

NATIONAL REFERENDUMS CHALLENGE THE EU'S POLICY LEGITIMACY

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COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

International Conference, Glasgow University

Thursday 13 July 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

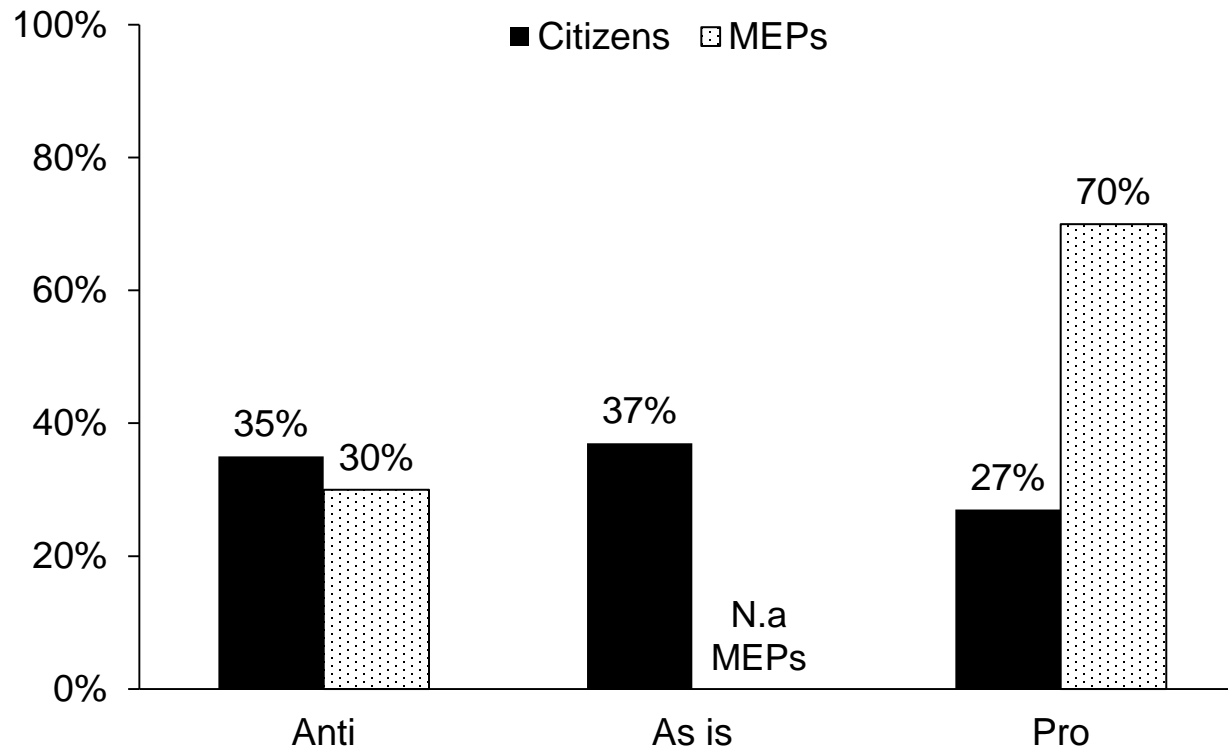
European Union Trustee democracy: Multi-national institutions decide collective policies in collective interest

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 the primary absolute value
- .Inputs by national votes for MEPs buried in multi-national Party Groups and majorities combining parties of left and right (Rose & Borz)
- .Throughput legitimacy. Checks and balance bargaining within multi-national EU institutions does not create national legitimacy (Vivien Schmidt)
- .Ineffective policy outputs for economy, migration undermine instrumental legitimacy (Scharpf)
- *There is a democratic surplus at the national level and a legitimacy deficit at the EU level

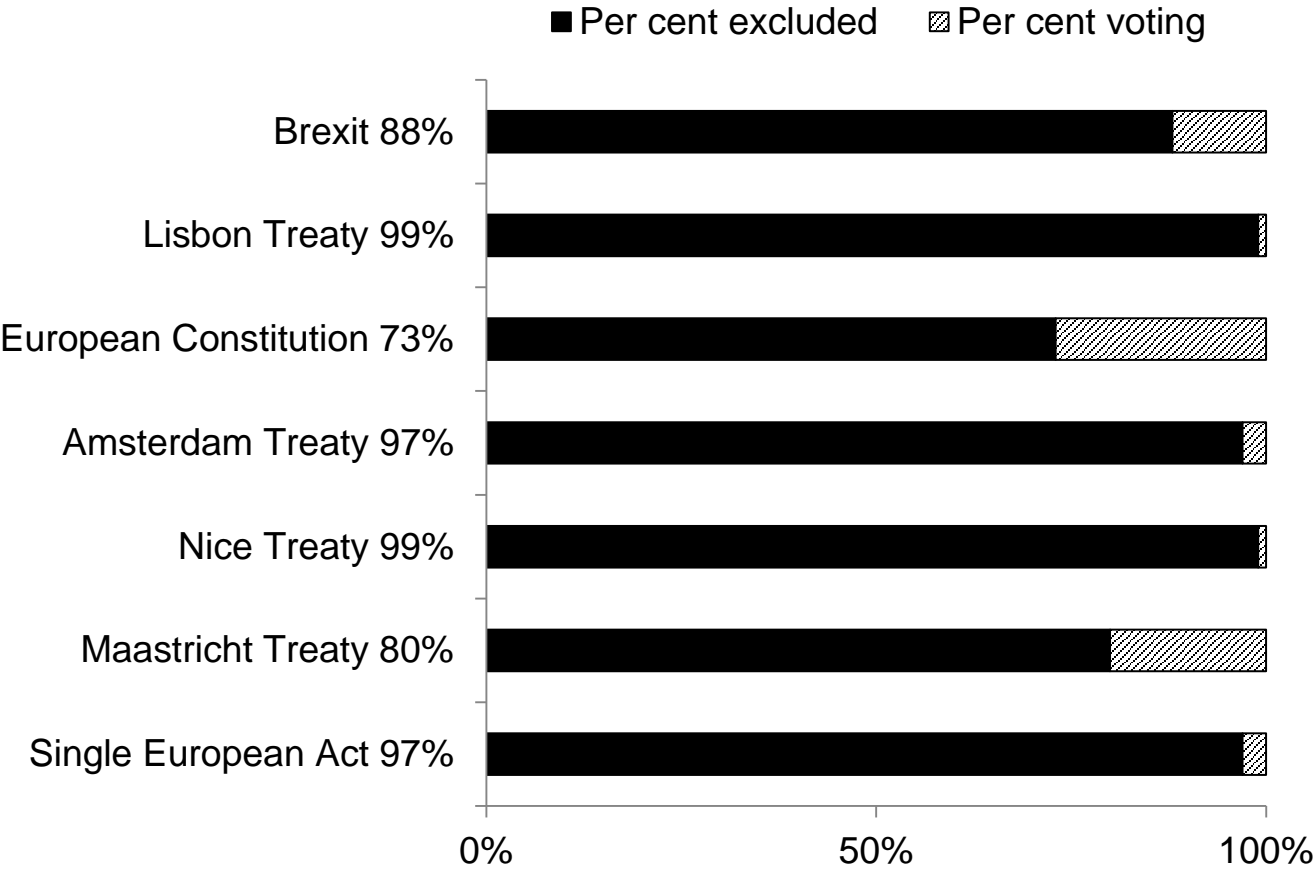
MEPS DO NOT REPRESENT THEIR CITIZENS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Positive view of EU 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



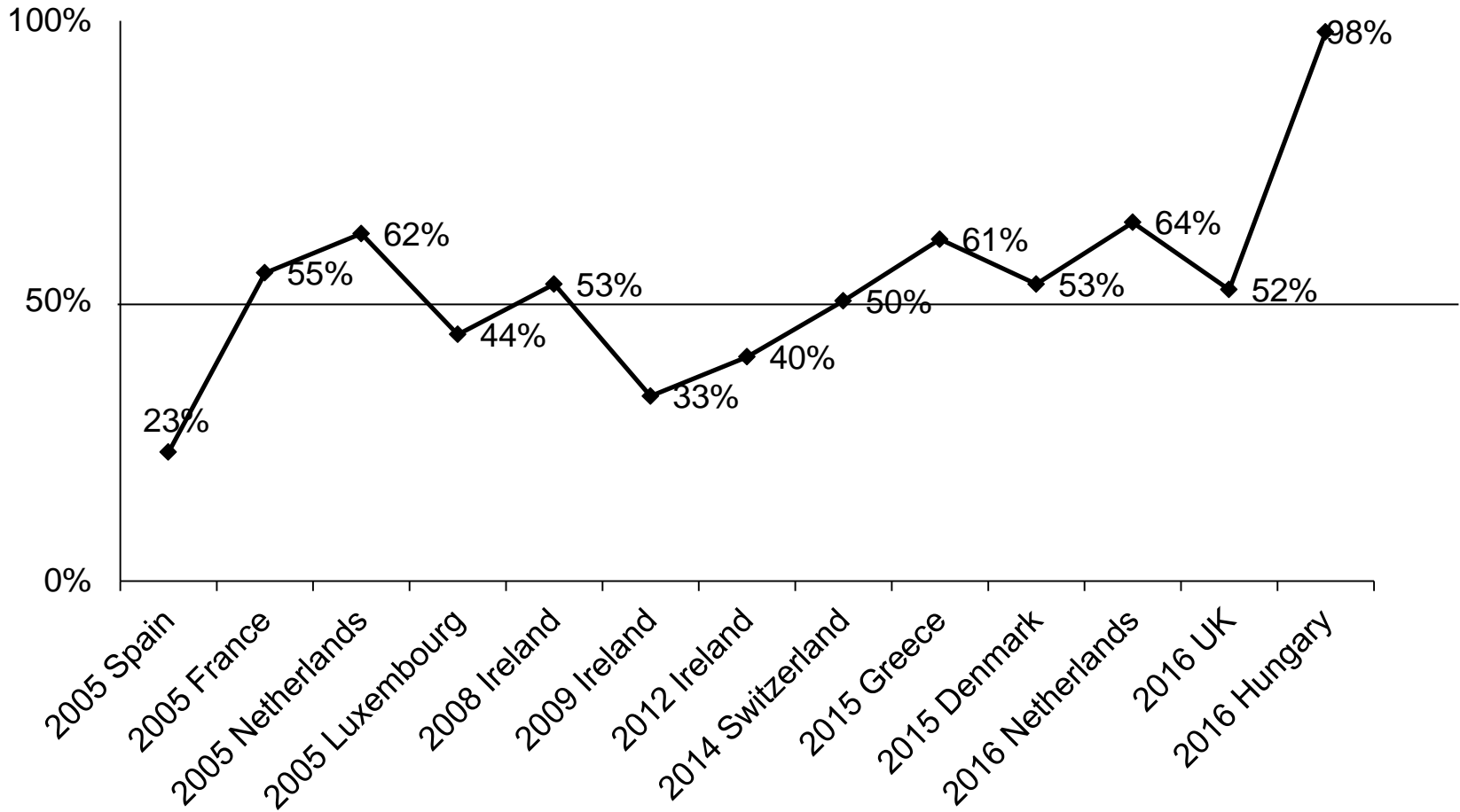
Source: Rose, Richard, 2015. *Representing Europeans: a Pragmatic Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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:

Treaty commitments inherited from distant predecessor

Prime Ministers meant to serve European norms

At EC a PM binds all of a state's citizens but represents an average of 49% of a 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