

## VERTICAL TENSIONS: METHODOLOGY

**This global security pulse focuses on vertical tensions (defined below). This pulse consists of three separate parts. First, there is a general table of the main trends driving vertical tensions in society. Literature and data used for this table can be found below. Second, there is a table on vertical tensions between national governments and the EU and the overall state of the international order, based on a set of quantitative indicators. The third part of the global security pulse consists of the results of the scan of which a description is given below. All (raw) results are available with the authors.**

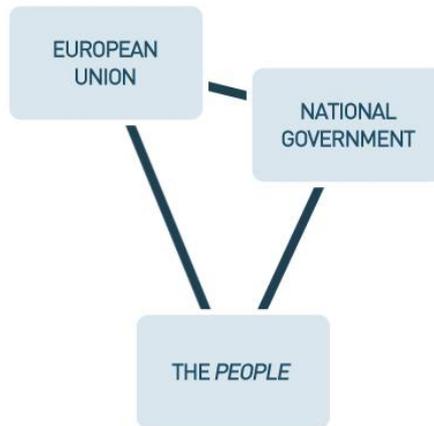
The concept of ‘vertical tensions’ is defined as tensions between governance levels.<sup>i</sup> With regards to governance, “tensions describe conflicting, contradictory or competing positions that participants face” which need to be addressed if the relationship between the parties is to continue or survive.<sup>ii</sup> We identify three key parties or levels (also through the scan) - the people, national governments, and EU institutions. Tensions between these levels are explored individually, looking at interactions and trust between (1) the people and national governments, (2) the people and the EU, and (3) national governments and the EU. All indicators relate specifically to the Dutch context.

European democracies have hit turbulent waters: the financial crisis (2007), followed by the Eurocrisis (2009), the European migrant crisis (2015), and the UK vote to leave the EU (2016) have put pressure on the old model of the social contract between the state (both at the national and EU levels) and society.<sup>iii</sup> These crises have eroded the societal trust in the political system and increased vertical tensions between the people and the state. This is a serious issue since trust is widely considered a key precondition for the maintenance of a healthy social contract and democratic governance.<sup>iv</sup> Declining faith in government negatively affects its legitimacy, weakens its ability to carry out its functions (e.g., maintain order, defend national sovereignty, manage economic conditions, etc.), and leads to deterioration of social cohesion, justice and solidarity.<sup>v</sup> Thus the dimensions we look at include the levels of trust in three branches of power (i.e., government, the judicial system, and the parliament)<sup>vi</sup>, the overall level of satisfaction with the way democracy works in the Netherlands<sup>vii</sup>, and optimism regarding the future.

Wielding a considerable amount of legislative, executive and judicial power, the EU has fundamentally rearranged the social contract. Evolving “from a microeconomic and legal construct to a fully-fledged economic union”, the European social contract and the national social contract do not necessarily complement each other.<sup>viii</sup> This has created an additional compact between the people and the EU (and also between the national government and the EU). While decisions at the European level are having an increasing impact on national level, sentiments to reject or limit any transfer of national power to the EU exist, as this would undermine national sovereignty and democratic self-determination.<sup>ix</sup> Dimensions include overall levels of trust in the EU,<sup>x</sup> support for EU membership, and optimism regarding the future of the EU.

Vertical tensions between the national level and the EU have also increased, illustrated by the rise of populist sovereigntist political movements in Europe, such as Poland (Law and Justice party), Hungary (Fireside Party), and Switzerland (Swiss’ People’s Party). The initial European commitment towards an ‘ever-closer union’ is under severe pressure,<sup>xi</sup> as is the liberal consensus on the role of free trade, the

importance of global and regional governance to solve transnational challenges, and the benefits of liberal democracy, illustrated by the threats (and actions) to leave inter- and supranational organizations, raise economic barriers, and install protectionist measures.<sup>xii</sup> This threatens cohesion and stability of the European Union as we know it. To measure change over time, we look at the number of reasoned opinions issued by national governments “if they consider that a draft EU legislative act does not comply with the principle of subsidiarity”, and the share of anti-EU parties in government.



### RESULTS OF THE SCAN

In total 44 publications were consulted for a period of six months (February 2018 to (and including) July 2018). This generated 97 potentially relevant signals. 18 of these were potential threats, 15 were signals which were potentially relevant for the international order and 64 signals had a potential impact on either one. Out of the 97 potentially relevant signals there were 59 potential underappreciated signals. 49 signals qualified as new developments rather than new manifestations of existing trends (42) or signals already on the radar (6).

### MEDIUM LIST

THREAT	ORDER
Europe is moving from illiberal majoritarianism to authoritarianism	Italy and Spain are going through political crises, which may include Euroscepticism and growth in populism, and present a potential instability for the Eurozone as well
Research suggests that many Europeans, especially young people, seem to be questioning the very essence of democratic values	A changing balance of power in the European Union post-Brexit?
Confusing the symptoms of disorder with its cause	The hidden danger of being risk averse.
Inequality as a driver of vertical tensions	Increase of Euroscepticism in central Europe
Despite recovering from the recent migrant crisis, migration is still a driver of vertical tension	Technology vs. democracy; are they compatible
The other side of the coin: the Police as a trustworthy partner	Hyper-democratization: social media as the fourth branch of government

The other side of the coin: increased optimism in the Netherlands, but mistrust remains	Democracy recession.
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SOURCES USED FOR OPEN SCAN

(INTER)NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS	THINK TANKS/ RESEARCH CENTERS	SPECIFIC SOURCES	TWITTER	PODCAST
<a href="#">CBS</a>	<a href="#">Atlantic Council</a>	<a href="#">Deutsche Welle</a>	<a href="#">Edward Lucas</a>	<a href="#">Mark Leonard's World in 30 Minutes</a>
<a href="#">EPSC</a>	<a href="#">Carnegie Europe</a>	<a href="#">EUOBSERVER</a>	<a href="#">Jakub Janda</a>	
<a href="#">European Parliament Think Tank</a>	<a href="#">CEPS</a>	<a href="#">Euractiv</a>	<a href="#">Judy Dempsey</a>	
<a href="#">EUvsDisinformation</a>	<a href="#">Chatham House</a>	<a href="#">European Green Journal</a>	<a href="#">Peter Pomerantsev</a>	
<a href="#">Risbo</a>	<a href="#">Clingendael</a>	<a href="#">Forbes</a>		
<a href="#">SCP</a>	<a href="#">CSIS</a>	<a href="#">Human Progress</a>		
	<a href="#">ETH Zurich</a>	<a href="#">Politico</a>		
	<a href="#">EUISS</a>	<a href="#">Radio Free Europe</a>		
	<a href="#">European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR)</a>	<a href="#">The Economist</a>		
	<a href="#">European Values Think Tank</a>	<a href="#">WEF</a>		
	<a href="#">Friedrich Ebert Stiftung</a>	<a href="#">Wired</a>		
	<a href="#">Friends of Europe</a>			
	<a href="#">GLOBSEC</a>			
	<a href="#">HCSS</a>			
	<a href="#">Institute for Public Policy Research</a>			
	<a href="#">Institute of Public Affairs</a>			
	<a href="#">Max Planck Institute for the</a>			

<a href="#">Study of Societies (MPIFG)</a>
<a href="#">Stratfor Worldview</a>
<a href="#">The Centre for European Policy Analysis (CEPA)</a>
<a href="#">The European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)</a>
<a href="#">The Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)</a>
<a href="#">Verwey Jonker Instituut</a>

SOURCES USED FOR LONG TERM TRENDS: VERTICAL TENSIONS (10-YEAR TIMESPAN)

MEASUREMENT	SOURCE
<i>Tension between citizens (NL) and the national government</i>	
Levels of trust in (the three branches of) government (2009-2018) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government</li> <li>• Judicial system</li> <li>• Parliament</li> </ul>	<a href="#">SCP</a>
Overall level of satisfaction in the way democracy works in the Netherlands (2009-2018)	<a href="#">European Commission</a>
Optimism of the future (2009-2018)	<a href="#">SCP</a>
<i>Tension between citizens (NL) and the European Union</i>	
Levels of trust in the EU (2009-2018) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government (European Commission)</li> <li>• Judicial System (European Court of Justice)</li> <li>• Parliament (European Parliament)</li> </ul>	<a href="#">European Commission</a>
Support for EU Membership (2009-2018)	<a href="#">SCP</a>
Optimism of the future of the EU (2009-2018)	<a href="#">European Commission</a>

SOURCES USED FOR LONG TERM TRENDS: INTERNATIONAL ORDER (10-YEAR TIMESPAN)

MEASUREMENT	INDICATOR/PROXY	SOURCE
<i>Norms</i>		
Ambition to achieve more far-reaching unification ('ever-closer union')	Share of Eurosceptic parties in national government; share of Eurosceptic parties in European Parliament (2009-2018)	<a href="#">European Parliament</a> ; <a href="#">IPEX</a> ; <a href="#">HCSS</a>
Consensus principle	Share of decisions made by consensus in the Council of the European Union vis-à-vis decisions made by qualified majority vote (2009-2018)	<a href="#">EU Open Data Portal</a> (Data not available as of 20/07/2018)
Subsidiarity principle	Number of reasoned opinions issued by national governments "if they consider that a draft EU legislative act does not comply with the principle of subsidiarity" (2009-2018)	<a href="#">European Parliament</a>
<i>Rules</i>		
Political criteria (Copenhagen Criteria): stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy	Level of democracy in EU28 (2009-2018)	<a href="#">Freedom House</a>
Political criteria (Copenhagen Criteria): stability of institutions guaranteeing rule of law	Level of rule of law in EU28 (2009-2018)	<a href="#">World Bank (World Governance Indicators)</a>
Economic criteria (Convergence Criteria): sound public finances	Number of countries with a government deficit exceeding 3% of GDP (2009-2018)	<a href="#">World Bank (World Governance Indicators)</a>
Economic criteria (Convergence Criteria): Sustainable public finances	Number of countries with a government debt exceeding 60% of GDP (2009-2018)	<a href="#">World Bank (World Governance Indicators)</a>

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<sup>i</sup> Chou, Meng-Hsuan, and Åse Gornitzka, eds. *Building the knowledge economy in Europe: New constellations in European research and higher education governance*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014, p. 17.

<sup>ii</sup> Hayes, John Paul, Chris Cornforth, and Siv Vangen. "Tensions: a challenge to governance and cross-sector partnerships." (2011), p. 1.

<sup>iii</sup> <http://rooseveltinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Rahman-New-Social-Contract.pdf>

<sup>iv</sup> Tom van der Meer, Political Trust and the "Crisis of Democracy"

<sup>v</sup> Robert D. Putnam, *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society* (2002); Revisiting the European Social Contract, via

<https://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/key/date/2013/html/sp130302.en.html>;

<https://hcss.nl/sites/default/files/files/reports/The%20rise%20of%20Popular%20Sovereignism-what%20it%20is-where%20it%20comes%20from-and%20what%20it%20means%20for%20international%20security%20and%20defense.pdf>

<sup>vi</sup> [https://www.scp.nl/Publicaties/Alle\\_publicaties/Publicaties\\_2018/Burgerperspectieven\\_2018\\_2](https://www.scp.nl/Publicaties/Alle_publicaties/Publicaties_2018/Burgerperspectieven_2018_2)

<sup>vii</sup> <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Chart/getChart/chartType/lineChart/theMeKy/45/groupKy/226/savFile/10000>

<sup>viii</sup> Revisiting the European Social Contract, via

<https://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/key/date/2013/html/sp130302.en.html>

<sup>ix</sup> De Spiegeleire, Stephan De, Clarissa Skinner and Tim Sweijs, *The rise of Popular Sovereignism. What it is, where it comes from, and what it means for international security and defense*. The Hague: The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, 2017. p. 35.

<sup>x</sup> Rood, Jan, *A crisis of confidence in the European Union?* The Hague: Clingendael Netherlands Institute of International Relations, 2017.

<sup>xi</sup> De Spiegeleire, Stephan De, Clarissa Skinner and Tim Sweijs, *The rise of Popular Sovereignism. What it is, where it comes from, and what it means for international security and defense*. The Hague: The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, 2017.

<sup>xii</sup> Spiegeleire, Stephan De, Clarissa Skinner and Tim Sweijs, *The rise of Popular Sovereignism. What it is, where it comes from, and what it means for international security and defense*. The Hague: The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, 2017.