

National Parliaments in the European Union:

Analysing the relation between euroscepticism and parliamentary strength



Madelon Smit

S1442201

h.m.smit@umail.leidenuniv.nl

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Mw. M. van Keulen

Dhr. A. Gerrits

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1. Introduction

National parliaments are often described as the losers of European integration. European integration entails a shift of competences from the member states to the European institutions. The transfer of competences and policy-making capabilities reduced the legislative position of national parliaments. In a principal-agent framework, national parliaments are the agents that have a representative function. Thereby, parliamentary functions are distinct mechanisms to ensure that policy output is in line with the preferences of the collective. National parliaments derive their influence from policymaking and their law-making function, as well as the *ex ante* selection of external officeholders or their elective function and the *ex post* control of the cabinet, in other words their control function.¹ Parliaments can provide a stage for cabinet parties to block the draft of specific bills and scrutinize individual ministers through committees. Moreover, national parliaments are a place for negotiations and the formation of coalitions, better described as the deliberative function of national parliaments.² The chain of responsibility runs from the people that vote to the members of parliaments, whom on their turn delegate to the Prime Minister and his or her cabinet. The Prime Minister delegates to individual ministers whom on their turn delegate to bureaucrats.³

This chain of responsibility neglects the influence of the European Union, which creates a loss of agency. The European Union has become a contestant for national parliaments in the field of policymaking. The direct or indirect influence that national parliaments can exercise on cabinet decisions is far less regarding decisions in the European Union. The reduction of these domestic powers, combined with the tough struggle of contributing to the policy level where the transferred prerogatives are handled, is what Theo Jans describes as a double marginalisation. National parliaments have experienced a decline in their autonomy and have had to acknowledge a new competitor in the regulatory field.⁴ This can also be described as de-parliamentarisation. The accountability of governments and their ability to scrutinize the executive arm has become a profound challenge for National Parliaments since policies are occurring at the European level.

The erosion of control for national parliaments occurs at multiple levels. National parliaments cannot demand *ex ante* commitments of government leaders before taking

1 U. Sieberer, *The Institutional Power of Western European Parliaments: A Multidimensional Analysis*, p. 732.

2 Ibidem, p. 733.

3 Ibidem, p. 734.

4 T. Jans, S. Piedrafita, *The Role of National Parliaments in European Decision-Making*, p. 19.

decisions in the Council due to the increased qualified majority voting.⁵ In addition, the European Parliament does not have the legitimacy to compensate for national parliaments. Therefore, the winners of European integration are the bureaucrats and the industries with private interests in the EU. Since there is a need for information and assistance from technical experts, these players can be considered as the ones who gained most with European integration. The multi-level governance of the EU increased the interdependence of European and national agendas and reduced the autonomy of actors such as national parliaments.⁶

However, European integration cannot be described as black and white as either winners or losers. It is a continuing process. National parliaments have also gained in the process of European integration. Since the Lisbon Treaty in 2008, national parliaments have earned more means to counter the erosion of their control. The Lisbon Treaty has strongly empowered national parliaments. Article 12 of the Treaty on European Union states that:

National parliaments have to contribute actively to the good functioning of the Union through being informed by the institutions and receiving draft legislative acts, by seeing to it that the principle of subsidiarity is respected, by taking part in the revision procedures of the Treaties and by taking part in the inter-parliamentary cooperation between national Parliaments and with the European Parliament.⁷

The Treaty of Lisbon therefore codifies previous informal arrangements and gives national parliaments new rights.⁸ The most important new right that has been introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon in order to strengthen national parliaments is the early warning mechanism (EWM). The EWM gives national parliaments the right to issue reasoned opinions to the President of the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission when national parliaments are in the opinion that a draft legislative proposal does not comply with the principle of subsidiarity.⁹ The subsidiarity checks establish a new accountability of the Commission pertaining to national parliaments.¹⁰ However, it is debateable to what extent this accountability stretches. Nevertheless, the EWM gives back a piece of the legislative function to national parliaments that went lost in the process of European integration. Even though the EWM only provides the probability to prevent new laws from being made, instead of the right to make new legislation, it is one step forward. National parliaments have assigned a new role

5 J. O'Brennan, T. Raunio, *Introduction: deparliamentarization and European integration*, p. 3.

6 J. O'Brennan, T. Raunio, *Introduction: deparliamentarization and European integration*, p. 3-4.

7 Consolidated Version of the Treaty of the European Union, Art. 12.

8 C. Sprungk, *A New Type of Representative Democracy? Reconsidering the Role of National Parliaments in the European Union*, p. 551.

9 Ibidem, p. 551.

10 Ibidem, p. 552.

as ‘gatekeepers’ of European integration, which differs significantly from their national roles as initiators of new legislation.¹¹

Another role that the national parliaments have been assigned is their role as ‘networkers’. The Lisbon Treaty stated that national parliaments have to contribute actively to the EU by taking part in the inter-parliamentary cooperation between national Parliaments and the European Parliament. This means that they have to coordinate horizontally with other national parliaments and vertically with the European institutions. Inter-parliamentary cooperation had already taken place with the Conference of European Affairs Committees (COSAC) and by the treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam, but has been strengthened by the Treaty of Lisbon. This inter-parliamentary cooperation can create a virtual third chamber, as national parliaments have to work beyond their national borders. The scope and type of this network is very new and unique in its own way.¹²

All these changes are made in a relatively short period of time, which makes it hard for national parliaments to adjust effectively to their new role as gatekeeper and networker.

1. 1 Research question

This research will concentrate on parliamentary control in EU matters by focussing on the adoption of the new roles for national parliaments stipulated in the Lisbon Treaty. To seek an explanation for the differences in scrutiny strength across member states, this master thesis will investigate whether parliamentary control is in relation with the eurosceptic nature of national parliaments and its public. It is important to examine the eurosceptic nature of national parliaments, as it can be argued that national parliaments with an eurosceptic public wish to have European matters handled in their national institutions, whereas national parliaments with a pro-European tendency are more willing to delegate authority to EU institutions.

In addition, it is also important to examine this subject as many national parliaments are facing the problem of agency loss and are searching for ways to become stronger represented in the EU. This research can give new insights in the debate regarding parliamentary scrutiny strength, since there is not much research undertaken on the relation between euroscepticism and parliamentary control. In addition, this research can take away

¹¹ C. Sprungk, *A New Type of Representative Democracy? Reconsidering the Role of National Parliaments in the European Union*, p. 551.

¹² C. Sprungk, *A New Type of Representative Democracy? Reconsidering the Role of National Parliaments in the European Union*, p. 552.

some misunderstandings that feed eurosceptic feelings. In this master thesis, it is examined whether national parliaments with a strong eurosceptic character are stronger represented in the EU. Therefore, the research question of this thesis is: “Do national parliaments with a eurosceptic character have more parliamentary strength in the European Union than other national parliaments?” In other words, is parliamentary control on EU affairs strengthened by public opinion?

1.2 Hypotheses

To answer the research question, four hypotheses have been established. The first two hypotheses regard governmental structure, thus is:

H1: governmental structure is positively related to parliamentary scrutiny strength

H2: governmental structure is positively related to euroscepticism.

The third and fourth hypotheses test parliamentary scrutiny strength in relation to euroscepticism, thus:

H3: public euroscepticism has a positive relation with parliamentary scrutiny strength

H4: party-based euroscepticism has a positive relation with parliamentary scrutiny strength.

1.3 Method and literature

To answer the research question, the independent and dependent variables have to establish to measure the positive relationship between euroscepticism and the parliamentary scrutiny strength of national parliaments.

The first section of this research will focus on the manners for national parliaments to become a strong national parliament within the EU. To determine the dependent variable parliamentary scrutiny strength, secondary literature has been used. The idea that national parliaments are the gatekeepers and guardians of the principle of subsidiarity is not a new phenomenon. Several scholars, such as Torbjorn Bergman in 1997 and Maurer and Wessels in 2001, have contributed to the research on the different dimensions of parliamentary control and its cross-national differences. In the literature, the need for parliamentary scrutiny strength equals the threat of agency loss to the EU. If national parliaments scrutinize European documents extensively, they are more likely to be stronger represented in the EU. Therefore, the first part of this research will focus on the characters that define scrutiny strength by national parliaments.

To determine the attributes of the dependent variable, the theories of Bergman in his article “*National parliaments and EU Affairs Committees: notes on empirical variation and competing explanations*” and Tapio Raunio’s theory in “*Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National variation*” have been used. These articles are very useful in understanding the basic elements of parliamentary scrutiny and give a good insight on the debate around parliamentary scrutiny strength. However, there were elements missing in the theories of Bergman and Raunio.

In his article, Bergman has his main focus on the cross-national variation in the parliamentary processes of scrutiny that took place before national governments would have a meeting in the Council. Bergman focuses on the role and organization of European Affairs Committees. He explains the differences in strength between the EAC’s of national parliaments by looking at public opinion, national political culture, the existence of a domestic federal constitution, the rules for parliament-executive relations and the evidence of strategic action.¹³ Most shortcomings from the theory of Bergman for this thesis are related to the date of its writing. Bergman wrote his article in 1997, a decade before the Lisbon Treaty was established. This means that certain parts of his theory are not relevant enough to adopt in its whole at the present time. For instance, Bergman’s view on public opinion is very relevant. Yet, Bergman builds his theory on 15 member states instead of 27 and he uses federalism, confederalism and intergovernmentalism to determine public opinion. In addition, Bergman measures the level of trust in the EU institutions in his variable ‘national political structure’. In this research, Bergman’s public opinion and national political structure have been combined and redefined by using the term euroscepticism. Euroscepticism is better suited for the timeframe of this research and the contemporary debate on this matter. The same accounts for Bergman’s variables ‘federal constitutions’ and ‘parliament-executive relations’. These two variables have been combined in this research under ‘governmental structure’ as both variables are very much related to each other and combining these variables will give a clearer overview on the subject. Nevertheless, Bergman’s theory has been a strong fundament for further theories and therefore must be mentioned as a great contribution to this research.

The second theory that has been used as a foundation of this thesis is Raunio’s article “*Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National variation*”. Raunio has written this article almost two years before the Lisbon Treaty and is therefore more accurate and applicable to the theory of this thesis than Bergman’s theory.

¹³ T. Bergman, *National parliaments and EU Affairs Committees: notes on empirical variation and competing explanations*, p. 379.

Despite the fact that Raunio also uses 15 member states instead of 27, the categories that Raunio uses to determine scrutiny strength are more or less the same as the categories used in this thesis. Contrary to Bergman, Raunio is not interested in the role of the EAC's. He is only interested in the systematic involvement of the EAC's.¹⁴ Next to the 'involvement of the EAC', Raunio has listed 'access to information' as a second variable with its timing and scope and 'voting instructions' as a third. These three elements lay the basis of this research, yet this thesis gathers much more elements in that define the different categories than Raunio has selected as his dependent variables. This will be elaborated on in chapter two.

In listing his independent variables, Raunio takes into account 'public opinion on membership', 'party positions on integration' and 'frequency of minority governments'. These dependent variables try to measure the same tendencies as this thesis attempts to do. Yet, in this research the variables of 'public opinion on membership' and 'party positions on integration' have been combined to 'euroscepticism', as 'public opinion on membership' tries to measure public euroscepticism and 'party positions on integration' tries to measure party-based euroscepticism. The variable 'frequency of minority governments' has been positioned under the variable 'governmental structure', similar to the variables of Bergman.

Raunio also takes two other dependent variables into accounts, namely 'the power of parliaments' and 'catholic and orthodox population'. These two variables have not been implemented in this research. Raunio has measured the 'power of parliament' through measuring the independent power of parliaments in agenda setting and the activeness of interest groups. This has not been incorporated in this thesis, as this is a very difficult exercise to undertake for 26 member states. In addition, the activeness of interest groups might not be relevant for this research as the Lisbon Treaty has given national parliaments more power and the lobby has shifted from national parliaments to Brussels. Raunio also examines the percentage of catholic and orthodox citizens in the population to determine political culture. This is an element that also will not be used in this research, as religion has lost its influence on politics over the years in Eastern and Western European democracies.

An interesting part of the research that Raunio has conducted, is the fact that he touches upon the importance of the Eurosceptic variable with regard to parliamentary control. Raunio states that a national parliament with a Eurosceptic population has more parliamentary control on the European level.¹⁵ It is important to notice that Raunio has made this statement

14 T. Raunio, *Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National variation*, p. 321.

15 T. Raunio, *Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National variation*, p. 332-333.

before the Lisbon Treaty. Therefore, it is very interesting to examine this statement with new information following the Lisbon Treaty and new elements added to his theory.

In order to further develop Raunio and Bergman's theories, the article of Thomas Winzen "*European integration and national parliamentary oversight institutions*" and Katrin Auel and Angela Tacea's paper "*Fighting back? And if yes, how? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*" has mostly been used. Both articles are based on the theories of Raunio and Bergman. In order to make a comprehensive analysis of parliamentary scrutiny strength, Winzen's theory on oversight institutions has been combined with Auel and Tacea's theory on institutional strength.

In his article, Winzen states that oversight institutions do not bring back the lost powers of national parliaments. He questions in his article why national parliaments have adopted oversight institutions and why they differ across time and member states. In addition, Winzen questions in his article whether oversight institutions are set up by government supporters to gain electoral security. Winzen finds that government supporters improve their information supply and adopt oversight institutions for enhancing their policy participation, as they are having increasingly more concerns regarding the governments EU policy. Government supporters do not want to be an obstacle to the government, but simply want to ensure their influence on EU topics relevant for them.

In addition, Winzen states that government supporters in eurosceptic countries lay more constraints on their government in the EU decision-making process as a mean to ensure their influence on commitments at the EU level. Government supporters try to hinder the government in order to prevent from getting electorally unpopular policies. In eurosceptic countries the public is easier angered and more interested in EU policies. Therefore, the need for electoral security is higher. As government supporters are wary for upcoming elections, Winzen states that they try to cooperate with the opposition to de-politicize EU affairs.¹⁶ This theory of Winzen contributes to the idea that a more eurosceptic member state would be more interested in parliamentary scrutiny. Therefore, Winzen's theory is very relevant for this research.

In his research, Winzen finds an effect that confirms the positive relation between euroscepticism and oversight strength. Yet, the effect is substantially small.¹⁷ Winzen has measured these statements by setting up a similar form for the dependent variable of every

¹⁶ T. Winzen, *European integration and national parliamentary oversight institutions*, p. 298-299.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 313.

national parliament as has been used in this research. Winzen's schedule and rating of a weak, medium or strong national parliament have been adopted.

The form of Winzen has been extended with Auel and Tacea's conditions that are explained in their paper *Fighting back? And if yes, how? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*. This paper provided an updated version of their measurement of the institutional strength of national parliaments and is set up to examine whether national parliaments are playing a more active role in EU affairs. Auel and Tacea combine all previously undertaken research and distinguish three sets of indicators, namely 'access to information', 'scrutiny infrastructure' and 'oversight'. This exact distinction has been copied to this research as an extension of Winzen's schedule, since it is the best approach to combine and organize all sets of variables and their attributes. To measure the data that comes forward from this form, Winzen's system of allocating points to the categories 'weak', 'medium' and 'strong' has been chosen, due to its more simplistic way of calculating the results. Also, parliamentary behaviour has been added to the dependent variables as the use of the Early Warning Mechanism indicates the level of interest that national parliaments have in European affairs. As Auel and Tacea do not provide an answer to their research question, they do provide a great first impression on the activity of national parliaments in the EU.¹⁸

The next part of this research is focused on the independent variables that influence the previously mentioned dependent variable: scrutiny strength. To measure if parliamentary control on EU affairs is strengthened by public opinion, the theory of Taggart and Szczerbiak's working paper "*Theorising party-based Euroscepticism: Problems of definition, measurement and causality*" has mostly been used to examine the functioning of euroscepticism. Euroscepticism is an extensive concept that needs to be defined. Taggart and Szczerbiak theory on euroscepticism has been chosen as the basis of this research, since it is better suited than theories of other scholars, such as the theories of Kopecky and Mudde or Conti and Verzichelli. In addition, T. Bergman's theory of governmental structure has been included, since governmental structure can be of influence on euroscepticism and of parliamentary scrutiny. Both concepts will be elaborated on later in this research.

The fourth section of this research will test the independent variables with the dependent variables and interpret the data. To measure euroscepticism, the Euro-barometer has been used to measure public euroscepticism in all European member states. The euro-barometer is a mean of the European Commission and has been monitoring the evolution

¹⁸ K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 25-26.

of public opinion in the Member States since 1973. The euro-barometer takes measurements in the spring and in autumn every year and consists of approximately 1000 face-to-face interviews per country. The euro-barometer gives a detailed overview on the level of eurosceptic tendencies in the selected member states.¹⁹ In order to measure the other variables, several sources have been consulted. Country reports from the European Commission have been used to determine the total amount of opinions and reasoned opinions.²⁰ The Observatory of Parliaments after the Lisbon Treaty (OPAL) has been used to distract information on constitutional factors, political factors and newly adopted procedures and practices of the national parliaments for the Early Warning Mechanism and Political Dialogue with the Commission. The OPAL consists of experts from all European member states and takes questionnaires from national parliaments on these topics.²¹ The platform for EU Interparliamentary Exchange (IPEX) website²² and the Conference of European Affairs Committees (COSAC) website^{23,24} have been used to distract the same information, as well as information on the use of scrutiny of EU matters and the methods of subsidiarity control. In addition, websites of national parliaments²⁵ have been consulted as well in order to distract information when this was information missing or certain ambiguities. The 17th biannual COSAC report has been consulted for detailed information on access to information and other memoranda. The website of the European Parliaments has been used to determine the level of party-based euroscepticism. This website gives a clear overview on the outcome of the last European Parliament elections and detailed information on every national parliament.²⁶

The conducted research is a cross-national research to show the relation between euroscepticism and scrutiny strength in all European member states. The last section of this

19 Standard Euro-barometer, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

20 National Parliament Opinions and Commission Replies, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/secretariat_general/relations/relations_other/npo/index_en.htm, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

21 Country Reports, http://www.opal-europe.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=94&Itemid=128, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

22 National Parliaments, <http://www.ipex.eu/IPEXL-WEB/parliaments/neparliaments.do>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

23 Country Specific Information, <http://www.cosac.eu/country-specific-subsidiarity/>, consulted on 27th of August.

24 Scrutiny of EU Matters in National Parliaments, <http://www.cosac.eu/scrutiny-of-eu-matters-in-nati/>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

25 National Parliaments, http://www.cosac.eu/links_np/, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

26 Results of the 2014 European elections, <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/country-introduction-2014.html>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

research is an overall conclusion on the interpreted data and a reflection on the outcome of this research.

1.4 Limitations

There are limitations to this cross-national research. First, the time of accession to the European Union by national parliament has not been taken into account. The time of accession can be of influence on the scrutiny strength of national parliaments and on the eurosceptic feelings in member states. It is very hard to insert this indicator into this thesis, but it does give ground to further research on this topic. For now, this study is based on eurosceptic tendencies after the Treaty of Lisbon and parliamentary scrutiny nowadays. Only Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia acceded the European Union after the Treaty of Lisbon. Therefore, this might not be relevant for this examination. Romania and Bulgaria are included in this research, since these member states joined the European Union before the Treaty of Lisbon. Croatia is excluded from this study, as Croatia joined in 2013 and their scrutiny strength can be influenced by other factors.

Second, I acknowledge that neither euroscepticism, nor parliamentary scrutiny is a constant factor. Both can occur in waves and can alternate in time. Therefore, longitudinal research is needed to see whether euroscepticism is or is not in constant relation with parliamentary scrutiny. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see whether both variables are in relation with each other.

2. Parliamentary institutional scrutiny strength in EU affairs

Since the Treaty of Lisbon, national parliaments have gained greater participation rights and institutional opportunities to expand their involvement in European affairs and to control their government in the EU. Regarding the chain of responsibility, national parliaments delegate authority in European matters to the government. To exert control in the direction of this

delegation of authority, national parliaments have to employ means to prevent agency loss. However, national parliaments encounter several challenges in trying to influence European issues, such as the lack of transparency of EU negotiations, the lack of electoral incentive to get involved, or the complexity and technical character of EU issues.²⁷ National parliaments can exert some influence on the European level through the collective usage of the Early Warning Mechanism (EWM). It is up to the national parliaments to make use of their participation rights and institutional opportunities.

Every national parliament has its own method of coping with the newly gained rights. Even though all European member states have a parliamentary democracy in which the head of the government and its cabinet are accountable to their parliament, the relation between the cabinets and parliaments differs. The process of scrutiny therefore also differs. As the EWM created new opportunities for national parliaments to influence European legislation and policy-making, it also created new structures within parliament systems. National parliaments need to adapt to these new structures and find the most efficient and productive manner to strengthen their involvement. The better national parliaments scrutinize and influence their government, the more their representatives take their national interest into account during negotiations in the European Council.²⁸ The new structures need to be institutionalised or national parliaments need to be “europeanised” to prevent agency loss. To establish the strength of scrutiny by national parliaments, it is needed to take a look at the institutionalisation of new structures by the Member State. In order to measure the institutional scrutiny strength of national parliaments, the following indicators have to be considered: the access of information, the scrutiny infrastructure, oversight and parliamentary behaviour.²⁹ This entails the access to information on EU policy proposals and the government’s negotiation position to prevent hidden action, the parliamentary infrastructure to process this information, the instruments to enforce parliament’s preferences by having a binding resolution or mandate of parliaments position and the use of the EWM.³⁰

2.1 Access to information

27 K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 1.

28 K. Auel, *Introduction: The Europeanisation of Parliamentary Democracy*, p. 10

29 K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 6.

30 K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 3.

The first indicator is the access to information. The access to information on EU policy proposals and the amount of information that national parliaments receive depends on their own constitutional and legal regulations.³¹ However, since the entering into force of the Lisbon Treaty, national parliaments receive all public documents directly from the EU institutions. This includes the green and white papers from the Commission and its communications. In addition, national parliaments can gather information online through the Inter-parliamentary EU Information Exchange (IPEX). IPEX is a platform for the mutual exchange of information between national parliaments and the European Parliament. IPEX contains draft legislative proposals, consultation and information documents coming from the European Commission, parliamentary documents and information concerning the European Union.³² These documents are accessible for all national parliaments and therefore less important than additional documents that parliaments receive, such as confidential documents, working group papers, Comité des Représentants Permanents (COREPER) papers, explanatory memoranda or internal briefings. The access to these documents is of much bigger importance as they provide insights on the legal and political significance of Commission's proposals. Also, they present governmental positions on certain topics and information about upcoming meetings.³³

The timeframe of receiving the information about European issues and the start of processing this information is particularly important.³⁴ As national parliaments have eight weeks to produce a reasoned opinion, the necessity of processing EU documents in an early stage is vital as national parliaments will have more time to select important documents and submit them to scrutiny. European legislation is often quite technical. Therefore, the more time national parliaments have to sift through the information, the more effective their scrutiny will be. As national parliaments all receive EU documents at the same time and have the same access to these documents, it is more important for national parliaments to receive any additional documents from their governments. Since the Council's working groups and the COREPER have decided upon the majority of the legislation before it goes to the Council,

³¹ T. Raunio, *Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National variation*, p. 20.

³² IPEX after the Treaty of Lisbon,, <http://www.ipex.eu/IPEXL-WEB/about/aboutIpexl.do>, consulted on 20th of June 2014.

³³ K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 6.

³⁴ T. Raunio, *Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National variation*, p.19.

it is essential for national parliaments to get involved in an early stage of the decision-making process instead of shortly before the Council's meeting.

2.2 Scrutiny infrastructure

The second indicator is the parliamentary infrastructure to process this information. Parliamentary capacities to process the given information is just as important as the amount of information provided by the government. Moreover, since the Lisbon Treaty provided national parliaments with open access to EU documents, national parliaments have an information overflow about EU affairs.³⁵ In order to filter all EU documents, the involvement of specialized committees is needed. An administrative unit can provide support to a European Affairs Committee (EAC). The EAC's are specialized committees dealing with European matters and are responsible for the overall coordination of the parliaments' involvement in European affairs. The EAC's coordinate parliamentary scrutiny and monitor the government's representatives in the Council. The structure of an EAC differs between member states. Some national parliaments in a bicameral system have a joint committee of both chamber or two separate committees.³⁶ Some national parliaments have created multiple EAC's or sub-committees with different tasks. The capacity of the EAC's to effectively scrutinize European affairs depends on the number of EAC's and its powers.

The main function of an EAC is to influence and control the decision-making process on individual pieces of European legislation. Yet, the involvement of other specialised standing committees is important as well. These specialized committees ensure that members of parliament (MPs) become involved in EU matters on a routine basis.³⁷ Members of European Parliament (MEPs) and members of the government are not encouraged to take place in an EAC, as it can work counterproductive with regard to parliamentary control. Therefore, the involvement of specialized standing committees are of great importance for the EAC's, since these committees give the chance to parliaments to use its policy expertise and monitor governments more effectively. Some national parliaments have chosen to delegate the scrutiny of EU affairs to the standing committees according to their area of expertise. Most

³⁵ K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 7.

³⁶ T. Raunio, *Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National variation*, p.19.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

national parliaments, however, have chosen to keep the EAC's as the principal area to discuss European matters and gave the standing committees an advisory role.³⁸

2.3 Oversight

The third indicator is oversight. Oversight entails the instruments of national parliaments to enforce its preferences by having a binding resolution or mandate of the parliaments' position for its ministers. It is important to know to what extent national parliaments can control or influence the government's negotiations. The EAC sends information most of the time to the minister and its ministry. In some member states, the minister or a representative comes to the EAC when more important matters are being discussed in the Council. This differs greatly between member states. In some countries, the ministers appear before the EAC on a weekly basis. In other member states it is not even common for a minister to address the EAC. In some member states, the EAC can give a mandate to its minister after having him or her put to question and have the right to issue binding voting instructions to its ministers. As all governments need the support of their parliaments to keep them in office, national parliaments can therefore give a mandate to their government even if it is not in their constitutional power. Nevertheless, despite the ability of national parliaments to give a mandate, it does not imply that the minister will incorporate the preferences of the EAC. Moreover, a clear mandate can work counterproductive. Decisions in the Council work on an intergovernmental basis with bargaining and trade-off negotiations at their core. If a minister cannot derogate from his mandate, the outcome of the negotiations might not be in his favour. However, a clear mandate gives a strong message from the parliament to the government and can work as a pre-empting mechanism or consultation mechanism.³⁹ It ensures that national parliaments are involved in the formulation of the national negotiation position.

A second important factor in the indicator of oversight is the existence of a scrutiny reserve. Scrutiny reserves differ among member states, but it usually entails that government representatives cannot officially agree to a proposal in the Council or COREPER while national parliaments are still submitting the proposal to scrutiny.⁴⁰ This gives national

³⁸ K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 7.

³⁹ T. Raunio, *Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National variation*, p. 21.

⁴⁰ K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 8.

parliaments the opportunity to complete their scrutiny process and influence the government's position before negotiations are finished.

2.4 Parliamentary behaviour

The last indicator is the use of the new Early Warning Mechanism. It is not only important to measure how national parliaments have adapted to the new structures created by the Lisbon Treaty, it is also important to measure how national parliaments have used their new structures. The EWM implies that national parliaments have the right to subdue Commission's proposals to scrutiny and decide whether the proposal complies with the principle of subsidiarity. After the proposal's publication, national parliaments have eight weeks to issue a reasoned opinion. Each national parliament has two votes, distributed equally in case of a bicameral system. The European Commission has to review the proposal when at least one third of all national parliaments issue a reasoned opinion. The Commission then may decide to maintain, amend or withdraw its proposal. This means that the Commission can ignore the concerns raised by national parliaments and further the proposal without making amendments. This procedure is perhaps better known as the yellow card system. The orange card system is applied only to the legislative acts that are under the ordinary legislative procedure. If more than half of the national parliaments oppose an act on grounds of subsidiarity, it has to be reviewed by the Commission. The Commission then may decide to maintain, amend or withdraw its proposal. However, if the Commission decides to maintain its proposal, it has to provide a reasoned opinion justifying that the proposal is not in breach with the principle of subsidiarity. In case of the yellow card, the Commission only needs to motivate its decision. The Commission's reasoned opinion alongside the reasoned opinions by the national parliaments have to be sent to the European Parliament and Council, whom then decide whether or not to block the proposal.⁴¹ In addition, national parliaments have the right to take the legislative act to the European Court of Justice on suspected infringements on the principle of subsidiarity. The proper use of the EWM is of high importance for national parliaments to have a stronger voice in the EU.

3. External influences on parliamentary scrutiny strength

⁴¹ G. Arribas, D. Bourdin, *The Role of Regional Parliaments in the Process of Subsidiarity Analysis within the Early Warning System of the Lisbon Treaty*, p. 1-2.

The second set of indicators is in line with external influences. As the first set of indicators focuses on the institutionalised scrutiny strength of national parliaments, the second set focuses on the external actors that influence the course of national parliaments. This set of indicators consists of governmental structure, public euroscepticism and party-based euroscepticism.

3.1 Governmental structure

Governmental structure can be divided in two categories, namely the existence of a federal government and the frequency of minority or coalition governments. Federal systems diffuse their power between the regional governments and the central government. The central government gains its authority from the elected representatives from the regions, who also have power to make final decisions on some activities and can veto constitutional reform. Therefore, national parliaments in a federalist state are used to a multi-level decision-making mechanism and already have created different important consultative bodies to manage their relations on an inter-level basis. The transfer of power to different levels is not a new phenomenon to these member states. Different governmental structures have different responses to changes.⁴² Therefore, it is interesting to see whether federal states have been strengthened faster by the new mechanism created with the Lisbon Treaty.

The second category is the frequency of minority or coalition governments. In a unitary system, the government can be decentralised or de-concentrated, but the central government has the final authority to make decisions. Unitary systems can consist of minority or coalition governments. Minority governments are more likely to appear in countries where governments need not to have a vote in favour of their inauguration by their parliament. In such governments, parliamentary committees have influence on the content of policy. These parliaments are more able to constrain their government's direction in the Council and more likely to have a stronger scrutiny.⁴³ In a coalition government, government-supporting groups need to be more involved in governmental politics and pay more attention to policymaking as a minister from a coalition partner represents them at the EU level. When there are large differences between coalition partners, a minister may act differently in EU policies than the some parties would prefer.⁴⁴ Therefore, national parliaments will have to strengthen their

⁴² T. Berman, *National parliaments and EU Affairs Committees*, p. 380-381.

⁴³ T. Berman, *National parliaments and EU Affairs Committees*, p. 381.

⁴⁴ T. Winzen, *European integration and national parliamentary oversight institutions*, p. 304-305.

oversight institutions to prevent electoral damage. This makes the governmental structure an important variable to analyse scrutiny.

3.2 Euroscepticism

The indicator euroscepticism is subdivided into public euroscepticism and party-based euroscepticism

3.2.1 Public euroscepticism

Public opinion can influence the use of parliamentary scrutiny and policy making. Whether public opinion is in favour of a federal state or a European confederation can be decisive in the way national parliaments conduct their scrutiny. It is more likely for national parliaments with an anti-federal public to give more binding mandates to their government than member states that favour a federal Europe. Therefore, it is important to establish the public opinion of the member state. This research thus focuses on the eurosceptic tendencies in the European member states.

Euroscepticism refers to scepticism about Europe and European integration. It also expresses doubt or disbelief in European policies and institutions. The public in eurosceptic countries tend to be more observant to EU decision-making and are more likely to be angered by EU policymaking. In eurosceptic countries, European affairs are more often the subject of domestic political debate and thus the government's EU policy has a wider impact on the electorate. Therefore, it can be assumed that eurosceptic countries have stronger oversight institutions and thereby a stronger national parliament within the EU.

Political culture is made up of a more longstanding and broader shaped perspective and based on the relationship between citizens, political elites and the EU. Thus, the level of trust in EU institutions is an important factor that feeds euroscepticism. The need for scrutiny and coordination will be less if the level of trust in EU institutions by the electorate is greater. When European affairs are concerned to be more of a national matter and the electorate has a feeling of agency loss, the scrutiny of the European matters will be of much more importance.⁴⁵

3.2.2 Party-based Euroscepticism

45 T. Berman, *National parliaments and EU Affairs Committees*, p. 380.

Public euroscepticism will be reflected in parliamentary parties, as political parties will anticipate the electorate. Political parties play a role in domestic politics as well as European politics, as they send their representatives to the European Parliament and to the Council of Ministers. Political parties decide which topics are relevant to debate in Brussels and on a national level. Therefore, it is important to see in which manner eurosceptic political parties are represented in the member states. There is a difference between eurosceptic parties that are protest parties or minority parties and established political parties that have a eurosceptic opinion. This difference is explained by Taggart and Szczerbiak's conceptualisation of "hard" euroscepticism and "soft" euroscepticism.

Hard euroscepticism is characterized as being fully dismissive of any form of European integration and wanting to withdraw from the European Union. Hard euroscepticism is against any form of European integration, especially the transfer of sovereignty to a supranational institution.

Soft euroscepticism is less severe. Soft euroscepticism does not oppose European membership as a whole, but soft euroscepticism objects the status quo of certain policies and feel that national interest are at stake. Soft euroscepticism is concerned about the future of the European Union and the direction it is heading.⁴⁶

The model of hard- and soft euroscepticism is not a comprehensive concept. Critics stated that the model was too inclusive and too broadly defined. Therefore, critics Kopecky and Mudde established a new categorising of Eurosceptic political parties by dividing the parties in four groups: euro-enthusiasts that are pro-integration and pro-trajectory, euro-pragmatists that are anti-integration and pro-trajectory, eurosceptics that are pro-integration and anti-trajectory and at last, euro-rejects that are anti-integration and anti-trajectory.⁴⁷ Taggart and Szczerbiak do not agree with the complete classification of Kapecky and Mudde. However, they do think that the categorising of Kapecky and Mudde is better than their two-fold system, yet they see the need to modify their new theory. Taggart and Szczerbiak reformulate the term hard euroscepticism, in Kapecky and Mudde's theory renamed to euro-rejectionism, as principled opposition to European integration or objecting the transfer of power to supranational institutions. They redefine soft euroscepticism, or simply euroscepticism in Kapecky and Mudde's theory, to no principled objection to

46 A. Szczerbiak, P. Taggart, *Theorising party-based Euroscepticism: Problems of definition, measurement and causality*, p. 6.

47 A. Szczerbiak, P. Taggart, *Theorising party-based Euroscepticism*, p. 7.

European integration or the transfer of power to supranational institutions, but opposed to the current or future European trajectory of extension of competencies that the EU is planning to make.⁴⁸ Taggart and Szczerbiak state that this definition still needs to be modified to develop a comprehensive and nuanced typology of euroscepticism. As there still is no new classification, the typology of Taggart and Szczerbiak will be at the basis of this research.

4. The research

4.1 Measurement of parliamentary scrutiny strength

Now the theory behind the four hypotheses has been clarified in chapter two and three, the actual research has to be discussed. To test the four hypotheses, a form has been established to test the 26 national parliaments. The interpretation of this form has been based upon the research of many scholars, starting even before Treaty of Lisbon. The need for national parliaments to have timely information on EU proposals had already been argued by scholars before the Treaty of Lisbon, as well as access to all EU information and the need for scrutiny reserves.⁴⁹ Notwithstanding, previous research is not yet all sufficient enough. This form lays the foundation of this research and consists of indicators based on a combination of previous research.

To measure the dependent variables, the variables had to be split up into different attributes. Access to information consisted out of four different attributes: access to documents, government memorandum, committee reports and ex ante reports. All attributes were then given certain degrees that were categorised in ‘weak’, ‘medium’ and ‘strong’. The first sub-category ‘access to information’ defines the availability of information to national parliaments on governmental behaviour at the EU level and consists of four sub-categories.

The first sub-category is ‘access to documents’. A national parliament in this sub-category has been categorised as ‘weak’ when it does not receive complete information on EU legislative proposals. A national parliament is categorised as ‘medium’ when it only receives information on legislative proposals and it has been categorised as ‘strong’ when it receives information on legislative proposals, government’s planning documents regarding these proposals or other confidential documents. Receiving these documents gives national

48 A. Szczerbiak, P. Taggart, *Theorising party-based Euroscepticism*, p. 12.

49 P. Küiver, *The Composite Case for National Parliaments in the European Union: Who Profits from Enhanced Involvement*, p. 245-246.

parliaments a chance to anticipate on further policies and they are given a lead in the negotiations. Moreover, it gives national parliaments more influence on policy making than other national parliaments.

The next sub-category is ‘government memoranda’. Some national parliaments receive memoranda from their government in which they explain their negotiation strategy, give information on the financial implications that will arise from the proposal, explain other issues that will emanate and give the positions of other actors.⁵⁰ National parliaments that receive these memoranda are categorised as ‘strong’, others that do not receive these memoranda are categorised as ‘weak’. The sub-category ‘committee reports’ distinguishes national parliaments that do not receive reports from any EU committee, national parliaments that receive reports from sub-committees of the EU such as working groups or other preparatory committees and national parliaments that receive reports of standing EU committees. The last sub-category ‘ex ante reports’ divides national parliaments on their access to documents regarding the negotiations of the Council or European Council.⁵¹ National parliaments that receive these three types of documents and reports can organise their scrutiny much better. In addition, access to these types of information ensures a better relation between government and parliament and therefore gives more strength to national parliaments. The data to fill in category ‘access to documents’ in this form has mostly come from the 17th biannual COSAC Report, which gives a clear overview on the type of information national parliament receive

The second part of the form defines the infrastructure of the scrutiny by national parliaments. ‘Scrutiny infrastructure’ has been attributed by the type of EAC’s that national parliaments have and whether these committees are a joint committee in bicameral systems or supported by sub-committees. The type of European Affairs Committees that national parliaments have can determine their level of parliamentary scrutiny. A national parliament with a joint EAC with another chamber is considered as ‘weak’, a full standing committee is ranked as ‘medium’ and a full standing committee with sub-committees is defined as a ‘strong’ element as it has more means to conduct scrutiny. The involvement of specialised committees has the advantage that more members of parliament are involved in the process of scrutiny and it has been conducted by committees with specialised policy expertise.⁵²

50 T. Winzen, *European integration and national parliamentary oversight institutions*, p. 307.

51 K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 8-9.

52 K. Auel, A. Tacea, *Fighting Back? And if Yes, How? Measuring Parliamentary Strength and Activity in EU Affairs*, p. 7.

Therefore, national parliaments that do not have a systematic involvement of specialised committees are ranked as ‘weak’, national parliaments that have standing committees as an advisory role are ranked as ‘medium’ and national parliaments with fully responsible standing committees are defined as ‘strong’. Similarly, national parliaments that have a filter for processing and selecting the needed information in the form of a specialised administrative unit are ranked as ‘strong’, while national parliaments with only a formal selection are ranked as ‘medium’ and other with no filter are ranked as ‘weak’. As explained in chapter two, the involvement of members of parliament are categorised as ‘strong’ and EAC’s that do not have the involvement of members of parliament are ranked as ‘weak’.

The last sub-category is ‘scope’. This category indicates whether national parliaments scrutinize and draft statements only on EU documents, on the documents received from the government or on both. As scrutiny can be incomplete when only scrutinizing one element and it is more difficult to form an independent opinion, national parliaments are ranked as medium. When national parliaments do not draft an opinion to their government, national parliaments are considered ‘weak’. National parliaments that scrutinize both types of information are categorised as ‘strong’. In order to complete the form for every national parliament, the websites of IPEX, OPAL and COSAC have been used. The answers to missing data have been supplemented with information from websites of national parliaments.

The attributes of the variable oversight has been explained in chapter 2.3, namely the binding character that national parliaments can give to their ministers and the possibility to make use of a scrutiny reserve. National parliaments that have a binding character are considered ‘strong’, while national parliaments that do not have any binding character are considered ‘weak’. Some governments need to explain their deviation of the given mandate to their national parliament. These national parliaments are ranked as ‘medium’. Comparably, national parliaments that do not use their scrutiny reserve are considered ‘weak’ and others that do are classified as ‘strong’.

Parliamentary behaviour consists of the sub-categories ‘total opinions’ and ‘reasoned opinions’. These opinions are a chance for national parliaments to influence the Commission directly. Therefore, it is interesting to measure whether stronger national parliaments engage in political dialogue more than other national parliaments. The amount of opinions are not categorised in levels of ‘weak’, ‘medium’ and ‘strong’ as it is difficult to determine the right amount of opinions to send to the Commission in order to be considered ‘strong’ or ‘weak’. Therefore, no points have been credited for parliamentary behaviour. In addition, after examining the data, it can be concluded that there is no consistency in the use of the yellow

card system. Some scholars believe that the yellow card system, or the EWM in general, is a rather harmless procedure with a marginal impact.⁵³ This might be true for the first couple of years, as national parliaments had to adjust to their new opportunities inherent to the EWM and find ways to institutionalize these new mechanisms at its best. The use of the EWM is voluntary and the incentive to participate is low considering its chances of success, not forgetting that it is a demanding task to put every European proposal to scrutiny. Nevertheless, the EWM gives national parliaments the chance to influence European legislation and contribute to an active communication between member states and the European Union. Thus, the dependent variable ‘parliamentary behaviour’ is still included in the form for further research in order to determine the impact of reasoned opinions.

The country reports from the European Commission have been used to determine the total amount of opinions and reasoned opinions.

4.2 Measurement of external influences

To see whether governmental structure, euroscepticism or both factors influence parliamentary scrutiny strength, all variables have to be examined. Governmental structure has been attributed by a federal governmental structure and a unitary structure. Given the fact that federal governments are used to delegate authority in a multi-level dimension, it can be assumed that federal governments are better scrutinisers and more willing to give mandates to their ministers. A similar assumption can be made for coalition and minority governments. These governments are used to other parties taking decisions on their part. Therefore, these attributes are listed and taken into account. The information concerning these attributes has been distracted from the OPAL Country reports. In their questionnaire, national parliaments had to explain their governmental system and answer what kind of governmental structure their country has.

Euroscepticism is more difficult to establish than other external influences. As euroscepticism does not have a clear description and is not an absolute factor, public euroscepticism has been measured in five different ways. With help from the Euro-barometer, different tendencies have been encountered. The Euro-barometer is the Public Opinion Analysis sector of the European Commission that monitors public opinion in the member states.⁵⁴

⁵³ T. Raunio, *Destined for Irrelevance? Subsidiarity Control by National Parliaments*, p. 11.

⁵⁴ Public Opinion, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm, consulted on 16th of July 2014.

The first question measured by the euro-barometer is whether European citizens thought that membership of the EU by their country is a good or a bad thing. The second question asked by the euro-barometer, gave an insight on European citizens' feeling whether their country had benefited from being a member of the European Union. Thirdly, citizens were asked by the euro-barometer whether they have trust in the institutions of the European Union. Fourthly, citizens were asked by the euro-barometer if they had a very positive, fairly positive, fairly negative or very negative image of the European Union. The research was conducted twice on a yearly basis from 2008 until 2011. The average of all percentage from all answers were taken into account, which created an average per question per member state. The member states were then ranked by their Eurosceptic position. Per position, the member states were credited a certain amount of points for their eurosceptic position. The most eurosceptic member state was credited with the highest points, the less eurosceptic member state received the lowest amount of points. All points per question were added, which created a total amount of "euroscepticism" per member state.

There is no clear method to measure party based euroscepticism. Nevertheless, vote share for parties provide a clear and simple answer to the importance and value of eurosceptic parties. Therefore, this research focused on the amount of votes that eurosceptic parties gained during the European Parliament elections in 2014. Even though the amount of votes for the European Parliament's election does not give an overview of the amount of votes on eurosceptic political parties on a national level, it does give a quite clear indication of eurosceptic tendencies in the member states. The website of the European Parliament has been used to examine the outcome of the last European Parliament elections and determine the amount of party-based eurosceptic votes.

In order to measure the amount of votes that soft eurosceptic and hard eurosceptic parties received, the political groups are gathered under these two categories. The European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) is ranged as soft euroscepticism. The ECR is opposed to the current trajectory of the European Union and calls for urgent reformation. The ECR does not want to undermine the current organisation, but does want the EU to head into a new direction.⁵⁵ The same accounts for the Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL). This political group also opposes the current direction of the EU, but is not against European integration. The GUE/NGL has set aims and formulated a mission for

⁵⁵ About the ECR Group, <http://ecrgroup.eu/about-us/the-ecr-in-the-european-parliament/>, consulted on 16th of July 2014.

the direction of integration, nonetheless the group does not want an exit from the EU.⁵⁶ The last political group to be considered is the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group (EFDD). The EFDD opposes the transfer of authority from member states to supranational institutions and opposes further integration that intensifies the democratic deficit.⁵⁷ Therefore, this group can be categorised under hard euroscepticism.

The last category is the non-aligned parties. There are several political parties that campaigned greatly against the European Union and that favour an exit out of the EU. These national parties do not have the means to form a political group inside the European Parliament, but did gain a seat in the European Parliament. These political parties are categorised under hard euroscepticism. The most important political parties are Front National (French), Austrian Freedom Party, Vlaams Belang (Belgium), Swedish Democrats, Italian Lega Nord, Slovak National Party, Dutch Freedom Party, United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), Godfrey Bloom (former UKIP), Sharon Ellul Bonici (Malta), Danish People Party and Finns Party.

Party-based euroscepticism has been measured by calculating the gained seats in the European Parliament by both hard and soft euroscepticism. Hereafter, the gained seats were calculated in relation to the percentage of the feasible seats.

5. Highlighting member states

By way of better illustrating this research, different member states are being elaborated. Three member states differing in their parliamentary scrutiny strength ranking from weak to strong are chosen to exemplify this undertaken research.

5.1 Spain

Spain has joined the EU in 1986 and has been a strong supporter of European integration ever since. Spain has been an active participant in drafting the Constitutional Treaty and there is a strong consensus among political and economic that membership of the EU has multiple

⁵⁶ About, <http://www.guengl.eu/group/about>, consulted on 16th of July 2014.

⁵⁷ Charter, <http://www.efdgroupp.eu/about-us/our-charter>, consulted on 16th of July 2014.

benefits.⁵⁸ This can be seen from the fact that the outcome of the referendum on the Constitutional Treaty in Spain was a strong 'yes'. 76.73 Per cent of the turnout was in favour of the treaty.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Spain is one of the weakest national parliaments when it comes to scrutiny strength and has only scored 7 points in this research.

Spain's scrutiny infrastructure and its parliamentary influence has not been greatly developed. The parliament has limited impact on the formulation of European policy as it is seen as the government's authority and part of foreign affairs.⁶⁰ Considering this, the need for parliamentary scrutiny is much lower since this is out of the parliament's limits. However, Spain has a European Affairs Committee. Spain has a joint Committee for the European Union with roundabout 40 members of whom half are members of the lower house and half of the upper house, respectively the Congress and Senate. The fact that the committee contains members of both the Congress and the Senate makes it hard to scrutinize. The committee meets about 8 to 12 times a year. Its main task is to give its opinion on EU matters and legislative acts. Therefore, the committee only has an advisory responsibility. It also organizes regular meetings with government officials to be informed. Key members from the foreign affairs department or the state secretary for European affairs, as well as senior civil servants dealing with EU matters can be invited as guests to the committee. Since the Lisbon Treaty, the committee may draw reports on any European matter they consider of their interest, including legislative proposals, and may organize debates on specific proposals for legislation. The committee may request the speaker to debate the proposal in the plenary of the respective chamber with the participation of the government.

The access to information of the Spanish EAC is considerably low. The committee is set up to receive information and not actively contribute. Therefore, it is not necessary for the Spanish government to provide to committee with up-to-date information. The EAC does not receive planning documents, government memoranda or ex ante reports. It does receive committee reports from sub-committees. In addition, the Spanish national political culture and the governmental structure do not leave much room for parliamentary scrutiny or to give a mandate to the ministers. Therefore, Spain is very weak in the category oversight.

The Spanish EAC is responsible for subsidiarity scrutiny. It is responsible for preparing and approving reasoned opinions that are in breach with the subsidiarity principle. The Congress and Senate can also force reasoned opinions to be handed in to the plenary for

58 S. Royo, *Portugal and Spain: Mission accomplished?*, p. 223.

59 Ibidem, p. 218.

60 Ibidem, p. 223-224.

debate. The EAC on their turn are allowed to ask the government for a report of compliance with the principle of subsidiarity, which have to be honoured within two weeks. The presidents of the Congress and Senate are responsible for sending in the reasoned opinions. The EAC can ask the government to appeal to the Court of Justice of the EU when the principle of subsidiarity is being breached. The 17 regional parliaments can decide themselves if they see the need to hand in a reasoned opinion to the national parliament. They have four weeks to send in their opinion. Once the four-week period has passed, the EAC is not obliged to consider the regional opinions anymore.⁶¹ Considering the timeframe of eight weeks for national parliaments is relatively short, four weeks for regional parliaments is too little. Between 2008 and 2012, the Spanish government has handed in 13 opinions and 4 reasoned opinions.⁶²

The external influences are determined by the governmental structure and euroscepticism. The constitution of Spain provides articles that give right for the transfer of sovereignty to supranational institutions. The constitution gives strong power to its prime ministers and this created a presidential style.⁶³ However, Spain has a bicameral system and has had a decentralization that gave more power to the autonomous communities. This changed the way of dealing with European affairs and meant that the Prime Minister was no longer dominant.

Spain coordinates their European policy by their Permanent Representation in Brussels and their Secretariat of State for the European Union, which is part of their Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Spanish government also has the Comision Interministerial para la Union Europea to coordinate all different levels and departments in its central administration on European matters.⁶⁴ However, this step towards a more federal structure did not give more room for better parliamentary scrutiny, as the Prime Minister and the executives still have been the leading actors. The Spanish Prime Minister sets its European policy guidelines, which can reveal the personal preferences of the Prime Minister. This is due to several factors: the fact that the interests groups are weak, the existence of a one-party dominance in the legislative sector and the lack of consensus among legislators and their expertise on European matters.⁶⁵

61 G. Arribas, D. Bourdin, *The Role of Regional Parliaments in the Process of Subsidiarity Analysis within the Early Warning System of the Lisbon Treaty*, p. 76-77.

62 European Commission, *Annual Report 2012 On Relations Between The European Commission and National Parliaments*, p. 4.

63 Ibidem, p. 223.

64 Ibidem, p. 223.

65 Ibidem, p. 223.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Spain has been a strong supporter of European integration. This reflects in the percentage of public euroscepticism that Spain has. The question from the euro-barometer that measured whether the Spanish citizens thought that membership of the EU was a good or bad thing was answered negatively by only 11 per cent.⁶⁶ The percentage of citizens that thought had not benefited from the EU was higher with 25 per cent.⁶⁷ Even higher was the level of citizens that had no trust in the EU, this resulted in an average of 40 per cent.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, only 11 per cent of the Spanish citizens had a fairly negative image of the EU and just 2 per cent had a very negative image of the EU.⁶⁹

Party-based euroscepticism is in line with Spain's public euroscepticism. The Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) has gained 11 seats in the elections of the European Parliament in 2014, which is in relation to the amount of feasible seats 20 per cent of the total seats.⁷⁰ The GUE/NGL is the only soft eurosceptic party to receive votes. This is striking, since the GUE/NGL is in favour of European integration and opposes the current direction of the EU. The public eurosceptic tendencies indicate the same, since the level of trust in the European institutions is declining, as well as the feeling that the EU brings benefits to Spain. Spain has no hard party-based euroscepticism.

5.2 Lithuania

The Republic of Lithuania became a member of the European Union by the 2004 enlargement, perhaps better known as the 'big bang' enlargement. Since their accession, the Lithuanian parliament *Seima* has chosen for an active approach of parliamentary involvement in European matters. The rights to participate in deliberating European matters and receive the appropriate information is embedded in the Lithuanian Constitution.⁷¹ This is reflected in the

66 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=5&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.05, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

67 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=2193&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.11, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

68 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=2193&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.11, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

69 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=2202&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.11, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

70 Results of the 2014 European elections, <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/country-results-es-2014.html>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

71 'Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania', <http://www.ipex.eu/IPEXL-WEB/parliaments/institution/ltsei.do>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

parliamentary strength of Lithuania within the EU. Considering Lithuania is a relatively new member state, its level of parliamentary scrutiny is high. Lithuania is amongst mid range to good scrutinizers and has a well adopted scrutiny system.

The Lithuanian scrutiny infrastructure depends on their acknowledgement that scrutiny is not only necessary for completed activities, but lies also in the need to monitor on-going activities that are conducted by the government. The Lithuanian parliament has established the Committee on European Affairs, which is composed of 15 to 25 members of parliament according to the proportional representation of the parliamentary groups. The EAC has the right to act on behalf of the Lithuanian parliament and express its opinion to the government on EU matters. The EAC may also evaluate the government's representation of the Lithuanian's parliament position in the EU.⁷² The EAC is allowed to present its findings and opinion on all proposals, with the exception of proposals in the Common Foreign and Security Policy. The proposals that the EAC finds are in breach with the principle of subsidiarity, must be discussed at the plenary within one week of notification and no later than one week before the Commission's deadline of eight weeks. In addition, the government of Lithuania is obliged to present their position for any proposal that the parliament has considered as relevant or very relevant.⁷³

The EAC is a full standing committee with sub-committees. These specialised sub-committees present their recommendations together with the involved sectoral committee to the EAC. The sectoral committees are also responsible for monitoring the principle of subsidiarity in their own authority and may submit their conclusions to the EAC. Yet, the EAC is the only committee to submit their opinion to the government and request a special urgency debate at the plenary.⁷⁴ The involvement of standing committees is therefore only advisory.

The Lithuanian parliament has a greatly implemented flow of information. The parliament has access to the government's EU Information System (LINESIS), which gives the parliament the opportunity to search and print EU documents and other additional information. This database is open to all members of parliament and parliamentary staff. The database gives access to public documents, as well as limited, EU restricted and EU Confidential documents. In addition, it gives access to documents concerning the COREPER,

⁷² 'Lithuania', <http://www.cosac.eu/lithuania/>, consulted on 27th of August 2014

⁷³ COSAC Secretariat, *Seventeenth Bi-annual Report: Developments in European Union Procedures and Practices Relevant to Parliamentary Scrutiny*, p. 5.

⁷⁴ COSAC Secretariat, *Nineteenth Bi-annual Report: Developments in European Union Procedures and Practices Relevant to Parliamentary Scrutiny*, p. 27.

Council working groups and briefing documents or instructions for government representatives.⁷⁵ The parliament can also contribute to the database by uploading its own documents or make use of its own parliamentary database that is connected to IPEX.

Lithuania is one of the member states that scores high on oversight. This is due to the fact that Lithuania has a scrutiny reserve system that is politically binding. The EAC is allowed to obligate the government and its ministers to use the scrutiny reserve in the Council on proposals that the parliament finds relevant or very relevant. Considering Lithuania's has a well established scrutiny system, the *Seima* has not handed in many opinions. In the period of 2008 up to 2012, it has handed in 12 opinions and 3 reasoned opinions.⁷⁶

Lithuania is an unitary state that has a semi-presidential system with a unicameral parliaments. The Lithuanian parliament has the executive power and consists of 141 national representatives that are elected every 4 years. The most important functions of its parliament are the adoption of new legislation and parliamentary scrutiny and it has 15 committees that are set up for this purpose.⁷⁷

Lithuania is amongst the member states with the lowest percentage of public euroscepticism in the period of 2008 and 2011. Regarding the percentage of citizens that thought that membership to the European Union was a bad thing; the outcome is only 12 per cent.⁷⁸ The percentage that answered the question of the euro-barometer whether Lithuania had benefited from the EU negatively is slightly higher with an outcome of 17 per cent.⁷⁹ The level of distrust in the European institutions is relatively higher with 27 per cent.⁸⁰ Yet, the question from the euro-barometer that gave insight on the feelings that the Lithuanian citizens

75 COSAC Secretariat, *Seventeenth Bi-annual Report: Developments in European Union Procedures and Practices Relevant to Parliamentary Scrutiny*, p. 7.

76 European Commission, *Annual report 2008 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 9, *Annual report 2009 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 11, *Annual report 2010 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 9, *Annual report 2011 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 9, *Annual report 2012 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 9.

77 Opal Country Reports, *The Lithuanian Parliament and EU Affairs*, p. 1.

78 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=5&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.05, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

79 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=6&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.05, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

80 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=2193&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.11, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

had caused by the European Union, was answered fairly negative with just 7 per cent and very negative with only 1 per cent.⁸¹

The level of party-based Euroscepticism differs. As Lithuania only has 11 seats in the European Parliaments, the percentage is higher per seat. Therefore, as the EFDD has gained two seats in parliament, Lithuania has 18 per cent party-based hard euroscepticism. Party-based soft euroscepticism is represented with one seat by the ECR, thereby having an amount of 9 per cent.⁸²

5.3 Austria

The last member state to be highlighted is Austria. Austria has been a member of the European Union since 1995 together with Sweden and Finland. It is fairly interesting to see that Sweden, Finland and Austria are amongst the member states that have the most parliamentary strength, as can be seen in annex II. Austria has the best scrutiny infrastructure, oversight and access to information. Most interestingly, Austria has the second highest level of public euroscepticism. Therefore, Austria it is very interesting to give a detailed elaboration of Austria's scrutiny strength and external influences.

Austria has a strong scrutiny infrastructure. Austria has two full standing European Affairs Committees with a sub-committee. Austria's EAC's consists of the *Main European Committee*, the *EU Sub-Committee* and a *European Committee* at the Federal Council.⁸³ The EU Main Committee consists of 26 members of parliament and is chaired by the President of the National Council. The committee deals with European treaties, items on the agenda of the Council and changes in primary law. The Main committee is also responsible for deliberating the position of the Austrian government preliminary to meetings of the Council.⁸⁴ The EU Sub-Committee consists of 16 members of parliament and it chaired by the Second President of the National Council. This permanent sub-committee deals with secondary EU law and the

⁸¹ Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=2202&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15,&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.11, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

⁸² Results of the 2014 European elections, <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/country-results-lt-2014.html>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

⁸³ Austrian National Council, <http://www.ipex.eu/IPEXL-WEB/parliaments/institution/atnat.do>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

⁸⁴ The EU Main Committee, <http://www.parlament.gv.at/ENGL/PERK/PE/MIT/EUNationalrat/EUHauptausschuss/index.shtml>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

EU Regulations and Directions.⁸⁵ The second EAC is the European Committee at the Federal Council. This committee consists of 14 members of the Federal Council and is to provide its opinions on EU projects to the Federal Council.⁸⁶

All committees have the right to issue opinions to the government and its parliaments, issue reasoned opinions and engage in communications with European institutions. This indicates that the standing sub-committee has full responsibility too. All committees consist of members of parliament or members of the federal court, but can be assisted by Members of the European Parliament in being informed about the current state of negotiations. The MEP's play an advisory role. Members of the federal government also play an informative role. In the run up to a debate, a representative of the government will commonly make an introductory speech to inform the committee members on the government's position on the current topic. After the debate, members of the committee have the right to file motions concerning the adopted opinion, which will be put to vote afterwards.⁸⁷

To make optimal use of Austria's scrutiny infrastructure and the new advantages of the Lisbon Treaty, it has adopted the EU Information Law in 2012. This law obligates the government to inform the Austrian parliament on EU matters and to provide the parliament with access to all EU documents by giving access to the Council's extranet. In addition, this new law gives the parliament new opportunities for scrutiny, as it has implemented new measurements such as a half-yearly information session on future EU projects. Due to this new law, the Austrian parliament has the highest score on "access to information". This law gives the Austrian parliament the right to receive documents such as reports on meetings of the Council, reports on meetings of preparatory bodies, explanatory memoranda on EU committee agenda items and other subjects, information on new initiatives and it receives documents based on the Commission's yearly work programme.⁸⁸ More importantly, the Austrian parliament is the only member state that receives EU Secret and Top Secret information.⁸⁹

85 The EU-Sub Committee,

<http://www.parlament.gv.at/ENGL/PERK/PE/MIT/EUNationalrat/EUUnterausschuss/index.shtml>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

86 The Federal Council and the EU,

<http://www.parlament.gv.at/ENGL/PERK/PE/MIT/EUBundesrat/index.shtml>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

87 The EU Main Committee,

<http://www.parlament.gv.at/ENGL/PERK/PE/MIT/EUNationalrat/EUHauptausschuss/index.shtml>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

88 COSAC Secretariat, *Seventeenth Bi-annual Report: Developments in European Union Procedures and Practices Relevant to Parliamentary Scrutiny*, p. 6.

89 COSAC Secretariat, *Seventeenth Bi-annual Report: Developments in European Union Procedures and Practices Relevant to Parliamentary Scrutiny*, p. 5.

The opinions that emanate from the comprehensive amount of information and well structures scrutiny infrastructure can be binding for Austria's governmental representatives in Brussels. Even though the adoption of such binding mandates is rare, it is possible for the parliament to make a firm position. Both two EAC committees are able to subject the government to a binding opinion. In addition, both two committees have the right to issue opinions to the European institutions. In the period between 2008 and 2012, 64 opinions have been send to the Commission and 8 reasoned opinions.⁹⁰

Austria's governmental structure can be described as a federal and semi-presidential system as it has a president that is directly elected. Yet, the president has little influence and Austria is among scholars mostly described as a parliamentary system. The parliament is bicameral in which the *Bundesrat* is very weak and can only delay legislation that would effect the regional competences.⁹¹ For a longer period, coalition governments have been in office in Austria.⁹²

As mentioned before, Austria scores second highest on public euroscepticism in the period of 2008 and 2011. The total percentage of Austrian citizens that finds membership to the European Union a bad thing is 22 per cent.⁹³ Regarding the question from the euro-barometer whether Austria has benefited from its membership to the EU, 46 per cent of the citizens answered that it has not.⁹⁴ The total amount of citizens that do not have trust in the European institutions is even higher with 50 per cent.⁹⁵ A quarter of citizens that have been questioned, or 25 per cent of the Austrian respondents, had a fairly negative feeling towards the European Union. The amount of citizens with a very negative feeling caused by the EU is lower with a percentage of 7.⁹⁶

90 European Commission, *Annual report 2008 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 9, *Annual report 2009 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 11, *Annual report 2010 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 11, *Annual report 2011 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 9, *Annual report 2012 on relations between the European Commission and national parliaments*, p. 9.

91 Opal Country Reports, *The Austrian Parliament and EU Affairs*, p. 1.

92 Ibidem, p. 2.

93 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=5&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.05, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

94 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=6&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.05, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

95 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=2193&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.11, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

96 Eurobarometer Survey, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable.cfm?keyID=2202&nationID=11,1,27,17,2,18,13,6,3,4,22,7,8,20,21,9,23,24,12,19,29,26,25,5,14,10,15.&startdate=2008.04&enddate=2011.11, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

The level of party-based euroscepticism in Austria consists only of party-based hard euroscepticism. In the last European elections, there have been no seats appointed to the ECR and the GUE/NGL, nor to the EFDD. The political party that did receive 19.72% of the votes and thereby gained 4 seats in parliament is the Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Freedom Party of Austria).⁹⁷ The Freedom Party of Austria is a radical right-wing protest party that is a non-aligned political party in the European parliament. The Freedom Party of Austria is against forced multiculturalism, globalisation and mass immigration. The party does not want Europe to be a political project of the European Union, but wants Europe to be a cooperation between states that have their own organisational freedom. The Freedom Party of Austria is against supranationality and only wants European integration to exist of a joint community of states that are geographically and culturally bound through western values and traditions.⁹⁸

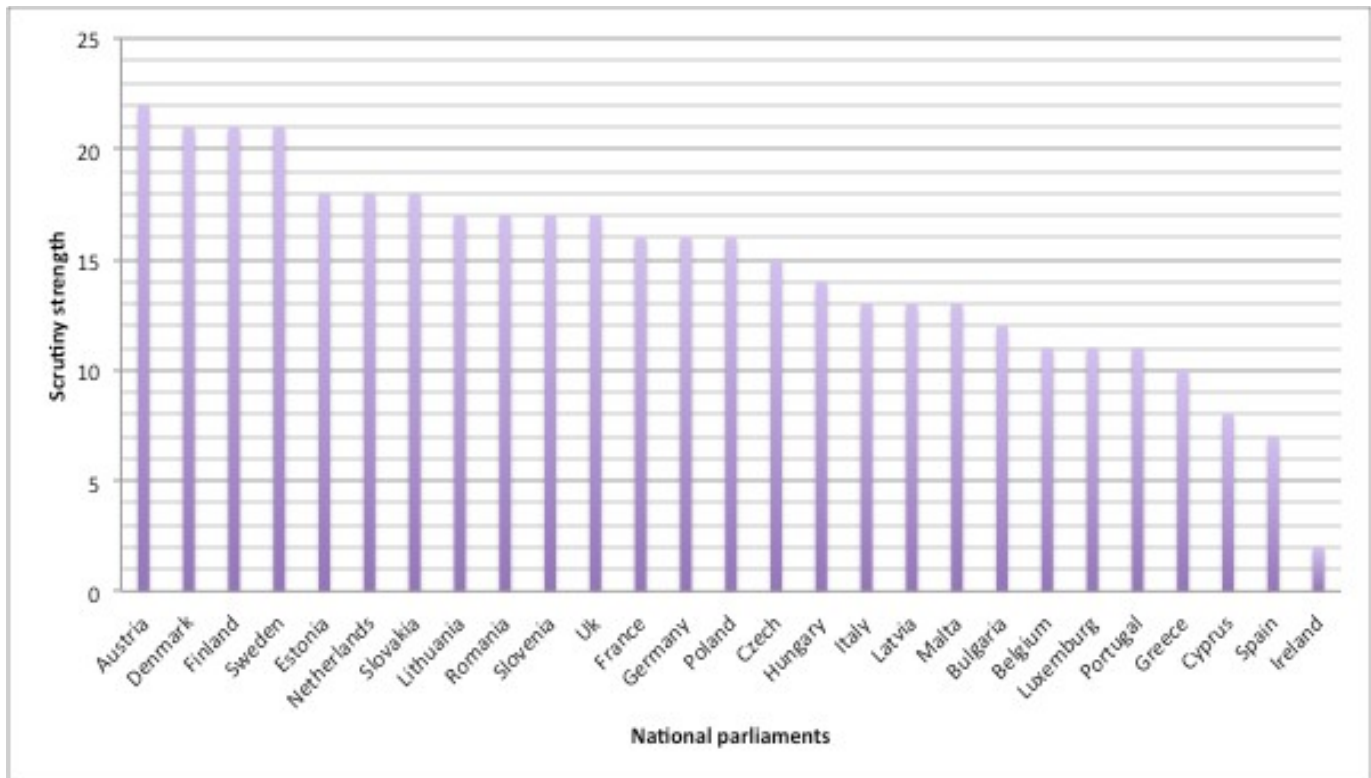
6. The results

As the theory and conducted research have been discussed, it is time to look at the results. The form that has been explained in chapter five and has been the basis of which the dependent variables are measured, can be consulted in annex I. All national parliaments of the member states have been examined on the basis of this form. Points were credited to the categories 'weak', 'medium' and 'strong'. The classification 'weak' received zero points, classification 'medium' received 0.5 point per attribute and the classification 'strong' received one point per attribute.

After the different scores had been established, the total amount of points per national parliament was multiplied by two in order to create a clear overview. The results of this examination are in annex II and the graph below shows the ranking of the national parliaments in relation to their scrutiny strength.

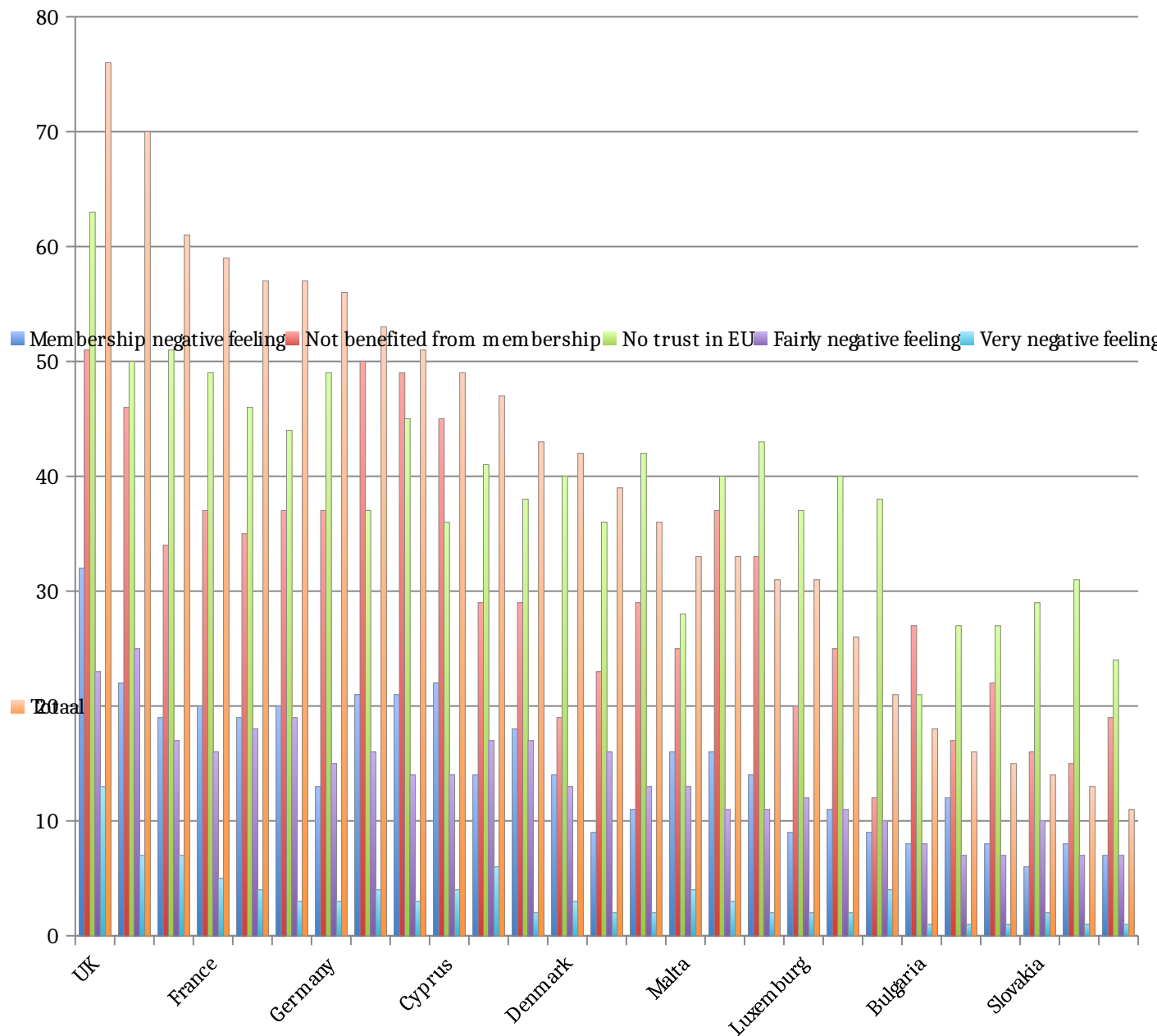
⁹⁷ Results of the 2014 European elections, <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/country-results-at-2014.html>, consulted on 27th of August 2014.

⁹⁸ Party Programme of the Freedom Party of Austria (FPO), http://www.fpoe.at/fileadmin/Content/portal/PDFs/dokumente/2011_graz_parteiprogramm_englisch_web.pdf, consulted on 27th of August 2014.



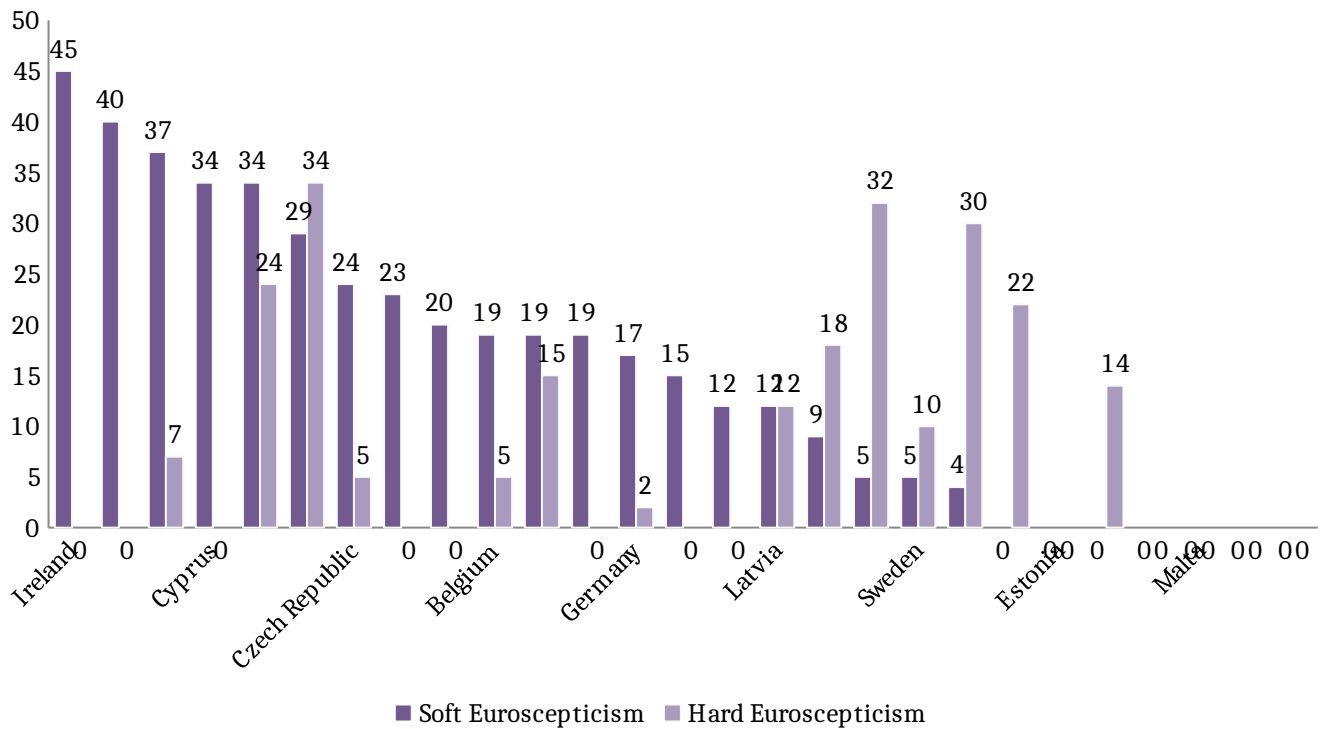
Parliamentary Scrutiny Strength

The results of public euroscepticism can be seen in annex III or can be read from the graph on the next page. This graph shows the average of percentage of all answers that were measured by the euro-barometer from 2008 until 2011. As the member states were ranked by their eurosceptic position and were given a certain amount of points on the basis of the level of their eurosceptic position, the orange bar shows the ranking of each member state. The other coloured bars show the answers on the other questions measured by the euro-barometer.



Public euroscepticism

Party-based euroscepticism has been measured by calculating the gained seats in the 2014 European Parliament elections by both hard and soft eurosceptic political parties. The gained seats were then calculated in relation to the seats feasible in the European parliament of which a percentage of euroscepticism was established. The results of this measurement can be consulted in annex IV or can be read in the graph below.



Hard and soft euroscepticism

6.1 Analysing the data

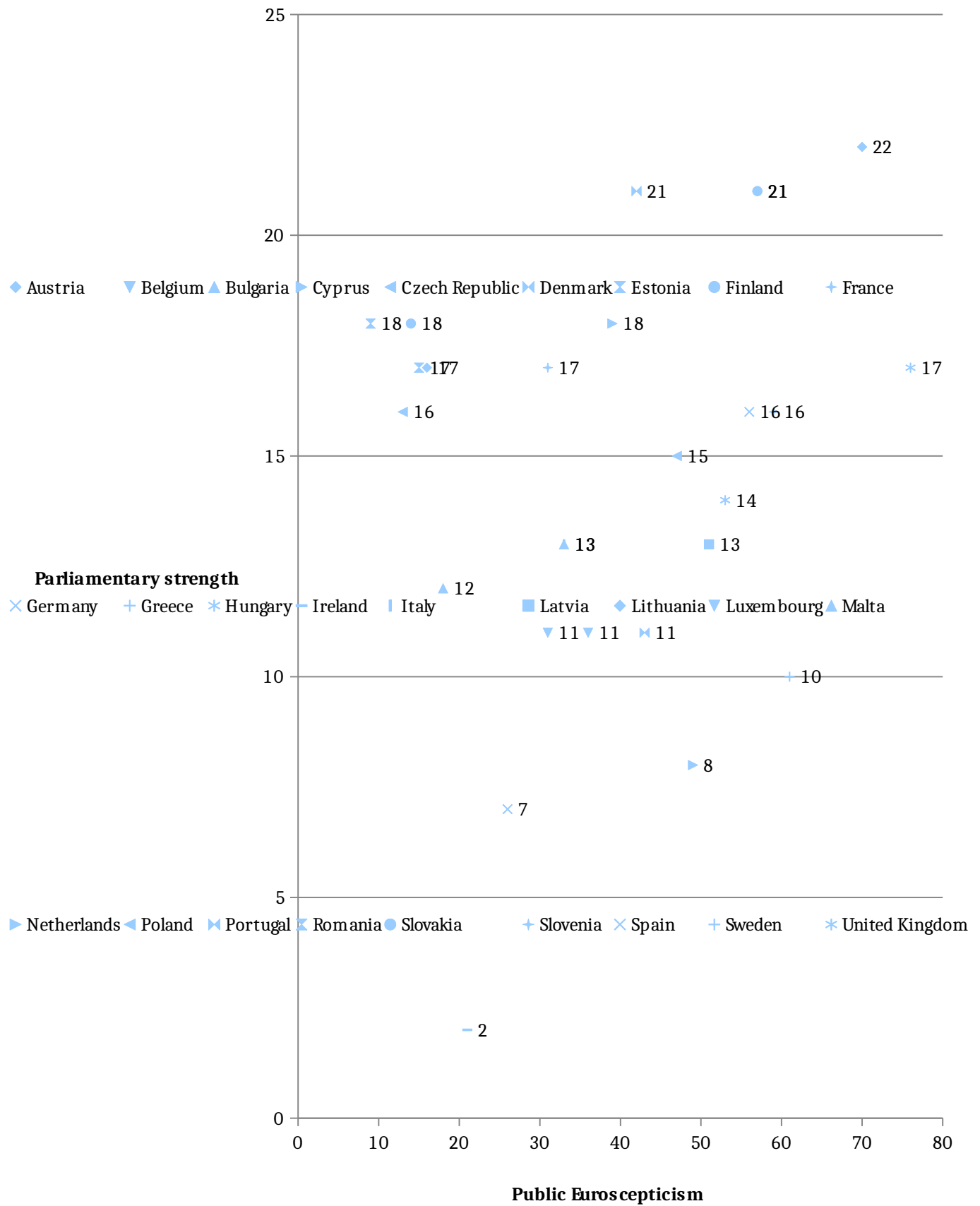
Now the data has been collected, several conclusions can be drawn. There are big differences between national parliaments in their scrutiny strength and their eurosceptic public opinion. As one can see in the annex, there are three true federal states in the European Union. Germany, Austria and Belgium have a federal construction. Looking at Austria, one could conclude that it scores high on every level. Public and hard euroscepticism tendencies are high in Austria, even as their level of scrutiny strength and the fact that they have a federal governmental structure. Nevertheless, Austria is the only federal state that scores high on all levels. Germany is a mid-range scrutinizer and does not score very much above the mid-level on their public eurosceptic tendencies and scores even lower on party-based euroscepticism. Belgium scores quite low on their scrutiny strength and has an average score on euroscepticism. Therefore, federalism is not a condition for scrutiny strength, nor is it a condition for less euroscepticism.

The annex II also shows that most member states are used to a coalition or minority government. The member states that are used to majority are The Netherlands, United Kingdom, Sweden, Romania and Denmark. Remarkable is that these member states are very diffused across the public eurosceptic line, but do score quite high on party-based

eurocepticism. The United Kingdom scores the highest in hard eurocepticism and Denmark scores second highest on soft eurocepticism. The Netherlands scores above the average on hard eurocepticism and are mid-ranged soft euroceptics. Nevertheless, they all score high on the scrutiny chart.

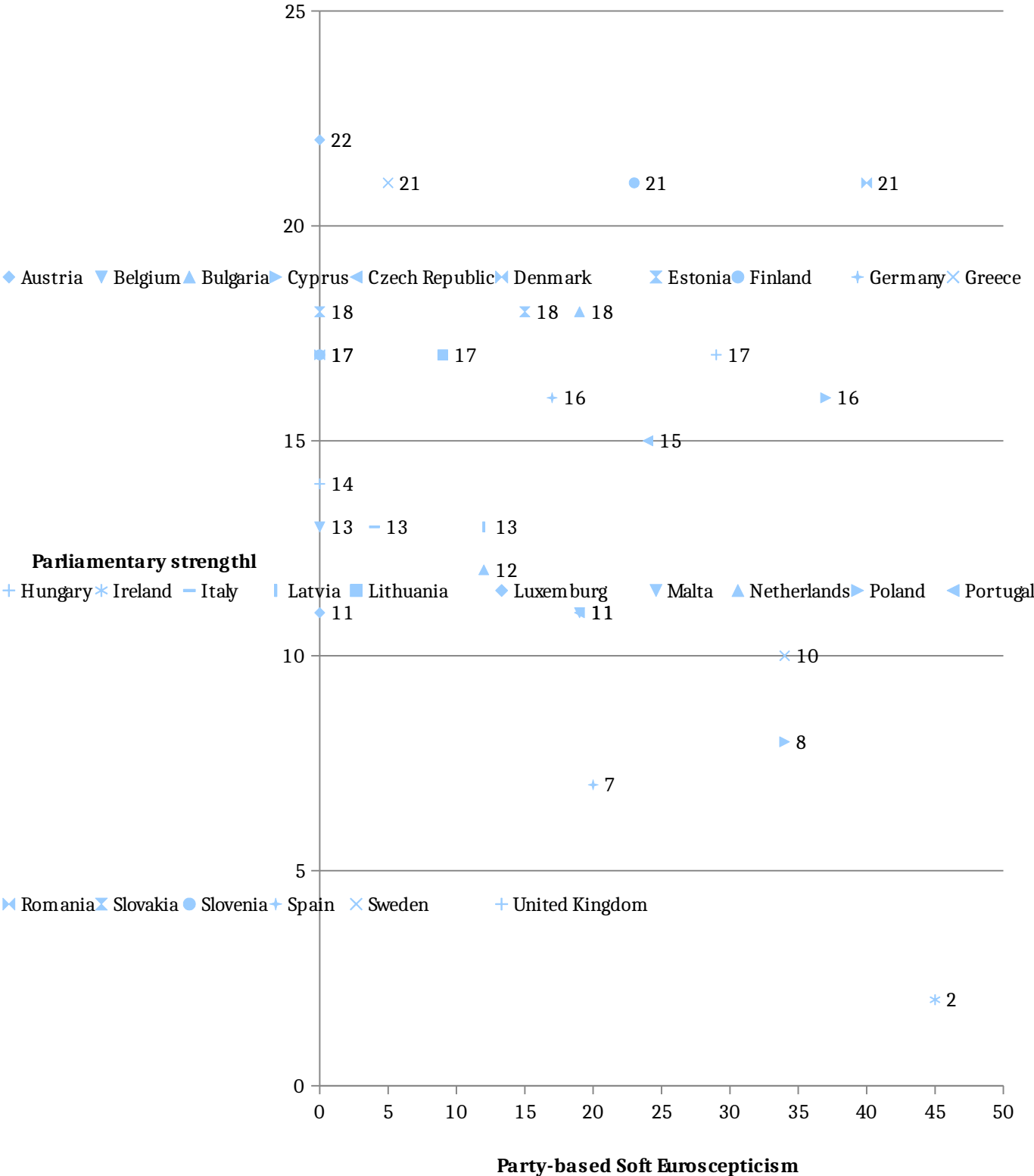
Another remarkable fact that can be seen in annex II is that six member states engage in the political dialogue significantly more than others. Portugal, Italy, Czech Republic, Germany, Sweden and Romania have sent significantly more opinions to the Commission. Portugal ranks the highest with 564 opinions, followed by Italy with 337 opinions. This is remarkable, as these member states are ranked quite low on the scrutiny level and are mid-range Euroceptic countries. Sweden has also sent most reasoned opinions to the European Commission, followed by Poland. Sweden does score high on both levels, while Poland almost has the lowest score on eurocepticism.

The relation between public eurocepticism and scrutiny strength can be found in the graph below. This graph shows that Austria scores highest on both levels and Ireland the lowest on both levels. Lithuania is ranked high on scrutiny and has the lowest level of eurocepticism, whilst Greece scores highest on eurocepticism and is ranked very low on scrutiny. Most member states are located in the middle. The United Kingdom has as a medium levelled scrutinizer an extreme peak on the Euroceptic side. Romania, Slovakia and Poland are medium levelled scrutinizers with an extremely low level of eurocepticism.



Public euroscepticism 1

The relation between soft euroscepticism, hard euroscepticism and scrutiny strength accumulates differently. The graph below shows the relation between party-based soft euroscepticism and parliamentary strength.



Party-based euroscepticism 1

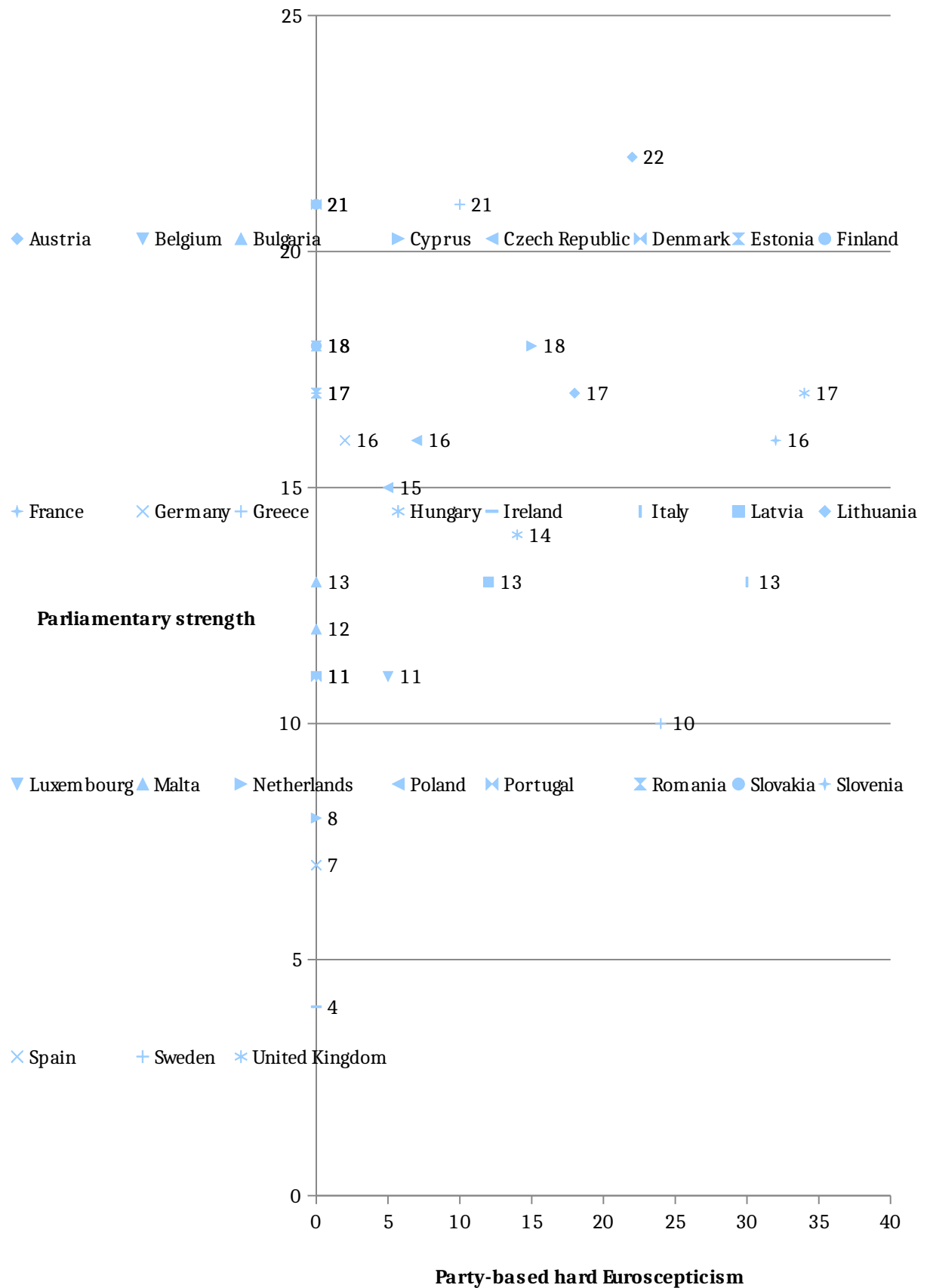
The graph of party-based soft euroscepticism shows that Ireland, Denmark, Poland, Greece, Cyprus and the United Kingdom have most soft eurosceptic tendencies in their political parties. This is surprising, since Ireland has the least scrutiny strength and the highest level of soft euroscepticism. Cyprus and Greece also score considerably low on scrutiny strength. Poland and the United Kingdom have an average score on scrutiny strength, whilst Denmark is second best in scrutinizing EU policies.

Another striking element is that most national parliaments that score very low or do not have any tendencies of party-based soft euroscepticism, have high scores on scrutiny strength. An example of this is Austria. Austria has the most parliamentary strength and does not have any percentage of party-based soft euroscepticism. In addition, Sweden is amongst one of the best scrutinizers and has only five per cent soft euroscepticism and Estonia has no soft euroscepticism, whilst it is a good scrutinizer.

The graph of party-based hard euroscepticism on the next page shows similar results with different national parliaments. The United Kingdom, France, Italy, Greece, Austria and Lithuania have the most party-based hard euroscepticism. This is quite interesting, as most of these national parliaments score average to below average on parliamentary strength, with the exception of Austria. Lithuania, the Netherlands and Sweden have an average score on hard euroscepticism and are good scrutinizers. It is important to bear in mind that only one third of the national parliaments have party-based hard euroscepticism, whilst soft euroscepticism occurred in two third of the national parliaments.

If we compare public euroscepticism, party-based soft euroscepticism and party-based hard euroscepticism, several trends can be found. The United Kingdom, France, Austria and Greece all score highest on public euroscepticism and hard euroscepticism. Therefore, we can state that public euroscepticism and party-based hard euroscepticism have a positive relation. The member states that score high on party-based soft euroscepticism have low to average tendencies of public euroscepticism. Therefore, it cannot be stated that there is a positive relation between public euroscepticism and party-based soft euroscepticism. It is possible that there is a negative relationship between both factors. Nevertheless, further research needs to be done in order to determine this relationship.

It is striking to see that the United Kingdom and Greece score high on all three types of euroscepticism. In comparison to parliamentary strength, the United Kingdom and Greece have average to low scores. Austria is the only national parliament that scores high on public euroscepticism, hard euroscepticism and parliamentary strength.



Party-based euroscepticism 2

7. Conclusion

Parliamentary scrutiny strength consists of four different elements; access to information, scrutiny infrastructure, oversight and parliamentary behaviour. When these four elements are practised at their bests, it will create the utmost level of parliamentary scrutiny strength. However, the process of parliamentary scrutiny strength can be influenced by external actors. Two actors have been researched in this thesis. In order to answer the research question, we will first examine whether the four hypotheses stated in this research are correct.

The first hypothesis (H1) concerns the positive relation between governmental structure and scrutiny strength. The relationship has been looked at by ranking the national parliaments in the European Union on basis of their scrutiny strength and then examined whether these national parliaments had a federal or a unitary governmental structure and if these parliaments consisted of coalitions, minority governments or governments with a majority. As has been explained in the analysis of the data, there is no real connection between scrutiny strength and governmental structure in this research. The three federal states are too far spread across the scrutiny and eurosceptic graphs. Belgium ranks the lowest on both areas and Austria the highest. Therefore, we can conclude that since there are only three true federal states in the European Union, there is too little information to make a statement on the relationship between governmental structure and scrutiny strength. Thus, the first hypothesis of this research has been rejected.

The second hypothesis (H2) regards the same governmental structure and approach. Yet, now it has been tested in its relation with euroscepticism. Since we encounter the same difficulties as the previous hypothesis, it is also very challenging to make a statement on the relationship between governmental structure and euroscepticism. However, we can say that all three federal states all score mid-range or higher on the scale of euroscepticism, where they were much more divided on the scale of scrutiny strength. Nevertheless, there is still too little information to truly draw a conclusion on the second hypothesis and therefore, it can be stated that there is no relation between governmental structure and euroscepticism.

The third hypothesis (H3) states that there is a positive relation between public euroscepticism and parliamentary strength. This is the most important hypothesis to examine in order to answer the research question. Nevertheless, it is a very difficult question to answer. If we look at the data, we see no real relationship between both factors. There are member states such as Spain and Ireland that score very low on public euroscepticism and on scrutiny strength, yet there are member states like Austria and Sweden who score very high on these

levels. However, there are always exceptions in every research and therefore we can classify these member states as exceptions as well. Most member states have an average tendency of public euroscepticism. The average percentage of public euroscepticism lies between thirty and fifty-five per cent. The United Kingdom, Austria and Sweden score much above this average and Estonia, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia score very far below this average. As all deviating member states are also medium to strong scrutinizers, it is hard to make a statement on the relationship between public euroscepticism and scrutiny strength. Nevertheless, there is a very slight tendency towards more public euroscepticism than the other way around and therefore we can conclude that there is a positive relation between public euroscepticism and scrutiny strength.

Lastly, the fourth hypothesis (H4) that states that part-based euroscepticism has a positive relation with scrutiny strength has to be discussed. Party-based euroscepticism has been divided in soft and hard euroscepticism. The data shows that national parliaments that score average to low on parliamentary strength have higher scores on soft euroscepticism and vice versa. National parliaments that do not have or have a very slight tendency towards soft euroscepticism are better scrutinizers. The exception is Denmark. Denmark shows a high score on both levels. The data for hard euroscepticism shows similar results, although national parliaments are now listed differently. National parliaments that have average to below average parliamentary strength tend to have a higher score on hard euroscepticism. These national parliaments are better scrutinizers in comparison to the national parliaments that scored high on euroscepticism, yet this is a minor difference. The hypothesis that party-based euroscepticism has a positive relation with parliamentary strength can hereby be rejected.

It needs to be emphasized that the relation between party-based euroscepticism and parliamentary strength can be a negative relation as the data showed that a high level of party-based euroscepticism showed a low level of parliamentary strength. Nevertheless, this has not been established yet and needs to be researched further. In addition, the data also shows a positive relation between public euroscepticism and party-based hard euroscepticism. The member states that scored high on party-based soft euroscepticism have low to average tendencies of public euroscepticism. This is also very interesting for further research.

Having tested the four hypotheses, the research question: “Do national parliaments with a eurosceptic character have more parliamentary strength in the EU than other national parliaments?” can now be answered. The answer is no. The data of this research is not convincing enough to draw this conclusion and answer the research question properly. We can state that public euroscepticism can strengthen parliamentary control on European affairs. Yet,

the influence of public opinion is very significant and can therefore easily be disregarded. In addition, party-based euroscepticism does not contribute to parliamentary strength and therefore, we cannot state that euroscepticism strengthens parliamentary strength in the EU. To truly establish whether euroscepticism can be of bigger influence, further research has to be done.

8. Discussion

As this research progressed, several problems have occurred. First of all, the definition of euroscepticism is difficult to measure. As euroscepticism is not a demarcated concept, there are thin lines that can be crossed and that needs to be refined. In addition, euroscepticism is in this research based on a short period of time. The recommendation that can be made based on this thesis is a longitude research in which euroscepticism will be measured over a longer period to see whether parliamentary strength decreases when euroscepticism decreases as well. In addition, the same longitude research can be conducted on the level of parliamentary scrutiny strength. Parliamentary scrutiny is not a constant factor either and can change through time. These types of research have not been conducted yet. I am in the opinion that there will be different trends in euroscepticism in the future, as the European Union is facing an economic crisis since the Treaty of Lisbon and scepticism and nationalism tend to strengthen during crisis. I am very interested in the development of these trends and the influence it can have on parliamentary strength.

Another factor that is important for further research is the time of accession to the EU by member states. As seen in the data, member states that are relatively new in the EU have a less Eurosceptic public, as the benefits of the EU are still rather new. The length of membership to the EU can therefore be of importance for further research. However, the time of accession to the EU can also be problematic, since the EU is now much more powerful and of greater importance for national parliaments than at the time of founding or when United Kingdom joined. Therefore, national parliaments might be better prepared and react differently to chances such as the Lisbon Treaty.

Regional linkages can also be an explanation to the differences between national parliaments. Northern European member states scored relatively high in the same areas, as do the eastern- and southern member states. This can be explained by their regional ties and perhaps shared culture. As these member states are more likely to visit each other and share best practices, the differences can lie in their regional cooperation.

Furthermore, other factors than euroscepticism might explain the differences in parliamentary scrutiny strength. Nevertheless, both euroscepticism and scrutiny strength are currently of importance to strengthen national parliaments in their role as gatekeepers and networkers. Once these roles are perfected, euroscepticism might not even be of importance at all.

9. Annex I

Schedule for the measurement of parliamentary scrutiny strength.

Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents	Incomplete	Legislative proposals	Legislative and planning documents
Government memorandum	No	-	Yes
Committee reports	No	Sub-committee	Standing committee
Ex ante reports	No	Council or European Council	Both
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC	Joint committee with other chamber	Full standing committee	Full standing committee with sub-committees
Involvement of standing committees	No systematic involvement	Advisory responsibility	Full responsibility
Filter	No	Formal selection	Specialized body (administrative unit)
MP's involved	No	-	Yes
Scope	No	EU doc's or government doc's	Both
Oversight			
Binding Character	No	Government has to explain its deviation	Yes
Scrutiny reserve	No	-	Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)			
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012			

Measurement of the external influences:

External influence			
Governmental structure	(Con)Federal	Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition	Minority	-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism	Soft euroscepticism	Hard euroscepticism	

10. Annex II

Schedule for the measurement of parliamentary scrutiny strength filled in per member state. To fill in this form, information from IPEX, COSAC, OPAL, the European Commission and national websites of the member states have been used.

Annex Austria

AUSTRIA			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents			Legislative and planning documents
Government memorandum		-	Yes
Involvement of Committees			Full standing committee
Ex ante reports			Yes
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC			Full standing committee with sub-committees
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body
MP's involved			Yes
Scope			Both
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	64		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	8		
External influence			
Governmental structure	Federal		
Governmental structure	Coalition		
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Belgium

BELGIUM			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committees
Ex ante reports		European Council	
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC	Joint committee with		
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	20		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	5		
External influence			
Governmental structure	Federal		
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Bulgaria

BULGARIA			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	

Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committees
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope			Both
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	34		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	2		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	minority		
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Cyprus

CYPRUS			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum	No		
Involvement of Committees	No		
Ex ante reports	No		

Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body (administrative unit)
MP's involved			Yes
Scope	No		
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	5		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	2		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Czech Republic

CZECH REPUBLIC			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees		sub-committees	
Ex ante reports		Council or European Council	
Scrutiny infrastructure			

Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character		Government has to	
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	164		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	2		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure		Coalition	
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Denmark

DENMARK			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents			Legislative and planning documents
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports			Both
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body

			(administrative unit)
MP's involved			Yes
Scope			Both
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	45		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	6		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure		Minority	-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Estonia

ESTONIA			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports			Both
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes

Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	2		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	0		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Finland

FINLAND			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents			Legislative and planning documents
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports			Both
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body (administrative unit)
MP's involved			Yes
Scope			Both

Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	4		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	2		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure		Minority	-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex France

FRANCE			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body (administrative unit)
MP's involved			Yes
Scope			Yes
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve			Yes

Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	44		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	13		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Germany

GERMANY			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports		Council or European Council	
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body (administrative unit)
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			

Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	148		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	10		
External influence			
Governmental structure	(Con)Federal		
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Greece

GREECE			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope	No		
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	24		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	0		
External influence			

Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure			Majority
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Hungary

HUNGARY			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports		Council	
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	3		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	0		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-

Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Ireland

IRELAND			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum	No		
Involvement of Committees		Sub-committee	
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC	Joint committee with other chamber		
Power	No systematic involvement		
Filter	No		
MP's involved	No		
Scope	No		
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	17		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	1		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Italy

ITALY			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	337		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	7		
External influence			
Governmental structure	(Con)Federal/unitary		
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Latvia

LATVIA			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents			Legislative and planning documents
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports		Council or European Council	
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	6		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	1		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Lithuania

LITHUANIA			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC			Full standing committee with sub committees
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope			Yes
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	12		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	3		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Luxemburg

LUXEMBURG			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum	No		
Involvement of Committees		Sub-committee	
Ex ante reports		Council or European Council	
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	30		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	13		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Malta

MALTA			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees		Sub-committee	
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC			Full standing committee with sub-committees
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	5		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	3		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure			Majority
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Netherlands

NETHERLANDS			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents			Legislative and planning documents
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports			Both
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body (administrative unit)
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	46		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	11		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian/decentralized	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Poland

POLAND			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents			Legislative and planning documents
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees		Sub-committee	
Ex ante reports			Both
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope	No		
Oversight			
Binding Character		Government has to	
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	30		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	19		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Portugal

PORTUGAL			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	564		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	2		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition (before always majority)		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Romania

ROMANIA			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body (administrative unit)
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	113		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	4		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition	(before always majority)	-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Slovakia

SLOVAKIA

Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees		Sub-committee	
Ex ante reports			Both
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope			Yes
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	3		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	3		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure			Majority
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Slovenia

SLOVENIA			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents			Legislative and planning

			documents
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committees
Ex ante reports		Council or European Council	
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope			Yes
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	2		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	0		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Spain

SPAIN			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum	No		
Involvement of Committees		Sub-committee	
Ex ante reports	No		

Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC	Joint committee with other chamber		
Power		Advisory responsibility	
Filter		Formal selection	
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character	No		
Scrutiny reserve	No		
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	13		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	4		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Decentralized	
Governmental structure		Majority	-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex Sweden

SWEDEN			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents			Legislative and planning documents
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports			Both
Scrutiny infrastructure			

Type of EAC		Full standing committee	
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body (administrative unit)
MP's involved			Yes
Scope			Both
Oversight			
Binding Character			Yes
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	113		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	34		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitarian	
Governmental structure	Coalition	Minority	-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

Annex United Kingdom

UK			
Scrutiny strength	Weak	Medium	Strong
Access to information			
Access to documents		Legislative proposals	
Government memorandum			Yes
Involvement of Committees			Standing committee
Ex ante reports	No		
Scrutiny infrastructure			
Type of EAC			Full standing committee with sub-committees
Power			Full responsibility
Filter			Specialized body

			(administrative unit)
MP's involved			Yes
Scope		EU doc's or government doc's	
Oversight			
Binding Character		Government has to	
Scrutiny reserve			Yes
Parliamentary behaviour			
Total opinions 2008-2012 (Political dialogue)	75		
Reasoned opinions 2008-2012	13		
External influence			
Governmental structure		Unitary	
Governmental structure	Coalition		-
Public euroscepticism			
Party euroscepticism			

11. Annex III

The result of the measurement of parliamentary scrutiny strength per member state.

Country	Level	Weak	Medium	Strong	Opinions	R.Opin.	Federal/Unitary	Coalition/Minority
Austria	22			11	64	8	Fed	Coalition
Belgium	11	5.5			20	5	Fed	Maj/Coal
Bulgaria	12		6		34	2	Unitary	Minority
Cyprus	8	4			5	2	Unitary	Coalition
Czech	15		7.5		164	2	Unitary	Coalition

Denmark	21			10.5	45	6	Unitary	Coalition
Estonia	18		9		2	0	Unitary	Coalition
Finland	21			10.5	4	2	Unitary	Coalition
France	16		7.5		44	13	Unitary	Coalition
Germany	16		8		148	10	Federal	Coalition
Greece	10	5.5			24	0	Unitary	Majority
Hungary	14		7.5		3	0	Unitary	Coalition
Ireland	2	1			17	1	Unitary	Coalition
Italy	13		6.5		337	7	Mix	Coalition
Latvia	13		6.5		6	1	Unitary	Coalition
Lithuania	17		8.5		12	3	Unitary	Coalition
Luxemburg	11	5.5			30	13	Unitary	Coalition
Malta	13		6.5		5	3	Unitary	Majority
Netherlands	18		9		46	11	Unitary	Coalition
Poland	16		8.5		30	19	Unitary	Minority
Portugal	11	5.5			564	2	Unitary	Coalition
Romania	17		8.5		113	4	Unitary	Coalition
Slovakia	18		8.5		3	3	Unitary	Coalition
Slovenia	17		8		2	0	Unitary	Majority
Spain	7	3.5			13	4	Decentralized	Coalition
Sweden	21			10.5	113	34	Unitary	Majority
UK	17		8.5		75	13	Unitary	Coalition

12. Annex IV

The result of the measurement of public euroscepticism.

Country	Membership negative feeling	Not benefited from membership	No trust in EU	Fairly negative feeling	Very negative feeling	Total
UK	32	51	63	23	13	76
Sweden	19	35	46	18	4	57
Spain	11	25	40	11	2	26
Slovenia	14	33	43	11	2	31
Slovakia	6	16	29	10	2	14

Romania	8	22	27	7	1	15
Portugal	18	29	38	17	2	43
Poland	8	15	31	7	1	13
Netherlands	9	23	36	16	2	39
Malta	16	25	28	13	4	33
Luxemburg	9	20	37	12	2	31
Lithuania	12	17	27	7	1	16
Latvia	21	49	45	14	3	51
Italy	16	37	40	11	3	33
Ireland	9	12	38	10	4	21
Hungary	21	50	37	16	4	53
Greece	19	34	51	17	7	61
Germany	13	37	49	15	3	56
France	20	37	49	16	5	59
Finland	20	37	44	19	3	57
Estonia	7	19	24	7	1	11
Denmark	14	19	40	13	3	42
Czech Republic	14	29	41	17	6	47
Cyprus	22	45	36	14	4	49
Bulgaria	8	27	21	8	1	18
Belgium	11	29	42	13	2	36
Austria	22	46	50	25	7	70

13. Annex V

The result of the measurement of party-based euroscepticism.

Country	Soft Euroscepticism GUE/NGL + ECR	Hard Euroscepticism EFDD - Non-align	Total seats	Soft %	Hard %
Ireland	5	0	11	45	0
Denmark	5	0	13	40	0
Poland	19	4	51	37	7
Cyprus	2	0	6	34	0
Greece	7	5	21	34	24
UK	21	25	73	29	34
Czech Republic	5	1	21	24	5

Finland	3	0	13	23	0
Spain	11	0	54	20	0
Belgium	4	1	21	19	5
Netherlands	5	4	26	19	15
Portugal	4	0	21	19	0
Germany	16	2	96	17	2
Slovakia	2	0	13	15	0
Bulgaria	2	0	17	12	0
Latvia	1	1	8	12	12
Lithuania	1	2	11	9	18
France	4	24	74	5	32
Sweden	1	2	20	5	10
Italy	3	22	73	4	30
Austria	0	4	18	0	22
Estonia	0	0	6	0	0
Hungary	0	3	21	0	14
Luxemburg	0	0	6	0	0
Malta	0	0	6	0	0
Romania	0	0	32	0	0
Slovenia	0	0	8	0	0

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