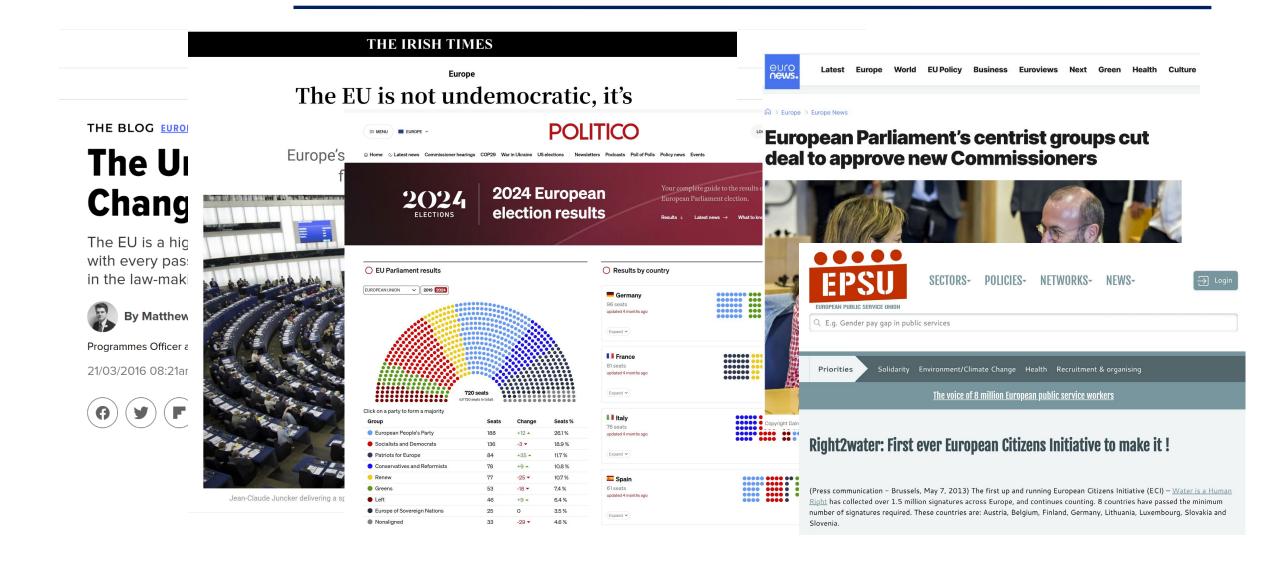
How democratic is the European Union?

Achim Hurrelmann Carleton University

Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, Teachers' Workshop, November 22, 2024



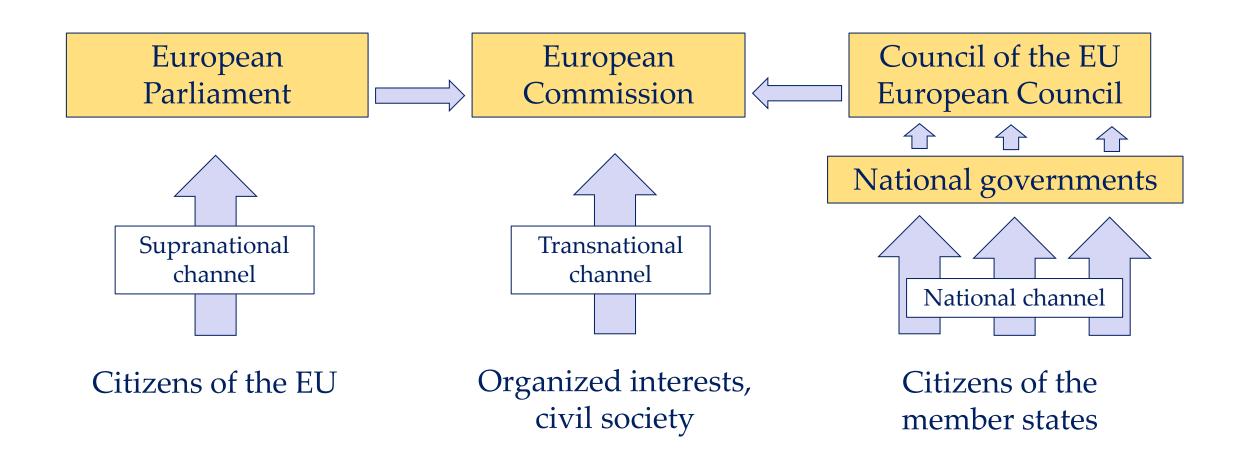
The EU: Democratic or undemocratic?



Starting points for examining democracy in the EU

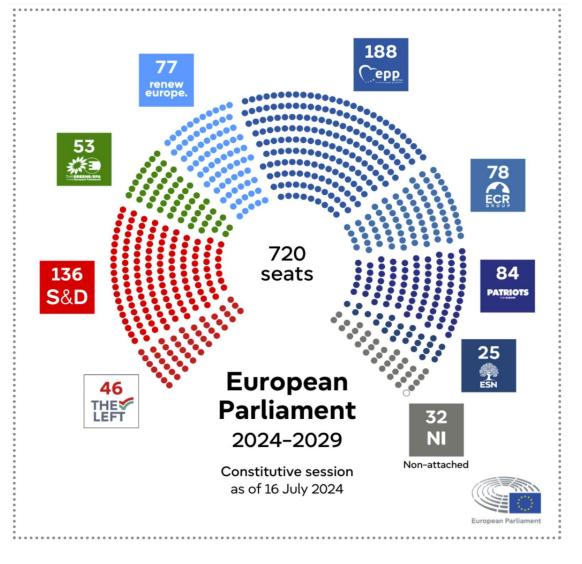
- ➤ Debate about "democratic deficit": EU possesses more democratic input mechanisms than any other non-state entity in global politics, but it is often criticized for being insufficiently democratic
- ➤ Lack of institutional blueprints: EU is neither a state nor an international organization; its democracy follows neither a pure parliamentary nor a pure presidential logic → Not clear how EU democracy would need to look like
- ➤ "Hyper-consensus polity" (Simon Hix): EU political system seeks to forge compromise between common European interest and national interests of 27 member states → EU is complicated and hard to understand

Three channels of democratic input



Supranational channel: European Parliament





Supranational channel: European Parliament

EP's influence on executive:

EP must approve
Commission President
and College of
Commissioners

EP's legislative powers:

Ordinary Legislative Procedure gives EP co-decision power in most legislative fields

EP elections:

EP directly elected every five years as representative of the European citizens

But: No nomination powers; Commission not dependent on ongoing EP support

But: Exceptions remain; EP lacks right to legislative initiative

But: EP elections
often lack European
content ("second
order national
elections")

EP election campaigns: National focus





CDU posters in Germany, 2013/14

<u>Left:</u> German federal election 2013 ("Successful together.")

Right: EP election 2014 ("Successful together in Europe.")

<u>Pictured:</u> Angela Merkel, Federal Chancellor

EP election campaigns: Gradual Europeanization?



CDU posters in Germany, EP election 2024

Slogan:

"Together for Germany and Europe."

Pictured:

Friedrich Merz, CDU leader, and Ursula von der Leyen, EPP candidate for Commission President

"Spitzenkandidaten" debate, May 2024



National channel: Influence of member-state democratic procedures on EU politics

National elections:

Greater importance of EU topics (Euroscepticism; "politicization" of EU governance)

National parliaments:

European Affairs Committees; control over national governments in Council; "Early Warning Mechanism" to force review of EU legislative proposals

Referendums:

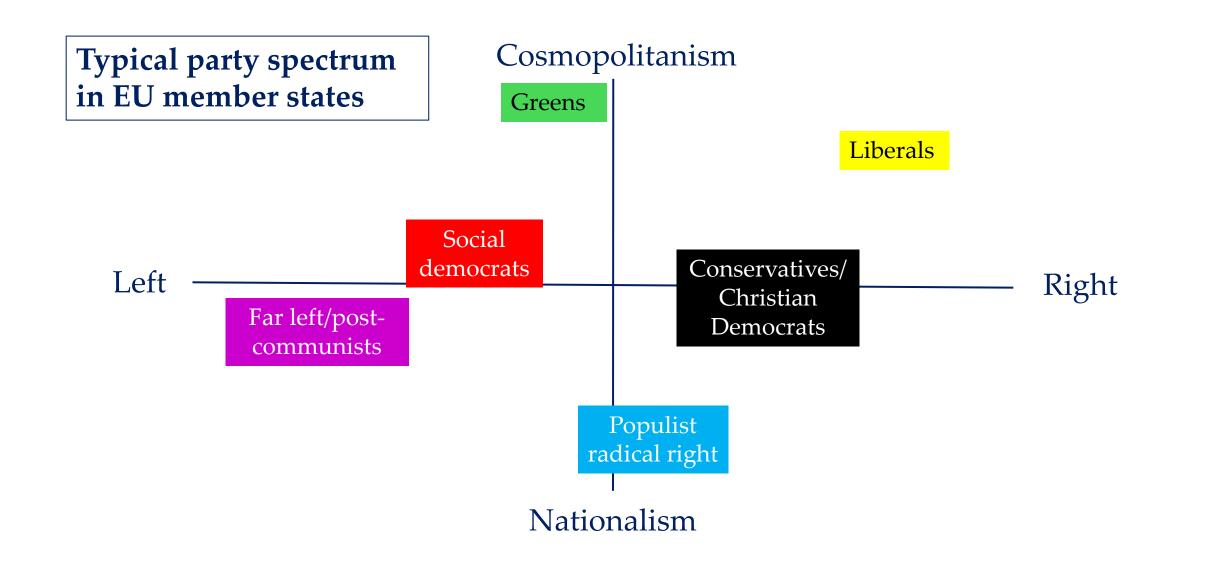
High-profile votes on EU issues, some anti-integration results

But: Individual national governments have little influence on EU politics

But: Information deficits; binding mandates for national governments often not feasible/advisable; "Early Warning Mechanism" toothless

But: Only available in exceptional cases; results not always respected

A new cultural cleavage in European party politics



Transnational channel: Civil society participation



Interest group participation:

Formalized procedures for consultations (especially European Commission); Transparency Register

But: Dominated by business interests, professional lobbyists



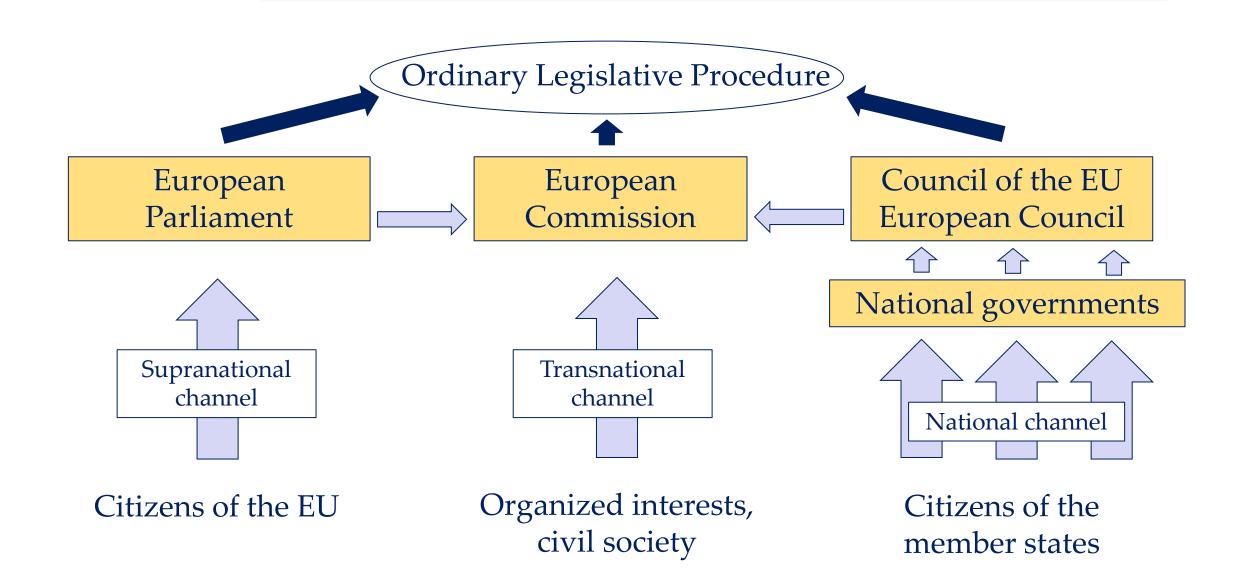


Participation open to individuals:

Online consultations, European Citizens' Initiative

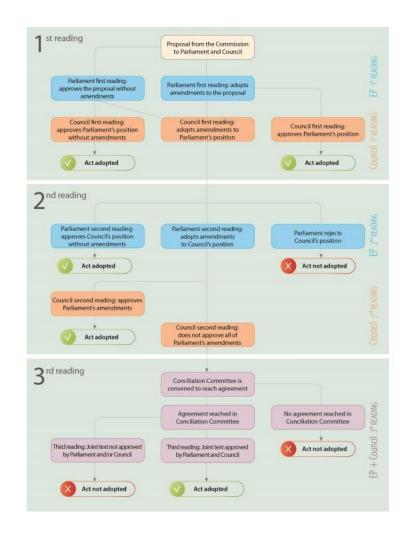
But: Primarily an agenda-setting device; do not ensure accountability

Bringing the channels together



Ordinary Legislative Procedure

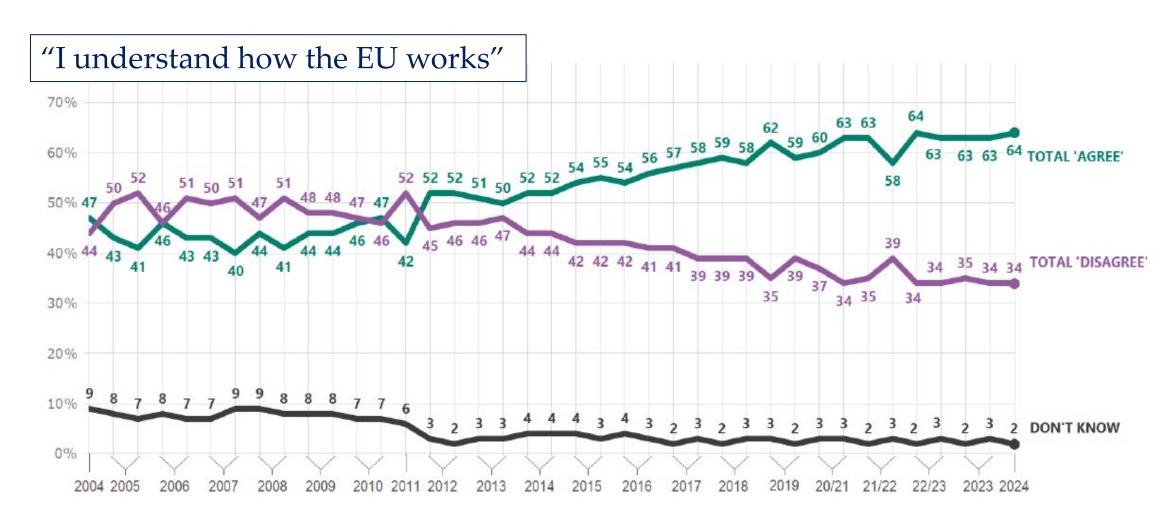
- ➤ Logic of EU law-making: Commission initiates legislation; EP and Council discuss and may amend proposal; both must agree for proposal to become law
- ➤ Ordinary Legislative Procedure (OLP): Three-step procedure designed to bring about agreement between Commission, EP, and Council; ends once agreement is reached
- ➤ **Trilogue:** Informal consultations between Commission, EP, Council in most cases bring about agreement after first stage; second and third stage rarely reached



Some scholarly positions on EU democracy

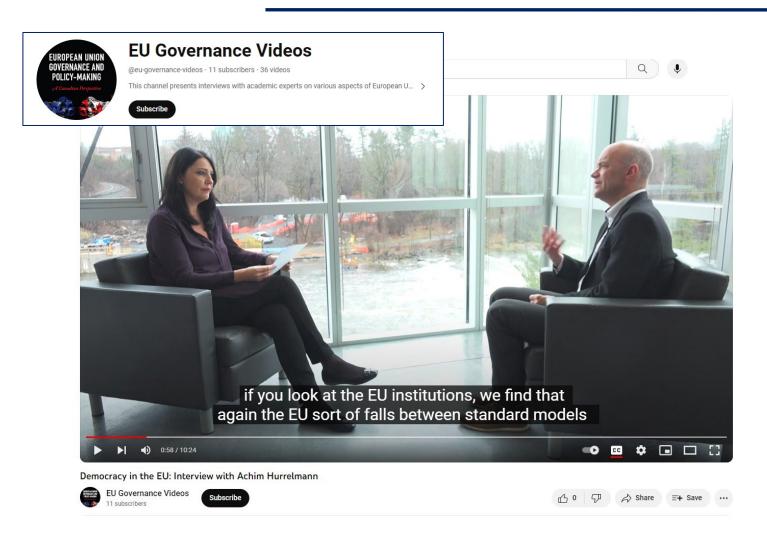
- Nothing to worry about (Andrew Moravcsik et al.): EU's democratic procedures are appropriate given the powers it holds; citizens could participate more but choose not to because the EU is boring
- ➤ A question of institutions (Simon Hix et al.): EU is too consensus-oriented; it should become more state-like and allow more competition over policy choices and leadership positions
- ➤ A question of identity (Kalypso Nicolaidis et al.): Citizens' identification with Europe is too weak to put in place state-like democracy ("no demos thesis"), but some authors argue that consensus formation can be made more inclusive and transparent ("demoi-cracy")

Subjective knowledge as a factor



Source: Eurobarometer 101 (2024)

Supplementary video material





Interview on democracy in the EU



Brief comment on democracy in the EU