“Why and how does the ‘Demos’ question matter”

Discuss the existence of a demos which is typically European and which would thus allow for the construction of a supranational European Democracy

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The Story you want to explore:

- Crisis
- Democratic Legitimacy
- Construct Supranational democracy
- “Existence of a European Demos”? 
Yes! Sources of legitimacy in Crisis And the Democratic sine Qua Non

- Crisis
- Democratic Legitimacy
- Purposive (Mission)
- Performative (Results)
- Process (Democracy)
Crisis

Democratic Legitimacy

Construct Supranational democracy

“Existence of a European Demos”?

Too narrow (democracy in Europe)

Too mimetic (one nation, one state, one demos)

…but, no!
The problem with constructing supranational democracy thanks to a “typically” European demos

Stubborn Sociology and the Yearning for Control (Somewheres vs Anywheres)

Tainted ideology and the Poised Well (“Oneness of People” populism, technocracy and othering)

Irrepressible modernity and the Technology of democracy (Chaotic Pluralism; self-construction and assemblages)
The problem is both Empirical and Normative

- Empirical: Do not wait for Godot
- Normative: Who wants to ground Democracy in Europe (only/mostly) on a European Demos anyway!
European democratic legitimacy is not just at EU-level but in the EU
-> anchored in the democratic health of individual countries as they try to manage their democratic interdependence
-> This is the genuine supranational mission
What then of the “demos” in democracy?!

A short detour in political theory
At the Foundation: On the banks of the Rubicon

“RADICAL FEDERALISTS”

Transcending the European State System

Transforming the European State System

“MODERATE FEDERALISTS”

Upholding the European State System

“SOVEREIGNISTS”
Navigating the Rubicon: Mimetic vs Transformative Logics

The Diagnosis: An unstable equilibrium? An impossible ideal? Europe’s DNA as anti-democratic commitment to “techne”? A necessary sin against mimetic tropes? A Sequence between technocratic liberation from democratic constrains and re-anchoring in democracy?
Staying on the Rubicon!

**Supranational temptation:**
Unity instead of Union?

**Sovereignist’ Demons:**
Fragmentation instead of Union?

**multi-tiered Union**
Democratic theory: Three political / normative orders

“EU as (federal) STATE”
EU as democracy
Supra-national (demos)

“EU as UNION”
EU as demoicracy
Trans-national (opening of demoi)

“EU as ALLIANCE”
EU of democracies
Sovereign National (demos)

Democracy
=> One People

=> Peoples
**Demoicracy:**

European demoicracy is a Union of peoples, understood both as *states* and as *citizens*, who govern together but not as one.
Democratic theory: Three political /normative orders

EU as democracy
incorporation into a single démos

EU as demoicracy
Plurality of interlinked demoi

EU of democracies
complete closure and separation of the démio

Democracy

=> One People
A European demos? Strong vs weak versions of demoicracy

- **DEMOS**: ‘community of citizens (civic, not ethnic) engaged in self-government’
- **Europe’s born-again Demos?**
- **Strong - “No demos”** – What a European demos is not:
  - pan-European…Political sphere
  - Social contract
  - Narrative
  - Majoritarian consent
- **Weak - “Multiple connected demoi”: European demos as 29th demos** - What it is:
  - Interconnected spheres of democratic contestation, Transnational Alliances
  - Overlapping political spheres and narrative - social mutual recognition
  - Shared distinctiveness outside Europe
How do we know that A Demos/Demoi “Exist”: Three Takes

A) Minimalist - Procedural (how --a method for reaching collective decisions among very big groups of people; authorization)

• 1) People as Constitution-maker

⇒ European demos? First order (treaty) decisions by super-majorities
⇒ National demoi: as “Pouvoirs constituants” at the European level
⇒ Joint sovereignty through concurrent vetos or right to exit

• 2) People as Government-maker

• European demos? European Parliament, Council and Commission as classic division of power

⇒ National demoi: as “Electors” - non-majoritarian representation at the centre, checks and balances for small states, mitigation of asymmetries of power
⇒ Joint sovereignty through compound representation

B) Maximalist - Substantive (who can disrupt those who govern)

• 3) People as Citizens or pléthos

⇒ European demos? Nation-less pan-European protests
⇒ National demoi: National, functional demoi: access to the EU? Transnational alliances?
⇒ Joint sovereignty “all the way down”
The EP?

The only inclusive institution: national demoi and euro-demos, governments, oppositions, rebels

But what of the inclusive ethos?
On the Rubicon:
-> Institutional debates and the democratic Anchor

"FEDERAL STATE"
*EU-as-democracy*

"SOVEREIGNISM"
*EU-as-democracies*

EU-STATISM

NATION-STATES

**Mimetic logic**

**Transformative Logic?**

**THE BALANCERS**

**THE INDEPENDANTS**

(European Parliament, European Council, ECJ, Com, ECB)

(Autonomy)

What is the democratic Anchor?

"UNION"
*EU-as-demoicracy*
Demoicracy and the crisis

Supranational cosmopolitan disciplines.

“UNION”
EU-as-demoicracy

European Parliament

European Council

Transformative logic

..anchored in state capacity
⇒ Heath of domestic democracies
Demoicracy as a Third Way

Supranational cosmopolitan disciplines.

Transformative logic

...anchored in state capacity
⇒ Heath of domestic democracies

EU-as-demoicracy
Q1 Can EU institutions avoid “governing at a distance” in the name of the European demos?

-> Democratically Sustainable EU rules and mandated reforms under democratic interdependence
Q2. Does the EP help national debates become more mutually empathetic? Does the EP help connect system-supporting and anti-system forces and world views across member states?
Q3. Does the EP promote transnational justice through its definition of European interest or by encouraging the various peoples to take into consideration each other’s winners and losers?
From sustainable growth to...“Sustainable Integration”

Q4 Can the EU represent the young as Guardian of the Long Term?
(and sustainability not just for Europe)

Inter-generational justice and the silver lining of complex multi-level democracy
The Demoicratic Play on the EP Stage

MEPs and Democracy in Europe (governments, oppositions, rebels)

- MEP as Mediators
  (National democracies and the “Do no Harm” principle)
- MEPs as Translators
  (Transnational democracy and the ethos of “mutual recognition”)
- MEPs as Bridgers
  (Supranational democracy and “agonistic deliberation”)

Specifics:
1. Empowering European citizens everywhere (Brexit, Poland)
2. Transnational EP list
3. Types of Eurosceptics
A European Demos?
Union over Unity
Togetherness over Oneness