

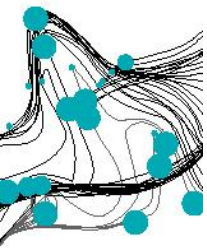
A taxonomy of referendums on European integration:
how does direct democracy relate to representative government action?

Political Science Conference *Politicologenetmaal*
Ghent University, 30-31 May 2013

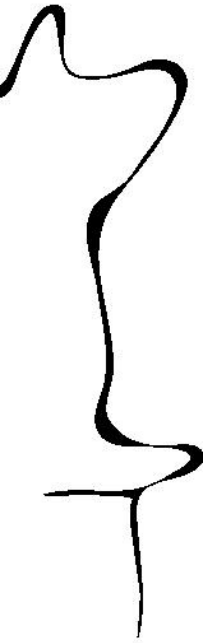
Session 'Legitimacy and the European Union'

Joost van den Akker LLM, MA
PhD Researcher



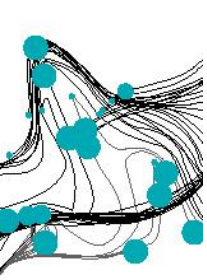


Outline

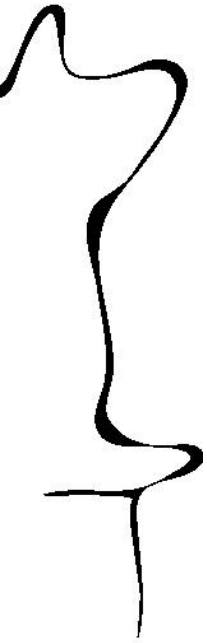


- PhD project: The relationship between EU referendums and representative government action
- Paper: A taxonomy of EU referendums
 - What were referendums about and where did they take place?
 - Within which institutional constraints were referendums organised?
 - EU referendum trigger model
- Conclusion and Outlook



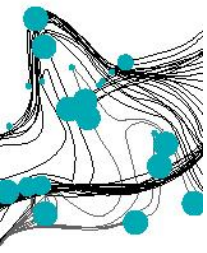


Legitimacy crisis of representative democracy?

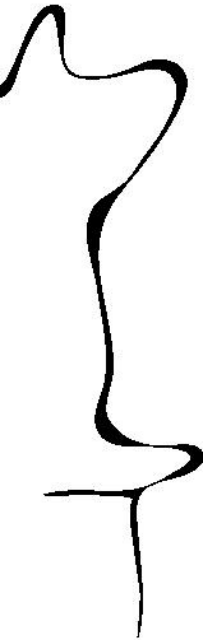


- Direct democracy as substitute for the end of permissive consensus?
- Public support as inherent requirement of legitimacy of EU integration
- Input / output legitimacy
- Complex referendum issues?



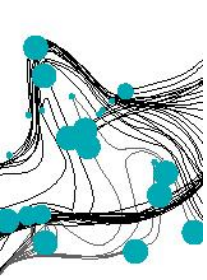


PhD project: Relationship between EU referendums and representative government action



- EU referendums have been analysed extensively, but comparative perspective on interference with government at national level is lacking:
 - *What is the role of governments at these referendum campaigns within their national (institutional) contexts?*
 - *Which relations can we identify between this governmental role; and the course of the campaign and the outcome of the referendum?*





Paper: Taxonomy of EU referendums

What preconditions constrained the role of representative governments within their national institutional contexts related to EU referendums?

- What are EU referendums about?
 - Membership, treaty or policy?
- How do EU referendums come about?
 - Mandatory or optional?
 - Controlled or uncontrolled?
 - Binding or consultative?
 - Who determines the wording of the referendum question?



What are EU-referendums about?

(based on Shu, 2008)



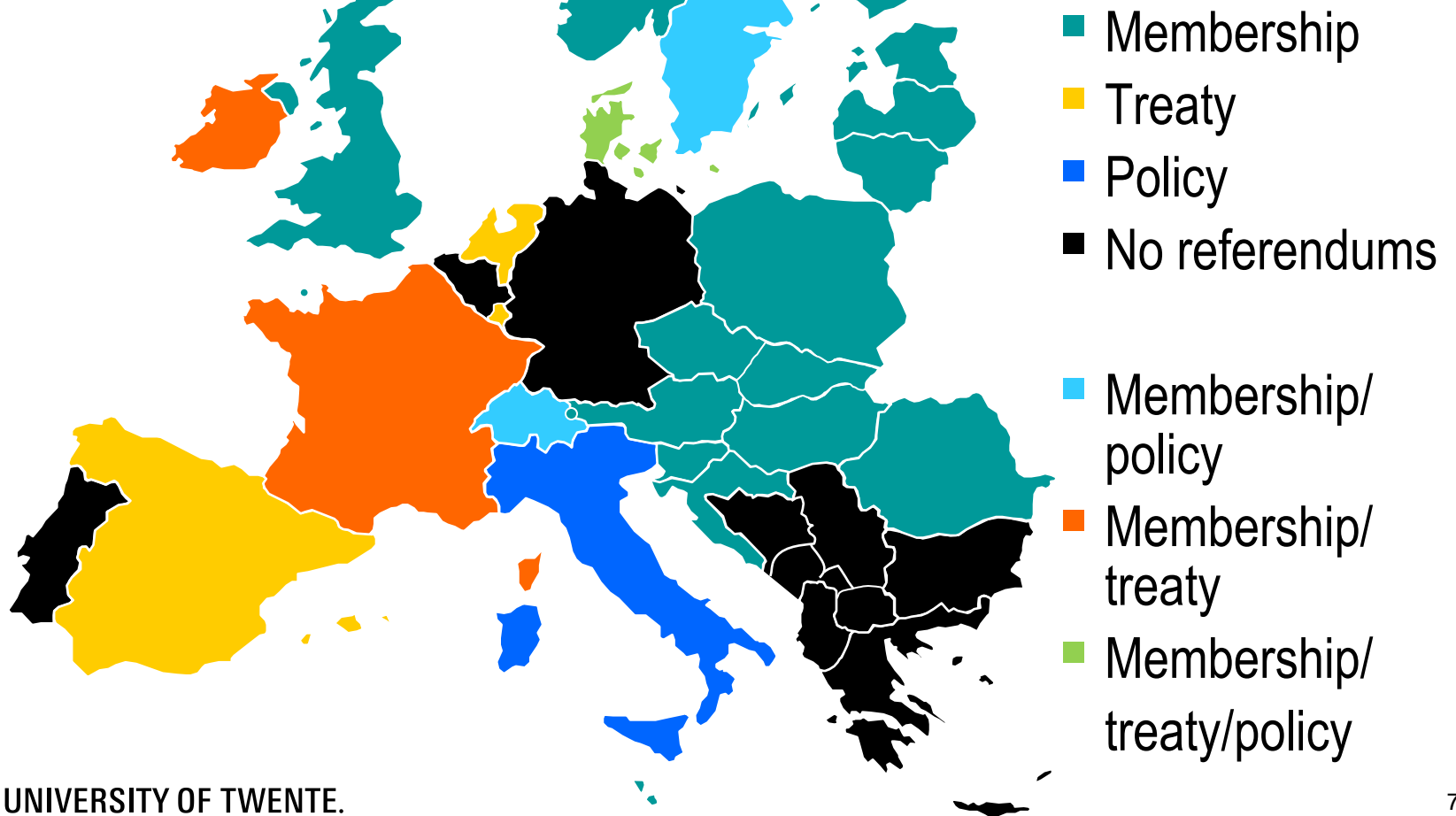
Countries with >1 referendum	Membership	Treaty ratification	Policy issue	Number of referendums
Switzerland	3	2	4	9
Ireland	1	8	-	9
Denmark	1	4	1	6
France	-	2	1	3
Norway	2	-	-	2
Sweden	1	-	1	2
Liechtenstein	2	-	-	2
Countries with 1 referendum	15*	3**	1***	19
Total nr. of R.	25	19	8	52

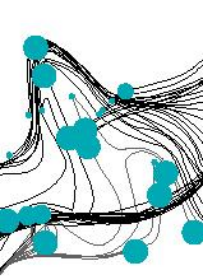
* AT, HR, CZ, EE, FI, GL, HU, LV, LT, MT, PL, RO, SK, SI, UK

** CT: LU, ES, NL

*** IT

What are EU-related referendums about?

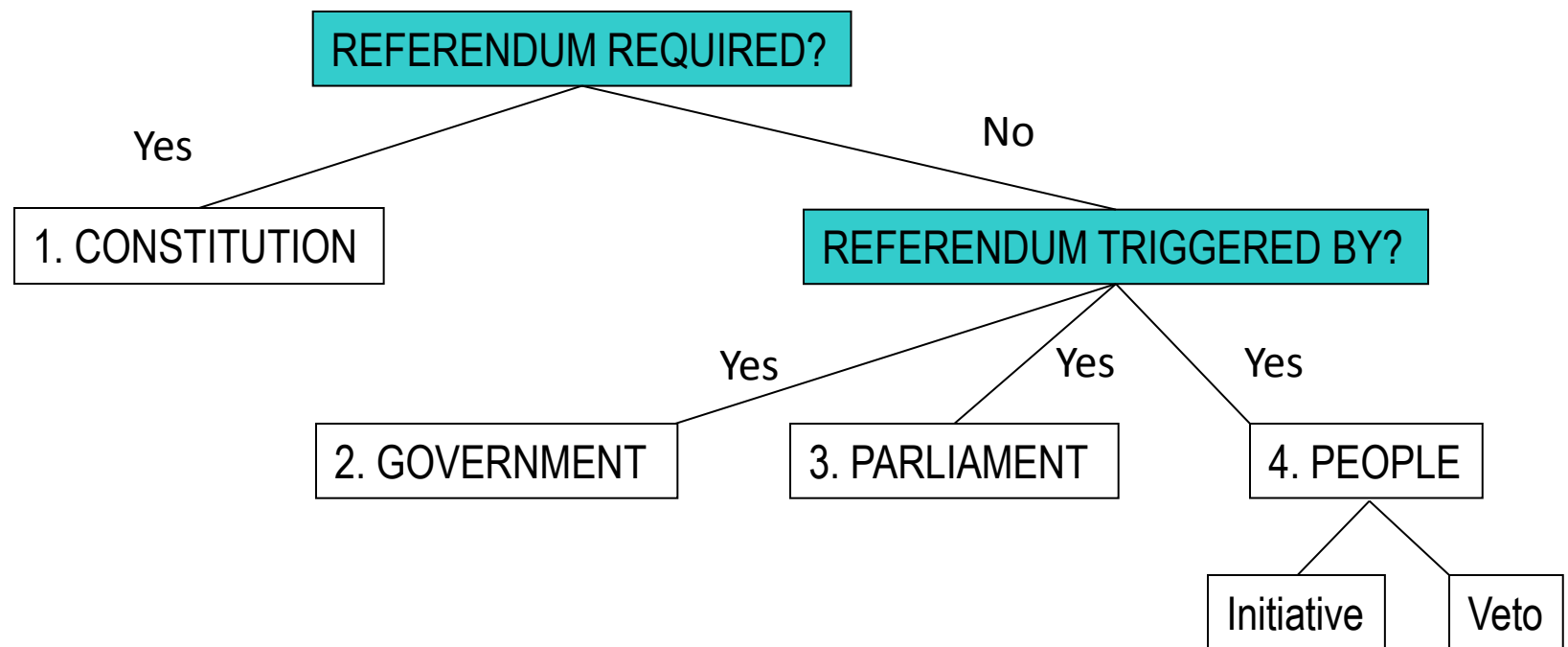




EU referendum trigger model

(based on Hug & Tsebelis, 2002)

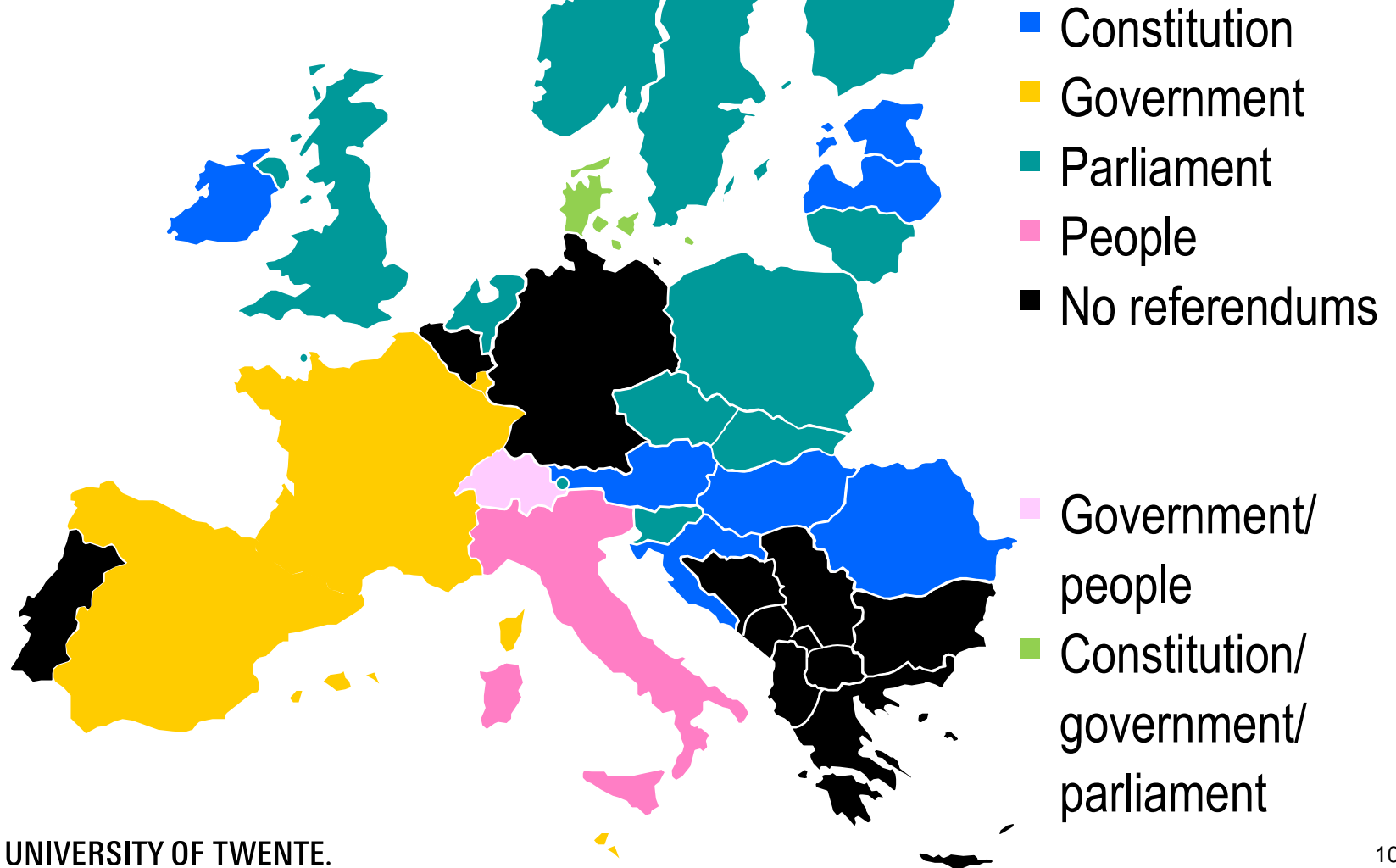
This model makes predictions about how various provisions for referendums constrain governmental action in relation

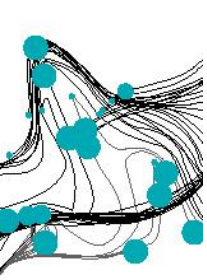


How do EU-referendums come about?

Constitution		Government		Parliament		Popular initiative* / Popular veto	
1.	Ireland 1972	1.	France 1972	1.	Norway 1972	1.	Switzerland 1997*
2.	Ireland 1987	2.	France 1992	2.	Norway 1994	2.	Switzerland 2000
3.	Ireland 1992	3.	France 2005	3.	Greenland 1982	3.	Switzerland 2001*
4.	Ireland 1998	4.	Switzerland 1972	4.	Denmark 1993	4.	Switzerland 2005a
5.	Ireland 2001	5.	Switzerland 1992	5.	Liechtenstein 1992	5.	Switzerland 2005b
6.	Ireland 2002	6.	United Kingdom 1975	6.	Liechtenstein 1995	6.	Switzerland 2006
7.	Ireland 2008	7.	Denmark 1986	7.	Finland 1994	7.	Switzerland 2009
8.	Ireland 2009	8.	Malta 2003	8.	Sweden 1994	8.	Italy 1989
9.	Ireland 2012	9.	Luxembourg 2005	9.	Sweden 2003		
10.	Denmark 1972	10.	Spain 2005	10.	Czech Republic 2003		
11.	Denmark 1992			11.	Poland 2003		
12.	Denmark 1998			12.	Slovenia 2003		
13.	Denmark 2000			13.	Slovakia 2003		
14.	Austria 1994			14.	Lithuania 2003		
15.	Estonia 2003			15.	The Netherlands 2005		
16.	Hungary 2003						
17.	Latvia 2003						
18.	Romania 2003						
19.	Croatia 2012						

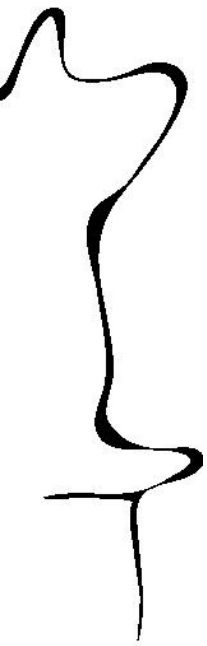
What is the referendum trigger?

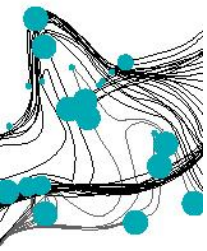




Conclusion

- Only a few countries >1 referendum [membership]
 - 2000s sequence of referendums in CEECs
- Just in 10 cases deliberate choice of government
- Almost everywhere constitutionally regulated
 - No uniform set of EU-referendum criteria
 - Minimum thresholds / turnout requirements
- If choice: political compromise or change of government
 - Wording mostly straightforward
 - Timing -if possible- politically motivated
 - Binding? Does not matter in practice





Outlook

- Further research on course of campaigns and role of governments:
 - *Did governments learn from each other and did this influence the campaign?*
 - *Do campaigns help the public to legitimize policy choices as they are intended to?*
- Contribute to the most effective form of campaigning by governments in order to optimize the legitimacy of the referendum instrument.

