

INTERDEPENDENCE CREATES A DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT & SURPLUS IN EUROPE

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Votes count, resources decide. *Stein Rokkan*

Hell is the others. *J-P Sartre Huis Clos*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

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2 May 2016

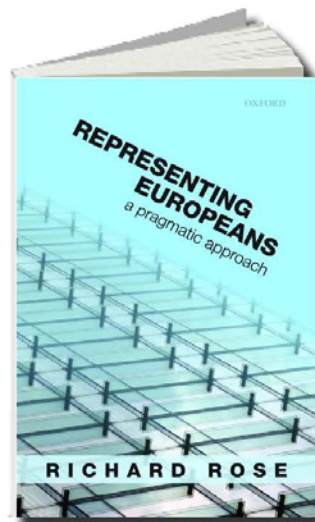
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A Pragmatic Approach



Richard Rose, University of Strathclyde

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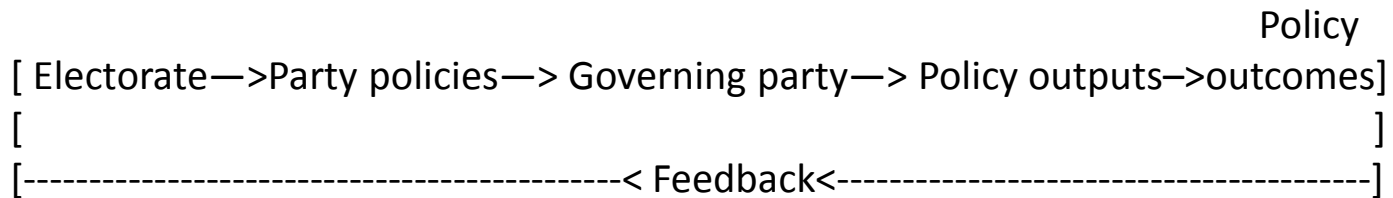
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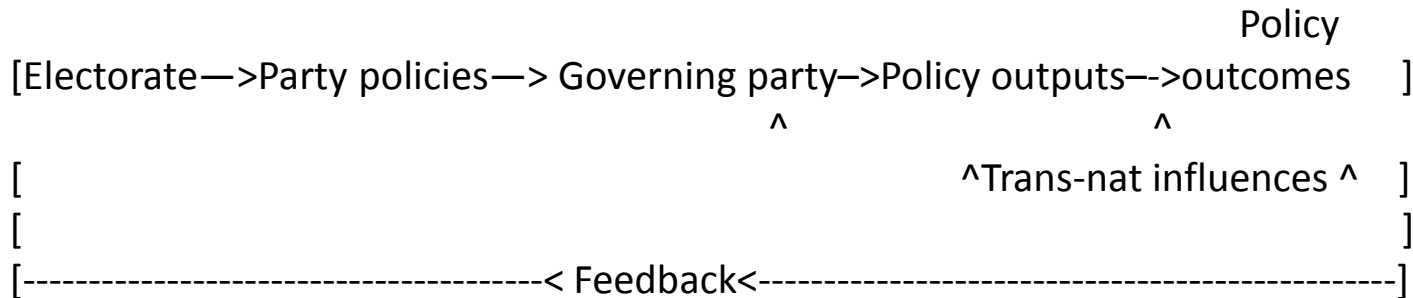
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INTERDEPENDENCE CHALLENGES DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY

A. NATIONAL



B. INTERDEPENDENT



Source: Rose, Richard, 2014. “Responsible Party Government in a World of Interdependence”, *West European Politics*, 37,2, 253-269.

INTERDEPENDENCE CREATES MORE NEED FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION

Intermestic policies to the fore

Economic integration: across Single Europe Market and internationally

Movement of people for work and for asylum

Terrorism: independent or state-sponsored

No more integration by stealth

INSTITUTIONS OF INTERDEPENDENCE: European & Global

	<i>Number of members</i>		
	EU countries	Non -EU	% EU
ORGANIZATIONS STRETCHING EUROPE'S BOUNDARIES			
<u>Europe</u>			
European Union	28	0	100
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	22	6	79
European Central Bank	19	0	63
Council of Europe	19	19	60
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	19	36	44
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe	28	29	49
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS			
World Trade Organisation	28	133	17
International Monetary Fund	28	160	15
World Bank	28	160	15
Interpol	28	162	15
United Nations	28	165	15

Source: Rose, Richard, 2015. *Representing Europeans: a Pragmatic Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

STRUCTURAL OBSTACLES TO COLLECTIVE POLICYMAKING

Multiple participants: some elected, some non-elected.

Power inequalities -- with or without a hegemon

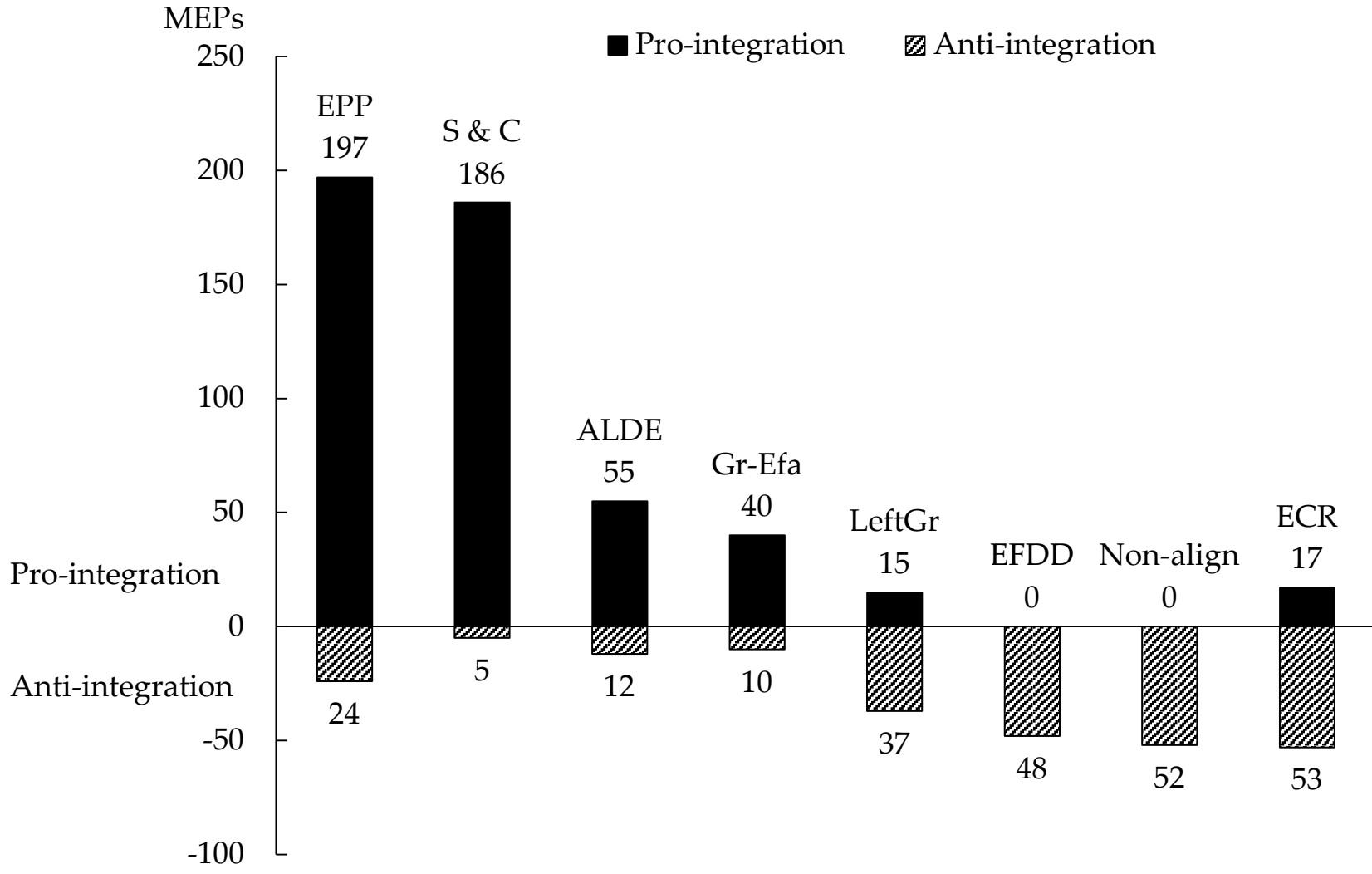
European Union obstacles

Continental institution facing extra-continental problems

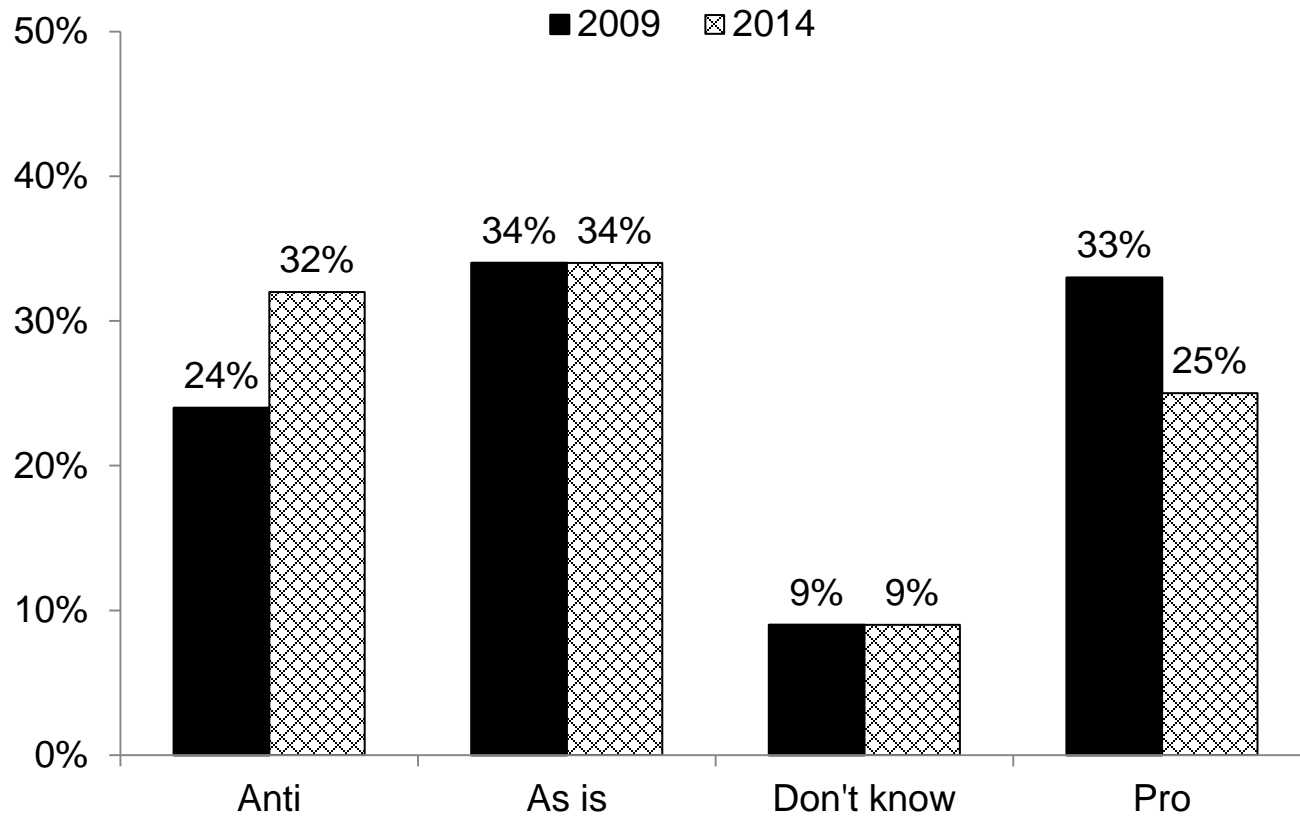
Limited administration staff

Technocrats with limited technique or -crat

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT VERY PRO-INTEGRATION

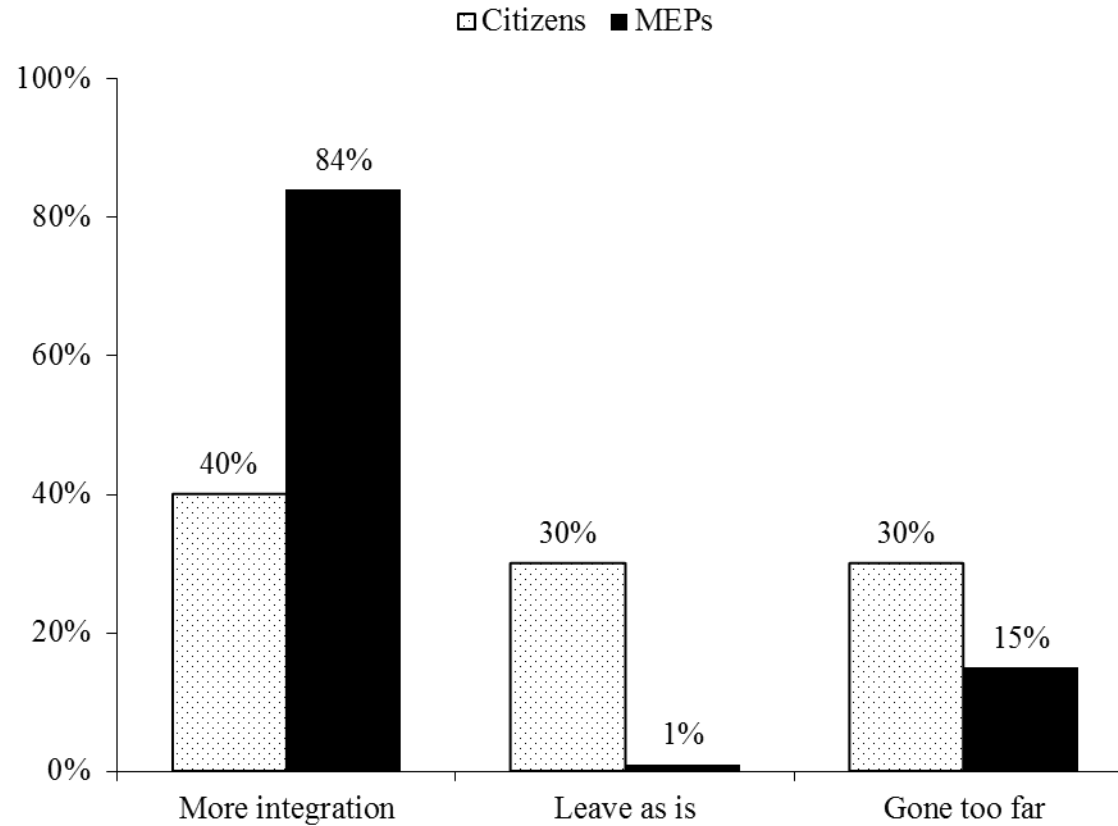


EUROPEAN CITIZENS DON'T WANT MORE INTEGRATION



Source: Rose, Richard and Borz, Gabriela, 2016. "Static and Dynamic Views of European Integration", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54, 2, pp 370–387.

MEPs INADEQUATELY REPRESENT THEIR NATIONAL PUBLICS



Source: Rose, Richard, 2015. *Representing Europeans: a Pragmatic Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

THE GOLDONI PROBLEM FOR PRIME MINISTERS: Serving Two Masters

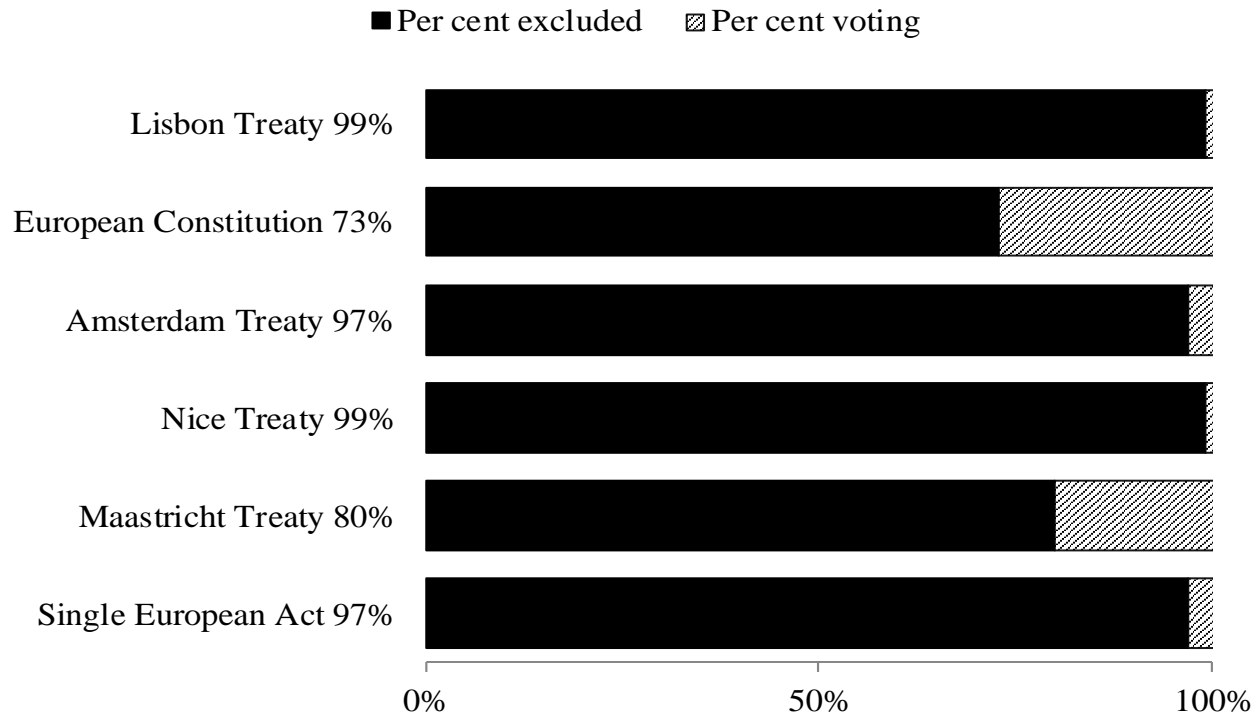
European Council: Group norm: Agree terms for collective action

PM inherits a binding treaty commitment from a distant predecessor

Commits whole population BUT elected by 49% voters on average

Seven or eight up for national election each year

NATIONAL REFERENDUMS EXCLUDE MOST EUROPEAN CITIZENS

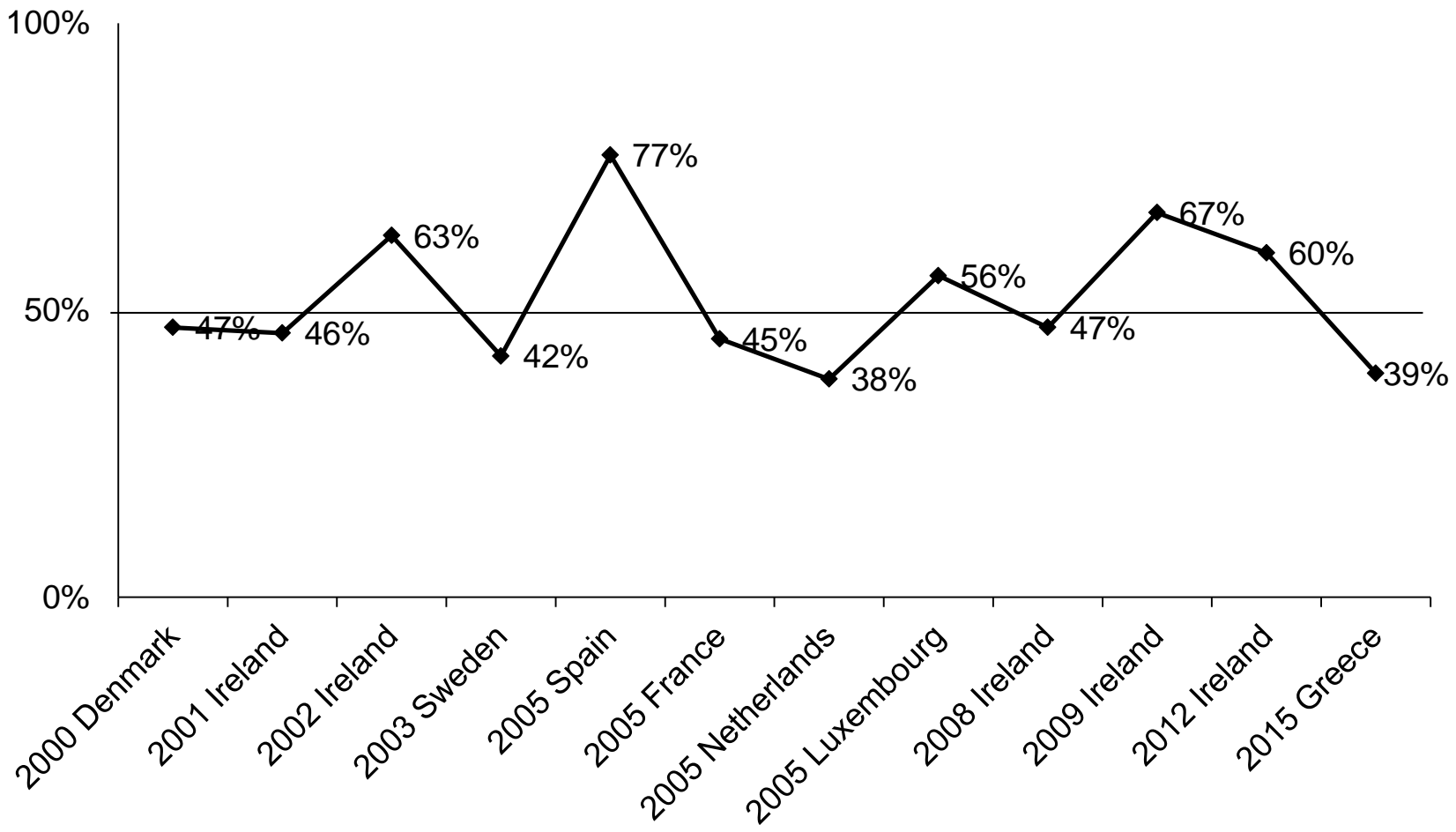


Notes: Lisbon: Ireland voted; 26 countries did not. European Constitution: France, Spain, Luxembourg and Netherlands voted; 21 countries did not. Amsterdam: Ireland and Denmark voted; 13 countries did not. Nice: Ireland voted; 14 countries did not. Maastricht: France, Ireland and Denmark voted; 9 countries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

Source: Rose, Richard, 2015. *Representing Europeans: a Pragmatic Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

REFERENDUMS SHAKE THE BARS OF THE IRON CAGE OF EU TREATIES

% pro EU vote



THE UK AND INTERDEPENDENCE:

Prime Ministers solve the Goldoni problem by assuming sovereignty

Speak of engagement with Commonwealth, Washington and EU
—and Britain as a leader

Yet half century after losing an Empire, have yet to find a role

THREE WAYS TO CAMPAIGN FOR A REFERENDUM VOTE

Vote to leave: A Unicorn Vision

Vote to stay in: It Pays £££

Fear of leaving Vote for the devil you know (hardly pro-EU)

Fear of remaining: Eurozone economy stagnating
Control of national borders lost

THREE POSSIBLE OUTCOMES OF 23rd JUNE REFERENDUM

BRIT IN: Vote to remain 56% or higher.

EU no longer a big issue as losers marginalized.

Downing Street drops interest in EU.

Differential (dis)integration of Eurozone, Schengen countries

BRIT THIN: Vote to remain about 52%.

Most Conservatives vote to leave

England held in EU by votes from rest of UK

A rancorous Neverendum

BREXIT: A Journey Toward an Unknown Destination

Starting with Tories electing a new British Prime Minister

Hunt starts for the promised Unicorn

Brussels punctures the Brexit vision with both horns