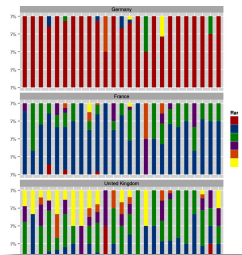


PREFERENCES, POWER AND COALITION BUILDING

Findings from the ECFR expert survey 2015



KEY
FINDINGS



PREFE-
RENCES

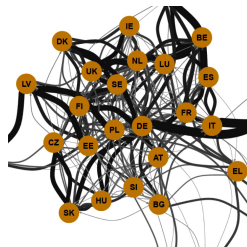
POWER

COALITIONS

CASE
STUDIES

Start here!
✓

Copyright: ECFR 2016
Author:
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Senior Policy Fellow
Research Assistance:
Christoph Klavehn,
Bettina Böhm



METHO-
DOLOGY



INSTRUC-
TIONS

Instructions



- This interactive PDF presents specific results of Rethink: Europe, a joint initiative of ECFR and Stiftung Mercator.
- The presentation is structured in chapters. The main body of information is in the chapters *Preferences*, *Power* and *Coalitions*. *Key Findings* has a one page one page summary.
- The chapter *Case Studies* has analysis on select EU member states or group of states.
- The chapter *Methodology* gathers information on the survey design and process.
- For instructions how to navigate the pages, click on this paragraph

How to navigate these pages?



- Clicking on a tile on the start page takes you directly to the respective chapter.
- Clicking the start page symbol in the top right corner will always take you back to the start page.
- Clicking on the title of a page within a chapter will take you back to the beginning of that chapter.
- Clicking on a text box like this one will open pages with more detail.

To begin surfing the pdf, click on the symbol up there to get to the start.

Key findings



Preferences

Germany is most often mentioned as a like minded partner. It also leads the rating on responsiveness followed by The Netherlands and Sweden.

Asked which partner governments contact first, Germany and France are on top, followed by the UK, Italy and Poland. Among the smaller countries, priority contacts are the Dutch and Swedish governments.

Greece, the United Kingdom and Hungary have disappointed partners most.

Power

Germany is clearly seen as the most influential member state, more relevant even in the area of foreign and security policy. France is in solid second place; the UK is seen as much weaker in all regards.

Among the smaller member states, The Netherlands and Sweden are named as most influential.

Coalitions

Most respondents expect to see more coalitions in future, helping to prepare decisions among the 28. Coalitions will become more permanent and less ad hoc.

Two thirds also expect to see one or several cores emerging from permanent coalitions; respondents are split over the desirability of that trend.

Should cores develop, deeper integration on economic and social integration or on energy have some acceptance among the expert panel. All other areas of deeper integration receive only marginal support.

Methodology overview



Expert survey: Coalition building in the EU

Building on earlier work with practitioners from governments and think tankers, ECFR launched an expert survey in the summer of 2015 (data collection between mid-May and early August). Civil servants, experts from think tanks, but also members of parliaments, media and NGOs were invited to answer a set of 20 questions dealing with patterns and preferences of member state interaction, the role of large member states, and the prospects of coalition building in the EU.

297 responses were received, covering all EU member states except for Croatia, Cyprus, and Lithuania. Participation varied greatly among member states with over 50 respondents from Germany and just one response from Romania. Results are not representative and should be read with some care. Role and place of the respondents in their national context, however, speak for a fair assessment of the prevailing view in the respective member state for all countries with multiple responses.

More

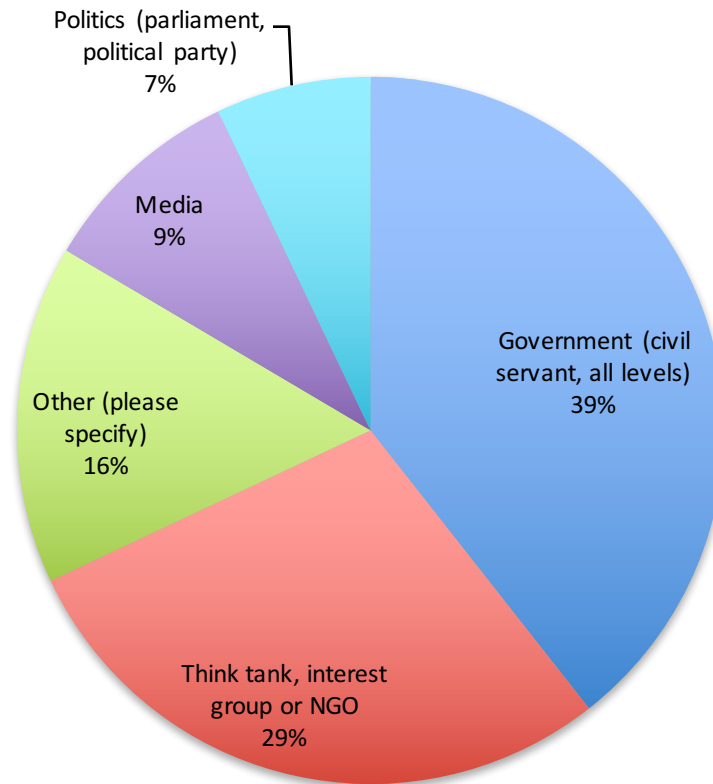
Questionnaire & response meta data



Target group has been reached well with over 2/3 of all responses from the two core target groups.

Foreign and security policy was given as the area of specialisation for most respondents (41%), followed by EU affairs in general (37%) and EMU/Single Market (14%).

Please indicate your professional position within your member state.

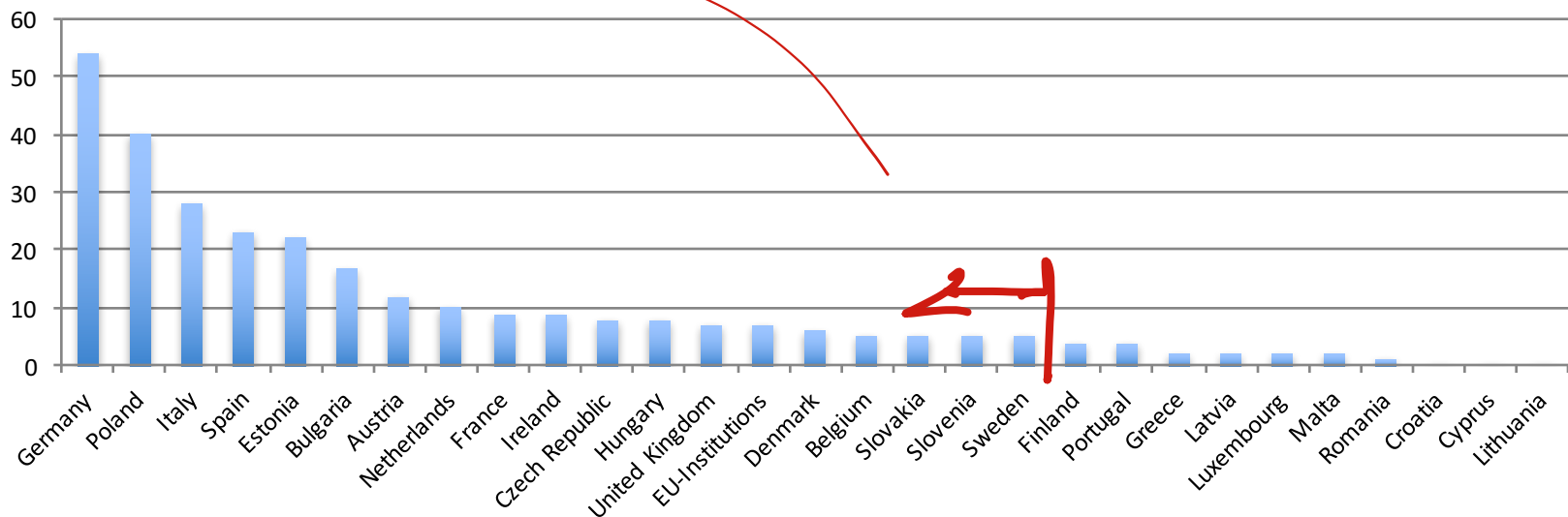


Questionnaire & response meta data



The number of responses varies greatly among member states.

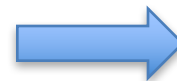
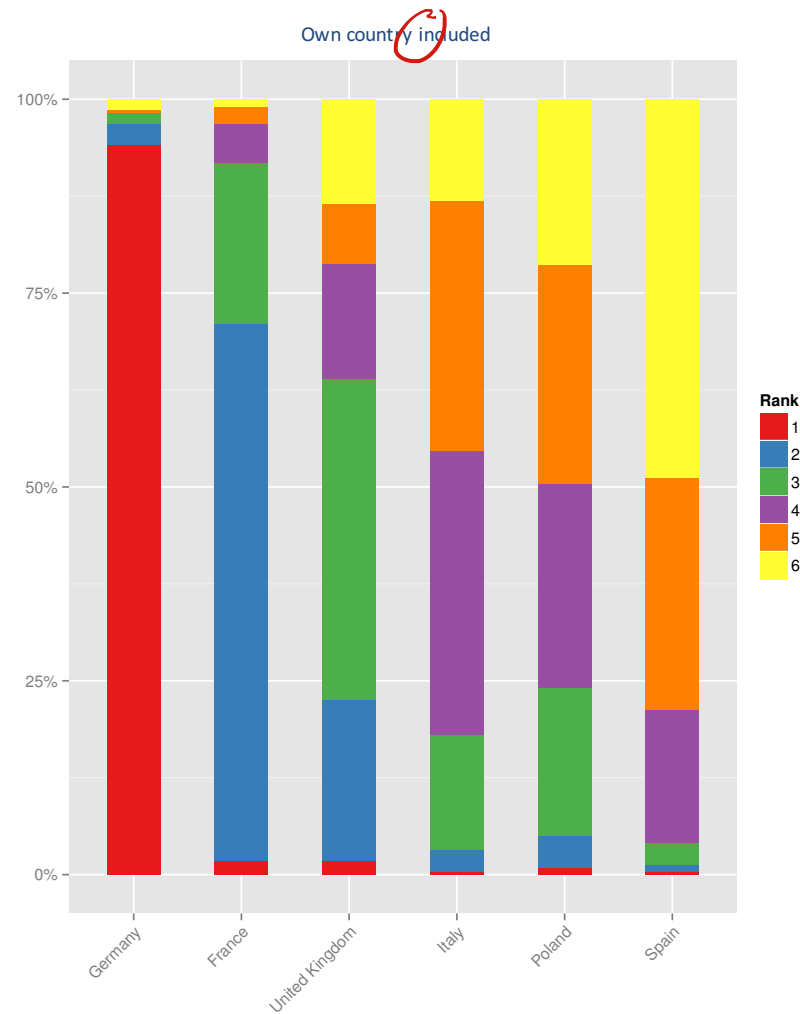
However, five or more responses from the core target group of a member state indicate sufficient validity.



Questionnaire & response meta data



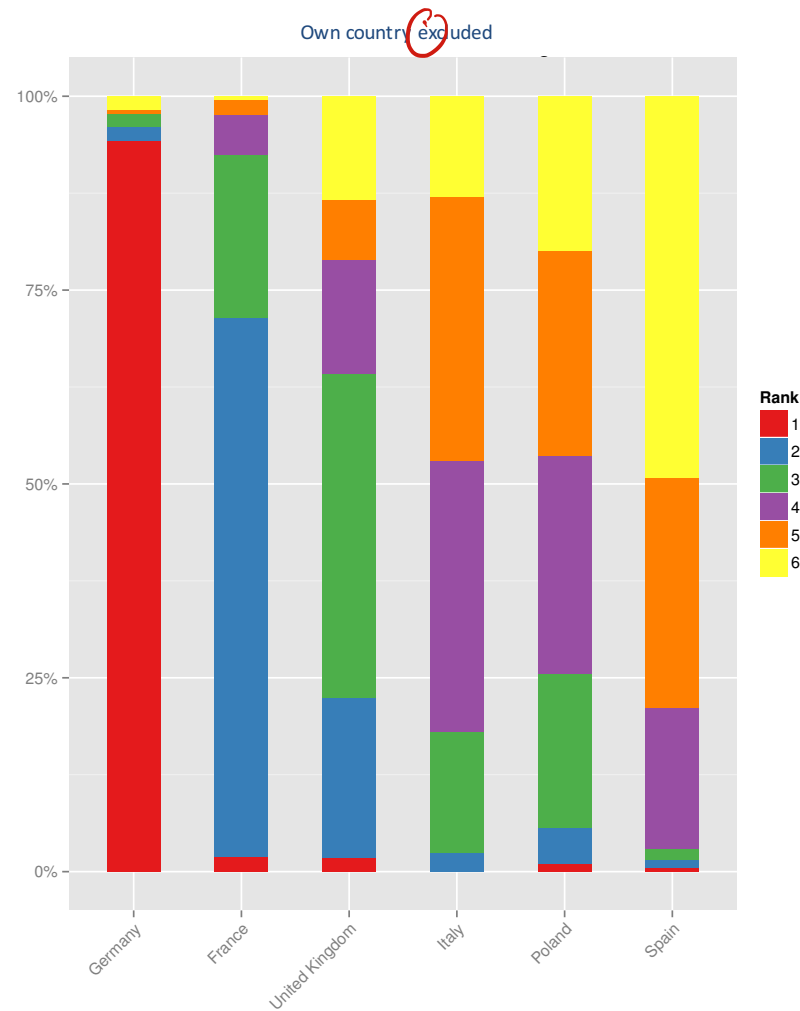
Respondents appear to judge their own country quite accurately. There is only minor deviation in results when assessment on one's own country is taken out.



Questionnaire & response meta data



Respondents appear to judge their own country quite accurately. There is only minor deviation in results when assessment on one's own country is taken out.



The survey contained 17 questions on substance, listed below.

Interaction among EU member states

4. In your view or experience, which member states generally share many of your country's interests and preferences on EU policies?

Select up to 5 member states from the list.

5. On EU matters, which member state government(s) would your government generally contact first and/or most?

Select up to 5 member states from the list.

6. In dealing with other member states, which governments have shown to be most responsive or are easiest to work with?

Select up to 5 member states from the list.

7. In your view, what are the reasons for responsiveness or ease of interaction? Multiple answers possible.

8. Please identify member states which have disappointed your government, because they have not been responsive or have not shown interest in cooperating with your government.

Multiple answers possible.

Questionnaire 2

[Back to Overview](#)

Role and influence of individual member states

9. Here is a list of the so-called large member states.

Considering the past 5 years, please rank the list according to their overall influence or impact on EU policy.

10. This time, considering the past 5 years, please rank the same list according to each country's influence or impact on EU fiscal policy.

11. This time, please rank the same list according to each country's influence or impact on EU foreign, security and defence policy.

12. Large member states aside, here is a list of seven other member states. Compared to the large six they are smaller in population but highly developed and affluent.

Considering the past 5 years, please rank these countries according to their overall influence or impact on EU policy.

13. Large or affluent member states aside, here is a list of eleven more member states.

Considering the past 5 years, please rank these countries according to their overall influence or impact on EU policy.

14. In general, impact or influence of member states depends on a number of factors. Please indicate the relevance of the factors listed below.

For questions 9-13: Either select the rank number in the box or drag names to rank position.

Coalitions and EU policy making

15. A key role of coalitions among EU member states is to build consensus prior to debate and decisions.

Which of the statements below best describes the significance of consensus building by coalitions?

- Consensus building among a group is essential to get to decisions among 28 member states. Consensus building among a group is important for my country even though it may not prescribe the final decision.
- Consensus building among a group is helpful to prepare decisions among 28 member states but not meant to prescribe outcomes.
- Consensus building among a group has little shaping influence on EU decision making.
- Other (please specify)

16. In your view or from your experience, which of the following statements best describes the nature of coalitions among member states?

- Coalitions tend to form ad-hoc and around specific policy issues.
- Coalitions tend to form ad-hoc and cut across several policy areas.
- Coalitions tend to be more permanent and are mostly issue specific.
- Coalitions tend to be more permanent and cut across several policy areas.

17. Looking ahead, do you expect to see more or less coalition building among member states?

18. Do you expect future coalition building to become more permanent, possibly forming one or several political cores?

Continued: Coalitions and EU policy making

19. In your view, is coalition building and/or the formation of one or several cores desirable?

- Coalitions are desirable but should not lead to the formation of cores.
- Coalitions are desirable but there should only be one core.
- Coalitions and several cores are desirable.
- Neither coalitions nor cores are desirable; the EU should only develop as a whole.
- Don't know / none

20. Assuming that coalition building could lead to a differentiation of integration (in the sense of building cores of deeper integration), which of the projects listed below would your government likely want to engage in?

- Economic and social union as a follow up to monetary union (within the eurozone)
- Tax union (harmonizing all or some direct/indirect taxes)
- Energy union (creating a single energy market with a single energy trade policy)
- Full integration of immigration and asylum policy
- Fully integrated border control, including a common border policy
- Defence union (full integration of armed forces)
- None
- Other (please specify)

Results: Preferences



- Germany is listed most often as a like-minded partner in the EU. In a web view it has the most connections.
- Germany and France are seen as most important contact points, followed by UK, PL and IT. Among the smaller, NL and SE stand out.
- In terms of responsiveness, The Netherlands (26%) and Sweden (23%) receive the highest marks after Germany (39%). Main reasons for smooth interaction are shared interest and record of cooperation.
- Greece, the United Kingdom and Hungary have disappointed partners most.
- **Note:** There is a special section with more analysis on these network questions. [To access this section click here.](#)



Preferences: The Top 10 like-minded member states

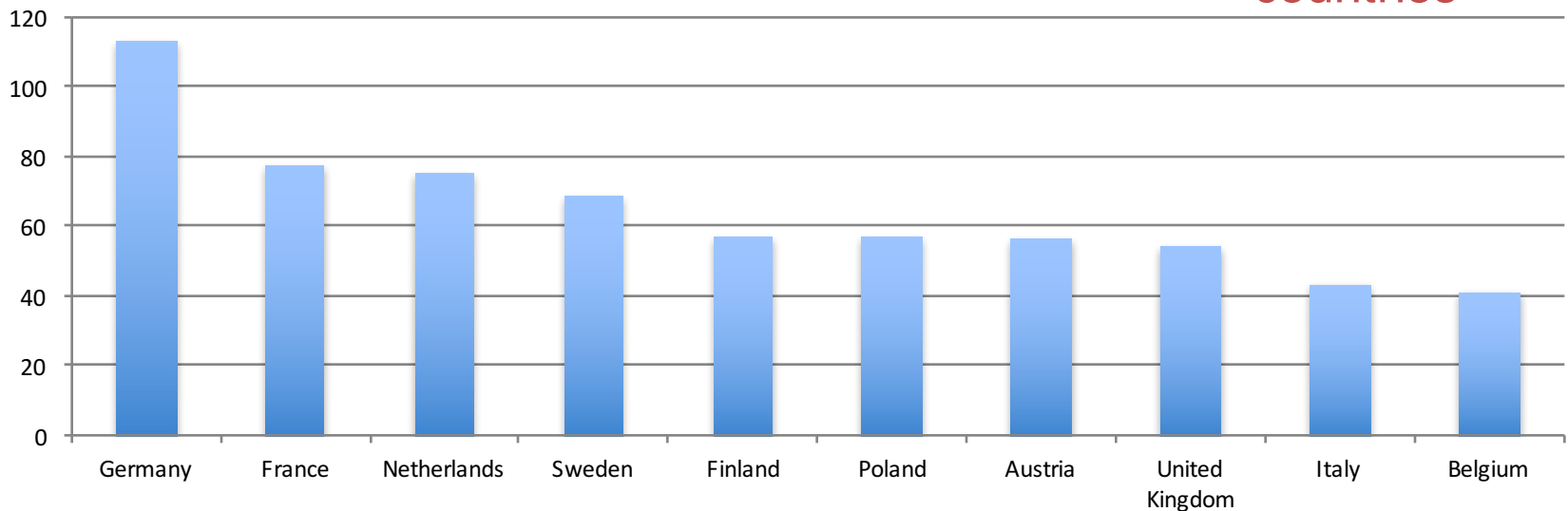


In your view or experience, which member states generally share many of your country's interests and preferences on EU policies?

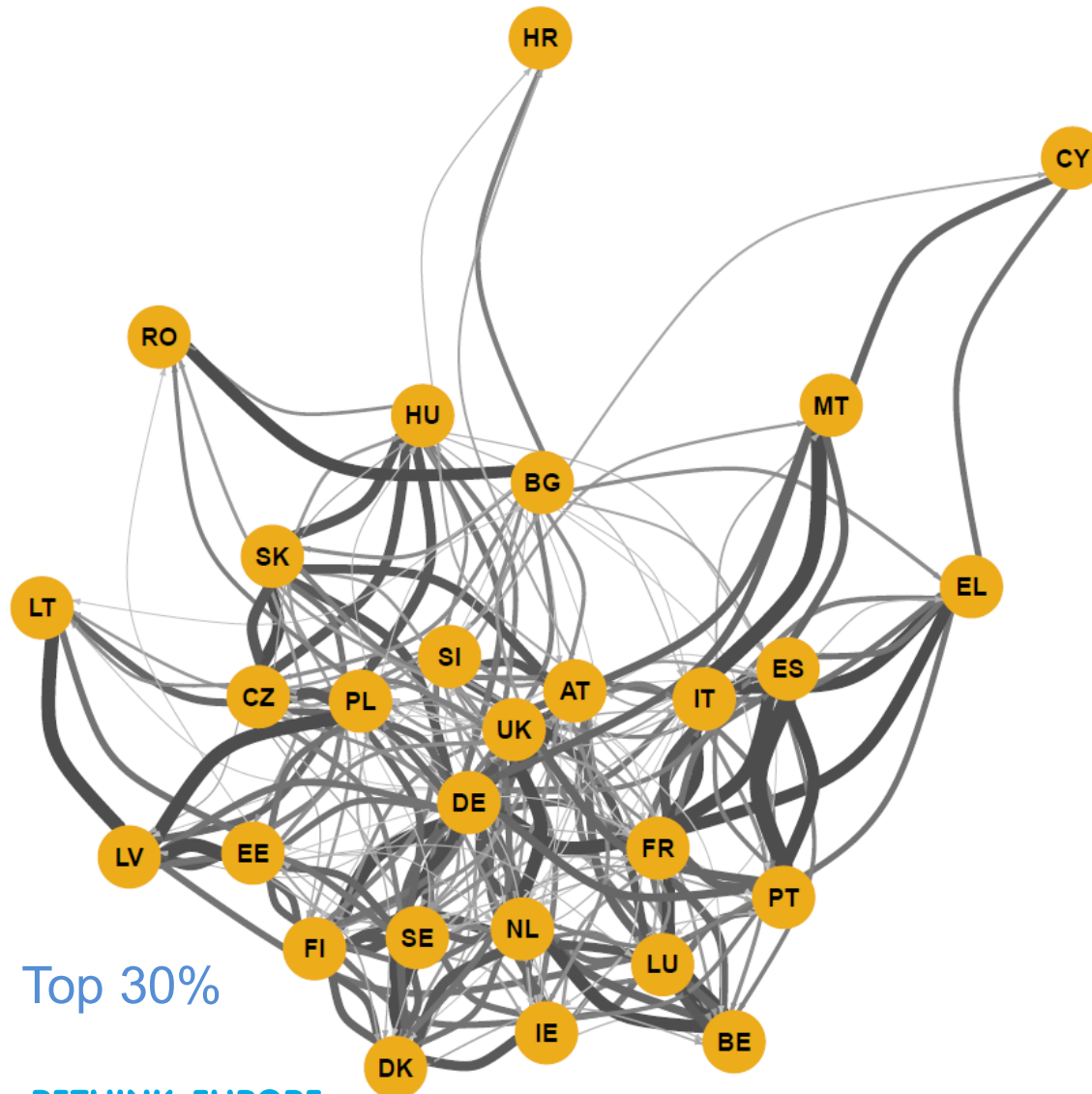
Countries listed were most often named among the five choices respondents could make.



? What really matters is who selected which countries



Preferences: The network of like-mindedness



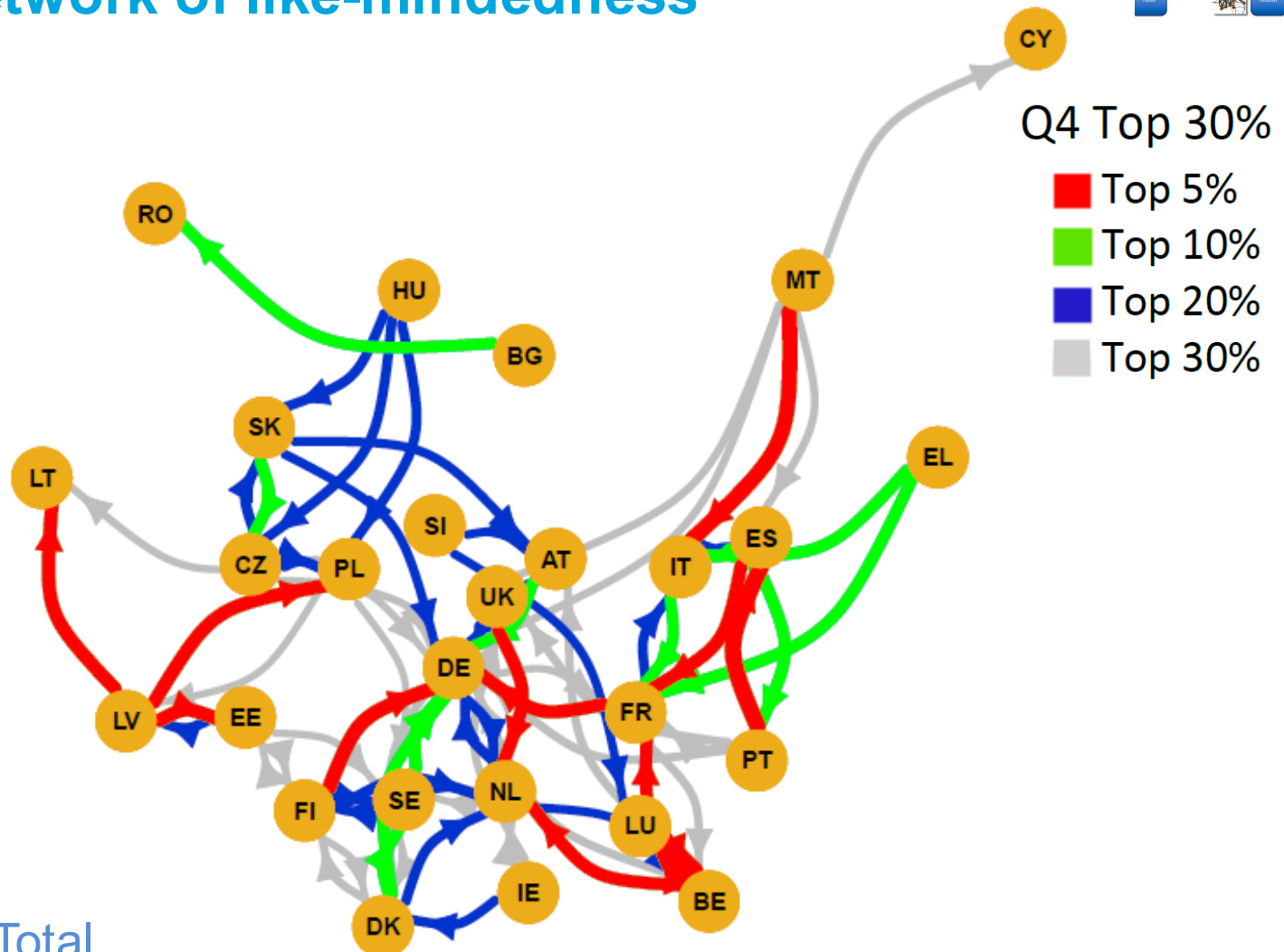
Q4 Total



Top 30%

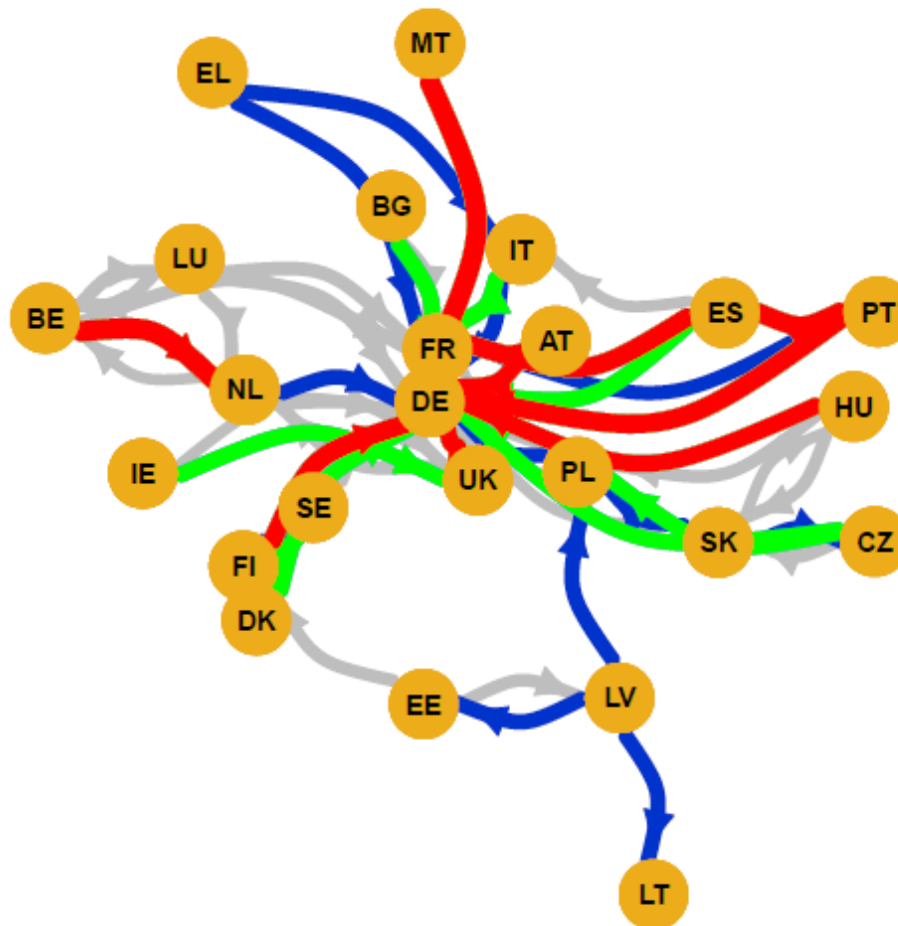
RETHINK: EUROPE

Preferences: The network of like-mindedness



Back to Total

Preferences: Who contacts whom first?

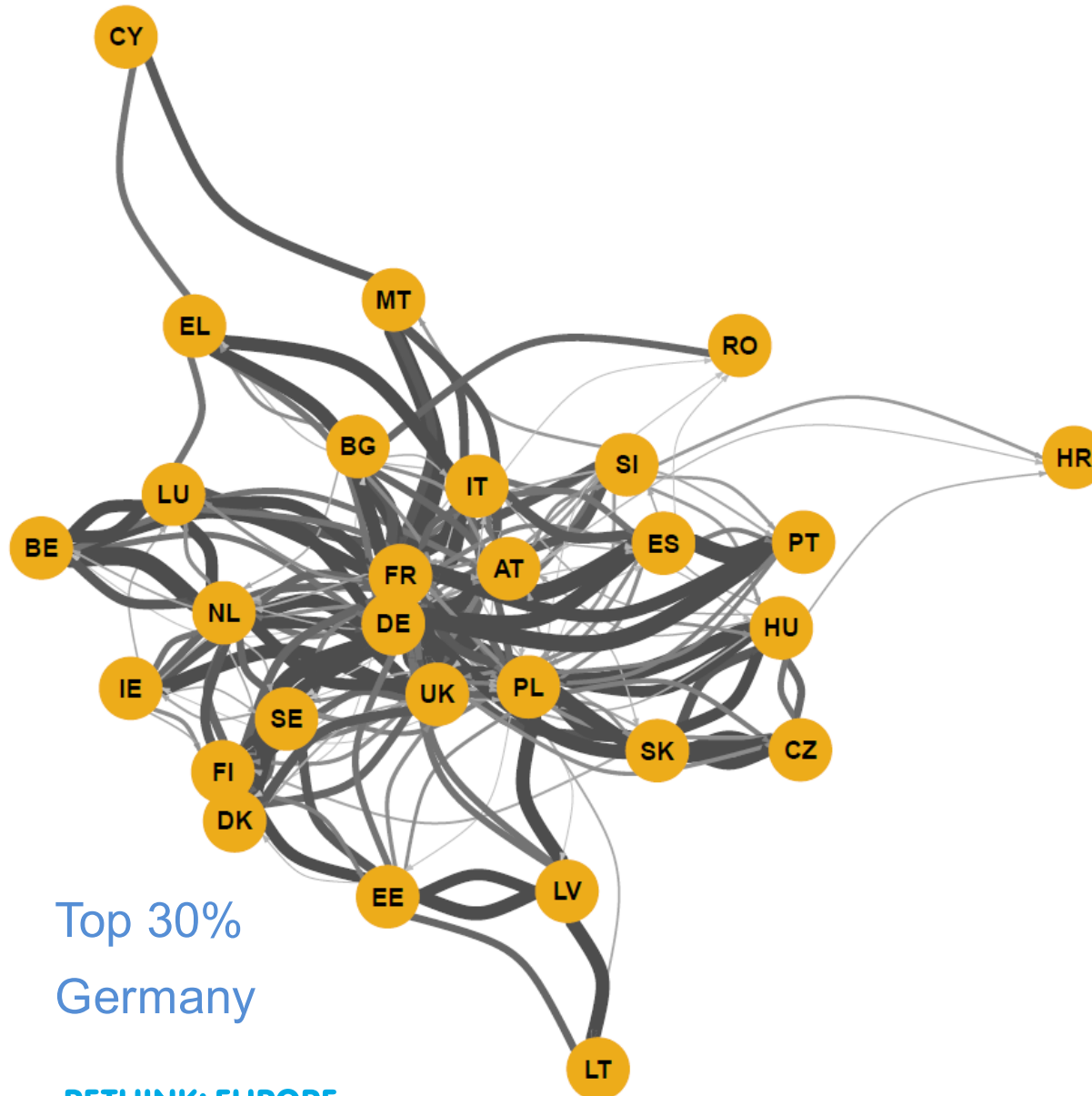


Q5 Top 30%

- Top 5%
- Top 10%
- Top 20%
- Top 30%

More
Germany

Preferences: Who contacts whom first?



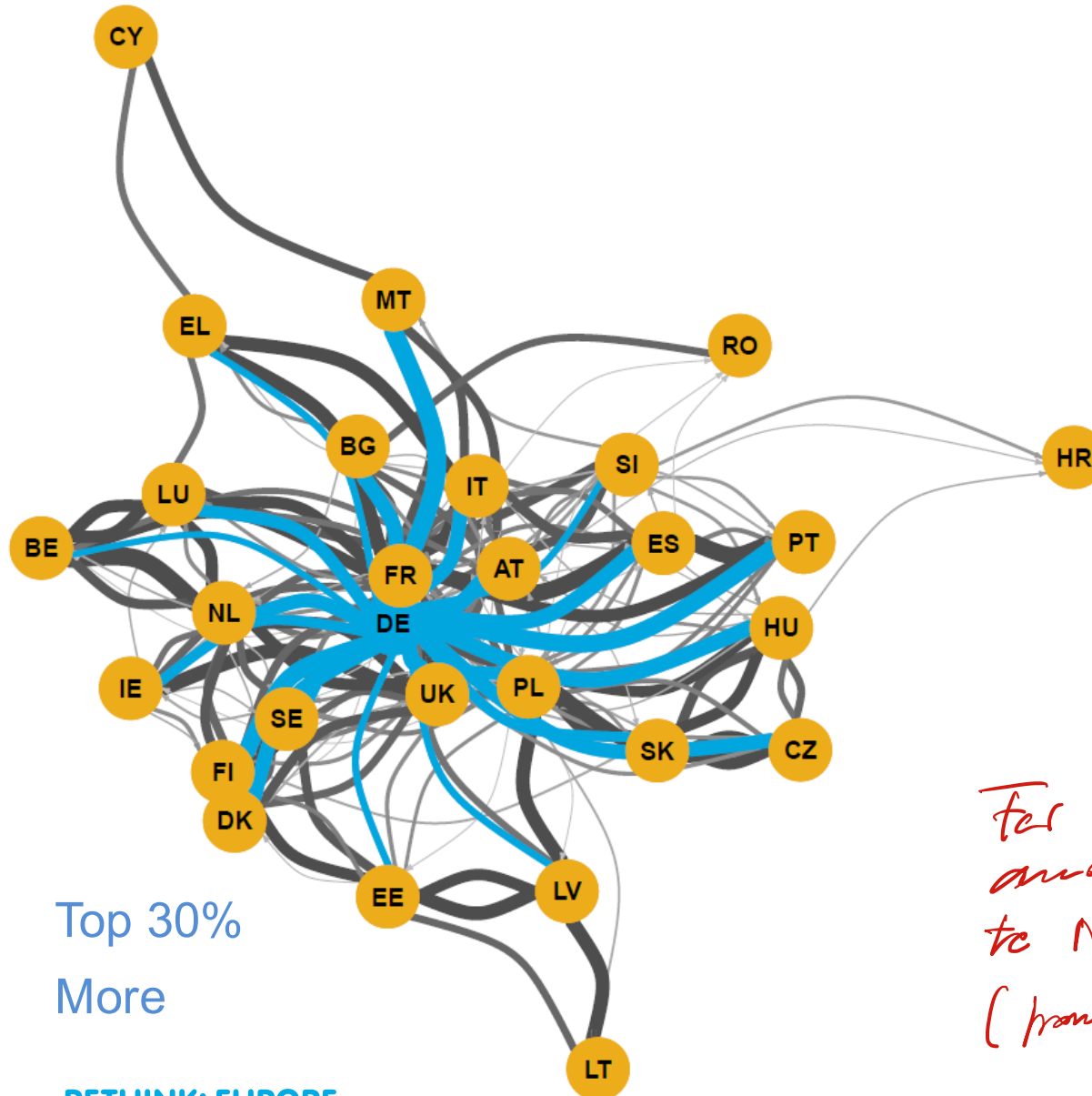
Q5 total



Top 30%
Germany

RETHINK: EUROPE

Preferences: Who contacts whom first?

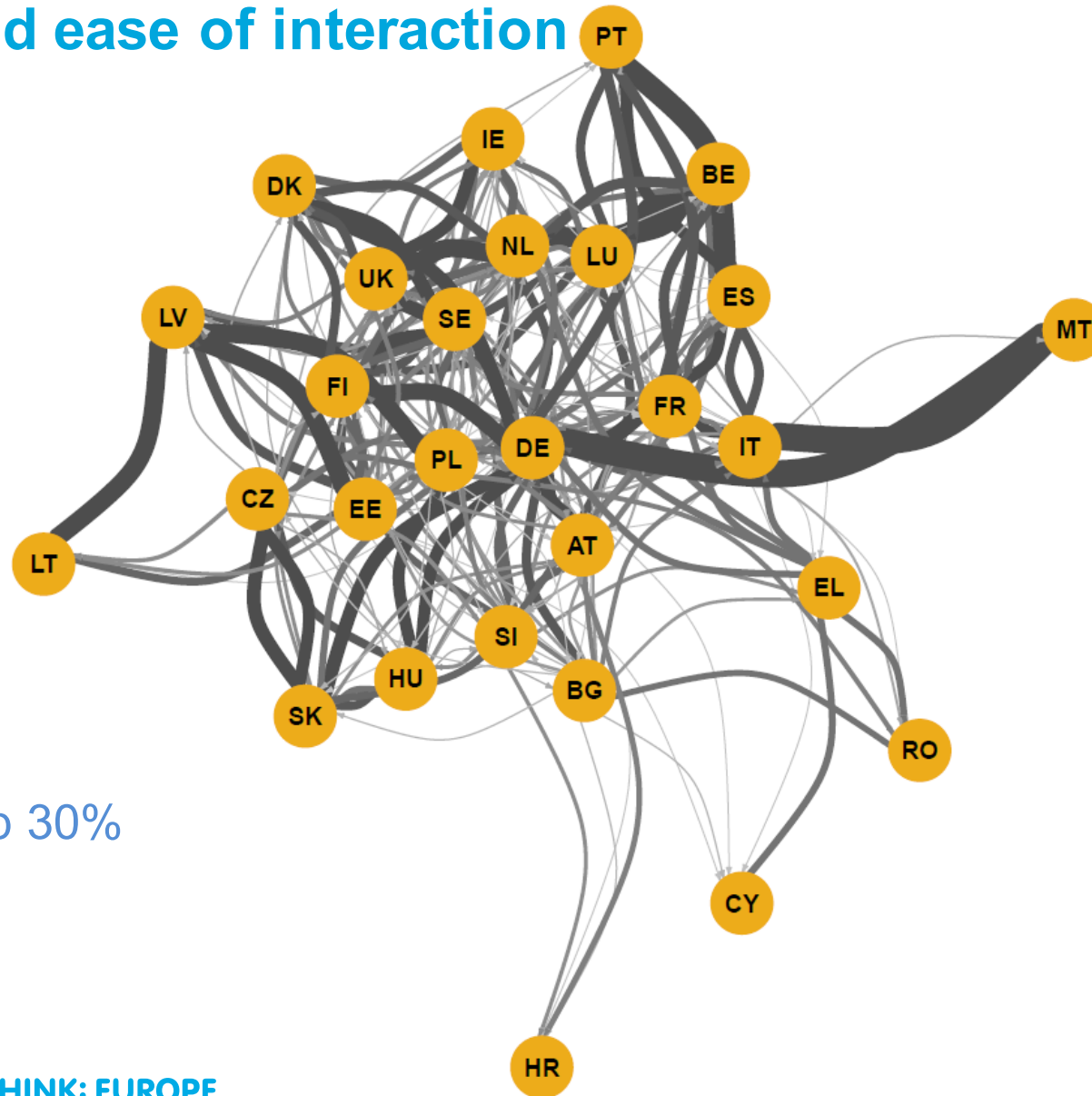


Top 30%
More

RETHINK: EUROPE

*For more countries
and groups, go
to Network graphics special
(from Preferences wall page)*

Preferences: Responsiveness and ease of interaction



Q6 total



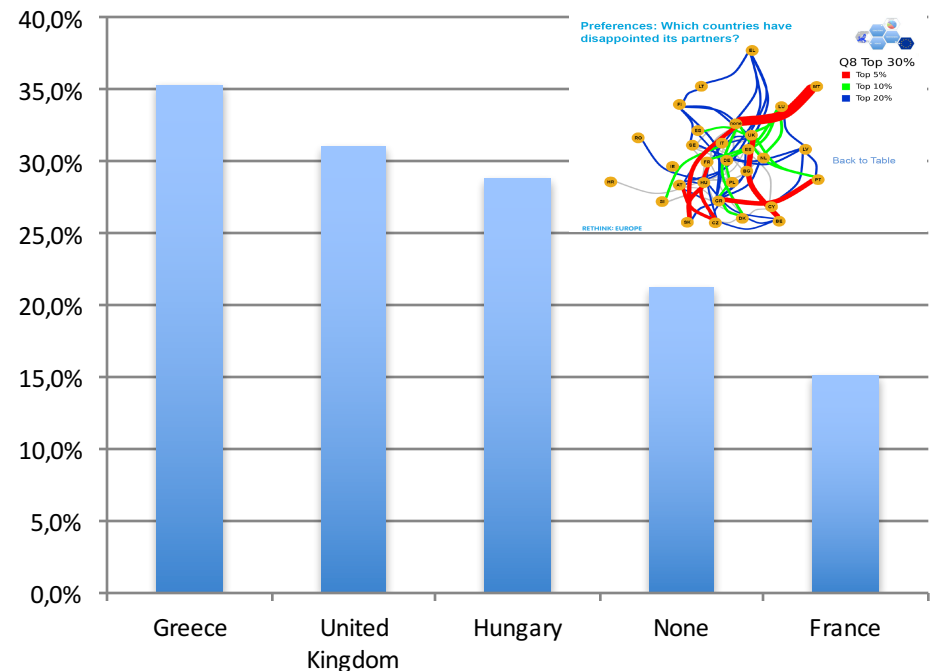
Top 30%



Preferences: Which countries have disappointed its partners?



Please identify member states which have disappointed your government, because they have not been responsive or have not shown interest in cooperating with your government.
Multiple answers possible.

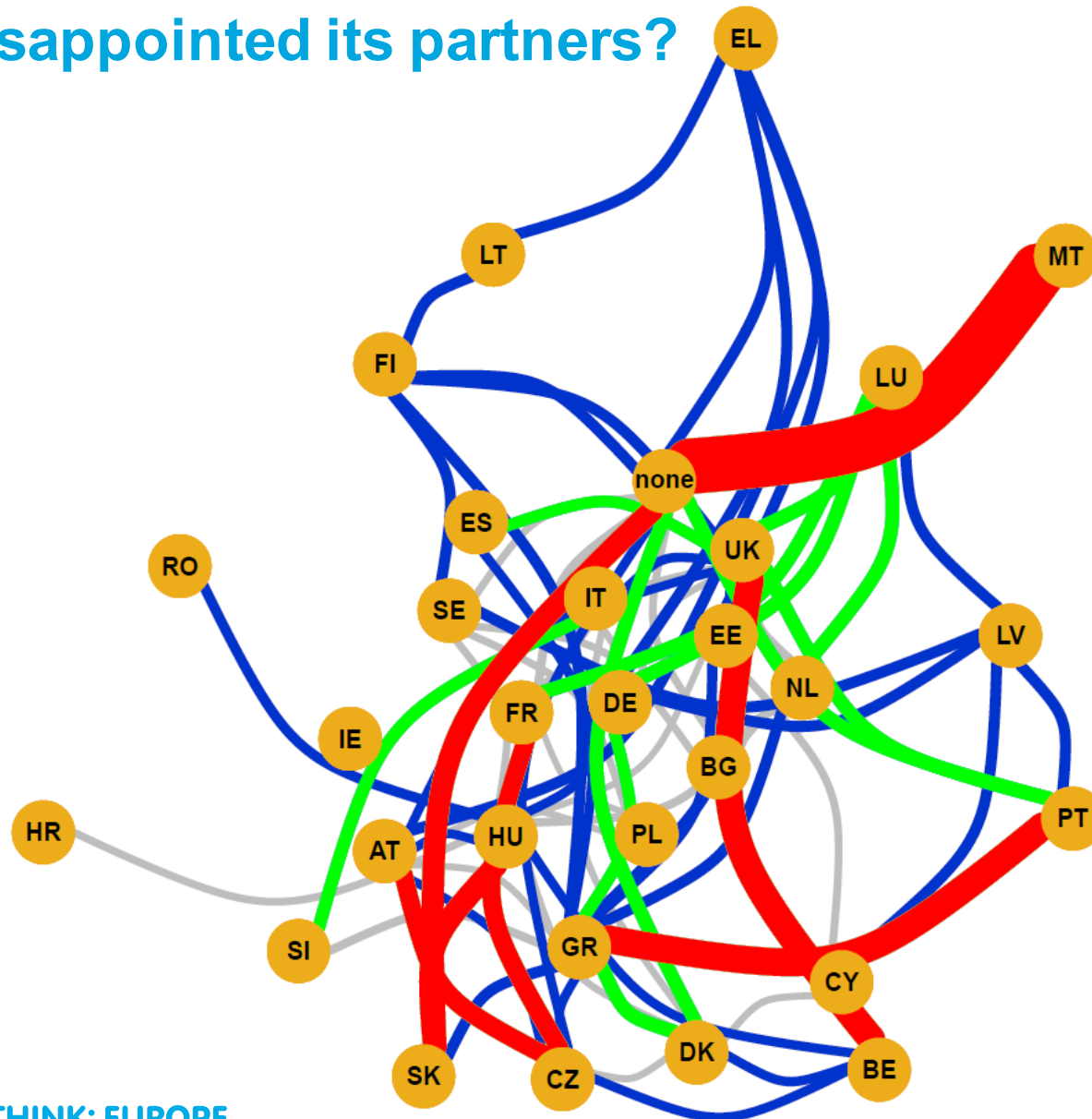


The diagram illustrates the course structure. At the top, there is a shelf with books and a European Union flag. Below this, the course is organized into several blue boxes: 'KEY FINDINGS', 'PREFERENCES', 'POWER', 'COALITIONS', 'CASE STUDIES', 'INSTRUMENTS', 'METHODOLOGY', and another European Union flag. A small image of a person is also present.

BENELUX Responses only



Preferences: Which countries have disappointed its partners?



Q8 Top 30%

Top 5%

Top 10%

Top 20%

Top 30%

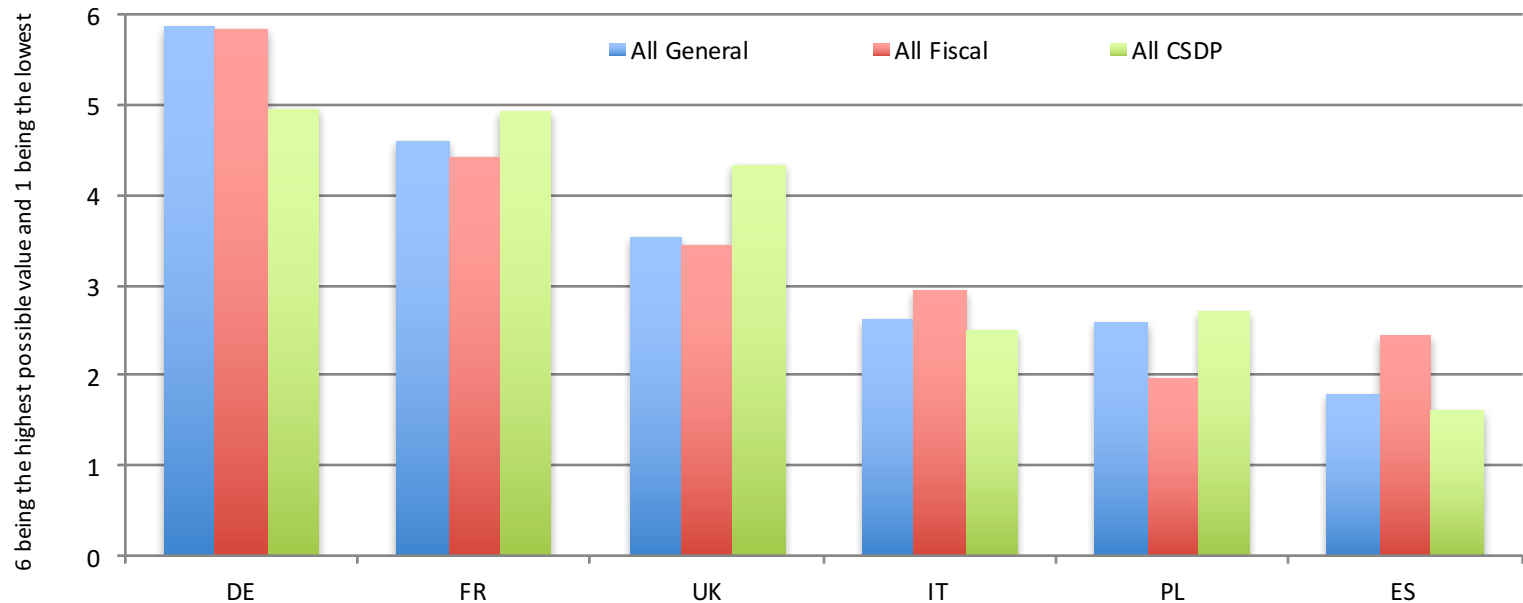
[Back to Table](#)

Results: Power



- Germany is overwhelmingly seen as the most influential member state: 94,1% rank it top in general (92% on fiscal matters); still 45% rank it top on foreign policy, security and defence, still ahead of FR (35%) and UK (16%).
- Among the affluent smaller EU members, The Netherlands and Sweden are seen as having the biggest influence on EU policies.
- Greece and Ireland stand out among the those member states not covered by the other two groups.
- The United Kingdom is seen in a marginal position in the context of the “Big Three”. It’s lead role is not even seen in foreign & security policy and defence.

Power: Germany leads the large state ranking in all dimensions



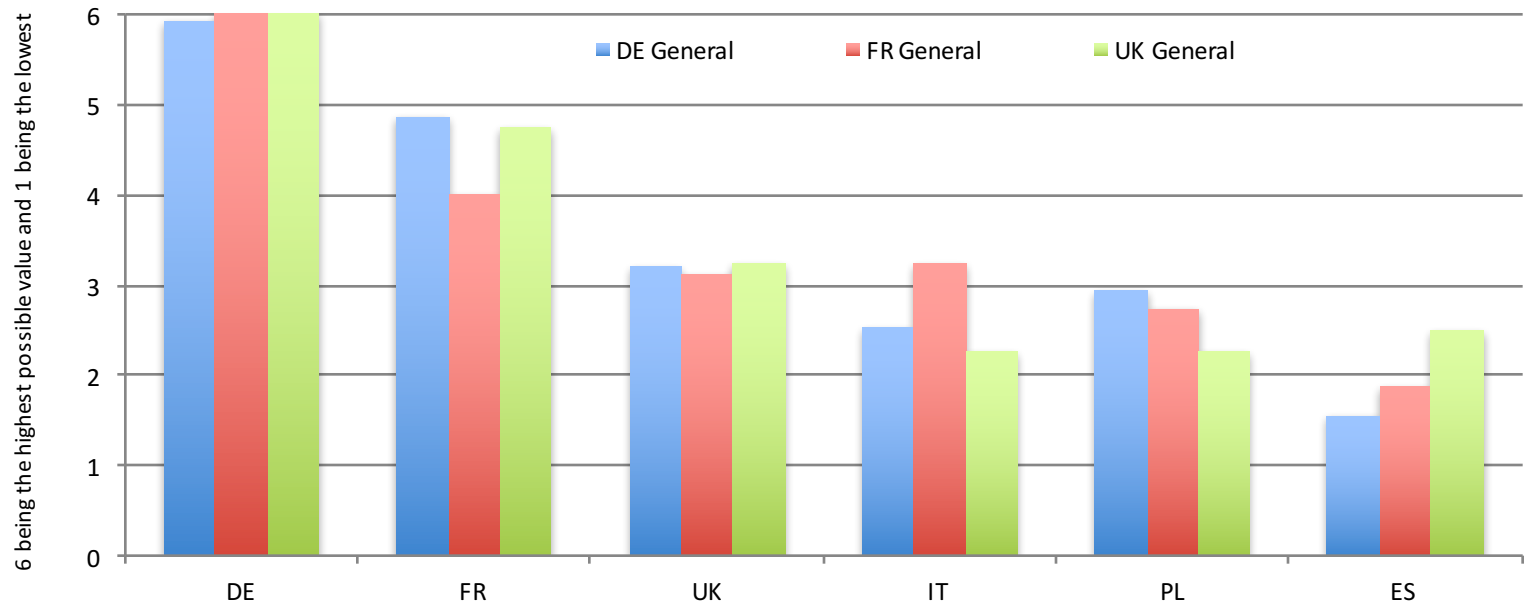
...



How consensual is the judgement among respondents from different countries?



How do the Germans view themselves?



... even when comparing the views from Berlin, Paris & London

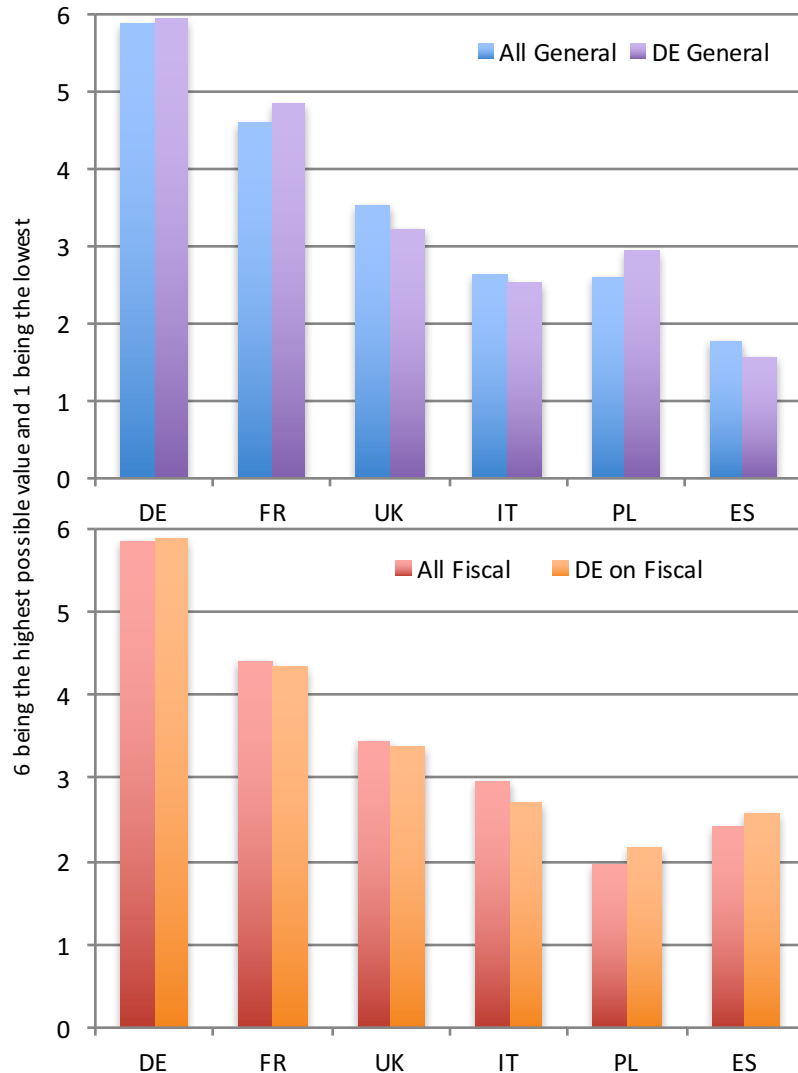


See other comparisons? Views differ more on foreign affairs, security and defence

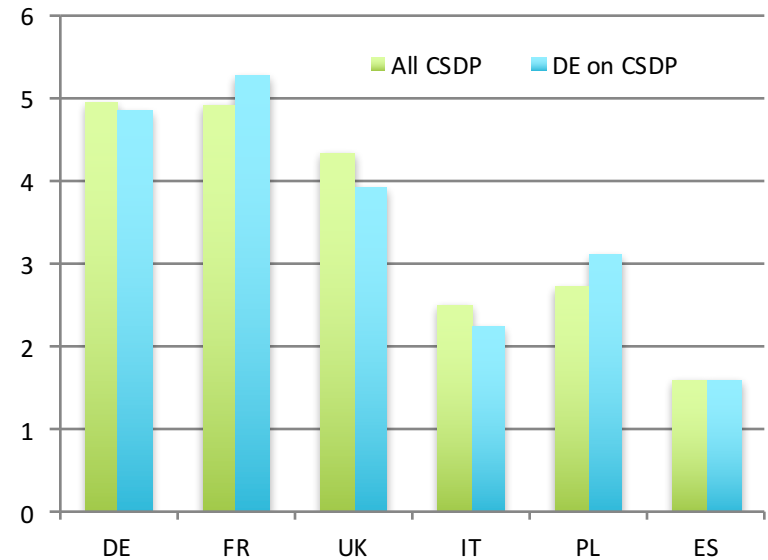


How do the Germans view themselves?

Power: The German view does not differ by much, with some interesting deviations



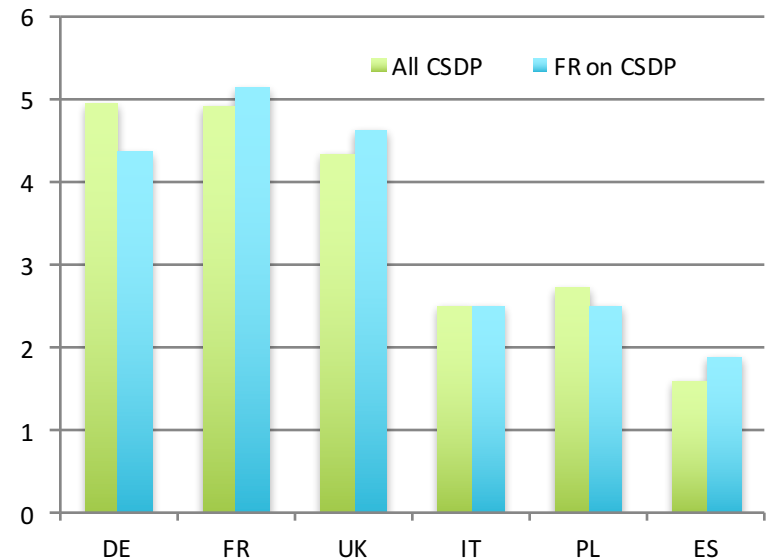
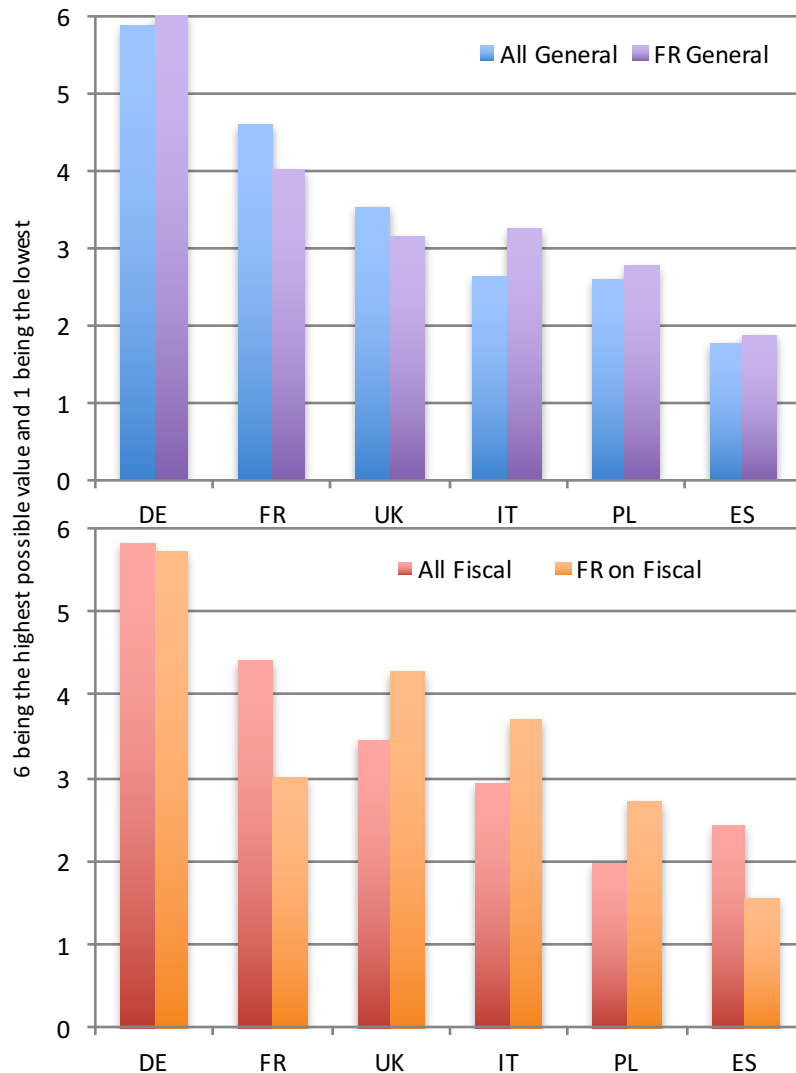
RETHINK: EUROPE



FR and PL more important in ext. affairs in the German view
PL and ES seen as more important, IT seen as less important compared to the view of all respondents



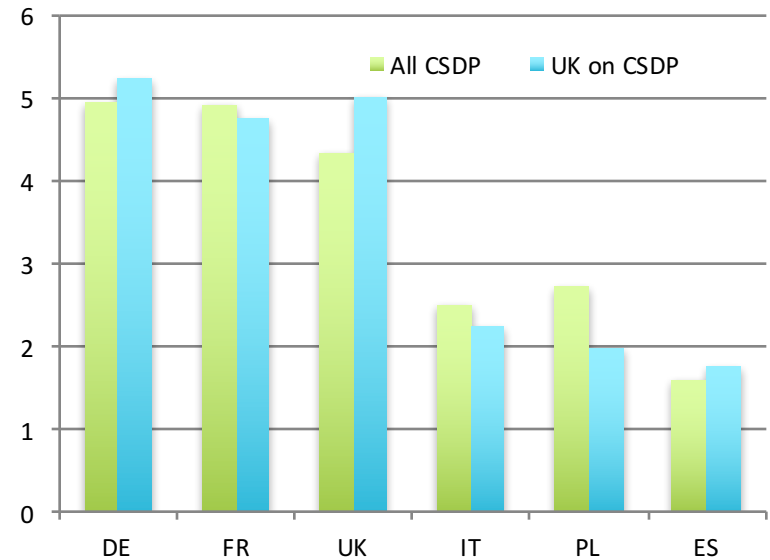
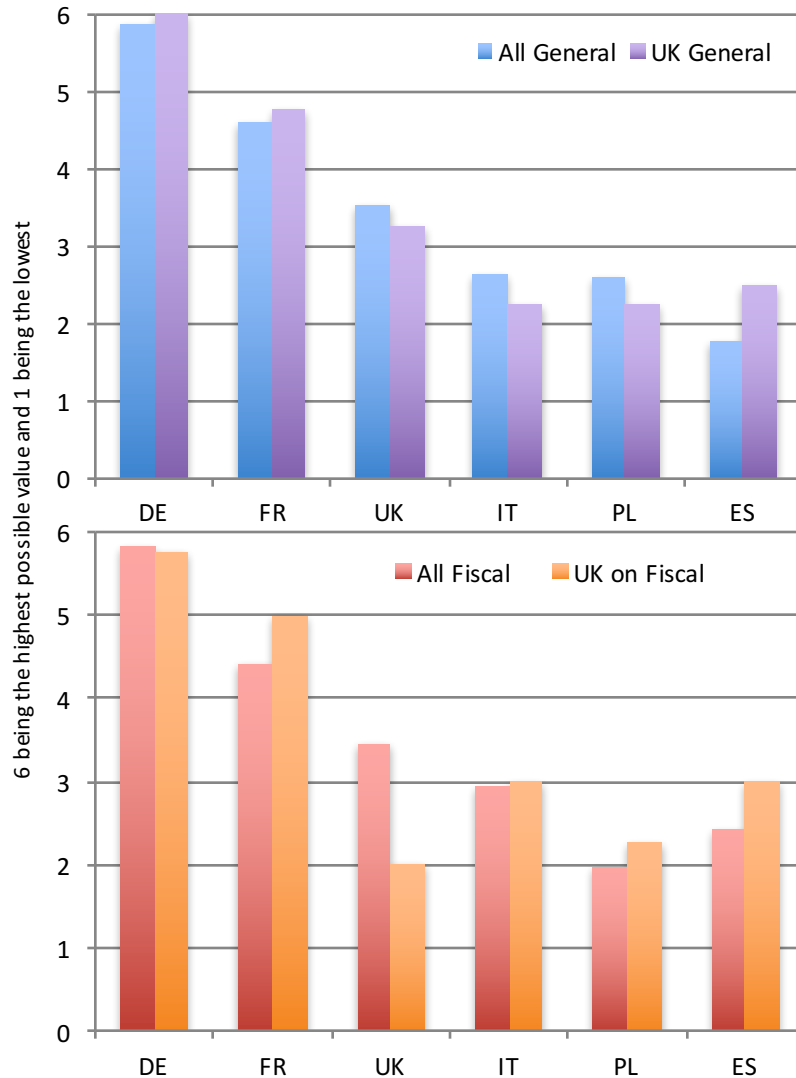
Power: The French view is less positive on France, but more positive on UK and Italy



Biggest difference of the German and French view shows on fiscal policy
On CSDP Paris sees London as more relevant than Berlin



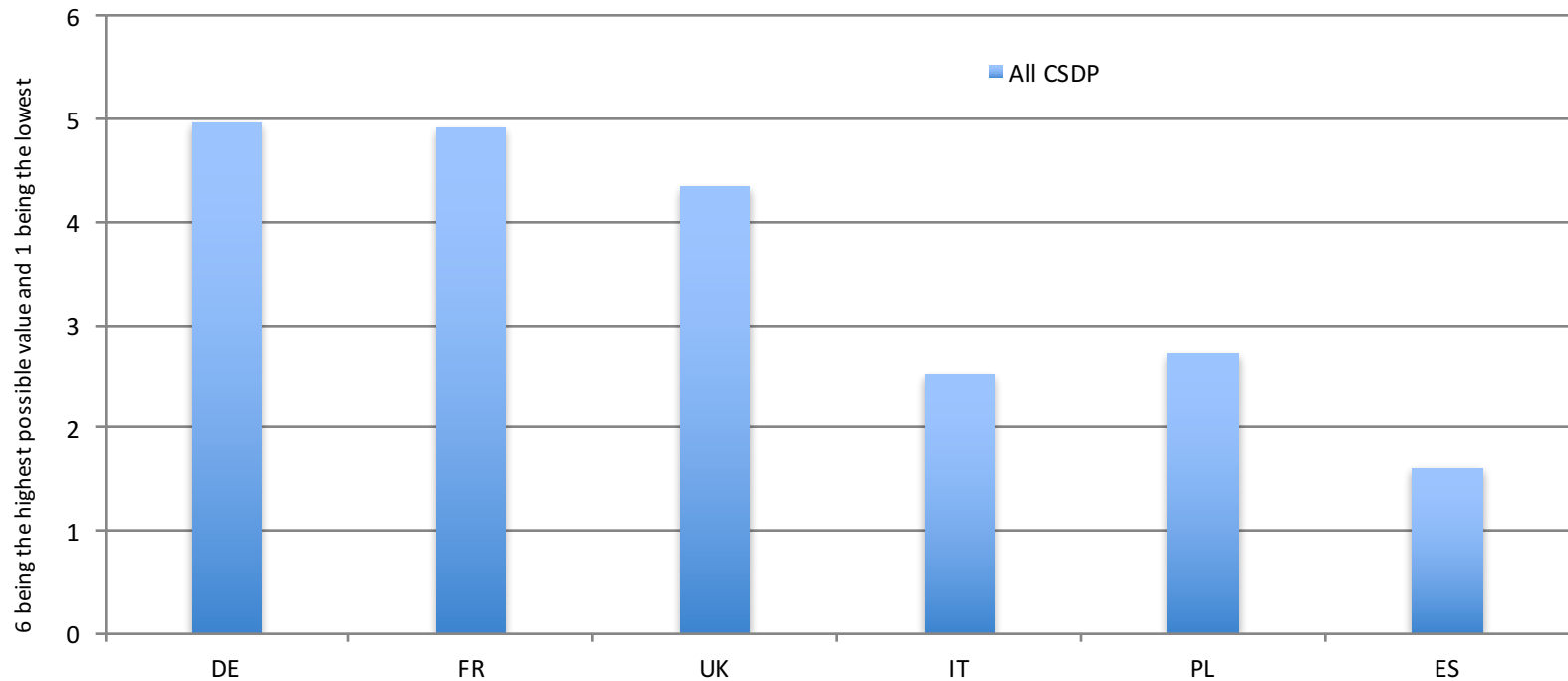
Power: The British view ...



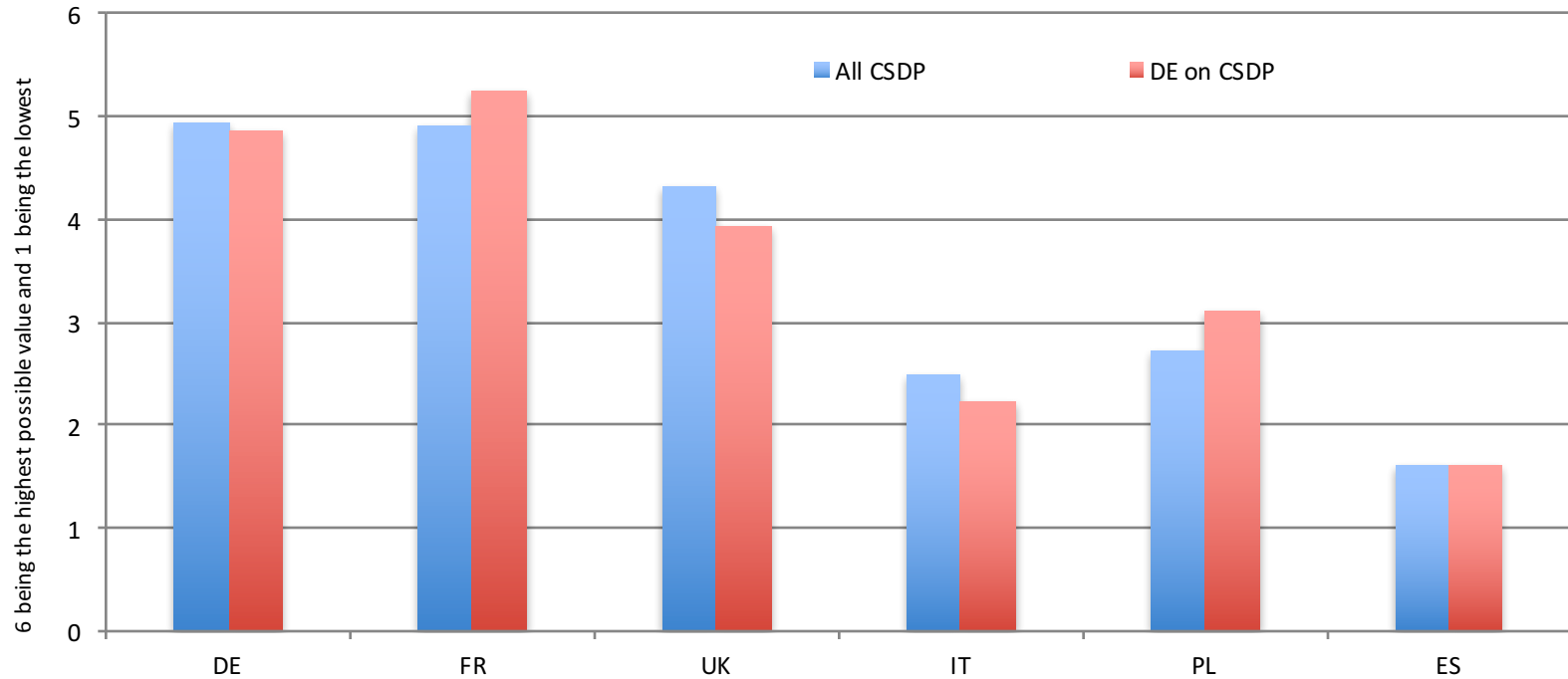
UK overrates its impact on foreign affairs, security and defence, while it feels much less influential on fiscal matters compared to the overall view of the country



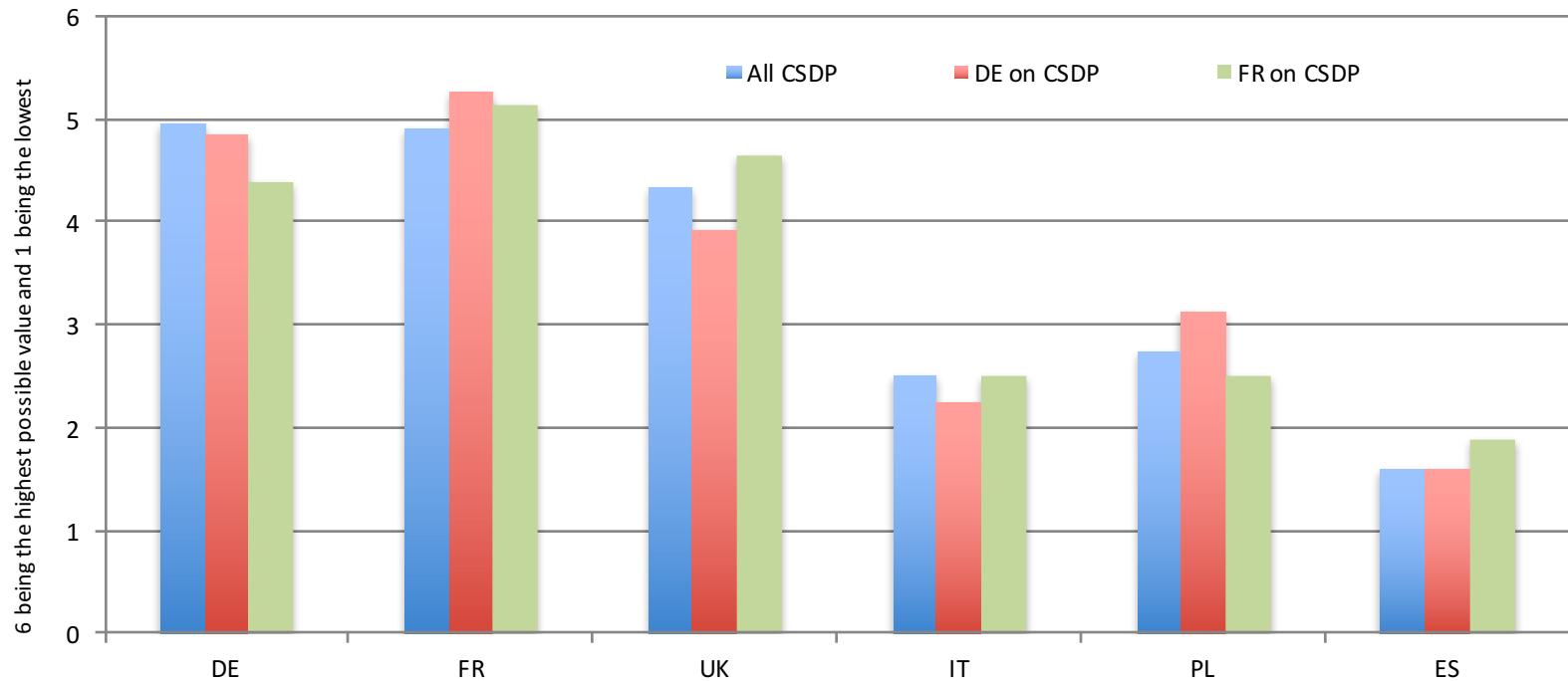
Power: The impact of the 6 large members („Big Six“) as seen by: All



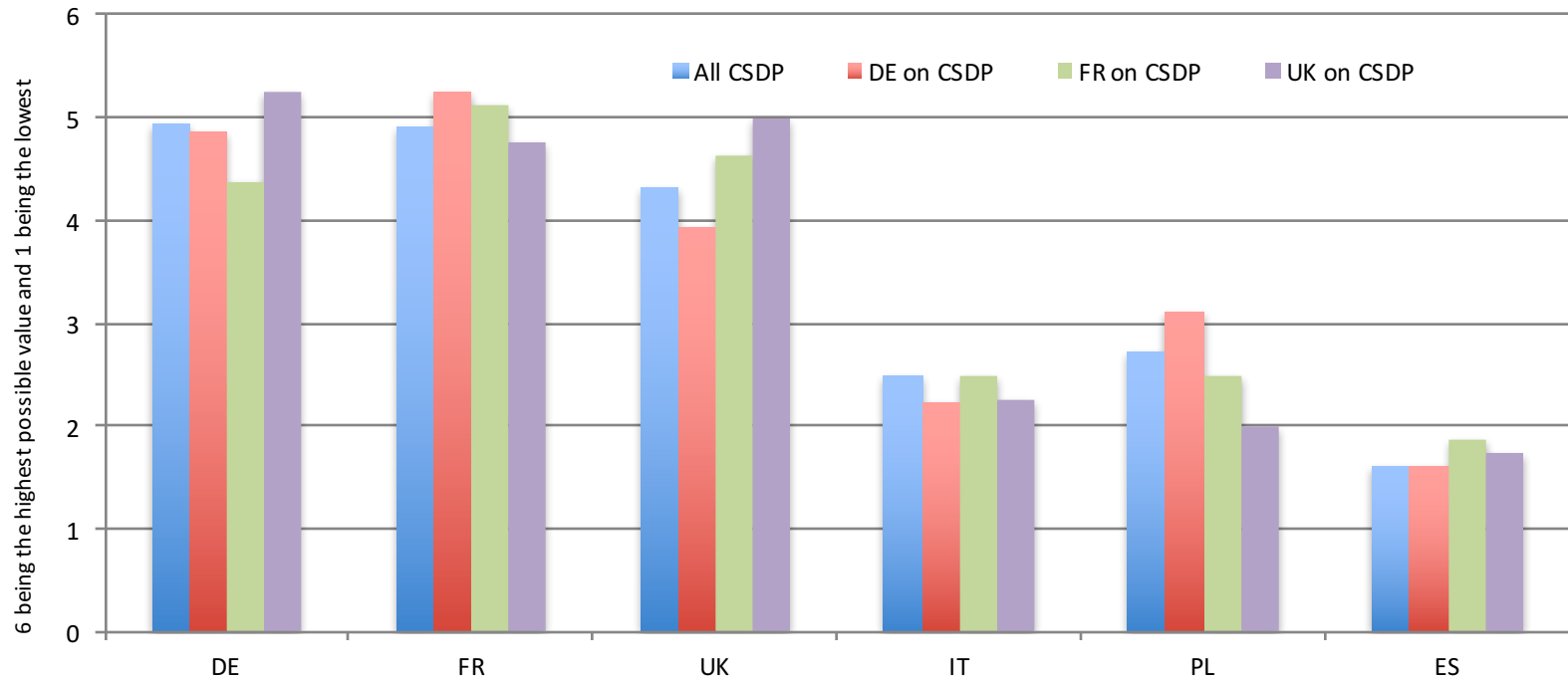
Power: The impact of the 6 large members („Big Six“) as seen by: All – DE



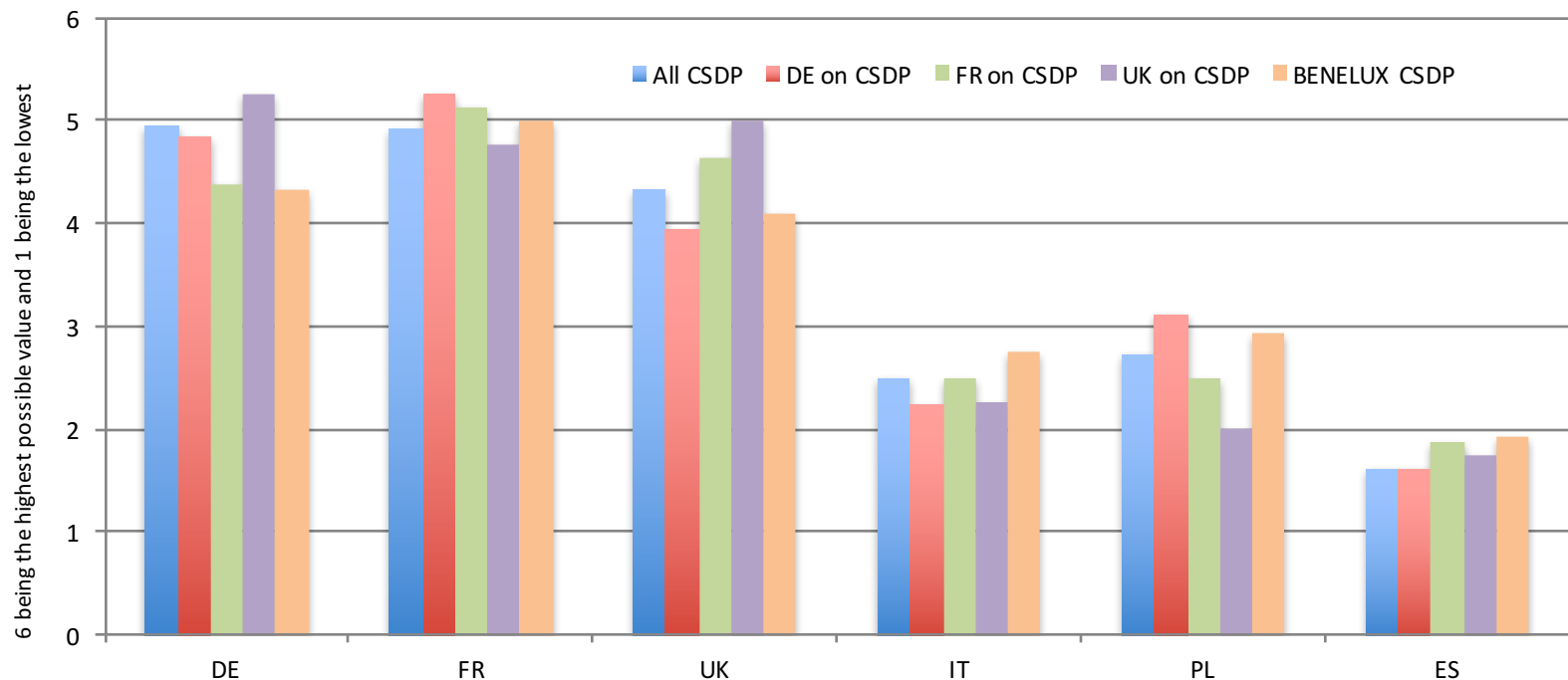
Power: The impact of the 6 large members („Big Six“) as seen by: All – DE – FR



Power: The impact of the 6 large members („Big Six“) as seen by: All – DE – FR – UK

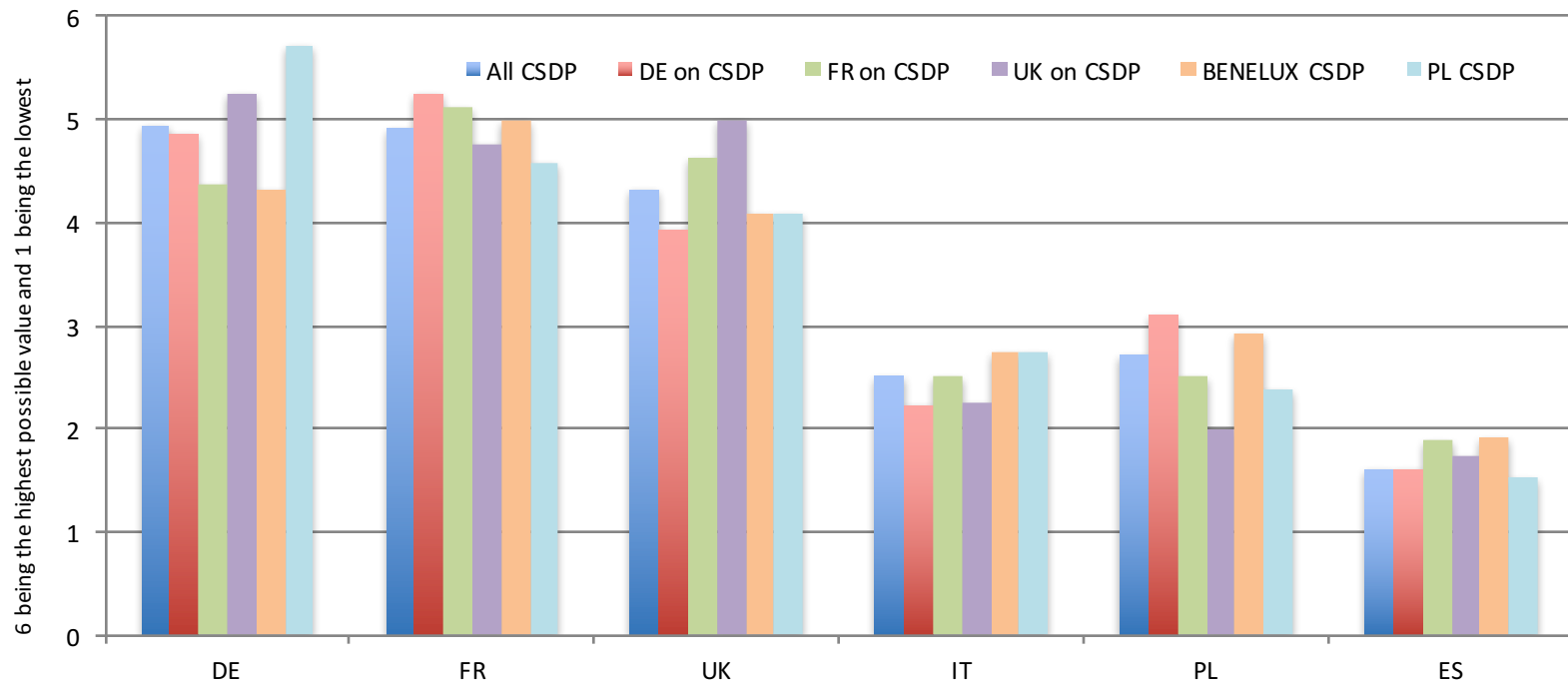


Power: The impact of the 6 large members („Big Six“) as seen by: All – DE – FR – UK – BENELUX

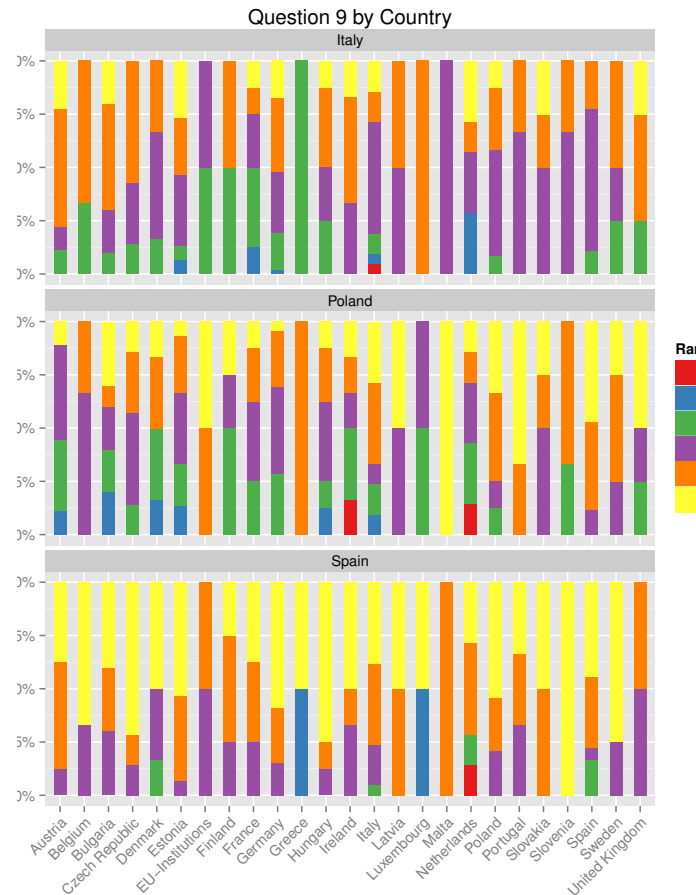
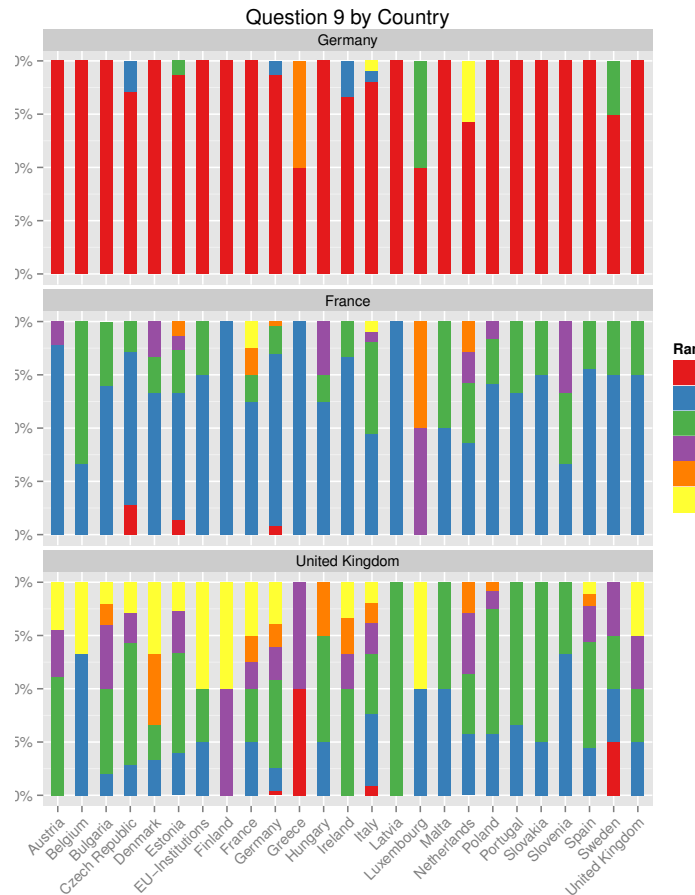


Power: The impact of the 6 large members („Big Six“) as seen by:

AI – DE – FR – UK – BENELUX – PL .



Power: the consensus matrix



Country groups

The graphs show high consensus on the ranks of Germany and France on the upper end, on Spain at the lower end; higher spread for the other three large member states

Power: the consensus matrix

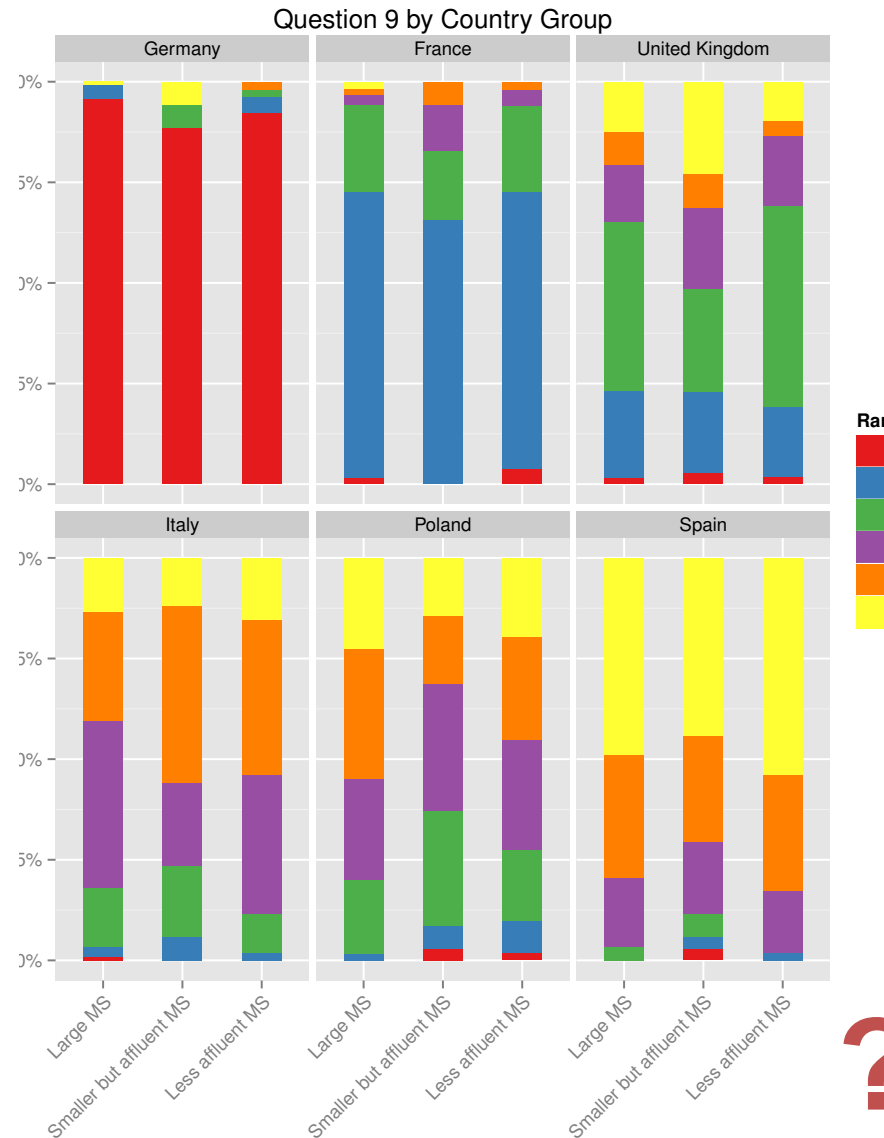


The affluent smaller countries (the middle bar) differ in their view:

- more critical on the four largest countries,
- more positive on Poland and Spain



How do the “Big Three” compare?



All countries



How do the Germans view themselves?

Power: The “Big Three” compared



General

Fiscal

DE
FR
UK
Other

Top rank and second rank: Germany at the top, France in solid second place, UK nowhere seen as top or second most influential country

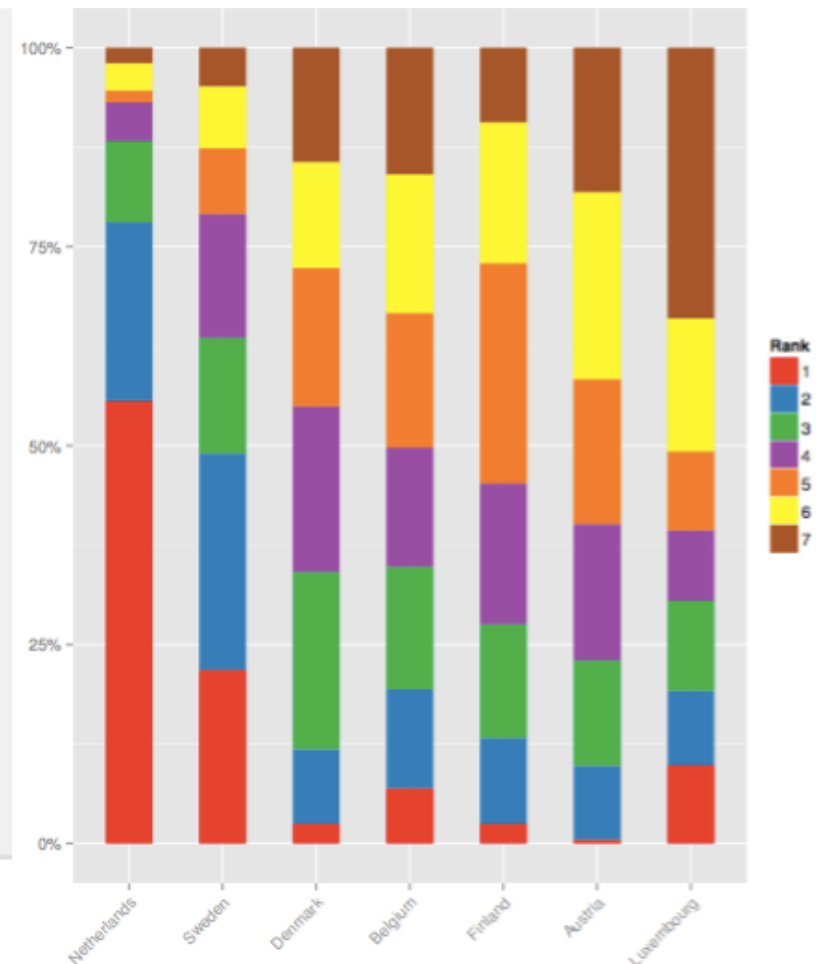
General

Fiscal

CSDP

CSDP

Country groups



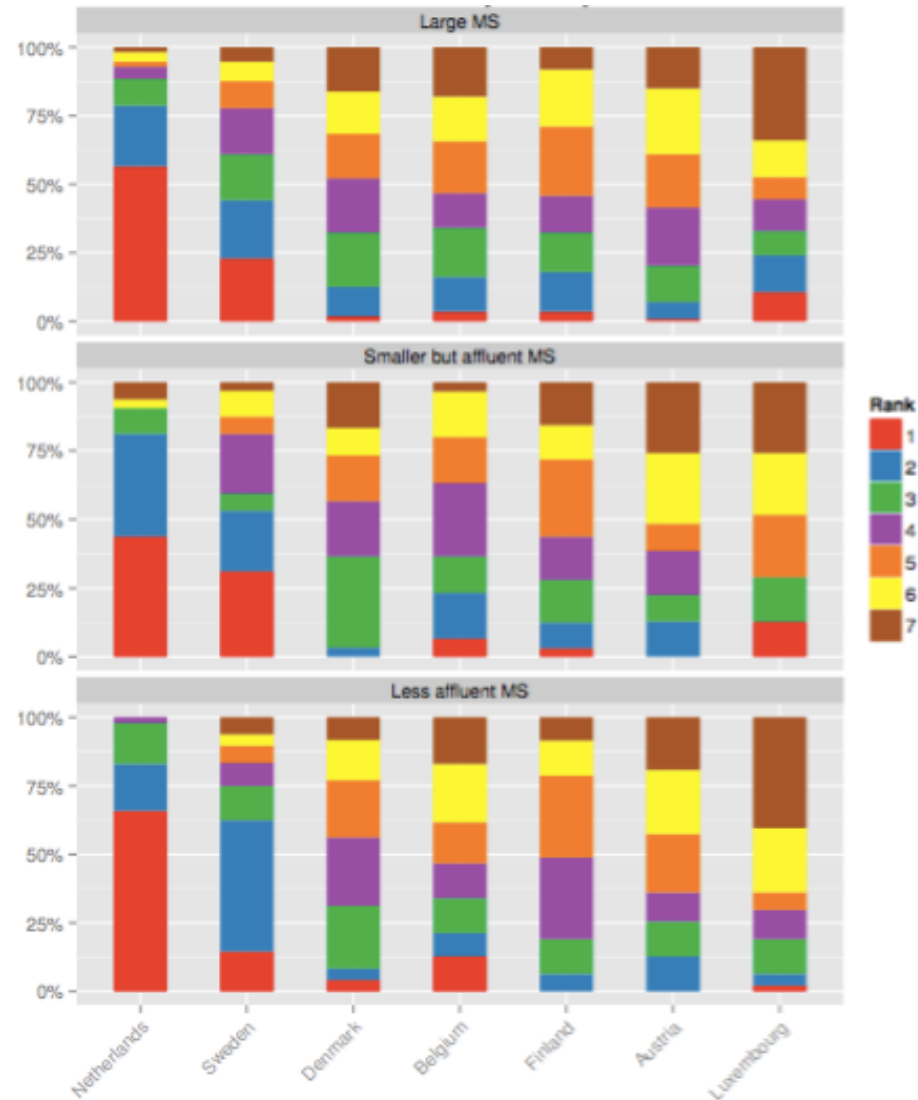
Power: The rich and small in comparison



Rich & small more critical on NL than the other groups

Less affluent smaller countries more positive on NL and SE than the other groups

Belgium, a classic key state receives no high marks among all groups



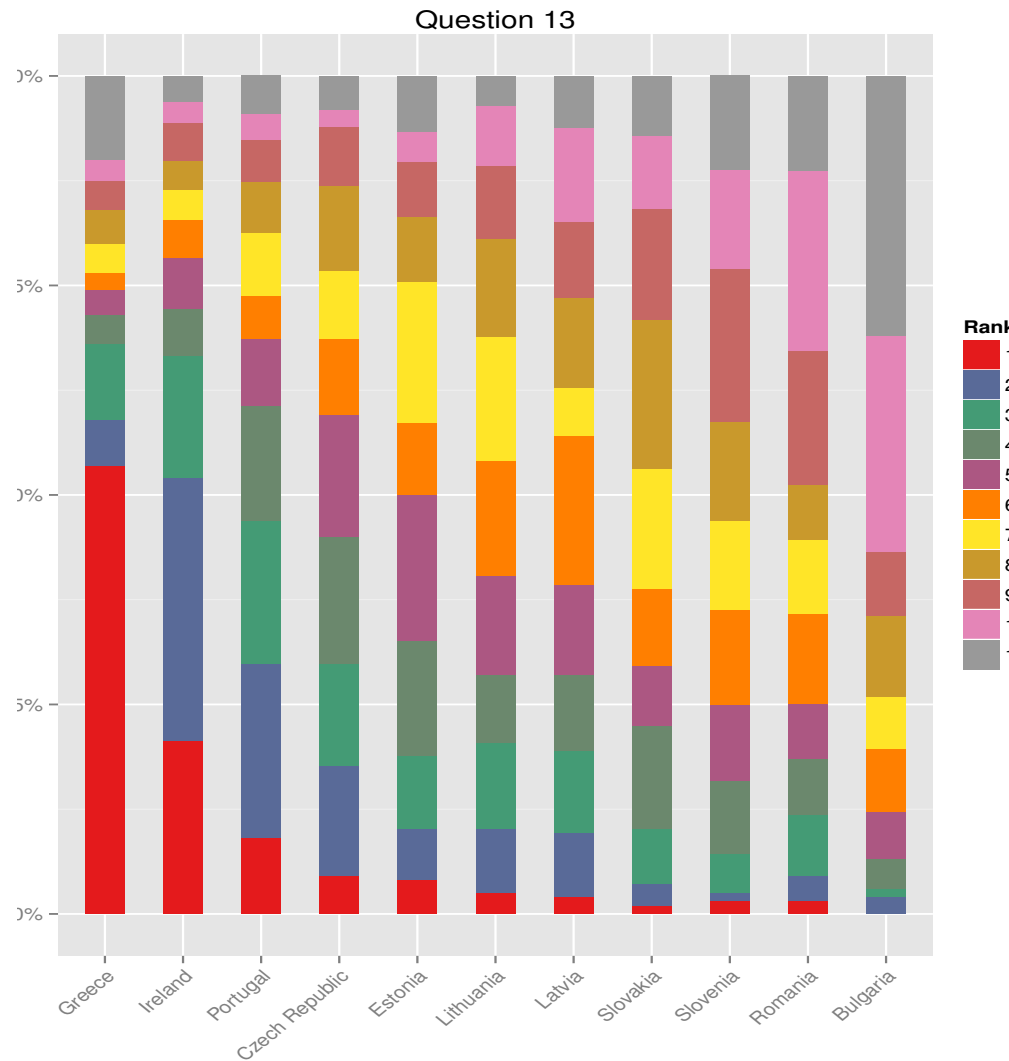
Power: Among the rest, Greece, Ireland and Portugal are seen to have most impact



The graphs shows significant spread for most countries, indicating strong diversity of views



Spread by country



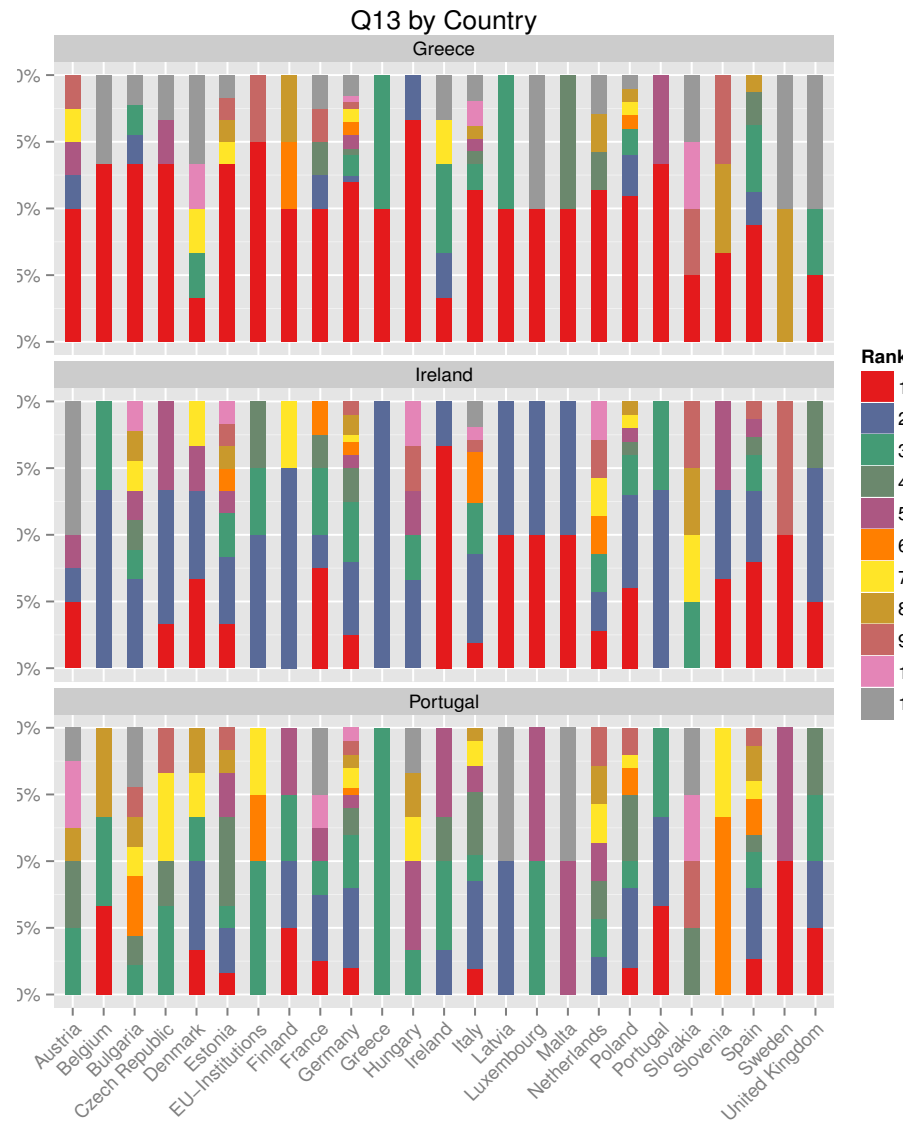
Power: The comparison of the Top 3



Consensus over
Greece is quite
strong

Ireland seen in
top rank by the
Irish

Portugal's ranking
shows the spread
which is typical for
all other countries



Results: Coalition building



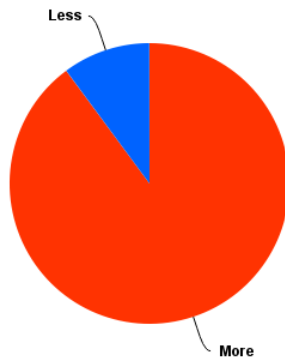
- 90% expect to see more coalition building among member states in the future.
- The majority (53%) views consensus building among a group as essential to get to decisions among 28 member states.
- The majority (58%) expects coalitions among member states to be more permanent than ad hoc.
- 69% expect coalitions to form one or several cores within the EU.
 - 50% do not approve of that.
- Deeper integration of a core group would be supported on economic and social union by 38%, on energy union by 30%. All other options figure well below 10%.

Coalitions: More coalition building in the future

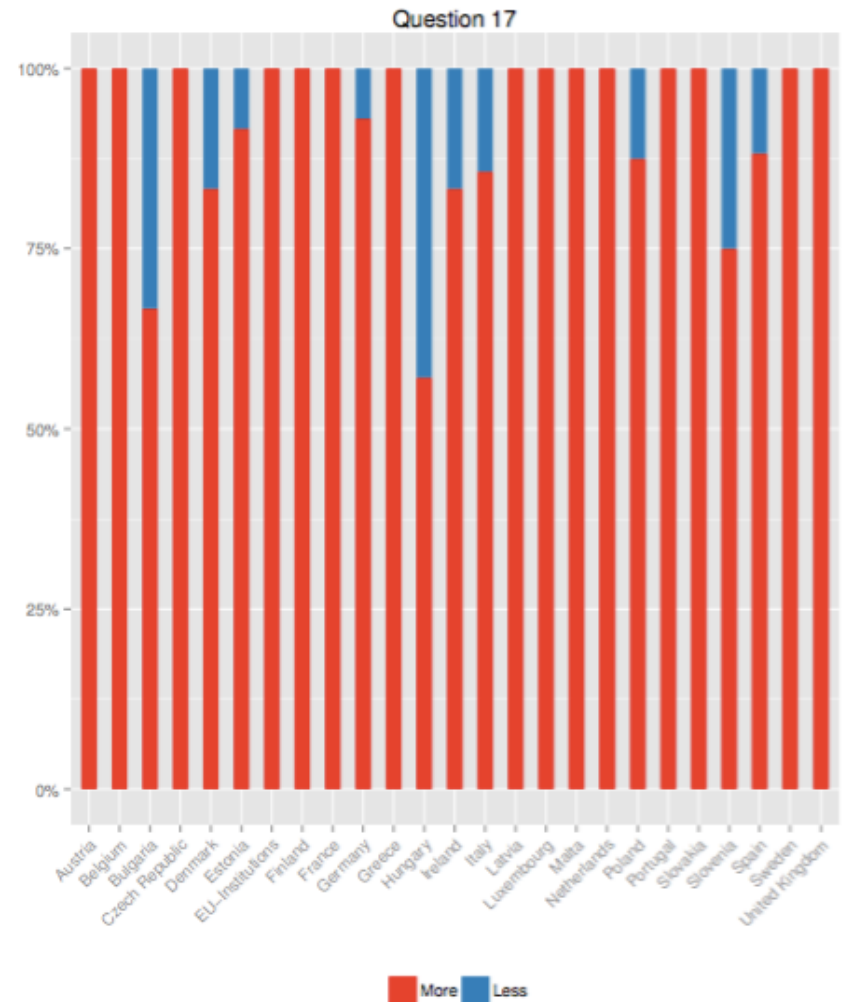


Q17 Looking ahead, do you expect to see more or less coalition building among member states?

Beantwortet: 207 Übersprungen: 90



Very strong consensus among EU countries and within policy elite

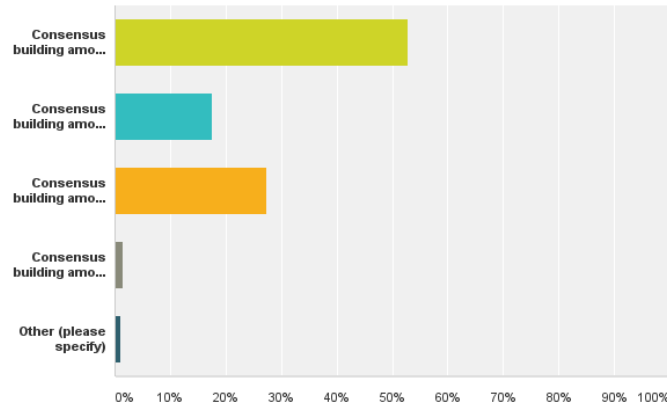


Coalitions: Group consensus essential for decision making

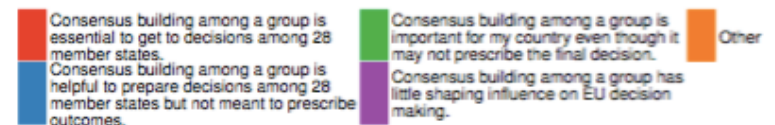
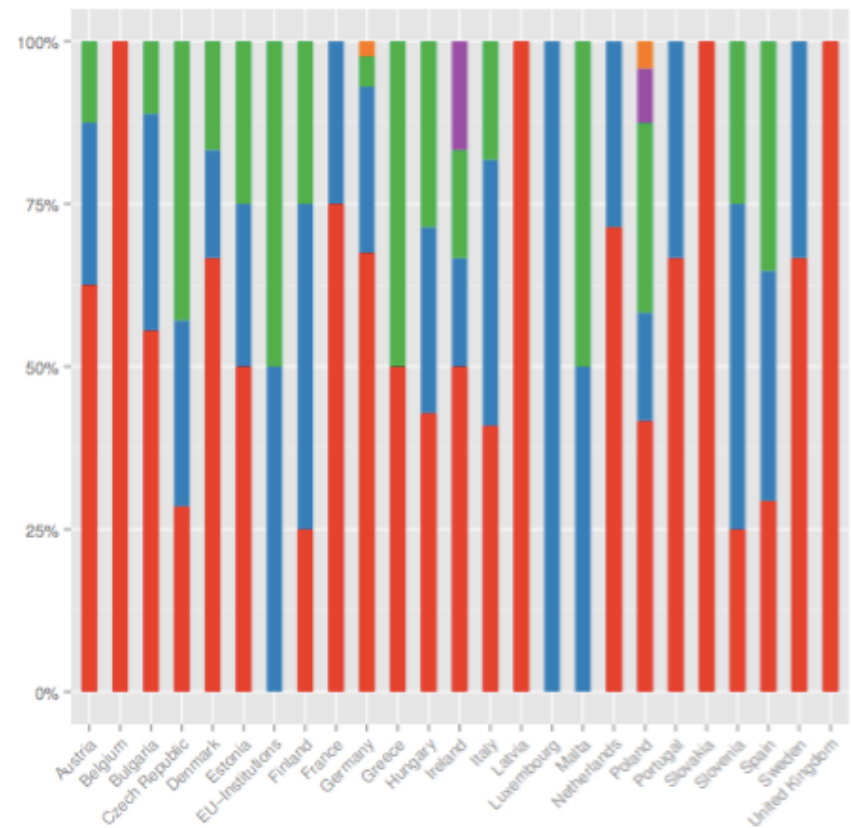


Q15 A key role of coalitions among EU member states is to build consensus prior to debate and decisions. Which of the statements below best describes the significance of consensus building by coalitions?

Beantwortet: 212 Übersprungen: 85



Many see consensus building by coalitions as important to get things done



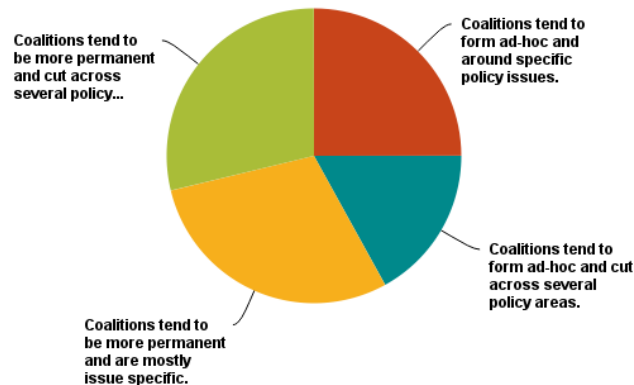
Coalitions:

Many expect them to be more permanent

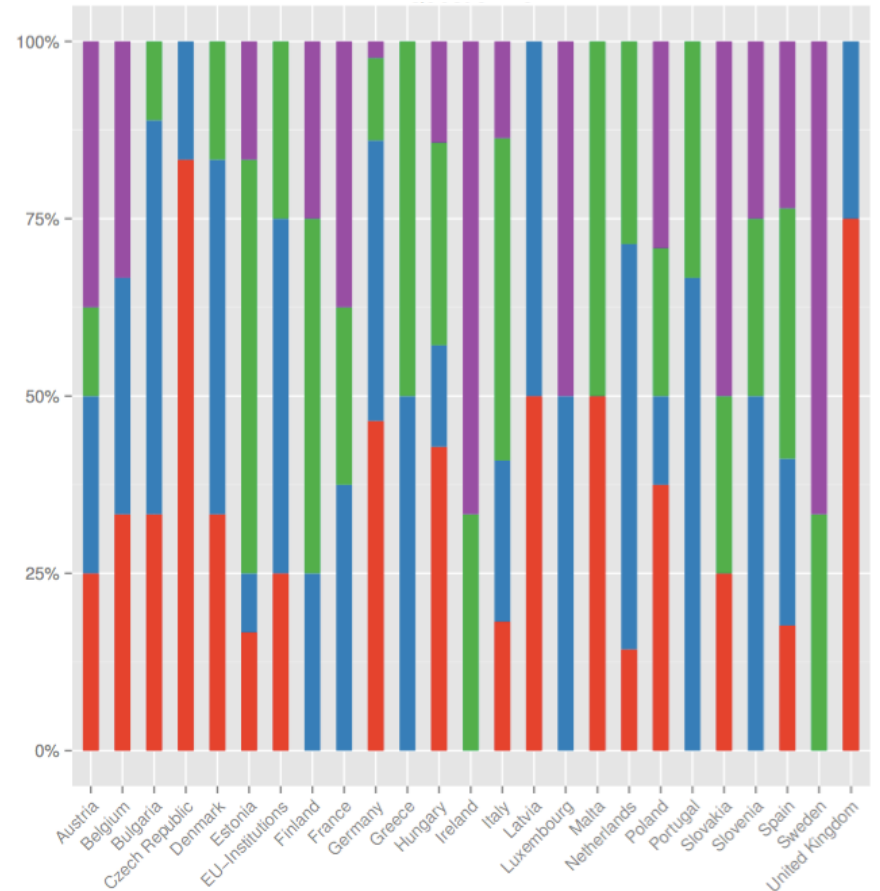


Q16 In your view or from your experience, which of the following statements best describes the nature of coalitions among member states?

Beantwortet: 212 Übersprungen: 85



Significant variation across and within member states
Only UK and Latvia show 100% pro permanent coalitions



Coalitions tend to be more permanent and are mostly issue specific.

Coalitions tend to form ad-hoc and around specific policy issues.

Coalitions tend to be more permanent and cut across several policy areas.

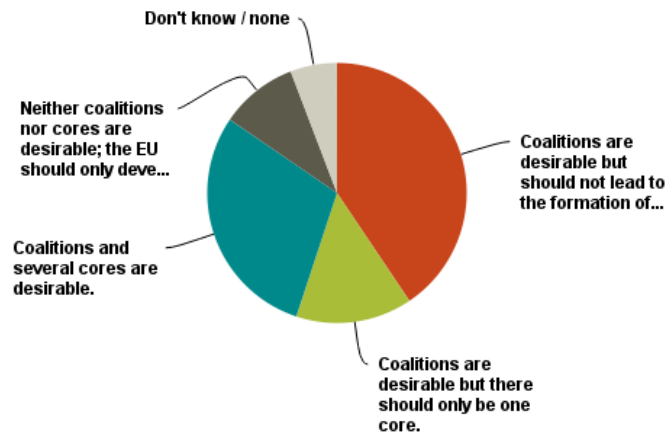
Coalitions tend to form ad-hoc and cut across several policy areas.

Coalitions: Core building is widely expected but less liked



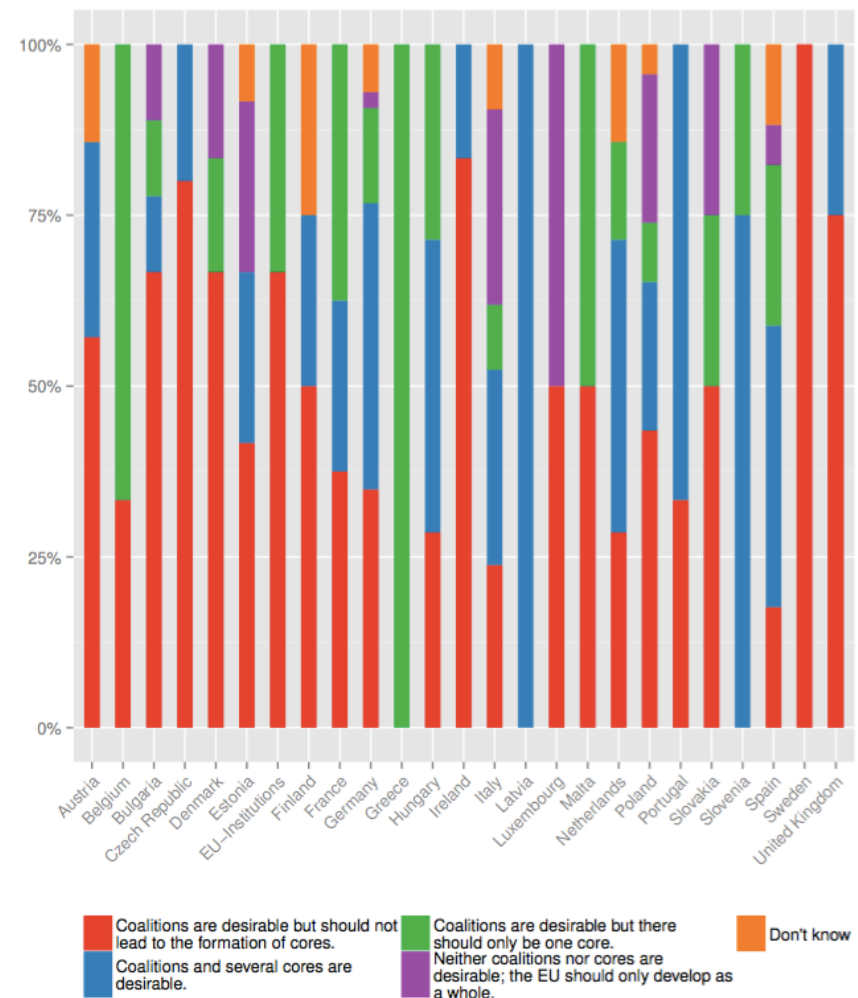
Q19 In your view, is coalition building and/or the formation of one or several cores desirable?

Beantwortet: 207 Übersprungen: 90



69% expect coalition to form one or several cores

Opposition strongest in SE, IE, CZ, UK, BG, DK, AT



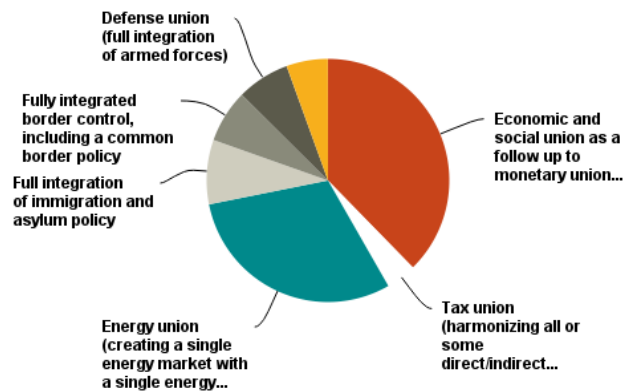
Coalitions: Deeper integration

Clear preference for econ & social, energy

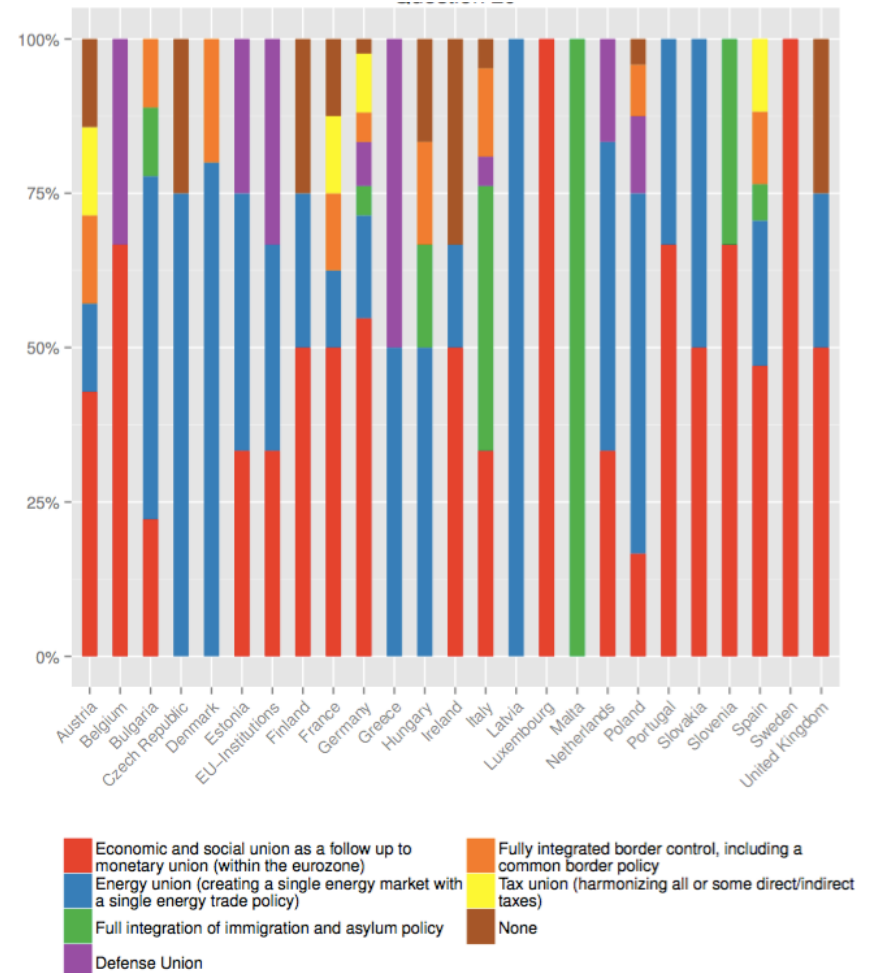


Q20 Assuming that coalition building could lead to a differentiation of integration (in the sense of building cores of deeper integration), which of the projects listed below would your government likely want to engage in?

Beantwortet: 199 Übersprungen: 98



Some support for Defence Union only in GR, BE, EE & among Eurocrats



Case Studies

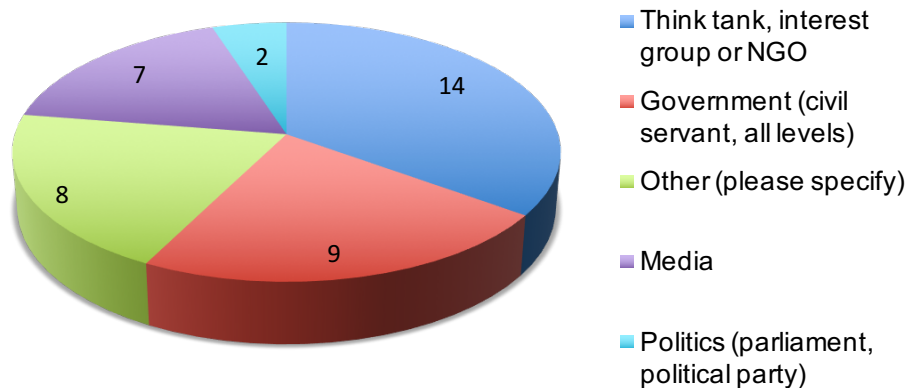


- **Poland:** Strong focus on Germany, critical on France and of Visegrad partners, fairly positive view of the UK, focused on Sweden among affluent smaller countries.
- **Germany:** Strong focus on the other “Big Six”-states and on the 7 affluent smaller members, among them especially on the Netherlands and Austria.
- **The Netherlands:** Strongest of the 7 affluent smaller members, focused on Benelux, Germany and France.
- **The Nordics and the BENELUX:** Clearly, the Netherlands and Sweden are seen as good partners with comparatively strong impact among their peer group and among the EU at large.
- **Italy:** Very close to other Mediterranean states, different view of its place among the large member states, critical of the "Big Three".
- **Spain:** Ranked last among the Big Six, but sees itself ahead of Poland, strong focus on southern EU-neighbourhood.

Metadata: Poland



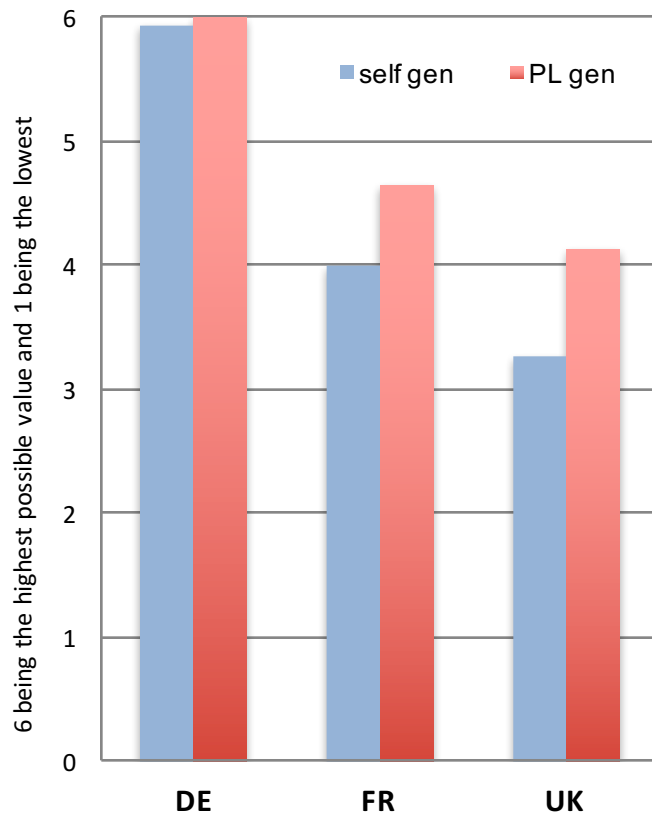
Professional position within member state



- 40 participants
- comparatively low government participation
- “Others” come from universities (5), Central Bank (1), banking (1), business (1)
- Strong participation from CFSP/CSDP background

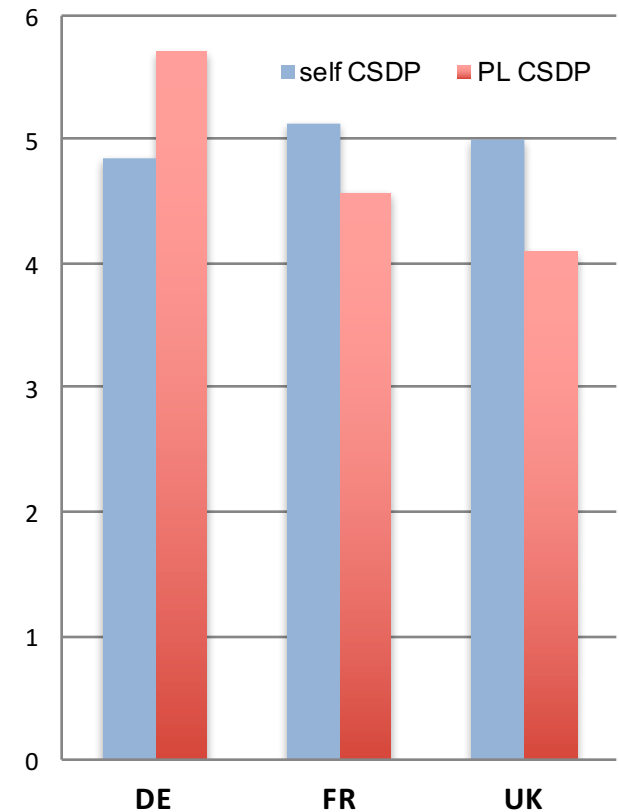
Answer Options	Response Count
Foreign and Security Policy, Defence Policy	17
European Affairs in general	13
Economics, single market, trade, energy, environment	8
Culture, education, research	2

Power: Poland's view of the “Big Three” compared to the self-image of Germany, France and the UK

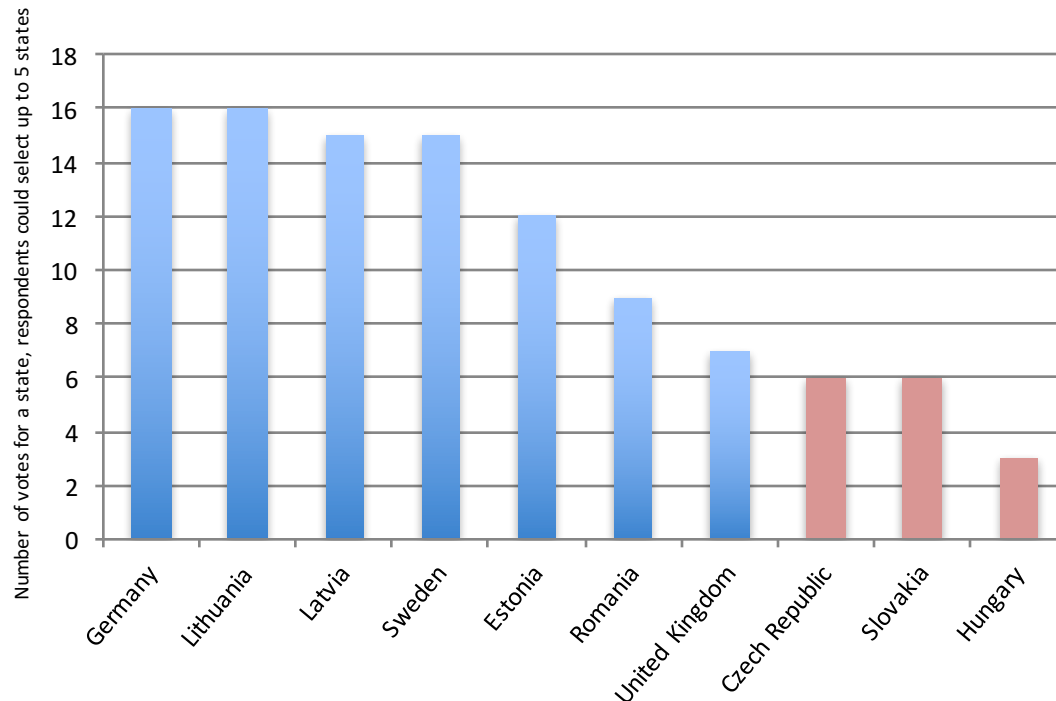


PL sees more impact for FR and UK in general EU affairs than resp. national elites

Reverse picture on foreign affairs, security & defence: PL sees DE as stronger, FR and UK as weaker than resp. national elites



Preferences: The Top 10 most like-minded member states from the Polish perspective



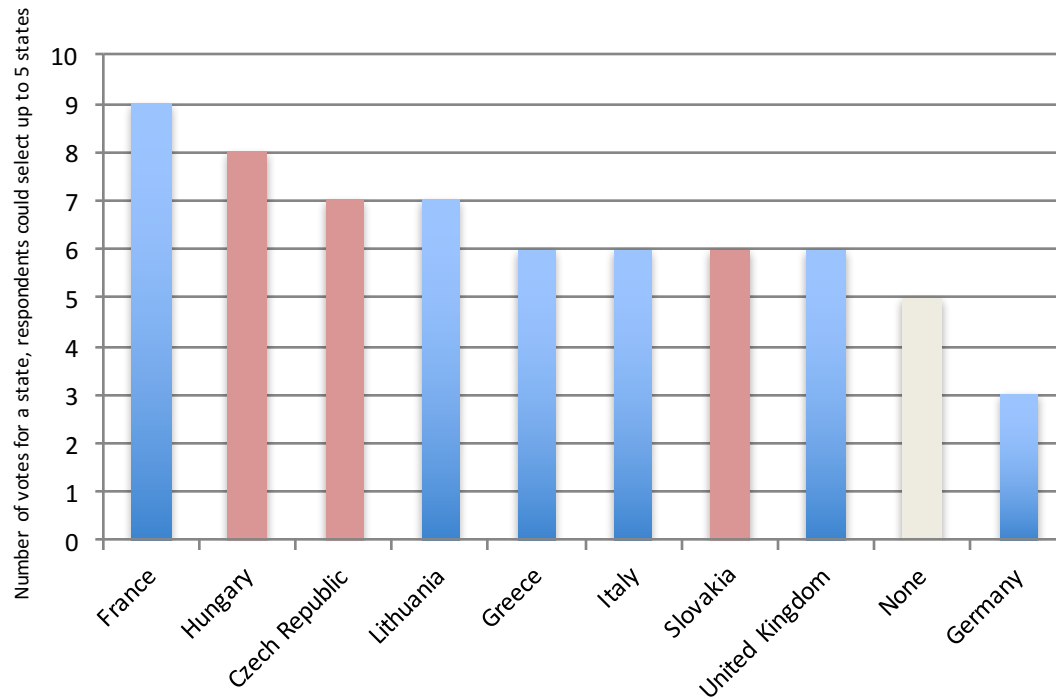
France is missing,
Germany in the lead
with Lithuania and
Sweden

UK listed but on the
lower end

Visegrad group
partners all at the end
of the list



Preferences: Top 10 most disappointing member states from the Polish perspective



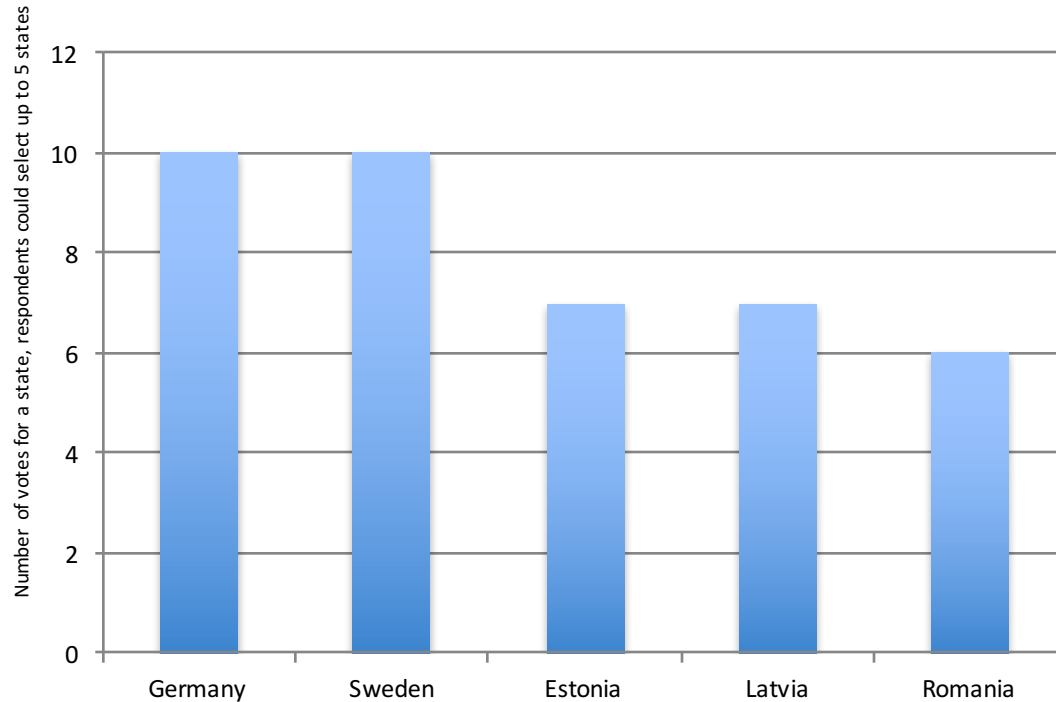
France at the top of the list, Germany at the bottom of the Top 10

All other large member states except Spain have disappointed

Visegrad group partners all listed here



Preferences: Poland's Top 5 partners most responsive or easiest to work with

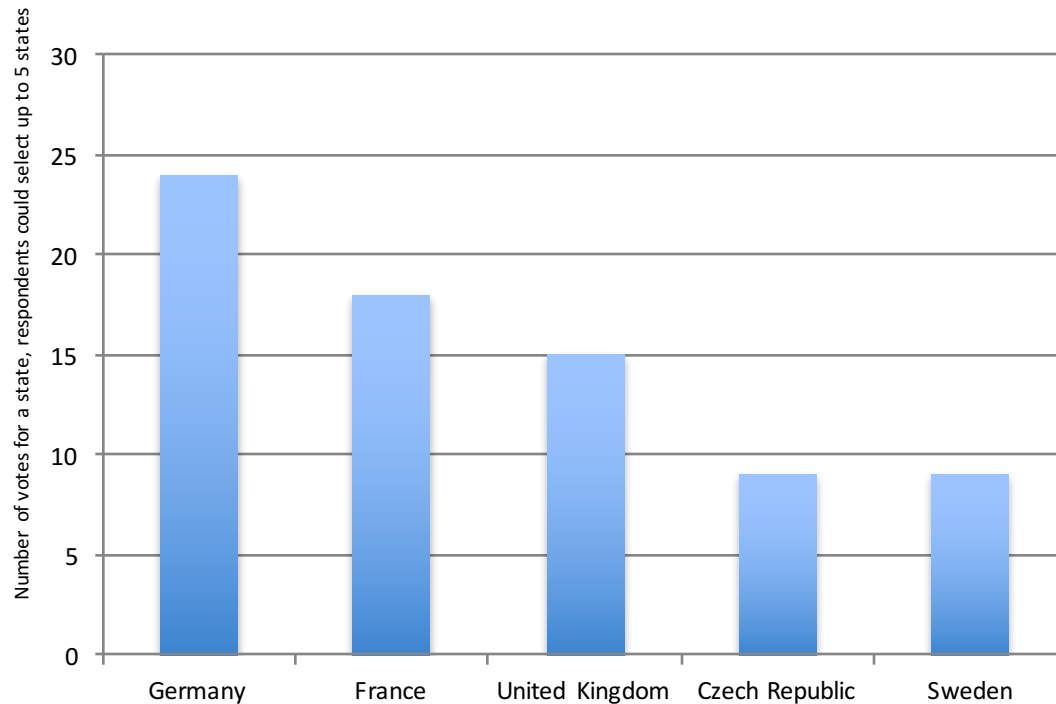


Germany and Sweden
at the top of the list

No Visegrad group
partner listed here



Preferences: Top 5 countries Poland will contact first or most



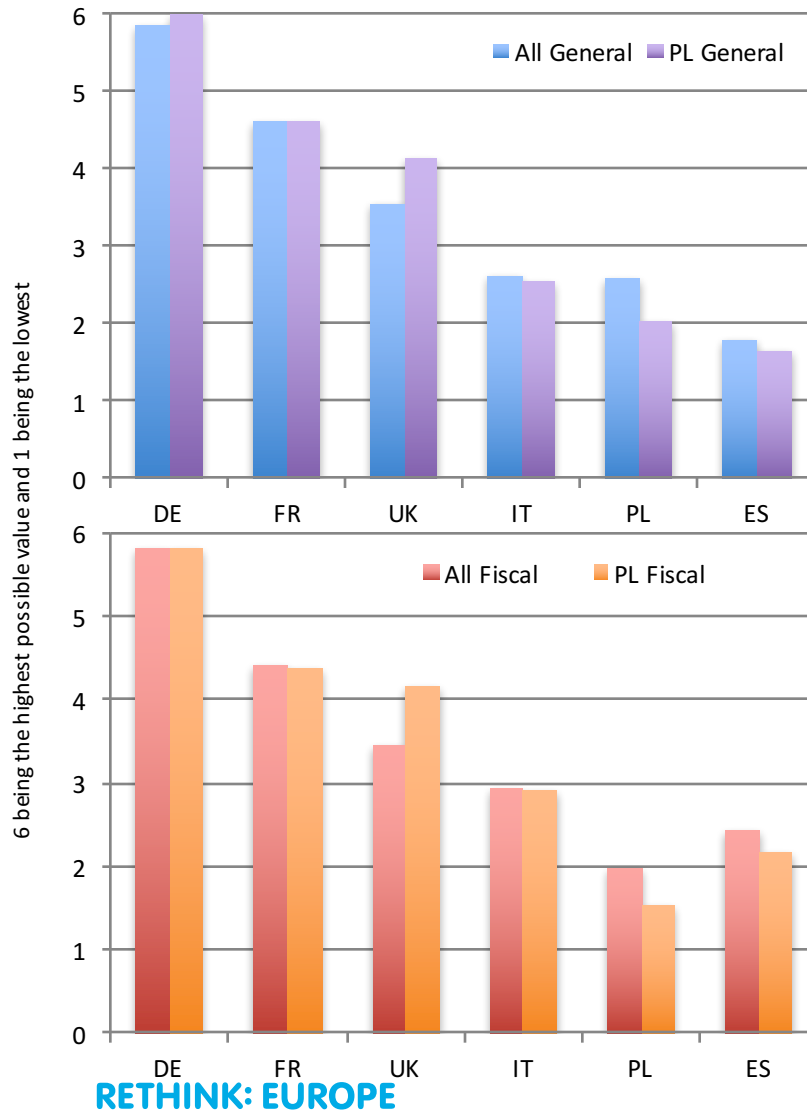
Germany and France
at the top of the list

Just one Visegrad
group partner listed
here

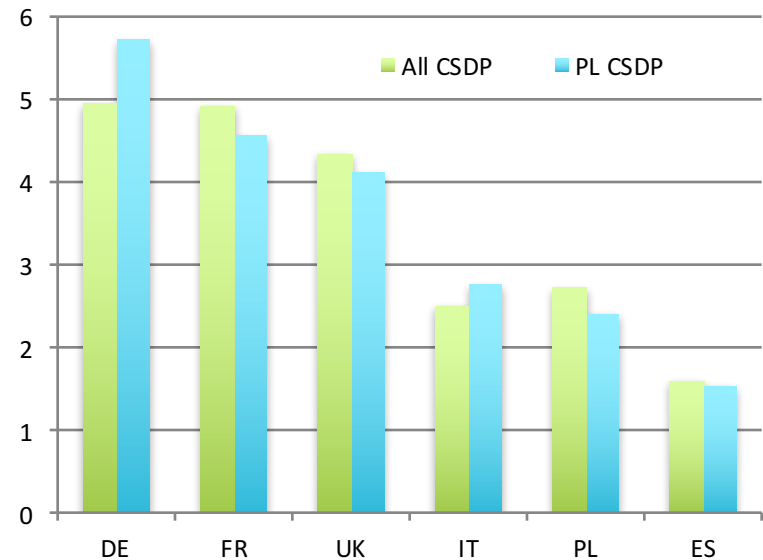
7 affluent small:
Sweden among Top 5



Power: The Polish view on the impact of the „Big Six“



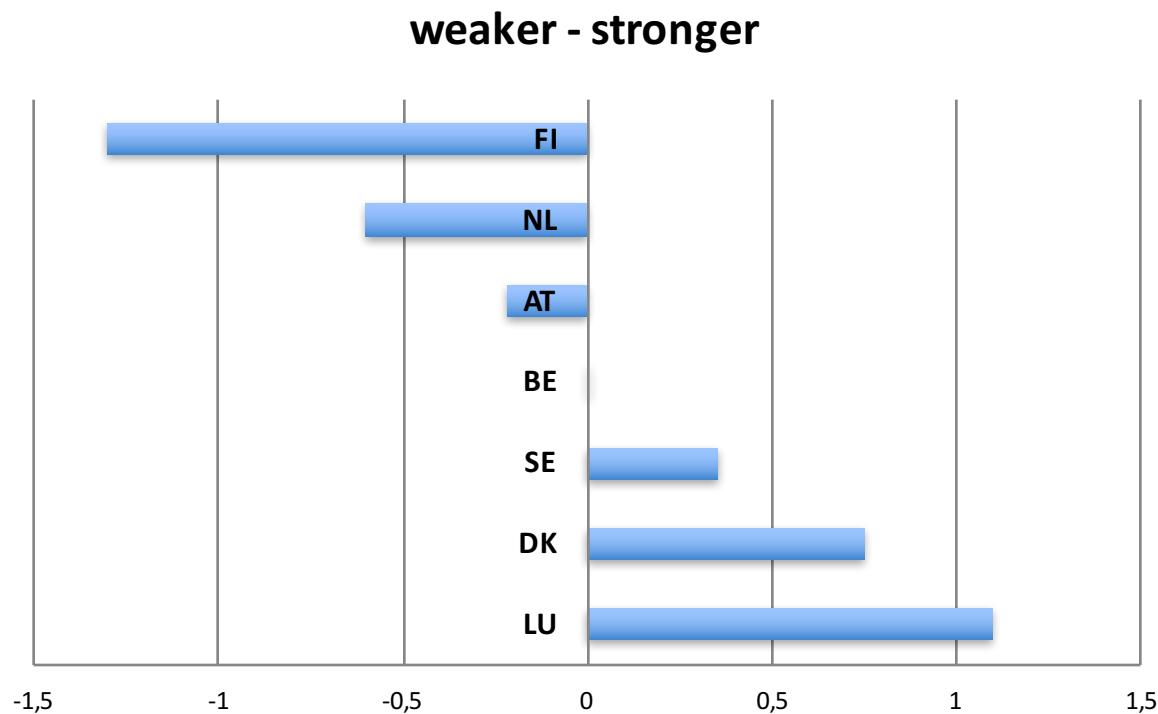
NORDIC BENELUX 



More critical of its own impact than the average
More positive on the impact of the United Kingdom



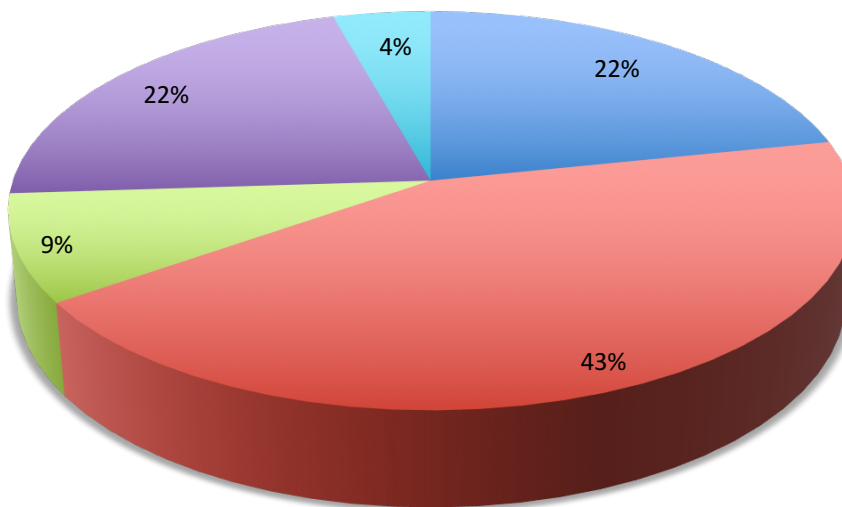
Power: How does Poland view the 7 affluent smaller members compared to their own average view?



Coalitions: Desirability and the formation of cores in the Polish view



In your view, is coalition building and/or the formation of one or several cores desirable?



- Neither coalitions nor cores are desirable; the EU should only develop as a whole.
- Coalitions are desirable but should not lead to the formation of cores.
- Coalitions are desirable but there should only be one core.
- Coalitions and several cores are desirable.
- Don't know / none

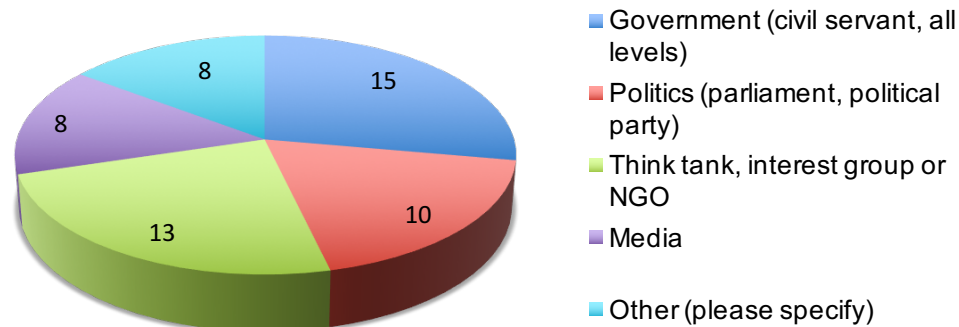
65% of Polish experts reject core building



Metadata: Germany



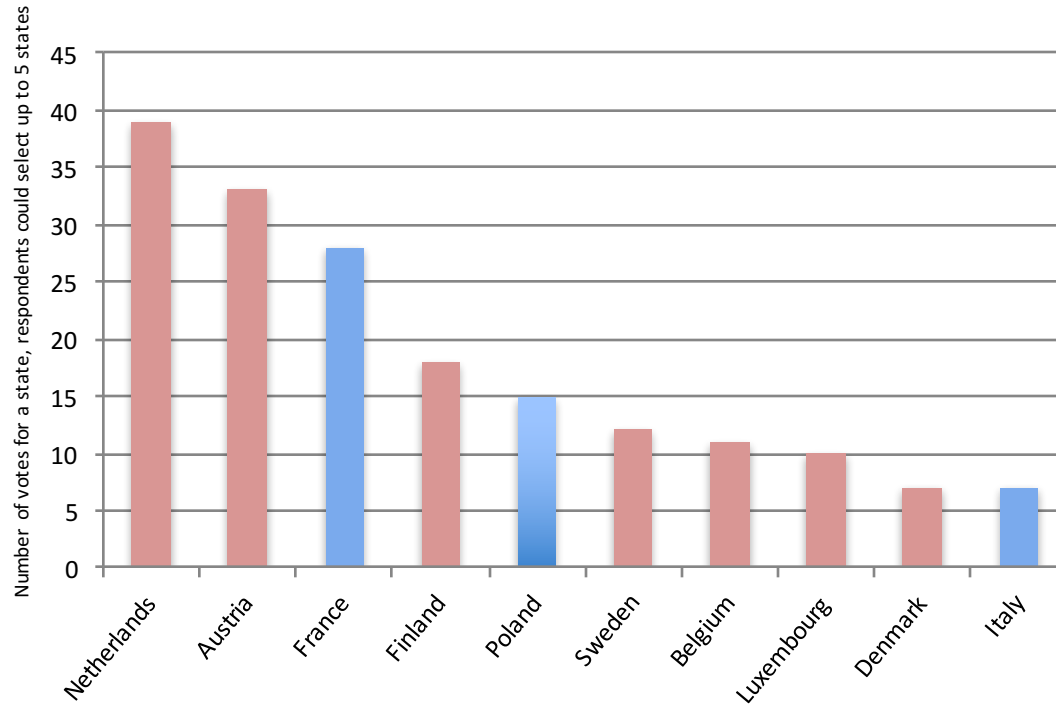
Professional position within member state



Answer Options	Response Count
European Affairs in general	24
Economics, single market, trade, energy, environment	11
Culture, education, research	0
Justice and Home Affairs	3
Development/Humanitarian assistance	0
Foreign and Security Policy, Defence Policy	16

- 54 participants
- balanced cross-section between government, politics and think tanks/ NGOs
- “Others” diverse: ambassador/ ex ambassador (2), consultant (2), government adviser (1), NGOs (1), government affairs industries (1), universities (1)
- Relatively low representation of CFSP/CSDP (Germany 29%, general result 41%)

Preferences: The Top 10 most like-minded member states from the German perspective

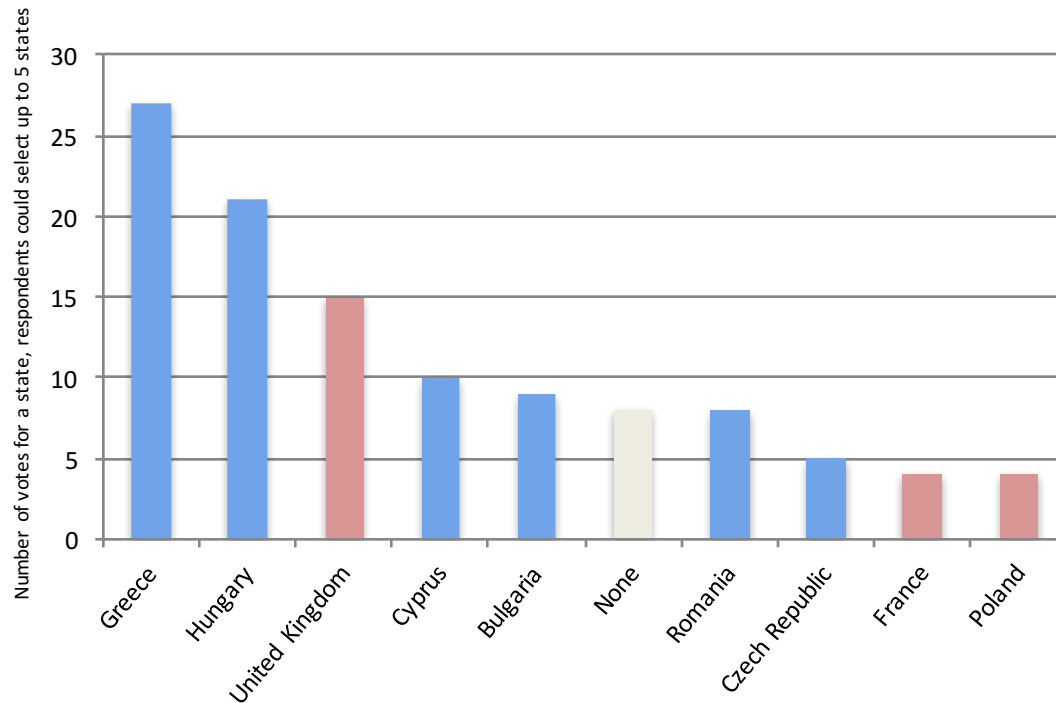


7 affluent small members and Weimar Triangle the most like-minded

UK not even on the list



Preferences: The Top 10 most disappointing member states from the German perspective



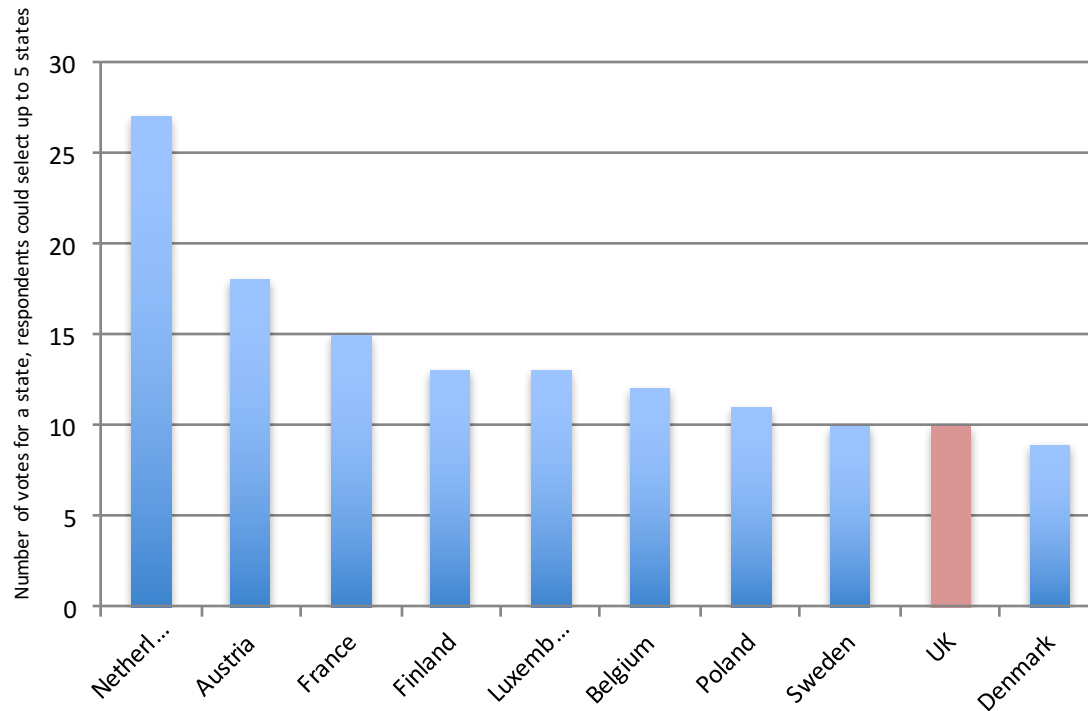
Top 3 reflects overall opinion

None of the affluent small members listed, but 3 of the **large member states**

But: Overall opinion sees Germany on rank 6



Preferences: Germany's Top 10 partners most responsive or easiest to work with



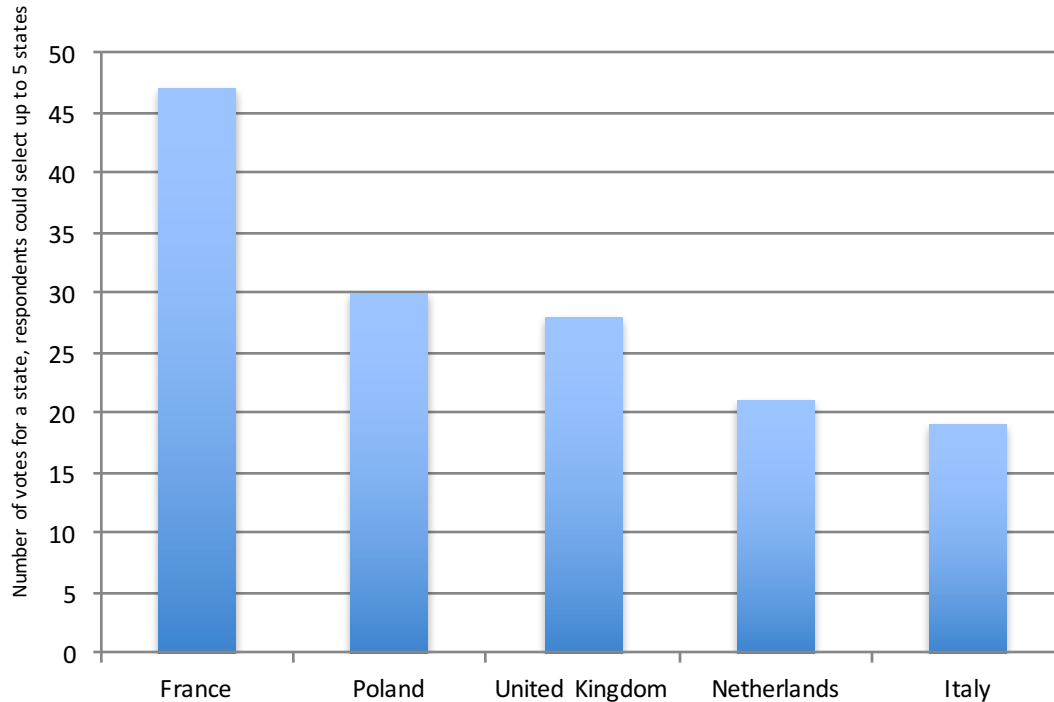
All of the 7 affluent small members and the Weimar Triangle listed

Usual suspects of like-mindedness but one land sticks out: **UK**

Strong focus on the neighbouring countries



Preferences: The Top 5 countries Germany will contact first or most

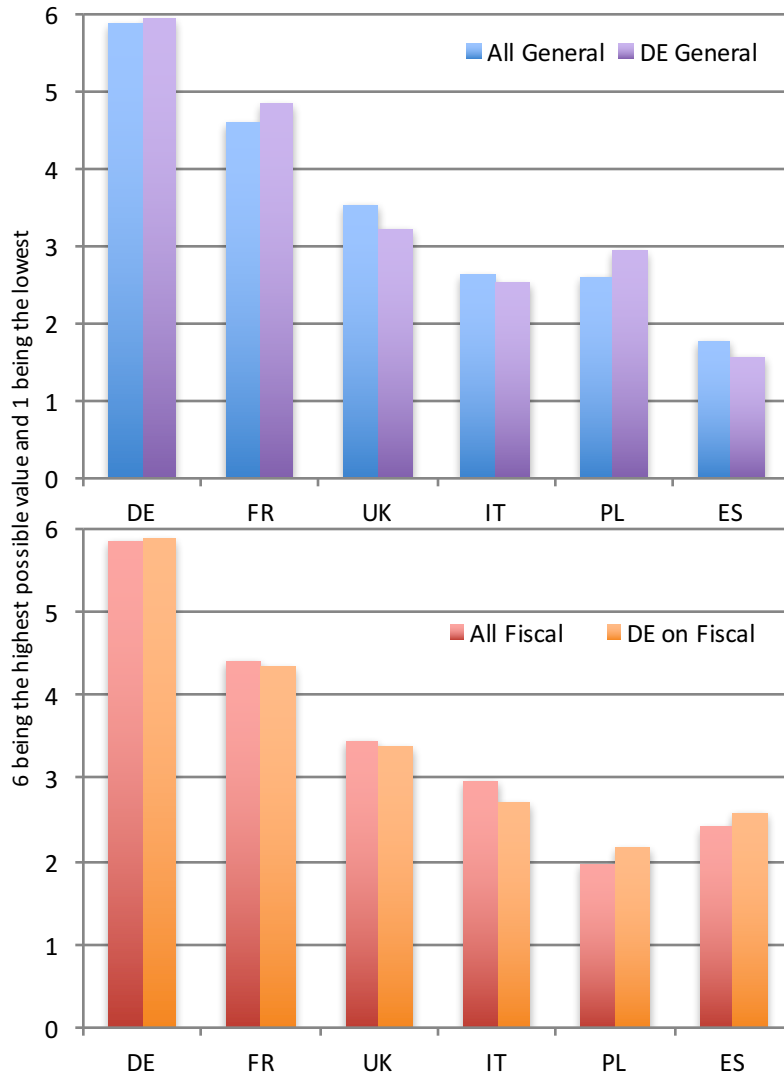


Weimar Triangle at the top

For Germany, the Netherlands are the most important of the 7 affluent small members

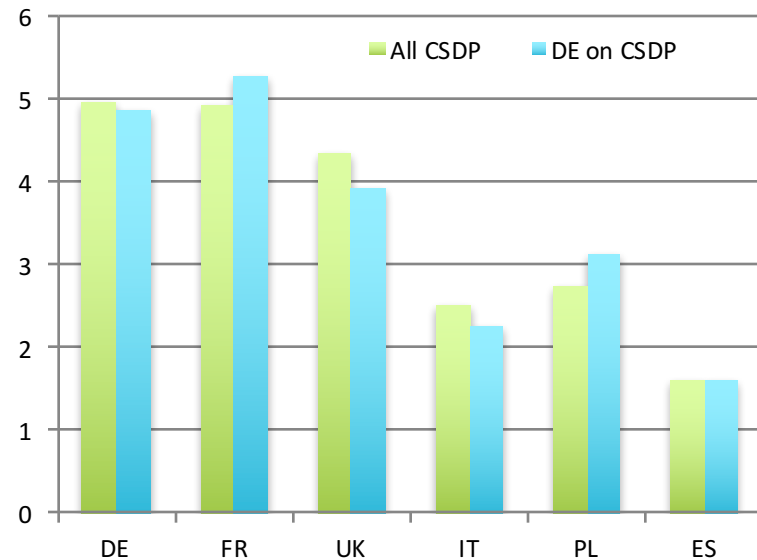


Power: The impact of the „Big Six“ in the German view



RETHINK: EUROPE

NORDIC BENELUX 



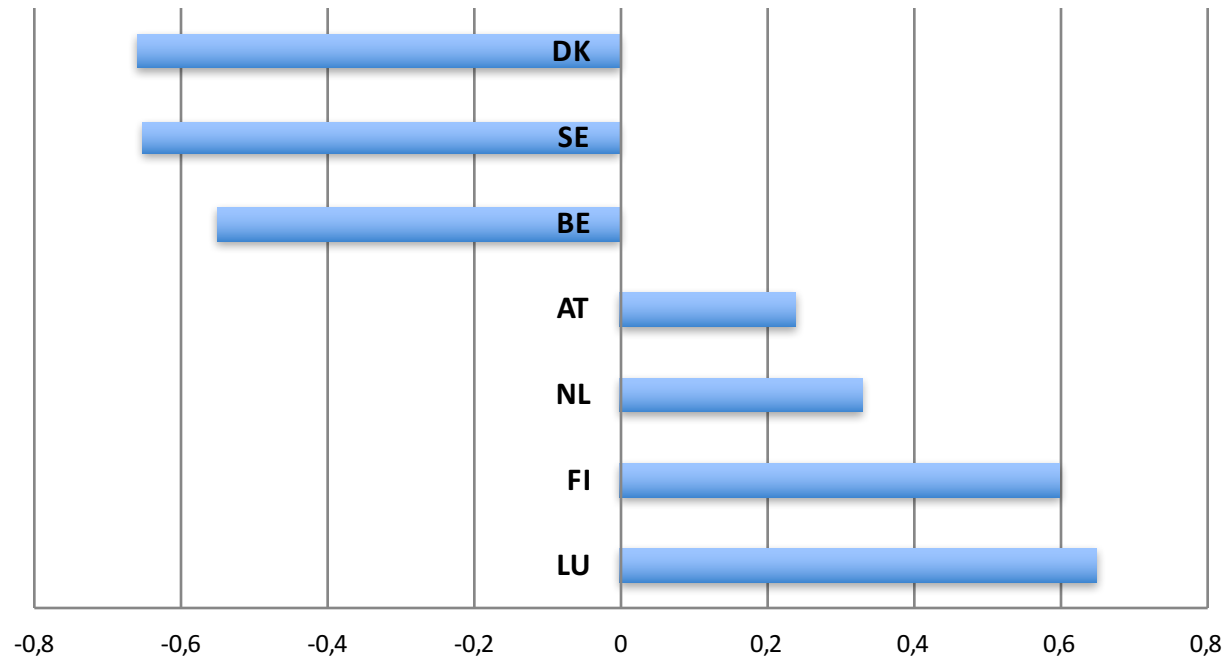
Accurate self-perception, but slight overestimation of France and Poland, in contrast to the UK and Italy



Power: How does Germany view the 7 affluent smaller members compared to their own average view?



weaker - stronger

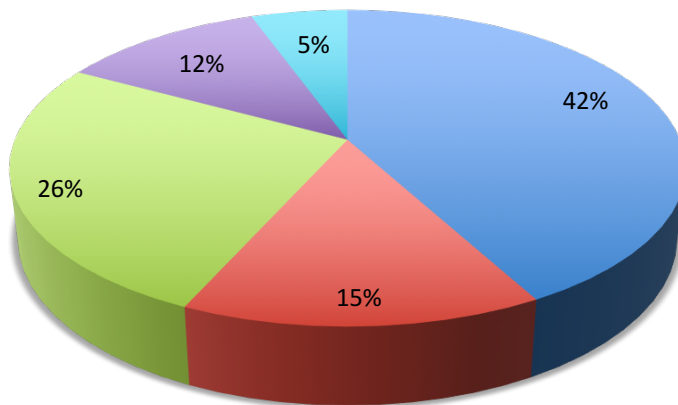


Coalitions: Desirability and the formation of cores in the German view

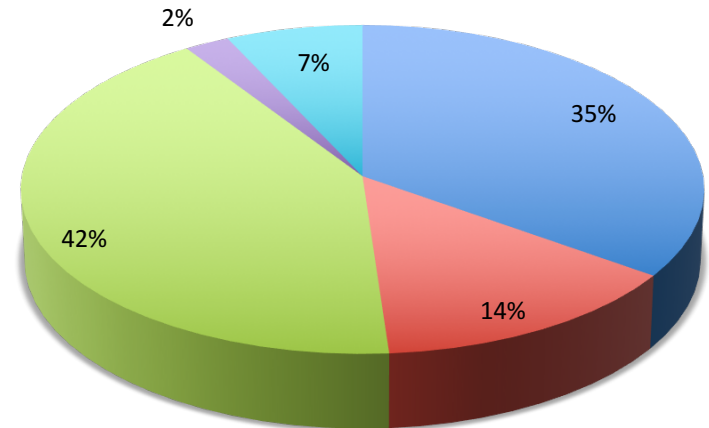


Is coalition building and/ or the formation of one or several cores desirable?

Overall without Germany



Germany



Overall opinion refuses core building, whereas 42% of the German respondents find it desirable.

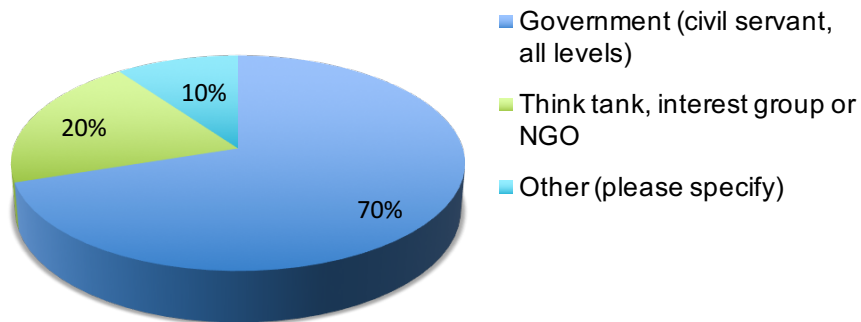
- Coalitions are desirable but should not lead to the formation of cores.
- Coalitions are desirable but there should only be one core.
- Coalitions and several cores are desirable.
- Neither coalitions nor cores are desirable; the EU should only develop as a whole.
- Don't know / none



Metadata: The Netherlands



Professional position within member state

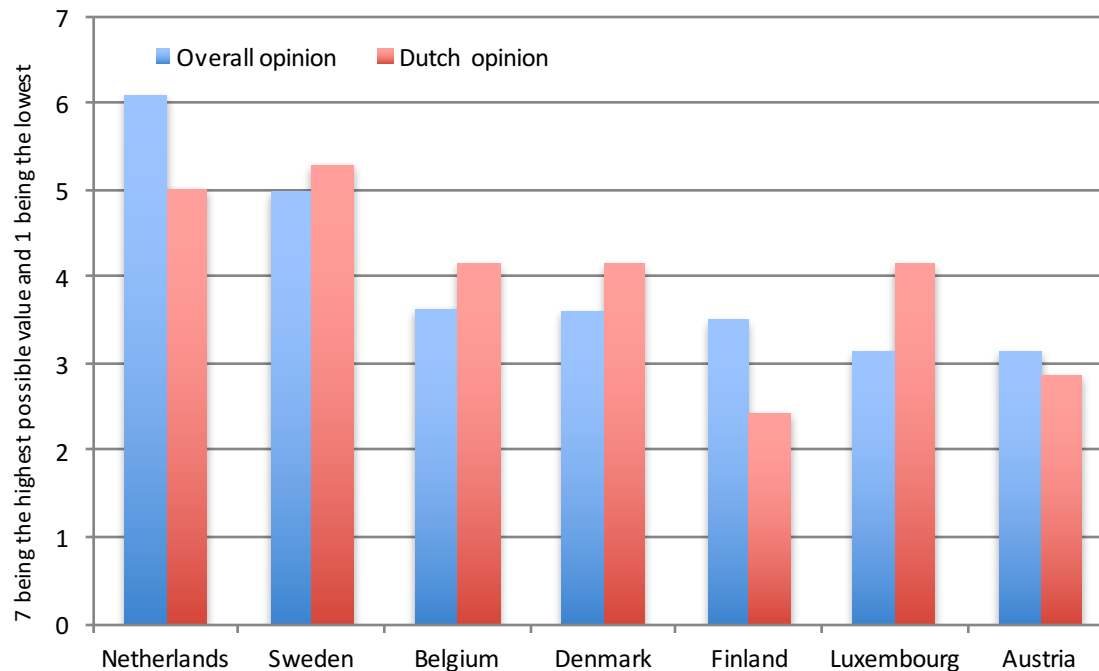


- 10 participants
- Strong representation of government employees
- Other: self-employed

Answer Options	Response Count
European Affairs in general	5
Foreign and Security Policy, Defence Policy	3
Economics, Economics, single market, trade, energy,	1
Development/Humanitarian assistance	1

Power: The impact of the 7 affluent small

The Dutch view



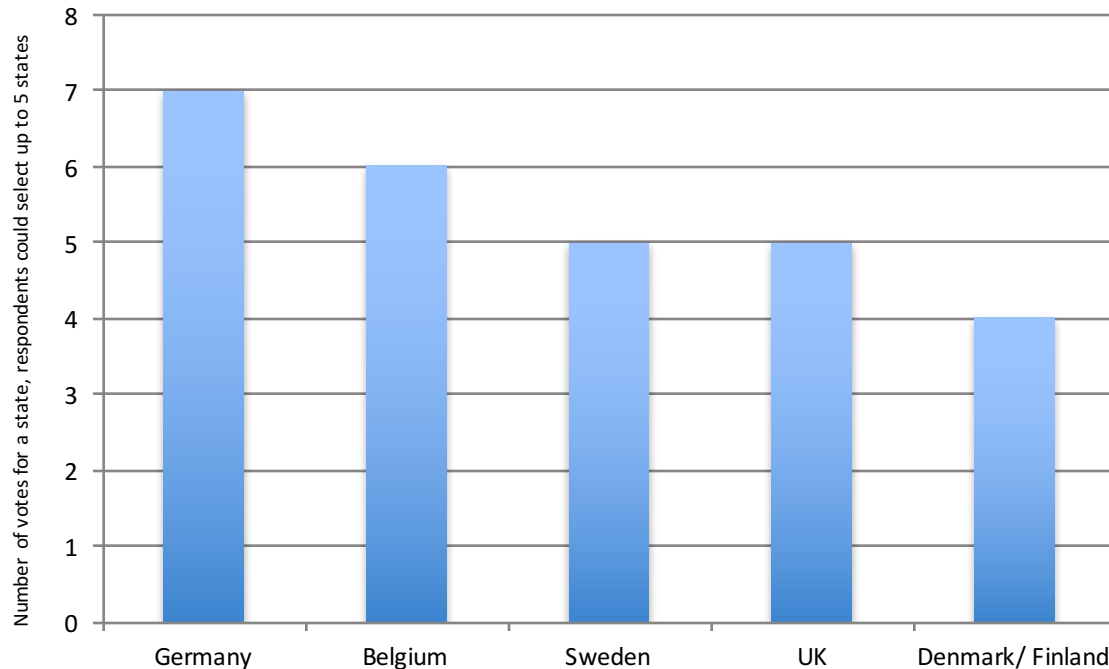
NL more critical of its own role (2nd rank among NL responses)

Comparison to “Big Six”:
See NL on rank 1,
clearly ahead of SE

BENELUX seen as more relevant by NL than by all



Preferences: Top 5 most like-minded member states from the Dutch perspective

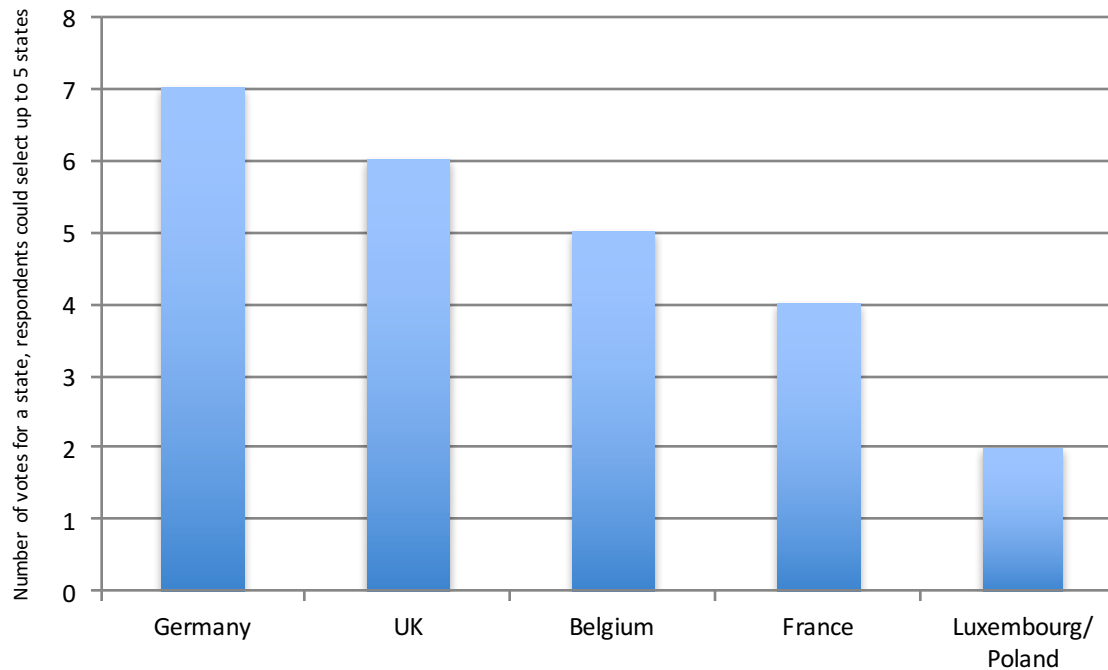


Dutch view: Not all Nordics or Benelux partners listed

Overall view: NL mentioned most often after Germany and France (75 for NL to 113 for DE and 77 votes for FR in total)



Preferences: Top 5 member states the Netherlands will contact first or most



Dutch view:

Benelux partners after
Germany and UK;
Nordics not listed

External perception:

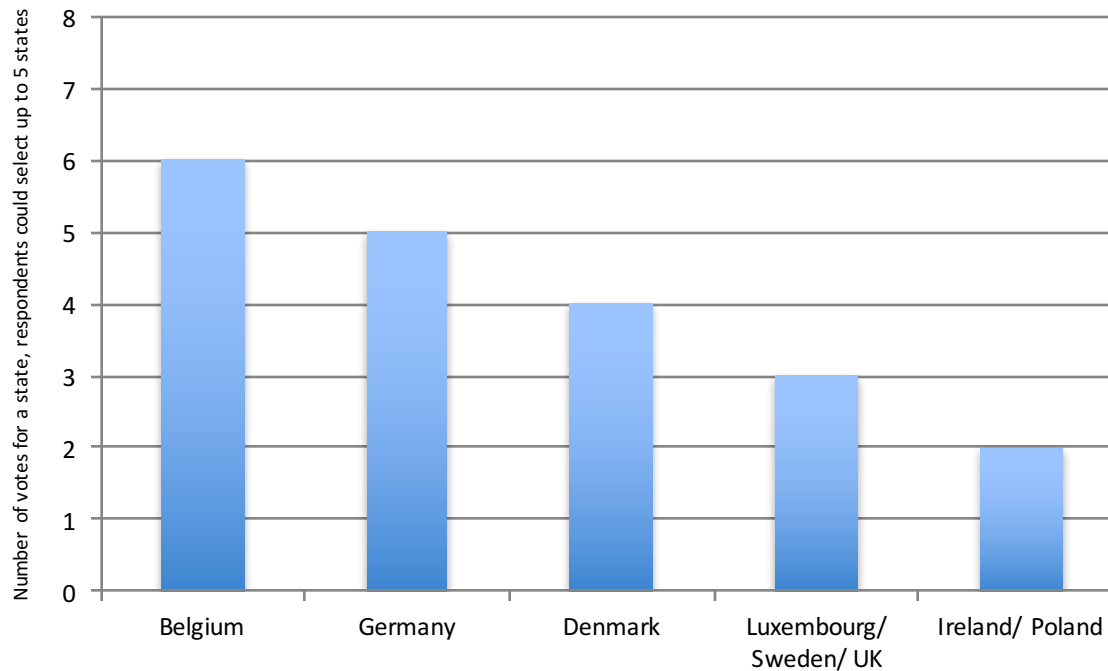
NL not among Top 5 but
listed directly behind

Benelux partners:

BE and LU put NL
before FR and DE



Preferences: The Netherlands' Top 5 partners most responsive or easiest to work with



Dutch view:

BENELUX and Germany are most responsive or easiest to work with

Overall view:

NL (60 votes) mentioned most often after Germany (92 votes)

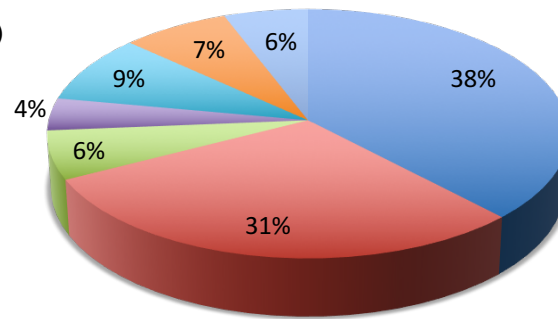


Coalitions: NL likes energy union, economic & social union, defence union

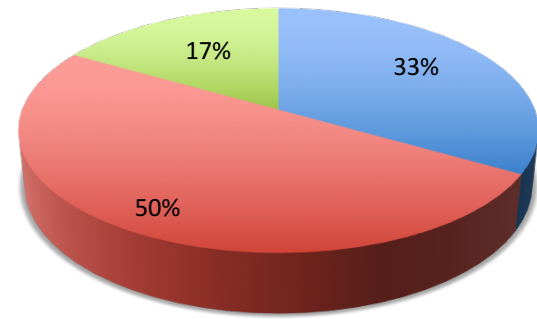


- Economic and social union as a follow up to monetary union (within the eurozone)
- Energy union (creating a single energy market with a single energy trade policy)
- Defense union (full integration of armed forces)
- Tax union (harmonizing all or some direct/indirect taxes)
- Full integration of immigration and asylum policy
- Fully integrated border control, including a common border policy
- None

Overall opinion without NL



The Netherlands



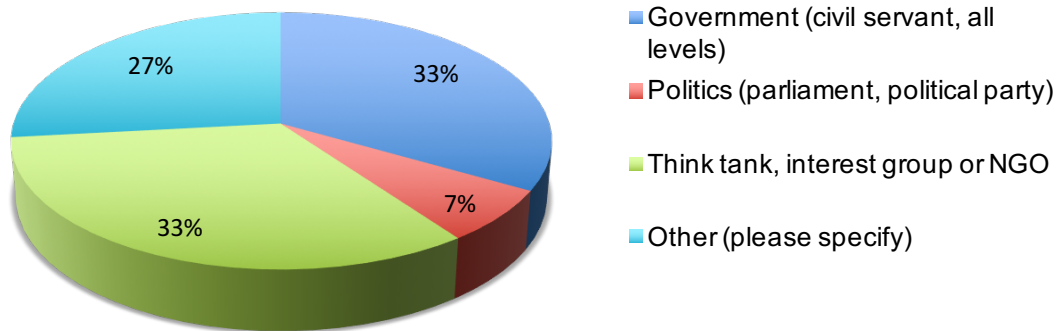
Countries who share Dutch preferences the most: Bulgaria, Estonia and Poland



Metadata: The Nordics



Professional position within member state



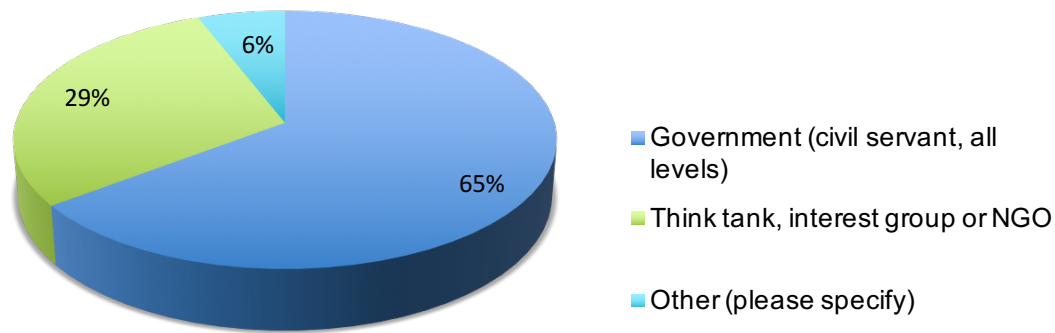
- Nordics have 15 respondents in total
- DK 6, SE 5, FI 4
- Others: Former minister and parliamentarian, business, military staff of ministry of defence, professor and board member

Answer Options	Response Count
European Affairs in general	7
Foreign and Security Policy, Defence Policy	6
Economics, single market, trade, energy, environment	2

Metadata: BENELUX



Professional position within member state

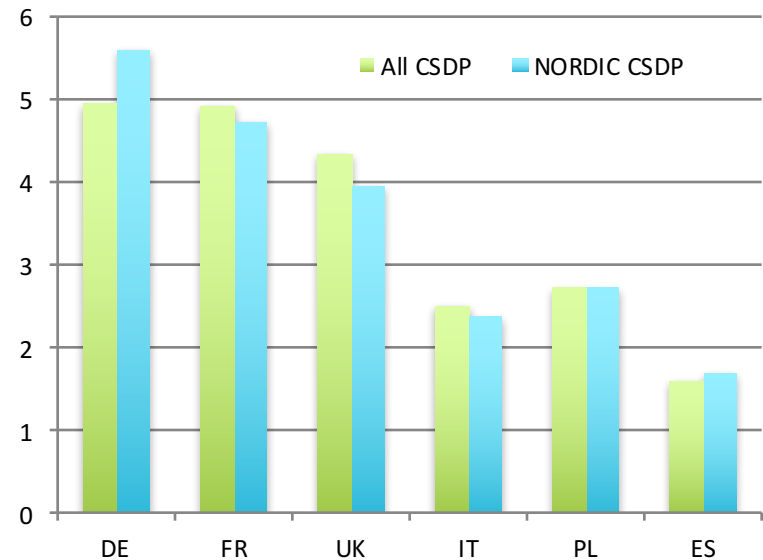
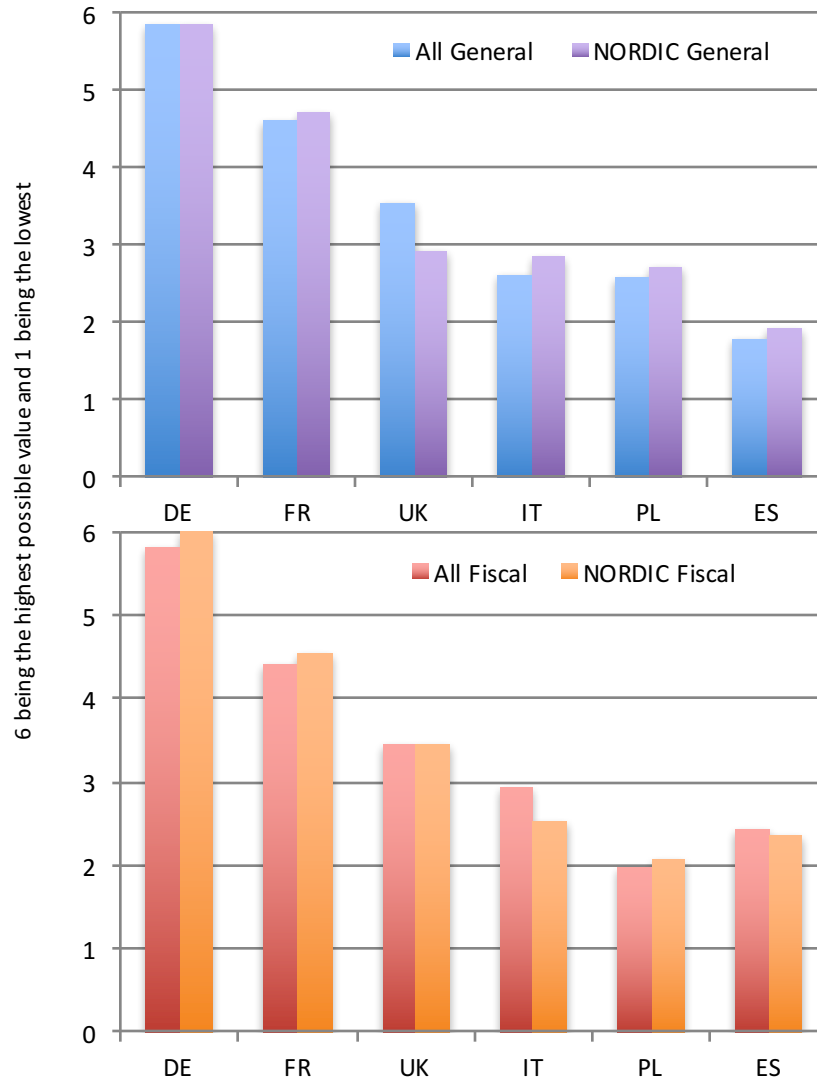


- Benelux have 17 respondents in total
- NL 10, BE 5, LU 2
- Majority of responses from government
- Other: Self-employed
- Most participants work on EU Affairs at large or on external affairs

Answer Options	Response Count
European Affairs in general	8
Foreign and Security Policy, Defence Policy	6
Economics, single market, trade, energy, environment	2
Development/Humanitarian assistance	1



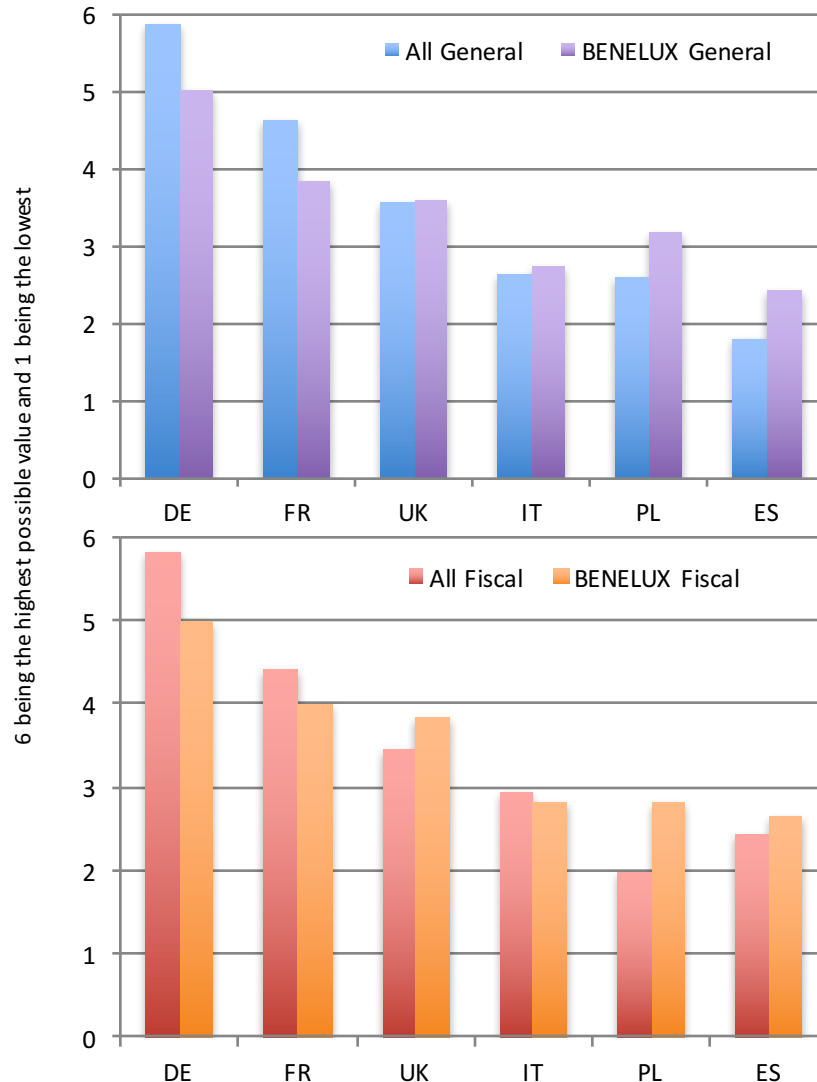
Power: The NORDIC view on the impact of the “Big Six”



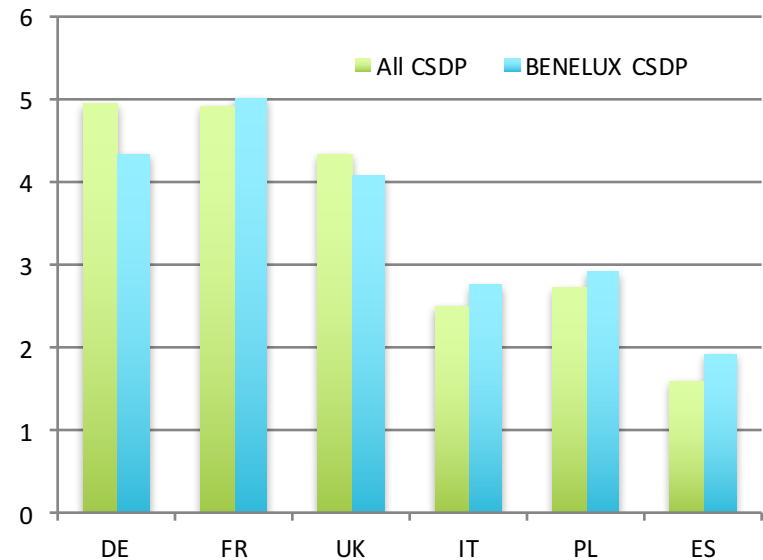
Slightly more critical view of the UK, slightly more positive view of Germany compared to all respondents
Closer to the overall view than BENELUX countries



Power: The BENELUX view on the impact of the “Big Six”



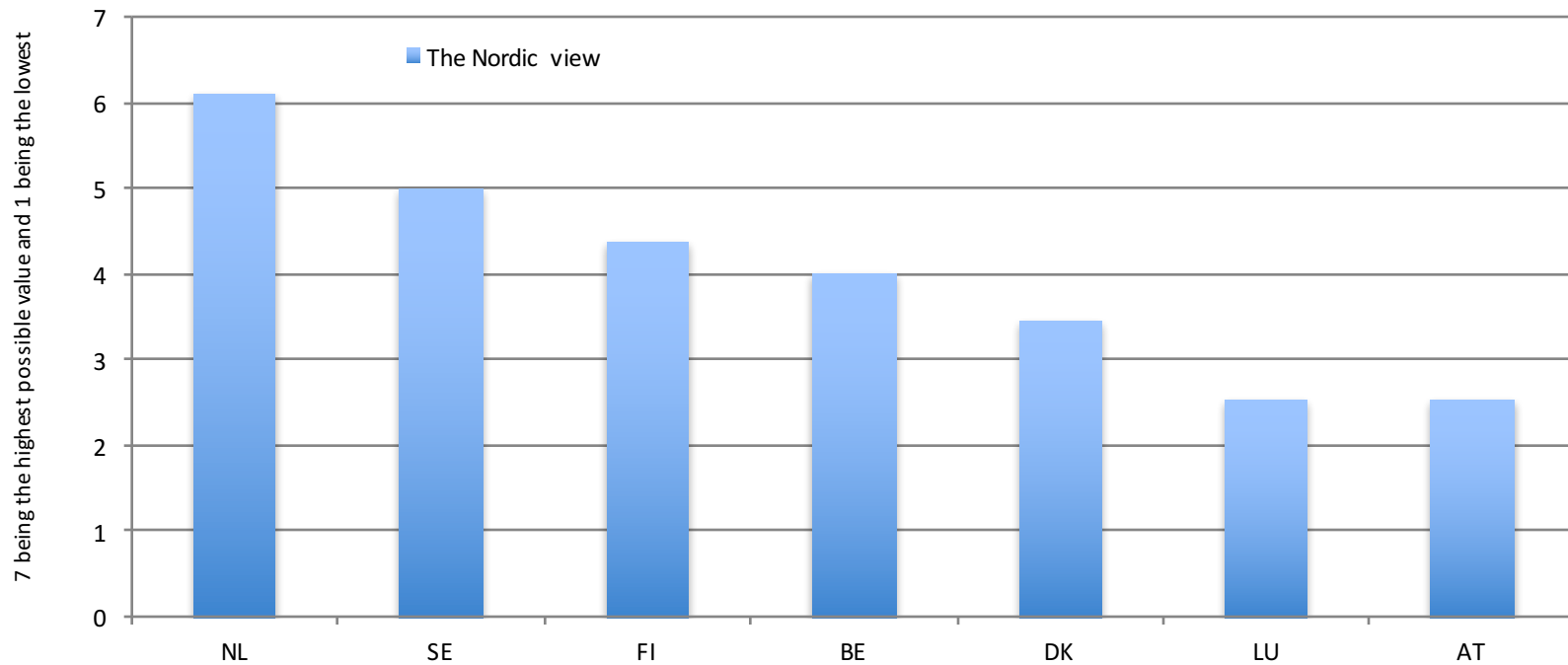
RETHINK: EUROPE



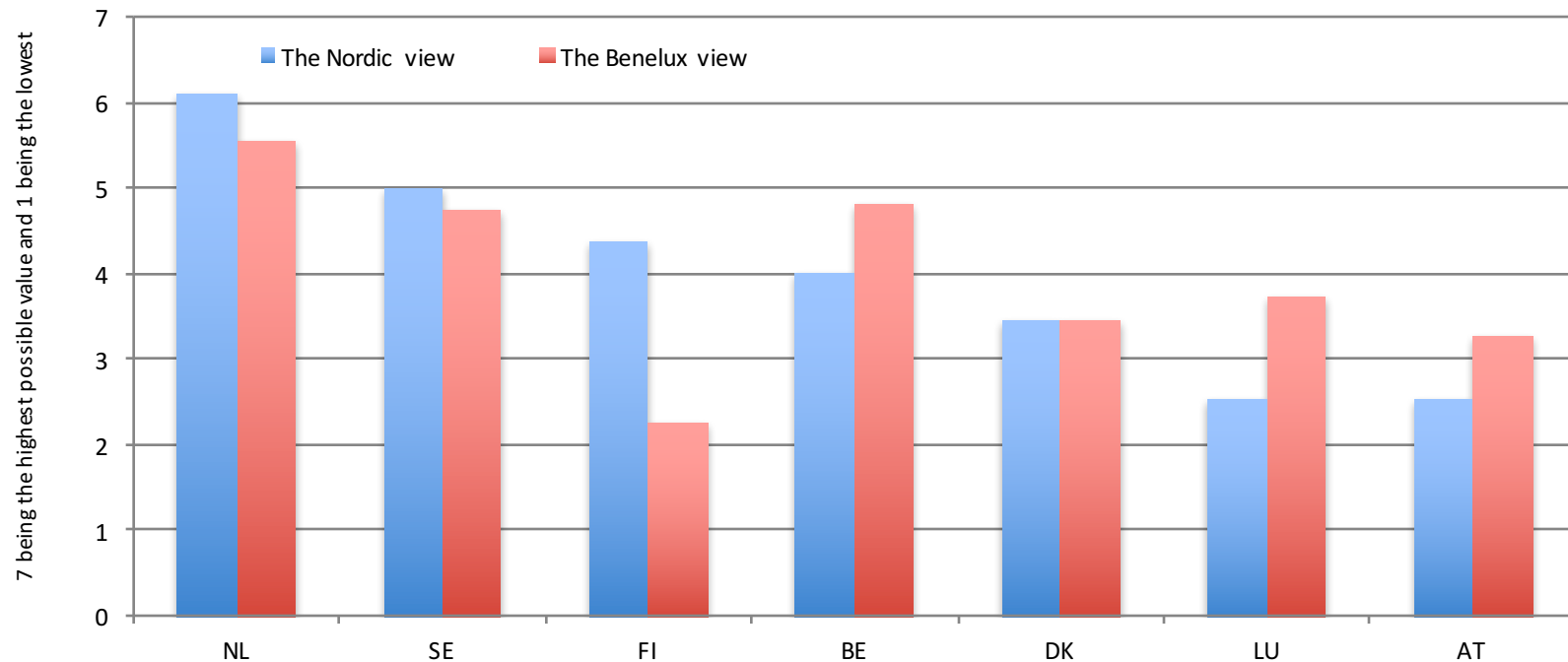
More critical on the impact of Germany and France, stronger role of the smaller among the large, like FR view of UK as more influential on fiscal matters than seen by all



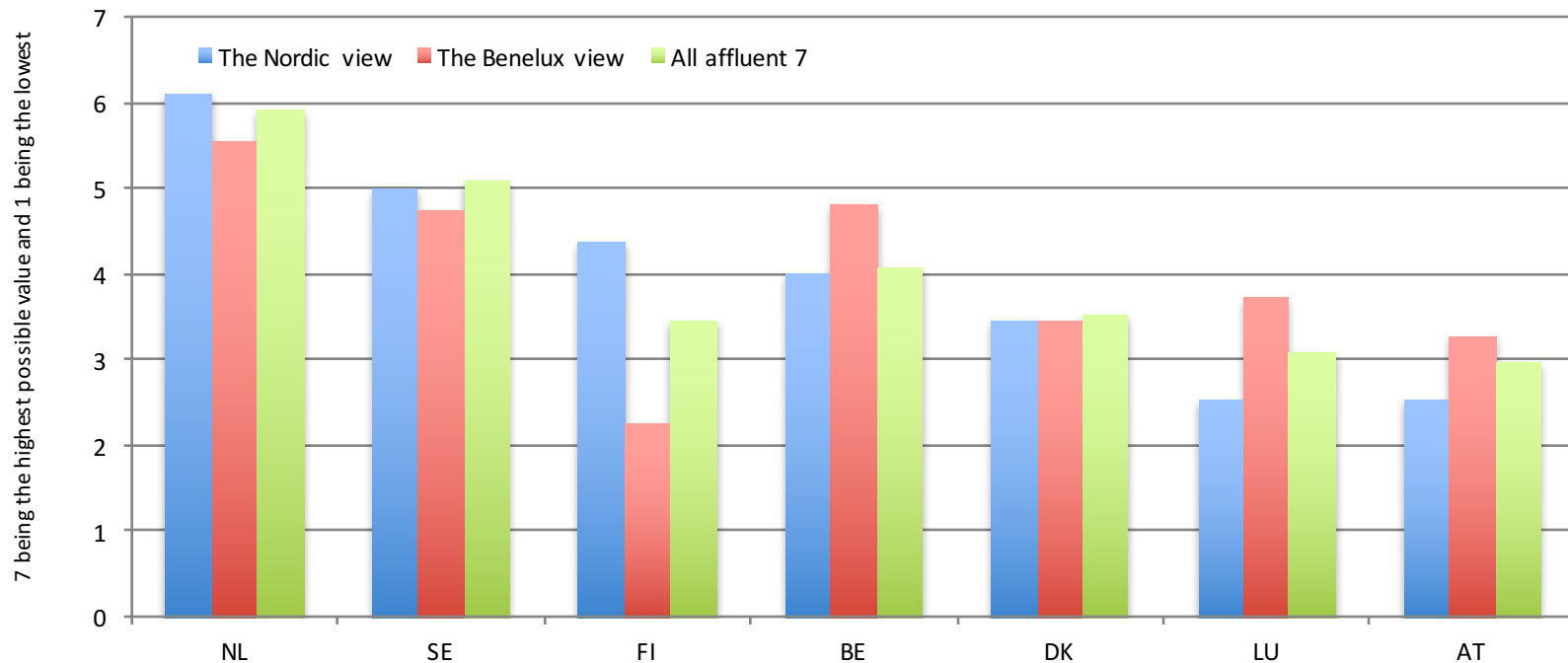
Power: The impact of the 7 affluent small member states as seen by: The Nordics



Power: The impact of the 7 affluent small member states as seen by: Nordics - BENELUX



Power: The impact of the 7 affluent small member states as seen by: Nordics – BENELUX – All Affluent 7

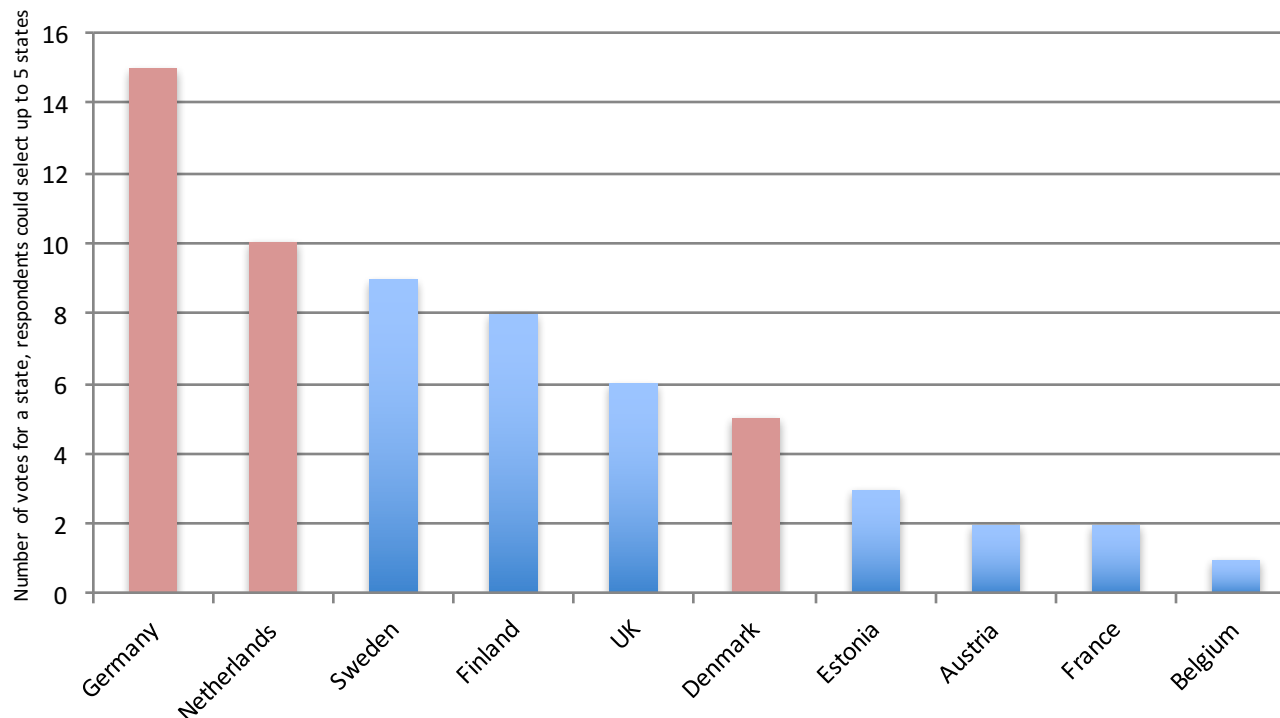




Preferences: The Top 10 like-minded member states from the Nordic view



In your view or experience, which member states generally share many of your country's interests and preferences on EU policies?



Germany and Netherlands ahead of Nordics

Denmark last one of the Nordics listed

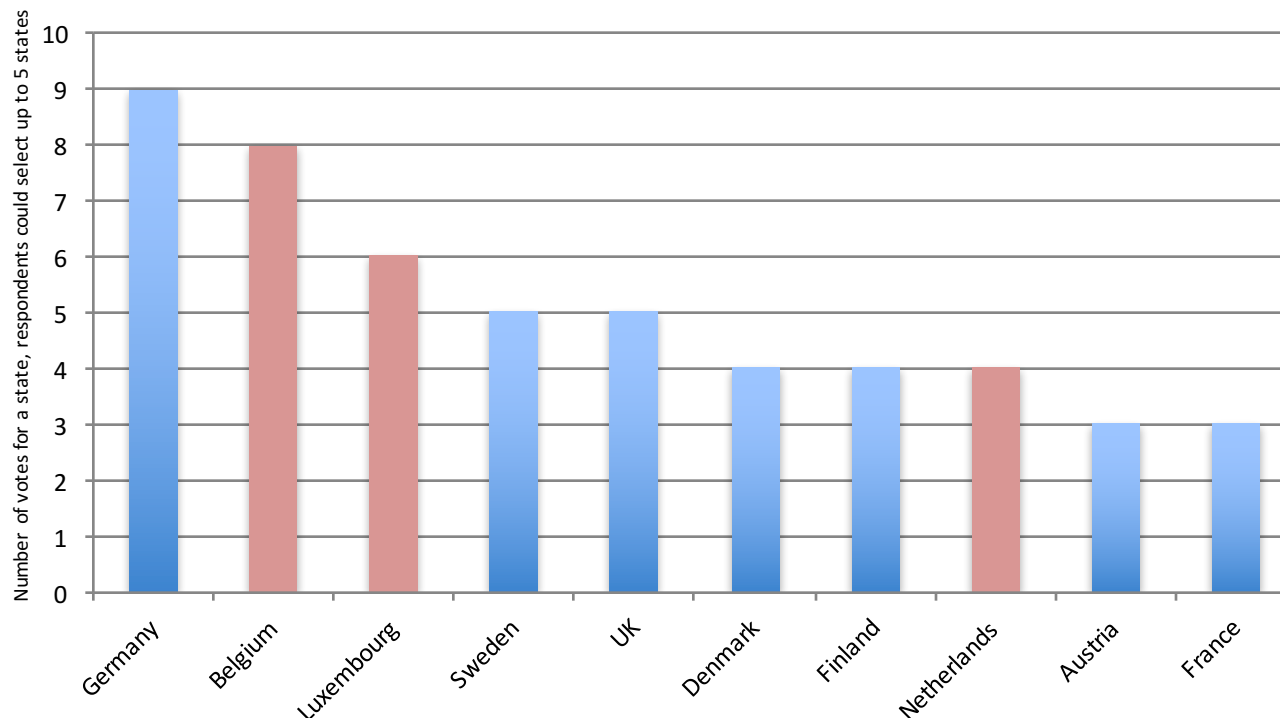
Luxembourg is not among the Top 10



Preferences: The Top 10 like-minded member states from the BENELUX view



In your view or experience, which member states generally share many of your country's interests and preferences on EU policies?



Belgium and Luxembourg listed ahead of the Netherlands

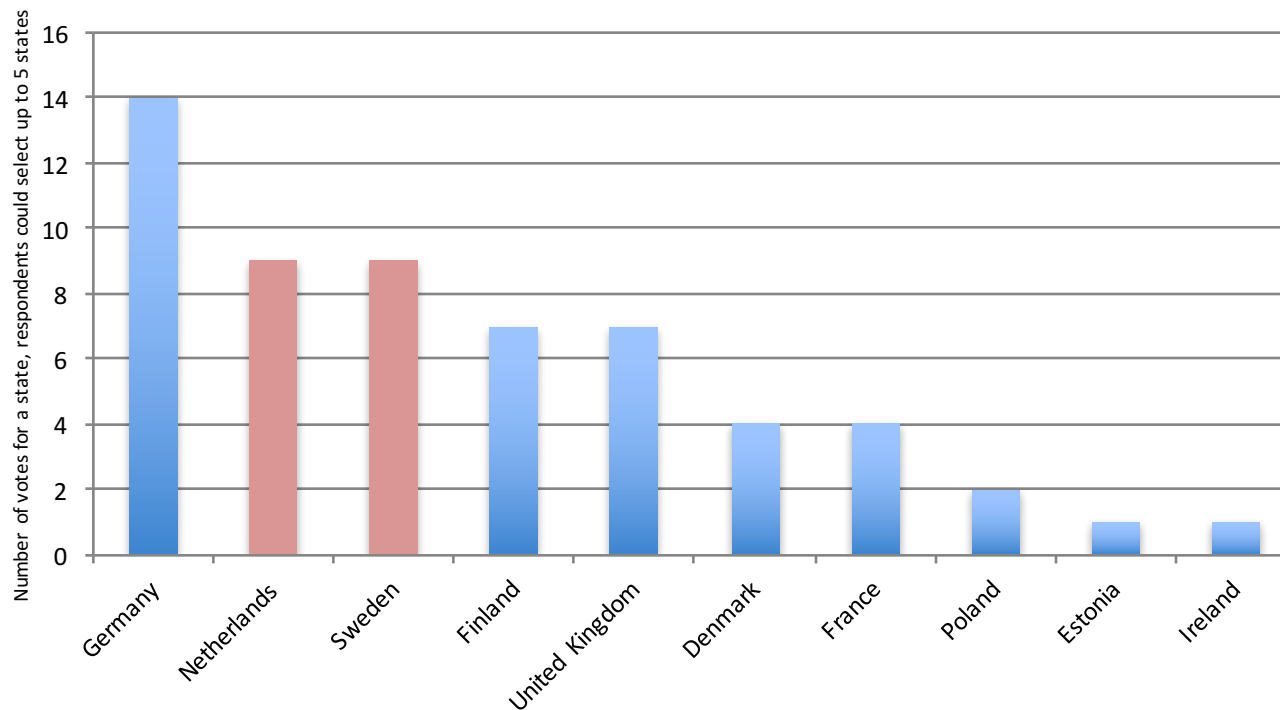
All Nordics among the Top 10 states of like-mindedness



Preferences: 5 member states to contact first or most from the Nordic view



On EU matters, which member state government(s) would your government generally contact first and/or most?



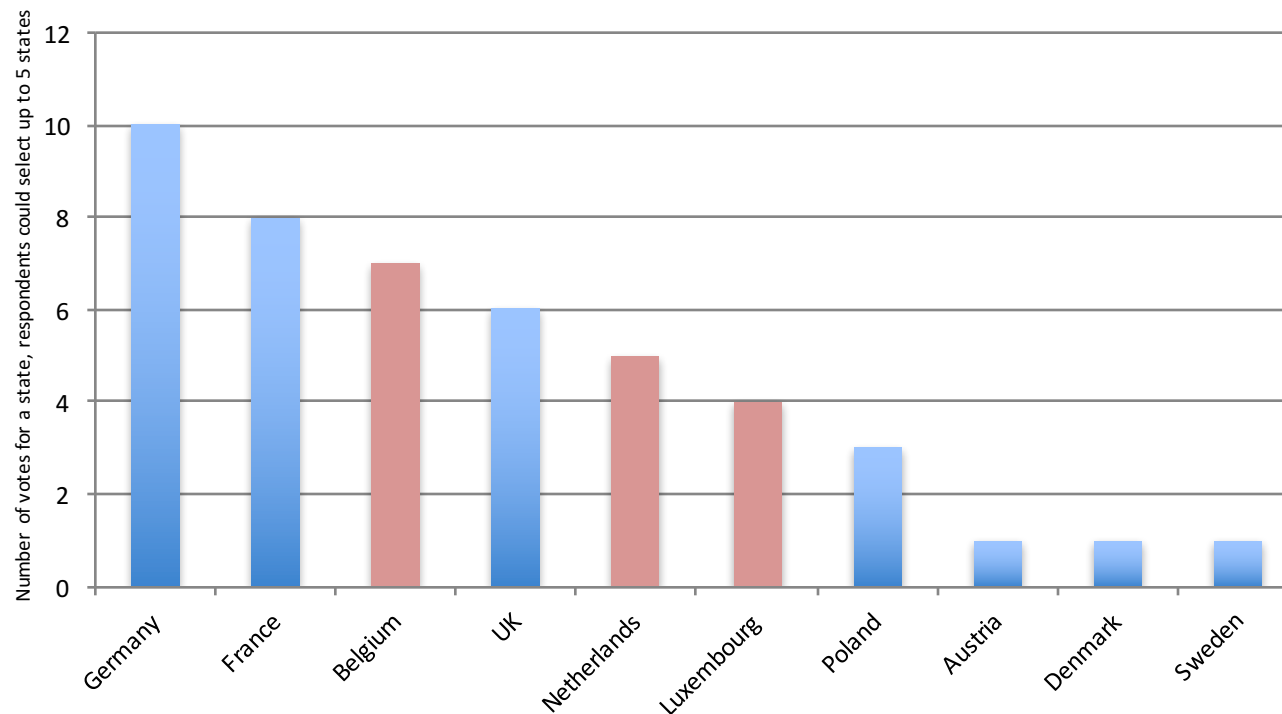
Netherlands and Sweden first or most contacted after Germany



Preferences: 5 member states to contact first or most from the BENELUX view



On EU matters, which member state government(s) would your government generally contact first and/or most?



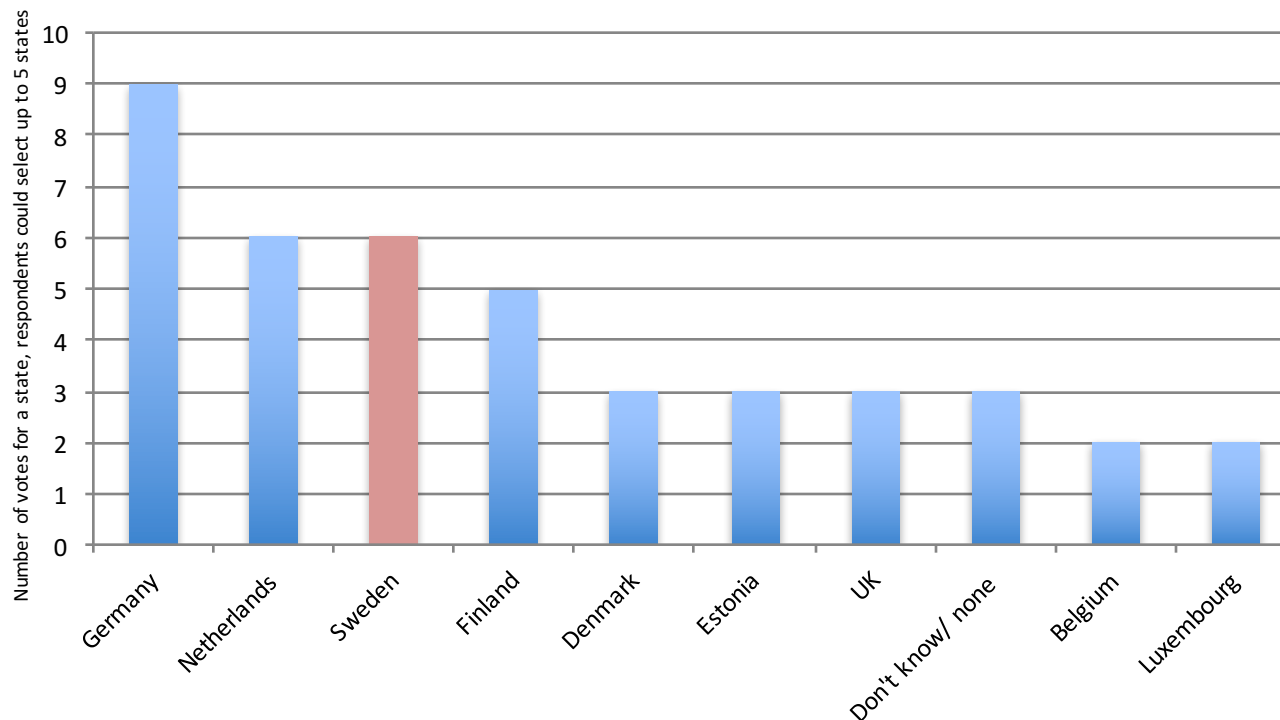
Belgium ahead of Netherlands and Luxembourg



Preferences: Top 10 partners the Nordics find most responsive or easiest to work with



In dealing with other member states, which governments have shown to be most responsive or are easiest to work with?



Sweden most responsive in the Nordic view

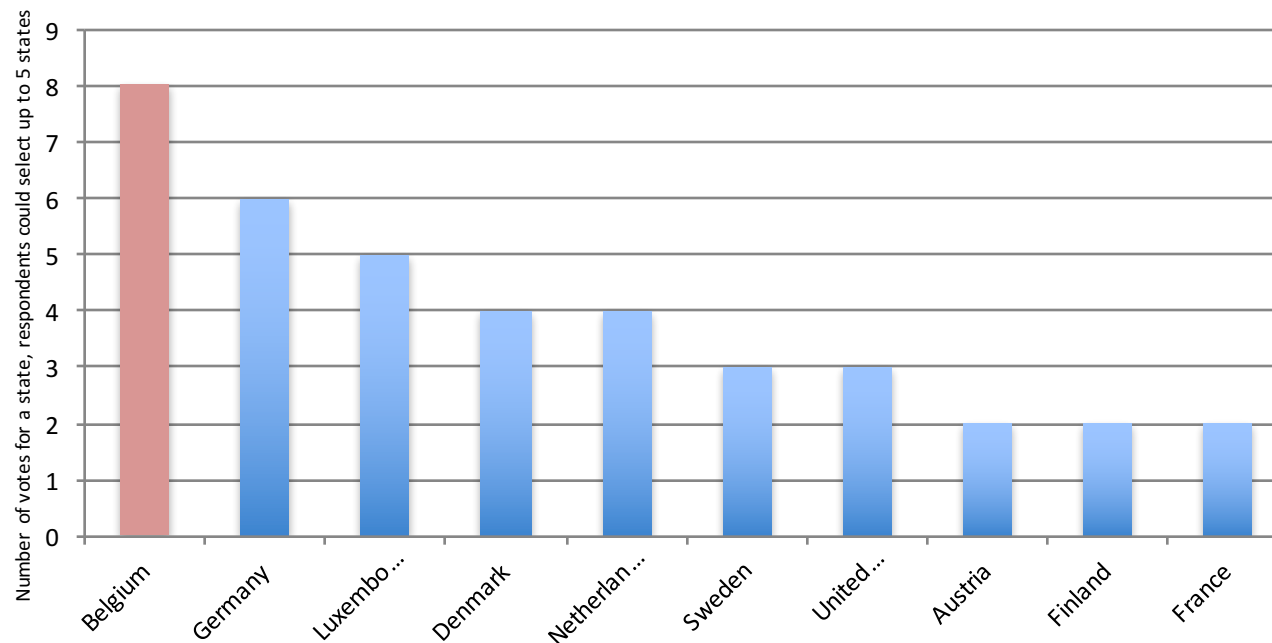
All of the BENELUX states are listed



Preferences: Top 10 partners the BENELUX find most responsive or easiest to work with



In dealing with other member states, which governments have shown to be most responsive or are easiest to work with?



Belgium clearly seen as most responsive or easiest to work with among the BENELUX states

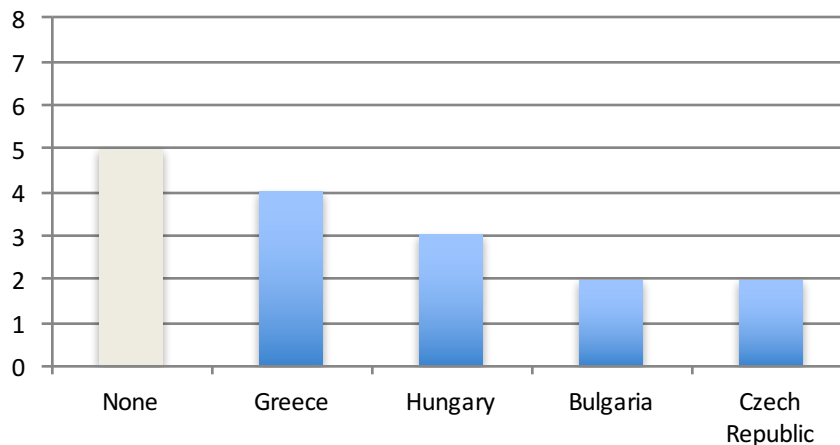


Preferences: The Top 5 most disappointing member states from the Nordic and BENELUX perspective

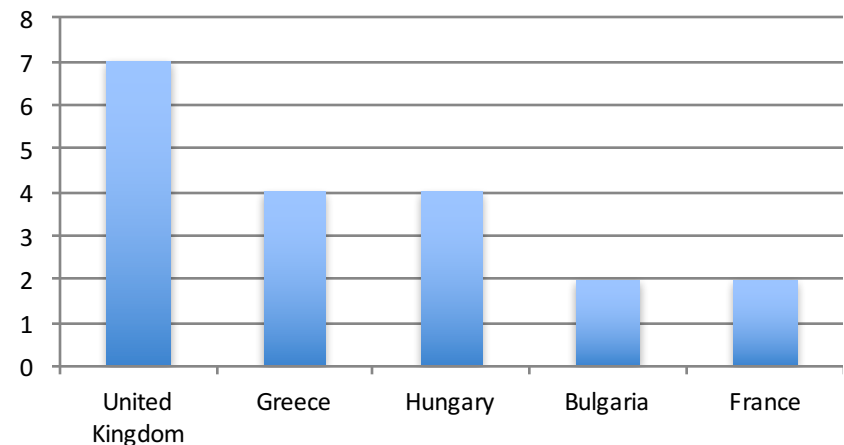


Please identify member states which have disappointed your government, because they have not been responsive or have not shown interest in cooperating with your government. Multiple answers possible.

Number of votes for a state, respondents could select up to 5 states



The Nordics are undecided here:
No one seems to have been very disappointing



The BENELUX go with the general mainstream opinion: Top 3 are UK, Greece and Hungary, too



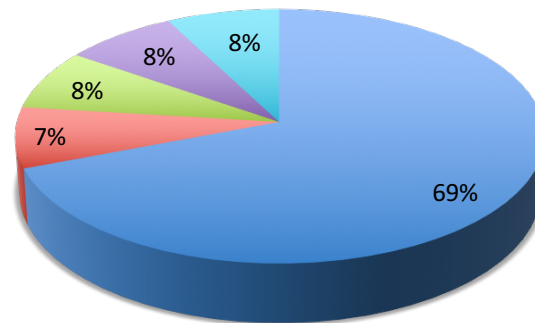
Coalitions: Desirability and the formation of cores in the Nordic and BENELUX view



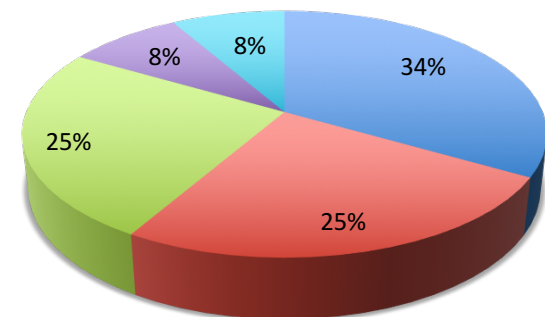
In your view, is coalition building and/or the formation of one or several cores desirable?

- Coalitions are desirable but should not lead to the formation of cores.
- Coalitions are desirable but there should only be one core.
- Coalitions and several cores are desirable.
- Neither coalitions nor cores are desirable; the EU should only develop as a whole.
- Don't know / none

The Nordics



BENELUX



The Nordics strongly refuse the formation of cores, in contrast to the BENELUX

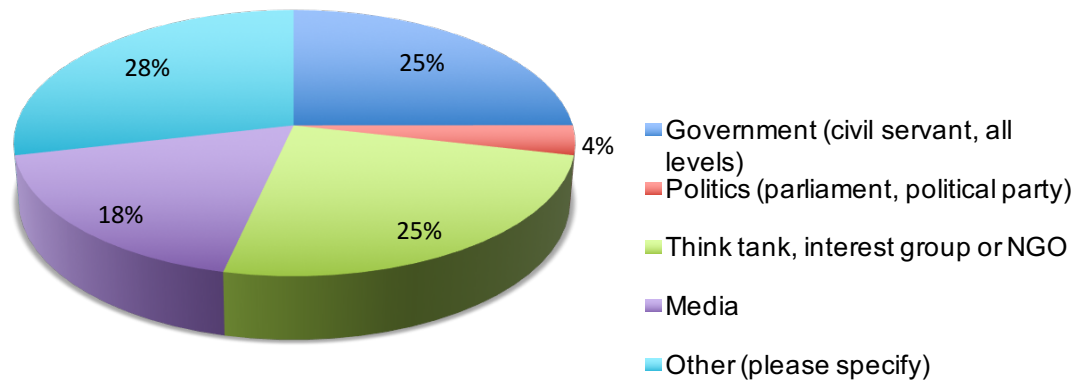
But Nordics and BENELUX share preferences for the same projects: When asked about projects, they both list the foundation of an Energy Union, an Economic and Social Union and a Defence Union



Metadata: Italy



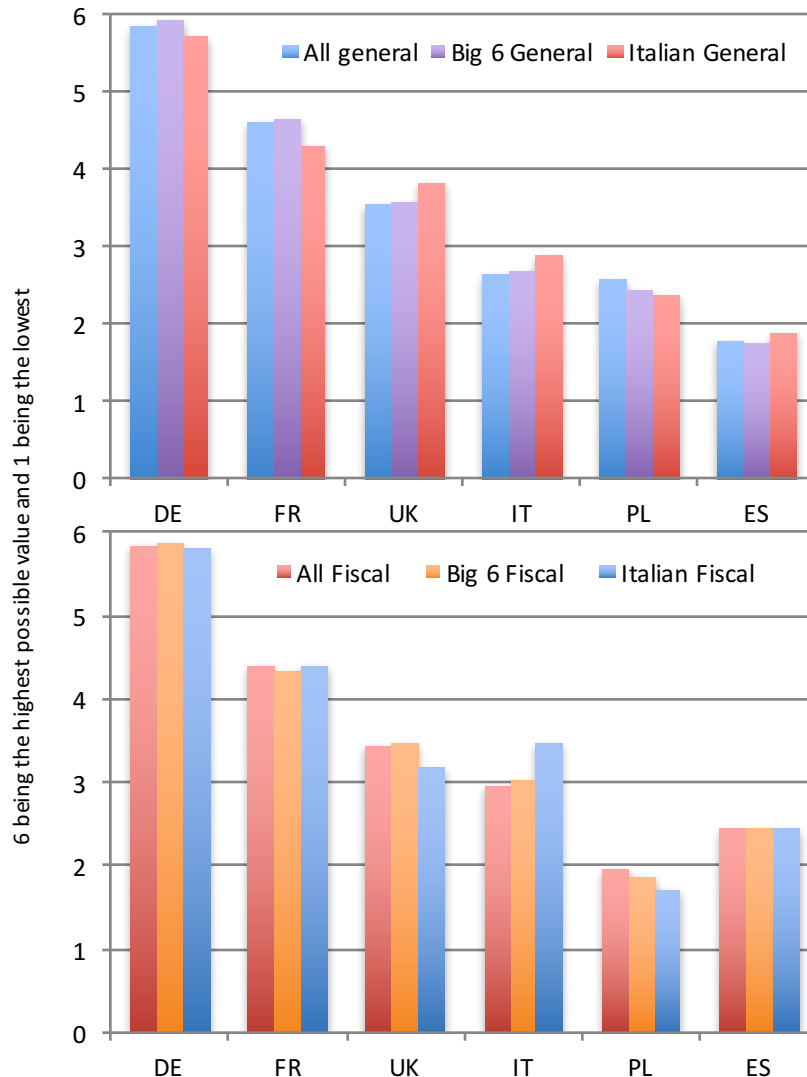
Professional position within member state



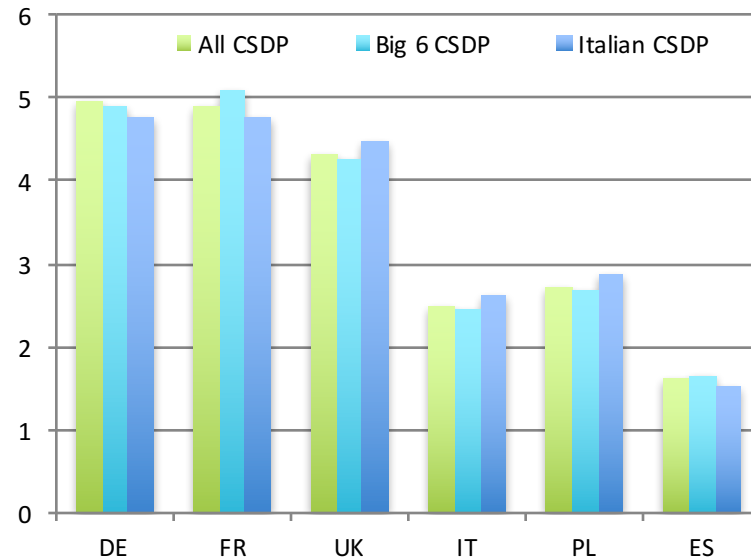
- 28 participants
- Very diverse response spectrum
- Participation by media professionals above average
- Others: Former ambassador and professor for international relations (1), Italian agency of energy efficiency (1), pensioner former civil servant (1), academics (2), corporate (1), international organization (1) and company (1)

Answer Options	Response Count
Foreign and Security Policy, Defence Policy	12
European Affairs in general	9
Economics, single market, trade, energy, environment	6
Culture, education, research	1

Power: The Italian view on the impact of the “Big Six”



RETHINK: EUROPE

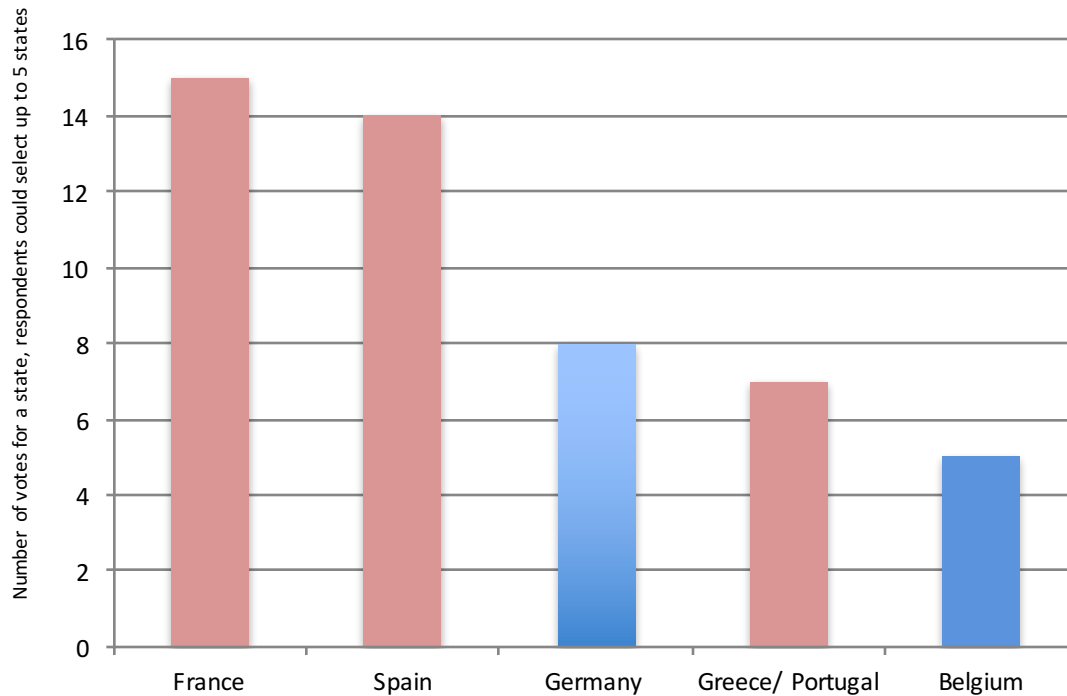


Italy's self-evaluation is rather mainstream and content with 4th rank

But: on fiscal policy Italians see country in 3rd place, on foreign, security and defence policy in 5th place



Preferences: The Top 5 most like-minded member states from the Italian perspective

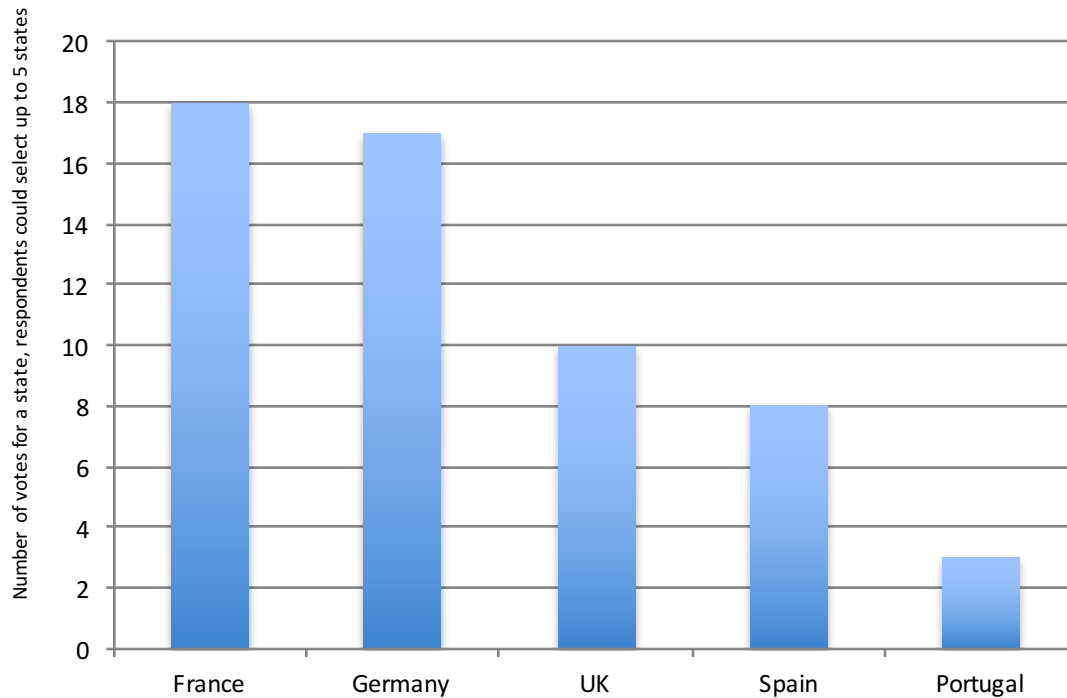


Italy sees significant
like-mindedness
with other
Mediterranean
states

UK not listed among
Top 5



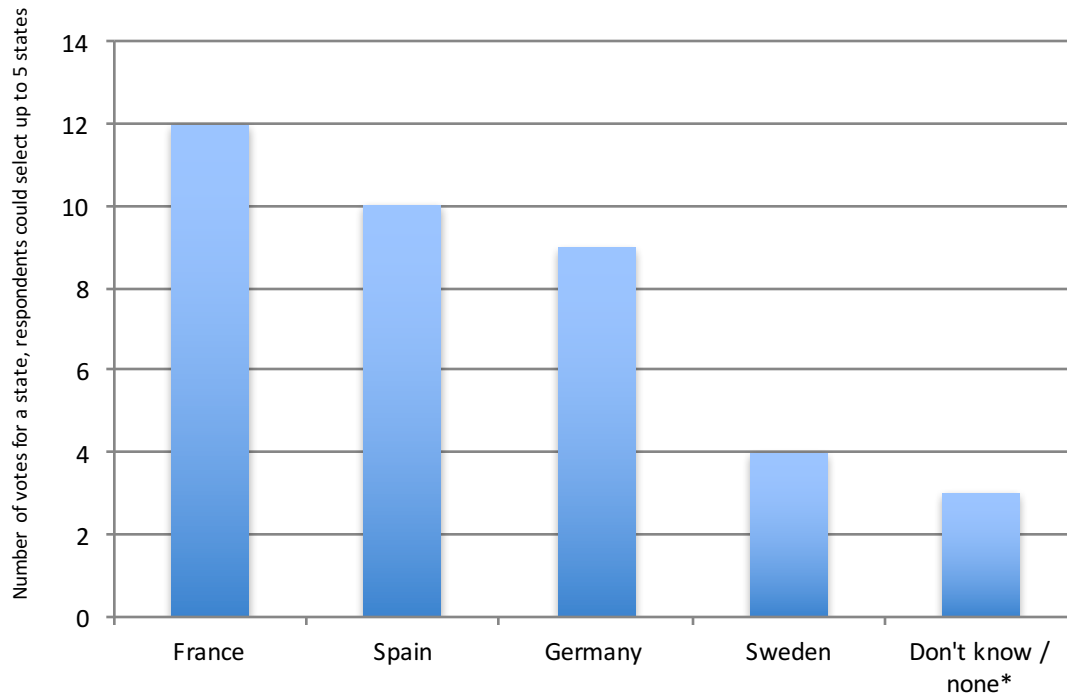
Preferences: Top 5 partners Italy will contact first ore most



France is seen as major partner among the “Big Six” ahead of Germany



Preferences: Top 5 member states most responsive from the Italian perspective

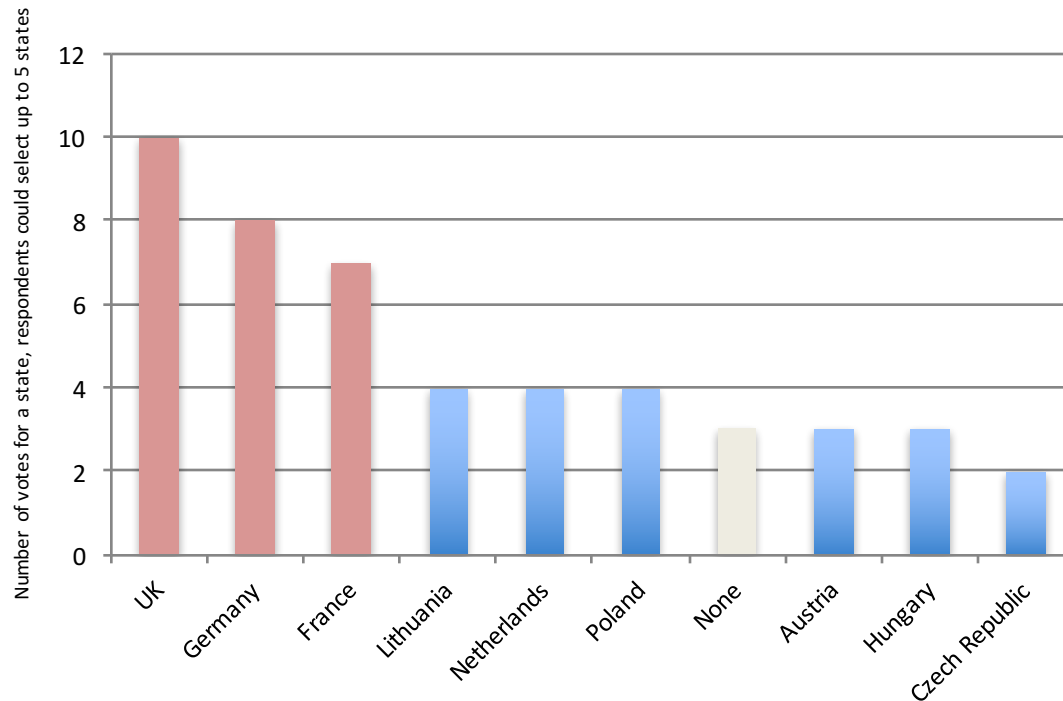


Sweden surprisingly listed right after three large states – the only one among the seven affluent small

* Same number of votes for Belgium, Netherlands, Poland and UK



Preferences: Top 10 most disappointing member states from the Italian perspective



First ranks occupied by the “Big Three”

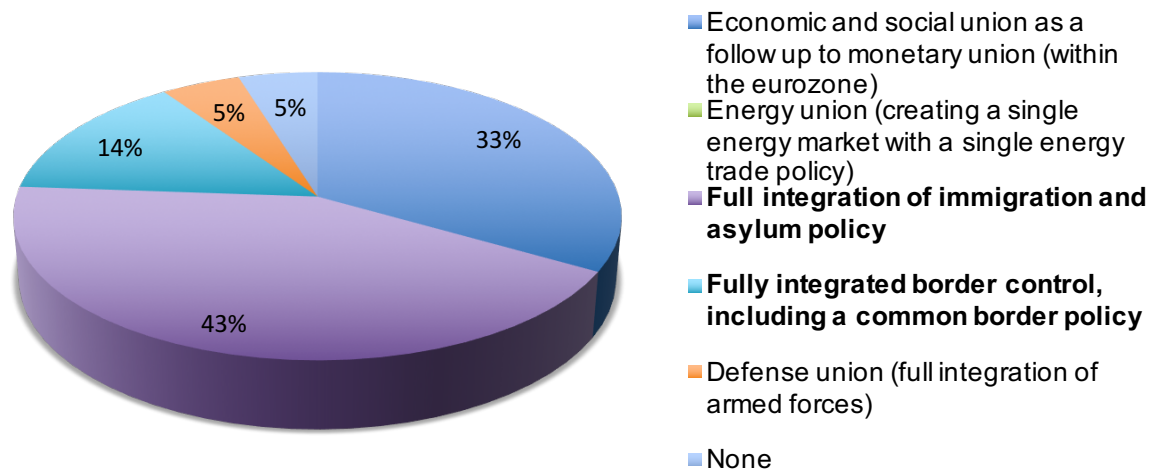
Many Central and Eastern countries among Top 10, but no southern country listed



Coalitions: Italy's strong focus on asylum and immigration policy



Assuming that coalition building could lead to a differentiation of integration (in the sense of building cores of deeper integration), which of the projects listed below would your government likely want to engage in?



57% of the Italian participants approve projects related to Italy being a major transit zone for refugees and migrants.

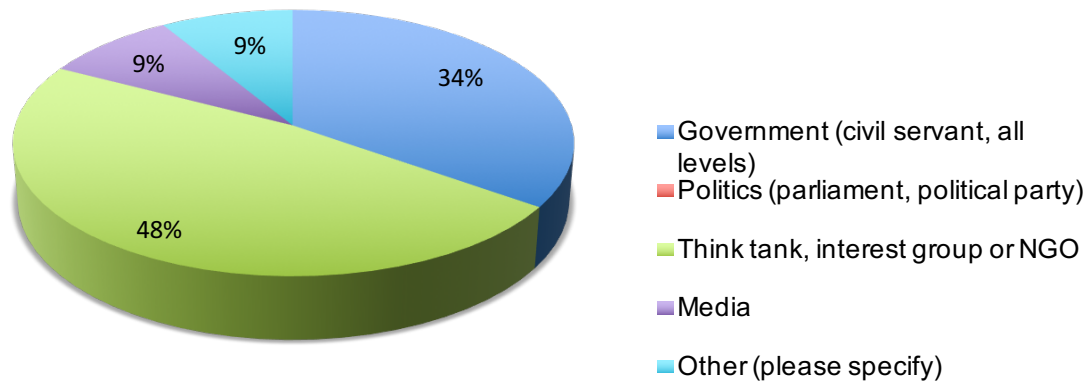
In the overall view, the projects of immigration, asylum policy and border control are listed by 16% only.



Metadata: Spain



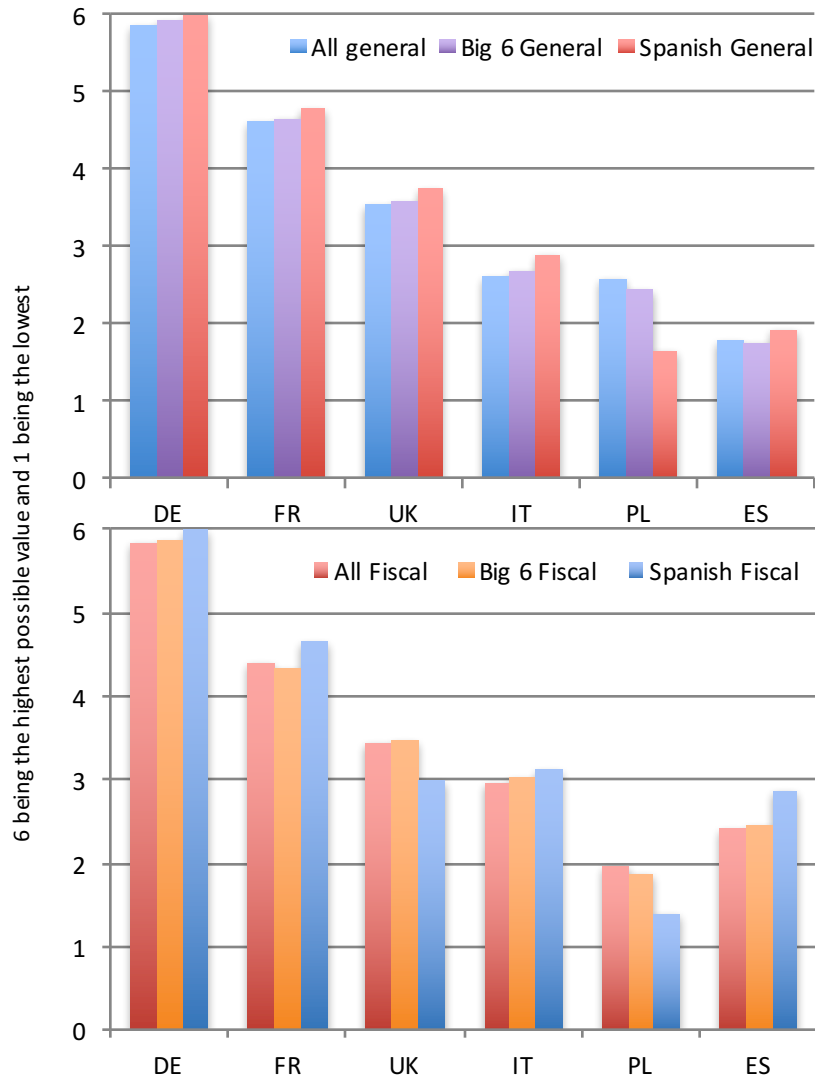
Professional position within member state



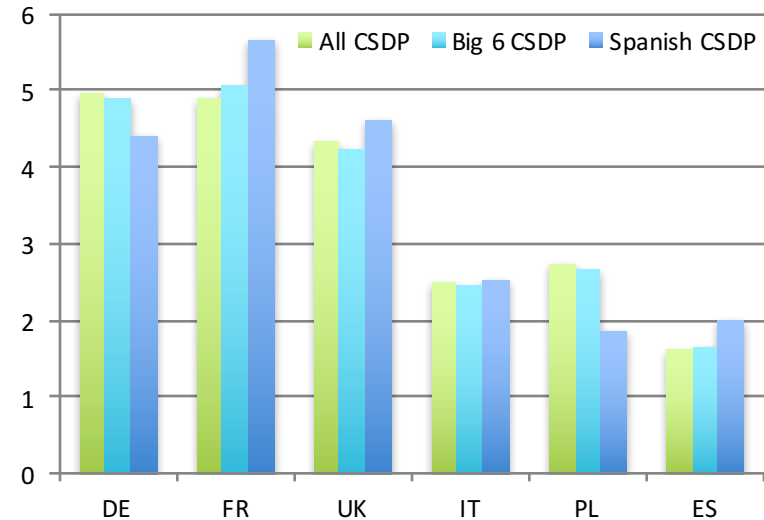
- 23 participants
- Strong participation from think tanks, interest groups or NGOs
- Response count shows overrepresentation of experts from the policy area of FSDP
- Others: University institute, Public Affairs at Bank

Answer Options	Response Count
Foreign and Security Policy, Defence Policy	14
European Affairs in general	8
Economics, single market, trade, energy, environment	1
Culture, education, research	0
Justice and Home Affairs	0
Development/Humanitarian assistance	0

Power: The Spanish view on the impact of the “Big Six”



RETHINK: EUROPE

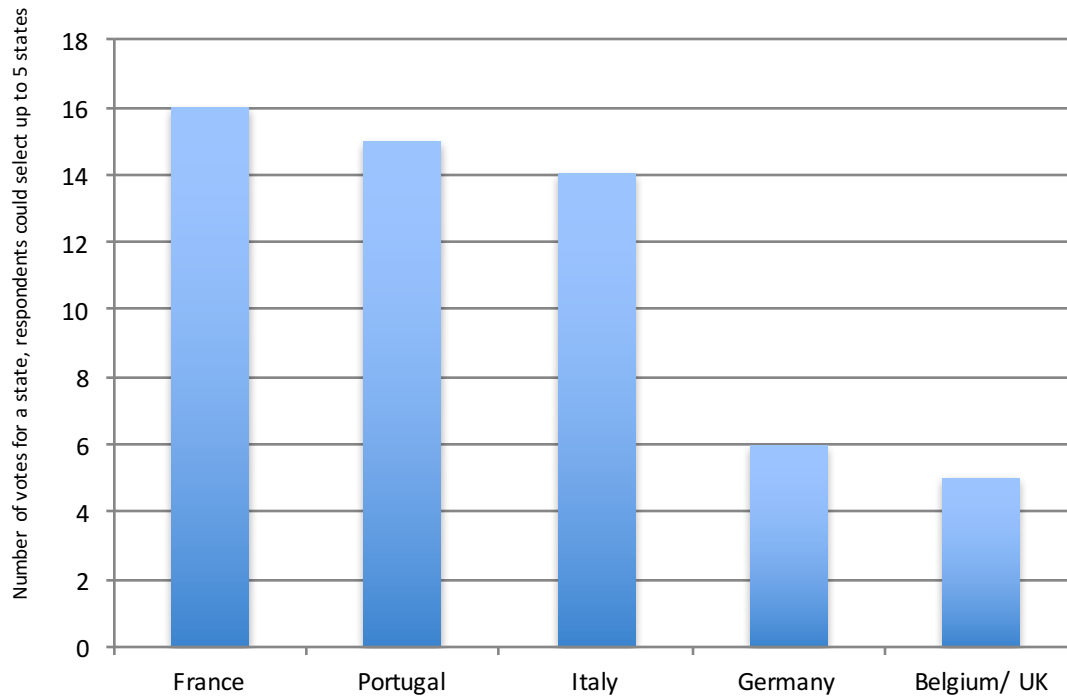


Spain sees itself on rank 5 ahead of Poland

Clear difference between general and Spanish view on CSDP



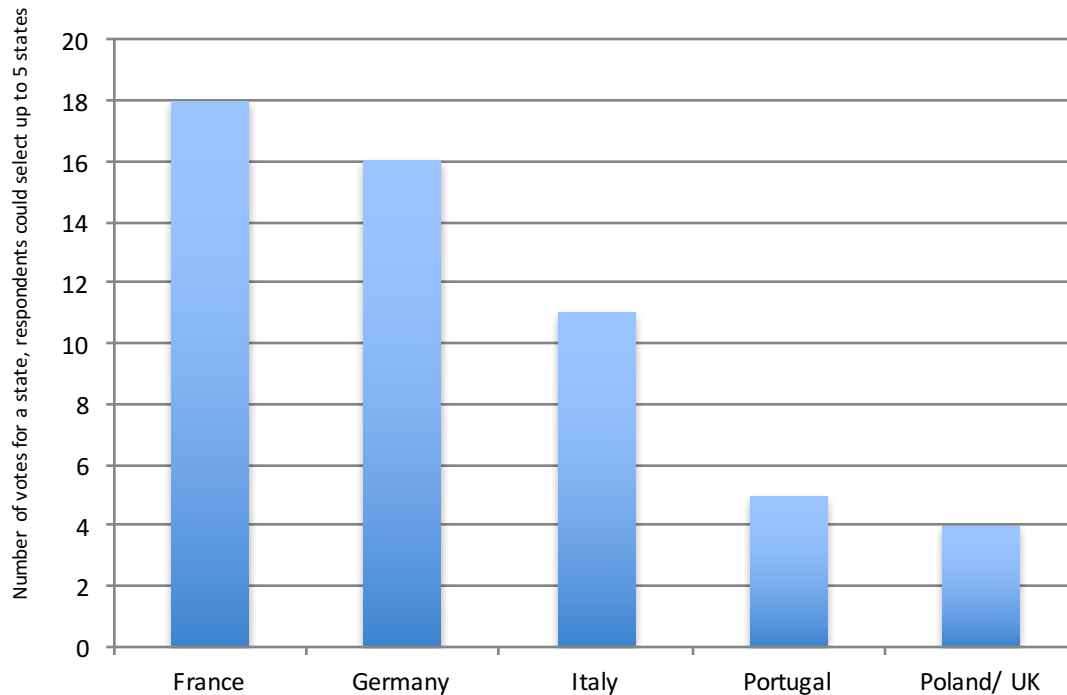
Preferences: The Top 5 most like-minded member states from the Spanish perspective



The Spanish political class is mostly focused on its southern neighbourhood



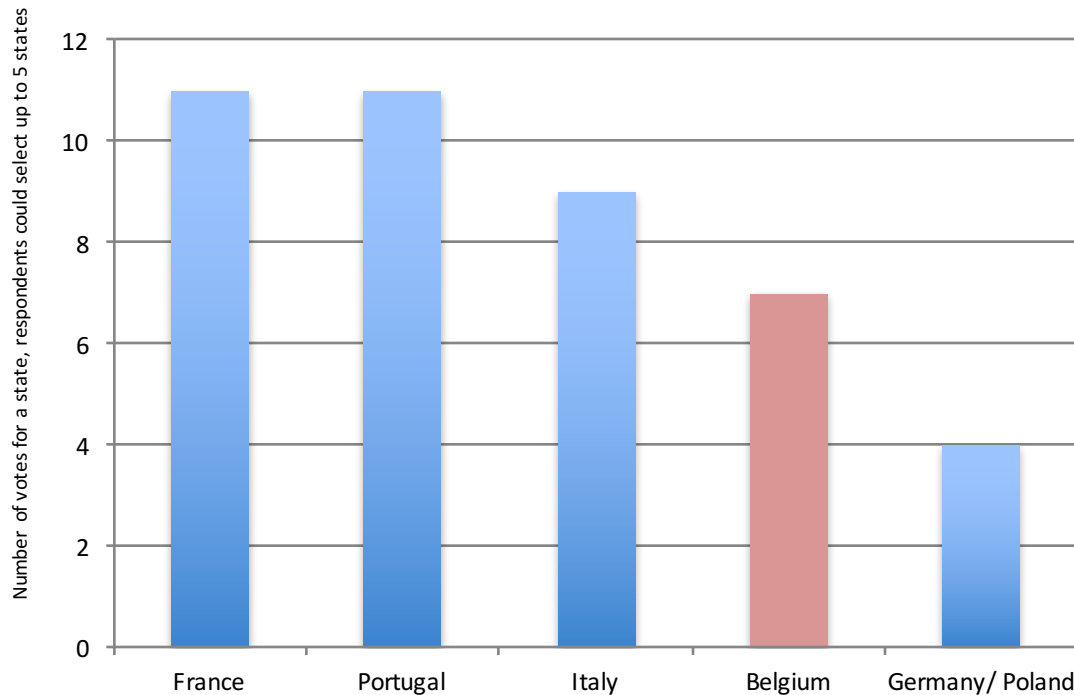
Preferences: The Top 5 states Spain would contact first or most



Germany features prominently only on this question; a consequence of its importance in the EU, but not of a closer relationship with Spain



Preferences: The Top 5 member states most responsive from the Spanish perspective



Spain very clearly has a regional Mediterranean outlook

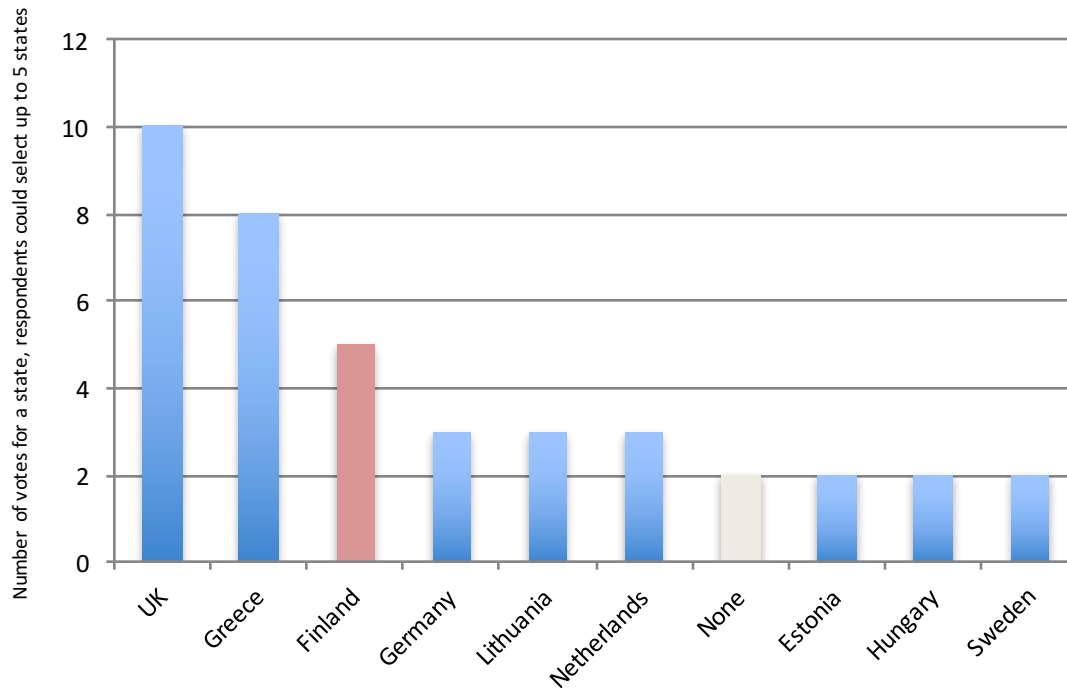
UK not listed

Spain sees **Belgium** as very responsive and like-minded

But: When it comes to ranking the seven affluent small member states according to their influence, Spain plays Belgium on rank 6 out of 7



Preferences: Top 10 most disappointing member states from the Spanish perspective



Very different from the Italian view which puts the Big Three in top here

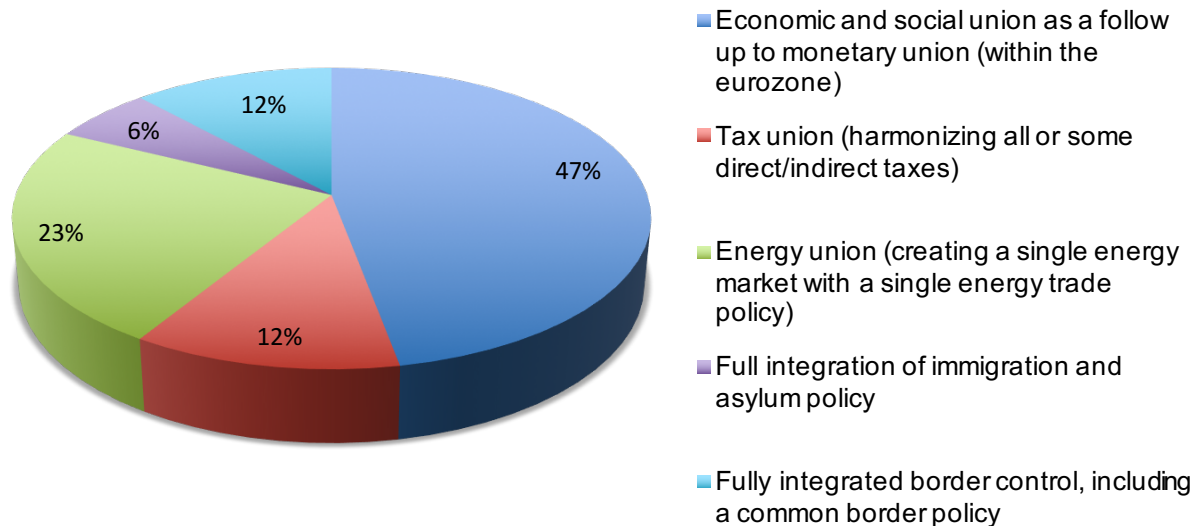
Surprising also to see **Finland** among Top 3



Coalitions: Spain would most likely in engage in an economic and social union



Assuming that coalition building could lead to a differentiation of integration (in the sense of building cores of deeper integration), which of the projects listed below would your government likely want to engage in?



Question on the formation of cores:
41% of Spanish respondents find coalitions and several cores desirable in comparison to only 29% of all participants.

Among core building options Spanish respondents find the creation of an economic and social union most attractive. A defence union plays no role at all.



Network Graphics Special: Instructions



- This section lets you explore four of the questions on interaction patterns (questions 4, 5, 6 and 8) in greater detail.
- From the menu on the right of each network page select member states or country groups for a highlighted view of their connectivity.
- Click the icon in the upper left corner to get back to the question selection.
- To go back to the main presentation start page, click the icon in the upper right corner [on question selection page](#).
- To start Network Graphics Special click [here](#).

Q4



Q6



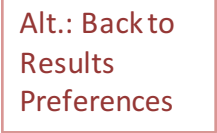
Q6

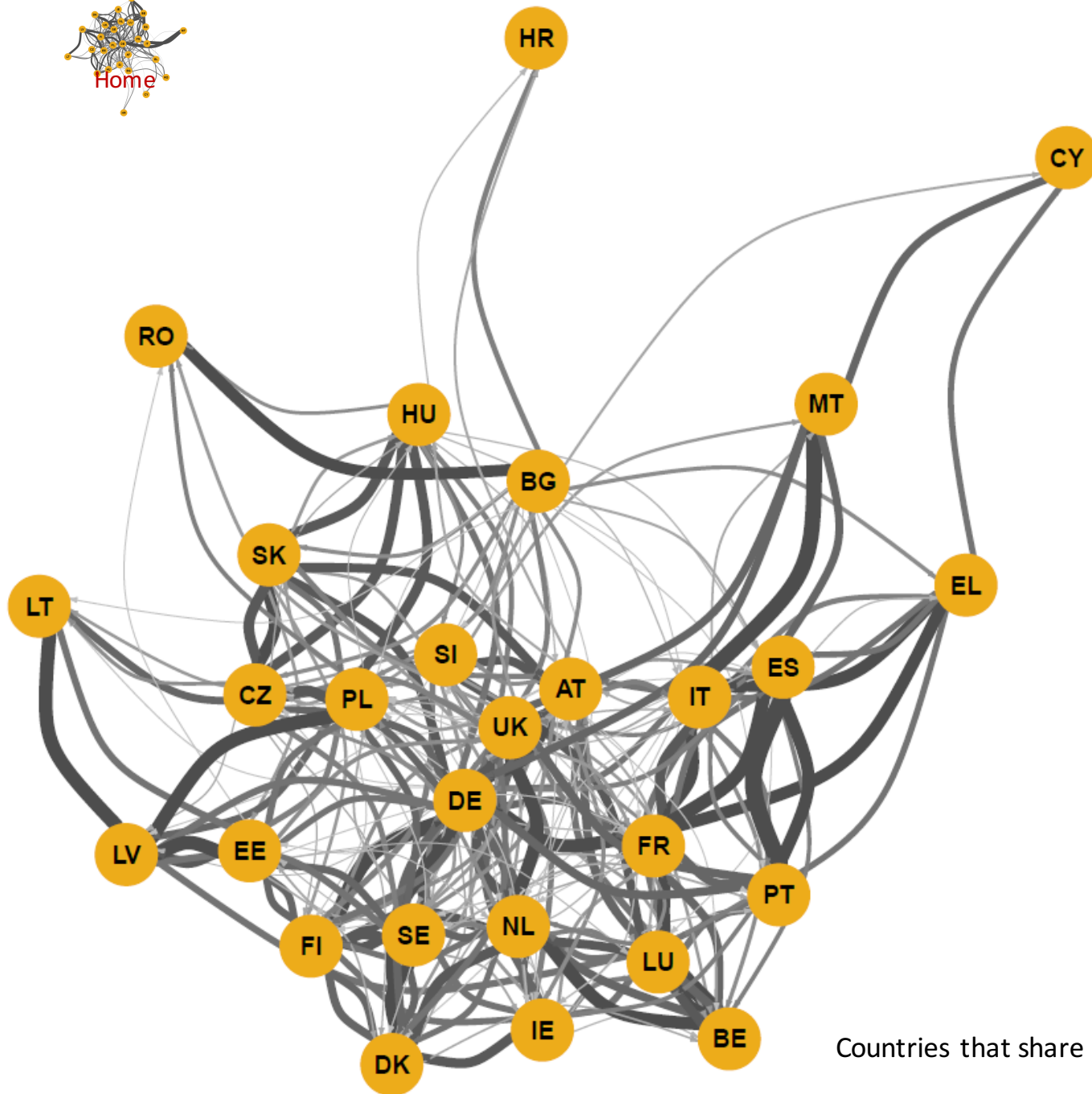
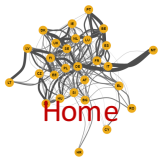


Q8



Q8





Select countries

Total Top 3

AT

DE FR UK

PL IT ES

BE NL LU

SE DK FI

BeNeLux

Nordics

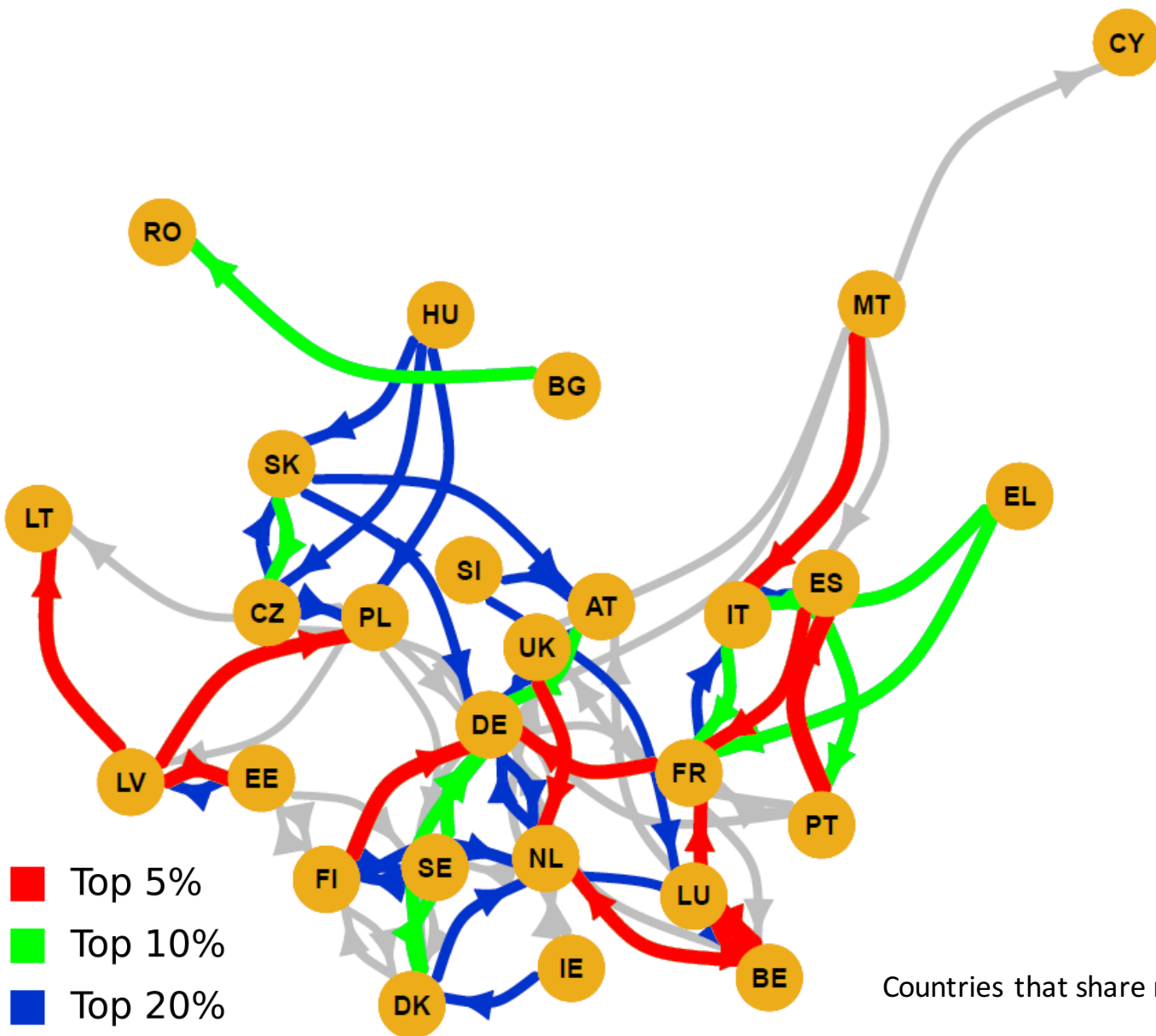
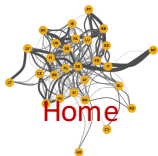
Baltics

Visegrád

South

Q4 Q5 Q6 Q8

Countries that share many interests and preferences

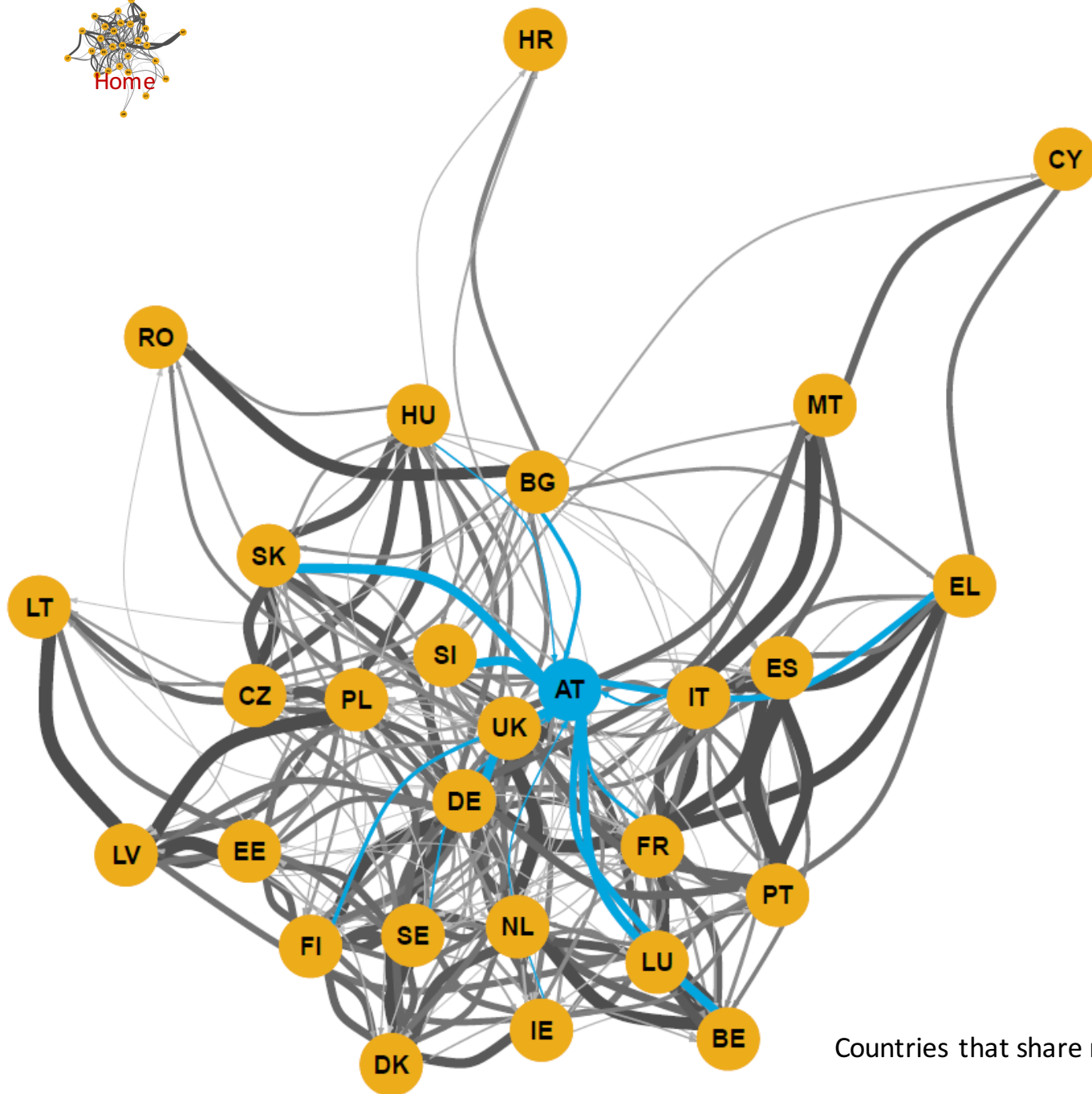
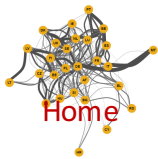


Total **Top 3**

AT		
DE	FR	UK
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Countries that share many interests and preferences



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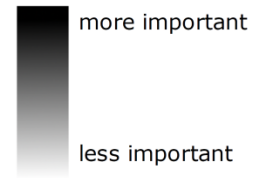
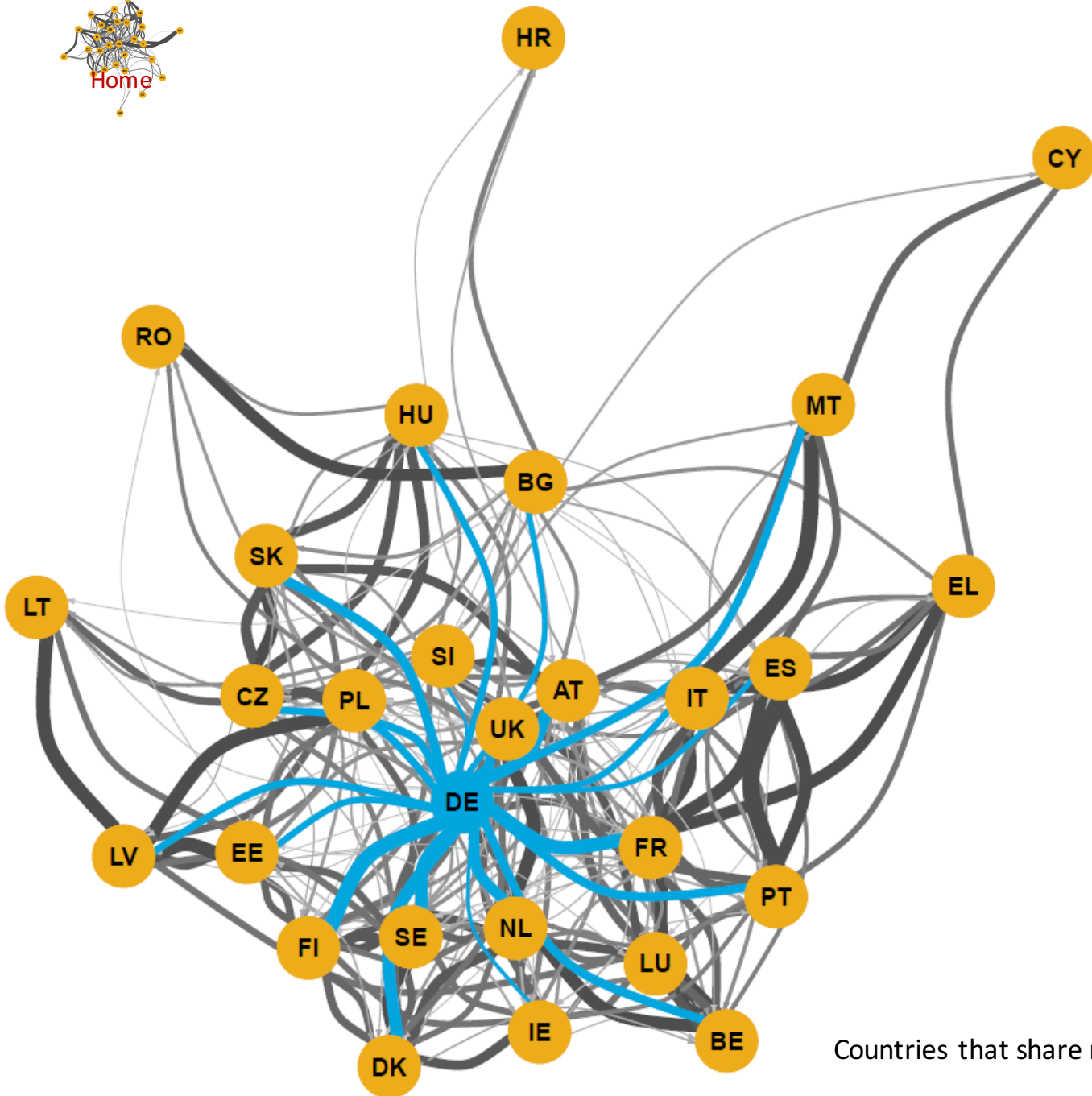
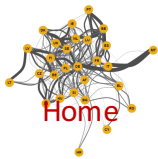
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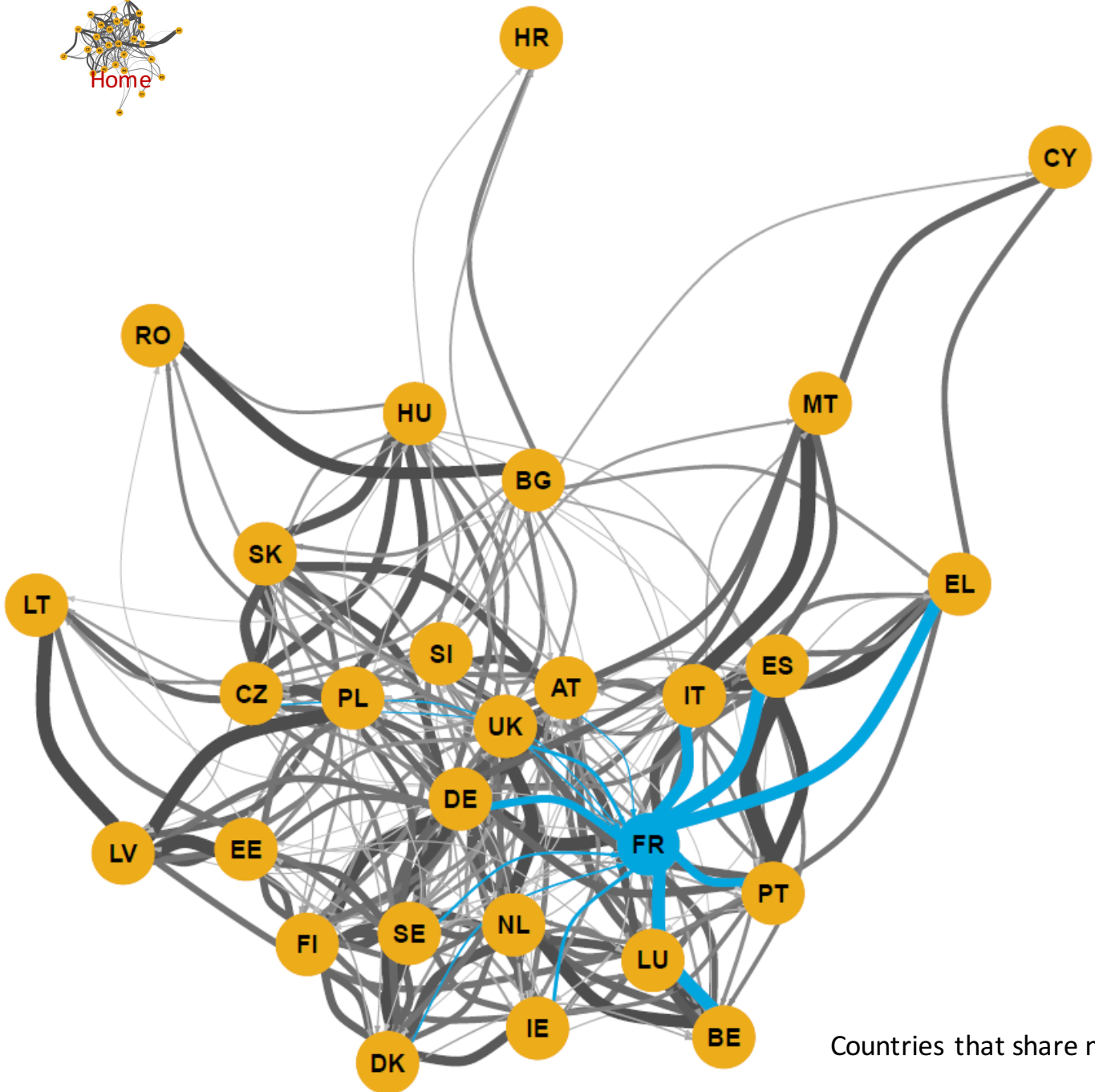
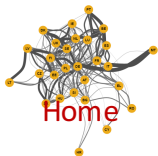
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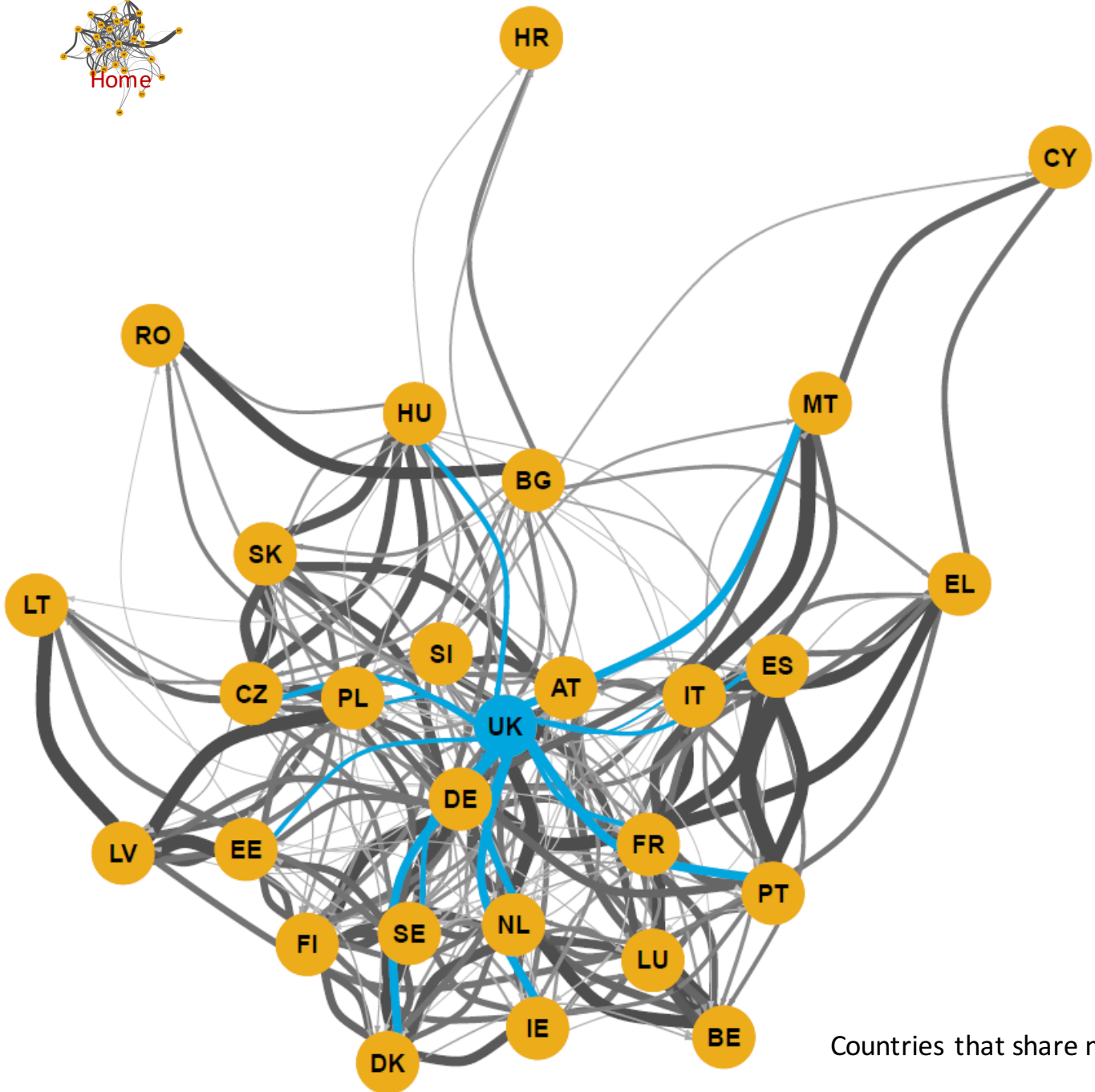
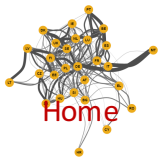
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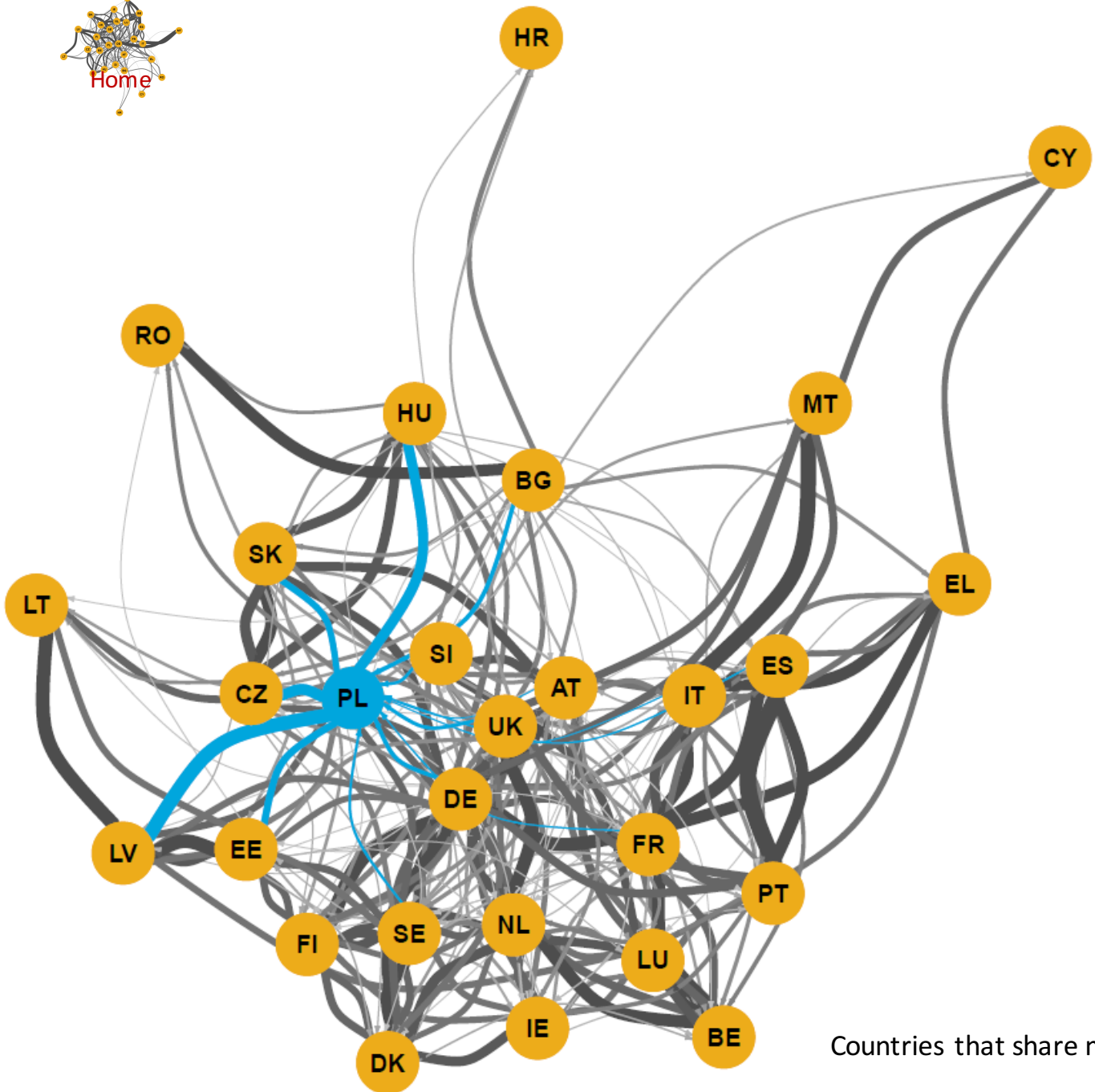
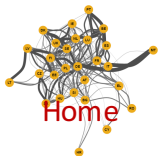
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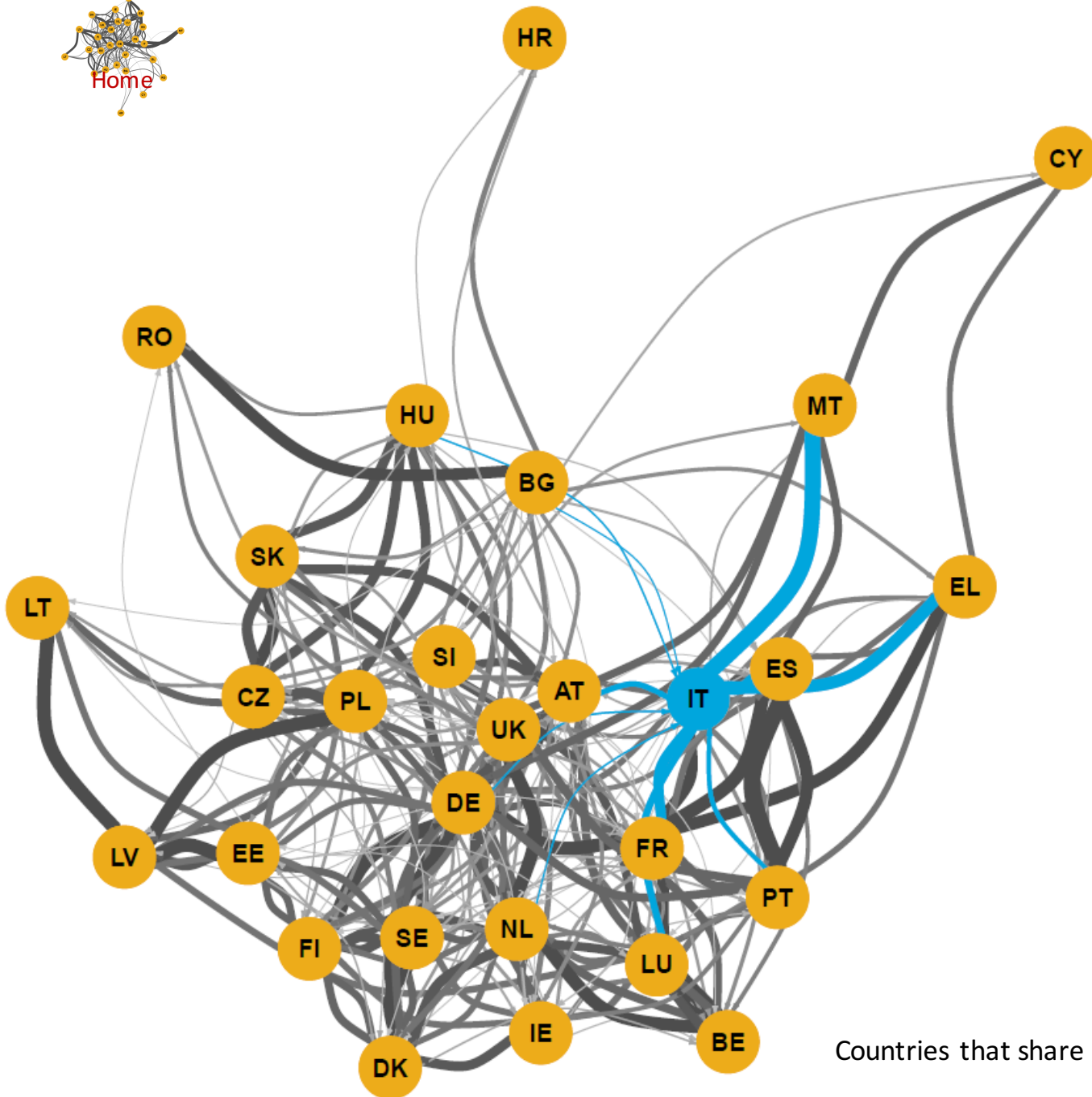
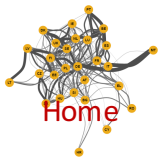
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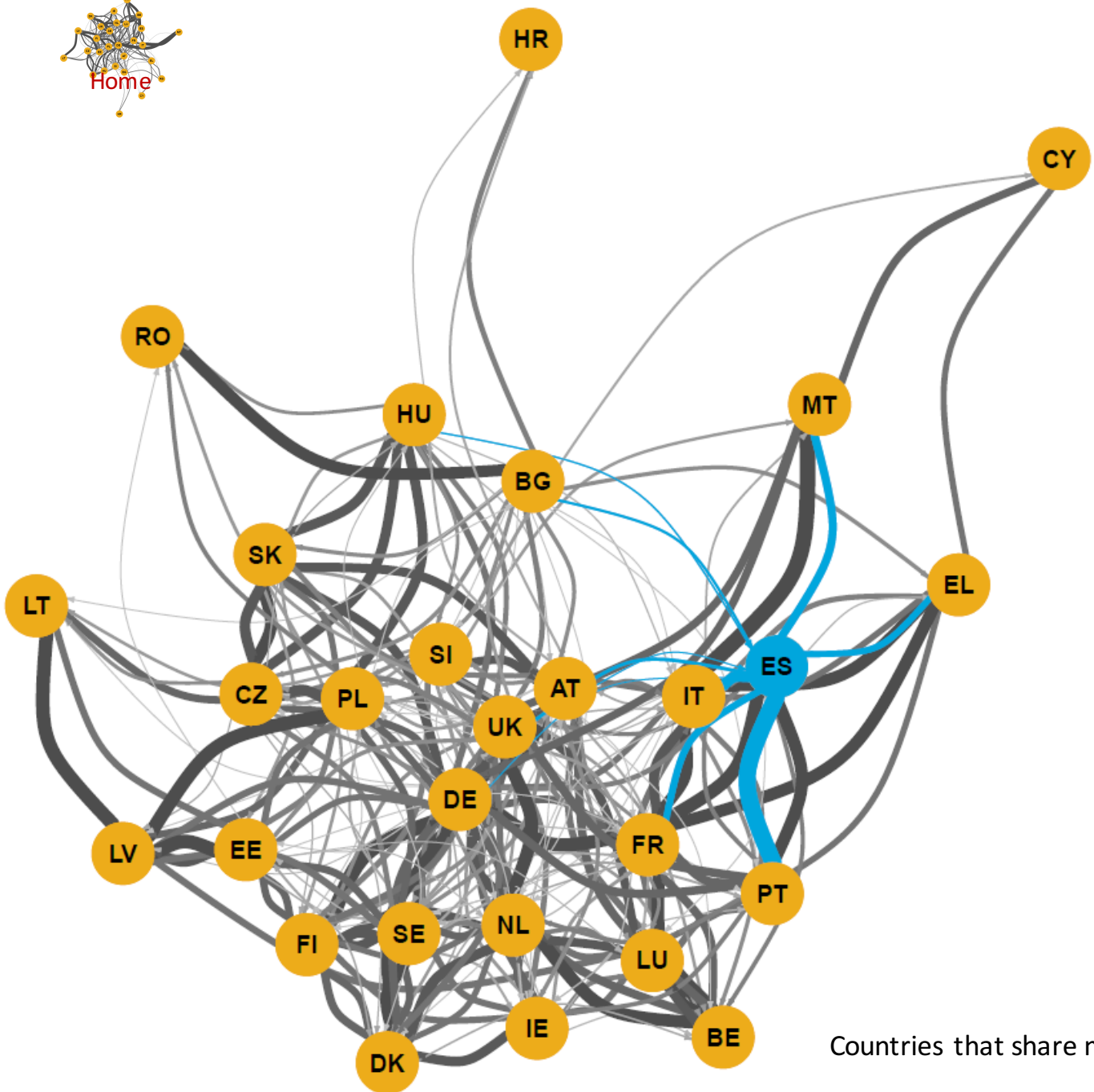
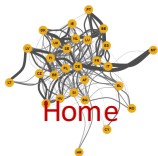
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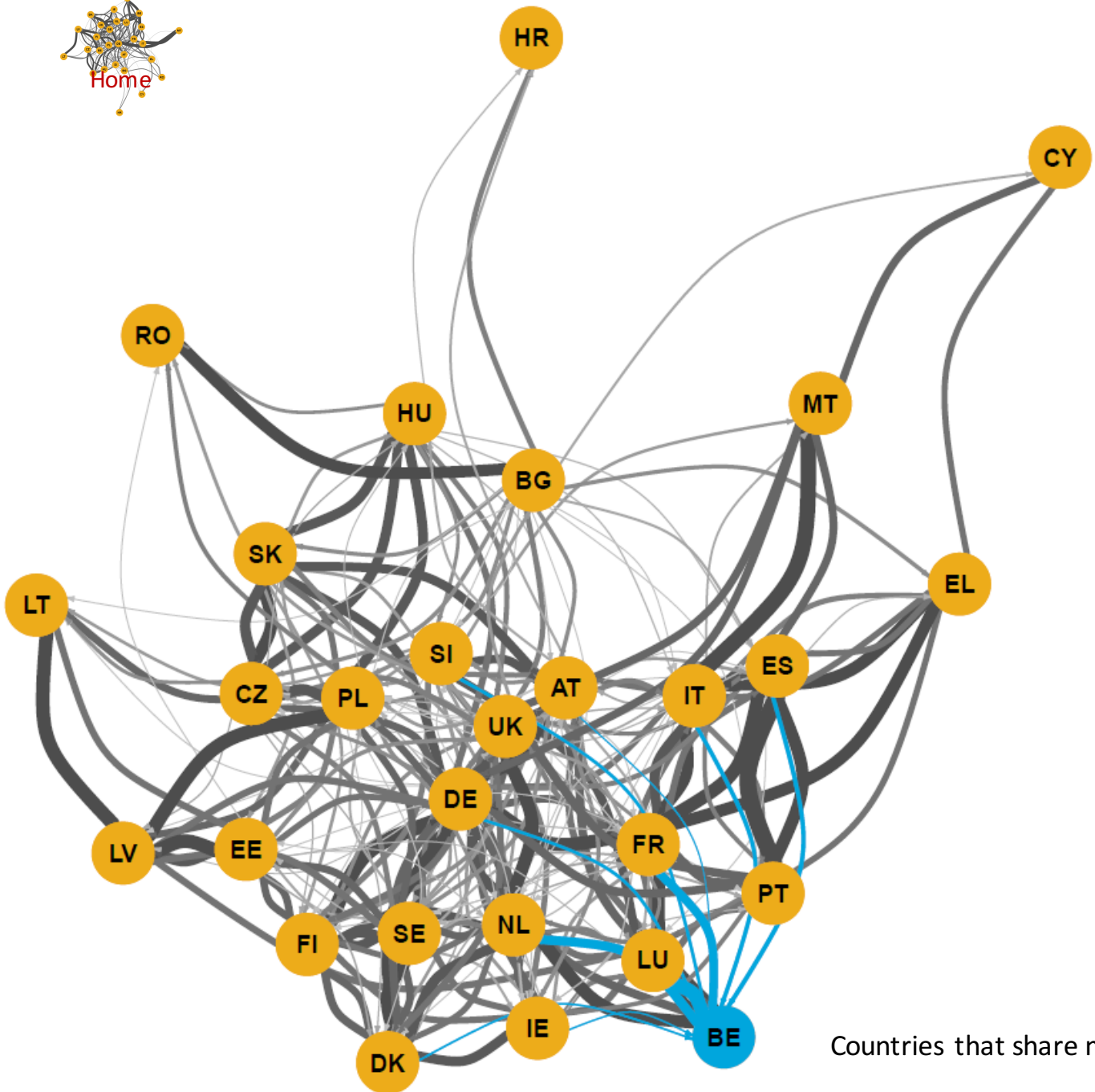
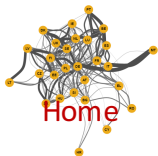


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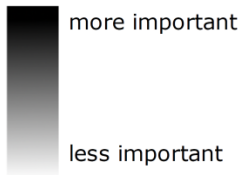
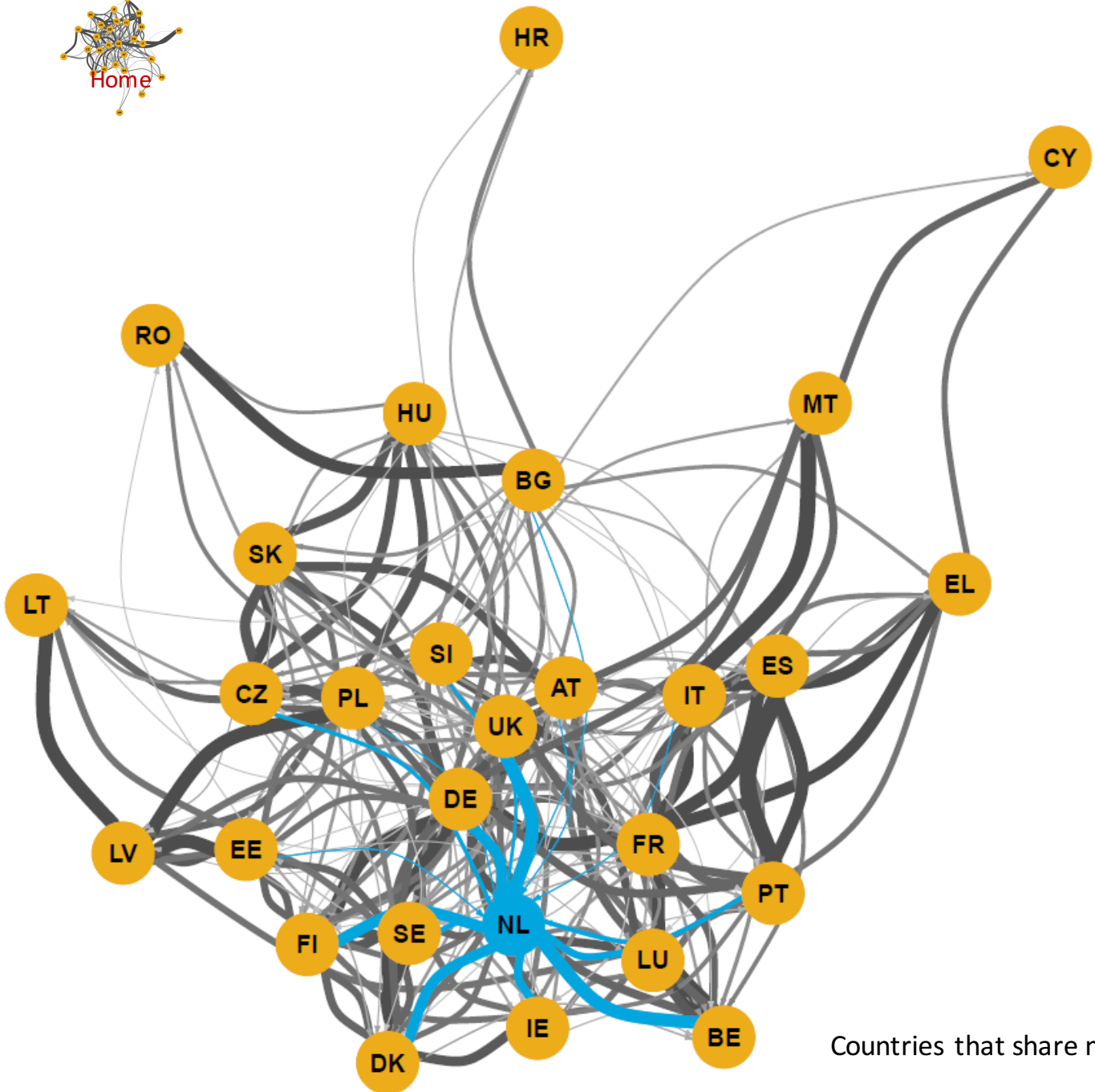
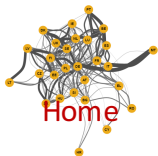


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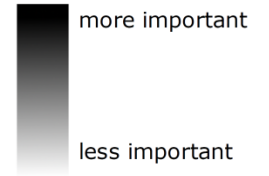
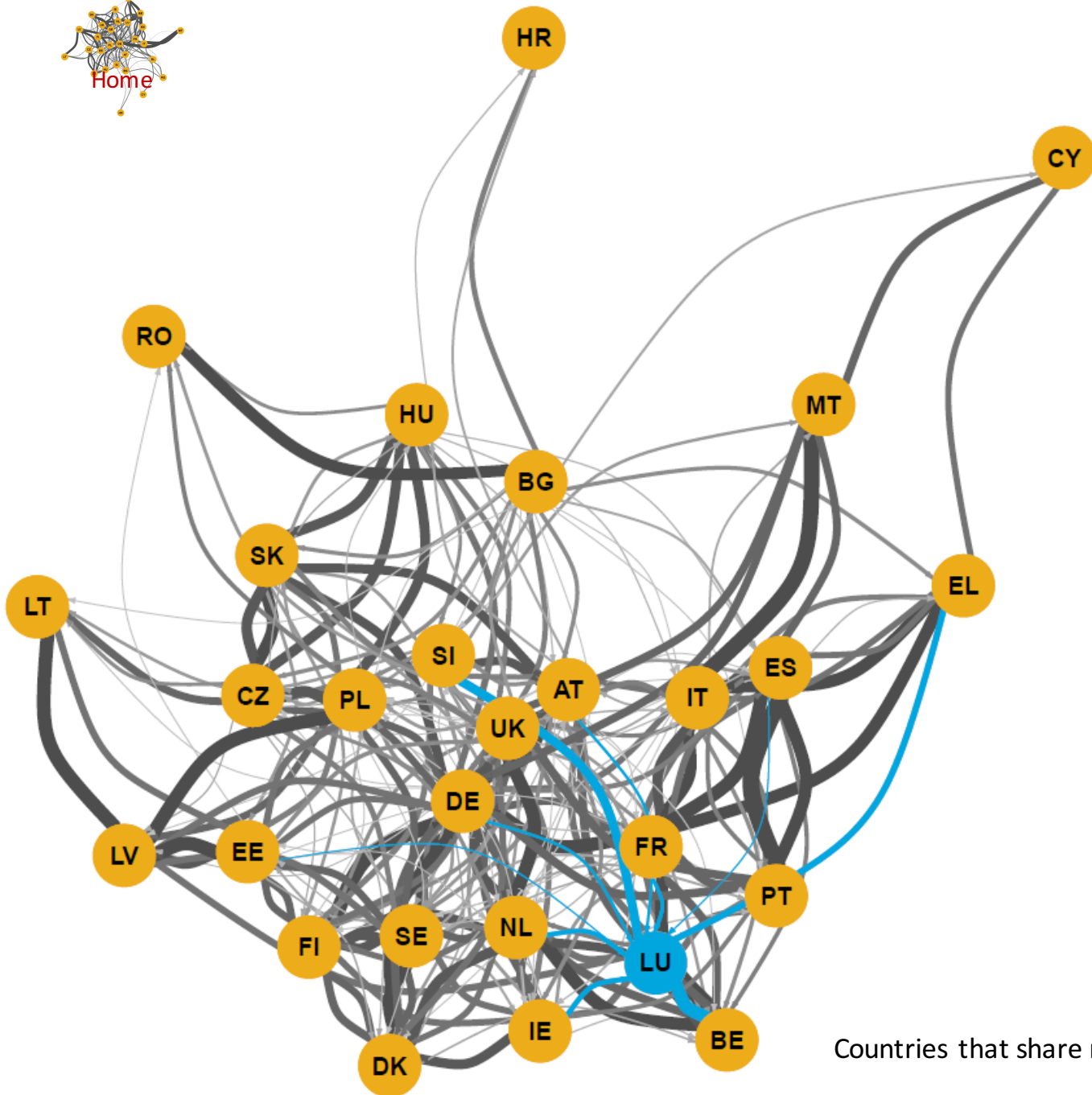
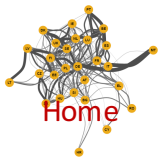
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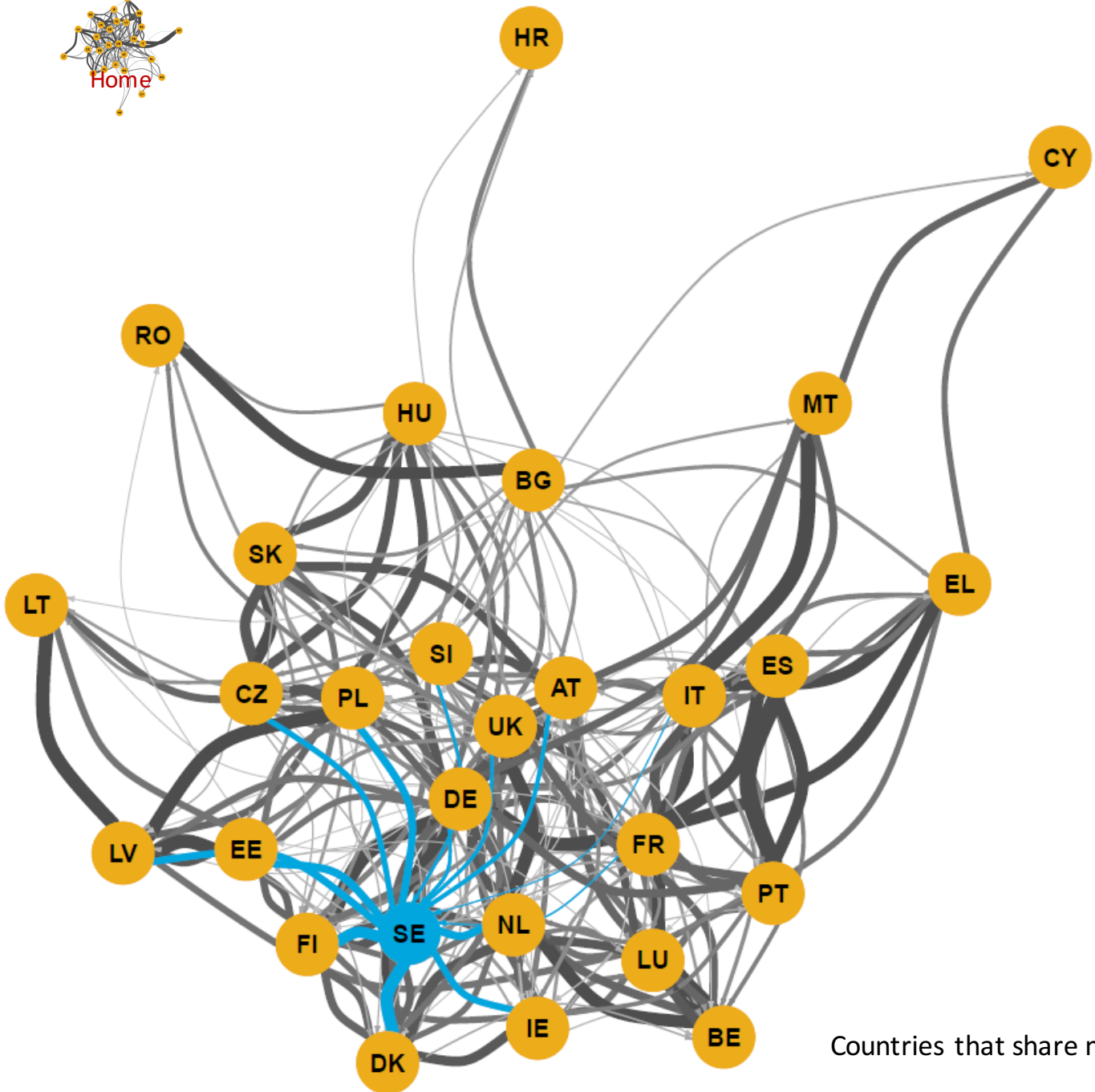
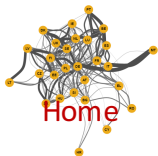
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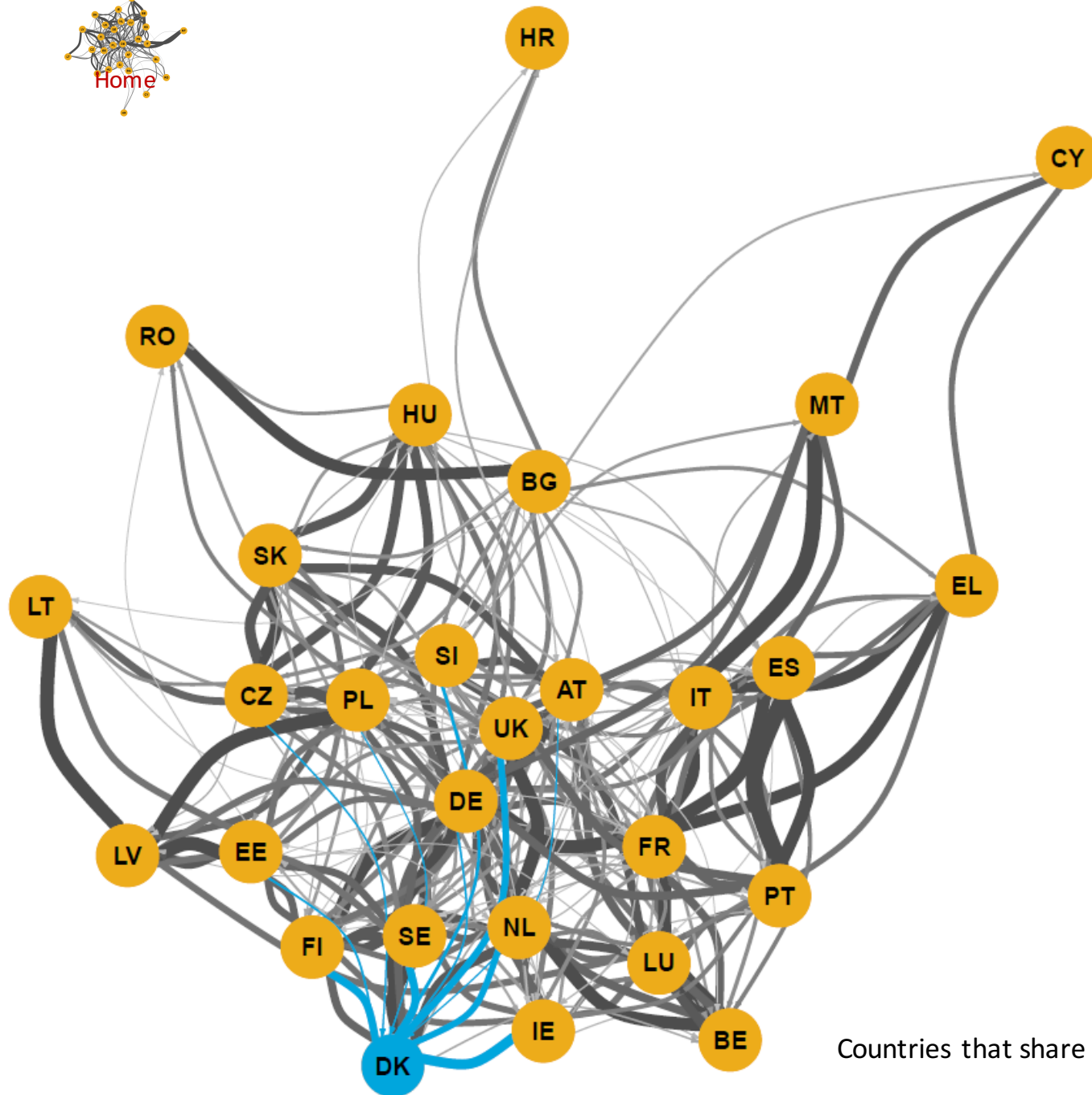
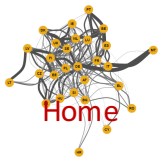
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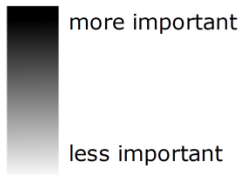
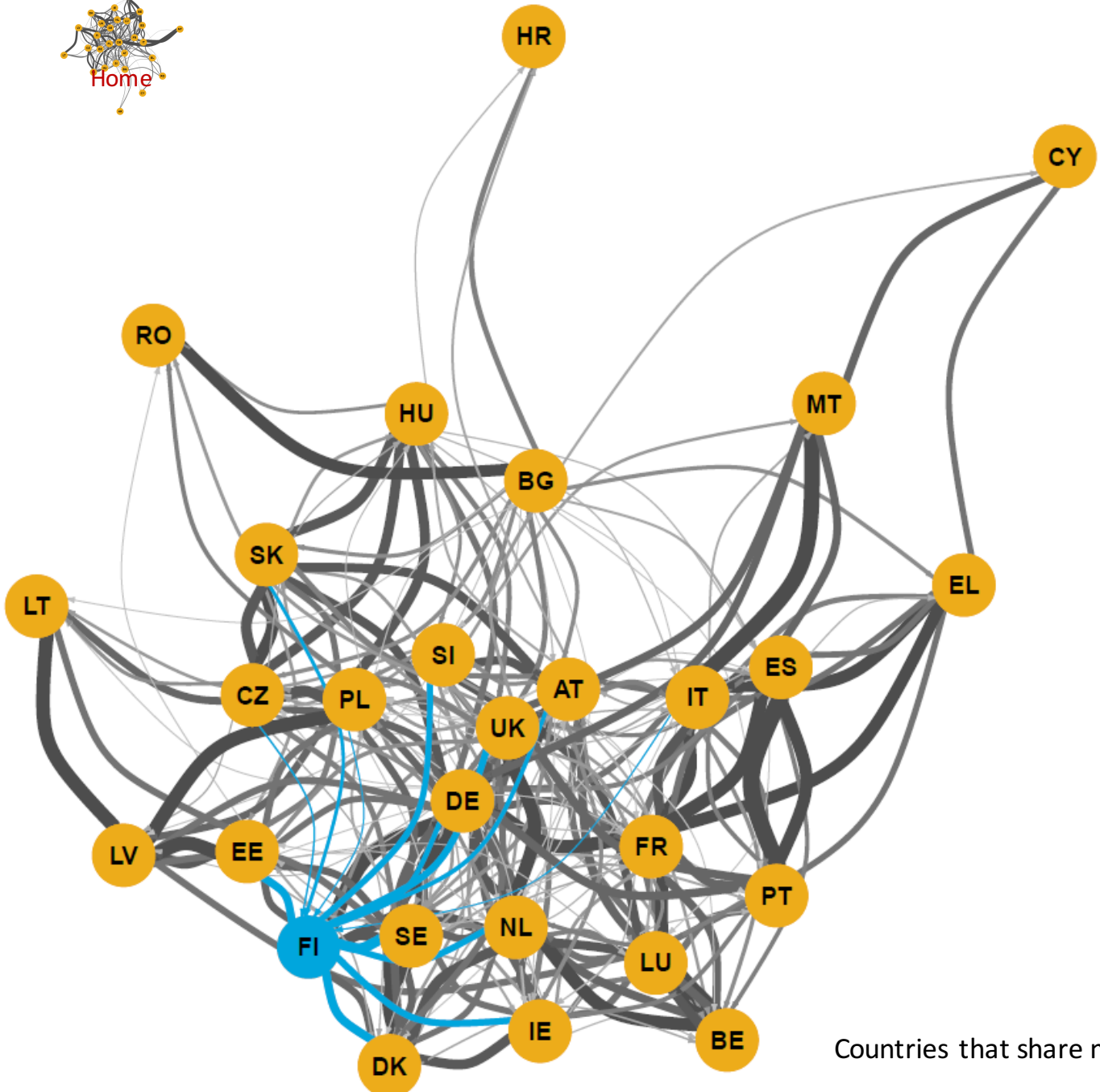
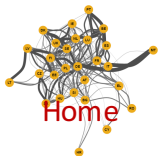
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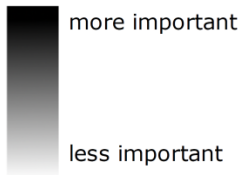
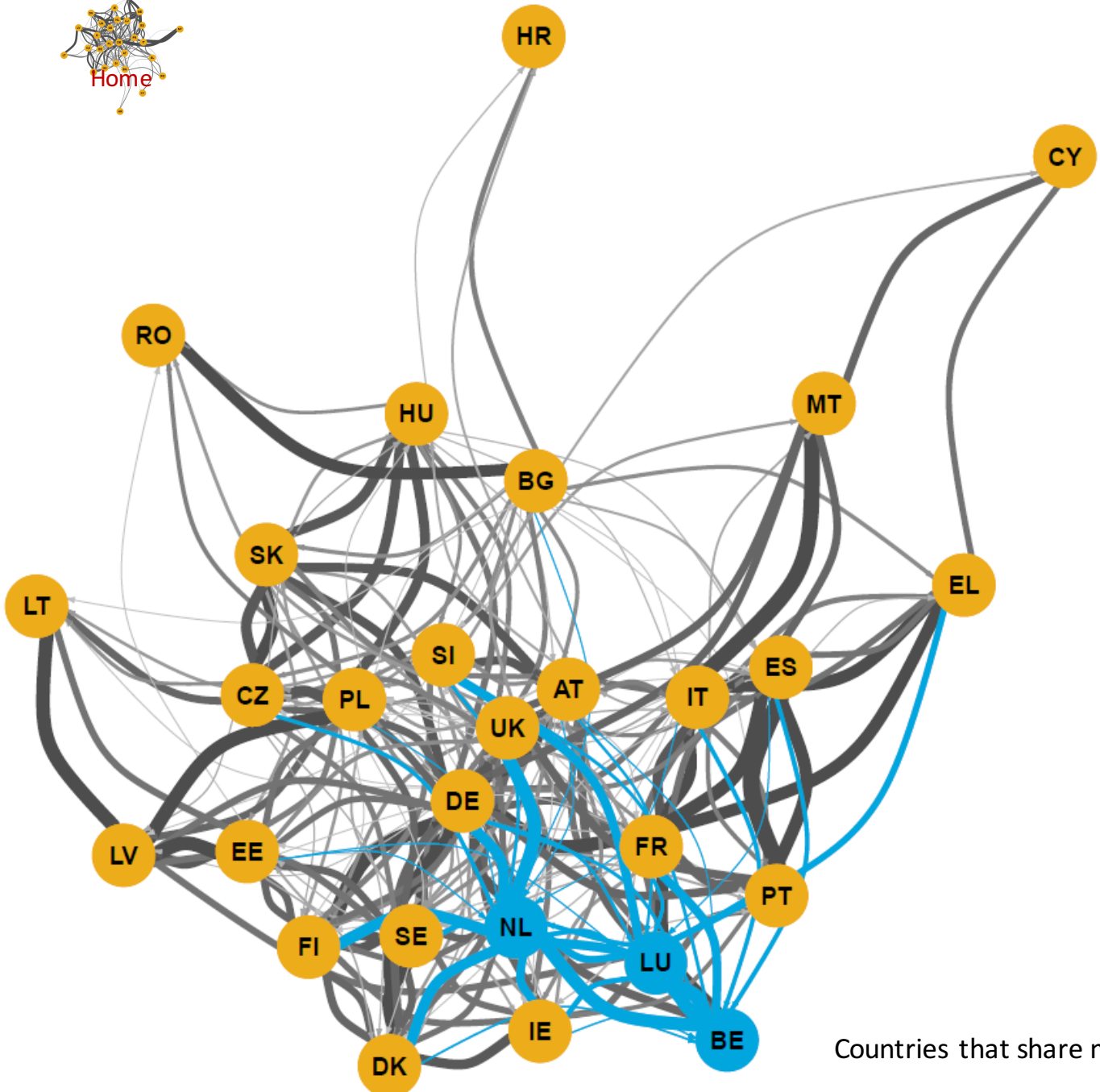
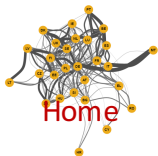
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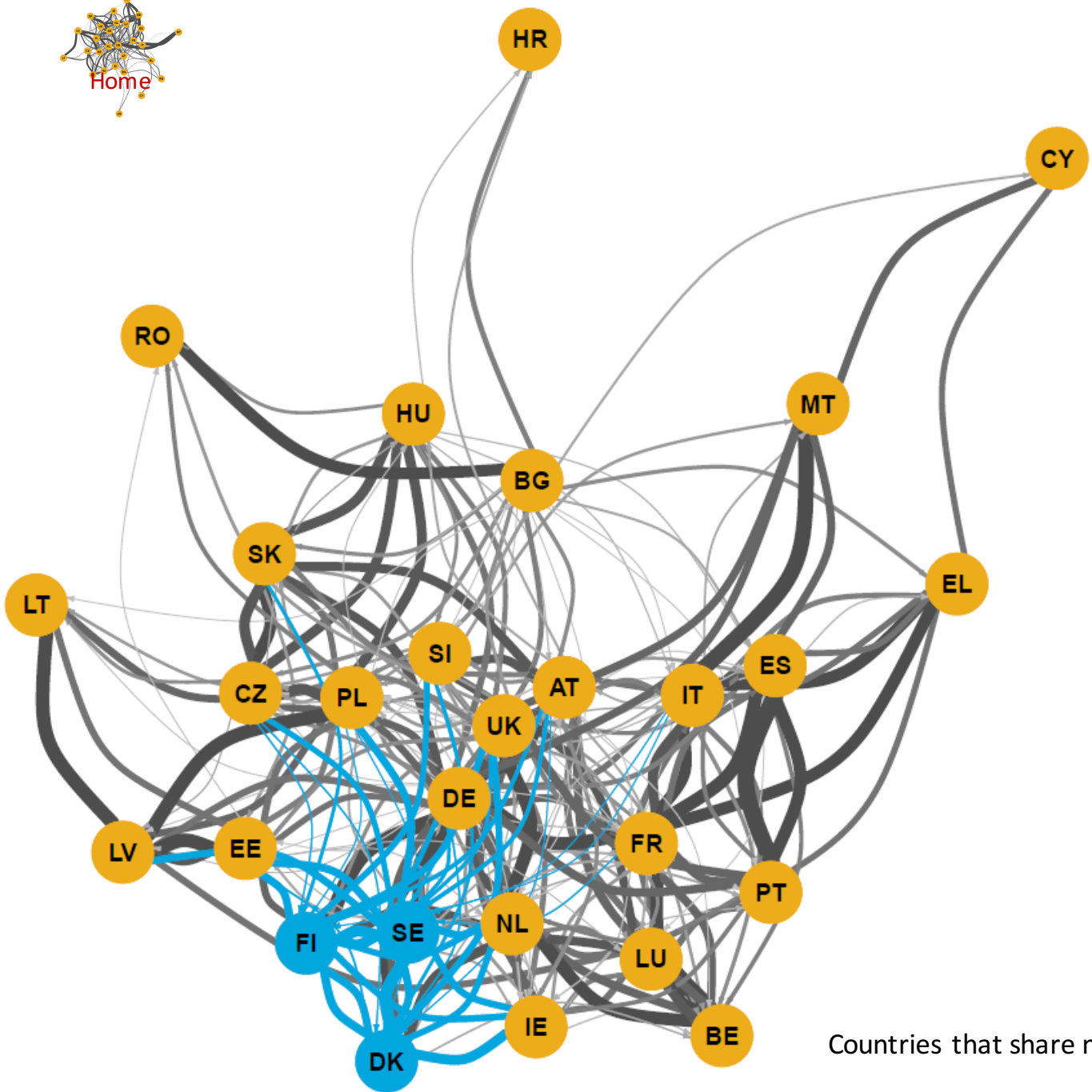
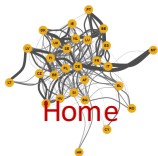
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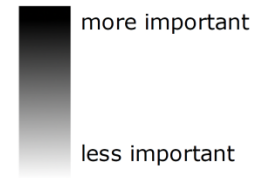
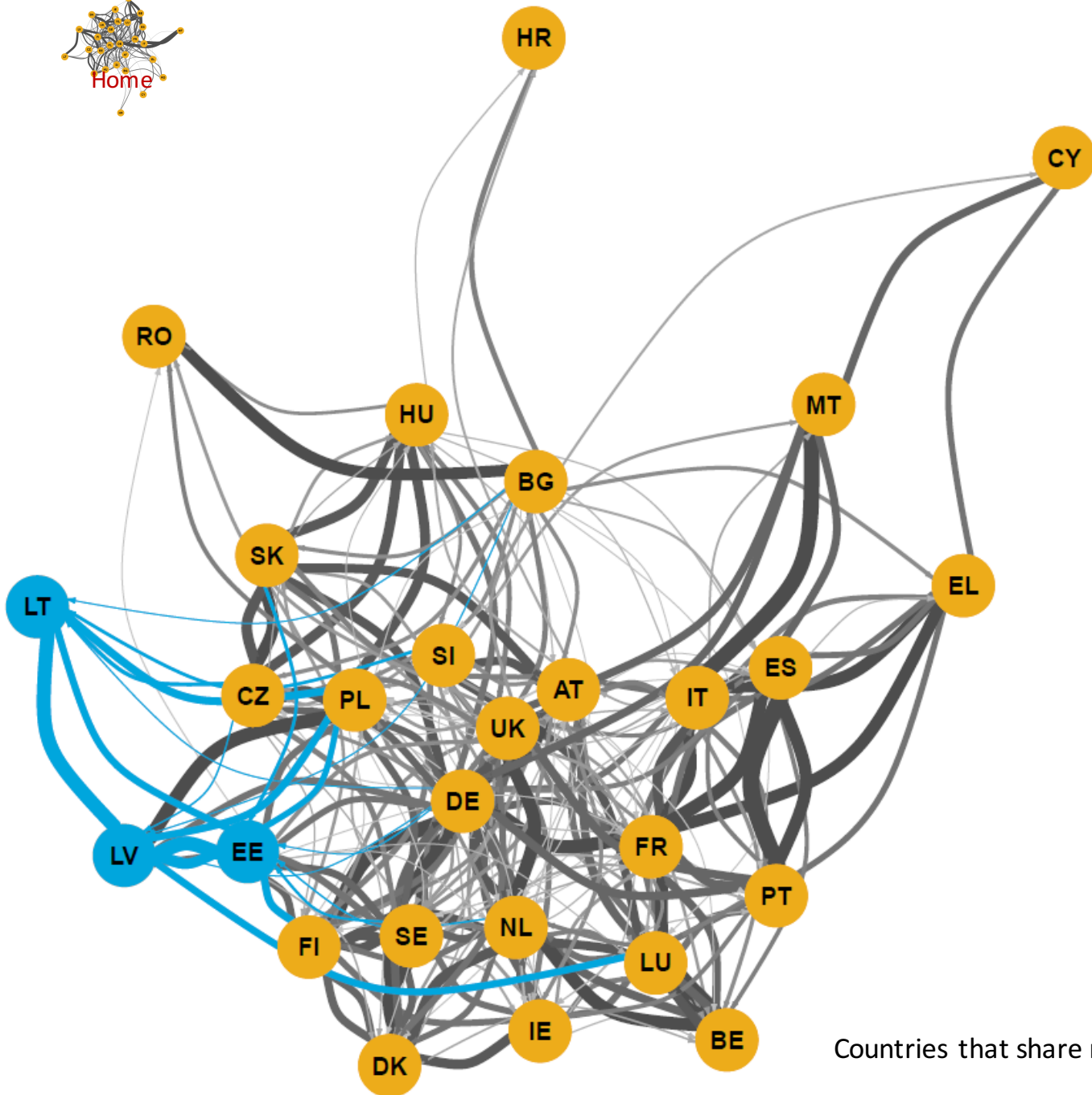
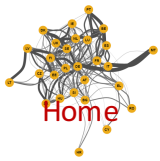
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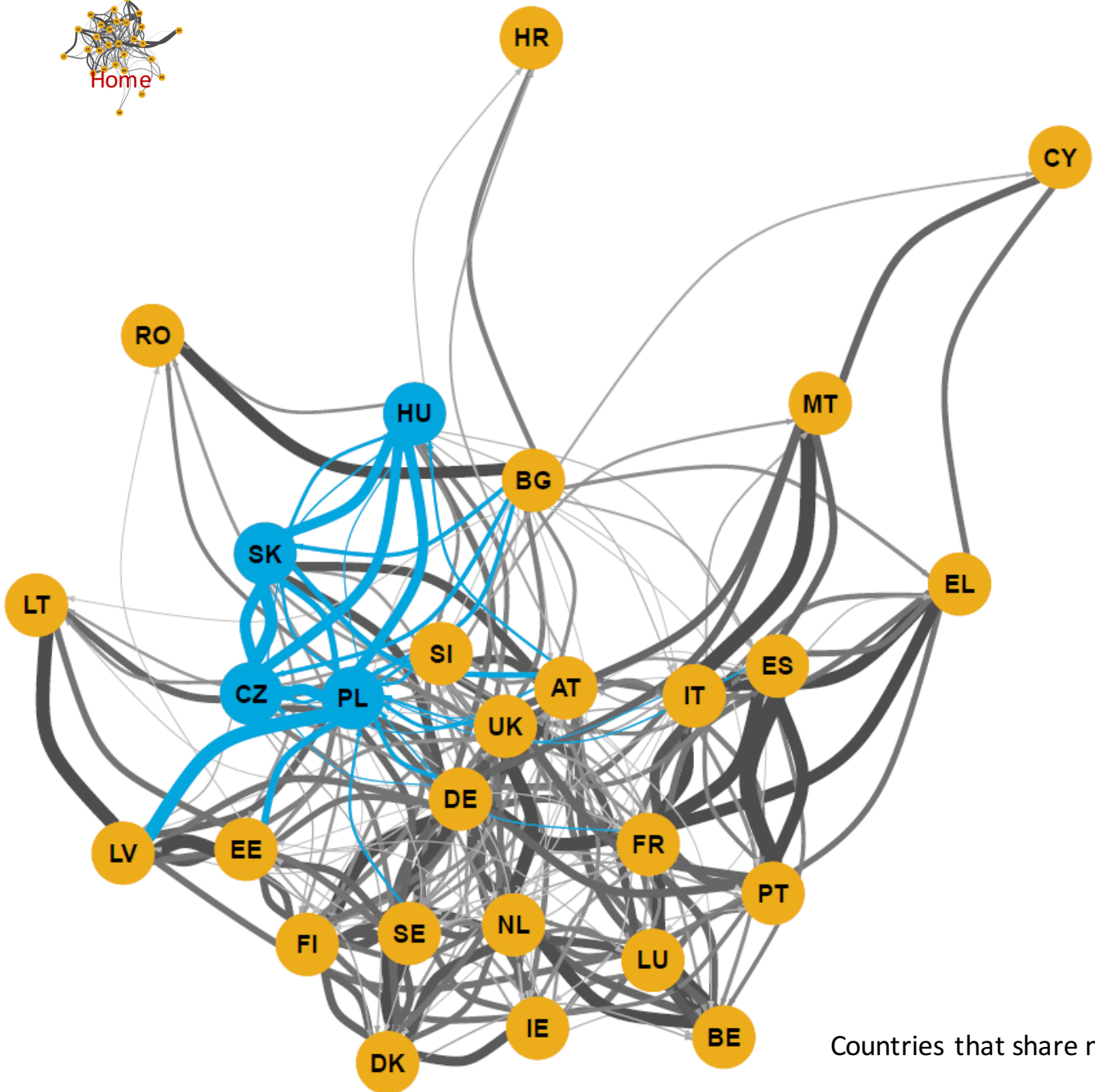
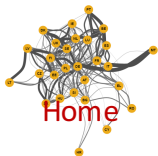
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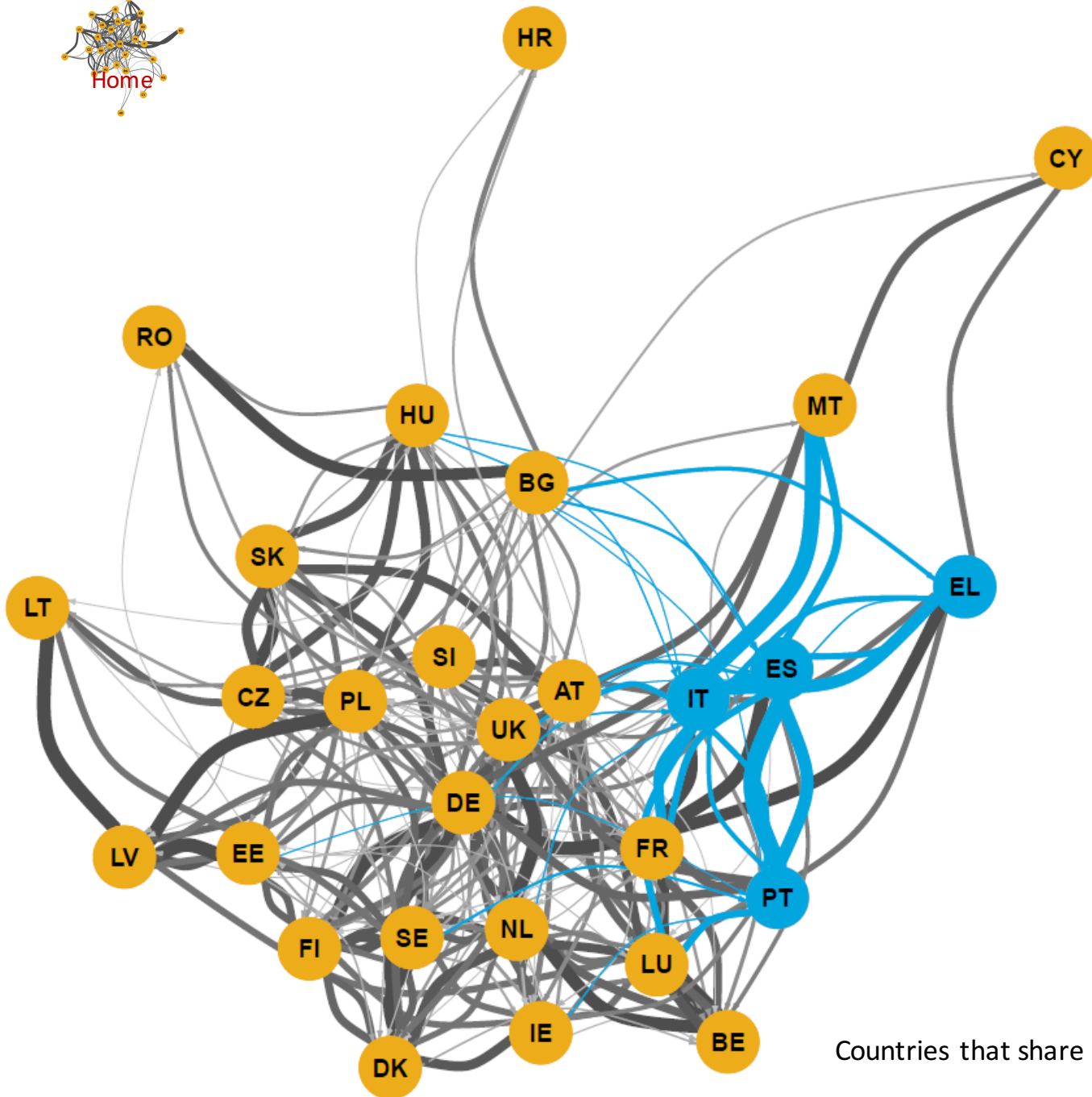
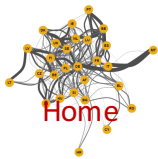
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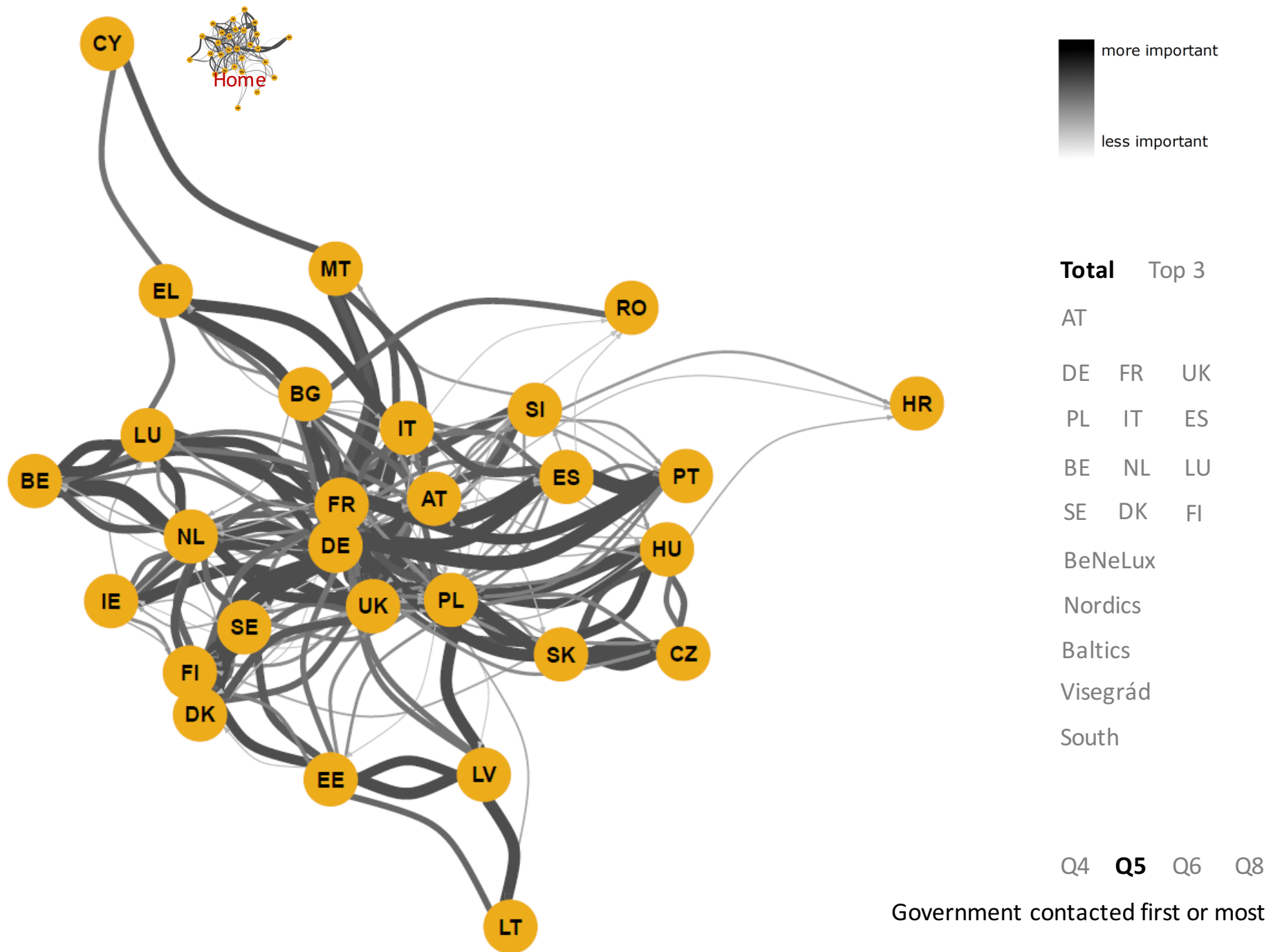
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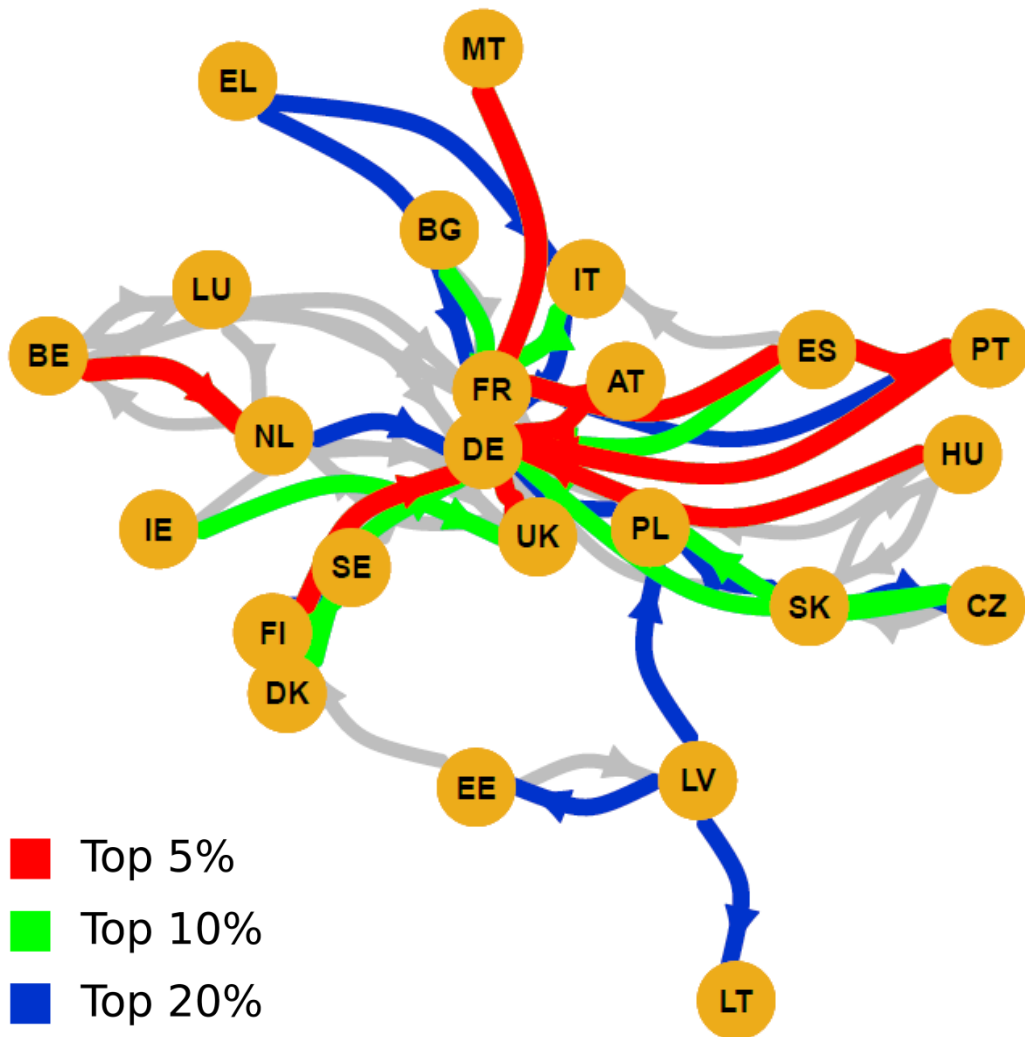
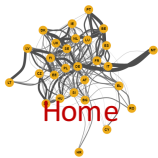
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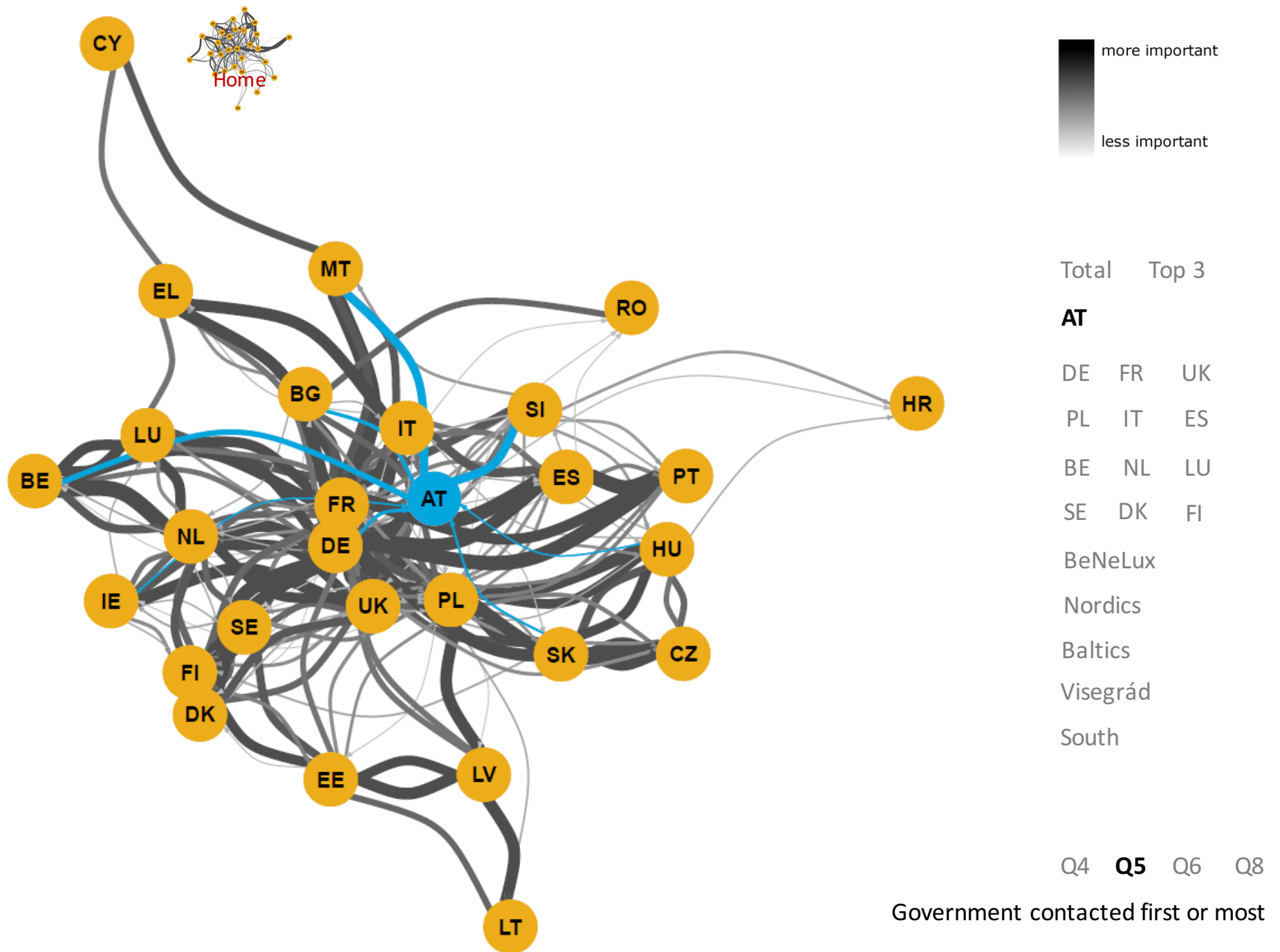
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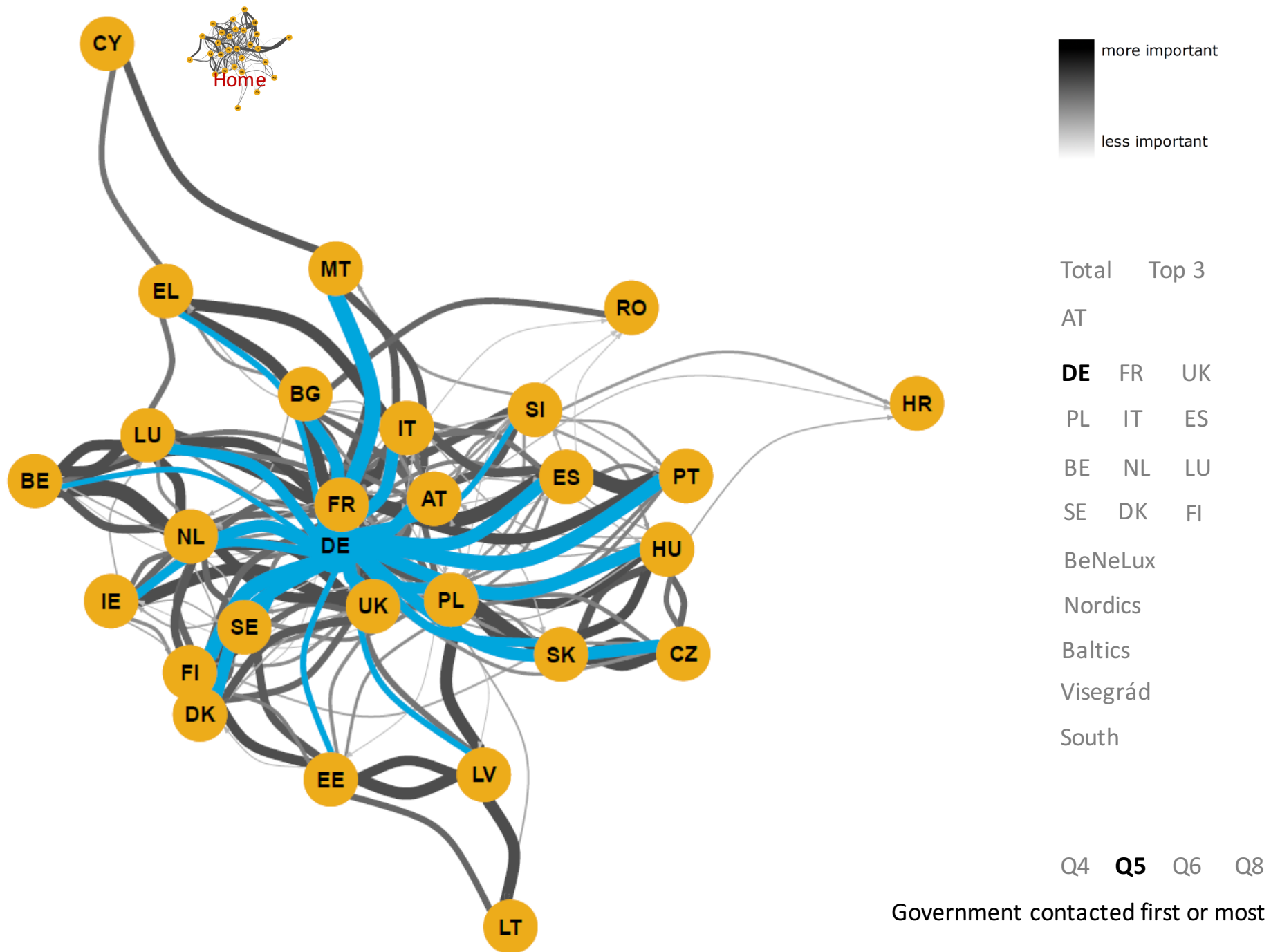
Visegrád

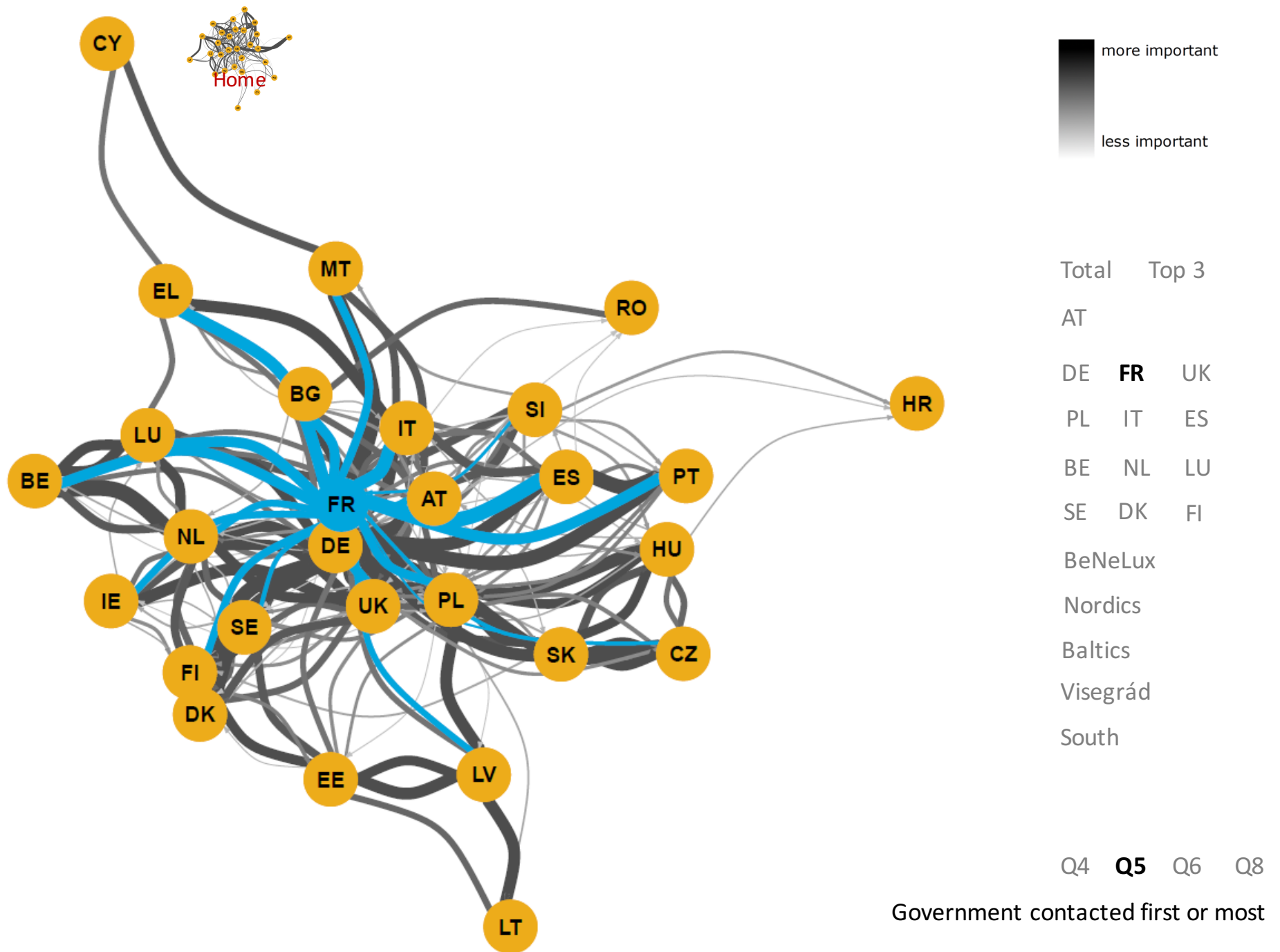
South

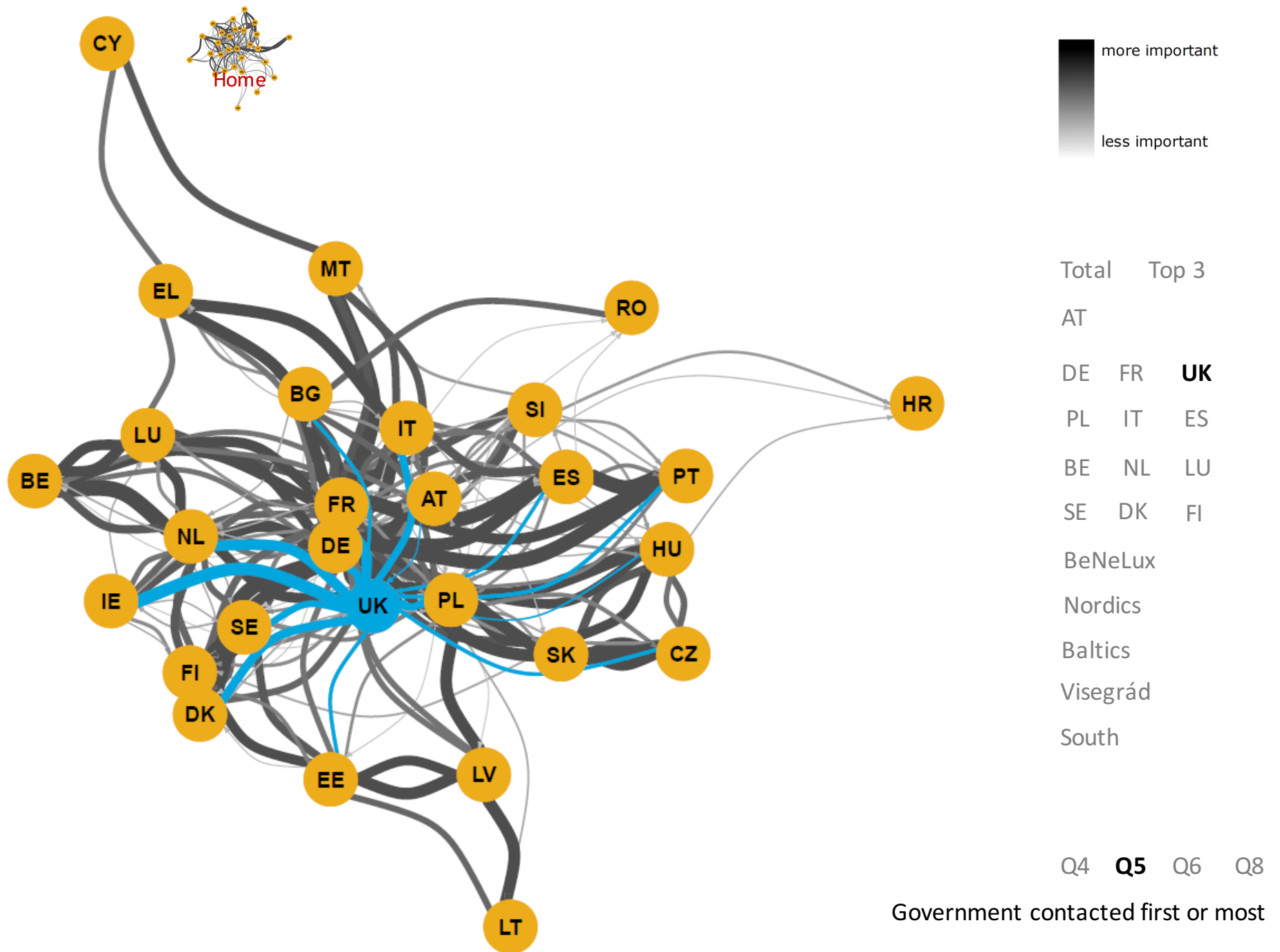
Q4 **Q5** Q6 Q8

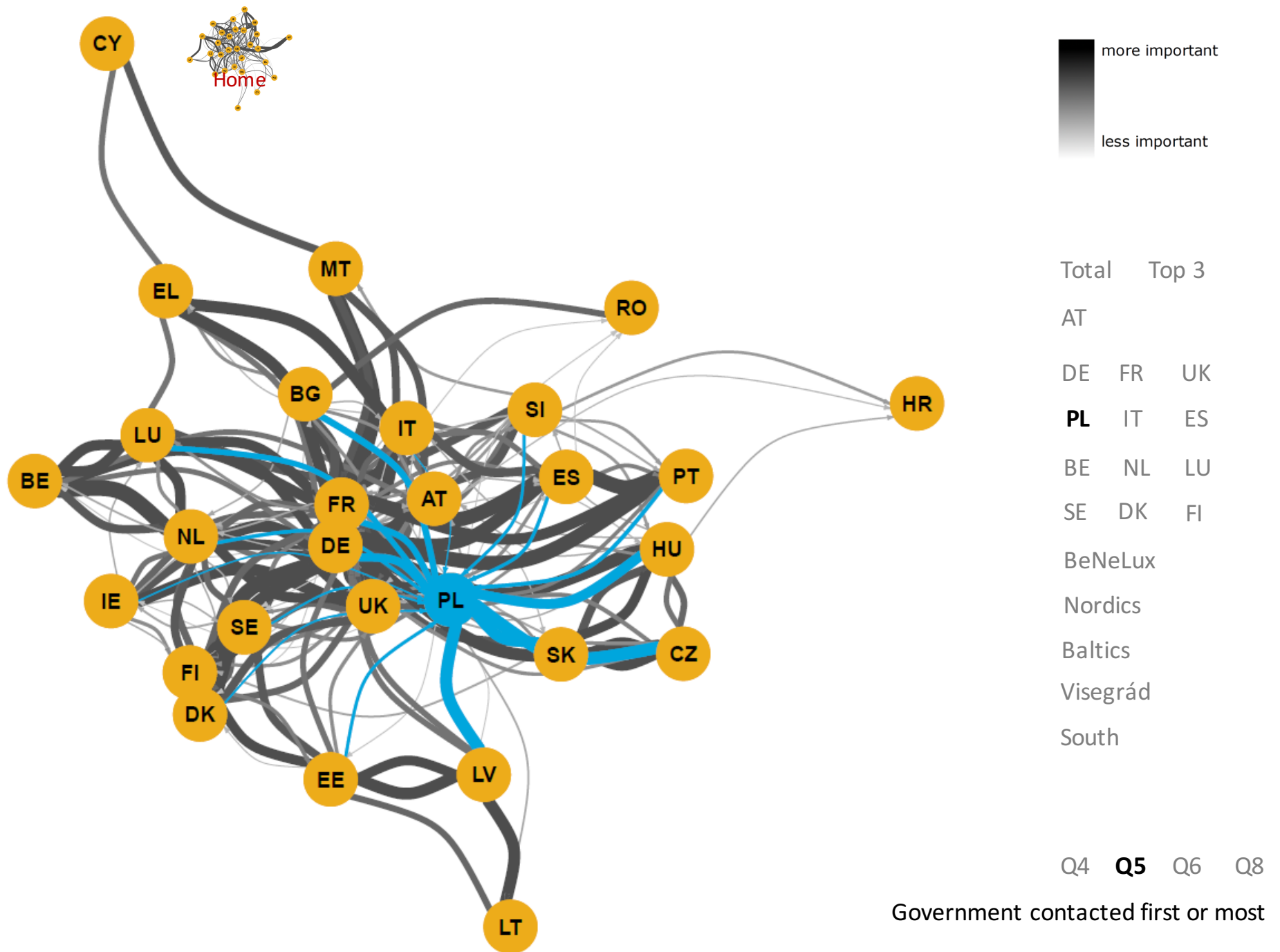
Government contacted first or most

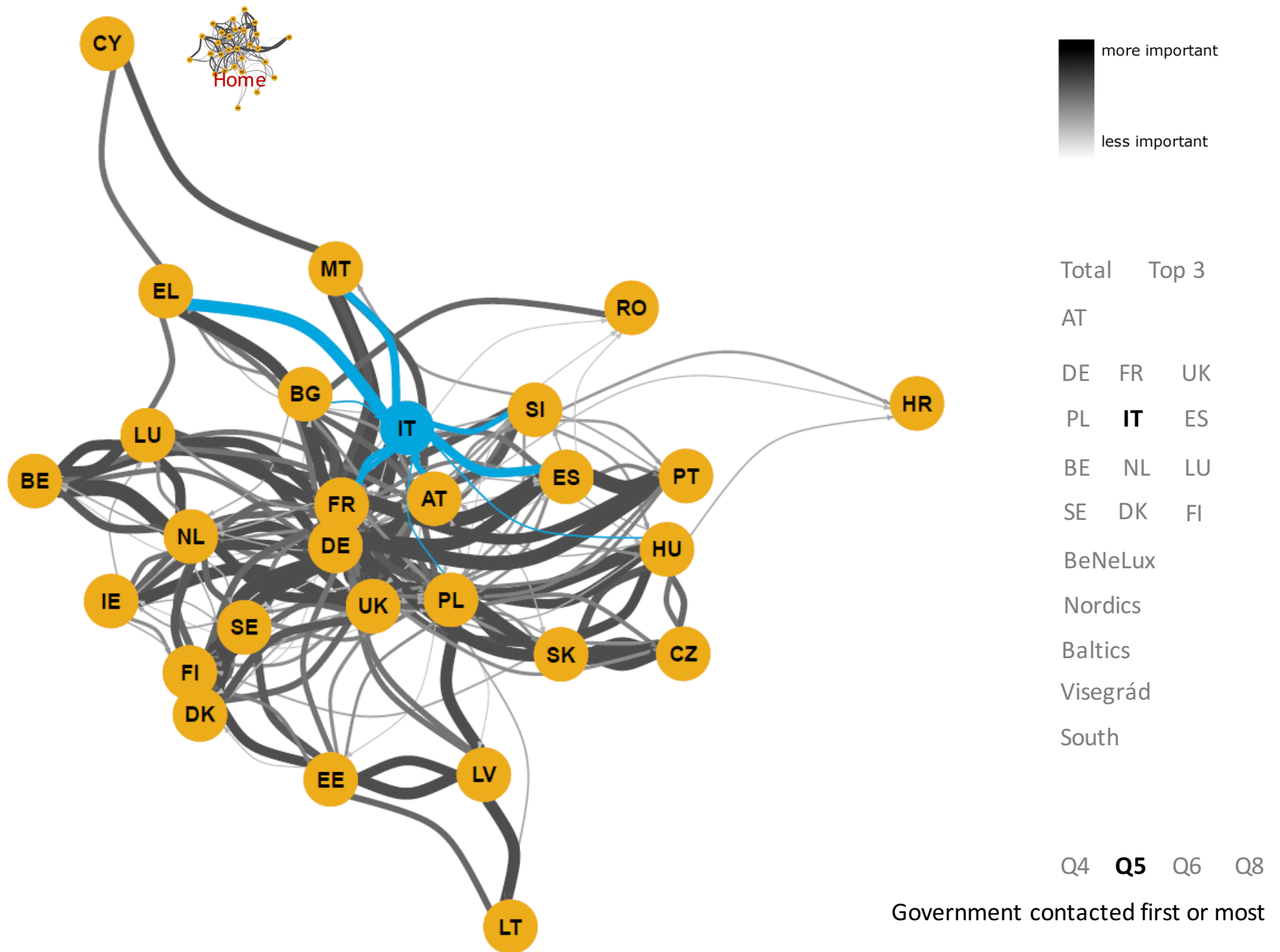


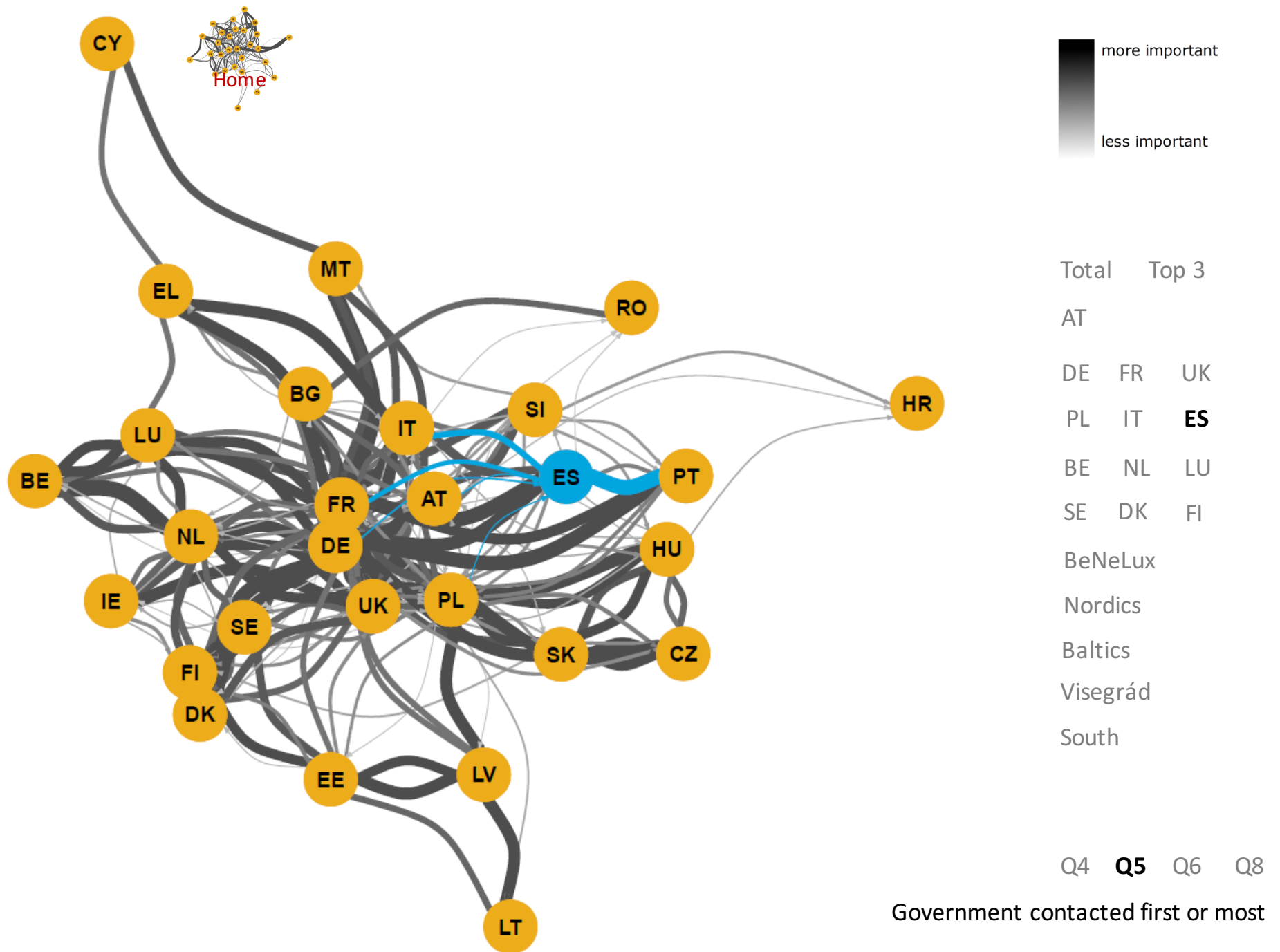


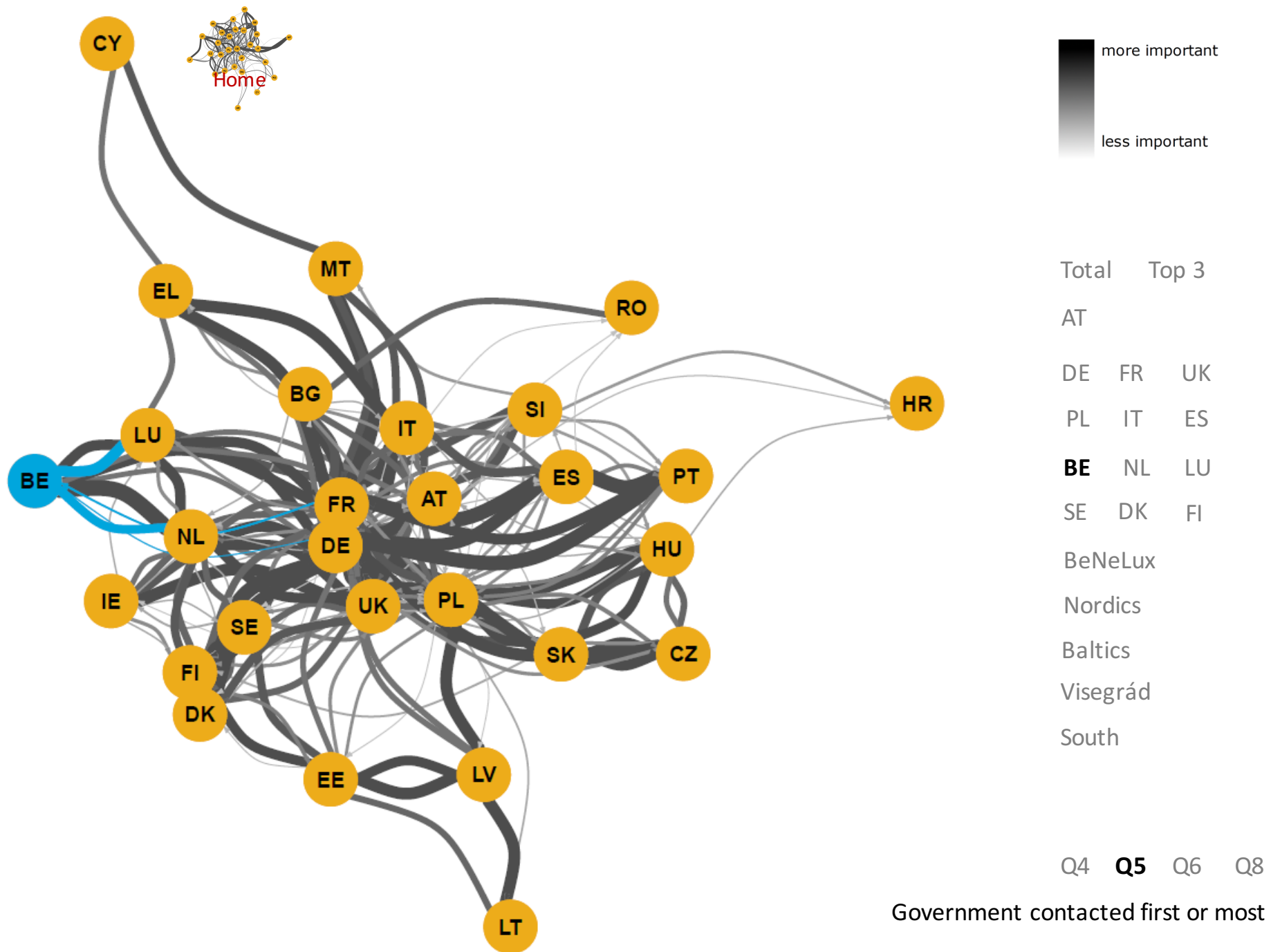


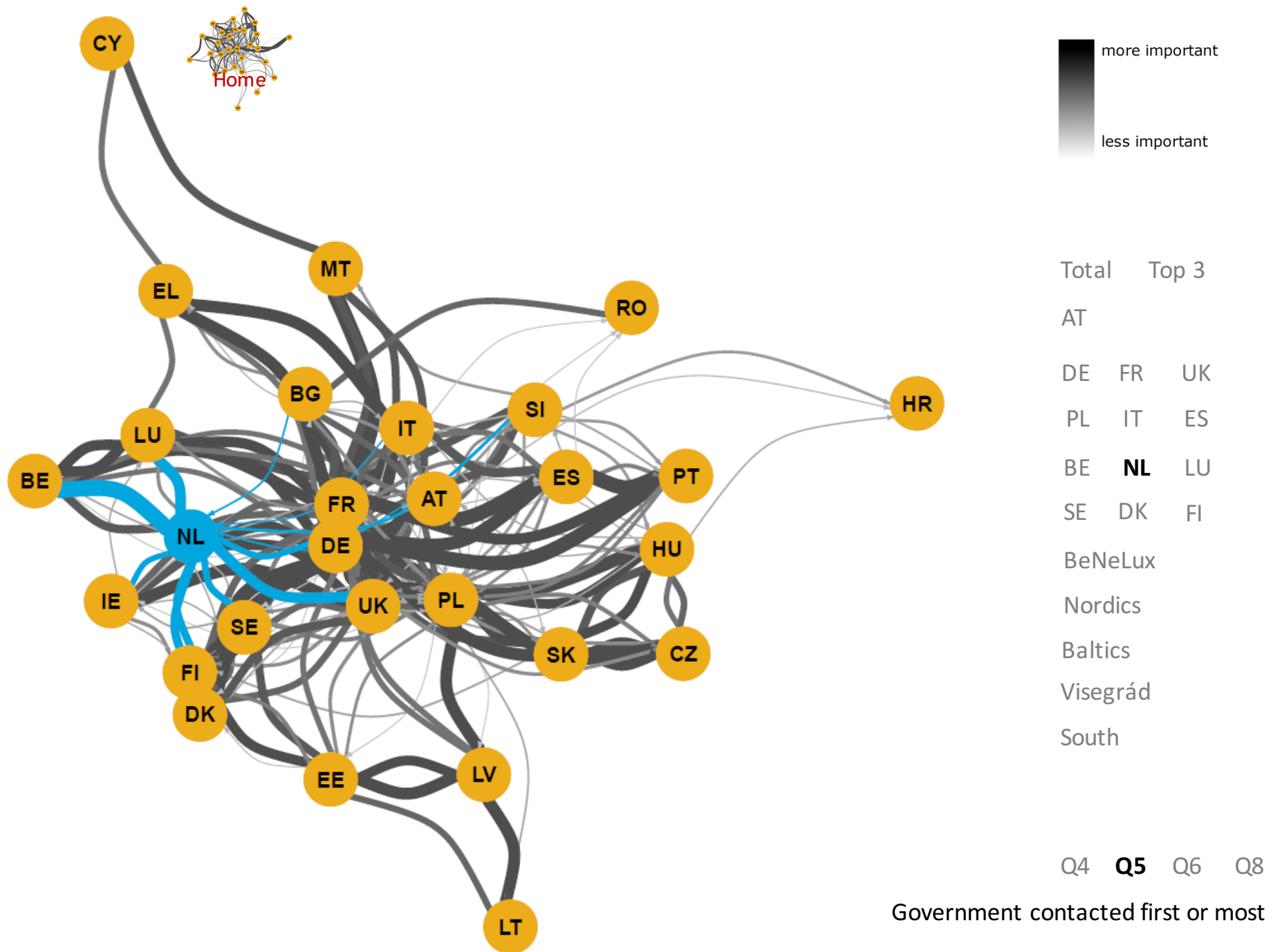


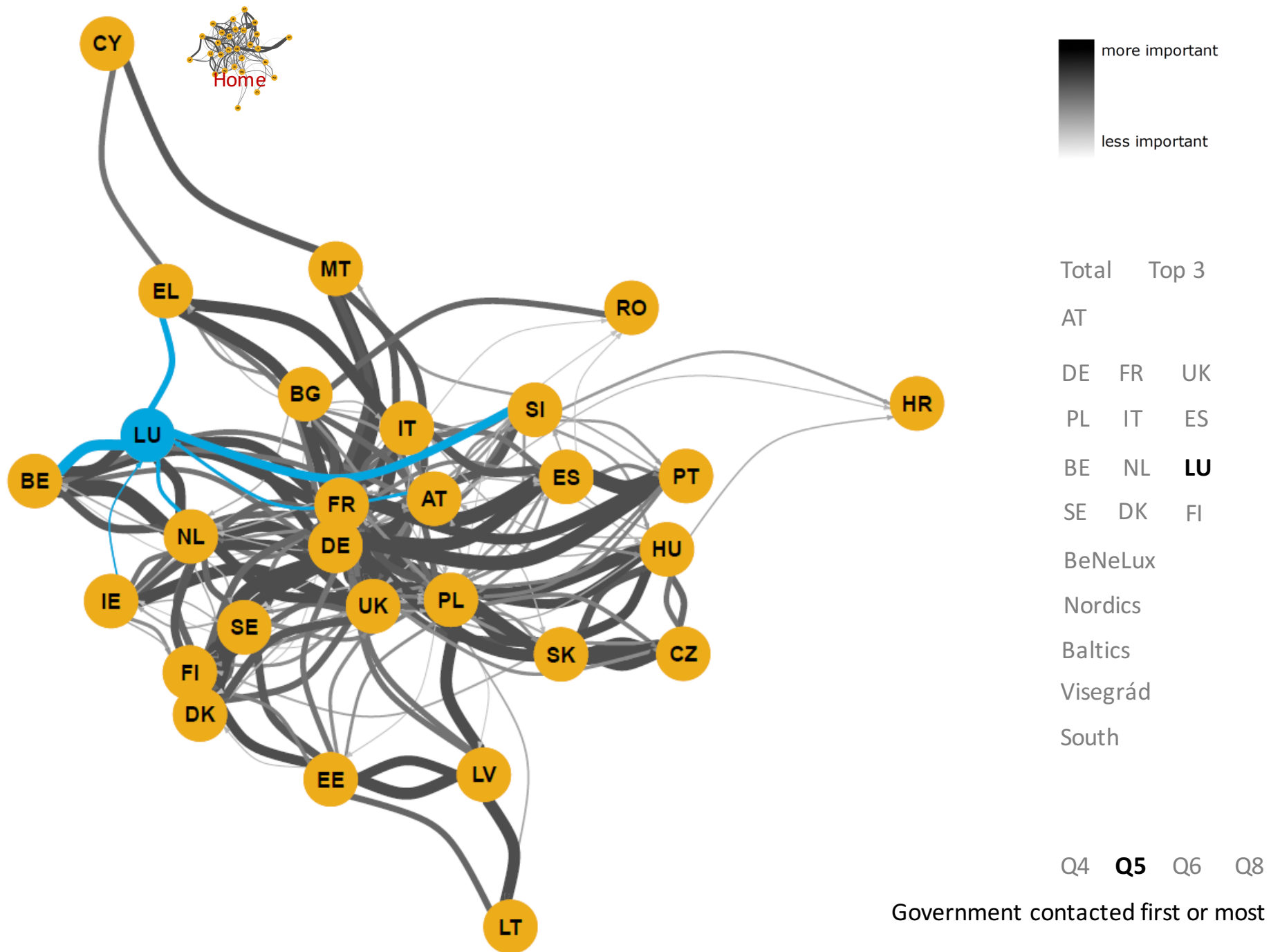


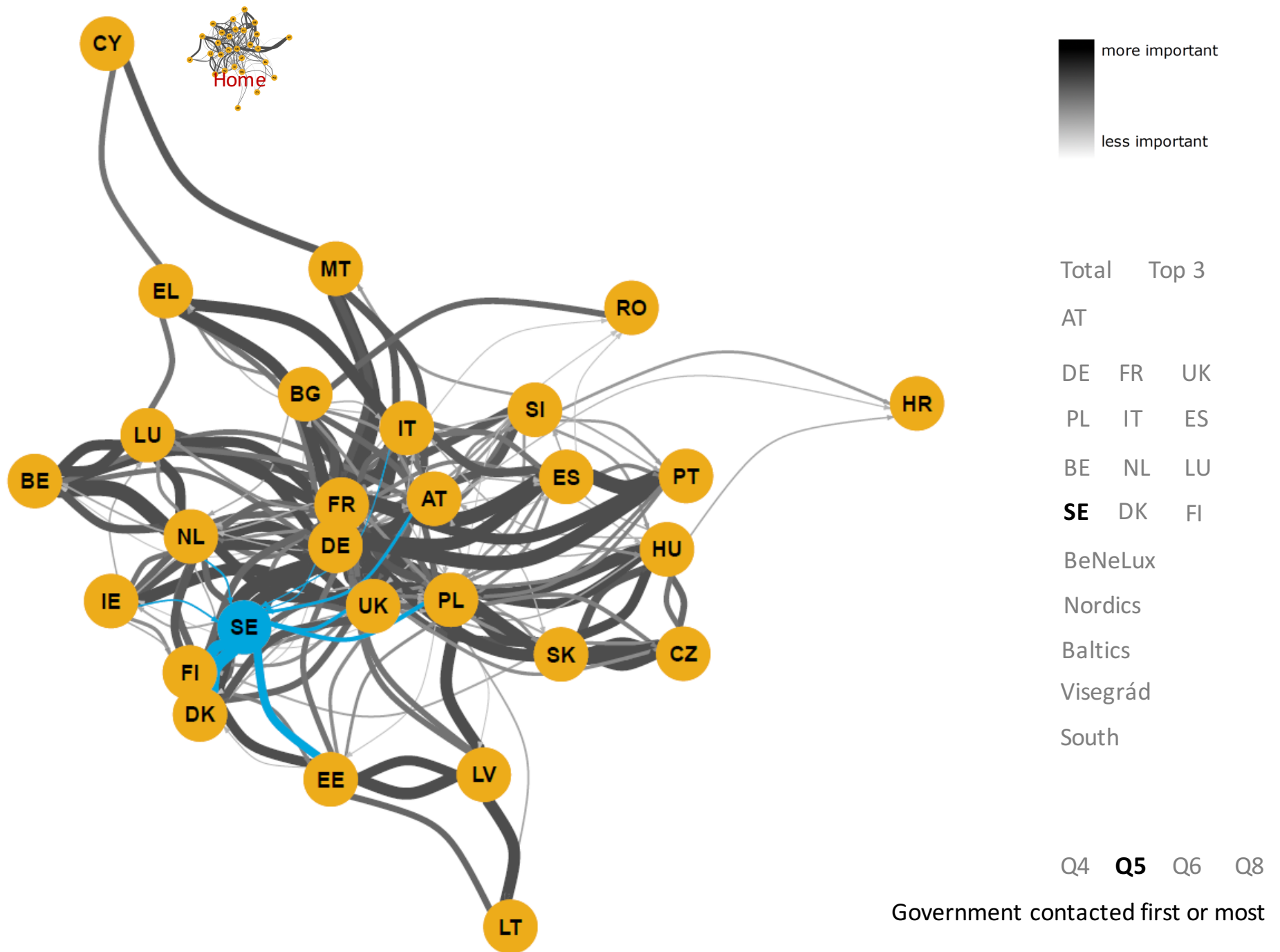


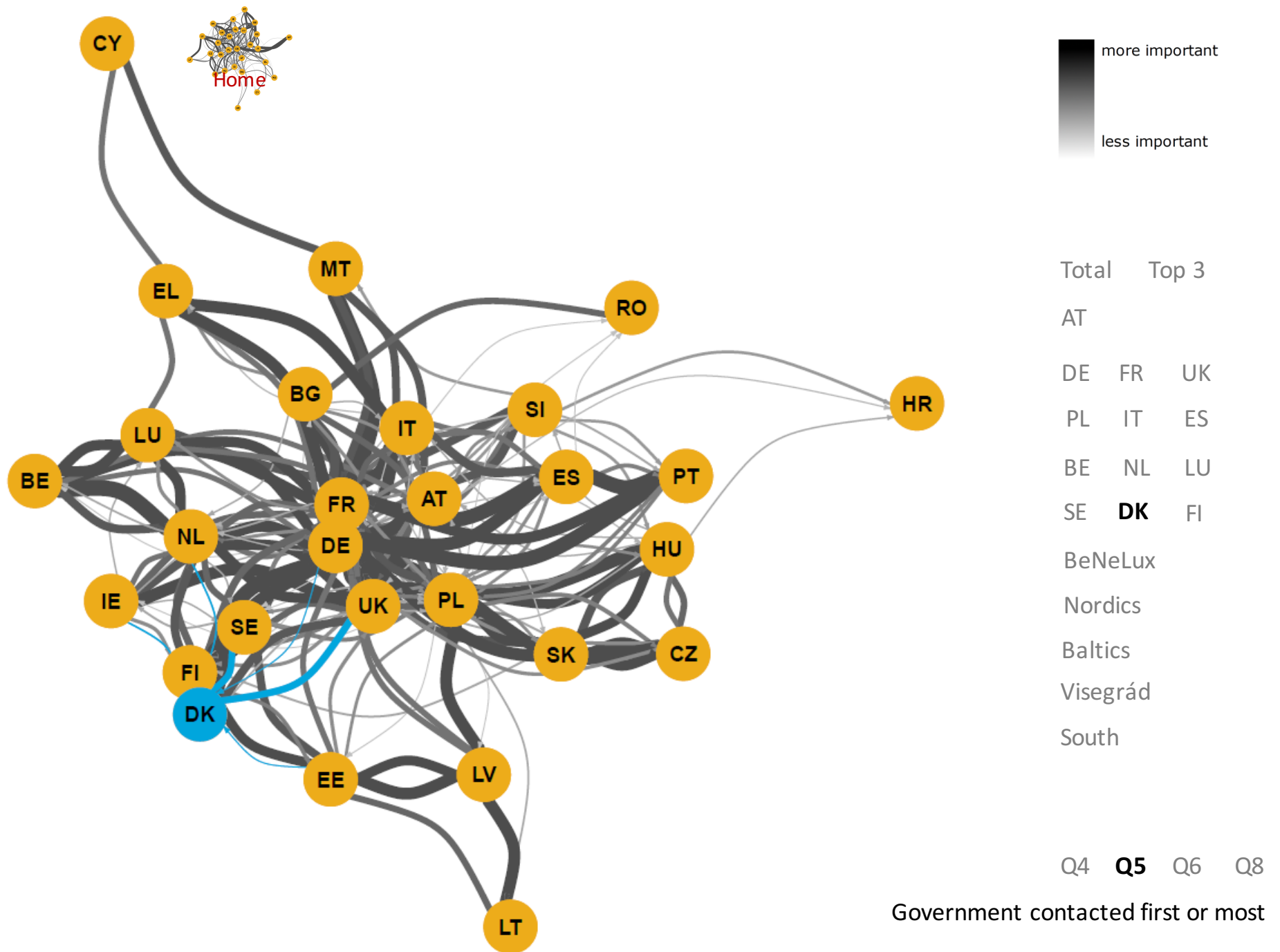


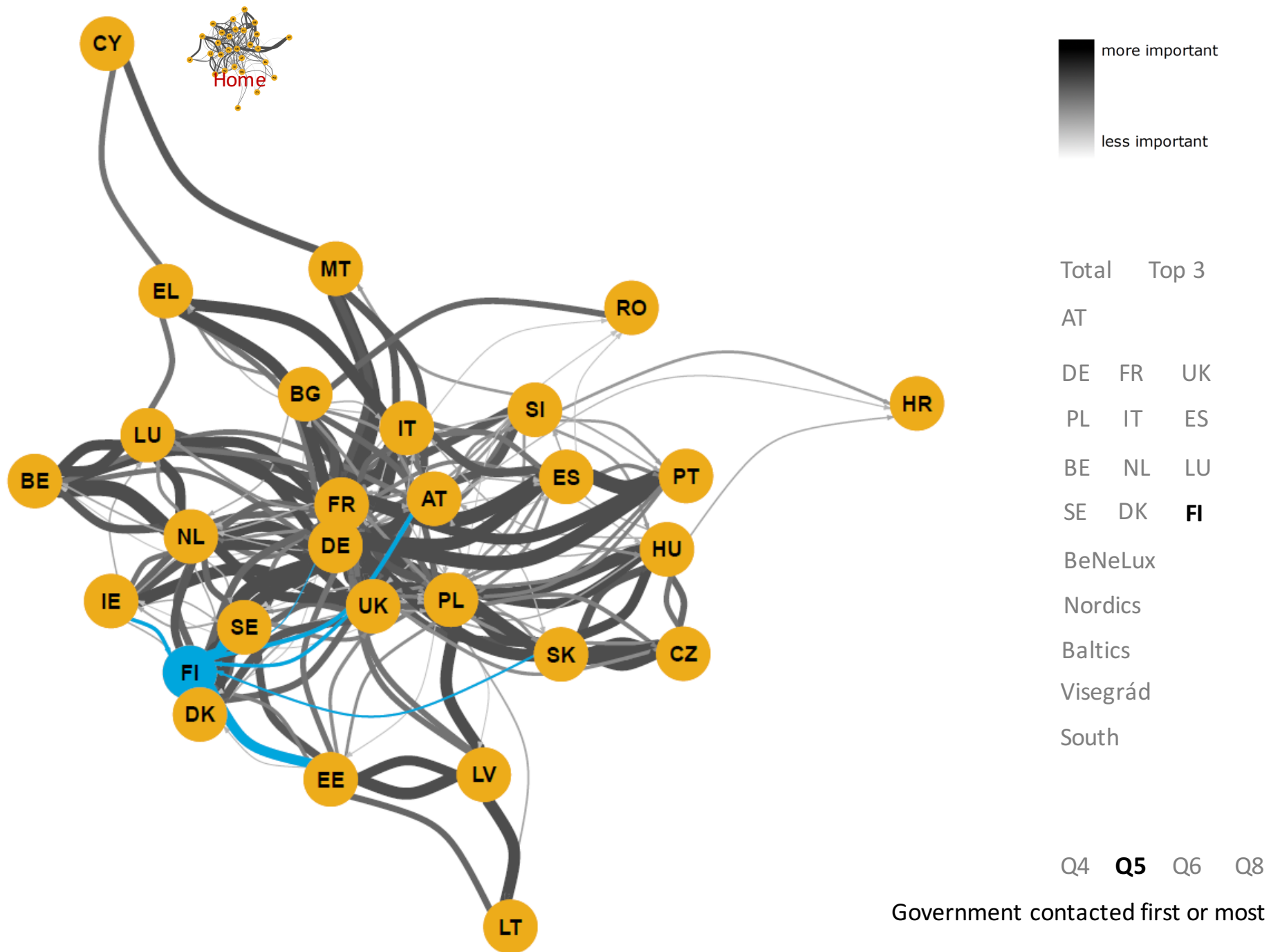


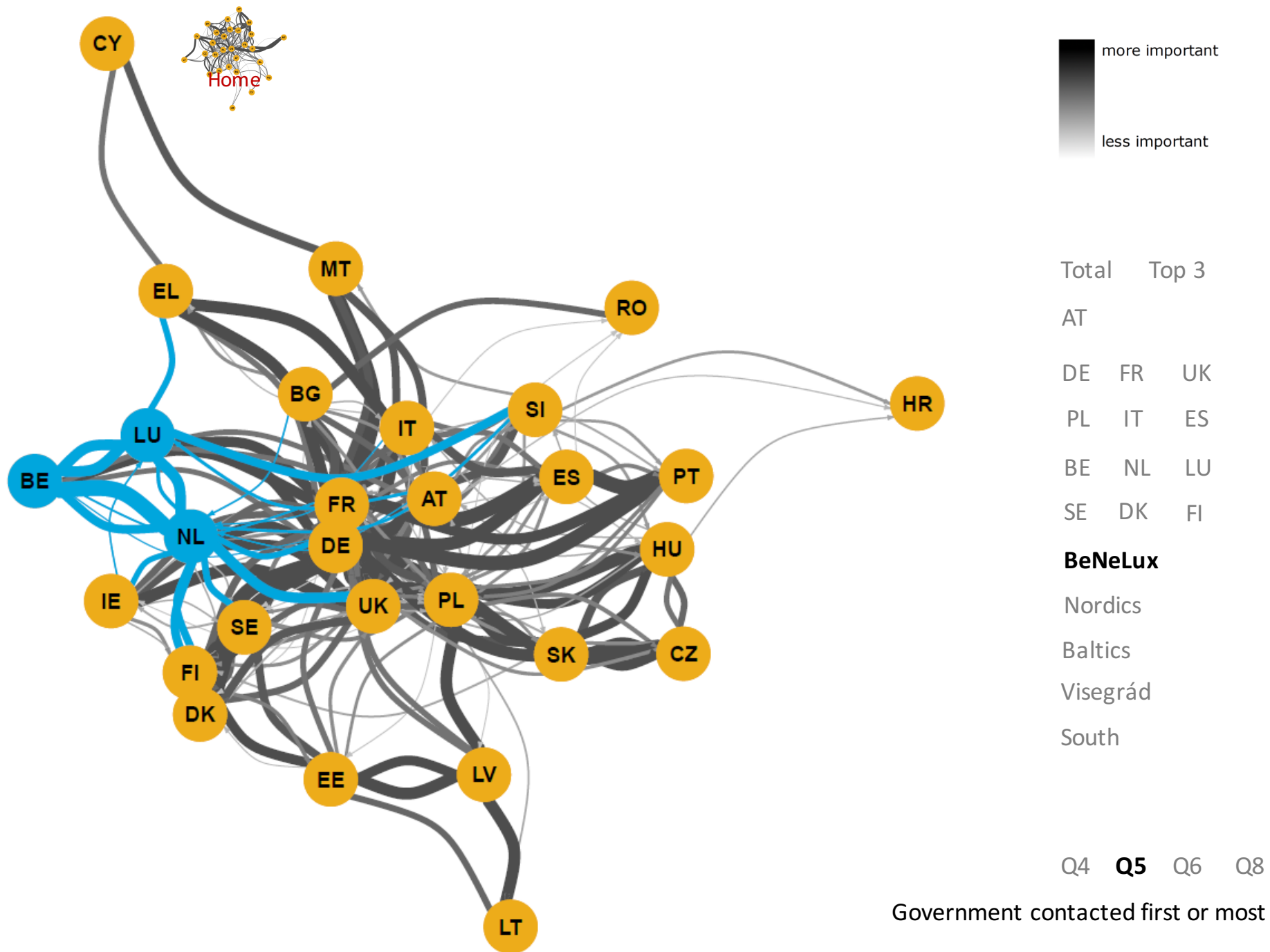


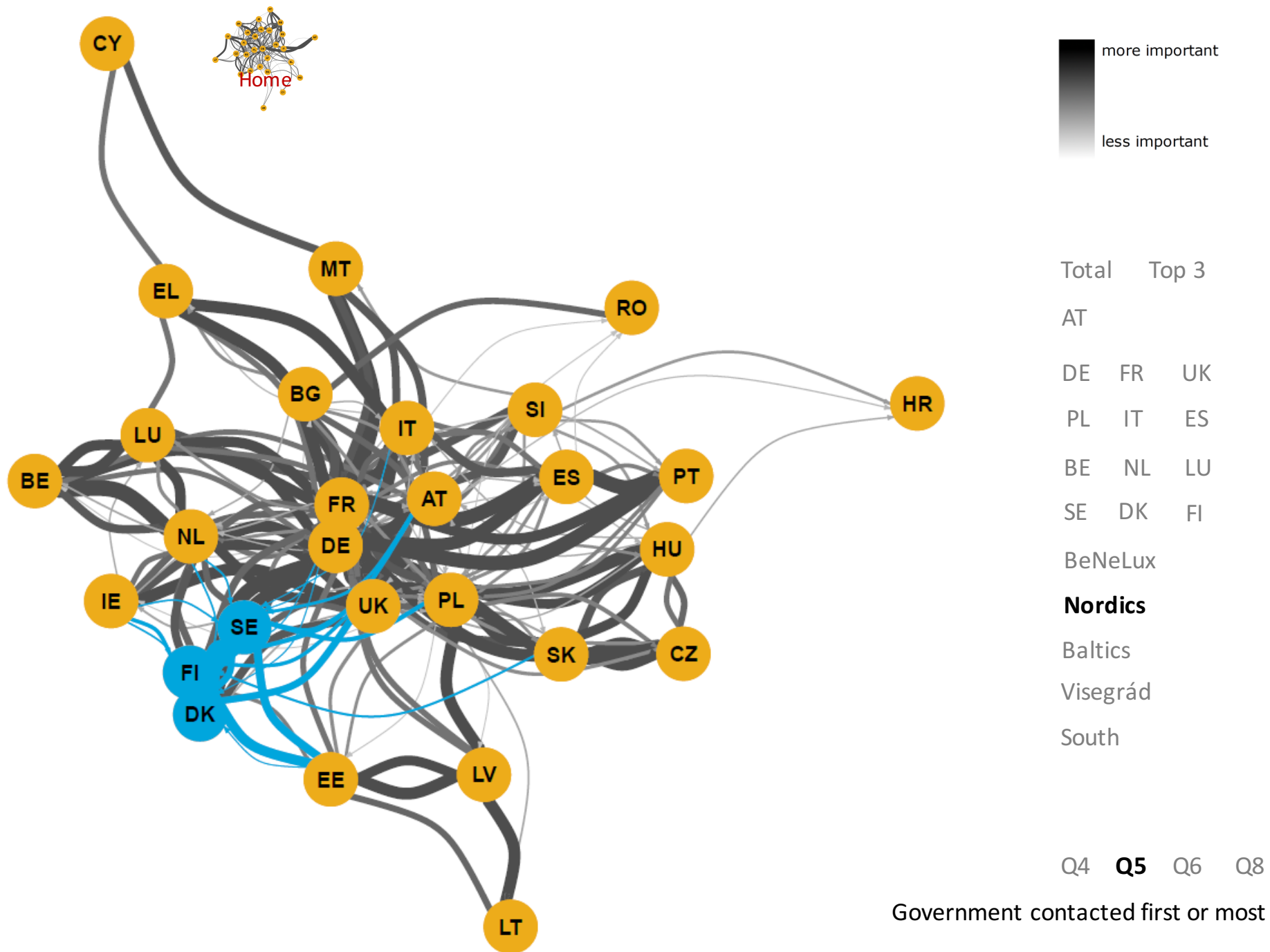


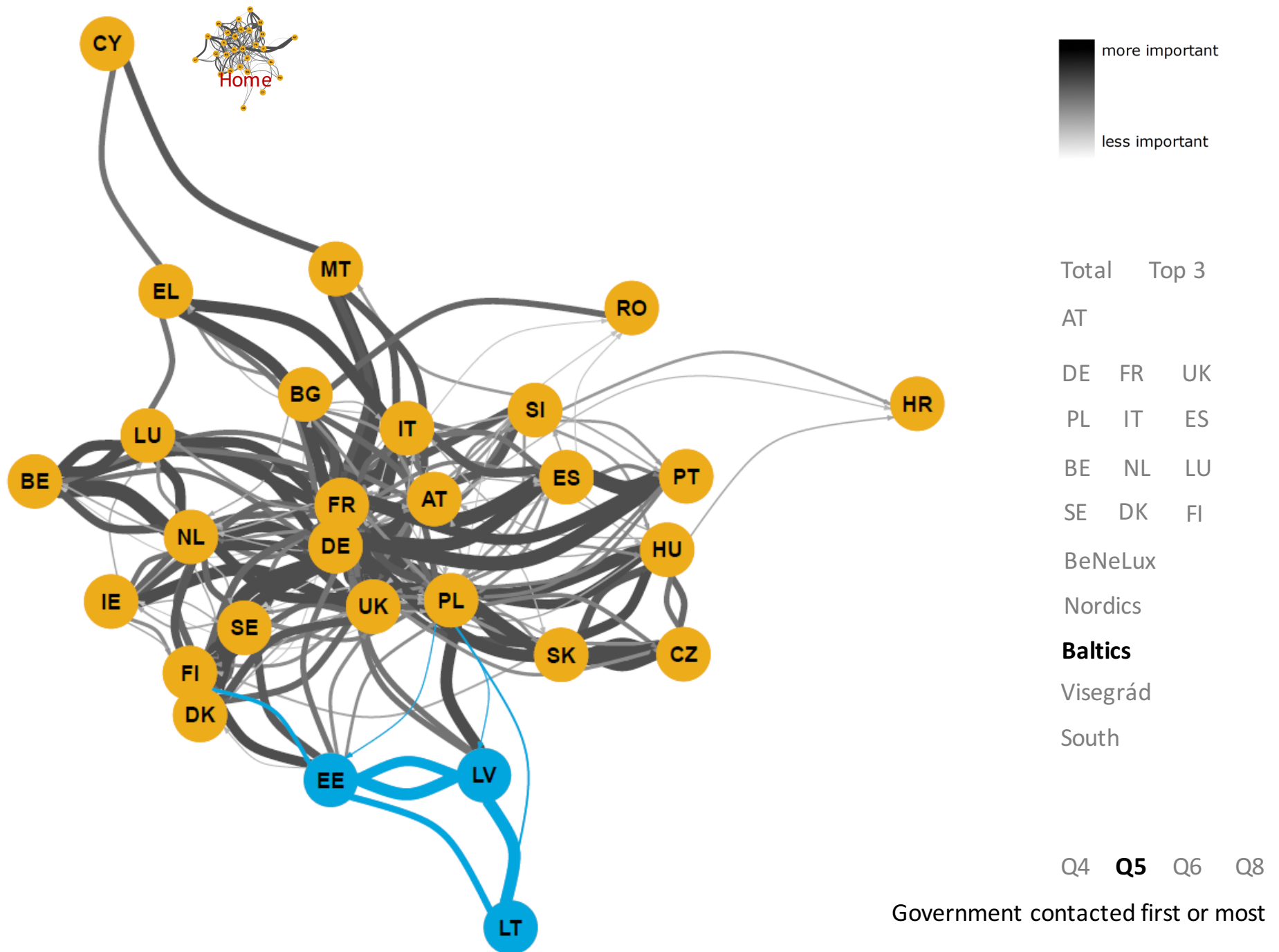


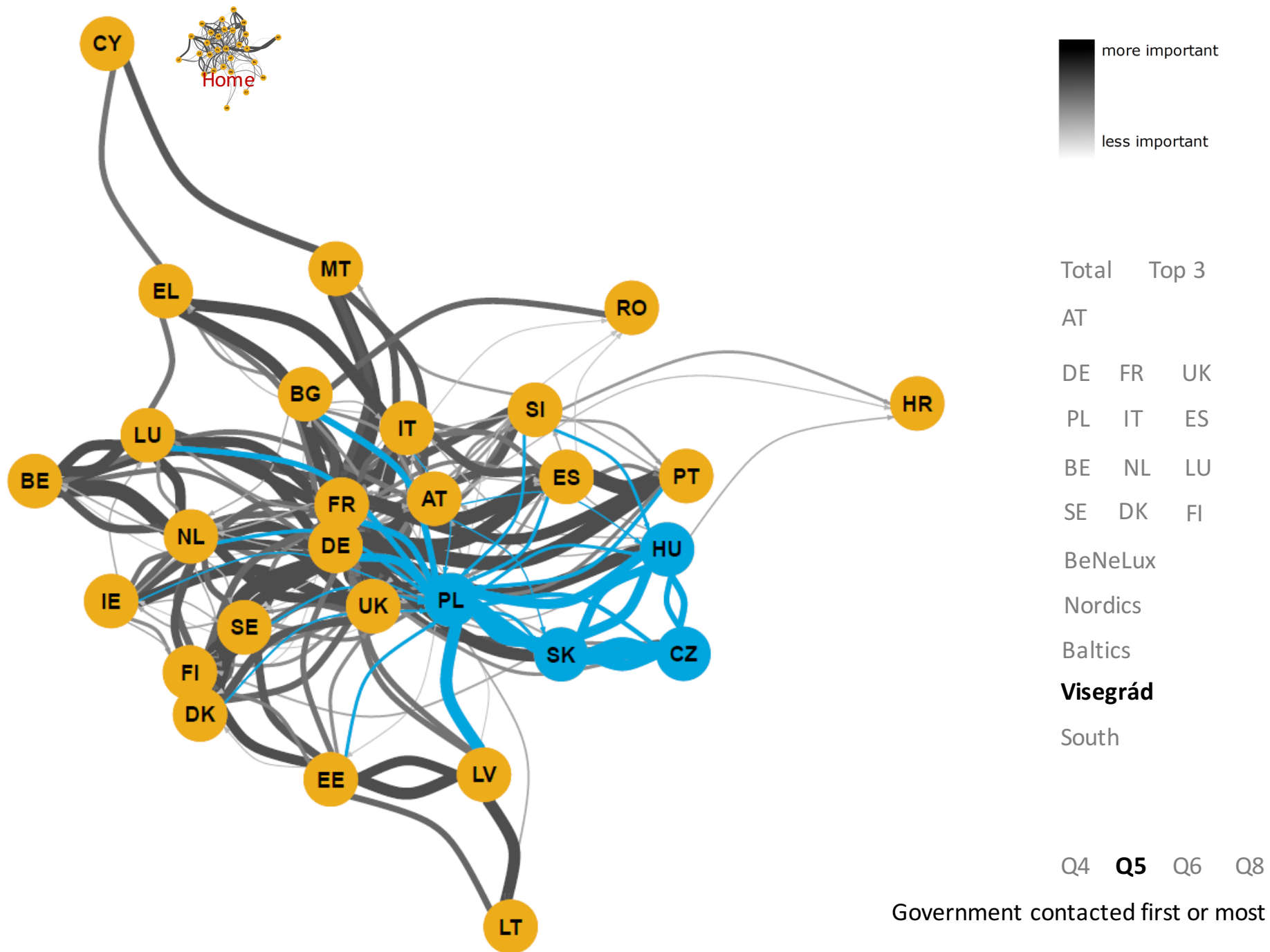


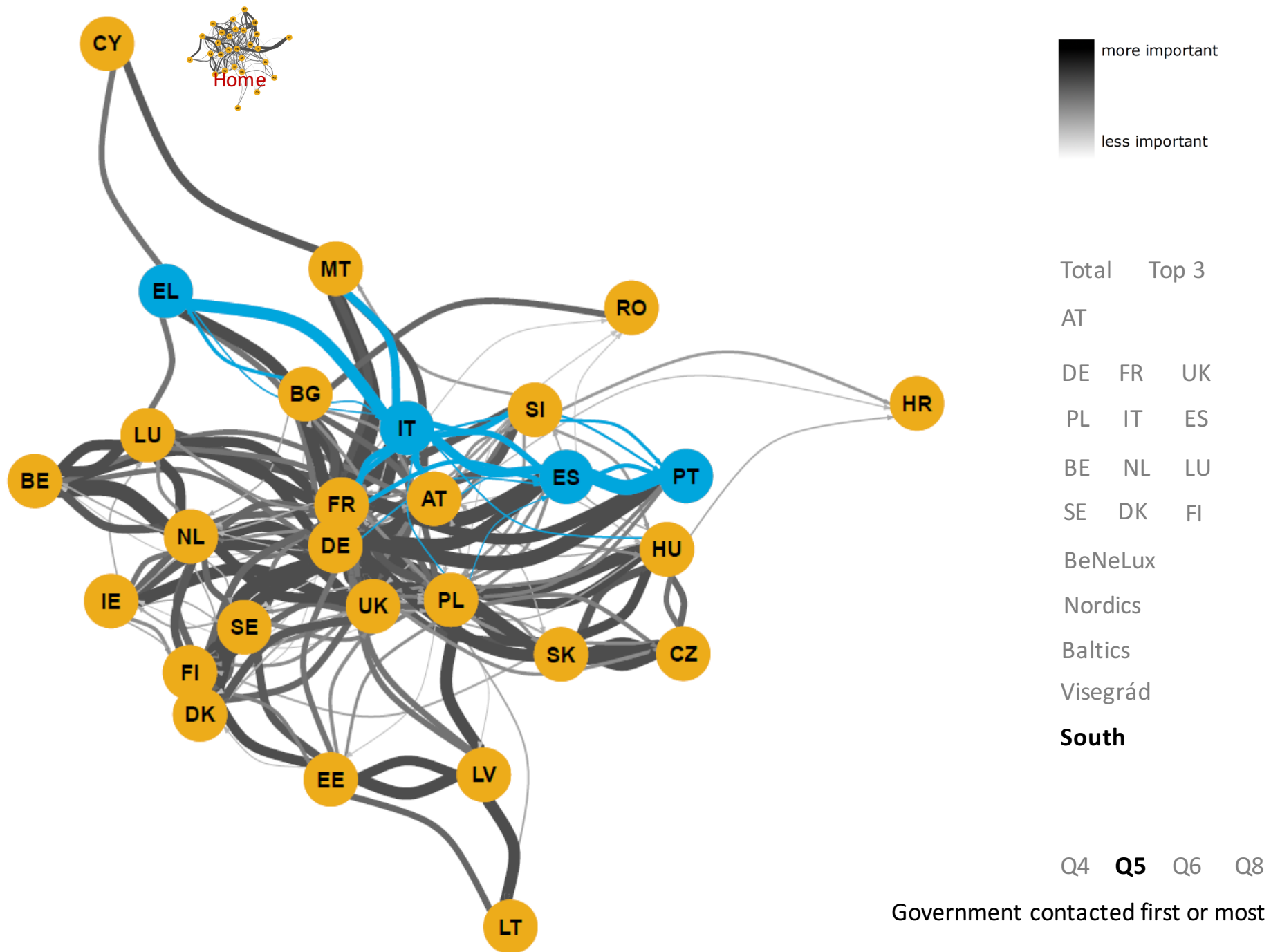


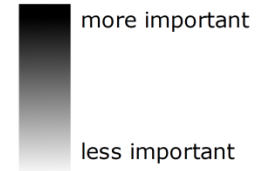
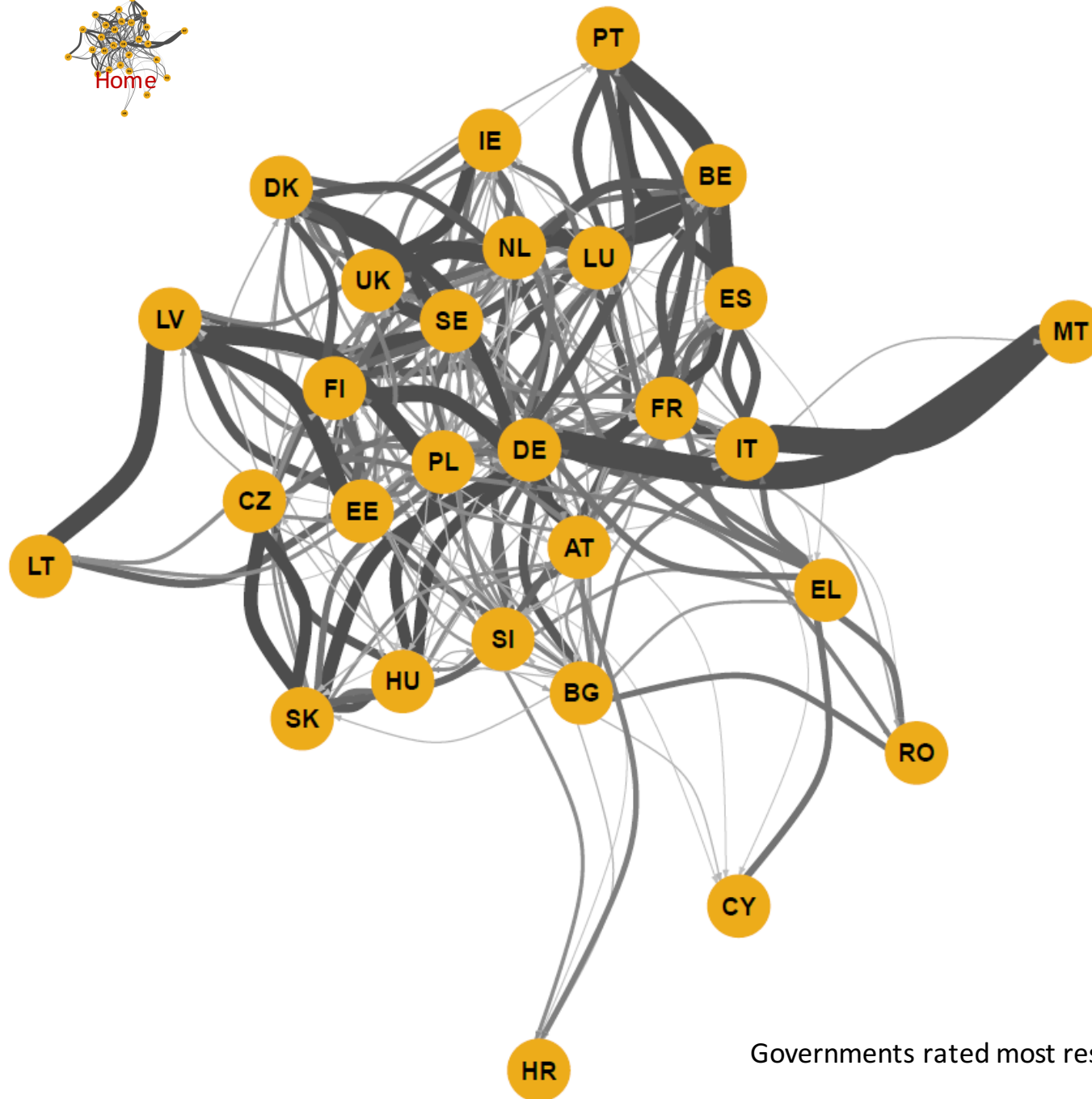
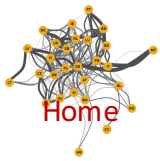










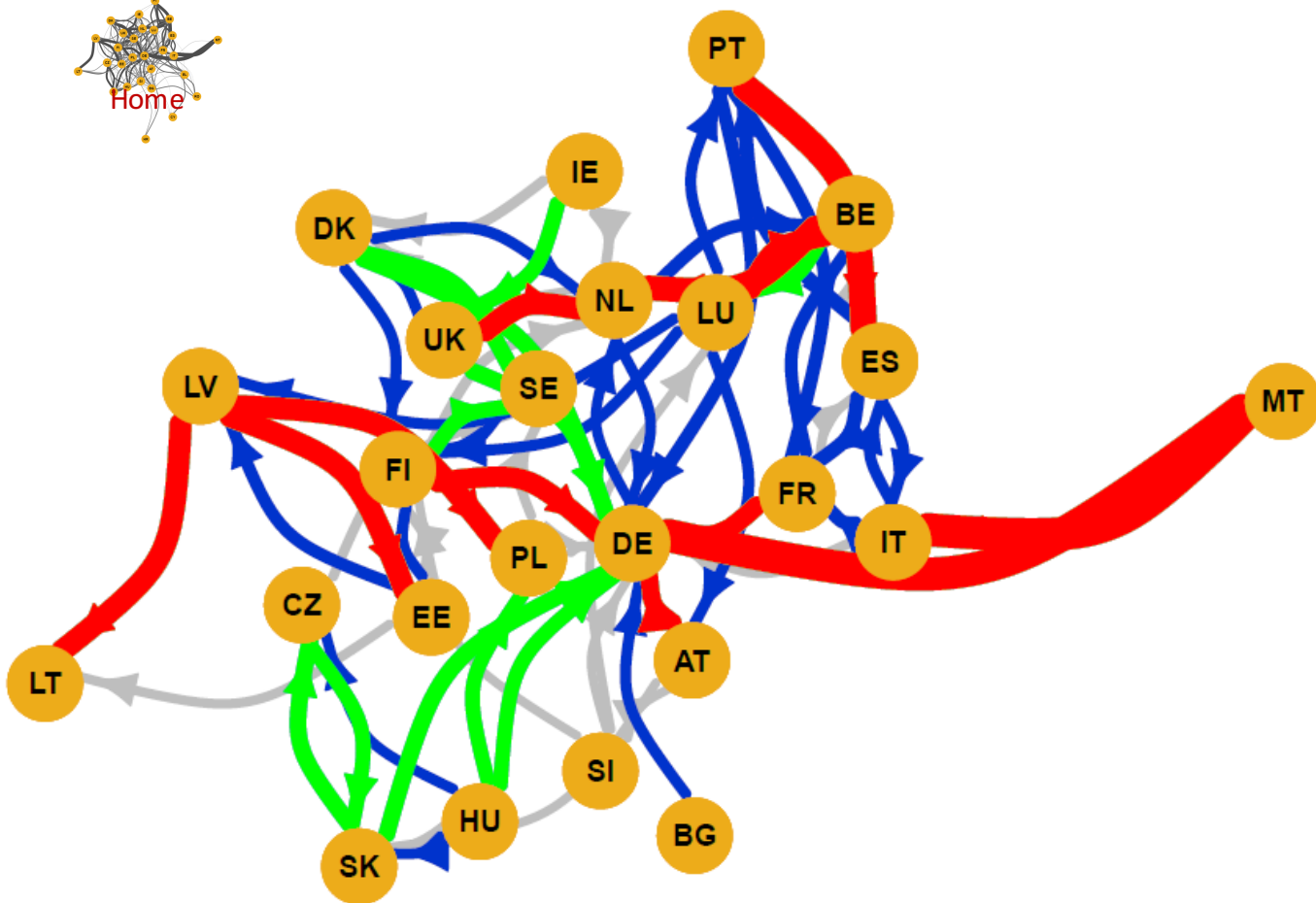
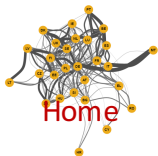


Total Top 3

AT		
DE	FR	UK
PL	IT	ES
BE	NL	LU
SE	DK	FI
BeNeLux		
Nordics		
Baltics		
Visegrád		
South		

Q4 Q5 **Q6** Q8

Governments rated most responsive or easiest to work with



Total **Top 3**

AT

DE FR UK

PL IT ES

BE NL LU

SE DK FI

BeNeLux

Nordics

Baltics

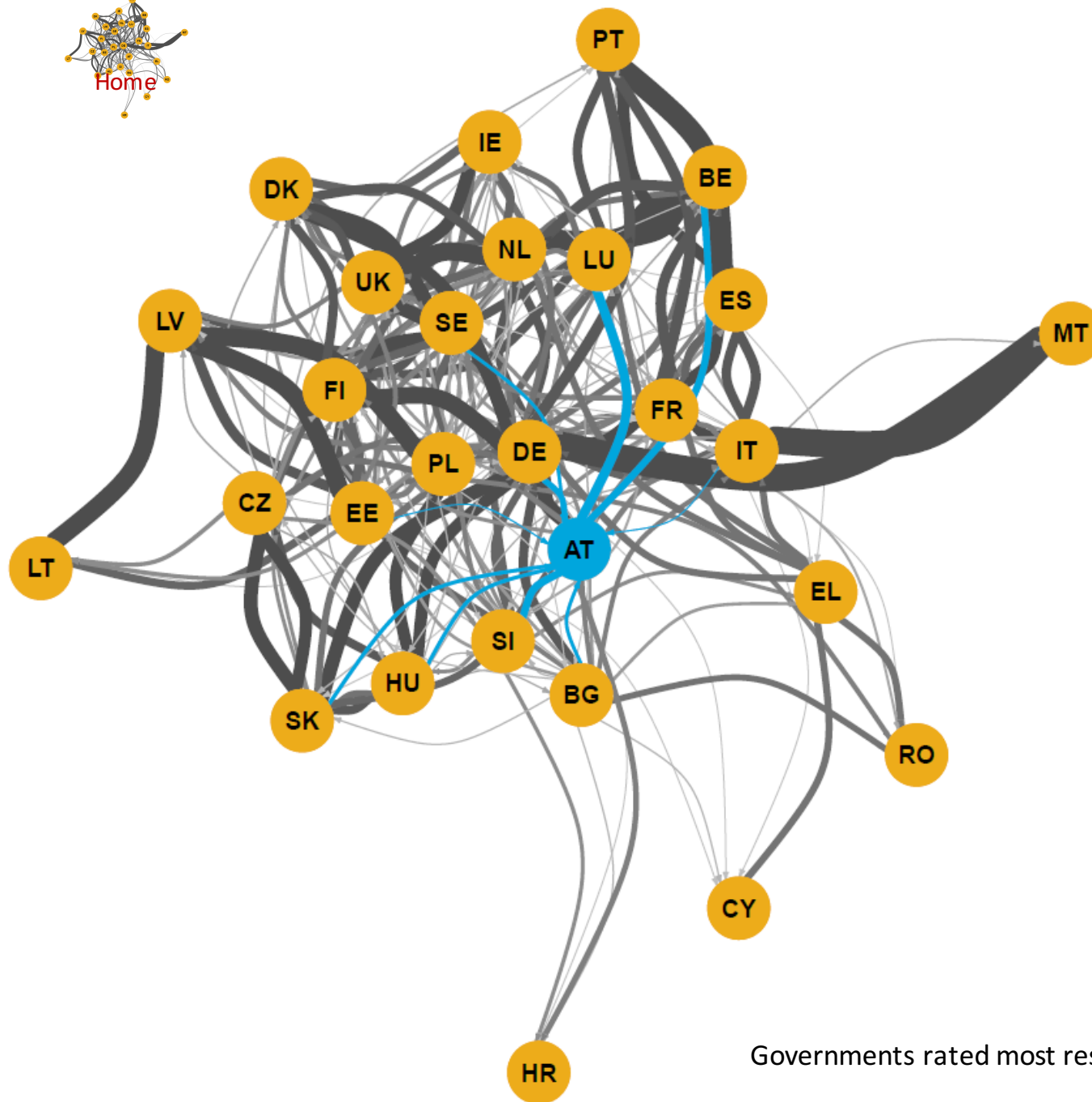
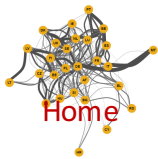
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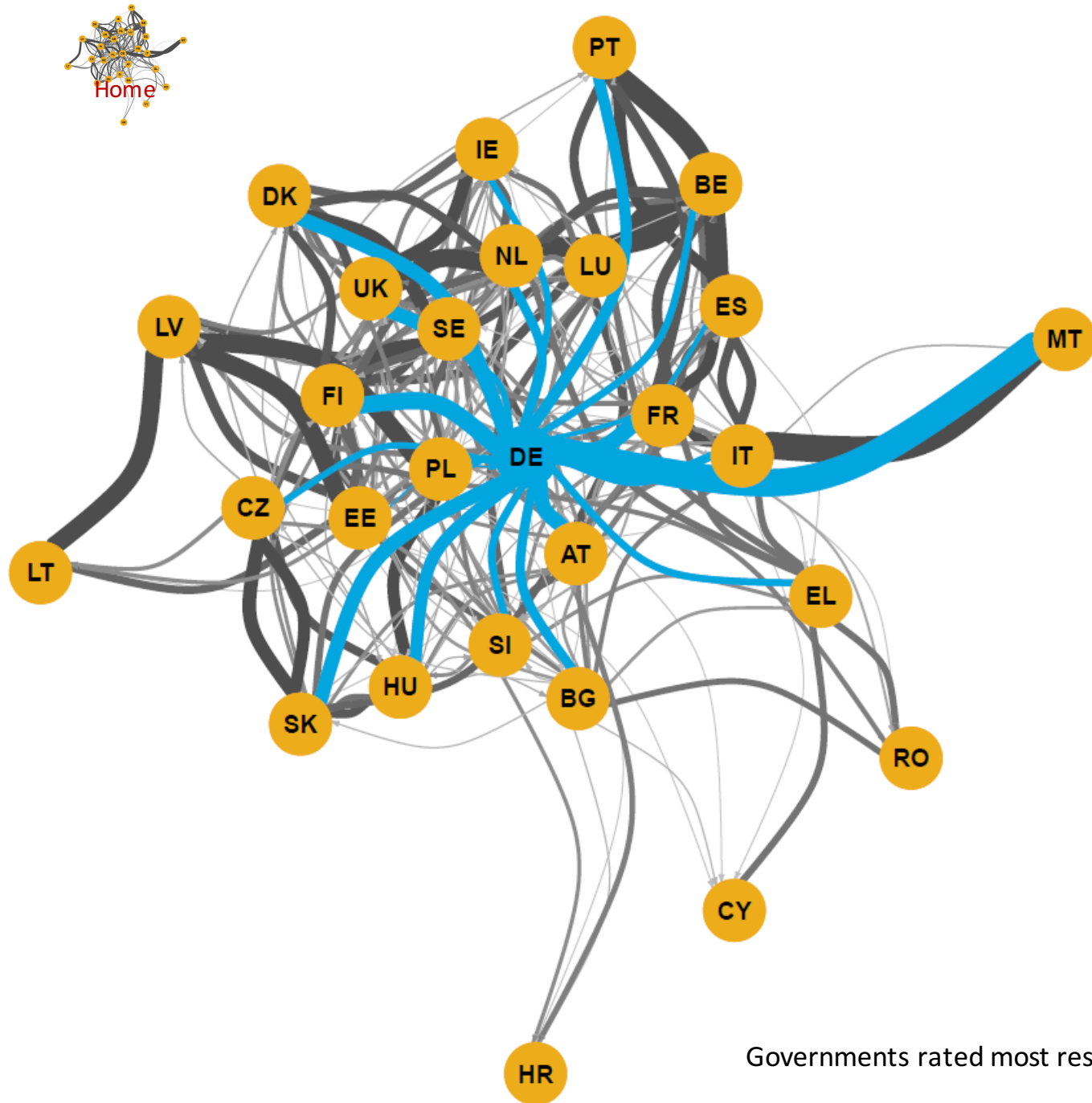
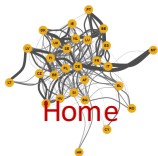
South

- Top 5%
- Top 10%
- Top 20%

Q4 Q5 **Q6** Q8

Governments rated most responsive or easiest to work with





Total Top 3

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DE FR UK

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BeNeLux

Nordics

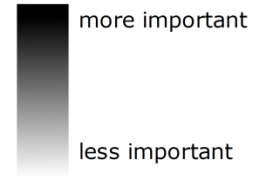
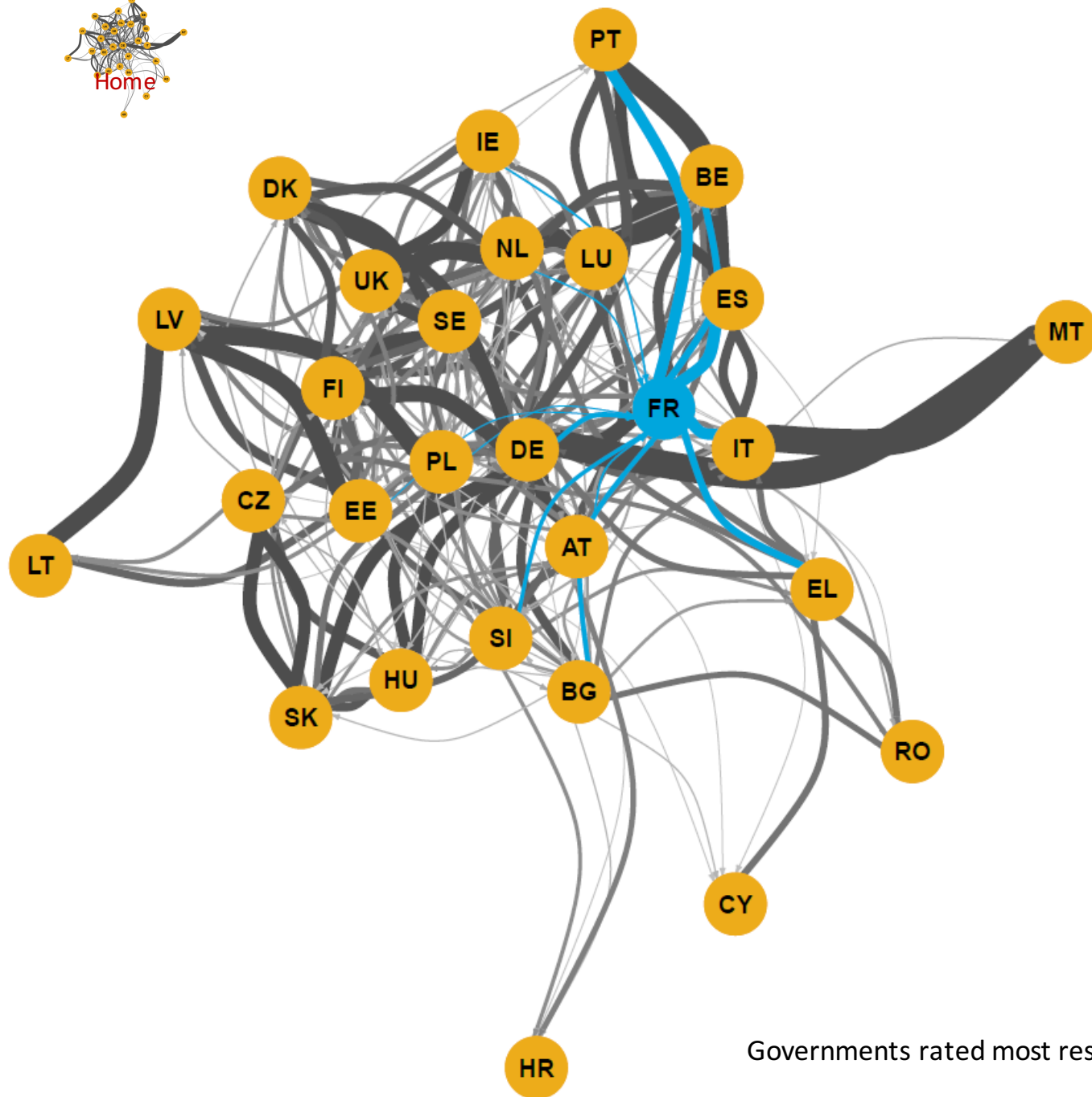
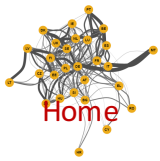
Baltics

Visegrád

South

Q4 Q5 **Q6** Q8

Governments rated most responsive or easiest to work with



Total Top 3

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SE DK FI

BeNeLux

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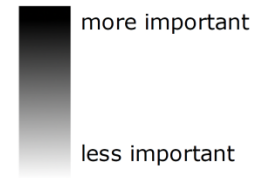
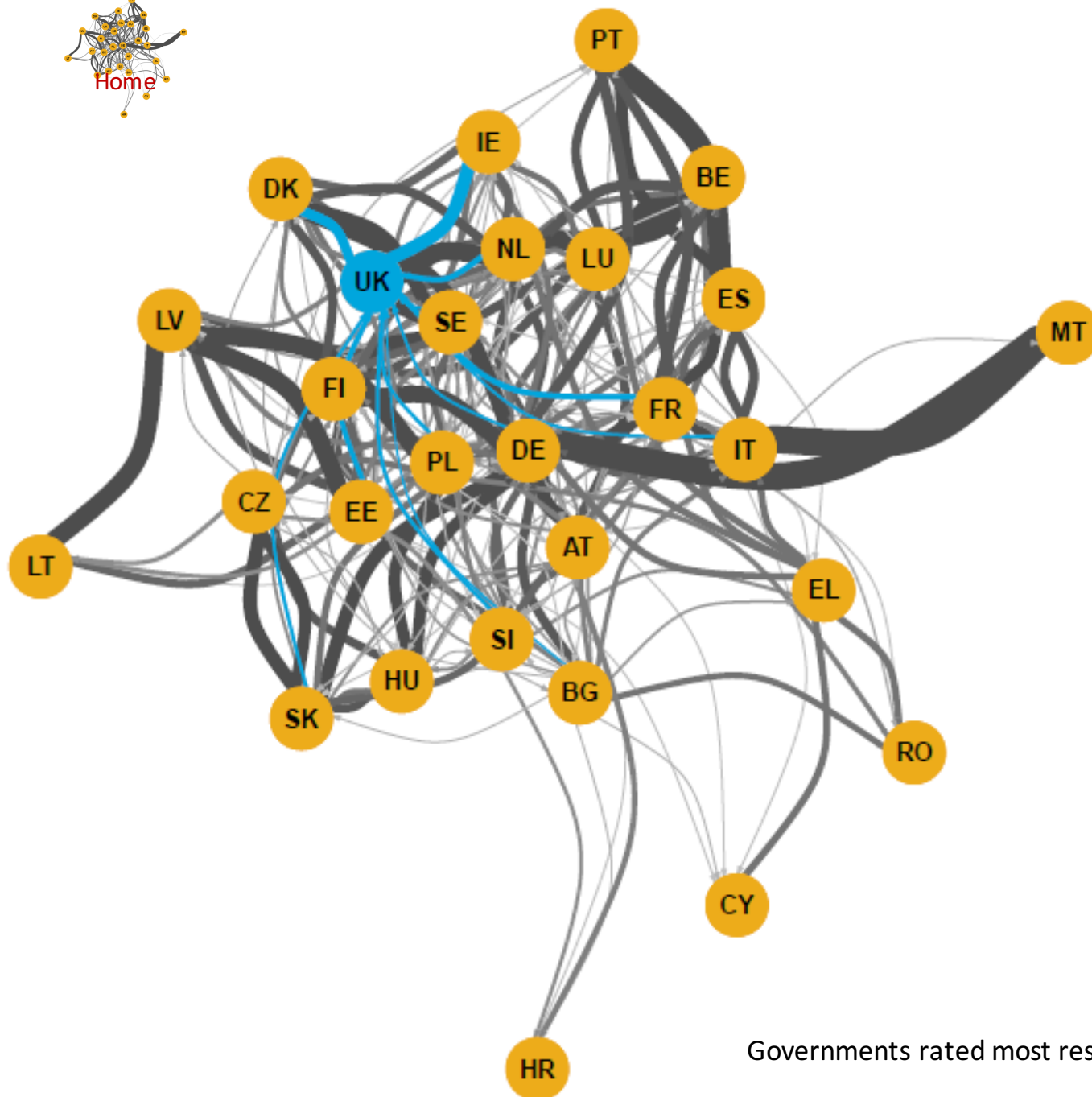
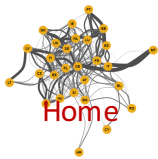
Baltics

Visegrád

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Q4 Q5 **Q6** Q8

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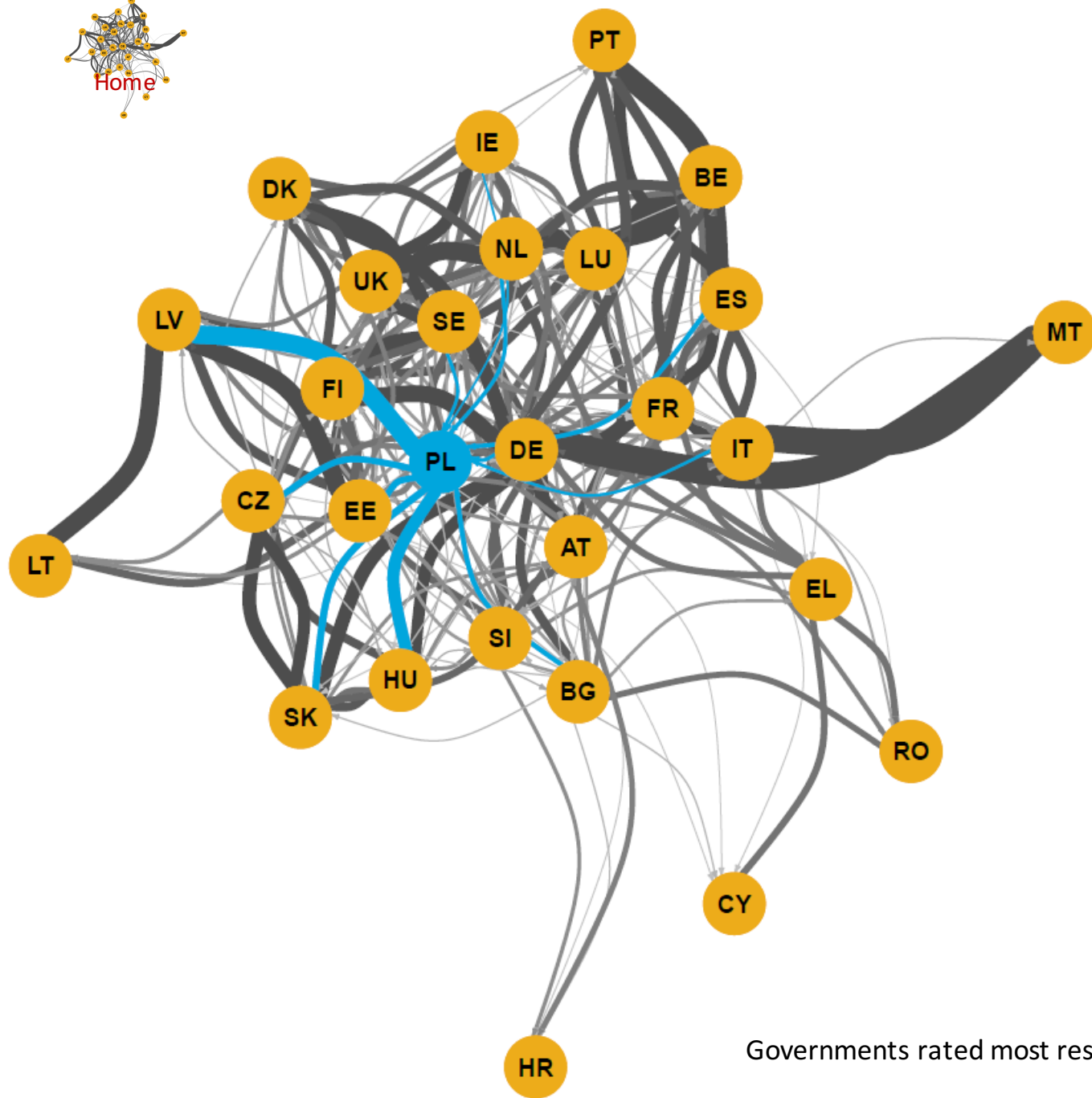
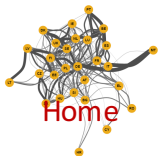
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Visegrád

South

Q4 Q5 **Q6** Q8

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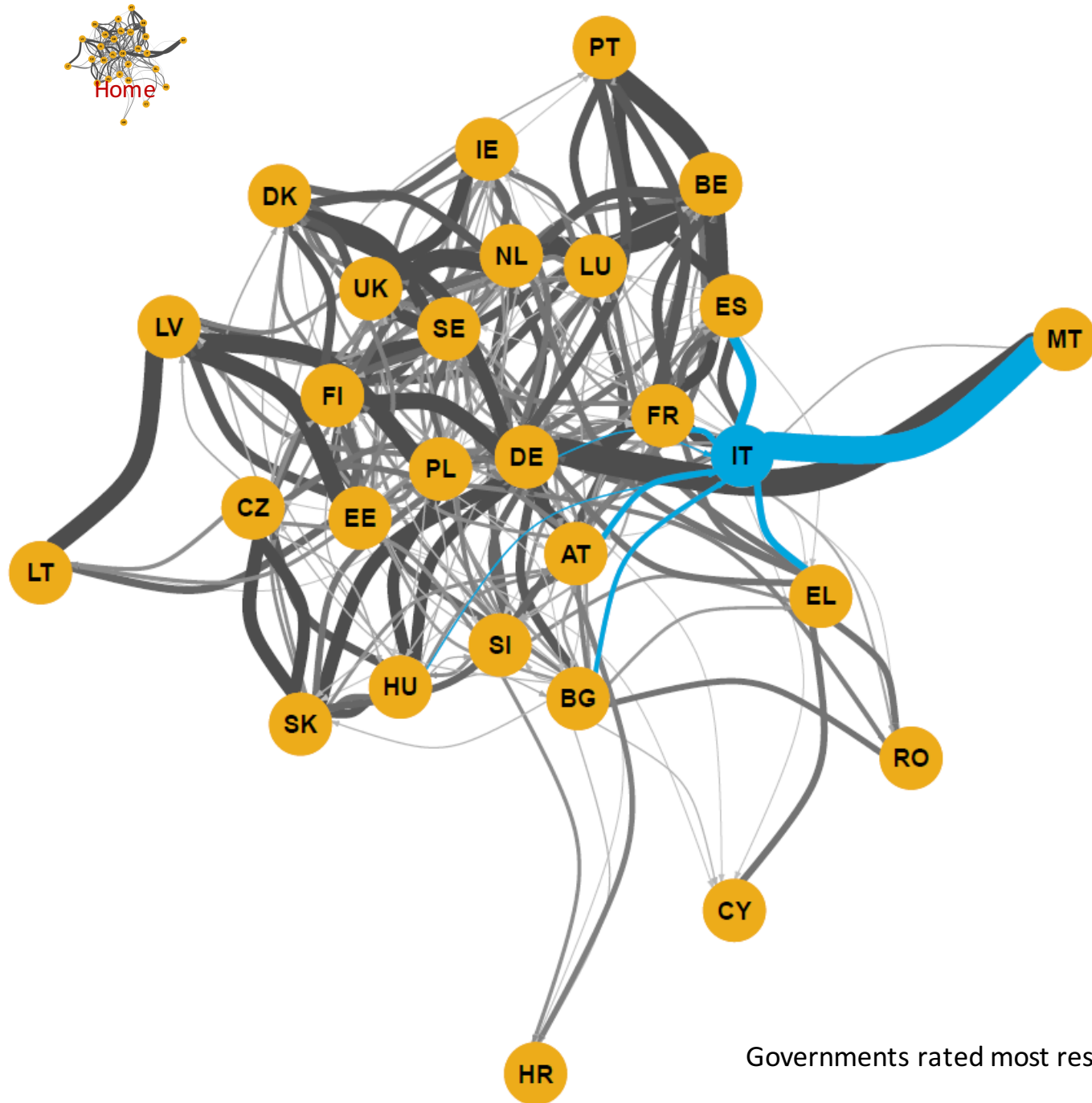
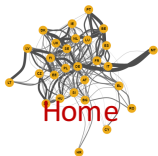


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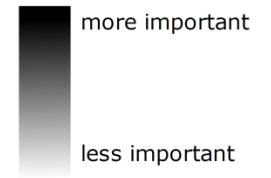
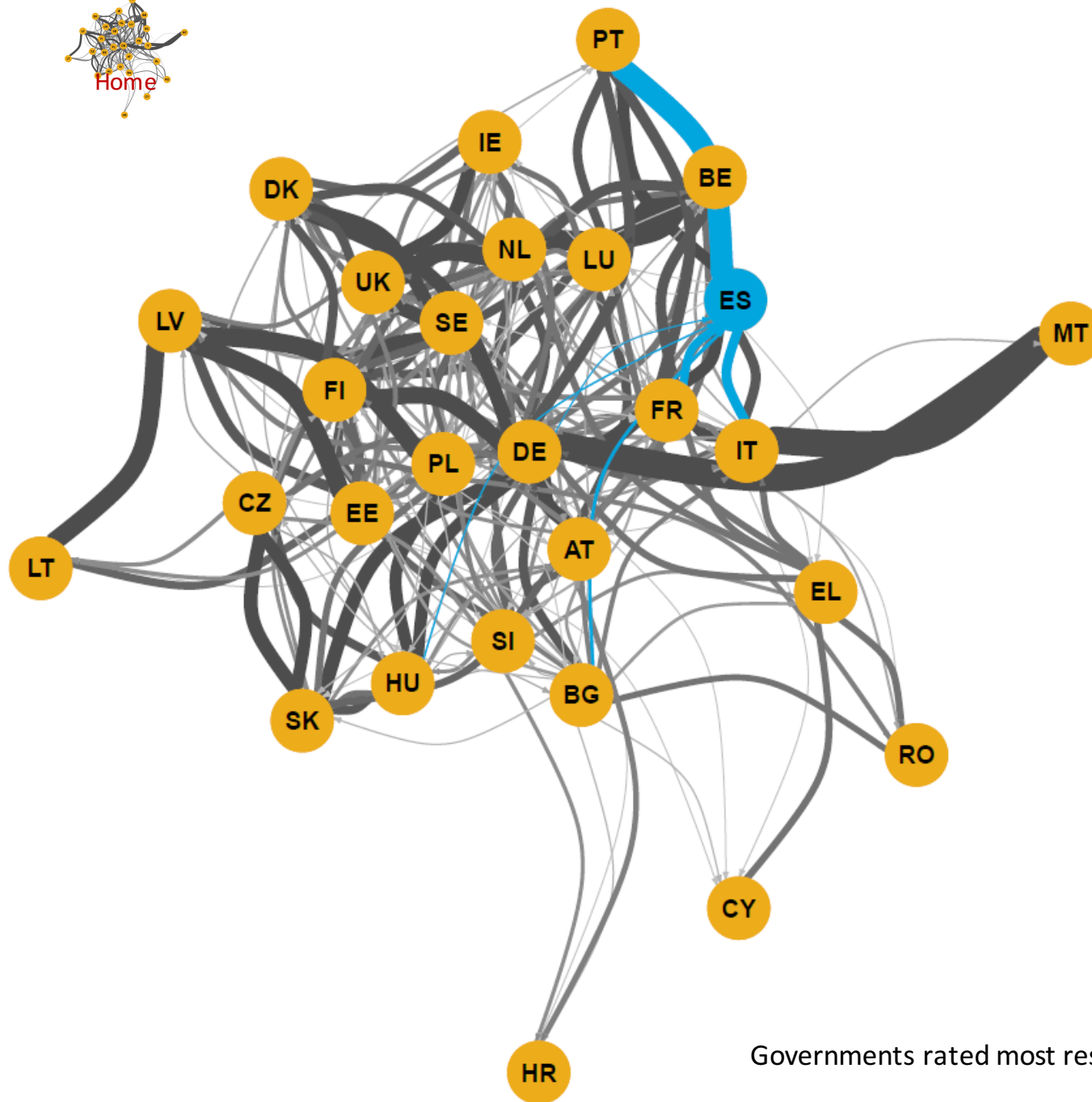
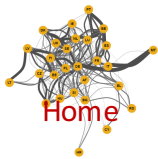
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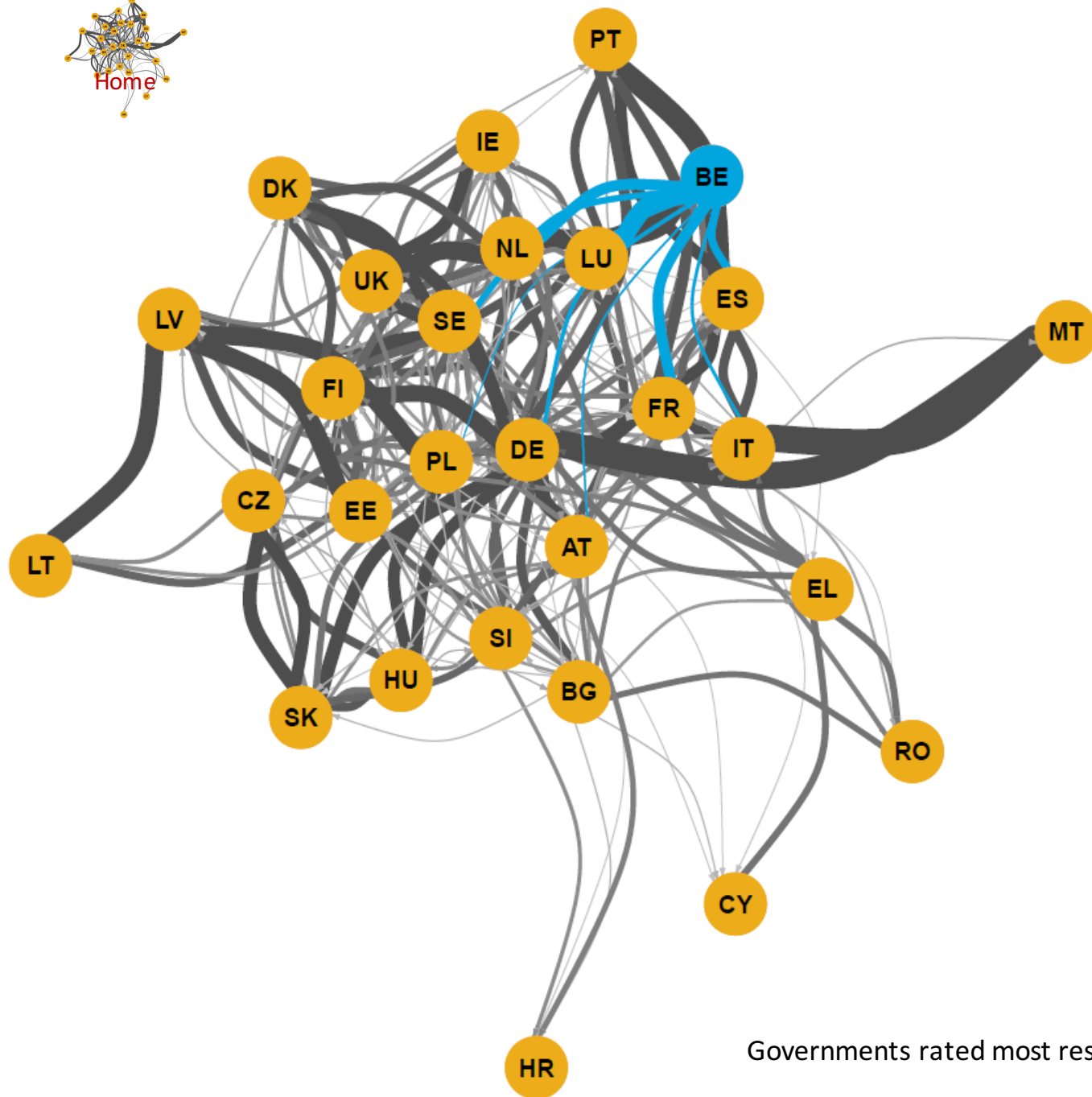
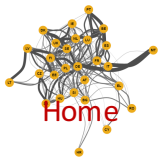
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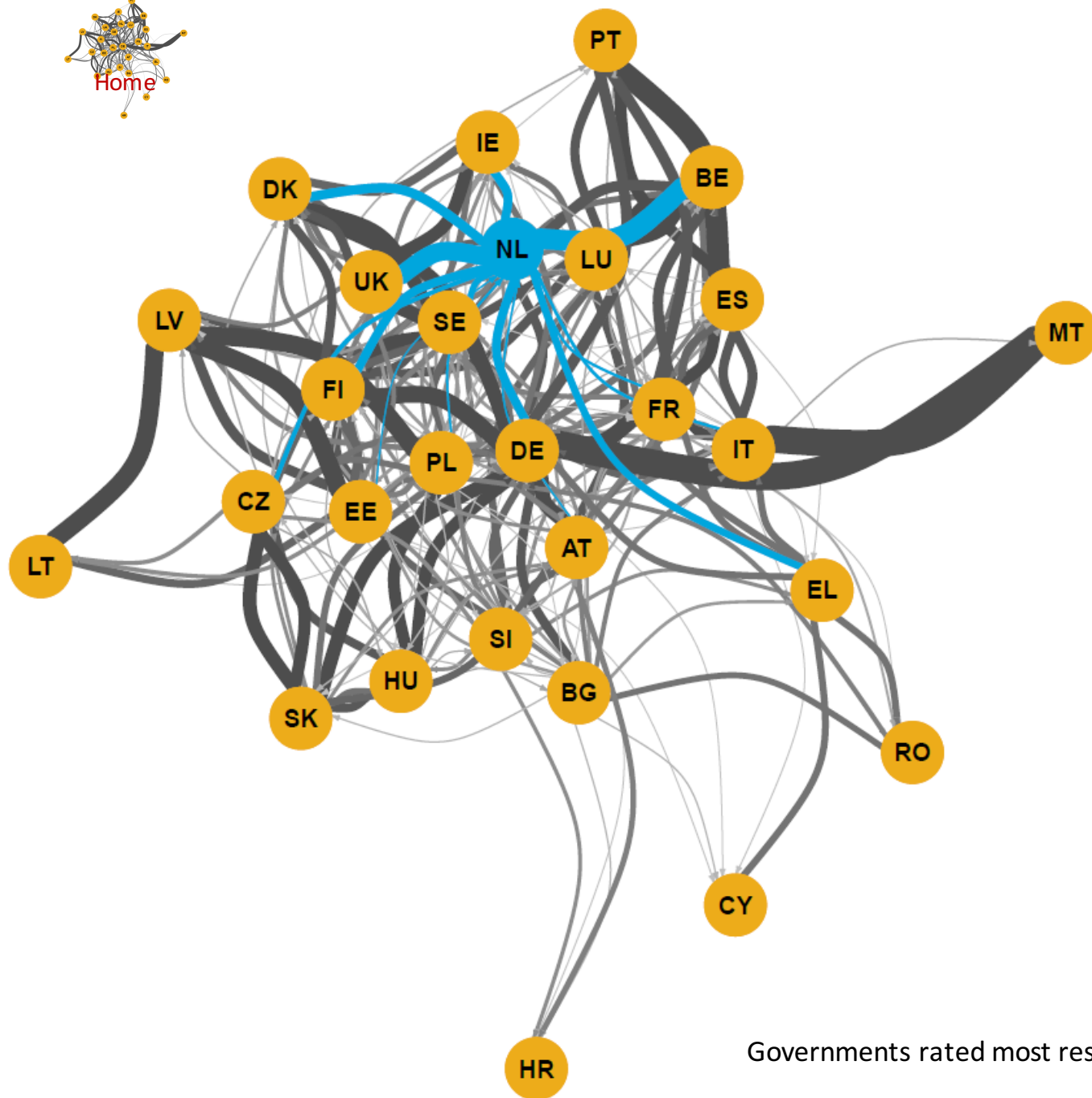
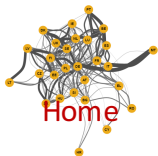
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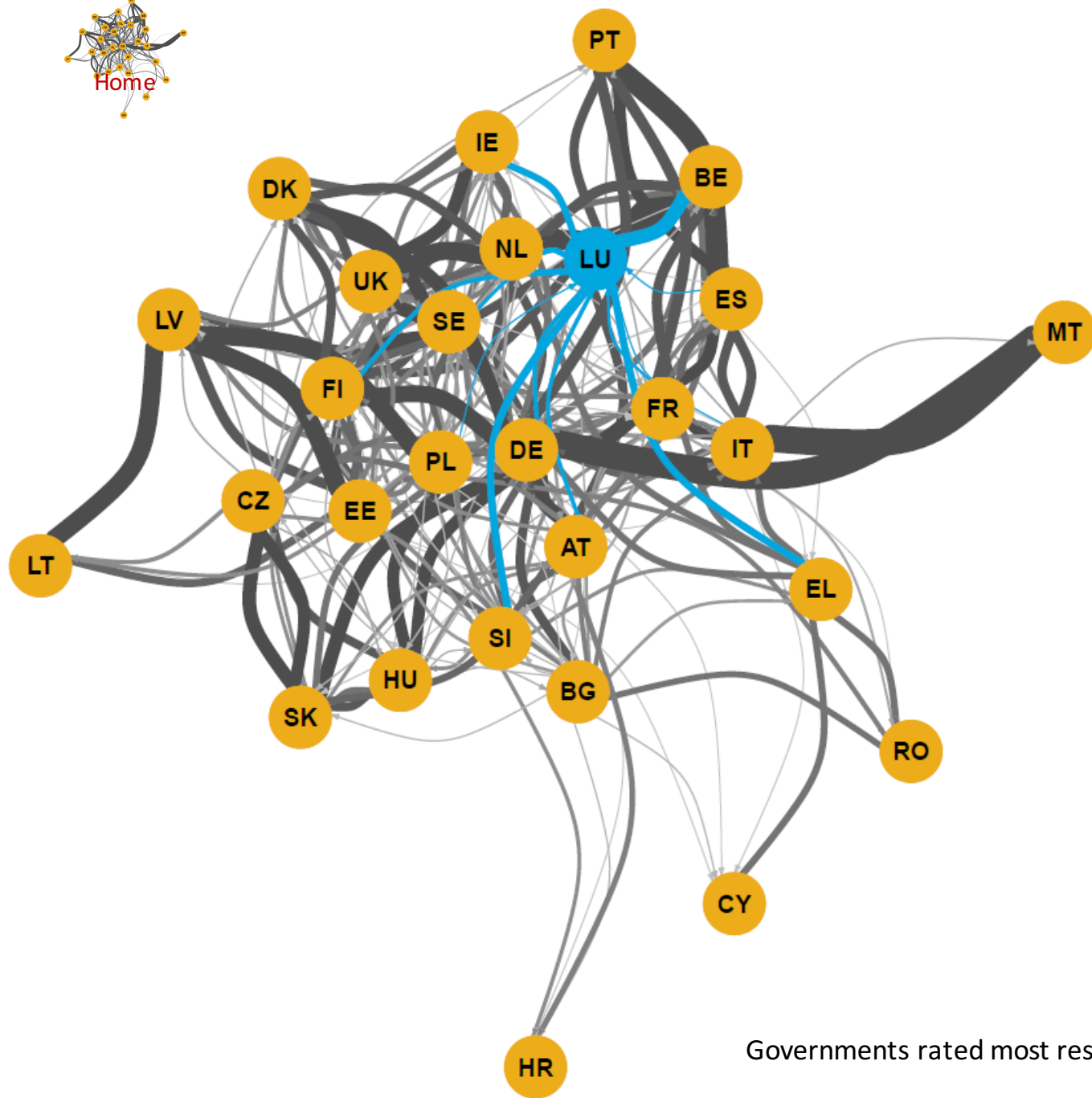
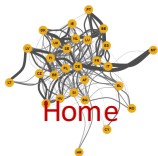
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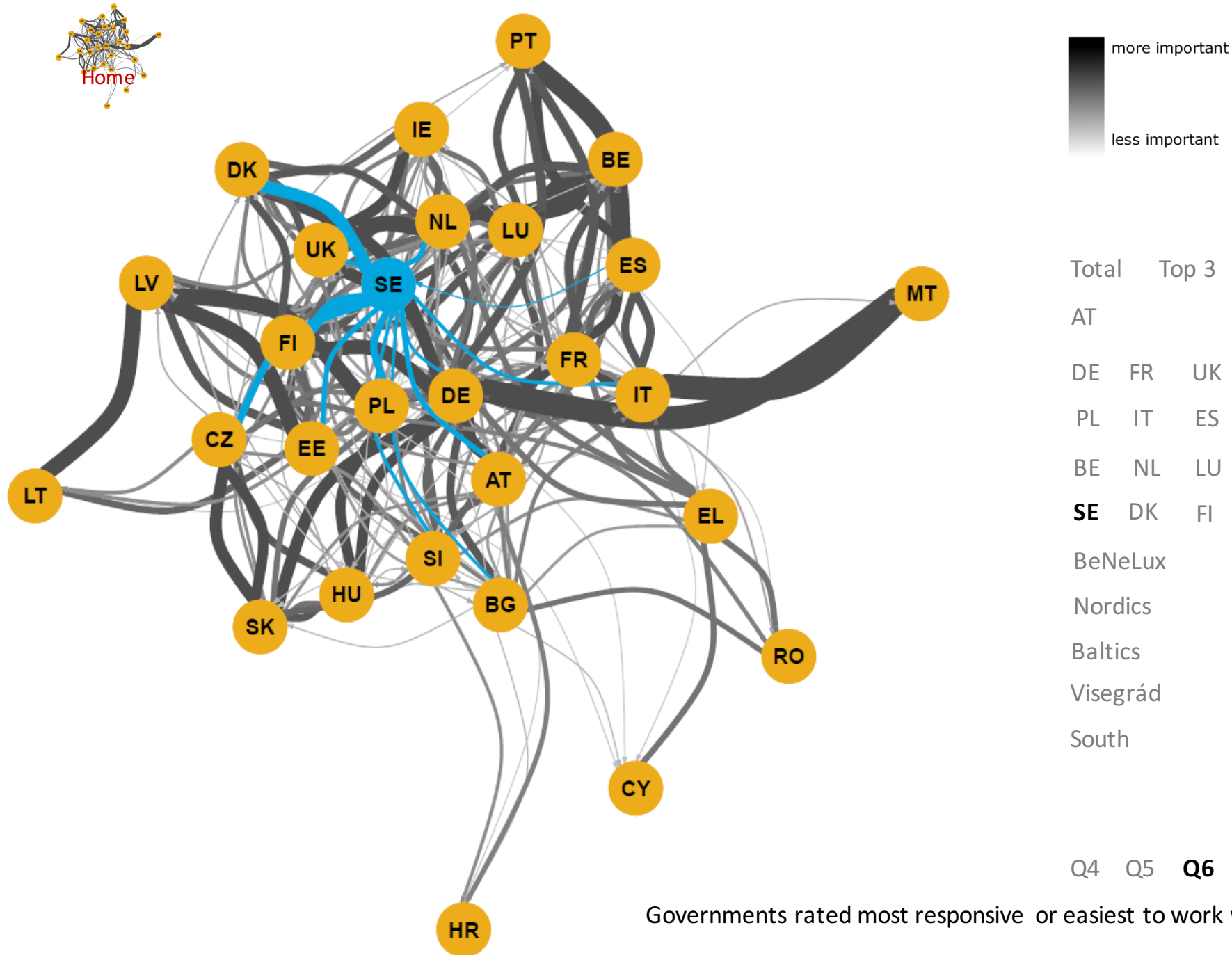
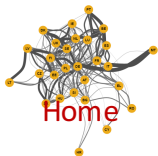
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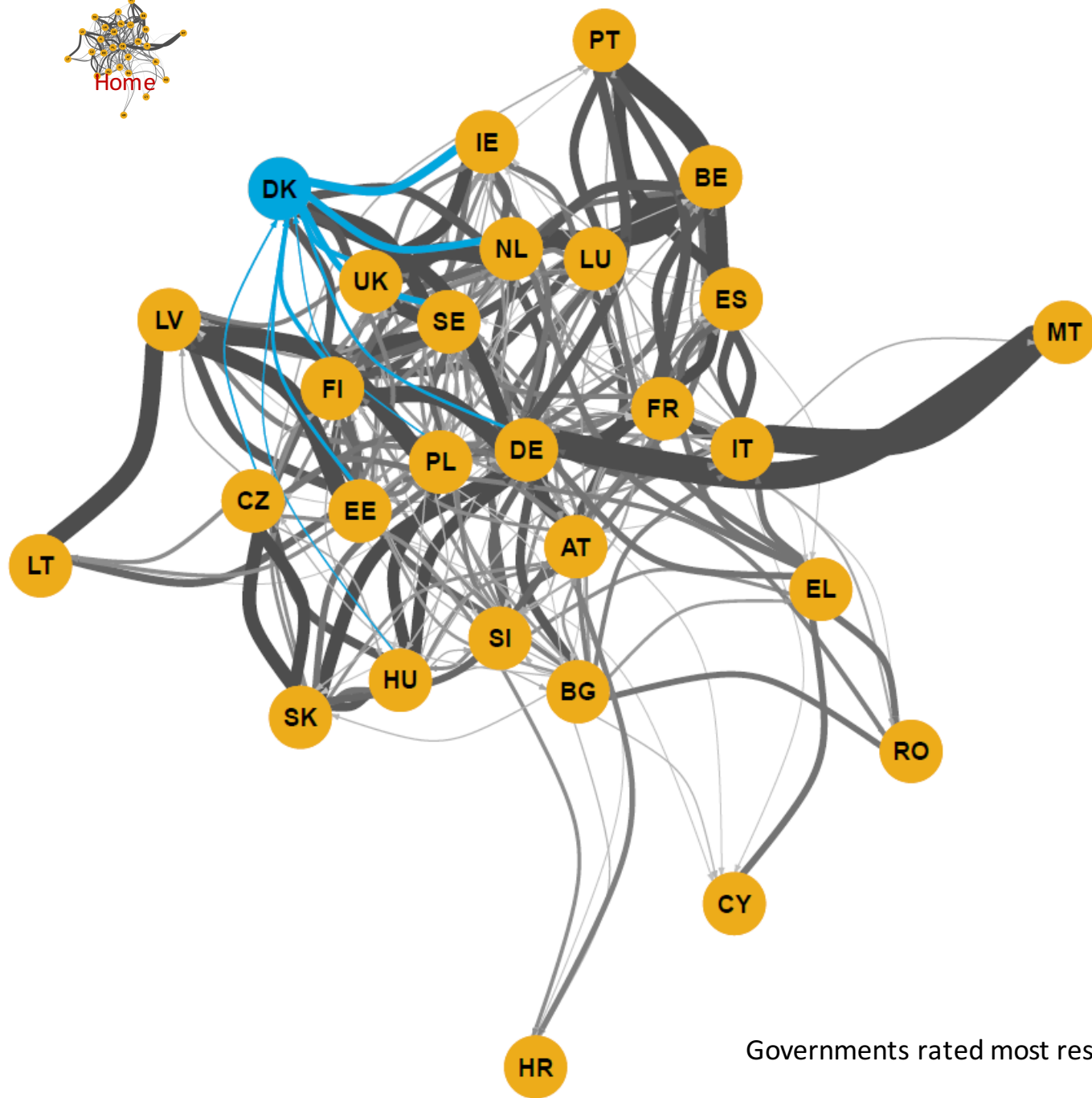
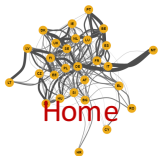
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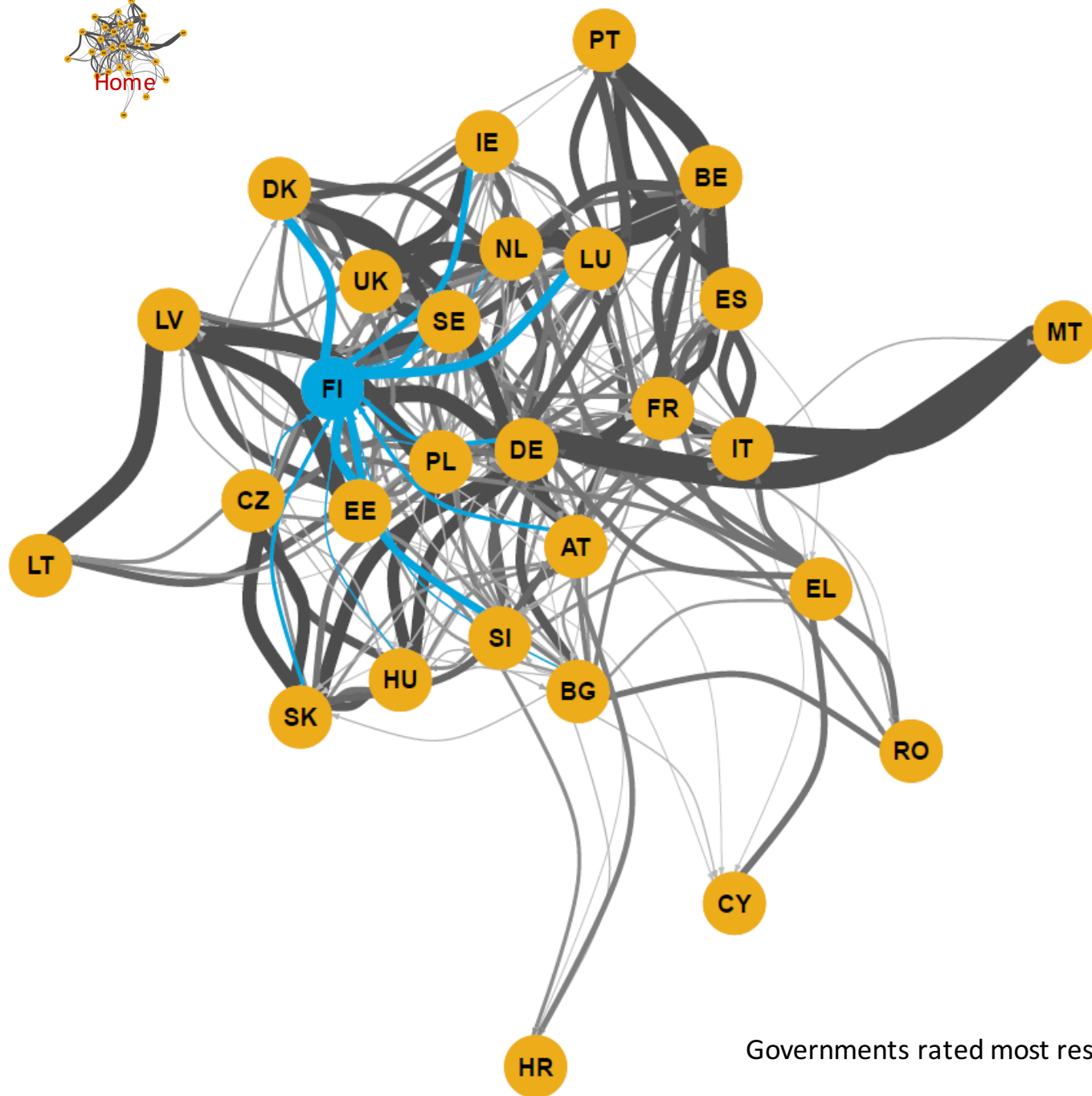
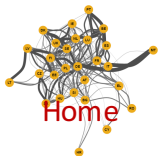
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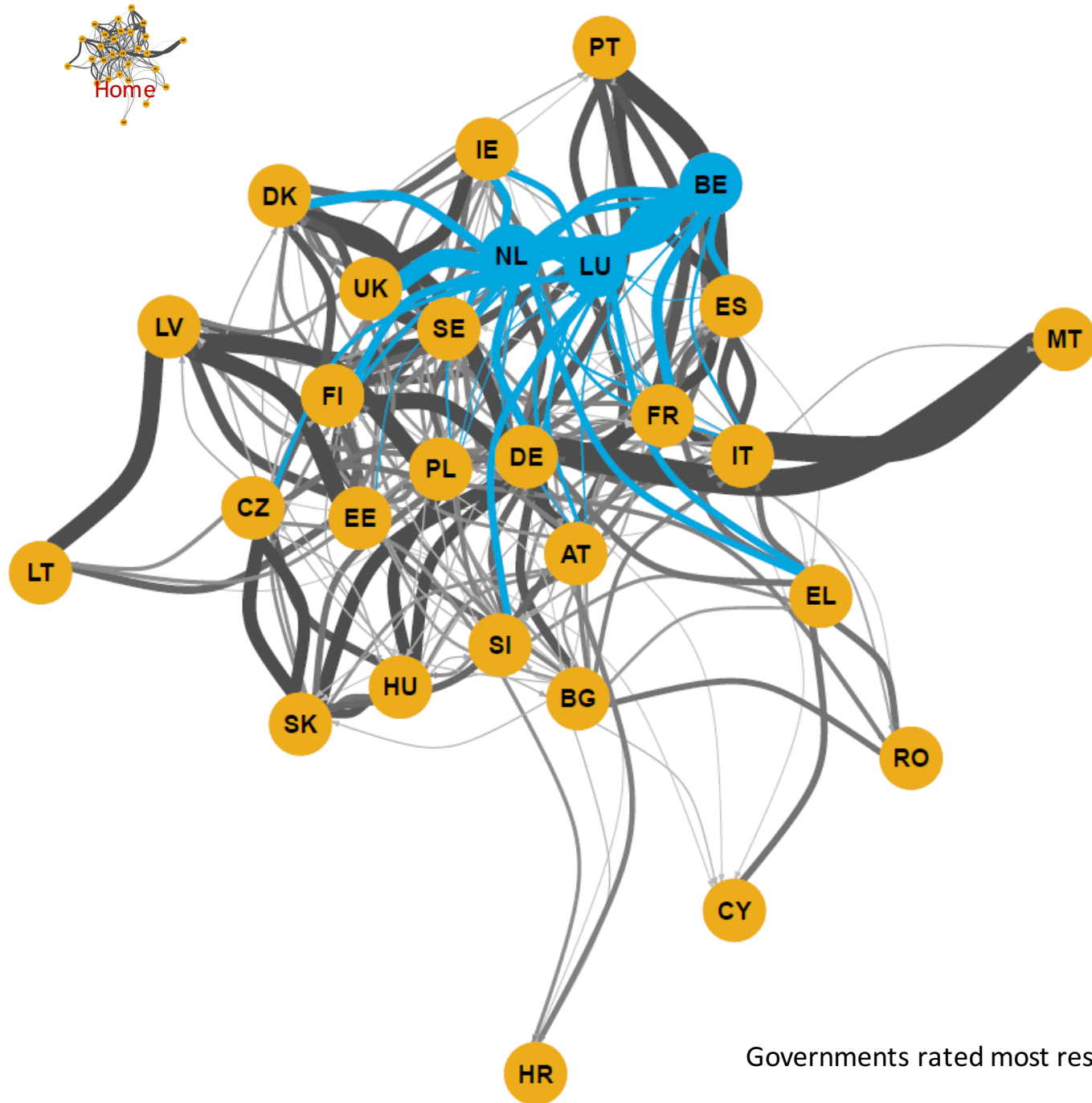
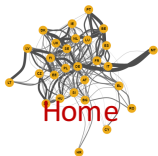
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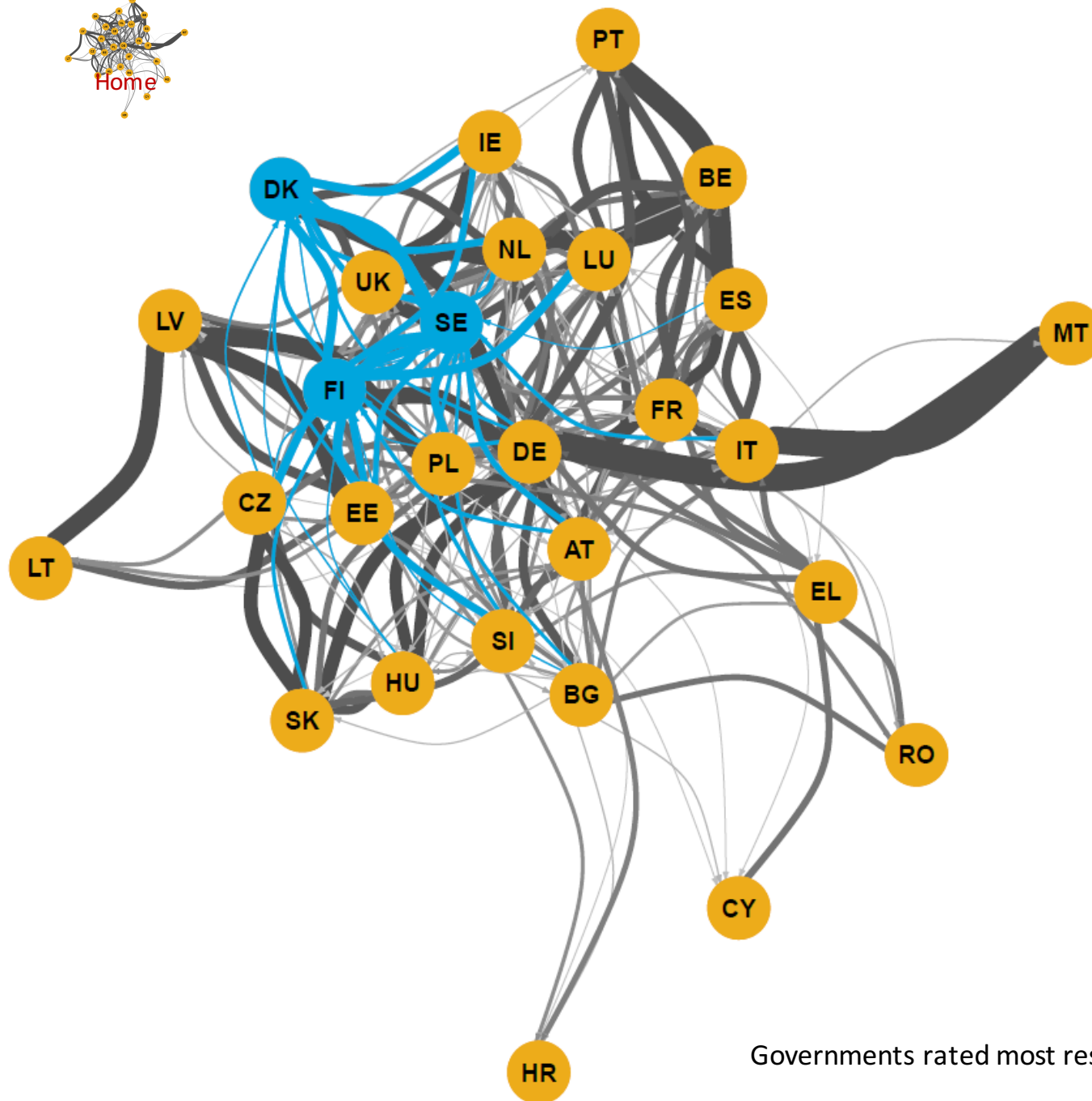
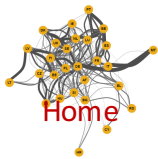
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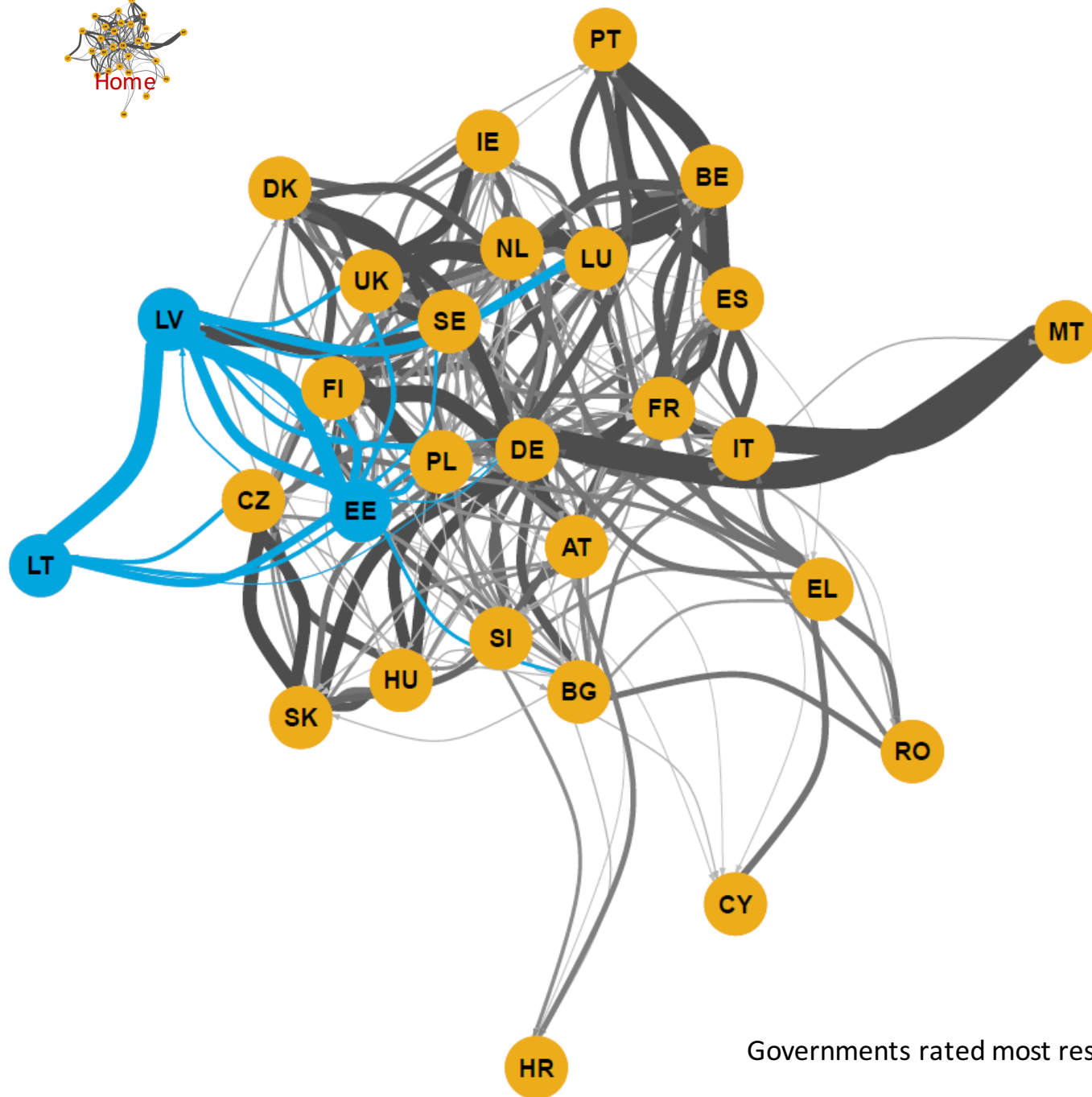
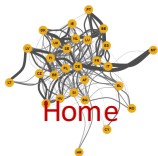
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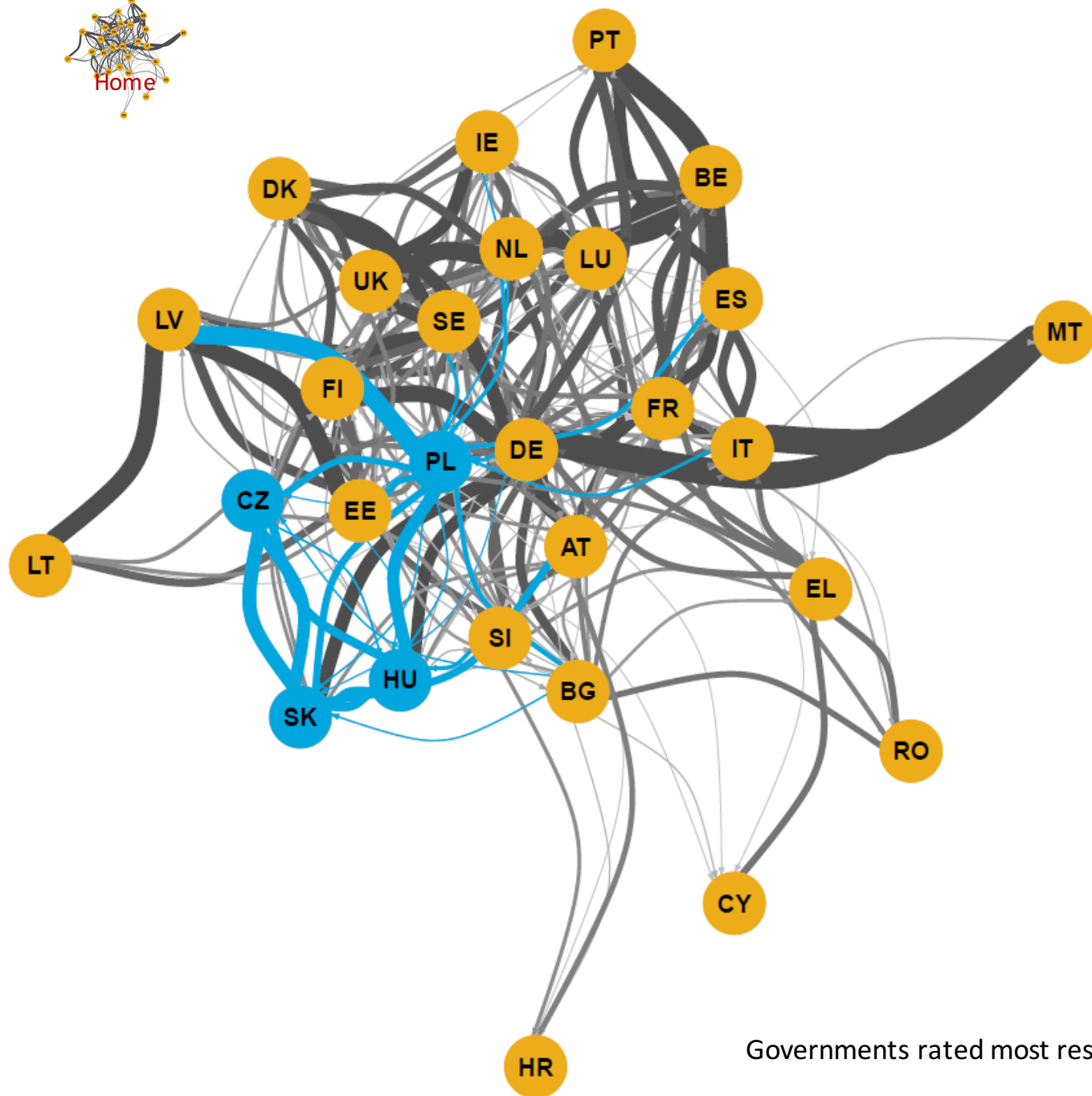
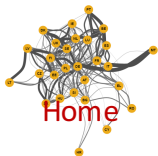
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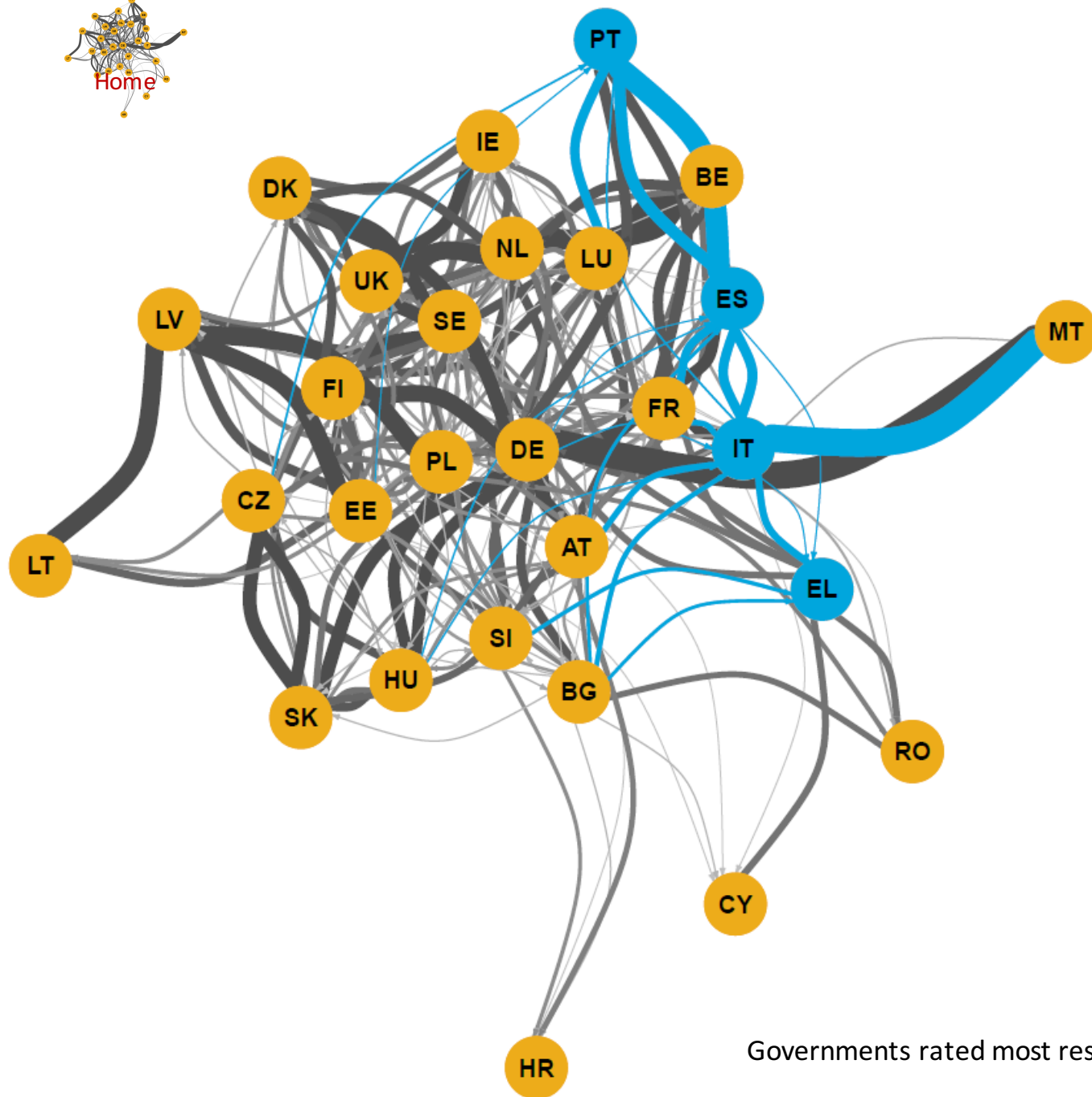
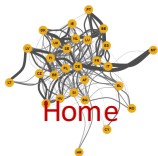
Baltics

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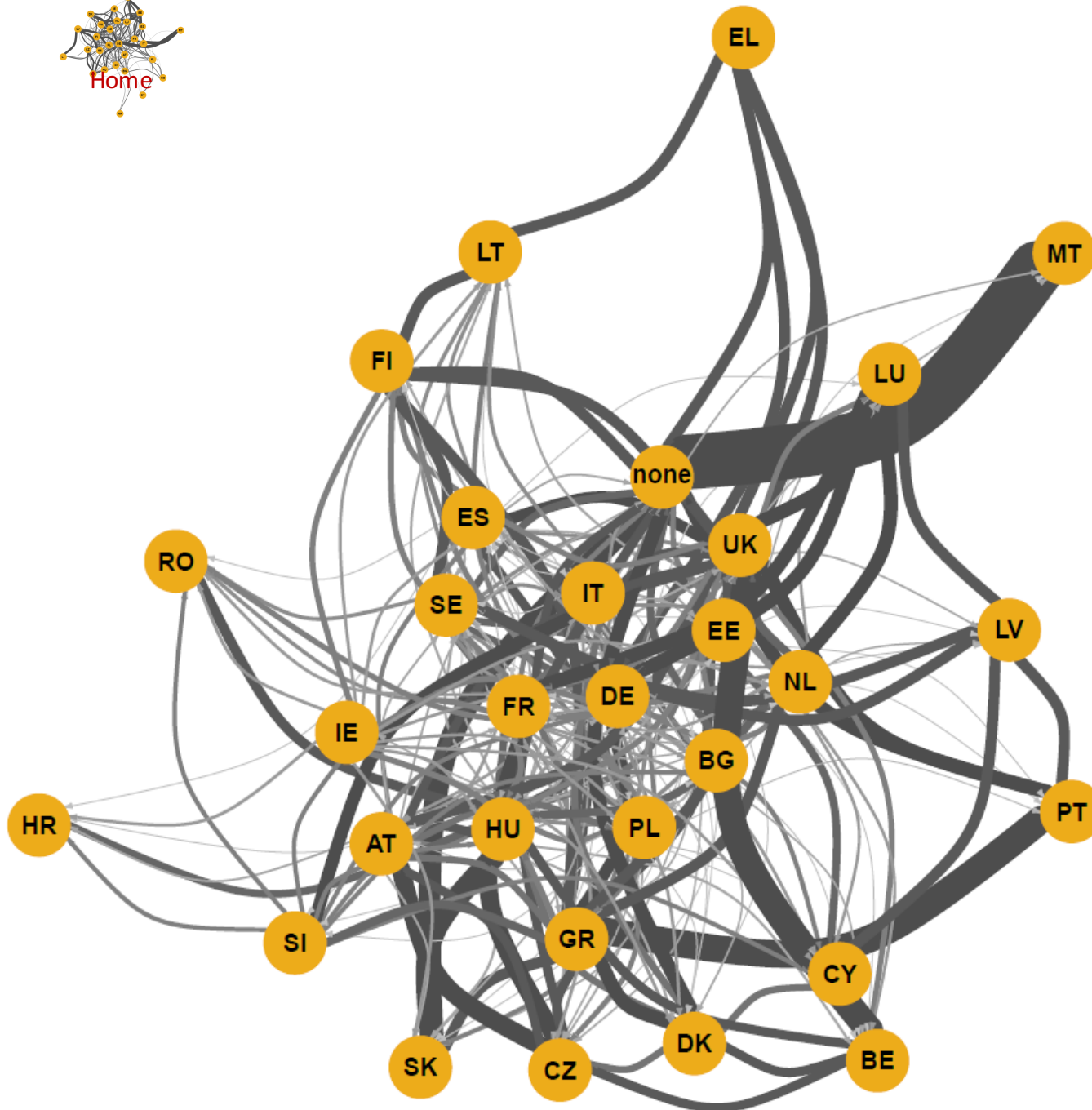
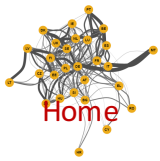
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Visegrád

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Q4 Q5 **Q6** Q8

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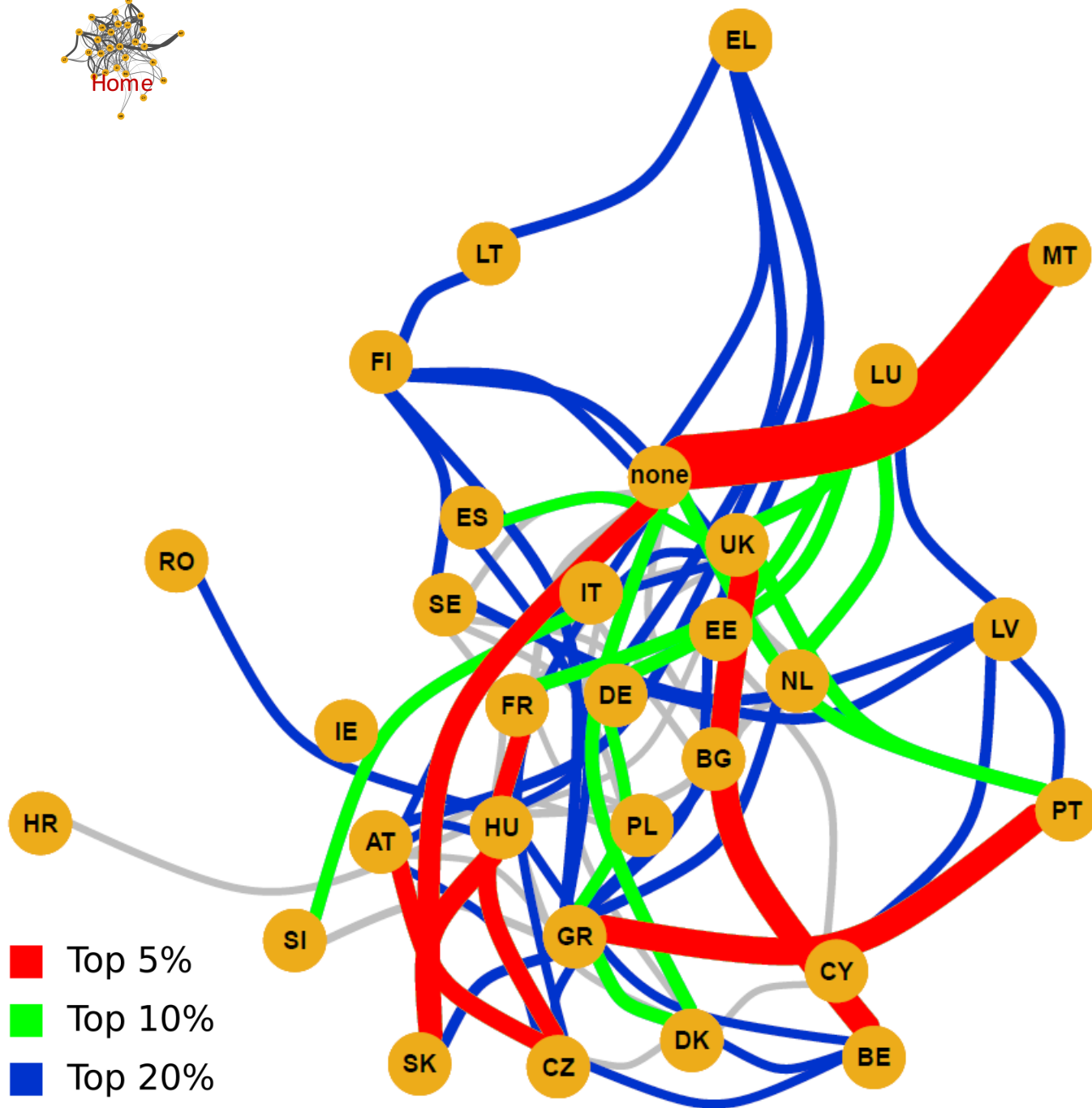
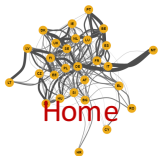


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Q4 Q5 Q6 **Q8**

Governments that disappointed



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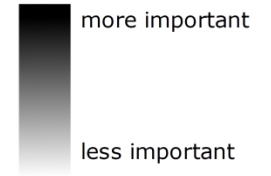
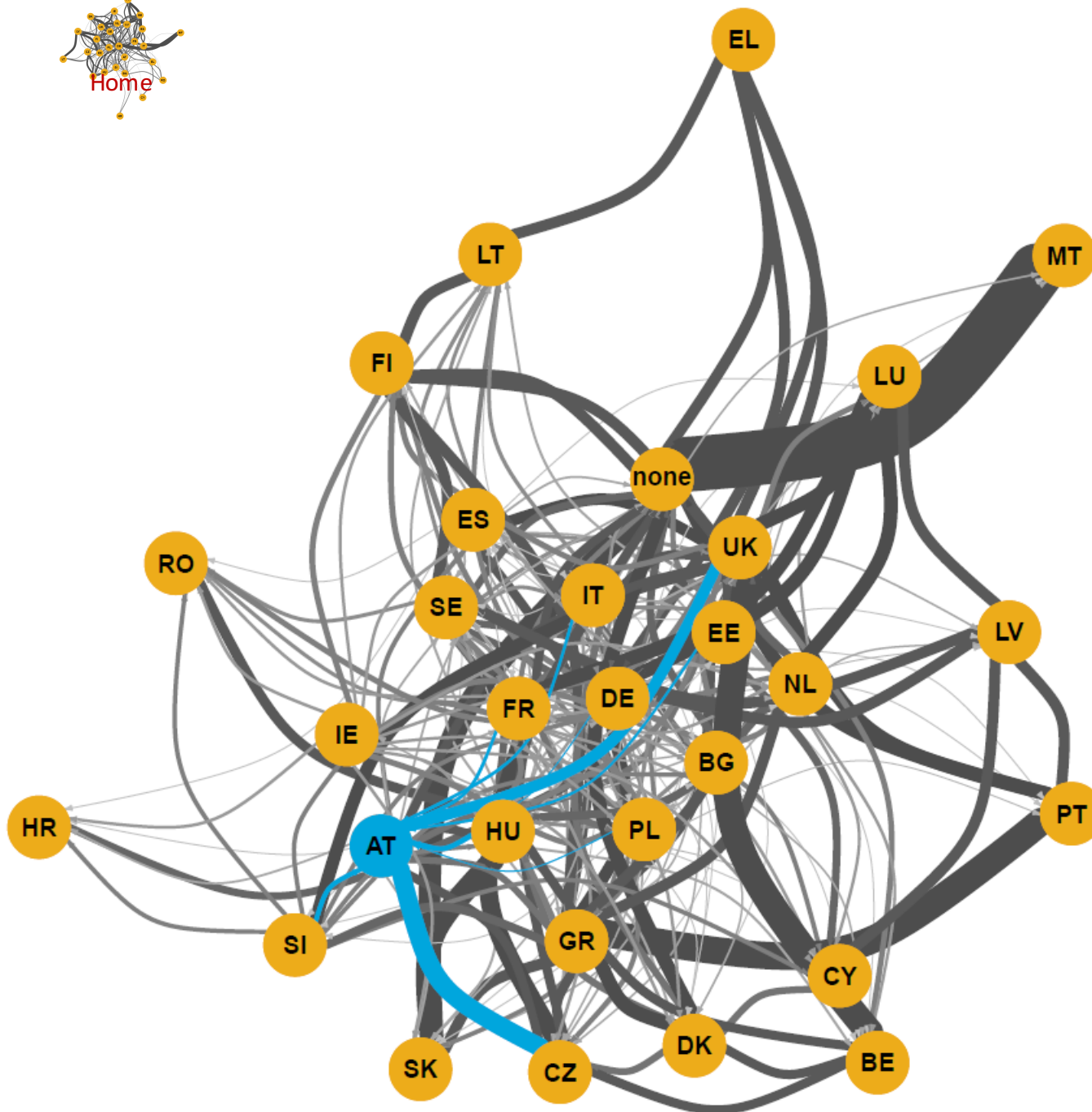
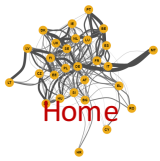
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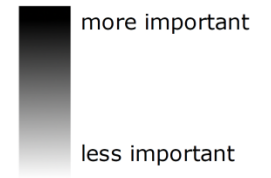
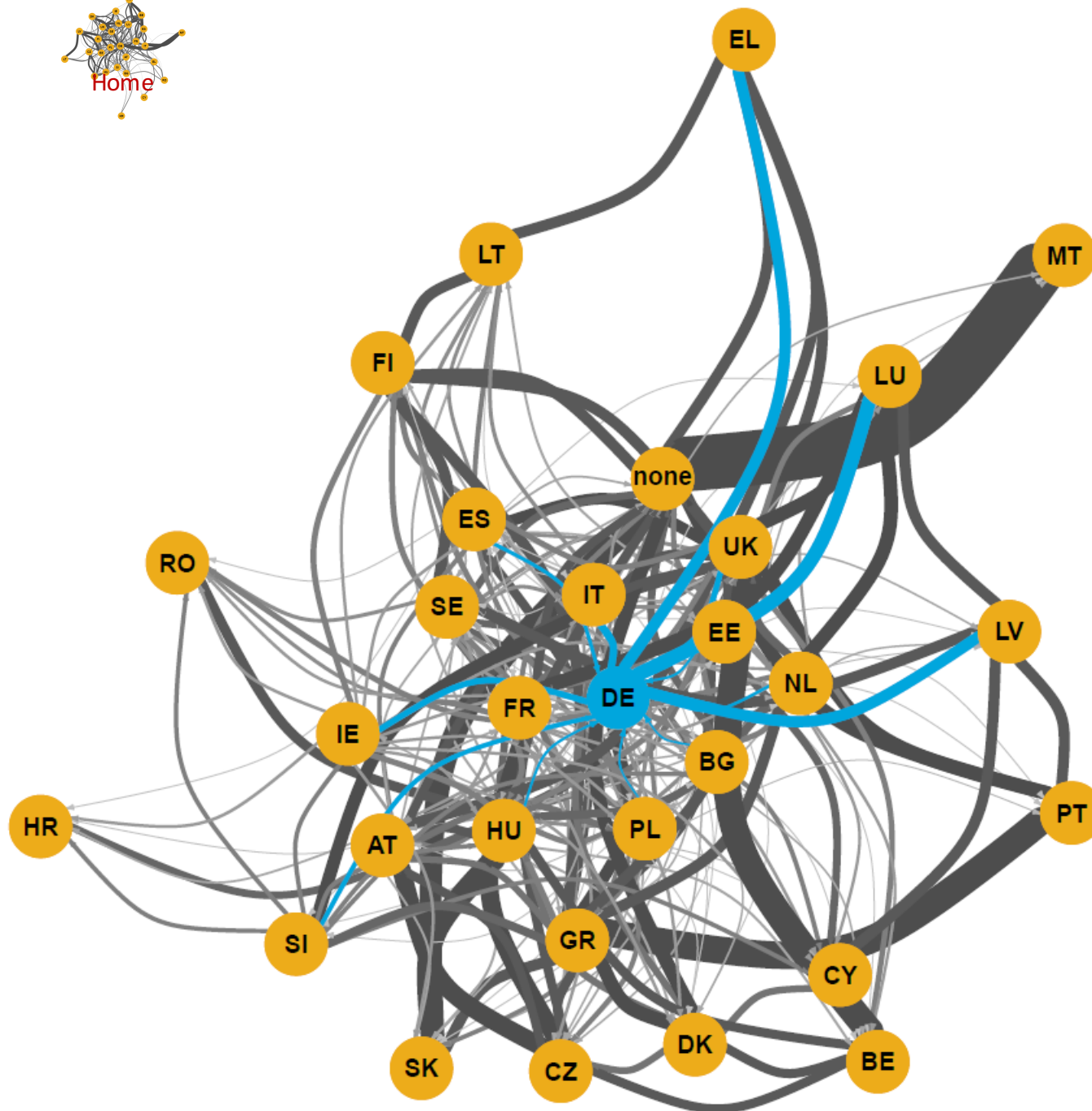
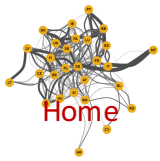
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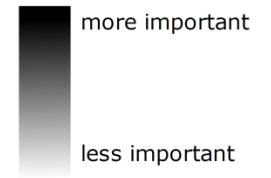
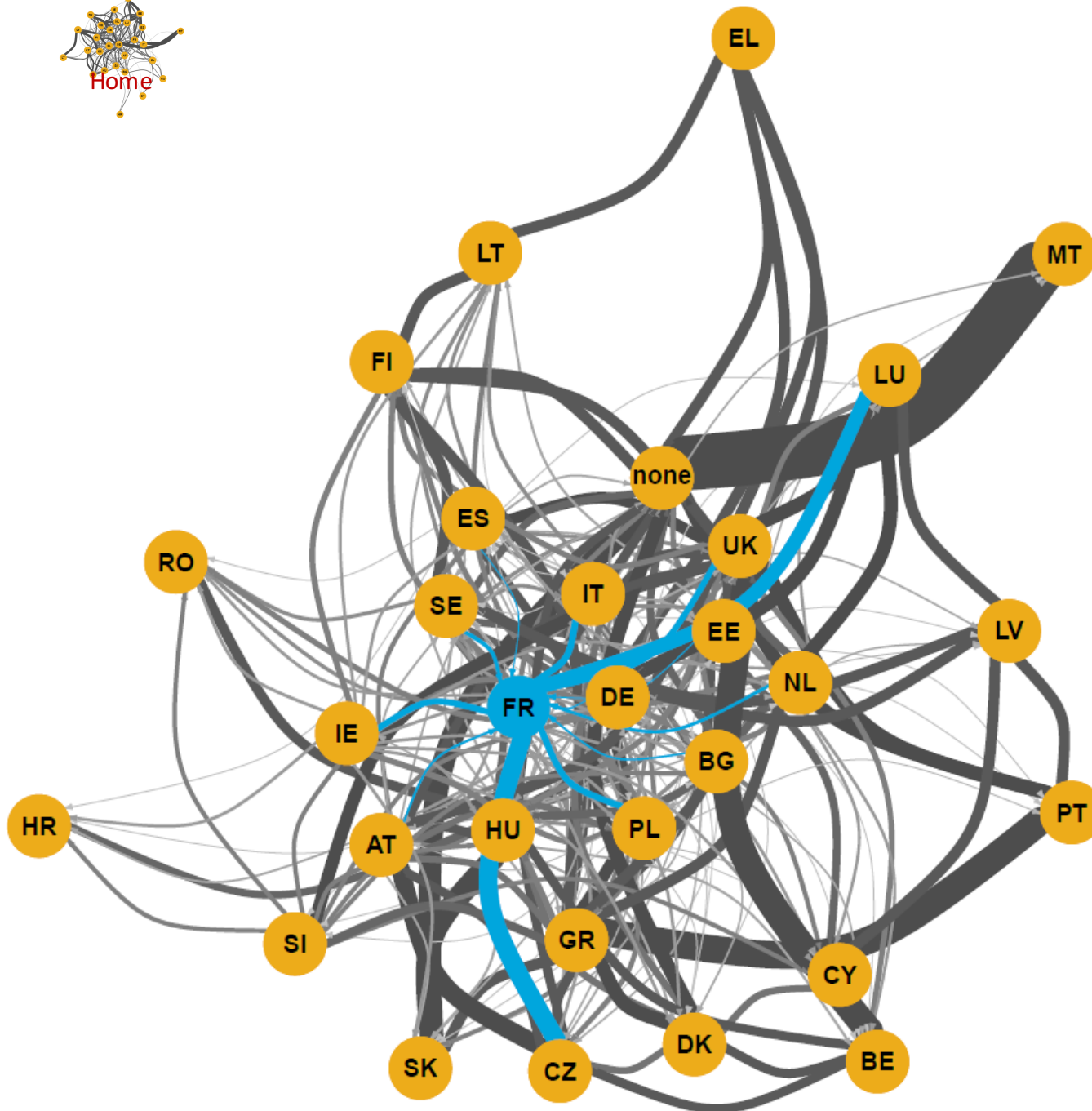
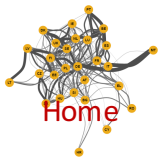
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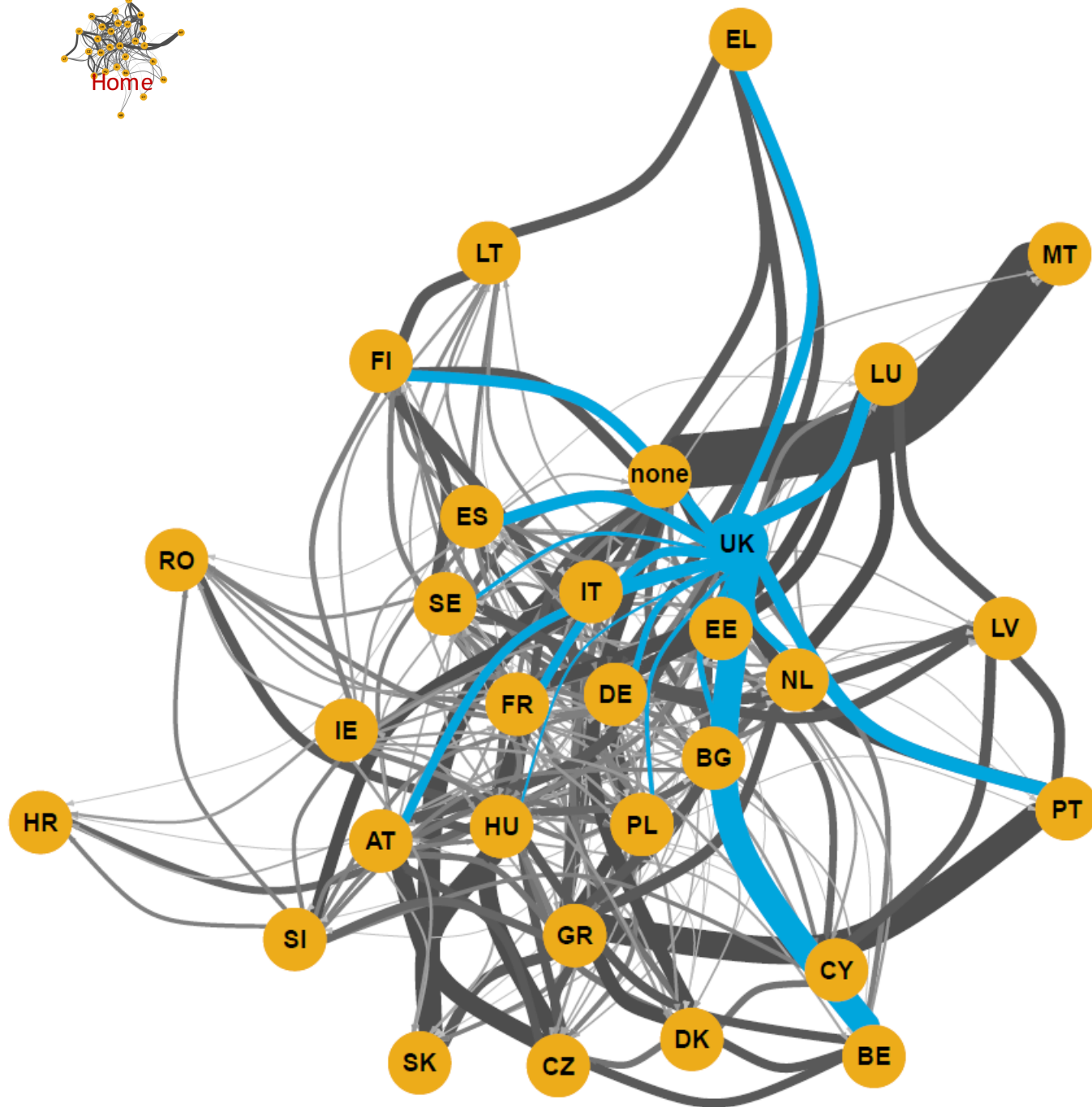
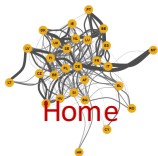
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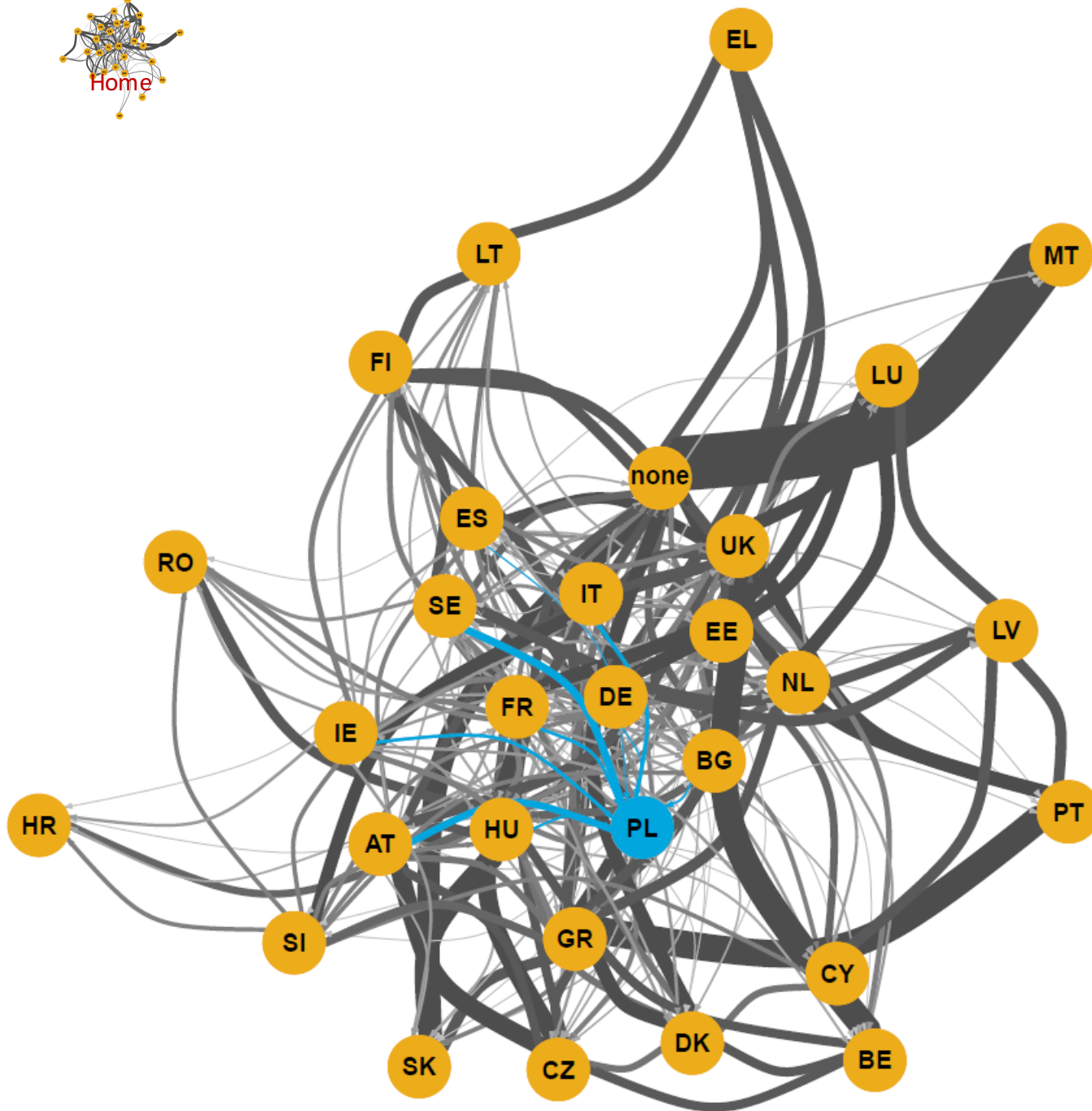
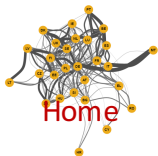
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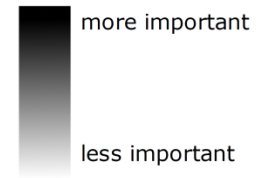
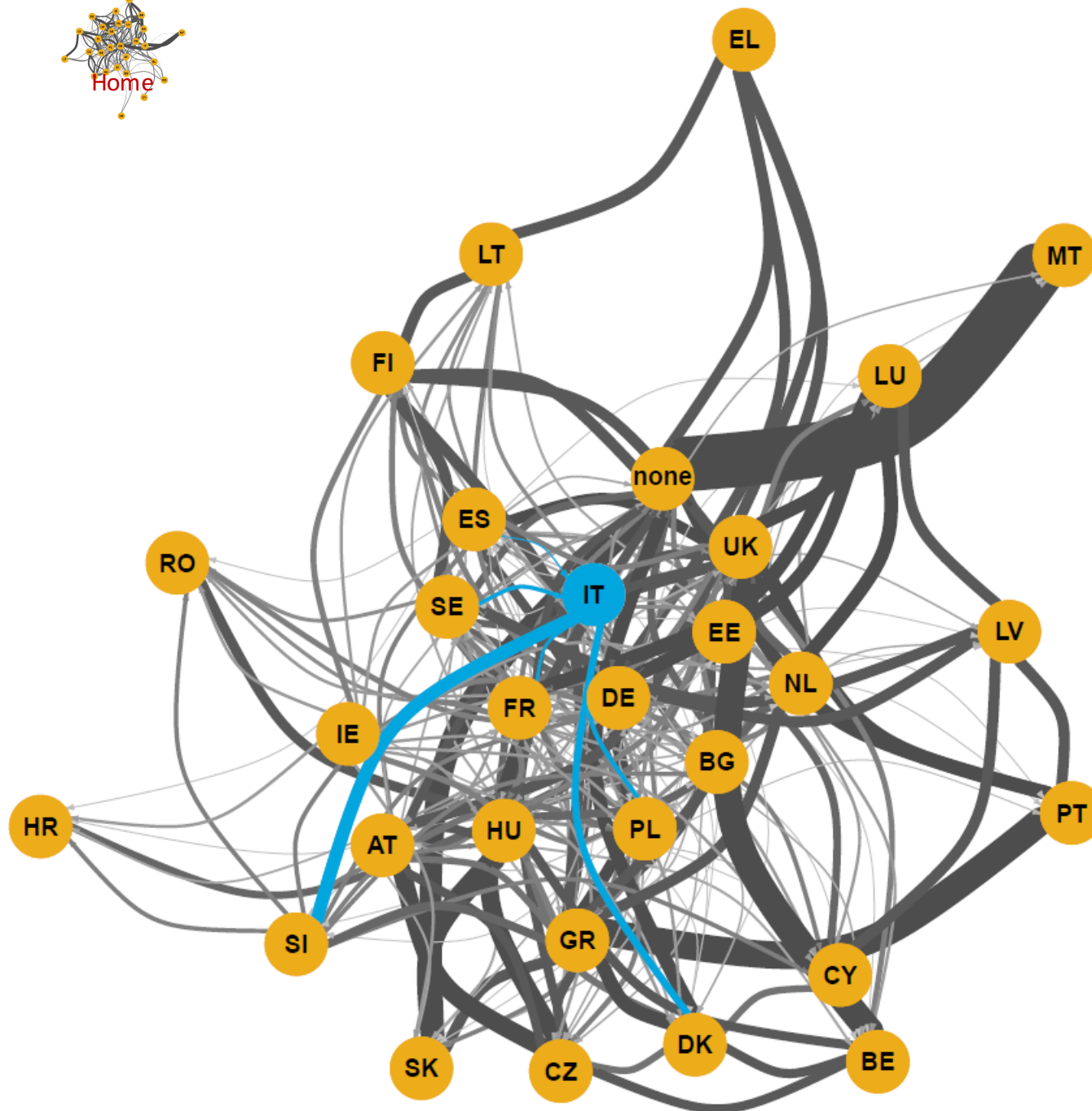
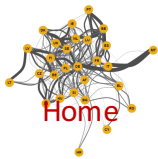


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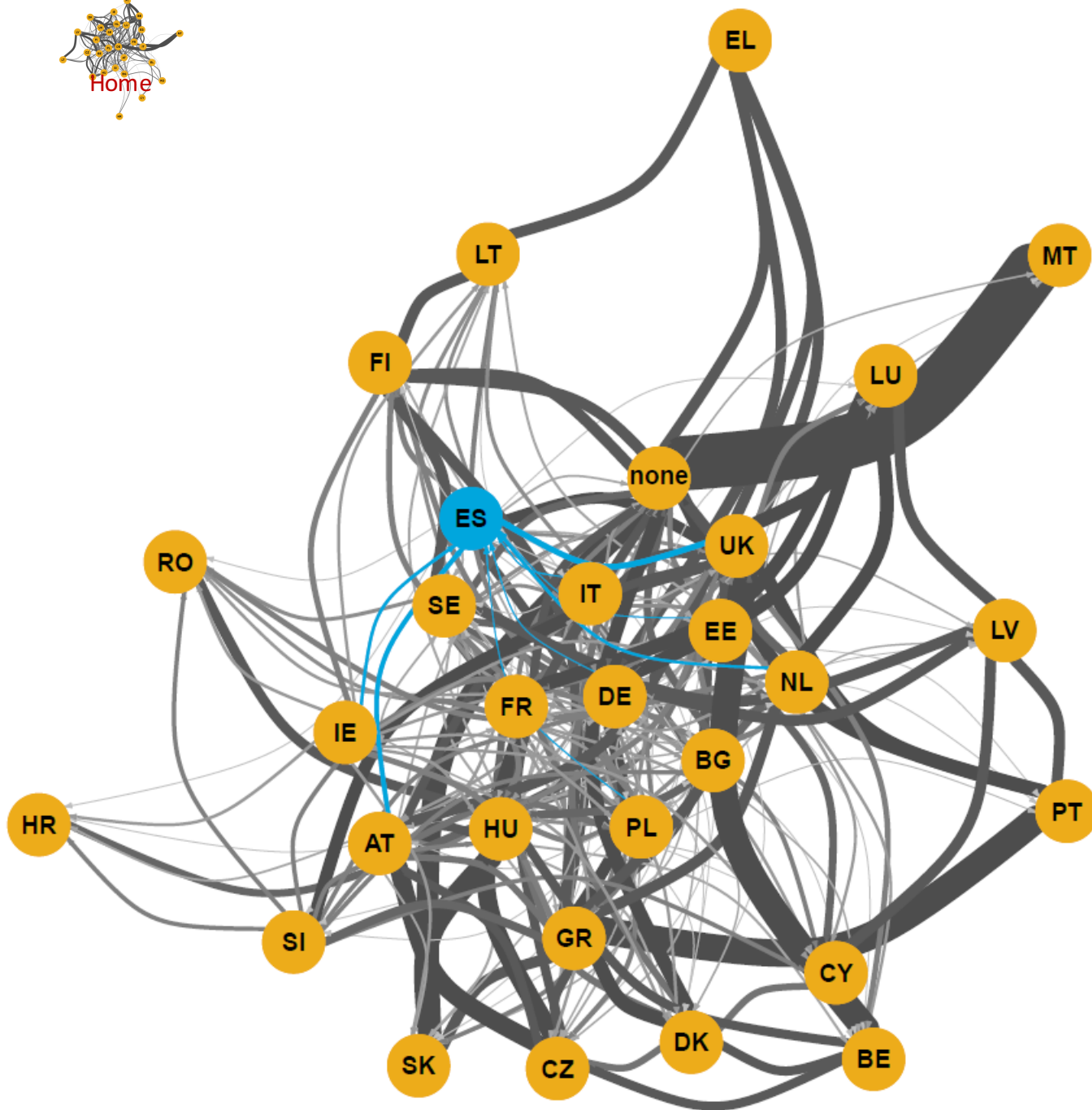
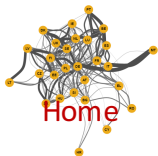
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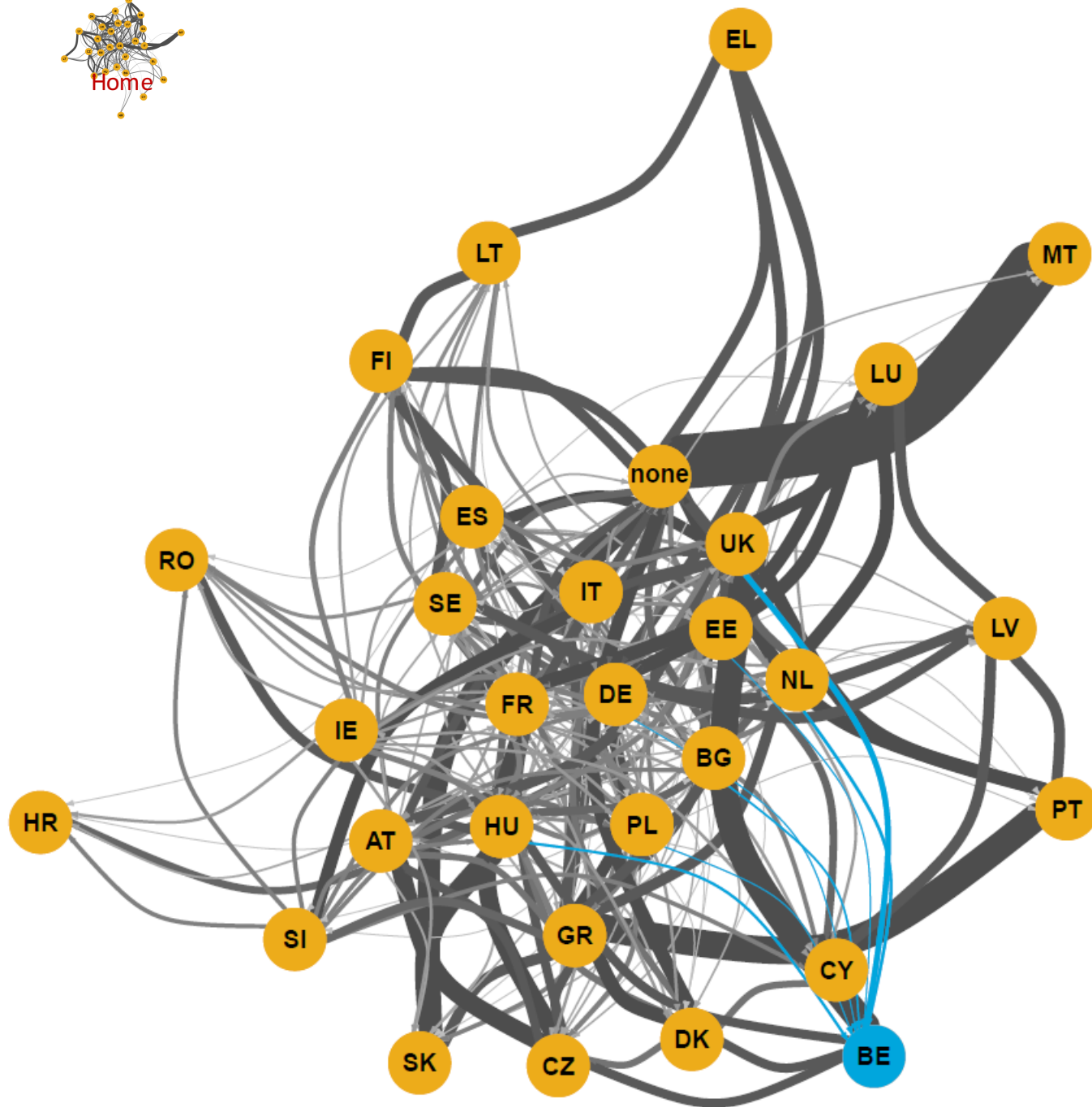
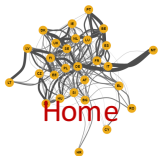


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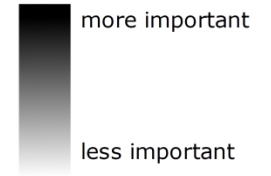
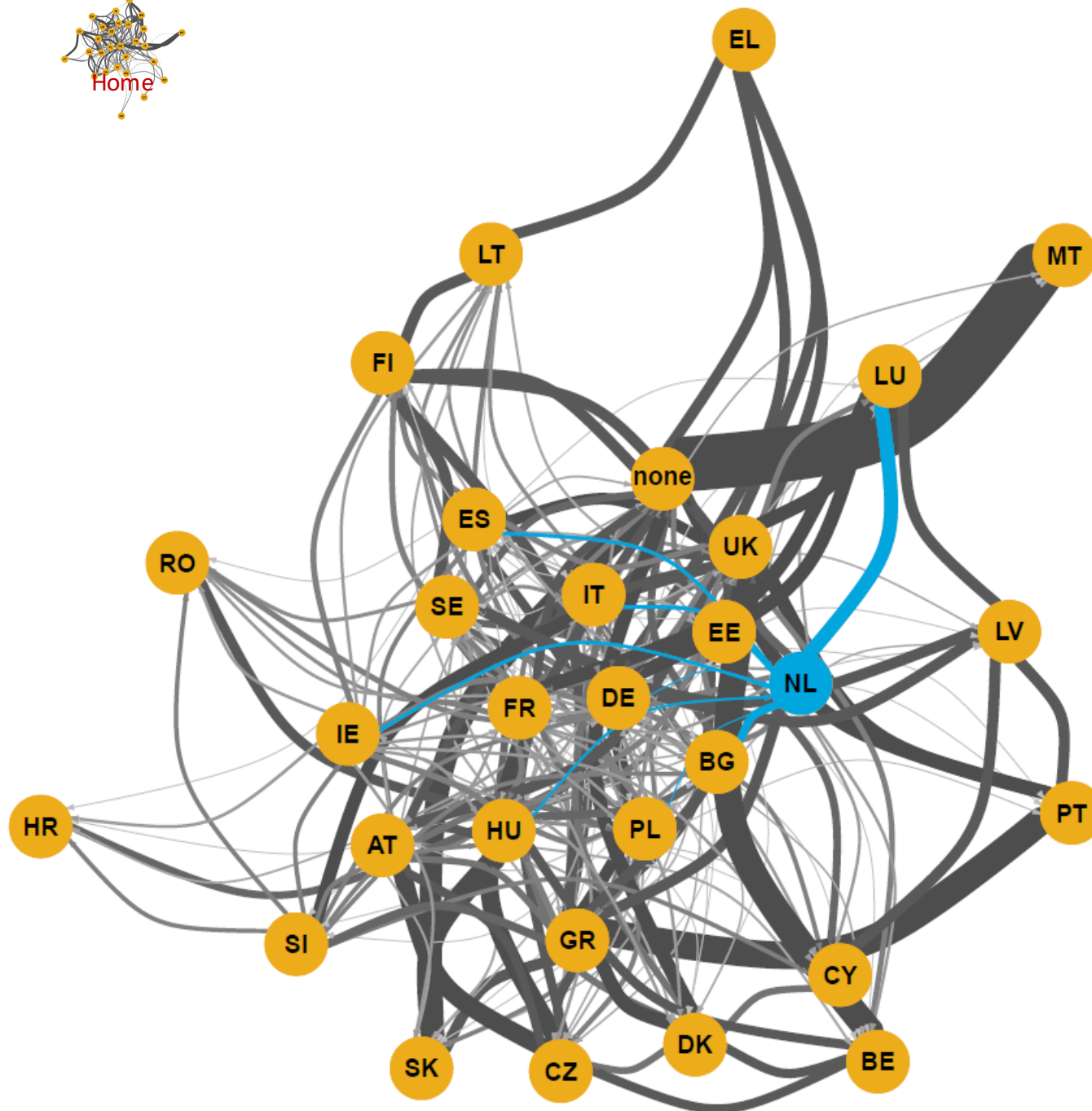
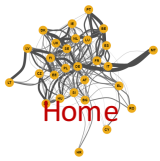
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Governments that disappointed

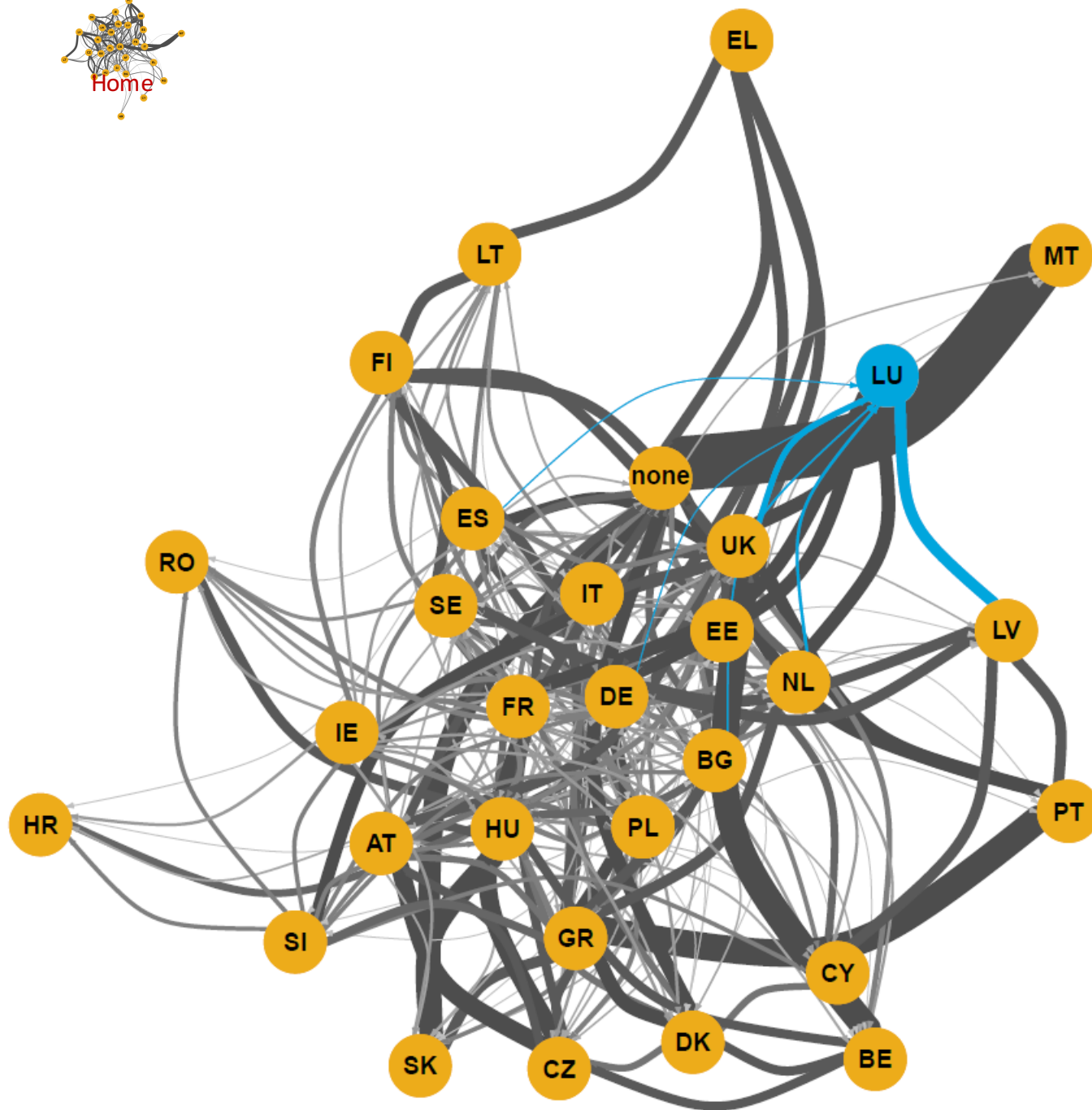
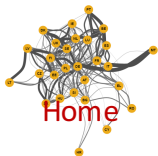


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Baltics		
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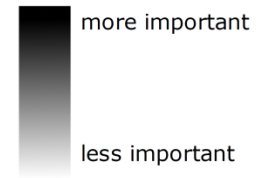
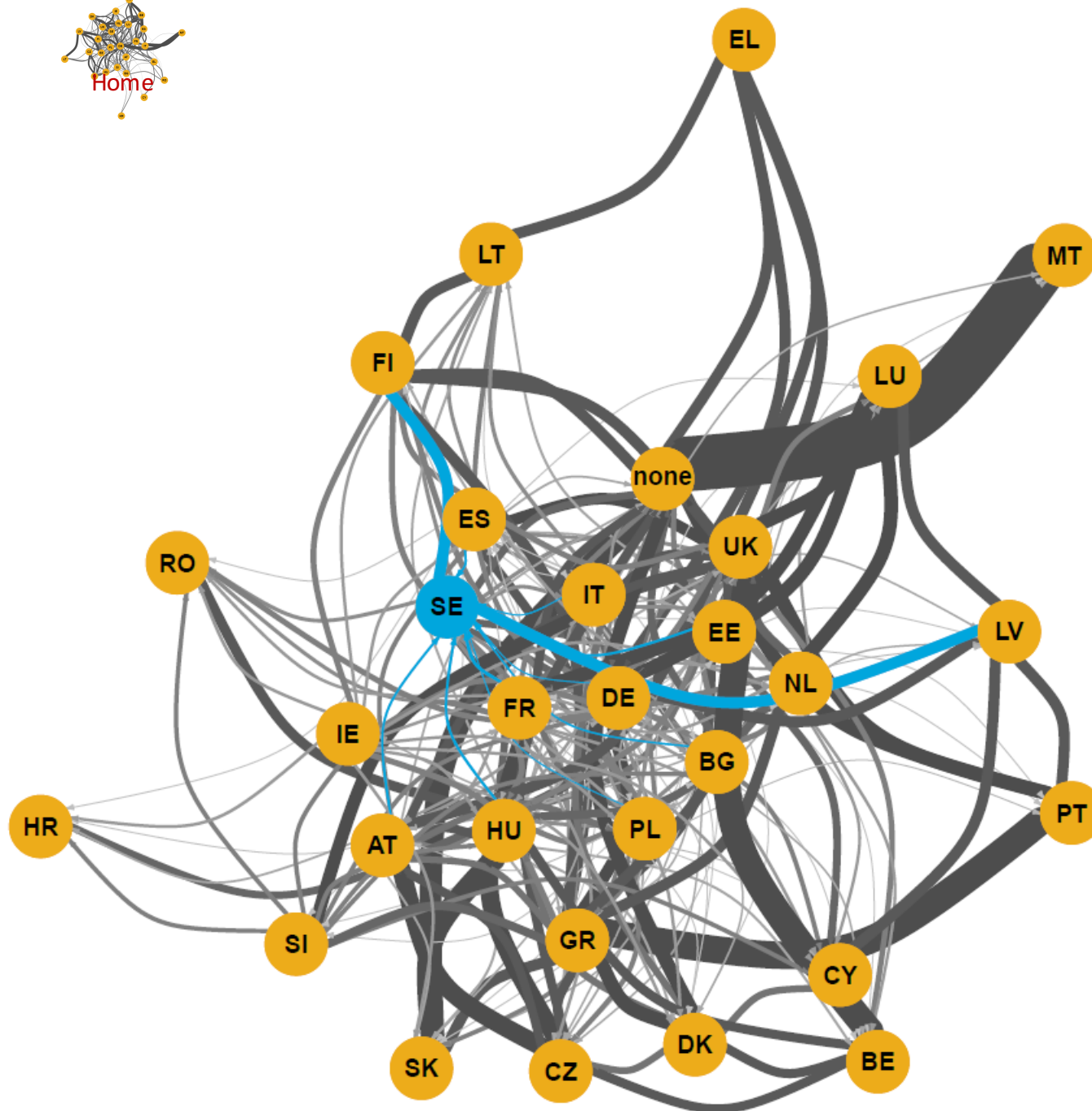
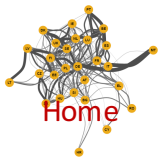
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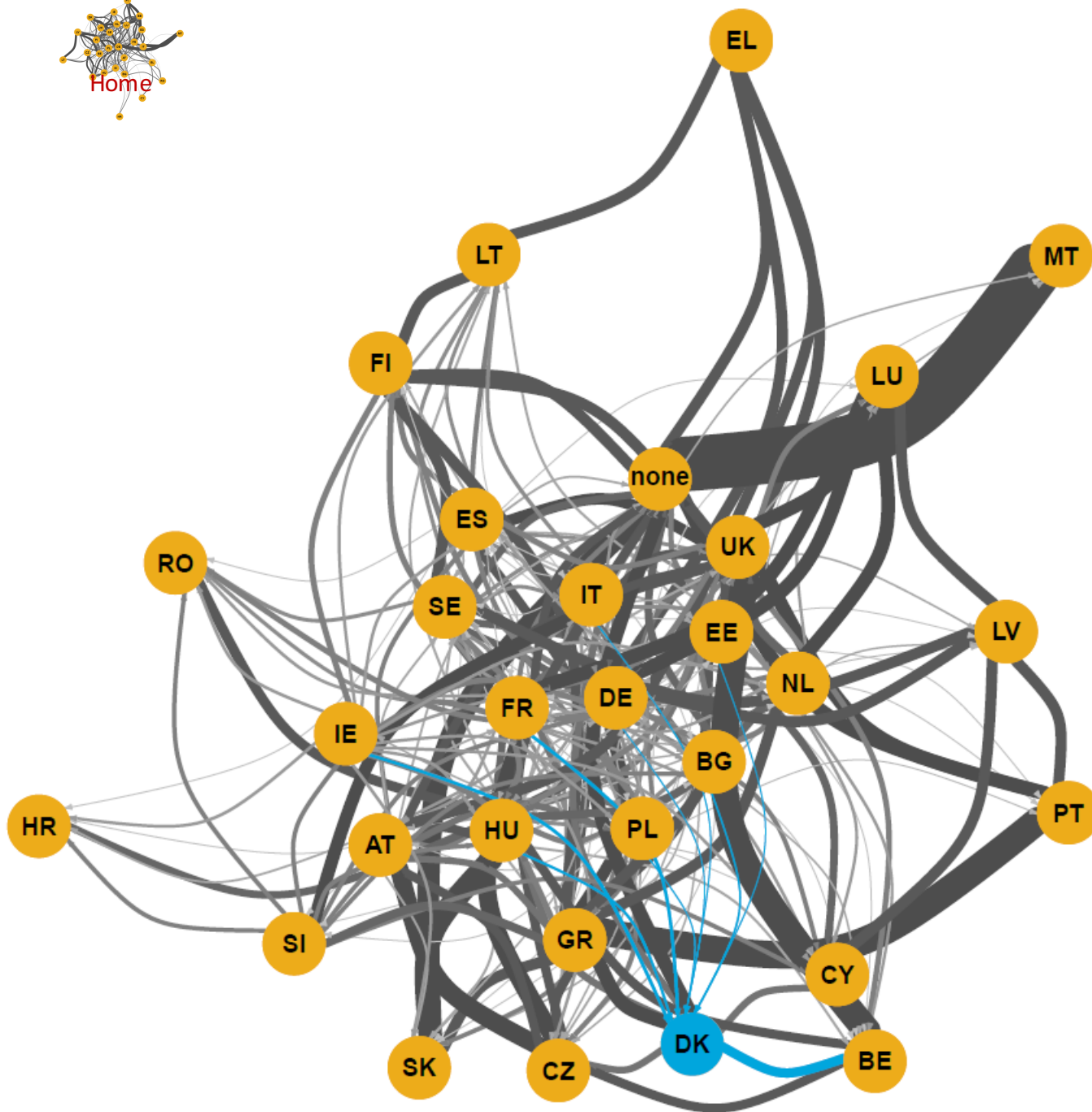
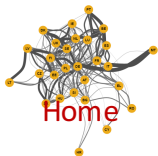
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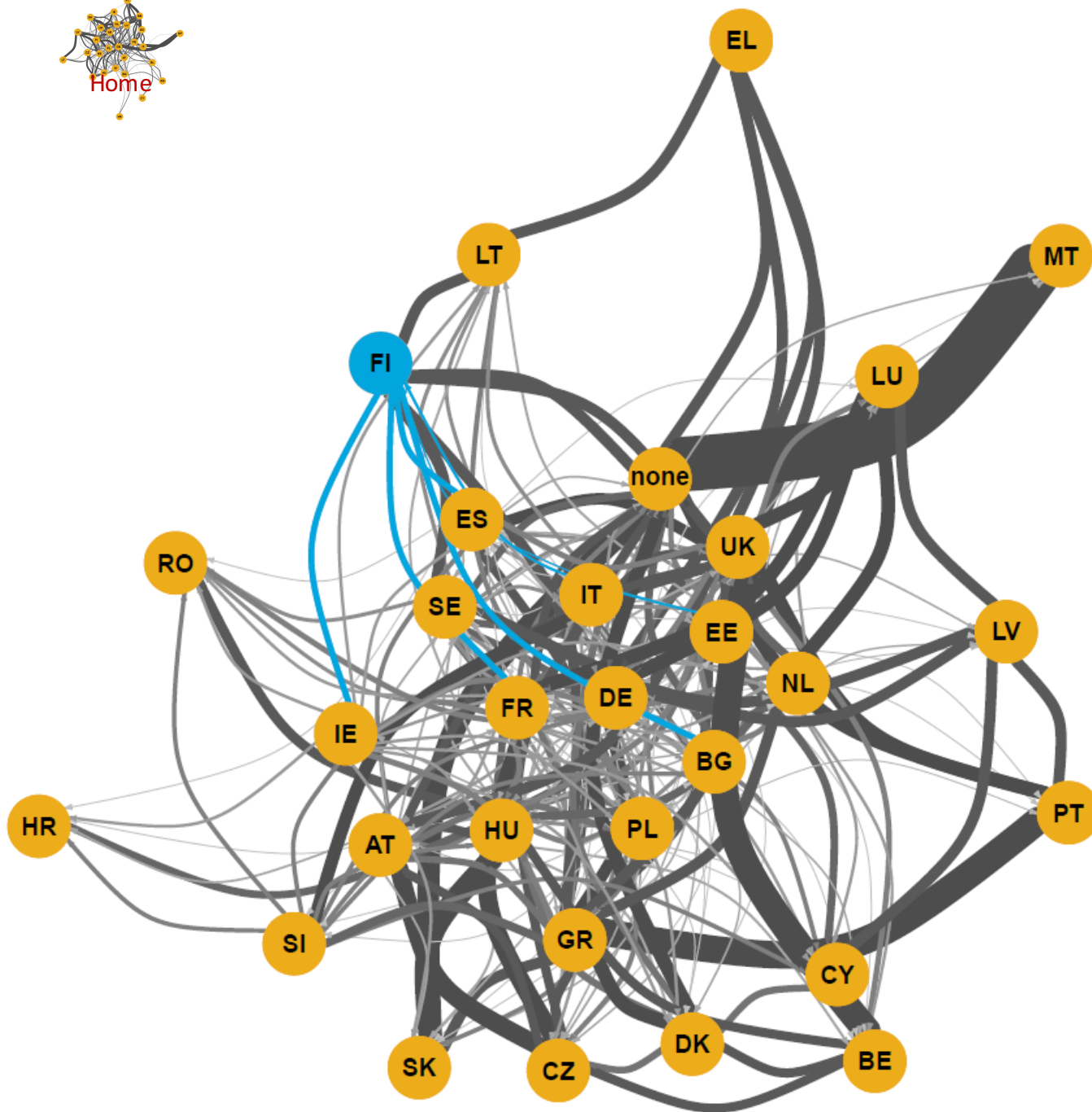
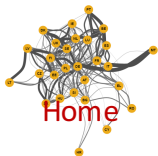
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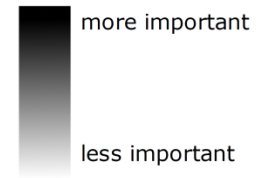
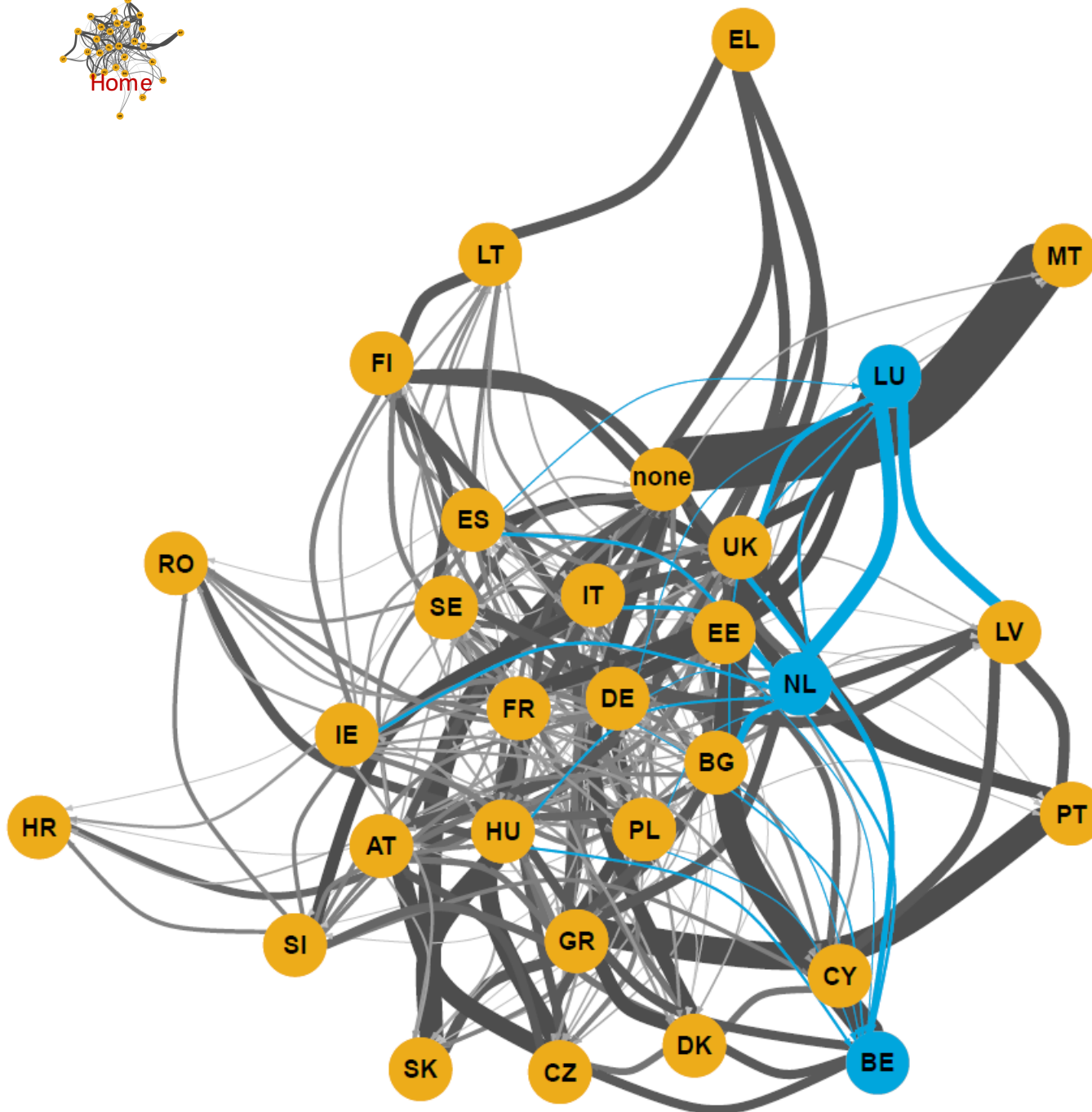
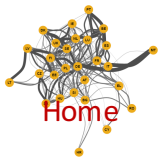
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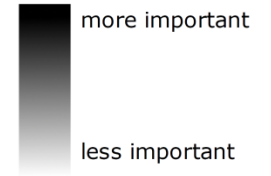
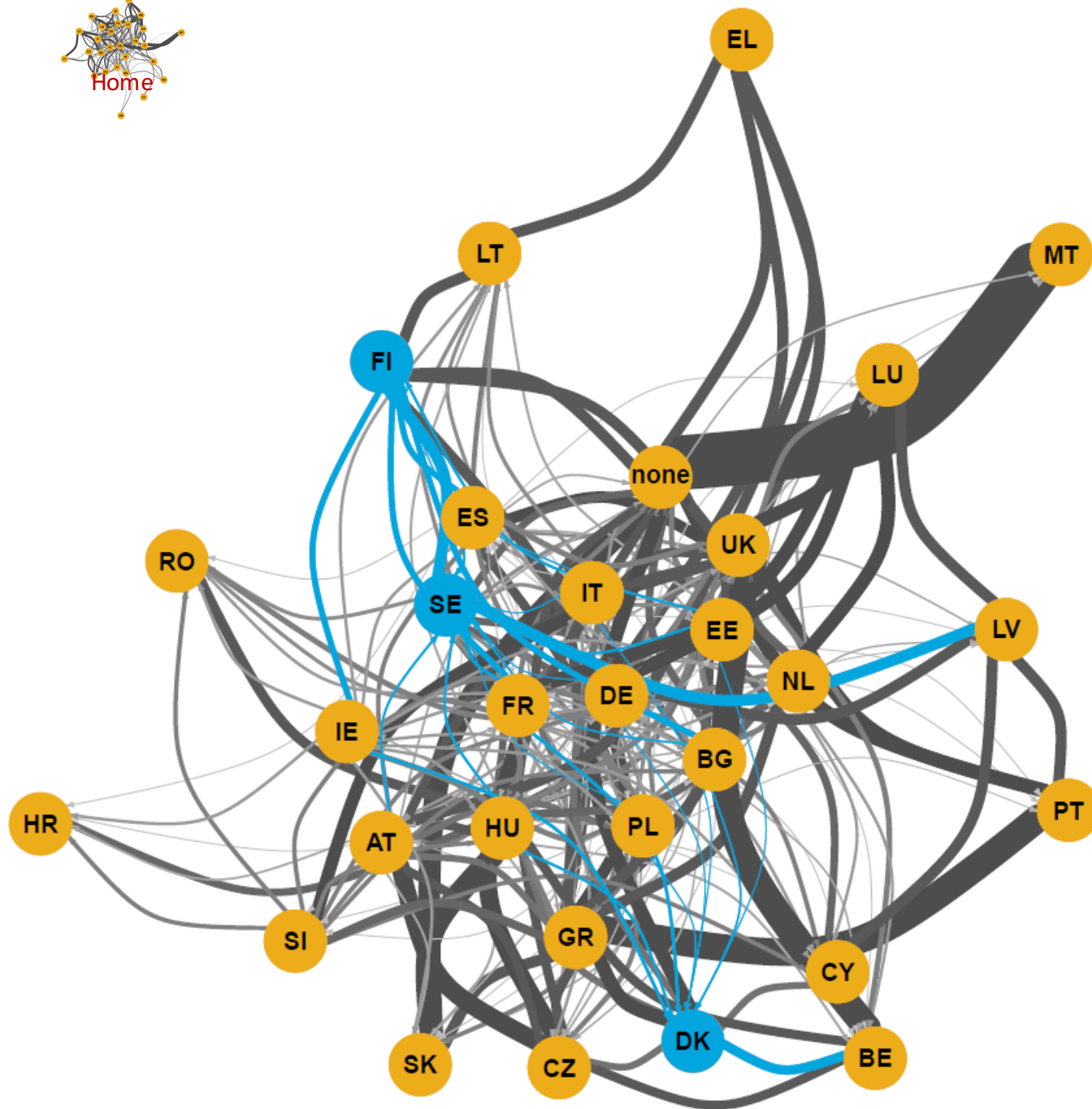
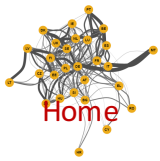
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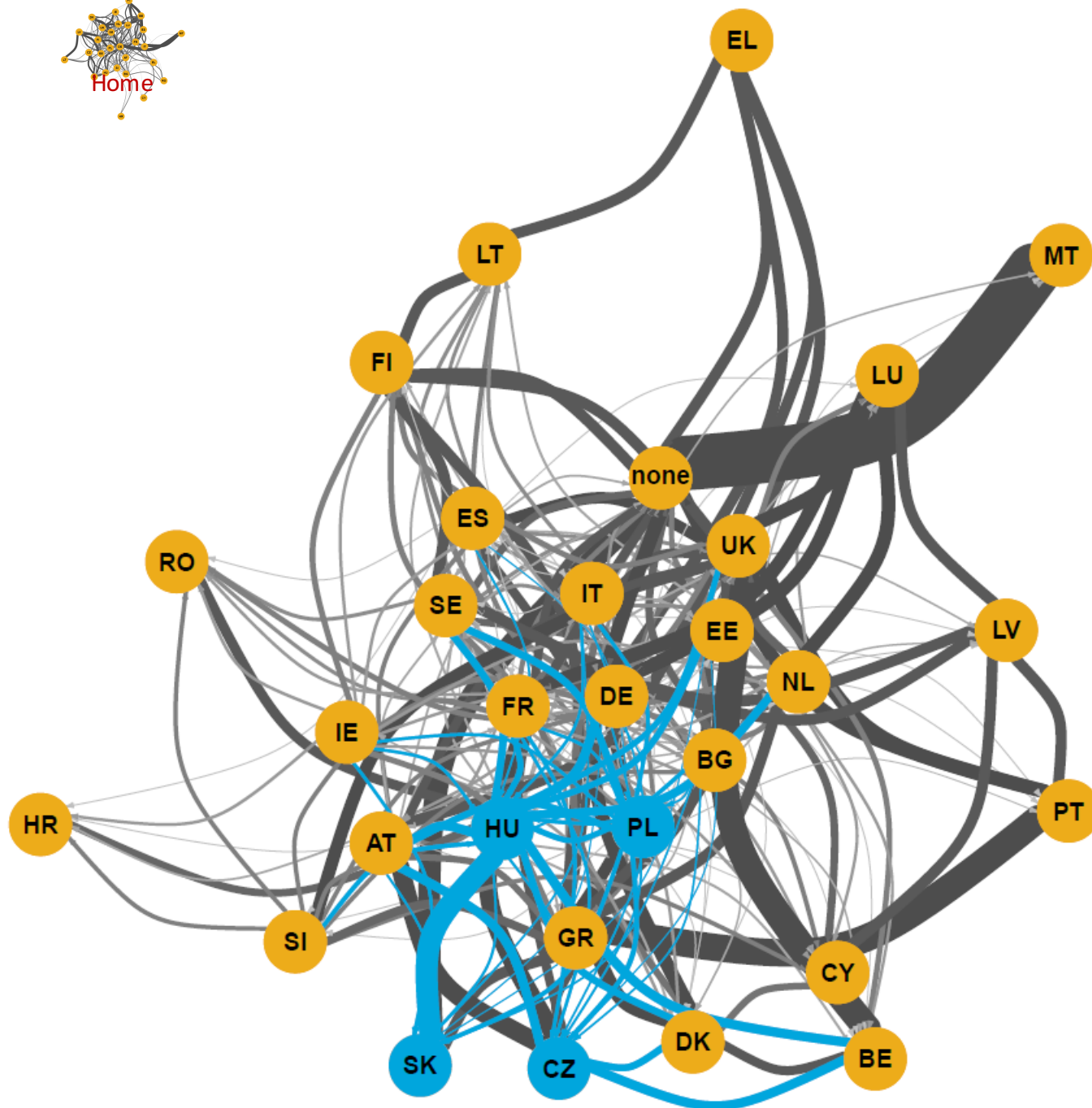
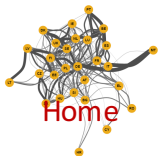
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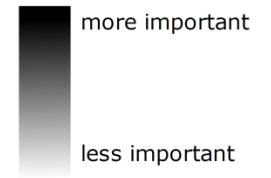
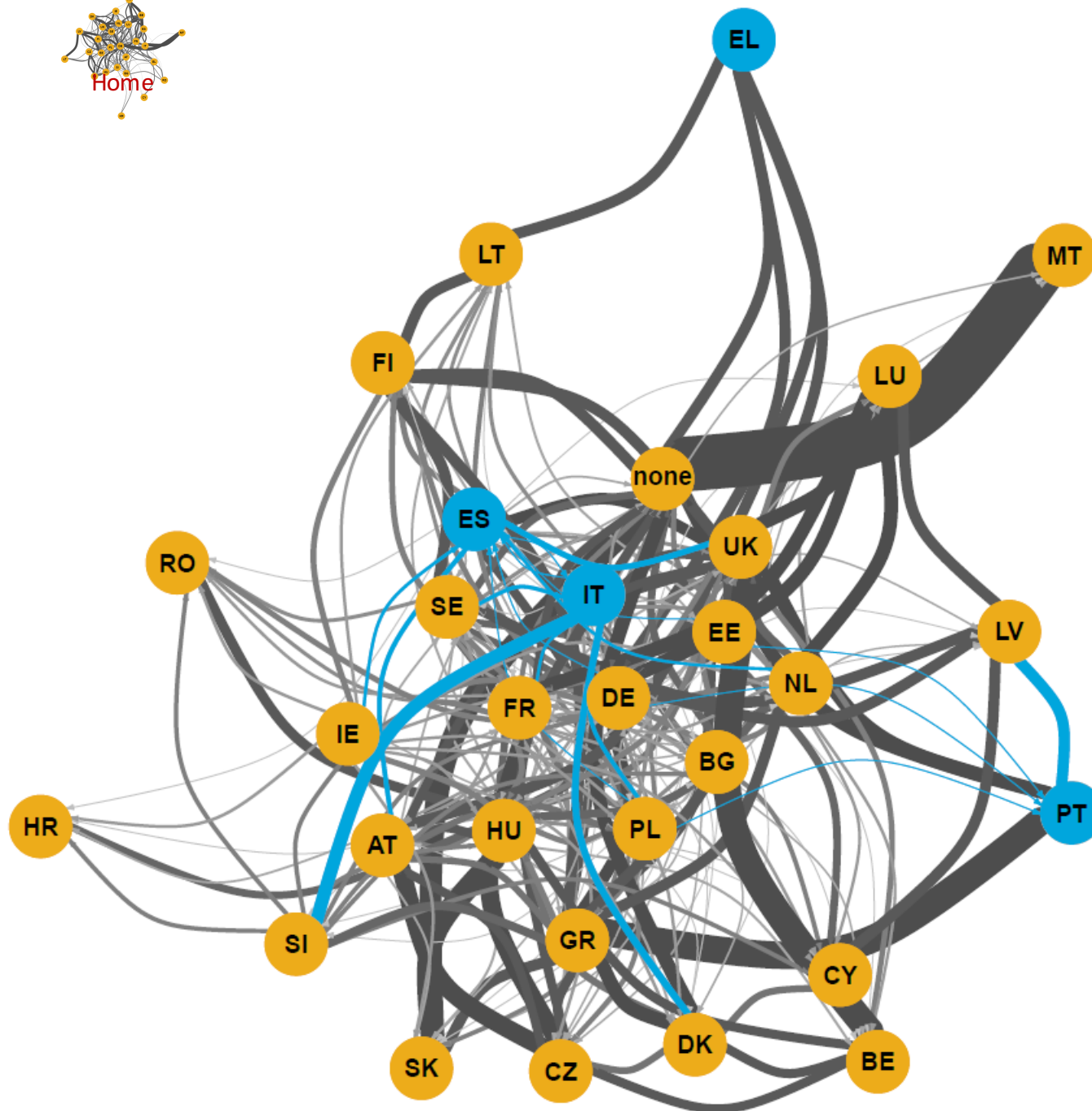
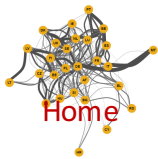
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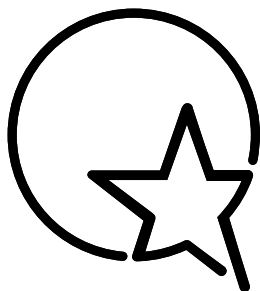
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