# I. NATIONAL DEMOCRACY CHALLENGES EU CONSENSUS ON INTEGRATION

Professor Richard Rose & Kenneth Stevenson

Centre for the Study of Public Policy U. Of Strathclyde

www.cspp.strath.ac.uk & Visiting Professor, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin

ECPR Standing Group on European Politics

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#### **DEMOCRACY REQUIRES:**

Choice: An absolute value Dahl. Effectiveness: Scharpf on EU

Legitimacy: Weber (Wert or Zweckrationalitat)

## 500 MN EUROPEANS HAVE TWO CITIZENSHIPS & REPRESENTATIVES

EU Decisions about integration tend to reflect cartel

Explains why national citizens are turning to referendums to represent their EU views

Multi-national EU institutions subject to a democratic surplus at the national level.

## **ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF AGREEMENT**

- 1. Permissive consensus. Cultural. Super-majority->Mass indifference
- 2. Competition contrasting views —>Alternation in office (Schumpeter)
- 3. Cross-cutting cleavages (Lipset) -> Jumping majorities.
- 4. Standing majority —> Cartel (Katz & Mair, 199-; Rose, 2015)

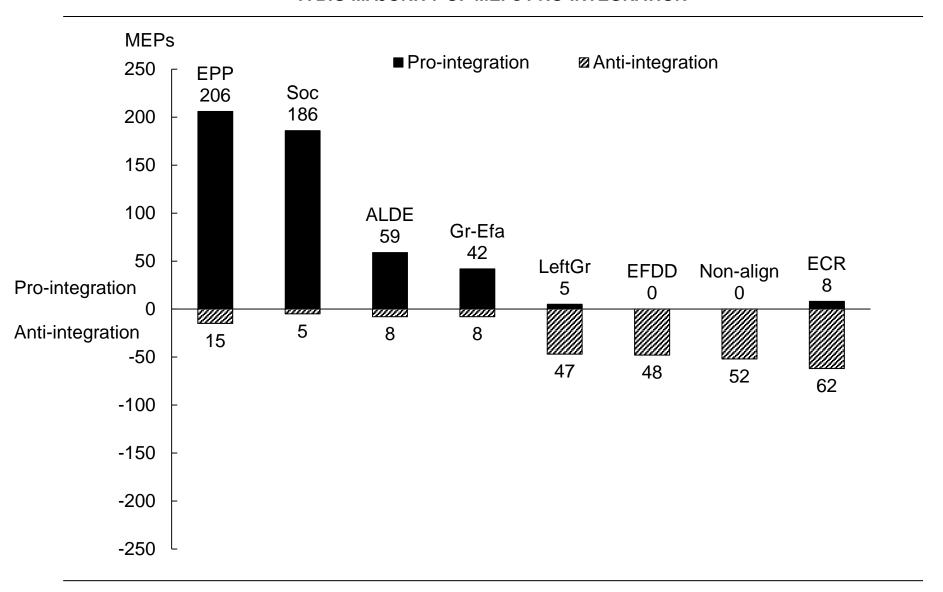
## **II EUROPEAN UNION DEMOCRACY**

EU: Burkean representation through multi-national aggregation in Party Groups, Council Multi-national aggregation breaks link with accountability to national citizens

Acquis, treaty commitments, Commission bias restrict choices to:

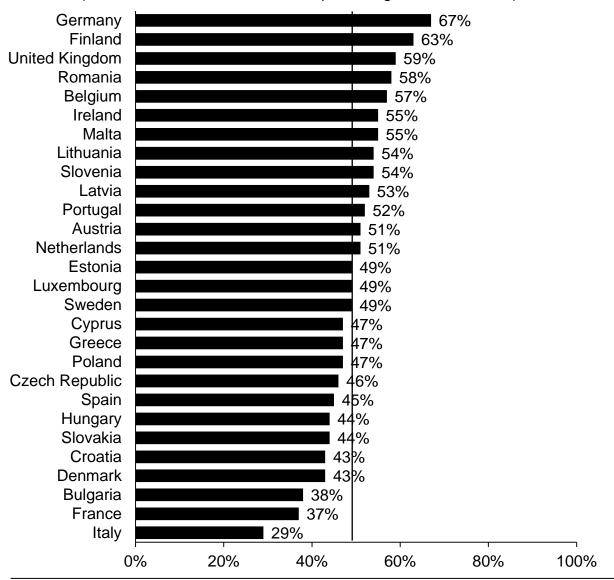
Ever closer Union. Do nothing. Atom bomb of exit.

#### A BIG MAJORITY OF MEPS PRO-INTEGRATION



# **EUROPEAN COUNCIL: REPRESENTS STATES NOT PEOPLE**

(Share of vote in national election preceding 2014 EP contest)



Source: European Journal of Political Research, Political Data Yearbook 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014.

## ONE WAY BIAS TOWARD MORE INTEGRATION

- Integration by stealth: European Commission. Monnet. Haas.
- Co-decision by Council & Parliament with pro-Integration Commission.
- Bargaining in Council. Moravcsik.
- Checks and balances provide Horizontal accountability.
- Effectiveness: Failed technocrats.

# **CITIZENS OF NATIONAL DEMOCRACIES**

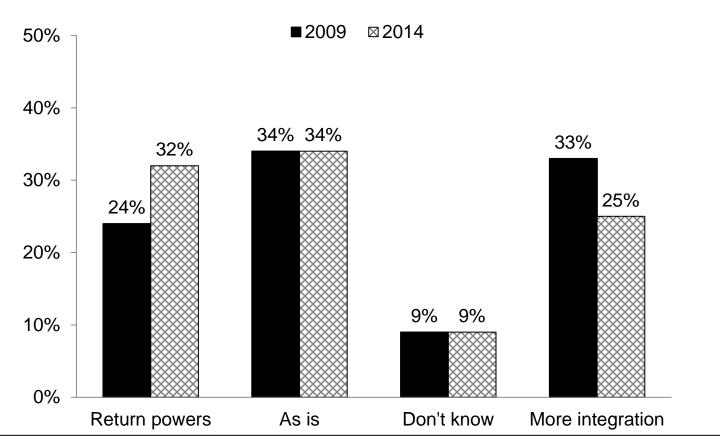
National citizens have opinions & votes

EU issues—economy, (im)migration--now relevant in national systems

Citizens represent views through polls, national elections, referendums

# **EUROPEAN CITIZENS SCEPTICAL ABOUT MORE EU INTEGRATION 2009, 2014**

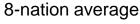
Q. Some say European integration should be pushed further. Others say it has already gone too far. What is your opinion?

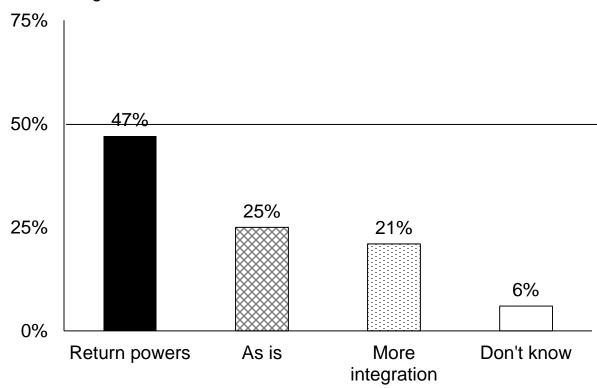


Source: Rose, Richard and Borz, Gabriela, 2016. "Static and Dynamic Views of European Integration", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54, 2, 370–87. More integration: answers: 7-10 on 11-point scale. As is: points 4-6. Return powers: points 0-3.

# **GROWING APPROVAL OF EU REDUCING ITS POWERS, 2016**

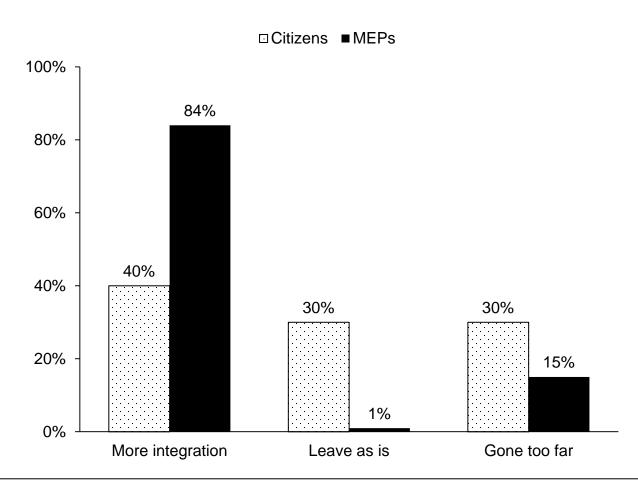
- Q. Which statement best describes your views about the future of the European Union, even if none is exactly right?
- a) National governments should transfer more powers to the EU
- b) The current division of powers between national governments and the EU should remain the same
- c) Some powers should be returned to national governments
- d) Don't know





Source: Pew Global Survey, spring, 2016. Mean for France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, UK. See <a href="https://www.pewglobal.org">www.pewglobal.org</a> or Google Pew Euroskepticism 2016.

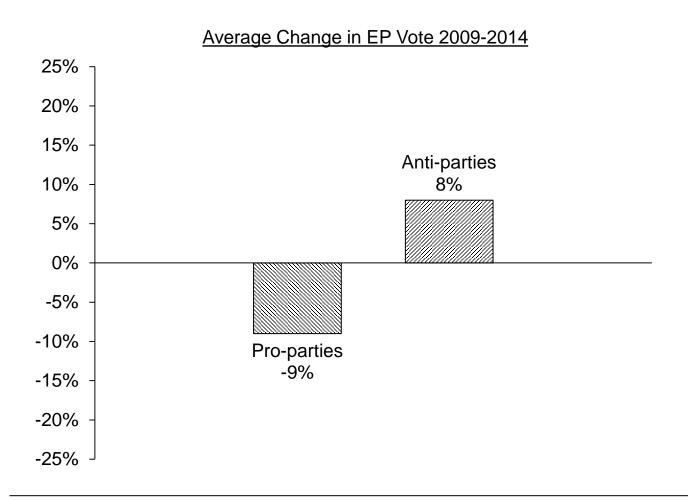
## MEPS DO NOT REPRESENT THEIR VOTERS ON EU INTEGRATION



Source: Rose, Richard, 2015. Representing Europeans: a Pragmatic Approach.

Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## **CROSS-CUTTING CLEAVAGES MUFFLE EFFECT ON VOTES**



For full details see Stevenson and Rose, *National Party Programmes and European Integration*, U. of Strathclyde Studies in Public Policy No. 520, 2016, Table 5.3.

# **RESPONSES OF NATIONAL PARTIES TO ANTI-EU PRESSURES**

Co-opt: Netherlands, Finland

Cartel: Sweden

Failed cartel: Austria?

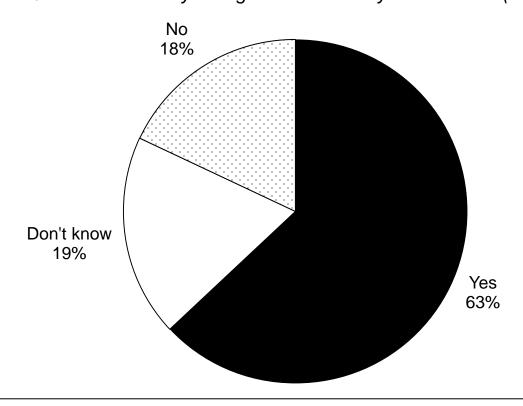
Referendums: Greece, UK, Hungary

# NATIONAL CITIZENS FAVOUR REFERENDUMS

Calling a referendum a subsidiarity decision for each member state

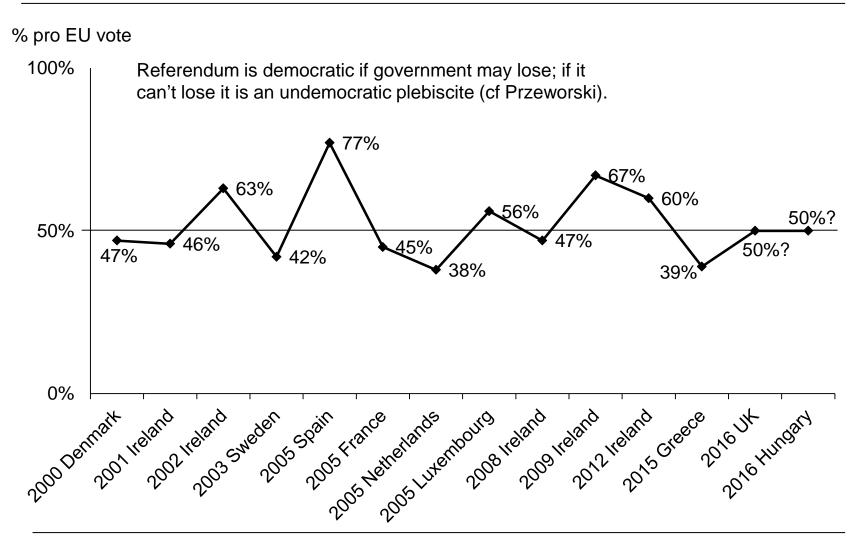
Shift from membership referendums to issue referendums since 2000

Q. Should EU treaty changes be decided by referendum? (2009 EES)



Source: Richard Rose and Gabriela Borz, "What Determines Demand for European Union Referendums", Journal of European Integration (2013), 35,5, 619-33.

#### FROM CONSTRAINED CONSENSUS TO DEMOCRATIC DISSENSUS



Source: Richard Rose, Representing Europeans: a Pragmatic Approach (Oxford UP 2015, Table 5.1).

#### THE GOLDONI PROBLEM: PRIME MINISTERS MUST SERVE THREE MASTERS

# **European Council as Master:**

Treaty commitments inherited from distant predecessor

Prime Ministers subject to Council group norms (Janis)

#### National electorate as Master:

Each PM accountable to a different electorate

Seven or eight governments face re-election each year

# Government colleagues as Master:

Single governing party: UK

Coalition: Greece, Germany No party colleagues, Monti, Italy

Source: Cf. Carlo Goldoni (1746) Il Servitore di due Padroni.