Introduction to Political Science
Week 1

Algemene informatie
Dr. Zeegers
Mail: n.e.h.m.zeegers@rug.nl / e.d.narouz-bruining@rug.nl
Room 101, oude kijk in 't jatstraat 5

- It is advisable to look at the PowerPoints while reading these notes.
- Look at the learning outcomes: know what to learn.
- Exam: seven lectures, no working groups.
    - Five essay questions on the digital exam, select number of words (500), with a marge of 10%.
        - Your essay has to have a beginning, a middle and an end, with a clear conclusion.
    - On Nestor there is an example exam.
- Political science is really about theory and concepts: read the book!
- There is not one truth, it's important to argue from different perspectives. You have to know the different ways to look at phenomena.
- There is a reader online, which is especially important for the third lecture and for theory about Robert Dahl. Online there is a syllabus with the aim of the course.
- Material for the exam are the seven lectures, the book (chapters are indicated in the syllabus), and the reader.

Content of today
Today we will start with what is politics? Afterwards we'll talk about concepts, theories and models. After that we'll talk about the three broad approaches to the study of politics (in the book).
> 1) What is politics?
> 2) The importance of concepts, theories and models.
> 3) Three approaches to the study of politics.

What is politics?
In general you could say we have this world with people together, who have infinite wants, needs, opinions and interests (a lot of plurality). There are no boundaries. But we have scarcity in resources. Conflict is unavoidable.

How should we organize governments? Conflict is a part of it, but also cooperation. People have to work together to create the kind of society they want → cooperation.

Powerpoint
- Plural and infinite wants, needs, opinions and interests
- Scarcity in resources
- Politics
    ➔ Conflict
    ➔ Cooperation

Different scholars have different ideas of politics. They do not agree about the definition of politics.
We will address three scholars.

- Hannah Arendt (60's): a German philosopher who had to flee Germany because of her Jewish background. Definition of politics: acting in concert to make the best of ourselves. Politics is a public activity → public in the sense of the common good. Private activity she saw as egoism. Politics is good, enlightened, it make people free and equal, makes sure the state is bound to the common goods. By participating in politics people get educated. They can turn themselves into moral and intellectual human beings. Politics is pretty much the opposite of how people were during the Nazi-period (evil!). She strongly believed that people could turn into good, moral, intellectuals through politics.
In her eyes politics is a good activity. Nowadays politics is seen as bad, an unwanted interference in our lives.
- Easton (60's): a Canadian. Politics is the authoritative allocation of values by the government. Easton values 'things': wealth, clean air, not just values. He wanted to turn political science into a real science. A methodology that uses hypothesis, that are tested against empirical data. He did this by determining the domain of politics. Where does politics take place? Where do we have to look at to study politics? He set clear boundaries to where politics is: in the government, according to Easton.

Look at the picture. The middle is the black box that needs to be studied, the political system, shaped by demands (from the people) and supports. Support is people not rioting, but going along with the system. Paying taxes, doing their work. These (demands and supports) are the inputs of the political system.
Outputs are decisions and actions. From this outcome, new demands and support will follow. It's a constant circle. As long as we follow this system, the system will stay in

Quelle: Easton, David (1965). A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York u.a., S. 32.

equilibrium, unless the system is not processed well → then everything will break down. This results in revolution, the breakdown of society.
Easton's aim was not to look at what is just and what is not. He said we have to look at the system, hoe does it look like in equilibrium? What does this political system look like?
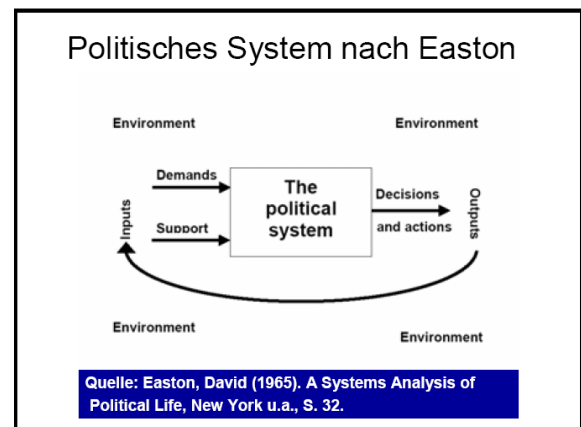Easton focused very much on the institutions: parliaments, government, election system, etc.!
Many scientists criticized Easton: they said that politics is not about institutions, it's about how the demands come into the political system. Political parties and interest groups play an important role herein. Easton forgot/ignored the importance of the political parties and interest groups, ignored the influence of some groups that could shape the politics.
Easton did see a role for parties and interest groups: they are gatekeepers, they are there to make sure the system stays in equilibrium. His idea was too restricted, according to other scientists.

The explicit assumptions of Easton's model.
1. The system/model has a high level of abstraction. It looked only at the aggregate of demands. Critics said he should have a closer look at what demands reach the system, what demands don't? What do the people really want? Demands are not a

one-way process, as Easton seems to think, they are shaped by what people want as well as the institutions and governments.
2. Long-term equilibrium. Output is constantly being in line with the input, but this is not correct. There are more variables that the system does not include.
3. Gatekeepers regulate the inputs, the volume as well as the extent or variety of the demands. Critics said that there are varieties in the political system, Easton had no room for them. The model was too broad.

Less explicit assumption:
1. Easton takes the inputs as facts, but the demands of people (citizens) are often shaped by the institutions. They are not facts, they are shaped by their real wishes or preferences. Critic: not only do the citizens have impact on the system, but the way the system is organized, has also impact on the citizens. It is not a one-way process.

- Dahl (60's): an American political scientist, who thinks that politics is resolving inevitable conflict in a peaceful manner. Politics is about resolving the conflicts. He used real-life data and empirical analysis in his approach. He had a broad idea of what politics was (broader than Easton), looked at how politics and economics were interwoven. He looked at the welfare society → how does the distribution of resources take place? Economics is important, because this is where primary sources are developed.
Values are part of what makes politics, part of what politics is about. Dahl acknowledged values, he could not deny that politics is about value. Values are the ideals of people, can such a thing as equality be realized in the society?
Dahl thought that the study of politic should be about what is, but also about what ought to be. Easton allocated a smaller role to values.

Dahl and Easton are not mutually exclusive, as they both looked at politics as a real science, but there is a big difference between Arendt on the one hand and Easton and Dahl on the other hand.

Relevant distinctions between definitions of politics
Most of the scholars want to look at what is. Where exactly is politics located? How does politics think about public/private divide. (Powerpoint)
Claims about:
- what is or what should be;
- where politics is (or should be) located;
- whether its domain has clear boundaries or not and;
- where the public/private divide is to be drawn.

Where is politics located?
- Easton is more about the government (allocation of values). He thinks that the location of politics is within the government.
- Dahl thinks the welfare society is the domain of politics.
- Arendts thinks that the domain of politics is the public sphere.
Easton looks at state/government vs. society.
Arendt thinks public is about economics as well as government. She thinks private sphere, the relations between families etc., is the opposite.

The public/private divide: The two most common concepts of the public and private divide are in the picture below.

Public	Private
The state: apparatus of government	Civil society: autonomous bodies – businesses, trade unions, clubs, families, and so on

Public	Private
Public realm: politics, commerce, work, art, culture and so on	Personal realm: family and domestic life

Figure 1.2 Two views of the public/private divide

Bovenste: Public sphere: government should not intervene with the economic sphere, that is private (one divide between public and private).
Onderste: public vs. private: both include the economic sphere (second divide).

There is not one definition of politics.
Question: Dahl wants to be scientific, but at the same time he wants to resolve conflict in a peaceful manner. What weight does he attract to each view?

(De)politicization has to do with public/private divide. This is not a fixed divide.
Example: the position of women in 20th century society; women had to stay at home and care for the children, men went to work and earn a living for their wives and children. Op den duur women didn't agree with this arrangement anymore: they politized it. They wanted to take on jobs and make their hubbies care for the children. Politicization: making your own concern, a concern of the government. It seems women have resolved the problem, in the 2000's. Now women are politicizing this issue even further, making their concerns (childcare, daycare) an issue of the government. Thus the definition of politicization: bringing the subjects/interests from the citizens in the private sphere into the public sphere of the government.

Depoliticization: opposite of politicization, this subject is not something the government should intervene with. The domain of government should be restricted, some argue, the government should not intervene in the private life. People mustn't turn activities from the private sphere into concerns at the public level.
Arguments for depoliticization (Powerpoint):
- Natural situation, unchangeable or belonging to people's own culture
- No conflict of interests; common interest prevails
- Domain of the government should be restricted
    - Public/private split or small government

Heywoods' definition of politics: politics is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. Politics is broad, it's everywhere (not only in the government but also at the University, at the student organization, at one's workplace). In this course we will work with Heywoods' definition of politics.
The reason Government is so important in politics, is because the government is authoritative in the sense that it can enforce rules through legitimate use of violence.
- Politics as activity (Powerpoint):
    o Dahl: search for conflict resolution
    o Heywood: Politics is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live

The importance of concept, theories and models:
What is the study of politics? To study politic we use different tools and approaches. Concepts are tools: a general idea expressed in a word or a phrase. Democracy and politicization are concepts. When you talk about democracy, you already have a political system, you already have a general idea. Such concept is the most primary tool of thinking, arguing and explaining. When you know what democracy is, you can argue.

Theories in the strict sense and theories in the broad sense.
Strict: a systematic explanation of a body of empirical data.
- Can be true or not
- Hypothesis, must be falsifiable
    o Can be tested by looking at empirical data. Can be true or false.
    o As long as a hypothesis is not refuted (by evidence), it's true.
Broad: You come across a lot of theories in the broad sense. A representation of empirical data aimed at advancing understanding by highlighting significant relations and interactions.
Easton has a theory in the broad sense, a simplification of social reality. You can argue about it, wonder whether it's useful, arguing is different from testing hypothesis. It's a broad theory.

Most political scientists refute the idea that pol. science can be shaped the same as natural science.
Why do pol. scientists use theories in the broad sense? There is a difference between social and natural science, they think. Social scientists have no laboratories, they study the social world.
The people who look/study are part of the world they look at/study. By looking through the lens of theories and concepts, through some extent a stance is taken.
The difference between the knower (resourcer) is more guaranteed in the natural science than in the pol. science.
Paradigm: a related set of principles, doctrines and theories that help to construct the process of intellectual enquiry. People look at reality through the lens of theories and paradigms.

What is a scientific attitude in political science → they try to use as many hypothesis as possible. They first look at very broad phenomena, this is not always possible, second thing is they distinguish by making explicit what are the normative assumptions and how we have to look at the reality and where this meets the requirements of the democratic society. They look at that, while being as objective as possible.
There are competing paradigms (liberal-rationalist, conservative socialist etc.) assumptions.
    • Social enquiry takes place in contending/competing paradigms.
 Scientific attitude:
        – Use as much as possible falsifiable hypotheses.
        – Distinguish empirical from normative claims.
        – Try to make explicit the assumptions and values that have informed your academic work as much as possible

- Exam tip! On the exam there will not be a question whether this is a theory in the broad or strict sense.

Three approaches of political sciences:
- Philosophical: how society should be and should be rules → Plato, very restricted, how it ought to be.
- Empirical: Machiavelli is considered to be the first empirical philosopher in pol. Science. Early 16th century, he wrote a book, The Prince, about how rulers can acquire and keep

power. A big difference with how politics was before. It is about power, how you can keep the power, how does it work.
- Scientific: Easton and Karl Marx. This is a subcategory of the empirical approach, they want hypothesis directed research and data.
  - o Why Marx? He wanted to look at the driving forces of historical development. He looked at general principles, how does history work?

Week 2

Questions in this lecture:
- What institutional features characterize the difference between a democracy and an authoritarian political system?
- Authoritarianism
- Different forms of democracy
- Where/when the line with authoritarianism may be crossed?

Aims
- Describe and compare different government systems, party systems, electoral systems and assess whether these are democratic as well as what systems
- Describe and compare the different ways in which bureaucracies and the relation between gov. and interest groups are organized as well as different theories concerning the latter relation
- You need to be able to describe and compare the different ways in which bureaucracies are organized and made accountable.

Criteria Democracy

1. High tolerance of opposition
    a. Institutions that foster competition in elections
    b. Institutions that protect civil liberties
    c. Also culture: healthy civil society
2. Widespread opportunities for political participation
    a. Regular elections, referenda, the urban plan, involving business and others for consultation
    b. Other opportunities for participation. Political equality is crucial.
3. Rule of law/separation powers
    a. Trias politica
        i. Legislatures make law
        ii. Executives implement law
        iii. Judiciaries interpret law
            1. Independent judges
               Not a total seperation of powers, there should be checks and balances. Institutions.

Democracy promoted legitimacy in 3 ways:
- Consent
- Process of compromise, conciliation and negotiation
- Feedback system

Non-democratic legitimacy is compromised by the following means:
- One party election
- Providing socio-economic benefits
- Ideological legitimation

Institutional features of democratic systems (and risk factors with respect to democracy) addressed:

1) Relation executive-assembly
   a) The government system. It's a gathering of the people. There are two meanings:

       i) Broad meaning: bureaucratic executive implements (bureaucracy needs to implement law)
          (1) Civil servants
       ii) Narrow meaning: political executive directs (the body who gives direction and coordinates)

Representation of the people: occupies a central position in democratic political processes. This is where the political process takes place. Proportional representation of the people. There are three manners:
a) Parliamentary system: (PowerPoint)
      (a) On basis of elections
      (b) The executive is formed by the elective. The executive rests on the confidence of the assembly and is accountable to it. UK system, not NL.
         (i) In NL, members of gov. cannot be members of parliament.
b) Presidential system: (PowerPoint)
    i) The executive (president) and assembly are more independent of each other, there is no overlap of personnel permitted and they are involved in the same tasks and check each other. They can constrain the other's powers.
    ii) The assembly can make law.
    iii) Disadvantage of this system is that the president can be a different party than the majority of the assembly, this can cause internal struggles. Each has constituency, each has their own powers, more strict separation of powers. The assembly proposes legislation.
    iv) Checks and balances between the judiciary, assembly and executive
c) Semi-presidential system: (PowerPoint)
    i) This is a mixed form of gov.
    ii) It is all electorate, they have a prime minister and a president

Democracy at risk:
- Governing by decree
  - Presidents can give commands.
  - Making decisions without the assembly
    - Not democratic, the power can easily be abused.
- State of emergency
  - The gov. assumes special powers to allow it to deal with unusual threats. This can be abused to remove the opposition.
- Parliament is not strong enough, they are dominated by the executive

Constitution:
- Is a set of rules:
  - That establishes the duties, powers and functions of the institutions of government and;
  - Defines the relation between the state and the individual.

Independent judiciary:
- Decides legal disputes. In some systems (codified constitution or international law) this extends to:
  - Disputes between individuals and the state and
  - Disputes between institutions of government.
- It is also independent, non-political.

- However, there is a certain extent to which judgement can be shaped by political ideas and;
- There is a certain extent to which judges make policy instead of politicians.
  - They interpret and specify law

The separation of powers in the USA presidency also extends to the judiciary. There is a clear independent judiciary in the sense that they have a codified constitution and a Supreme Court that, on the basis of this constitution, decides on disputes between individuals and the state, as well as disputes between institutions of government.

In a parliamentary system, the role of the constitution tends to be smaller, disputes between institutions of government are more often decided in politics.

- Codified: there is one legal document in which key constitutional provisions are collected together (called the constitution).
  - The document constitutes 'higher' law,
  - Amendment is only possible through complex, difficult procedures
  - All political bodies are subject to the authority of the highest court.
- Uncodified: legislature is sovereign (like in the UK).
  - There is a vast variety of sources. There is not a single authorative document.

Democracy at risk:
- In the monopolistic constitution the democracy is at risk by the ruling party.
- Judges are not independent, because they cannot have a dissenting opinion

Party systems:
- Two party systems (e.g. USA and UK):
  - Only two parties have the chance/prospect to come into gov. power
  - We call the UK a two party system, only two parties: Labour and Conservative. There is always one clear winner. The exception is possible a coalition, but most of the time that is not the case.
- Dominant party systems (e.g. Japan and Russia):
  - there are elections and several parties: so not one-party.
    - But, there is one party that stays in power for a long time.
      - In Russia: the parliament works at service of Putin, so he could change the constitution and could serve a third term.
      - You also see this in African countries that free themselves, they first start out with a one party system, so they can build themselves up.
- Multiparty systems (e.g. Germany and NL).
  - The parties with the most seats form the government.
- One party system (China):
  - Leads to corruption, there is only one party.
  - Opposition is weak, they can never win a debate
  - Electorate grows lazy, it is clear who has the power
  - This puts the democracy at risk

Electoral system
- A set of rules concerning the way elections are conducted
  - majoritarian, proportional, district
  - What determines people's vote?
    - Party identification, group membership and rational-choice (current or future policies based on self-interest).

Translation of votes into seats:
- Majoritarian
    o Clear choice
    o Clear mandate
    o Strong and stable gov.
- Proportional
    o Broad electoral base
    o Consensus
    o Cooperation
    o Healthy balance between executive and assembly

A dominant ideology means that people's thoughts and votes are totally controlled by how they have been educated by government and media. You would expect this in totalitarian countries, but also Italian voters with Berlusconi as prime minister were at risk, because he almost had a media monopoly, as he owned most companies. And there can be a manipulation of elections.

What determines people's vote?
- Party identification
    o People can identify with a certain party
- Group membership
    o The idea that people belong to a group/class
- Rational-choice (comment or future policies based on self-interest)
    o People have rational reasons to vote for a certain party

Democracy at risk
- Dominant ideology
    o The believe/thoughts of people are controlled by the gov.
        ▪ Communism or media monopoly
- Manipulation of elections
    o Having military stand by the election boxes to make sure people vote for you

Bureaucracies
    - Is the administrative machinery of the state
        • Formal: execution or implementation of law
        • Reality: the fourth power (they know everything, are always there)

Function of bureaucracy:
    - Carrying out administration
    - Providing policy advice
    - Articulating and aggregating interests
        • Civil servants keep in touch with 'the people'
    - Maintaining political stability

Key sources of bureaucratic power:

1) The strategic position of bureaucrats in the policy process
    a) They have access to information, have jobs and are involved in the policy process
2) The logistical relationship between bureaucrats and ministers
    a) Ministers are only temporarily, are vastly outnumbered by their staff
    b) Civil servants work full time, while ministers have many other tasks
3) The status and expertise of bureaucrats

a) Bureaucrats are well educated, have special training and expertise, whereas a minister only has had training to win the election or to hold a nice speech.
b) Bureaucracy is powerful!

Mechanisms for control over bureaucracy:
- Mechanism for accountability
  - Doctrine of ministerial responsibility
    - The minister is responsible for all that his office does
      - Because the minister is elected
  - Legislative oversight
    - Special committees from the parliament who do research in this policy field
    - Cross-reference what the bureaucrats do
  - Judicial oversight
    - Administrative law
  - Ombudsman
    - Researches any complaints against any government
- Politicization of the civil service
  - Replacing some bureaucrats with your own people, or making sure that they share the view of the executive/political leader (USA)
- Construction of counter bureaucracies
  - Check on bureaucrats.
    - Members of parliament have their own staff do research, so they don't have to exclusively rely on public servants

Democracy at risk
- Corruption

Military: a risk for democracy?
- Military regime
- Military as a powerful group

Week 3

Dr. Tobias Nowak

Read two chapters from the purple book, mr. Nowak likes history and theories and approaches to the study of history. How does pol. Science study the EU?

We're going back to the 50's, it all started with the Schuman declaration, Schuman-day, EU-day, 9th of May. Schuman (French minister) made his declaration on that day, he is considered one of the founding fathers of the EU. He had German and Luxembourgian roots.
His Schuman Declaration lead to the creation of the ECSC (1952), and EEC and Euratom (1958), also the Luxemburg Compromise (about QMV, 1966), but the French (De Gaulle) did not like QMV at all. They caused a crisis → empty chair crisis at the council of ministers.
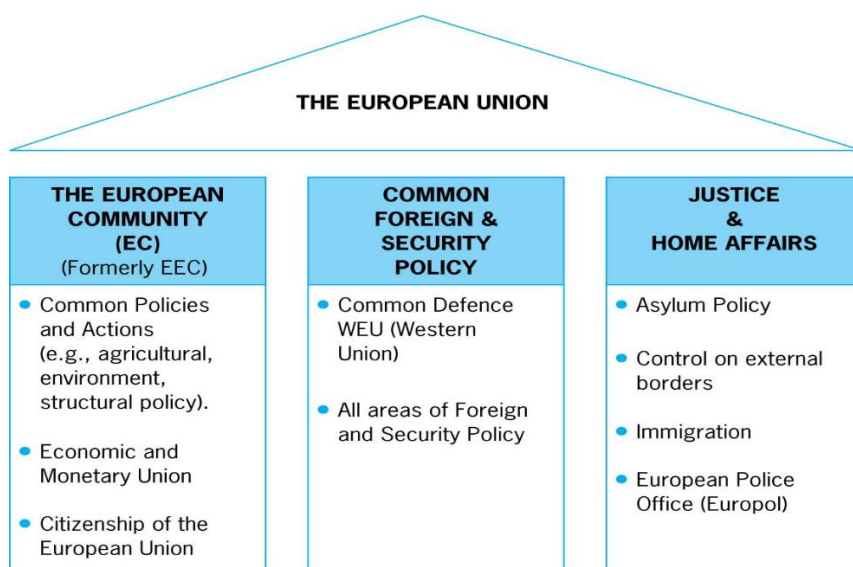1968 was the Merger Treaty → it merged the communities/institutions, ECSC and Euratom etc., it became all housed under one community.
Accession UK was blocked once by the Gaulle, France, but later the joined anyway.

Powerpoint:
- 1952 ECSC
- 1958 EEC, Euratom
- 1966 Luxembourg compromise
- 1968 Merger Treaty
- 1973 Accession of Denmark, Ireland, UK
- 1981 Accession of Greece
- 1986 Accession of Portugal and Spain
- 1987 Single European Act
- 1993 Treaty of Maastricht (TEU)
    - Created the European Union. Got rid of the name European Economic Community, named it the European Union. Lots of new things, parliament participation, QMV, among other things.
- 1995 Accession of Austria, Finland, Sweden
    - After Cold War, they wanted to become a member. They were small and wanted stability.
- 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam
- 2003 Treaty of Nice
    - Built on the treaty of Maastricht
- 2004 Accession of CY, CZ, EST, H, LT, LV, M, PL, SLO, SK
    - Eastern EU countries
- 2007 Accession of BG, RO
    - Bulgary + Romania
- 2009 Treaty of Lisbon
- 2013 Accession of Croatia
    - Last accession.

All the landmark-decisions, like Cassis de Dijon etc. are important, they are the history making decisions of the EU. These decisions also influenced the pol. Science.

THE EUROPEAN UNION

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC) (Formerly EEC)	COMMON FOREIGN & SECURITY POLICY	JUSTICE & HOME AFFAIRS
• Common Policies and Actions (e.g., agricultural, environment, structural policy).	• Common Defence WEU (Western Union)	• Asylum Policy
• Economic and Monetary Union	• All areas of Foreign and Security Policy	• Control on external borders
• Citizenship of the European Union		• Immigration
		• European Police Office (Europol)

Pillar structure, created by the Maastricht Treaty. In the first pillar the community measures apply.
- Intergovernmental is a mode of decision making that leaves control in the hands of each government.
   o QMV is still intergovernmental, but a lot less intergovernmental than when states can reach unanimity.
- First pillar is supranational
- Other pillars are intergovernmental

In the beginning the integration process was explained like this: the combination of independent units into a newly created unit
- Integration as process: process of increasing interconnection between states on economic, legal, and political fields
This became the integration theory.

- Neo-functionalism
  - The concept of the state is more complex than realists suggested
  - The activities of interest groups and bureaucratic actors
  - Non-state actors are important in international politics
  - European integration is advanced through spill-over
  - Proponents: Ernst Haas, Leon Lindberg, Philippe Schmitter
    - Haas tried to explain this integration process. Spill-overs by Haas.
      - Functional spill-over: cooperation in one policy field is followed by cooperation in other policy fields because of the interdependence of policy fields. Getting rid of border controls inside, sets up border controls outside.
        - Automatic proces. KOMT OP TENTAMEN!
      - Political spill-over: actors shift their loyalties, expectations, and activities to the supranational level (needs coordinating higher authority)
        - Lobby groups or other actors. Want rules to be made on an EU level, they will lobby the EU Commission for this rules. Look at politics on EU level, not national.

- Cultivated spill-over: refers to attempts of the Commission to advance integration by pressuring governments to integrate
  - More integration. EU cultivates. EMU is connected to the internal market, otherwise it wouldn't work. We will always want more power, more integration
- Geographic spill-over: attraction of the EC/EU will lead to enlargement
  - More states want to become MS of the EU, many states are waiting to become members.

- All the theories are empirical, not exact science
- Neo-functionalism is NOT federalism!
- Neo-functionalism and federalism as distinct
  - Neo-functionalism
    - Theory of integration and tool for scientific analysis
  - Federalism
    - Political position with normative underpinning

One theory of international relations is called realism. States are closed entities, they never merge or have contact below the governmental level.
- There are more governmental actors than you think, ministries etc. work across borders.
- Non-state actors are important in international relations.

Jean Monnet, a neo-functionalist
- First president for the ECSC
- The term Monnet method refers to Jean Monnet's strategy to integrate by stealth: to promote spillover from one economic field to the other and eventually from market integration to political integration.

He wrote the Schuman declaration, Schuman plagiarized him. His idea was the ECSC.
Schuman declaration: ECSC: peace and economic growth are the goals of the integration. Monnet thought it would be hard to get the states to work together, so he wanted to integrate by stealth, start small and let the other spills integrate.

Intergovernmentalism, a 60's theory
- Integration process intergovernmental:
  - States remain the most powerful actors
    - States are in control.
  - High politics will not be integrated
    - Core of every nation state. MS are reluctant to let go of their power.
- Proponents: Stanley Hoffmann, Andrew Moravcsik, Geoffroy Garett

Similar to realism, Hoffman wrote an article on the influence of the MS, became very important.
Why was this theory important in the 60's again?
- Empty Chair Crisis triggered the rise of this theory, because one MS could block negotiations.
- MS are in complete control, most powerful actors of the integration process.
- No spill-over.
- There is a difference between the powers the states wield, UK and France are important, smaller nations less important.

Liberal intergovernmentalism

Moravcik wrote a book about the choice for Europe, looked at the treaty changes and tests assumptions. Concluded that intergovernmentalism is the best theory.

Government are the last decision makers, but how do interests form that they take to an EU level?

EU governments drive the process, by taking decisions to EU level.

In this book he only looked at the biggest three MS.

- Moravscik (1993) developed a subsequent version of intergovernmentalism
- Like Hoffman, he assumed that states were rational actors, but he did not treat them as black boxes (two level game of which the first stage is decision making in the member state and the second the intergovernmental bargaining process)
- Moravscik applied his analytical framework to five key episodes in the construction of the EU and concluded that:
    - Major choices in favour of Europe were a reflection of member state preferences
    - National preferences reflected the balance of economic interests
    - Outcomes of negotiations reflected the relative bargaining power of the states
- For Moravscik, governments remained in control of the process of European integration

Critics said that he did not look at how treaties are made, instead of the decision making process.

Theory of supranational government. A third approach.

They see different regimes (system of decision making rules), they see we have supranationalim, and two pillars for intergovernmentalism. Why this difference? They think it is not one regime, but a mix of the two. Integration is advanced by transnational society (contact of non-state actors across borders), not only governments and states.

Stone Sweet's and Sandholtz' theory of Supranational Governance (in Stone Sweet and Sandholtz (eds.): European Integration and Suprantional Governance, OUP 1998)

- They say that the EU is not a single regime (either intergovernmental or supranational) but a series of regimes (each being more or less intergovernmental or supranational) for different policy sectors (for example, CFSP is intergovermental while merger control is supranational)
- 3 elements play a role: transnational society (companies, private actors), autonomous supranational organizations (Commission, ECJ etc.) and European rule making. Interaction across borders by transnational actors will lead to demands for European rules and for organizations which interpret and appy these rules.

Look up these theories, be able to explain who and what these theories and people are.

Theories of the policy process/governance;

Theories from comparative politics and system analysis used to investigate decision making in the EU

For example:

- neo-institutionalisms: (formal and informal) institutions matter: they create opportunities and constraints for political actor
- Network analysis
- Multi-level governance

Comparative politics → compare it in your mind. They investigate decision making process in the EU, how do you reach decision in the EU?

Neo-institutionalism is not connected to the European Union ➔ 60's/70's, different from institutionalism from the 50's.

Neo-institutionalists say institutions are broader than treaties, are also informal rules and procedures.

Institution is a very broad term. Vague, not one specific place.

There is a growth of lobby groups at the EU level. It is enough to have one gov. on your side sometimes, at other times (QMV) you need more people on your side.

Network analysis: we have to find networks of actors, no one acts alone (stakeholders, lobby groups, environmental groups etc.). Investigate all the actors in the field, most times it's a lot of actors. Different networks lead to different outcomes.

Decisions come from all kinds of levels: from EU all the way down to municipalities.

The accused in certain cases needs to bring the burden of proof.

A green paper → a collection of ideas of all kinds of stakeholders and actors who have an opinion, only proposals etc., not a real decision.

White paper → example is Single European Act → official decision

Democracy Studies (90's)

More policy fields being regulated at the EU level.

- For a long time, decisions at the EU level were taken by élites in the context of a 'permissive consensus'.
- However, negative votes in referenda on EU treaties increasingly signalled European publics' objections to further integration.
- Debates concerning popular control over the integration process and the accountability of EU élites have grown.
- However, the related concepts of democracy and legitimacy are contested

Is the EU democratic and legitimate? This goes normally hand-in-hand: democracy is legitimate. Democracy is the rule of the majority, one cannot take away your rights to vote. All our democracies are liberal democracies.

Looking at the EU's ideal model of democracy: do we need to call It a democracy? Are the institutions accountable etc.

Democratic Deficit

EU commission is not elected (problematic)

- The notion of a 'democratic deficit' is the focus of much academic work.
- The democratic deficit is essentially concerned with the degree to which the EU adequately represents and is accountable to European citizens.
- Features of the EU which contribute to the alleged democratic deficit include:
    - The unelected character of the European Commission;
    - The alleged weakness of the European Parliament;
    - The withdrawal of powers from national parliaments;
    - The lack of a European 'demos';
    - Low voter participation in European elections;
    - The absence of strong political intermediaries;
    - The obscurity of the EU's decision making procedures.

Solutions to the democratic deficit? Look it up

- Yellow and red card procedure, stopping a legislative progress
- Giving more power to the governments.

Europeanization Studies
- Europeanization has emerged as a key theme in studies of the EU.
- The meaning of Europeanization is contested:
    - Some refer to Europeanization as an EU-related phenomenon, others see it as broader than, or separate from, the EU.
- However, the main value of the concept is in highlighting the changing nature of relations between the EU and its members.

What does it mean? Why does the constitutional character have to change?

How do national judges apply EU law? What does a judge do if he sees that a directive is not transposed? He won't notice and if he does, he won't do anything.

Week 4

Prof. Zwitter

Theories are not the answers, they just help in making your argument.

What is International Relations Theory and why does it matter?

- What is a theory → an assumption of how the world works
  - How does a theory help us? What does it help us with?
    - It helps us with our case → look at the conflict, is this what the theory describes?
      - We test the theory
        - Test empirical evidence with our hypothesis
- How is the worldwide wealth verdeeld? Some countries are relatively small, but play a big role in the international economy.
- Could you compare GDP wealth with war deaths?
  - Poor countries have more war deaths
    - Is poverty the cause of the conflict or the effect?
    - Grievance theories or deprivation theories
      - When people are deprived of their basic needs, they get angry and might cause conflict
        - Is greed a possible theory? Not deprivation, but greed?
      - Is it possible that the conflict itself leads to poverty, seeing as gov. cannot function properly in times of war?
        - Will making them richer stop the fighting?
          - This too is a theory. We deal with different theories in different situations
- Geopolitical Patterns after 1991
  - End of the Cold War
    - Marked the point in time where researchers thought we would see an era of peace and prosperity
    - We are moving towards a better time, some people thought
    - Others thought it would lead to seeing behind previously closed doors
  - Globalization
    - Global interconnectivity of goods and transports
      - Transportation of people, studying abroad etc.
      - Global communication
      - The speed of communication has changed, info is going immediately throughout the world
  - US Hegemony? ("Obama doctrine")
    - Polarity
    - Two big powers cannot work together, bipolar world
      - This was the case during the Cold War
      - Theorists thought it was a stable balance, one on each side of the world
        - Unipolarity seemed to be unnecessary
        - Proved to be unbalance
    - Can a unipolar world be peaceful?
      - Unipolar world lead by a hegemon, could this lead to a better world?

- Asian Hegemony?
- 9/11 and the end of the Post-Cold War era
  - Enormous impact on the whole world, on people's individual lives
  - US invaded countries in retaliation
    - The world changed in that instant
    - We find from then on a whole different world
      - Change in US foreign policy
      - Obama doctrine → he wanted to end these wars, that were never officially declared. Didn't want any more troops on the ground in these foreign countries
        - Obama doctrine changed the world; drone attacks, assassination of terrorists abroad etc.
          - Continued Guantanamo Bay
          - Captured and killed Bin Ladin
- Arab Spring
  - What was this? The mass revolt of revolutions in Arab countries
    - Sparked in Tunesia, januari 2012
      - Man zette zichzelf in brand
        - Incinerated himself in protest of his treatment by the authorities
    - Spread to Egypt (Mubarak), Libia (Khaddaffi) and was seen as a move towards democracy
- Resources (oil, gas, rare metals, knowledge)

- What are theories and why are they useful?
  - Simplify, simplify, simplify!
    - Help you to simplify a complex world to a few variables that are important to that theory
    - If you don't simplify, you won't understand the drivers of change or stability
      - Can help you predict processes
  - Understanding key elements (variables) that define processes
    - Variables can be observed, help you with seeing what is going on and how it might affect the world
      - Can help you predict what is going to happen
      - Cause (independent) and effect (dependent) become clear
        - Independent variable and dependent effect
  - Predict processes
  - Manipulate processes
    - If you understand cause and effect, you can manipulate processes, for the good or the bad
      - You can cause or prevent conflicts
      - You can steer variables
      - This is why international relations is so much concerned with the subject of theories
  - Theories never stand by themselves, they describe something that really exists for the benefit of understanding and possibly changing
  - We distinguish between two kinds of theories

- Substantive Theories:
  - claims about patterns and values
    - e.g. Neo-Realism, NeoLiberalism
- Social Theories:
  - explaining what leads to claims and patterns
    - e.g. Social Constructivism, Rational Choice
- Social theories
  - Don't tell you what is important, but how actors come to think something is important
    - Why do states think economic power is important?
      - How will they act with this thought?
    - Rational choice theory
      - Actors will act to the extent of their ability
- Substantive theories
  - Tell us about the substance that s important
    - F.e. power

Model for understanding peace → Peace research
- Johann Galtung, Gert Reulink
  - Reulink was a late prof. international law in Groningen
    - Founding Father of peace study institute in Groningen
- Johann Galtung first formulated in the 1970's the difference between positive and negative peace
  - Negative peace is the absence of violence
    - According to him, this is not peace
      - Peace needs a social understanding
      - He developed a theory that deals with structures of conflict, violence and peace
      - Cultural violence (staat in verhouding tot structural and direct violence)
        - Cultures tend to justify inequity, violence to a different group was justified according to him in culture
          - Look at national anthems, holidays etc.,
            - Often bloody, or about war or defeating an enemy
      - The only thing that you can really see as violence is direct violence.
        - You can actually see this violence!
        - Together the three violences are mutually reinforcing
          - Cultural justification can lead to loss (structural) which leads to direct violence
            - Vicious cycle
              - We must reverse this vicious cycle
                - Transent method
                - Not only look at the violence, but change the mindset and laws
    - This of course is only one theory
    - Different scholars have argued that;
      - Peacebuilding efforts would alleviate structural violence

- o Like rule of law violence, anticorruption
  - Peacemaking efforts alleviates cultural violence
    - o Bringing conflicting parties together, find the root of the violence, reconcile
  - Direct violence can be solved with peacekeeping, keep the parties away from each other
- The absence of direct violence is merely the absence of the symptoms. This is negative peace. Take care of the other two elements, otherwise you will never get rid of violence altogether. Get rid of the two invisible violences and you can get positive peace.

A different model for understanding conflict, is called the escalation and de-escalation model.
- Tries to explain what are the different elements in the behavior of people. It tries to show that we are always in the works of war on the left side, on the right side we are working away from that. Of course it doesn't exist in real life so perfectly.
  - Simplification
    - This model starts with difference, this of course has to be no problem
    - Then we go on to polarization, that is the gevolg van contradicting positions. Two or more sides form. This is dehumanization, a breeding ground for violence. The other is the enemy, not a human being.
    - Leads to full-fledged war.
    - How to get on the other side again?
      - Ceasefire, end the war
        - o Then find agreement, common ground between the parties
          - We are all humans
          - Mediation
      - Only when we have agreement, then the cultural elements can normalize
      - After this reconciliation can start

- Hourglass model (Nestor pp)
  - We can use the two theories to explain what is going on and to get out of this cycle of violence
  - The hourglass is a combination of the two models.
    - It works further on the previous arguments
    - Look at the model and you'll understand
    - These tools are of course not perfect, but they are the most common ones.
- Third Party Incentives and Conflict Stages
  - 1. Latent Conflict Stage
    - Communication, confidence building, socioeconomic development
  - 2. Early Escalation Stage
    - Persuasion, diplomatic incentives, side payments.
      - Chapter VI, aid cutoffs, humanitarian aid
  - 3. Later Escalation Stage
    - exerting pressure, peacekeeper, promoting negotiations, third-party mediator
- Conflict Prevention
  - Tools of Conflict Prevention:
    - Monitoring
    - Intervening

- - - Initiating Activities Against:
    - Root Causes
    - Triggers
  - Institutionalizing Conflict Prevention

- Now we will look at international law again, at conflicts that are not so easily reconciled
  - The End of History – F. Fukuyama
    - Main arguments
      - More and more democracies
      - Thymos
      - Incompatibility of radical socialism with democracies
  - Liberal democracies give space to thymos
    - Remove the necessity of the battle of who is the strongest
    - Do liberal democracies lead to thymos?
      - There still can be battles of who is the strongest
    - Radical socialism is incompatible with democracies
      - Removes the elements of the human being
    - He thinks the battle of ideologies has ended
      - This is the END OF HISTORY
        - Not that history ends as such, but if history is described as conflict between groups, then this is the end of history, because conflicts will end
- A lot of people criticized this man, democracies in combination with a liberal market reduce individual freedom, some think.
  - A criticizer is Samuel Huntington
    - He agrees that the battle of ideologies is over, but disagrees that this will lead to less conflicts
- The Clash of Civilizations - Huntington
  - Main Arguments
    - Age of ideologies ended
    - Religion and cultural identity – civilizations
    - Nation states – most powerful actors
    - Conflicts between nations and groups
    - Fault lines as future battle lines
  - Thinks it will lead to more conflict
    - There are still civilaztions that are not necessarily compatible with eachother.
      - Agrees that nation states are the most powerful
        - Thinks that there will be conflicts between nation sates and the most powerful actors
        - Here kunnen fault lines ontstaan
          - Proponents of his theory have thought that his theory was proven by 9/11. Clash of the western and Muslim
            - This theory pushes us towards inconsolable differences
    - EXTREMELY oversimplifying.

Week 5

Dr. Zeegers

What is the difference between democracy and autocracy. Some countries are f.e. democratic in some aspects, but not in others. Like democratic voting, but oppression of minorities.

We won't focus on how autocracies work, in this course.

Is Liberal Democracy supreme? Zeegers believes it is supreme. Think of pros and cons.
Is liberal democracy supreme? Are autocracies truly second best? Why? There is no sharp line.
Political Science thinks about this question. A few arguments.
- Yes:
    - Majority of national political systems is a liberal democracy
    - Once chosen it will persist (elections). Democracy does not 'collapse'
        - Does this mean it works better? Probably
    - Copes peacefully with differences and divisions
        - Most countries are liberal democracies
    - Intrinsic relation with market economy and prosperity this brings
- No:
    - Rising powers China and Russia are not liberal democracies
        - Important, powerful nations, who are not democratic. So is democracy really necessary?
    - Transition countries remain in grey area of electoral democracy, weak checks and balances and routine intimidation opposition
        - Democracy does not ALWAYS persist. Turkey and a few other 'developing' countries. Weak checks and balances, no room for opposition
        - Democracy is also about how leaders deal with difference, with opposition. Can't they deal with it? Then they are not democratic.
    - Market economy creates socio-economic inequality
        - Intrinsic relation between democracy and market economy ➔ capitalism is based on inequality.
        - Can political equality exist if economic equality exists?
    - Atomism; declining civic engagement, trade off freedom-majority opinion
        - Choice between freedom and majority. There will always be a tension
        - Meaning of atomism: very individualistic, seeing all things apart from each other.
    - More political/governmental stability in autocracies

Learning outcomes of this lecture;
- describe and compare (different theories about) the role and functioning of political parties and interest groups in representative democracy;
- evaluate their importance normatively and empirically.

There are similarities between political parties and interest groups. Both are organizations whose goal is to influence the government. They are organized for the purpose of winning government power (political power). An interest group is an organized association that aims to influence the policies or actions of government.

- Political party is:

- • A group of people that is organized for the purpose of winning government power
  - • There are small political parties who don't really intend to be in the government, so this definition is not 100% true.
- Interest group:
  - • An interest group is an organized association that aims to influence the policies or actions of government
    - ▪ Microsoft (and other multinationals)
    - ▪ Lobbying is what interest groups do
    - ▪ LGBT and other groups fighting for rights

What are the different functions of a political party? Role of political parties:
- Representation
  - • Articulate the will of the citizens
  - • Respond to their needs and wishes
  - • Assess whether they really listen to people
  - • Political parties can be elected, so they can also be held accountable
    - ▪ At the end of a period they can be reelected or not
      - • If not, they clearly do something wrong
- Elite formation and recruitments
  - • Within parties some people can gain power, can become leaders within the party
  - • Herein lies the difference with interest groups, parties can select their candidates for elections
- Goal formulation
  - • Political parties design plans and programs
- Interest articulation and aggregation
  - • They draw the interests of different people together, try to integrate this in their program and in their politic.
  - • They want voters, so they draw a plan that integrates and aggregates the interests of people and themselves
- Socialization and mobilization
  - • Educate people
    - ▪ F.e. in the values of democracy
    - ▪ How to play the democratic game
  - • Media and political parties do this
  - • Political parties used to be very important for this goal, but nowadays we have schools and media etc. who educate us
- Organization of government
  - • Parties form the government
  - • After elections we know what party won and what direction the government will take
  - • Netherlands have polder model, parties work together and blend their plans and programs

There is an enormous decline in importance of political parties. A few symptoms;
- They have less and less members.
  - • In the Netherlands less than 2% of the population are members of political parties, and the average age is very high.
- Voter turnout is very low.

- Historically there were high levels of voter turnout, but it is sharply declining from the 90's on. Not only in the Netherlands but in many countries.
- People don't really identify themselves with political parties anymore.
- Electoral swings (volatility) are enormous.
    - People change from political parties fast
    - Changes in the votes from one election to the other, can go either way, not really predictable anymore.
- The rise of antiparty groups and movements is the last symptom of the decline of political parties
    - Hostile
    - Say that government is elitists.
        - Left wing as well as right wing
    - Activists
    - Against political parties and hierarchy
    - But also other groups;
        - Anti-immigrations etc.
        - Populist parties

Possible explanations for the decline are:
- Alternative ways of political participation
- Political parties are identified with government
    - Are financed by government
        - We don't want parties to have an economic interest
- Output legitimacy:
    - Globalized economy have hollowed politician's capacity to solve problems and improve living conditions
    - In the past economies were more national, government had more opportunity to influence the economy
        - Nowadays they have less instruments to interfere with the economic organization
        - What is the point of government if they can't influence economy anymore?
            - They can't protect our jobs, so they aren't important.
        - Do free markets really exist? Doubtful.

Is it possible that interest groups could fulfil the role of political parties, considering the decline? Could interest groups be the alternative way of linking the citizen and government? What about the following functions?
- Representation
    - Look at the PowerPoint.
    - If political leaders are elected, they have democratic legitimacy.
    - This does not mean interest groups have no influence
        - Interest groups do have influence in practice!
        - They talk to ministers and societal groups, so they help form politics in reality. It could be argued that they represent the will of the people.
            - Do they do this in a representative way?
                - They are not chosen
- Elite formation and recruitment

- An important difference with political parties and interest groups is that pol. parties select candidates for election. Interest groups can't.
- Goal formulation
  - They have very clear goals.
- Interest articulation and aggregation
  - There is a problem, because interest groups don't have to aggregate interests. They are one issue groups, so they don't have to combine different interests, to make a coherent whole.
- Socialization and mobilization
  - Interest groups don't do this.
- Organization of government
  - This is about elections and forming governments, interest groups don't do this.

To some extent, interest groups could do what pol. parties do. It could be argued that interest groups have the most influence on government. We need experts, lawyers, multinationals etc., government needs to talk to them because of their knowledge and expertise.
Political parties do have the normative advantage, because we choose them, democratic legitimacy, they represent the will of the people. If they don't listen, we don't reelect them. Look at the PowerPoint.
If you don't have to be a member of political parties to elect political leaders, why would you become a member? It could be that the membership to political parties will decline even further, downward spiral.

- Exam tip! On the exam, you have to address some advantages and disadvantages of interest groups and political parties, and argue from there on who has a better link to the citizens. You could argue both ways, nothing is wrong, but is has to make sense. Have a clear conclusion, know how to argue and what to say.

Are interest groups good for democracy? Several theories. One of them being pluralism.
Roald Dahl on pluralism: a democracy fares well with interest groups.
- All interest in a society have an equal chance of being organized
- Equal access to policy makers
- Influence of this groups will be equal to their size and intensity and support

Another theory: corporatism
- They thought after WO2 that there are more and more links between interest groups and gov., industrialized society brings a lot more links with it.
- What are the consequences of these links? Is this democratic?
  - We need the expertise of these groups, but there are downsides
    - Democratic control ➔ once they reach their goal, they leave.
    - Are the leaders accountable?
      - Political leaders ARE accountable, but interest group leaders are not.
    - Privileged access.
      - Environmental groups? They have no voice, we give some groups civilized access, leave others out

Another theory: New Right
- Believed in the free market
- Individuals have to be as free as possible

- Self-reliant and must earn their own money
- Government shouldn't grow too big, mustn't have too much influence on the economy
- They blamed interest groups for making the government too big
  - This was thought to be bad for the economy
  - Therefore New Right thinks interest groups are bad for government.

The assumption of pluralists is that everyone has an equal chance. Are there equal chances for interest groups?
- Equal chance of interests to be organized
  - There are criticizers of this assumption
    - The conditions of getting organized are better for some interests than for others
    - It is difficult to organize people to do something for the collective goods
      - Collective goods are goods enjoyed by everyone (sea, air, open roads)
      - It could be said that no one could be excluded from the use of collective goods
      - Collective action theory: people will not make the effort to organize themselves for collective goods, they enjoy those anyway, it's for everyone, so why do something for a collective good you have anyway?
        - You won't exclude others, will not individually profit over anyone else.
        - People are not easily mobilized to do something for EVERYONE, but want to better THEMSELVES.
- Access to policy making
  - Do interest groups have an equal access to policy making?
  - Some interest groups manage to get constutionalized.
    - Neo-corporatists systems (see PowerPoint)
      - Scandinavia, Austria, beetje Netherlands
      - Special relation between gov. and interests groups, unions, employers etc.
        - They talk together about the economy
          - Some interest groups have the right to be consulted
          - Direct access to the gov.
          - So different interest groups don't have EQUAL access. Some are privileged.

Pluralist	Corporatist
Continuous struggle for access	Right to be consulted or even to approve certain policy
Large number	Limited number
Antagonistic	Consensus seeking
Less influence	Much influence (potentially)

- Exert influence
  - What group has the most influence?

- What gives influence?
  - What gives an interest group influence?
    - Financial means
    - Support
    - What interest groups have access to EU? What resources give them influence?
      - Support of States or people (influence elected officials)
        - Doctors or lawyers, etc., they have a lot of influence.
      - Knowledge, expertise and information (influence appointed officials)
        - EU doesn't have that many bureaucrats, so is very dependent on these interest groups for their expertise.
      - Structural power (influence appointed officials)
        - Control over jobs, investments
          - Economy
            - Multinationals have an important resource to influence the EU, as they can GIVE jobs or take jobs AWAY from the EU.
      - You can influence the elected officials with financial means
        - NOT corruption!
          - You can give certain information, influence debates. Money gives the opportunity to pay for and present research.
            - NOT bribes!

So what group has influence? Hard to say, so many ways to influence.
Research gives contradictory findings, some say businesses have the most influence, while others say Federations of Professionals (doctors, lawyers), so we aren't sure what groups have the most influence on the EU.

- Exam tip: We skipped the legislative footprint in this lecture, so you DON'T have to know about that in the exam.

Summary:
- Interest groups play an empirically big role in political participation
- Political Parties are loosening ties with society
- Pros and cons of interest groups in the light of democracy; different theories

Week 6

This lecture is available as a video on Nestor.

This lecture will concentrate on Political Culture, Social Cleavages and Populism.
The learning outcomes:
- Describe what political culture is
- Describe and explain what social cleavages are
- Describe and explain their relevance for political science, organizations and the gov.
- Describe populism and its upswing in the last decennia

- Political Culture
    - Culture in general is about the beliefs and values of people. It's expressed in behavior, and by what people say.
    - Political culture concerns beliefs and values with respect to political objects such as political parties, governments and the constitution. It is expressed in beliefs, symbols, and values. It is not only thought, also behavior.
        - In the book it is described as a pattern of orientations to political objects such as political parties, the government and the constitution.
    - How has political culture been studied in pol. science?
        - Almond and Verva (1963)
            - How can we ascertain a stable democracy?
            - They are interested in what political culture could facilitate such stable democracy
        - They thought that the ideal type of political culture is civic culture.
            - Civic culture: a mix of three different cultures
                - Participant culture
                    - People paying very much attention to politics and the participation in politics
                        - Participation is desirable and effective
                - Subject culture
                    - People who think they limited influence political
                        - Passive people
                - Parochial culture
                    - An absence of any interest in (inter)national politics.
                    - People don't desire nor believe it would make sense to participate in politics, people don't look further than their own locality
        - Almond and Verva think the ideal (guaranteeing stable democracy) is a mix of these three different cultures (civic culture)

- Almond and Verva looked at civic culture in different countries, look at the PowerPoint for the image. Take note that this is research from the 1950's.
    - Democratic stability (left), was high in countries such as UK and USA. It was low in Germany, Mexico, Italy.
    - In UK and USA they found a high level of civic culture; in Germany, Mexico and Italy they found a low level of civic culture.
    - An assumption among their research is the homogeneity of people regarding political culture in those countries. How realistic is this? We have different groups of people, different people have different orientations towards politics.

- How realistic is homogeneity in political culture?
  - To look at social cleavage is what resulted from this criticism, from the idea that people are different, behave different and have different attitudes.
    - An example of social cleavage is the annual Orange Marches in Northern Ireland. Protestants against Catholics.

- Social Cleavages
  - What is a social cleavage?
    - It's about how people strongly differ in opinion regarding certain issues/topics, how they form sides (identify themselves with one side of the division against the other side)
    - Heywood says a social cleavage is "a social division that creates the collective identity on both sides of the divide".
  - Why are social cleavages relevant?
    - 1. They are a potential threat to the stability of society
      - Civil war, demonstrations
    - 2. They are a potential point of engaging citizens in political organizations.
      - People identify with a certain side concerning issues
        - Demand side from the people, supply side from the political organizations.
          - Political organizations can mobilize people, formulate their needs in politics
    - Cleavage between protestants and politics started with Luther, when he criticized the Catholic Church and started his own religion (1500's)
      - Look at the slide on Christian-Democratic parties.
        - Red countries are Catholic. Purple are Protestants.
          - Red: strong Christian democratic parties
            - These parties played a crucial role (in the past!)
            - They had a center position in politics, this put them in high places in government.
          - Purple: conservative parties.
      - This picture from the past can illustrate how important social cleavages are. Political parties are organized around social cleavages.

- We shall take a look at cultural differences
  - Cultural differences means that (groups of) people differ in opinion and attitude towards certain issues.
    - Examples are Muslims vs. Christians etc., but cultural difference is not necessarily a social cleavage
  - Four conditions have to be fulfilled before we can call cultural differences social cleavages
        1. Groups must differ in decisions/positions concerning certain issues
          - Cultural cleavage
        2. A division in terms of social-structural characteristics

- Social-structural is that there are differences in their way of life, status, salaries, social-economic positions, parts of the city they live.
    - Certain groups have a lower social-economic positions
    - Could be mechanisms of social exclusion responsible for lower social-economic positions
3. People identify with this social division.
    - They feel Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, etc.
4. This is expressed in organizations, created on the base of this identity.
    - Political parties and interest groups are created based on this identity.

There is a list of examples of social cleavages in the PowerPoint, some old, some still existing.

- As Heywood stated in Chapter 7 of the book, identity politics is something positive.
    - Heywood looked from below at people identifying people, fighting for their rights. Positive movements.
    - Identity politics as we see it nowadays, is no longer as positive, it is dividing society.

Two examples of new or potential cleavages.
1.. Is a diploma a social cleavage?
    - Is there a cleavage between people that are university educated and people that are not?
        - In western countries, one third of the population is university educated, two thirds is not.
    - Mark Bovens and Anchrit Wille
        - Diploma democracy is something they researched and will publicize (2017). See PowerPoint for details.
        - They looked at political participation in 6 W-European countries
            - Who is in parliament, who is in government?
                - Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, NL, and UK
        - They started their research at the end of the 19th century
            - All these countries had problems, were becoming democracies
            - After WOII university education is sine qua non for political office.
                - All people who are in parliament/government have university education
                    - That seems like good news, that govs are made up by educated people (Plato → King Philosophers)
    - Why is it problematic that (most) everyone in political office is university educated?
        - Nowadays, (almost) everyone who holds political office in the Netherlands is university educated. Two thirds of the country is thus not represented.
            - It's almost impossible to enter gov./parliament without a university degree in the Netherlands.
            - Traditionally, only the upper class had access to education, but in the 19th century and especially after WOII, more people (middle class) became educated
        - We look at an example from the UK (2nd graph).

- o In the UK after WOII the upper class (aristo's) is declining and the middle class is growing in gov./parliament.
    - ▪ Same as in NL, more people have access to education.
  - • Why is this important? What does this have to be with social class?
    - o Whole of the upper class used to be university educated.
      - ▪ Since the 19th/20th century, more middle classers had access to better education and took up positions in gov./parliament.

        - • Not all had a university education.
          - o Whereas now (almost) everyone in gov./parliament has a university education.
    - o Traditionally, political power (elite) belonged to the upper class.
      - ▪ They took their power (political capital) from status, family, education, social network, etc.
    - o Access to power, political elite, was hereditary (determined by ascription).
      - ▪ Nowadays most of the political power belongs to the (educated) middle class, most of their capital (:resources) is based on education and expertise.
  - • In the first half of the 20th century, politicians used to climb up from local politics, whereas now they go straight from university to positions in which they learn how to be politicians/parliamentarians (ex. political advisers, etc.).
    - o University education has become a condition to become a national politician.
  - • Being highly educated is linked to political preferences. People that are highly educated are more positive, are more likely to:
    - o Have high trust in government and parliament
    - o Trust in political parties and politicians not so high
      - ▪ With less educated it's very low!
    - o Participation high: in addition to representative functions also in voting, contacting politicians, membership political parties, interactive policy formulation
      - ▪ Less educated participation is very low
  - • People with lower education are less well presented, but they do have a vote.
    - o Brexit, PVV (Wilders), Trump
- ▪ So is having a diploma a social cleavage?
  - • There is no organization on the basis of being lower/higher educated, people obviously don't like to identify themselves with being lower educated.
  - • There is however a clear social divide.
    - o Some, but not all, conditions are fulfilled:
      - ▪ People differ in decisions/positions/preferences
      - ▪ There is a social-structural division
      - ▪ But they don't identify themselves with being lower educated.
        - • There is no political party for the lower educated, but many of them vote for populist parties.
- ▪ You could say that there is a social cleavage, but the lower educated are not being organized based on their education.

2. A second potential social cleavage is globalization. Is there a social cleavage concerning globalization?

- - - Winners and losers of globalization
    - Losers of globalization are negatively affected by globalization
      - Less job security, f.e. due to factories outsourcing
      - Trouble competing
        - These people are the low educated, depending on the jobs that are often outsourced.
  - It could be argued that this is a social cleavage, and it could be argued that it's not, because of lack of organization. This could be an **exam** question!

- Dimensions of politics (look at the graph)
  - There are 2 important dimensions (classical)
    - Economic policy (horizontal line → free trade, intervening gov.)
      - On the right we see people who want as much free trade as possible, no intervening government
      - On the right we want an intervening gov., who redistributes wealth
    - Cultural dimension (vertical line → values, rules, how people should live)
      - Values and rules people should live by (what are those rules/values)
      - Social (many, strict rules) v. Liberty (leave be, be free)
    - Within these dimension you can find different pol. parties.
  - Nowadays we find cultural dimension important (again)
    - Identity politics has become important again (vertical line in the graph)
      - On the one side, there is cosmopolitan preferences
        - Pro-Europe, pro-migration, multi-cultural
      - On the other side the nationalists
      - Political Science scholars try to locate the different preferences of people (demands) and look at whether there are political parties who serve these preferences (supply).
        - Research into 6 countries (Austria, France, Germany, NL, Switzerland and UK)
  - The research looked into how political parties can be located. Whether there are organizations people can go to with their political preferences.
    - Until recently, populists who were nationalists, anti-immigrants, free trade, were the winning coalitions (populist right)
    - What we experience now, is that they are moving to the interventionists side. They are losing their jobs, blame free trade for it.
    - Parties move towards the votes.

- Political culture of the Netherlands
  - Pacification democracy (in the past) and populism (present day)
  - From the 1950's to the 1970's, NL had a polarization system (pillar system)
    - A stable democracy (four year government)
    - Divided by social cleavages (deep, mutually reinforcive social-cultural cleavages (Lijphart))
      - Catholics, Protestants, Atheists
        - Everyone lived completely apart, had their own newspapers, broadcasting, pol. parties, etc.
        - Huge potential of splitting up society, but it did not.

- Because of the wise policy of the political elite, Lijphart said, NL was not unstable, people could 'live together', despite the polarization
  - The rules of the game developed by and instilled in this political elite (the politics of accommodation)
    - Also called the pacification democracy
  - The rules, the way they operated, were as follows:
    - The Business of Politics
      - Very result-oriented, pol. elite wanted to get things done.
    - The Agreement to Disagree
      - They knew they had strong differences regarding certain issues, accepted that they would disagree
        - They make policy and work together, despite the disagreement
    - Summit Policy
      - Decisions were made in summit meetings, a way to involve only the leaders of the party → secret meetings, they only shared the results.
    - Rule of Proportionality
      - The education of resources in proportion to the number of members of a certain religion/pillar
        - Before 1970, NL had secular schools, founded by gov., but education was religious
        - After 1970, gov. paid for all education, proportionate to the number of members.
    - Depoliticization
      - Neutralize certain issues or moral aspects, give legal/economic arguments
    - The Government's Right to Govern
      - Parliament can command and amend, but in essence we do what the gov. says
- This was the pacification democracy.
  - Each pillar had a leader, the leaders were the political elite, they kept their distance from the 'people', they made this rules and kept the democracy stable
    - After the 1970's this didn't work anymore
      - Modernization, television, people got educated etc.
        - Wanted transparency, openness about conflicts and differences etc.
        - Polarization became the new status quo.
          - New parties, new way of democracy, after the British model.
- Today, we have come back to some aspects of the politics from then, like the agreement to disagree, the business politics etc., but with more openness and transparency
  - This is criticized by populists.
- Populism is a European phenomenon (not in the book!), since 1980's
  - Populism considers society as separated into 'pure people' vs. 'corrupt elite'
  - Populism comes from 'vox populi', the voice of the people (popular voice)

- - - Politics and government policy should be directly based on the wishes and instincts of the people.
    - Populists do not survey what people want
      - 'The people' is more of a construction, they just pretend to know what people want
      - Are not clear about what 'the elite' is either
      - They see 'the people' and 'the elite' as homogenous categories
    - Populists attach different meanings to populism, but there is a common core
      - Power should be restored to 'the people', because it belongs to them
      - The idea that the power has been 'stolen' from 'the people' by 'the elite'
        - The idea of homogeneous groups is important
          - As if all 'people' and 'elite' believe, think and act the same
      - How do they want to give the power back?
        - Referenda, direct elections, initiatives
- Why is populism so big today?
  - Because of the clash between the cosmopolitans and the nationals
    - Populists appeal to the people who cannot travel after jobs, who believe in nationalism, who want protection of national values and themselves
  - Populism was late in NL (2002), because of the pillarization of the NL's
    - Everyone lived in their own groups, there was little corruption, people were happy with the way things were
    - Nationalism and populism were associated with Nazi-ism, also in Germany
  - Things changed in 2002, Pim Fortuyn, a charismatic leader, introduced populism. Taboo was broken.
    - The people against the elite
    - Conservative liberalist, very nationalist, anti-islamist
    - He was assassinated. Following that, the party won the elections, but lost its appeal afterwards.
  - After Fortuyn, Geert Wilders came, founded PVV in 2006.
    - One-member party, Wilders is the only member
    - Controversial ideas, anti-Islam, believes that Dutch identity threatened by Europe and Islam, against cosmopolitan, against immigration, anti-multicultural
      - Moves left regarding economic issues
    - Popular in the polls
  - Many new populist parties for the next election in NL.
  - Why is populism growing?
    - There is a growing gap between traditional political parties and the population of countries
    - There is a changing role of the media
      - Media are more independent, no longer steered by religion etc., as is the population
        - People are no longer dependent on their religion/pillar for their news and way of thinking

- Populist parties mobilize new social divide concerning anti-European integration
  - Anti-Euro, anti-immigration, anti-multicultralism
    - These are the losers of globalization

Week 7

Research into power, EU's democratic deficit. Can political equality exist?

Learning outcomes
- Describe and compare different methods of research concerning influence/power and evaluate what method would best fit a specific context.
- Describe, explain and compare different theories concerning the existence of political elites in political systems and argue their compatibility with democracy.
- Describe different concepts of democratic deficit in the context of the European Union and the different solutions that would fit such concepts
    - European Citizen Initiative (ECI), Online consultations

- Robert Dahl → politics is resolving politics in a peaceful manner
    - He put effort in using a scientific approach for politics
    - He wanted to find the best, fairest solution for problems
- We will look at his research into power. How is power over decision making distributed over individuals/groups in a community?
    - This was interesting in the 1960's, the USA had a booming economy, but economic inequality
    - He did his research in New Haven, Connecticut
        - New Haven is representative for USA, Yale Uni is there.
            - Dahl was a professor at Yale.
- There are different theories regarding power:
    - Pluralist – pluralists believe that power is equally distributed (Dahl was pluralist)
    - Elite – Elitists believe that power is concentrated, in the hands of a minority.
        - This minority has wealth, economic power, etc.
            - Classic elite - they believe that the elite should rule
            - Modern elite – they believe that the elite rules, but this is not a good thing.
                - It's an empirical claim
    - Corporatism
        - Neo corporatist
            - Gov. rules, together with leaders of employment groups and leaders of Unions.
            - This is not democratic, not good for the accountability of the gov
    - New right
        - This theory is a reaction to corporatism
            - They are against a big gov, believe that is bad for the economy
    - Marxism
        - This theorie is a special case of elitism
            - They believe that a minority rules
                - This minority is an economic elite, f.e. owners of the means of production, and leaders of multinationals – they are the ones that rule the country

Elitists
- Power is in the hands of a minority: the group that has wealth, privilege or, more generally, economic power.

- Wright Mills: The power elite (1956).
  - Economic industrial military complex
- Gendron, R and G.W. Domhoff, The Leftmost City: Power and progressive Politics in Santa Cruz (2009).
  - Still writes about power structures
  - He looked at Santa Cruz and New Haven
- Hunter Community Power Structure: a Study of decision Makers (1953).
  - Hunter is interesting for the debate
    - He was an elitist who researched power structure in Atlanta
    - Power in Atlanta was in the hands of a small group of economically privileged people
      - With power he does not mean power in the sense of legal authority! So not gov, parliament etc.
      - No, he looked at power in a social scientific sense
        - The ability of one person to affect, modify, or in some way shape the actions of another person
        - It's about the relation from one person to another
  - Hunter made up a list of 175 possible leaders
    - He did this through researching the newspapers, television, radio, etc.
      - He then asked random people on the streets to choose from the list who they believe to be the most powerful
      - He narrowed the list down to 40 candidates, whom he interviewed
      - A small elite was left after these interviews, who he believed were running the city
        - Members of this elite were mostly from the economic sector
- Dahl didn't agree with Hunters method. He thinks that Hunter looked at reputation, not power.
  - Dahl thinks we should look backwards, look at all the decisions that are taken and look at which actors were involved in the decision making.
    - Preferences prevail
      - 'preferences of the hypothetical ruling elite run counter to that of any other group and those of any other likely group' and
      - 'these preferences regularly prevail'.
    - This is what Dahl looked at. He thinks that power as an actor has influence to the extent that outcome is in accordance with actor's explicit preference.
    - He looked at all decision in New Haven between 1950 and 1958.
      - What actors had been involved, what did they propose, whose proposal won, was in the decision? Who could 'veto'.
      - He looked at decisions regarding urban redevelopment, public education and political nominations
    - That's how he came to the conclusion that an elite does not exist.
      - But there is also no equality!
        - Different groups have leaders, these leaders have influence in different areas.

- He also drew a wider conclusion (universalized), he called very democracy polyarchies (rule by the many). He thought this was the best possible form of democracy.
- What did Dahl's critics say?
  - A policy process has four faces.
    - Initiation (agendasetting) →
    - formulation (here decisions are taken, a proposal is accepted, formal face. This is where Dahl focused)) →
    - implementation →
    - evaluation
  - His critics said that more important is what reached the agenda, and what doesn't?
    - Keeping proposals off the agenda is an important form of power/influence, said Bahrach and Baratz.
    - Bahrach and Baratz thought this was much more important than Dahls decision making. Dahl's method is a too narrow test of influence because non-decision making is ignored by him.
  - B&B thought that some proposals were not considered in the decision, that less powerful people, like citizens, were swept aside, not taken seriously.
    - Dahl looked at the conflicts that manifested with the official institution. He thereby restricted himself to the face of decision making
  - B&B thought that some complains were latent, more difficult to observe, because they precede the face of decision making.
    - The problems and proposals were swept aside, so it was hard to track them. Dahl does not look at this initiation fase, only at the formulation.
      - This debate is to be found in the reader. The reader misses a page, it can be found on Nestor.

- The debate between elitists and pluralists is important, it is important to know how power in a society is distributed.
  - We should not forget about power as agendasetting. It is an important power.
    - These are non-decisions. Non-decisions are decisions that never reach the agenda.
  - Informal processes are important, they precede agendasetting, an important aspect of power.
    - It is hard to do empirical research into these informal processes. They are not written down, but take place in informal settings, like in the gym/corridor/restaurant.

An example of agenda setting power is a research into air pollution in the USA.
- Air pollution is unhealthy and dangerous etc., but some people earn their living by working in this industry. Therefore it is hard to set it in the agenda.
- People complain about it, but also want to keep their jobs.
- The industry doesn't want it on the agenda, so it gives money to people to keep them quiet and happy.
- Therefore it doesn't reach the agenda, it's a non-decision. A lot of obstacles have to be overwon before this will be on the agenda.

In the context of the EU there is the idea of the legislative footprint.
- What is a legislative footprint and what does that have to do with power?

- There are a lot of lobbyists in EU. These are the informal processes which are important for tabling problems and choosing solutions.
  - Informal, not public.
- A legislative footprint is a comprehensive public record of lobbyists' influence on a piece of legislation. If we have that, we will know what actors/influence precede the legislation.
  - People would have to record when they talk to a lobby-group and what information they find important/serious and what information they will be using in the legislation.
    - Is this naïve? Why would you (not) register? Would you register if you talk to your friends?
    - It would be wonderful for pol. science if this footprint would come into existence. We could do so much research, know where decisions come from and what influences them.
      - It could also restore trust in the EU, with a legislative footprints decisions would be much more transparent.

The network analysis theory really acknowledges that decisions take place by a network. We will look at this in the context of decision making in the EU.
A policy network is:
- A systematic set of relationships between actors
- Common interest, orientation in particular area
- Formal and informal processes

- Important actors: these work together and share power to make EU work. It is also called a multilevel government, starting with the Member States.
  - Member states
    - They come together in councils, where they do their part of the policy network
  - EU institutions
    - Examples are the Commission and the Parliament
  - Organized interests
    - Private interests
      - Examples are multinationals and individuals
    - Citizens groups
      - Fighting for the rights of groups

Formal procedure of legislature:
The EU is a political system, but does not have a classical gov.
The individual MS have one focus of power, that is the government. The EU has more points of focused power, like the Commission (drafts and tables legislation (proposals)), the Council and the Parliament who amend and approve of proposals from Commission.

There are a lot of informal processes taking place
- Bureaucratic officials
- Lobby-groups
- MS

- The Commission talks a lot to interest groups to prepare law. They try to reach a solution that will satisfy as many interest groups as possible. Without such preparation, you don't have all the information and expertise to make a balanced decision, you would never be able to come to an agreement.
    - The downside to this informal process, is that it's not transparent.

Democratic deficit in the EU: the EU is too remote and complex
- There is a lack of democratic accountability
    - There is too much focus on the institutions
    - Not really a representative institution that oversees the work
    - There is a EU parliament that officially oversees the work of the Commission and the process of policy making, but they have very limited power.
        - They can dismiss the commission as a whole, but they can't dismiss individual members
            - This is a fault in the mechanism of accountability
- Commission plays an enormous role in policy making, but it is not transparent.
    - Precooked consensus
    - What happens in Parliament, is just repeating what has been informally decided.
        - We don't know how these decisions are reached
- Decision making is remote and complex
    - More decisions are moved from MS to EU
        - Citizens therefore have less influence, very limited
        - Enormous gap between citizens and decision-making
    - Citizens are also not really interested in what is being decided
        - People are hard to engage on an EU level
        - Lack of demos.
            - Demos is the feeling of people that they belong to the same political system
            - On a national level, people do have this feeling of belonging to a group, to a country, but it doesn't exist on an EU level
                - Example is Brexit
        - No Europe wide media that discuss issues that exist on an EU level, people don't really know what plays on a EU level

Solutions for democratic deficit
    (1) More powers for EP and Europe wide political parties
    (2) Or: increase possibilities for supervision by national legislatures
        (a) National legislature should become more important
    (3) Involving individual citizens in EU policy making (referenda)
    (4) Involving Civil Society Organisations in EU policy making
        (a) Involving (groups of) citizens in transparent manner (3 and 4) has been pursued with online consultations and the European Citizen's Initiative.
        (i) ECI is important for the unity of the EU, it is too divided.
            1. The ECI is an effort to make the citizens more engaged within the EU.
                a. They tried to establish an instrument by which the czs could make a proposal for the agenda of the EU.
                    i. The ECI is a cz's demand to put items on the agenda

The procedure for ECI. See PowerPoint!
- Registration so the Commission can check the content

- Even to be registered there are obstacles
    - Many initiatives are rejected
        - 51 proposed, 31 accepted, the rest rejected.
    - Now we start the rest of the process.
- Gather signatures, verified by national authority
    - Three initiatives have enough signatures
        - Right to water
            - Right to water – they wanted to prevent water from going into private hands, every human being has the right to clean water.
        - Don't use animals in testing
        - Early embryos
            - This is not up to the competence of the EU at the moment
- Submit to the Commission
- You are invited if you have enough signatures
- Commission decides whether to make it legislation.