

# Introduction to Political Science

- SPOL0968-1
- Seminar 6
- 10h / 15h

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# ...Examination

- Participation during the year
- Oral examination in two parts:
  - Theoretical questions (PP + text portfolio + oral lecture);
  - General debate questions as discussed during the sessions;
  - Discussion on the book

# I. What is Politics?

« Man is by nature a political  
animal »

(Aristotle, *Politics*)

# 1) Defining politics

- Politics is a social activity
  - Politics is possible because people disagree
  - It is always a dialogue
- Two major problems
  - « Dirty » word
  - Essentially contested
- 4 propositions
  - Politics as the art of the government
  - Politics as public affairs
  - Politics as compromise and consensus
  - Politics as power

# 1) Defining politics

## a) Politics as the art of government

- « What concerns the state »
- Machinery of government
- Complex societies?

## • Policy

- A plan of action adopted by an individual, group, business or government.
- A formal decision has been made, giving official sanction to a particular course of action.
- Public policy as the formal or stated decisions of government bodies.

## • Authority

- “Legitimate power”.
- Power is the *ability* to influence the behaviour of others, authority is the right to do so.
- Authority is therefore based on an acknowledge duty to obey rather than on any form of coercion or manipulation.

# 1) Defining politics

## b) Politics as public affairs

- Political and non-political / public and private
- Institution of the state
- Restricted view of politics?

Public	Private
The state: Apparatus of government	Civil society: Businesses, trade unions, clubs, families
Public	Private
Public realm: Politics, commerce, work, art, culture	Personal realm: Family and domestic life

# 1) Defining politics

## c) Politics as compromise and consensus

- The way in which decisions are made
- Resolving conflict
- Western pluralist democracies?
- Disenchantment?

Crick [1996] 2000: 21

*Politics is the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community*

# 1) Defining politics

## d) Politics as power

- Power: A gets B to do something that B would not otherwise have done
  - Every level of social interaction?
  - Negative terms
- **Faces of power**
    - Power as decision making
    - Power as agenda setting
    - Power as thought control
  - **Hard/soft power**
    - Hard power: the use of threats or rewards, typically involving the use of military sticks or economic carrots
    - Soft power: influence other actors by persuading them to follow or agree to norms and aspirations that produce the desired behaviour. It relies on attraction rather than coercion.

# Summary / Questions

- Why has politics so often carried negative associations? Illustrate with examples
- Is politics inevitable? Could politics ever be brought to an end?
- Are the Olympic Games a political event?
- Is buying local a political act?
- Can advertising be considered political? Illustrate with examples

## II. Governments, System and Regimes

« That government is best which governs not at all »

(Henry David Thoreau, *Civil Disobedience*)

# 1) Traditional systems of classification

- Definitions:
  - **Government:**
    - institutional processes through which collective decisions are made
  - **Regime**
    - separation of power
    - Institutions
  - **Political system**
    - A “system” in that there are interrelationships within a complex whole,
    - A “political” in that these interrelationships relate to the distribution of power, wealth, resources,... in the society.

# 1) Traditional systems of classification

## a) Classical typologies

- Aristotle
- « Who rules ? » and « Who benefits from rule »?

		Who rules?		
		One person	The few	The many
Who benefits?	Rulers	<b>Tyranny</b>	<b>Oligarchy</b>	<b>Democracy</b>
	All	<b>Monarchy</b>	<b>Aristocracy</b>	<b>Polity</b>

## b) The three worlds typology

### **Totalitarianism**

Liberal democracy

Third world – developing world

- An official ideology;
- A one-party state, usually led by an all-powerful leader;
- A system of terroristic policing;
- A monopoly of the means of mass communication;
- A monopoly of the means of armed combat;
- State control of all aspects of economic life.

## b) The three worlds typology

Totalitarianism

**Liberal democracy**

Third world – developing world

- Constitutional government based on formal, usually legal, rules;
- Guarantees of civil liberties and individual rights;
- Institutionalized fragmentation and a system of checks and balances;
- Regular elections that respect the principle of “one person, one vote; one vote, one value”;
- Party competition and political pluralism;
- The independence of organized groups and interests from government;
- A private-enterprise economy organized along market lines

## b) The three worlds typology

Totalitarianism

Liberal democracy

**Third world –  
developing world**

- bipolar world order (USA-USSR)
- NATO/Warsaw Pact
- Since 1970s
  - New patterns of economic development (Middle East, East Asia, South East Asia, Latin America)
  - A fourth world?
- Since 1989-91?

# 1) Traditional systems of classification

## c) Islamic regimes

- Saudi Arabia
- Iran
  - Islamic republic under Ayatollah Khomeini
- Sudan
- Pakistan
  
- **Theocracy**
  - Theocracy (rule by God): religious authority should prevail over political authority.
  - Regime in which government posts are filled on the basis of the person's position in the religious hierarchy.
  - Contrasts with a secular state, in which political and religious positions are kept separate.

# 1) Traditional systems of classification

## c) Military regimes

- // Authoritarianism
- Leading posts are filled on the basis of the person's position within the military chain of command
- Normal political and constitutional arrangements are usually suspended
- Opposition, free press are either weakened or abolished
- **Dictatorship**
  - Absolute power is vested in one individual.
  - Dictatorship is synonymous with autocracy.
- **Abolutism**
  - Absolute government // an absolute monarchy.
  - Government possesses unfettered power
  - Government cannot be constrained by a body external to itself.

# 2) Legitimacy and political stability

- **Legitimacy**
  - Rightfulness.
  - Confers on an order or command an authoritative or binding character, thus transforming power into authority.
  - Governments may demand obedience from citizens.
  
- Max Weber: a belief in the « right to rule »
  - Traditional authority
  - Charismatic authority
  - Legal-rational authority
  
- Examples

*The Rise of Illiberal Democracy*

**FAREED ZAKARIA**

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*Epistocracy: a political theorist's case for letting only the informed vote*  
*A political theorist's provocative idea for how to fix democracy*

**JASON BRENNAN**

# Summary / Questions

- Does Aristotle's system of political classification have any relevance to the modern world?
- Can you explain the different forms of legitimacy with examples?

## Epistocracy:

- What is an epistocracy (make a link between the epistocracy and the classification of Aristotle)?  
What are its tools, how does it work ?
- What is the "principle of competence"?

## Illiberal Democracy:

- Define: a) liberalism, b) democracy, c) constitutional liberalism and d) illiberal democracy
- Are illiberal democracies authoritarian regimes (answer with the article and the chapter of the course)?
- What is the "Weimar Syndrome"?

# III Political Ideologies

« The philosophers have only  
interpreted the world in various ways:  
the point is to change it »

Karl Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*

# 1) What is political ideology?

- Destutt de Tracy (1796)
  - science of ideas
- Karl Marx
  - Uphold the class system and perpetuate exploitation
  - Bourgeoisie ideology
  - Science and ideology, between truth and false
  - ~~Socialist ideology~~ or ~~proletarian ideology~~

*The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas. The class which is the ruling material force in society, is at the same time the ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of mental production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production.*

(Marx and Engels - 1846: 64).

# 1) What is political ideology?

- Popper, Talmon and Arendt
  - Instrument of social control
  - To ensure compliance and subordination
  - Monopoly of truth
  - Close system which refuses to tolerate opposing ideas and rival beliefs
- Inclusive definition
  - Reject « good » or « bad » / « true » or « false » / « liberating » or « oppressive »
  - Action-oriented belief system
  - Interrelated set of ideas
  - Guide for political actions

# 1) What is political ideology?

- Ideology (Heywood, 2019)
  - An ideology is a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for organized political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power relationships. All ideologies therefore (a) offer an account of the existing order, usually in the form of a “world view”, (b) provide a model of a desired future, a vision of the Good Society, and (c) outline how political change can and should be brought about.

# 1) What is political ideology?

- Norberto Bobbio
  - Distinction between left and right?
    - Principle of equality
    - Equality should not be confused with egalitarianism
    - Men are equal and unequal
    - The left -> more equal than unequal
    - The right -> more unequal than equal
    - Egalitarian: inequalities have a social origin
    - Unegalitarian: inequalities have a natural origin
    - "In the name of natural equality, egalitarians condemn social inequality AND in the name of natural inequality, unegalitarians condemn social equality"

## II. Ideologies

### Liberalism

Conservatism

Socialism

Marxism

Social democracy

Fascism

Anarchism

Environmentalism

- **Individualism**

- The primacy of the individual over any social group or collective body,
- Individual is central to any political theory or social explanation.

- Individualism

- Freedom

- Reason

- Equality

- Toleration

- Consent

- Constitutionalism

## II. Ideologies

Liberalism

### Conservatism

Socialism

Marxism

Social democracy

Fascism

Anarchism

Environmentalism

- **Organicism**

- Society as an organic whole, or living entity.
- Society is structured by natural necessity or various institutions (families, local communities, the nation,...) contributing to the health and stability of society.
- The whole is more than a collection of its individual parts.
- Shared values and a common culture are seen as being vital to the maintenance of the community and social cohesion

- Tradition

- Pragmatism

- Human imperfection

- Organicism

- Hierarchy

- Authority

## II. Ideologies

Liberalism

Conservatism

### Socialism

Marxism

Social democracy

Fascism

Anarchism

Environmentalism

- **Social class**

- Group of people who share a similar social and economic position.
- For Marxists, class is linked to economic power. From this perspective, class divisions are thus divisions between “capital” and “labour” / between the “owners” of productive wealth (the bourgeoisie) and those who live off the sale of their labour power (the proletariat).
- Income Status : « middle class », « working class »,...

- **Community**

- **Fraternity**

- **Social equality**

- **Social class**

## II. Ideologies

Liberalism

Conservatism

Socialism

- Historical materialism
- Alienation
- Class struggle
- Surplus value
- Proletarian revolution
- Communism

## Marxism

Social democracy

Fascism

Anarchism

Environmentalism

## II. Ideologies

Liberalism

Conservatism

Socialism

Marxism

### Social democracy

Fascism

Anarchism

Environmentalism

- Compromise between: an acceptance of capitalism and a desire to distribute wealth
- // Welfarism (redistribution and social justice)
- // Keynesian social democracy
- //mixed economy

## II. Ideologies

Liberalism

Conservatism

Socialism

Marxism

Social democracy

**Fascism**

Anarchism

Environmentalism

- **Statism**

- Faith in the state as a mechanism through which collective action can be organized and common goal can be achieved
- Selective nationalization, economic management, corporatism (in both liberal and fascist forms), and state collectivization (Soviet-style state)

- **Corporatism (2 faces)**

- (Authoritarian) Political intimidation of industry and the destruction of independent trade unions
- (Liberal) the tendency for organized interests to be granted privileged and institution access to policy formulation

- **Racialism**

- humankind is divided into biologically distinct races
- genetic differences
- Cultural and moral differences

- Mussolini (Italy)

- Hitler (Germany)

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## II. Ideologies

Liberalism

Conservatism

Socialism

Marxism

Social democracy

Fascism

## Anarchism

Environmentalism

- The belief that political authority in all its forms (state!) is evil and unnecessary
- Anarchy means “without rule”.
- Two rival traditions:
  - anarcholiberalism  
(also anarchocapitalism)
  - Anarchocommunism  
(also mutualism)

## II. Ideologies

Liberalism

Conservatism

Socialism

Marxism

Social democracy

Fascism

Anarchism

- Concern about the damage done to the natural world
- Survival of the species
- An alternative to the anthropocentric ideologies
  
- Ecoconservatism
- Ecosocialism
- ...

## Environmentalism

# **NIGEL FARAGE'S SPEECH AT THE UKIP CONFERENCE (2013)**

# **BERNIE SANDERS SPEECH IN BURLINGTON (2016)**

# **RAND PAUL'S CAMPAIGN LAUNCH (2015)**

**REMARKS BY PRESIDENT TRUMP TO  
THE 74TH SESSION OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY (2019)**

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# 3) The end of ideology ?

- (1945) Collapse of fascism and the end of the Second World War
- (1989-91) Decline of communism
- (2000-10) Economics had triumphed over politics?
  
- Francis Fukuyama: « The end of History and the last Man »
  - Liberal democracy had triumphed over all its rivals
  
- **Postmodernism**
  - From societies structured by industrialization and class solidarity to fragmented and pluralistic information societies
  - From producers to consumers
  - Individualism replaces class, religious and ethnic loyalties
  - Ideologies as irrelevant?
  - No such things as certainty
  - Importance of discourse, debate and values

# Summary / Questions

- Is it any longer possible to distinguish between liberalism and socialism? (use your own examples)
- Do ecologism has the potential to displace conventional political creeds?
- Is it possible to dispense with ideology?

## IV. The State

« The purpose of the State is always the same: to limit the individual, to tame him, to subordinate him, to subjugate him »  
Max Stirner, *The Ego and His Own*

# 1) What is the State?

- **State**

- A political association that establishes sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders, and exercises authority through a set of permanent institutions.
- Institutions are recognizable “public” in that they are responsible for the collective organization of communal life, and are funded at the public’s expense.
- Various institutions of government, courts, nationalized industries, social-security system,...

- **Max Meber**

- Monopoly of « legitimate violence »

- **Key features**

- Sovereign
- Public
- Legitimation
- Domination
- Territorial association

# 1) What is the State?

State	Government
More extensive. The state encompasses all the institutions of the public realm and embraces all the members of the community	The government is part of the state
Continuing	The government is temporary (come and go)
Impersonal authority	The government is the brain of the state. The means through which the authority of the state is brought into operation
Expected to be politically neutral	Formed by one or more political parties
(In theory) the state represents the permanent interests of society: general will	The government represents the partisan sympathies

## 2) The role of the State

### Minimal states

- The ideal of classic liberals
- Capacity to constrain human behaviour and thus to prevent individuals encroaching upon the **rights** and liberties of others

### Developmental states

### Social-democratic states

- Maintain domestic order (Police)
- Enforced contract (Court system)
- Protection against external attack (Military – Diplomacy)

### Collectivized states

### Totalitarian states

- Economy, culture, education ... belong to the individual

## 2) The role of the State

Minimal states

- Intervenes in economic life with the specific purpose of promoting industrial growth and economic development

### Developmental states

Social-democratic states

Collectivized states

Totalitarian states

## 2) The role of the State

Minimal states

Developmental states

### Social-democratic states

Collectivized states

Totalitarian states

- Intervenes with a view to bringing about broader social restructuring, usually in accordance with principles such as fairness, equality, and social justice.
- The state is an active participant (distribution of wealth, influences market economy,...)
  - Welfare states
  - Keynesianism (« manage » or « regulate » capitalism with a view to promoting growth and maintaining full employment)

## 2) The role of the State

Minimal states

Developmental states

Social-democratic states

### Collectivized states

Totalitarian states

- Abolish private enterprise
- Bring the entirety of economic life under state control
- Planned economies
- Planning committees
- Collectivization
  - Communist countries (URSS and throughout Eastern Europe)

## 2) The role of the State

Minimal states

Developmental states

Social-democratic states

Collectivized states

**Totalitarian states**

- Extreme interventionism
- An all-embracing state
- Penetrates every aspect of human existence
- Economy, education, culture, religion, family life,...
- Abolish the “private”

# 3) The state and globalization

- Globalization (Heywood 2019)
  - “Globalization is the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness that means that our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur, and decisions that are made, at a great distance from us. The central feature of globalization is therefore that geographical distance is of declining relevance, and that territorial boundaries, such as those between nation-states, are becoming less significant. By no means, however, does globalization imply that “the local” and “the national” are subordinate to “the global”. Rather, it highlights the deepening as well as the broadening of the political process, in the sense that local, national and global events constantly interact”.

# 4) Centre-periphery relationships

## Centralization

- National unity
- Uniformity
- Equality

## Decentralization

- Participation
- Responsiveness
- Legitimacy
- Liberty

- **Decentralization**

- Expansion of local autonomy
- Transfer of powers and responsibilities away from the national level

- **Confederation**

- Union of states
- Each state retains its independence

# 4) Centre-periphery relationships

## a) Federal Systems

- USA, Canada, Brazil, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium,...
  - Sharing of sovereignty between central and peripheral institutions
  - Neither level of government can encroach on the powers of the other
- 
- Two relatively autonomous levels of government
  - Written constitution
  - Constitutional arbiter
  - Linking institutions

# 4) Centre-periphery relationships

## b) Unitary systems

- UK, France,...
- Parliament can make or unmake any law it wishes
- Local government exists « at the pleasure of the centre »  
-> local institutions can be reshaped, reorganized and even abolish

- **Separatism**

- The quest to secede from a political formation with a view to establishing an independent state

- **Devolution**

- The transfer of power from central government to subordinate regional institutions (pass powers down from a higher authority to a lower one).

**JAPAN**

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# Summary / Questions

# V. Nation and Nationalism

« Nationalism is an infantile disease.  
It is the measles of mankind »

Albert Einstein, *Letter (1921)*

# 1) What is a nation?

- **Nation**

- (*nasci: to be born*)
- Culturally: a group of people bound together by a common language, religion, history and traditions
- Politically: a group of people who regard themselves as a natural political community (civic consciousness, establish/maintain statehood)
- Psychologically: a group of people distinguished by a shared loyalty or affection (national pride)

- **Patriotism**

- (*Patria: fatherland*)
- Sentiment, psychological attachment to one's nation
- nationalism and patriotism are confusing concepts. Often difficult to distinguish and ideologically, politically (emotionally) charged

# 1) What is a nation?

## *a) As cultural communities*

- Ethnic or cultural entity (primary concept of the nation)
- **Volkgeist**
  - The spirit of the people, the organic identity of a people reflected in their culture (and language!).
- **Cultural nationalism**
  - Primary emphasis on the regeneration of the nation as a distinctive civilization rather than as a discrete political community
  - The nation as a unique, historical and organic whole animated by its own « spirit »

# 1) What is a nation?

## *b) As political communities*

- A group of people who are bound together by primarily shared citizenship, regardless of their cultural, ethnic and other loyalties.
- **Benedic Anderson**
  - « Imagined community »
- **Political socialization**
  - The process through which individuals acquire political beliefs and values, and by which these are transmitted from one generation to the next. Families and schools are usually viewed as “primary” agents of political socialization

## 2) A future for the nation-state?

- **Nation-state** (Heywood 2019)
  - A form of political organization, and a political ideal. In the first case, it is an autonomous political community bound together by the overlapping bonds of citizenship and nationality. In the latter case, the nation-state is a principle, or ideal type, reflected in Mazzini's goal: "every nation a state, only one state for the entire nation". As such, the nation-state principle embodies the belief that nations are "natural" political communities, whose strength derives from overlapping civic and cultural bonds.

## 2) A future for the nation-state?

- **Multiculturalism** (Heywood 2019)
  - As a descriptive term it refers to cultural diversity arising from the existence within a society of two or more groups whose beliefs and practices generate a distinctive sense of collective identity. Multiculturalism is invariably reserved for communal diversity that arises from racial, ethnic or language differences.
  - As a normative term, multiculturalism implies a positive endorsement of communal diversity, based either on the right of different cultural groups to respect and recognition, or the alleged benefits to the larger society of moral and cultural diversity. Multiculturalism, in this sense, acknowledges the importance of beliefs, values and ways of life in establishing self-understanding and a sense of self-worth for individuals and group alike.

# Summary / Questions

- Where do nations come from? Are they natural or artificial formations?
- Is the nation-state the sole legitimate unit of political rule?

# VI. Representation, Elections and Voting

« If Voting Changed Anything They'd  
Abolish It »

Title of a book by Ken Livingstone  
(1987)

# 1) Representation

## Representation

- The term “represent” means, in everyday language, to “portray”. As a political principle, representation is a relationship through which an individual or a group stands for, or acts on behalf of, a larger body of people.

## Elitism

- *Normative* elitism: elite rule is desirable ; power should be vested in the hands of a wise minority.
- *Classical* elitism: elite as inevitable, and unchangeable fact of social existence.
- *Modern* elitism: to highlight elite rule in the hope of both explaining and challenging it.

# 1) Representation

## Direct democracy

- Citizens can exercise over their own destinies (pure form of democracy).
- Better-informed and more politically sophisticated citizens.
- People express their own views and interests without having to rely on politicians.
- Legitimacy: people are more likely to accept decisions that they have made themselves.

## Representative democracy

- Practicable form of democracy (direct participation only in small communities?).
- Division of labour in politics.
- Education, expert knowledge and greater experience?
- Stability by distancing ordinary citizens from politics, thereby encouraging them to accept compromise?

# 1) Representation

- **Parliamentary democracy** (Heywood 2019)
  - Parliamentary democracy is a form of democratic rule that operates through a popular elected deliberative assembly, which establishes a, indirect link between government and the governed. Democracy, in this sense, essentially means responsible and representative government. Parliamentary democracy thus balances popular participation against elite rule: government is accountable not directly the public but to the public's elected representatives.
- **Pluralist democracy** (Heywood 2019)
  - The term pluralist democracy is sometimes used interchangeably with liberal democracy to indicate a democratic system based on electoral competition between a number of political parties. More specifically, it refers to a form of democracy that operates through the capacity of organized groups and interests to articulate popular demands and ensure government responsiveness.

# 1) Representation

- **Trustee model**
- Delegate model
- Mandate model
- Resemblance model
- Representatives should think for themselves and exercise independent judgement on the grounds that the mass of people do not know their own best interests;
- Elitist implications
- Representation is a moral duty
- Professional politicians, educated elites

# 1) Representation

- Trustee model
- **Delegate model**
- Mandate model
- Resemblance model
- A person who is chosen to act for another on the basis of clear guidance
- Little or no capacity to exercise his/her own judgment
- Example: ambassadors
- Initiatives, referendum and recall -> More control and popular sovereignty

# 1) Representation

- **Referendum**
  - Is a vote in which the electorate can express a view on a particular issue.
  - Is a device of direct democracy.
  - Is used to supplement representative institutions.
  - Advisory or binding; they may also raise issues for discussion (initiatives), or be used to decide policy questions (propositions or plebiscites).

# 1) Representation

- Trustee model
- Delegate model
- **Mandate model**
- Resemblance model
- Politicians are rarely elected on the basis of just their personal qualities
- They are seen as soldiers for a party
- Doctrine of the mandate
- Party rather than politicians
- Remaining loyal to their party
- Party labels, party ideologies, party policies

# 1) Representation

- Trustee model
  - Delegate model
  - Mandate model
  - **Resemblance model**
- Resemble the group they claim to represent
  - Microcosm of the society
  - “Only a woman can represent women, only a black person can represent other black people, only a member of the working class can represent the working classes, and so on”

# 2) Elections

- **Elections**
  - Mechanism through which politicians can be called to account and forced to introduce policies that somehow reflect public opinion.
- Central functions of elections:
  - Recruiting politicians
  - Making governments
  - Providing representation
  - Influencing policy
  - Educating voters
  - Building legitimacy
  - Strengthening elites

# 2) Elections

## *a) Single-member plurality system*

- Type: Majoritarian
- Used: USA, Canada,...
- Features:
  - Voters select a single candidate
  - The winning candidate needs only to achieve a plurality of votes (FPTP)

# 2) Elections

## *Single-member plurality system*

### Advantages

- Clear link between representatives and constituents.
- Clear choice of potential parties of government.
- Clear mandate from the electorate
- More difficult for small radical parties to gain seats and credibility.
- Single party usually has majority control of the assembly.
- Stable government

### Disadvantages

- “Wastes” many votes
- “Under-representing” small parties .
- Limited choice.
- Only minority support.
- It creates instability because a change in government can lead to a radical shift of policies and direction.
- It leads to unaccountable government in that the legislature is usually subordinate to the executive, because the majority of its members are supporters of the governing party.
- It discourages the selections of a socially broad spread of candidates in favour of those who are attractive to a large body of voters.

# 2) Elections

## *b) Second ballot system*

- Type: Majoritarian
- Used: France
- Features:
  - To win on the first ballot, a candidate needs an overall majority of the votes cast
  - If no candidate gains a first-ballot majority, a second run-off ballot is held between the leading two candidates

# 2) Elections

## *Second ballot system*

### Advantages

- Voters can vote with their hearts for their preferred candidate (1 ballot), and with their heads for the least-bad candidate (2 ballot).
- Candidates are encouraged to make their appeal as broad as possible
- Strong and stable government.

### Disadvantages

- Unfair to “third” parties.
- Run-off candidates are encouraged to abandon their principles in search of short-term popularity or as a result of deals with defeated candidates.
- The holding of a second ballot may strain the electorate’s patience and interest in politics.

## 2) Elections

### *c) Additional member system*

- Type: Proportionnal
- Used: Germany
- Features:
  - A proportion of seats are filled by the FPTP system
  - The remaining seats are filled using a party list
  - Electors cast two votes: one for a candidate in the constituency election, and the other for a party

# 2) Elections

## *Additional member system*

### Advantages

- Balances the need for constituency representation against the need for electoral fairness. The party-list process ensures that the whole assembly is proportionally representative.
- Although the system is broadly proportional in terms of its outcome, it keeps alive the possibility of single-party government.
- Representing constituents and holding ministerial office are very different jobs that require very different talents and experience.

### Disadvantages

- Prevents the achievement of high levels of proportionality.
- Creates two classes of representative
- The size of constituencies (generally twice as large as in FPTP systems).
- Parties become more centralized and powerful under this system.

# 2) Elections

## *d) Party-list system*

- Type: Proportionnal
- Used: Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, European Parliament
- Features:
  - Parties compile lists of candidates
  - Electors vote for parties
  - Parties are allocated seats in proportion to the vote they gain
  - A « threshold may be imposed (5%)

# 2) Elections

## *Party-list system*

### Advantages

- Pure system of proportional representation.
- Easier for minority candidates to be elected.
- The representation of a large number of small parties ensures that there is an emphasis upon negotiation, bargaining and consensus.

### Disadvantages

- The existence of many small parties can lead to weak and unstable government.
- The link between representatives and constituencies is broken.
- Unpopular candidates who are well placed on a party list cannot be removed from office.
- Parties become heavily centralized,

# Summary / Questions

- “Mandate model” and “Resemblance model”.
  - Find 5 arguments in favour of the “Mandate model” and 5 arguments against the “Resemblance model”;
  - Find 5 arguments against the “Mandate model” and 5 arguments in favour of the “Resemblance model”.
- To what extent is voting behaviour a rational and issue-based activity?
- In two pages, explain the model for electing the President in the United States of America (including the United States Electoral College). After that:
  - Give 5 arguments in favour of this system.
  - Give 5 arguments against this system.

# VII. Parties, Groups and Party System

« In politics, shared hatreds are almost always the basis of friendships »

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835)

# 1) Political parties

## Political party

- Aims to exercise government power;
- Is organized bodies with a formal “card carrying” membership.
- Adopts a broad issue focus, addressing each of the major areas of government policy.
- Shared political preferences and a general ideological identity.

## Interest group

- An interest group (or pressure group) is an organized association that aims to influence the policies or actions of government. Interests groups differ from political parties in that they seek to exert influence from outside, rather than to win or exercise government power.

# 1) Political parties

- **Faction** (Heywood 2019)
  - Originally, the terms faction and party were used interchangeably.
  - Faction is now more commonly used to mean a section or group within a larger formation, usually a political party.
  - Although factions may be stable and enduring, and may possess formal organization and membership, their aims and organizational status are compatible with those of their host party. If they are not, the group is seen as a “party within a party”.
  - A distinction is sometimes drawn between factions and tendencies, the latter being looser and more informal groups, distinguished only by a common policy or ideological disposition.

# 1) Political parties

## *a) Types of parties*

- « Cadre party » / « Mass party » / « Catch-all party »
- « Constitutional » / « Revolutionary »
- « Left-wing » / « Right-wing »

## *b) Functions*

- Representation
- Elite formation
- Goal formulation
- Interest articulation and aggregation
- Socialization and mobilization
- Organization of government

# 1) Political parties

- Iron law of oligarchy (Heywood 2019)
  - Government by the few.
  - Michels (1962)
  - There is an inevitable tendency for all organizations to be oligarchic.
  - Elite groups result from the need for specialization.
  - Members of an organization tend to be *apathetic*, and are therefore generally disposed to accept subordination and leaders.

## 2) Party systems

### One-Party Systems

Two-party systems

Multiparty systems

- Monopoly of power
- Exclusion of all other parties
- As permanent governments
- Entrenched relationship with the state machine
- « Party-state »

## 2) Party systems

One-Party Systems

### Two-party systems

Multiparty systems

- Two parties enjoy sufficient electoral and legislative strength
- The larger party is able to rule alone
- Power alternates between these parties
- A number of « minor » parties may exist

## 2) Party systems

One-Party Systems

Two-party systems

### **Multiparty systems**

- Competition amongst more than two parties
- Coalitions including smaller parties
- But, difficulties of coalition formation
- And coalition may be instable
- Internal checks and balances
- Moderation and compromise
- Clear ideological orientation?

## 2) Party systems

- **Coalition** (Heywood 2019)
  - A grouping of rival political actors brought together either through the perception of a common threat, or through the recognition that their goals cannot be achieved by working separately.
  - Electoral coalitions are alliances through which parties agree not to compete against one another, with a view to maximizing their representation.
  - Legislative coalitions are agreements between two or more parties to support a particular bill or programme.
  - Coalition governments are formal agreement between two or more parties that involve a cross-party distribution of ministerial portfolios. They are usually motivated by the need to ensure majority control of the assembly.
  - A “grand coalition” or “national government” comprises all the major parties, but are usually formed only at times of national crisis or economic emergency.

# 3) Group politics

- **Types of group**
  - Communal groups -> example?
  - Institutionnal groups -> example?
  - Associational groups
    - Sectional groups -> examples?
    - Promotional groups -> examples?

# 3) Group politics

- **How do groups exert influence? (Ressources)**
  - Public sympathy for the group and its goals
  - The size of its membership or activist base
  - Its financial strength and organizational capabilities
  - Its ability to use sanctions that in some way inconvenience or disrupt government
  - Personal or institutional links it may have to political parties or government bodies

# 3) Group politics

- **How do groups exert influence? (channels)**
  - The bureaucracy
  - The assembly
  - The courts
  - Political parties
  - The mass media
  - Supranational bodies

# Summary / Questions

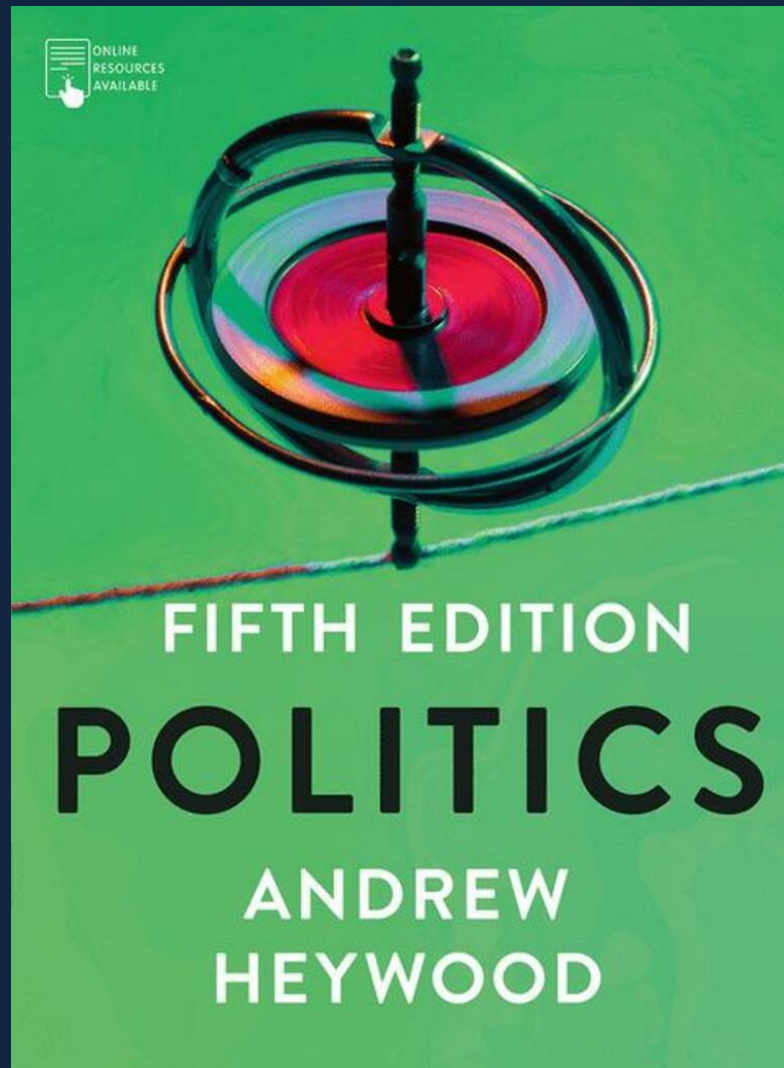
- Are all modern political parties essentially catch-all parties?
- In what ways, and to what extent, do parties promote democracy?
- Why is it sometimes difficult to distinguish between interest groups and political parties?
- Are organized groups the principal means through which interests are articulated in modern societies?
- Do interest groups help to promote democracy or to undermine it?

# VIII. Conclusion

The Democratic Paradox

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The definitions come from the book: Heywood, A., *Politics* (5<sup>th</sup> Edition), Palgrave, Macmillan, 2019,  
The structure is inspired by the book: Heywood, A., *Politics* (5<sup>th</sup> Edition), Palgrave, Macmillan, 2019.

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# Introduction to Political Science

- SPOL0968-1
- Seminar 6
- 10h / 15h

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