

**RESPONSIBLE PARTY GOVERNMENT
IN A WORLD OF INTERDEPENDENCE**

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DEFINITIONS

RESPONSIVE: Parties react positively to voter preferences

RESPONSIBLE party government:

- Formal control of policy outputs of government
- Effective in delivering what it promises to voters
- Accountable to voters who can sanction it

REPRESENTATION: Parties enact as well as express policies (Cox, 226)

*ASSUMES government has the power to deliver what it promises

But...

INTERDEPENDENCE CONSTRAINS RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Past and present

*Legacy of commitments from the past, e.g. spending, deficits

European institutions

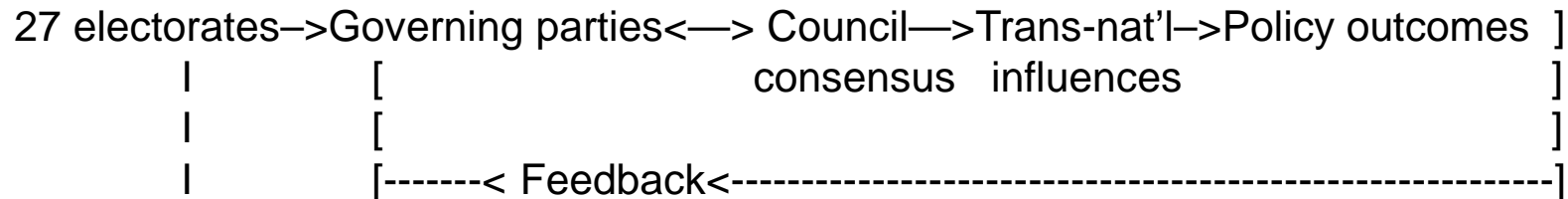
*Inherited EU treaty commitments and *acquis communautaire*

Global trans-nationalism

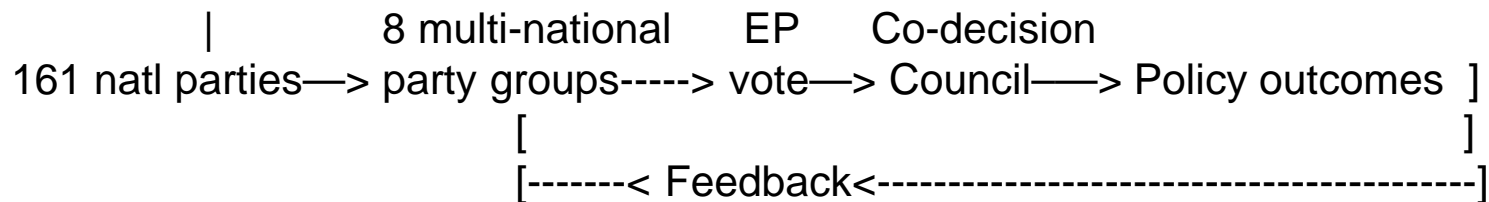
*Trans-national pressures from other states and non-state actors

INTERDEPENDENCE AND MULTI-NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

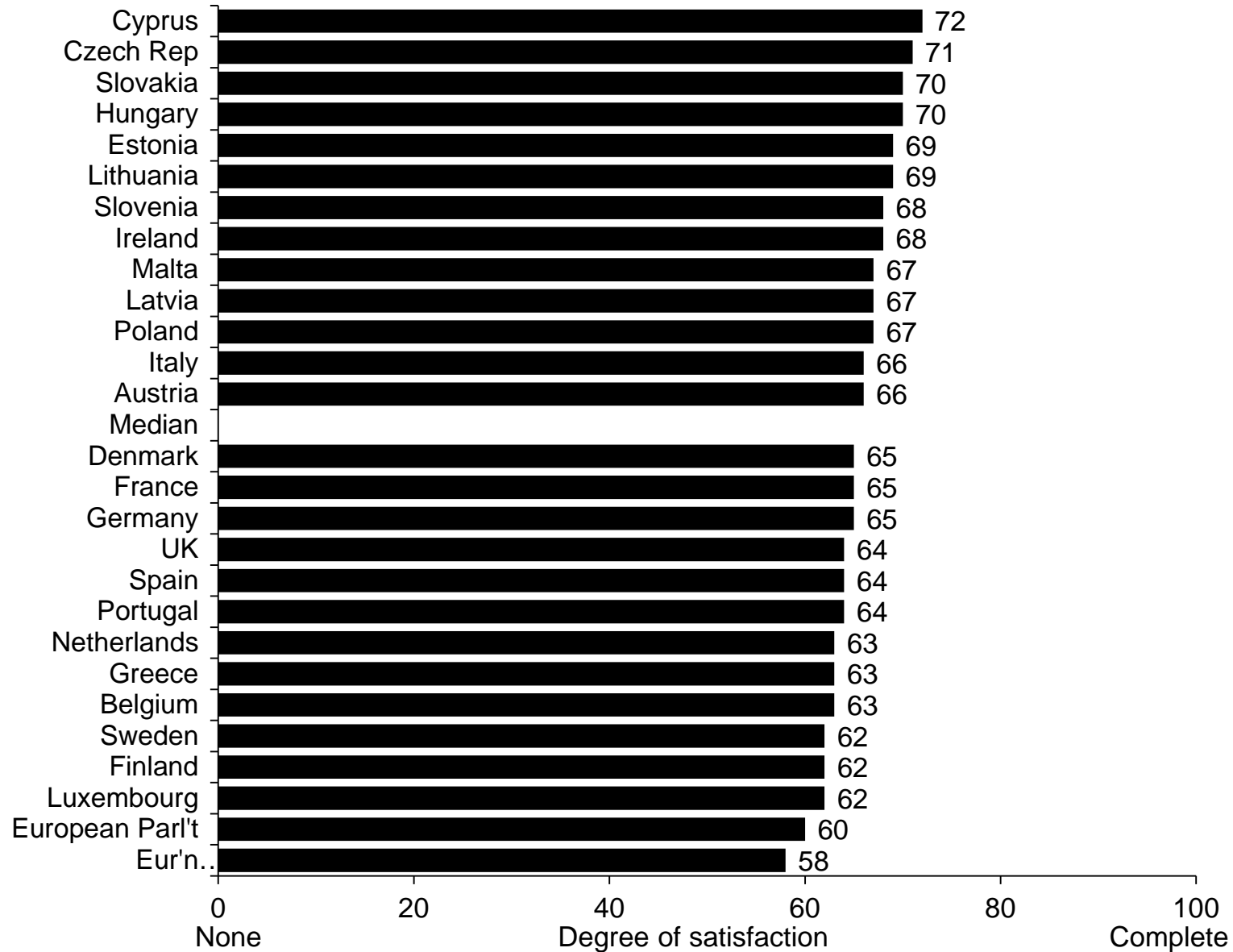
A. DENATIONALIZING EFFECT OF EU COUNCIL



B. MULTI-NATIONALIZING EFFECT OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



POLICYMAKERS' SATISFACTION WITH EU OUTPUTS



Source: Estimated from Javier Arrigui and Robert Thomson, "States' Bargaining Success in the European Union", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16,5, (2009), Figure 2. Average distance, initial position and decision outcome.

 INSTITUTIONS DEALING WITH INTERDEPENDENCE

	<u>Resource</u>	<u>Geographic</u>	<u>Countries N</u>
<u>Economic</u>			
EBRD	Money	Wider Europe	63
WTO	Rules	Global	157
World Bank	Money	Global	188
IMF	Money	Global	188
<u>Security</u>			
NATO	Guns	Wider Europe	27
Interpol	Law, custody	Global	190
<u>Political</u>			
Council of Europe	Soft	Wider Europe	47
OSCE	Soft	Wider Europe	56
United Nations	Semi-soft	Global	193

INTERDEPENDENCE WITHOUT ACCOUNTABILITY

Interdependent -27 to 190 -----Trans-nat'l----->Trans-natl---->Policy outcomes]
 [problem natl govts institution influences]
 [
 [-----Feedback-----]

DYNAMIC ALTERNATIVES

ROTATION WITHOUT LEARNING

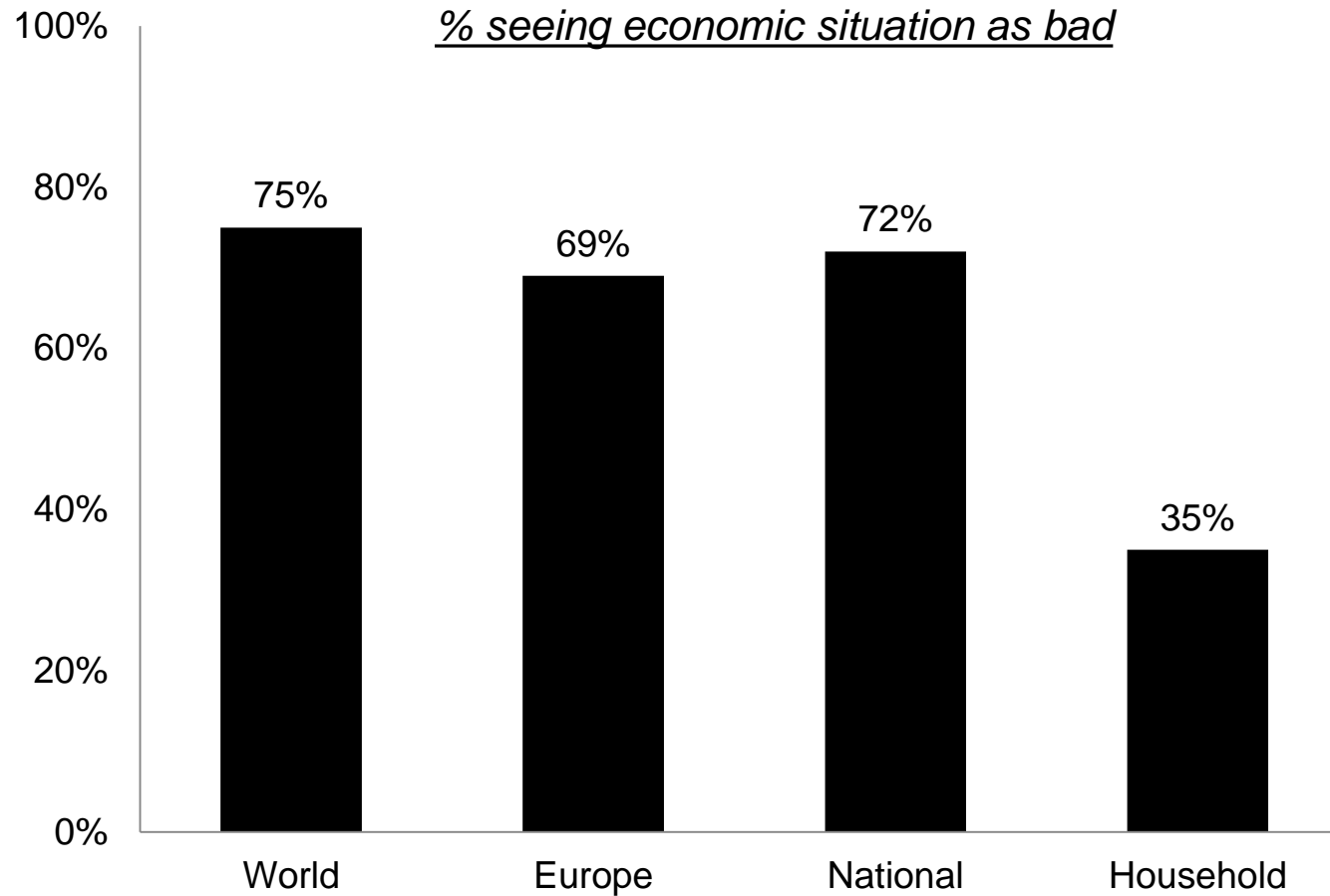
- 1st Voters reject established alternatives for government
- 2nd New parties make fresh, valence-type appeals—and fail
- 3rd Old governing parties form *grosse koalition* cartel

LEARNING FROM FAILURE

- 1st Governing party fails, publicizes trans-national causes
- 2nd Opposition party promises superior valence, not outcomes
- 3rd Media publicizes national and trans-national problems

? Can ordinary citizens learn ?

TESTING THE V.O. KEY HYPOTHESIS: Ordinary People Aren't Fools



Source: Standard Eurobarometer 78, Brussels: Q A 3.3 et seq.