

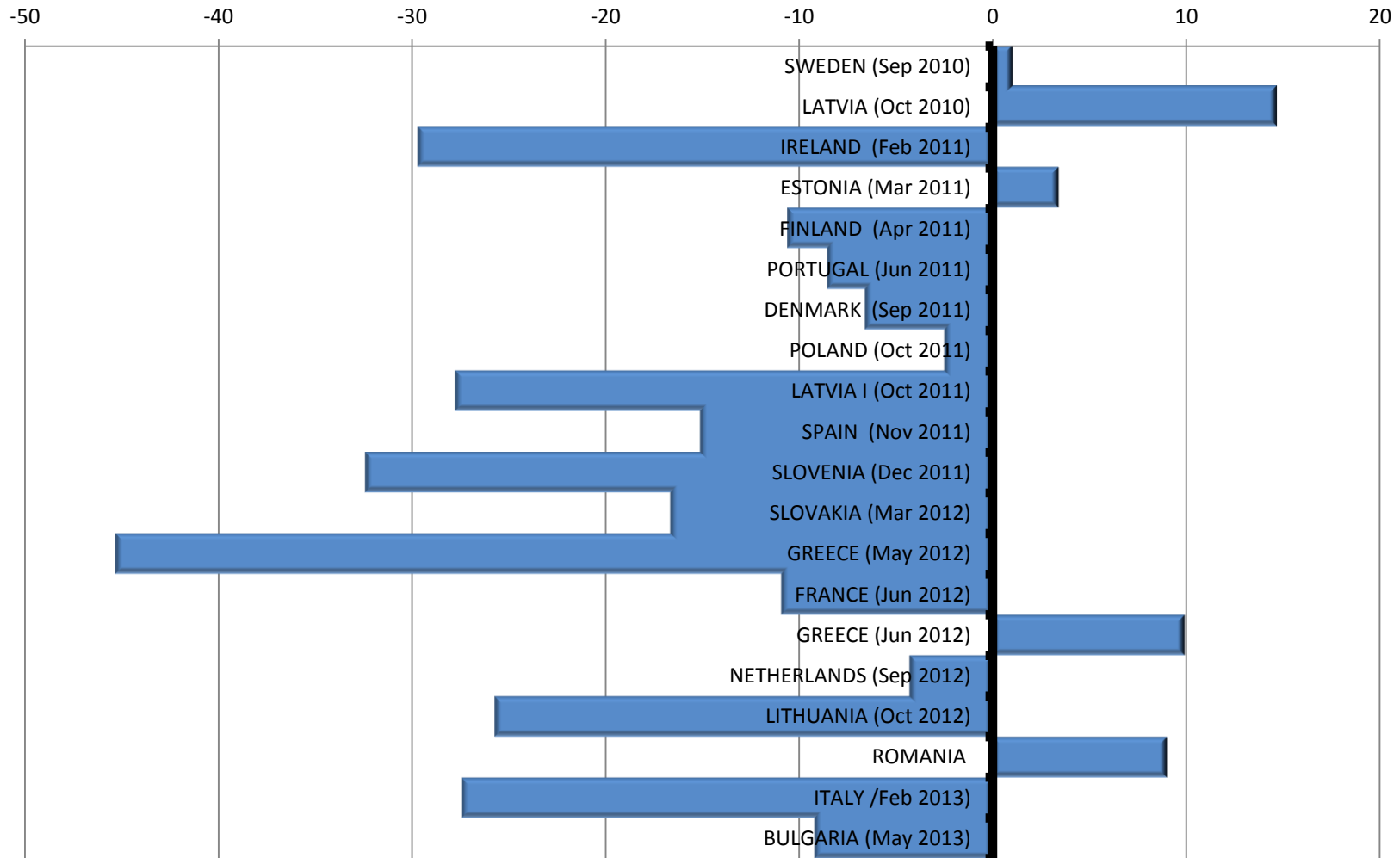


Crisis of democracy and elite responsiveness in Europe

Luca Verzichelli
Jean Monnet EUReACT
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A crisis of Elites in Europe?

Win/Loss of governmental parties in EU general elections (2009-2013)



A crisis of Elites in Europe?

Attachment and satisfaction with democracy indicators

- First time after 1957 attachment to Europe declines and, at the same time, trust in domestic institutions decreases
- European institutions weaker and weaker
- Failure of “Supranational Surveillance”
- Failure or limits of technocratic governments
- Increase of populist approach to politics
- Increase of neo-national solutions

Responsiveness or responsibility?

Peter Mair (*Ruling the void*, 2013)

Pre-crisis elements of change

- Age of party democracy has passed
- But what possible new configuration for parliamentary democracies?
- Focus on Europe
- Indifference and citizens disengagement
- Long term negative trend of party membership

Responsiveness or responsibility?

After the crisis:

- Non responsible elites tend to stress their nature of alternative actors, maximising responsiveness to anti-political stances
- Responsible actors (from other elites and technocrats) tend to substitute responsive parties, but they cannot count on long-standing consensus
- As a result: new polarization (European integration cleavage?) between responsible and responsible

Audience democracy

Manin, principles of representative government 1996

- Metamorphoses and not crisis of parliamentary democracy
- Crucial aspect: “maturity” of public opinion
- Modernization and its effect on the delegation chain
- Divide between politics perceived as “leader issues” and politics to be shared with ordinary people

Variations in representative government (Manin)

	Parliamentarism	Party democracy	Audience democracy
Election of rep.	Personal trust Local links notable	Party loyalty Class membership activists	Personal mediated trust Electoral market Media expert
Partial autonomy of rep.	Free expression	Party leaders guide	Images
Freedom of public	Voice of the people at the gate of parliament	Opposed views within parliament	public opinion and electoral views do not coincide Opinion polls
Trial by discussion	parliament	Party negotiation corporativism	Negotiation between government and interest groups Debate in the media