

TNS SEMINAR

**THE CHOICES FOR DISSATISFIED EUROPEANS:  
THE STATUS QUO. AN EVER CLOSER UNION. BACKING OFF THE UNION**

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More details in R. Rose, *REPRESENTING EUROPEANS: A PRAGMATIC APPROACH*  
(Oxford U. Press, 2013)

## WHAT THE 2014 ELECTIONS ARE ABOUT

EUROZONE crisis has integrated national and EU politics

THE issue: WHO should decide economic policy:

National governments OR the EU and the Troika?

EU RESPONSE: INCREASE EU integration

NATIONAL RESPONSES: DISSATISFACTION with what's happening in the eurozone

## MEASURES OF SUPPORT FOR INTEGRATION

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### **STATIC**

Generally speaking, do you think that your country's membership  
Of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good nor bad  
(Eurobarometer)

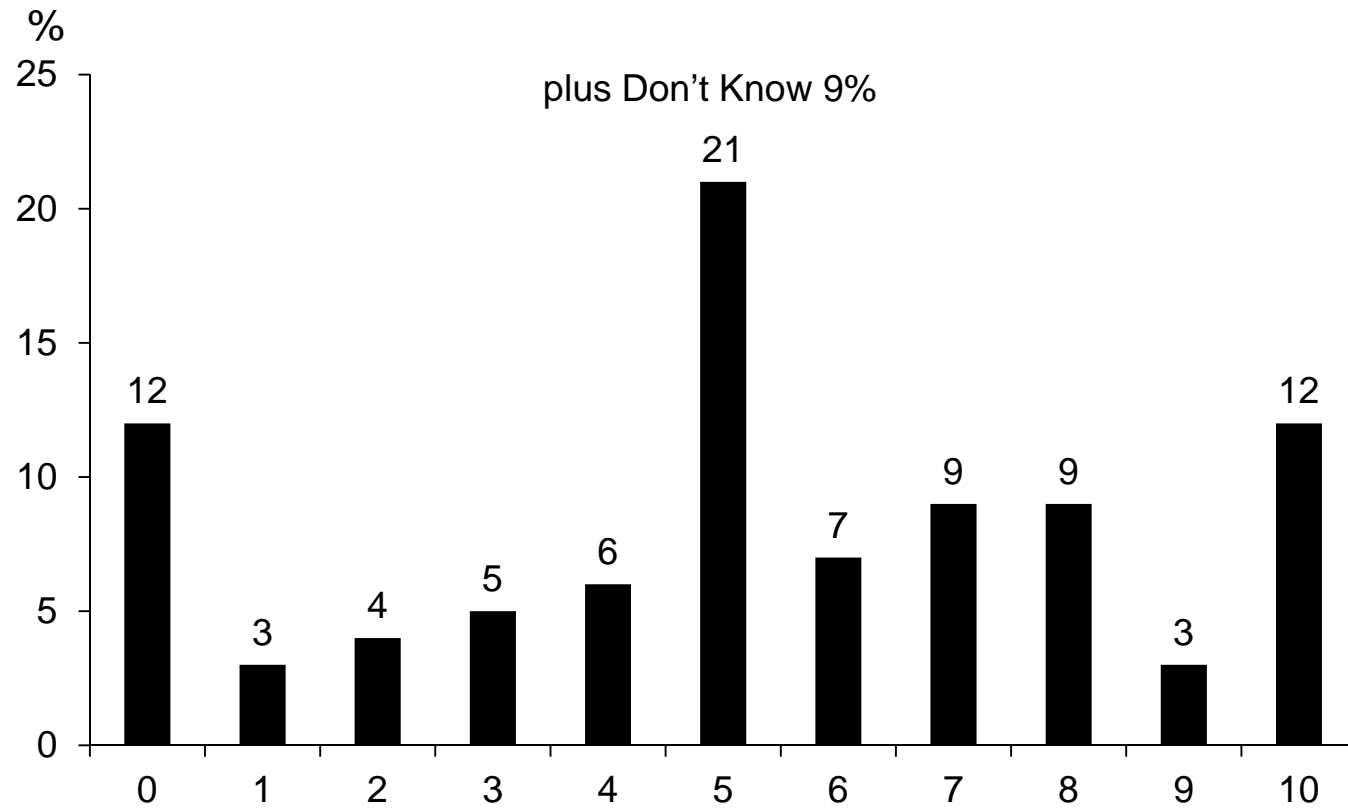
### **DYNAMIC of Treaty of Rome 'ever closer union'**

Some say European integration should be pushed further.  
Others say it has already gone too far. What is your opinion?  
(Answer requested on an 11-point scale)  
(European Election Survey)

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## ATTITUDES TOWARD AN EVER CLOSER UNION, 2009

Q. Some say *European integration should be pushed further*. Others say *it has already gone too far*. What is your opinion?



\*21 countries: Median citizen **satisfied as is**; 5s a plurality

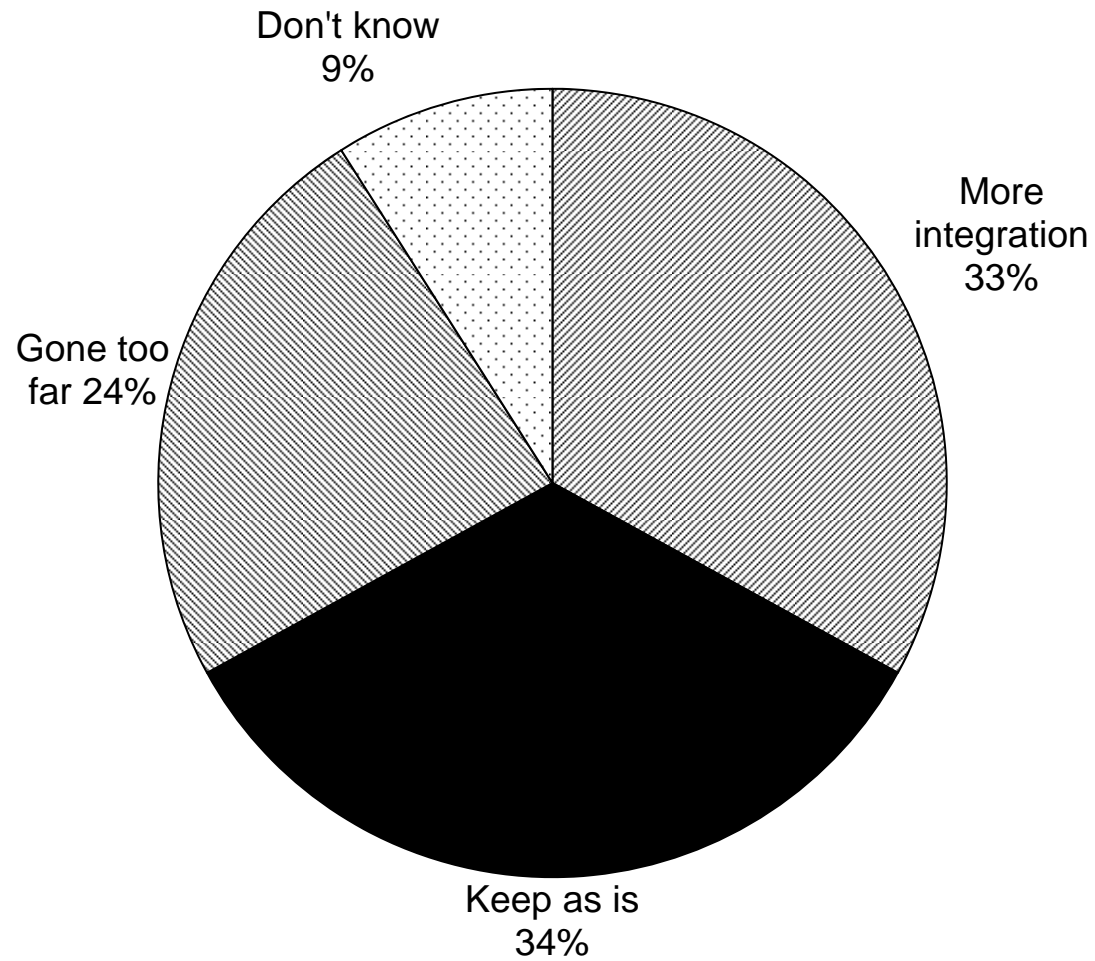
\*4 countries: Majority for **more** integration

\*2 countries: Majority for **less** integration

Source: 2009 European Election Survey

## HOW MUCH INTEGRATION HAVE EUROPE'S CITIZENS WANTED?

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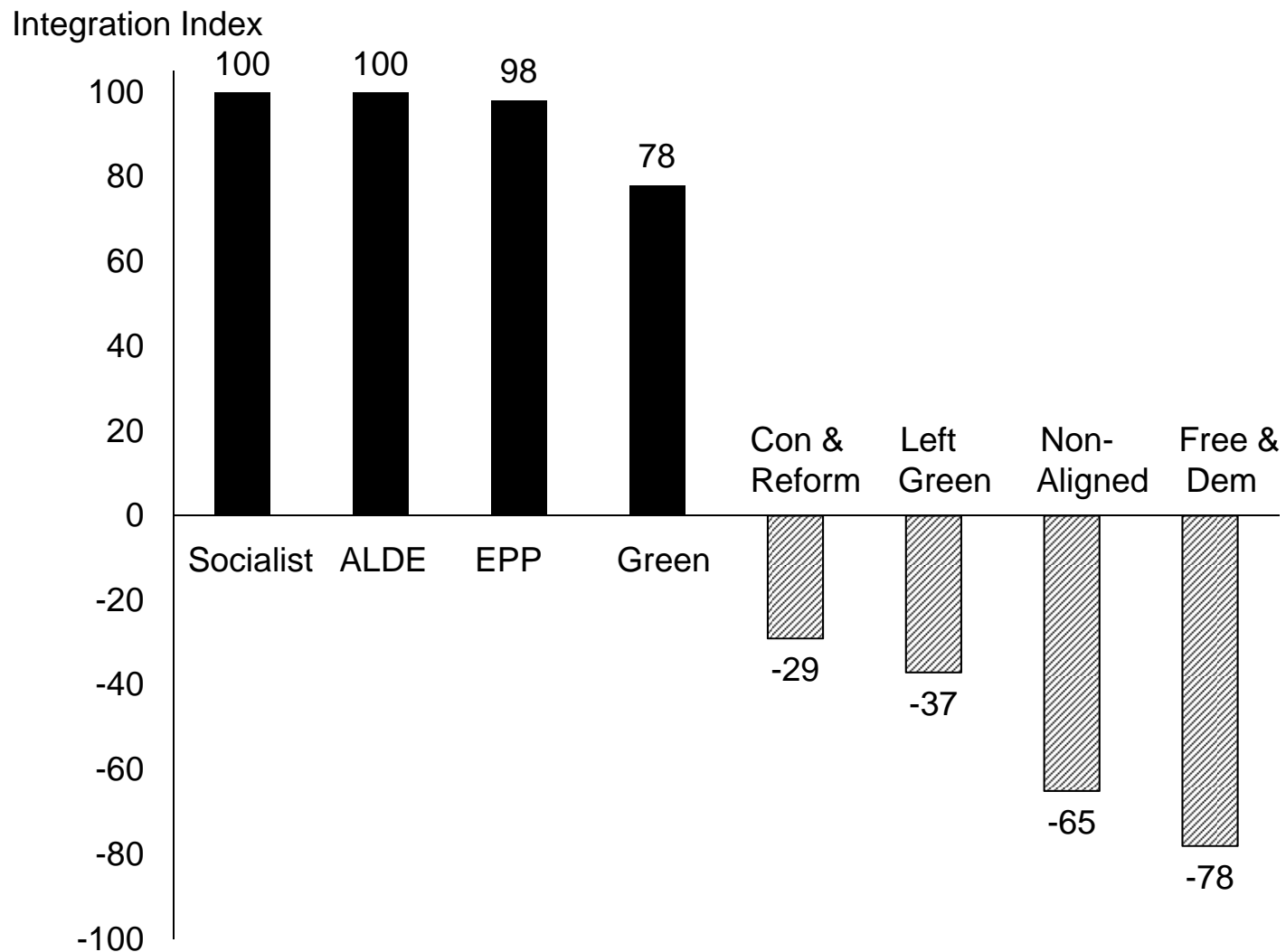
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Source: 2009 European Election Survey

## DYNAMIC ALTERNATIVES IN 2014

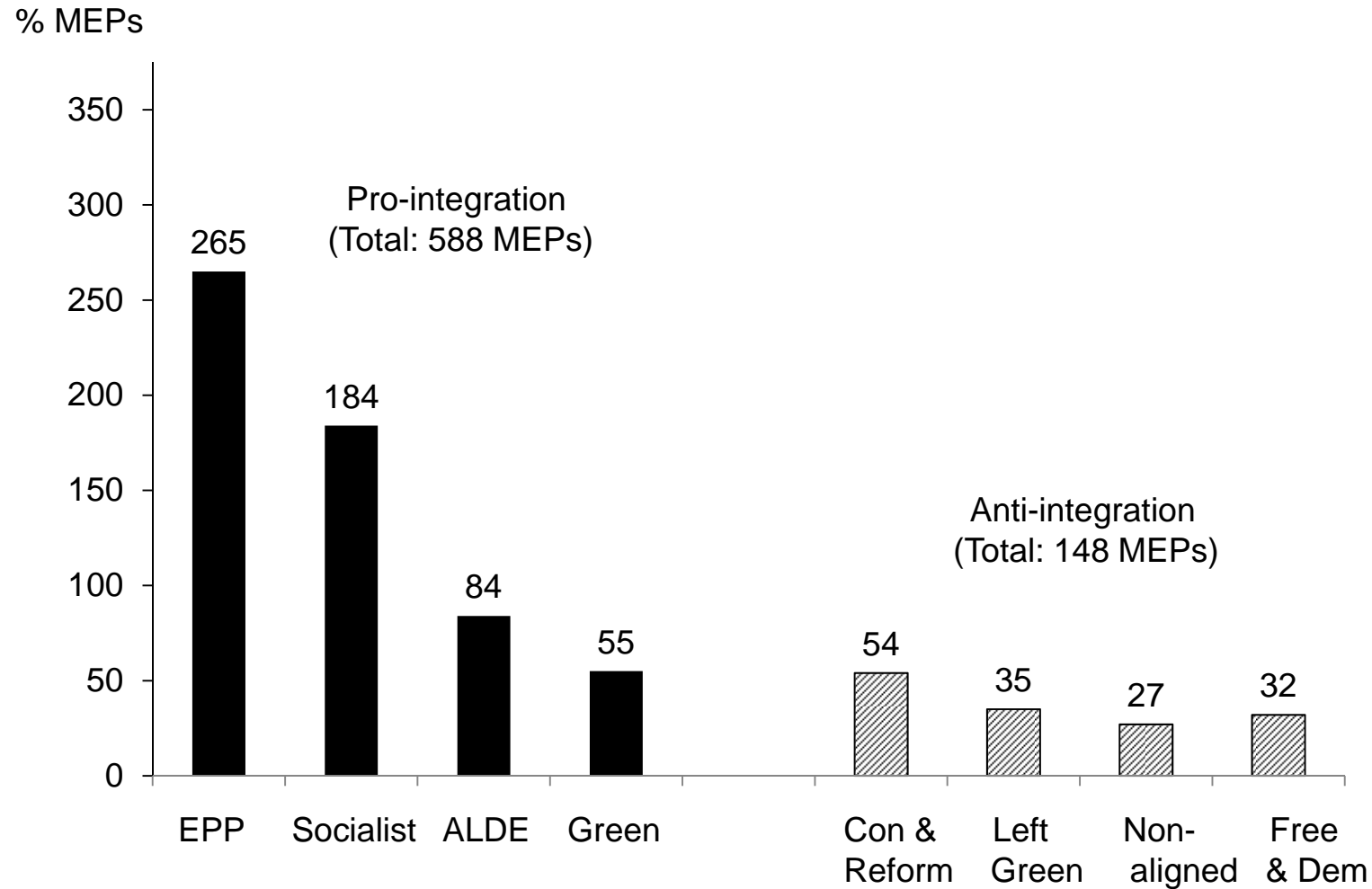
- \*Euro-fundamentalists: Create a European state
- \*Loyal followers: Support more integration due to cues from EU, some major parties
- \*For status quo—because satisfied or as the lesser evil to the risks of any change.
- \*Backing off: Would like less integration, withdrawal eurozone but not break up.
- \*National-fundamentalists: National withdrawal without regard for risks.

## POSITION OF PARTY GROUPS ON EU INTEGRATION, 2009 ELECTION



Source: Index calculated as percent of Group's MEPs elected on pro-integration manifestos, from European University Institute EUDO data bas. Reported in Rose and Borz, "Aggregation and Representation in EP Party Groups", *West European Politics*, 36, 3 (2013).

## HARD TO CHANGE EP MAJORITY ON INTEGRATION FROM 2009



Source: Index calculated as percent of Group's MEPs elected on pro-integration manifestos, from European University Institute EUDO data base. Reported in Rose and Borz, "Aggregation and Representation in EP Party Groups", *West European Politics*, 36, 3 (2013).



## EASY TO UPSET NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPEAN COUNCIL

### ANTI-INTEGRATION PARTIES: SEATS

	MEPs 2009		Natl election	MEPs 2014	
	N	(% Nat'l MEPs)	%	Anti	Total
Germany	0	(0%)	0	AFD < 10%	96
France	7	(10%)	2%	More	74
Italy	9	(12%)	20%	???	73
UK: non govtl	20	(28%)	2%	More	73
Conservative	25	(35%)	47%	Fewer	