

Electoral Mandates and Responsiveness: Comparing Government Reactions to Public Opinion in ‘Normal’ and ‘Unexpected’ Policy Junctures

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MOTIVATION, GOALS & QUESTIONS

- Motivation:
 - Normative disagreement about whether governments *ought* to respond to the public's demands between elections.
 - The role of mandates (and their role for accountability) is critical in this discussion.
- Two views (cf. Mansbridge & Rehfeld):
 - Promissory view/form of representation: Elections confer mandates based on electoral platforms, and governments are legitimized to 'resist' the pressures of multiple sectors of the public between elections
 - Anticipatory view/form of representation: Elections provide incentives for governments to engage in deliberative dynamics and switch policies between elections, thus it is 'natural' to expect responsiveness between elections.

MOTIVATIONS, GOALS & QUESTIONS (Cont.)

- Normative debate focuses considerably on role of elections, pledges and electoral mandates.
- But very little empirical work on whether electoral mandates matter for responsive behaviour.
- The comparison of non-mandated or ‘unexpected’ or ‘shock-driven’ situations with ‘normal’ policy making situations is potentially interesting, from both normative and empirical perspectives.
- Goal of the (future) paper: A first empirical take at the different dynamics of responsiveness in ‘mandated’ and ‘non-mandated’ situations.
- Main question addressed: Are governments more likely to respond to the pressures of the public when claiming a mandate is less straightforward?

The intuition

- The existence of ‘electoral mandates’ is disputed
- Parties bundle positions on many issues in their party manifestos / electoral pledges
- Some issues are not covered in (any) detail in manifestos for any given election
- Even if covered in manifestos, many/most issues are not discussed during electoral campaigns
- In countries with coalition govts, the notion of an electoral mandate often makes no sense
- Yet, elected officials claim to have ‘electoral mandates’...

The intuition (cont.)

- **Examples:**

- “Provisions contained within the legislation in relation to the superannuation guarantee, are about providing businesses certainty. [...] We have an electoral mandate to repeal the mining tax.” (Steven Ciobo, MP and Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasurer, Australia, interview 2/09/2014)
- “Recibimos un mandato, que es arreglar los problemas. [...] El Gobierno de España tiene un mandato claro, fue elegido para un periodo de cuatro años, y los balances se hacen en su momento” (We received a mandate, which is to fix problems. [...] The Spanish Government has a clear mandate, it was elected for a 4-year period, and evaluations are done when it comes the time.) (Mariano Rajoy, PM of Spain, in public statement 7 months after his inauguration and after taking a number of decisions counter to electoral pledges, 4/08/2012)
- “We have an electoral mandate, and we're going to fulfill that mandate with this bill. The president is right about one thing, that the soldiers and their families deserve better. And this bill is finally going to take their concerns into mind.” (US Congressman Jim Moran, interview 15/11/2007)

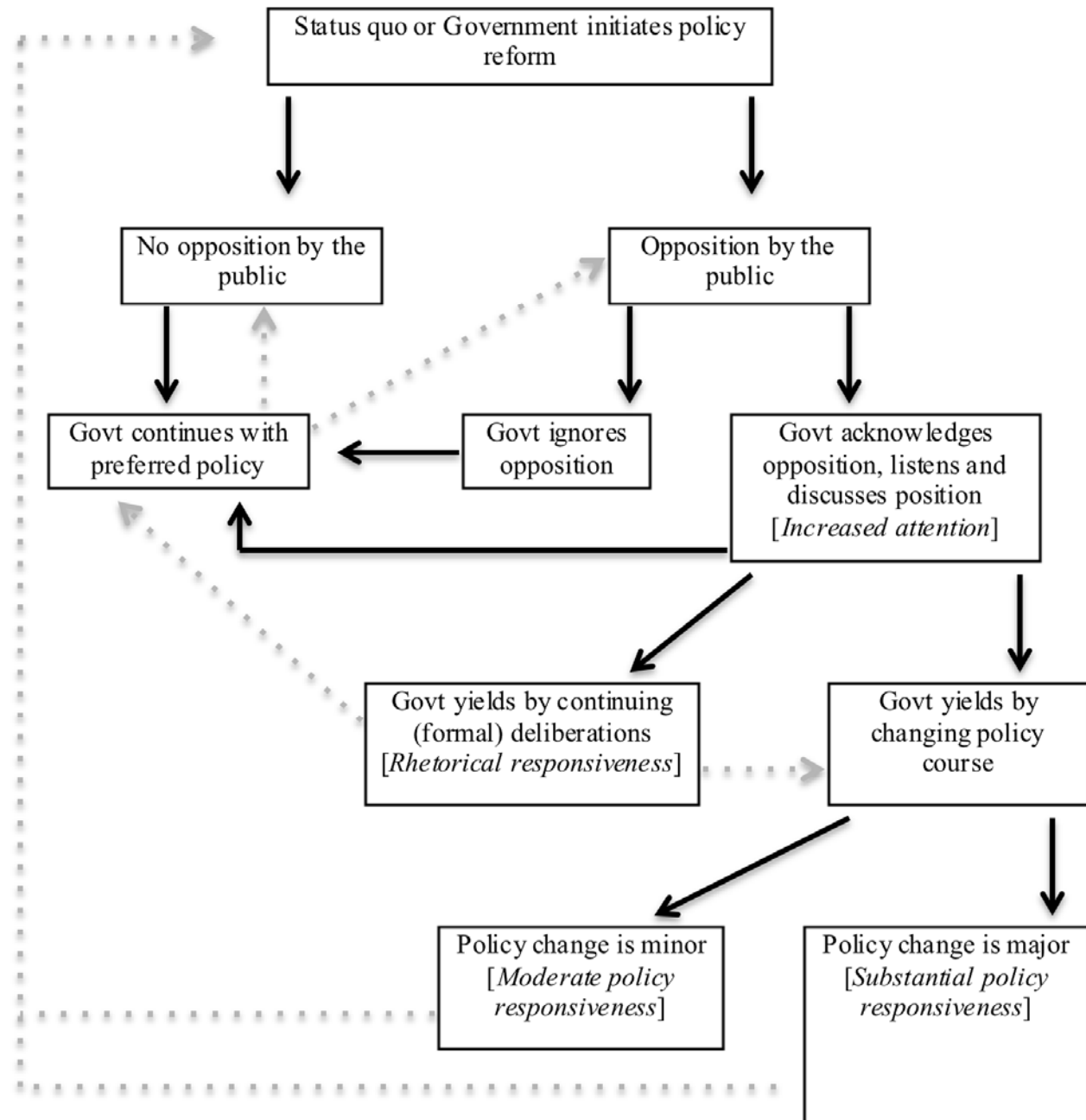
The intuition (cont.)

- Parties and representatives constantly claim to have an electoral mandate to do what they want to do
- Mandates are a legitimizing rhetorical tool to neutralize opposition to policy initiatives (or to status quo)
- Yet, when ‘unexpected’ circumstances emerge (e.g. shocks), this alters the capacity to legitimately and validly claim a mandate
- When major shocks (or focusing events) happen, the information voters have can drastically change and invalidate whatever information was used to cast a vote in the past
- Thus, responsiveness is more likely because gov’ts find it more difficult to legitimately resist opposition

What counts as responsiveness?

- In a different paper I argue that...
- There are multiple forms in which governments can respond to the policy demands of citizens.
- A 'processual' notion of democratic responsiveness might be useful: responsiveness viewed as a series of steps or stages
- That rhetorical reactions also matter (as argued by deliberative theorists) but are just a 'minimal' stage in the responsiveness process.

Figure 1. Democratic (governmental) responsiveness as a process



- Following this processual understanding of responsiveness...
- Ordinal conceptualization of responsiveness proposed:
 0. No reaction, no change in attention or in position.
 1. Increased attention to the issue by the Government but no change in position.
 2. Rhetorical reaction/change: increased attention to the issue and some symbolic yielding to opposing actors without substantive change in policy.
 3. Moderate policy reaction/change: substantive change in a (relatively) minor aspect of the policy.
 4. Substantial policy reaction/change: in the case of major policy changes, u-turns in relation to initial policy positions or proposals, or when major legislation is enacted.

Other relevant conceptual issues

- What do we mean by public opinion?
 - Opinions expressed in surveys: survey information imperfect in many contexts, but how do gov'ts get their cues from the public?
 - Collective action: visible vs. 'concealed' action (e.g. lobby action). How to approach the latter?
- How do we measure citizens' preferences and demands?
 - Information imperfect: we have chosen to measure what is in public domain only.

ASSUMPTIONS & EXPECTATIONS

- Assumptions:
 - On most policies, governments have ‘preferred policy’ option
 - In absence of opposition, this is the policy course they would follow
 - Governmental actors are ‘anticipators’ who need to balance vote maximization, policy seeking and office seeking goals.
- Expectations on governmental responsiveness
 - Absence of protest → little incentive for responsiveness between elections, regardless of position of ‘median’ voter (H1)
 - If protest substantial and consistent with ‘median’ voter → substantial responsiveness much more likely (H2)
 - If protest substantial but inconsistent with ‘median’ voter → reaction conditional on single vs. coalition gov’t, and if protesters in line with ‘core’ voters (of any gov’t party). (H3)
 - Above expectations conditional on how close election day is (H4)
- ‘Unexpected’ vs ‘normal’ policy-making situations:
responsiveness more likely in ‘unexpected’ junctures (H5)

Research Design

Policy 'Junctures' as the Focus of Analysis

- Innovative approach to the subject by not looking at continuous aggregate-level time series.
- Instead, focusing on policy 'junctures', as moments of policy formulation, reform or decision-making.
- Process-tracing approach possible relying on event-history logic.
- 'Normal' vs 'non-mandated' junctures compared.

Research Design

Policy ‘Junctures’ as the Focus of Analysis

Table 1. Classification of policy cases to study

Policy area	Unexpected situations	“Normal” situations
<i>Industry & Environment-related policies</i>	1. Nuclear energy after Fukushima (pilot) [Shock = Fukushima]	3. Regulations on genetically modified crops (GMCs)
<i>Economy-related reforms: productive sectors</i>	4. Mortgage laws regulations after 2008 crisis [Shock = banking crisis/recession]	2. Intellectual property and internet reforms (pilot)
<i>Welfare/social reform policies</i>	7. Pensions reform after 2008 crisis [Shock = banking crisis/recession] 11. Immigration reform after unexpected immigration/asylum seekers crisis [Shock = country-specific]	8. Pensions reforms pre-2008 crisis (and post-1996) 10. University fees reforms
<i>Moral policies</i>	(No unexpected cases found)	9. Same-sex marriage reforms
<i>Foreign affairs policy</i>	5. Participation in Afghanistan war [Shock = 9/11]	6. Participation in Iraq war/invasion (2003)

Note: The numbers rank-order temporal precedence in the data collection process. The lighter type font indicates case studies for which we might run out of time given delays in coding.

Case selection, data & methods

- Eventually, data on 8-11 policy junctures (12-23 countries per policy juncture)
- At present, data available for 2 policy junctures: nuclear energy policy after Fukushima (non-mandated / shock case) & intellectual property and internet reforms (mandated / normal case) [Pilot case studies]
- Own manual coding of:
 - ✓ All claims made by different actors as covered by the national press agency newswires.
 - ✓ All relevant survey reports measuring public opinion during the coding time periods.
 - ✓ Newspaper editorials for 2 newspapers in each country.
 - ✓ Parliamentary questions and legislation databases
- Unit of coding and analysis:
 - ✓ An “event” = claim, statement, action, survey result;
 - ✓ An “actor” (up to 3 actors coded per “event”).
 - ✓ Use of comprehensive dictionary of keywords to track all relevant events

The nuclear energy policy after Fukushima study

- Policy juncture starts with the date of the ‘shock’ (March 11, 2011)
- From this date all ‘events’ relating to nuclear energy policy are tracked and coded
- Coding continues until:
 - The gov’t changes substantially policy position (substantial policy responsiveness), or
 - Elections take place 6 months or later from shock date, or
 - The date of March 30, 2011 is reached
- Data collected for 14 cases for this study
- Cases with & without nuclear energy, but at least a debate, included

Table 1. Criteria and classification for case selection

		Substantial debate immediately prior to Fukushima	
		YES	NO
Nuclear energy prior to Fukushima	YES	(1) Belgium Germany Spain Switzerland	(2) Canada Finland France Netherlands Sweden United Kingdom United States
	NO	(3) Italy	(4) Australia Austria Cyprus Denmark Greece Ireland Iceland New Zealand Malta Norway Portugal

The intellectual property and internet reforms study

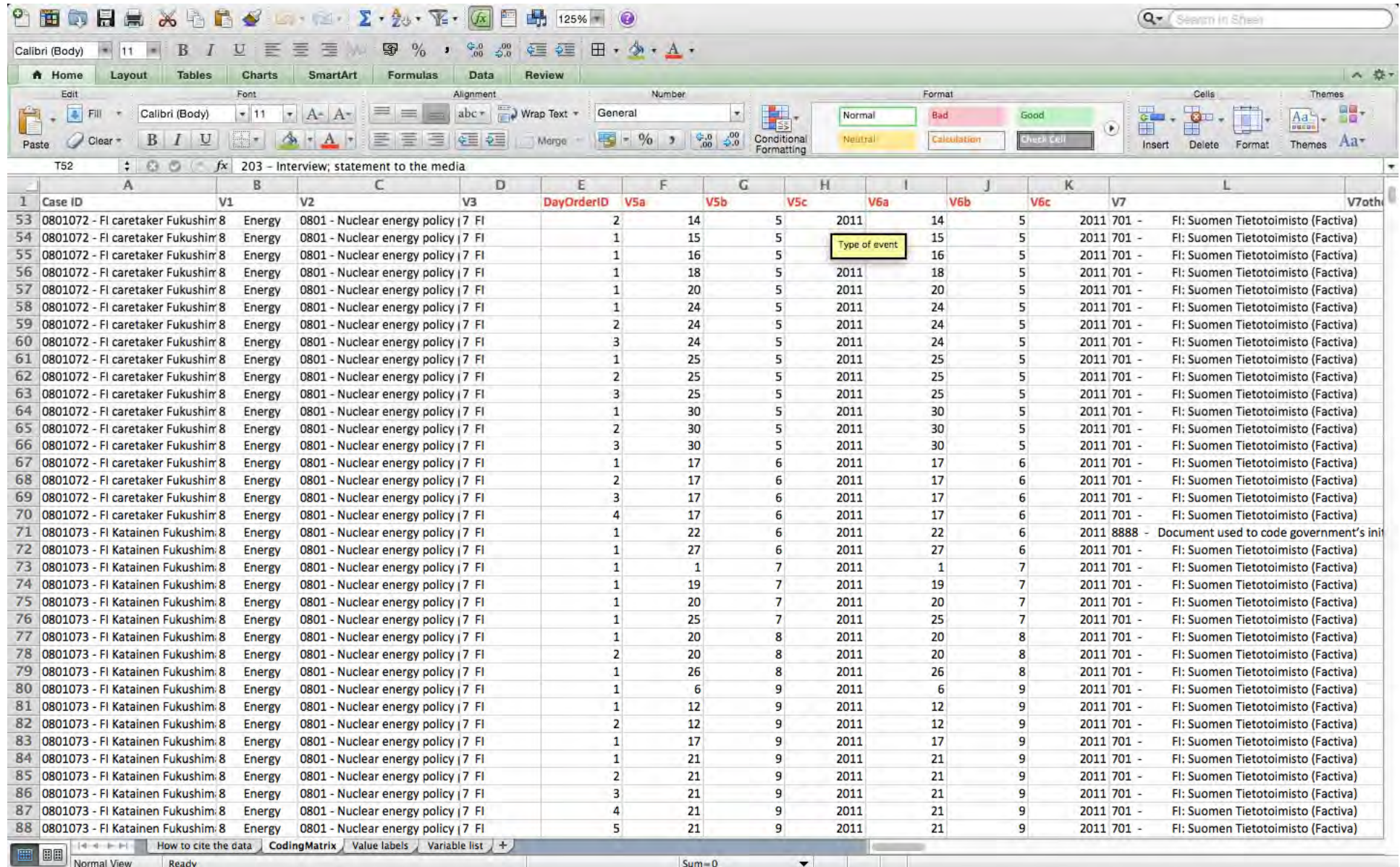
- Policy juncture starts with:
 - An electoral pledge to reform intellectual property regulations to protect from copyright infringements on the internet, or
 - An announcement of intention to introduce a reform in coalition or any other government statement
- From this date all ‘events’ relating to this policy area are tracked and coded
- Coding continues until resolution is given to pledge/commitment:
 - The gov’t changes substantially policy position (substantial policy responsiveness), or
 - National general elections happens
- Data collection completed for 6 countries, and 8 cases only
- Eventually data for 21 countries, and probably around 40-50 junctures in total

Cases that will be included in Copyright and internet study

Country	Number of policy junctures	Completed
Australia	2	0
Austria	Pending	0
Belgium	6	0
Canada	Pending	0
Cyprus	2	1
Denmark	3	1
Finland	Pending	0
France	3	3
Germany	3	3
Greece	1	1
Iceland	1	1
Ireland	4	0
Italy	4	1
Netherlands	Pending	0
Norway	2	2
Portugal	3	0
Spain	Pending	0
Sweden	3	1
Switzerland	Pending	0
UK	4	2
US	3	0
Total	44+ (probably close to 50)	16

How data matrix looks like

<http://www.responsivegov.eu/index.php/data>



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L		
1	Case ID	V1	V2	C	V3	DayOrderID	VSa	VSb	VSa	V6a	V6b	V6c	V7	V7oth
53	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	2	14	5	2011	14	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
54	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	15	5	Type of event	15	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
55	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	16	5		16	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
56	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	18	5	2011	18	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
57	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	20	5	2011	20	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
58	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	24	5	2011	24	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
59	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	2	24	5	2011	24	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
60	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	3	24	5	2011	24	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
61	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	25	5	2011	25	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
62	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	2	25	5	2011	25	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
63	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	3	25	5	2011	25	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
64	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	30	5	2011	30	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
65	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	2	30	5	2011	30	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
66	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	3	30	5	2011	30	5	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
67	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	17	6	2011	17	6	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
68	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	2	17	6	2011	17	6	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
69	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	3	17	6	2011	17	6	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
70	0801072 - FI caretaker Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	4	17	6	2011	17	6	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
71	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	22	6	2011	22	6	2011	8888 - Document used to code government's ini
72	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	27	6	2011	27	6	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
73	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	1	7	2011	1	7	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
74	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	19	7	2011	19	7	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
75	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	20	7	2011	20	7	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
76	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	25	7	2011	25	7	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
77	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	20	8	2011	20	8	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
78	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	2	20	8	2011	20	8	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
79	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	26	8	2011	26	8	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
80	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	6	9	2011	6	9	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
81	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	12	9	2011	12	9	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
82	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	2	12	9	2011	12	9	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
83	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	17	9	2011	17	9	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
84	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	1	21	9	2011	21	9	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
85	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	2	21	9	2011	21	9	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
86	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	3	21	9	2011	21	9	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
87	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	4	21	9	2011	21	9	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)
88	0801073 - FI Katainen Fukushima	8	Energy	0801 - Nuclear energy policy	7	FI	5	21	9	2011	21	9	2011	701 - FI: Suomen Tietotoimisto (Factiva)

	T	U	V	W	X	Y	
1	V11	V11a	V11b	V12	V12a	V12b	V12c
53	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Coalition formation: potential new PM Katainen states that he will consider whether the government will mention in the programme that no new permission				
54	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Coalition formation: The SDP also wants to present so... Katainen (KOK) regarding the coalition formation. The SDP states that they agree in gener				
55	206 – Other publication (book, research report, leaflet, etc.)		Finnish Nuclear Safety Authority (STUK) report states Type of event Finnish nuclear power stations are very safe. However, more work needs to be done to				
56	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Coalition formation: the Greens repeat their statement that they will only join the coalition if Katainen agrees to write in the government programme that n				
57	201 – Non -specified statement		Coalition formation: 89% of the Greens support that the party joins the new government but only if it is written in the coalition programme that no new per				
58	206 – Other publication (book, research report, leaflet, etc.)		Writer Risto Isomaeki publishes an anti-nuclear leaflet in which he writes that no-one admits the risks of nuclear energy before accidents actually happen. H				
59	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Writer Risto Isomaeki states to the media that his leaflet against nuclear energy is probably his most important writing up to date. In the interview, he furth				
60	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Finnish Nuclear Safety Authority (STUK) responds to the anti-nuclear leaflet published by writer Risto Isomaeki: the dangers pointed out by Isomaeki are ove				
61	202 – Press conference / release		Press release by Fennovoima (nuclear energy company): the decision on whether to build the new nuclear power station in Pyhaejoki or Simo will be decide				
62	203 – Interview; statement to the media		The Supreme Administrative Court (KHO) states to the STT (press agency) that they cannot decide by mid-summer whether Fennovoima can build the new n				
63	201 – Non -specified statement		Unspecified STT (press agency) article stating that the German phase-out from nuclear energy is likely to impact Finland, too. It is expected that the energy p				
64	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Jyrki Katainen (KOK) states to the media that Finland needs to re-evaluate its nuclear energy policy in response to Germany's decision to phase out from nucl				
65	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Finnish Greenpeace states that Finland ought to follow the German example and phase out from nuclear energy, too. Finnish Greenpeace believes that Germ				
66	203 – Interview; statement to the media		The Greens argue that following the German decision to phase out from nuclear energy will affect entire Europe, including Finland. The Green party believe				
67	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Finnish Nuclear Safety Authority (STUK) states that they need better cooperation with the nuclear power companies to assure nuclear safety.				
68	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Teollisuuden Voima (TVO; nuclear power plant operator at Olkiluoto) agrees with the Nuclear Safety Authority (STUK) that nuclear power companies have to				
69	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Coalition formation: it is agreed that the new government will not in principle grant any new permissions to build new nuclear power plants. This means tha				
70	202 – Press conference / release		Finnish Forest Industry Federation (Metsaeteollisuus ry) states in a press release that they do not welcome the decision that the new government won't issu				
71	0 – Government's initial policy position		Government's initial policy position: this position is based on the Coalition agreement. The coalition agreement does not state that Finland would phase out				
72	208 – Presentation of survey/poll results		News report of survey results says that the people in Oulu (Northern F. Not known. In the STT's newsfeed. Not known.				
73	203 – Interview; statement to the media		News stating that Fennovoima (Finnish nuclear power company) will ask either the French Areva or Japanese Toshiba to build the new nuclear power plant.				
74	201 – Non -specified statement		Media report about Fortum's (nuclear energy company) profits. It is also stated that Fortum finds it important that nuclear energy is politically supported an				
75	203 – Interview; statement to the media		French energy company EDF stated to the media that the building of the Olkiluoto power plant has slowed down partly because of the new safety requirem				
76	808 – Threatening of people with political motivations		STT reports that Helsingin Sanomat (major daily newspaper) writes that the Norwegian mass murderer Anders Breivik states in his manifesto that 5,000 Finn				
77	703 – Blockades or sit -in strikes/demonstrations (inc. hacking websites)		About 150-200 anti-nuclear energy protesters were blocking the road to the Olkiluoto nuclear power plant. They had banners and were shouting slogans. Th				
78	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Police states to the media that despite the road blockade by protesters near the Olkiluoto nuclear power station, the situation is calm and traffic is slowly flo				
79	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Olkiluoto demonstrators from 20 Aug, 2011, state to the media that the police was not treating them properly. The protesters state that the police did not v				
80	202 – Press conference / release		TVO (nuclear power plant operator) press release states that the third Olkiluoto power station is 2/3 ready and will be completed at the end of 2013. They n				
81	205 – (Public) letter or newspaper article		Ten Finnish NGOs have written a letter in which they ask for a referendum to be held about the building of new nuclear power plant. This concerns the pow				
82	501 – Petition / signature collection (both online and 'traditional')		The ten Finnish NGOs that want a referendum concerning the building of new nuclear power plant have set up a petition. They hope to collect 50,000 signat				
83	203 – Interview; statement to the media		The Green party argues that the question of whether there should be new nuclear power plants built in Finland should indeed be decided at a referendum.				
84	108 – Court rulings, judgments and actions		The Supreme Administrative Court (KHO) has rejected the appeals by both Simo and Pyhaejoki organisations and has ruled that both locations are suitable f				
85	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Fennovoima (nuclear energy company) states to the media that they are pleased with the Administrative Court's (KHO) ruling, which allows them to build th				
86	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Opponents of the new nuclear power plant from both Simo and Pyhaejoki make a joint media statement in which they promise to keep fighting against the				
87	203 – Interview; statement to the media		The mayors of both Simo and Pyhaejoki are pleased with the Supreme Administrative Court (KHO) ruling that allows Fennovoima to build the new nuclear p				
88	203 – Interview; statement to the media		Following the Supreme Administrative Court's (KHO) ruling that a new nuclear power plant can be built to Simo or to Pyhaejoki, the media asked locals of the				

Microsoft Excel interface showing a data table with columns BI through BS and rows 53 through 88. The table contains actor names, party affiliations, and numerical values. A tooltip is visible over cell B14b.

	BI	BJ	BK	BL	BM	BN	BO	BP	BQ	BR	BS	
1	V13f	V13g	V13h	V13i	V14indiv	V14inst	V14a	V14b	V14c	V14d	V14d1	V14e
53					Jyrki Katainen	KOK	2- legislative act	201 - Party in national coalition (PM party)		3- actor 1 doesn't support or oppose gov		1- Yes
54						SDP	2- legislative act	202 - Party in national coalition (NOT PM party)		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-1 - Slightly more progressive"	0- No
55						STUK	3- other institution	311 - Other state executive agencies		2- actor 1 is a priori neutral		1- Yes
56					Anni Sinnema	VIHR	2- legislative act	202 - Party in national coalition (NOT PM party)		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-1 - Slightly more progressive"	0- No
57						VIHR	2- legislative act	202 - Party in national coalition (NOT PM party)		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-1 - Slightly more progressive"	0- No
58					Risto Isomaeki		4- collective act	427 - Cultural actors (writers, actors, artists, musicians, etc.)		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-2- Much more progressive"	1- Yes
59					Risto Isomaeki		4- collective act	427 - Cultural actors (writers, actors, artists, musicians, etc.)		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-2- Much more progressive"	1- Yes
60						STUK	3- other institution	311 - Other state executive agencies		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	1- Yes
61						FENNOVOIMA	6- companies	601 - Businesses, firms, companies (public / private)		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	0- No
62						KHO	3- other institution	306 - Judiciary		2- actor 1 is a priori neutral		1- Yes
63						STT	4- collective act	404 - Media and journalists, including editors		3- actor 1 doesn't support or oppose gov		1- Yes
64					Jyrki Katainen	KOK	2- legislative act	201 - Party in national coalition (PM party)		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	1- Yes
65					Jehki Haerkon	GREENPEACE	4- collective act	422 - Environmental, conservation, anti-nuclear or similar organisations		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-2- Much more progressive"	1- Yes
66					Anni Sinnema	VIHR	2- legislative act	202 - Party in national coalition (NOT PM party)		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-2- Much more progressive"	1- Yes
67					Jukka Laakson	STUK	3- other institution	311 - Other state executive agencies		2- actor 1 is a priori neutral		1- Yes
68					Jarmo Tanhua	TVO	6- companies	601 - Businesses, firms, companies (public / private)		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	0- No
69						KOK; SDP; SFP;	1- government ac	109 - National government as a whole		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-1 - Slightly more progressive"	1- Yes
70						METS	6- companies	601 - Businesses, firms, companies (public / private)		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	1- Yes
71						KOK; SDP; SFP;	1- government ac	109 - National government as a whole		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	1- Yes
72							5- survey respond	501 - Survey respondents		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	1- Yes
73					Timo Kallio	FENNOVOIMA	6- companies	601 - Businesses, firms, companies (public / private)		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	0- No
74						FORTUM	6- companies	601 - Businesses, firms, companies (public / private)		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	0- No
75						EDF	6- companies	601 - Businesses, firms, companies (public / private)		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	0- No
76					Anders Breivik		4- collective act	416 - Racist and extreme rights organisations and groups		3- actor 1 doesn't support or oppose gov		0- No
77	1			50			4- collective act	422 - Environmental, conservation, anti-nuclear or similar organisations		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-2- Much more progressive"	1- Yes
78						POLICE	3- other institution	305 - Police and internal security agencies		2- actor 1 is a priori neutral		0- No
79							4- collective act	422 - Environmental, conservation, anti-nuclear or similar organisations		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-2- Much more progressive"	0- No
80					Charles Karlss	TVO	6- companies	601 - Businesses, firms, companies (public / private)		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	0- No
81							4- collective act	422 - Environmental, conservation, anti-nuclear or similar organisations		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-1 - Slightly more progressive"	0- No
82							4- collective act	422 - Environmental, conservation, anti-nuclear or similar organisations		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-1 - Slightly more progressive"	0- No
83					Ville Niinistö	VIHR	2- legislative act	202 - Party in national coalition (NOT PM party)		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-2- Much more progressive"	1- Yes
84						KHO	3- other institution	306 - Judiciary		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	0- No
85					Tapio Saarenp	FENNOVOIMA	6- companies	601 - Businesses, firms, companies (public / private)		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	0- No
86					Hilkka Lipponen	MERI-LAPIN	4- collective act	422 - Environmental, conservation, anti-nuclear or similar organisations		0- No: actor 1 explicitly opposes	"-1 - Slightly more progressive"	1- Yes
87					Esko Tavia	KESK	3- other institution	313 - Representatives / officials of local government / local assemblies		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	1- Yes
88					Eikka Martimo		4- collective act	401 - Public in general (citizens, the citizenry, the electorate, the Germans		1- Yes: actor 1 supports gov	"0- The same position as gov"	1- Yes

A SENSE OF HOW THE DATA CAN BE ANALYZED

Figure 2. Number of events by event type for the first 6 months, per country and week (Fukushima case)

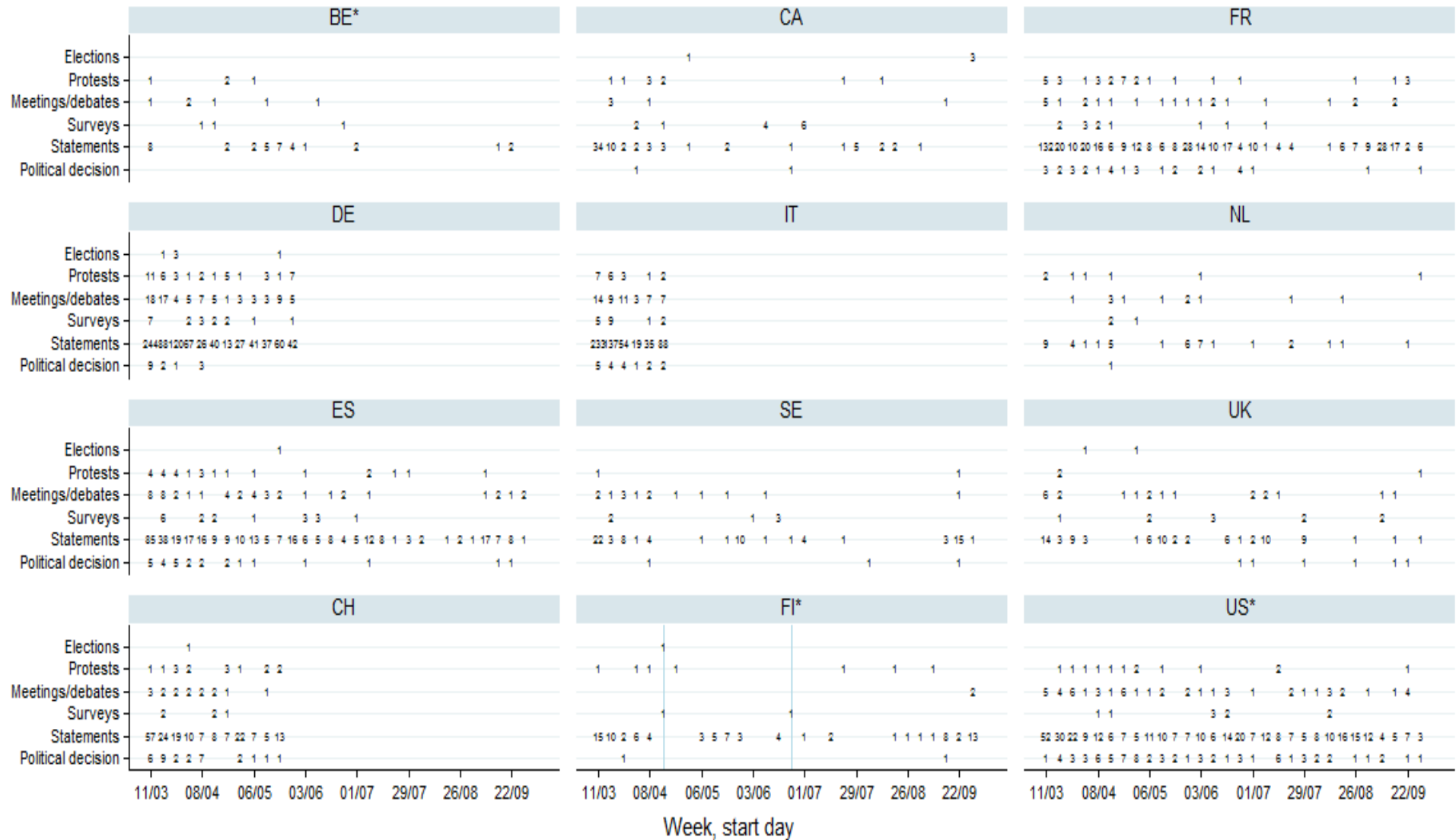
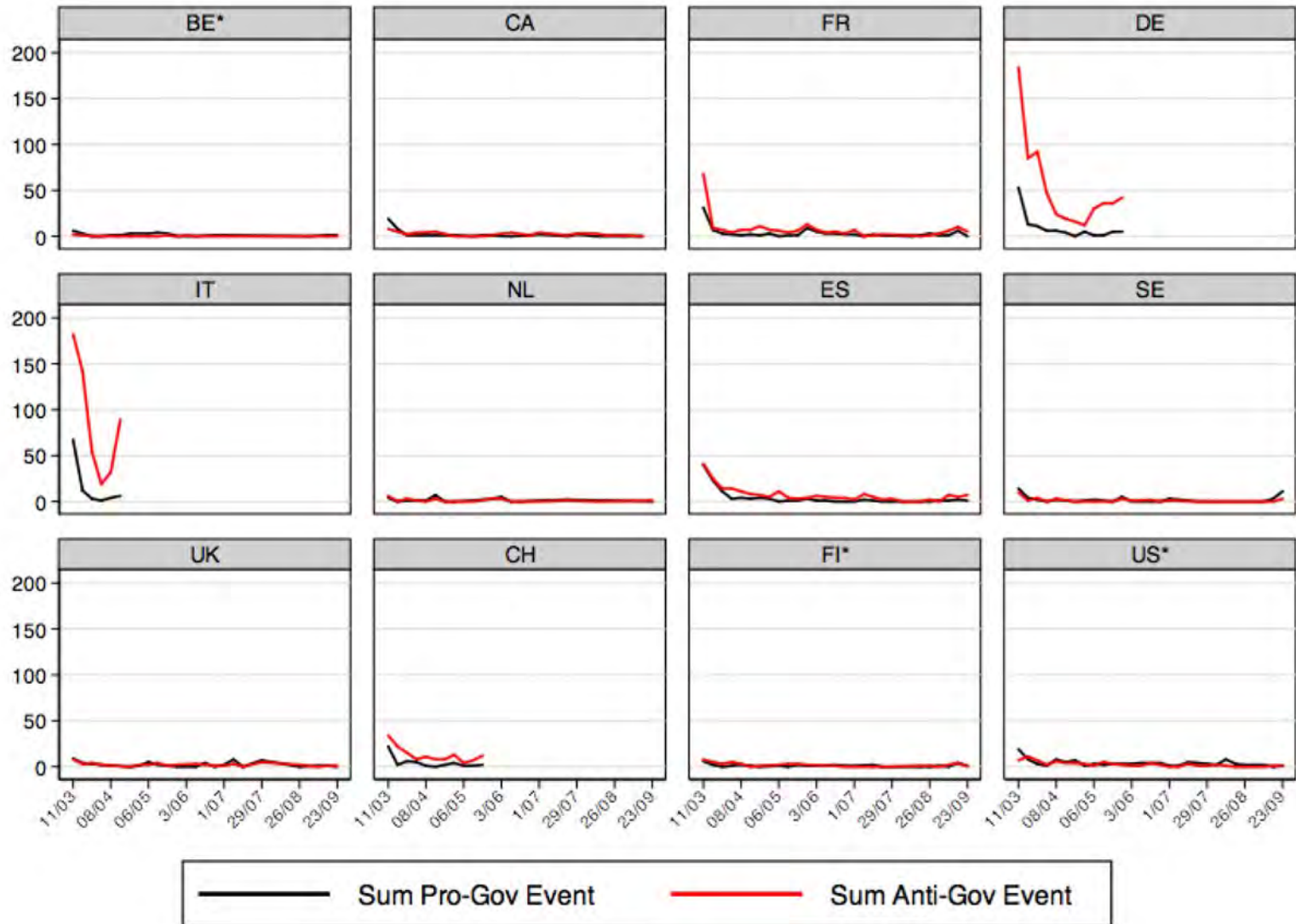


Figure 3. Evolution of pro- and anti-government events in the first 6 months, per country and week



Preliminary findings

Protest	Consistency vocal & median voter	Case	Outcome
Intense	Yes	<i>IT-nuclear</i> <i>DE-nuclear</i> <i>CH-nuclear</i>	Substantial policy responsiveness (4) Substantial policy responsiveness (4) Substantial policy responsiveness (4)
	No		
	Fluctuating/ unclear		
Moderate	Yes	<i>FR-internet2</i> <i>SE-internet1</i>	Increased attention to the issue (1) Rhetorical responsiveness (2)
	No	<i>FI-nuclear</i>	FI1 Kiviniemi govt: Increased attention to the issue (1) FI2 Katainen govt: No reaction (0) [but initial position moderated during coalition negotiations]
	Fluctuating/ unclear	<i>ES-nuclear</i> <i>FR-nuclear</i> <i>DE-internet1</i>	Rhetorical responsiveness (2) Rhetorical responsiveness (2) Increased attention to the issue (1)
Small/ Negligible	Yes	<i>BE-nuclear</i>	BE1: Increased attention to the issue (1) BE2: Substantial policy change but counter-responsive move (0)
		<i>SE-nuclear</i> <i>FR-internet1</i> <i>FR-internet3</i>	Increased attention to the issue (1) Rhetorical responsiveness (2) Increased attention to the issue (1)
		<i>UK-nuclear</i> <i>NL-nuclear</i> <i>UK-internet3</i>	Increased attention to the issue (1) Rhetorical responsiveness (2) Moderate policy responsiveness (3) [to industry]
	Fluctuating/ unclear	<i>CA-nuclear</i> <i>US-nuclear</i> <i>NO-internet1</i> <i>NO-internet2</i>	No reaction (0) Increased attention to the issue (1) Increased attention to the issue (1) No reaction (0)
None	Yes		
	No		
	Fluctuating/ unclear	<i>CY-internet1</i> <i>GR-internet1</i> <i>GR-internet2</i> <i>GR-internet3</i> <i>GR-internet4</i> <i>IS-internet</i> <i>IT-internet1</i> <i>UK-internet4</i> <i>DK-internet1</i>	No reaction (0) No reaction (0) No reaction (0) No reaction (0) No reaction (0) No reaction (0) No reaction (0) Increased attention to the issue (1) Increased attention to the issue (1)

In Italics, countries with elections during period coded.

Preliminary conclusions

- Effect of protests (H1): moderate/small protests in most cases and gov'ts almost never changed position; large in CH, DE & IT and gov't changed. [consistent with expectations]
- Effects depending on consistency with surveys (H2 & H3): in CH, IT & DE, overwhelmingly consistent and gov't changed course. [in line with expectations]
- Effects dependent on closeness to elections (H4): mixed findings: IT, CH & DE consistent but elections almost omnipresent. Effect conditional on protest?
- Effect of shocks / lack of mandate (H5): substantial responsiveness (and higher degree responsiveness modes) seem more likely in shock-driven juncture [consistent with expectations]

These are preliminary and rest of cases needed for robust conclusions. More to follow soon!

Project website with papers, data codebooks
and intermediate findings:

<http://www.responsivegov.eu>

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THANK YOU!