

NATIONAL REFERENDUMS LET PEOPLE CHALLENGE THE EU

PROFESSOR RICHARD ROSE FBA

Robert Schuman Centre, EUI & U. of Strathclyde Glasgow

prof_r_rose@yahoo.co.uk

STATE OF THE UNION CONFERENCE

European University Institute, Florence

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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

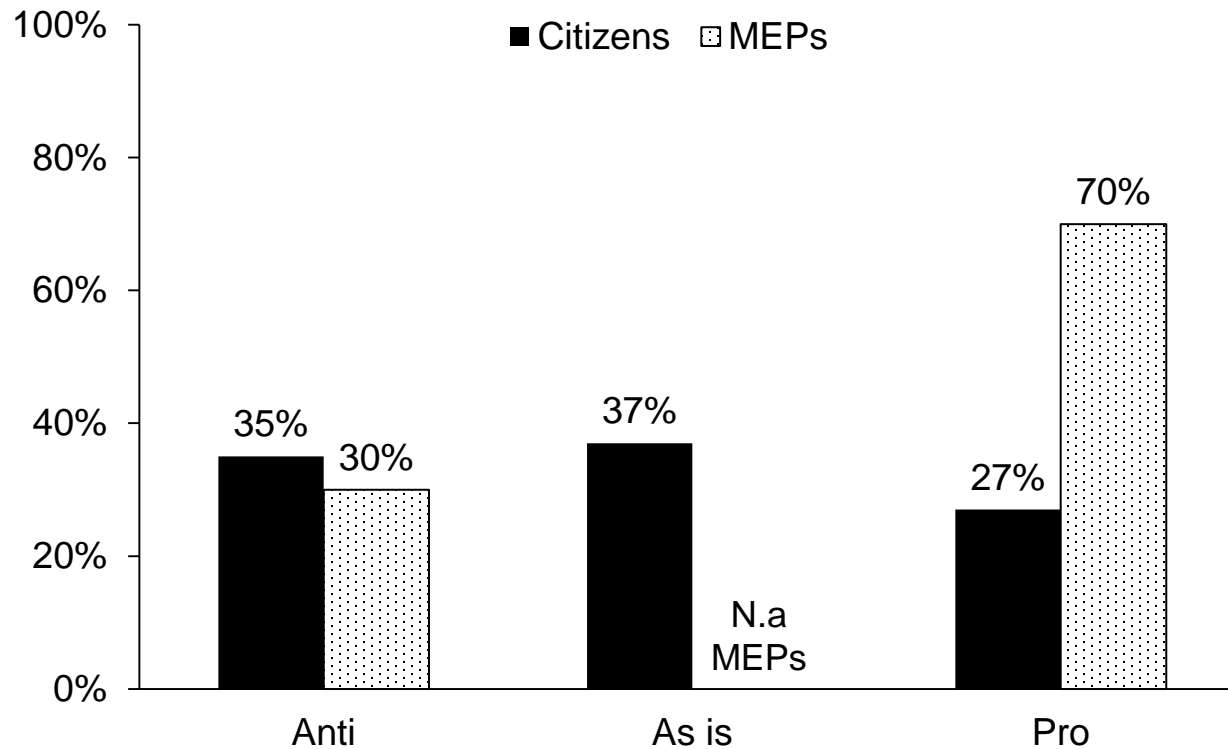
INTERDEPENDENCE CREATES GROWING NEED FOR EU LEGITIMACY

- .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

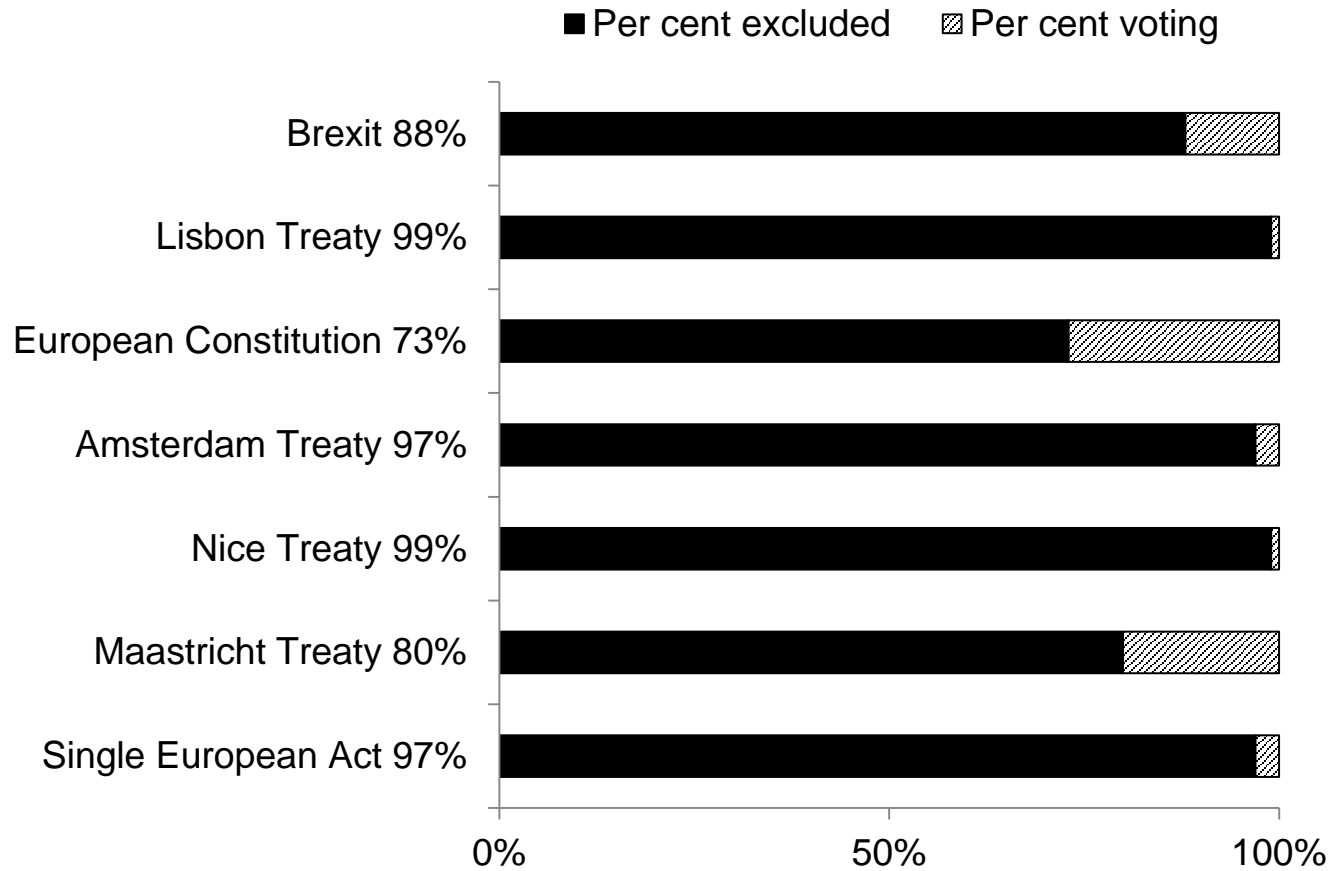
MEPS DO NOT REPRESENT THEIR CITIZENS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

View of European integration



Sources: Citizens, 2014 European Election Study. MEPs, [EUandI](#) data base of programmes of national parties returning MEPS in 2014 as reported in Studies in Public Policy No. 520. *National Party Programmes and European Integration*. Kenneth Stevenson and Richard Rose. Glasgow: U. of Strathclyde.

NATIONAL REFERENDUMS EXCLUDE MOST EUROPEAN CITIZENS



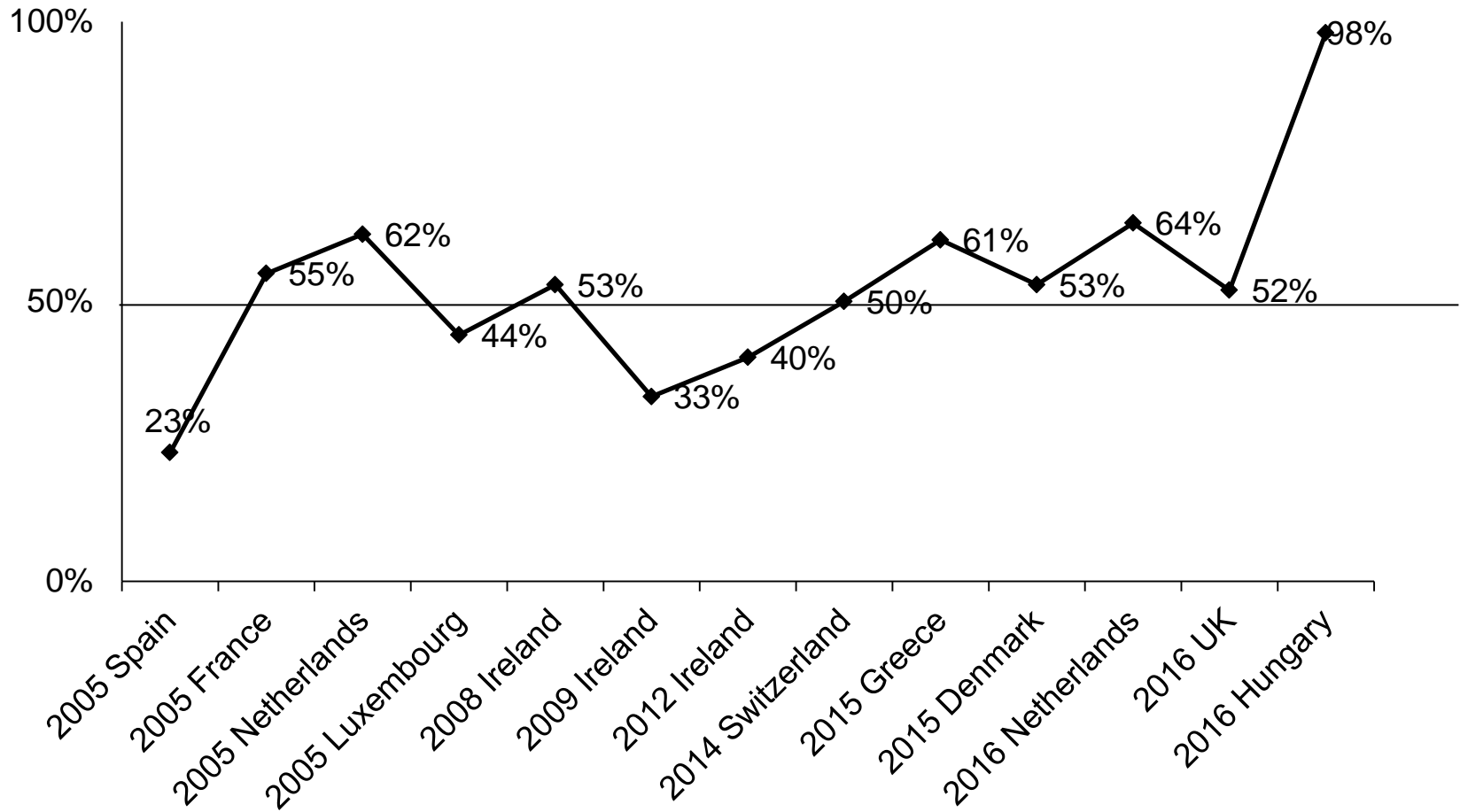
Source: Rose, Richard, 2015. *Representing Europeans: a Pragmatic Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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



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