

EU external actions in the contested global order – (in)coherence, (dis)continuity, resilience

Direct democracy in the European Union and the EU's neighbouring countries

Prof. Magdalena Musiał-Karg

magdalena.musial-karg@amu.edu.pl

Academic Year 2018/2019

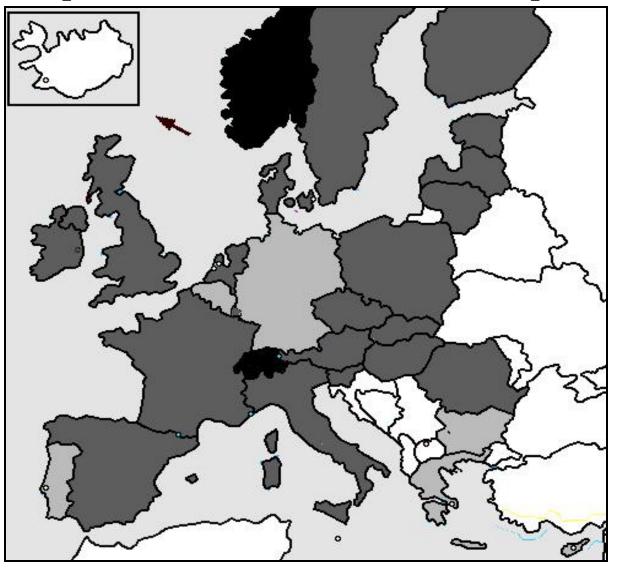


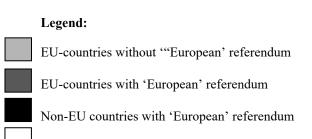


Direct Democracy in the European Union



Map of the use of EU referendum in Europe

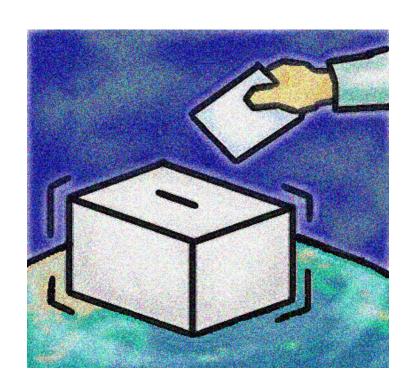




Non-EU countries without 'European' referendum

Source: Magdalena Musiał-Karg

Direct Democracy on European Issues in statistic perspective



State	Time	Object	Turnout (%)	Yes (%)
France	23 kwietnia 1972	EC Enlargement	60.27	68.28
Ireland	May 10, 1972	EC Membership	70.88	83.1
Norway	September 26, 1972	EC Membership	79.2	53,5
Denmark.	October 2, 1972	EC Membership	90.14	63,29
Switzerland	December 3, 1972	EEA Membership	52	72.5
United Kingdom.	June 5, 1975	EC Membership	64.03	67.23
Greenland	February 23, 1982	EC-Membership	74.91	45.96
Denmark	February 27, 1986	Common Market – SEA	75.39	56.24
Ireland	May 26, 1987	Common Market - SEA	44.09	69.92
Italy	June 18, 1989	Mandate for MEPs	85.4	88.06
Denmark	June 2, 1992	Maastricht Treaty	82,9	47.93
Ireland	June 18, 1992	Maastricht Treaty	57,3	69,1
France	September 20, 1992	Maastricht Treaty	69.69	51.05
Switzerland	December 6, 1992	EEA Membership	78	49.7
Liechtenstein	December 12, 1992	EEA Membership	87	55.81
Denmark	May 18, 1993	Maastricht Treaty	85.5	56.77
Austria	June 12, 1994	EU Membership	82.35	66.58
Finland	October 16, 1994	EU Membership	70,4	56,88
Sweden	November 13, 1994	EU Membership	83.32	52.74
Åland Islands	November 20, 1994	EU Membership	49.1	73.64
Norway	November 28, 1994	EU Membership	89	47.8
Liechtenstein	April 9, 1995	EEA Membership	82.05	55.88
Switzerland	June 8, 1997	EU Candidature	35	25.9
Ireland	May 22, 1998	Amsterdam Treaty	56.26	61.74

Denmark	May 28, 1998	Amsterdam Treaty	76.24	55.10
Switzerland	May 21, 2000	Bilateral Treaties with EU	48	67.2
Denmark.	September 28, 2000	EMU Membership	87,5	46.87
Switzerland	March 4, 2001	EU Candidature	55	23.2
Ireland	June 7, 2001	Nice-Treaty	34.79	46.13
Ireland	October 19, 2002	European Enlargement	49.47	62.89
Malta	March 8, 2003	EU Accession	91	53,6
Slovenia	March 23, 2003	EU Accession	60,3	89,6
Hungary	April 12, 2003	EU Accession	45,6	83,7
Lithuania	May 11, 2003	EU Accession	63,3	89,9
Slovakia	May 11, 2003	EU Accession	52,2	92,4
Poland	June, 7-8	EU Accession	58,8	77,5
Czech Republic	June 16, 2003	EU Accession	55,2	77,3
Estonia	September 14, 2003	EU Accession	64	66,8
Sweden	September 14, 2003	Euro Accession	82,6	55,9
Latvia	September 20, 2003	EU accession	72,5	67
Romania	October 19, 2003	EU preparation	55,7	89,7
Spain	February 20	Constitution for Europe	42,32	76,73
France	May 29, 2005	Constitution for Europe	69,34	45,32
Netherlands	June 1, 2005	Constitution for Europe	62	38,40
Switzerland	June 5, 2005	Schengen membership	56,63	54,60
Luxemburg	July 10, 2005	Constitution for Europe	90,44	56,52
Switzerland	Septebmer 25, 2005	Free Movement Enl.	54,51	56
Switzerland	November 29, 2006	Cohesion Contribution	45	53,40
Luciand	June 12, 2009	Lighan Treaty	52.1	16.6

50	Szwajcaria	17.05.2009	Układ z Schengen (paszporty biometryczne i dokumenty podróży)	38,77	50,15
51	Irlandia	2.10.2009	Traktat z Lizbony	59	67,1
52	Chorwacja	22.01.2012	członkostwo w UE	43,51	66,27
53	Irlandia	31.05.2012	Pakt fiskalny	50,53	60,37
54	San Marino	20.10.2013	Negocjacje akcesyjne z UE	43,38 (Brak kworum 32% uprawnionych na Tak)	50,28
55	Dania	24.05.2014	Akcesja do Jednolitego Sądu Patentowego	55,85	62,47
56	Grecja	5.07.2015	Przyjęcie pomocy finansowej z UE	62,15	38,69
57	Dania	3.12.2015	pogłębienie współpracy UE w ramach wymiaru sprawiedliwości spraw wewnetrznych	72	46,89
58	Wielka Brytania	23.06.2016	Brexit	72,2	51,2
59	Węgry	2.10.2016	Kwestia zgody na obowiązkowe kwoty uchodźców	39,86	98,3

Źródło: opracowanie własne

	Country Date			Proporti on of	Requirements
Subject		Date	Turnout%	'yes'	and Quorums
				voters %	
	A	ccessio	on and enlarge	ment	
ECC expansion	France	1972	68.28	60.27	No
EC accession	Ireland	1972	70.88	83.1	No
	Denmark	1972	90.4	63.29	Non-approval requirement 30%
EC member- ship	United Kingdom	1975	64.03	67.23	No
_	Greenland	1985	74.91	45.96	No
EU accession	Austria	1994	82.35	66.58	No
	Finland	1994	70.4	56.88	No
	Sweden	1994	83.32	52.74	No
	Aland- Island	1994	49.1	73.64	No
	Malta	2003	91	53.6	No
	Slovenia	2003	60.3	89.6	Turnout 50%
	Hungary	2003	45.6	83.8	Approval 25%
	Lithuania	2003	63.4	91.1	Turnout 50% Approval 33%
	Slovakia	2003	52.2	92.5	Turnout 50%
	Poland	2003	58.9	77.5	Turnout 50%
	Czech Republic	2003	55.2	77.3	No
	Estonia	2003	64	66.8	No
	Latvia	2003	72.5	67	50% of Turnout at last parl. elections
	Romania	2003	55.2	89.6	Turnout 50%

Single European	Denmark	1986	75.39	56.24	Non-approval
Act					requirement 30%
	Ireland	1987	44.09	69.92	No
Maastricht	Denmark	1992	83.1	47.93	Non-approval
Treaty		1993	85.5	56.77	requirement 30%
	Ireland	1992	57.31	68.7	No
	France	1992	69.69	51.05	No
Treaty of	Ireland	1998	56.26	61.74	No
Amsterdam	Denmark	1998	76.24	55.1	Non-approval
					requirement 30%
Treaty of Nice	Ireland	2001	34.79	46.13	No
		2002	48.45	62.89	
Constitution for	Spain	2005	42.68	76.73	No
Europe	France	2005	45.68	69.34	No
	Netherlands	2005	63.3	38.5	No
	Luxemburg	2005	42	77	No
Treaty of	Ireland	2008	53.13	46.42	No
Lisbon					

			Others		
Euro accession	Denmark	2000	87.2	46.87	Non-approval requirement 30%
	Sweden	2003	82.6	42	No
European Constitution Process	Italy	1989	85.4	88.06	No

Non-EU Countries

EC accession	Norway	1972	79.2%	46.5%	No
	Norway	1994	89	47.8	No
Free Trade	Switzerland	1972	52	72.5	Double majority
Treaty with					
EEC EEA accession	Switzerland	1992	78	49.7	Double majority
EEA accession	Liechtenstei n		87	55.81	No No
EEC	Liechtenstei n	1995	82.05	55.88	No
EU accession procedures blocking	Switzerland	1997	35	25.9	Double majority
Bilateral Treaties with European Union	Switzerland	2000	48	67.2	Double majority
EU accession procedures	Switzerland	2001	55	23.2	Double majority
Start.					

*referenda non-binding for government

Conclusions from the past referendums and actual trend for referendums on European issues in EU member states

- In most of the current EU member states, citizens have been able to express their opinion directly on European integration at least once
- Most frequent referendums have taken place in only three countries: Ireland and Denmark and Switzerland
- On average, more than two-thirds of the electorate, took part in the European referendums
- Two issues dominate the list of referendums: membership of European institutions and the reform of European Treaties

The following trends can also be identified:

Europe's citizens are being asked to vote more and more frequently

Over the last 10 years there have been more than 20 referendums on European integration. That is twice as many as in almost the three previous decades taken together.

Europe's citizens are interested in direct participation: by contrast with elections to the European Parliament, turnout over the last three decades has remained remarkably steady: 1972-1981: 69%; 1982-1991: 69.5%; 1992-2001: 68,9%.

- the democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe led to no less than 27 new constitutions, the majority of which were approved by popular referendum
 - the a integration process within the UE has launched a direct- democratic wave with <u>transnational consequences</u>
- Practically all the new constitutions of Central and Eastern
 Europe include elements of direct democracy

Referendums in Europe on Europe

1972 – 2009- 50 national referendums on the EU

- In 38 popular votes the electorates approved the proposals,
- in 12 referendums objection to the subject of the vote
- The 1st referendum initializing direct democratic government in the European integration process was held in France in 1972,

Referendums on EUrope (- 2005)

		Number		'Yes'	Result	
	Subject	of referendu ms	Average turnout	answers in average	Approv ed	Rejecte d
	Membership	17	66.67	67.06	17	0
EU country	EU Treaties <u>Constitution for</u> <u>Europe</u>	10 4	63.16 66.15	57.84 54.06	8 2	2 2
	Other	3	85.17	58.91	1	2
EU	EU countries: total		70.29	59.47	28	6
Non-EU	Membership	7	77.16	50,57	3	4
country	Other	6	54.61	52,74	4	2
Non-EU countries: total		13	65.89	51.66	7	6
	all countries	47	68.09	55.57	35	12

Average time distance between referendums: ca. 8-9 months

Source: Magdalena Musiał-Karg

The role of referendums on European integration

- Between 1972 and 2011 53 referendums
- The citizens of Europe are pioneers in holding referendums on one particular concern
- Most of the EU member states have held referendums on EU issues (except Greece, Portugal, Germany, Belgium and Cyprus, Bulgaria)
- No other single issue was a subject of such wide citizens' engagement (68% participated)
- EU referendums have a greatest interest than EP elections (Why?)
- introduction of DD procedures discussed in some of the countries
- Referendums are instrument increasing legitimization of decisions made by the government
- Enlargement enlarges direct democracy As a result of enlargements a particular form of referendum accession referendum has been "established"

What are the reasons of political abstention?

I. Comparison

- 1. 2003 referendums
- 2. 2004 elections

II. 2003 accession referendum and 2004 EP elections in Poland

- Declarations before voting
- Factors influencing abstention
- Motives of nonparticipation

III. Corruption in post-communist states

- > Participating in politics crucial postulate of the new democracies
- The accession referendums (the final turnout, the results of accession referendums, the up-to-date EU issue) and their impact on the European elections

the post-communist societies:

- > took the responsibility for their countries' future
- > understood the postulates of establishing civil society

Political life, corruption, dissatisfaction proved that the citizens:

- did not want to vote
- did not want to use their rights to make political decisions
- > are politically passive

Table 1. 2003 accession referendums in post-communist countries

	Country	Time	Turnout (%)	Yes (%)		
1	Slovenia	March 23, 2003	60,3	89,6		
2	Hungary	April 12, 2003	45,6	83,7		
3	Lithuania	May 11, 2003	63,3	89,9		
4	Slovakia	May 11, 2003	52,2	92,4		
5	Poland	June, 7-8	58,8	77,5		
6	Czech Republic	June 16, 2003	55,2	77,3		
7	Estonia	September 14, 2003	64	66,8		
8	Latvia	September 20, 2003	72,5	67		
	Average turnout – 58, 98 %					

Accession referendums in 8 post-communist countries

- average turnout 58,98%
- > all countries YES !!! (average YES 80,53%)
- > where thresholds the results above the minimum level
- > Few months before vote unclear situations
- a certain order of referendums "domino effect"
- Campaigns rather aggressive (Poland the election silence broken)

2004 European elections

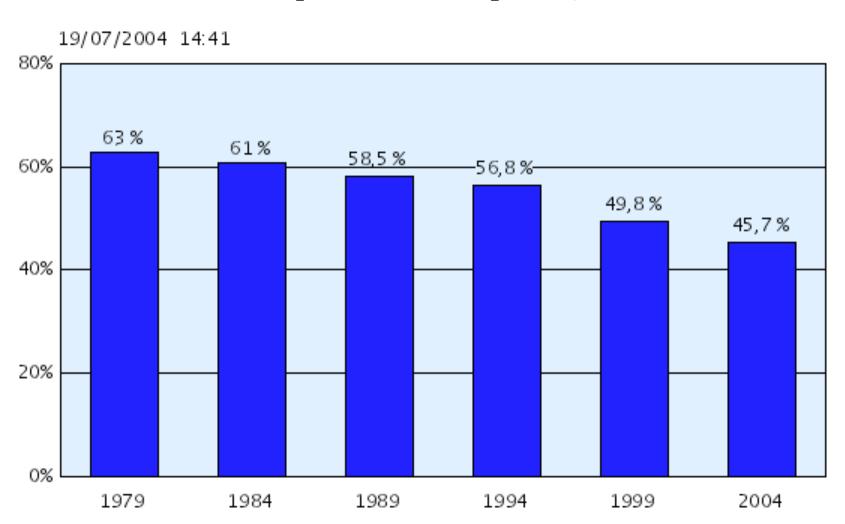
The sixth European elections after the first direct election of members of the EP held in 1979

➤ The biggest one – of an electorate of more than 340 million persons

≥ 25 countries

Turnout at 2004 European elections

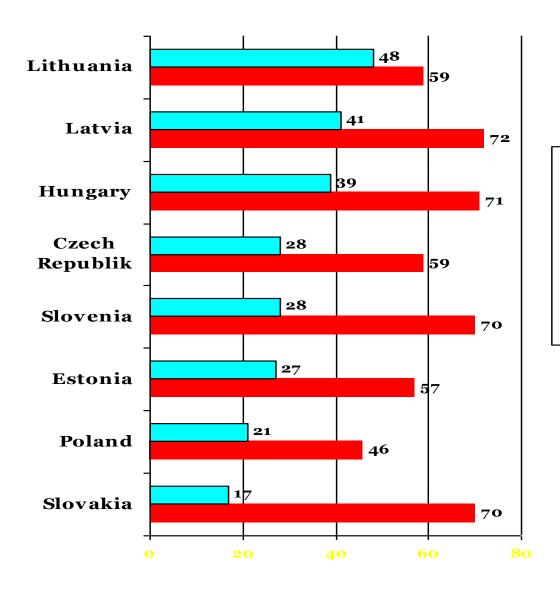
- as membership in the EU has expanded, turnout has fallen

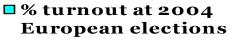


2004 elections - turnout in 8 countries

Country	Time	Turnout		
Czech Republic	11-12 June	28,3		
Estonia	13 June	26,89		
Hungary	13 June	38,47		
Latvia	12 June	41,34		
Lithuania	13 June	48,38		
Poland	13 June	20,87		
Slovakia	13 June	16,96		
Slovenia	13 June	28,3		
Average turnout – 31,19 %				

National and European elections

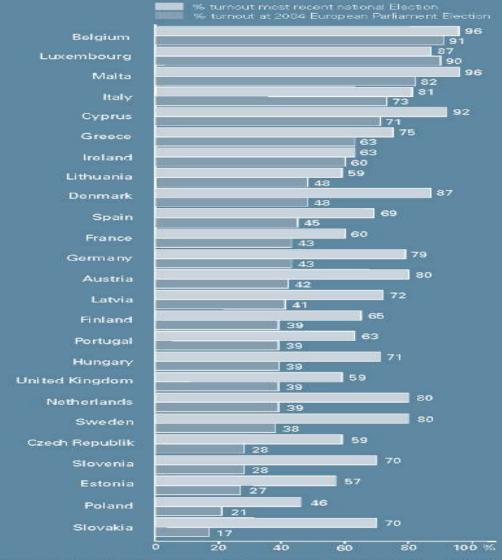




% turnout at most recent national elections

Figure 1: National Differences in the Euro-Gap, 2004

EURO-GAP: Difference in turnout at latest national election and 2004. European Parliament election.



Source: http://www.elections2004.eu.int/ep-election/sites. Official returns so of 9 July 2004 plus provisional returns for Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg and the UK. National election results. Rose, Richard and Munro, Neil, Elections and Parties in New European Democracies (Washington, DC. CQ Press, 2003), and update from authors' files.

Why such a low turnout?

- > second order elections
- > no traditions in participating after transition
- > poor knowledge about the EP
- > no real campaigns before elections
- > dissatisfaction with the government

Where such a low turnout?

Accession referendums:

- 1. Hungary
- 2. Slovakia
- 3. Czech Republic
- 4. Poland

Elections to EP:

- 1. Slovakia
- 2. Poland
- 3. Estonia
- 4. Czech Republic

Slovakia, Poland and Czech Republic

- the lowest turnouts in both: accession referendum and European elections

Example of Poland Accession referendum 7-8 June 2003

Declarations of participation before accession referendum (02.2003)

Pracownia Badań Społecznych

76% - wanted to participate,58% - definitely wanted to take part

CBOS

77% - wanted to participate66% - definitely wanted to take part

> 58,85% turnout

(4th (among 8) and 5th result among 9 candidate states, where the referendums took place)

- > YES 77,45%
- ➤ Abstention 40%
- ➤ After 1st voting day turnout 17% (ca. 29% of those voting)

Accession referendum 7-8 June 2003

Why didn't they vote?

(factors influencing the abstention in referendum)

- objective reasons
- **feeling of lack of influence on the final result of referendum** (feeling of lack of influence on decision about accession, they ascribe a smaller importance to their vote) **(28%)**
- to demonstrate **objection against situation in country, distrust to government and to political elites** (lack of political representation, conviction that deputies defend only their own interests)(17%)
- **lack of conviction about the advantages** of integration and fears of the consequences of the EU entry (17%)
- very **bad opinion about the situation in Poland** and no hope for a better future **(11%)**
- hesitation connected with making decision on how to vote for the EU or against (10%)

Elections to the European Parliament 13 June 2004

Declarations of participation before the European elections

September/October 2003 – ca. 50% **February/March 2004** – ca. 40% **May 2004** – ca. 50%

Taking into consideration previous experiences with elections the turnout could be expected to be ca. 20% lower – 35-40%

Turnout – 20,87%

Abstention – ca. 80%

CBOS

33% of those asked about their taking part in elections, answered positively.

It was because of the unwillingness to demonstrate behavior which was not accepted by the society.

The higher turnout could be influenced by:	The lower turnout could be influenced by:
"Novelty effect" Possibility of renegotiation of the	Poor knowledge and misunderstanding of the idea of elections
Accession Treaty arrangements Improvement of social attitudes towards the EU Increase of the social optimism	Identifying the elections as a pre- elections to the Polish parliament Lack of the information campaign about the EP elections
	No traditions and habits in participating in elections

European elections, 13 June 2004

Factors influencing the abstention in elections

- Lack of the information campaign (78% stated that they had deficiencies in information about elections and candidates)
- > Long weekend
- > decisions were made very late
 - in the last phase before elections more than 50% of voters were not sure about their choice
- > Discouragement caused by the political situation in country
 - ca. 68% stated that the situation was bad, and 22% - that the situation is ordinary (average). Only 3 out of 100 voters (3%) estimated the situation positively

Reasons of abstention

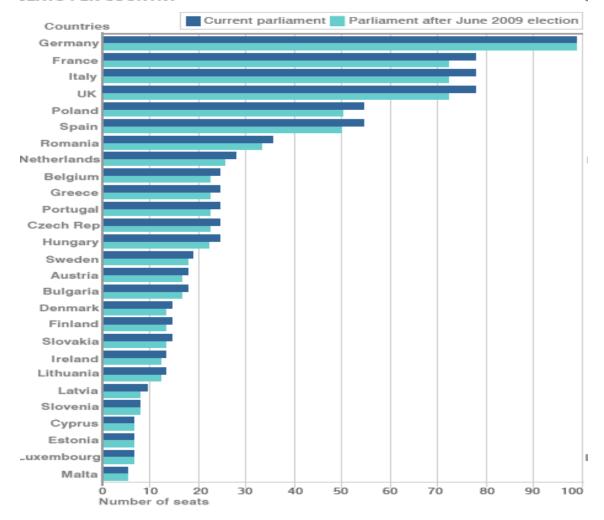
- 69,6% those who did not go to vote, when asked about reasons of their abstention said:
 "I didn't want to vote"
- > ca. 55% of electorate did not vote in order to express (submit) their protest against the manner of governing in the state
- > **Refusal of legitimization** of what was happening in Poland (nonparticipating in democratic procedures)
- ➤ **Election offer** and the way how politicians treated the EP elections, **discouraged the electorate**
- Every fifth voter (21%) did not take part, because of the conviction that elections served to gain well paid and prestigious offices

Corruption in the political life – as a main reason of citizens' passiveness?

- > According to international researches (01.2004) Poland is the one of the most corrupted members of the enlarged EU
- ➤ Since the beginning of the 90's corruption was maintained as one of the biggest problems by the Polish society
- > Ca. 65% of people asked, maintain the corruption as a very big problem, and ca. 25% as a rather big problem.
- ➤ Corruption among politicians is the most often discussed problem in Poland.

Political passiveness in Poland

- ➤ The most important reason of abstention was the general situation in Poland corruption in political life, disgrace of the governing elites, dismissal of the Prime Minister.
- ➤ The result passiveness and apathy of the electorate, populism
- > consequences of lack of the effective social control mechanisms are the corrupted system and the feeling of helplessness among the society
- ➤ This phenomena can lead to a totally corrupted political system or to strengthening the conviction that those governing are bad, unmoral and corrupted.



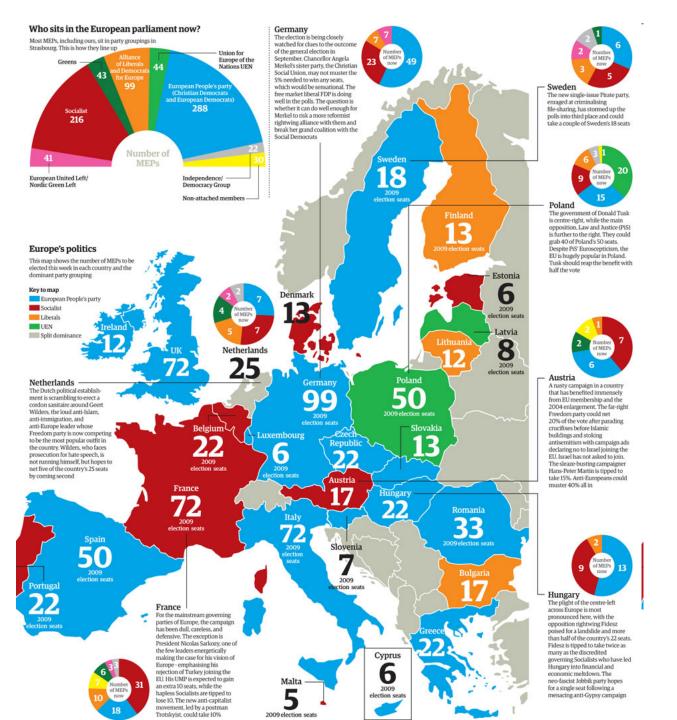
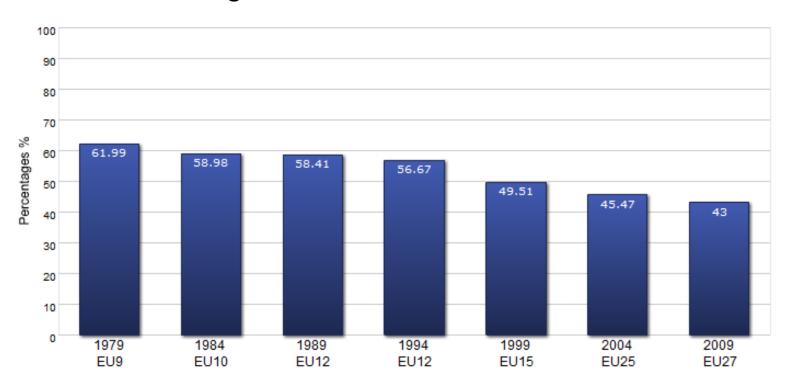


Figure 1-1 Turnout in EP elections 1979-2009



1979 - EU9 - 9 Member States: Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, the UK, Denmark and Ireland.

1984 - EU10 - The 9 Member States + Greece in 1981.

1989 - EU12 - The 10 Member States + Spain and Portugal in 1986.

1994 - EU12 - 12 Member States.

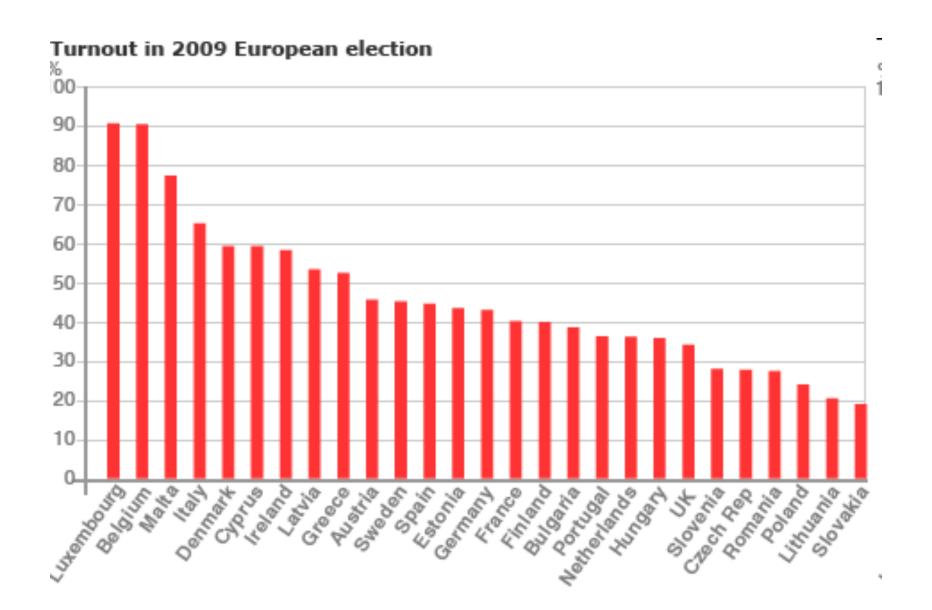
1999 - EU15 - The 12 Member States + Austria, Sweden and Finland in 1995.

2004 - EU25 - The 15 Member States + Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia, the

Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Cyprus and Malta in 2004.

2009 - EU27 - The 25 Member States + Bulgaria and Romania in 2007

Source: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parliament/archive/elections2009/en/turnout en.html



Discussion

1. If DD is so good and effective, why other states do not use referendum us much as Switzerland?

2. Is DD a good tool for making national decisions?

3. Is DD a good tool for making transnational decisions?

2. Direct Democracy in EU – more than referendums on new Treaties and accession

European Citizens Initiative – Direct Democracy on the supranational level.

 The draft Treaty of Lisbon opens up the possibility for citizens to submit a proposal to the European Commission.

Rules:

- 1. Citizens can also call for constitutional amendments
- 2. No more than one million citizens
- 3. Seven member states counts as 'significant'
- 4. Time period: 18 months

- 6. Free form of the initiative
- 7. Role of the Commission
- 8. Five Rights of the Initiative
- 9. Verification by member states
- 10. Free collection of signatures

First Initiatives

labeling GMO food

the citizens initiative for people with disabilities

Supporter: Initiative and Referendum Institute for Europe.

 transnational think-tank dedicated to research and education on the procedures and practices of modern direct democracy

Arguments for DD in EU

- DD makes possible a new relationship between politicians and citizens: this includes a higher level of awareness and perception and an improved dialogue between the two groups.
- DD strengthens the citizen's role in politics: as a result of confronting substantive issues on a regular basis, citizens become more competent, more highly motivated and more ready to learn.
- DD contributes to a strengthened force for integration. In relation to the EU, it can become a more efficient political counterbalance to the globalize economy.

- in countries with obligatory referendums or referendums resulting from initiatives, European policies are in greater harmony with the wishes of the citizens than in countries using only plebiscites or in those with no instruments of direct co-determination at all.
- referendums about Europe contribute over the longer term to increased support for the integration process
- governments of countries which have had referendums on Europe are in a better position to determine the agenda of treaty negotiations as compared with countries which have never had referendums on Europe.

Criticism of EU DD:

- Pressure Group Dominance A possibility; some people are more politically active than others.
 However, at the end of the day, it will be all the people who will decide the outcome.
- Government and Media will Attempt to Influence
- Cost
- Complex policies may not be understood by europeans (deliberative polls☺)

- some of the countries do not have sufficient legal basis for referendum (for example very few legal rules, non-binding outcomes),
- pour or even non-existent initiative and referendum culture,

Conclusion

- direct democracy is necessary in decision making process connected with integration,
- direct democracy should be developed by introducing citizens initiative and popularization of deliberative polls,

