Political Sociology

Tutorial 7 | Parties

Vous parlez de nationalistes et de patriotes. Est-ce le nouveau clivage que vous voulez installer à la place de la droite et de la gauche ?

Nous allons vers une tripartition inédite du champ politique, avec un camp progressiste central, représenté par l'offre que nous proposons,

L'affaiblissement du PS est-il une bonne ou une mauvaise nouvelle pour la démocratie ?

La très bonne nouvelle, c'est qu'il y a de jeunes mouvements politiques en bonne santé ! Rassurez-vous, la démocratie peut survivre au Parti socialiste ! Le PS et le parti Les Républicains sont devenus des coalitions de gens qui ne sont plus unis par une communauté de pensée. Sur l'Europe, la laïcité, la réforme économique et sociale, chacun de ces vieux camps est fracturé en son sein.
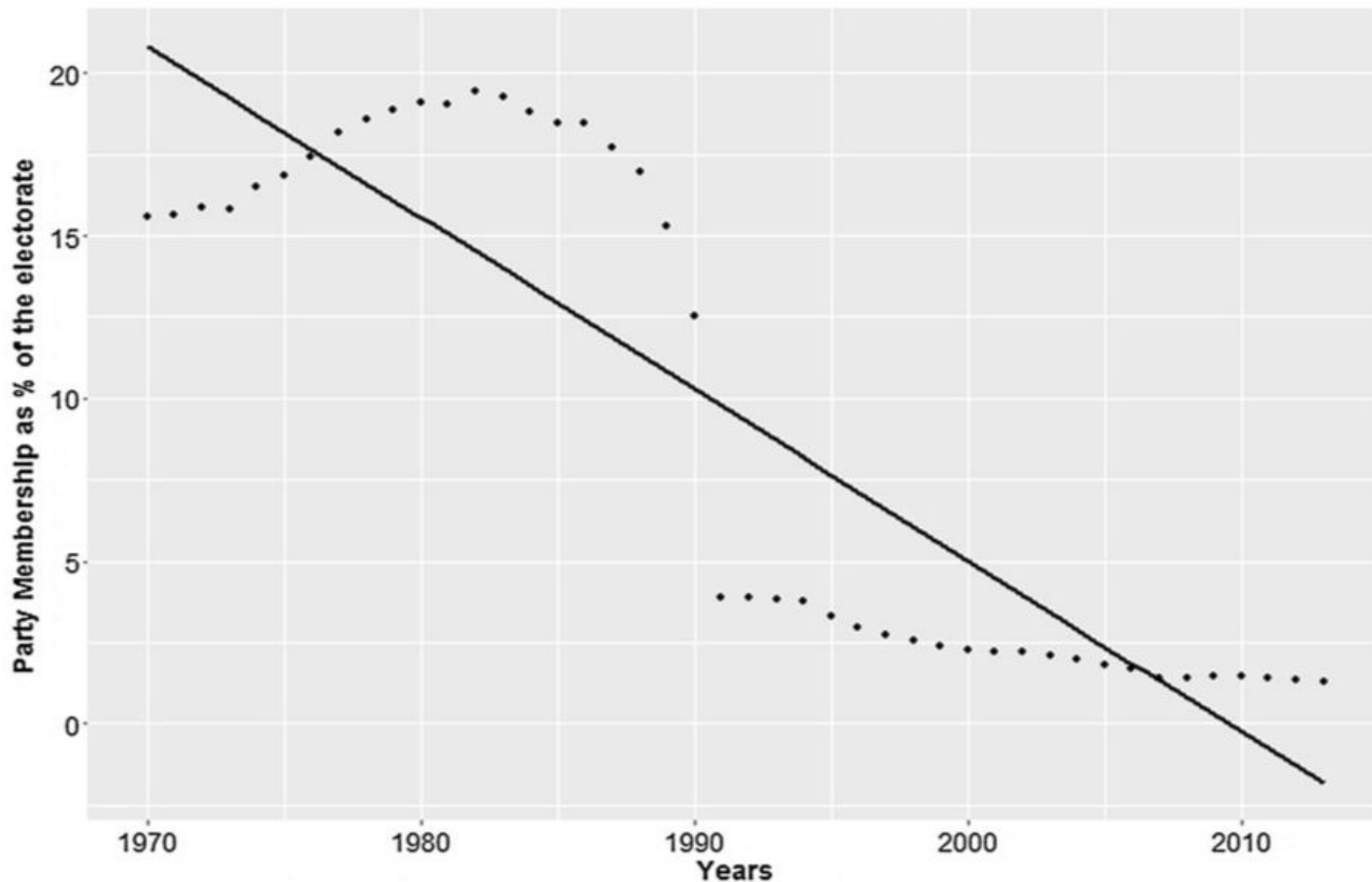
Figure 6 Trend in Party Membership Ratio (M/E), Sweden Social Democrats (1970-2013).
Source: van Haute *et al*, 2016.

Research questions

- **How to characterise party expansion**

  - Party types and development

  - Party ⇔ civil society relationship

  - Party ⇔ State relationship

- **How to explain e.g. party cartelization**

  - Party members and membership

  - Party funding and organisation

  - 'Post-democracy' arguments
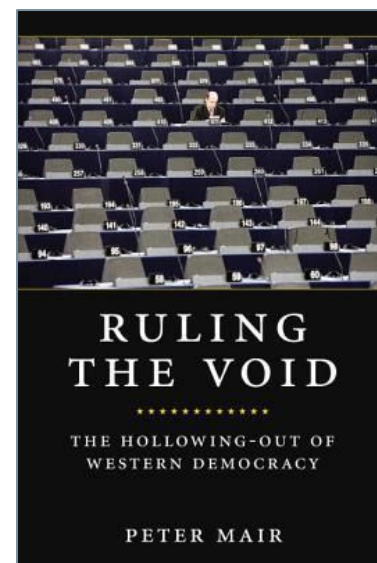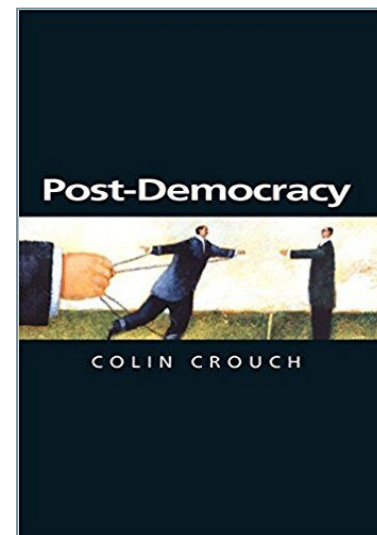
Rise of the cartel party (Katz and Mair 1995)

- Criticism of **‘Socialist’ / mass-party** models (Duverger)
  - **Teleological** (‘known end-point’) argument
  - **Assumption:** party–programme–citizens linkage
- **Party development** model

Stage 1   **Restrictive suffrage** · ‘Public interest’ (Burke)

Stage 2   **Mass parties** of dominated outsiders (Duverger)

Stage 3   **Catch-all party** convergence (Kirchheimer)

Stage 4   **Cartelization** of state—party relationship
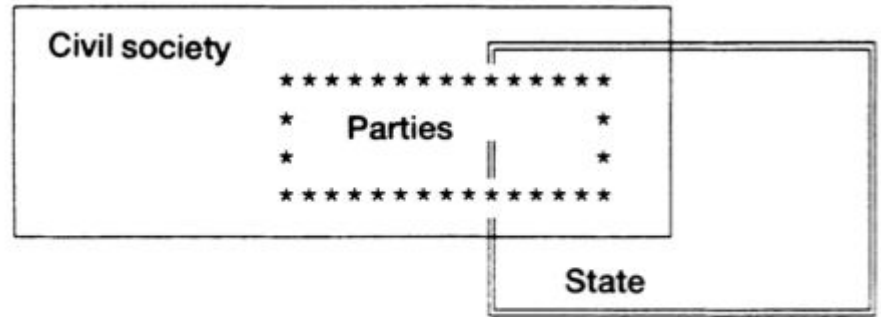
1. **Cadre** / Caucus party

Figure 1. Parties of the cadre or caucus type.
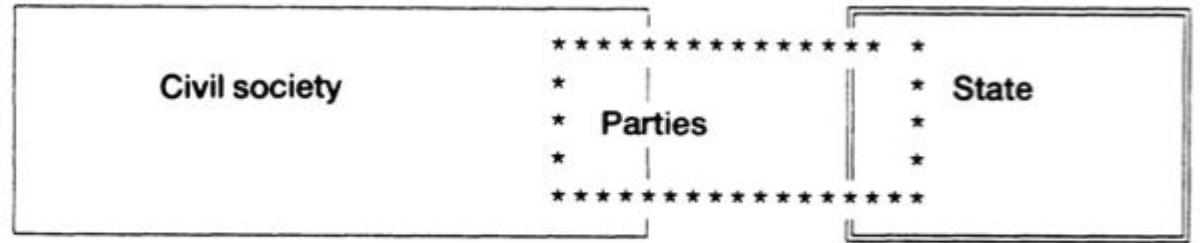
2. 'Socialist' / **Mass** party

Figure 2. Mass parties act as links between the state and civil society.
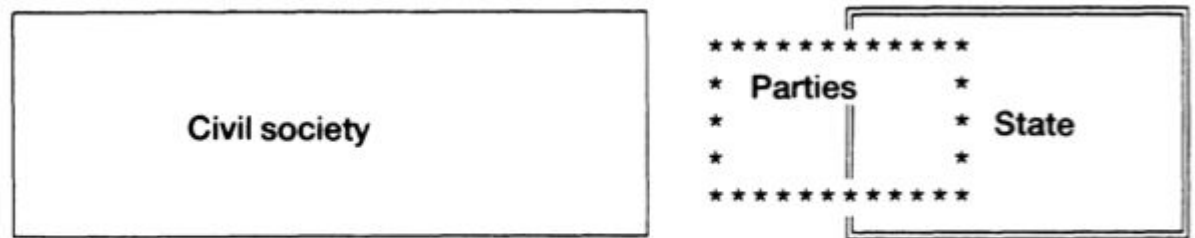
3. **Broker** party

Figure 3. Parties act as brokers between the state and civil society.

Political Parties:
Social Bases, Organization, and Environment

Mildred A. Schwartz and Kay Lawson

Political parties have long been the subject of opposing assessments. From a negative perspective, parties are criticized because they promote conflict and dissension. Lord Bolingbroke (1965), writing in the 1730s, saw parties as deserving suppression, to be replaced by a leader who could supply the moral authority to promote national unity. On the eve of World War I, perhaps viewing himself as such a leader, Kaiser Wilhem II announced that he no longer recognized parties, only Germans. In much less extreme fashion, James Madison's distaste for parties went along with a recognition that they were inevitable and hence needed to be controlled.

All the U.S. Founding Fathers, who, perhaps understandably, were uncomfortable with the kinds of rudimentary parties with which they were familiar, shared Madison's concerns in some form. It took another eighteenth-century Englishman, Edmond Burke, to recognize the value of parties when, removed from a milieu of paralyzing conflict, they could operate as civil competitors (Mansfield, 1965). At the birth of the United States, despite the ill-feeling toward political parties, the Founding Fathers soon found parties necessary to govern and, later, to peacefully transfer power (Hofstadter, 1972:viii).

It was not until the early twentieth century that political theorists began to give parties a central role in guaranteeing democratic government. In one such assessment, James Bryce (1921:119) wrote that, "parties are inevitable. No free large country has been without them.

No one has shown how representative government could be worked without them." Outside of government, Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (1956) found that the presence of organized opposing interests, equivalent to parties, were the means to sustain internal democracy in the International Typographical Union.

Yet the relation between parties and democracy has not been settled to everyone's satisfaction. Part of the difficulty in finding a resolution stems from the many meanings assigned to democracy (e.g., Markoff, 1996:101–25). On one side are those who argue that one-party states can be "people's republics." Other critics, such as Ostrogorski (1970) and Michels (1962), stressed the ways parties foster corruption and resist needed changes. In the United States, we find those who feel confined by the overwhelming ascendancy of the Republican and Democratic parties. We offer no answers to such critics in this chapter – we, in fact, admit to believing that competitive parties are essential for democratic government. Yet these often negative perceptions continue to provide a context for more recent controversies present in the scholarly literature. As a result, it is important to recognize the difficulty in totally separating discussion about the nature of parties and how they operate from the normative judgments made about them. We therefore give attention to both normative and empirical concerns.

We divide our study of parties into four parts: the social bases of political parties, the structure and culture of political parties, parties' relations

A sociological view of political parties

Parties as **civil competitors** for popular support that nominate candidates for **elections**, seeking to win offices in government (unlike social movements or interest groups)

- **Social bases** (e.g. links to civil society)
- **Structure** (organisational characteristics)
- **Culture** (ideological and symbolic attributes)
- **Relations** to institutional environment

Social bases

- **Origins** in **cleavage structures** formed by national (FR/UK) and industrial revolutions (Lipset and Rokkan), with some remarkable deviations from that pattern (e.g. USA), and **new parties** formed from social movements (Kitschelt)

- **Ties with organized interests** (e.g. religion, trade unions) visible through **co-optation** and **campaign contributions**, with some renegotiation of historical associations (e.g. between left-wing parties and organised labour)

- **Links to civil society** (determinants of voting choice) measured through e.g. **social class**, religion, gender

Organisational structure

- **Criticism** of parties as patronage-oriented (Ostrogorski), bureaucratic (Weber, read negatively), oligarchic (Michels), all leading to poor representation and internal democracy

- **Variations** between **cadre** and **mass** parties (Duverger) in terms of how strongly the central 'core' and the local 'periphery' connect to each other ('loose coupling')

- **Party culture** as ideology, rationale (members as voters), styles of action (internal democracy and inclusiveness), and identity (symbolism and polarization)

Institutional relationships

- **Relationships to the State through political regime,** electoral system (formulas, districting, campaigns), regulation of party financing, legislatures, and policy

- **Relationships to the media through how visible it makes** parties, candidates and campaigns, through 'infotainment' representations of electoral 'horse racing', and through critical frames (polarization, scandals)

- **Relationships to the global economy through partisan** views of globalization, regional integration (e.g. EU), and their effects on citizens (feedback effect on social bases)

QUESTIONS

End-of-course logistics

- **Deadline to upload presentations: Friday 2 April noon** (see Moodle message for the upload link)

- **Feedback on presentations to be provided in Tutorial 8** (see Moodle message for when to connect to Zoom)

- **Final presentation grades will be available from admin** (no final grades will be given during feedback session)

- **I would appreciate your feedback on the tutorials!** Please fill in this **short survey** during the break

10 minute break

Presentation workshop

Argument	I make strong arguments and refute counter-arguments.	I make an argume don't deal with co arguments
Primary Sources	I support my arguments by analyzing primary source quotations and citations	I quote and cite p sources.
Secondary Sources	I have clearly engaged with and cited peer-reviewed scholarly secondary sources (not websites).	My writing has so connections to se sources but I nee those connection:
Accuracy	My historical statements and facts are very accurate. I show an excellent understanding of relevant historical context.	There are occasio in my historical st show a good unde of relevant histori
Organization	My writing has a compelling opening, an informative middle and a satisfying conclusion.	My writing has a middle and end. I along but doesn't
Word choice	The words I use are striking but natural, varied and vivid.	I make routine wo
Sentence fluency	My sentences are clear, engaging, and of varying lengths.	My writing is clea be more engaging
Conventions	I use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.	I generally use co conventions. I ha of errors I should

Argument	I make strong arguments and refute counter-arguments.	I make an argument but don't deal with counter-arguments	My argument is buried, confused and/or unclear.	I don't say what my argument or claim is.
Primary Sources	I support my arguments by analyzing primary source quotations and citations	I quote and cite primary sources.	I list some related facts from primary sources. However, my case is not particularly strong.	I do not give any primary source evidence to support my position.
Secondary Sources	I have clearly engaged with and cited peer-reviewed scholarly secondary sources (not websites).	My writing has some connections to secondary sources but I need to deepen those connections.	I cited sources, but none of them were peer-reviewed.	I appear to have written this paper off the top of my head.
Accuracy	My historical statements and facts are very accurate. I show an excellent understanding of relevant historical context.	There are occasional mistakes in my historical statements. I show a good understanding of relevant historical context.	There are many historical inaccuracies. Context is missing or inaccurate.	There are enough mistakes that this paper is misleading.
Organization	My writing has a compelling opening, an informative middle and a satisfying conclusion.	My writing has a beginning, middle and end. It marches along but doesn't dance.	My writing is organized but sometimes gets off topic.	My writing is aimless and disorganized.
Word choice	The words I use are striking but natural, varied and vivid.	I make routine word choices.	The words I use are often dull or uninspired or sound like I am trying too hard to impress.	I use the same words over and over and over and over. Some words may be confusing to a reader.
Sentence fluency	My sentences are clear, engaging, and of varying lengths.	My writing is clear but could be more engaging.	My sentences are sometimes awkward, and/or contain run-ons and fragments.	Many run-ons, fragments and awkward phrasings make my essay hard to read.
Conventions	I use correct grammar, spelling, and punctuation.	I generally use correct conventions. I have a couple of errors I should fix.	I have enough errors in my essay to distract a reader.	Numerous errors make my paper hard to read.

Presentations grading criteria

Your presentation formulates a **research question** and answers it **in your own words**, with support from **past studies**

- The study explores an **empirical case study**

  Tutorials syllabus, Presentation Workshops 2 and 3

- The question poses a **research challenge**

  Readings, Presentation Workshop 5

- The answer draws on **existing knowledge**

  Presentation Workshops 3, 4 and 6

Review

Tutorials syllabus (instructions)

Presentation workshops (suggestions)

Structure

Research question

⇔ **Empirical grounding** (facts)

⇔ **Theoretical insights** (explanation)

Illustrate

Relevant details

High-quality pictures (example source)

Polish

Spellcheck (e.g. author names)

Rephrase, reword (thesaurus)

Postprocess (post-recording edits)

Presenting in English

Make your presentation as **anglophone** as you can

- **How good is your academic English?**
    - **Compare** to high-quality presentations or texts
    - **Rehearse** as many times as needed
    - **Accent** is not an issue
- **What <u>not</u> to do on an oral presentation**
    - **Do not read your notes**
    - **Do not present an essay** (oral ≠ written)
    - **Do not distract** the audience

Presenting slides

Make your presentation as **professional** as you can

- **Emphasize readability**

  - Adjust your slides and sections to presentation time

  - Write concisely in a large, legible font

  - Use only relevant illustrations (no 'stock' artwork)

- **Master the technology**

  - See e.g. **10 Tips for Presenting Slides** (on Mac)

  - Practice with Zoom (or whatever you use to record)

  - Use your best equipment (quiet room, webcam)

Skills trained in this course

- **Information**

  - **Reading** a high volume of (English-language) sources

  - **Taking notes** in structured form on complex material

- **Research**

  - Thinking **empirically** (case studies)

  - Thinking **analytically** (theoretical explanations)

- **Interaction**

  - **Group work** and organising (scheduling)

  - **Oral communication** (presenting)

Skills you will need in the future

- **Semester abroad**

  - Excellent academic English

  - Independent study skills (previous slide)

- **Research dissertations** (next year)

  - Research skills (e.g. literature review)

  - Independent organisational skills (e.g. scheduling)

- **Masters** applications

  All of the above

We are (almost) done

Thank you for
your attention

Never doubt that **a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world**; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has.

Margaret Mead

♯ Tracklist for Tutorial 7

- **Trust, "La grande illusion" (1981)**

  Allez couché ! Tu vas voter.
  Alors vote ; vote ! vote ! vote ! vote ! vote ! vote ! vote ! ...

- **Bérurier Noir, "Porcherie" (1985)**

  Jeunesse française, jeunesse immigrée, so-li-da-ri-té !
  La jeunesse emmerde le Front National !

- **Motörhead, "Orgasmatron" (1986)**

  And all my promises are lies, all my love is hate
  I am the politician, and I decide your fate