

TRANSWORLD

THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP AND THE FUTURE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

ISSN 2281-5252

WORKING PAPER 34 | JUNE 2014

The Transworld Elites Survey explores how American and European elites perceive transatlantic relations and the policies that should be pursued to address the main global challenges across four policy domains, namely: international security, global economy, global environment and climate change, as well as human rights and democracy promotion. The present report offers a preliminary analysis of the survey and its main findings,

as well as a comparison with previous data on the same topic relating to elite and mass public opinion, where available. The report is structured as follows: the first part presents the main research goals and the theoretical framework of the project. The second part discusses the fieldwork report and an overview of the target sample, as well as the methodology adopted. The third part offers a detailed analysis of the variables included in the dataset, as well as an executive summary of the main findings.

To Agree or Disagree? Elite Opinion and Future Prospects of the Transatlantic Partnership

Pierangelo Isernia
and Linda Basile



To Agree or Disagree?

Elite Opinion and Future Prospects of the Transatlantic Partnership

Pierangelo Isernia and Linda Basile*

EU US Public opinion Security Environment Human rights

1. Introduction

The Transworld Elites Survey is part of the overall interdisciplinary research developed within the framework of the current project on “redefining the transatlantic relationship and its role in shaping global governance”. It was conceived as a *complementary* instrument to address the main research questions of the project, by providing a primary source of data for the whole study.

The present report offers a preliminary analysis of the survey and its main findings, as well as a comparison with previous data on the same topic relating to elite and mass public opinion, when available. Therefore, it has a twofold purpose: on the one hand, it will provide an account of the work carried out within the “Work Package (WP) 7” of the Transworld project, which focuses on the elites survey design and analysis; on the other hand, it will introduce insights and perspectives for future theoretical discussions and research projects.

The report is structured as follows: the first part presents the main research goals and the theoretical framework of the project. The second part discusses the fieldwork report and an overview of the target sample, as well as the main characteristics of the methodology adopted. The third part offers a detailed, descriptive analysis of the variables included in the dataset, as well as an executive summary of the main findings.

1.1. The Elites Survey: Theoretical Background

The aim of the Transworld project is to examine the state of transatlantic relations and to provide policy recommendations for the future of cooperation between the US and the EU, in the context of new global governance. In particular, the research builds upon the three following hypotheses concerning the transatlantic relationship: a) it is drifting apart; b) it is evolving along a pattern of functional/selective cooperation or, in other words, a cooperation on an *ad hoc* basis; c) it is being transformed into a different but enduring partnership. The assessment of the relationship between the transatlantic partners aims at ascertaining the willingness and

* Pierangelo Isernia is director of the Centre for the Study of Political Change (CIRCaP), University of Siena. Linda Basile is post-doctoral researcher at CIRCaP.

capacity of the EU and the US *jointly* to exert effective world leadership and to foster the participation of other key state and non-state actors in the management of global problems.

The patterns of transatlantic cooperation are therefore examined across four policy domains, namely: *international security, global economy, global environment and climate change, human rights and democracy promotion*. This allows us to estimate the degree of *divergence or convergence* between the adjustment policies that the EU and the US are pursuing to address the global challenges in each of these four issue areas.

In order to test the hypotheses and to address the research questions, the project combines different instruments and methods. Among them, the *elites survey* was conceived as a useful *complement* to other sources, including desk research and in depth reviews, as well as an *input* for the Delphi exercise, to be implemented under the following WP 9.

The main advantage of the elites survey is that it allows us to explore the perceptions of current realities and policy alternatives held by the leading sectors of the society. In this way, this complex methodological instrument is expected to give voice to the policy preferences of the actors who are likely to forge the transatlantic community; moreover, it can help detect future problems and policy visions that might not be so clearly evident to the broader mass public.

1.2. The Elites Survey: Design and Analysis

First stage: Questionnaire design

The design and the analysis of the elites survey constitute the core task of the WP 7 of the Transworld project, while its implementation falls within the WP 8. The design of the questionnaire drew on the analyses conducted under WPs 2-5, which underwent a review and examination of principal trends, leadership challenges and adjustment policies adopted by the US and the EU within each of the four policy domains on which the project focuses.

In parallel, an inventory of the existing survey questions on each of the four issue areas that Transworld covers was carried out, with a special focus on the most recent cross-national surveys. Both mass and elites surveys were included in the list. This work was concluded in September 2012 with a total of 4,811 questions from 253 coded surveys. The inventories were subsequently put together and a merged file is available from the University of Siena for all Transworld partners. The final months of the year 2012 were dedicated to the writing of five (4+1) working papers. The purpose of the working papers was twofold. First, the papers served as a way of gauging the available survey questions in each of the four issue areas, with an additional category focusing on “how the others see us”; they represented an important element in the preparation for the questionnaire design meeting of the Transworld Elites Survey, in order to understand which questions could be borrowed and/or amended for the final questionnaire. Secondly, we wanted the papers to provide a description on where public opinion stood on issues related to each issue area of interest. In doing this, the papers sought to complement the theoretical papers delivered under Transworld Work Packages 2-5. The papers were discussed in detail at a WP7 meeting between partners from UNISI and UMA that took place in Siena on February 27-28th 2013 in Siena. This meeting, moreover, served to prepare for the Questionnaire Design Meeting, which took place in the first week of March 2013 in Berlin. Representatives from UNISI, UMA, TNS, GMFUS and IAI attended this meeting as well as a number of external advisors: Richard Eichenberg (Tufts University), Philip Everts (Leiden University),

Richard Sinnott (University College Dublin) and Richard Stoll (Rice University).

During the Questionnaire Design Meeting in Berlin, a session was dedicated to each of the 4+1 issue areas. Based on the findings of the working papers and on a questionnaire administered to the leaders of WP2-5, topics relating to general attitudes, actors and policies were discussed for each issue area. The questionnaire administered to the leaders of WP2-5 was designed specifically to facilitate the collection of the most relevant policy debates feeding into the final Transworld Elites Survey.

With more specific ideas on the topics to be addressed in the survey, several versions of draft questionnaires went back and forth between UNISI and UMA. A first draft was presented to the Transworld partners during the plenary meeting at Chatham House on 25-26th April 2013. A whole afternoon was dedicated to breakout sessions in which the questions for each of the thematic areas were discussed, criticised and, where necessary, improved. With a revised version of the questionnaire at hand, it became much easier to spot important areas not yet covered and the leaders of WP2-5 left London with the task of sending in proposals for the questionnaire by May 10th 2013.

After the May 10th deadline, once again several drafts of the questionnaire went back and forth between UNISI and UMA. Finally, at the end of June, during a conference call between UNISI, UMA and TNS, the remaining concerns regarding the length of the questionnaire were addressed. All in all, roughly 20 rounds of revisions were made before the final draft was submitted to TNS for pilot testing in the UK and in the United States at the end of July 2013.

At the end of August 2013, the TNS sent a feedback report of the pilot test. In particular, it emerged that the draft version of the questionnaire was still too long, with an average length of interviews in English of about 27 minutes and that some questions had been revealed to be complicated for the respondents. The test also showed the need to harmonize the different scales used in the survey questions. After two conference calls between UNISI, UMA and the TNS, a revised version of the questionnaire was finally approved and translated into the six languages of the seven countries in which the survey was carried out, namely: USA, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland and the UK. The fieldwork partners were asked to check the translations. The final length of the survey had shrunk to 20 minutes in the English version. The survey fieldwork started on 6th September 2013 and it was concluded on 4th February 2014. Some countries met with delays in the interviewing process, essentially due to the difficulties in reaching the political elites, especially in Germany and in the US. An *impasse* in Germany, however, was finally resolved after a federal government was formed in December 2013. As for the American politicians, the provision of an invitation letter, signed by the partner institutions, notably helped to complete the target sample. An interim version of the final dataset was released by TNS in mid-January, with 1,980 respondents, attaining a 97% completion rate.

The present report, which is based on the full sample of 2,014 completed interviews, was released on 7th February 2014.

Second stage: Elites survey analysis

During a meeting held in Rome on 31st January-1st February 2014 the preliminary results that had emerged from the interim dataset were discussed. Representatives of UNISI, UMA, GMFUS, IAI and TNS attended the meeting, as well as three external advisors: Richard Sinnott (University College Dublin), Philip Everts (Leiden University) and Philippe Manigart (Military Royal Academy).

All the insights and comments emerging from the discussions generated the main input for the present report. Further details on the meeting are included in the deliverable D7.3.

1.3. Elites Survey Dataset: Background Information and Methodology¹

The Transworld Elites survey was carried out between 6th September 2013 and 4th February 2014 in the USA and in six European countries. The EU member states surveyed are: France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, and the UK, selected according to several criteria, including size (small: Greece; mid-size: Poland; large: Germany, Italy, France, UK), geography (northern: Germany, UK; Mediterranean: France, Italy; eastern: Poland; Balkan: Greece) and attitudes towards the US and transatlantic issues (more pro-US: Germany, Italy, Poland, UK; more US-sceptic: Greece and France). The elites have been selected from three target groups: the social sector (media, academics, think tanks, trade unions), politicians (elected representatives and their chiefs of staff in the US, ministers of departments who were relevant to the survey, senior politicians who are on committees relevant to the survey members of the European Parliament), and the senior business decision-makers, with particular reference to the small and medium enterprises (SME).

The survey covers the four Transworld issue areas, namely: the global economy, the international security, climate change and the environment, human rights and democracy promotion. Each issue area is organised in three sections: general attitudes about the state of transatlantic relations, relevant actors, and policy goals and instruments.

TNS Opinion was commissioned to conduct the survey using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI) for social elites, trade unions and politicians in all countries; but Computer Assisted Web Interviewing (CAWI) was used to survey the economic elites. This choice was due to the difficulty of reaching and contacting people from the business sector by phone. In Greece, due to the lack of an online business panel, it was necessary to complete the interviews with Greek senior business decision-makers using a mixed mode, phone-to-web approach (see also below). The different modes of administration should always be considered as a possible source of differences in comparisons between the business leaders and the others. Where such differences in mode of administration were deemed relevant, they are discussed in the text. Almost all of the CATI research was conducted in-house from a centralised telephone unit, using an international team of indigenous native-speaking interviewers. The online survey was scripted, hosted and managed centrally. All samples for CATI were sourced and/or verified via desk research. The sample was selected to ensure that: Political, Media, Think Tank and Academic contacts operated in an opinion-forming role in the areas relevant to the survey and Trade Union contacts represented workers involved in international exports or relations (e.g. manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail trades, transport, storage and communications, financial intermediaries etc.).

The Online sample was sourced through a leading UK international online panel provider, Research Now. Research Now is one of the few panel companies currently offering an international B2B panel to the Market Research Industry.²

1 The information here provided is a summary of the main methodological aspects concerning the survey, drawn on the field report issued by the TNS. For further details, see Transworld Working Papers Nos. 29-33 (2014), <http://www.transworld-fp7.eu/?cat=86>.

2 For more information see: <http://www.researchnow.com/en-GB/Panels/SpecialityPanel/BusinessPanel.aspx>.

All of the participants within the defined survey target group were invited to participate in the online survey. Survey invitation emails were sent out at the beginning of fieldwork, with further emails sent out during the course of the fieldwork period. Respondents who did not respond to these emails were re-invited by email. A maximum delay of three days was allowed for the interviewees to respond to the study and reminder letters were sent on this initial deadline. All respondents who failed to answer the questionnaire were progressively excluded from the reminder actions.

In Greece, the interviews with senior decision-makers were conducted using a mixed mode, phone-to web approach. Interviews were either self-completed by respondents online, following a recruitment call and invitation email, or completed over the phone using the online survey as a data collection form the same partner used for the Greek CATI work was used to conduct this.

The duration length of interviews amounted to around 23 minutes in the English version based on CATI, while translated questionnaires were a bit longer. The online survey tended to be shorter than those conducted by phone, with an overall duration length of 13.4 minutes.

1.4. Elites Survey Dataset: Sampling

In all countries, a sample of approximately 290 elites, men and women, 18 years of age and older, was interviewed. Table 1, below, shows the sample size for each country, divided by elite groups.

• Table 1 | Sample sizes by elite types and countries

		US	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Poland	UK	Total by elites (details)	Total by elites (3 groups)
Opinion leaders	Trade Unions	12	13	12	12	12	12	12	85	295
	Academics	11	11	10	10	10	10	10	72	
	Think Tank	11	9	10	10	10	10	11	71	
	Media	8	10	10	10	10	10	9	67	
Political leaders	MPs	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	280	316
	MEPs	-	4	6	2	10	7	7	36	
Business leaders	B2B	200	201	200	200	201	201	200	1403	1403
Total		282	288	288	284	293	290	289	2014	2014

For what concerns the sampling procedure, different approaches were adopted for each elite sector. “Business leaders” (N=1,403) were selected according to an online panel, using the sector and the company size as filter. The sample includes managers from export-oriented small and medium sized companies (SME), i.e. with between 10 and 249 employees,³ in the following business sectors:⁴ mining and quarrying, manufacturing,⁵

3 In order to classify SMEs, the EU uses the criterion of the number of employees. For further information see the European Commission DG Enterprise and Industry website: *What is an SME?*, <http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/sme/facts-figures-analysis/sme-definition>.

4 This classification is based on the International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities, Rev.4 (ISIC Rev.4), available at: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/cr/registry/regcst.asp?Cl=27>.

5 It includes also “Healthcare and pharmaceutical”, “Engineering and electronics, motovehicles manufacturing”.

construction, wholesale and retail trade, transportation and storage, information and communication,⁶ financial and insurance activities, administrative and support services,⁷ education. As it emerges from Table 2 below, more than one quarter of the sample comes from the manufacturing sector, while the other most numerous groups are those of construction, wholesale/retail, information and communication, financial and insurance activities. As already mentioned, the sample was drawn from a panel (see *supra*, section 2). Given the self-selection element in adhering to the survey, the sample is not strictly representative of the overall B2B population, although it closely resembles the breakdown of the panel and it widely reflects the variety of sectors within the whole reference population. Based on the information included in the field report, we calculated the proportion of each SIC category included in the sample and compared it with its distribution in the active panel size. As it emerges from Table 3, below, the percentage of each category represented in the active panel size reflects to a great extent the percentage of each category included in the survey.

• Table 2 | **Company activity – recoded according to the ISIC classification (rev.4)**

	N	%
B. Mining and quarrying	63	4
C. Manufacturing	371	26
F. Construction	196	14
G. Wholesale and retail trade	183	13
H. Transportation and storage	78	6
J. Information and communication	173	12
K. Financial and insurance activities	178	13
N. Administrative and support service activities	70	5
P. Education	27	2
Other	64	5
Total	1403	100

• Table 3 | **Proportion of represented categories in the active panel size and in the survey sample (%)**

		Production/ Manufacturing	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade	Transport, storage and communications	Financial intermediation	Unlisted (partner support)*
US	% panel	12	14	29	20	25	
	% in sample	23	22	13	15	27	
France	% panel	18	12	25	26	18	
	% in sample	16	8	9	25	12	29
Germany	% panel	32	4	15	32	17	
	% in sample	29	9	21	31	11	
Italy	% panel	16	12	44	16	12	
	% in sample	17	8	17	14	19	24
Poland	% panel	24	15	36	10	14	0
	% in sample	20	6	19	10	15	29
UK	% panel	19	10	13	32	26	
	% in sample	24	17	14	28	18	

*Note: This table is based on data held on the panel prior to interview at the time. This does not match up exactly with the description of sector given by the respondent in-interview for two key reasons: 1) the sector descriptions in the online survey are bespoke and are

6 This sector includes "Telecommunications and information technology", "Media" (publishing, broadcasting, etc.).

7 Within this group were included "Business services" and "Leisure/hospitality" companies.

not exact matches for the SIC code descriptions; 2) a degree of inconsistency is expected between the responses given to our ad hoc survey and the responses given to Research Now's sign up form (especially given point 1 above).

"Opinion leaders" (N=295) is a label, drawn on sociology, adopted to indicate those people exerting a "disproportionate" influence on the opinions of the rest of population (Katz and Lazarsfeld 2006:319). It identifies people usually holding a high level of education, as well as thorough knowledge of complex issues. This group includes academics, directors and researchers of think tanks, editorialists, political commentators and expert journalists, i.e. media, working in the fields covered by Transworld project. Trade union leaders were also included in this category, although in the work package description they were to be considered as belonging to the business sector. The choice of distinguishing trade unionists from the economic leaders was taken during the data analysis meeting, to the extent that their role in the society has more to do with the exercise of influence on the outside community than a purely economic activity.

"Political leaders" (N=316) include members of the national parliaments (MPs), their chiefs of staff in the US, ministers of departments who were relevant to the survey, senior politicians who are on committees relevant to the survey members of the European Parliament. The sample was meant to be, as much as possible, representative of the actual distribution of politicians in the actual assemblies, as well as across the left-right continuum. Table 4, below, shows the distribution of MPs for each party, as compared with their actual representation in the lower houses. The US, UK, French, Greek and Polish samples seem to be overall balanced; in Italy and Germany, left-wing parties are slightly over-represented.

Overall, there seems to be a slight prevalence of leftist politicians in both the EU countries and the US, a result that is often found in other elite surveys⁸ (Table 5).

The group of political leaders also includes a small sample of Members of the European Parliament (Table 6). Given its limited size, their inclusion in the analysis should not be considered in terms of representativeness but, rather, as a way to give voice to an important component of the European political arena.

⁸ See for instance the INTUNE Elite surveys.

• Table 4 | Comparison of MPs samples with actual party percentages within national assemblies (lower houses)

FRANCE			GERMANY			GREECE			ITALY			POLAND			UK			US		
Party name	I (%)	A (%)	Party name	I (%)	A (%)	Party name	I (%)	A (%)	Party name	I (%)	A (%)	Party name	I (%)	A (%)	Party name	I (%)	A (%)	Party name	I (%)	A (%)
PS	63	49	SPD	55	30	ND	33	30	PD	43	25	PO	40	39	Labour	40	29	Democrat	58	46
EELV	2	3	CDU/CSU	15	50	PASOK	10	12	PDL	7	22	SD	5	8	Conservative	32	36	Republican	40	54
Le Mo-Dem	3	0.4	Bündnis90/Die Grünen	15	10	SYRIZA EKM	38	27	LN	5	4	SP	23	30	Liberal Democrat	18	23	Other	2	-
U.M.P	30	34	Die Linke	15	10	DIMAR	8	6	UDC	5	2	RP	5	10	DUP	2	1			
Other	2	14				AN.EL.	2	8	SEL	8	3	SLD	8	8	SDLP	2	0.4			
						XA	2	7	M5S	15	26	Other/Refused	19	5						
						Other	7	10	Con Monti per l'Italia	7	8									
									Other	10	10									
Total	100	100	Total	100	100	Total	100	100	Total	100	100	Total	100	100	Total	100	100	Total	100	100

Legend: (I) Interviewed MPs; (A) Actual representation in lower houses. The latter data refers to the composition of the assemblies at the time in which the survey was conducted.

• Table 5 | **Distribution of Interviewed MPs and MEPs on the left-right continuum**

	EU		US	
	N	%	N	%
Extreme Left	1	0	2	5
Left	68	25	8	20
Centre Left	81	29	10	25
Centre	38	14	4	10
Centre Right	47	17	9	23
Right	29	11	6	15
Refused (Spontaneous)	12	4	1	3
Total	276	100	40	100

• Table 6 | **List of the Members of the European Parliament, by country**

France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Poland	UK	Total (N)
UMP (1)	SPD (1)	Drassi (Action) (1)	Partito democratico (PD) (4)	SD (1)		
Conservative (1)						
Front National (1)	CDU/CSU (2)	Oikologoi Prasinoi (1)	Popolo della Libertà (PDL) (2)	SP (1)	Liberal Democrat (1)	
Le MoDem (1)	Die Linke (2)		Lega Nord (1)		UKIP (3)	
Other/DK/Refused (1)	Other/DK/Refused (1)		Other/DK/Refused (3)	Other/DK/Refused (5)	Other/DK/Refused (2)	
(N) 4	6	2	10	7	7	36

2. Elites Survey Data Analysis

2. 1. Executive Summary

On both sides of the Atlantic, Western countries have to deal with *international security* threats, *global financial crises*, *climate change*, and violation of *human rights* and *promotion of the democratic principles*, all over the world. The traditional forms of cooperation that the US and the EU countries developed during the Cold War, however, no longer apply to the new global governance architecture. The transatlantic partners are called upon to address all the aforementioned challenges, to the extent that the collapse of the Soviet Union determined the effective world leadership of the “West”. However, effective does not mean exclusive and, indeed, the main implication of the emergence of rising or resurging countries in world affairs compels transatlantic partners to redefine their leading role in the new global governance architecture.

As a consequence, one cannot take for granted the way in which the US and the EU adopt adjustment policies to deal with security, economic, environmental and democracy challenges. Therefore, it should be ascertained whether they are likely to cooperate or they are drifting apart on world issues; and, if the former option applies, whether they are developing forms of functional partnership on *ad hoc* basis or, rather, they are moving towards new forms of enduring relationships, based on common values and shared principles.

The Transworld Elites Survey was conceived just to address these questions by looking them from the perspective of the leading sectors of the transatlantic community. As already argued, the questionnaire was organised according to the four issue areas on which the Transworld project focuses. For each section, the survey tapped the attitudes of opinion leaders, business elites and politicians on the *general attitudes*, the *actors* and the *policies* related to these issue areas. Accordingly, by thoroughly examining the data, it will be possible to point out at least three main aspects, directly related to the core research questions of the project:

- *Patterns of convergence/divergence between the policies of the US and the EU*: are the transatlantic partners going towards forms of cooperation on policies? And, if so, how?
- *Differences among EU countries*: are the European member states developing coherent and homogeneous policies? Or, rather, is the EU still far from being a single political actor?
- *Other relevant actors within the new global governance order*: what are the most important emerging actors in the new global order? Are they perceived as a threat or as an opportunity by the transatlantic elites? Are the EU and the US likely to develop alternative forms of cooperation with other countries/regions, beyond the transatlantic ally?

In practice, the survey also allows us to explore the following comparisons:

- Comparisons across different groups of elites
- Comparisons with other elites surveys over time
- Comparisons with mass attitudes

This report will try to examine each of the questions asked in the survey, by focusing on the following aspects, according to the aforementioned theoretical framework: patterns of convergence/divergence between the EU and the US; differences among EU countries, differences across elites groups, elites' attitudes over time, comparison of elites' attitudes with those of the public opinion.

In order to address the last two aspects, when available, the Transworld Elites Survey data will be compared with those of the main mass and elites surveys on transatlantic issues that were conducted in the past. In particular, Transatlantic Trends Survey (TTS) series, started in 2002, provides yearly information on the mass perception of transatlantic relations;⁹ on the other hand, the Transatlantic Trends: Leaders (TLS) carried out in 2010, offers a valuable source for diachronic comparisons of elites' perceptions.¹⁰

A number of questions, especially those concerning the areas of international security and global economy, have been replicated as closely as possible from TTS and TLS, with the precise purpose of allowing both mass-elites and over time comparisons.

2.2. Main Findings: A Premise

The present report introduces the main findings of the Transworld Elites Survey, in order to provide insights for future researches based on this unique dataset.

9 Transatlantic Trends is a comprehensive annual survey of American and European public opinion, in order to observe the patterns of transatlantic convergence or divergence within the general public. TTS is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS) and the Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy) with additional support from the Barrow Cadbury Trust (UK), Luso-American Foundation (Portugal), Fundación BBVA (Spain), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Sweden) and the Open Society Foundation (US). For further information see TTS website: <http://trends.gmfus.org/transatlantic-trends>.

10 Transatlantic Trends: Leaders (or Transatlantic Leadership Survey) is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Compagnia di San Paolo, in collaboration with the University of Siena. For further information see TLS website: <http://trends.gmfus.org/archives/transatlantic-trends-leaders>.

The discussion is organised according to the four thematic groups on which the survey focuses, namely: international security, global economy, environment and climate change, human rights & democracy promotion. For each of these areas, the report will focus on three distinct aspects: the *general attitudes* and the *state of transatlantic relations*, the *actors* involved within the framework of the global governance architecture and the adjustment *policies*, either adopted or wished, to deal with these global challenges.

Each section also explores all the possible comparisons, that is to say:

- USA vs. EU
- Differences within the EU
- Differences across elite groups (opinion, political and business leaders)
- Elites over time
- Elites vs. public opinion

The underlying goal of this examination is that of providing *an overall account of the current state of transatlantic relations in the context of the global governance architecture, seen from the perspective of the elites*. The topline, displaying the frequency distributions for each variable by countries and elites, are provided in the appendix to this report and serve as analytical support to the findings presented in the following pages.

Notes to the Analysis

In order to ensure a better comparability of the different surveys, the TTS data reported in the analyses include the same countries surveyed by Transworld, with the only exception of Greece, which has never been present in the TTS series, so far.

For what concerns the comparisons with TLS, in this case all the surveyed elites were included in the analyses. TLS 2010 surveyed EU and US elites, from a wide variety of backgrounds, largely falling into the categories of political, administrative, social, and economic leaders. As for politicians, senior-level Congressional staff and senior-level office-holders in the executive branch were interviewed in the United States, while in Europe, members of the European Parliament from Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Poland, and the United Kingdom, as well as high-level officials of the European Commission and the Council of the European Union were included in the sample. With regard to economic leaders, representatives of businesses and labour unions were interviewed. Moreover, the sample also included a segment containing journalists, key staff from nongovernmental groups such as think tanks, trade associations, and nongovernmental organizations such as the World Bank. At least, the final sample of TLS 2010 amounted to a total of 519 interviews of transatlantic opinion leaders, 286 in Washington, and 233 in Brussels. Given the limited sample size and the lack of information about the country of origin of the European elites,¹¹ this report does not present any cross-country comparisons based on TLS data.¹²

Finally, when the analyses referred to the US and the EU samples on their whole, as well as to cross-national comparisons, without any differentiation by type of elite, the data were weighted, in order to correct for the overrepresentation of business elites.

11 Except for the MEPs, in most cases it is not possible to know the nationality of the interviewed people.

12 TLS data include 25 elites from (or whose nationality is) Spain, 9 from the Netherlands, 1 from Slovakia and Bulgaria, 2 from Romania.

3. International Security

3.1. General Attitudes: State of Transatlantic Relations on International Security (Atlanticism)

Key findings – The transatlantic relationship in a changing world

- Support for the US and EU world leadership is strong from both sides of the Atlantic; at the same time, Europeans seem willing to support a strong EU leadership, especially in France and Germany.
- The UK confirms its “close relationship” with the transatlantic ally, while the southern countries, such as Greece, show a less convinced support towards the leadership of the American partner.
- The European business leaders, especially in Germany, are rather sceptical about the US world leadership; at the same time, the American economic sector shows a limited support to the leading role of the EU.
- The EU and US elites have a different perception of the EU strong world leadership: from the European perspective, it would represent a chance to become more independent from the US; on the other hand, from the American point of view, it would be essentially an opportunity of “burden-sharing”, thus implying an even closer relationship between the two transatlantic partners.
- NATO is still perceived as essential, although the business leaders show more tempered attitudes towards the Atlantic Pact.

A first set of questions aims at tapping the amount of “Atlanticism” between the EU and the USA. They take into account the desirability of a strong world leadership of both of the two partners, the perspective on the future of the EU/US partnership, as well as the importance of the NATO.

3.1.1. Desirability of the EU/US strong world leadership in world affairs

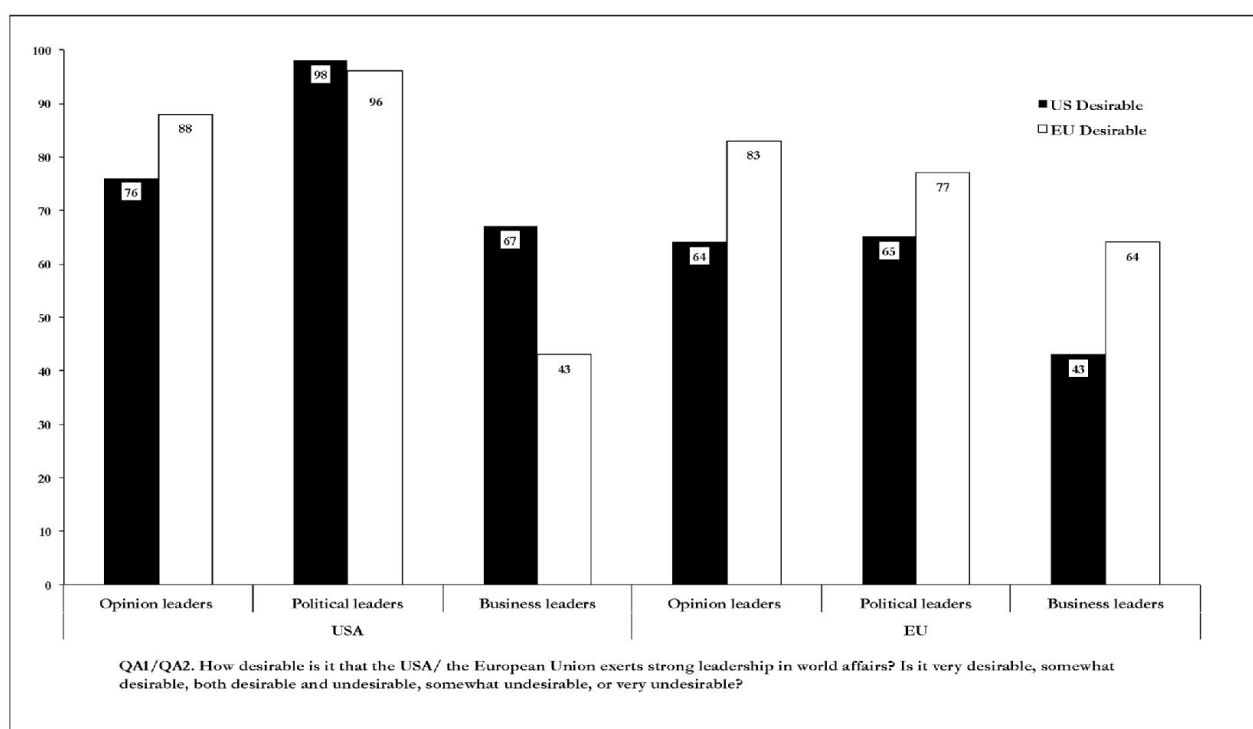
USA vs. EU – The majority of the elites finds it desirable that both the US and the EU exert a strong leadership on world affairs. However, there seems to be a greater convergence between the transatlantic partners on the EU leadership than on the US one. The US leaders show a strong support for both their own leadership (79%) and for the European one (75%). On the other hand, in Europe, nearly 57% are in favour of the US world leadership, while 75% claim that the EU leading role is desirable.

Differences within the EU – By looking at the cross-national differences, it emerges that there is a “close relationship” between the USA and the UK: the percentage of British elites who are supportive of the US leadership is above the European average. Meanwhile, Southern-Mediterranean countries, such as Greece, are less convinced about the leading role of the US. When asked about the EU world leadership, the European elites are more willing to “support more Europe”, especially in France and Germany.

Differences across elite groups – Among the European elites, the business leaders are the most sceptical about the American leadership, which is desirable for 43% of them. Within the German economic sector, in particular, only 37% of the respondents show a supportive attitude, while 36% are decidedly contrary. It should be pointed out that most of the interviews to the German business leaders were carried out between the end of October and the beginning of November. In those days, the NSA scandal, revealing the alleged tapping of Angela Merkel's phone, broke out. This might have negatively affected the perceptions of the Germans towards the Atlantic partner.

At the same time, the European business leaders are, on average, quite supportive of the leading role of the EU: within this group, the percentage of positive answers ranges from 54% in the UK to 75% in France and Germany. It should be argued that the business sector is particularly affected by the communitarian economic regulations and this might explain why this elite group, in Europe, is particularly favourable to the EU strong world leadership. On the contrary, only 43% of the American business leaders claim to desire the European world leadership, against the majority of the opinion leaders (88%) and politicians (96%).

• **Figure 1 | Desirability of US/EU strong leadership in world affairs (% of very/somewhat desirable) – USA/EU comparison, by elite group**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

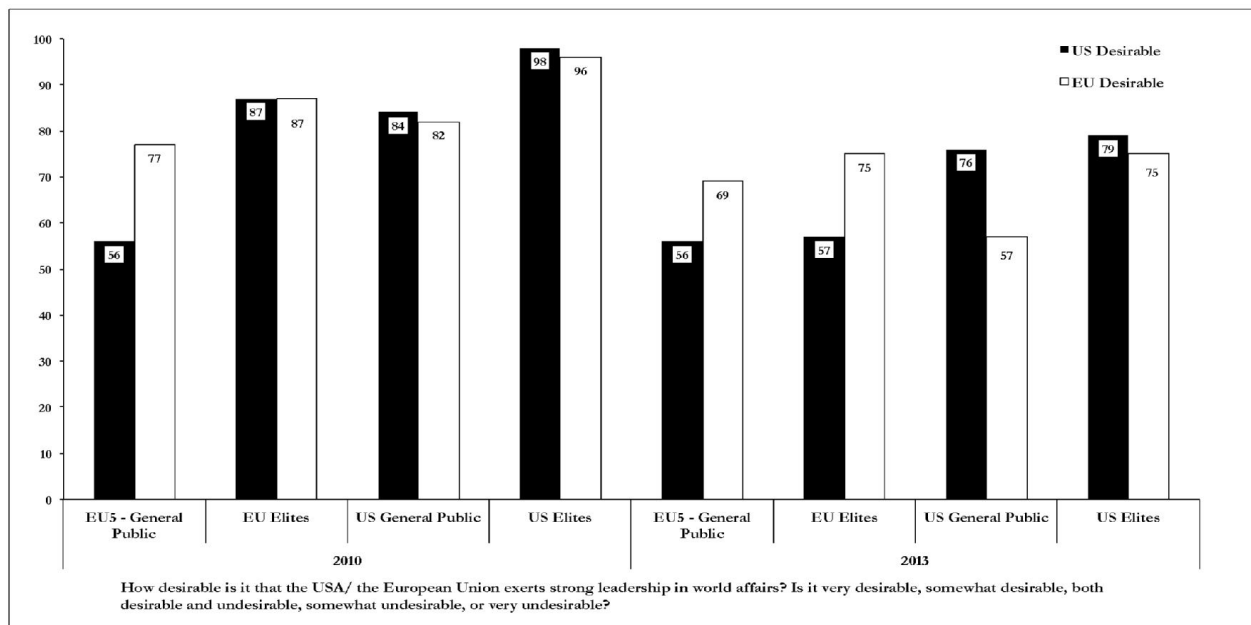
Elites over time – The support of European elites for the US leadership in 2013 (57%) has decreased by thirty percentage points since 2010 (87%). It might be due to the strong scepticism shown by the business elites in Transworld data (supra), which inevitably affects the average percentage. A decline can be noticed also among the US leaders (98% in 2010 and 79% in 2013).

On the other hand, as compared to 2010, the Transworld data do not show much change in the desirability of the strong leadership of the EU, although the percentages in 2013 have dropped by 12 (in the EU) and 21 points (in the USA) since 2010.

Elites vs. public opinion – In line with their leaders, US general public favours the strong leadership of its own country. As compared to 2010, however, there seems to be a slight decline of support in 2013, which might be a symptom of the US disengagement from world affairs. The support of the EU public for the US leadership remained somewhat stable between 2010 and 2013; the EU elites appear more in line with their public in 2013 than they were in 2010. At the same time, the majority of the European general public is decidedly in favour of the key role of the EU both in 2010 (77%) and in 2013 (69%), in line with its leaders (87% in 2010 and 75% in

2013).

• **Figure 2 | Desirability of US/EU strong world leadership (% of very/somewhat desirable) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elite surveys (2010 and 2013)**



Source: TTS 2010 (6 countries), TLS 2010, Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

3.1.2. The Europeans and the EU-US diplomatic relations: moving towards more independence?

USA vs. EU – The idea of a strong world leadership of the EU seems to be interpreted differently by the two sides of the Atlantic. The Europeans tend to see the leading role of the EU as a way to gain more independence from the transatlantic partner. On the contrary, the Americans do not think that “more Europe” in the world would automatically imply a looser partnership: rather, a stronger EU would allow a “burden sharing” of the world leadership.

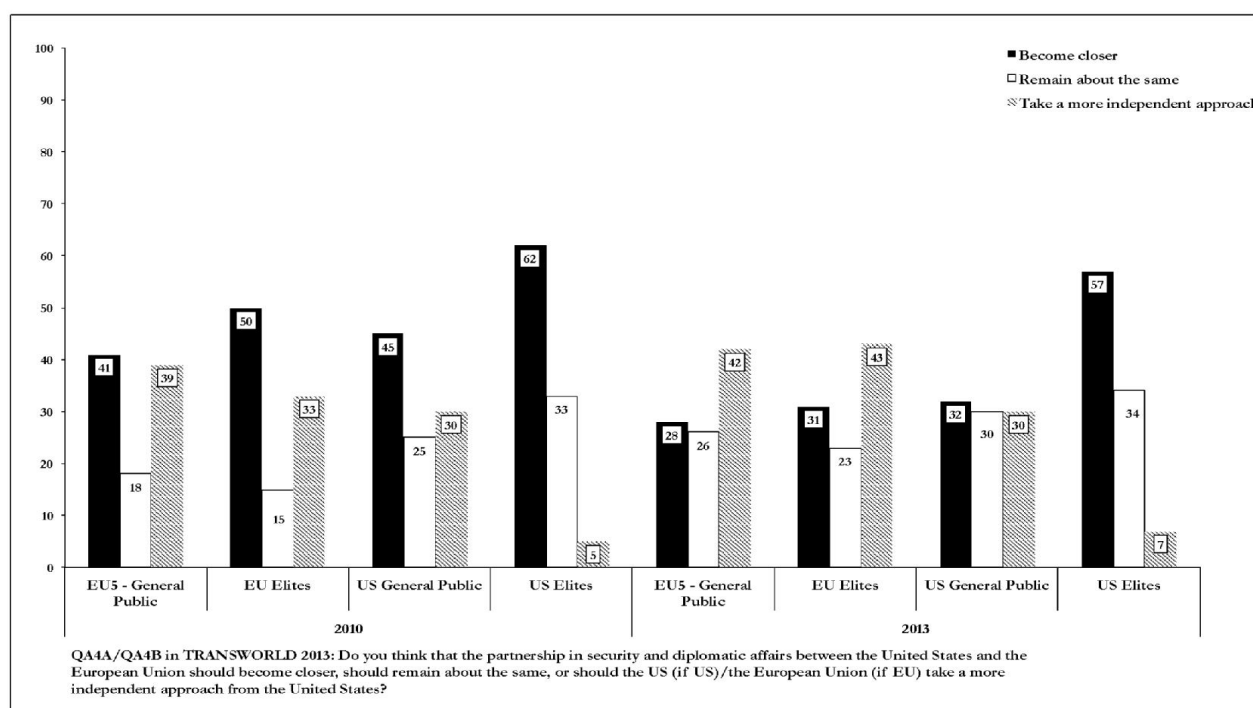
The findings of Transworld Elites Survey seem to confirm this interpretation. When asked about the future development of the partnership between the US and the EU, the EU leaders are divided between those claiming that it should become closer (31%) and those favouring a more independent approach (43%). On the other hand, on average, the majority of the US elites (57%) say that the US-EU relations should become closer or, at least remain the same (34%).

Differences within the EU – The majority of the French opinion leaders (72%) and politicians (61%), of the German social (55%) and political elites (65%), as well as more than half of the Greek and Italian elites, support the option of a more independent approach. Poland, on the other hand, stands apart as unique case in Europe whose leaders would prefer to increase the partnership with the USA.

Differences across elite groups – As already argued, the opinion leaders and the politicians in Europe support the option of a greater independence between the USA and EU, while the business leaders are more divided on

the topic. The size or the sector activity of the company does not seem to affect such attitudes. In the US, the majority of the social (71%) and political (65%) elites claims that the US-EU relations should become closer or at least remain the same. The option of a more independent approach is taken into account only by less than one-quarter of the American economic sector (20%).¹³

• **Figure 3 | Partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between the United States and the European Union (%) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elites surveys (2010 and 2013)**



Source: TTS 2010 (6 countries), TLS 2010, Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

Elites over time – As compared to TLS data of 2010, the EU leaders have progressively abandoned the perspective of a closer partnership, by moving towards a path of more independence from the US. The attitudes of the US elites, on the other hand, remained somewhat stable over time.

Elites vs. public opinion – On the partnership question, the views of the European elites appear to be in line with

13 The classification of human rights into civil, political, social and economic rights is based on the distinction adopted by the International Bill of Human Rights, consisting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, adopted in 1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966) with its two Optional Protocols and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966). Civil rights include right to life, liberty and security of the person, protection from physical violence against the person, torture and inhuman treatment, arbitrary arrest, detention, exile, slavery and servitude, interference with one's privacy and right of ownership, restriction of one's freedom of movement, protection from discrimination on grounds such as race, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, ethnicity, individual rights such as the freedom of thought, conscience and religion (Articles 1 to 18 UDHR). Political rights include, freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly, the right to take part in the government of one's country and the right to vote and stand for election at genuine periodic elections held by secret ballot, right to fair trial and due process (Articles 19 to 21 UDHR). Social rights refer, for instance, to the adequate standard of living, including rights to health, shelter, food, social care, and the right to education (Articles 25 and 26 UDHR and Articles 9 to 14 ICESCR). Finally, Economic rights include right to property, the right to work, right to a fair wage, to a reasonable limitation of working hours, and trade union rights (education (Articles 23 and 24 of UDHR and Articles 6 to 8 ICESCR). For further information see: UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), International Human Rights Law, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/InternationalLaw.aspx>.

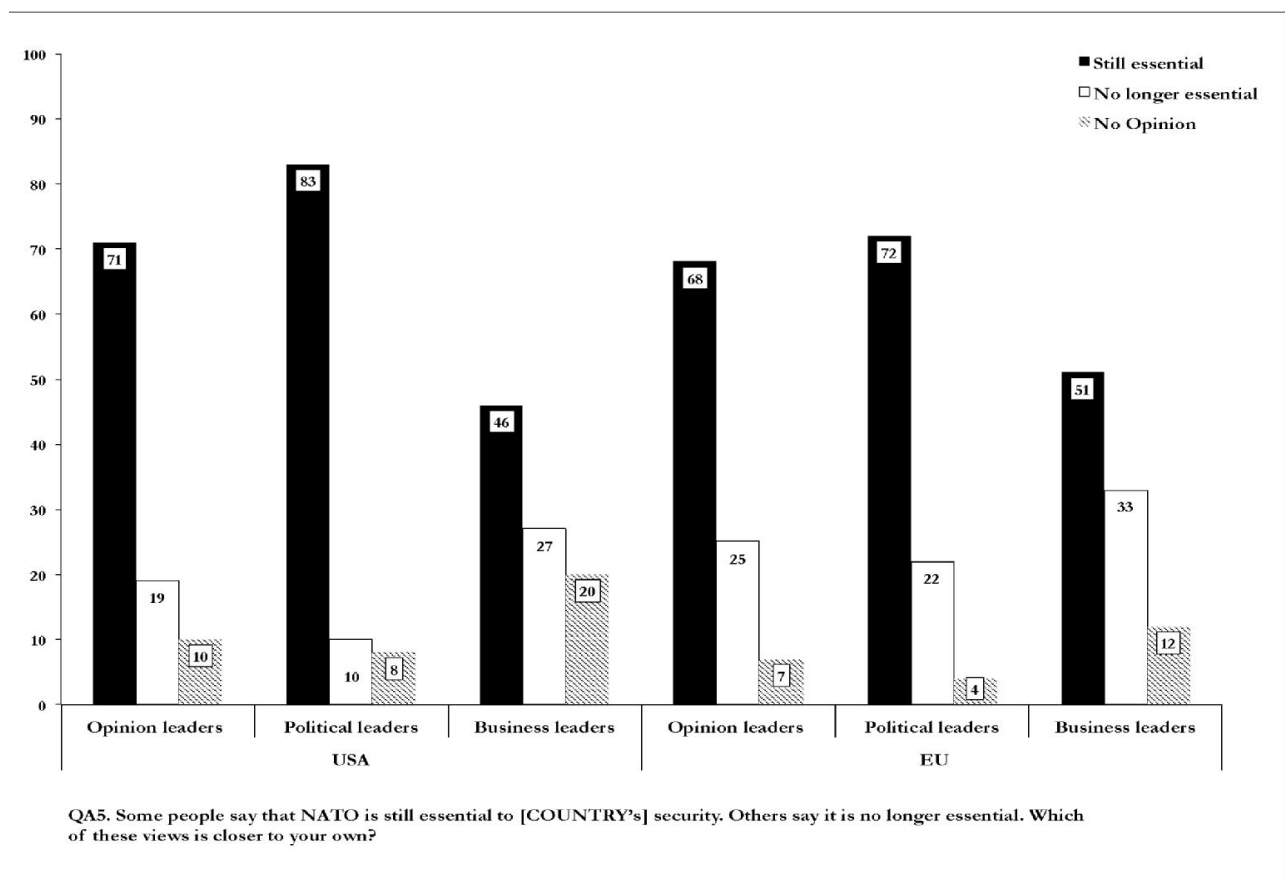
those of their public, over time. On the other hand, Transworld data show that, in the USA, the hypothesis of more independence is appealing for nearly 30% of the US citizens, against 7% of their elites, whereas this option is expressed only by the American business sector (see also supra). The same gap between the US leaders and the general public can be observed by looking at TLS-TTS data of 2010.

3.1.3. Is NATO still essential?

USA vs. EU – The Atlantic Pact was created under a completely different international scenario, with eminently defensive purposes. Therefore, it should be asked whether the US and the EU still perceive NATO as important within the framework of the new global governance. On the latter point, there seems to be convergence between the two transatlantic partners. Indeed, the majority of the leaders, both in the EU (64%) and in the US (66%), claim that NATO is essential, notwithstanding the current changes in the international relations.

Differences within the EU – The importance of NATO is perceived in a similar way across the European countries; nevertheless, in Greece, France and Italy, especially among the business elites (see also infra), the support to the Atlantic Pact seems rather tepid.

• Figure 4 | Is NATO still essential? (%) - USA/EU comparison, by elite groups



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

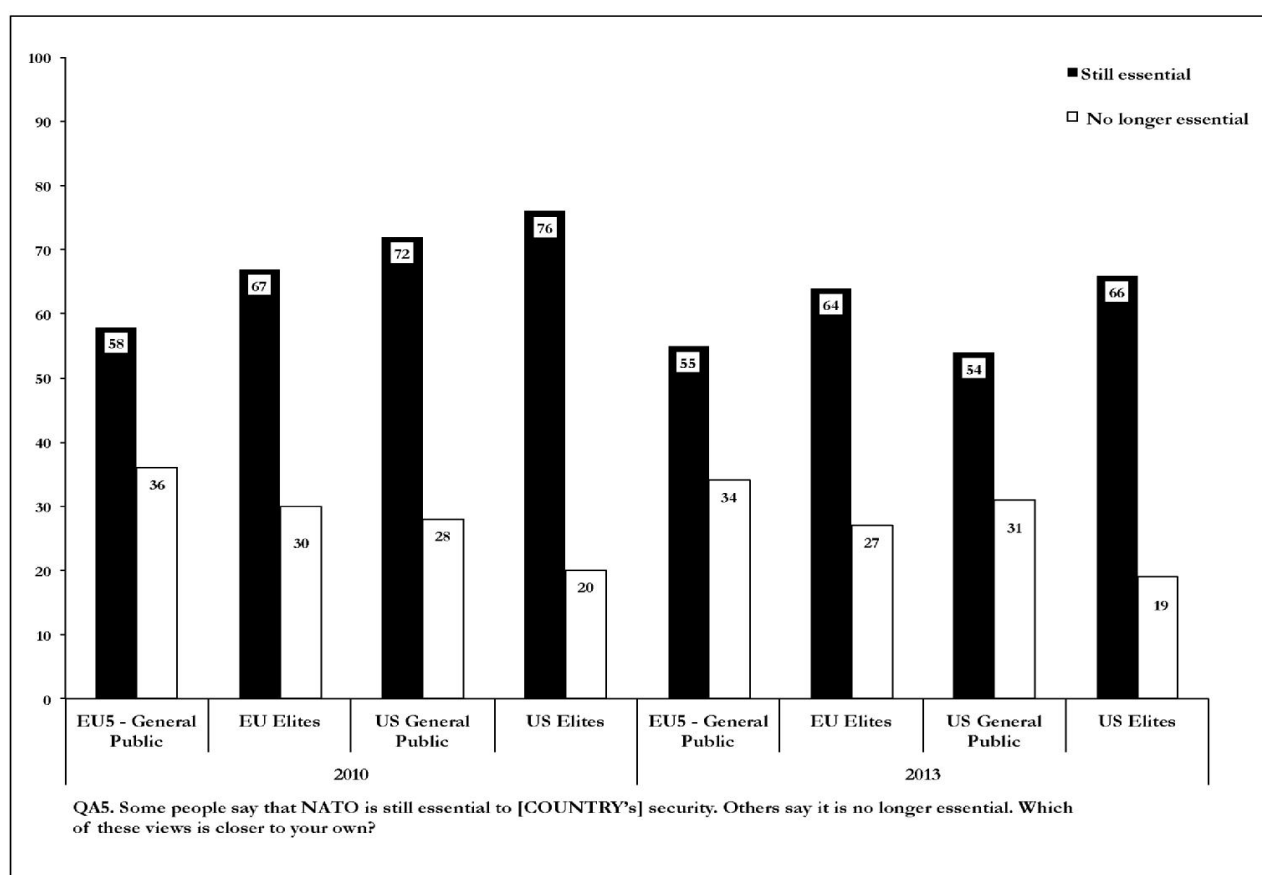
Differences across elite groups – The most convinced support can be found among the politicians and opinion leaders, especially in Poland (respectively, the 81% and 79%) and in the US (83% and 71%). A somewhat tepid

favour for the Atlantic Pact is likely to emerge among the business elites (46% in the USA and 51% in Europe). The Italian economic sector, for instance, is evenly split between those claiming that NATO is still essential (42%) and those answering that it is no longer essential (43%).

Elites over time – As compared to 2010, Transworld data show that the perceived importance of NATO remained somewhat stable over time, at least among the US and EU leaders.

Elites vs. public opinion – Leaders' perception of the importance of NATO is somewhat in line with that of the general public, both in the US and the EU. About 58% of the EU public claimed in 2010 that it was essential. The same trend is confirmed in 2013 (55%), which mirrors the support for the Atlantic Pact expressed by the EU elites (64%). On the American side, the perceived importance of NATO among the masses in 2013 (54%) dropped by 18 percentage points since 2010 (72%), but it nevertheless remained coherent with the attitudes of the US elites.

• Figure 5 | **Is NATO still essential? (%) - USA/EU comparison, mass and elite surveys (2010 and 2013)**



Source: TTS 2010 (6 countries), TLS 2010, Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

Note: option "No Opinion" was added only in Transworld Elites Survey 2013 and it was not included in this comparison.

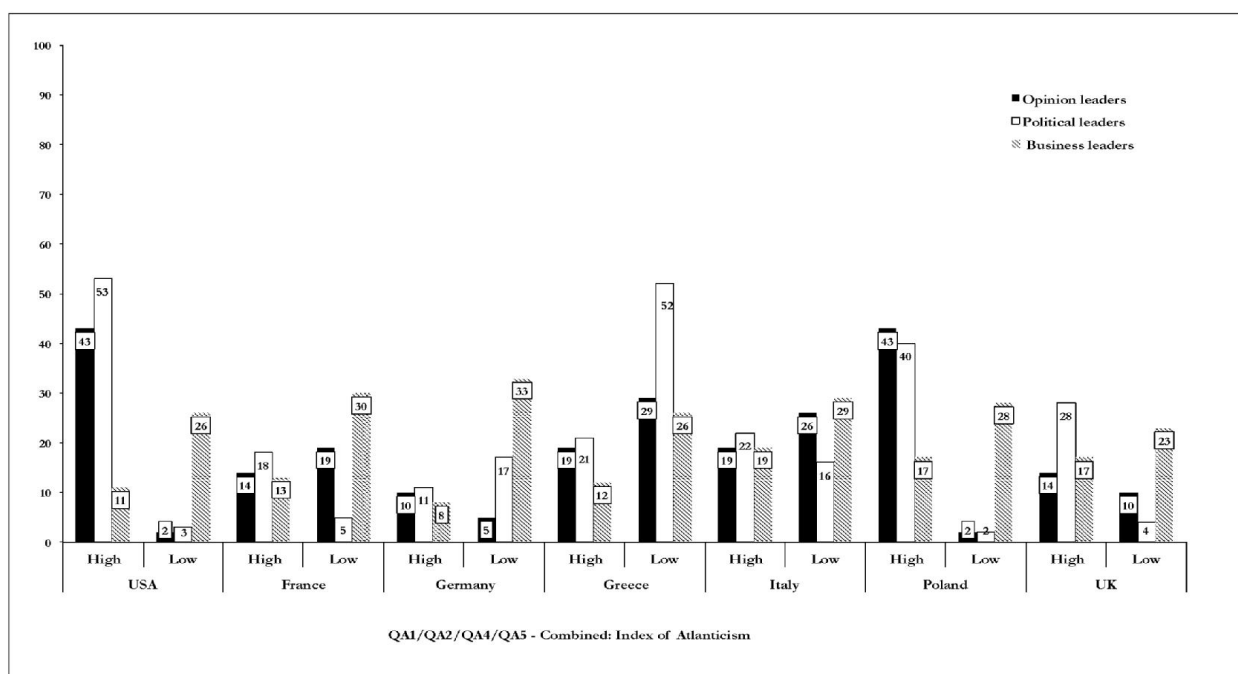
3.1.4. The index of Atlanticism

Following Everts et al. (2014), an index can be built in order to measure the overall degree of Atlanticism of the EU and US elites. It combines the three items discussed in this section: whether it is desirable that the

United States (in Europe) and the European Union (in the US) exert a strong leadership in world affairs; whether the partnership between the US and Europe should be closer in security and diplomatic affairs and whether NATO is essential to our country's security. The scores on each of these questions were dichotomized and then summed up, resulting in an index ranging from 0, measuring "Low Atlanticism", to 3 indicating a "High degree of Atlanticism".

Those coded as "Low" have answered in Europe that the US leadership is not desirable, that NATO is not essential and that partnership should be more independent. In the USA, they have answered that the EU leadership is not desirable, NATO is not essential and that the partnership with Europe should be more independent. On the contrary, those who have the highest score deem the US leadership (in Europe) and the EU leadership (in US) as desirable, NATO as essential and ask for a closer partnership.

• Figure 6 | **Index of Atlanticism**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (authors' elaboration).

USA vs. EU – The USA shows the highest scores on Atlanticism, while the European elites are divided across the whole continuum.

Differences within the EU – The lowest levels of Atlanticism can be found in Greece, especially among the politicians. It should be pointed out that the Polish elites have high scores on this index: indeed, the country that entered the transatlantic relations later appears more willing than the older members of the transatlantic community to develop a closer partnership with the USA.

Differences across elite groups – The opinion leaders and the politicians appear to be most convinced supporters of transatlantic relations, especially in the US and in Poland. The same two groups in Greece, however, are the most sceptical about it. In both the USA and the EU, the business leaders show the lowest scores in the index

of Atlanticism.

3.2. Actors

Key findings – The western world looks east

- In the current multipolar world, both the USA and the EU elites tend to increasingly look at the Asian countries, especially at China.
- For the American leaders, Asian countries are more important than the European ones for their national interests; in Europe, the business elites are more aware of the importance of Asia than the other leader groups.
- Both the US and EU leaders think that China will be very influential, in the next future.
- The elites think that the EU will play a significant role in the next 6-7 years, although it will be not as influential as the USA or China; Brazil, India, Russia and Japan, on the other hand, are considered as moderately relevant in the new global governance architecture.
- The US elites tend to be more afraid of Chinese military power than the European ones.

As already argued elsewhere, the transatlantic relations have to deal with the implications of a multipolar world, that is shaping new global governance architecture. Within this framework, the constellation of actors that the US and the EU should take into account in order to face the global challenges, is likely to be more complex and varied than in the past.

3.2.1. The Americans look at East, the Europeans look at the Western ally

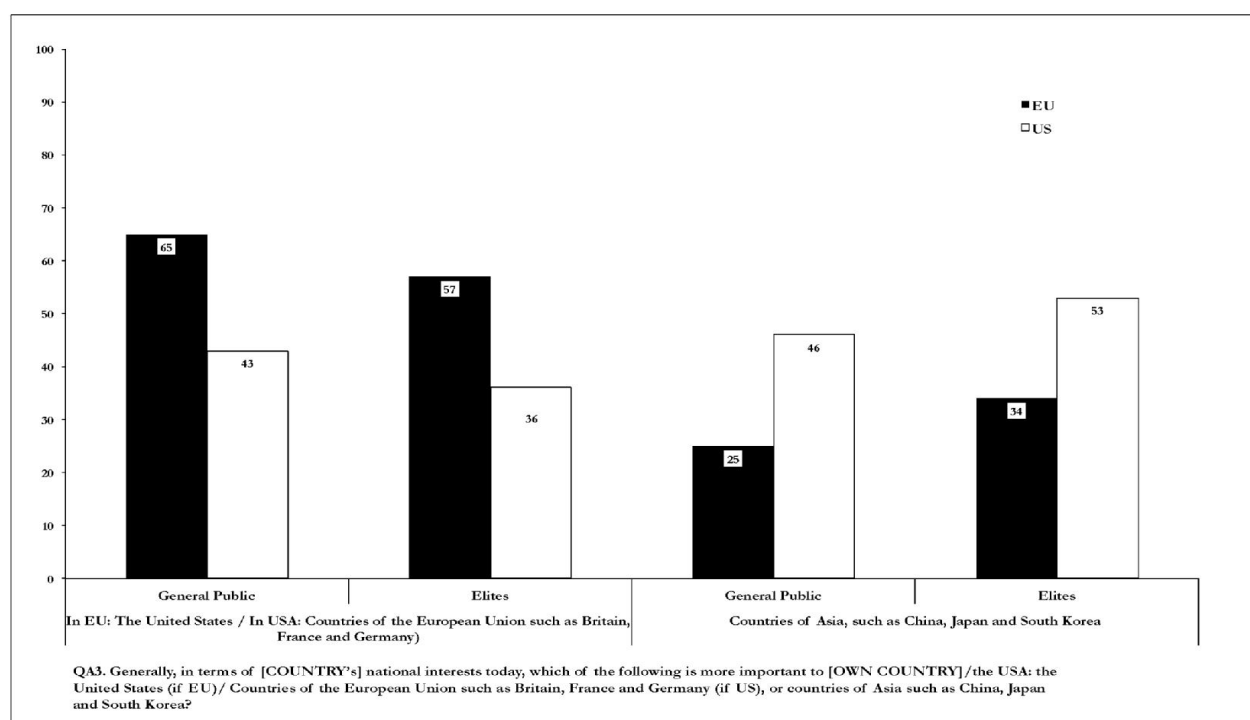
EU vs. USA – The majority of the US leaders (53%) claim that the Asian countries such as China, Japan and South Korea are more important than the European countries, for the American interests; nearly 36% of them, on average, prefer the European countries. On the contrary, the Europeans consider the USA as more important (57%) than the Asian countries (34%).

Differences within the EU – All the European countries share the preference for the transatlantic ally, although differences across the various elite groups are likely to emerge (see *infra*).

Differences across elite groups – Unlike the opinion and business leaders, the US politicians are somewhat divided between the preference for Asian (43%) and European countries (45%). Similarly, in Europe, the business sector is split between the two options: the Asian countries seem to be an attractive opportunity for almost half of the economic elites in all the surveyed countries. The Italian politicians and the French opinion leaders are also divided on the topic.

Elites vs. public opinion – The European social and political elites appear to be in line with the preferences of the general public: nearly 65% of Europeans think that the USA is more important than Asian countries, for national interests. In the USA, leaders are more inclined than the general public to prefer the Asian countries: according to TTS data, a slight majority of Americans (46%) claim that the Asian countries are more important than the transatlantic ally, while 43% favour European countries.

• Figure 7 | **More important country for national interests (%) - USA/EU comparison, mass and elites surveys**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

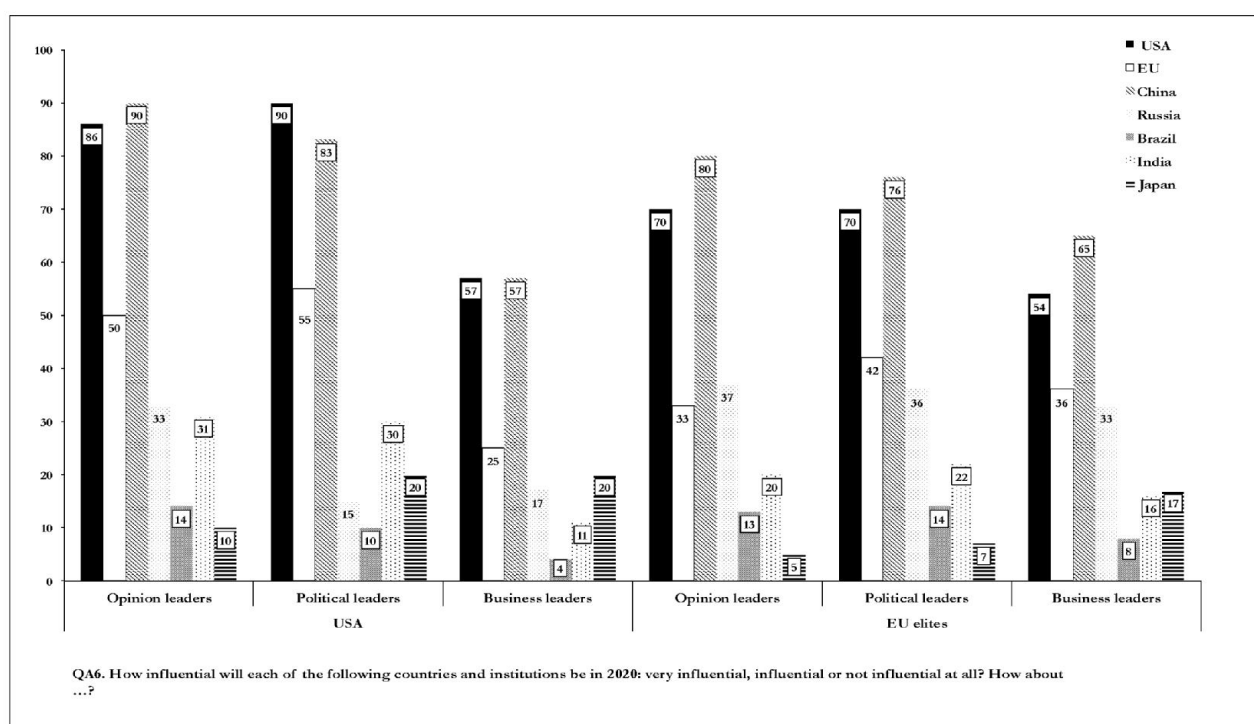
3.2.2. Influential countries: the burst of China

The transatlantic relations are moving towards an increasingly multipolar world, in which the number of influential countries in the following 6-7 years is growing with respect to the past. There is a widespread consensus on the future influence of the EU, the USA, as well as of the BRICs countries and Japan; however, some countries or regions appear to be more important than others for the transatlantic elites.

USA vs. EU – The US and EU elites converge on the firm belief that, in 2020, China and the USA will be very influential. On the other hand, only 37% of European elites and 42% of the American leaders claim that the European Union will be very influential, notwithstanding its growth and on-going evolution as political actor. Meanwhile, the EU leaders (35%) are more likely to perceive the importance of Russia than the American counterpart (22%). As for the other countries mentioned in the survey, the transatlantic leaders do not seem to emphasise the role of Brazil, India and Japan in the future world scenarios.

Differences within the EU – European countries show similar attitudes about the future influence of the main actors of the world scenario, while differences across elite groups seem to be more relevant (see also *infra*). It should be pointed out that, among the European elites, the British leaders tend to particularly emphasise the future strong role of the USA. On the other hand, the Greek and German leaders expect that the EU will play a relevant role in the future. As for the future influence of China, there is an almost spread consensus across Europe. On the other hand, the percentages of those responding that the other countries (Russia, Brazil, India and Japan) will be very influential do not diverge too much from the average.

• Figure 8 | **Very influential country in 2020 (%) - USA/EU comparison, by elite groups**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

Differences across elite groups – The business leaders, both in the USA (57%) and in the EU (54%) show a somewhat tepid attitude towards the future strong influence of the USA, as compared to the other groups. The EU is not expected to play a particularly relevant role by the business leaders (25% in the USA and 36% in the EU), although 54% of the Greek business elites expect a strong EU influence in the future. At least, 15% of the Italian economic elites claim that the EU will be “not influential at all” in 2020.

China is considered to be as very influent for almost all the surveyed elites, with peaks among the American (90%) and German (95%) opinion leaders and among the British politicians (91%), while nearly 65% of the European business elites consider China as very influential in the future.

Russia seems to have lost much of the influence of its Soviet predecessor: indeed, the percentages of elites that consider it as very influential in 2020 range from 15% among the American politicians to 50% among the British opinion leaders, with the notable exception of the Greek business elites (69%). At the same time, the attitudes towards the future influence of the other countries are rather similar across the different groups of elites.

3.2.3. China: an influential, but not threatening actor

USA vs. EU – The expectation of a growing influence of China does not necessarily imply an increasing perception of that country as a military threat. On this topic, however, the US and EU elites appear to be somewhat divided. On average, 49% of the American elites are afraid of the Chinese military power, while only 31% of the EU elites share this feeling, regardless of the elite sector (see also *infra*).

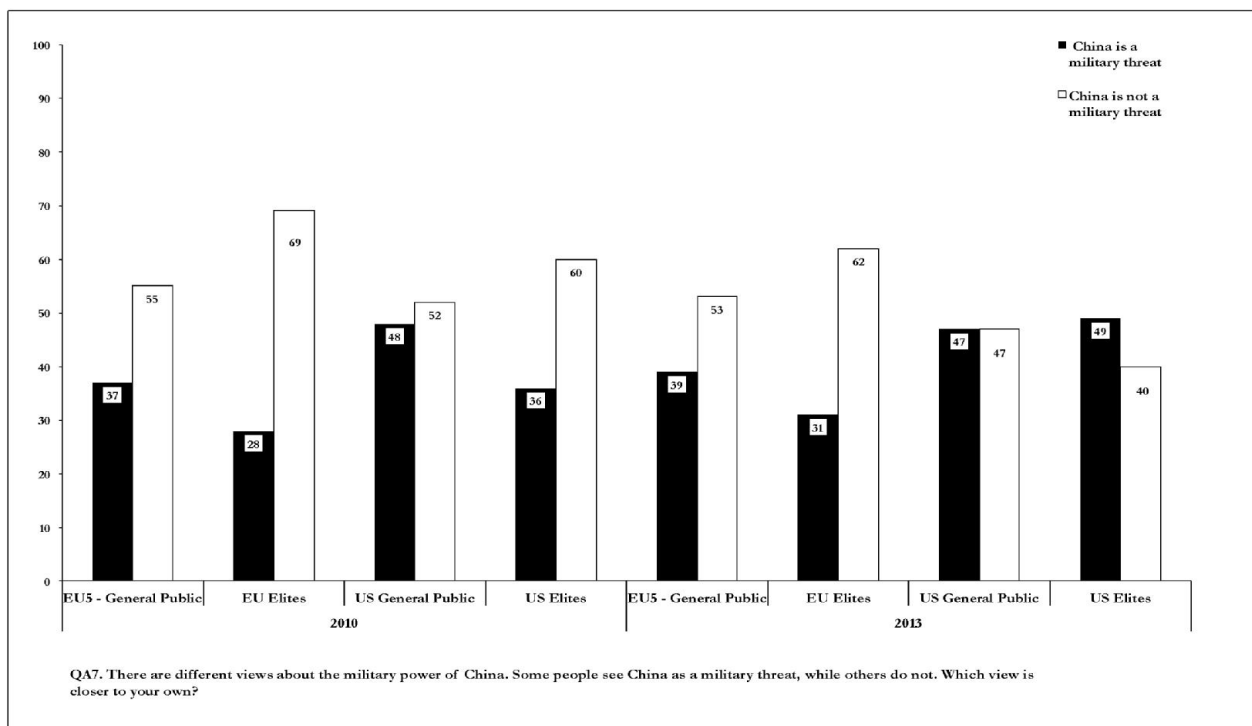
Differences within the EU – Cross-national differences within the EU, however, are likely to emerge. In Poland, for instance, 60% of the opinion leaders and 55% of the business elites claim that China is a military threat. British politicians, on the other hand, seem to be rather divided between those who feel themselves threatened (45%) and those who say that China does not represent a military threat (51%).

Differences across elite groups – A part from the aforementioned cases of Poland and UK, the European elites show somewhat homogenous attitudes towards the Chinese military power. In the USA, on the other hand, the opinion leaders do not feel themselves as threatened by China (38%) as the politicians (58%) and the business elites (53%).

Elites over time – As compared to 2010, Transworld data show an increasing concern of the USA elites towards the military power of China: in 2010, 36% of the US leaders claimed that China was a threat, while in 2013 this percentage rises up to 49%. Among the EU elites, the perception of the Chinese military threat, on the other hand, has remained stable over time.

Elites vs. public opinion – In line with their leaders, the European masses do not seem to be afraid of the Chinese military threat. Furthermore, this attitude has remained rather constant over the last three years. On the other hand, the American public seems to be, on the whole, less worried than the US elites. It is nevertheless narrowly divided on the topic, in continuity with the findings of TTS 2010.

• Figure 9 | **China's military threat (%) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elites surveys (2010 and 2013)**



Source: TTS 2010 (6 countries), TLS 2010, Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

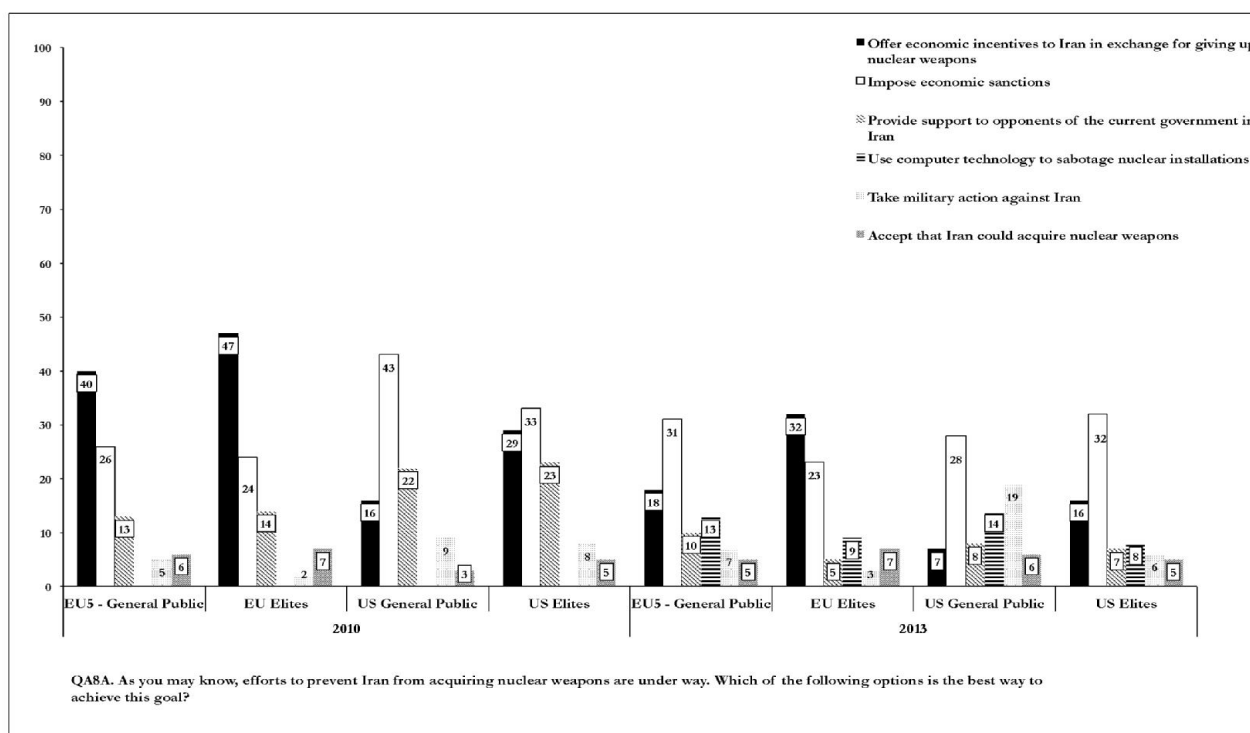
3.3. Policies

Key findings – Economic measures are better than military actions

- Both the EU and the US elites converge on alternative measures to the use of force, in order to prevent nuclear proliferation.
- If the non-military options should fail, the US leaders would be favourable to the use of force against Iran; the European elites are more reluctant, with the notable exception of the French leaders and some elite groups in Europe.
- In the case of North Korea, the majority of the EU and US elites would accept that North Korea could acquire nuclear weapons, rather than taking a risky military action in the Far East.

The survey questions concerning the policies on international security focus in particular on the issue of nuclear proliferation. In order to explore this sensitive issue, we used a complex design, which was adopted for the first time in TTS 2013. It aims at tapping both the share of those willing to accept a country to become nuclear and whether people respond differently to the perception of threat when different countries are taken into account. For this purpose, we initially asked a question with a set of options to cope with the possibility of a country becoming nuclear. Half of the sample, randomly assigned, was interviewed about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons, while the other half was interviewed about North Korea. We also wanted to solicit the propensity to the use of force in a changed scenario, when all the other measures should fail; accordingly, only those respondents who had excluded the military option in the first question were asked whether they would be either ready to accept a nuclear Iran/North Korea or, rather, to resort to the use of force.

• **Figure 10 | Measures against nuclear proliferation in Iran (%) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elite surveys (2010 and 2013)**

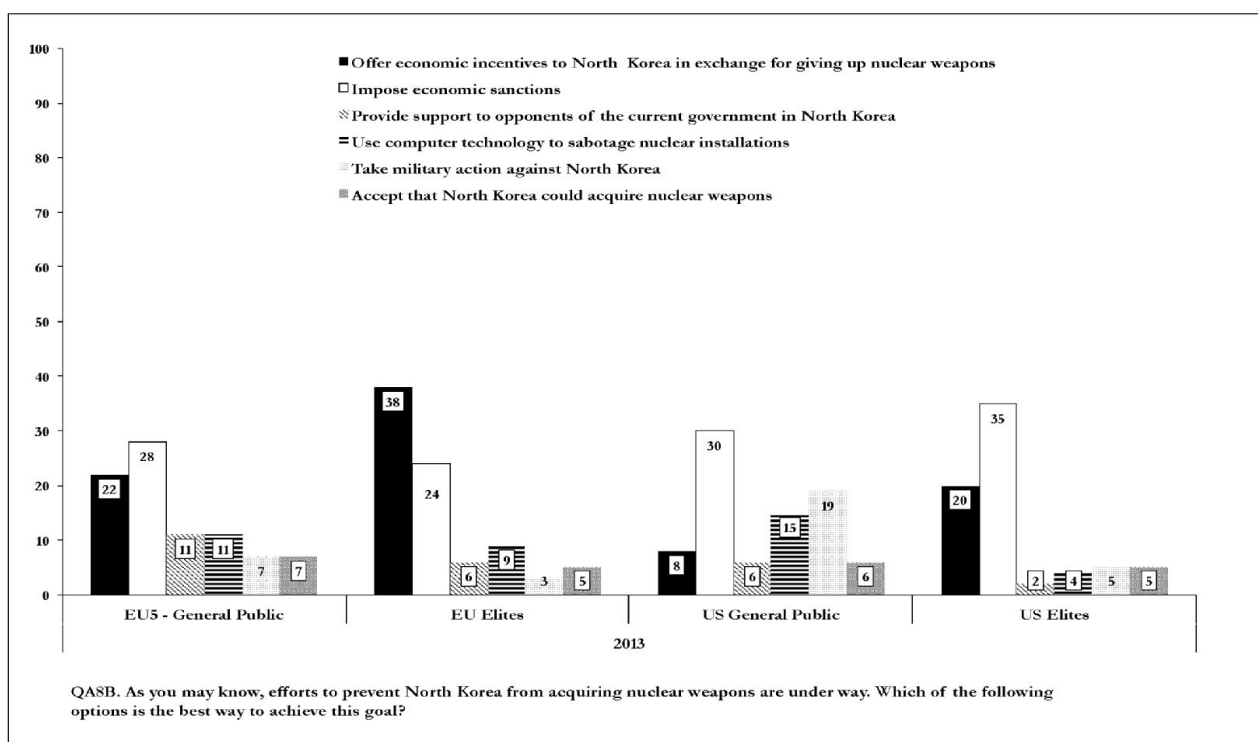


Source: TTS 2010 (6 countries), TLS 2010, Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

US vs. EU – As far as Iran is concerned, both the EU and US elites are more favourable to explore non-military options to prevent the nuclear threat, before recurring to any military action. In particular, economic measures, either by means of sanctions or incentives, are preferred over the other proposed options. Similarly, the use of force is excluded by the majority of the respondents from both sides of the Atlantic also in the case of North Korea. The attitudes of the US and the EU elites seem to diverge in the case of failure of the non-military option: On average, only 30% of the EU leaders would resort to the military force in order to prevent Iran from becoming nuclear, against 57% of the US elites. The gap between the two transatlantic partners, however, becomes narrower if the country at stake is North Korea, provided that 25% of the EU leaders and 35% of the US leaders claim that they would take military action against that country.

Differences within the EU – There seems to be a shared consensus among the EU elites regarding the exclusion of the use of force as first option; when all the other measures should fail, however, the European attitudes are likely to be more differentiated. In the case of Iran, there are some elite groups that are favourable to resort the military option (see *infra*).

• **Figure 11 | Measures against nuclear proliferation in North Korea (%) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elite surveys (2013)**



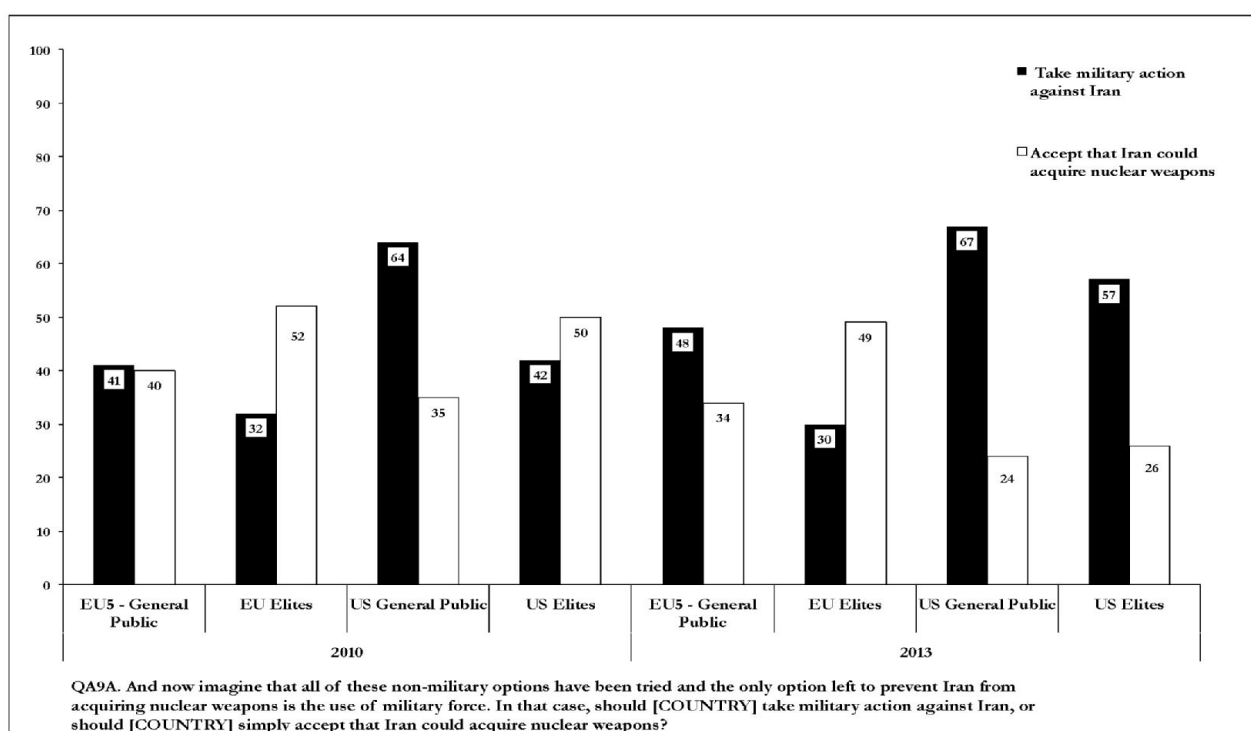
Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

Differences across elite groups – All the elite groups agree about the exclusion of the use of force as first option, against both Iran and North Korea. However, the picture varies in the second scenario, when the military option should be considered as measure of last resort. In the USA, the politicians (77%) are more inclined to the use of force against Iran than the opinion leaders (47%) and the business sector (48%). Similarly, 52% of the US political elites would support an intervention in North Korea, against 8% of the opinion leaders and 41% of the economic elites.

In Europe, such a divergence between the politicians and the other groups of elites appear less clear-cut. As already argued, on average, the majority of the EU elites (49%) would accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons rather than using military force against that country. Nevertheless, the majority of the French elites (51%), as well as 45 % of German business leaders, 42% of Greek politicians and 47% of Italian opinion leaders would favour the resort to military option against Iran. On the contrary, almost all the EU leaders are somewhat reluctant to the use of military force against North Korea, with the notable exception of the US (52%) politicians, as well as of the French politicians (50%) and opinion leaders (47%).

Elites over time – As compared to 2010, Transworld data show that the reluctance to the use of force as first option to prevent Iran becoming nuclear has remained somewhat stable. At the same time, in 2010, the percentage of European leaders who were favourable to military intervention if the other measures should fail (32%) was similar to that of 2013 (30%). On the other hand, the US elites were somewhat divided on the topic in TLS 2010 data, while in Transworld 2013 the percentage of those favourable to a military intervention in Iran raises up to 57%. It should be remembered that the case of North Korea was not included in TLS 2010.

• **Figure 12 | Iran becoming nuclear: military action if other options fail (%) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elite surveys (2010 and 2013)**



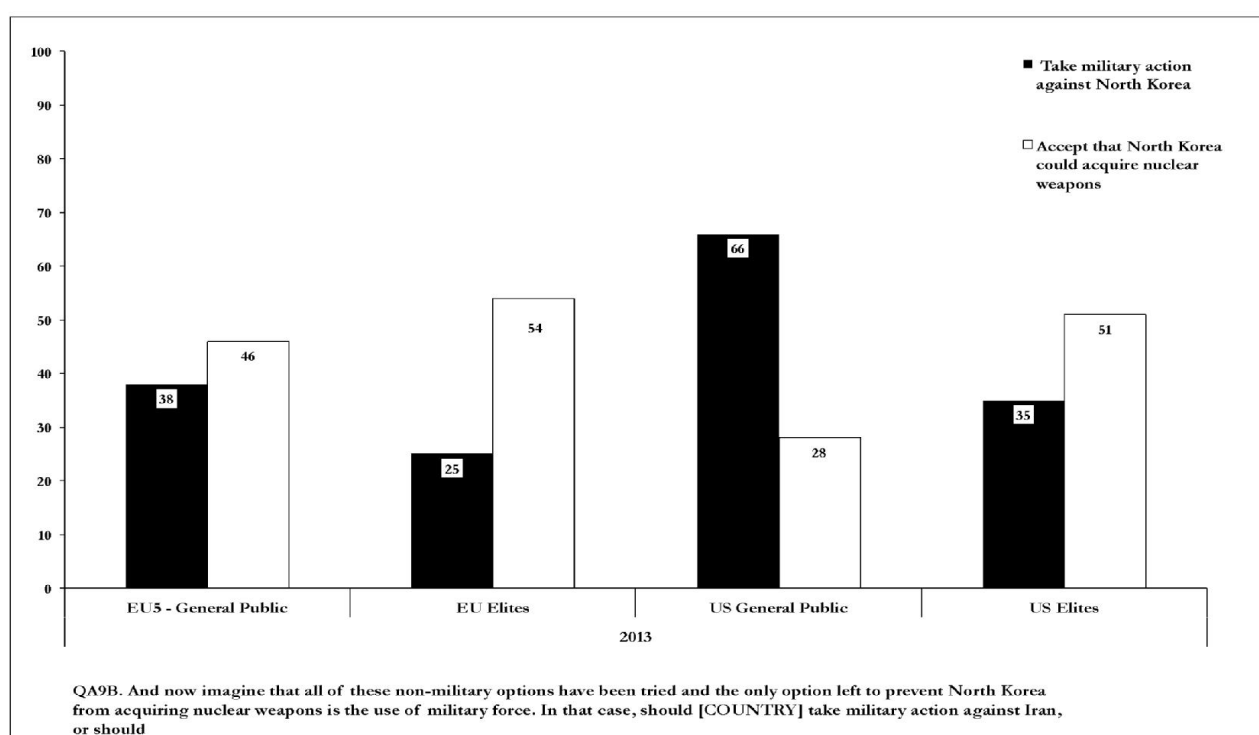
Source: TTS 2010 (6 countries), TLS 2010, Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

Elites vs. public opinion – The comparison of the Transworld findings with the TTS data reveal that the EU leaders are almost in line with their public in preferring alternative measures to the use of force in Iran, with no variation over time. The pattern becomes more complex in the second scenario, concerning the military intervention if the other options should fail. In 2010, in fact, only the minority within the EU public (41%) was in favour of the use of force, as well as the elites (32%); on the other hand, in 2013, 48% of the EU masses claim

that a military action against Iran could be taken under extreme circumstances, against 30% of the EU elites. On the contrary, in the USA, the public was more favourable to military intervention (64%) than the elites (42%) in 2010, while in 2013 the attitudes of mass and leaders seem to be more convergent (the 67% of the public and the 57% of the leaders support military intervention).

As already argued, the question on North Korea was included for the first time in TTS 2013. Once again, elites and masses, both in the USA and EU, agree on the preference for non-military options against nuclear proliferation in North Korea. In the worst case, when there are no other options left to prevent this country becoming nuclear, nearly 54% of the European elites and 46% of the EU public opinion claim that they would accept that North Korea could acquire nuclear weapons. On the contrary, 66% of the USA general public would take military action against that country, against 35% of the US leaders.

• **Figure 13 | North Korea becoming nuclear: military action if other options fail (%) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elite surveys (2013)**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

4. Other Issues

4.1. Preferred Level of Government

Key findings – “Distant” issues should be decided at international level; economic and financial policies require shared responsibilities

- The majority of the EU and USA elites prefer that more complex and “distant” issues, such as international

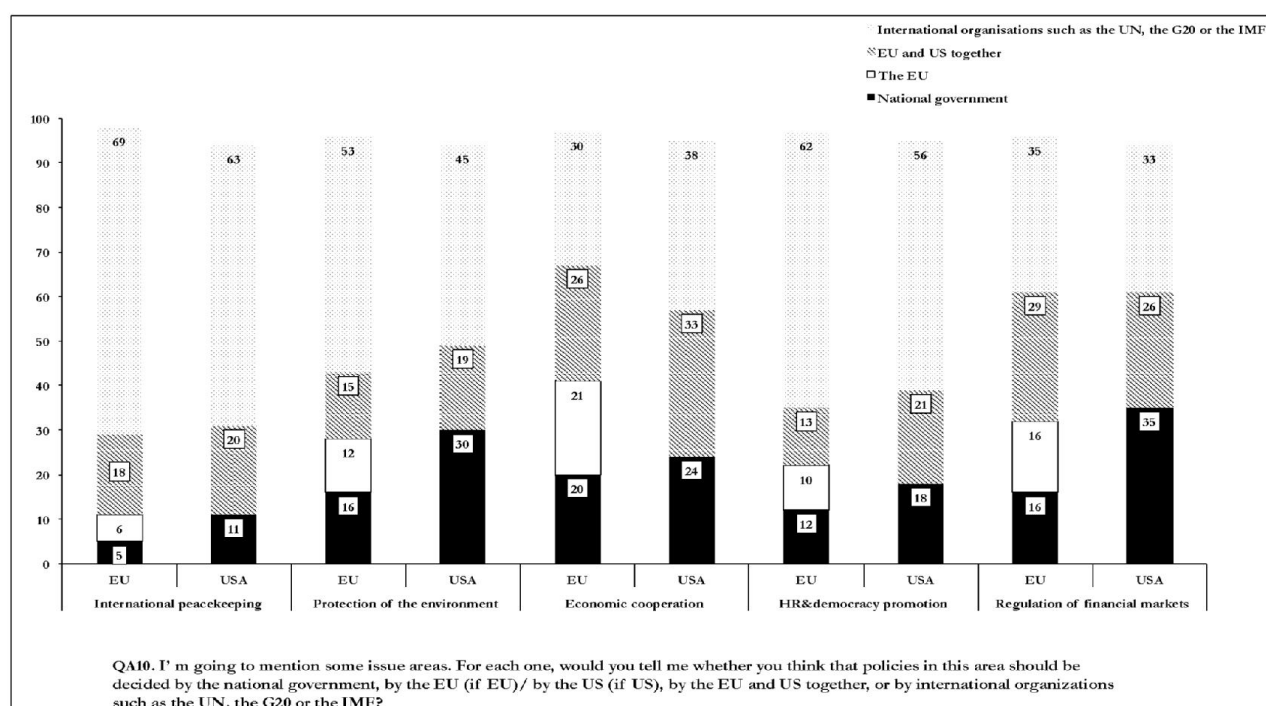
peacekeeping, protection of the environment and human rights/democracy promotion are decided at the international level.

- The business elites are less willing than the other elite sectors to surrender responsibilities on peacekeeping, environmental policies and human rights/democracy promotion to international organisations.

The leaders were asked about their preferred level of government, for each of the for policy areas addressed by the survey, among the following options: the national government, the EU (only for EU countries), the EU and the US together or international organisation.

USA vs. EU – Transatlantic leaders are willing to move towards a multilateral cooperation, with the involvement of the international organisations, especially for what concerns the most complex and “distant” issues: international peacekeeping, protection of the environment and human rights/democracy promotion. On the other hand, both the EU and the US elites are divided between those claiming that the economic and financial policies should be decided by the national government, by the communitarian institutions (in the case of the EU) or by the EU and the US together.

• Figure 14 | Preferred level of government (%) – USA/EU comparison



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data).

Differences within the EU – The aforementioned patterns are, on the whole, cross-national, although some differences can be observed by looking at specific elites groups (see infra).

Differences across elite groups – As already argued, the majority of the EU and US elites claim that the international peacekeeping should be decided by international organisation; nevertheless, the business leaders in the USA (48%), France (48%), Italy (36%) and Poland (46%) show a somewhat tepid preference for this level of governance. Similarly, the same elite group in the USA (37%), France (36%), Germany (40%), Italy (30%) and

Poland (23%) is less favourable to surrender responsibilities to international organisations on environmental policies. The same scepticism towards the international level is expressed by the business elites in the USA (43%), France (41%), Italy (36%) and Poland (37%) for what concerns human rights and democracy promotion.

About the economic and financial policies, on the other hand, the elites are somewhat divided among the different options, so that it is not possible to identify a specific pattern of behaviour.

4.2. Use of Force

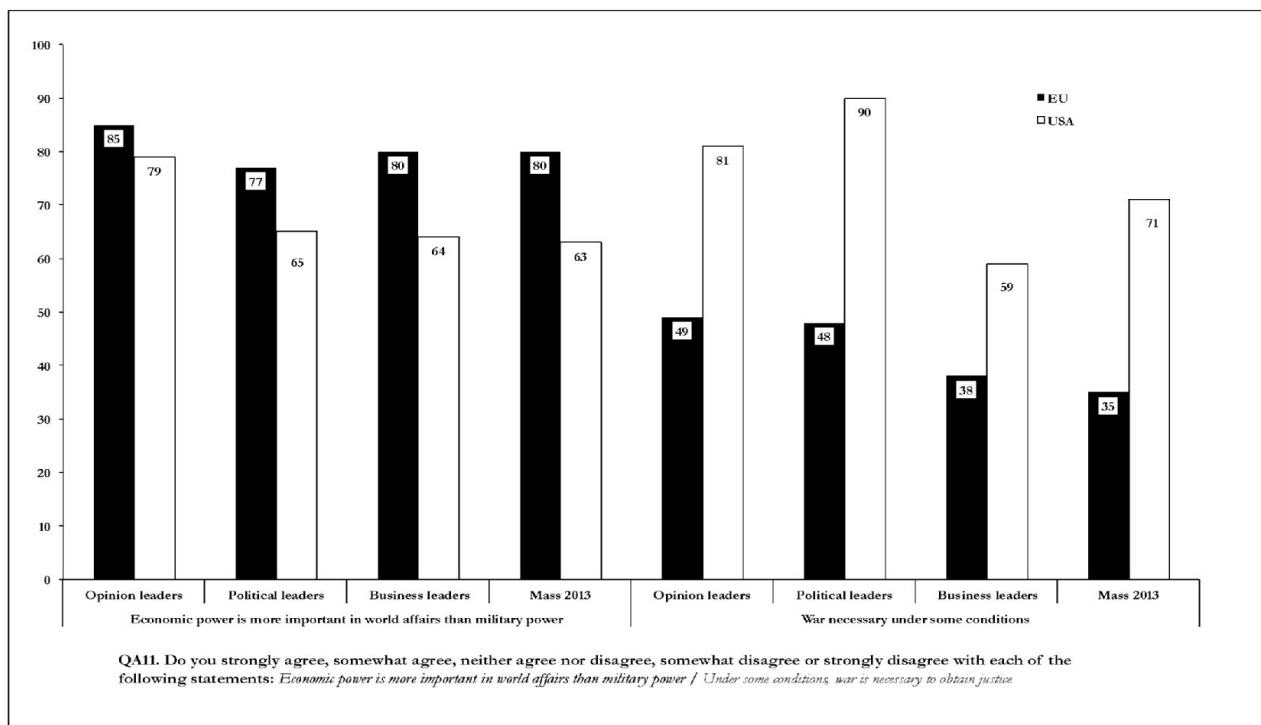
Key findings – The EU/US (and the UK) divide on the use of force: EU doves vs. US pragmatist hawks?

- Both the European and American elites think that economic power is more important than military one.
- Nevertheless, the EU and the US are divided on the use of force, at least under some conditions: Americans and British elites are more inclined than the other European leaders to make recourse to war.

The USA and the EU elites were asked to express their opinion on two statements: “the economic power is more important than the military power” and “under some conditions war is necessary to obtain justice”. The answers to these items aim at tapping the attitudes towards military power and war.

USA vs. EU – On average, about 81% of the EU elites and 70% of the US leaders think that economic power is more important than the military power: On the other hand, nearly 76% of the US leaders claim that, under some conditions, war is necessary, against 45% of the European leaders holding the same argument.

• **Figure 15 | Attitudes towards military power and war (% of strongly/somewhat agree) – USA/EU comparison, by elite groups, mass and elite surveys (2013)**



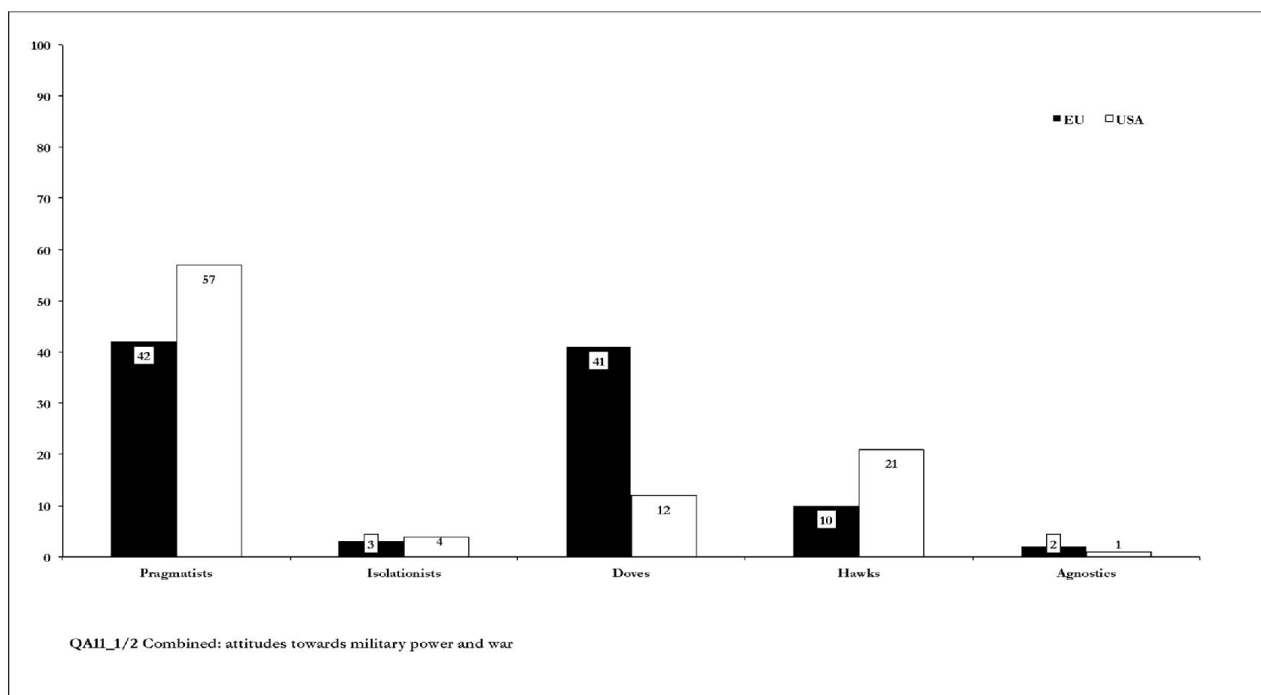
Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013, TTS 2013.

Differences within the EU – The economic power is more important than the military power for the majority of the elites in all the European countries; on the other hand, some differences are likely to emerge on the attitudes towards war. The majority of the French politicians (57%), as well as of the Polish opinion (52%) and political (51%) leaders agree with the statement that war might be necessary, sometimes. At the same time, the attitudes of the British leaders seem to be closer to those of the American ones than to European average: indeed, 77% of the UK elites, on average, support the use of force under some conditions.

Differences across elite groups – There is a somewhat shared consensus among the elites on the first statement. On the contrary, business elites appear less inclined to war than the other elite groups within the same countries. This is especially the case for the American economic sector (59%), as well as for the British business elites (57%).

Elites vs. public opinion – The same divide between the USA/UK and the rest of the EU on the use of force is also present among the general public. Nearly 80% of the EU public and 63% of the US public claim that economy is more important than military power. At the same time, 35% of the EU masses say that war might be necessary under some conditions, against 71% of the American counterpart.

• Figure 16 | **Typology on the attitudes towards military power and the use of force (%)**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (author's elaboration).

Typology on the attitudes towards military power and war – The two items might be combined, thus forming a typology tapping the attitudes towards military power and war. The *pragmatists* are those thinking that economy is more important than military power, but also war might be necessary under some circumstances; when leaders think that economy is more important and oppose the use of force, they are defined as *doves*; those claiming that war is never necessary, but also think that economy is less important than military power are the *isolationist*; finally, those respondents saying that military power is more important than economy and

that war is sometimes necessary, are defined as *hawks*. A residual group of *agnostics* identifies those people who respond “neither agree nor disagree” to both the statements.

From Transworld Elites Survey data it emerges that there are more pragmatists and hawks in the USA (respectively, the 57% and 21%) than in the EU (42% and 10%). On the other hand, about 41% of the EU elites falls within the category of doves, against 12% of American elites. There are few differences across the elite groups. On the other hand, some cross-national differences can be identified: British elites show attitudes similar to those of the US leaders: nearly 55% of the UK sample can be labelled as pragmatists, followed by 17% of hawks and only 13% of doves. In Greece, on the other hand, the majority of the elites are doves, especially the political (79%) and the business (78%) leaders.

5. Global Economy

5.1. General Attitudes on Economic Integration: Across the Atlantic and within Europe

Key findings – Economic integration between support and scepticism

- Both the sides of the Atlantic see favourably the economic integration between the EU and the US.
- The business leaders are nevertheless rather sceptical about the opportunity of a closer integration between the two economies.
- The European leaders, with the exception of the UK, are likely to appreciate the opportunities of the single currency.
- The business elites show a somewhat tempered support for the Euro, at least among those companies with lower annual turnover.
- There is a sharp divide between the European masses and their elites on the single currency, the former being more Eurosceptic than the leaders.

The survey explored elites’ attitudes towards both the transatlantic and the European economic integration. On the one hand, leaders were asked whether the two sides of the Atlantic should increase their economic ties; on the other, elites were required to express their attitudes towards the Euro, which embodies the process of European integration.

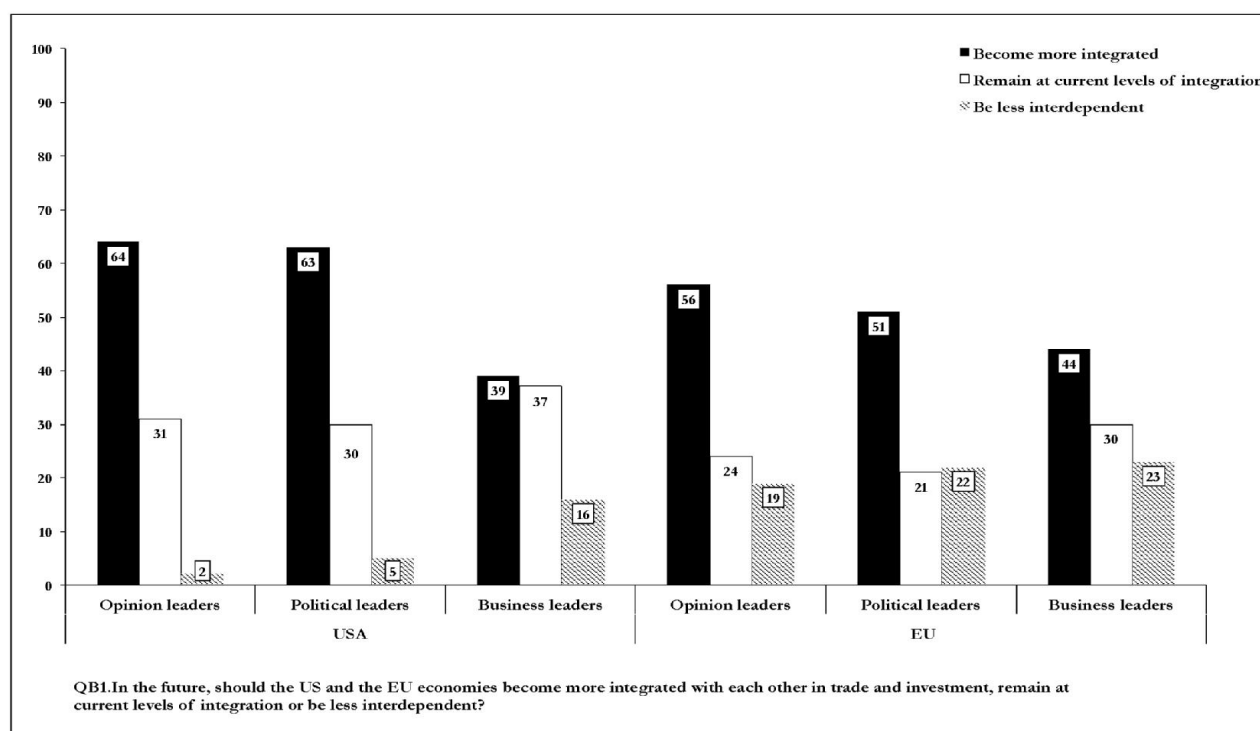
5.1.1. Economic integration across the Atlantic

USA vs. EU – The majority of both the American (55%) and the European leaders (51%) converge on the idea that the US and the EU economies should become more integrated. On average, however, the percentage of leaders responding that the two economies should be less interdependent is larger in the EU (21%) than in the USA (8%).

This question might be read in conjunction with another item, aimed at tapping attitudes towards transatlantic relationship on diplomatic and security affairs (see section 3). In that case, it has been argued that the Europeans are willing to be more independent from the transatlantic partner; on the contrary, the EU leaders seem, on the whole and besides some remarkable differences (see *infra*), quite supportive of an increasing level of economic interdependence. This preference for the economic integration over the security and diplomatic

interdependence might be explained by the fact that the transatlantic relationships are mostly perceived as based on economic rather than on political or security ties. On the other hand, one might argue that the EU leaders prefer a greater political independence because of the asymmetrical relationship with the USA in the security and diplomatic field; at the same time, since the transatlantic economic relations are more symmetrical, Europeans are more likely to pursue a greater economic integration with the overseas partner.

• Figure 17 | **Integration between US and EU economies (%) – EU/US comparison, by elites groups**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

Differences within the EU – France and, to a lesser extent, Greece, as well as some elite sectors in the UK, show the lowest percentages of support for the transatlantic economic integration. Only 27% of the French politicians, for instance, respond that the two economies should be more integrated and 39% of the Greek economic elites claim that they should be less interdependent.

Differences across elite groups – The business sector, especially in the USA (39%), France (38%), Greece (40%) and the UK (39%) shows a rather tepid support to the economic integration between the EU and the USA. This attitude is shared by the different types of business companies, regardless of their size, annual turnover or sector of activity.

5.1.2. Economic integration within Europe: the Euro

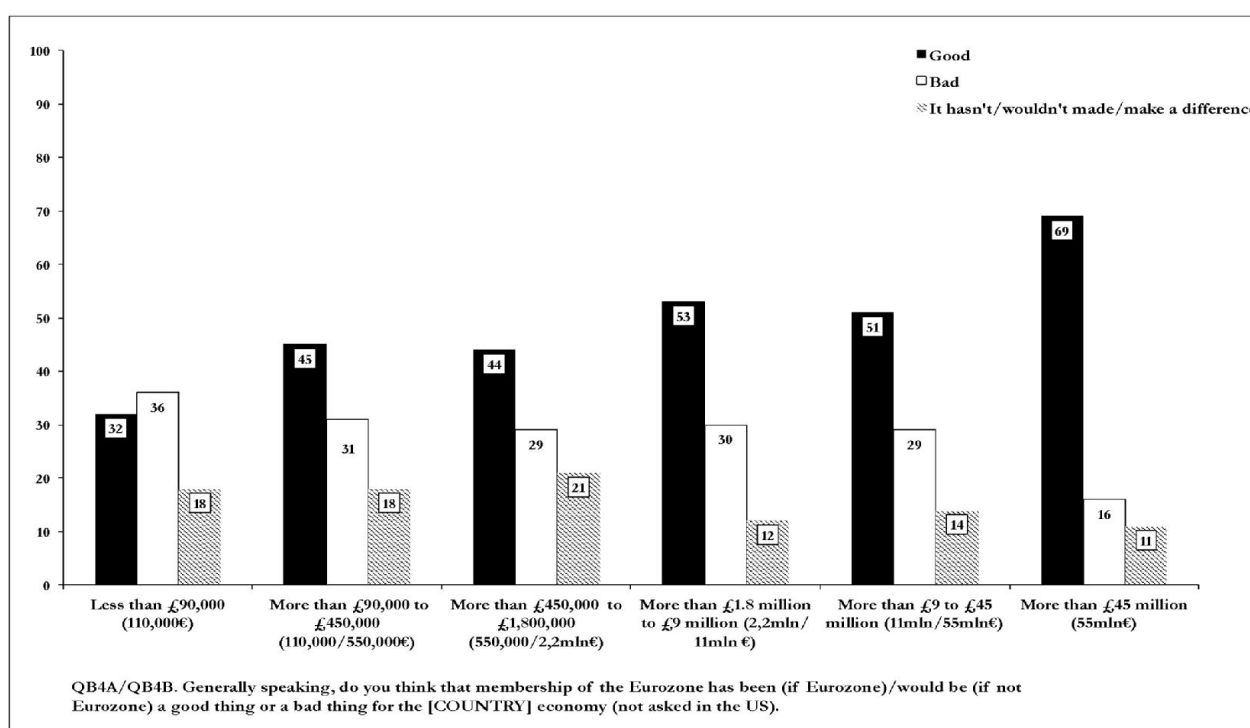
Differences within the EU – The European economic and monetary union is the most important reality of the integration process. Within this framework, the European leaders, on average, consider the single currency as a well-established fact and they appreciate the opportunities it provides. Within the Eurozone, 93% of opinion leaders and 98% of politicians in Germany, as well as 83% of the Italian opinion leaders, claim that the Euro has

been a good thing for their country's economy. Greek leaders, on the other hand, express a more tempered support to the single currency, ranging from 45% of the politicians to 52% of the opinion leaders. Outside the Eurozone, the majority of the Polish elites, with the remarkable exception of the business sector (38%), state that the Euro would be a good thing for the economy of the country; on the contrary, the British leaders are somewhat sceptical about it: about 60% of the opinion leaders and 64% of the politicians, in fact, say that it would be bad for the economy of the UK, while the business sector is almost evenly divided on the topic: nearly 39% respond that it would be a good thing, against 38% who say that it would be bad.

Differences across elite groups – The business sector shows a mild support for the single currency, especially in Germany (68%), Italy (41%) and Poland (38%). On the contrary, in the UK, the business sector is less critical than the opinion leaders and the politicians towards the single currency.

It should be argued that the average support for the single currency does not vary according to the size or to the sector of activity of the companies; however, when referring to the annual turnover, it emerges that the higher the annual turnover is, the higher is the perception of the benefits of the Euro.

• Figure 18 | Euro good/bad (%) – By company turnover



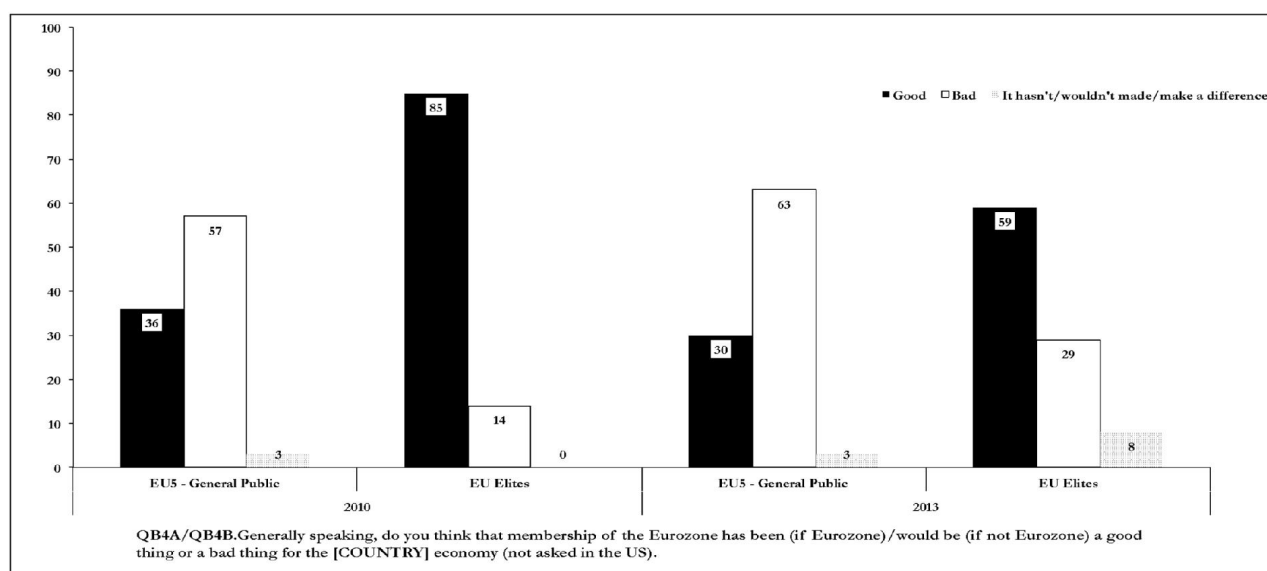
Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

Elites over time – As compared to 2010, Transworld data show a decreasing support for the Euro. In 2013, nearly 59% of leaders claim that the EU has been/would be good, dropping by 26 percentage points since 2010 (85%). As already argued, this average percentage is affected by the critical attitudes of the Greek and British leaders, as well as by the scepticism of the economic sector.

Elites vs. public opinion – European leaders are, on average, more supportive of the Euro than the general public, with a stable pattern over time. In 2010, in fact, 85% of the elites claimed that the Euro was a good thing,

against 35% of the general public. The same mass/elites divide is present in 2013, provided that 59% of the leaders, on average, are supportive of the Euro, against 30% of the general public. This percentage is affected by the low support for the single currency in the UK (5%), although a few countries diverge from the average (e.g. Germany with 52%).

• Figure 19 | Euro good/bad (%) – Mass and elites surveys (2010 and 2013)



Source: TTS 2010 (6 countries), TLS 2010, Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

5.2. Actors

Key findings – Less EU, more China?

- The European elites are quite divided about the opportunity of increasing the control of the EU over economic policies. It seems that, in times of global financial crisis, they are increasingly tempted by the national decision-making.
- The majority of the business leaders, as well as the Greek elites, claim that each national state should retain powers of economic decision-making.
- The support to the economic authority of the EU is higher among politicians and social elites, especially in Germany and France.
- Outside the Eurozone (Poland and UK), the elites think that the economic decision-making should be kept at national level.
- The support for the EU economic authority is higher among the elites than among the EU general public.
- The general public is more worried about the rising economic power of China than their leaders.

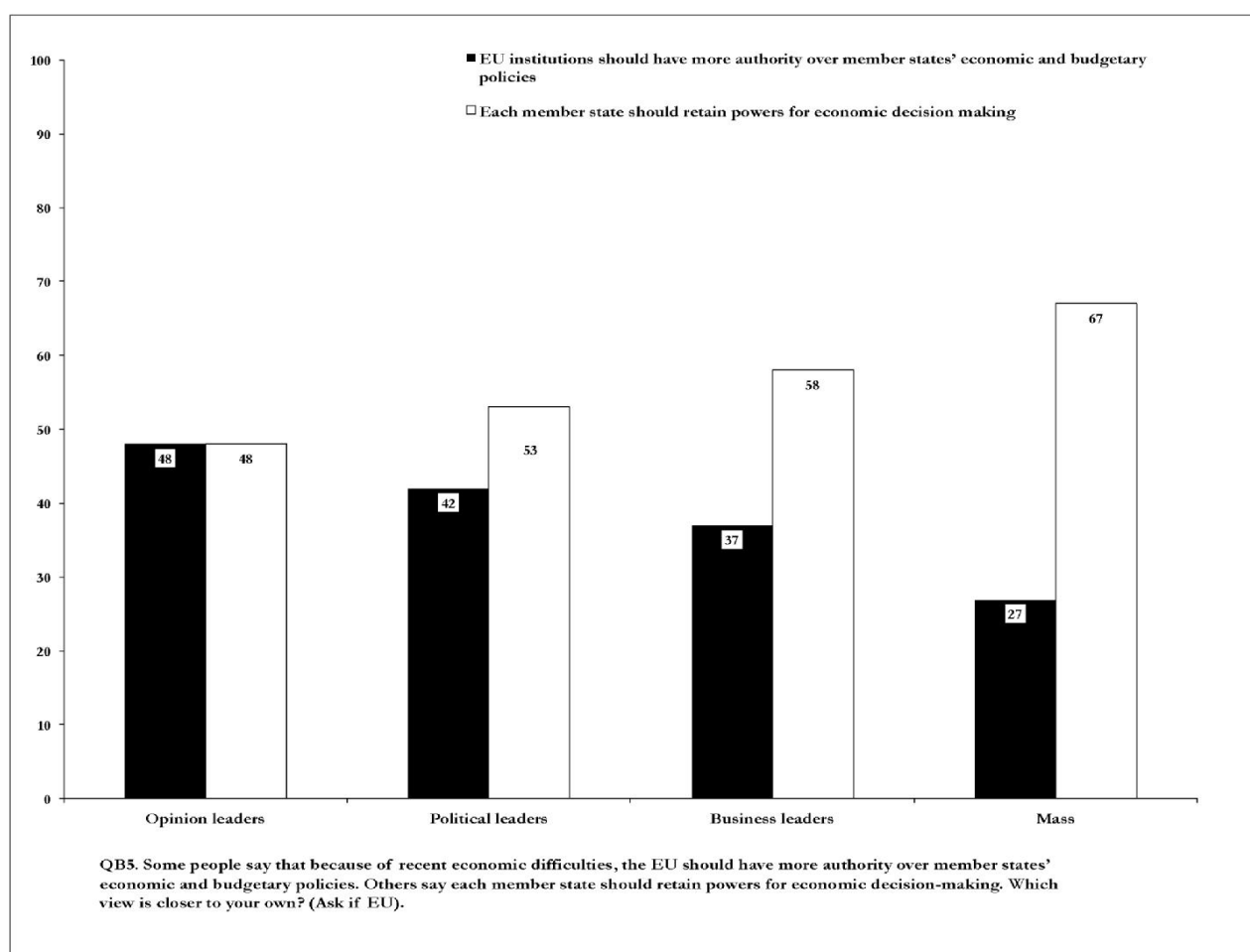
5.2.1. The role of the EU in times of financial crisis

Differences within the EU – The European elites were asked about the role of the EU institutions over economic and budgetary policies. On average, 43% of the EU leaders claim that the EU institutions should have more authority over member states' economic and budgetary policies, against 53% who respond that the national institutions should retain powers for the economic decision-making. Within Europe, the largest share of support

for the EU authority can be found in Germany and, to a lesser extent, in Italy and France. On the other hand, the majority of the elite groups in Greece, Poland and the UK believe that member states should retain powers for economic decision-making.

Differences across elites groups – In all countries, the business leaders, even in Germany and France, seem to be divided between those who want more EU authority and those claiming that national government should retain their powers on economic decision-making. There are no differences among the economic elites according to their size, annual turnover or types of activity.

• **Figure 20 | EU control over national economic policy (%) – Mass and elite surveys, by elites groups (2013)**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013, TTS 2013 (5 countries).

Elites vs. public opinion – The same question asked in TTS 2013 reveals that nearly 25% of the respondents claim that the EU should have more authority over national economic policies, with few cross-national divergences from the average; unlike the elites, which are somewhat divided on the topic, the EU general public shows a certain scepticism about the role of the EU in the global financial crisis. The only two cases in which masses and elites are perfectly aligned on Eurosceptic positions are those of the UK and Poland.

5.2.2. The role of China in global economy

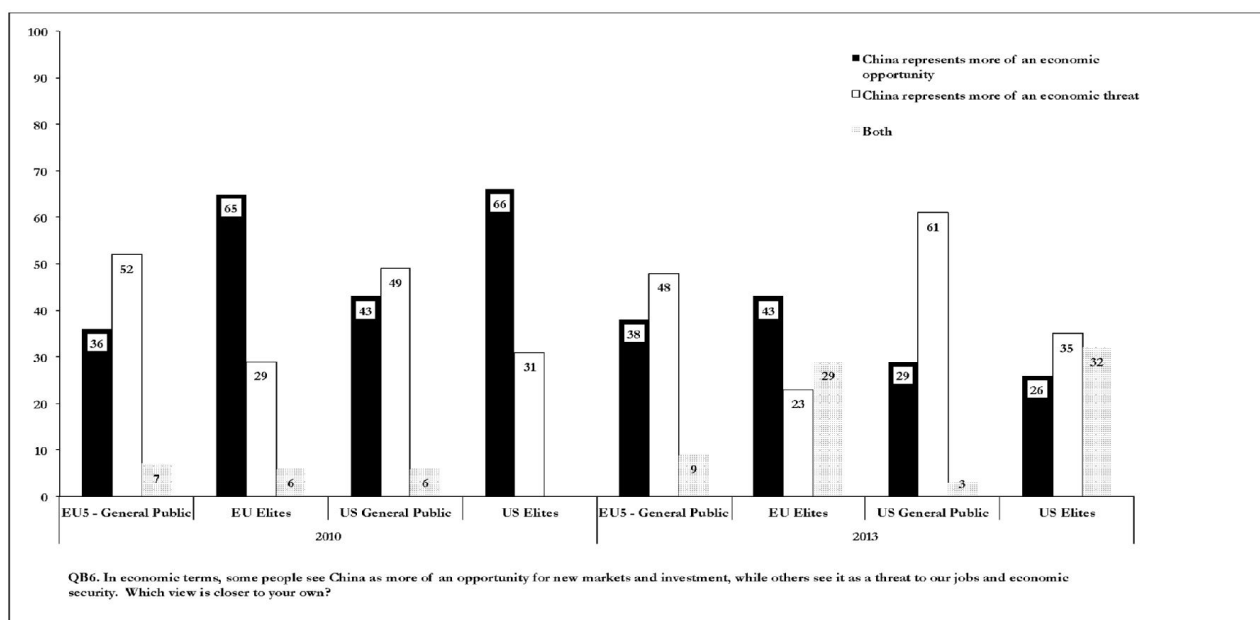
USA vs. EU – The Transatlantic leaders do not seem to be particularly worried by the economic rise of China. On average, only 23% of the EU elites think that China is an economic threat, against 35% of the US leaders. The US average is affected by 42% of the American business senior decision makers who are concerned about the economic threat posed by China (see also *infra*). The relatively high percentage of those responding that China is “both” an economic opportunity and a threat (29% in the EU, 32% in the USA) is likely to reveal the complexity of the question, provided that the increasing Chinese economic power has a multifaceted nature.

However, unlike the question on the military threat posed by China (see *supra*), in this case the US and the EU elites seem to converge on similar positions.

Differences within the EU – There are no significant cross-national differences on this question. It should be pointed out, however, that there is an almost spread consensus about the economic opportunity represented by China in the UK.

Differences across elite groups – As already argued, the American economic elites are somewhat worried by the economic rise of China. A part from the US case, however, the business sector seems to be rather divided on this topic. Considering the different types of business activities, there are not particular differences among the economic elites. Within the manufacturing sector, which one would expect being particularly affected by the economic development of China, nearly 35% say that the latter is a threat, against 29% of those claiming that it is an opportunity and 31% that it is both things.

• **Figure 21 | China: Economic opportunity or threat? (%) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elite surveys (2010 and 2013)**



Source: TTS 2010 (6 countries), TLS 2010, Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data), TTS 2013 (6 countries).

Elites over time – Since 2010, the percentage of those thinking that China represents more of an economic opportunity declined in 2013, both in the US and the EU; nevertheless, the share of those claiming that China

is a threat remained somewhat stable, while there is an increase of those responding that China is both an opportunity and a threat.

Elites vs. public opinion – The elites do not seem to reflect the concerns of the general public about the economic threat posed by the China. In 2010, China represented a threat for 52% of the EU public, against 29% of their elites, as well as for 49% of the US public, against 31% of the American leaders. The same mass/elites divide can be observed in 2013: the majority of the general public, both in the EU (48%) and the USA (61%) is worried about the rising economic power of China, while only 23% of the EU elites and 35% of the USA leaders claim that China represents more of an economic threat.

5.3. Policies

Key findings – Tackling the financial crisis: investment policies and increased transatlantic trade

- “Smart spending is better than cutting”: this seems to be the recipe suggested by the US and EU elites to reduce the national debts.
- Majorities within the US and EU claim they would prefer investing on education, research and development, rather than cutting public spending. The preferences on this topic seem to be affected by the left-right orientations of the elites.
- Among the European business leaders, however, there seems to be certain nostalgia of the devaluation measures of the old, national monetary policy.
- The US and the EU elites are favourable to the increase of trade and investments with the transatlantic partner; this attitude is somewhat tepid among the business elites, as well as among the general public.

5.3.1. Policy measures to reduce national debts

USA vs. EU – The transatlantic partners converge on the idea that “smart spending” is better than cutting, in order to address the challenges posed by the financial crisis. The majority of the surveyed leaders, both in the US (64%) and the EU (71%) think that the best policy option to stimulate growth is that of investing in education, research and development. At least, a number of respondents indicate as possible alternative measure that of cutting public spending but also reducing the taxes, rather than increasing them.

Differences within the EU – The support for investment policies is shared across all the European countries. The case of Greece, which has been severely affected by the financial crisis, deserves attention: large majorities of the Greek elites (88% of the opinion leaders, 86% of the politicians and 82% of the business elites) claim that the best solution to reduce the public debt is to increase spending on investments, rather than reducing the expenses. It should be noticed that, in the EU, a number of elites prefer the option of the currency devaluation (for instance, 19% of the opinion leaders and 24% of the business elites in France, as well as 19% of the economic sector in Italy). This measure is indicated by the elites of countries that can no longer devalue their national currencies, to the extent that they are members of the Eurozone. It might indicate certain nostalgia for the national monetary autonomy, at least among the business leaders (see also *infra*).

Differences across elite groups – The majority of business leaders, from both sides of the Atlantic, supports investment policies (56% in the USA and 62% in the EU), except in France, where the economic sector is somewhat divided on the topic (36% is in favour of investments). Contrary to the expectations, the business decision makers, usually adverse to the waste of public resources, are rather tepid on cutting measures. At the

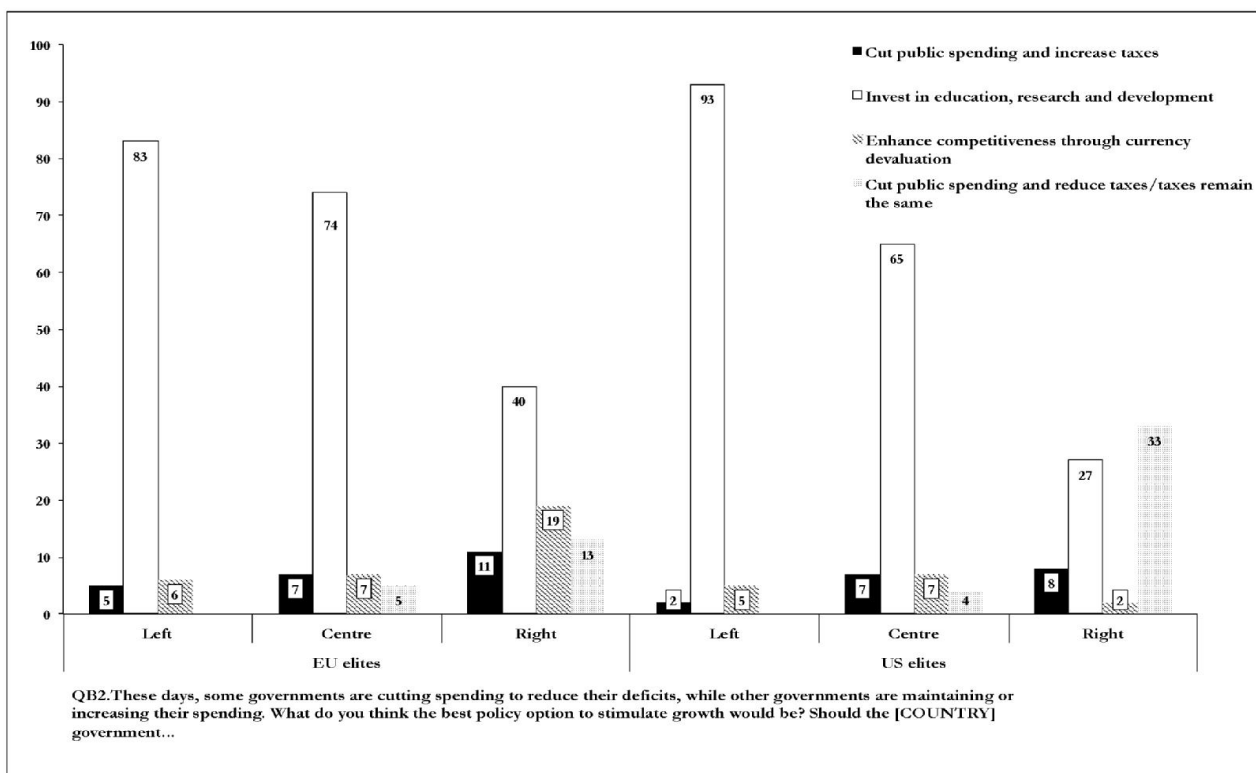
same time, as already argued, significant shares of business elites indicate currency devaluation as the best policy option to stimulate growth. It should be pointed out that the size, type of activity or annual turnover of the companies do not affect the preferences of the economic sector.

Meanwhile, there is a correlation between elites' preferences and their alignment on the left-right continuum. In particular, the support for a "smart spending" to reduce national debts is majoritarian on the left side (83% in the EU, 93% in the USA), while it is narrower among those leaning to the right (40% in the EU and 27% in the USA). The American right (i.e. Conservatives) is particularly in favour of cutting measures with taxes reduction (33%) or cutting with taxes increase (8%). On the other hand, nearly 20% of the European elites who are aligned to the right are in favour of currency devaluation.

Elites vs. public opinion - In TTS 2013, a similar question was posed to the transatlantic public, although with a different question wording. In that case, the respondents might choose between the options of increasing, maintaining and reducing the current spending to reduce national debts. Only 19% of the EU public and 16% of the American one say that public spending should be increased, while the majority claims that spending should be reduced (45% in the EU and 57% in the USA).

The difference with the Transworld Elites Survey might be due to question wording; actually, in TTS, people were just asked whether public spending should be merely increased *per se*; on the contrary, in Transworld survey they were offered an option concerning a "smart" spending, based on investment and research.

• **Figure 22 | Best growth stimulating policy (%) –USA/EU comparison, by left-right alignment**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data).

5.3.2. Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: elites' views

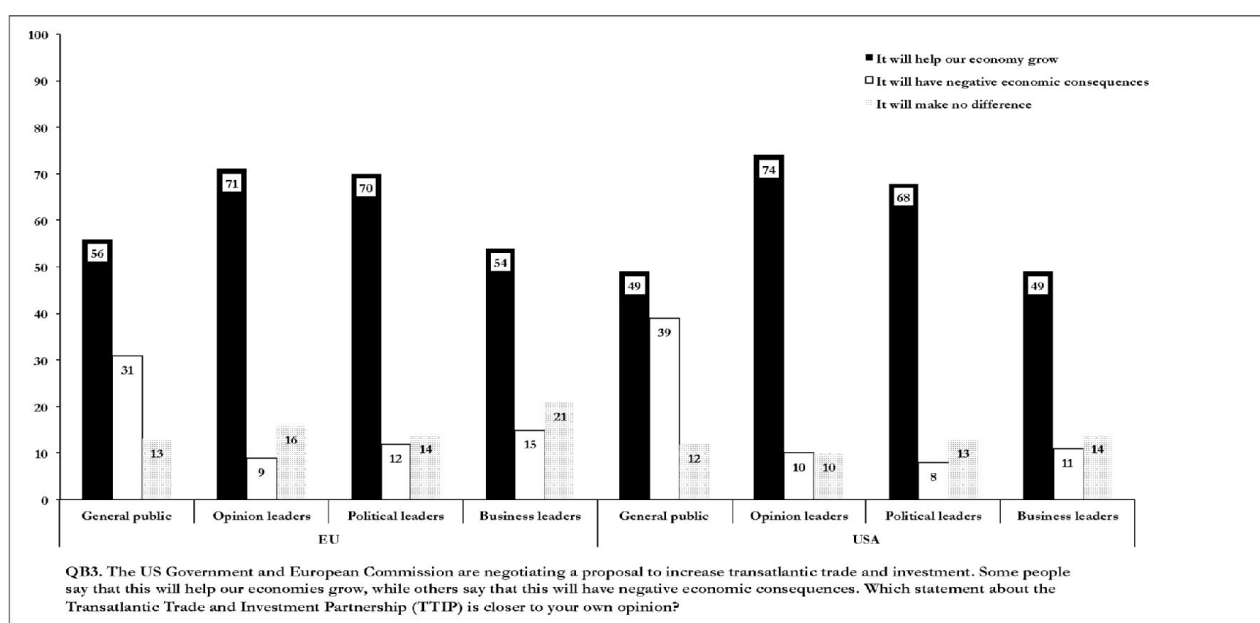
USA vs. EU – The majority of the US (63%) and EU (65%) elites agree that that the negotiations on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) would help the national economies grow.

Differences within the EU – Notwithstanding the overall consensus on the TTIP, within Europe, some scepticism emerges among the French and the German elites. For example, almost one-quarter of the German (24%) and French (23%) politicians think that it would render national economies more vulnerable.

Differences across elite groups – The optimistic attitude on the TTIP is mostly shared by the opinion leaders (71% in the EU and 74% in the USA), as well as by the politicians (70% in the EU and 68% in the USA). On the other hand, the business leaders are somewhat tepid on the potentialities of the TTIP, regardless of the type or size of company: nearly 54% in the EU and 49% in the US, within the economic sector, say it would help the national economies.

Elites vs. public opinion – The moderate consensus expressed by the business leaders mirrors the attitudes of the masses: 56% of respondents in the EU and 49% in the USA, in fact, reveal a positive attitude towards the increased transatlantic trade and investment.

• **Figure 23 | Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) (%) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elite surveys, by elite groups**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013, TTS 2013 (6 countries).

Note: Question wording in TTS 2013 was: "European and American leaders are negotiating proposals to increase trade and investment. Some people say this will help our economy grow, others that it will make our country's economy more vulnerable. Which statement is closer to your own opinion?"

6. Environment and Climate Change

6.1. General Attitudes: The EU and the US Facing the Threats to Global Environment

Key findings – More should be done, but only if everyone plays its part

- The European elites, especially those politically aligned to leftist positions, are committed to enhance the efforts to face the environmental challenges.
- In the USA, the American business sector and the conservative elites, however, show a less convinced support to the transatlantic efforts against the threats to the global environment.
- On the whole, the transatlantic leaders are aware of the fact that more efforts are needed to deal with the threats to global environment. However, every actor should be expected to play its part in this challenge, be they rich or poor countries.

In order to tap general attitudes on environmental challenges, the leaders were asked whether they agree on four statements concerning the main threats to global environment: existing treaties are not effectively enforced; environment should be protected even if it causes slower economic growth; European countries/the USA should do as much as they can, even if the others do less; poorer countries should not be expected to make the same efforts as richer countries.

USA vs. EU – A large majority of the EU and US elites agree on the first three statements: that existing treaties are not effectively enforced (respectively, 85% and 72% of leaders answer “strongly agree/somewhat agree”); that environment should be protected even if it causes slower economic growth (EU 77%, US 67%); that European countries/the USA should do as much as they can, even if the others do less (EU 78%, US 75%). Regarding the last statement, nearly 63% of the EU leaders, on average, think that poorer countries should not be expected to make the same efforts as richer countries, against 41% of US elites who agree with this item.

The commitment to environment protection seems to be mainly a politically divisive issue, at least for what concerns the first three statements. In the EU, on average, the majority of the respondents who agree with the second and third statements are those leaning to the left of the political continuum. In the USA, the conservatives are less likely than their liberal counterpart to believe in the enforcement of the treaties, in the protection of the environment at the expenses of economic growth, as well as in the need to enhance the efforts of the USA.

Differences within the EU – Within Europe, there is a shared, cross-national consensus on all the statements concerning the protection of the environment. It should be pointed out that the financial crisis does not seem to have affected the commitment to the environmental protection in Greece, whose elites show high percentages of agreement with all the four items.

On the last statement, however, the attitudes of the British elites are somewhat similar attitudes to those of the American leaders.

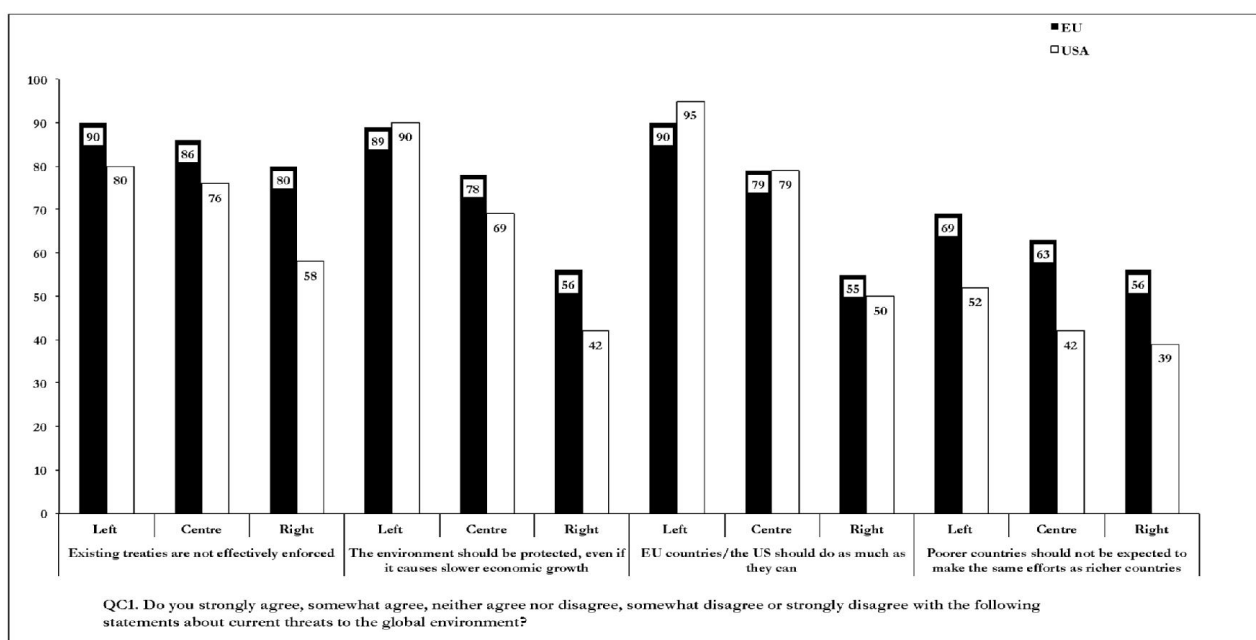
Differences across elite groups – In Europe, the business leaders, especially in Italy, Poland and the UK, express a moderate agreement with the four statements, in line with the attitudes of the US elites on their whole.

The last statement is rather divisive among the surveyed elites. For instance, only 27% of the US economic elites agree with the idea that a poorer country should not be expected to make the same efforts as the richer ones;

on the other hand, the American opinion leaders and politicians are quite divided on the topic.

Elites vs. public opinion – A similar question was present in TTS 2009, although posed in a different way. In that survey, the EU and US masses were asked whether we should do everything possible to fight climate change even if it slows economic growth or if we should do everything possible to maximize economic growth, even if it hurts efforts to combat climate change. While the US masses were split on this point (43% chose the first option, while 40% chose the second one), the majority of the Europeans claimed that the environment should be protected even at the expenses of the economic growth. Another question asked whether the US/the EU should do as much as they can to fight climate change, even if others do less, or whether they should do as much as the other countries do. In this case, from both the sides of the Atlantic there was consensus about the need of improving the efforts to protect the environment, regardless of the behaviour of the other actors.

• Figure 24 | **Statements on global environment – USA/EU comparison, by left-right (% of strongly/somewhat agree)**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data).

6.2. Actors

Key findings – Enhancing collective efforts to address a global challenge

- Institutional, economic and non-governmental actors, as well as the citizens themselves are all required to enhance their commitment to protect the environment.
- The NGOs seem to be the only actors that are deemed as already being committed to the protection of the environment.

The protection of the environment is seen as a global challenge: for this reason, all the levels of governance, within the framework of the new global governance architecture, should be involved in a collective effort.

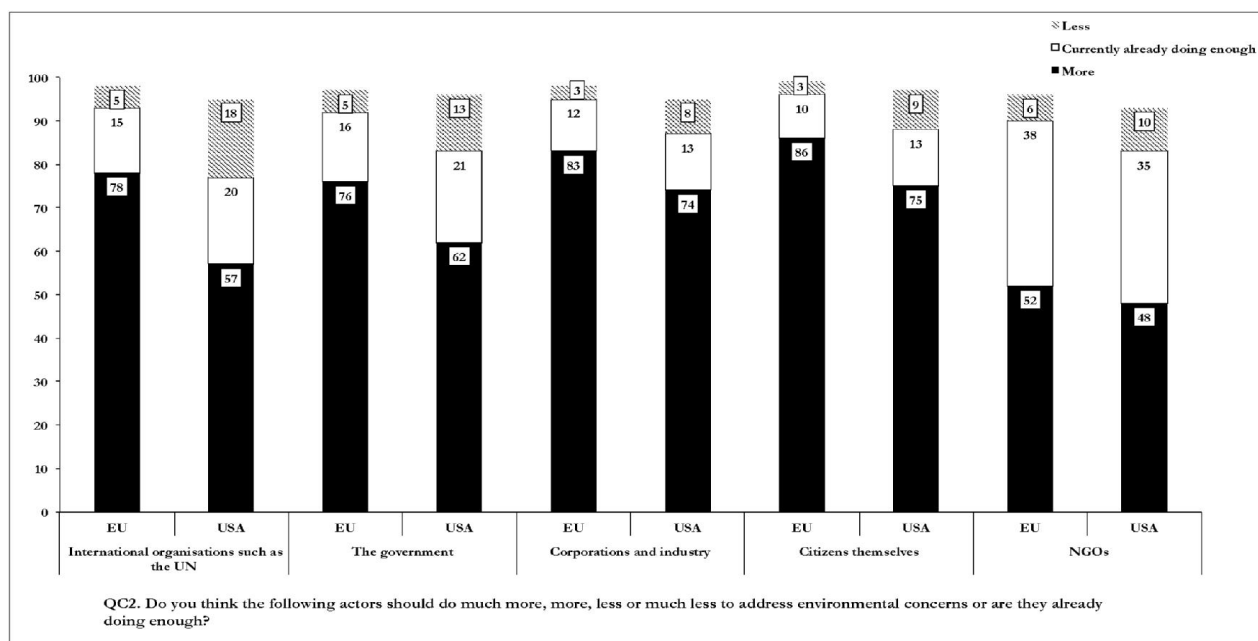
US vs. EU – Within the framework of the new global governance architecture, both the US and EU elites believe that all the actors should play their part and increase their commitment to environment protection. This is what emerges from the answers to the question asking whether the following actors should do more, less or whether they are currently doing enough to address environmental concerns: international organisations, the national government, the corporations and industries, the citizens themselves and the NGOs.

On average, 78% of the European elites and 57% of the US elites claim that the international organisations should do much more or more for the global environment. Similarly, the elites think that the national government should enhance their efforts (76% in the EU and 62% in the USA). The EU and the US leaders have even closer attitudes about the commitment of corporations and industries (83% in the USA and 74% in the EU).

Besides the institutional actors, for a large majority of the elites the citizens are also required to increase their efforts (86% in the EU and 75% in the US).

Finally, nearly 52% of the EU elites think that the NGOs should further enhance their efforts, against 48% of the US leaders.

• **Figure 25 | Actors' commitment to environment protection (% of much more/more and less/much less) – USA/EU comparison**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data).

Differences within the EU – There are few cross-national differences on these items. Some findings, however, deserve attention. For instance, it should be pointed out that a large share of some elite sectors in Germany, Greece and Italy think that their national governments are not doing enough to protect the environment: for instance, 91% of politicians in Germany, 95% of opinion leaders, 90% of politicians and political leaders in Greece, as well as 90% of opinion leaders and 94% of politicians in Italy require their governments to do much more or more. Similarly, over 90% of Greek elites, on average, claim that corporations and industry should enhance their efforts on environment protection. Finally, French and German elites are somewhat divided about the

evaluation of the actual commitment of the NGOs; on the contrary, the majority of all the elite groups in Greece and Italy, as well as the business leaders in the UK (54%) and Poland (67%) say that they should do more.

Differences across elite groups – The business leaders point out the need of a greater commitment of the corporations and industry (item three). Regarding the NGOs, the overall evaluation of their performance of the NGOs is more complex and nuanced. On average, however, the business elites are more critical about them than the other elite groups: indeed, the majority of the economic sector, both in the USA (58%) and in the EU (62%), claim they should do more.

6.3. Policies

Key findings – Investing on environment protection to get out of the crisis?

- Both the EU and US elites point out the need of increasing funding to research on renewable energy sources to address the threats to global environment.
- The majority of the surveyed leaders, especially in Greece, believe that the policies of reduction of greenhouse gas emissions would be likely to produce positive effects.

The questions tapping elites' attitudes on the policies to address the threats to global environment focus on two key problems, namely climate change and greenhouse gas emissions.

6.3.1. Measures to address climate change

The surveyed elites were asked to indicate their support (or opposition) to a number of possible ways to address climate change, namely: funding research into renewable resources; increase of investments in carbon capture and storage; tax rebates to those purchasing energy efficiency products; requiring companies to pay according to their level of pollution.

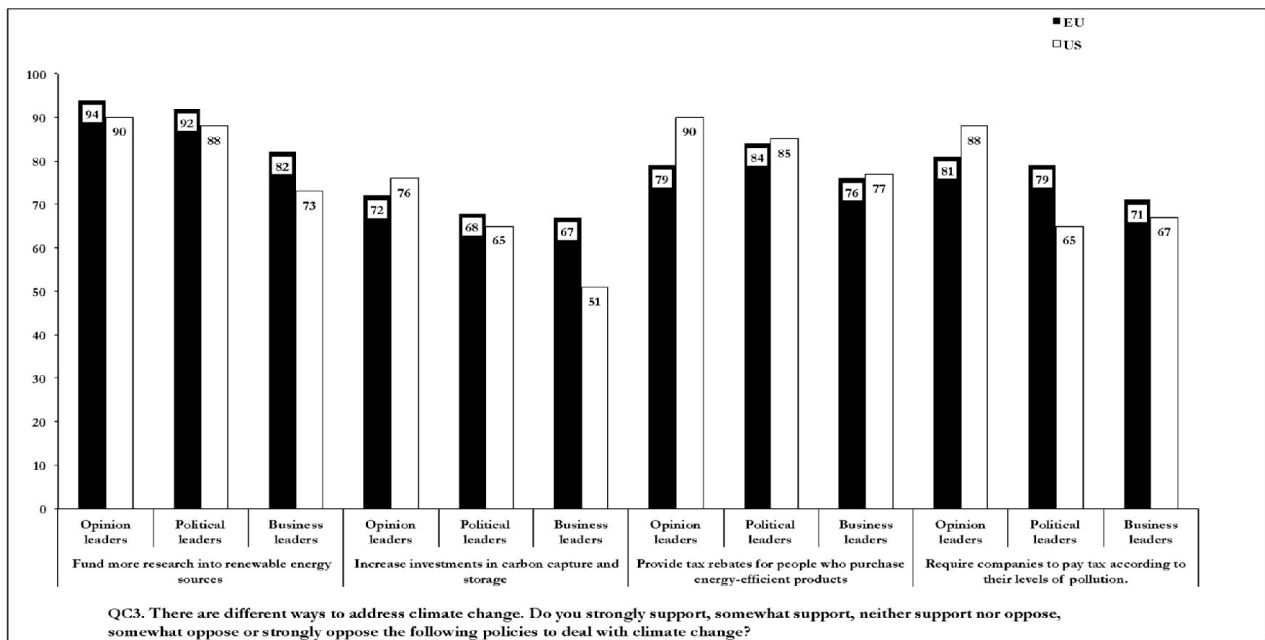
USA vs. EU – From both sides of the Atlantic, the majority of the elites supports all the measures mentioned in the four items. Funding research into renewable resources, in particular, is favoured, on average, by 90% of the EU elites and 84% of the US leaders. It seems that the US and EU elites see investments as the most viable solution to address the global challenges. This finding should be read in parallel with that concerning the policies to deal with the financial crisis (see *supra*), where the option of “smart” spending reached the highest levels of consensus. A large majority also supports tax rebates to people purchasing energy efficiency products (80% in EU and 84% in the USA). Nearly 77% of EU leaders and 74% in the USA are in favour of requiring companies to pay according to their level of pollution. Finally, the increase of investment in carbon capture and storage is supported by 69% of EU elites and 64% of the US ones.

Overall, there is a certain convergence between the US and the EU on these policies; the only difference between the two transatlantic partners concerns the politicisation of the environmental policies: actually, in the US, most of the policy measures seem to be a politically divisive issue between liberals and conservatives; on the other hand, in the EU, there is no such political division on climate change, except for the last option.

Differences within the EU – There are few cross-national differences on the support to these policy measures. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that Greece and Italy generally display the highest percentages of support on all the four items and, especially, on the tax rebates to those purchasing energy efficiency products

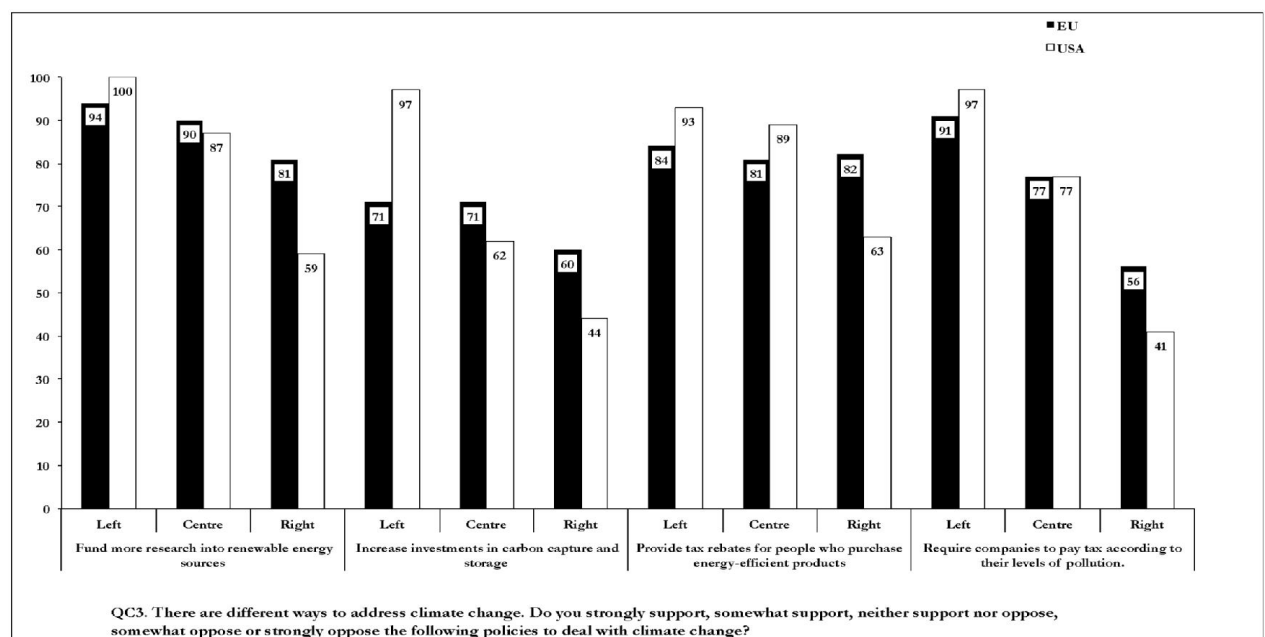
and the request to companies to pay according to their level of pollution. Germany and Poland, on the other hand, show a tepid favour to the policies of investments in carbon capture and storage.

• **Figure 26 | Support to measures to address climate change (% of strongly/somewhat support) - USA/ EU comparison, by elite groups**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

• **Figure 27 | Support to measures to address climate change (% of strongly/somewhat support) – USA/ EU comparison, by left-right**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data).

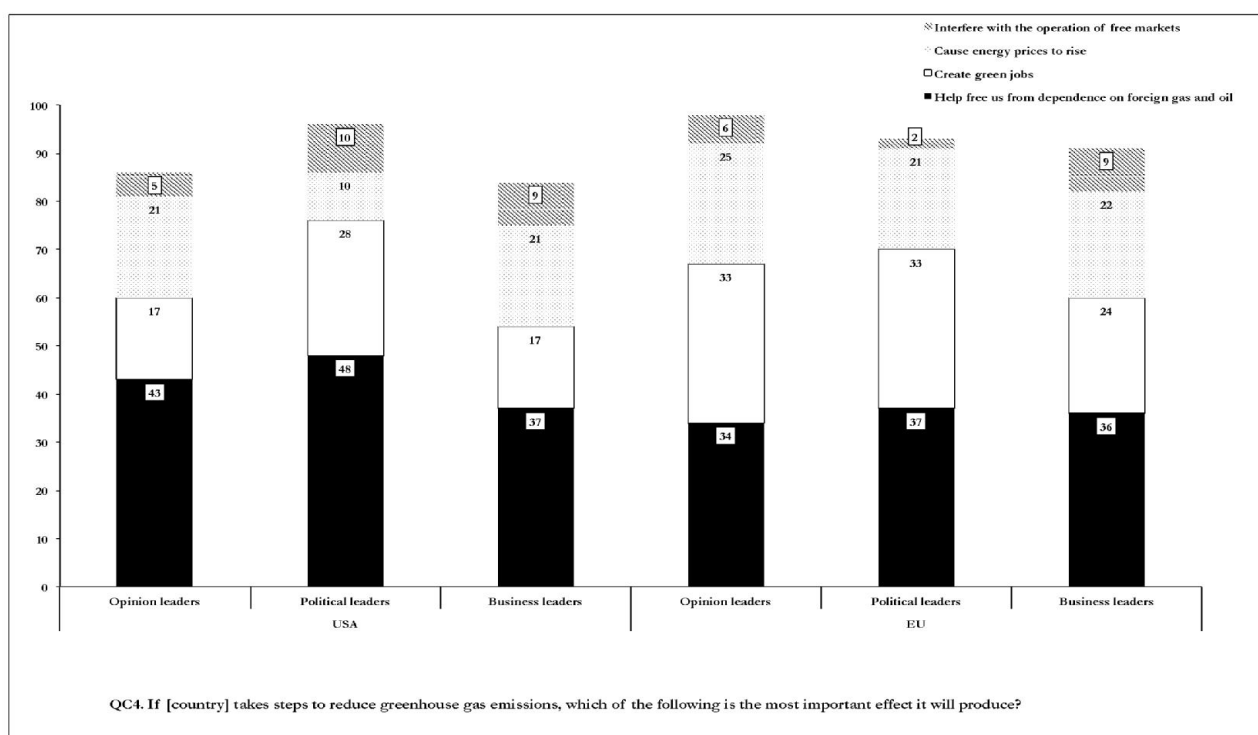
Differences across elite groups – There are no significant variations in the attitudes of specific elite groups on this topic. It can be noticed, however, that a large share of business leaders, both in the EU (79%) and the US (67%), support the policy of requiring companies to pay tax according to their levels of pollution.

6.3.2. Measures to address greenhouse gas emissions

USA vs. EU – When asked to indicate the most likely effects of the measures to address greenhouse gas emissions, both the US and the EU elite pointed out positive outcomes, such as the independence from foreign gas and oil and the creation of green jobs. The former effect is particularly emphasised by the EU elites (30%).

The rise of the energy prices is considered as a possible outcome by, on average, about 23% of the EU leaders, against 18% of the US elites. Very few respondents in the EU (6%) and the USA (8%) say that it could interfere with the operation of free markets.

• Figure 28 | **Effects of the measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (%) – USA/EU comparison, by elite groups**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

Differences within the EU – Within Europe, only the Polish elites are divided between those indicating positive and negative effects: nearly 50% of the opinion leaders, 40% of the politicians and 36% of the business elites are particularly afraid of the rise of the energy prices; a similar threat is perceived by 25% of the French business leaders, whereas another 12% indicates the interferences with the operation of free markets as possible negative effect.

Quite interestingly, the majority of the Greek elites (50% of opinion leaders and 51% of the business sector) point out the potentialities of these measures to create green jobs: within the context of the financial crisis

faced by Greece, it might be a further indication of the willingness of that country to tackle it by the means of investments on new resources.

Differences across elite groups – On average, all three elites groups show similar attitudes on this item.

7. Human Rights and Democracy Promotion

7.1. General Attitudes: Perception and Importance of Human Rights and Democracy Promotion

Key findings

- The elites are somewhat divided when asked to define the highest priority from a list of human rights, although some cross-national differences are likely to emerge.
- Civil rights are more important in the USA and in Germany, while in Italy, Poland and Greece, social rights are given priority.
- The economic development of undemocratic countries is perceived as a major threat to human rights and democracy by a plurality of US and German elites, while the importance of ethnic conflicts is pointed out especially by the British elites.
- Greek elites show a particular concern for the potentially negative consequences of the financial crisis on the development of human rights and democracy.

7.1.1. Main priority for human rights ...

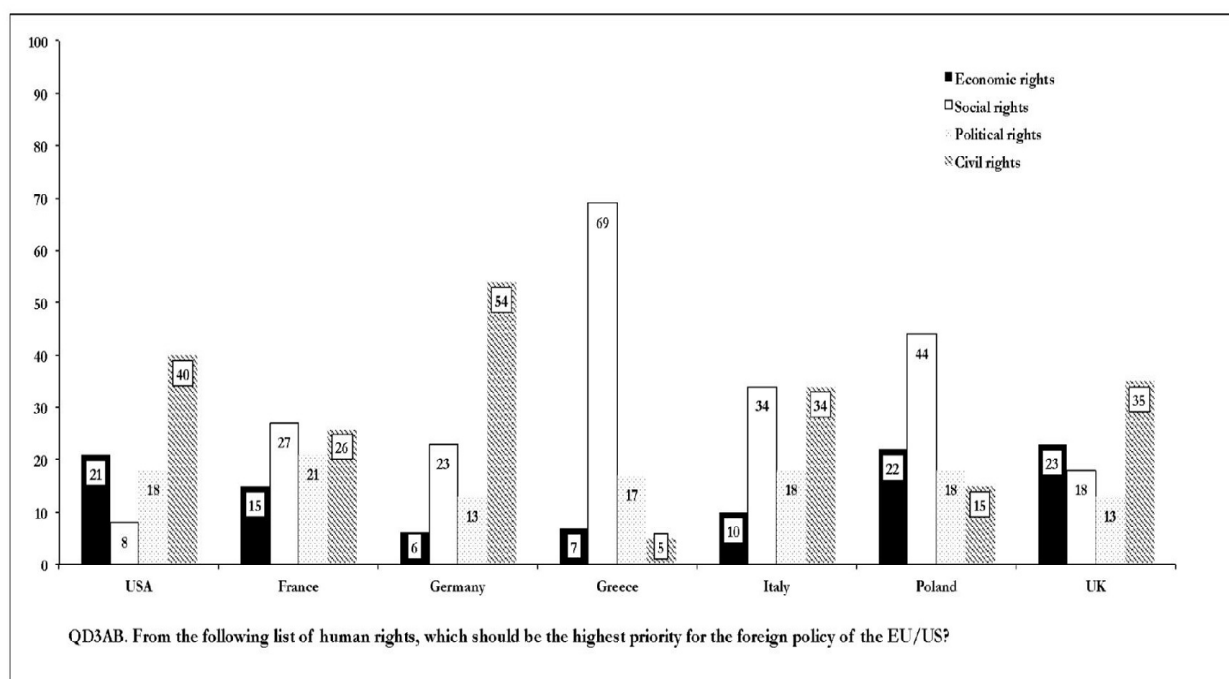
In order to tap the general attitudes of the transatlantic elites on human rights, the surveyed leaders were asked to indicate the highest priority for the EU/US foreign policies from a list of human rights namely: civil, political, economic and social rights.

USA vs. EU – On average, in the EU, the social rights are given priority (35%), while civil rights are more important among the US leaders.

Differences within the EU – The European elites show cross-national differences in defining the highest priority among human rights. German elites, for instance, point out the importance of the civil rights (54%). The latter are quite prominent also in the UK (35%), although the overall sample appears somewhat divided between the different options. Among the French elites, a clear priority does not seem to emerge, although a number of business leaders indicate the civil rights (39%). Italy and Poland also show a similar division, although the social rights seem to be prevalent. A clearest pattern is likely to emerge in Greece, where the majority of all the three groups (69% opinion leaders, 64% politicians and 72% business leaders) clearly indicates the social rights as the highest priority when dealing with human rights.

Differences across elite groups – From the findings, it does not seem that there are specific patterns of behaviour across the elite groups.

• Figure 29 | **Human rights: highest priority (%) – USA/EU comparison, by country**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data).

7.1.2. ...And main challenges to the advancement of human rights and democracy

Elites were also asked to indicate the main challenges to the advancement of human rights and democracy.

USA vs. EU – The EU and USA elites appear somewhat divided on the definition of the main challenges to the advancement of human rights and democracy. Nevertheless, it can be argued that a large share of the US elites, especially among the opinion leaders (45%) and politicians (50%), point out the problem of the economic development of the undemocratic countries. Ethnic conflicts are also considered as an important threat to the advancement of the human rights for both the US (28%) and EU (24%) elites.

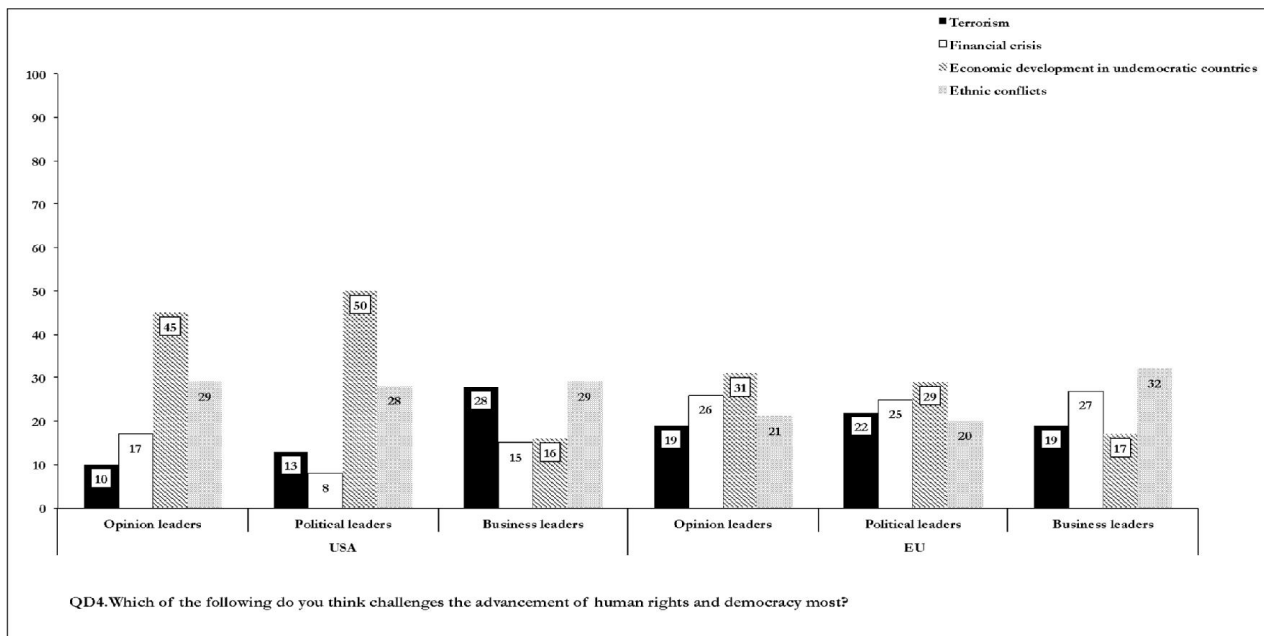
Quite surprisingly, very few leaders indicate terrorism, notwithstanding (or, allegedly, because of) the policies of fight against the international terrorisms, pursued by the US governments over the last decade. EU elites are almost evenly distributed among the different options.

Differences within the EU – At national level, a clear pattern emerges in the case of Greece, where the financial crisis is perceived as a major challenge by the majority of politicians (50%) and business leaders (41%), as well as by a large share of the opinion leaders (38%).

Differences across elite groups – Economic development in undemocratic countries represents a major challenge for a number of politicians and opinion leaders, especially in the USA, France, and Germany and, to a lesser extent, Italy.

A large share of business leaders states that the ethnic conflicts represent a threat to human rights and democracy, especially in Germany (45%), France (34%), the UK (43%) and the USA (29%).

• **Figure 30 | Main challenges to the advancement of human rights and democracy (%) – USA/EU comparison, by elite groups**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

7.2. Actors

Key findings – Exporting democracy: a transatlantic commitment

- The EU and the US leaders (but not the American general public) converge on the commitment to the promotion of democracy in the world.
- Those who are in favour of exporting democracy are also willing to meet this responsibility even if the undemocratic country is unfriendly or if it would be likely to oppose the EU/US policies.
- Increasing concerns, however, emerge among the transatlantic leaders when it is likely that the democratising country would elect Islamic fundamentalist leaders.

In order to tap attitudes towards the transatlantic commitment to democracy promotion, Transworld survey asked the leaders whether it should be the role of the EU and the US to help establish democracy in other countries. Those elites that expressed their support to democracy promotion were further asked whether they would meet the same responsibility even under particularly controversial conditions.

The first scenario presented to the surveyed elites was that of a country that is undemocratic but friendly to the EU or the US. The second context was that of countries that are likely to oppose the policies of the EU or US. Finally, it was proposed the case in which the democratising country was likely to elect Islamic fundamentalist leaders.

USA vs. EU – The EU and the US share a strong commitment in democracy promotion all over the world. The United States has a long tradition of democracy promotion. The administrations that followed to each other since its inception have always shown a strong commitment in the export of democratic values and institutions. This involvement has oscillated between either idealist or realist justifications, depending on the historical conjuncture. Anyway, whether democracy has been promoted as universal value, according to an alleged moral responsibility, or just to spread political and economic liberalism, in line with the American interests, no US administration has ignored the “democratic issue”. On the other side, the experience of the EU with democracy promotion has been more recent, hence such definitions as “reluctant debutante” (Emerson et al. 2005) or “new comer” (Magen and McFaul 2007). In the 1980s, however, democracy promotion entered explicitly in the EU foreign policy agenda, often in strong connection with the human rights objectives. The legal bases of democratisation policy, however, were laid down only with the treaty of Maastricht in 1993.

The involvement of the two transatlantic partners in the policy of exporting democracy also emerges from the Transworld Elites surveys: the majority of the surveyed leaders, from both sides of the Atlantic, agrees with the statement that it should be the role of the EU and of the US to establish democracy in the world (on average, 51% in the USA and 62% in the EU). The transatlantic partners would keep this commitment even if the democratising country were undemocratic but friendly to the EU or the US. Similarly, in the second hypothesis, when democratising countries are likely to oppose the policies of the EU or US there is a spread consensus on the EU and US role in establishing democracy, although to a lesser extent. A turnabout, on the other hand, occurs with the third scenario, in which the democratising country is likely to elect Islamic fundamentalist leaders. In that case, regardless of the type of elite, respondents are somewhat divided on the opportunity of meeting the commitment to democracy promotion, both in the USA and the EU.

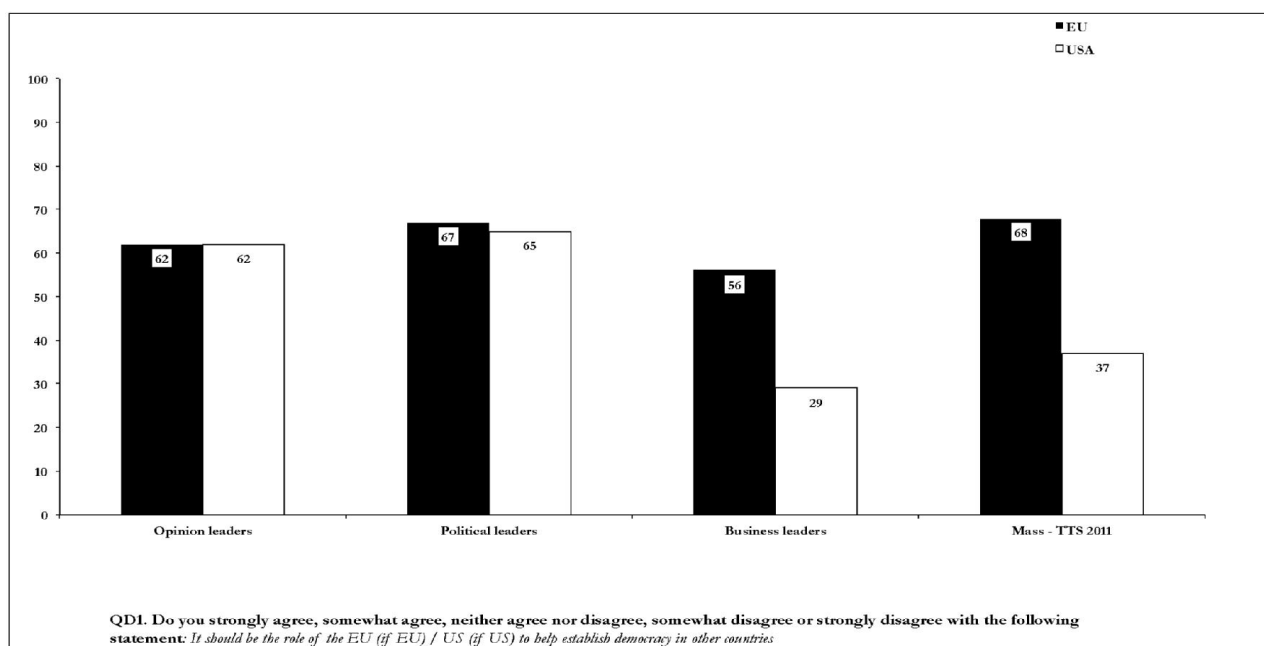
Differences within the EU – Except for some elite group, there are no significant cross-national variations in the attitudes towards democracy promotion. However, it can be noticed that the Italian elites, as well as the Greek and French opinion and political leaders are particularly worried about the third scenario, concerning the risk of electing Islamic fundamentalist leaders. On the contrary, the majority of the UK elites thinks that the USA/EU should promote democracy even in those countries that are likely to turn into a fundamentalist regime.

Differences across elite groups – As already argued, on average, the EU and US elites show similar percentages on the support to democracy promotion. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the business elites in the USA reveal a rather sceptical attitude: only 29% of the American economic elites support the US commitment to democracy promotion, against 56% of the European counterpart. The British business leaders, however, tend to show a similar scepticism (36%), in line with the transatlantic partner.

Besides these findings, it emerges from Transworld data that the three elite groups tend to show similar attitudes on the topic of democracy promotion.

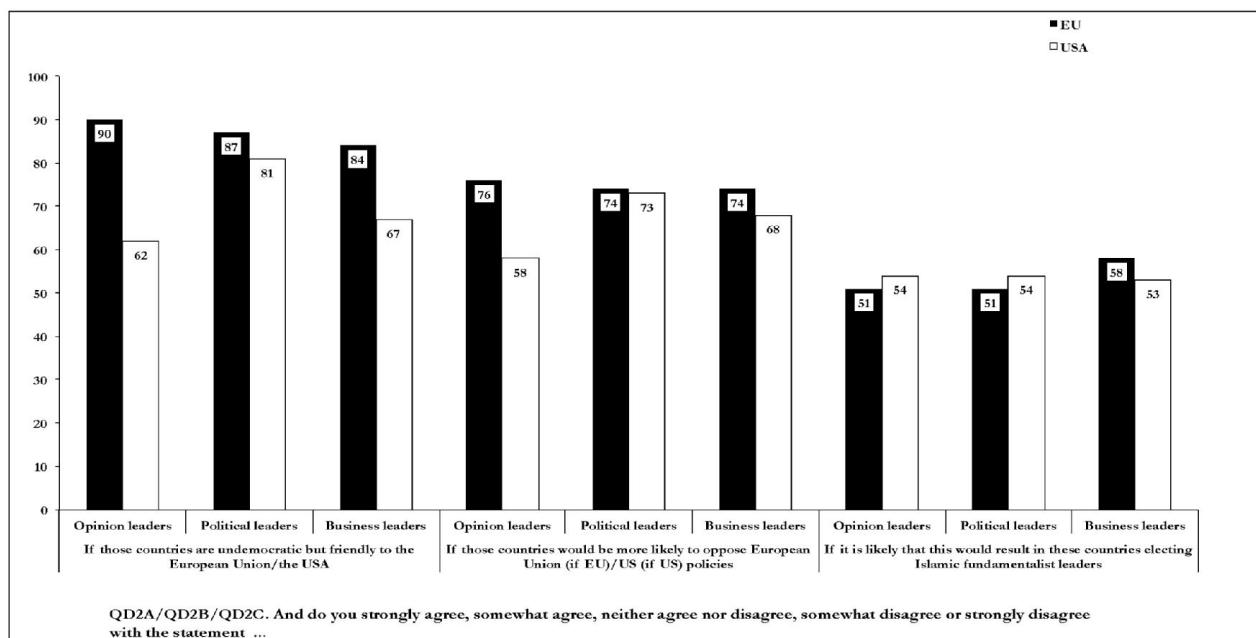
Elites vs. public opinion – The same question concerning the EU/US commitment to democracy promotion was asked until 2011 by TTS series: by looking at the data of the last year available, it emerges that the US general public is less supportive of the US role to help establish democracy (37%) than its leaders (51%). On the other hand, on average, nearly 68% of the EU general public, in 2011, support the European commitment to democracy promotion, in line with the European elites (62%).

• Figure 31 | EU and US role in democracy promotion (% of strongly/somewhat support) – USA/EU comparison, mass and elites surveys, by elite groups (2011 and 2013)



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013, TTS 2011 (6 countries).

• Figure 32 | Democracy promotion under controversial conditions (% of strongly/somewhat support) – USA/EU comparison, by elite groups



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

7.3. Policies

Key findings – Promoting democracy and human rights through economic and political (but non military) actions

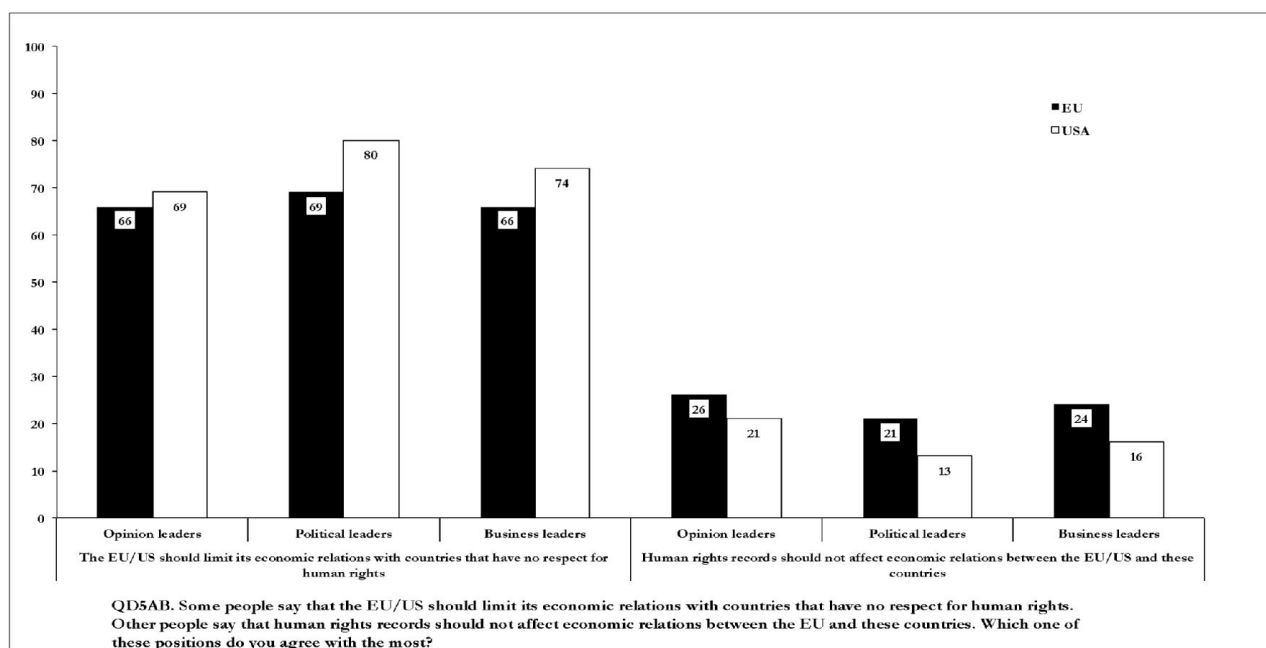
- The transatlantic elites are favourable to the limitations of the economic relations with those countries that violate the human rights.
- The European elites are more likely than the US leaders to support political measures to promote democracy.
- The use of force is unpopular on both the sides of the Atlantic.

As it emerges from the previous questions, the transatlantic leaders are aware of the commitment of the EU and the US to help establish democracy and human rights in the world. It remains to ascertain, however, how this goal should be achieved.

7.3.1. Balancing economic relations with human rights

Leaders were asked whether the EU or the US should limit their economic relations with countries that have no respect for human rights.

• Figure 33 | **Economic relations and human rights (%) – USA/EU comparison, by elite groups**



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013.

EU vs. USA – On average, the majority of the EU (67%) and US (74%) elites think that restrictions should be imposed on the economic relations with countries that violate human rights. Nevertheless, this finding seems to contradict the attitudes shown in previous question regarding leaders' perception of China as more of an economic opportunity (see section 5). While it is undeniable that the human rights condition in China is somewhat critical,¹⁴ the economic relations with that country are seldom, if ever, put under discussion. Within

¹⁴ See Human Rights Watch (HRW), *Human Rights in China*, <http://www.hrw.org/asia/china>; Freedom House, China, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2014/china-0>.

this framework, it seems that the economic conditionality claimed by the transatlantic leaders is likely to be differently interpreted according to country's economic strength.

Differences within the EU – There are no significant cross-national variations in the attitudes on this topic.

Differences across elite groups – Similarly, the widespread consensus on the limitations of economic ties with human rights abusers cuts across the three elite groups, provided that even the business elites seem to be willing to limit their economic relations with human rights abusers.

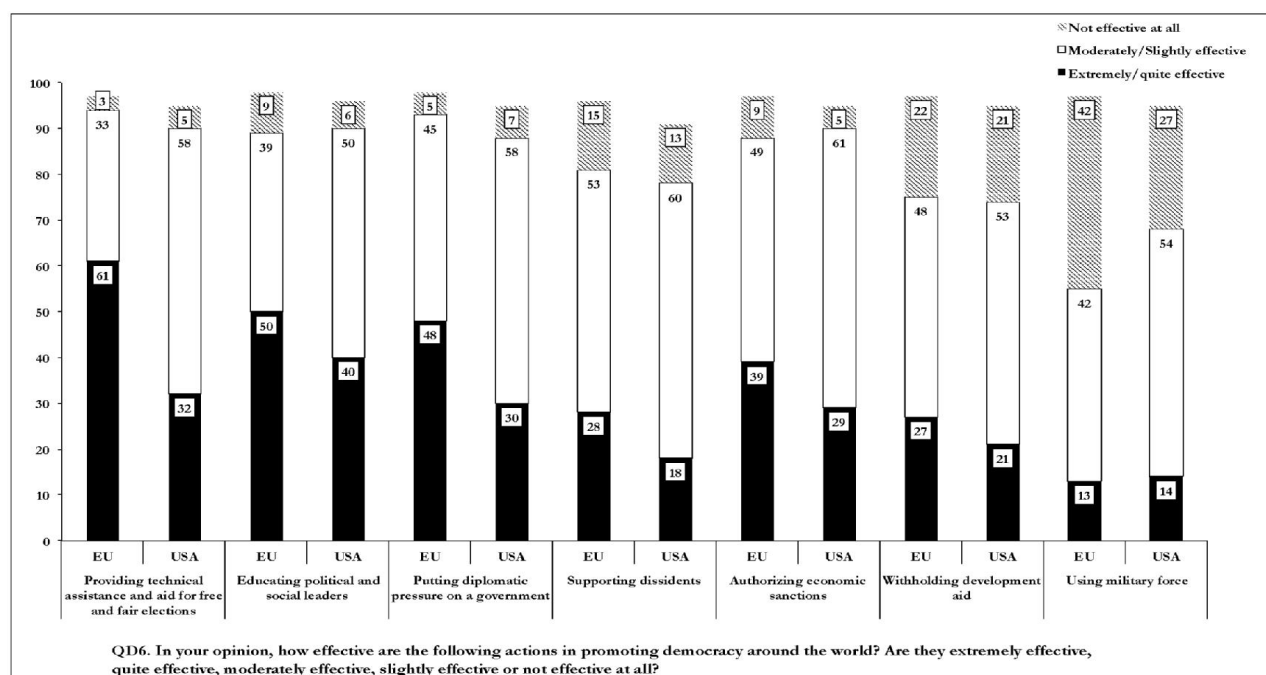
7.3.2. Actions to promote democracy

Especially in the aftermath of 9/11, several scholars, policy makers and media have painted images of EU and American democracy promotion in a rather sharply way. On the one side, there is the United States, an impetuous, impatient promoter of liberty around the world, that does not shy away from the recourse to coercive means of *imposition* of its model of democracy, with a neat preference for “sticks” over the “carrots” and for a decidedly muscular style. It privileges a “*bottom up*” approach, insofar as, following the experience of democratisation in former Soviet countries in Europe, it believes that democracy stems eminently from civil society, that has thus to be supported from the outside in order to reverse the dictator (Kopstein 2006). On the other side, the EU is represented as a “softer power”, conceiving plans of reform on a long-term perspective, within a highly institutionalised framework, through which it aims at *inducing* a transformation. Its “*top down*” approach entails eminently cooperation with the ruling elites of the target country. That is to say, that while the United States *pushes* for an internal change with a conflicting stance, the EU *pulls* democratising countries, offering them several incentives, ranging from membership to greater (economic and/or political) integration, in return for their domestic reforms. Besides the alleged correspondence of these approaches with the actual behaviour of the transatlantic partner, it is interesting to observe whether the EU and the US elites mirror such a difference.

In order to tap the transatlantic attitudes towards the policies of democracy promotion, elites were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of the following policies: providing technical assistance and aid for free and fair elections; educating political leaders; withholding development aid; putting diplomatic pressure on a government; authorizing economic sanctions; supporting dissidents; using military force.

USA vs. EU – From the Transworld Elites Survey of 2013, it emerges that, on average, there is a major gap between the USA and the EU on the effectiveness of the *electoral assistance and aid*, which is largely supported by the EU leaders. The divergence between the two transatlantic partners is narrower for the other items, the EU leaders being slightly more optimistic than the American leaders on the effectiveness of each measure. It should be pointed out that the *use of force* is considered as moderately/slightly effective by the majority of the EU and US elites, thus revealing a clear point of convergence between the two transatlantic partners against any military intervention. This finding is quite consistent with that emerging from the questions on the use of force to prevent nuclear proliferation in Iran and North Korea (see section 3): in all those cases, the EU and the US elites clearly express their preference towards non-military actions.

• Figure 34 | Action to promote democracy (%) – EU/US comparison



Source: Transworld Elites Survey 2013 (weighted data).

Differences within EU /across elite groups – From the preliminary analyses, it emerges that there are no clear cross-national variations, as well as among the three elite groups. Looking into the data, however, it is possible to point out some interesting patterns of behaviour between the EU and US elites.

For what concerns the electoral aid, this measure, as already argued, is more popular in the EU than in the USA, with the partial exception of the UK leaders, whose attitudes are similar to those of the American elites.

For what concerns the education of political and social leaders, it emerges that the European average is affected by the scepticism of the German elites (19% of the opinion leaders and 39% of the politicians) as well as by that of the Greek politicians (33%).

Nearly 58% of the US leaders think that *putting diplomatic pressure* is moderately/slightly effective; on the other hand, the EU elites are somewhat divided between sceptical positions, such as in the UK and strong support to this action, especially in Greece and in Italy.

To conclude with the political measures, the *support to dissidents* does not find a strong support neither in the USA, nor in the EU, except for 48% of the German politicians and 50% of the Italian opinion leaders.

Economic measures, both in the form of *economic sanctions* and of *development aid*, are quite divisive among the transatlantic elites, although the overall evaluation seems to raise doubts over their actual effectiveness.

References

Emerson Michael, et al. (2005), "The Reluctant Debutante. The European Union as Promoter of Democracy in its Neighbourhood", in *CEPS Working Documents*, No. 223 (July), <http://www.ceps.eu/node/1090>

Everts, Philip, Pierangelo Isernia and Francesco Olmastroni, "International Security Across the Atlantic: A Longitudinal Comparison of Public Opinion in Europe and the United States", in *Transworld Working Papers*, No. 29 (May 2014), <http://www.transworld-fp7.eu/?p=1502>

Katz, Elihu, and Lazarsfeld, Paul F. (2006), *Personal Influence. The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*, 2nd ed., New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers

Kopstein, Jeffrey (2006), "The Transatlantic Divide over Democracy Promotion", in *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Spring), p. 85-98, http://individual.utoronto.ca/kopstein/publications/the_transatlantic%20divide_over_democracy_promotion.pdf

Magen, Amichai, and McFaul, Michael (2007), *Shared Ideal, Divergent Strategies? Explaining Similarities and Differences in E.U. and U.S. Democracy Promotion*, Montreal, Canada, <http://aei.pitt.edu/7957>

Data

Transatlantic Elite Survey, <http://www.transworld-fp7.eu/?cat=86>

Transatlantic Trends: Leaders (TLS), <http://trends.gmfus.org/archives/transatlantic-trends-leaders>

Transatlantic Trends Survey (TTS), <http://trends.gmfus.org/transatlantic-trends>

THE PROJECT

In an era of global flux, emerging powers and growing interconnectedness, transatlantic relations appear to have lost their bearings. As the international system fragments into different constellations of state and non-state powers across different policy domains, the US and the EU can no longer claim exclusive leadership in global governance. Traditional paradigms to understand the transatlantic relationship are thus wanting. A new approach is needed to pinpoint the direction transatlantic relations are taking. TRANSWORLD provides such an approach by a) ascertaining, differentiating among four policy domains (economic, security, environment, and human rights/democracy), whether transatlantic relations are drifting apart, adapting along an ad hoc cooperation-based pattern, or evolving into a different but resilient special partnership; b) assessing the role of a re-defined transatlantic relationship in the global governance architecture; c) providing tested policy recommendations on how the US and the EU could best cooperate to enhance the viability, effectiveness, and accountability of governance structures.

CONSORTIUM

Mainly funded under the European Commission's 7th Framework Programme, TRANSWORLD is carried out by a consortium of 13 academic and research centres from the EU, the US and Turkey:

Istituto Affari Internazionali, *Coordinator*
German Marshall Fund of the United States
University of Edinburgh
Free University of Berlin
Fondation Nationales des Sciences Politiques
Sabanci University of Istanbul
Chatham House
European University Institute
University of Siena
Charles University of Prague
University of Mannheim
TNS Opinion
American University of Washington

ADVISORY BOARD

Shaun Breslin, University of Warwick
Zhimin Chen, Fudan University, Shanghai
Renato G. Flores Jr., FGV, Rio de Janeiro
Ranabir Samaddar, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Centre
Dmitri Trenin, Carnegie Moscow Center
Stephen Walt, Harvard University

WWW.TRANSWORLD-FP7.EU