

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

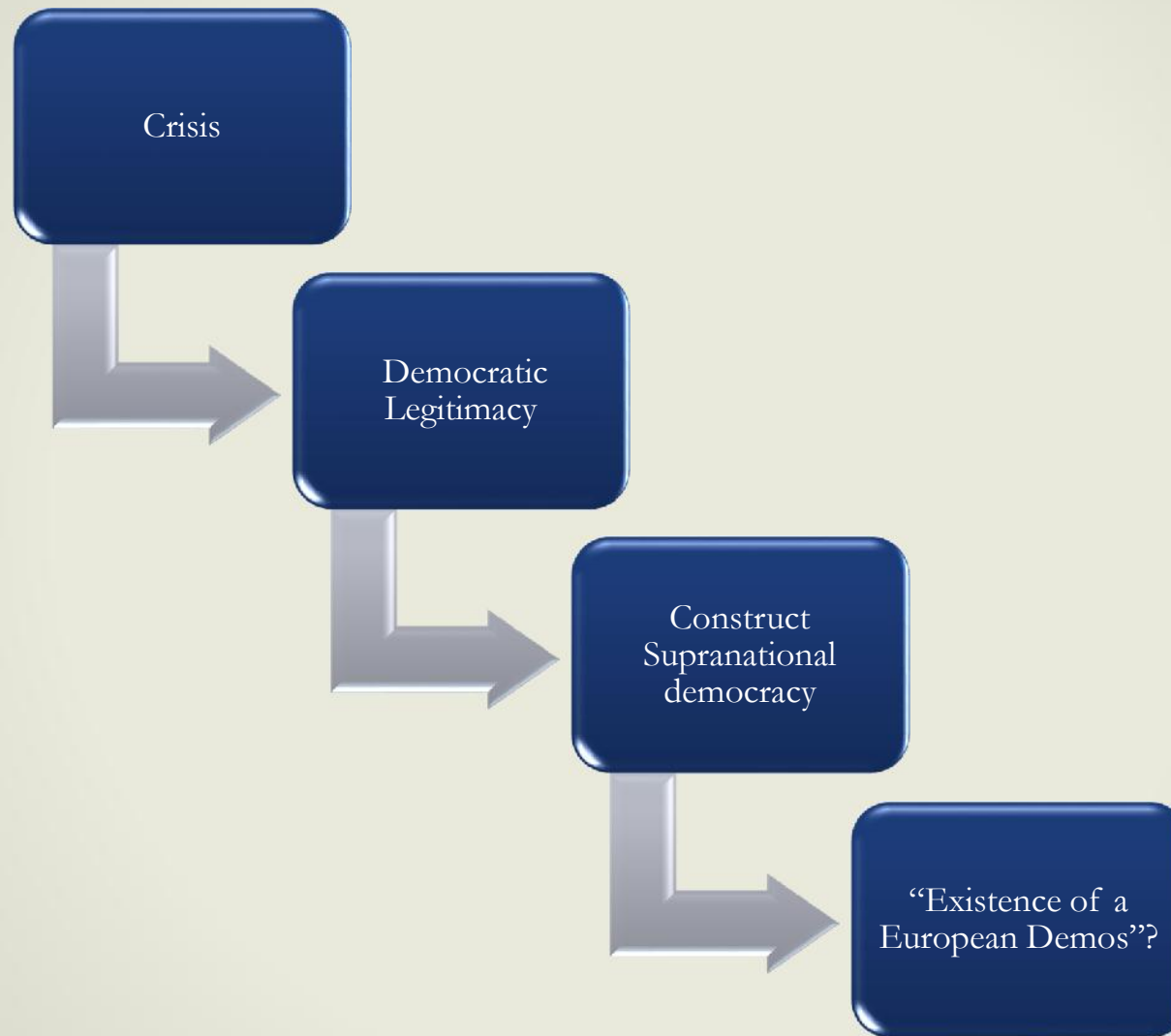
*Discuss the existence of a demos which is typically European
and which would thus allow for the construction of a
supranational European Democracy*

Kalypso Nicolaidis

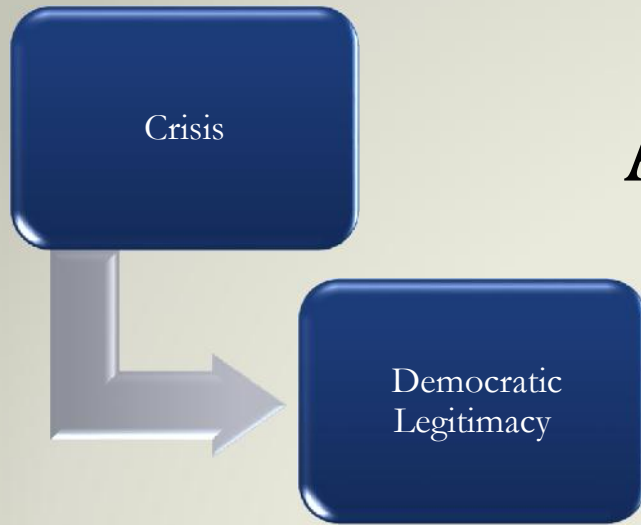
University Of Oxford

European Parliament, March 20th 2017

The Story you want to explore:



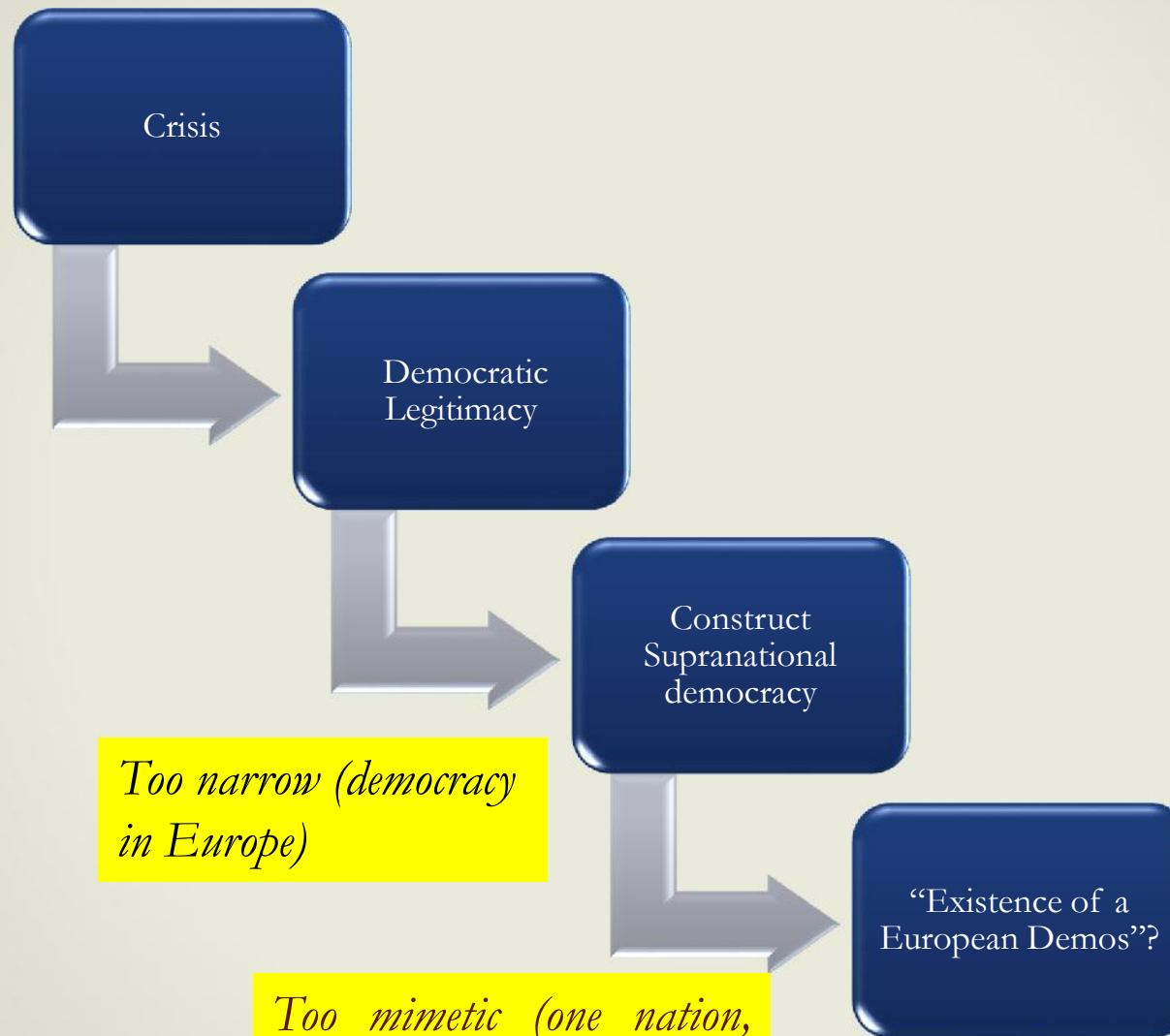
Yes! Sources of legitimacy in Crisis And the Democratic sine Qua Non



Purposive (Mission)

Performative (Results)

Process (Democracy)



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
Poisoned 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!

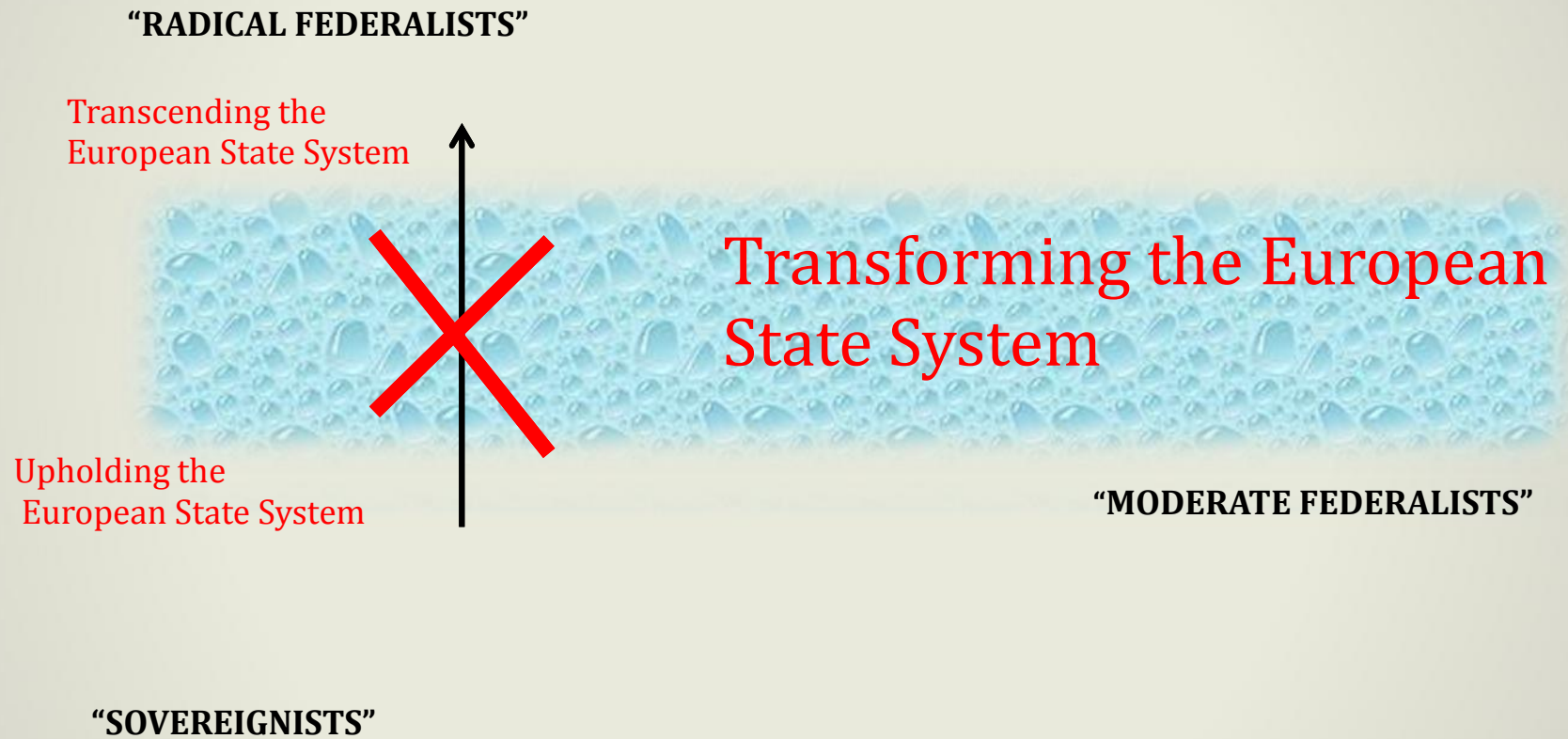
- European democratic legitimacy is
not just at EU-*level* but *in* the EU
- > anchored in the democratic health of individual countries as they try to manage their democratic interdependence
 - > This is the genuine supranational mission



What then of the “demos” in democracy?!

A short detour in political theory

At the Foundation: On the banks of the Rubicon



Navigating the Rubicon: Mimetic vs Transformative Logics

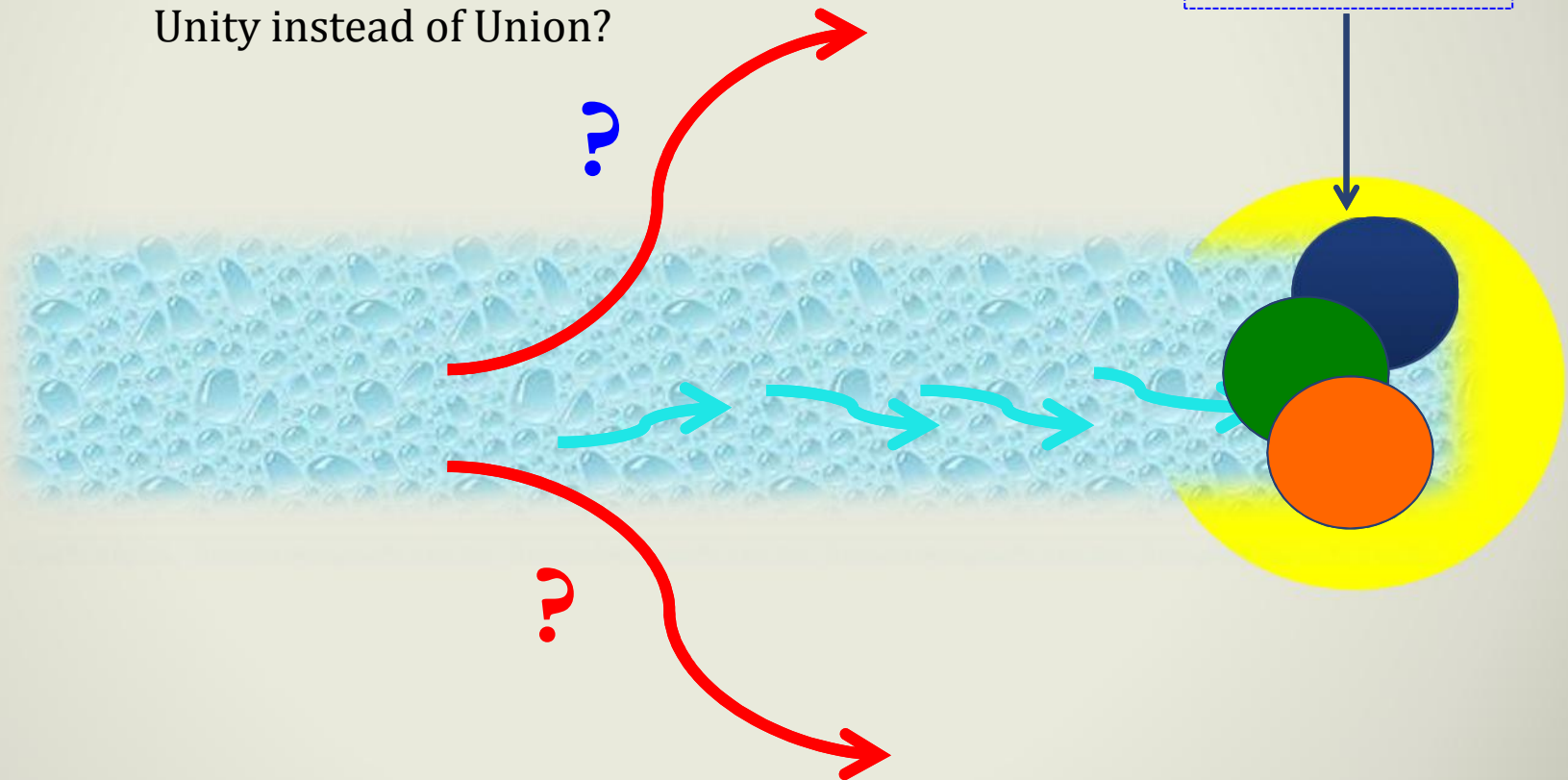


The Diagnosis: An unstable equilibrium? An impossible ideal? Europe's DNA as anti-democratic commitment to "techne"? A necessary sin against mimetic tropes? A Sequence between technocratic liberation from democratic constraints and re-anchoring in democracy?

•

Staying on the Rubicon!

Supranational temptation:
Unity instead of Union?



**multi-tiered
Union**

Sovereignist' Demons:
Fragmentation instead of 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)

Demoicracy as a
Third Way not in
between

Democracy

=>One People

=> Peoples

Demoicracy:

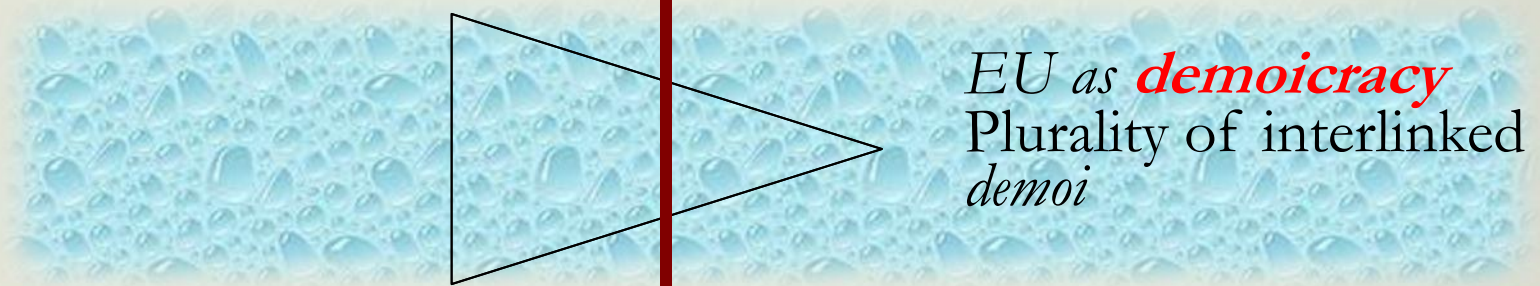
European demoicracy is a Union of
peoples,
understood both as **states** and as **citizens,**
who govern together but not as one.



Democratic theory: Three political / normative orders

*EU as **democracy***

incorporation into a single *dêmos*



*EU as **demoicracy***
Plurality of interlinked
dêmoi

*EU of **democracies***

complete closure and separation
of the *dêmoi*

Democracy

=> One People

=>

A European demos? Strong vs weak versions of democracy

- 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



*The Million Man March against the Iraq War.
15 february 2003*



*Workers in Southern Europe Synchronize
Anti-Austerity Strikes (Nov 14, 2012)*

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 demois 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

EU-STATISM



NATION-STATES

"SOVEREIGNISM"

EU-as-democracies

Mimetic
logic

Transformative
Logic?

THE BALANCERS

THE INDEPENDANTS

European
Parliament

ECJ

Com

ECB

(Autonomy)

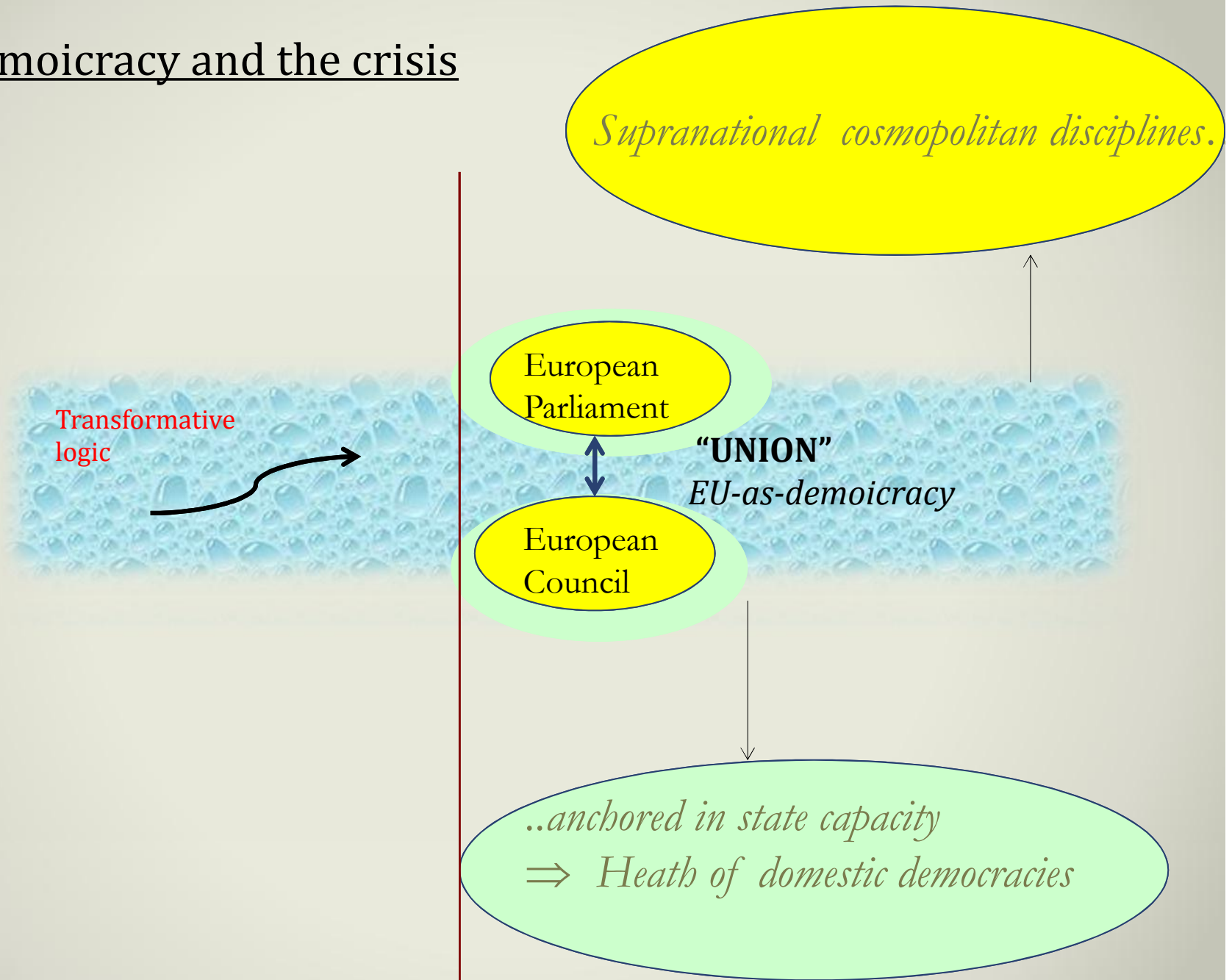
European
Council

**What is the
democratic
Anchor?**

"UNION"

EU-as-demoicracy

Demoicracy and the crisis



Demoicracy as a Third Way

Supranational cosmopolitan disciplines.

Transformative
logic



UNION"
I-as-demoicracy

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

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?



Democratic Deficit vs Justice Deficit

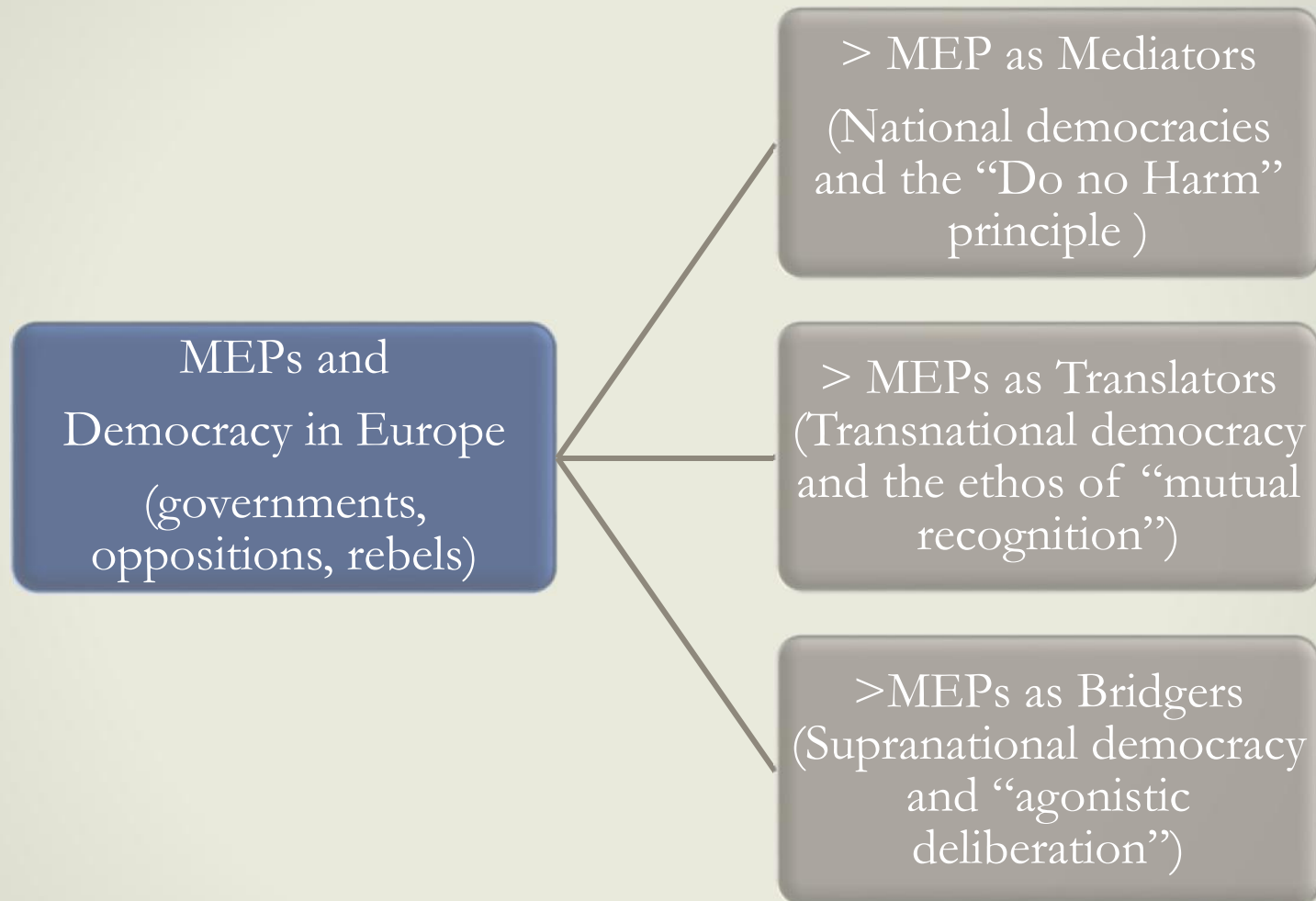
From sustainable growth to...“Sustainable Integration”

*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



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

