

2. ORIGINS OF PARTIES

Miloš Brunclík

ORIGINS

Cleavage theory

Other complementary theories

- Paul Lucardie
- Niche parties

SUCCESS OF NEW PARTIES (PAUL LUCARDIE, 2000)

POLITICAL PROJECT

- addresses problems considered urgent by substantial sections of the electorate

RESOURCES

- Members
- Money
- Management
- Media exposure

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

- positions of other relevant parties
- institutional, socio-economic, and cultural conditions

POLITICAL PROJECT

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

Examples

- 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
- Pirate issues
- Pollution
- Person can be a project too: Timo Soini, Geert Wilders, Tomio Okamura...

PAUL LUCARDIE: 3 TYPES OF NEW PARTIES

1. PROLOCUTORS

- articulate particular interests without reference to an explicit ideology
- represent neglected groups by established parties:
 - E.g. ethnic minorities, farmers, senior citizens, peripheral regions

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2. PURIFIERS, PURIFYING PARTIES, CHALLENGERS

- ideology is diluted or betrayed by established parties
- Quite often, founders were dissident members of an established party

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3. PROPHETS

- 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
 - E.g. Green parties, radical right-wing populist parties

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4. idiosyncratic or personal vehicle party
 - serve to solve the personal problems of the founders, rather than any significant social problems
 - Silvio Berlusconi
 - Tomio Okamura

STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNI TIES

Kriesi (1995) distinguished 4 aspects of SPO

- Formal access to the state
- informal procedures and dominant strategies (political culture)
- interest associations
- configuration of power in the party system

FORMAL ACCESS TO STATE

usually more open in
federal systems

- Federalism offers a new party more opportunities to develop a regional base before trying its luck at national elections
- Switzerland or Germany

more restricted in
centralized states

IN/FORMAL PROCEDURES AND DOMINANT STRATEGIES


- Political elites can facilitate, tolerate or repress new parties by formal as well as informal procedures
 1. party registration
 2. subsidies
 3. allocation of broadcasting time on public channels
 4. electoral system
 5. Regime type
 - E.g. presidentialism - may affect the opportunities for new parties – probably in a negative direction, as presidential elections tend to foster polarization and concentration of parties

POLITICAL CULTURE AND INTEREST ASSOCIATI ONS

- mass media, interest association, opinion leaders...
may
 - Support
 - Ignore
 - Ridicule

CONFIGURATION OF POWER

Distribution of parties
alongside major cleavages



Niche parties

Seeking a free slot on the
electoral market

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
- states' action to combat inequality is legitimate

Right

- people are rather unequal
- inequalities are fair and natural and reflect different competencies, skills, knowledge, intelligence etc.
- states' intervention is harmful and illegitimate

LEFT AND RIGHT

1. Economic dimension
2. Cultural dimension (e.g. immigration)
 - Left = all people are human beings irrespective of their sex, race, religion, ethnicity, origin
 - deserve the same treatment as they have the same moral value
 - Right (extreme)
 - racism - some “races” are superior, some inferior
 - people treated differently based on their race /sex, religion
 - Radical right-wing populism - not racist, but rejects immigration from culturally distant countries

CLEAVAGE THEORY

S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan
(1967)

One of the most cited and
influential works in a
comparative politics

Explain the rise of political
parties

CLEAVAGE

- A special type of a social/political conflict
- A long-term deep division in society that translates into politics and party systems
- S. Bartolini and P. Mair (1990)
 1. Empirical element (community)
 2. Normative element (sense of identity)
 3. Organizational element (party organization)

Nowadays: less based on social class, and more dependent on attitudes and values



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>

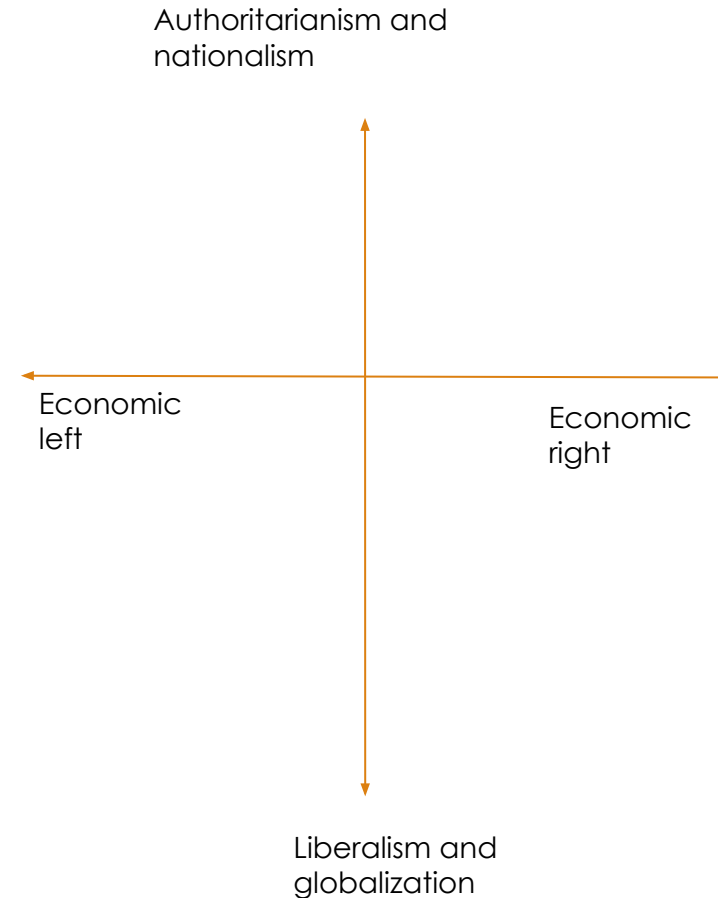
NEW CLEAVAGES

Postmaterialism

- Inglehart 1977

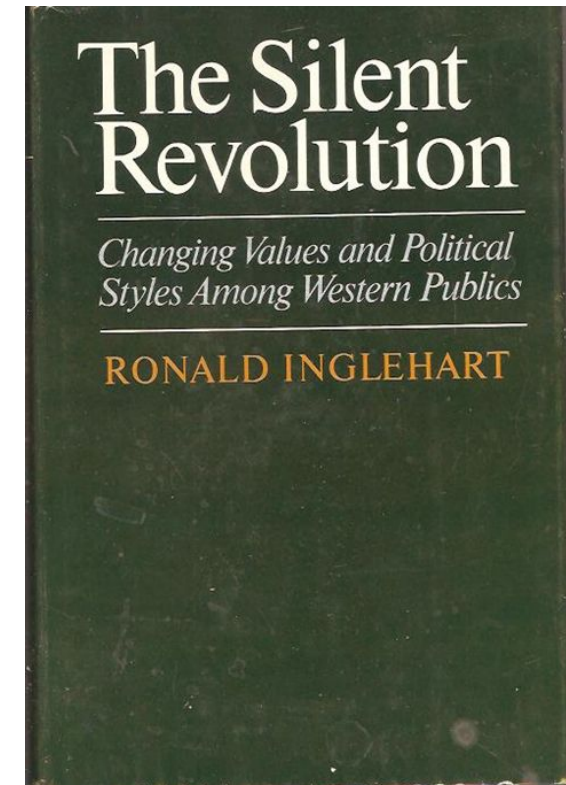
Transnational
cleavage

- Liesbet Hooghe
and Gary
Marks 2018



RONALD INGLEHART: POSTMATERIAL VALUES

- **Silent Revolution (1977)**
- **Long-term surveys within electorates of Western democracies**
- **Shifts towards „post-material“ values**
 - Environmental protection
 - Life-style issues
 - Gender
 - Meaningful work



HYPOTHESES

**Scarcity hypothesis
(Abraham Maslow
(1954))**

**Socialization
hypothesis**



Figure 5: Value Types by Age Group, Among the Publics of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands, in 1970

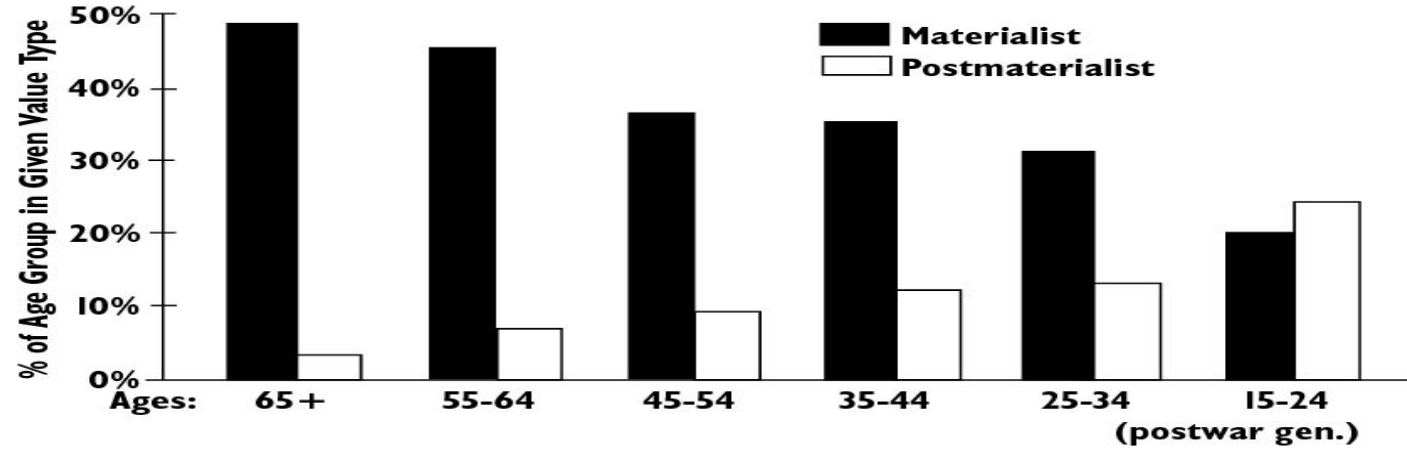
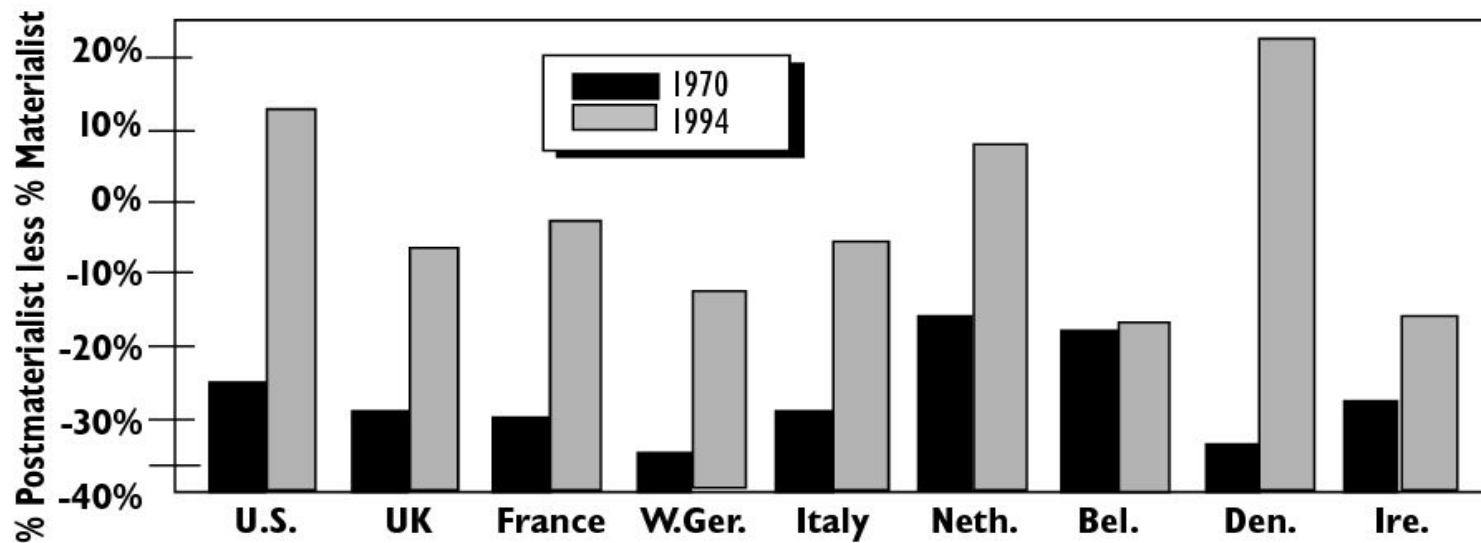


Figure 6: The Shift toward Postmaterialist Values among the Publics of Nine Western Societies, 1970-1994



IVAN KRASTEV AND MARK LEONARD (2022)



Peace camp

Europe should seek to end the war as soon as possible – even if it means Ukraine making concessions



Justice camp

the most important goal is to punish Russia for its aggression and to restore the territorial integrity of Ukraine – even if such a road leads to protracted conflict and more human suffering

NICHE PARTIES

- Opportunities when niches evolve
 - rapid changes in the voter distribution
 - political profile of one or several of the largest established parties have changed dramatically
- → significant gaps between the political demand side and its supply side are created
- These niches occupied by parties
 - a good chance of attracting votes
- Disability of traditional parties to address these issues without being accused of being xenophobic or racist