

CEVROINSTITUT

[school of political studies]

Modern Party Politics in Europe

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Contents

■ Modern political parties (notably in Europe)

1. New party organization

- business-firm parties
- cyber parties

2. New party policies

- Left-libertarian parties
 - Green and pirate parties
- Populist parties
 - Radical right-wing populist parties
- Eurosceptic parties



Course requirements

- 1. In-class presentation (topics + dates on google drive): case studies (40 %)**
 - a. Origins of the party**
 - b. Ideology/program/policies**
 - c. Leading figures**
 - d. Classification**
 - e. Recent electoral results**
- 2. Review (10 %)**
- 3. Final exam (50 %)**



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



“Alternatives” to party government

■ Populism

- will of people
- criticism of pluralism
- critical of “elites” and “establishment”
- parties do not care about people
- responsiveness

■ Technocracy

- expertise, knowledge
- responsibility
- criticism of parties for “electoralism”
- technocratic cabinets



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**



Success of parties (P. Lucardie 2000)

- based on 3 key factors
- 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



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
- **Cyber parties (early 21st century)**
 - Cyberspace, low importance of membership, politics in cyberspace
 - New media – Social media



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“
- Hierarchical 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 replaced with greater individualisation of voting**
 - » greater openness of the electoral market = 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
 - Flexibility 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



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

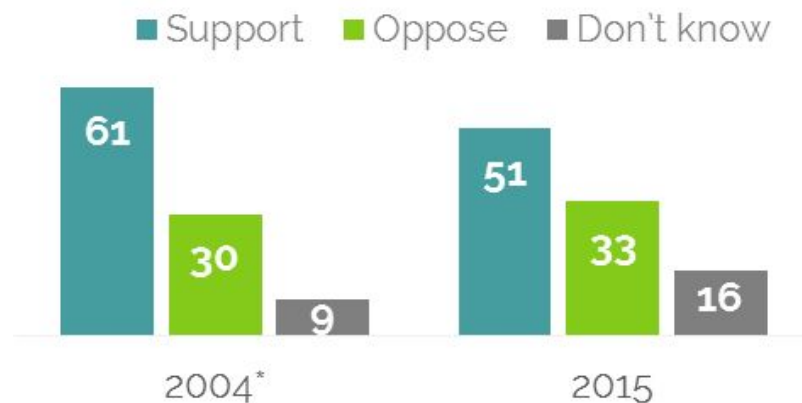


Single issue political activity

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

Public still oppose fox hunting

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



*2004 question: "MPs have voted to ban fox hunting with hounds. Do you support or oppose this ban?"

YouGov | yougov.com

Jan. 7-8, 2015



Further examples of single-issue activities





Party Responses: Cyberparties (summary)

■ **Origins:**

- **Changing patterns 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 via 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?**



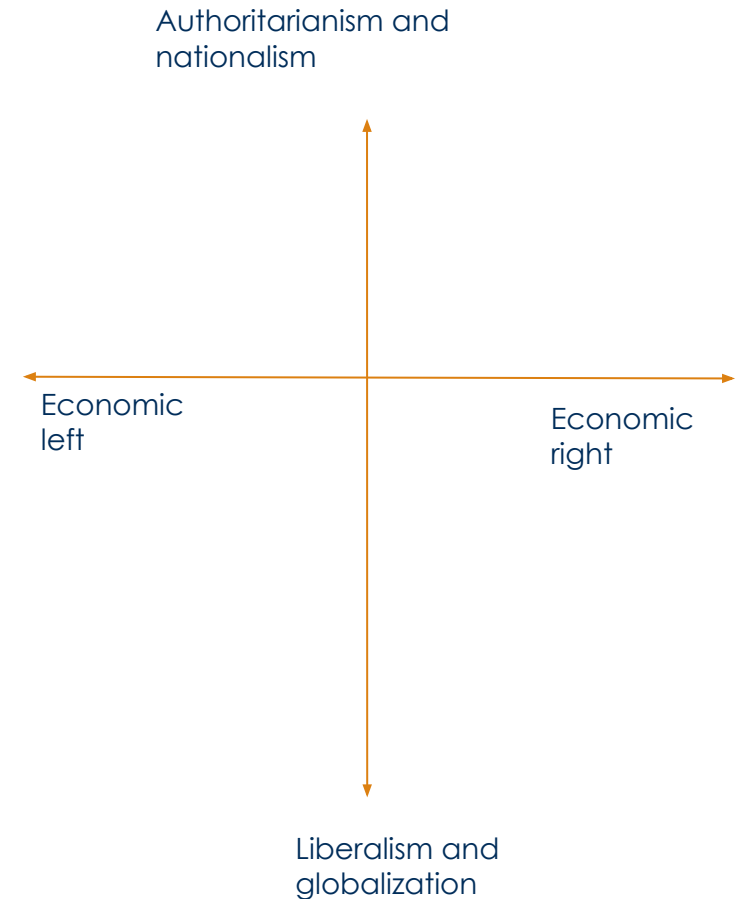
Cleavage

- **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	<i>Periphery X center</i>	<i>State x church</i>
Industrial revolution	<i>Countryside X city</i>	<i>Workers x owners</i>
International revolution	<i>x</i>	<i>Communists x social democrats</i>

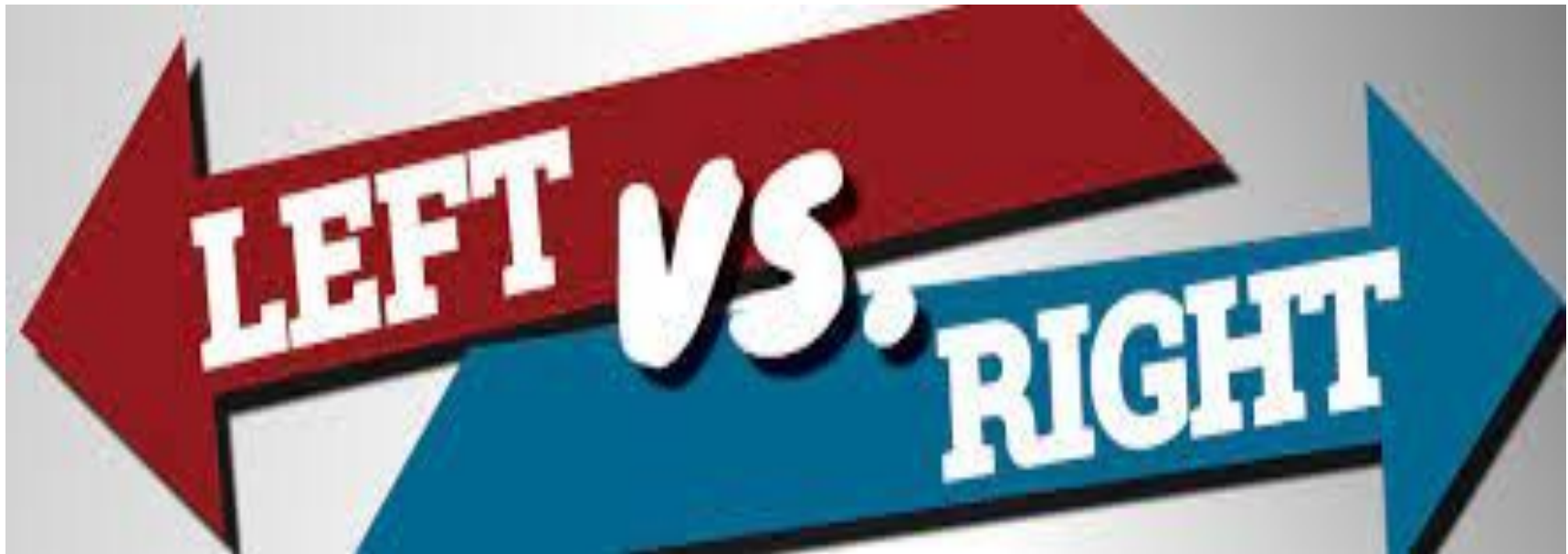
New cleavages

- **Postmaterialism**
 - Inglehart 1977
- **Transnational cleavage**
 - Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks 2018
- **left right distinction prevails**





What is “left” and “right”?





Left and right

■ various criteria

- relationship to democratisation (1900s Europe)
- tradition X progress
- secular x religious
- question of equality
- relationship to differentiation: Norberto BOBBIO



Norberto Bobbio

■ left

- people are rather equal
- inequalities are unfair and conditioned by wrong government policies
- inequality is underserved

■ Right

- people are rather unequal
- inequalities are fair and natural and reflect different competences, skills, knowledge, intelligence etc.

1. Economic dimension

2. Cultural dimension