

## **Summary Democracy studies HS20**

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## VL2 Democracy as an empirical concept

### Concepts and tools

- Lexical definition versus history of thought
- Lexical
  - Gives you the definition of the meaning of the word
  - According to Merriam Webster Dictionary: “a dictionary provides lexical information—it tells you what the word “cat” means, not all there is to know about cats”
  - **Democracy**: wiki? Lexicon? the core values
    - <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy>
- History of thoughts
  - 20<sup>th</sup> century the term democracy got popularized, before republic was much more popular (Ngram viewer)
- Definition of concepts
  - “Concepts are about ontology. To develop a concept is more than providing a definition: it is deciding what is important about an entity. The arguments about why attribute X is important form part of the ontological theory of the object.” (Goertz 2006, 27)
  - Distinction between normative and positive
    - **Normative**: How should something be?
      - “What shall we do, and, how shall we arrange our lives?” (Weber, 1919)
      - What should fair distribution look like? What is a just war?
    - **Positive**: What are the constitutive elements of something?
      - Regularities, cause and effect relations
      - What is a revolution?
      - Core of this lecture
  - Distinction between necessary and sufficient conditions
    - **Necessary**
      - A condition/conditions that need/s to be present for an outcome to be present (without it necessarily being sufficient for the outcome to be present)
      - Violent conflict is a necessary condition for war?
    - **Sufficient**
      - When a condition is present the outcome is necessarily present too
      - Free and fair elections are a sufficient condition for democracy? Without fair elections we couldn’t have fair elections, but we need more to understand the concept of fair elections

## What is a state?

- The most important venue where democracy happens with the most consequences (empirically)
- **Definition Weber:** “human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of violence within a given territory.” (Max Weber 1918, Politics as vocation)
  - o There are three important elements to this definition:
    - **Territory:** You need to be able to say who is in the territory/state and who is not in terms of space. Where does the state start and where does it finish?
    - **Community:** You need to be able to say who is part of it and who is not in terms of human beings and social relations. Who governs and who is governed?
    - **Monopoly of legitimate use of violence:** In this context the use of violence is legitimated. Communities have decided that entities are allowed to use violence.

## Contractarian view of the state (different normative views of the state)

- Thomas Hobbes (1588 - 1679), Leviathan (1651)
  - o Influenced by English civil war
  - o Defines necessity, function, legitimacy and form of the modern state
  - o Contractarian view on state and citizens, contract between citizens
  - o Why does it happen that citizens give up power to the state and why is it normatively correct?
    - Core concept of the state of nature
- **State of nature:**
  - o Not a historically concrete state. Logical derivative to explain function and legitimacy of the state
  - o What would life be like without the state?
    - Hobbes: “war of every man against every man” in which life is “solitary, nasty, brutish, and short.”
  - o State without a higher power. Every man is strong enough to (at least in alliance) kill any other man. Conflict over resources is inevitable and attack becomes a **rational way of defence**.
- **Social Contract**
  - o Represents the solution to the state of nature
  - o The state guarantees security and order. The sovereign is outside of this contract in order to assure it. This theory supports/justifies the idea of an absolute monarchy
- Other contractarian theorists, with other conceptions
  - o John Locke
    - Founder of liberal thought in a political sense together with Adam Smith
    - State of nature does not equal state of war
    - Already existing laws and especially people already have property. In Hobbes view these things are not existing/sure
    - Legitimacy of state is based on political community. Certain rights are beyond the reach of the state
  - o Jean Jacques Rousseau
    - “Man is born free and everywhere is in chains.”
    - State of nature is state of freedom

- State is only legitimate when political decisions represent *volonté generale*. The state form should be democratic and the representation of the *volonté generale* unmediated
- The state is always a reduction of freedom and therefore is only justified when it represents the will of the people. In conclusion he is a proponent of democracy.

What is democracy?

Empirical democratic theory

- How can we apply democratic theory to empirical questions?
  - Normative theory of government
    - What is the best form of government?
    - What should democracy be like?
    - Who should represent whom?
  - Positive theory of government
    - How do different forms of government work?
    - How do different forms of government lead to different political outcomes?
    - Why and how do forms of government change?
- Elements of democratic theory
  - Political sociology
    - What factors are decisive for composition of society?
    - What groups compete, why and for what?
  - Democratic institutions
    - How do institutions structure the behaviour of these groups?
    - Typology of forms of government

Aristotle

- Normative as well as positive analytic
- What is the good form of government? How should governments look like?
  - Investigation of existing real-world constitutions (empirical method)
  - Typology of forms of government
 

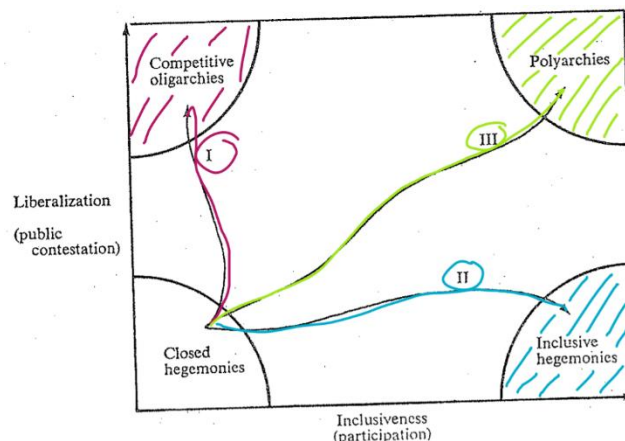
	Good form	Deviant Form
<b>One</b>	Monarchy	Tyranny
<b>Few</b>	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
<b>Many</b>	Polity	Democracy
  - Democracy has a negative notion in Aristotle's approach
- **Political sociology:** to understand Aristotle's view, we need to understand his view of democracy and oligarchy
  - Electorate generally excludes women, slaves, foreigners
  - The few are the rich. The many are the poor. Both groups have preferences.
  - Institutions need to assure social integration and stability in his view. How can we find a system, that makes the two groups happy enough? He looks for the Middleway.
  - What is the best form of government under given conditions?

- Mix of democratic and aristocratic institutions
  - o Counter the potential negative tendencies
    - **Oligarchy:** Concentration of power, tyranny, civil unrest
    - **Democracy:** susceptibility to demagoguery (the masses can be pleased with promises that should not be made), risk of disowning rich. When the many govern, they have the potential to take away everything of the rich.
  - o Discussion of many concrete institutional questions (e.g. salary of politicians)
  - o Most importantly: decision process for leadership
    - Elections (aristocratic): the best and the most competent one's win
    - Decision by lot (democratic): all people who are governed should also be able to govern

## Dahl – Polyarchy

- Essential theoretical contributions to the empirical analysis of democracy
- Early empirical work on governance in US cities (especially New Haven)
- **Guiding themes:**
  - o what are necessary and sufficient conditions for liberal democracy?
- Necessary conditions for democracy
  - o Democracy for a large amount of people. Can we transfer democratic processes to larger nation states?
  - o Three essential points
    - Formulate preferences
    - Signify preferences
      - There needs to be competition between preferences, and it needs to matter to affect the political process.
    - Have preferences weighted equally in conduct of government
      - **Pluralism:** certain preferences should always be weighted equally. This is a normative point of view. This is not achievable in reality
  - o Two necessary dimensions
    - Participation/Inclusiveness:
      - Who gets to participate in democratic processes? E.g. voting rights restrictions
    - (Public) Contestation/Liberalization:
      - How strong is the influence of elections on government?
      - How much does your participation matter?
      - Is leadership challenged through competition? E.g. is the government determined through elections?

- I: Competitive Oligarchies
- II: Inclusive Hegemonies
- III: Polyarchies
  - o there is no real existing state in the world, which lives up to these standards



- Does Polyarchy matter?
  - Normative value of liberal democratic government
    - Liberal freedoms (e.g. freedom of speech)
    - Composition of political leadership (descriptive representation)
    - Responsiveness in politics
    - Responsiveness in policies
    - Extension of suffrage leads to extension of differential responsiveness. Governments behaved differently, after the suffrage was extended. This shows the responsiveness of liberal democracies.
  - Conservative and Marxist critiques of liberal democracy
    - **Marxist critique:** Government is posteriori to class relations. In Marxist thinking, Liberal democracies are a result of a certain type of class relation which serves the bourgeoisie. In itself liberal democracy has no values to the Marxist point of view.
    - **Conservative critique:** It does not matter who governs. It is there to please the crowds.

### VL3 Typologies of political systems (democracy versus autocracy)

#### Concepts and tools

Difference between state, regime and government

- **State:** Legitimate monopoly of force with an enduring structure. Most of the time there are not a lot of reasons for a state to change except for wars, annexations, treaties etc. Often many legal questions.
- **Regimes/Political systems:** Rules, norms and institutions that define government. How do politics work within a state? It can be considered as the relation between rulers and ruled. These rules define a regime or a political system. A regime can change within a state. Therefore, Regimes are usually less stable than states.
- **Government:** Group that holds the legitimate power to govern. Transition from one government to another one through elections is a key feature of democracy. Governments should be able to change without a change of the regime. This is the least enduring structure of the three.

#### Typology of political regimes

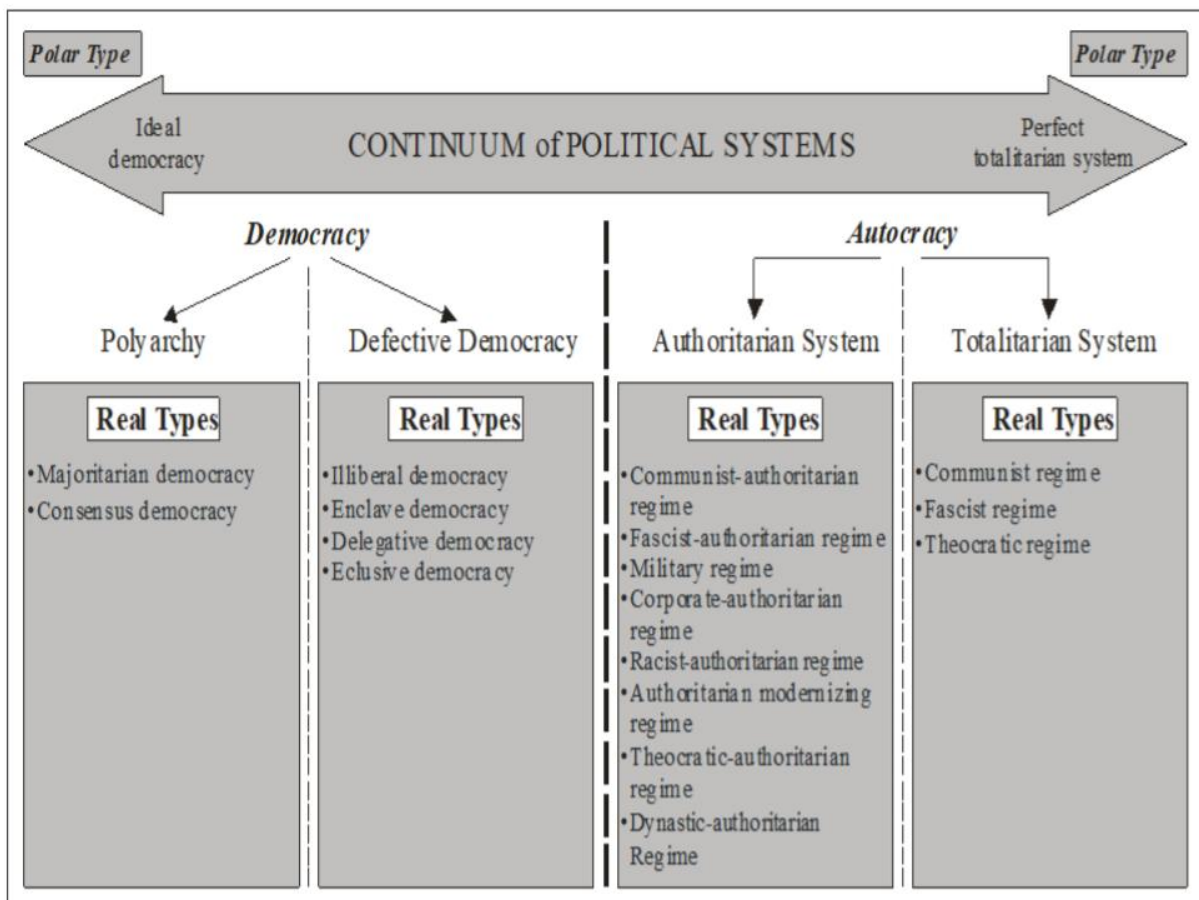
Distinction according to 6 criteria (Merkel 2010)

- Access to power (Herrschaftszugang)
  - open, free and fair elections?
  - How do people into the legitimate position of governing? How is power assigned?
- Monopoly of power (Herrschaftsmonopol)
  - who makes political decisions?
  - Who are the people that legitimately govern? Are there several sources of governing powers?
- Structure of government (Herrschaftsstruktur)
  - Separation of powers? Or is there a concentration of power?

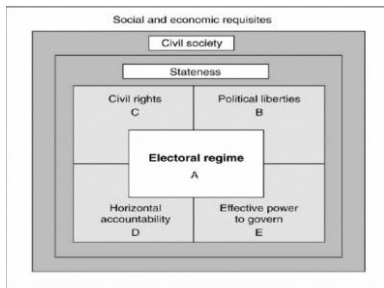
- Regulation of government (Herrschaftsanspruch)
  - o How far into civil society/rights does the state interfere?
  - o Are citizens-rights protected from those who govern?
- Execution of power (Herrschaftsweise)
  - o Does the rule of law exist? What are the guidelines of those who govern?
  - o Are their decisions structured by rules or do they do what they want?
- Legitimation of power (Herrschaftslegitimation)
  - o Who is the sovereign? Sovereign rule versus "mentalities".
  - o What is the source of legitimate rule?

### Classification of political systems

- There are two types of ideal systems (which do not really exist)
  - o Left: perfect democracy and on the right: perfect autocracy
    - Democracy: free and fair elections are necessary conditions for a democracy
  - o Main distinction is democracy vs autocracy
  - o he distinguishes between 4 types (with real types as subcategories)
    - **Polyarchy**: Perfect type of democracy
    - **Defective Democracy**: some parts of a democracy are not fulfilled, but they are still closer to democracy's than to autocracies.
    - **Authoritarian System**:
    - **Totalitarian System**: the most extreme form of an autocracy. Influenced by the experience of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union of Stalin.



## Embedded vs. defective democracy



### Embedded democracy:

Partial regimes that are internally embedded. You need all of these to speak of an embedded democracy. If you do not have all of these present, you arrive at a different type of government.

There are 5 partial regimes which form the **internal embeddedness** of a regime:

- **Electoral regime:** free and fair elections in the centre. If you don't have this, you don't have a democracy.
  - It is a necessary condition to speak of democracies. If this is not present, we are talking about autocracies.
- **Political liberties:** Idea of freedom of speech, association etc. The necessary condition form and signify political opinions and to have functioning political competition.
- **Civil rights:** Protection of the citizens from the state. Core idea is the rule of law. Are those who govern above the law or not? Are citizens protected from the state by the law?
- **Horizontal accountability:** Separation of powers. Do other institutions have the possibility to check and control (Especially the executives)? Are parliaments and courts powerful enough to check the power of the executive and each other?
- **Effective power to govern:** Does another actor beside the democratically legitimized power (parliament and executive) exist, that can assert more power? E.g. Military which does its own decisions.
  - These four conditions are necessary for an embedded democracy. Otherwise we are speaking about a defective democracy. If one is missing, we are still speaking about a democracy, but it is not a full liberal democracy.
- Beside these 5 partial regimes there are three external factors which influence the **external embeddedness** of a democracy. These do not necessarily have something to do with the institutions, procedures etc. but they are relevant factors:
  - **Socio-economic context:** have always played a big role in these discussions. E.g. Does huge economic inequality have a negative impact on the stability of a democracy?
  - **Civil society:** there are four types
    - **Lockeian** function: idea of a civil society protecting the individual from the reach of the state.
    - **Montesquieuian** function: civil society has a role of balancing out different functions of government. Working as a checking / controlling function for government.
    - **Tocquevillian** function: Civil society is the school of democracy. In organizations of civil society, people learn to be good democratic citizens. It is where personal and able politicians and administrators are recruited.
    - **Habermasian** function: Civil society can work as a deliberative body that helps to express preferences of the citizens and bundle them.
  - **International and regional integration:** Democracies in an environment of many non-democratic states have a much harder time maintaining democracy. On the other hand, it is much easier to maintain a democracy in an environment with many.



## Defective Democracies

There are four types of defective democracies:

- **Exclusive democracies:** Main idea is that certain parts of the electorate and the citizens can't fully participate in the process of democratic government. E.g. the apartheid regime in South Africa or the US before the civil war.
- **Domain democracies:** functioning democratic institutions but there are other actors which effect governing but are not democratically legitimated persons. They have an external effect. E.g. The military in Turkey.
- **Illiberal democracies:** probably the most common type. It is a term, which authoritarian regimes like to use for themselves even though they are autocracies (E.g. Victor Orban). Here the main idea is to reduce certain types of liberal rights/protectons and citizen rights. Like this the executive becomes stronger and the reach becomes further. Like this juridical review could be strongly criticised etc. Also, populist perception of democracy is often linked to illiberal democracies.
- **Delegative democracies:** Here the idea is an overly strong executive. Heads of government/state are ruling by a degree surpassing the legislative bodies. There is an overly strong executive ruling with no legislative control. The horizontal accountability is missing or does not work.

## Authoritarian vs Totalitarian Regimes

### Authoritarian Regimes

- **Definition** (Juan Linz (2000)): In contrast to democratic and totalitarian regimes, authoritarian regimes
  - o **1 have limited pluralism** but are not monistic (formation of preferences). Different groups in society can ask different things of the state and have a say. In a monistic idea there is only one source to which all types of legitimacy flows (e.g. one prime ideology: in totalitarian ideologies or strictly theocratic regimes).
  - o **2 are neither based on popular sovereignty nor legitimized through all-encompassing ideologies but through "mentalities"** (different types of legitimization). In authoritarian regimes you have something like mentalities. There is a specific motivating factor for this type of authoritarian regime, but they are not these full-fledged ideologies.
  - o **3 show limited political participation and mobilization:** While in totalitarian regimes you have this idea of a fully mobilized society where every part of society becomes a part of the state and is integrated.
- Typology of real existing authoritarian regimes:
  - o Who governs? (e.g. Cheibub, Gandhi, Vreeland 2010)
    - **Monarchic:** King or Queen that with a lineage of succession
    - **Military:** head(s) of the military govern most of the state
    - **Civilian:** another type of dictator with another legitimization (e.g. in communist regimes)
  - o Geddes 1999 - focus on stability and likelihood for **transition**
    - **Military:** one type of authoritarian regime which is quite likely to transition into a democracy and is not so stable. Because military regimes have a different logic of government. Rulers will hold back from going the next step, where conflict would mean soldiers fight against soldiers.

- **One-party:** E.g. Communist regimes like China or the former Soviet Union. They are usually very stable, because they have a very clear mechanism of finding a way of succession. To destabilize them external shocks or forces are usually required to get them to democracy.
- **Personalistic:** Charisma of one authoritarian ruler is in the focus. This is a more stable type of regime. The crucial point for survival in a personalistic authoritarian regime is when the charismatic leader dies. This is usually the point where such a regime democratizes because it is difficult to find a good succession.
- What's the sources of legitimacy? (Merkel 2010).  
Idea that the Herrschaftsanspruch and the Herrschaftszugang are all justified to a different source or mentality.
  - Communist authoritarian
  - Fascist-authoritarian
  - Military
  - Corporatist-authoritarian
  - Racist authoritarian
  - Authoritarian modernizing: rule becomes legitimate with the goal of modernizing the state. Economic and Social structure need to be transformed to do so.
  - Theocratic authoritarian
  - Dynastic authoritarian
  - Sultanist authoritarian
  - Rentier states: is a state which derives all or a substantial portion of its national revenues from the rent paid by foreign individuals, concerns or governments. Oil rich countries they show that rentier states receive income without an increase in the productivity of the domestic economy or political development of the state, that is the ability to tax citizens.

### Totalitarian Regimes

- **Definition Hannah Arendt:** While authoritarian regimes limit freedom, totalitarian regimes abolish freedom all together. It is the most extreme form of authoritarian regime.
- **Definition totalitarian regimes by Juan Linz (2000):** In contrast to authoritarian regimes, totalitarian regimes
  - 1 are monistic; where pluralism exists, it derives its legitimacy from centre of power
  - 2 have all-encompassing ideologies that concern all aspects of society
  - 3 encourage participation and mobilization
- Typology of real existing totalitarian regimes
  - Communist-totalitarian: The Soviet Union under Stalin, and maybe North Korea. These states are fully closed, and this has become much more difficult in our connected world.
  - Fascist-totalitarian: Nazi Germany, and maybe Mussolini in Italy who never fully achieved a fully fascist-totalitarian regime.
  - Theocratic-totalitarian: Saudi Arabia. This ideology reaches all parts of society and suppresses all other parts of society.

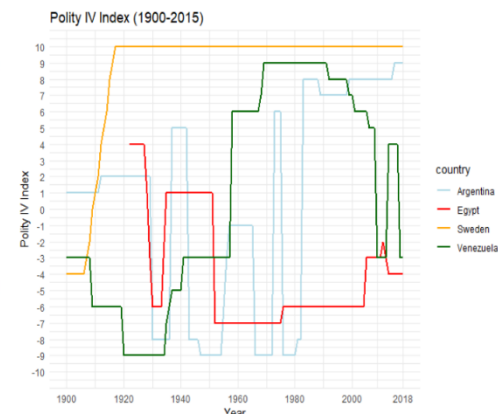
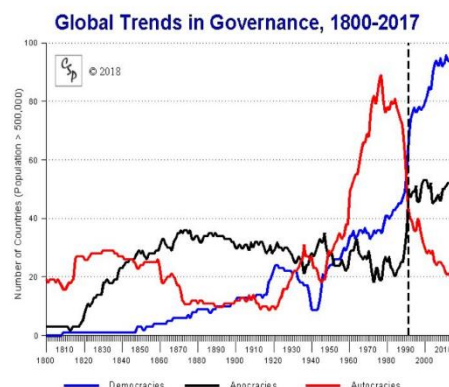
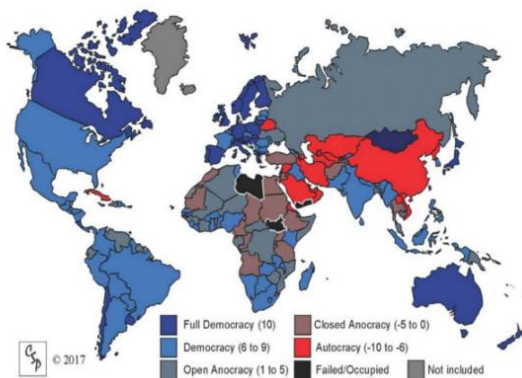
## Measuring Democracies

Why do we need to measure democracies?

- Empirical questions rely on valid measures of democracy for description hypothesis testing. We have many ideas and expectations about causal relationships between democracy and other factors.
- Especially true for quantitative research. Examples:
  - o Which factors determine democratization? (VL4)
  - o Is there a crisis of democracy? (descriptive question)
  - o Does democracy affect the size of the welfare state? (As an independent variable)
- Increasing number of different indices: Freedom House, Polity, V-Dem, Democracy Barometer. All of them have their benefits and their downsides. We are going to look at two of them.

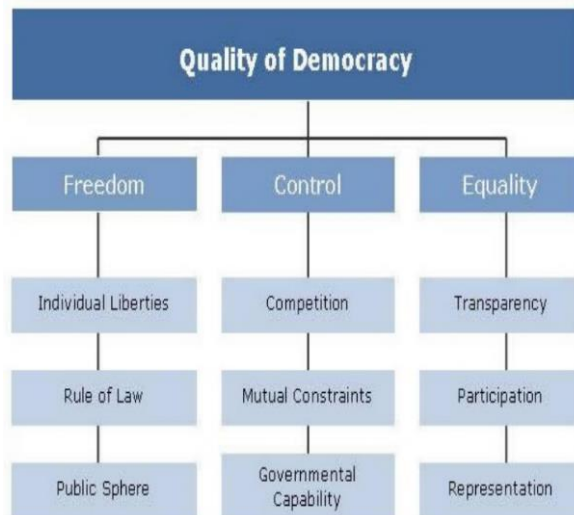
**Polity:** Is very widely used because it has a lot of data over time (back to 1800). Therefore, you can look at the situation in a specific year or the development over time. Or you can look at a specific country and its development over time. All these three graphs are shown at the bottom of the page

- Regimes coded going back to 1800
- Index from -10 (hereditary monarchy) to +10 (consolidated democracy)
  - o Autocracies (-10 to -6)
  - o Anocracies (-5 to +5)
  - o Democracies (+6 to +10)
- Method: expert coder judgements with six components
  - o Independence of executive authority
- Executive Recruitment:
  - o Regulation of chief executive recruitment
  - o competitiveness of executive recruitment
  - o openness of executive recruitment
- Political Competition and Opposition:
  - o Regulation of participation
  - o competitiveness of participation



- What happens at these junctures and how can we explain these developments?

**Democracy Barometer:** In this barometer we want to be able to distinguish established democracies. Not so much to distinguish democracies from autocracies. A second goal is to use quantifiable indicators. Like this they do not have to rely on expert judgements.



Project of the UZH, ZDA, WZB

Conceptually based on embedded democracy idea

Idea: we have mayor indicator for democracy, which has three sub-levels (Freedom, Control and Equality).

These Sublevels then have sublevels too:

**Freedom:** Individual liberties, rule of law & public sphere

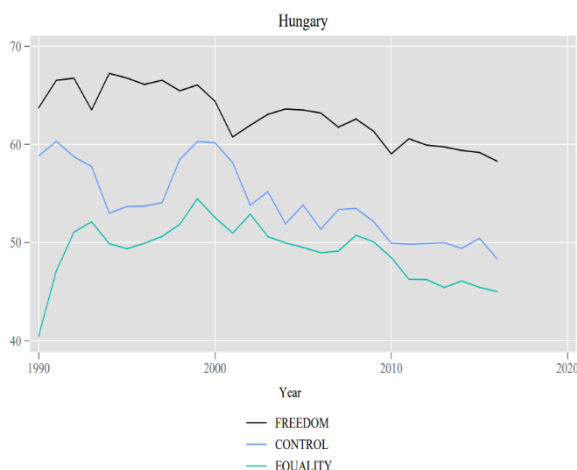
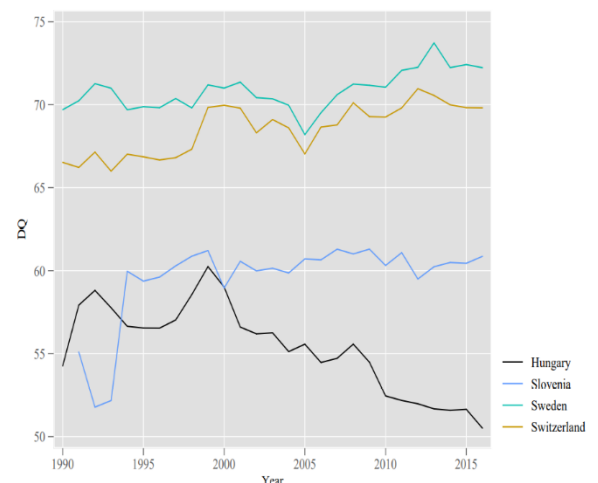
**Control:** Competition, Mutual Constraints & Governmental Capability

**Equality:** Transparency, Participation & Representation

In this example we can see four countries. Hungary, Slovenia, Sweden and Switzerland.

Two of these are embedded democracies (CH & SWE). CH does not come out as the most democratic state in the world. Party financing is a factor which influences this result in CH.

HUN and SLO democratized after 1990 and had a similar trajectory until the year 2000. After HUN takes a turn and the quality of democracy declined after the re-election of Victor Orban in 2002.



With this barometer we can also distinguish the subcategories which make up the quality of a democracy. In this example we have the three subcategories for Hungary.

Which factors have eroded in this democracy?  
We can see erosions in all of the three indicators.

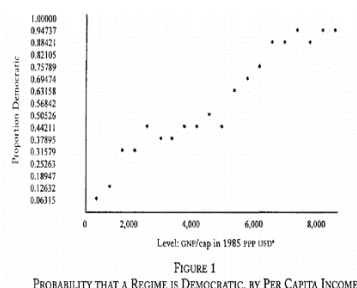
## VL4 Democratization and democratic backsliding

What does the distinction between class in itself (Klasse an sich) and class for itself (Klasse für sich) mean?

- Distinction based on Marx
- **Class in itself:** Objective class position. Determined by means of production. Who owns the means of production? Working class vs Bourgeoisie
- **Class for itself:** Subjective class position. Class groups need to recognize itself as a political group. They need to see themselves as a group with shared interests. This is a prerequisite for political collective action. Without this realization this is not possible.

### Modernization theory

- **Core idea:** the better a nation does economically/material well-being, the greater are the chances that it can sustain democracy (Lipset 1959)
- What are the empirical implications of modernization theory? How would you test it?
  - o Positive association between economic development and democracy



- **Does this association also exist empirically?** Do we find a correlation between economic development and democracy?

- Lipset tests different types of countries. And different indicators such as GDP per capital, number of telephones, number of radios etc.
- Association exists empirically as we can see in the graph on the left-hand side. (Przeworski/Limongi 1997)
- X-axis: GDP per capita in 1985; Y-axis: proportion democratic
- Exceptions in the Arabic world (e.g. Qatar, Saudi Arabia)

- **What is the mechanism between these two phenomena?**

The wealth of a nation often comes with other developments which can help democratization such as:

- **higher levels of education**
- **higher levels of urbanization:** People are closer together and can organize themselves much easier. More workers are closer together.
- **a larger middle class:** A larger middle class is the buffer between the rich and the poor. Therefore, it is a very important balancing factor.
- **improved information and communication technologies**

#### Why are these factors relevant for democratic development?

We need a certain mentality to have stable democracies. This mentality is associated with these developments. He also argues that we need a mobilization of these attitudes, which are also associated with these factors.

- Socio-structural changes lead to changes in attitudes and behaviour
- Egalitarian preferences
- Political information: functioning press, which can spread its information.
- Political participation
- Overall: Political stability and support for democracy

- **Is there a causal correlation between the two?**

## Structural and Neo-Marxist approaches

Why is something like capitalist development, Industrialization etc. associated with democratic development?

- Similar question but a different approach than Lipset. Based on some ideas of Marx's political sociology.
- **American revolution:** idea "no taxation without representation". If a king wants to extract money from an increasingly wealthy bourgeoisie such as the one in the US, then this bourgeoisie should get a say in political matters.
- **Structural approaches:** focus on economic development but there is a greater focus on the transformations of different economic class groups through industrialization and capitalist structures. (Moore 1966; Rueschemeyer, Stephens, Stephens 1992).
  - o **main factors:** class alliances (which class comes together with which class?), state as actor in this progress
  - o Modernization and industrial revolution change size and power of socio-economic groups. There are three main groups to explain these changes.
  - o **Important groups:**
    - **Landed upper class:** these are generally the strongest opponents of democratization. Their wealth is based on exploiting labour of many people. They need a lot of labour on their lands to sustain their wealth. Therefore, they have a big interest, that these people do not have a say.
    - **Bourgeoisie** and petite bourgeoisie: Group in the middle which becomes increasingly wealthy in this process. They do not really have political rights. Therefore, they are essential to the developments.
    - **Working class:** Group which was created through the industrial revolution and is increasing in size and importance.
- 2 main approaches in the structural tradition:

How do these groups work and why do we develop democracy?

  - o **Barrington Moore (1966) "Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy"**
    - **Focus on the Bourgeoisie**
    - "No bourgeoisie, no democracy"  
For this statement he compared many states historically and comparatively in their development.
    - Weakening of landed aristocracy as necessary condition for democracy. This group needs to lose power for democracy to be established. And the existence of a bourgeoisie is necessary for the establishment of democracy. But it is not sufficient, because they can align with different groups.
    - Bourgeoisie can either align with working class and this leads to democracy. Or they can align with the aristocracy which then leads to dictatorship.
  - o **Rueschemeyer, Stephens, Stephens (1992) "Capitalist Development and Democracy"**
    - **Focus on the working class.**
    - **Power resources approach:** This approach focusses on the important political power that the left / the working class can develop. His empirical evidence is strongly focussed on Latin America and he also has a comparative approach.
    - Capitalist transformation strengthens capacity for self-organization, possibilities for association, means of communication and transportation. For

the working class it gets easier to organize itself. This potential strength can be transformed into political power.

- How do State actors (e.g. parties) and civil society react to this changing potential power of the working class? They are crucial for transforming working class power. Are they repressing these groups or are they incorporating them (e.g. in parties?)

## **Exogenous vs Endogenous Democratization**

Does development lead to higher probability of transition or does it make democracy more sustainable.

Argument starts out with looking at Lipset. The way most people interpreted His work was that economic development causes democratization. But what Lipset actually says is that the wealthier a nation is, the more likely it is to sustain democracy. Therefore, economic development not necessarily causes democratization. But once we have a democracy it is more likely to remain a democracy when it has a higher level of economic development. To describe the process of democratization he differentiates between two approaches:

- **Exogenous approach** (Przeworski et al. 1997, 2000)
  - There is something else causing democratization. The transformation to democracy is result of exogenous event (no impact of economic development)
  - Stability of new democracies is conditional on economic development
  - **Findings:** Much of the results speak for an exogenous democratization. Therefore, richer dictatorships are not more likely to transform into a democracy than poorer ones. While when you establish democracy at a certain level of wealth this democracy will be stable and not return to a dictatorship. Argentina is the only case where this is not true. These findings still hold today, no country above a GDP per capita of 6000\$ has ever transformed back to autocracy
- **Endogenous approach** (Boix/Stokes 2003)
  - Democratization is a process within increasing economic development.
  - Economic development causes and sustains democracy
  - **Findings:** They do not just look at the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they expand their datasets to all countries in the world and to a broader time period. Therefore, they find that the economic development was an important indicator prior to 1950.

## **Why does the event of a transition occur in some countries and not in others?**

Here we are going to look at two different theories

### **Acemoglu/Robinson (2006) "Economic Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship"**

- Why/When do elites have more or less incentives to concede democracy (e.g. voting rights)? In what scenarios would dictators/the ruling elite allow for a process of democratization to happen?
- **Core argument:** Trade-off between redistribution and thread of revolution. These are two things that the elites want to avoid as much as possible. They are afraid, that the process of democratization would lead to more redistribution and they are afraid, that the people get so upset with their situation, that they start a revolution to overthrow the ones in power.
  - This is a rational choice approach about the costs of democratization

- A democratic transformation is more costly for the elites, when there is higher inequality. The potential redistribution would be much higher in an unequal society. When economic differences are higher, the elites have more to lose. Therefore, democratization more likely when inequality is lower. Then the elites have less to lose from a redistribution.
- But it also depends on level of threat of revolution and costs of repression

### **Geddes 1999 - Three types of authoritarian regimes**

- The type of authoritarian regime has an effect on the likelihood of democratic transition. Here the focus lies more on intra-elite rivalries and different incentive structures. Focussed on active moments of transition.
  - **Military regime:**
    - Disintegration of military is to be avoided by all means. There should never be a scenario where soldiers fight against soldiers.
    - In times of intra-elite conflict: In such a scenario the military leaders will likely stand back and returning to the barracks is an attractive option. They would do that to avoid a fight between soldiers.
    - Therefore, Democratization is a likely outcome
    - Endogenous sources of instability
  - **Personalist regime:**
    - High dependency on incumbent. There is one central charismatic leader and
    - Intra-elite splits can be overcome more easily, because everybody knows that they are dependent on this leader.
    - But the question of succession is central. Is it possible to keep the stability without the one leader? This makes them vulnerable after the death of the personalist leader. And there is performance vulnerability.
  - **One-party regime:**
    - There is an institutionalized way of cooperation. There are high incentives for everyone to participate and cooperate.
    - Cooperation and control over resource allocation
    - Intra-elite splits can be overcome. Therefore, they are one of the most stable types of autocratic regimes and not so likely to have a democratic transformation.

### **Democratic breakdown and Democratic Backsliding**

- **Definition Democratic breakdown:** It is an event, that ends democracy from one day to another. Bermeo 2016 shows, that there has been a decline in breakdown events such as open-ended coups d'états or executive coups ("self-coups"). And there has been a decline in election day fraud. We can see this development in empirical data.
  - Open-ended coups d'états: In this scenario there is a coup d'état and nobody knows exactly what is going to happen after the event itself.
  - Executive coups ("self-coups"): Here an elected leader ends the democratic constitution from one day to another.



- **Definition Democratic Backsliding:** There has been an increase in backsliding events such as Promissory coups, Executive aggrandizement or Strategic election manipulation.
  - **Promissory coups:** A coup that claims that it is necessary to uphold democratic institutions. The argument of the takeover is that it is there to strengthen democracy. E.g. Egypt
  - **Executive aggrandizement:** The executives enlarge their power step by step and becomes more powerful. E.g. Putin or Erdogan
  - **Strategic election manipulation:** e.g. effecting the media. Trying to affect the elections through different channels but not the ballots as such.
- Pace in democratic decline has changed. Instead of this quick breakdown events the change happens slowly and gradually.

### **How democracies die** Levitsky/Ziblatt (2018):

Levitsky focussed on Latin America. Ziblatt focussed on Europe of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

- Key points of the book:
  - Democratic erosion as a slow and continuous process. It usually happens when democratic institutions fail, and authoritarians get into these positions of power.
  - Democratic institutions are usually set up to protect from autocrats (e.g. political parties). Political parties' function as gate keepers, which should keep autocratic rulers out and they should have processes which allow them to choose leaders which uphold democracy.
    - E.g. USA process of open primaries make it much more likely for authoritarian demagogues to get into power.
  - Autocratization as result of "devil's bargain" of elite insiders. Some traditional elites think that they can profit from this new authoritarian leader and therefore, supports them
    - e.g. Weimar Germany and Hitler, the elites thought that they had him under control and that he would help them to fight against the communists
    - e.g. many elites in the US voted for Trump for the same reason
  - Focus on American politics. Trump more the result of a longer process. The demographic development of the American electorate favours the democrats on the long run.
  - There are unwritten rules in place on how things work and there is something like an unspoken consensus that you should not exploit these to the fullest. Here the mentality has shifted. Erosion of these general, informal principles.
    - Shift from democratic competition to discrediting of other citizens

## VL5 Theories of representation

Concepts of democratic representation

How should democratic representatives behave? Normative question

- Delegate versus trustee: these two are ideal types.
  - o Delegates
    - Should follow the will of their constituents
    - Idea of representation goes through responsiveness. Someone gets elected to do, what their constituents want and therefore, they are responsive.
  - o Trustees
    - Should follow their own idea of best action
    - Idea of representation goes through accountability. Here the elected person will be held accountable for what they have done (or not).
    - As soon as you have a certain selected group of parliamentarians, they should deliberate and should have the interest of the whole nation in their mind and not just of the ones that voted for them.
      - But depending on the elective system they might be strongly focused on their constituency.
- Hanna Pitkin (1967) – The Concept of Representation
  - o 4 types of representation:
    - **Formalistic:** This type of representation is often outlined in a constitution. It describes the formal procedures of representation. Specifically, it means who is authorized to represent a certain group and how are they held accountable?
    - **Symbolic:** What does this parliamentarian stand for? What ideals do they represent? What principals/ideals are assigned to them as representatives?
    - **Descriptive:** What group does this parliamentarian stand for? Descriptive representation means, that e.g. women represent women. Here the idea is that the parliament should be a mirror of the population.
    - **Substantive:** Here the main idea is that the interests of the population should be represented in the outcomes of the political process. Here representatives act for/in interest of a certain group.
      - **Core idea:** Representing the interests and preferences of citizens and turning them into policy. We should achieve a congruence of political outcomes, preferences of the citizens and policies.
      - **Problem of aggregation:** In practice it is very difficult to achieve this congruence. The biggest challenge is the aggregation of many different preferences.
- **Condorcet Paradox:** Even with very simple decisions by majority rule the problem of aggregation can be prevalent. There is no simple translation of will of the people into policy. There is no such thing as will of the people.
  - o That shows the importance of political institutions in the aggregation of preferences. The institutions influence the way how we get from preferences to political outcomes. In this way the institutions will give some groups more power than others.
  - o We can see these effects in the Agenda setting, voting procedures, decision rules etc.

The following example illustrates this quite nicely.

- Decision about having a lecture break or not
  - 3 options
    - End 15 minutes early, no break (A)
    - End on time, 5-minute break (B)
    - End on time, no break (C)
  - 3 preference groups of the same size
    - Make it to next lecture  $A > C > B$
    - Break is important  $B > A > C$
    - No reduction in lecture time (Streber)  $C > B > A$
- Decision rule: majority decision, each option against each other
  - A versus B – 1:2 – B winner
  - A versus C – 2:1 – A winner
  - B versus C – 1:2 – C winner
- Each group wins one time and therefore, we cannot identify a clear winner. These types of situations are called **cyclical preferences**. Here majority rule does not give a clear outcome. Such situations can lead to very unstable coalitions  
→ This shows that decision rules matter for aggregating preferences!
- Example of Brexit
  - Survey with three options: Remain, May Deal and No Deal
  - Here you could find the exact same problem with the preferences.

#### Descriptive representation - Normative questions

- **Jane Mansbridge:** In her article she defends the normative idea of descriptive representation. Specifically, she stands for a gender quota.
- Critique of descriptive representation:
  - **Descriptive representation does not equal substantive representation.** These people argue that substantive representation is what we should care for.
  - **Reduction in ability:** Here people argue that the best people get elected and if we assure the descriptive representation, we might lose some of the best suitable people for the job.
  - **Which groups and how many:** This is a very strong critique. Isn't there an infinity of different groups in society? From a pragmatic point of view there is no way of assuring descriptive representation.
  - **Risk of essentialism:** If we ask this question of descriptive representation, we risk essentialism. By saying that women better represent women because they have similar interests, we are saying that all the people in this group have something in common. Here we reduce women to being women and we take away their individual characteristics.
  - **Increased factionalism and reduced accountability:** By splitting the pie to all these different groups, we will make it much more difficult to reach an agreement and the differences will be highlighted. Furthermore, the accountability will be reduced. As a representative of a certain group, you represent their interests and can't be held accountable anymore for the whole population.

- Defense of descriptive representation
  - **Reasons for lower representation rarely related to task.** The reason why a certain group is not represented, often does not lie in the lower skill-level. It rather lies in other factors. Therefore, the fear of a reduction of ability is not justifiable.
  - **Aggregative and deliberative function of democracy.** Democracy should assure, that the preferences of individuals are somehow aggregated into political outcomes. Beside this aggregative function democracies also have a deliberative function. These should assure that representatives can learn about problems, preferences and solutions. Therefore, the institutions should somehow guarantee that those who do politics can learn and have an exchange with the different preferences and problems to find the best solutions. She argues that the affected persons should be the ones to help finding the solutions. This describes the **Descriptive representation of groups that are affected and provide different perspective.**
  - **Emphasis of historical contingency and shared experience.** Descriptive representation is about shared experiences. E.g. women have shared experiences that people who are not women can't resent. Because they have been affected by politics and historical legacies, these same patterns would be reproduced without an involvement of the affected groups.
- Situations where descriptive representation is particularly useful
  - **Situations of distrust:** In a highly polarized situation it will be very difficult for a group to accept the political outcomes, if it is not included. There would be much less willingness to accept the democratic process, if they don't see themselves descriptively represented.
  - **Uncrystallized interests:** often there are decisions made in politics, which affect groups which have not yet formulated their preferences and views publicly. Without descriptive representation the interests of this group can't be seen as easily by people who are not affected.
  - **Construction of social meaning:** What do certain political decisions mean for society and how do they construct the way people live together? Here descriptive representation will signal to certain groups in society that their identity/experiences are part of this social construction.
  - **Legitimizing political decisions:** Descriptive representation will legitimize the political outcomes more, because different groups have been heard and involved in the process.

#### Descriptive representation – empirical question

- How does the LGBTQ group get represented in parliament?
  - Reynolds 2020: documents LGBTQ parliamentarians in the world
    - 359 MP's in lower houses and 78 in upper houses. This is a clear underrepresentation.
- How is the working class represented?
  - O'Grady 2019: Labour Party in the UK: how are they represented in the party of the working class?
    - Over time there has been a strong decrease in the share of Labour MP's who have a working-class background. This is a common phenomenon in Europe. This can't just be explained by the fact that the working class is shrinking, because the decline is even higher. The working class is underrepresented.

- Questions about unequal descriptive representation
  - What do you think causes low number of LGBT and working-class representatives in parliaments? (focus in later lectures)
  - What do you think are the consequences of this lack of descriptive representation? How does this effect substantive representation and the political outcomes? (focus in this lecture)
  
- LGBTQ representation
  - **Peter Tatchell** on first campaign as an openly gay candidate in 1983 in the UK:
    - “I was deluged with hate mail, death threats, attacks on my flat and more than 100 physical bashings. I went to sleep at night with a fire extinguisher, carving knife and large stick by my bed. I was vulnerable, yet the police refused me protection. I felt powerless to get media redress.”
  - Do LGBTQ representatives have a positive impact on LGBT rights?
    - **Tatchell**: “On the positive side: the public backlash against the homophobic smears made it easier for subsequent gay MPs, such as Chris Smith, to come out. Mainstream parties became more wary of exploiting homophobia during elections. My candidature helped, to some extent, to put gay rights on the mainstream political agenda.”
    - **Empirical evidence**: If descriptive representation matters this should be the case. **Reynolds 2013**: He takes the number of LGBTQ parliamentarians and he looks how these matter for progressive changes in LGBTQ rights (Legislation). The more LGBTQ parliamentarians there are, the more likely progressive change becomes. There is a positive significant effect. Therefore, descriptive representation matters for the policy outcomes.
  
- Working class representation:
  - Do working class representatives’ matter for welfare policies?
    - **Assumption**: MP’s with a working-class background have different shared experiences from the other MP’s. Even in the same party (Labour Party) differences should be visible.
    - **O’Grady 2019**: MP’s with a working-class background were much less likely to support reductions in social protection, while careerists were much more likely to support such policies.
  
- Consequences of unequal representation
  - Number of studies that show that descriptive representation matters for policy outcomes
    - Female representation (e.g. violence against women, family laws)
    - African American and Latino (e.g. affirmative action)
    - Working class background (e.g. welfare reform)

## VL6 Typologies of democracies

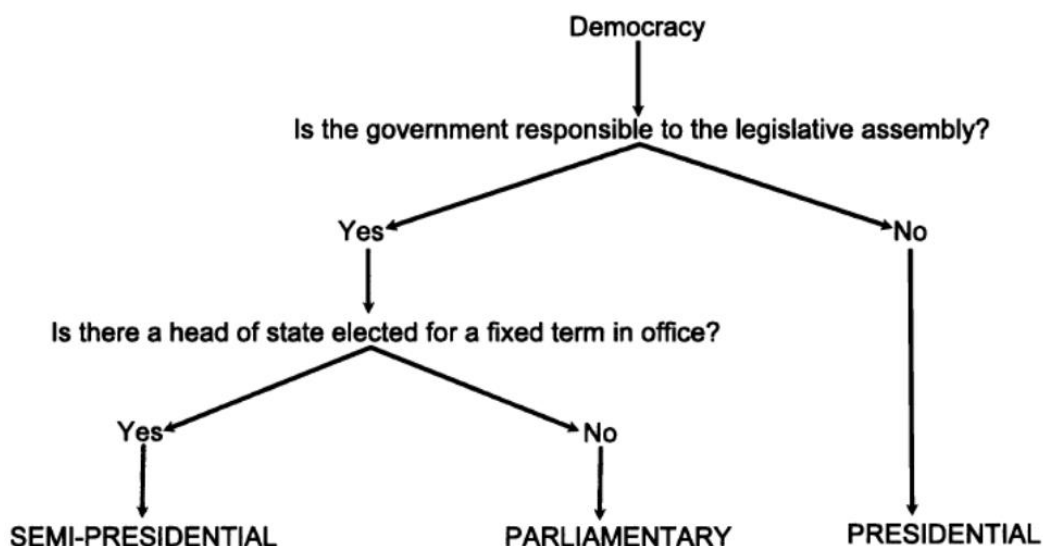
### Presidential vs. parliamentary democracies

Two core questions to distinguish parliamentary and presidential democracies

- Legislative responsibility
  - o **Parliamentary system:** Is government (esp. chief executive/prime minister) responsible to elected legislature? Legislature has constitutional power to remove government. Typically, this would happen with a vote of no confidence.
- Direct legitimacy
  - o **Presidential system:** The executive is elected directly and there are fixed term

**Definition presidential system** (Juan Linz 1990): “In presidential systems an executive with considerable constitutional powers – generally including full control of the composition of the cabinet and administration – is directly elected by the people for a fixed term and is independent of parliamentary votes of confidence.”

- Juan Linz (1990) “The Perils of Presidentialism”: Are presidential or parliamentary democracies more stable?
  - o Common wisdom: presidential systems (focus on e.g. inter-war period)
  - o But perils/risks of presidentialism:
    - **Polarizing zero-sum elections**
    - **Conflicting legitimacies:** Because the president is directly elected there is also an assigned legitimate role, that can differ from the one of the parliaments. This can lead to conflict (e.g. different parties).
    - **Constitutional rigidity:** Doesn’t allow for easy transfer of power e.g. within the fixed terms
    - **Personalization and succession problem:** there is one central person in the policy making process.
    - Time limit. “Wish of vouloir conclure”: Usually the people in power want to finish the projects they started and therefore, they try to gain as much power as possible as fast as possible?

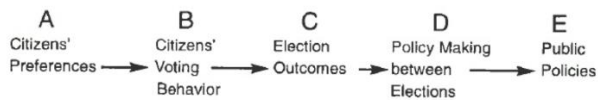


## Electoral system – visions

### Role of elections for democracies

- **They aggregate preferences:** Elections are a way of taking the individual preferences of the citizens and aggregating them to a body, which then can make political decisions. They connect preferences to public policy.

#### Proposed Connections



### Voters' perspective (Powell 2000): Type of representation

- Voting in a democracy can mean two different things:
  - o **Vote for or against a government:** With my vote I want to give someone the legitimate role to govern or I want to punish a government and vote them out
  - o **Vote for a representative:** I want to see a person in parliament, which represents my interests best.
- Time perspective:
  - o **Prospective:** thinking of the future. What will my vote do for the next period?
  - o **Retrospective:** Did the ones in power do a good job?

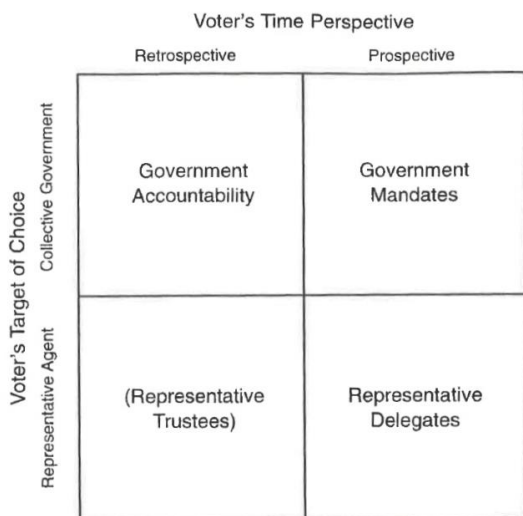


Figure 1.1. Citizen Control Through Elections: A Voter's Eye View of the Processes

**Governments accountability:** How did the government perform and am I happy with this or should I punish them for that?

**Government mandates:** You want to empower a certain party or person to implement specific policies. Therefore, you vote for them.

**Representative Trustees:** Once you elected them, they should be free to do what they want. In the end of the period you decide how they performed.

**Representative Delegates:** Here you want to see the persons responsive. You want them to do what you want.

### Two "visions" of democracy (Powell 2000)

- Majoritarian
  - o Office holders are able to make and implement policies
  - o Elections are about reward and punish
  - o Clarity of responsibility is crucial
- Proportional
  - o Elections should not serve as one-time and only process of generating political power
  - o All citizens preferences should be considered in policy making. Deliberative process.

## Types of electoral systems

Core idea: How are votes translated into seats? (in districts)

- Majoritarian systems
  - o Candidate with the most votes wins (e.g. first-past-the-post)
  - o Majority versus plurality
  - o Most common one is the single member districts with plurality decision (SMDP): Every district sends one person to parliament.
  - o One round versus two rounds: In a one round scenario the person with the most votes wins. In a two rounds scenario, the first round is usually a majority-based decision. If no one crosses the majority threshold, there is a second round.
- Proportional systems
  - o Proportional share in multimember districts
  - o List PR: open versus closed
  - o **District magnitude:** How many people are in one district? The higher the district magnitude, the more proportional a system is. The most extreme example are the Netherlands. There the whole country is one district.
  - o **Electoral threshold:** A political party needs to at least get a certain percentage of the votes in order to get representation in parliament (e.g. 5% Germany, 10% Turkey). This of course diminishes the proportionality.
  - o **Method quota versus divisor:** How you create proportionality? The problem is that you can't separate seats. One seat is the smallest unit.
    - **Hare Method (Quota):** Here we divide the number of votes with the number of seats to get a quota (e.g.  $100'000 / 10 = 10'000$ ). Then we take the number of votes of each party and divide them through our quota (e.g.  $47'000 / 10'000 = 4.7$ ). Then with the full numbers we see the full seats of a party (e.g. 4). Then the parties with the biggest remaining numbers get the last seats. It looks quite proportionate, but there can be big aberrances.
    - **D'hondt method (Divisor):** At each round of the election, each party's total vote is divided y the number of elected members it has so far plus one. If your Party has 400 votes and has 3 elected members: Your "D'Hondt" vote is  $400/4$  (because  $3+1$ ). Your vote is now 100 and 300 of your 400 votes aren't counted.

	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Total
Votes	47,000	16,000	15,800	12,000	6,100	3,100	100,000
Seats							10
Quota							10,000
Votes ÷ Quota	4.7	1.6	1.58	1.2	0.61	0.31	
Automatic seats	4	1	1	1	0	0	7
Remainder	0.7	0.6	0.58	0.2	0.61	0.31	
Remainder seats	1	1	0	0	1	0	3
Total seats	5	2	1	1	1	0	10

	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Total
Votes	47,000	16,000	15,800	12,000	6,100	3,100	100,000
Seats							10
Votes ÷ 1	47,000 (1)	16,000 (3)	15,800 (4)	12,000 (6)	6,100	3,100	
Votes ÷ 2	23,500 (2)	8,000 (9)	7,900 (10)	6,000	3,050	1,550	
Votes ÷ 3	15,666 (5)	5,333	5,266	4,000	2,033	1,033	
Votes ÷ 4	11,750 (7)	4,000	3,950	3,000	1,525	775	
Votes ÷ 5	9,400 (8)	3,200	3,160	2,400	1,220	620	
Votes ÷ 6	7,833	2,667	2,633	2,000	1,017	517	
Total seats	5	2	2	1	0	0	10

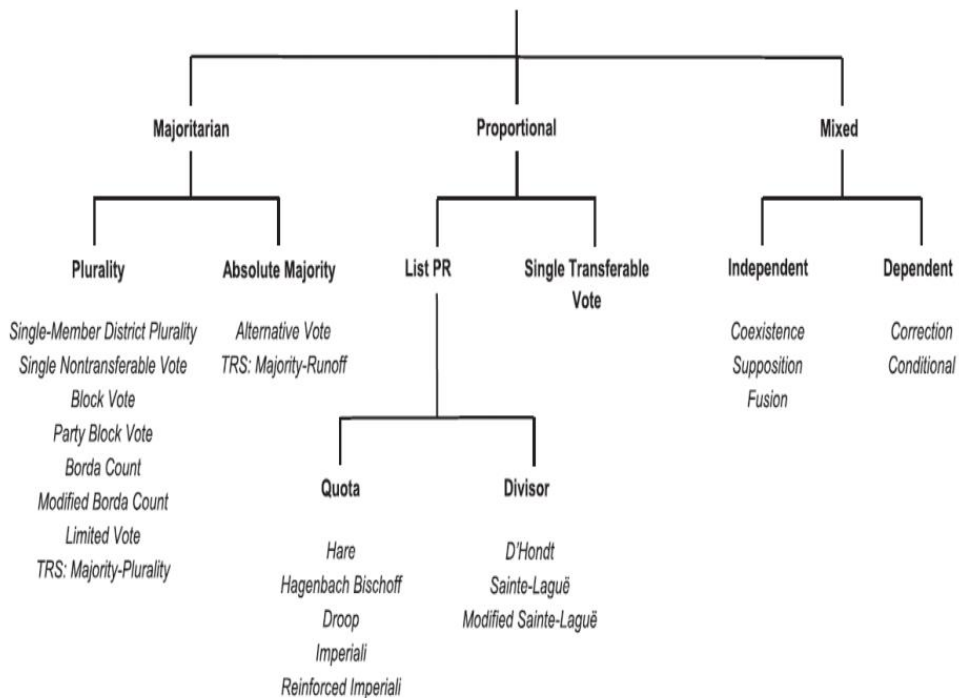
Note: The numbers in parentheses indicate the order in which the ten seats in the district are allocated among the parties.

## Mixed member systems (MMP)

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gjsUMLseAcl>



## Overview of different electoral systems



## Consequences of electoral systems

Electoral systems can affect core components of democracies

- Representation - relationship between electoral system and party systems:
  - **Duverger's Law** (after Maurice Duverger (1954))
  - SMD systems (majoritarian systems) lead to two-party-systems (sufficient condition)
  - PR (Proportional system) is necessary but not sufficient condition for multi-party system (societal cleavages are crucial)
  - Mechanical effect
    - SMD: More difficult for small parties to receive seats, because we assume that they are distributed equally. But if a party is highly concentrated in some places, they can actually be overrepresented (e.g. Scottish national party).
  - Psychological effect
    - If people know about these mechanical effects, they will take this into consideration and act in a specific way. Strategic voting and Strategic party entry become a common strategy.
  - **Empirical measurement:** You need to know the type of electoral system and with that you want to explain the party system.
    - Effective number of (parliamentary) parties (Laakso/Taagepera 1979)
    - E.g. CH: 6.5, UK: 2.9, FR: 3.9, NL: 8.6

$$ENP = \frac{1}{\sum_{i=1}^n s_i^2}$$

n: number of (parliamentary) parties

s: vote share or seat share of parties

- Representation – disproportionality Vote/seat disproportionality
  - o Least Square Index (Gallagher 1991)

$$LSq = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n (s_i - v_i)^2}$$

CH: 3.1

UK (2017): 6.5

UK (2015): 15

NL: 1.3

s: seat share in percent

v: vote share in percent

- Electoral system and Democratic stability
  - o Electoral systems and democratic stability (electoral engineering): In many areas that democratized, people had to decide what electoral system they want.
  - o Democratic institutions need to mitigate societal conflicts
  - o Three main questions
    - Representation:
      - PR allows small groups/interests to be represented
      - SMDs produce zero-sum and us-against-them logic
      - Crucial question of geographic distribution
    - Accountability
      - PR leads to coalition governments
      - Low clarity of responsibility in PR
      - Low possibility of punishing incumbents in PR
    - Polarization
      - PR makes representation of extreme parties easier
      - SMDs provide incentive for centrist positioning (medium voter theory)
      - PR systems bring extreme parties into government
  - o Empirically
    - Cases of high polarization: US and UK
    - Multitude of other institutions that matter too (not just theory) and the Societal context is crucial

## VL8 Capitalism and democracy welfare states

Capitalism and democracy: there are inherent tension between capitalism and democracy

- **Capitalism:** is an economic system that produces affluence but very likely to produce large inequalities.
- **Democracy:** is a political system based on equality. Therefore, democracy is seen as a potential threat to the wealthy.
- Two political responses to institutionalization of capitalism
  - o Communism/socialism
  - o Social democracy

Communism/socialism

- **The communist manifesto:** a political document written by Marx and Engels to outline the main ideas between democracy and capitalism
  - o Historical materialism: Is a method of thinking/ an approach used
  - o Why is capitalism different from other socio-economic transformations?
  - o What is the classless society and why is it desirable?
  - o What are other goals formulated in the communist manifesto?
- To answer these questions, it is useful to watch this video
  - o [Karl Marx - The Communist Manifesto | Political Philosophy - YouTube](#)

Social Democracy

- **Based on** the idea of socialism, but it is a reformist response to capitalist class struggle. Therefore, it is a non-revolutionary idea of changing class relations through democratic means
- **Core idea:** Instalment of protection from market forces but acceptance of a level of inequality
- **Incrementalism and ideal of democratic socialism:** You get to the desired outcome step-by-step instead of a revolution. However, it is still based on a utopic idea of democratic socialism.
- Socialist parties as prime vehicle of political class struggle
- Electoral vs revolutionary wing: there are different ways to arrive in a socialist society
- Idea of electoral socialism
  - o Democracy as means to socialist end
  - o **Main goal franchise extension:** they wanted to extend the voting right to the full male population and establish a more socialist society through democratic means. For a long time, there was scepticism in socialist parties towards female voting rights, because they thought they were more conservative (women went to church more often etc.). Therefore, they thought that that would hurt their cause. Later this changed.
  - o Support of majority
- After they achieved the full suffrage, they failed to achieve electoral majorities (pre & post WWI)
  - o Then there were a lot of discussions as to which groups they want to appeal to get majorities and expand their electoral coalition.
    - First idea: small peasants. But this was a shrinking group
    - Therefore, the increasingly focussed on parts of bourgeoisie (esp. post WWII).

- Social democratic class alliance: working class, urban bourgeoisie, public employees.
- Self-reinforcing dynamic toward reformism and democratic principles. Through the expansion the interest for the revolutionary wing was less attractive.
  - Successful coalition until onset of de-industrialization

## Welfare state

- **Definition:** “Welfare state, concept of government in which the state or a well-established network of social institutions plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of citizens. It is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life.” (Encyclopedia Britannica)
  - **Important:** the state takes part in organizing and securing economic and social well-being with an idea of a more equal society.
  - Definition of a political science perspective with Two elements:
    - risk insurance and redistribution
  - Protection from potential risks which come from economic structures such as:
    - Old age
    - Sickness
    - Unemployment
  - Social investment and new social risks
    - Child-care as a pillar of the welfare state
    - Human capital formation (education, training): the welfare state increases equality of opportunity and increases risk insurance by contributing to people being more successful on the market.
- Three main questions regarding the welfare state in political science:
  - What explains development of welfare state expansion?
    - Until now we looked at the ideological idea behind this. But what were the concrete drivers of welfare expansion? Especially in the period after the second world war.
  - What explains variation in systems of social security?
  - What explains variation in welfare state retrenchment (Kürzung)?

What explains the development of the welfare state expansion?

- Expansion of the welfare state critically depends on **power resources** (Stephens 1979) and **political class struggle** (Korpi 1983). The question is how much power do these groups have?
- Mobilization of working class critical for welfare expansion
- Relevant factors:
  - Strength of unions
  - Strength of socialist parties
  - Confessional parties:
    - these parties matter, because it is a reason for working-class-members not to vote for the socialists. If a voter is torn between the two interests, this might reduce the transformation of the working-class-power.

### Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism (Esping-Andersen 1990)

- Different class coalitions emerge
  - o (1) Strong unions and strong left parties lead to...
  - o (2) Confessionally split unions and parties lead to...
  - o (3) Weak/fragmented unions and weak left parties lead to...
- These different coalitions lead to three types of welfare regimes
  - o (1) ...Social Democratic welfare state
  - o (2) ...Conservative welfare state
  - o (3) ...Liberal welfare state
- Main distinction: degree of decommodification
  - o How much is your life effected by your position in the market (your commodification) and how much can the welfare state do to protect your life, happiness and wellbeing of the forces of the market (decommodification).
  - o **Liberal welfare state**
    - Low level of decommodification. Market forces are very dominant.
    - Anglo-Saxon model
    - Basic protection against poverty with little state intervention
    - Risks remain largely individualized
  - o **Conservative welfare state**
    - Medium level of decommodification (typical continental EU welfare state e.g. D & CH)
    - **Core principle: subsidiarity** (e.g. In a first step the family should take care and then in a second step the state can help if needed)
    - Based on “**male breadwinner model**”: The head of the family is a man who works and a woman who stays at home and does the care work for free.
    - **Insurance based**: everything is organized around labour and work.
    - Low female labour market participation. Often there are policies in place, which disincentivise women from taking part in the labour market.
  - o **Social democratic welfare state**
    - High level of decommodification
    - High socialization and institutionalization (e.g. SWE)
    - High levels of employment needed to maintain this system. Therefore, women are incentivised to work as well
    - Focus on social investment (child-care, education, training)

### Crisis and reconfiguration of the welfare state

- Golden age of the welfare state went on until about the 1970's
- Crisis of the welfare state due to socio-economic transformations
  - o Transformation from industry to service sector economy
  - o High unemployment and budget crises (e.g. Oil crisis)
  - o Global financial integration / global competition (pressure on wages)
  - o Automation and digitization (higher unemployment in certain sectors)
  - o Changing family structures (e.g. emancipation of women vs. bread-winner model)

## New Politics of the welfare state

- Politics of welfare retrenchment fundamentally different from expansion phase (Paul Pierson 1994, 1996, 2001)
- Principles of the new welfare state
  - **Welfare policies affect welfare politics** (feedback effects): e.g. if people get used to generous pensions, they will become more likely to support them in the future.
  - **Welfare state created constituencies** that are highly supportive of its maintenance: the welfare state itself has created a lot of jobs in the administrations and therefore, the effected people support it.
  - **Instrumental and ideational feedback**: People either have a material interest in supporting the welfare state (instrumental) or people grew up in this specific system and adjusted to the idea of the purpose of the welfare state and therefore support it (ideational).
  - **Path dependency**: Once you have a system in place, it is difficult change the system/path.
- Blame avoidance
  - Welfare state is largely popular
  - Pressure to change remains
  - Obfuscation (Verschleierung)
  - Blame sharing

→ Despite these pressures to change something it becomes very difficult to retrench (Abbauen) the welfare state.
- Empirical evidence:
  - M. Theacher and R. Regan: Have been associated with the opposite of a generous welfare state.
  - Pierson analyses their policies and finds empirical evidence that even these two were not able to retrench the welfare state
  - He also analysed GB, D, SWE and US and in no country, there was a significant retrenchment of the welfare state even with higher pressures since the 1970's
    - Path dependency has become so important that ideology does not matter anymore
- Different types of welfare state change
  - Not just retrenchment but also
    - Recalibration
    - Cost containment
    - Re-commodification
  - No partisan differences
- Different approach (Häusermann et al (2013))
  - Changing context leads to different social policy demands
  - Changing constituencies (Wahlbezirk)
    - Partisan support bases have changed (e.g. Social-democratic parties are much more of an educated-middleclass-party today)
    - Political competition beyond left-right or more/less redistribution (new political issues)
    - Politicization of the second dimension

## VL9 Voting, parties and cleavages

### Voting behaviour

- Theories of voting behaviour
  - o Sociological approaches
  - o Socio-psychological approaches
  - o Rational choice

### Sociological theories of voting

- **Columbia school:** first formulated these ideas
- Research on electoral behaviour in US in 1940s and 50s
  - o Approach is based on observation of time-constant voting decisions
  - o Class and social circles as core elements: "A person thinks, politically, as he is, socially. Social characteristics determine political preference." (Lazarsfeld et al. 1944: 27)
- Socio-economic variables such as class, education, occupation, age, religion determine social circles. Why is this the case? These variables determine your social networks and interactions
- Social networks determine political preferences
  - o **Peer pressure and social control** (deliberative process within the group: there is a certain opinion that is expected from you)
  - o **Opinion leaders** (you will have people in these groups who are informed in these groups and less informed persons will orient themselves on their opinions)
- Homogenous vs cross-pressured social circles
  - o **Homogenous:** e.g. you live and work in a working-class environment. This will probably lead to a clear political opinion.
  - o **Cross-pressured:** e.g. a working-class member is also religious and often goes to church. At church they might meet people with a different socio-economic background. More difficult to say which party this person voted for.
- **Voting as an expressive act:** by voting you signal membership of a certain group. Voting as a shared experience to signal your group affiliation.

### Socio-psychological theories of voting:

- **Michigan school:** "The American Voter" (Campbell et al. 1960)
- Political preferences as core determinant of vote choice
- Structural variables cannot explain variation in vote choice
- Three Intervening variables between structure and vote choice crucial
  - o **Party identification:** US context important, debated in the European context. You become socialised to support a certain party.
  - o **Issues:** Which issues matter to you
  - o **Candidates:** do you find this person competent; do you have sympathy for them? Etc.
- **Funnel of causality:** From the top to the bottom, people change more and more. The top things have an influence on the one under them.

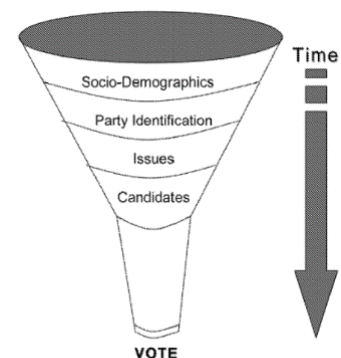


Fig. 2.1. Funnel of causality model

## Spatial competition

- Anthony Downs (1957) "An Economic Theory of Democracy"
- Voting as rational utility maximization. Voting is instrumental and not expressive.
  - o "The benefits voters consider in making their decisions are streams of utility derived from government activity." (Downs 1957: 36). You vote a certain way because of the way you expect the policies will affect you.
  - o Consideration between expected utility of the opposition and expected utility of the government parties
  - o  $(U^A_t) - E(U^B_t)$
- Political competition conceptualized through a market analogy
  - o Voter: demand side
  - o Parties: supply side
- Ideology as a way to assess utility. Ideology as a decision heuristic (Vague idea of how they want the world to look like). Voters have an order in their preferences.
- Decision for party with smallest ideological distance
  - o  $U_i(k) = -(x_i - s_k)^2$
  - o K: a specific party; x: the own position;  $s_k$ : the position of a specific party
  - o Square to weigh distances which are further away higher
- These conditions Leads to conception of spatial competition
  - o Based on Hotelling's (1929) idea of a rational shopping street
- Political dimension: left versus right
  - o Left: preferences for state intervention and market regulation
  - o Right: free allocation of resources through market principles
- Voters have preferences on this dimension
  - o Parties compete by offering positions
  - o Issue competition and party system change
- Median voter theorem
  - o Idea: most people see themselves in the middle of the spectrum and they are on a bell curve (normal distribution)
  - o In theory: Parties will therefore orient their policies and programs to the middle
- New in this approach:
  - o We can think of party positions and their vote shares as a function of distribution of preferences in a political space.
  - o This approach allows us to analytically (in this framework of economics) think about political competition and make predictions about voting and party behaviour. We can even analyse this distance empirically. There people could find a strong evidence.

## Issue competition

- Not all competition is about positions
  - o in downs everything works over this competition of positions
- Valence issues
  - o There are some issues where there is a large agreement about outcome (e.g. economic growth, crime, environment). Here the competition can't be about positions because people generally agree on these issues.
  - o Therefore, in these issues it is not about competition but about competence. Which party has the competence to tackle this issue the best?



- **Issue ownership:** Idea that some parties are generally thought to be more competent or more intuitively associated with an issue. If a certain issue is very important to you, you will vote for the party you think is the most competent in this field. E.g. Green parties.
  - o E.g. Parties try to talk about certain issues to mobilize their peer group.
- **Competition over emphasis**

#### The rise of challenger parties

- Landscape of European party systems has changed
  - o Conservatives, Social democrats and liberal parties were the dominant ones
  - o After the second world war new parties emerged and changed the set up
    - radical left / communist party: some survived and others not
    - green parties and radical right parties really changed the dynamics
  - o But the mainstream parties are still quite strong
- New parties emerge
  - o Conceptualized via party family (based on ideologies)
  - o or type of party (are there different logics behind parties? E.g. niche vs mainstream or populist vs non-populist parties)
- **Challenger parties** (de Vries/Hobolt 2020)
  - o As a concept of a type of party
  - o A challenger party is one that has never been in the government before. These parties have a specific way of behaving, which also determines whether they are successful or not.
- Competition between dominant and challenger parties
  - o They use an analogy of industrial organization
  - o Parties try to gain as many votes as possible and use different strategies to achieve this. In Downs' theory they use different positions and in de Vries/Hobolt's theory the strategies are more divers.
- Mainstream party strategies
  - o **Distinctive convergence:** Mainstream parties take centrist positions and try to discount all other positions as radical.
  - o **Competence mobilization:** These parties want to emphasise that they are good at governing due to their experience. They also have the presence to do so.
  - o **Issue avoidance:** They want to avoid issues they know split their broad electorate. Therefore, they try to avoid them.
- Challenger parties' strategies
  - o **Issue entrepreneurs:** If challenger parties manage to have competence in such an issue / be unique in such an issue they will be successful challengers.
    - E.g. environment for Green parties or immigration for radical right parties
  - o **Anti-establishment rhetoric:** This makes it more difficult for the mainstream parties to take the issues away from them. Because their supporters will not see the governing parties as competent in these issues and maybe even in general.

## VL10: Transformation of Social Democracy

Recap: The parliamentary road to electoral socialism

- Debate over revolutionary versus parliamentary social democracy (1890-1920's)
  - o Which way is the best to get to a socialist society?
- Idea of electoral socialism
  - o **Democracy as means to socialist end/goal:** Before not everybody could vote. Therefore, it was a main goal to give everyone(man) the right to vote. The idea was that in this way the social-democratic parties would be able to form majorities and change the system from the inside.
  - o Main goal: franchise extension
  - o Support of majority
- Failure to achieve electoral majorities (pre and post WWI)
- Need to form electoral coalitions
  - o First idea: small peasants, but then there was the realization that this already was a shrinking group of people. Hence not enough people.
  - o Increasingly parts of bourgeoisie (esp. post WWII)
  - o **Social democratic class alliance:** working class, urban bourgeoisie, public employees
- **Self-reinforcing dynamic** toward reformism and democratic principles: You increase the size of the state and state-employees vote for you etc.
- **Successful coalition until onset of de-industrialization:** The more the social democrats broadened their electorate, the further away they got from their main goal of a socialist society. They strongly moderated their program.
- **Electoral trends for the Social Democratic parties:**
  - o The social democratic parties had their best times in the post second world war period until about the mid 1970's.
  - o Then a decline started. One reason is the emergence of more democracies in Europe (e.g. Eastern European countries). About other reasons we are going to talk now.

## Transformation of European Social Democracy

- How did socio-economic conditions shape public preferences and interact with the strategic behaviour of political parties and how this combination influences the success of parties.

## Herbert Kitschelt – The Transformation of European Social Democracy (1994)

12 *The transformation of European social democracy*

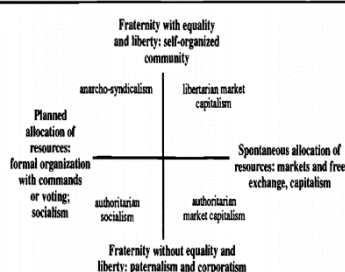


Figure 1.1 Ultimate values, ideologies, and forms of social order

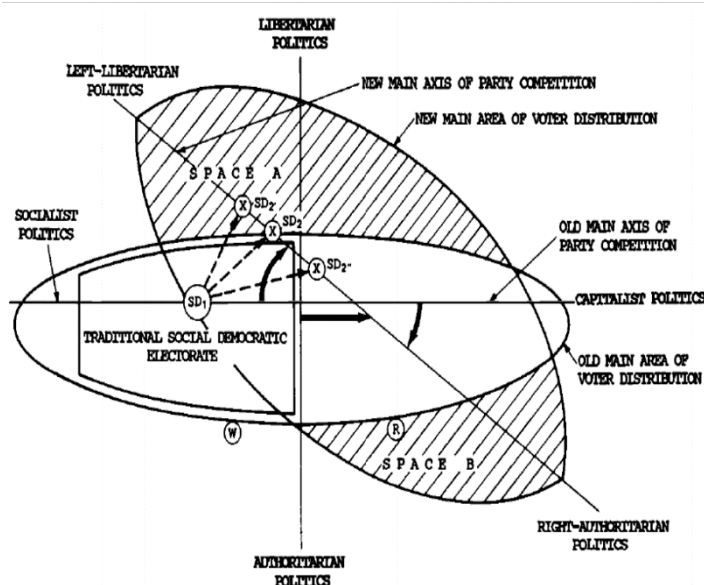
- Political preferences can be ordered along two dimensions
  - o **Left-right:** questions of economic distribution
  - o **Libertarian-authoritarian:** questions of societal organization
- Note: Libertarian can mean different things here it means progressive attitudes (US: more of a neoliberal view)

- Socio-economic positions affect political preferences
- Mechanisms for turning social groups into political ones
- Marx answers the question as follows:
  - o Economic position (Capital vs labor)
  - o Collective action (Class in itself vs class for itself)

- Kitschelt (based on Katznelson):
  - o Economic position
  - o **Social interaction**
  - o **Lifestyle and consumption**
  - o Collective action

How has the political space changed from the industrial age until now?

- Strongly one-dimensional in industrial age: in this age political competition strongly went over the economic dimension (left-right dimension).
- Transformation of socio-economic structures in post-industrial societies, which then changed the political space.
  - o Increase in education and wealth and affluence
  - o Shift toward service sector economy
  - o Automation and digitalization
  - o Changing family roles and gender norms
  - o Globalization (movement of capital and labour)
- Political movements of 60s and 70s
  - o They put new issues such as gender equality or environmental ones on the agenda
  - o This leads to a second dimension which is now salient
- Transformation of political space



white ellipsis is traditional dimension

this ellipsis rotated, because it got more important in forming political preferences.

Due to this shift there are two spaces moving up, which make up the new dimensions:

A left-libertarian space

A right-authoritarian space

How should social democratic parties react to these new movements?  
(different dots with SD as options)

- Where should Social Democratic parties move economically?
  - o Demand for socialism is not as big anymore
  - o Important question which determines the coalitions
  - o Working class in manufacturing are not really libertarian. How could they move without losing them? This group is also shrinking in itself
    - Dilemma which is relevant until today
- Moves which did happen
  - o **The third way:** ideological idea of a change on the economic dimension.
    - Transformation in the UK, US and Germany (New Labour, Neue Mitte)
    - With Blair, Clinton and Schröder at the same time
      - All of them came to power after a long period of no social democratic rule (Thatcher, 3 republican terms, 16 years Köhler?)

- Ideological paradigms (Giddens 1998)
- Economic centrism as main strategy to win voters
- Other Third Way paradigms
  - New activating state structures
  - Social investment paradigm (e.g. education)
  - Changing family relations (e.g. investment in child-care)
  - Cosmopolitan democracy
  - Ecological question

## Populist Radical Right

Definition of radical right parties:

- General agreement on a group of parties
- What do they have in common?
  - **Nativism** as a political ideology: “an ideology, which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (“the nation”) and that non-native elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation-state” (Mudde 2007)
  - Nativism is not only about nationalism, but there is also this idea of a threat and a desire for a homogenous state.
  - All radical right parties have this idea in common.
- **Minimal Definition** of these parties is nativism. This is a necessary condition.
- In order to differentiate: what makes these parties radical right – and populist? What are the sufficient conditions?
  - In this lecture we focus on the radical right part and next week we look at the populist part.

Mudde 2007: Ladder of abstraction of nativist ideologies

Table 1.2 *Ladder of abstraction of nativist ideologies*

Ideology	Key additional feature
Extreme right	Anti-democracy
Radical right	Authoritarianism
<i>Nativism</i>	Xenophobia
Nationalism	

This figure is read from the bottom left to the bottom right to the next word on the left etc.

You begin with nationalism and add Xenophobia. That combination gives you nativism.

If you then add Authoritarianism to Nativism you get the radical right. And if you add Anti-Democratic elements to the radical right you end up with an extreme right party (e.g. Nazis)

## Kitschelt: Where do we place the radical right parties in this political space / the two dimensions?

- On the Libertarian vs Authoritarian axis, they are clearly on the Authoritarian axis.
- On the economic axis it is not so clear where we need to fit them.
  - Radical Right parties on the left: e.g. Danish Peoples Party with left ideologies on redistribution (also called welfare chauvinism). This welfare state should only be open for natives, this makes the difference.
  - Radical Right parties on the right: e.g. SVP/Lega with neo-liberal ideologies.

- These positions can be a threat to the classic social democratic parties, because they concern the working class (former core electorate). This forces social democratic parties to even have more trade-offs.

### **Empirical studies on the fight between Social democratic parties and radical right parties**

Classic narrative:

- Social democratic parties have lost working class; new home with Radical Right Parties
  - o Is there really a causal link between these two developments?
- Alienation of working class through neo-liberal economic and progressive cultural positions
  - o Potential explanation on the two axes of Kitschelt.
- Shift toward Radical Right Party position to win back working class (Danish strategy)
  - o This strategy could alienate other voters (e.g. educated middleclass)

Sigmar Gabriel (Spiegel 18.12.2017, own translation):

- Us as social democrats and progressives too have felt too much at home within a post-modern liberal discourse. The environment and climate change were more important to us than industry jobs, data protection more important than security issues, and we celebrated the introduction of same-sex marriage as the basically biggest achievement of our party during the last administration[...] Is the wish for a 'Leitkultur' really a conservative propaganda tool or does it represent – for our electorate too – the wish for orientation in a post-modern world? Winning over the hipsters in California cannot make up for losing the workers of the Rust Belt.
- Idea that social democrats have lost voters because they are supposedly too progressive and too much oriented on the libertarian side of the second dimension.

Three implications

- 1. Social democratic election results strongly depend on working class behaviour
- 2. Less progressive/universalist positions of Social Democratic parties decrease Populist Radical Right vote share
- 3. Less progressive/universalist positions of Social Democratic parties increase their own vote share

Three empirical questions

- Where did social democratic voters go?
- Do more anti-immigrant positions weaken the radical right?
- How social democratic policy positions affect their own vote share?

### **Where did social democratic voters go?**

- Social democratic parties lost most of their voters to the mainstream right (especially in the 2000's) and green parties (especially in the 2010's)
  - o 2000's: Period following the third way. In this period social democratic parties lost to parties which are even more right on the economic dimension. Therefore, the argument that people left due to economic policies does not make a lot of sense.
  - o 2010's: In this period cultural issues became much more salient. Therefore, people left for a party with even more libertarian views. Hence, the argument of too progressive social democratic parties does not make a lot of sense either.
- They only lost a few voters to the radical right

- All these findings do not really align with the classic narrative.

Which people left? (socio-demographic factors)

- People with middle education make up the biggest voter group (in general)
- We can see that social democratic parties did not specifically lose among the low incomes. The people who left are over proportionally people with a higher education (especially women).
  - This also speaks against the argument that the working class was the main driver of the social democratic loss.
- Attitudes towards immigration among voters of the social democratic parties (2002):
  - Quite a normal distribution with slightly more positive attitudes towards immigration
  - In comparison with 2016 we can see that social democrats lost to all groups, but especially among pro-immigration groups
    - This is a problem, because they lost people of the most prominent group of voters.
    - This is again not in line with the narrative of social democratic parties losing votes because they are too progressive.

### **Do more anti-immigrant positions weaken the radical right? How does positional accommodation affect the radical right?**

Positional accommodation as a winning strategy?

- Downs (1957): Proximity theory
  - "In order to threaten party B with defeat unless it moves back toward the right, the right-wing extremists found party C. This party cannot possibly win itself, but it can throw the election to A by diverting extremist votes from B. To get rid of this menace, party B must adopt some of C's policies, thus moving back to the right and taking the wind out of C's sails."
  - Idea: parties can fight against radical right parties by taking more right positions themselves.
  - Meguid (2005, 2008) had similar ideas with the PSO theory
- Empirical results of this theory:
  - Macro transition: Vote shares of radical right parties
  - Micro transitions:
    - Radical Right party net transitions
    - Radical Right party gross gains: there is a positive effect for radical right parties if other parties move their position closer to theirs
    - Radical right party gross losses
  - In none of these specifications, accommodation leads to smaller vote shares of the radical right. But in some of the specifications there is a positive effect, especially on the gross gains. Therefore, in some cases accommodation can even strengthen the radical right.
    - By taking more anti-immigrant positions, mainstream parties legitimise the discourse of the radical right on this issue. And then people decide to vote for the "original" party, because they have the competence on this issue.

### **How social democratic policy positions affect their own vote share? How do less progressive positions affect Social Democratic parties?**

- Empirical study on the basis of education level and prediction of the probability that a person in the group votes for the social democrats. Then more progressive and less progressive social democratic parties are compared. Do less progressive ones gain more votes?
    - o In none of the education groups a less progressive course gives a better score.
    - o In the lower and middle education level there is no statistical significance.
    - o In the highly educated social democrats are strongly punished if they take less progressive positions. Therefore, there are no gains.
  - The same pattern can be observed if we look at professions of the voters.
    - o Social democrats gain no votes by being less progressive
    - o And they are punished especially by the Socio-cultural (semi-)professionals.
  - If we look at the social democratic voters by age, we see:
    - o Younger voters punish social democratic parties if they take less progressive positions.
- ➔ No matter how we split up the electorate, we find no evidence for a gain in voters by taking less progressive positions. In some groups, the party is even strongly punished.

### **What could be a winning strategy?**

- On average of two things usually leads to a positive outcome for social democratic parties:
  - o Economic policies, which are directed towards investment in things such as education or childcare.
  - o More progressive positions on the libertarian axis.
- This combination is usually benefiting social democratic parties.
- This especially contradicts the classic narrative.

## VL11: Populism, race and the US presidential election 2020

### Results of the US elections 2020

- **Electoral college:** every state has a number of electors and these electors then elect the president. Generally, if a candidate wins the popular vote, all the electors will vote for this person.
- **Senate:** every state sends two representatives. Therefore. Republicans are more successful.
- **Popular vote:** Biden won about 6 million more votes. But many of these votes don't have an impact on the result due to the system. In the important states the race was much closer than expected.

### Exit polls: Demographics, Party Identification/Ideologies and Issues.

- Disclaimer: Generally, the exit polls are not that reliable
- **Donald Trump:** Has a stronger appeal to men and people who are white. Most of his voters consider themselves as Republicans and Conservatives. His voters were mainly concerned about the economy and Crime/safety.
- **Joe Biden:** Has a bigger appeal for women and people of colour. Most of his voters consider themselves as Democrats and Liberal / Moderate. His voters were mainly concerned about Racial inequality and the Coronavirus pandemic.

### History of US political parties

- **Democratic Party:**
  - o **19<sup>th</sup> century:** First Democratic president signed the "Indian removal act" in 1830 and later on they were for slavery as white men were their main voter base. The Republicans in the north were against slavery in the civil war.
  - o **20<sup>th</sup> century:** a wave of progressivism came up on both parties, but the democratic party first acted on this behalf with Wilson as President. Therefore, the Democrats became the main home for progressives. After the Great depression this identity was sealed as Roosevelt expanded the size of government and implemented the "New Deal". With this movement the party also got attractive for black voters and less attractive for the old voter basis.
  - o **Today:** the demographics of the US is changing, and non-white voters are getting more and more important. Therefore, they have increasingly better chances to win elections.
- **Republican Party:**
  - o **19<sup>th</sup> century:** Republicans are against slavery and are especially powerful in the north. Abraham Lincoln wins the presidency and a civil war emerges. The north wins and slavery are abolished. They also enable the civil Rights act of 1866 to ensure that black people have the same right to vote. Many of the voter basis are getting wealthier and increasingly want to focus on other issues.
  - o **20<sup>th</sup> century:** The Republican party is now the one for wealthy businessmen. This works well until the great depression in the 1930's. They also oppose the expansion of the (welfare) state. With the civil rights debate republicans take an opposing position and loose black voters and win white voters from the south.
  - o **Today:** Republicans want anti-immigration reforms, and this costs them Hispanic voters.



## The appeal of Populists and Radical Right Parties

### Definition of the populist radical right

- General agreement on a group of parties. They all have Nativism in common.
  - o **Nativism:** “an ideology, which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (“the nation”) and that non-native elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation-state” (Mudde 2007)
- Nativism is a minimal definition and a necessary condition
- In order to differentiate what makes these parties radical right – and populist
  - o Ladder of abstraction of nativist ideologies (Mudde 2007)

### Definition of Populism

- Populism is not necessarily rightwing
- “[populism is] a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite,’ and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people” (Mudde 2004)
- Type of populism depends on definition of the people & the elite
  - o **Left-wing populism:** This definition is strongly based on class. There is a financial elite.
  - o **Right-wing populism:** idea of people based on common ethnicity against the liberal elite.
- Core ideology of radical right can be summarized in enemies

Table 3.1 *Typology of enemies*

State	Nation		
	<i>Within</i>	<i>Outside</i>	
<i>Within</i>	(1)	(2)	1: (liberal) elite (e.g. feminists)
<i>Outside</i>	(3)	(4)	2: Immigrants and ethnic minorities
			3: “Country men” abroad
			4: Supranational organizations and other countries

### To which groups do such ideologies appeal?

- Petite bourgeoisie
  - o Core group of support and activists
  - o Low education, high income
  - o 2 sets of preferences: Interest in authoritarian and right-wing economic policies
- Working class
  - o Left authoritarian preferences
  - o Welfare chauvinism
  - o Esp. when economic dimension is less politicized, because then the authoritarian preference gets more important
- Common attitudes: anti-migration, anti-EU, anti-elite, anti-feminist

Kitschelt 2019:

#### Preference groups in the industrial age

		Income	
		LOW (-67 <sup>th</sup> percentile)	HIGH (68 <sup>th</sup> percentile+)
Education (college degree?)	No: Low	<b>G1: redistributive (+)</b> <b>G2: authoritarian (-)</b> <b>G3: exclusionary (-)</b> <b>Occupations:</b> blue and white collar routine occupations; <b>Group Size:</b> 60-65%	<b>G1: market-liberal/waivering (-)</b> <b>G2: authoritarian (-)</b> <b>G3: exclusionary (-)</b> <b>Occupations:</b> some high-skill blue collar, crafts, construction, trade, retail small business; <b>Group Size:</b> 30%+
	Yes: High	<b>G1: redistributive (+)</b> <b>G2: libertarian (+)</b> <b>G3: inclusionary (+)</b> <b>Occupations:</b> mostly social and cultural service professions; <b>Group Size:</b> <5%	<b>G1: market-liberal (-)</b> <b>G2: libertarian (range)</b> <b>G3: inclusionary (range)</b> <b>Occupations:</b> some socio-cultural and most business-finance-tech professionals; <b>Group Size:</b> ~5%

#### Preference groups in the post-industrial age

		Income	
		LOW (-67 <sup>th</sup> percentile)	HIGH (68 <sup>th</sup> percentile+)
Education (college degree?)	No: Low	<b>G1: redistributive (+)</b> <b>G2: authoritarian (-)</b> <b>G3: exclusionary (-)</b> <b>Occupations:</b> blue and white collar routine occupations; <b>Group Size:</b> 40-50%	<b>G1: market-liberal (-)</b> <b>G2: authoritarian (-)</b> <b>G3: exclusionary (-)</b> <b>Occupations:</b> some high-skill blue collar, crafts, construction, trade, retail small business; <b>Group Size:</b> 15-20%
	Yes: High	<b>G1: redistributive (+)</b> <b>G2: libertarian (+)</b> <b>G3: inclusionary (+)</b> <b>Occupations:</b> mostly social and cultural service professions; <b>Group Size:</b> 15-25%	<b>G1: market-liberal (-)/waivering</b> <b>G2: libertarian (+)</b> <b>G3: inclusionary (+)</b> <b>Occupations:</b> some socio-cultural and most business-finance-tech professionals; <b>Group Size:</b> 15-25%

#### - Industrial age:

- the low education / low income group is by far the biggest. This is the traditional working class. Their preferences are favouring redistribution. Old electorate of the left (blue).
- The bourgeoisie / elite market liberal and strongly against redistribution. This group is the traditional right (red).
- Petite bourgeoisie: these are also generally market liberal and in a coalition with the right elite.
- Very small group of people with a high education and a low income. This group does not matter in this age but will transform drastically.

#### - Post industrial age:

- Through the expansion of education, the groups have transformed quite strongly
- The traditional working class shrinks in size
- Socio-cultural professionals (blue) are usually in favour of redistribution and what especially matters to them are progressive positions on the second dimension (libertarian). Today this is the core electorate of the left.
- Petite bourgeoisie is their strongest counterpart. They have exclusionary and authoritarian views.

→The competition happens on a different axis than before.

#### 2016 elections in the US

- **White electorate:** People with low education and different income levels mostly voted for the republican party. People with a higher education and different income levels mostly voted for the democratic party.
  - **Therefore, the education gap can explain the developments in the US**

## Race in the US politics

Ta-Nehisi Coates "The First White President"

- The role of whiteness for the election of Trump. He is the president for who whiteness has mattered the most in his election.
- There is a false narrative of the left-behind. The supporters of Donald Trump are not necessarily the poor, but more than anything they are white.
- Racism and construction of white working class were important for his election. This was especially important for the narrative "them against us".
- Blaming of identity politics and Political Correctness to clear consciousness. Instead of wanting to realise that white supremacy and racism there is a backlash on an urban progressive opposition.

Michael Tesler (2016): "Post-racial or most-racial"

- Racialization of politics happened/grew with the election of the first black president.
- Increasing effect of racial resentment on other policy fields (spill-over). E.g. questions of health care or the welfare state.
  - o Example of the study: people with racial resentment even rated Obama's dog categorically worse than Clinton's dog. This has nothing to do with politics, but the effects are still visible.
- Othering of Obama (Muslim, birth certificate) to uphold racialization
- This also had effect on other elections (e.g. Congress or local elections) due to increasing racial divisions
  - o Trump election in light of this development
  - o Racial resentment might have played a bigger role in the 2016 election than in the 2012 election, where an actual black person was running.

Ashley Jardina (2019) "White Identity Politics"

- Attitudes about are formed through group relations
- Individual centred approaches:
  - o **Authoritarianism**: top down ordering principles
  - o **Social dominance orientation**: idea where people think that it is good that some people in society have privileges. Therefore, there is one group that should rather have the power than others. Top down idea is something necessary and something good for a society.
  - o **Racial resentment**: Thinking that people which belong to a certain "race" are better or worse than others. And should play a more or less important role in society.
- Group centred approaches
  - o **Social identity theory**: In a first step people see themselves as a member of a group. And this defines their identity and political cleavage. You evaluate yourself and others through group membership.
    - **In-group favouritism**
    - **Out-group hostility**

- **White identity understudied and invisible:** “ ... whites have the luxury of not thinking about their racial group and its collective interests when their status at the top of the racial hierarchy is secure.”
  - It is normal and therefore there is no specific identity development.
- Status threat activates white group identity
  - **Demographic change:** immigration and the fear that whites will not be the majority in the future
  - **Loss of privilege:** a bigger share of people of colour are now also in higher positions of power. Gender is also an important question. E.g. Obama or Harris.
  - **Politicization**
- These things have created a white group consciousness. The white identity is activated, politically relevant, chronically salient. Whites see themselves threatened.
  - Specifically, this is relevant for ingroup perceptions: discrimination, loss, competition
- Trump effectively mobilized this white identity

## VL12 Social movements and (online) participation

### Civic participation and civil society

#### Definition

- Civic participation is a core mechanism for democracy
- Can clearly be distinguished from Electoral participation
  - o accountability and representation (as part of the electoral participation)
- Organizations and institutions
  - o **Political parties:** They are not only active in the electoral arena, but they are also organizations, which bring people closer to politics. Therefore, they are also part of the civil arena.
  - o Unions and churches:
  - o NGOs, social movements, civil society
  - o Social media

#### Normative assessment

- **Alexis de Tocqueville “Democracy in America” (1835):** He travelled to the United states to see how democracy works over there. As a Frenchmen, he was strongly influenced by the events of the French revolution. For him the US democracy works good compared to the French one.
  - o **Risk of democracy:** tyranny of the majority. Fear that the will of minorities is suppressed by the majority.
  - o **Institutions to limit plebiscitary elements:** These elements should prevent the democracy of becoming a tyranny of the majority.
  - o Core role of civil society:
    - **Associations as school of democracy:** While participating in small organisations, people learn how to be good democrats.
    - **From individual to social actors:** In these associations people learn to not only see themselves as individuals but also as part of a group and a bigger whole.
    - **Political culture:** Through this associations people see their important role in the democratic society. This behaviour can then be used in the political arena.
    - **Direct and indirect role of associations:** Associations also have a direct influence on politics by aggregating preferences and transferring them to politics. Indirectly they also play a role by learning the people to be good citizens.
- **Robert Putnam “Bowling Alone” (2000):** Metaphor for social change: People in the US used to go bowling in associations and here he uses the metaphor of people going bowling alone to show social change towards Individualization and a pluralization of lifestyles.
  - o Importance of social capital for democracy:
    - Idea that you have specific Social networks, where people interact on a regular basis and then there are norms that are created within them.
    - Importance of voluntary (non-political) association for creating social capital.
      - E.g. importance of church as a social institution. In church you interact with many different people and here social networks and social capital is created, which again is important for democracy.

- Creation of bonds and social trust
  - E.g. church. These types of interactions create trust and bond, especially with people who are different. These bonds then allow deliberation and trust in democratic institutions. Also, lowkey interactions in this context are important.
- Corona Pandemic?
  - How potentially problematic can the consequences of this year in isolation be for democratic developments in the future?
  - Pandemic eroded a lot of regular social interactions and lowkey interactions.

## Empirical Assessment

### Norris (2003): Questions

- Have we seen a change in political activism?
- What type of change have we seen?
  - E.g. a decline?
  - Traditional participation?
  - New forms?
- What can explain this type of changes?

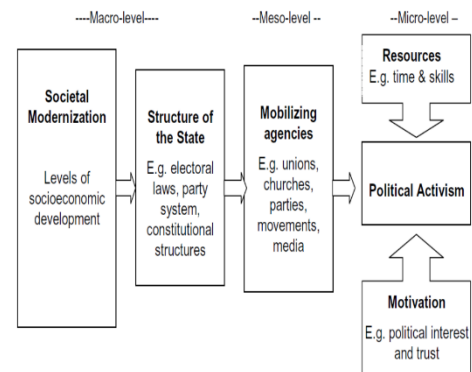


FIGURE 2.1. Theoretical framework.

Two perspectives on why political activism has changed.

- **Micro level:** Things that determine if a person wants to be politically active. Here there are two factors which determine political activism:
  - **motivation** (interest and trust in the system are required)
  - **resources** (time and skills depending on the type of activism).
- **Macro and Meso level:**
  - **Societal modernization:** societies change and with them also political activity changes. E.g. Socioeconomic factors can have an influence.
  - **Structure of the State:** Different structures incentivize different types of political activism. E.g. in Switzerland there are some particular forms of activism due to the direct democracy such as the “Volksinitiative” or the referendum.
  - **Mobilizing agencies:** E.g. Unions, churches, parties, movements or the media.

## Results

- **Voter turnout for legislative elections in Europe:** In all studied democracies there has been a strong decline in participation. Less people participate in elections. Especially in post-communist democracies this is the case.
- **This decline also happens in unions.** Throughout established democracies we can see union density decline. Union in the sense of a Gewerkschaft.
- **Decline in Party membership:** In Germany party memberships are historically strong, but also here the decline is quite strong since 1990.
  - What we can also see is that party members are on average quite old. This is especially the case in traditional parties. We can see this as a cohort transformation.

## Reasons for this decline

- Changing socio-economic structures of post-industrial societies
  - o **Transformation of occupational structures:** You have a move away from the traditional manufacturing, which was the basis of political mobilization for workers. Therefore, it is less common that many people are brought together in one place such as a factory and are replaced by other types of work and work-life cycles. It is more difficult to organize them in this more individualized type of work (e.g. home-office)
  - o **Social and geographic mobility:** People move and will not live at the same place for a long period of time. Therefore, it might not make so much sense for them to engage in the local association or party.
  - o **Secularization:** People have become less religious and the church plays a much smaller role in many lives.
  - o **Individualization:** bowling alone. Have other types of associations just replaced the old ones?
- **Transformations of political demands (esp. post-materialism):** With the politization of certain issues these new post-material preferences have not found their “home” yet, because most associations etc are still focussed around the old economic dimension.
- **New forms of political participation?**

## Social movements

### context

- **Traditional forms:** membership based and institutionalized
- **New forms:** often spontaneous, amorphous (you can't really say what their structures are), unstructured (often there is no real visible leader)
  - o More of a Social movement, which is not directly linked to politics and transnational advocacy / goal
    - Anti-war
    - Pro-democracy
    - Anti-globalization
    - Environment, nuclear energy, climate change
    - Gender equality, LGBT rights
    - Anti-immigrant, anti-feminist, religious/nationalist

### What are social movements?

- Individuals critical of the status quo and prepared to engage in protest (Microlevel basis)
- Organizational forms intent on encouraging rank and file participation and bottom-up forms of deliberation
- Public challenges to powerholders, often linked in chains of protest events
- Actions providing goods to movement constituencies and facilitating experimentation with alternative lifestyles. They allow to find a way of expression in the direct social environment.

### Who participates?

- Strongly dependent on type of movement
- Generally high barrier: because there is no easy institutionalised way of being informed etc. Here usually a higher investment of time, energy and dedication is the case.

- Consequences (empirically tested)
  - o Higher educated (especially in post-materialistic issues)
  - o More interested
  - o Higher resources

## Social media

- Social media has fundamentally changed communication patterns
- Shifts in information and participation patterns
  - o **Reduced gatekeeping by journalists** for political information
  - o **Political information is socially embedded.** you get political information from someone you more or less know. If you have a personal relationship to the person you might trust them more or less.
  - o **Real-time reaction to events:** e.g. election results
  - o **Micro-targeting:** idea that you can target political information or campaign to a specific small group of people. Potential to split up information.
- Potential effects
  - o Positive ones
    - Inclusive participation
    - Accountability
    - Anti-authoritarian movements (e.g. Arab spring)
  - o Negative ones
    - Filter bubbles and echo chambers
    - Misinformation and fake news

## Focus on potentially negative impacts

- Filter bubbles
  - o Selective exposure to information based on assumed preferences
  - o Strongly determined by algorithms (increasingly AI)
- Echo chamber
  - o Only spaces that largely include similar/same opinions
  - o Degree of self-selection (e.g. you only follow people with the same opinion and therefore, always get confirmed in your opinions)
  - o Therefore, there is no deliberation of different opinions
- Sources
  - o Personalization of news (social media and news websites)
    - Algorithms and AI
    - Self-selection
  - o Amplified through social media

## Why are these phenomena potentially problematic?

- **Potentially (highly) problematic for democratic deliberation:** If we only interact in filter bubbles and echo chambers, how are we supposed to find out different opinions and solutions?
- Often described as source of **polarization:** people with extreme opinions would only interact with people who have the same or even more extreme opinions and radicalise themselves.
- **empirical question:** how prevalent are echo chambers and filter bubbles?



## Empirical evidence

- Social media/political communication is at least as diverse as offline communication. For now, empirical studies show that filter bubbles and echo chambers are quite strongly exaggerated.
  - o **Flaxman et al (POQ, 2016)**: social media users have higher levels of cross-cutting exposure than those visiting political websites directly (US search data)
  - o **Barnidge (2017 PolComm)**: higher rates of exposure to political disagreement on social media than in face-to-face interactions and more general web browsing (US survey data)
    - E.g. you still follow all the persons you met in school etc. that are no longer part of your offline life. And therefore, you are confronted with more diverse opinions on social media than offline.
  - o **Fletcher and Nielsen (NMS, 2017)**: people who use social networks are exposed to diverse news at a greater rate than people who do not use social networks (comparative survey data)
  - o **Guess (2020)**: in the US, what type of news/political information do people consume? Study shows that largely voters consume news online that is quite centrist. But there has been an increase of people consuming news on the right spectrum.

## Misinformation

- How can one define political misinformation?
  - o News stories about politics (not entertainment)
  - o Pretend to present facts (not opinion)
  - o Demonstrably false or misleading (excluding satire)
- **Barbera (2017)**:
  - o How much Misinformation is there?
    - leading up to the 2016 US elections, a really large share of tweets, which included a link to another website, came from fake news outlets. This share immediately drops after the elections.
    - There has been a high effort to spread fake news before the elections.
  - o Who shares this misinformation?
    - For the US in 2016 this mostly happened on the political right. Especially strong conservatives shared such misinformation.
    - In the US registration files are publicly accessible. Therefore, you can link real existing registration files of people who vote to twitter accounts.
      - Women share more fake news than men
      - Republicans share more fake news than democrats
      - Older people share more fake news than younger people
      - Misinformation was most strongly shared in the state of Michigan (which also decided the US elections 2016)

## Summary of misinformation

- Misinformation is highly prevalent
- Large share comes from bots and trolls
- Direct effects are difficult to measure
- It certainly reduces trust in media and other sources of political information