



THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE ■



What's At Stake in the European Parliament Elections in May 2014

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Outline

The challenge: can the EU be democratically legitimate?

How EP elections usually (don't) work

Why “Europe” matters more this time

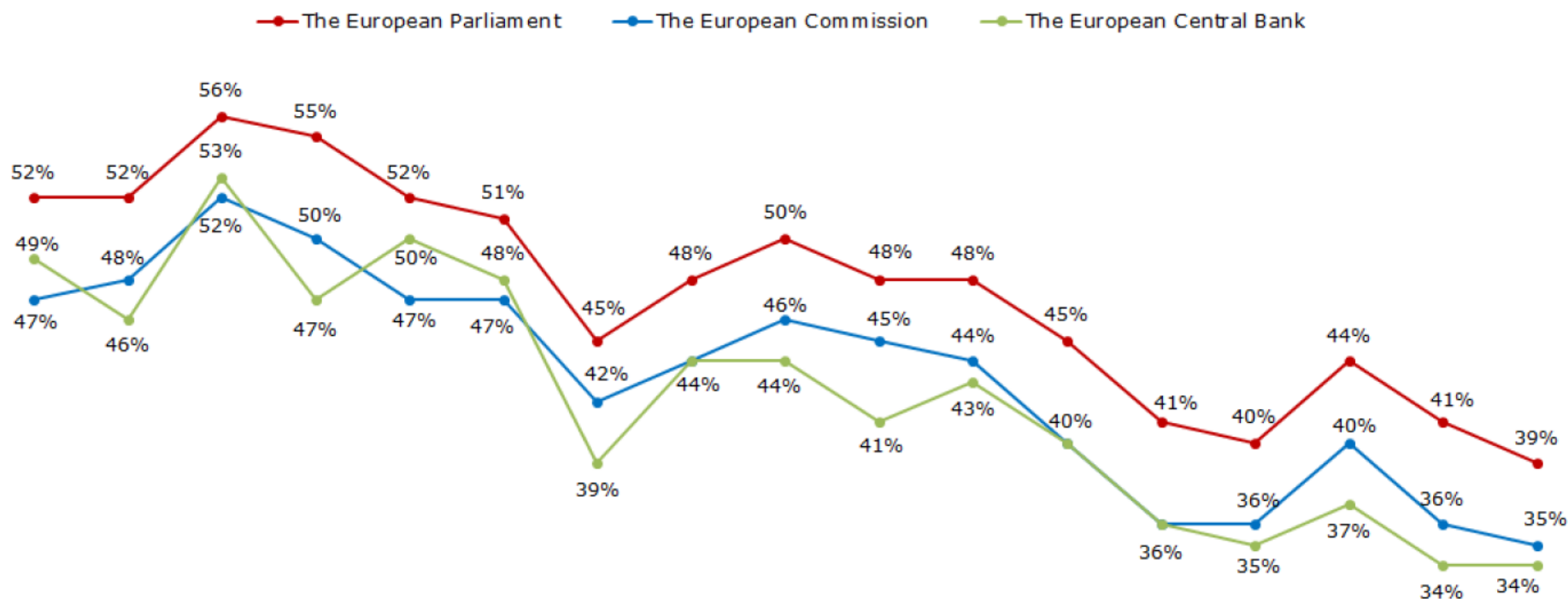
Likely outcome in the elections

Battle for the Commission President

Potential policy implications

Declining Trust in the EU

QA15. For each of the following European bodies, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.
Answer 'Tend to trust' - %EU

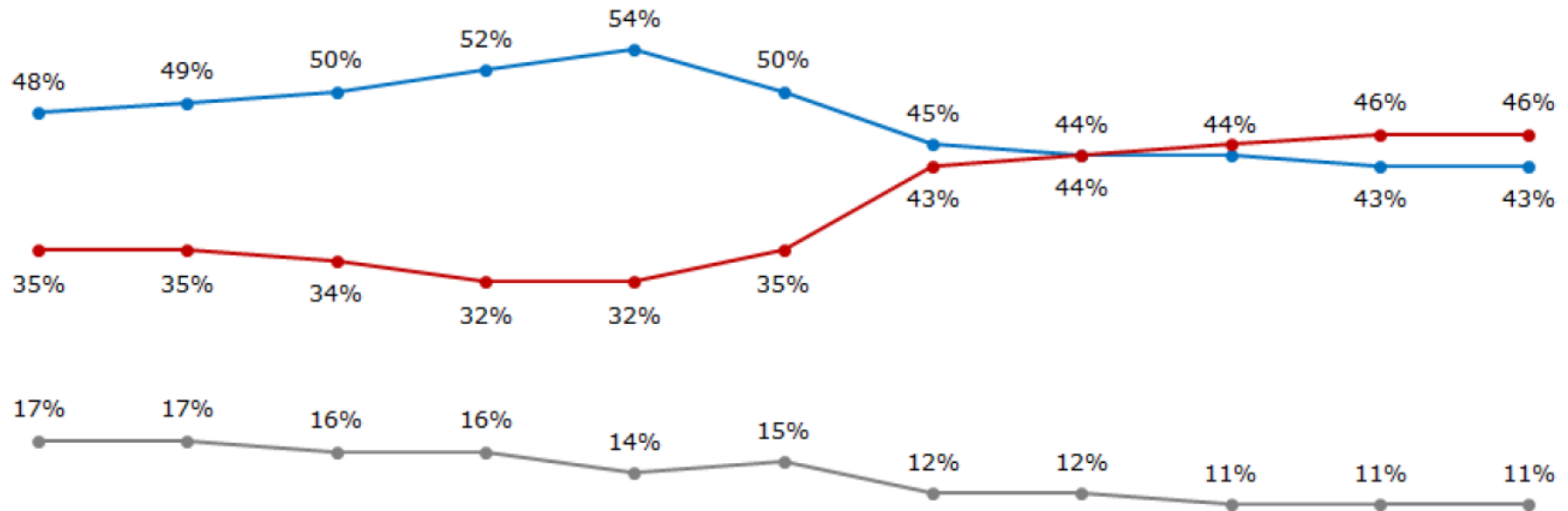


Sp. 2006	Aut. 2006	Sp. 2007	Aut. 2007	Sp. 2008	Aut. 2008	Jan.-Feb. 2009	Sp. 2009	Aut. 2009	Sp. 2010	Aut. 2010	Sp. 2011	Aut. 2011	Sp. 2012	Aut. 2012	Sp. 2013	Aut. 2013
EB65	EB66	EB67	EB68	EB69	EB70	EB71.1	EB71	EB72	EB73	EB74	EB75	EB76	EB77	EB78	EB79	EB80

(Di)Satisfaction with EU Democracy

QA18b. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU? - % EU

—●— Total 'Satisfied' —●— Total 'Not satisfied' —●— Don't know



Aut.2004	Sp.2005	Sp.2006	Aut.2007	Aut.2009	Sp.2010	Aut.2011	Sp.2012	Aut.2012	Sp.2013	Aut.2013
EB62	EB63	EB65	EB68	EB72	EB73	EB76	EB77	EB78	EB79	EB80

Why EP elections are not usually about “Europe”

“Second Order *National* Elections”

mid-term national contests

about national parties, party leaders, and issues

not about *European* parties, politicians, or issues

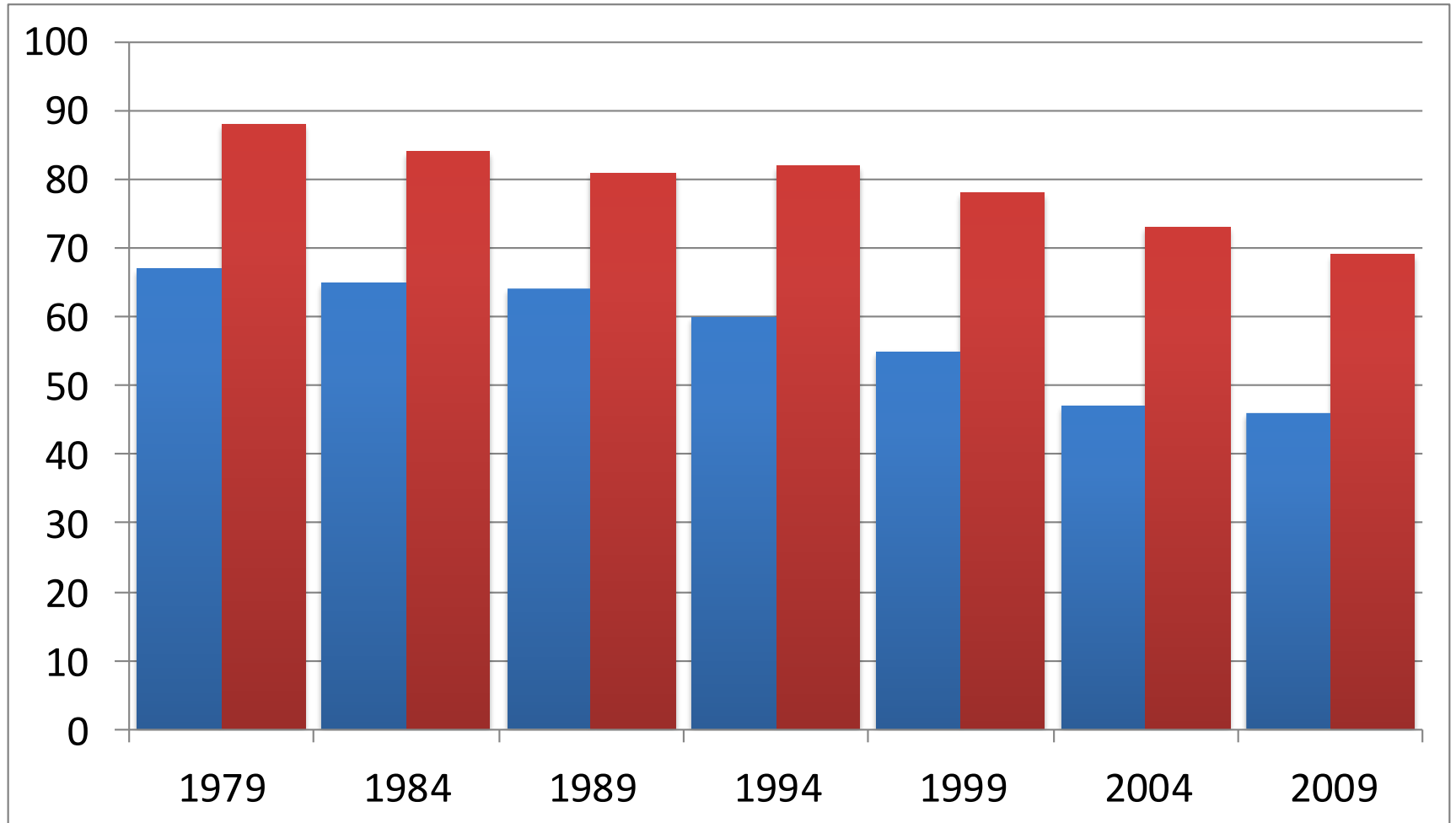
-> 2 effects

1. lower turnout than in general elections

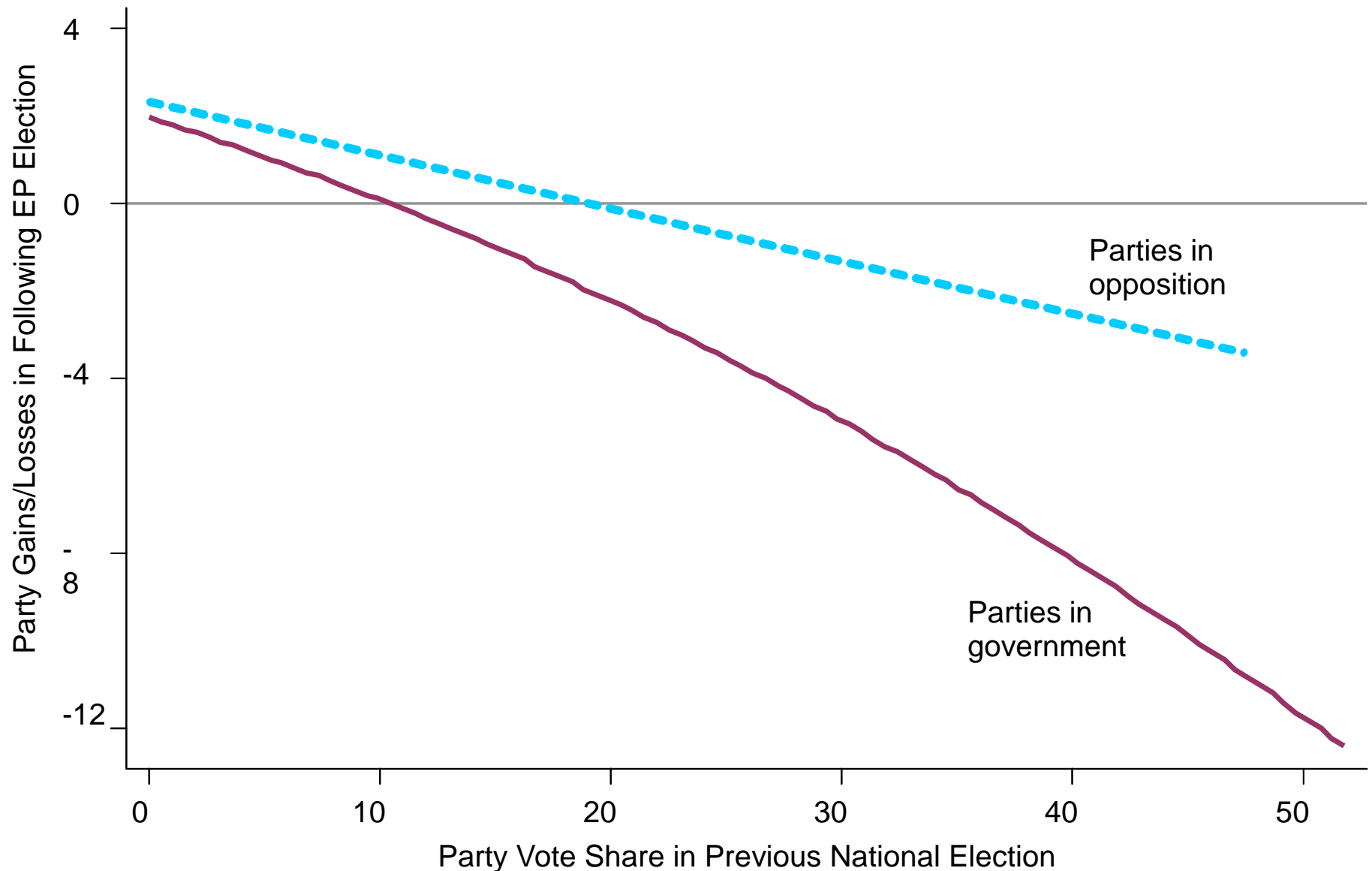
2. votes against governing parties & large parties,
and for protest parties, on right and left

Turnout

in EP elections and previous general elections



Governing and large parties lose



Why “Europe” matters more this time

Higher salience in many countries than at any time before
Eurozone crisis

Austerity “imposed” from Brussels (Gre, Ire, Por, Spa)

“Bailouts” (Ger, Net, Fin, Slk)

Anti-EU migrant sentiment (UK, Fra, Den, Net, Ger, Aus)

-> rise of anti-EU opposition on Left and Right

Election of the Commission President

Rival candidates: Schulz (S&D), Juncker (EPP), Verhofstadt (ALDE), Tsipras (GUE), Keller/Bové (Greens)

Rise of the Eurosceptic Populist Right

Anti-Europe & Anti-Immigration Parties on Right – mainly N.Europe

	Latest Polls (position)	2009
Denmark – DF	26% (1 st)	15%
UK – UKIP	25% (2 nd)	17%
France – FN	23% (1 st)	6%
Austria – FPÖ	22% (3 rd)	13%
Hungary – Jobbik	22% (2 nd)	15%
Lithuania – TT	20% (2 nd)	12%
Finland – True Finns	18% (3 rd)	10%
Netherlands – PVV	17% (1 st)	17%
Belgium – N-VA	17% (1 st)	6%
Sweden – SD	11% (3 rd)	3%
Greece – Golden Dawn	8% (4 th)	1%
Germany – AfD	6% (5 th)	0%

... and the Eurosceptic Radical Left

Anti-Europe & Anti-Austerity Parties on Left – mainly S.Europe

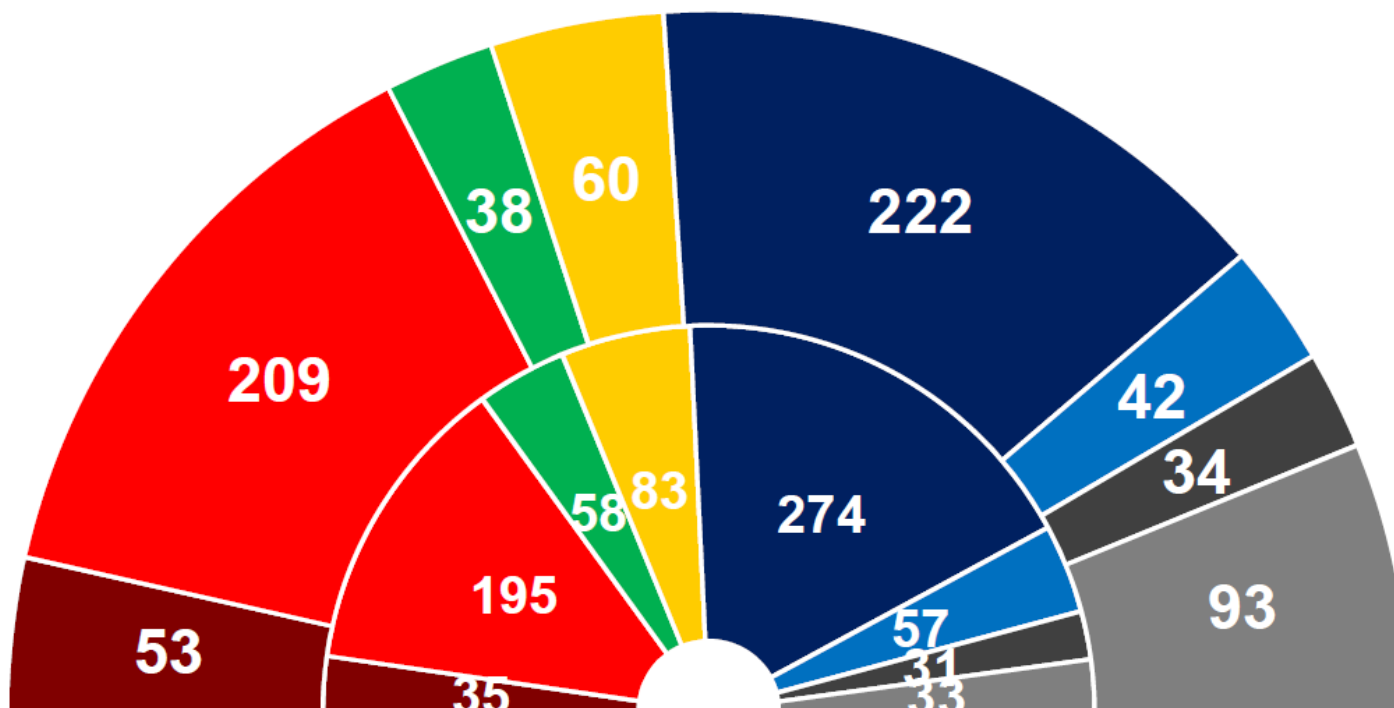
	Latest Polls (position)	2009
Greece – Syriza	27% (1 st)	5%
Ireland – Sinn Fein	20% (3 rd)	11%
Czech Rep – KSCM	14% (3 rd)	14%
Spain – IU	13% (3 rd)	4%
Portugal – CDU	11% (3 rd)	11%
France – FdG	8% (5 th)	5%
Italy – Tsipras List	4% (5 th)	3%

PollWatch2014 Forecast

16 April 2014



Incoming EP (751 seats)



Outgoing EP (766 seats)

Lisbon Rules for “Electing” Com Pres

Article 17 (para 7)

“Taking into account the elections to the European Parliament and after having held the appropriate consultations, the European Council, acting by a qualified majority, shall propose to the European Parliament a candidate for President of the Commission. This candidate shall be elected by the European Parliament by a majority of its component members. If he does not obtain the required majority, the European Council, acting by a qualified majority, shall within one month propose a new candidate who shall be elected by the European Parliament following the same procedure.”

Die Spitzenkandidaten



Alexis Tsipras
European Left, Greece



Martin Schulz
S&D, Germany



Guy Verhofstadt
ALDE, Belgium



Jean-Claude Juncker
EPP, Luxembourg



Ska Keller / José Bové
Greens, Germany/France

Who will win an EP majority?

Schulz (S&D+G/EFA+GUE)	300
Juncker (EPP+ALDE+ECR)	330
Others (EFD+NI)	121

Questions?

Will ALDE support Juncker or Schulz?

Will ECR support Juncker? (e.g. UK-Cons are anti-Juncker)

Will UK-Lab (25+) support Schulz?

What will the parties in EFD and NI do?

Could Verhofstadt be the “kingmaker”?

Or will there be an S&D-EPP “grand coalition”, brokered in Berlin?

Will Schulz or Juncker be “elected” as Commission President?

Arguments Suggesting “Yes”:

EP will force the hand of the governments, e.g. EP will “go first”

Juncker or Schulz will be reluctant to “step aside”

Key governments will be reluctant to go against a “democratic” process, and will want to set a precedent

A grand-coalition bargain will be done across several posts

The Commission President can be constrained by the European Council President & other Commission appointees

Will Schulz or Juncker be “elected” as Commission President?

Arguments Suggesting “No”:

Governments will not want to be bullied by EP

Schulz and Juncker are unacceptable to several governments
e.g. UK, Sweden

Governments will prefer someone else
e.g. Katainen, Lagarde, Thorning-Schmidt, etc.

Juncker wants to be President of the European Council

The Lisbon procedure makes it difficult for sitting PMs to put their names forward before the election (it might be different next time)

Potential policy implications

Large anti-federalist/populist coalition (200+):

Opposed to liberalisation of services in the single market

















Opposed to deeper Economic and Monetary Union

Opposed to free trade (e.g. anti TTIP)

In favour of reforming rules on free movement of persons

Two Examples

More analysis on www.Electio2014.eu

Statements	Current EP	Latest polls
06 Should the countries of the Eurozone pool their public debts by creating Eurobonds?	 74%  7%  18% 	 68%  9%  21% 
08 Should the EU strengthen and extend its internal market for services?	 54%  2%  43% 	 45%  2%  52% 

Summary

- Previously, EP elections have not been about Europe, and there has been very little competition for Com President
- “Europe” is more salient than ever in the build up to May 2014
- Plus rival candidates for the “Commission President”
- But, rise of anti-EU populist right and left will force S&D and EPP to form a “grand coalition”
- This could provoke even stronger anti-EU sentiment in the coming years