NATIONAL REFERENDUMS LET PEOPLE CHALLENGE THE EU

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4 MAY 2017
DEMOCRACY REQUIRES REPRESENTATION

Democracy gives every citizen the right to vote

Every European has two citizenships and European is secondary

National institutions represent national citizens:

  Representative democracy: Parliamentary parties discuss, decide

  Direct democracy: Voters decide an issue independent of parties

European Union Trustee democracy: Multi-national institutions decide collective policies in collective interest
INTERDEPENDENCE CREATES GROWING NEED FOR EU LEGITIMACY

. Founders of EC&SC & EEC claimed absolute and instrumental legitimacy

. Democracy has replaced preventing World War III as a primary absolute value

. Input legitimacy of national democracy not achieved by multi-national institutions created by treaties between states (Scharpf)

. Throughput legitimacy (V. Schmidt: checks and balances bargaining within multi-national EU institutions does not achieve national legitimacy)

. Effective outputs may achieve instrumental legitimacy in 1960s but in 2010s???

* Europeans have democratic surplus at the national level and a legitimacy deficit at the EU level
MEPS DO NOT REPRESENT THEIR CITIZENS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

View of European integration

![Bar chart showing the views of citizens and MEPs on anti, as is, and pro integration.]

- Anti: 35% of citizens, 30% of MEPs
- As is: 37% of citizens, N.a. for MEPs
- Pro: 70% of citizens, 27% of MEPs

NATIONAL REFERENDUMS EXCLUDE MOST EUROPEAN CITIZENS

REFERENDUMS LEVERAGE SUPPORT FOR ANTI-EU PROTEST PARTIES

-Anti-EU parties win seats—but only up to a point

-In a coalition government participating parties compromise positions

-A referendum on a protest issue:
  Enables protest parties to mobilize and expand support on an issue
  Established parties face defection of minority of supporters who
  disagree with their EU stance.

-Outcome decided by division among established parties; size and unity of
  protest parties; campaign effect on unattached voters.
NATIONAL REFERENDUMS ON ISSUES WITH EU CONSEQUENCES

% anti-EU vote

- 2005 Spain: 23%
- 2005 France: 55%
- 2005 Luxembourg: 62%
- 2008 Ireland: 44%
- 2009 Ireland: 53%
- 2012 Ireland: 33%
- 2014 Switzerland: 40%
- 2015 Greece: 61%
- 2015 Denmark: 53%
- 2016 Netherlands: 64%
- 2016 UK: 52%
- 2016 Hungary: 98%
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 European norms
- But PMs elected by an average of 49% of country’s voters

National electorate as Master:
- Prime Minister accountable to national parliament, electorate
- Each PM accountable to a different electorate
- Seven or eight governments face re-election each year
OPTIONS FOR EU RESPONSE TO NATIONAL REFERENDUM DEFEAT

Ignore as lacks legal authority: Hungary

Enforce legal authority: Switzerland

Enforce through international market pressure: Greece

Fudge, think again referendums: Denmark, Ireland

Accept legality under Article 50: Brexit

Accept advice from Dutch voters