

UNITED WE STAND?

The Views of French, German and Italian Parliamentarians on EU and EMU Reforms

Survey results for Assemblée Nationale and Sénat, Bundestag,
Camera dei Deputati and Senato della Repubblica

Bruegel, Brussels · February 2019

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FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

- ❖ Multicrisis of European integration
- ❖ Kicked-off a comprehensive reform debate: election of European Parliament in May
- ❖ Our focus: Agreement between France, Italy and Germany?
- ❖ Understanding: Necessary but obviously not a sufficient condition

THE SURVEY

- ❖ Cooperation of École Polytechnique (CREST & IPP), Catholic University of Milan, ZEW Mannheim, University of Mannheim

Present today:

Massimo BORDIGNON



Piergiorgio CARAPELLA



Friedrich HEINEMANN



Absent today:

Sebastian BLESSE



Eckhard JANEBA



Anasuya RAJ



THE SURVEY

- ❖ Trilingual survey in French for Sénat and Assemblée Nationale, in Italian for Camera dei Deputati and Senato della Repubblica, in German for the Bundestag
- ❖ September 2018 – January 2019
- ❖ In total, 328 completed answers out of 2575 questionnaires (12.74%): France (13.51%), Germany (17.63%), Italy (8.33%)

THE SURVEY

❖ Structure

- ❖ Part I: More competencies at European level in various policy areas
- ❖ Part II: Reform options for EMU
- ❖ Part III: Institutional reforms in Europe

❖ Answer scale: -4 to +4

❖ Randomization of questions to avoid framing effects

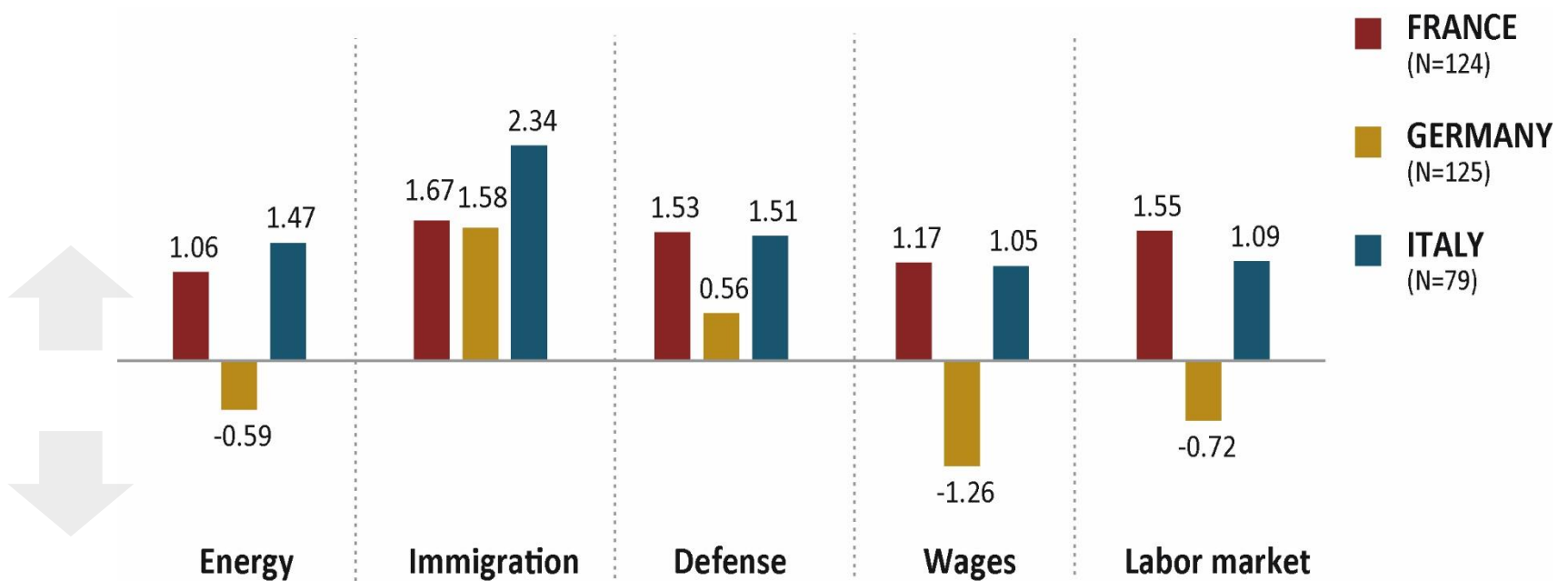
❖ Results weighted to increase representativeness

CONTENT OF THE SURVEY: PART I

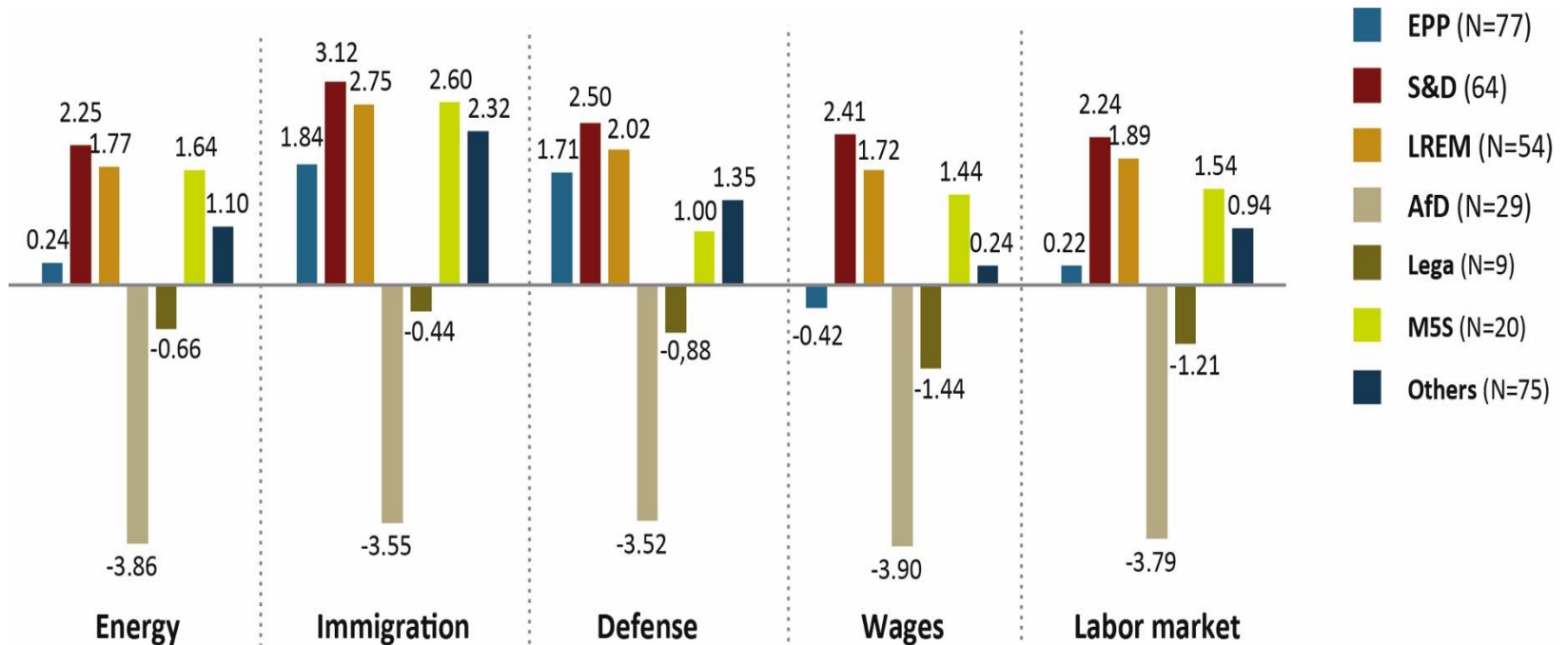
Opinion on European integration in 5 fields of policy:

- ❖ Energy policy
- ❖ Immigration policy
- ❖ Defense policy
- ❖ Wage policy
- ❖ Labor market regulation

SUPPORT FOR MORE EUROPEAN COMPETENCIES BY COUNTRY



SUPPORT FOR MORE EUROPEAN COMPETENCIES BY PARTY GROUP

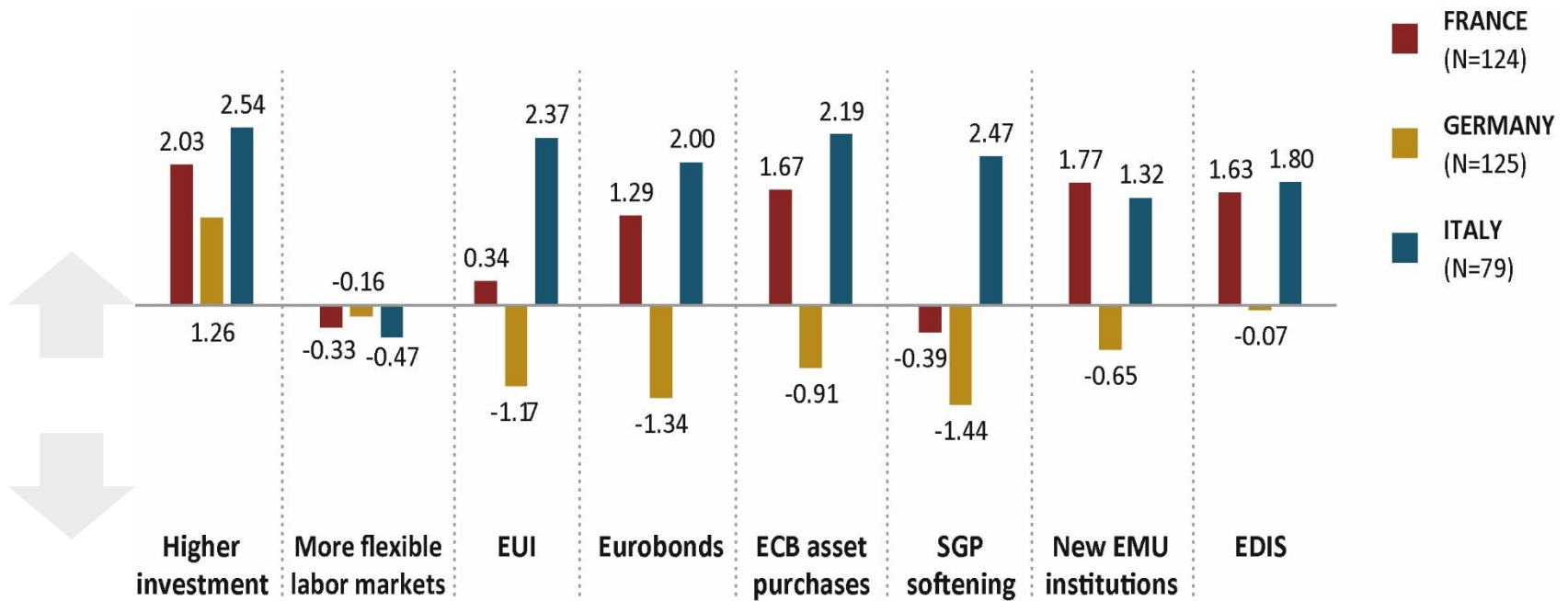


CONTENT OF THE SURVEY: PART II

EMU policies and reform options:

- ❖ EMU: European unemployment insurance (EUI), Eurobonds, ECB QE
- ❖ Member states: higher national investments, labour market flexibility
- ❖ Softening of Stability and Growth Pact (SGP)
- ❖ New EMU institutions (e.g. euro area budget or European Finance Minister)
- ❖ Completing of Banking Union (EDIS)

SUPPORT FOR SELECTED EMU REFORM PROPOSALS BY COUNTRY



SUPPORT FOR SELECTED EMU REFORM PROPOSALS BY PARTY GROUP

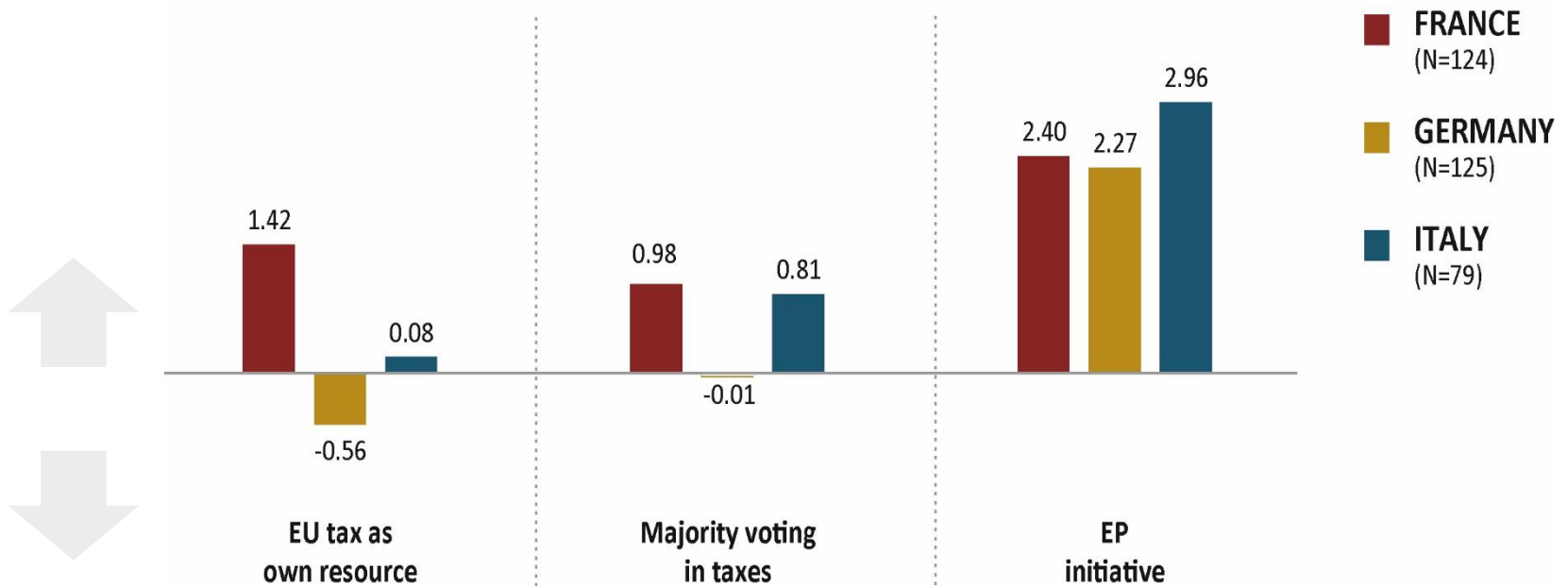
	(1) EPP	(2) S&D	(3) LREM	(4) AfD	(5) Lega	(6) M5S	(7) Others
Higher investment	1.57	2.76	1.97	-1.31	0.77	2.84	2.60
More flexible labor markets	1.26	-1.28	-0.49	-0.52	-1.56	-1.05	-0.31
EUI	-0.22	2.54	1.11	-4.00	1.01	2.58	0.03
Eurobonds	0.05	2.20	1.74	-3.83	1.00	1.68	0.85
ECB asset purchases	0.87	2.33	1.72	-3.93	1.12	2.05	0.83
SGP softening	-0.70	1.39	-0.67	-2.93	3.22	3.05	-0.40
New EMU institutions	0.64	2.77	2.64	-4.00	-0.66	0.84	0.95
EDIS	1.34	2.42	2.14	-3.50	0.01	1.11	1.39
<i>N</i>	77	64	54	29	9	20	75

CONTENT OF THE SURVEY: PART III

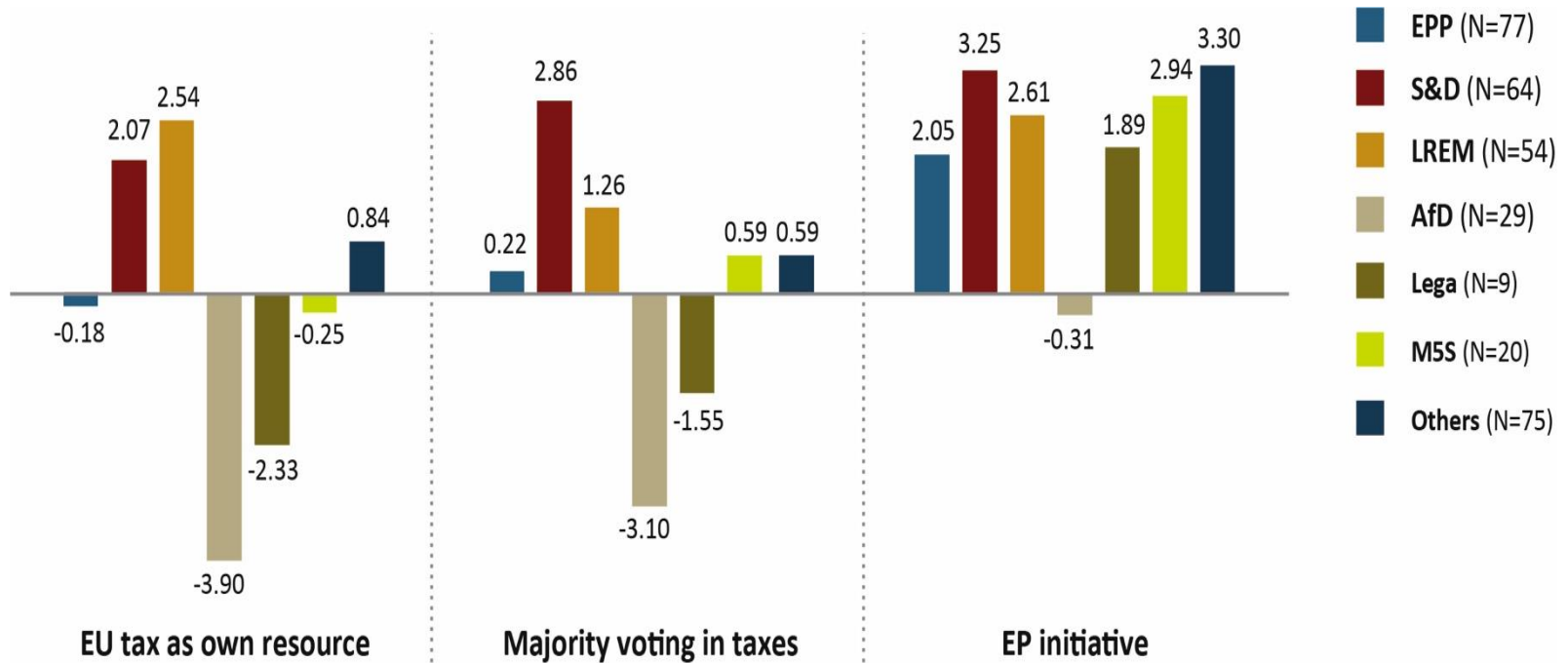
Institutional reforms and fiscal policies:

- ❖ EU Tax as own resource
- ❖ Majority voting in tax policy
- ❖ European parliament initiative

SUPPORT FOR INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS BY COUNTRY



SUPPORT FOR INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS BY PARTY GROUP



IMPLICATIONS FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

- ❖ Caveats
 - ❖ Questions are general – specific policy innovations always highly complex
 - ❖ Non-response analysis
- ❖ Key result I: Large (confirmed) consensus for more Europe in defense and immigration.
- ❖ Key result II: Strong support on giving EP initiative and „Higher investment“
- ❖ Key result III: Dissenting views on EMU set-up (QE, Solidarity, EUI, EMU Institutions): France & Italy vs Germany. Completion of EDIS (mild German opposition).
- ❖ Key result IV: Conservative MPs less favorable towards new instruments for EMU, greater consensus S&D and in French and Italian governing parties.

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