanticism is still stable, but will likely weaken in (southern) Europe.
- The business sector shows a lukewarm Atlanticism.
- Force is never considered to be the first option...
- ... But transatlantic partners are ready to intervene when other measures fail, although the context always matters.
- The USA (and the UK) shows a more pragmatic approach than the Europeans to the use of military force.
- In US hawks/doves + pragmatists – in EU pragmatists and doves.

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Section II

Global Economy & Euro

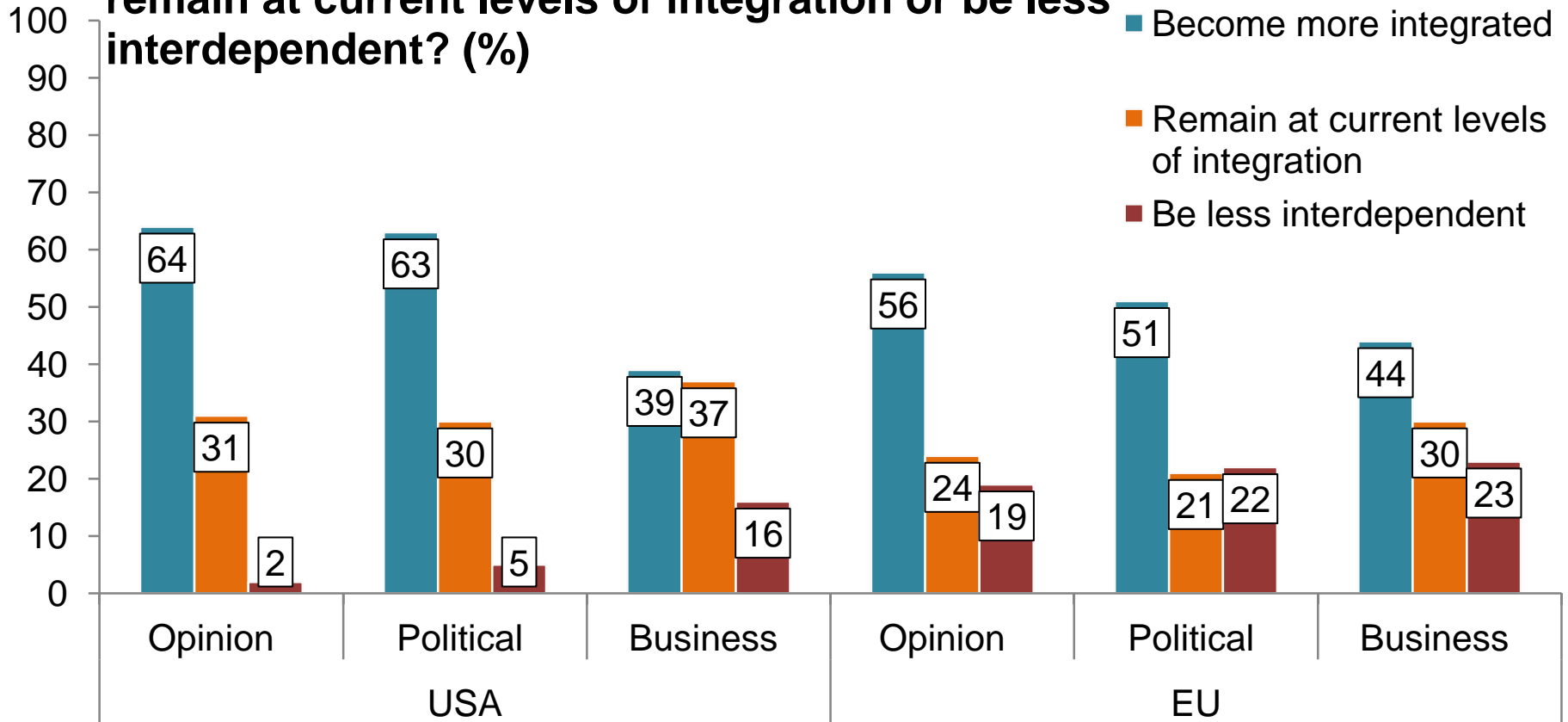


Transatlantic Economy

Economic integration: enthusiasm or scepticism?



In the future, should the US and EU economies become more integrated with each other in trade and investment, remain at current levels of integration or be less interdependent? (%)

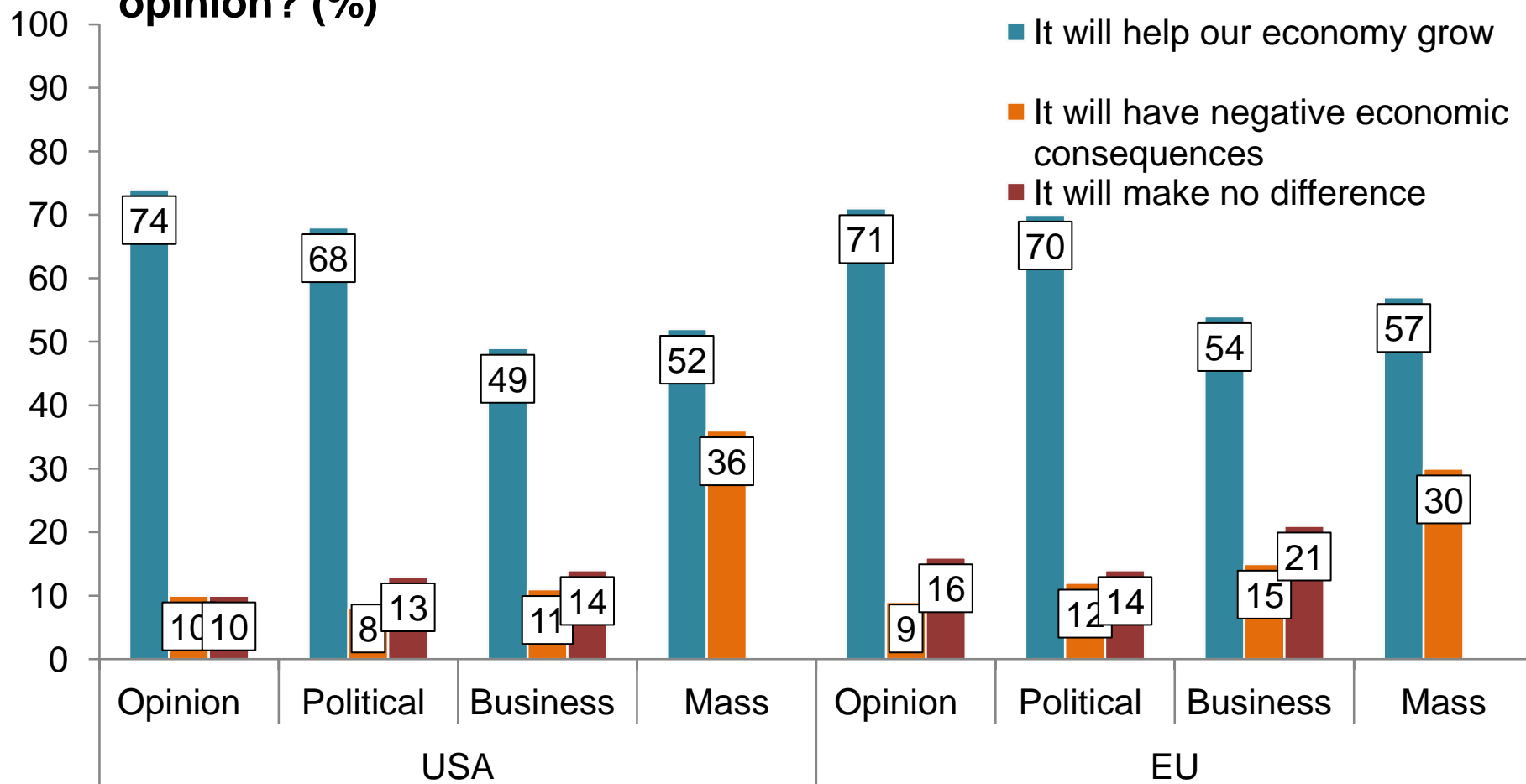


Transatlantic Economy

Economic integration: TTIP



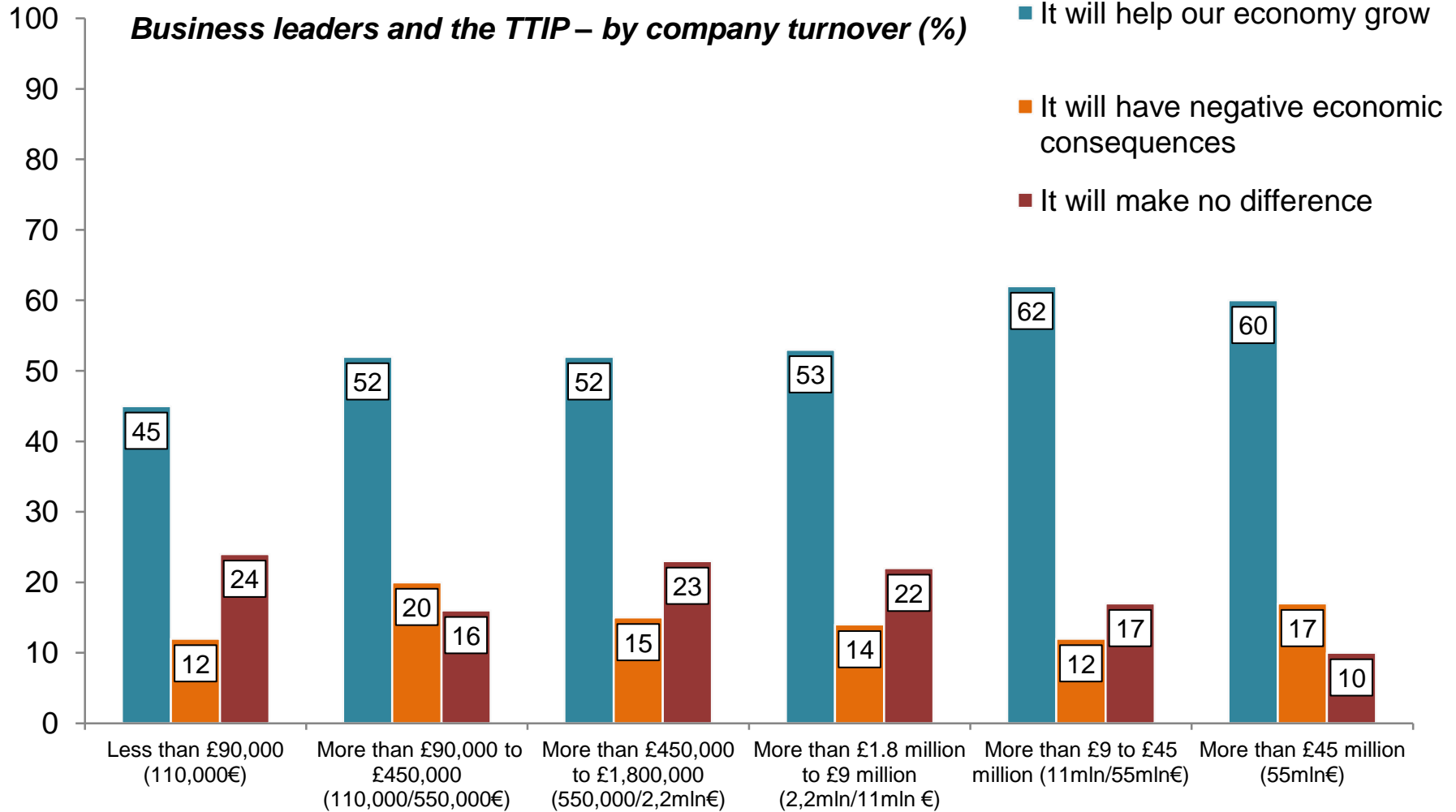
Which statement about the TTIP is closer to your own opinion? (%)



Sources: TES 2014, TTS 2013 (different question wording)

Transatlantic Economy

Economic integration: TTIP and Business



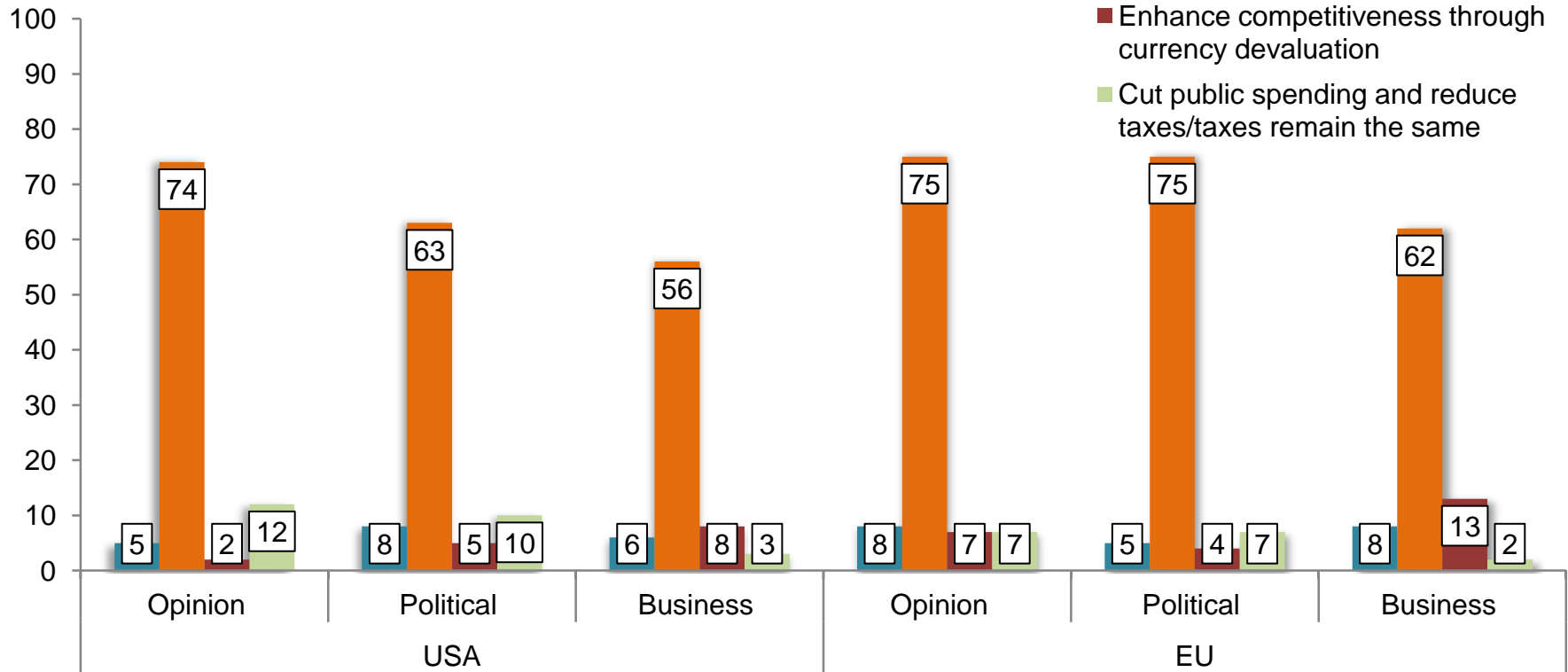
Global crisis and transatlantic recipes

'Smart spending is better than cutting?'

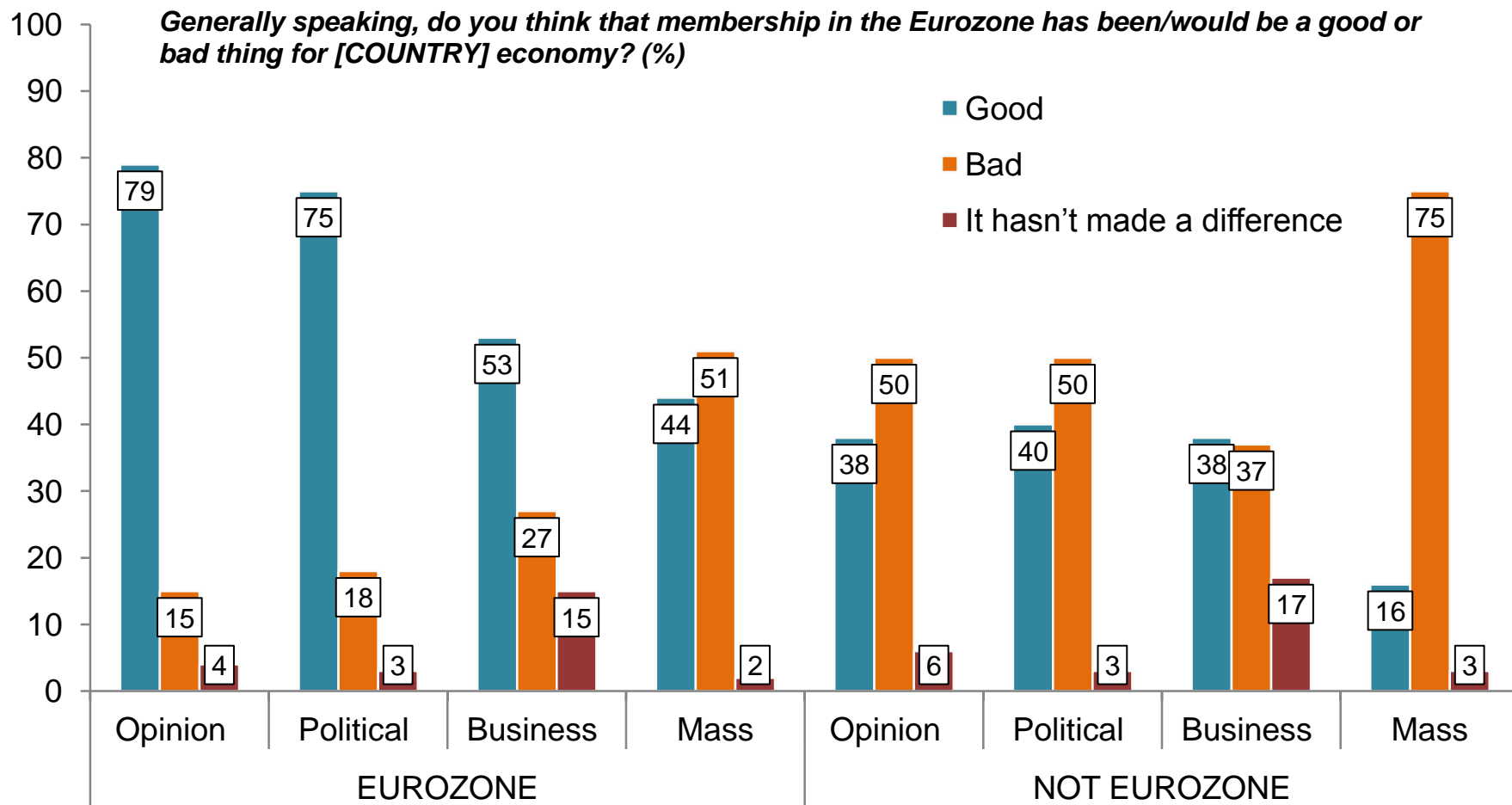


What do you think the best policy option to stimulate growth would be? Should the [COUNTRY] government ... (%)

- Cut public spending and increase taxes
- Invest in education, research and development
- Enhance competitiveness through currency devaluation
- Cut public spending and reduce taxes/taxes remain the same



European economy Who likes the €uro?

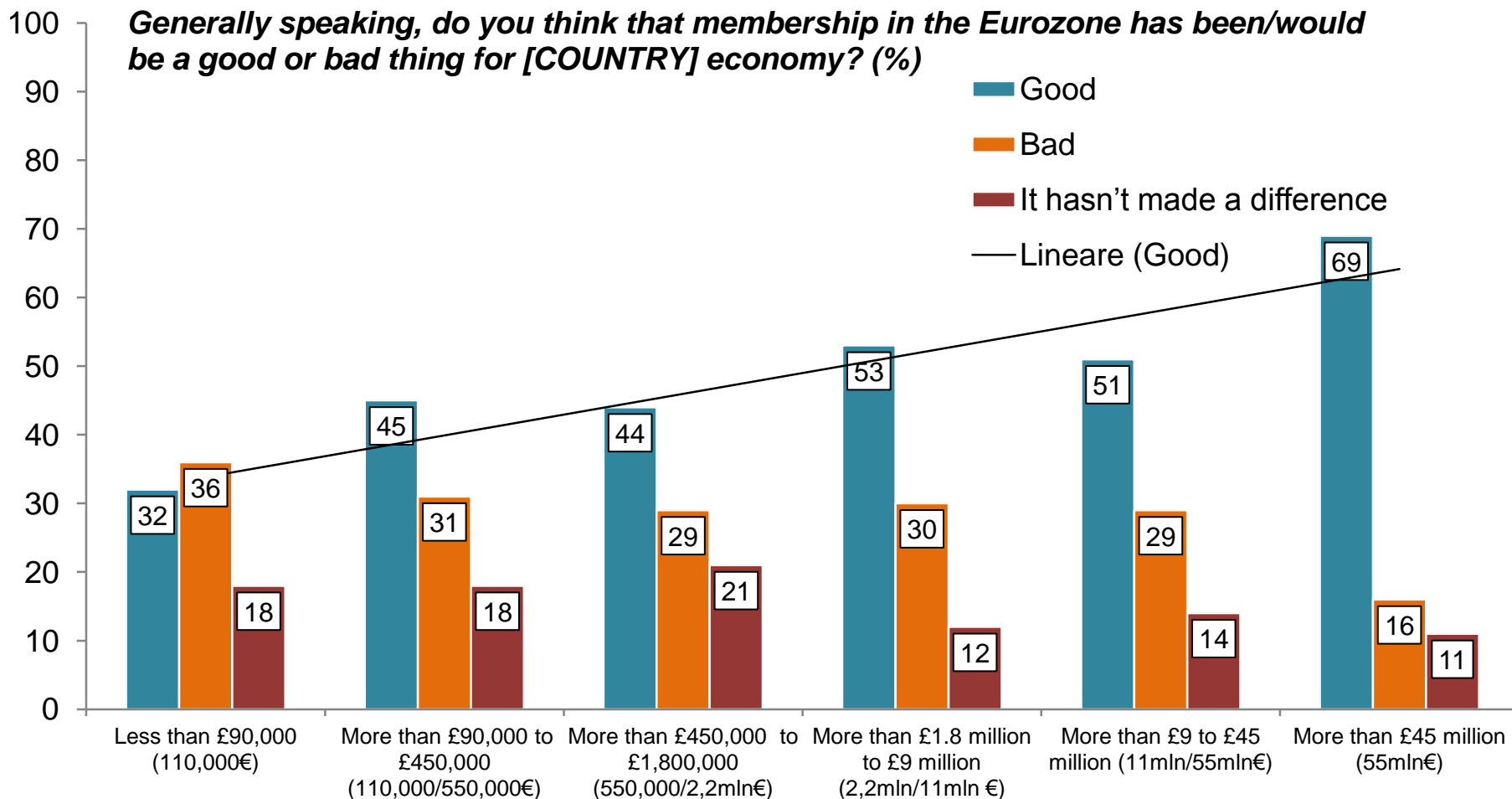


Sources: TES 2014, TTS 2013

European economy (I.b)

Who likes the €uro: The Business

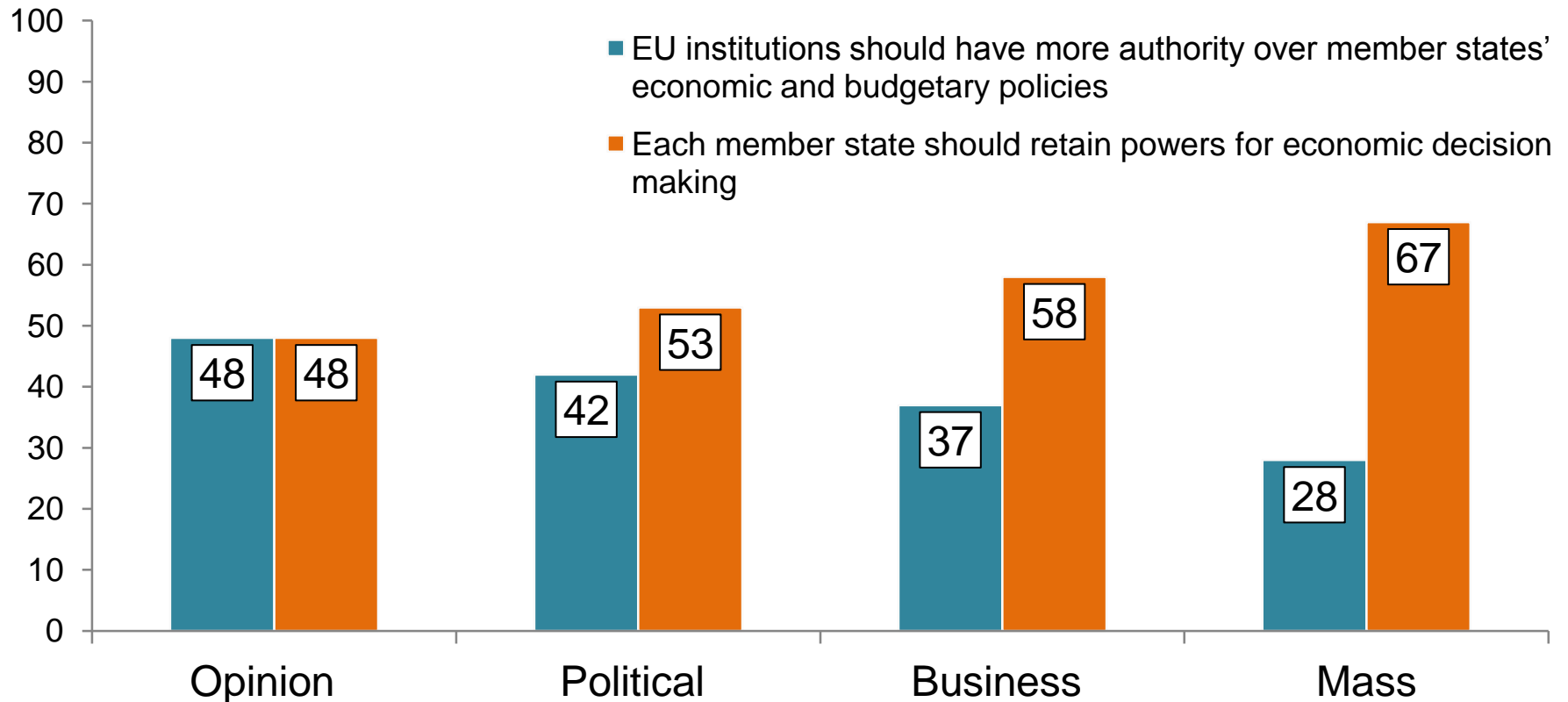
Generally speaking, do you think that membership in the Eurozone has been/would be a good or bad thing for [COUNTRY] economy? (%)



European economy

The appeal of national decision -making

Some people say that because of recent economic difficulties, the EU should have more authority over member states' economic and budgetary policies. Others say each member state should retain powers for economic decision making. Which view is closer to yo

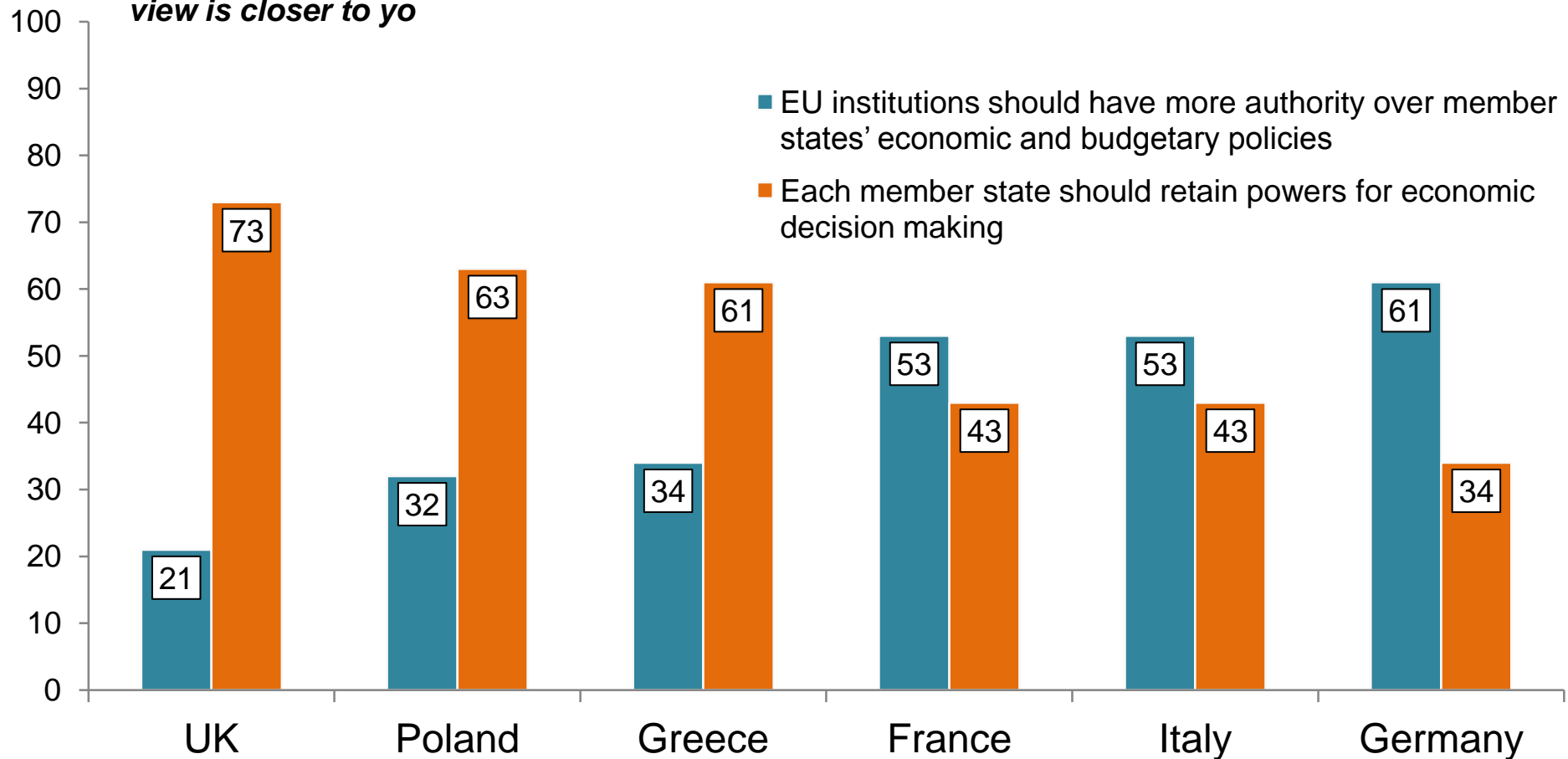




European economy

The appeal of national decision -making

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Section II. Global and European economy

Summary



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- Overall, the EU and the US converge on greater transatlantic economic integration, but ...
- The business sector (especially smaller companies) is rather lukewarm on transatlantic economic integration and TTIP...
- ...and it shows little enthusiasm for the €uro.
- With regard to the €uro, there is lack of cohesion within the EU;
- There is a gap between masses and elites on the use of the single currency;
- Transatlantic leaders are attracted to a national level of decision making on economic policies (especially in the EU).
- EU and US leaders are confident on the potential of 'smart' investments to get out of the financial crisis.

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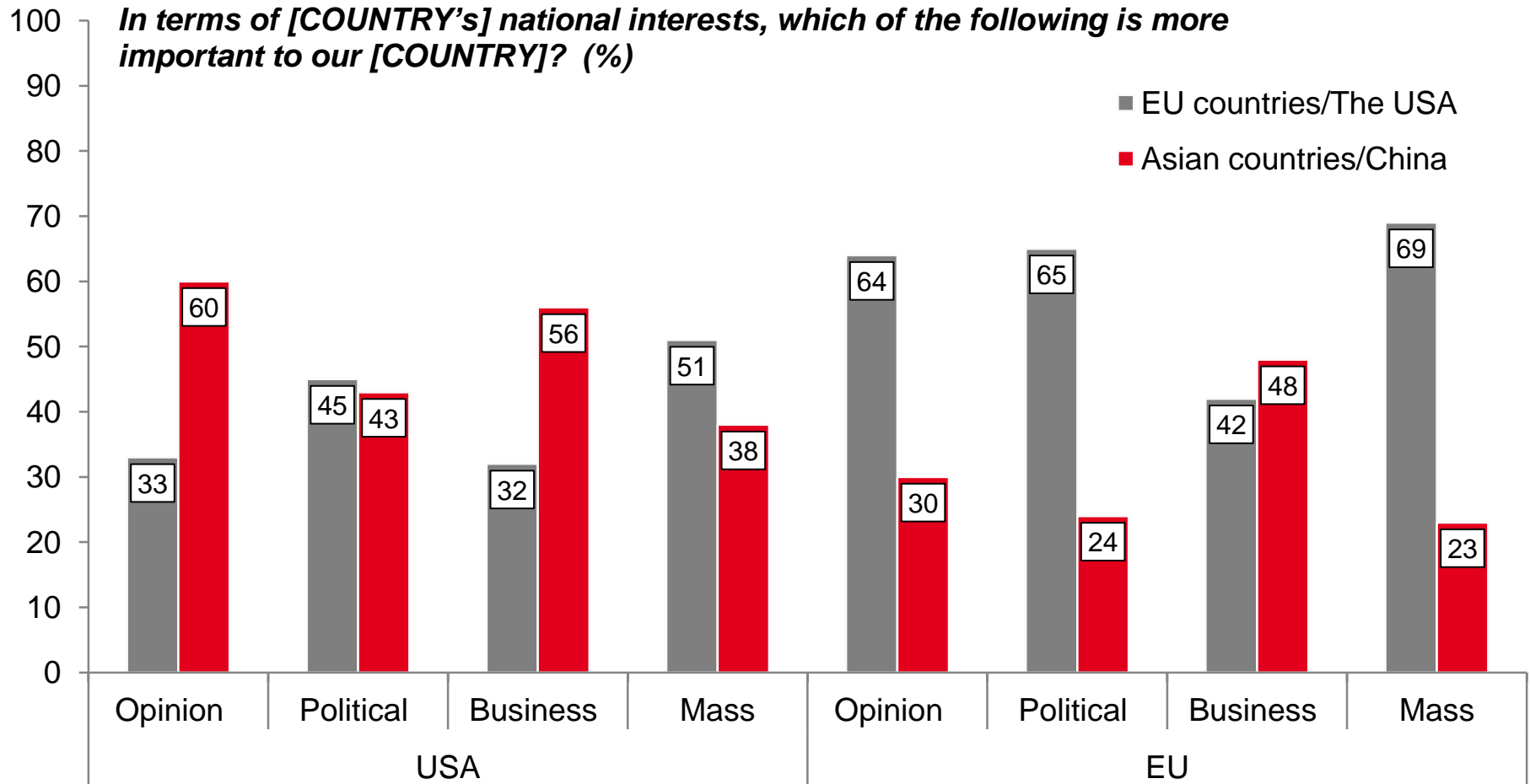
Section III

*Special focus on China:
a rising actor in the global governance?*



A pivot to China?

Looking towards the East



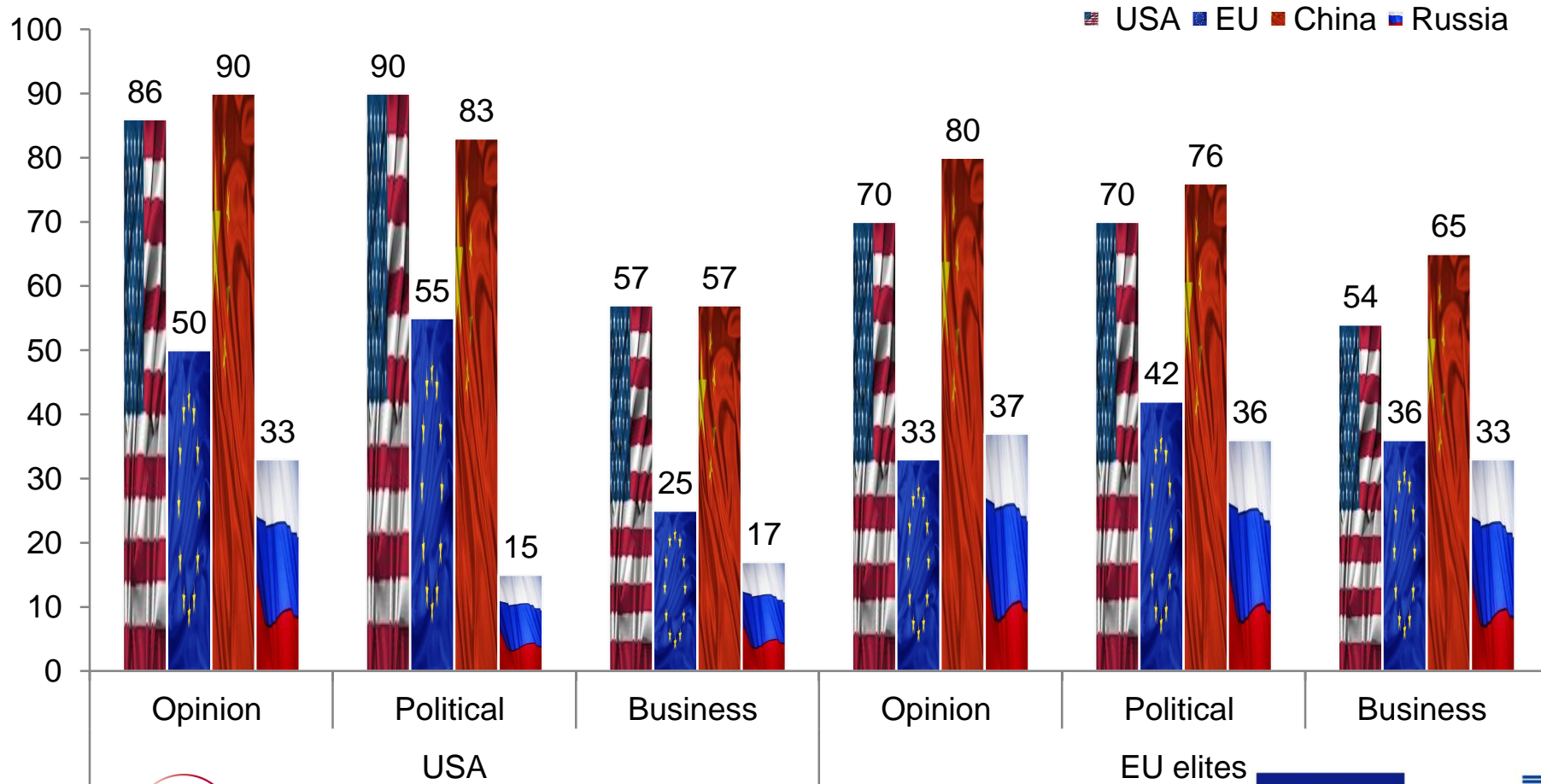
Sources: TES 2014, TTS 2013*
(*combines SPLIT questions)

A pivot to China?

Looking towards the East

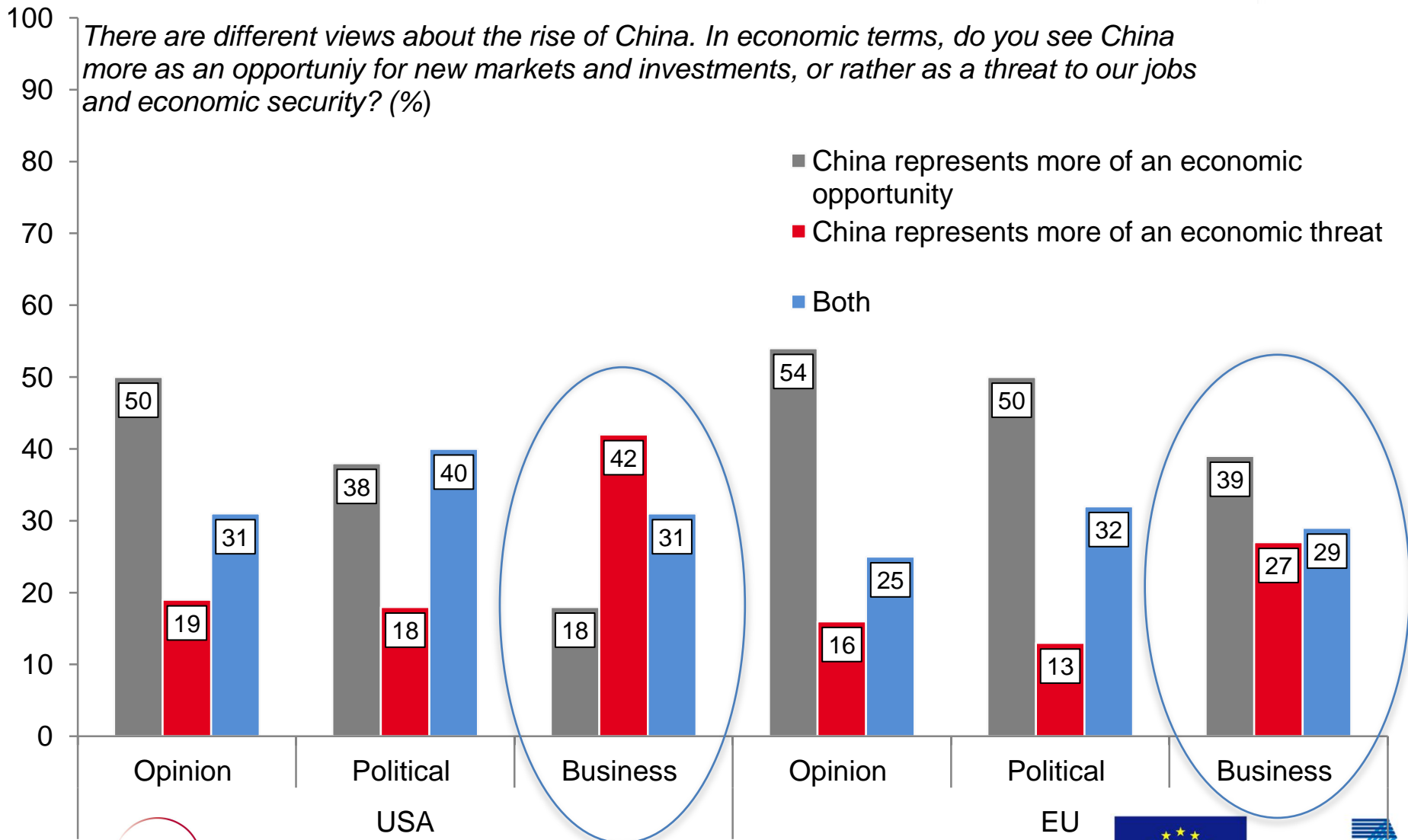


How influential will each of the following countries and institutions be in 2020? Very influential influential not influential at all? (% of very influential- India, Brazil, Japan not displayed)



Who's afraid of China?

A focus on business elites



Section III. Special focus on China

Summary

- China is seen as more important than the transatlantic ally by the US elites and the EU business sector...
- ...while EU/US masses still look more towards the transatlantic partner.
- There is a shared consensus among transatlantic leaders about the future influence of China.
- The Chinese military power is (increasingly) seen as a threat by US elites ...
- ...while the economic power is not threatening...
- ...except for the masses, the US business sector and part of the EU business sector.

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Section IV

Global environment & Climate Change

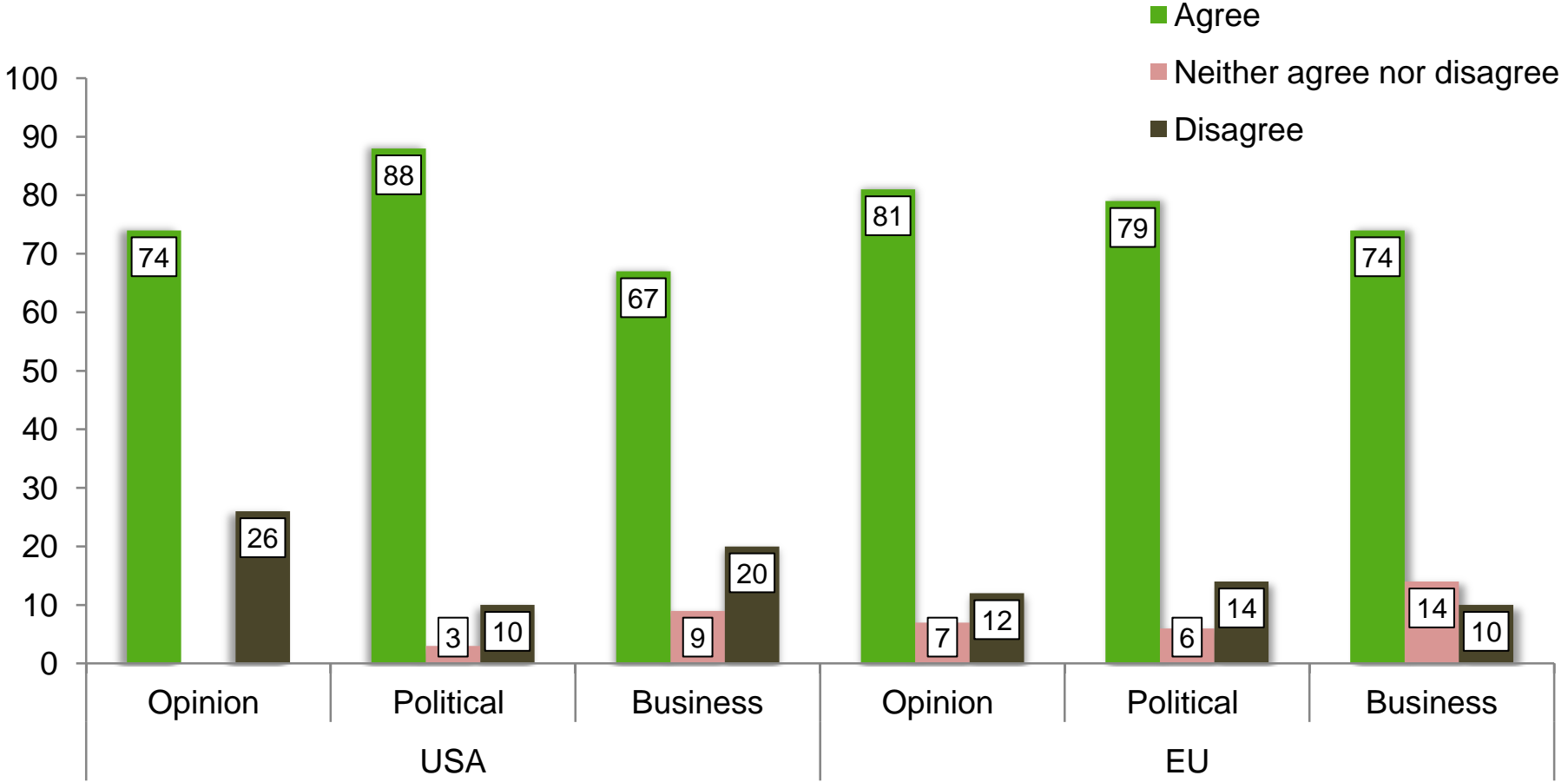




A common, shared commitment

The US and EU share a common commitment to the protection of the environment

Do you agree with the following statement: EU countries/the US should do as much as they can even if the others do less (to protect global environment) (%)

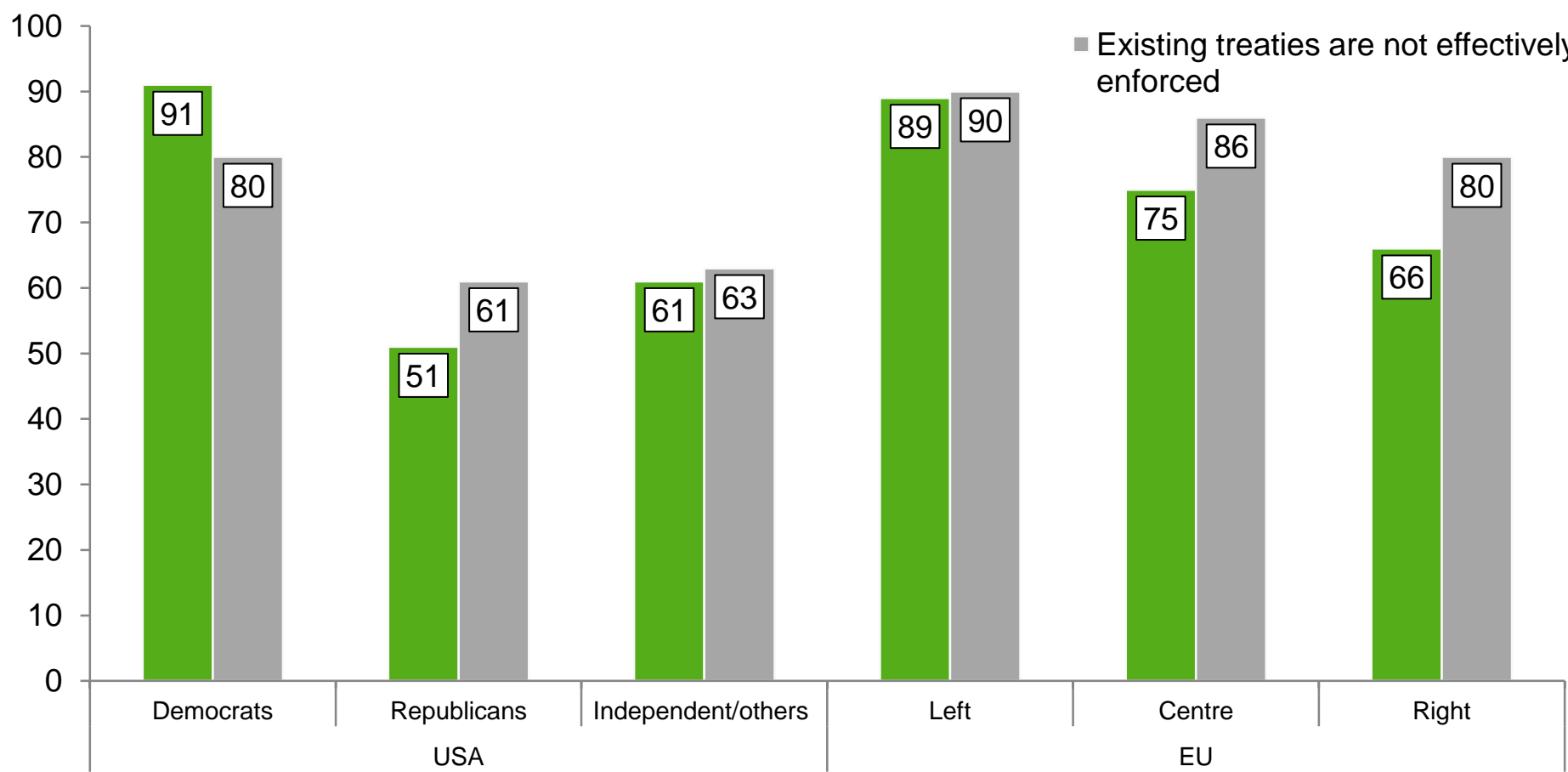




A common, shared commitment? A commitment tainted by partisanship

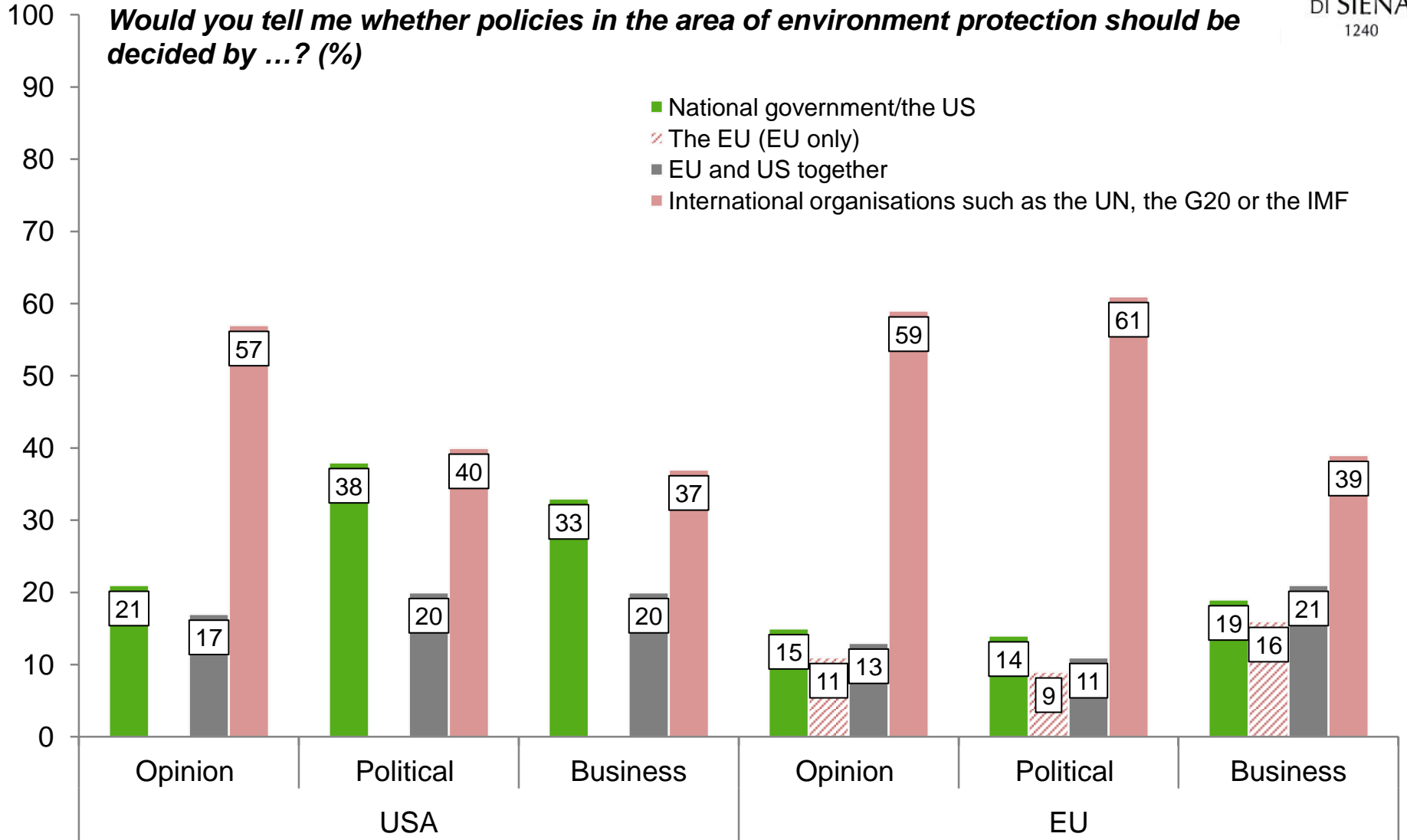
Statements on commitment to global environment, by left/right (% of agree – weighted)

- EU countries/the US should do as much as they can
- Existing treaties are not effectively enforced



Actors in global environmental issues

Who should decide?

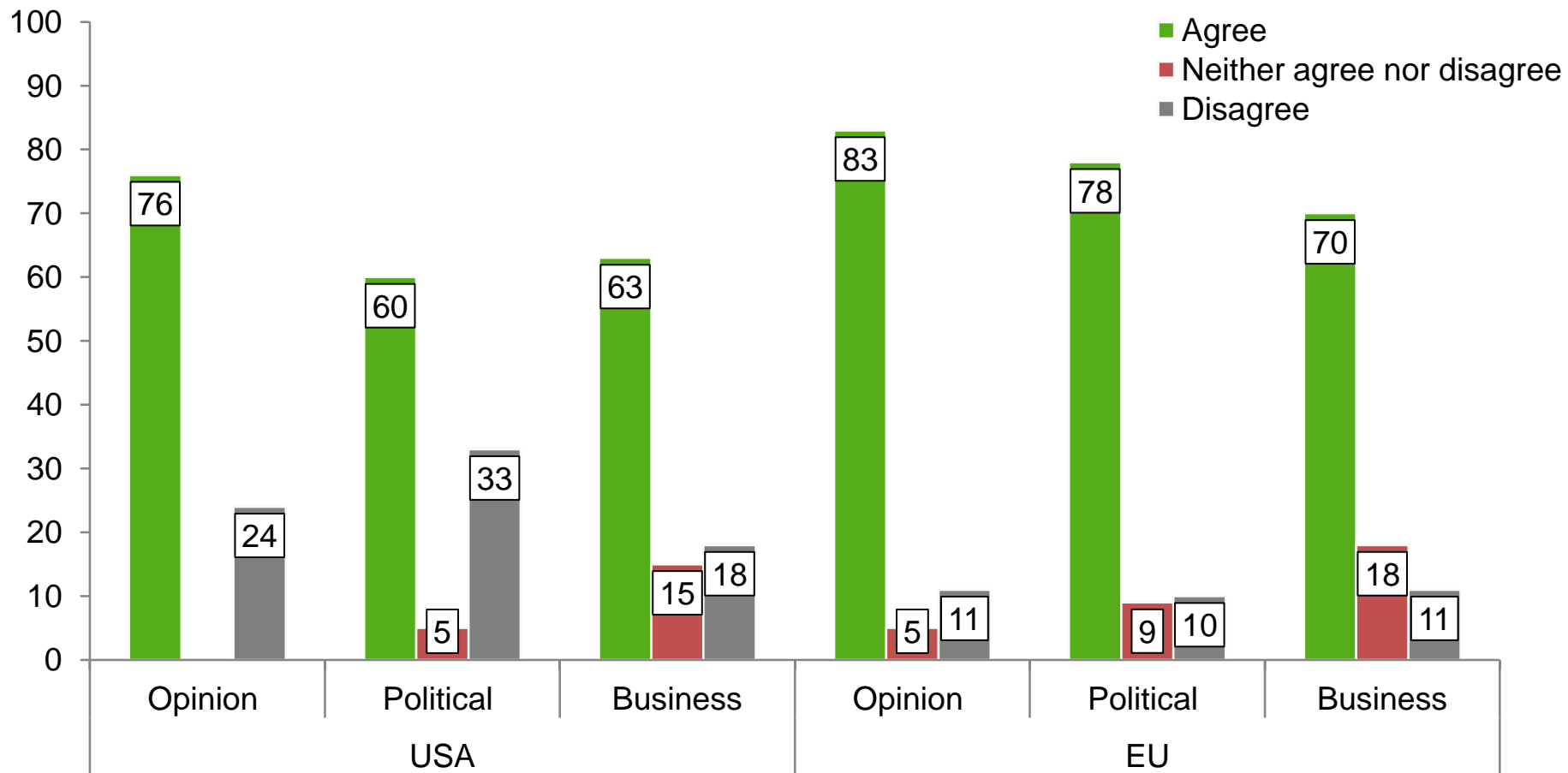


Addressing global environmental challenges

Environment vs global interests?



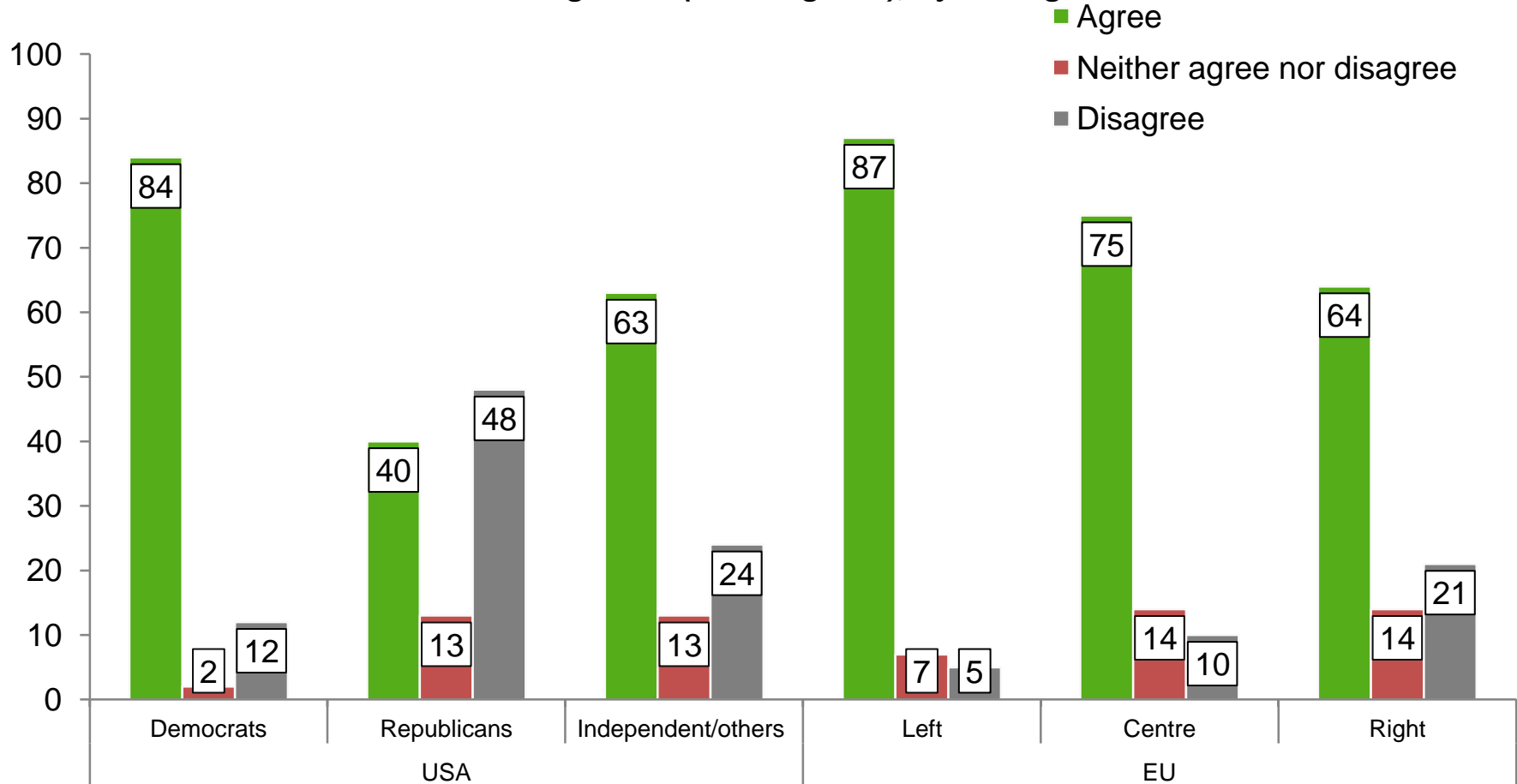
Do you agree with the following statement: The environment should be protected, even if it causes slower economic growth (%)



Addressing global environmental challenges

Environment vs global interests: the political cleavage

Do you agree with the following statement: The environment should be protected, even if it causes slower economic growth (% - weighted), by left-right



Section IV. Global environment and climate change

Summary

- The EU and the US elites seem to converge on:
 1. A commitment to environmental protection
 2. The means to address the global environment
 3. The effects of measures to address GHG emissions

But, behind the (apparent) consensus, environmental policies are likely affected by political cleavages (especially in the US).

- Transatlantic elites believe that all actors should do their part to address global environmental challenges...
- ...but they are divided on the differing responsibilities by richer and poorer countries.

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Section V

Human rights & Democracy promotion

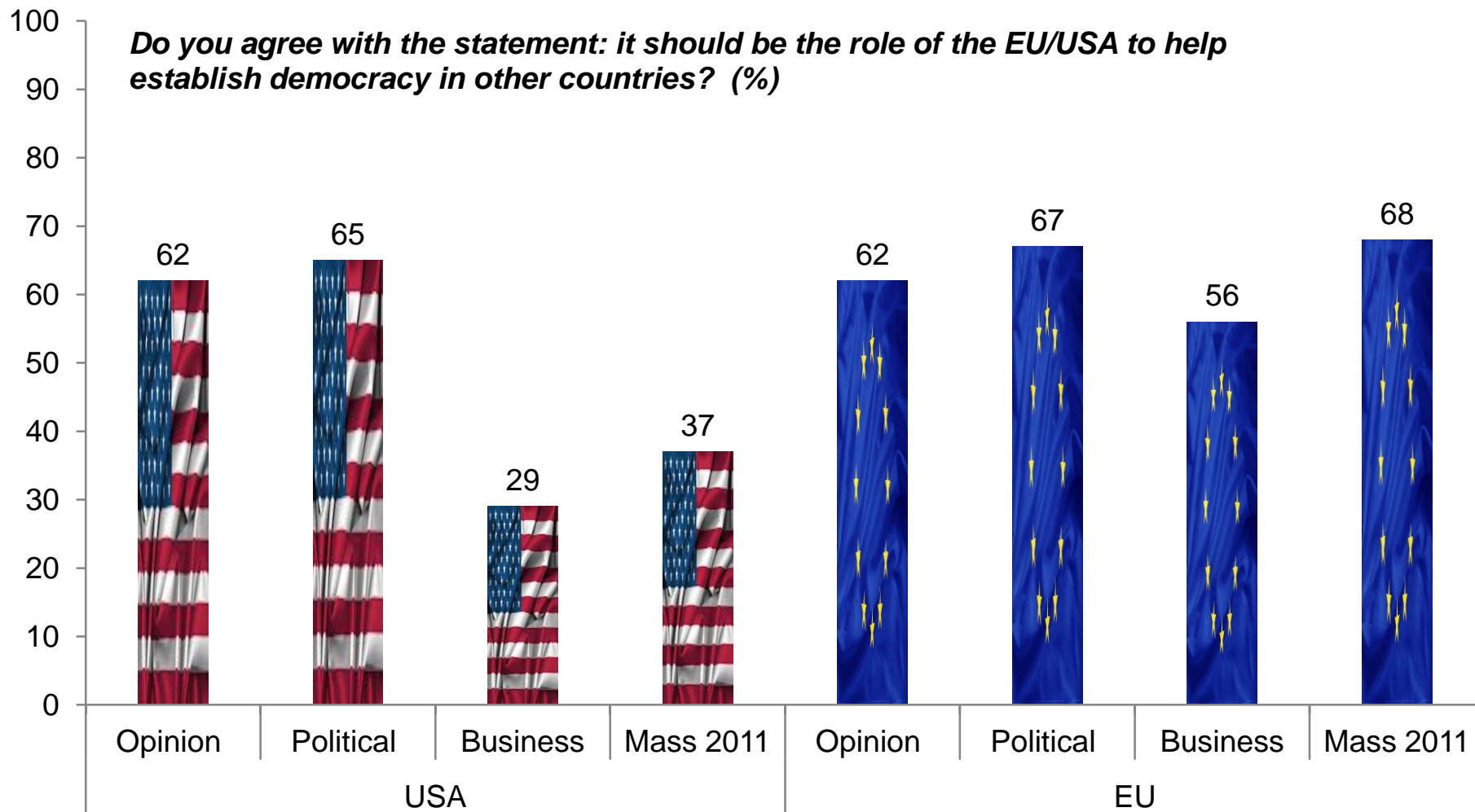


Should we promote democracy?

The balance between asserted ideals and realist imperatives



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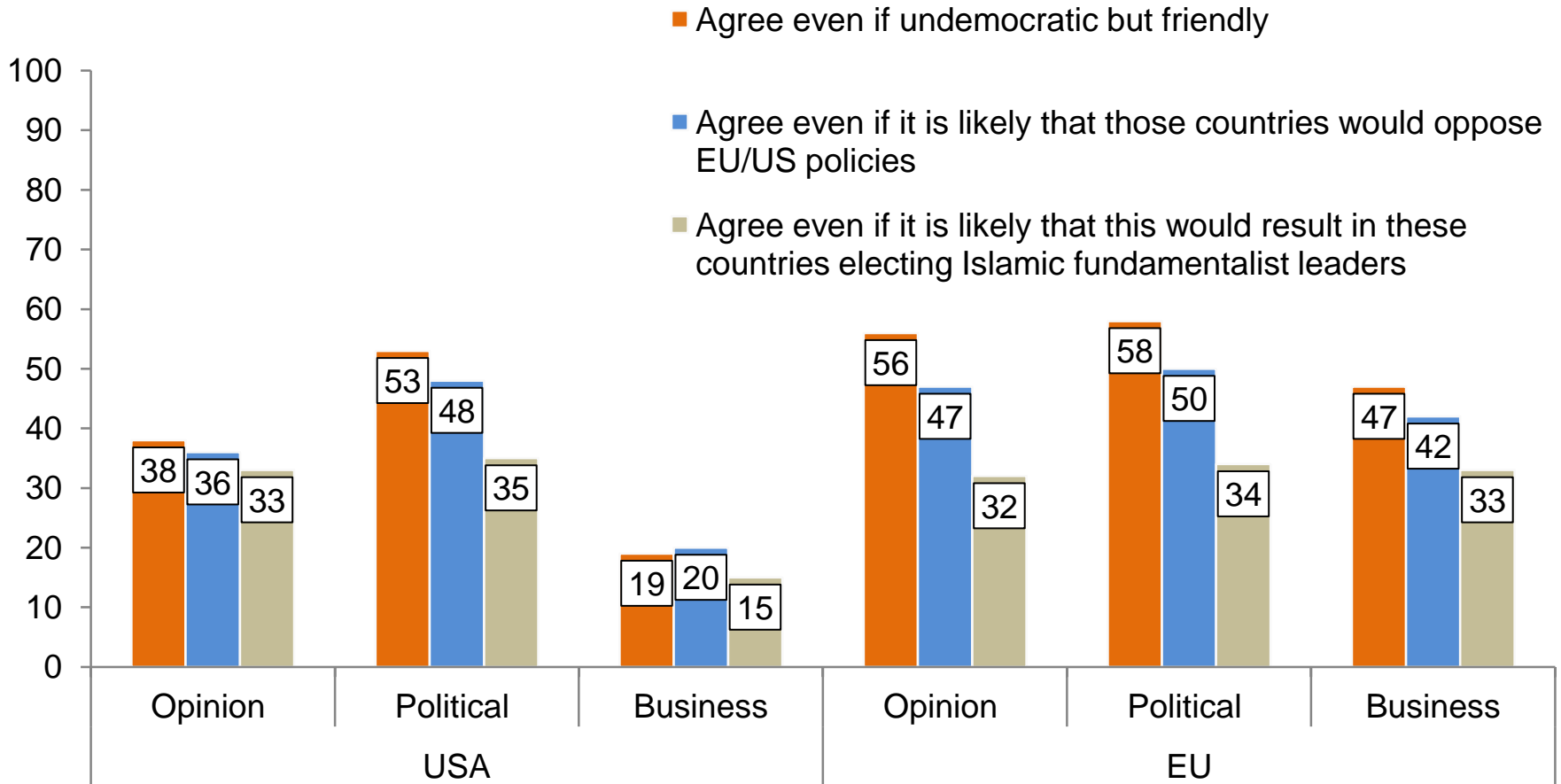


How far should we go?

Are all 'rogue' states the same?



Do you agree with the statement: it should be the role of the EU/USA to help establish democracy in other countries? Do you agree even if ... (% of strongly/somewhat agree)

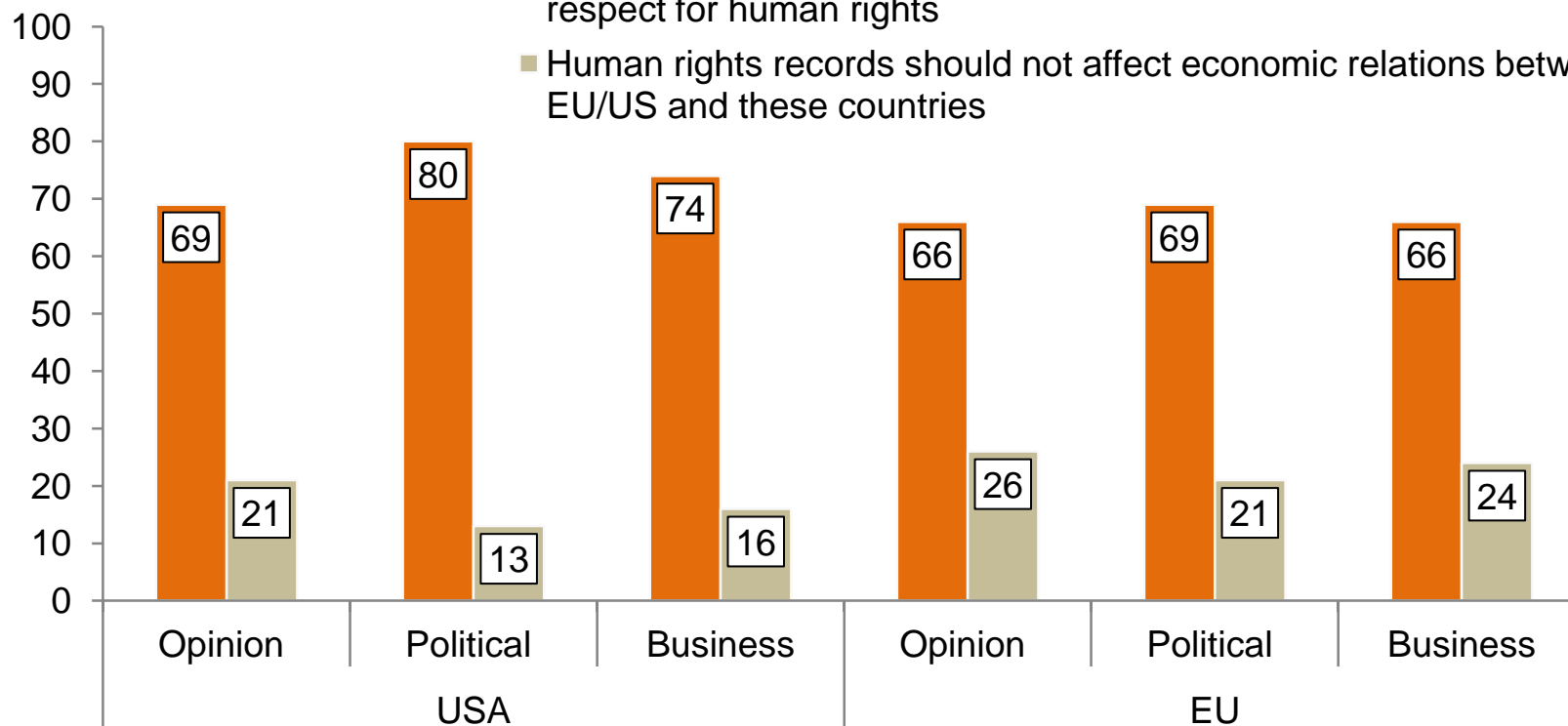


Reasons for – the ‘Why’

The balance between asserted ideals and realist imperatives – *Ideals vs Economic interests*

Some people say that the EU/US should limit their economic relations with countries that have no respect for human rights. Others say that human rights should not affect economic relations between the EU and these countries. Which one of these positions d

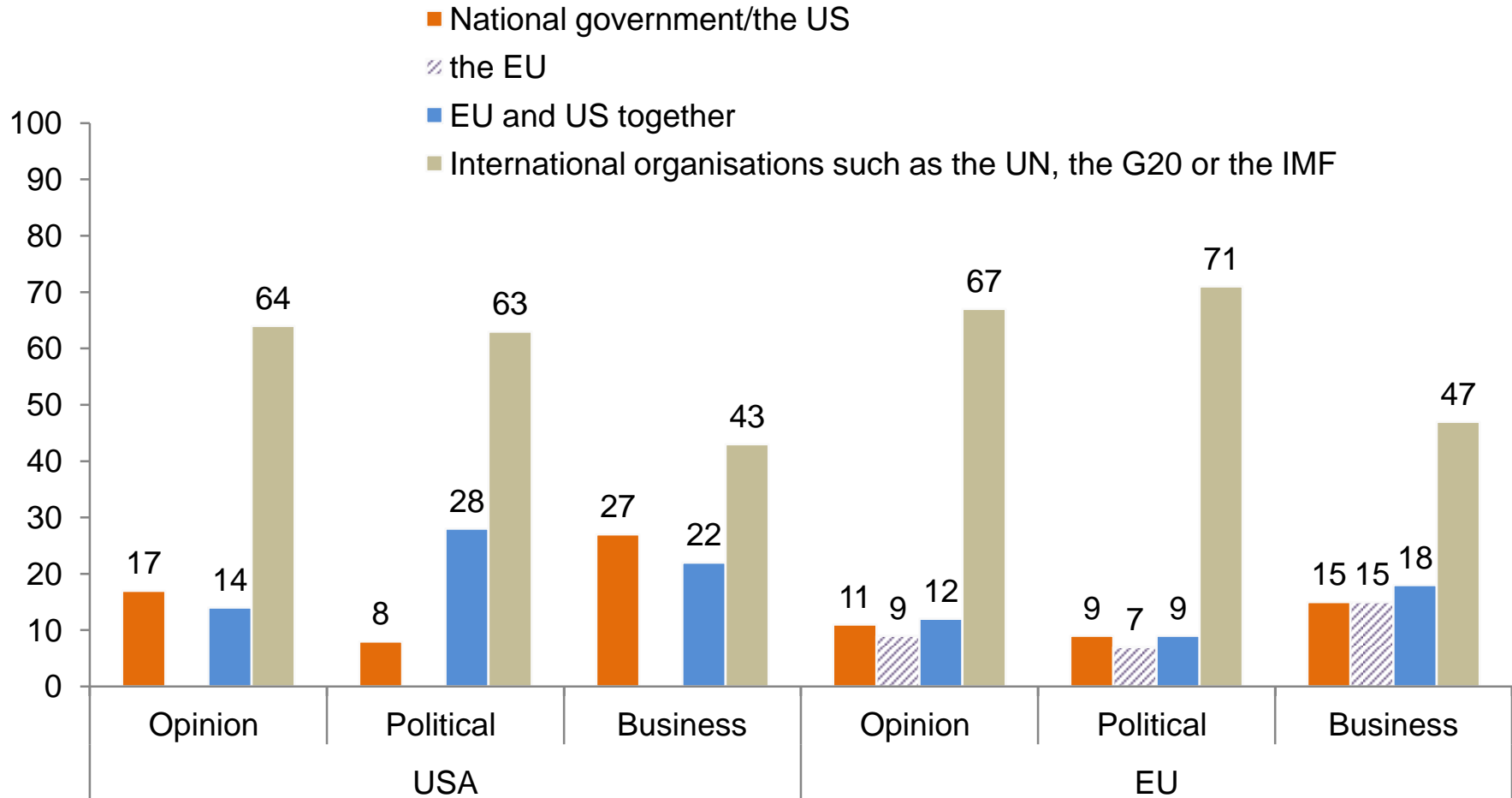
- The EU/US should limit its economic relations with countries that have no respect for human rights
- Human rights records should not affect economic relations between the EU/US and these countries



Who should decide on HR & Democracy Promotion?



Would you tell me whether policies in the area of Human right and democracy promotion should be decided by ...? (%)



Section V. Human Rights and Democracy Promotion Summary



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- There is no common understanding among EU/US leaders (and within the EU) about the main priorities and challenges for HR & DP (i.e. the 'what')
- Leaders assert in principle that democracy promotion is a US/EU commitment, but when interests are at stake elites are less ready to intervene
- Economic relations with human right abusers should be limited ...at least in principle (i.e. the 'why').
- As for the tools, beyond the use of force:
 - Transatlantic leaders show a lukewarm support for negative/positive incentives;
 - They also support measures of persuasion like diplomatic pressure;
 - EU leaders are decidedly favourable to capacity building instruments.

Policy implications: competitiveness, cooperation or, rather, complementarity between EU/USA on democracy promotion?

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Thank you for your attention

