

Democracy and EU Elections

EUCONAS “INTRODUCTION TO THE EU”

Enrique Hernández

September 16, 2019

Table of contents

1. European Parliament Elections
 - How do they work?
 - Second order model
 - Historical evolution
2. Eurosceptic parties
 - Definition
 - Partisan offer in 2014
 - Eurosceptic parties support
3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration
 - Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism
 - Evolution of attitudes towards the EU
4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE
5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility
6. References

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections

How do they work?

Second order model

Historical evolution

2. Eurosceptic parties

Definition

Partisan offer in 2014

Eurosceptic parties support

3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration

Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE

5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility

6. References

European Parliament Elections

- EP = European Parliament
- EPE = European Parliament Elections
- MEPs = Members of the European Parliament

European Parliament Elections

- The EP is the core democratic institution of the EU
- The only institution whose members are directly elected by EU citizens
 - ▶ Gives sense to the EU as a **democratic** supranational organization
 - ▶ Plays a crucial role in making democracy work in the EU
- World's first directly elected international parliament

European Parliament Elections

- The EP is the core democratic institution of the EU
- The only institution whose members are directly elected by EU citizens
 - ▶ Gives sense to the EU as a **democratic** supranational organization
 - ▶ Plays a crucial role in making democracy work in the EU
- World's first directly elected international parliament
- Growing relevance: Passes EU law and confirms budget (together with Council); ratifies international agreements; approves Commission president
- Growing relevance → Strengthening of EU democracy

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections

How do they work?

Second order model

Historical evolution

2. Eurosceptic parties

Definition

Partisan offer in 2014

Eurosceptic parties support

3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration

Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE

5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility

6. References

EPE: How do they work?

- MEPs are elected by direct public ballot (universal suffrage)
- To represent citizens of each member state
- Strongest instrument for citizens' involvement and influence in EU politics

EPE: How do they work?

- MEPs are elected by direct public ballot (universal suffrage)
- To represent citizens of each member state
- Strongest instrument for citizens' involvement and influence in EU politics
- Elections are held concurrently in all member states every five years
- EU citizens elect a total of 751 MEPs (705 after Brexit)
 - ▶ Some UK seats allocated to underrepresented countries

EPE: How do they work?

- MEPs are elected by direct public ballot (universal suffrage)
- To represent citizens of each member state
- Strongest instrument for citizens' involvement and influence in EU politics
- Elections are held concurrently in all member states every five years
- EU citizens elect a total of 751 MEPs (705 after Brexit)
 - ▶ Some UK seats allocated to underrepresented countries
- The country distribution of MPs is determined by EU treaties → Degressive proportionality principle
 - ▶ Countries with larger populations have more seats than those with smaller ones
 - ▶ But small countries have more seats than proportionality would imply

EPE: How do they work?

MEPs by Member State *

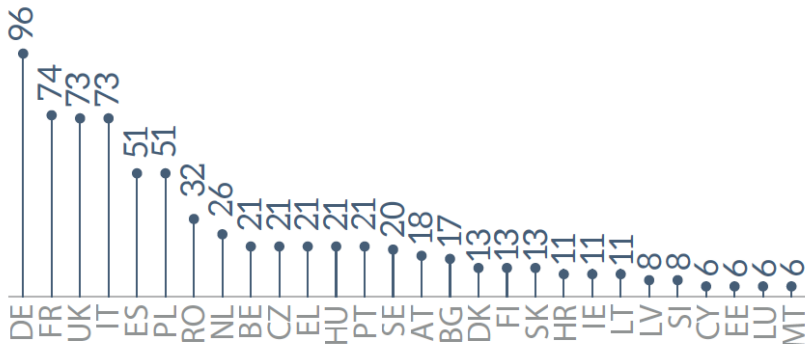


Figure: Number of MEPs elected by country in 2019. Source: European Parliament

EPE: How do they work?

- EPE are largely governed by national electoral laws and traditions, but there are some common EU rules

EPE: How do they work?

- EPE are largely governed by national electoral laws and traditions, but there are some common EU rules
- Member states are free to choose the electoral formula for the allocation of their share of seats in the European Parliament **as long as the formula used ensures proportional representation**

EPE: How do they work?

- EPE are largely governed by national electoral laws and traditions, but there are some common EU rules
- Member states are free to choose the electoral formula for the allocation of their share of seats in the European Parliament **as long as the formula used ensures proportional representation**
 - ▶ Some countries used D'Hondt method (e.g. Spain) other do not (Denmark)

EPE: How do they work?

- EPE are largely governed by national electoral laws and traditions, but there are some common EU rules
- Member states are free to choose the electoral formula for the allocation of their share of seats in the European Parliament **as long as the formula used ensures proportional representation**
 - ▶ Some countries used D'Hondt method (e.g. Spain) other do not (Denmark)
 - ▶ In most countries the national territory forms a single electoral constituency while others (e.g. Portugal, Belgium) divide their territories in multiple constituencies

EPE: How do they work?

- EPE are largely governed by national electoral laws and traditions, but there are some common EU rules
- Member states are free to choose the electoral formula for the allocation of their share of seats in the European Parliament **as long as the formula used ensures proportional representation**
 - ▶ Some countries used D'Hondt method (e.g. Spain) other do not (Denmark)
 - ▶ In most countries the national territory forms a single electoral constituency while others (e.g. Portugal, Belgium) divide their territories in multiple constituencies
- In most countries only citizens +18 can vote, but in some citizens +16 are allowed to vote (e.g. Austria)

EPE: How do they work?

- EPE are largely governed by national electoral laws and traditions, but there are some common EU rules
- Member states are free to choose the electoral formula for the allocation of their share of seats in the European Parliament **as long as the formula used ensures proportional representation**
 - ▶ Some countries used D'Hondt method (e.g. Spain) other do not (Denmark)
 - ▶ In most countries the national territory forms a single electoral constituency while others (e.g. Portugal, Belgium) divide their territories in multiple constituencies
- In most countries only citizens +18 can vote, but in some citizens +16 are allowed to vote (e.g. Austria)
- Countries can decide on the voting day within a four day time-span (to keep with countries' traditions)

EPE: How do they work?

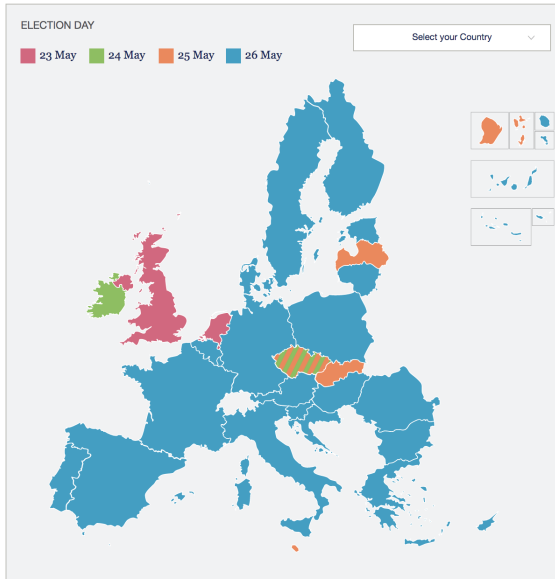


Figure: Date of 2019 EPE by country. Source: European Parliament

EPE: How do they work?

- Very relevant → Elections are contested by national political parties
- There are no pan-European parties as such
- National political parties propose candidates and run almost fully independent campaigns
- Citizens cast a vote for a national political party (e.g. PSOE in Spain, Die Linke in Germany, FN in France)

EPE: How do they work?

- Very relevant → Elections are contested by national political parties
- There are no pan-European parties as such
- National political parties propose candidates and run almost fully independent campaigns
- Citizens cast a vote for a national political party (e.g. PSOE in Spain, Die Linke in Germany, FN in France)
- However, most national parties are associated to a European-wide “political party” that form groups in the EPE

EPE: How do they work?

- Very relevant → Elections are contested by national political parties
- There are no pan-European parties as such
- National political parties propose candidates and run almost fully independent campaigns
- Citizens cast a vote for a national political party (e.g. PSOE in Spain, Die Linke in Germany, FN in France)
- However, most national parties are associated to a European-wide “political party” that form groups in the EPE

Do you know how many groups are there in the EP? Which are they?

EPE: How do they work?

- ▶ Video EPE groups

EPE: How do they work?

► Video EPE groups

Current composition of the 9th European Parliament [\[edit \]](#)

Group ^[9]	Sub-parties	Leader(s)	Est.	MEPs ^[10]
European People's Party (EPP)	European People's Party (EPP)	Manfred Weber ^[11]	2009	182
Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D)	Party of European Socialists (PES)	Iratxe García ^[12]	2009	154
Renew Europe (RE)^[13]	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) ^[14] European Democratic Party (EDP)	Dacian Cioloș ^[15]	2019	108
Greens-European Free Alliance (Greens-EFA)	European Green Party (EGP) European Free Alliance (EFA) European Pirate Party (PPEU) Volt Europa (Volt)	Ska Keller Philippe Lamberts ^[16]	1999	74
Identity and Democracy (ID)^[17]	Identity and Democracy Party (ID Party)	Marco Zanni ^[18]	2019	73
European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR)	Alliance of Conservatives and Reformists in Europe (ACRE) European Christian Political Movement (ECPM)	Raffaële Fitto Ryszard Legutko	2009	62
European United Left–Nordic Green Left (GUE-NGL)	Party of the European Left (PEL) Nordic Green Left Alliance (NGLA) Now the People! (NTP!) Animal Politics EU (APEU)	Manon Aubry Martin Schirdewan	1995	41
Non-Inscrits	Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF) Initiative of Communist and Workers' Parties (INITIATIVE)	—	—	57
Source for MEPs: Seats by Member State			Total	751

Figure: EP groups. Source: Wikipedia

EPE: How do they work? Spitzenkandidaten

Anybody knows what the Spitzenkandidaten are?

EPE: How do they work? Spitzenkandidaten

Anybody knows what the Spitzenkandidaten are?

- In the 2014 EPE European parties nominated (for the first time) their candidates for a president of the European Commission
- Aim: Increase the relevance of EPE → Selection of executive leader

EPE: How do they work? Spitzenkandidaten



Figure: Spitzenkandidaten 2019 EPE. Source: France 24

EPE: How do they work? Spitzenkandidaten

- Not really successful

EPE: How do they work? Spitzenkandidaten

- Not really successful
- Candidates are not very visible beyond their home country

EPE: How do they work? Spitzenkandidaten

- Not really successful
- Candidates are not very visible beyond their home country
- Is not a binding system → Winning Spitzenkandidat in 2019 will not be President of the European Commission

EPE: How do they work? Spitzenkandidaten

- Not really successful
- Candidates are not very visible beyond their home country
- Is not a binding system → Winning Spitzenkandidat in 2019 will not be President of the European Commission
- Ursula von der Leyen will be next Commission president despite not being one of the Spitzenkandidat

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections

How do they work?

Second order model

Historical evolution

2. Eurosceptic parties

Definition

Partisan offer in 2014

Eurosceptic parties support

3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration

Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE

5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility

6. References

The Second Order Model

In small groups:

- Think about the main differences between national elections and EPE
- Which type of election do you think are considered more relevant by citizens (and by parties/politicians)?
- In which type of election do you think turnout is higher?
- Do you think some type of parties have an advantage in EPE (with respect to national elections)?
- Are EPE campaigns important?

The second order model

- In the 70s, 80s and 90s the average citizen had little interest and knowledge about the process of European integration and EU institutions.
- What people thought about the EU had little influence in European Parliament elections (EPE).

The second order model

- In the 70s, 80s and 90s the average citizen had little interest and knowledge about the process of European integration and EU institutions.
- What people thought about the EU had little influence in European Parliament elections (EPE).
- EPE were considered **second-order national elections**
 - ▶ EPE were not genuinely European contests

The second order model

- In the 70s, 80s and 90s the average citizen had little interest and knowledge about the process of European integration and EU institutions.
- What people thought about the EU had little influence in European Parliament elections (EPE).
- EPE were considered **second-order national elections**
 - ▶ EPE were not genuinely European contests
 - ▶ EPE less relevant because they do not determine government → “Less is at stake”
 - ▶ In EPE campaigns parties did not emphasize European issues. Focus on national issues
 - ▶ EPE elections were considered ‘mid-term elections’ in which domestic concerns dominated the agenda and voters used these elections to protest against the national incumbent.

The second order model

- In the 70s, 80s and 90s the average citizen had little interest and knowledge about the process of European integration and EU institutions.
- What people thought about the EU had little influence in European Parliament elections (EPE).
- EPE were considered **second-order national elections**
 - ▶ EPE were not genuinely European contests
 - ▶ EPE less relevant because they do not determine government → "Less is at stake"
 - ▶ In EPE campaigns parties did not emphasize European issues. Focus on national issues
 - ▶ EPE elections were considered 'mid-term elections' in which domestic concerns dominated the agenda and voters used these elections to protest against the national incumbent.
- Europe and topics related to European integration were considered a **"Sleeping Giant"**

The second order model: Main characteristics

1. Lower turnout

- ▶ No election of government, no european parties, considered less relevant, difficult elections

The second order model: Main characteristics

1. Lower turnout
 - ▶ No election of government, no european parties, considered less relevant, difficult elections
2. Punishment of the incumbent party (depending on electoral cycle timing)

The second order model: Main characteristics

1. Lower turnout
 - ▶ No election of government, no european parties, considered less relevant, difficult elections
2. Punishment of the incumbent party (depending on electoral cycle timing)
3. Lower vote share for big/mainstream parties
4. Higher vote share for small/fringe/extreme parties

The second order model

Do you think that EPE are still second order elections?

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections

How do they work?

Second order model

Historical evolution

2. Eurosceptic parties

Definition

Partisan offer in 2014

Eurosceptic parties support

3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration

Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE

5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility

6. References

EPE: Historical evolution

- Until 1979 members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community (EP since 1962) were appointed by national parliaments
- 9 EPEs since first ones in 1979

EPE: Historical evolution

- Until 1979 members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community (EP since 1962) were appointed by national parliaments
- 9 EPEs since first ones in 1979
- Until now, two party families formed by Social Democrats (S&D group) and Conservative (EPP group) parties (mainstream parties) have dominated EPE

EPE: Historical evolution. Turnout

- Despite EP growing powers, turnout in EPE has consistently declined since first election (until 2019)

Trends in turnout at EP elections

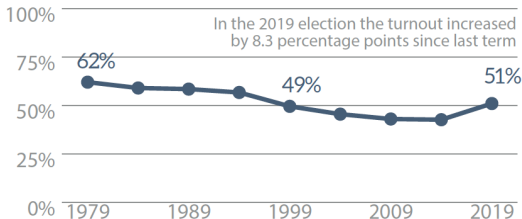
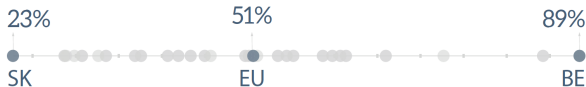


Figure: Evolution turnout EPE. Source: European Parliament

EPE: Historical evolution. Turnout

Turnout at EP elections 2019-2024



16 Member States had turnout below the EU average (FR, IE, PL, CY, HU, NL, FI, EE, UK, LV, BG, PT, HR, SI, CZ, and SK); 12 above the EU average (BE, LU, MT, DK, DE, ES, AT, EL, SE, IT, LT and RO).

NB: voting is compulsory in five Member States – BE, BG, LU, CY and EL.

Figure: Evolution turnout EPE. Source: European Parliament

EPE: Historical evolution. Turnout

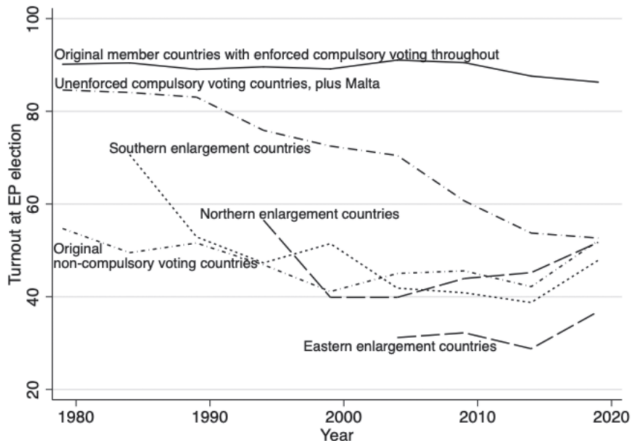
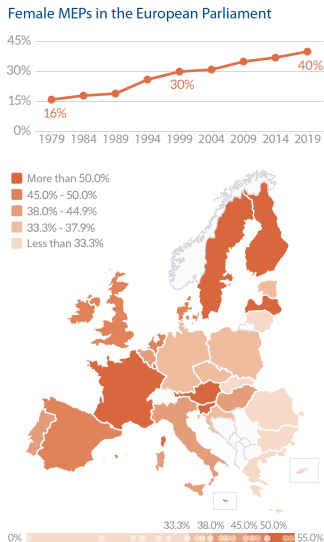


Figure: Evolution turnout EPE by country groups. Source: De Sio et al. 2019

EPE: Historical evolution. Female representation



Women represent 40.4% of all MEPs. There is a clear increasing path of female representation in the EP. It has doubled since the first elections in 1979, and has increased by 8 percentage points since the last election.

Figure: Female representation in the EPE. Source: European Parliament

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections

How do they work?

Second order model

Historical evolution

2. Eurosceptic parties

Definition

Partisan offer in 2014

Eurosceptic parties support

3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration

Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE

5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility

6. References

Eurosceptic parties

How can we define skepticism?

Eurosceptic parties

How can we define skepticism?

Definition of skepticism from Merriam-Webster dictionary

An attitude of doubt or a disposition to incredulity either in general or toward a particular object

Eurosceptic parties

- The concept of Euroscepticism has become quite salient in the last two decades.

Eurosceptic parties

- The concept of Euroscepticism has become quite salient in the last two decades.
- Due to:
 - ▶ Evolution of the EU → From an organization focused on trade liberalization to a political and economic union.

Eurosceptic parties

- The concept of Euroscepticism has become quite salient in the last two decades.
- Due to:
 - ▶ Evolution of the EU → From an organization focused on trade liberalization to a political and economic union.
 - ▶ Proliferation of referendums on EU matters

Eurosceptic parties

- The concept of Euroscepticism has become quite salient in the last two decades.
- Due to:
 - ▶ Evolution of the EU → From an organization focused on trade liberalization to a political and economic union.
 - ▶ Proliferation of referendums on EU matters
 - ▶ The politicization of European issues in both national election campaigns and European Parliament Elections (EPE)
 - ▶ Increasing support for Eurosceptic parties

Eurosceptic parties



Eurosceptic parties



Figure: Eurosceptic leaders: Matteo Salvini (Lega Nord, Italy) Marine Le Pen (FN, France), Harald Vilimsky (FPÖ, Austria), Geert Wilders (PVV, Netherlands) Gerolf Annemans (VB, Belgium)

Eurosceptic parties: Definition

- Are those parties that oppose or overtly criticize the process of European integration.
- Disapproval of the process of European integration

Eurosceptic parties: Definition

- Are those parties that oppose or overtly criticize the process of European integration.
- Disapproval of the process of European integration
- We must distinguish between different types of Eurosceptic parties:
 - ▶ "Soft" Eurosceptic parties and "Hard" Eurosceptic parties.
 - ▶ Left-wing Eurosceptic parties, right-wing Eurosceptic parties, and center or syncretic Eurosceptic parties

Eurosceptic parties: hard & soft

- Hard Eurosceptic parties:
 - ▶ Reject the European integration project altogether
 - ▶ Advocate their country's withdrawal from the EU

Eurosceptic parties: hard & soft

- Hard Eurosceptic parties:
 - ▶ Reject the European integration project altogether
 - ▶ Advocate their country's withdrawal from the EU
 - ▶ Examples: FPÖ in Austria; UKIP in UK; Red-Green alliance in Denmark
 - ▶ Video

Eurosceptic parties: hard & soft

- Hard Eurosceptic parties:
 - ▶ Reject the European integration project altogether
 - ▶ Advocate their country's withdrawal from the EU
 - ▶ Examples: FPÖ in Austria; UKIP in UK; Red-Green alliance in Denmark
 - ▶ Video
- Soft Eurosceptic:
 - ▶ Accept the idea of European integration
 - ▶ Oppose specific policies or institutional aspects of the EU.

Eurosceptic parties: hard & soft

- Hard Eurosceptic parties:
 - ▶ Reject the European integration project altogether
 - ▶ Advocate their country's withdrawal from the EU
 - ▶ Examples: FPÖ in Austria; UKIP in UK; Red-Green alliance in Denmark
 - ▶ Video
- Soft Eurosceptic:
 - ▶ Accept the idea of European integration
 - ▶ Oppose specific policies or institutional aspects of the EU.
 - ▶ Examples: SYRIZA in Greece; United Poland in Poland
 - ▶ Video

Eurosceptic parties: right & left

- Very few Eurosceptic parties base their identity mainly on their opposition to European integration (some exceptions: People's Movement Against the EU / UKIP)
- Eurosceptic parties advocate for other issues which, generally, are more important to define their identity.
- They combine their positions on these issues with their Euroscepticism.

Eurosceptic parties: right & left

- Very few Eurosceptic parties base their identity mainly on their opposition to European integration (some exceptions: People's Movement Against the EU / UKIP)
- Eurosceptic parties advocate for other issues which, generally, are more important to define their identity.
- They combine their positions on these issues with their Euroscepticism.
- Depending on their ideology Eurosceptic parties oppose European integration for different reasons
- Right-wing Eurosceptic parties:
 - ▶ Critique of EU integration based on nationalism, opposition to the external threats to national sovereignty and opposition to immigration

Eurosceptic parties: right & left

- Very few Eurosceptic parties base their identity mainly on their opposition to European integration (some exceptions: People's Movement Against the EU / UKIP)
- Eurosceptic parties advocate for other issues which, generally, are more important to define their identity.
- They combine their positions on these issues with their Euroscepticism.
- Depending on their ideology Eurosceptic parties oppose European integration for different reasons
- Right-wing Eurosceptic parties:
 - ▶ Critique of EU integration based on nationalism, opposition to the external threats to national sovereignty and opposition to immigration
- Left-wing Eurosceptic parties:
 - ▶ They oppose the EU integration project due to its neo-liberal character and its promotion of austerity policies.

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections

How do they work?

Second order model

Historical evolution

2. Eurosceptic parties

Definition

Partisan offer in 2014

Eurosceptic parties support

3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration

Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE

5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility

6. References

Eurosceptic parties in 2014

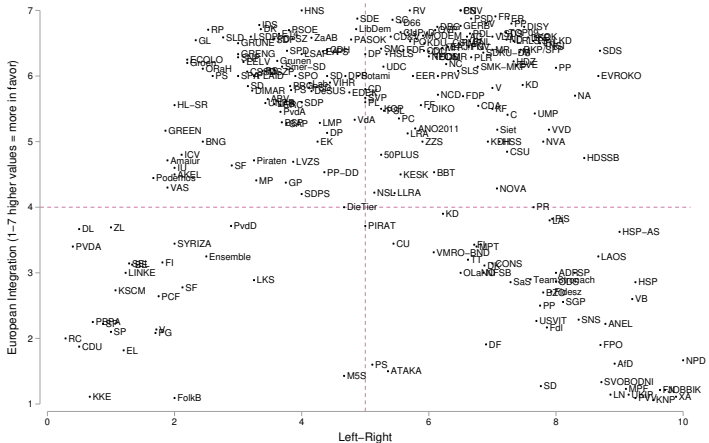


Figure: Parties' positions in Euroscepticism and left-right in 2014. Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey

Euroceptic parties in 2014

- How is the relationship between the position of parties in the Euroscepticism and left-right dimensions?

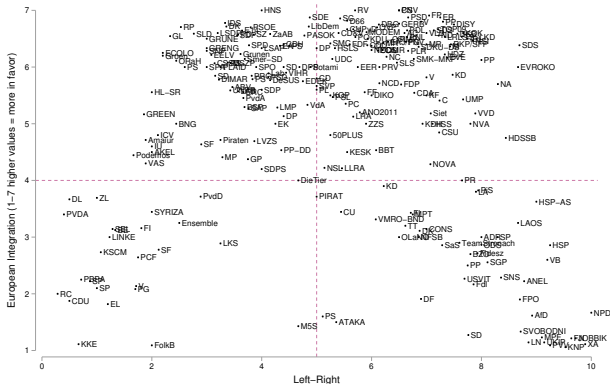


Figure: Parties' positions in Euroscepticism and left-right in 2014. Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey

Euroceptic parties in 2014

- How is the relationship between the position of parties in the Euroscepticism and left-right dimensions?

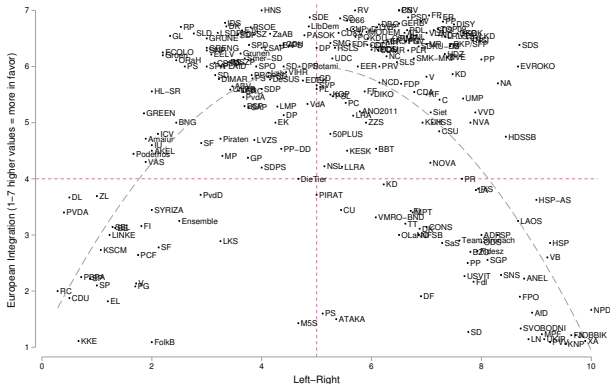


Figure: Parties' positions in Euroscepticism and left-right in 2014. Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey

Relationship between Euroscepticism and left-right

- The relationship between left-right and support for European integration is described as the "inverted U-curve"

Relationship between Euroscepticism and left-right

- The relationship between left-right and support for European integration is described as the "inverted U-curve"
- Consensus among mainstream parties located closer to center of the left-right dimension → These parties tend to support European integration.
- Eurosceptic parties tend to be located closer to the extremes of the left-right dimension.

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections

How do they work?

Second order model

Historical evolution

2. Eurosceptic parties

Definition

Partisan offer in 2014

Eurosceptic parties support

3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration

Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE

5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility

6. References

Change in support for Eurosceptic parties

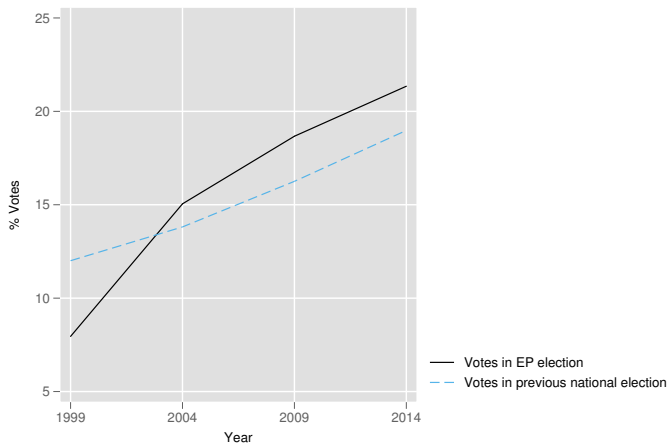


Figure: % votes Eurosceptic parties. Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey

Eurosceptic parties support in 2014 EPE

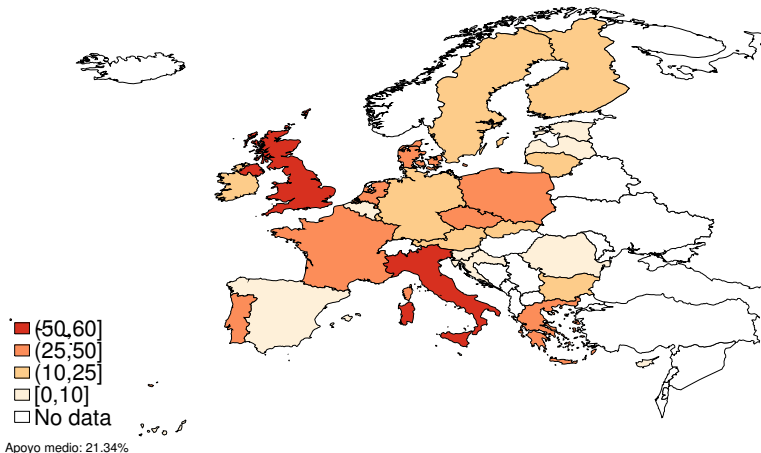


Figure: % votes Eurosceptic parties. Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey

Support for Eurosceptic parties

- Increasing support for Eurosceptic parties since 1999. Both in EPE and national elections.
- In the 2014 EPE Eurosceptic parties:
 - ▶ Got more than 20% of the overall vote share
 - ▶ Won EP seats in 23 member states
 - ▶ Won the EPE in 3 countries (UK, France, Denmark)

Support for Eurosceptic parties: 2019 EPE results

2019 results by political group^[58]

Group (2019–24)		Seats 2019	Outgoing seats	Δ
EPP	European People's Party group (Christian democrats and liberal conservatives)	182	216	▼ -34
S&D	Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (Social democrats)	154	185	▼ -31
RE	Renew Europe (Social liberals and conservative liberals)	108	69	▲ +39
Greens/EFA	Greens/European Free Alliance (Greens and regionalists)	74	52	▲ +22
ID	Identity and Democracy (Right-wing populists and nationalists)	73	36	▲ +37
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists (National conservatives and sovereignists)	62	77	▼ -15
GUE/NGL	European United Left–Nordic Green Left (Democratic socialists and communists)	41	52	▼ -11
NI	Non-attached	57	20	▲ +37
EFDD	Sort ascending of Freedom and Direct Democracy (Populists and hard eurosceptics)	–	42	▼ -42
Vacant	N/A	0	2	N/A
Total		751	751	—

Figure: 2019 EPE election results by EP group. Source: Wikipedia

Support for Eurosceptic parties: 2019 EPE results

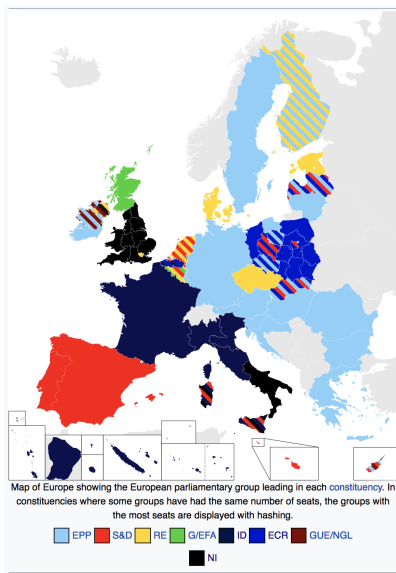


Figure: 2019 EPE winner by district and EP group. Source: Wikipedia

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections

- How do they work?

- Second order model

- Historical evolution

2. Eurosceptic parties

- Definition

- Partisan offer in 2014

- Eurosceptic parties support

3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration

- Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism

- Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE

5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility

6. References

Individuals' attitudes towards the EU

- **What do Europeans think about the EU and its policies?**

Individuals' attitudes towards the EU

- **What do Europeans think about the EU and its policies?**
- In the earlier periods of European integration, Euroscepticism was simply conceived as a rejection of the EU and the process of European integration
- A single attitude → Ranging from high support for European unification to rejection of the European project.

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections
 - How do they work?
 - Second order model
 - Historical evolution
2. Eurosceptic parties
 - Definition
 - Partisan offer in 2014
 - Eurosceptic parties support
3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration
 - Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism**
 - Evolution of attitudes towards the EU
4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE
5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility
6. References

Different types of attitudes towards the EU

- The concepts of Euroscepticism and attitudes towards the EU have evolved

Different types of attitudes towards the EU

- The concepts of Euroscepticism and attitudes towards the EU have evolved
- We distinguish between two basic types of attitudes towards the EU:
 - ▶ Diffuse/Regime support → Evaluation of the regime
 - ▶ Specific/Policy support → Evaluations of the actions of political actors

Different types of attitudes towards the EU

- The concepts of Euroscepticism and attitudes towards the EU have evolved
- We distinguish between two basic types of attitudes towards the EU:
 - ▶ Diffuse/Regime support → Evaluation of the regime
 - ▶ Specific/Policy support → Evaluations of the actions of political actors
- The two types of support are intimately related.
- A lack of either regime support or policy support can be considered forms of Euroscepticism!

Different types of attitudes towards the EU: Diffuse

- EU diffuse/regime support
 - ▶ Denotes an abstract support for the EU and the process of European integration.
 - ▶ Support for the constitutional settlement of the European Union as laid down in the different treaties.
 - ▶ It is linked to the perception that a political system (like the EU) is legitimate or illegitimate

Different types of attitudes towards the EU: Diffuse

- EU diffuse/regime support
 - ▶ Denotes an abstract support for the EU and the process of European integration.
 - ▶ Support for the constitutional settlement of the European Union as laid down in the different treaties.
 - ▶ It is linked to the perception that a political system (like the EU) is legitimate or illegitimate
 - ▶ Supporting the EU as a regime does not imply that you are satisfied with its policies or with the functioning of specific EU institutions

Different types of attitudes towards the EU: Diffuse

- EU diffuse/regime support
 - ▶ Denotes an abstract support for the EU and the process of European integration.
 - ▶ Support for the constitutional settlement of the European Union as laid down in the different treaties.
 - ▶ It is linked to the perception that a political system (like the EU) is legitimate or illegitimate
 - ▶ Supporting the EU as a regime does not imply that you are satisfied with its policies or with the functioning of specific EU institutions
 - ▶ The classic manifestation of regime support in the EU context is the support for membership in the Union.

Different types of attitudes towards the EU: Diffuse

- EU diffuse/regime support
 - ▶ Denotes an abstract support for the EU and the process of European integration.
 - ▶ Support for the constitutional settlement of the European Union as laid down in the different treaties.
 - ▶ It is linked to the perception that a political system (like the EU) is legitimate or illegitimate
 - ▶ Supporting the EU as a regime does not imply that you are satisfied with its policies or with the functioning of specific EU institutions
 - ▶ The classic manifestation of regime support in the EU context is the support for membership in the Union.
- A complete lack of regime support (diffuse Euroscepticism) is manifested in the rejection of EU membership.

Different types of attitudes towards the EU: Specific

- EU specific/policy support
 - ▶ Refers to support for the content of collective decisions and actions taken by EU actors
 - ▶ Support for the specific policies and decisions adopted by the EU

Different types of attitudes towards the EU: Specific

- EU specific/policy support
 - ▶ Refers to support for the content of collective decisions and actions taken by EU actors
 - ▶ Support for the specific policies and decisions adopted by the EU
 - ▶ The classic manifestation of specific support is the satisfaction with specific policies implemented by the EU (e.g. the Economic and Monetary Union or the Euro)

Different types of attitudes towards the EU: Specific

- EU specific/policy support
 - ▶ Refers to support for the content of collective decisions and actions taken by EU actors
 - ▶ Support for the specific policies and decisions adopted by the EU
 - ▶ The classic manifestation of specific support is the satisfaction with specific policies implemented by the EU (e.g. the Economic and Monetary Union or the Euro)
- A lack of policy support (or specific Euoroscepticism) is manifested in the dissatisfaction or rejection of specific EU policies

Different types of attitudes towards the EU: Specific

- EU specific/policy support
 - ▶ Refers to support for the content of collective decisions and actions taken by EU actors
 - ▶ Support for the specific policies and decisions adopted by the EU
 - ▶ The classic manifestation of specific support is the satisfaction with specific policies implemented by the EU (e.g. the Economic and Monetary Union or the Euro)
- A lack of policy support (or specific Euroscepticism) is manifested in the dissatisfaction or rejection of specific EU policies
- Does not imply that someone questions the existence of the EU or the membership of her country to the EU.

Regime support and policy support

- Both a lack of regime/diffuse support and a lack of policy/specific support can be considered forms of Euroscepticism

Regime support and policy support

- Both a lack of regime/diffuse support and a lack of policy/specific support can be considered forms of Euroscepticism
- However, these two forms of Euroscepticism do not have same implications for the process of European integration

Regime support and policy support

- Both a lack of regime/diffuse support and a lack of policy/specific support can be considered forms of Euroscepticism
- However, these two forms of Euroscepticism do not have same implications for the process of European integration

Which form of support for the EU you think is more important?
Regime (diffuse) support or policy (specific) support?

Regime support and policy support

- Regime support is crucial for any political system
- Regime support ensures the survival of a political system even when citizens are not completely satisfied with the policies implemented by the government

Regime support and policy support

- Regime support is crucial for any political system
- Regime support ensures the survival of a political system even when citizens are not completely satisfied with the policies implemented by the government
- Regime support can serve as a **buffer** against short-term policy failure

Regime support and policy support

- Regime support is crucial for any political system
- Regime support ensures the survival of a political system even when citizens are not completely satisfied with the policies implemented by the government
- Regime support can serve as a **buffer** against short-term policy failure
- This is crucial since all political systems will always fail to meet public expectations → Some citizens will always be dissatisfied with the policies implemented
- Even if citizens are not satisfied with the policies (lack of policy support) they might still consider that the system is legitimate (regime support)

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections

How do they work?

Second order model

Historical evolution

2. Eurosceptic parties

Definition

Partisan offer in 2014

Eurosceptic parties support

3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration

Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE

5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility

6. References

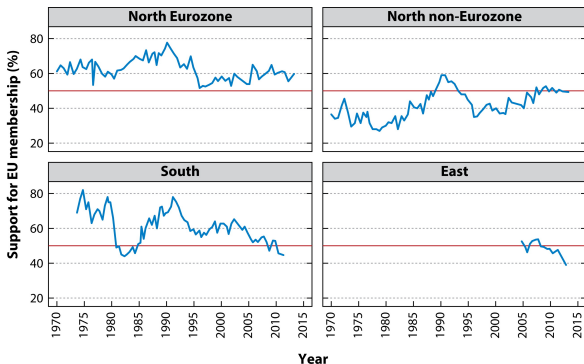
Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

- To measure individuals' attitudes towards the EU we use surveys fielded at the same time in all member states (Eurobarometer, European Elections Study...)

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

- To measure individuals' attitudes towards the EU we use surveys fielded at the same time in all member states (Eurobarometer, European Elections Study...)
- We ask citizens questions about their opinion about the process of European integration
- Two attitudes:
 - ▶ Diffuse/Regime support: Citizens' support for membership
 - ▶ Specific/Policy support: Citizens' support for a salient EU policy (e.g. the Euro)

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU




 Hobolt SB, de Vries CE. 2016.
Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci. 19:413–32

Figure: % of people who think their country's membership in the EU is a good thing / Hobolt & De Vries (2016)

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

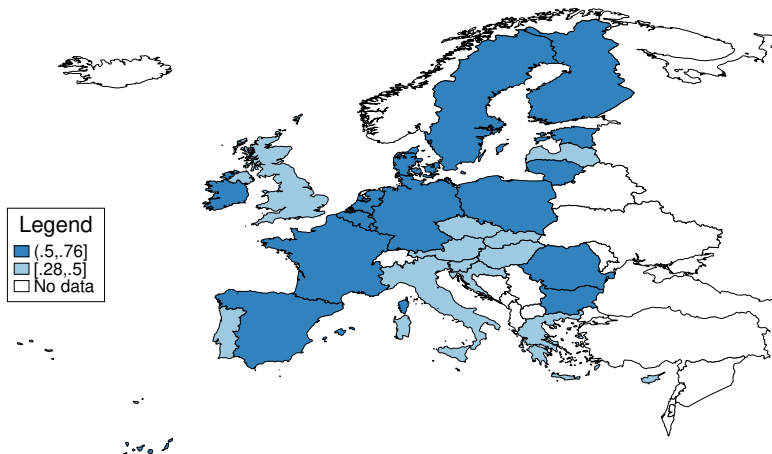


Figure: Proportion of people who think their country's membership in the EU is a good thing in 2014. Source: European Election Study

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU

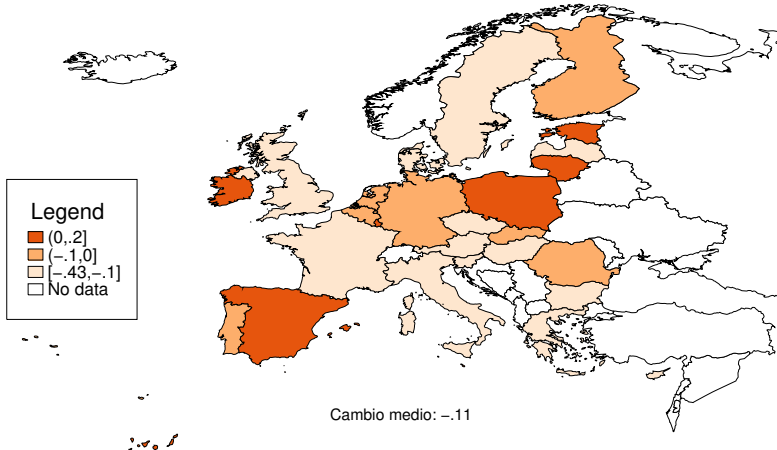
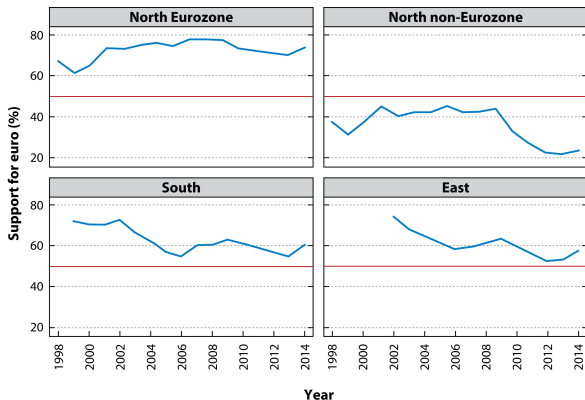


Figure: Change in the proportion of people who think their country's membership in the EU is a good thing between 2008 and 2014. Source: European Election Study & Eurobarometro

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU




 Hobolt SB, de Vries CE. 2016.
Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci. 19:413–32

Figure: % in favor of a Monetary Union with a common currency. Source: Eurobarometer / Hobolt & De Vries (2016)

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU: Summary

- In 50% of the member states (14) at least 50% of their citizens consider that their country's membership in the EU is a good thing (regime support)
- However, this type of support has clearly weakened in most countries since 2008 (increase of diffuse Euroscepticism)

Evolution of attitudes towards the EU: Summary

- In 50% of the member states (14) at least 50% of their citizens consider that their country's membership in the EU is a good thing (regime support)
- However, this type of support has clearly weakened in most countries since 2008 (increase of diffuse Euroscepticism)
- While a majority of citizens of the Eurozone are still in favor of the Monetary Union and the Euro, this kind of policy support has declined sharply during the economic crisis in the countries of the European periphery (increase of specific Euroscepticism)

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections
 - How do they work?
 - Second order model
 - Historical evolution
2. Eurosceptic parties
 - Definition
 - Partisan offer in 2014
 - Eurosceptic parties support
3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration
 - Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism
 - Evolution of attitudes towards the EU
4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE
5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility
6. References

Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior

- According to the Second Order Model of EPE, these attitudes towards the EU should not matter much for EPE electoral behavior
- But the "Sleeping Giant" seems to be awakening
- Since 1999, and especially since the beginning of the economic crisis, attitudes towards the EU have a greater impact on electoral behavior both in EPE and in national elections.

Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior

- According to the Second Order Model of EPE, these attitudes towards the EU should not matter much for EPE electoral behavior
- But the "Sleeping Giant" seems to be awakening
- Since 1999, and especially since the beginning of the economic crisis, attitudes towards the EU have a greater impact on electoral behavior both in EPE and in national elections.
- Main reasons for the awakening of the "Giant"
 - ▶ Deepening of European integration
 - ▶ Politicization of the process of European integration, first by Eurosceptic parties and afterwards by all other parties.
 - ▶ Spitzenkandidaten?

Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior

- According to the Second Order Model of EPE, these attitudes towards the EU should not matter much for EPE electoral behavior
- But the "Sleeping Giant" seems to be awakening
- Since 1999, and especially since the beginning of the economic crisis, attitudes towards the EU have a greater impact on electoral behavior both in EPE and in national elections.
- Main reasons for the awakening of the "Giant"
 - ▶ Deepening of European integration
 - ▶ Politicization of the process of European integration, first by Eurosceptic parties and afterwards by all other parties.
 - ▶ Spitzenkandidaten?
- Attitudes towards European integration affect vote choices and the decision to participate in EPE.

Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior

What is the most likely behavior of Eurosceptic citizens in EPE elections?

Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior

What is the most likely behavior of Eurosceptic citizens in EPE elections?

- Eurosceptic citizens (low regime/policy support for European integration) are more likely to:
 - ▶ Vote for Eurosceptic parties
 - ▶ Abstain

Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior

What is the most likely behavior of Eurosceptic citizens in EPE elections?

- Eurosceptic citizens (low regime/policy support for European integration) are more likely to:
 - ▶ Vote for Eurosceptic parties
 - ▶ Abstain
- However, the decision to vote for a Eurosceptic party will not only be motivated by individuals' attitudes towards the EU, but also by their preferences on other issues (e.g. their position in the left-right dimension)

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

- Eurosceptic citizens (low regime or policy support) are more likely to vote for Eurosceptic parties
- However party choices in EP elections are also driven by other factors (e.g. left-right ideology)

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

- Eurosceptic citizens (low regime or policy support) are more likely to vote for Eurosceptic parties
- However party choices in EP elections are also driven by other factors (e.g. left-right ideology)
- In some countries there are no Eurosceptic parties on both sides of the left-right dimension
- What happens with Eurosceptic voters when there is no Eurosceptic party that shares their ideology? What they will do in EP elections?

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

- Eurosceptic partisan offer scenarios

		Left-wing parties opposition to European integration	
		None/weak	Strong
Right-wing parties opposition to European integration	None/weak	Limited Euroscepticism (1)	Left-biased Euroscepticism (3)
	Strong	Right-biased Euroscepticism (2)	Comprehensive Euroscepticism (4)

- Different Eurosceptic supply side scenarios: (1) No Eurosceptics; (2) Right-wing Eurosceptics only; (3) Left-wing Eurosceptics only; (4) Both left- and right-wing Eurosceptics

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

		Left-wing parties opposition to European integration	
		None/weak	Strong
Right-wing parties opposition to European integration	None/weak	Limited Euroscepticism (1) Spain	Left-biased Euroscepticism (3) Portugal
	Strong	Right-biased Euroscepticism (2) UK	Comprehensive Euroscepticism (4) The Netherlands

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

		Left-wing parties opposition to European integration	
		None/weak	Strong
Right-wing parties opposition to European integration	None/weak	Limited Euroscepticism (1) Spain	Left-biased Euroscepticism (3) Portugal
	Strong	Right-biased Euroscepticism (2) UK	Comprehensive Euroscepticism (4) The Netherlands

- What is the most likely behavior of:
 1. A right-wing Eurosceptic citizen in Spain?
 2. A left-wing Eurosceptic citizen in Portugal?
 3. A left-wing Eurosceptic citizen in the United Kingdom?
 4. A right-wing Eurosceptic citizen in the United Kingdom?

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

		Left-wing parties opposition to European integration	
		None/weak	Strong
Right-wing parties opposition to European integration	None/weak	Limited Euroscepticism (1) Spain	Left-biased Euroscepticism (3) Portugal
	Strong	Right-biased Euroscepticism (2) UK	Comprehensive Euroscepticism (4) The Netherlands

- What is the most likely behavior of:
 - A right-wing Eurosceptic citizen in Spain? **Abstention**

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

		Left-wing parties opposition to European integration	
		None/weak	Strong
Right-wing parties opposition to European integration	None/weak	Limited Euroscepticism (1) Spain	Left-biased Euroscepticism (3) Portugal
	Strong	Right-biased Euroscepticism (2) UK	Comprehensive Euroscepticism (4) The Netherlands

- What is the most likely behavior of:
 - A right-wing Eurosceptic citizen in Spain? **Abstention**
 - A left-wing Eurosceptic citizen in Portugal? **Vote to BE**

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

		Left-wing parties opposition to European integration	
		None/weak	Strong
Right-wing parties opposition to European integration	None/weak	Limited Euroscepticism (1) Spain	Left-biased Euroscepticism (3) Portugal
	Strong	Right-biased Euroscepticism (2) UK	Comprehensive Euroscepticism (4) The Netherlands

- What is the most likely behavior of:
 1. A right-wing Eurosceptic citizen in Spain? **Abstention**
 2. A left-wing Eurosceptic citizen in Portugal? **Vote to BE**
 3. A left-wing Eurosceptic citizen in the United Kingdom? **Abstention**

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

		Left-wing parties opposition to European integration	
		None/weak	Strong
Right-wing parties opposition to European integration	None/weak	Limited Euroscepticism (1) Spain	Left-biased Euroscepticism (3) Portugal
	Strong	Right-biased Euroscepticism (2) UK	Comprehensive Euroscepticism (4) The Netherlands

- What is the most likely behavior of:
 1. A right-wing Eurosceptic citizen in Spain? **Abstention**
 2. A left-wing Eurosceptic citizen in Portugal? **Vote to BE**
 3. A left-wing Eurosceptic citizen in the United Kingdom? **Abstention**
 4. A right-wing Eurosceptic citizen in the United Kingdom? **Vote to PVV**

Interaction Eurosceptic voters and Eurosceptic parties

- The behavior of Eurosceptic citizens in EPE is conditioned by the partisan offer of each country. Not only with regards to the absence/presence of Eurosceptic parties but also with regards to the ideological leaning of these parties.
- If there is no Eurosceptic that shares the ideology of the Eurosceptic citizen it is very likely that this citizen will abstain in EPE

Outline

1. European Parliament Elections
 - How do they work?
 - Second order model
 - Historical evolution
2. Eurosceptic parties
 - Definition
 - Partisan offer in 2014
 - Eurosceptic parties support
3. Individuals' attitudes towards European Integration
 - Different types of attitudes towards the EU / Euroscepticism
 - Evolution of attitudes towards the EU
4. Attitudes towards the EU and electoral behavior in EPE
5. Democratic deficit? Tension responsiveness vs. responsibility
6. References

Democratic deficit?

Why do you think critics of the EU usually claim that the EU is undemocratic?

Democratic deficit?

- There is no doubt that the EU is among (if not the most) democratic international institution
- The EP is democratically elected and has gained increasing powers
- Democratic structure

Democratic deficit?

- There is no doubt that the EU is among (if not the most) democratic international institution
- The EP is democratically elected and has gained increasing powers
- Democratic structure
- However, there might still be tensions between “national” and “supranational” sovereignty
- Sometimes a clear tension between national governments’ “responsiveness” to the people and “responsibility”
- EU might “impose” measures on countries which are not supported by a majority of the population of a given country

Responsiveness vs. responsibility

- EU governments do not operate in isolated and "independent" political arenas
- Membership and transfer of competences to supranational institutions (EU) constraints governments' maneuvering space

Responsiveness vs. responsibility

- EU governments do not operate in isolated and "independent" political arenas
- Membership and transfer of competences to supranational institutions (EU) constraints governments' maneuvering space
- Generates tension between:
 - ▶ Representing their voters/citizens and implementing policies in line with their preferences → Responsiveness

Responsiveness vs. responsibility

- EU governments do not operate in isolated and "independent" political arenas
- Membership and transfer of competences to supranational institutions (EU) constraints governments' maneuvering space
- Generates tension between:
 - ▶ Representing their voters/citizens and implementing policies in line with their preferences → Responsiveness
 - ▶ Acting in line with the prescriptions and agreements reached with international actors (EU) → Responsibility

The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies: Responsiveness

Responsiveness

Elected political leaders or governments listen to and then respond to the demands of citizens, usually, through the implementation of policies that are in line with the preferences of the majority → Representative role of governments

The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies: Responsiveness

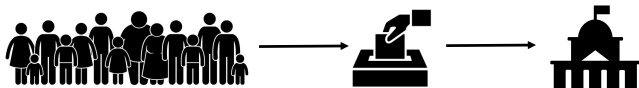
Responsiveness

Elected political leaders or governments listen to and then respond to the demands of citizens, usually, through the implementation of policies that are in line with the preferences of the majority → Representative role of governments

Why do you think that democratically elected governments usually listen to and respond to the demands of citizens?

The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies: Responsiveness

- The chain of responsiveness:



The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies: Responsibility

- Besides representing, governments also “govern”

The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies: Responsibility

- Besides representing, governments also “govern”
- "Responsible governing" requires, among others, acting in line with the prescriptions and agreements reached with international actors to which governments are accountable

The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies: Responsibility

- Besides representing, governments also “govern”
- "Responsible governing" requires, among others, acting in line with the prescriptions and agreements reached with international actors to which governments are accountable

Responsibility

Governments abide and live up to the commitments that have been entered into by themselves (and their predecessors in office) with other governments and international/multilateral institutions

The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies: Responsibility

- Besides representing, governments also “govern”
- "Responsible governing" requires, among others, acting in line with the prescriptions and agreements reached with international actors to which governments are accountable

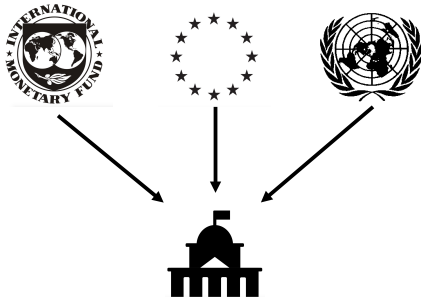
Responsibility

Governments abide and live up to the commitments that have been entered into by themselves (and their predecessors in office) with other governments and international/multilateral institutions

- Responsibility implies that in certain areas the leaders' hands are tied (constrained maneuvering space)

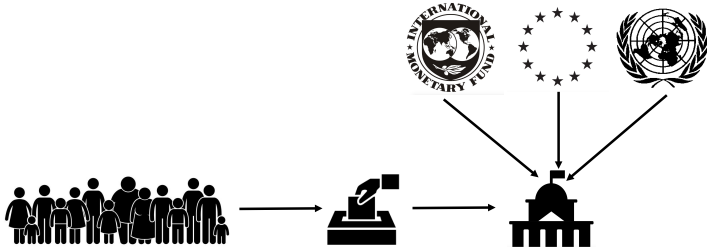
The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies: Responsibility

- In Europe governments are accountable to a myriad of institutions: ECB, ECJ, European Commission, Council of Europe, IMF, UN...



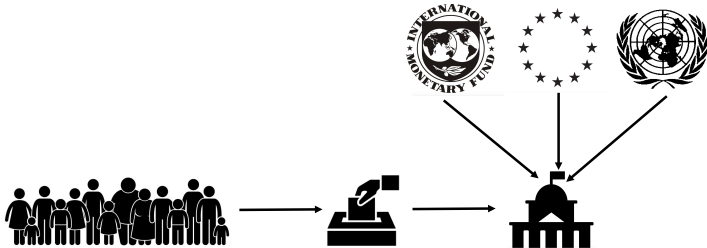
The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies

- Responsiveness and responsibility in European democracies:



The role of governments and parties in contemporary democracies

- Responsiveness and responsibility in European democracies:



- Can parties in government be both responsive and responsible?

A growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility

- Due to Europeanization and internationalization governments are accountable to greater number of international institutions that are becoming more powerful

A growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility

- Due to Europeanization and internationalization governments are accountable to greater number of international institutions that are becoming more powerful
- External constraints might force governments into behaviors that neither them nor their voters would have freely chosen

A growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility

- Due to Europeanization and internationalization governments are accountable to greater number of international institutions that are becoming more powerful
- External constraints might force governments into behaviors that neither them nor their voters would have freely chosen
- Implication: responsiveness and responsibility are both desirable, although they are increasingly incompatible

A growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility

- Due to Europeanization and internationalization governments are accountable to greater number of international institutions that are becoming more powerful
- External constraints might force governments into behaviors that neither them nor their voters would have freely chosen
- Implication: responsiveness and responsibility are both desirable, although they are increasingly incompatible
- This tension has become quite evident in EU member states during the Great Recession

A growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility. Recent examples (1): refugee crisis

Eastern EU states fight migrant 'diktat'

Orban accuses Germans of 'moral imperialism' as leaders hold emergency talks



Migrants and refugees wait under the sun at a railway station near the border crossing between Serbia and Croatia

Source: Financial Times September 23, 2015

A growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility. Recent examples (1): refugee crisis

- Hungary's prime minister accused Germany of "moral imperialism" [...] a day after a Berlin-backed plan to share migrants among EU states was agreed despite objections. "There cannot be a moral imperialism," [...] "Germany must decide for itself and not impose its will on other countries."
- Robert Fico, the Slovak prime minister, said [...] "I would rather go to infringement than accept this diktat,".

Source: Financial Times September 23, 2015

A growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility. Recent examples (1): refugee crisis

Hungary to hold referendum on EU's refugee quotas

EU faces further fragmentation with hardline PM saying it could not impose quotas against will of Hungary parliament



Source: The Guardian February 24, 2016

A growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility. Recent examples (2): Greek bailout

Defiant Greek PM sets up EU clash with bailout rejection, austerity rollback

- "The bailout failed," the 40-year-old leader told parliament to applause. "We want to make clear in every direction what we are not negotiating. We are not negotiating our national sovereignty."
- "The Greek people gave a strong and clear mandate to immediately end austerity and change policies,"

Source: Reuters February 8, 2015

A growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility. Recent examples (2): Greek bailout

Tsipras announces referendum on creditors' bailout demands

Schäuble says 'no grounds' for further rescue package talks

- "To this blackmail ultimatum... and with no end to it in sight, nor with the prospect of allowing us to ever stand on our feet economically or socially, I call upon you to decide sovereignly and proudly, as the history of Greeks dictates," Mr Tsipras said

Source: Financial Times June 27, 2015

The perspective of European citizens during the Great Recession: Responsibility

- The 2012 round of the European Social Survey asked citizens in 29 countries how important they thought certain principles are for democracy in general. Among them, responsibility towards other European governments.

The perspective of European citizens during the Great Recession: Responsibility

- The 2012 round of the European Social Survey asked citizens in 29 countries how important they thought certain principles are for democracy in general. Among them, responsibility towards other European governments.

(STILL CARD 37) And how important do you think it is for democracy in general...**READ OUT...**

Not at all
important for
democracy
in general⁷⁶

Extremely
important for
democracy in
general (Don't
know)

E16	...that politicians take into account the views of other European ⁷⁶ governments before making decisions?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
------------	--	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

The perspective of European citizens: Responsibility

- Average importance attributed to responsibility in 22 EU member states = 6.63

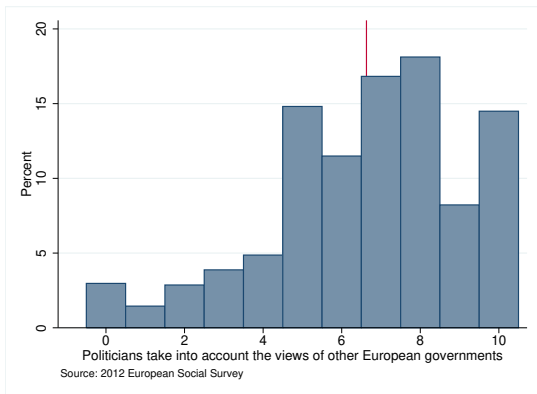


Figure: Importance for democracy politicians take into account views of other European governments before making decisions

The perspective of European citizens: Responsibility

Principle/element of democracy	Rank	Average
Equality before the law	1	9.2
Free and fair elections	2	8.9
Government justifies decisions	3	8.8
Horizontal accountability (courts)	4	8.8
Media reliability	5	8.7
Protection against poverty	6	8.6
Retrospective accountability	7	8.4
Minorities' rights	8	8.3
Political parties freedom	9	8.3
Direct democracy	10	8.2
Press freedom	11	8.2
Reduction of income differences	12	8.1
Parties differentiated proposals	13	8.0
Migrants' voting rights	14	7.9
Voters' discuss about politics before voting	15	7.4
Responsible government	16	6.6

Table: Ranking of different elements of democracy in 22 EU member states

The perspective of European citizens during the Great Recession: Responsiveness

- The 2012 round of the European Social Survey also asked about the importance attributed to responsiveness (sub-sample with filter question 27,622/39,691)

The perspective of European citizens during the Great Recession: Responsiveness

- The 2012 round of the European Social Survey also asked about the importance attributed to responsiveness (sub-sample with filter question 27,622/39,691)

E37 CARD 43 How important do you think it is for democracy in general that the government changes its planned policies in response to what most people think? Please use this card.

Not at all
important for
democracy
in general

Extremely
important for
democracy
in general

(Don't
Know)

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 88

The perspective of European citizens: Responsiveness

- Average importance attributed to responsiveness in 22 EU member states = 8.14

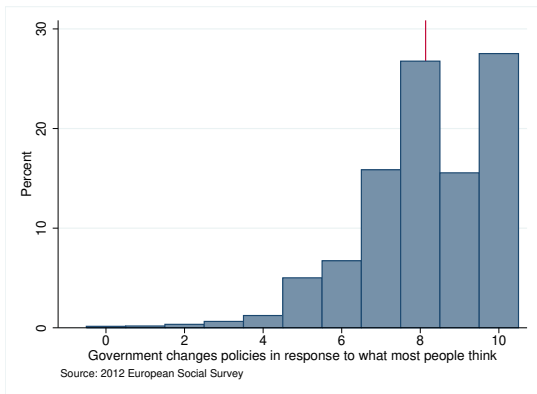


Figure: Importance for democracy that governments change its planned policies in response to what most people think

The perspective of European citizens: Fiscal Autonomy

The perspective of European citizens: Fiscal Autonomy

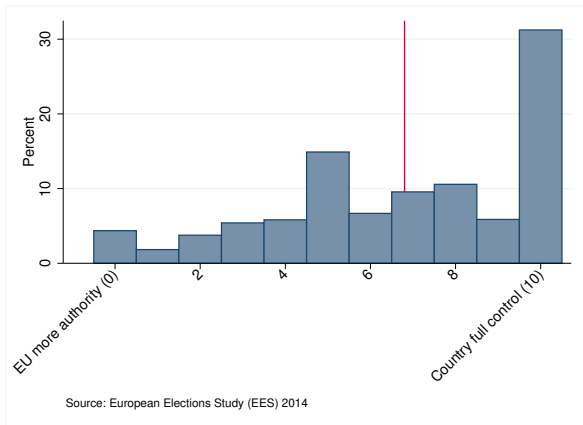
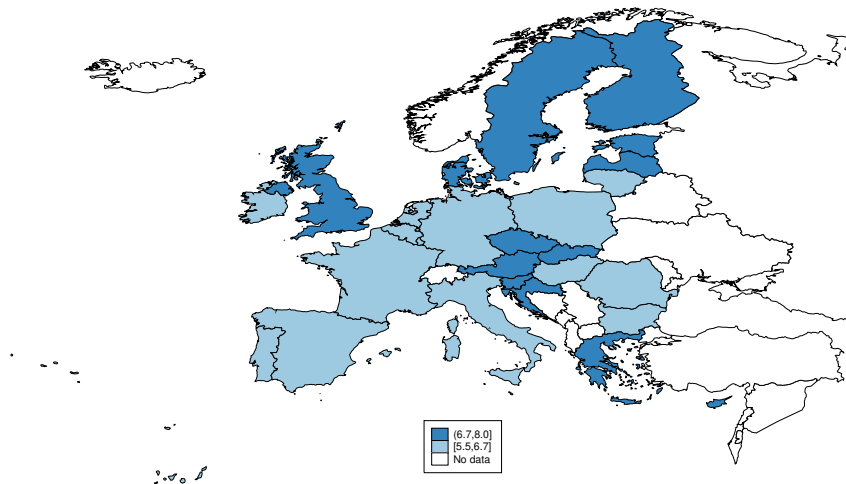


Figure: Views on whether "The EU should have more authority over the EU Member States' economic and budgetary policies (0)" or "(our country) should retain full control over its economic and budgetary policies (10)"

The perspective of European citizens: Fiscal autonomy



Source: 2014 European Elections Study

Figure: Variation on views on Fiscal Autonomy

The perspective of European citizens: Financial assistance

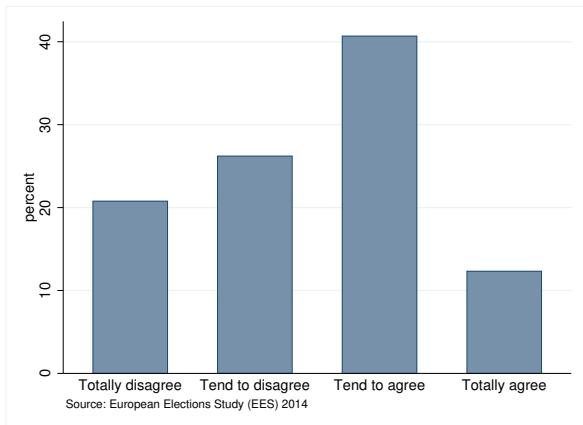


Figure: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
In times of crisis, it is desirable for (our country) to give financial help to
another EU Member State facing severe economic and financial difficulties.

The perspective of European citizens: Financial assistance

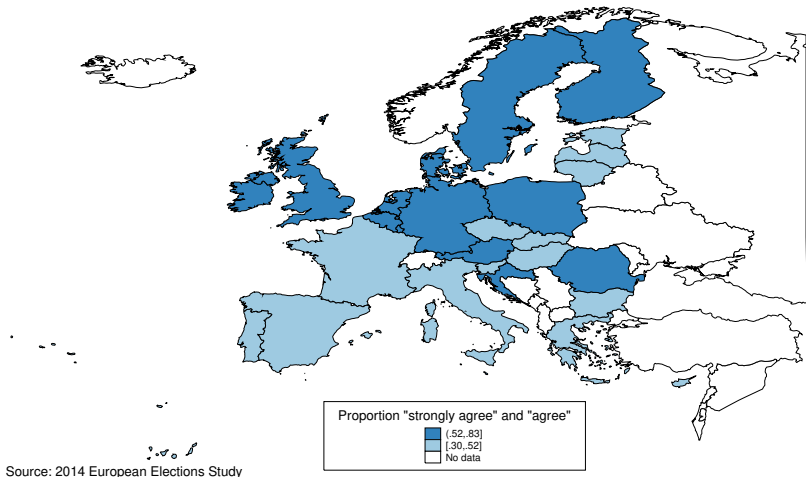


Figure: Variation on views on financial assistance (proportion "tend to agree" + "totally agree")

Conclusion

- There is a growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility in European countries
- The economic crisis and other crises (e.g. refugee crisis) likely to exacerbate this tension and make it more visible

Conclusion

- There is a growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility in European countries
- The economic crisis and other crises (e.g. refugee crisis) likely to exacerbate this tension and make it more visible
- While Europeans' consider both responsiveness and responsibility important for democracy, they seem to attribute greater importance to responsiveness

Conclusion

- There is a growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility in European countries
- The economic crisis and other crises (e.g. refugee crisis) likely to exacerbate this tension and make it more visible
- While Europeans' consider both responsiveness and responsibility important for democracy, they seem to attribute greater importance to responsiveness
- A substantial proportion agree on providing assistance to other countries during economic crises, but they are reluctant to lose autonomy on economic and budgetary policies

Conclusion

- There is a growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility in European countries
- The economic crisis and other crises (e.g. refugee crisis) likely to exacerbate this tension and make it more visible
- While Europeans' consider both responsiveness and responsibility important for democracy, they seem to attribute greater importance to responsiveness
- A substantial proportion agree on providing assistance to other countries during economic crises, but they are reluctant to lose autonomy on economic and budgetary policies

Conclusion: Potential consequences of growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility

- Increasing dissatisfaction/disaffection with the functioning of national and European democracies

Conclusion: Potential consequences of growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility

- Increasing dissatisfaction/disaffection with the functioning of national and European democracies
- Decreasing support for European unification

Conclusion: Potential consequences of growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility

- Increasing dissatisfaction/disaffection with the functioning of national and European democracies
- Decreasing support for European unification
- Decreasing support for mainstream parties, and increasing support for challenger and Eurosceptic parties (in national and EP elections)

Conclusion: Potential consequences of growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility

- Increasing dissatisfaction/disaffection with the functioning of national and European democracies
- Decreasing support for European unification
- Decreasing support for mainstream parties, and increasing support for challenger and Eurosceptic parties (in national and EP elections)
- Increasing use of direct-democratic mechanisms (referendum) to bypass European institutions (especially if challenger or Eurosceptic parties govern)

Conclusion: Potential consequences of growing tension between responsiveness and responsibility

- Increasing dissatisfaction/disaffection with the functioning of national and European democracies
- Decreasing support for European unification
- Decreasing support for mainstream parties, and increasing support for challenger and Eurosceptic parties (in national and EP elections)
- Increasing use of direct-democratic mechanisms (referendum) to bypass European institutions (especially if challenger or Eurosceptic parties govern)
- Increasing use of blame-avoidance strategies by governing parties

References

- Ferrin, M., Kriesi, H., 2016. How Europeans view and evaluate democracy. *Oxford University Press*.
- Hernández, E., Kriesi, H., 2016. Turning your back on the EU. The role of Eurosceptic parties in the 2014 European Parliament elections. *Electoral Studies* 44, 515–524.
- Hobolt, S.B., de Vries, C., 2016. Turning against the Union? The impact of the crisis on the Eurosceptic vote in the 2014 European Parliament elections. *Electoral Studies* 44, 504–514.
- Hobolt, S.B., de Vries, C.E., 2016. Public Support for European Integration. *Annual Review of Political Science* 19, 413–432.
- Mair, P. 2009. “Representative versus Responsible Government.” *MPIfG Working Paper 09/8*, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne.⁸
- Weßels, B., 2007. Discontent and European Identity: Three Types of Euroscepticism. *Acta Politica* 42, 287–306.