CEVRO INSTITUT
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Modern Party Politics in Europe

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Contents

- **What are „traditional" parties?**
- **What are „modern" parties?**
  1. **New party organization**
  2. **New party policies**

Course requirements

- **In-class presentation**
  - **Origins of the party**
  - **Ideology/program/policies**
  - **Leading figures**
  - **Classification**
  - **Electoral relevance**
- **Final test**

What are political parties for?

- **Widespread and common critique of parties, but….**
- **Necessary actors of democratic politics**
  - **Except. Nauru, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Marshall's Islands**
- **Backbone of democratic government**
- **Government in democratic countries = party government**

What are political parties?

- **LaPalombara and Wiener (1966)**
  - continuity in organization
  - permanent organization
  - determination to hold decision making power
  - striving for popular support
- **Sartori (1976)**
  - any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections (free or nonfree), candidates for public office

Party functions: Klaus von Beyme (1997)

1. **Identification of aims (ideology and programs)**
   - **X media, interest groups, opinion leaders, intellectuals…**
   - **X party without ideology or a coherent program, dependency on opinion polls**
2. **Articulation and aggregation of interests**
3. **Mobilization and socialization of society**
4. **Recruitment of political elites and government formation**

- **Are parties failing?**

Lipset a Rokkan (1967)

- **Protection of democracy**
  - **Parties shield democracy from popular discontent**

Party failure and adaptation

- ■ **Challenges**
  - ■ **Economic crisis**
  - ■ **Scandals**
  - ■ **Lack of personnel**
  - ■ **Few members**
  - ■ **European integration**
- ■ **Technocratic cabinets as an alternative?**
  - ■ **Greece, Italy, Bulgaria, Czech Republic**

Classification of parties

- **Ideology**
- **Aims**
- **Organizational structure**
- **Origins**
- **Position in the party system**
- **Size**
- **Relationship to democracy/establishment**

Aims

1. **Vote-seeking**
2. **Policy-seeking**
3. **Office-seeking**

Co jsou nov strany?

- **Robert Harmel (1985)**
- **3 základní přístupy**
1. **za účelem prosazování nových témat nedostatečně zohledňovaných tradičními stranami**
2. **Reakce na významné historické události nebo etapy (např. strany vzniklé po WW2, v 60. let. 20. stol.)**
3. **Obecněji - uskupení nově vstupující do původního <u>stabilizovaného stranického systému</u>**

Nové strany

- **nejpropracovanějš teorie: Simona Hug (2001)**
- **Nová strana = skutečně nová organizace a poprvé se účastní voleb prvního řádu**
- **= nová kategorie <u>tzv. skutečně nových politických stran</u>.**
- **= tj. restriktivní definice**
  - **vylučuje nově vzniklé politické strany působící na ostatních úrovních politického systému a nové strany ustavené odštěpením nebo sloučením původních organizací**

ÚSPĚCH NOVÝCH STRAN

- **závisí na 3 faktorech**
1. **political project -** addresses problems considered urgent by substantial sections of the electorate
2. **resources**: members, money, management and mass media exposure;
3. **political opportunity structure**: positions of other relevant parties as well as institutional, socio-economic and cultural conditions

Co nová strana potřebuje?

Zdroje:

1. a minimal number of <u>members</u>
2. A minimal campaign <u>budget</u>
3. a minimal amount of <u>publicity</u>

Once a minimum quantity of resources has been mobilized, other factors become more important:

■ the political project

■ the political opportunity structure

POLITICKÝ PROJEKT

- **social problems have to be translated into political issues with political solutions**

- **PŘÍKLAD: shortage of housing**

    - a Dutch party named 'Safe Traffic and 100,000 houses a year' (*Veilig verkeer en 100.000 woningen per jaar*) in 1963

        - appears pragmatic but is inevitably embedded in an implicit ideology

Paul Lucardie a jeho klasifikace

1. **PROLOCUTORS** (mluvčí)

- **articulate particular interests without reference to an explicit ideology**

- **represent neglected groups – or perceived as neglected – by established parties, because they lack numerical or economic weight:**
  - **ethnic minorities, farmers, senior citizens, peripheral regions**

- **Often, the party disappears from the scene as soon as it has managed to put the interests of its clients on the political agenda**

- **Yet if the prolocutor parties last long enough,they may deviate from their original ideology and develop their own particular mixture of ideas. This happened to the Dutch Farmers' Party (Boerenpartij), founded by discontented farmers in the late 1950s, which turned into a populist conservative party in the 1960s.**

Lucardieho klasifikace

- **Parties that refer explicitly to ideological projects can be divided into 2 types**

2. **PURIFIERS, PURIFYING PARTIES, CHALLANGERS**

  - **an ideology is diluted or betrayed by one (or more) of the established parties.**

  - **Quite often, the founders of this party were dissident members of an established party which revised its traditional ideology.**

  - **E.g. Social Democratic parties dropped Marxism and moved towards the political centre in the 1950s, leftwing dissidents often broke away and set up radical parties like the Socialist People's Party in Denmark or the Pacifist Socialist Party in the Netherlands**

  - **E.g. social democratic parties in Britain, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands shifted to the left in the 1970s, moderate groups broke away and founded more 'pure' social democratic parties**

  - **claimed to defend and 'purify' the original ideology of their reference party**

Lucardieho klasifikace

3. **PROHPETS - A new party need not stick to old ideologies**

- **New ideologies may develop around new issues**
  - **ecological crisis**
  - **tensions between traditional culture and immigrant cultures**
  - **especially when established parties appear to ignore or neglect these issues**

4. *idiosyncratic* or *personal vehicle party*

- **serve to solve the personal problems of the founders, rather than any significant social problems – např. Timo Soini, T. Okamura, SPOZ**

Struktura politických příležitostí

- ***opportunity structure*** **of the political system**
- **The term first used in studies about social movements, but was applied to the rise of** green parties **by Herbert Kitschelt (1988) and later by Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (1993)**

Struktura politických příležitostí

- **Kriesi (1995) distinguished 4 aspects of SPO**
1. **Formal access to the state**
2. **informal procedures and dominant strategies (political culture)**
3. **interest associations**
4. **configuration of power in the party system**
- **Formal access to the state -usually more open in federal systems like Switzerland or Germany, and more restricted in centralized states**
  - **Federalism offers a new party more opportunities to develop a regional base before trying its luck at national elections**
  - **In his comparative analysis of green parties, Müller-Rommel (1993:118–20) finds they do better in federal systems than in centralized states**

Struktura politických příležitostí

- **Political elites can facilitate, tolerate or repress new parties by formal as well as informal procedures**

1. **like party registration**
2. **Subsidies**
3. **allocation of broadcasting time on public channels**
4. **electoral system**

- **Other formal institutions, such as a presidential regime, may also affect the opportunities for new parties – probably in a negative direction, as presidential elections tend to foster polarization and concentration of parties.**

Struktura politických příležitostí

- **Political cultures may be more or less conformist, tolerant or indifferent with respect to newcomers**
- **mass media may nip a new party in the bud by ignoring or ridiculing it when it tries to enter the political arena**
- **large interest associations and social movements may be more or less reluctant to establish contacts with new and small parties**

Faktor X jako podmínka úspěchu

- **Obecně: nové strany - malou šanci na trvalejší úspěch, jestliže vznikají na zelené louce a bez vazby na konkrétní společenský segment**
    - **Příklady New Democracy ve Švédsku, Strana pobřeží v Norsku – přežili pouze 1 legislativní období**
- **Ale: David Arter tvrdí opak**
- **Politickým projektem může být i osobnost**
    - **sama o sobě může vést ke vzniku úspěšné nové strany**
    - **Příklad Praví Finové**
    - **David Arter: zastává tezi, že charismatický lídr hraje klíčovou roli v budování stranické organizace = resilient entrepreneurial party**

Bollever a Bytzek 2013

- **2 typy nových stran**
    - Podle jejich organizačního vývoje
  1. Rooted newcomers – při vzniku se mohou opřít i konkrétní sociální skupinu, segment, který stranu předchází (sociálně zakotvení nováčci)
     - Mají tzv. promoter organization (odbory, profesní organizace, církev…)
  2. Entrepreneurial parties - nemohou se opřít o žádnou takovou skupinu

Zdroje

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Organizational structure

- **cadre parties**
- **mass parties**
- **catch-all parties**
- **electoral-professional parties**
- **cartel parties**
- **business-firm parties**
- **member-less parties**

Traditional parties

Maurice Duverger: cadre parties X mass parties

- loosely organized
- decentralized
- groups of individuals
- wealthy people, aristocrats or businessman
- Independent MPs
- Members were able to finance their election campaigns themselves
- Often liberal or conservative parties
- Prevalent in the late 19th century
- „contagion from the left"

- Hiearchical strict organization
- centralized
- Huge number of members
- Disciplined MPs
- Rested mainly on ordinary people, especially poor workers
- Membership fees – sources of party finance
- Often socialist, farmers' parties
- Late 19th century until mid 20th century

Alternative distinction

■ **Sigmund Neumann**

■ **parties of individual representation**

■ **parties of social integration**

Otto von Kirchheimer 1966:Catch-all parties

1. **drastic reduction of the party's ideological baggage**
2. **strengthening of top leadership groups**
3. **downgrading of the role of the individual party member**
4. **deemphasis of the *classe gardée,* specific social-class or denominational clientele**
5. **securing access to a variety of interest groups**

Reasons for the rise of catch-all parties

1. **rise of affluent advanced industrial democracies**

2. **change in social structures, education, communication, media**

3. **intensity of class conflicts was attenuated**

4. **Collective identities were replaced with greater individualisation of voting**

» **greater openness of the electoral market posed a challenge to parties**

■ **increasing number of voters became de-aligned vis-à-vis parties**

■ **partisan identification meant no longer a significant link**

» **parties forced to react and respond to these changes**

Electoral-professional party: 1988 Angelo Panebianco

- **linked with socio-economic changes**
  - **rise of education**
  - **Secularization**
  - **heterogeneous electorates**
- **Mass media are driving parties towards**
  - **personalized campaigns**
  - **candidate-centred and issue oriented strategies**
- **TV and interest groups :**
  - **far more important links between parties and electorates than traditional collateral organizations, bureaucracy and party members**

Electoral-professional party

- **Parties hire out professionals to run election campaigns**
    - **TV specialist**
    - **Marketing**
    - **P.R.**
    - **Rhetoric**
- **Professionals: important in certain spheres of party work**
    - **fund rising**
    - **political marketing**
    - **media presentation**
- **helpful as opinion pollsters and advertising consultants**

Cartel Party: Richard Katz and Peter Mair (1995)

- **Parties threatened by**
  - **uncertain electoral gains**
  - **significant drops in membership**
- **→ parties pursue strategies that aimed at provision and regulation of state subventions to political parties**
- **Key difference**
  - **Closer link to state**
  - **increasingly dependent on state (state finance)**

Cartel Parties

- **"characterised by the interpenetration of party and state, and also by a pattern of inter-party collusion"**
- **Cartel parties try to prevent other (non-parliamentary) parties to reach state subsidies and parliamentary representation**
  - **Laws that provide finance assistance only to parliamentary parties**
  - **Access to public media is restricted only to parliamentary parties**
  - **Electoral laws that increase legal threshold for small non-parliamentary parties**

Memberless parties

- **Oscar Mazzoleni and Gerrit Voerman (2016)**
  - **Maximizing centralization of decision-making process**
  - **Promoting party unity**
  - **Enhancing electoral effectiveness**
  - **Flexiblity and quick decision making**
- **Examples:**
  - **The Freedom Party**
  - **The Lega dei Tiscinesi**
  - **Dawn of Direct Democracy**

Cyber party

- **Theory by Helen Margetts (2001)**
  - **Cyber party = a conceptual model**
  - **Real parties may only approximate the concept**
  - **Modern political parties – some traits of the concept**

  "virtual parties": "Die Digitalen" in Germany
  - **ran in the 1999 local government election in Berlin**
  - **operated only on the on-line basis**

Theory of political parties

- **Cadre parties (late 19th century)**
  - **Face to face communication, newspapers, local rallies**
- **Mass parties (early 20th century)**
  - **Mass print media, party press, mass membership, class parties**
- **Catch-all parties (20th century)**
  - **Mass media: TV, radio, decreasing importance of mass membership, appeal to a wider range of voters**
- **Electoral-professional parties (late 20th century)**
  - **Privileged access to state run media, professionalization of party campaigns**
- <u>**Cyber parties**</u> **(early 21st century)**
  - **Cyberspace, low importance of membership, politics in cyberspace**
  - **New media – Social media**

Cyberparties - reaction to:

1. **Increasing use of ICT**

   - **Citizens, organizations, government, NGOs…**

   - **New apps**

   - **Mass usage of the Internet = key platform for political communication**
     - **More and more activities shift on-line**
     - **Cyberspace = major battlefield of politics**

2. **Changing patterns of relationship between parties and voters**

   - **Single-issue political activities**

   - **Declining party membership**
     - **Increasing reluctance of citizens to join organizations of any kind (especially parties)**

   - **Dealignment**

Dealignment

1. **Decreasing partisan identification**
2. **Greater alienation of voters from parties**

→ **links connecting parties and voters are weakening**

→ **more „free" voters available on electoral market**

→ **electorates are less stable and more volatile (changeable)**

3. **Decreasing partisan membership**
4. **Decreasing trust in political parties**
   - **Anti-party sentiment**
   - **Lowering turnout**

- **decreasing shares of old parties**
- **→Favourable conditions for the emergence of new parties**

Single issue political activity

Public still oppose fox hunting

Do you support or oppose the ban on fox hunting with hounds? %

- **Anti-capitalism**
- **Fox-hunting**
- **Animal rights**
- **Environmental issues**
- **Human rights issues**
- **Pirate issues**
- **…**
- **→ technologies allow target at the respective groups**

■ Support   ■ Oppose   ■ Don't know

61 30 9   2004*

51 33 16   2015
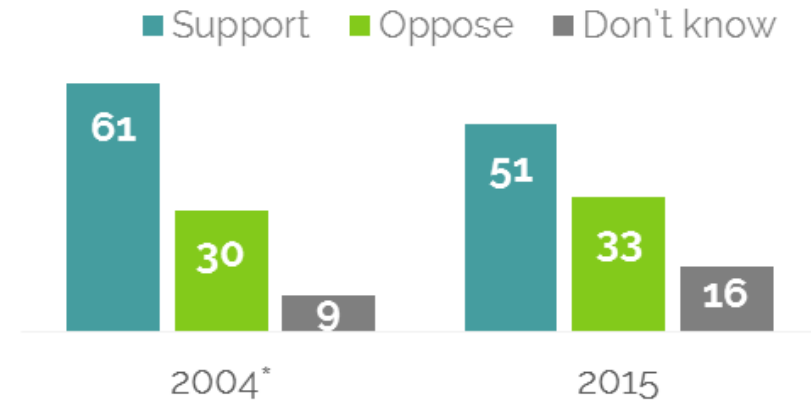
*2004 question: "MPs have voted to ban fox hunting with hounds. Do you suport or oppose this ban?"

YouGov | yougov.com   Jan. 7-8, 2015

Further examples of single-issue activities

Party Responses: Cyberparties (summary)

- **Origins:**
    - **Changing patters of political participation**
    - **Web-based technologies**
- **Claim to support**
    - **Direct linkages to voters**
- **Membership**
    - **No or little membership**
    - **Loose definition of supporters**
- **Channels of communication**
    - **Web-based**

Cyberparties - membership

- **Membership recruitment – low priority**
- **Supporters and voters more important**
- **Channels for supporter and voters to influence party manifesto**
  - **On-line discussion forums**
  - **2000 Conservative Party in UK – organized first e-petition**

Cyberparties and democracy

Traditional functions of political parties

- **Elite recruitment**

- **Interest articulation and aggregation**

- **Mobilization and socialization**

- **Identification of goals, formulating policies**

- **→ move on-line**

Elite recruitment

- **Recently- trend towards more business-like matter**
  - **Politics – more and more professionalized**
  - **Party activities - outsourced**
  - **Selection of party leaders – emphasis on the ability of candidates to reach out to larger audience through media and Internet**
- **Media skills matter**
- **Campaign, competition is moving on-line**
  - **2000 USA – Democratic Party – on-line primaries**
- **2008 and 2012 Obama's election campaigns**
  - **Large reliance on the Internet**

Interest articulation and aggregation and mobilization

- **Internet – ideal forum for interest articulation**
  - Numerous political protests organized vie e-mail, social networks…
  - Quick channeling of ideas, voices from below
  - Quick surveys – on-line surveys among voters
- **Parties can target specific voters on-line**
  - Advertising
  - Banners
  - E-mails
- **2000 USA democratic primaries in Arizona**
  - „digital hit squad" (grassroots internet community) to connect black people
  - Targeting black voters in the primaries held on the Internet
  - Claimed to increase turnout by more than 1000 %

Cyberparties and their weaknesses

- **Social exclusion of off-line voters**
  - **Digital divide**
- **Strategic penetration („carpet baggers")**
  - **On-line participation (no formal members)**
  - **Danger of party enemies to influence party candidate selection**
  - **Especially local level**
    - **Low number of participants**
    - **Low turnout**
    - **→→ Small group of well-organized strategic voters are more likely to influence the result**

Cyberparties and their weaknesses

- **„preaching to the converted" (Pippa Norris)**
    - **On-line messages can not reach out other people**
- **Lack of organizational capacity and weaknesses**
    - **Lack of people: grassroots activity is vital for local campaigns**
        - **Campaign can not be done solely on-line**
    - **Lack of membership fees paying members**
    - **X Internet – cost saving device**
    - **X absence of membership does not preclude donations**

New parties

- **cut across existing issue conflicts and cleavages**
- **2 major streams**
  - **Left-libertarian parties**
    - Green parties
    - Pirate parties
  - **Radical-right wing populist parties**
- **+ others**

Traditional parties

- **Result form the cleavage theory**

- **What is a cleavage?**

Cleavage

- **A long-term deep division in society that translates into politics and party systems**
1. **Empirical element (community)**
2. **Normative element (sense of identity)**
3. **Organizational element (party organization)**

Cleavage theory	Territorial dimension	Functional dimension
National revolution	*Periphery X center*	*State x church*
Industrial revolution	*Countryside X city*	*Workers x owners*
International revolution	*x*	*Communists x social democrats*

■ **4 major approaches**

1. **Origins of parties**

2. **International federations or transnational groupings**

3. **Policy or ideology**

4. **Party name or label**

Party family

- **Klaus von Beyme (1985) – 2 criteria for**
  1. **Party name**
  2. **Voter's perception of party programs and ideology**
- **Most influential approach**

Party family

- **Klaus von Beyme (1985) – 9 party families**
  - liberal/radical parties
  - conservative parties
  - social democratic and socialist
  - Christian democratic parties
  - agrarian parties
  - regional parties
  - communist parties
  - extreme right parties
  - environmental parties

Michael Gallagher (1995) – another 3 criteria

- **Genetic origin**
  - **Parties as representatives of certain interests**
  - **Parties reflect one side of a cleavage**
- **Transnational federations**
  - **Party groups in the European Parliament**
  - **Transnational organizations**
- **Policies**

Party family

- **Mair, Mudde –two criteria that overlap**
    - **Origins: „what parties are"**
    - **Ideology: „what parties do"**