

CAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS BE RESPONSIBLE IN A WORLD OF INTERDEPENDENCE?

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RESPONSIVE REPRESENTATIVES

Responsive: From the Latin re + spondere (to promise)

Parties and candidates react positively to public opinion

Views of voters and elected co-respond (Miller & Stokes)

But representation without influencing government policy

is insufficient for responsible government (Cox)

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

*Responsible: Has formal duties and powers
for which can be held to account*

Government is collective institution, not a principal-agent dyad

Parties determine holders of decisionmaking offices

Officeholders have powers, duties, choices

Publicly accountable for choices and subject to electoral sanctions

*Ergo, POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES CONNECTED

INTERDEPENDENCE DISCONNECTS POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

ELECT GOVERNMENT BECOMES RESPONSIBLE PAST COMMITMENTS

Inheritance before choice of policies

Uncontrollable spending & taxing commitments

LOSS OF MONOPOLY POWER TO

European Union: *acquis communautaire is irreversible*

Open international economy

EU INSTITUTIONS FOR MEETING RESPONSIBILITIES

Reciprocal responsibilities for European integration

Consensus in a 27-country Council and Parliament

Not directly accountable to national electorates

Enhanced cooperation

Coalitions of the willing: e.g. Libya

Coalitions of the unwilling: eurozone

AN ECOLOGY OF INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH A GOVERNMENT IS EMBEDDED

	<i>Number of members</i>		
	EU countries	Non -EU	EU as % total
ORGANIZATIONS STRETCHING EUROPE'S BOUNDARIES			
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	21	6	78
European Central Bank	17	(10)	(63)
Council of Europe	27	20	57
OSCE	27	29	48
EBRD	27	36	43
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS			
World Trade Organisation	27	129	17
International Monetary Fund	27	161	14
World Bank	27	161	14
Interpol	27	163	14
United Nations	27	166	14

Sources: Eurozone members as percent of EU members.

World Trade Organisation the only body in which EU a member.

WICKED AND UNBOUNDED PROBLEMS

Wicked problems due to interdependencies,

Policy as its own cause

Monnet strategy of spillover

Unbounded problems: interdependencies across national borders

Wicked + unbounded:

Institutions without a lever to pull to get action

Interdependent systems without a decision mechanism

POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES DISCONNECTED

OUTCOMES AS A BYPRODUCT OF GOVERNMENT RESPONSES

Responsive to public opinion

Meets responsibilities

Yes

No

Yes

Popular

Disillusioned

No

Defensible

Vulnerable



WHAT ROLE FOR RESPONSIBLE PARTY GOVERNMENT?

From promising more to reducing dissatisfaction

- ◆ Elected officeholders as decision takers more than makers

- ◆ Educate selves: Learn what can be done from defeat as well as success
Small states already know they are decision takers

- ◆ Educate citizens:
Responsive, personalistic appeals, negative campaigning USA 2012
Germany 2013 ??????

- ◆ Citizens can learn: Falling expectations and reprieve