

INTERDEPENDENCE OF POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS
CHALLENGES DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY

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Votes count, resources decide. *Stein Rokkan*

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

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INTERDEPENDENCE CREATES 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

Interaction with non-state or state-sponsored actors and process as well as political institutions

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
EBRD	19	36	44
OSCE	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

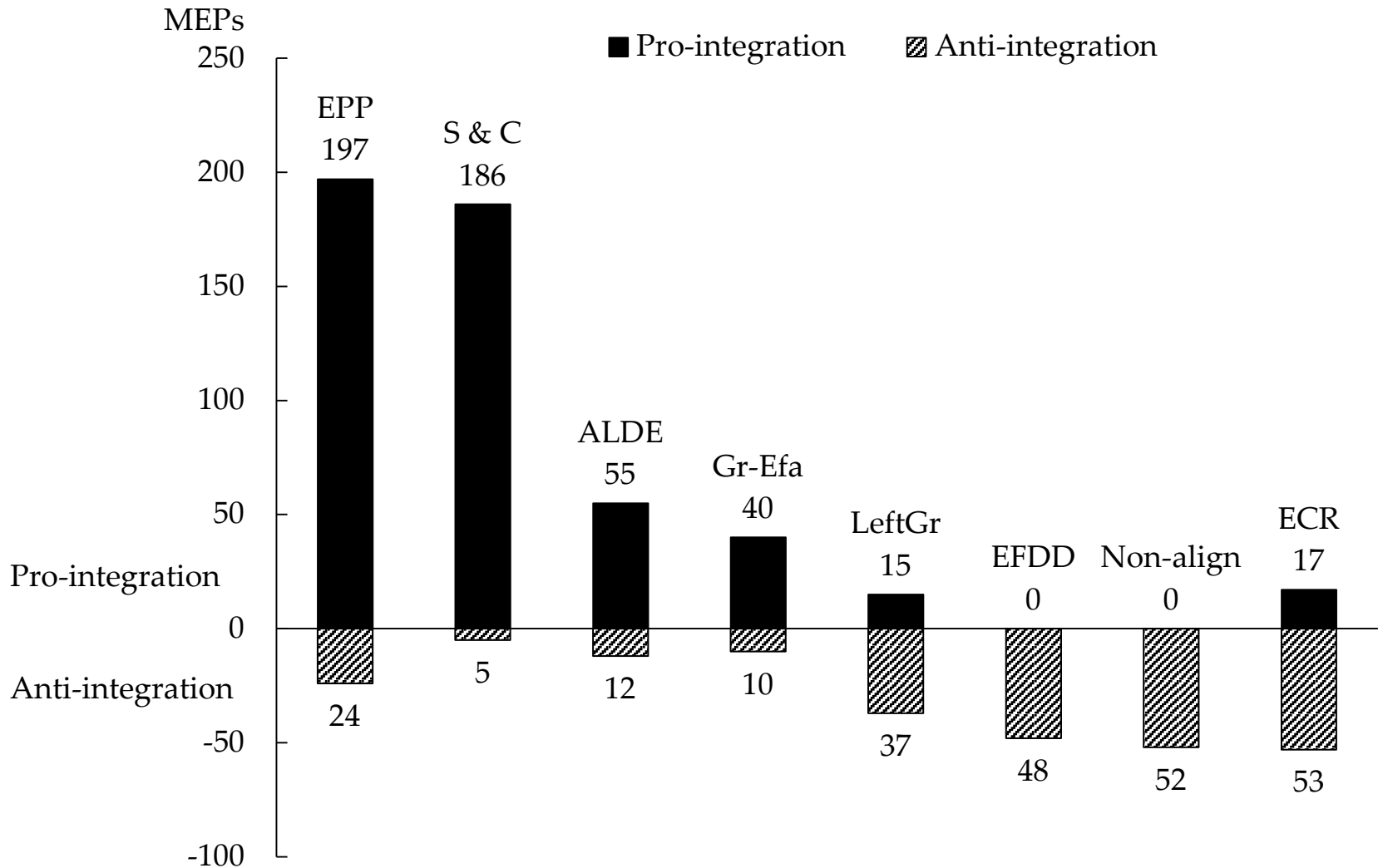
European Union obstacles

Continental institution facing extra-continental problems

Limited administration staff

Technocrats with limited technique or -crat

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT VERY PRO-INTEGRATION



Source: Alexander Trechsel, Diego Garzia and Lorenzo De Sio, Euandl file of party programmes, 2014. European Parliament election, as coded by Kenneth Stevenson and Richard Rose, National Party Programmes and European Integration (CSPP Strathclyde Studies in Public Policy 520, 2016).

CITIZENS RECOGNISE & ACCEPT INTERDEPENDENCE

Q. DEMOCRATIC. How important do you think it is for democracy in general that politicians take into account the views of other European governments before making decisions? (E16: Replies 0-10 scale)

Q. APPLIES: Politicians in this country take into account the views of other European governments before making decisions (E30 Replies 0-10)

	DEMOCRATIC %	APPLIES %
High	53	33
Medium	27	28
Low	11	25
Don't know	9	14

Source: European Social Survey, 2012. Number of replies: 54,529. High codes: 7-10; medium 4-6; low 0-3. For further details see Monica Ferrin and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds., How Europeans View and Evaluate Democracy (Oxford UP, 2016).

COLLECTIVE RISKS PERCEIVED; UNCERTAINTY ABOUT ALLIES

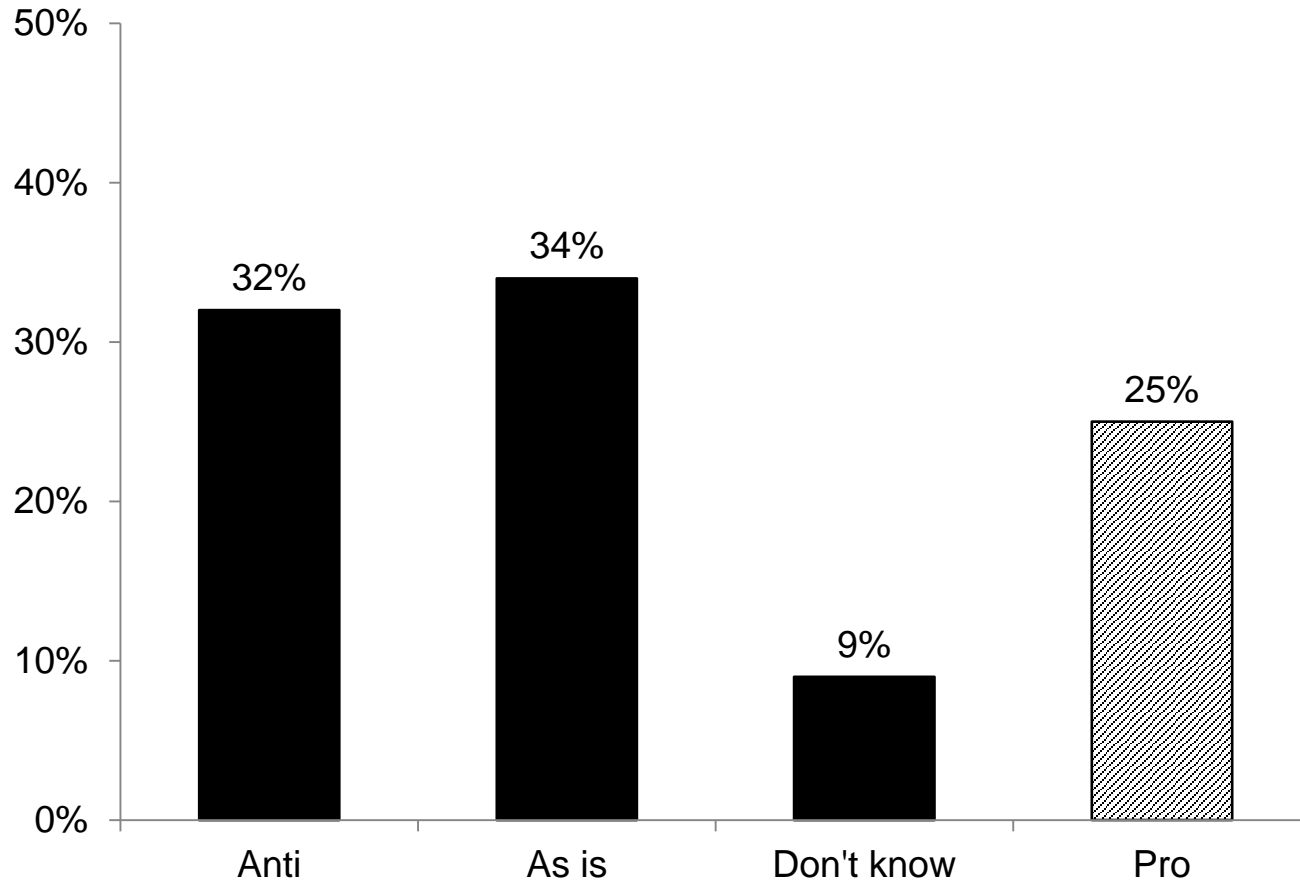
Q. *RISKS: How much do you think Britain is at risk from the following...?*
Big risk, fair amount of risk, not much, no risk, don't know.

Q. *ALLIES: Which of the following do you think can best help us look after this problem: United Nations, European Union, United States, Britain must look after itself on its own, don't know.*

Big risk %	Policy	Ourselves alone %	<u>Allies</u> EU %
55	Terrorism	44	16
47	Immigration	66	18
22	Economy	52	19
12	Military	36	10

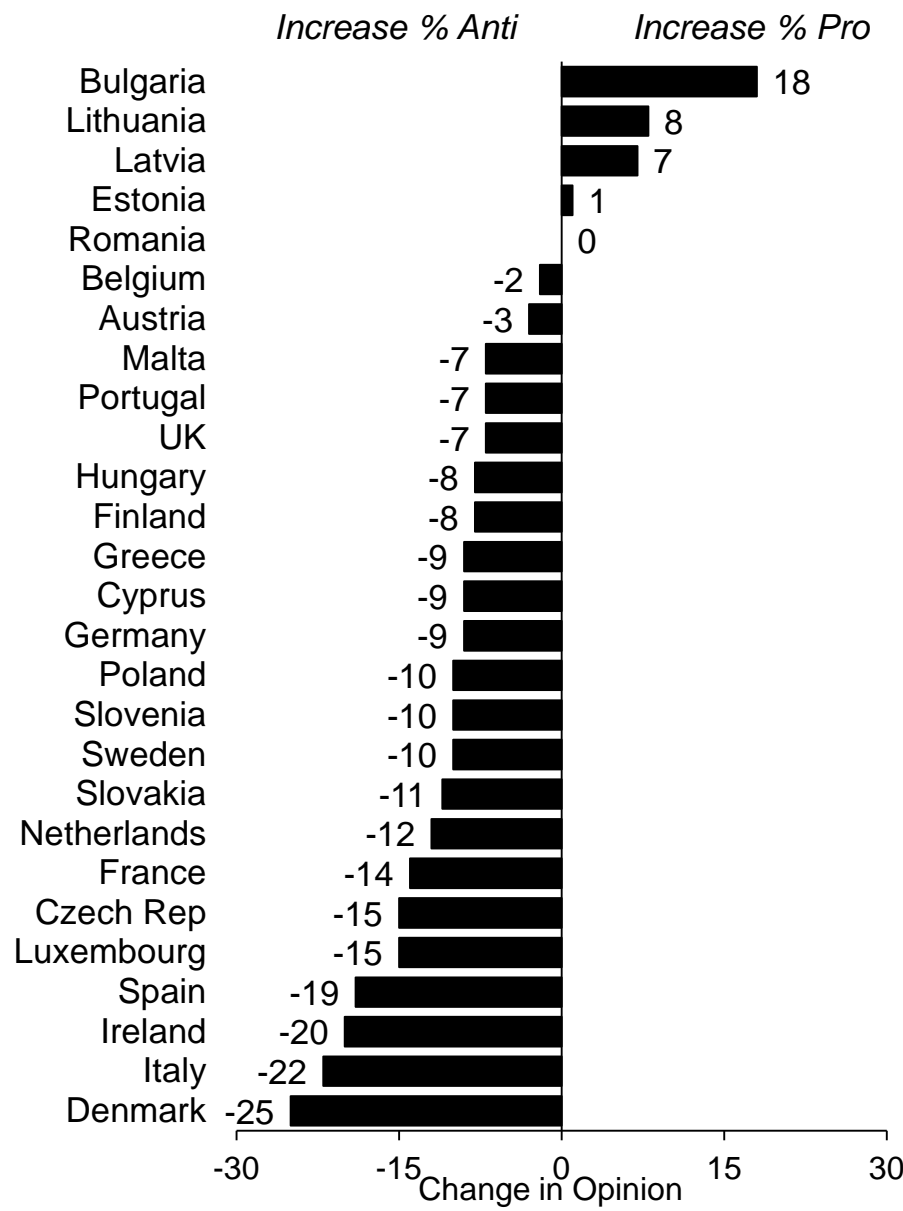
Source: BMG Research, nationwide online survey of 1,518 British respondents, 24-29 March 2016.

EUROPEAN CITIZENS SCEPTICAL ABOUT MORE EU INTEGRATION



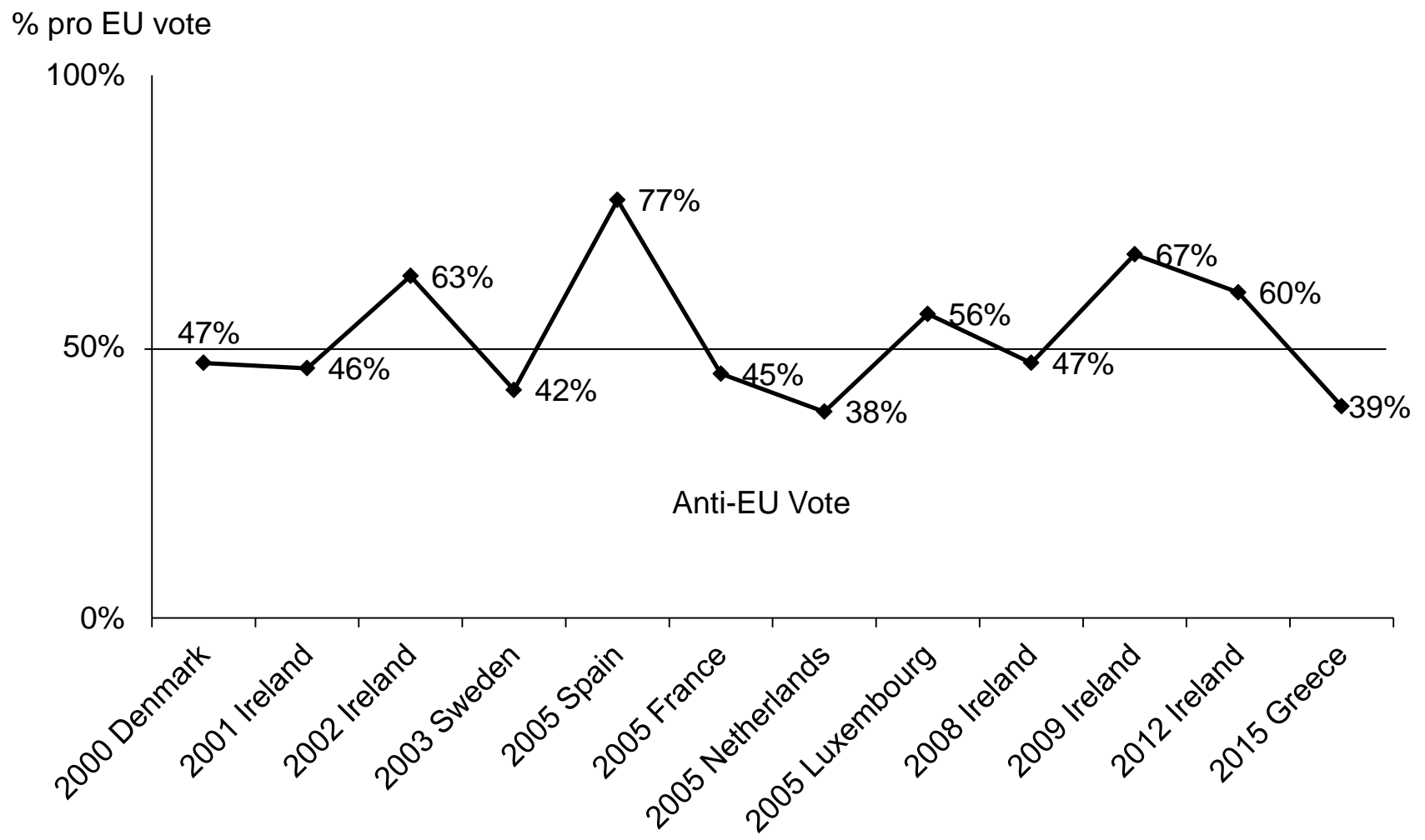
Source: Rose, Richard and Borz, Gabriela, 2016. "Static and Dynamic Views of European Integration", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54, 2, pp 370–387.

DECLINING SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION



Source: European Election Surveys, 2009, 2014. For more details see Richard Rose and Gabriela Borz, "Static and Dynamic Views of European Integration", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54, 2, March 2016, pp 370–387.

NATIONAL REFERENDUMS CHALLENGE EU TREATIES



THE GOLDONI PROBLEM OF PRIME MINISTERS: Serving Two Masters

European Council as Master:

Embodies Treaty commitments inherited from distant predecessor

Prime Ministers meant to serve group norms

But elected by only 49% of country's voters

National electorate as Master:

Each PM accountable to a different electorate

Seven or eight governments face re-election each year

LEGITIMATING INTERDEPENDENCE TO NATIONAL ELECTORATES

Small states prefer institutionalization to marginalization

Big states face Sartre problem: constrained by others

Variation by policy:

Security, trade inherently interdependent.

Social cohesion can be national, not European

Variation by performance

Effective performance: Principled and/or pragmatic

Ineffective performance:

Differential integration into informal clubs: Post-Schengen

Quadrupartite division on currency

Variation by institution: Venue shopping in an ecology of institutions

Cf. Ecology of US Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas

Ed Lindblom's Partisan Mutual Adjustment in the Market Place

Journeys Toward Unknown Destinations

Following obsolete principles of another era

BREXIT