

**TOO MUCH OR TOO LITTLE DEMOCRACY:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EUROZONE**

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## DEMOCRACY WITHIN MEMBER STATES

- \* Citizens elect representatives  
.EU problem: UK
  
- \* Government accountable to representative assembly  
.EU problem: Italy
  
- \* Government accountable to courts  
.EU problem: Portugal. Germany?
  
- \* Government needs renewed mandate  
.EU problem: Germany

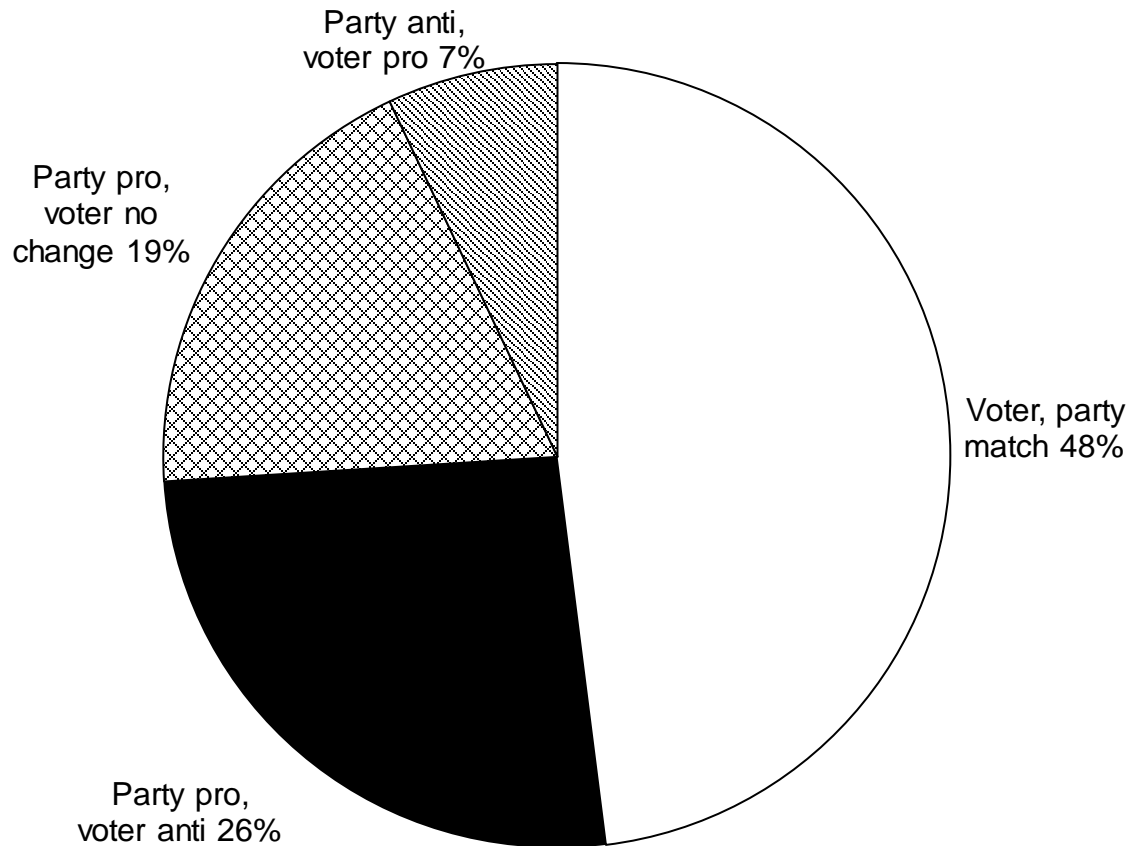
## **EU HAS REPRESENTATION, CHECKS AND BALANCES BUT NOT ELECTORAL ACCOUNTABILITY**

- Parliament: Elected by degressive proportionality; multi-national coalition of party groups
- \* European Council/Council of Ministers: Represents states
- \* Court of European Justice: Represents principle rule of law
- \* European Central Bank: Represents principle of monetary economics, Chicago rather than Cambridge

## MOST VOTERS DON'T AGREE WITH THEIR EP PARTY ON EU INTEGRATION

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*How views of voters match position of their party on integration*

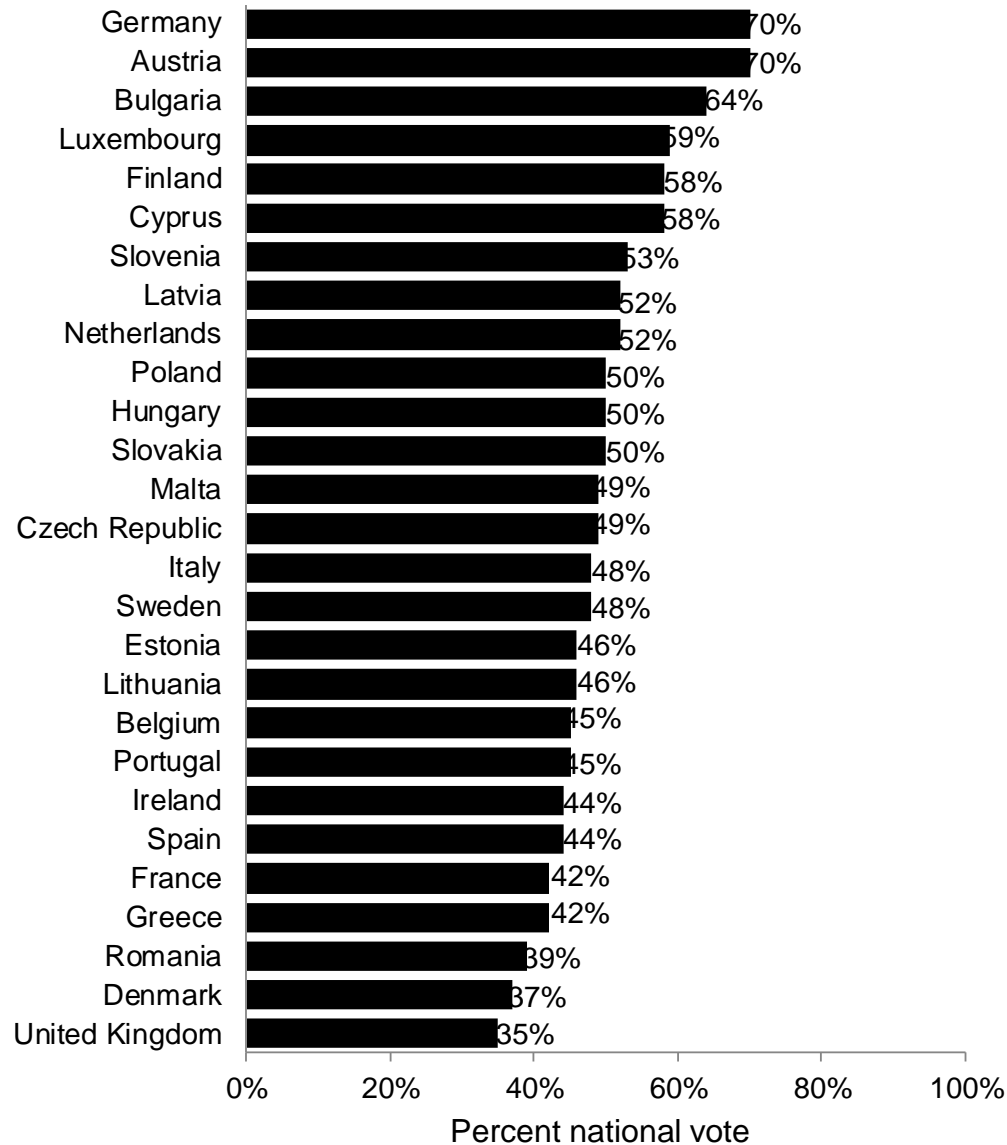


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Source: European Election Study, 2009; European Profiler Study.

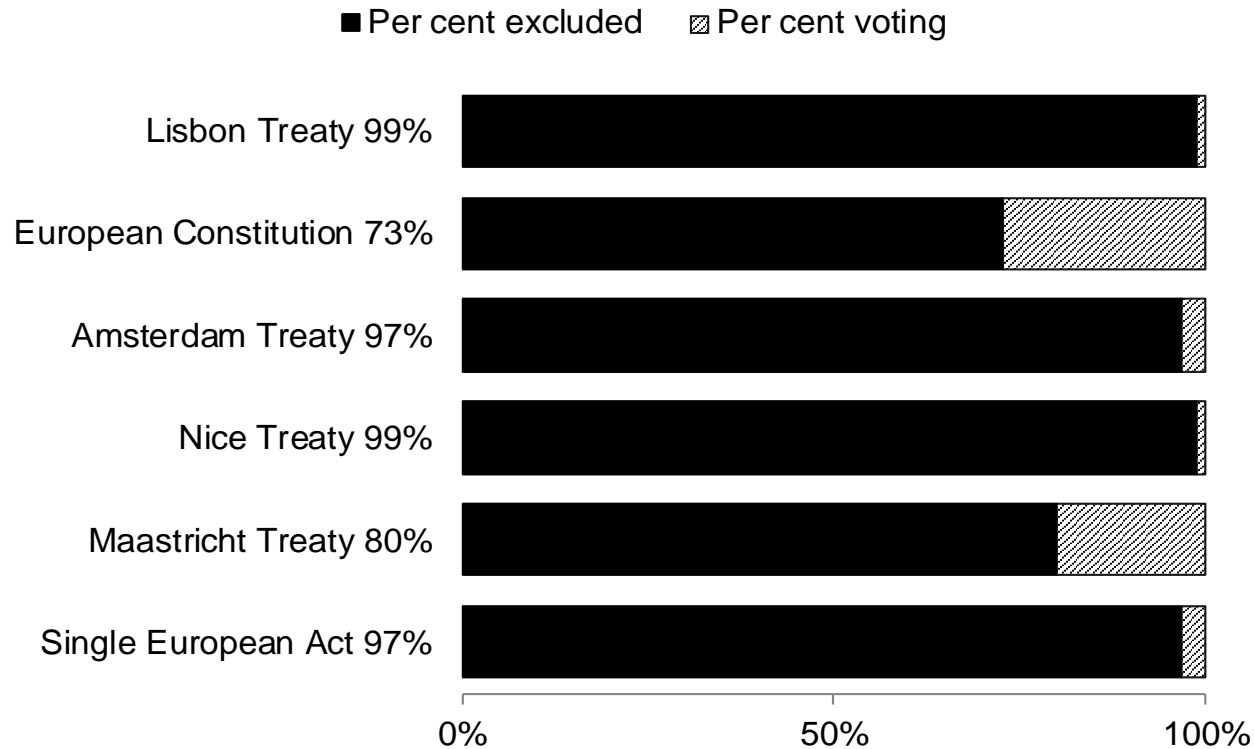
## EU COUNCIL MEMBERS REPRESENT ONLY HALF THEIR VOTERS

*Vote for governing parties in national election before 2009 EP ballot*



## EU CITIZENS NOT CONSULTED ON TREATIES

(Per cent of citizens in member states not holding treaty referendum)



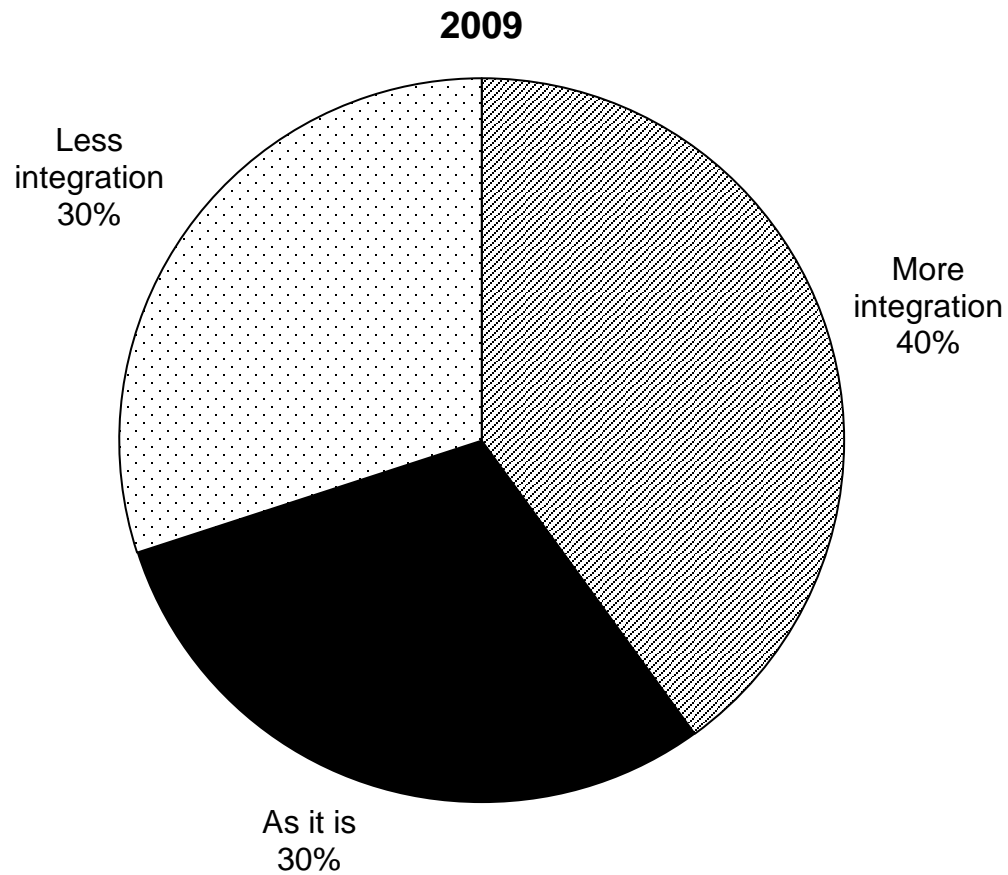
Notes: Lisbon: Ireland voted; 26 countries did not. European Constitution: France, Spain, Luxembourg and Netherlands voted; 21 did not. Amsterdam: Ireland and Denmark voted; 13 countries did not. Nice: Ireland voted; 14 countries did not. Maastricht: France, Ireland and Denmark voted; 9 countries did not. Single European Act: Denmark and Ireland voted; 10 countries did not.

## MEDIAN EUROPEAN FAVOURS LEAVING EU AS IT IS

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*European Election Study, 27 country survey.*

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







## **INTERDEPENDENCE CREATES PRESSURES FOR CHANGE**

\*Eurozone: High and visible impact BUT disagreements about:

Who pays for fiscal adjustments?

Trade off between deficit reduction and growth?

\*Extending EU powers with or without a new treaty?

\*Global representation from national capitals or by Brussels?

## **A PRAGMATIC RESPONSE**

- \*Case by case evaluation of options to deal with specific problems
- \*Abandon unanimity rule and repressive consensus
- \*Seek popular approval of new treaties by a pan-European referendum
- \*Coalitions of the willing: Many precedents
  - Immediately, it satisfies both in and out countries
  - If a new policy works, laggards can catch up with leaders
- \*If experience confirms the view of outs, this leads to a looser union

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# Representing Europeans

## *A Pragmatic Approach*

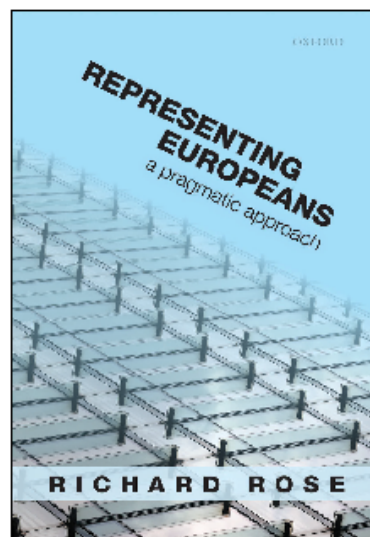
Richard Rose, University of Strathclyde

*Representing Europeans* makes a fresh assessment of the challenge facing the European Union today: it can no longer carry out integration by stealth. Measures adopted to save the eurozone impose visible political costs without clearly visible benefits. There is a lack of popular commitment to more European integration because EU institutions represent its citizens indirectly or not at all. Reliance on citizenship lite is politically dangerous, since people retain the power to reject their national government because of commitments it makes in Brussels. The book's pragmatic approach recommends that enhanced European integration should be based on coalitions of the willing and accommodation of the unwilling. Federalists and Eurosceptics will alternatively agree and disagree with the argument of this book. But they cannot ignore the challenge it raises for the EU to pay more attention to the half a billion people it claims to represent.

**Readership:** All those interested in the future of Europe and especially lecturers and students concerned with how the well the European Union represents its citizens political and economic concerns.

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