

POL1101

Week 10a

Announcements

- Midterms back on Friday
- Postpone optional midterm to Monday Nov. 19? Currently Nov 14
- Cookies
- Today, talk a bit about parties/electoral competition
- Essay style.

Political Parties

- Organization competing for political power and providing public policy
- Particular case of collective action and leadership

Origins

- Endogenous
 - *From within* elections and assemblies, as collective candidacies and legislative coalitions, which become permanent organizations
- Exogenous
 - *From outside* existing institutions, with new issue policy proposals and support from interest or value groups.

Functions

- Facilitate collective decision making by:
 - Policy design and agenda setting
 - Candidate and leadership selection
 - Government formation

Party Members

- Party Leaders
 - Professional politicians seeking power (office and votes (see Müller and Strøm, 1999)
- Voluntary activists
 - Seeking policy, values or special interests with intense preferences
 - More “extreme” positions than most party voters and party leaders

Political Oligarchy

- Dominance of party leaders over activists

“It is organization which gives birth to the domination of the elected over the electors, of the mandataries over the mandators, of the delegates over the delegators. Who says organization, says oligarchy.”

Robert Michels, *Political Parties* (1911)

Party Types

- Main variable
 - Number of party members
 - Internal rules for participation
- Party positions result from compromises between power-seeking party leaders and policy seeking activists

Party Types

- Cadre
- Mass
- Militant
- Cartel (Firm)

Cadre Parties

- Low membership
- Domination by party leaders
- They can be relatively advantageous for adopting proposals able to obtain broad electoral support
- E.g. traditional Conservative and Liberal parties

Mass Parties

- Broad membership
- Rules facilitating member participation
- Traditional social democratic and Christian democratic parties
- Parties holding primary elections in the US

Militant Parties

- Low members
- Participatory internal rules
- E.g. Traditional communist or fascist parties

Cartel (Firm) Parties

- Declining party membership
- Public resources and mass media

Some take-home points

- Extreme activists
 - Voluntary political activists hold more “extreme” policy or ideological positions than party voters and even party leadership
- Party Oligarchy
 - A political organization tends to become an “oligarchy”, that is, it tends to be domination by political leaders or professional politicians seeking votes and office.

Examples?

Anthony Downs

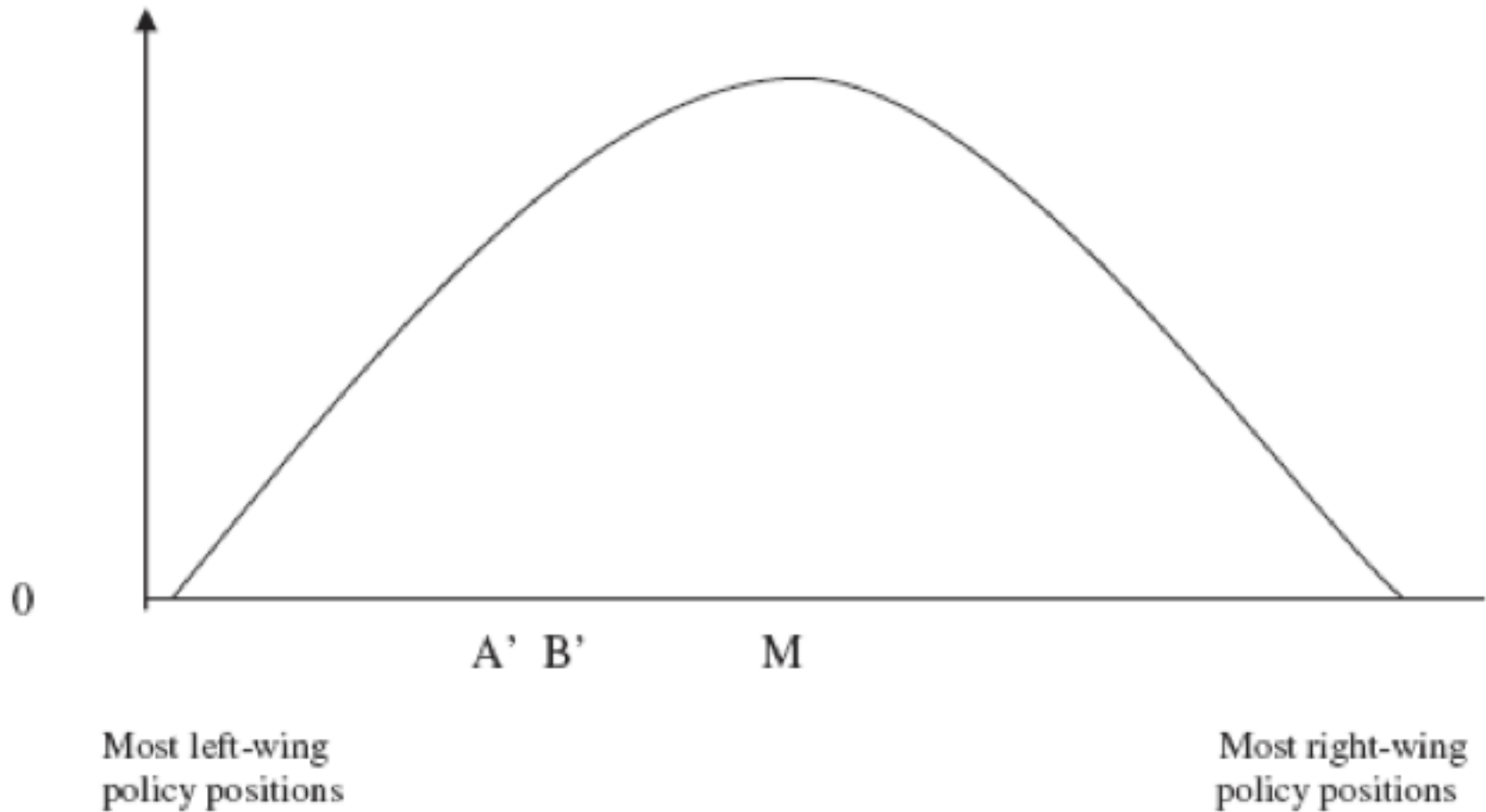
- Who is Anthony Downs?
 - Political economist
 - Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institute
 - PhD from Stanford
 - Wrote *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957)
 - Party competition is structured in terms of policy packages that can be placed on a left-right axis
 - Popularized the median voter theory



Median Voter Theory

- Assumptions
 - There are only two parties
 - Political space is only one dimensional
 - Parties can move to and occupy any point in this one dimensional space
 - Parties are vote maximizers
 - Voters (if they vote) vote for the party closest to them in political space
 - There is perfect information
 - Voters' preferences are fixed

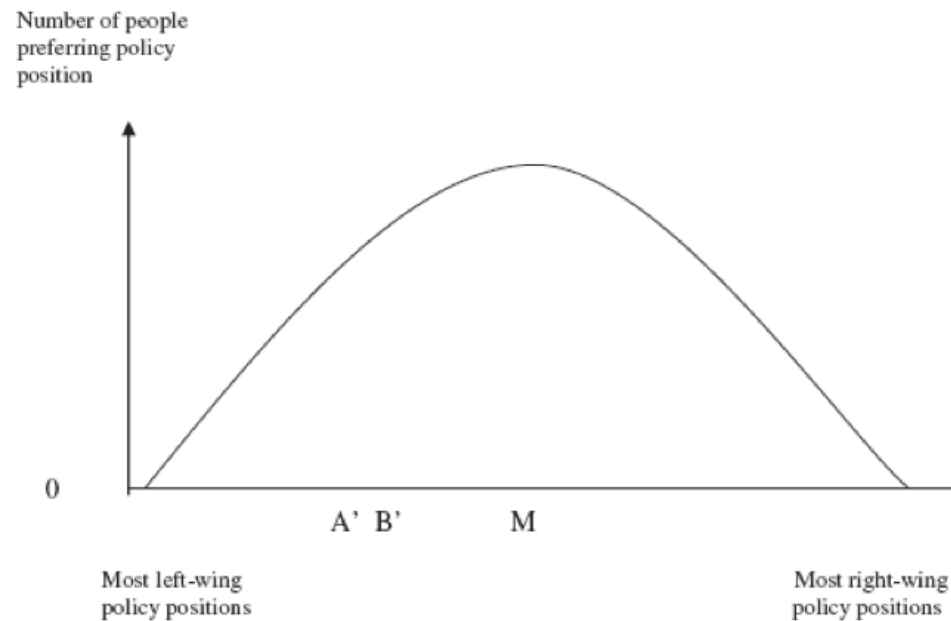
Number of people
preferring policy
position



Source: Laver (1997, 112).

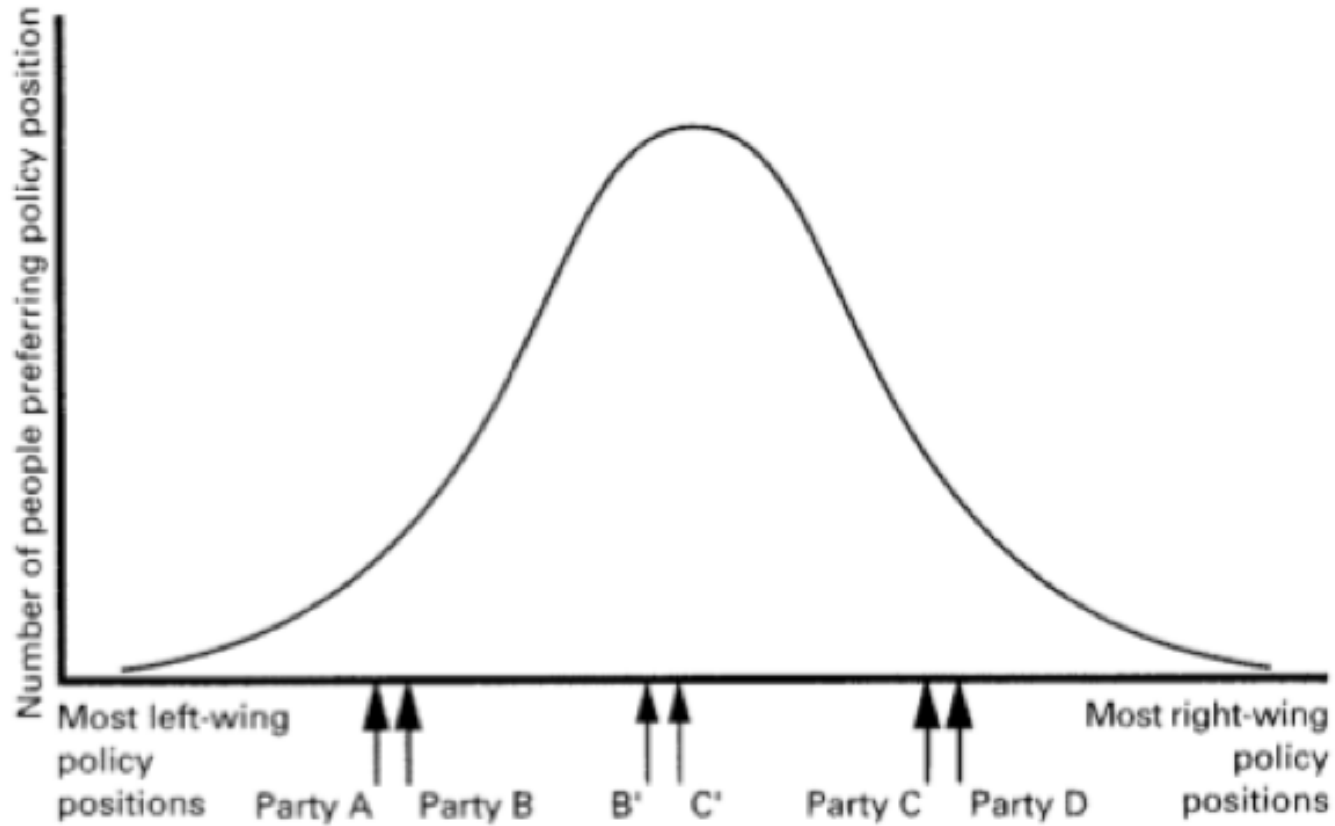
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Source: Laver (1997, 112).

Let's add more parties!



What happens when a new party tries to enter?

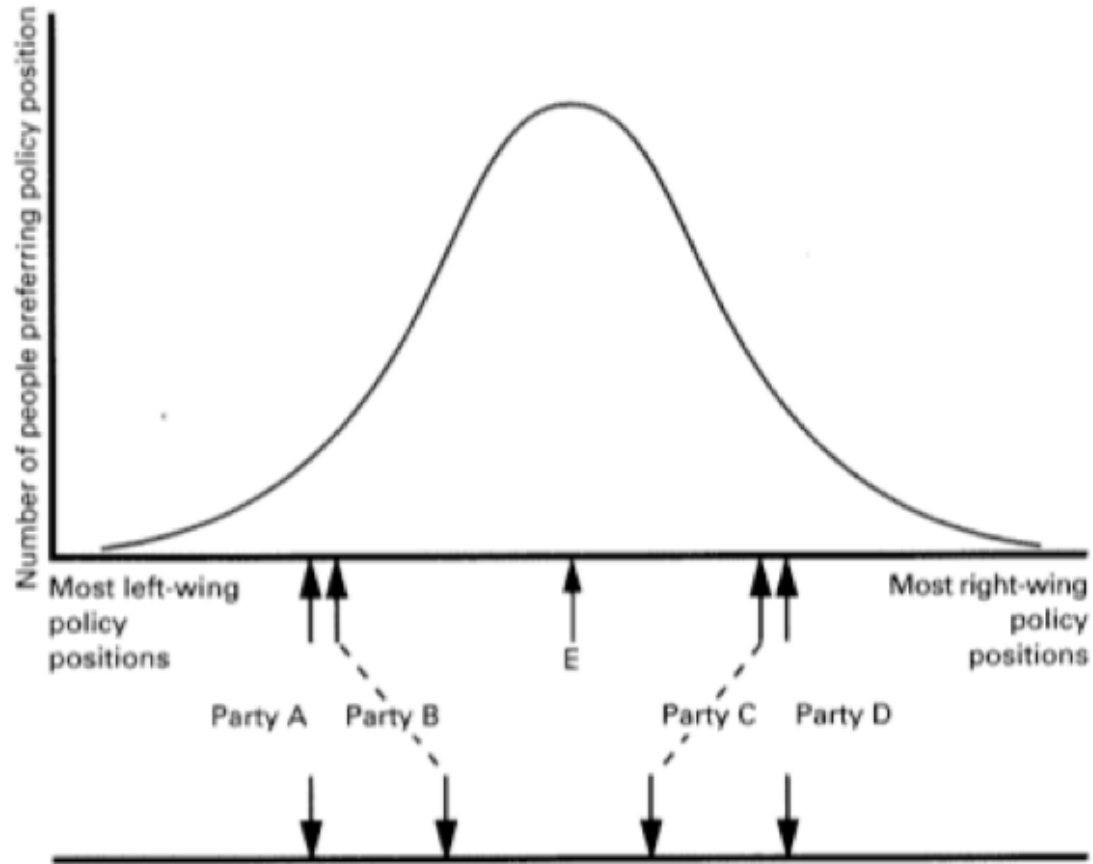


Figure 6.5 *Entry deterrence in a four-party system*

Let's add another policy dimension

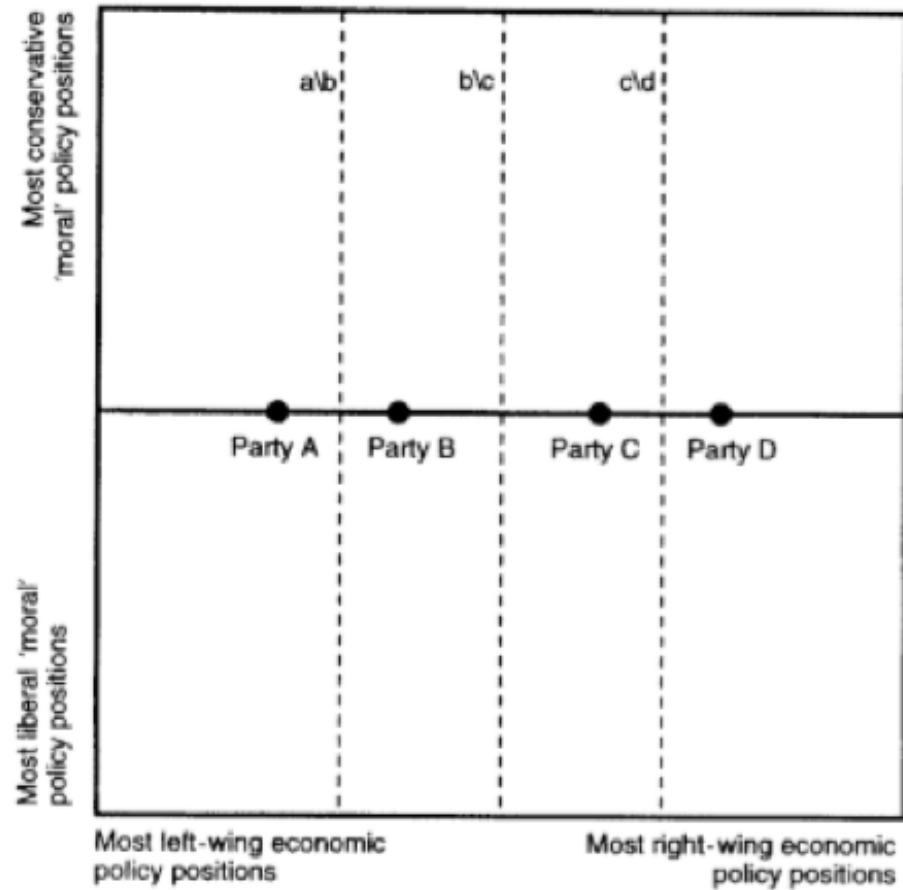
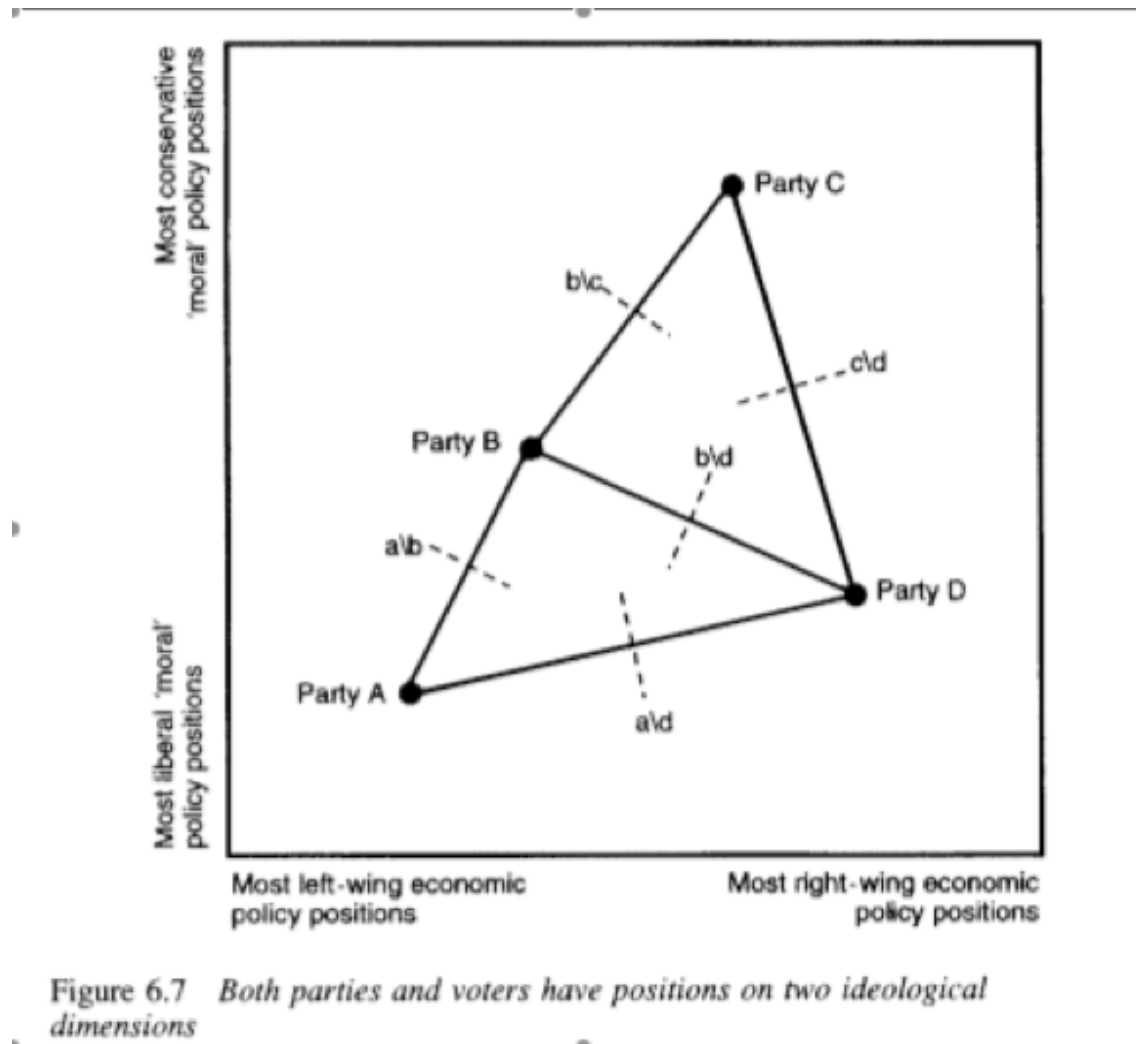


Figure 6.6 *Voters have preferences on two ideological dimensions, but parties differ only on one*

Let's give the parties different "moral" positions



Ideological territories

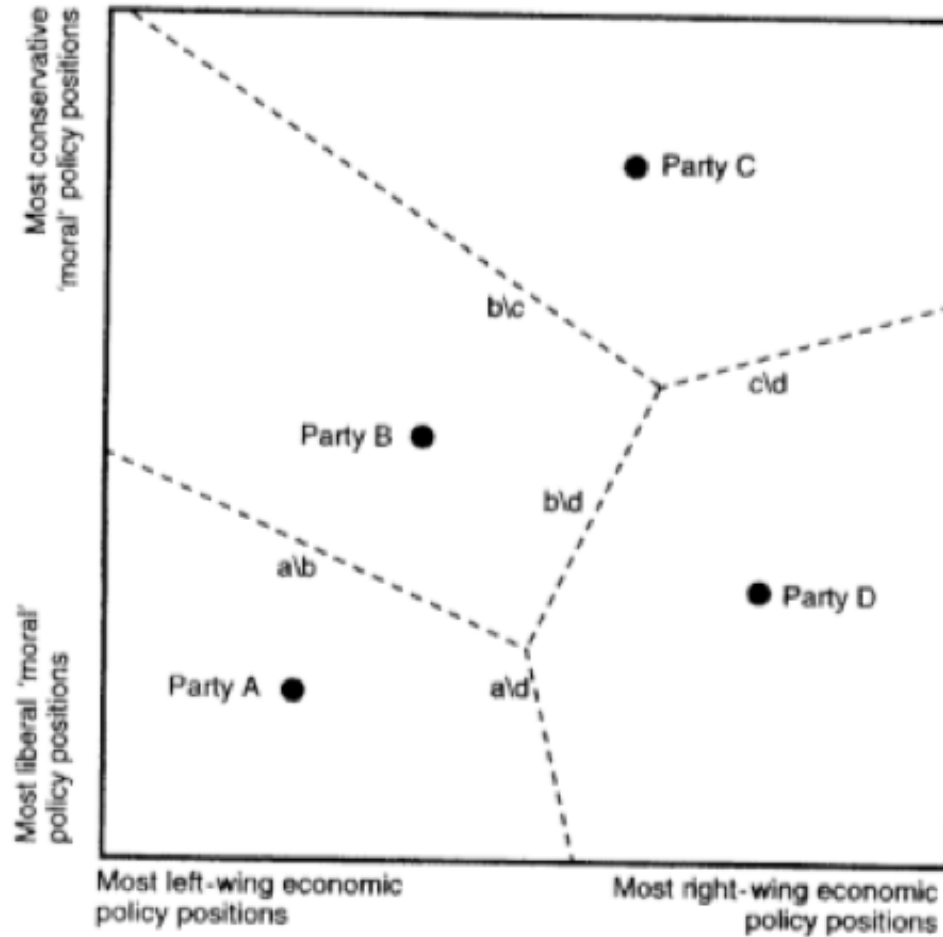


Figure 6.8 *Ideological territories in a four-party system*

What happens when we add another party?

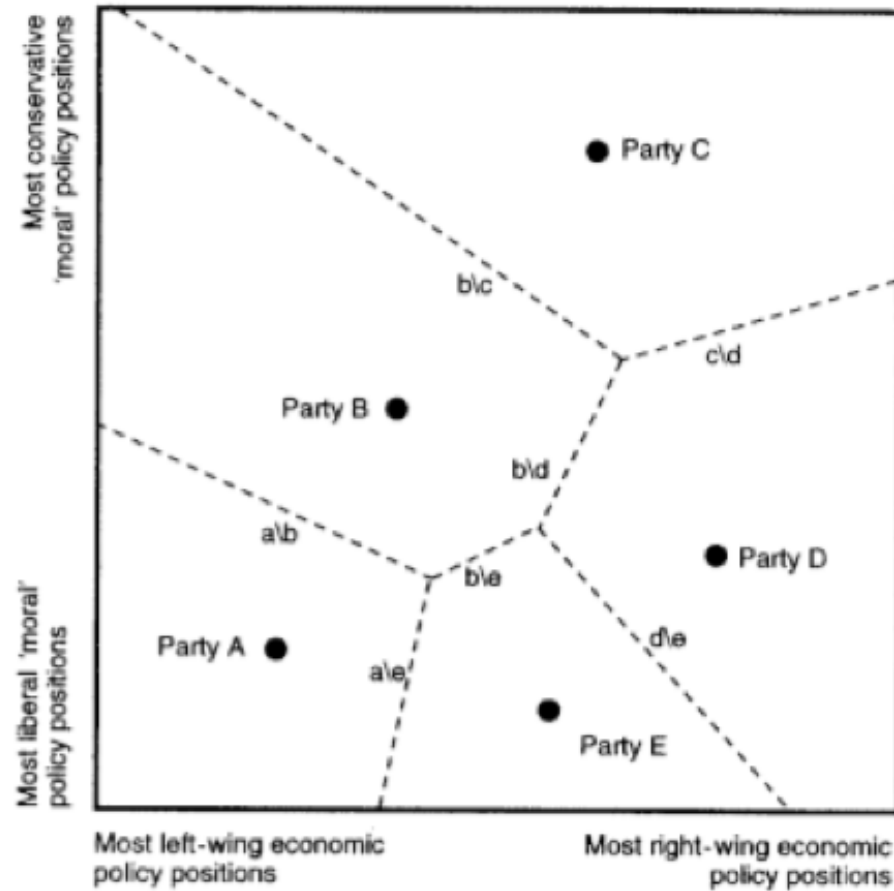
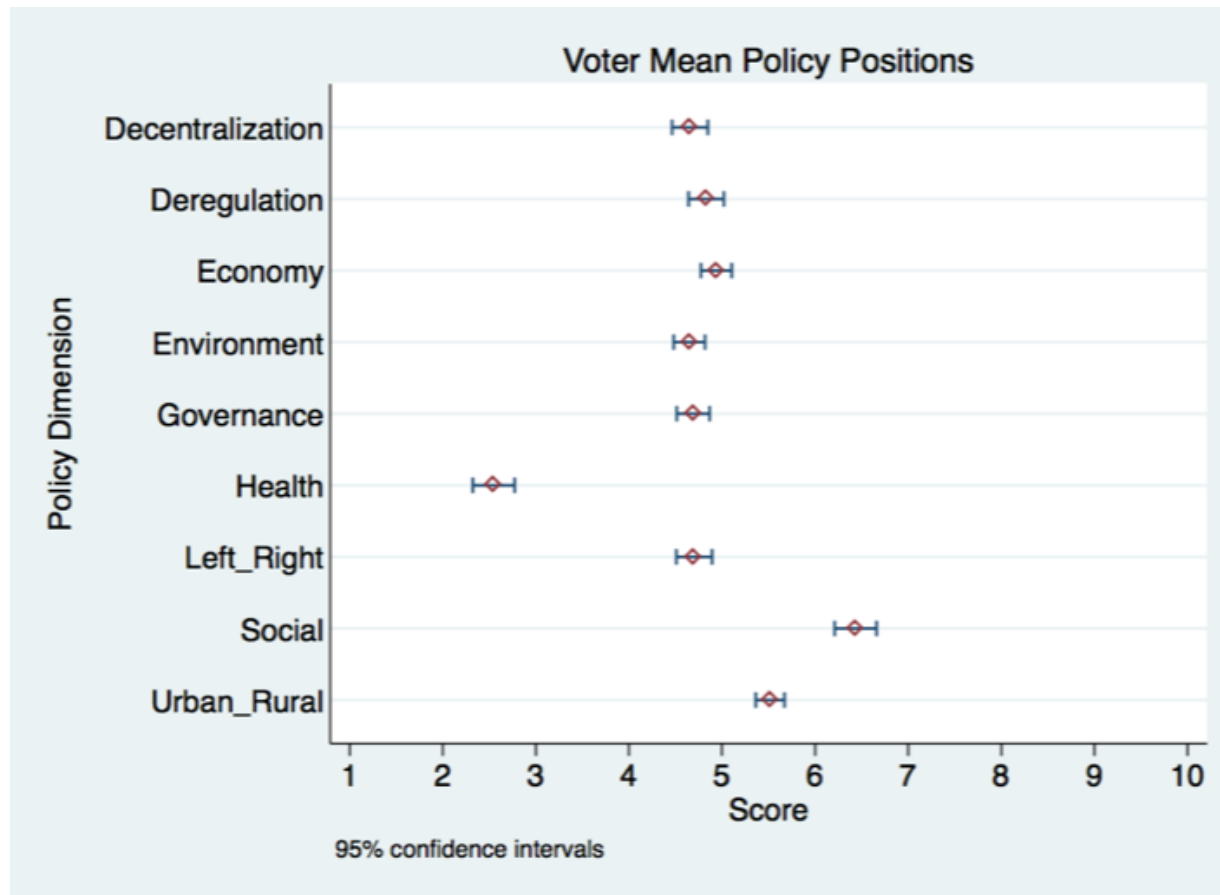
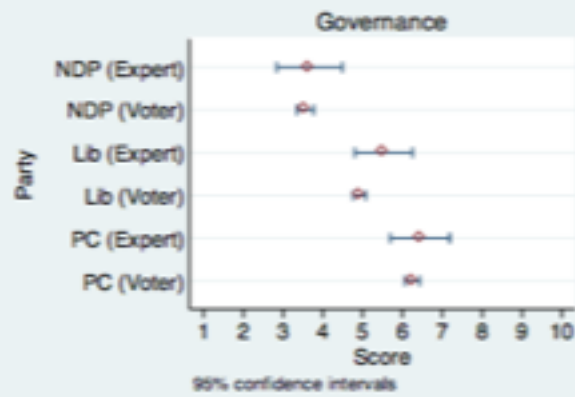
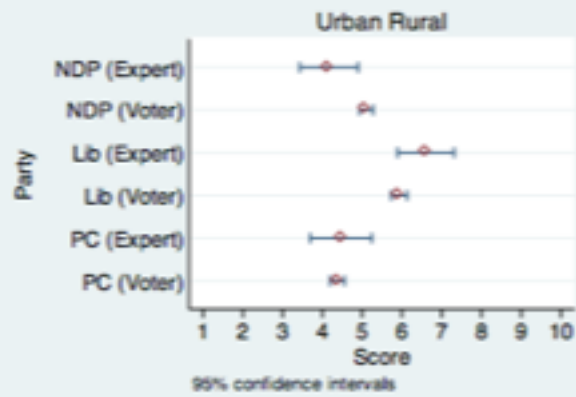
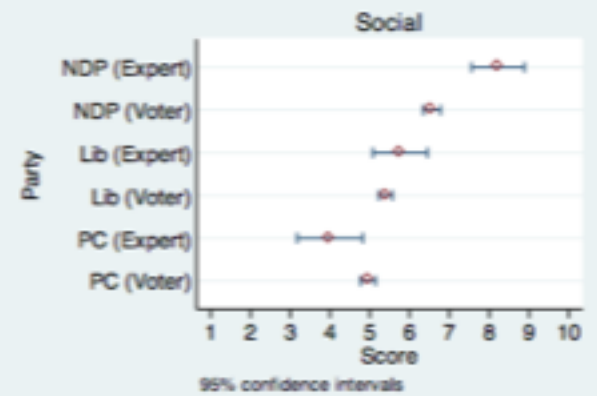
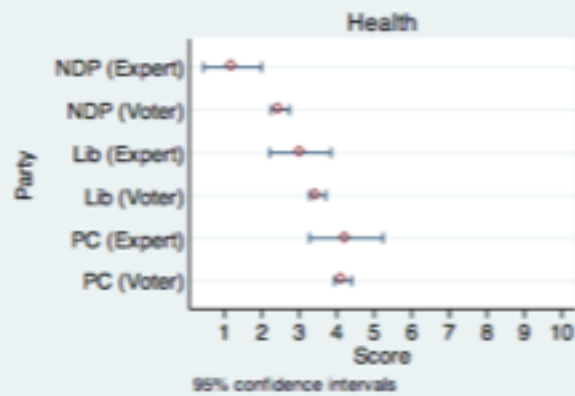
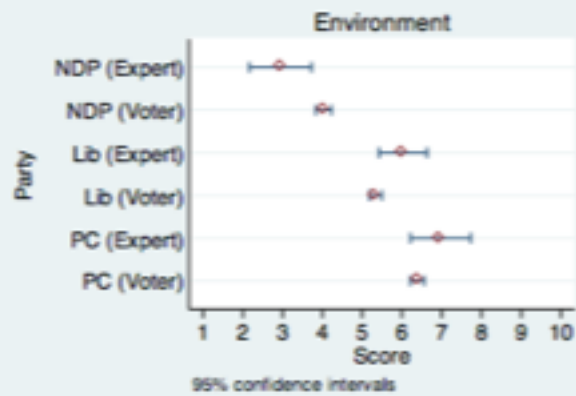
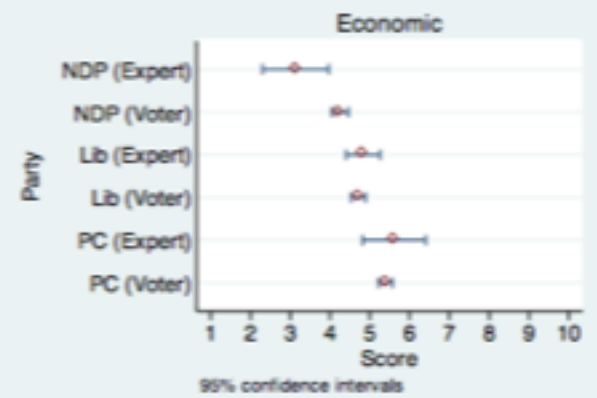
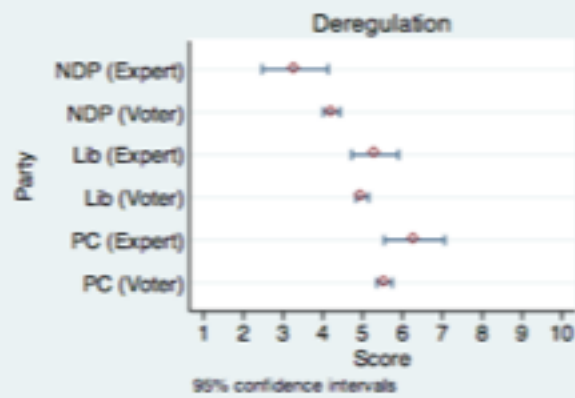
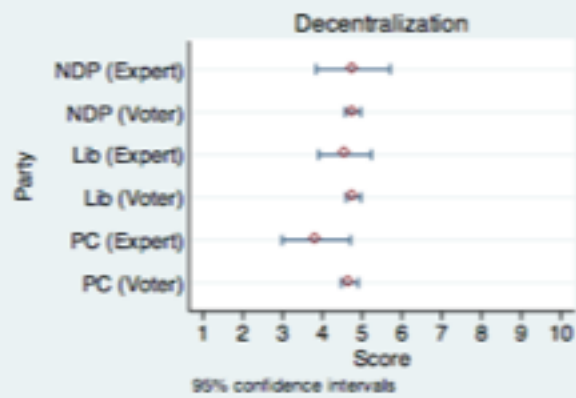


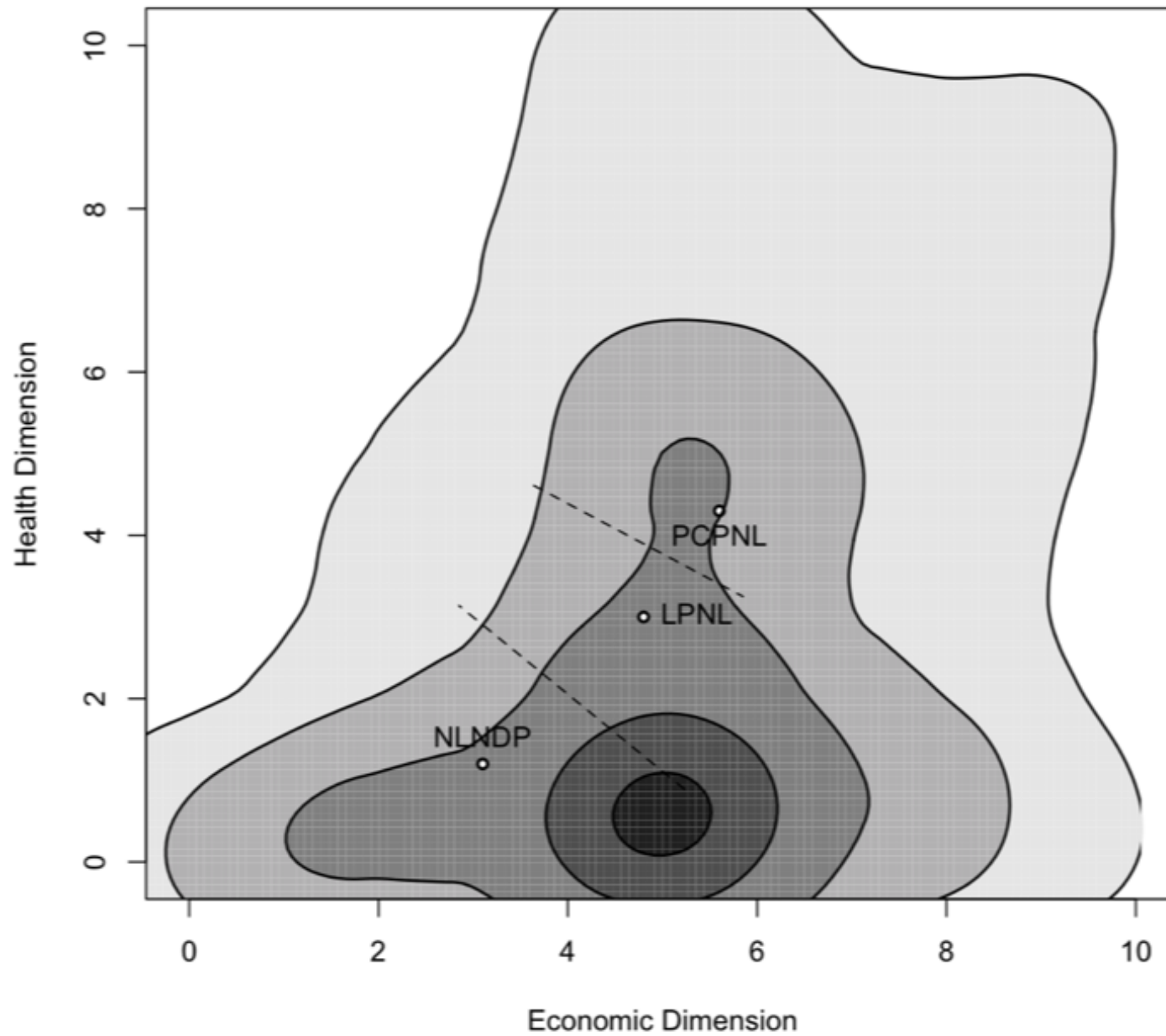
Figure 6.9 *A fifth party (Party E) enters a four-party system*

Newfoundland 2011 Provincial Election Survey Results





NL Voters and Parties in Two Dimensional Policy Space: Economic v. Health



Six elementary rules for essay writing

Perhaps one of the world's greatest essayist, George Orwell, provided six elementary rules for writing non-fiction:

- Never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech which you are used to seeing in print.
- Never use a long word where a short word will do.
- If it is possible to cut out a word, always cut it out.
- Never use the passive where you can use the active.
- Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.
- Break any of these rules sooner than say anything outright barbarous.

- Do not be too stuffy
 - Do not be arrogant
 - Do not be too pleased with yourself
 - Never be too chatty
 - Do not be sloppy in the construction of sentences
-
- Remember Orwell!

- Sentences
- Paragraphs
- Punctuation Marks
- Clichés, metaphors and figures of speech
- Confused words

- Slang and abbreviations
- Numbers and percentages
- Dictionary definitions
- Unnecessary words
- Canadian, American or European English

- Capitalization
- Singular or plural

POL1101

Introduction to Political Science

Dr. Matthew Kerby

University of Ottawa

Week 10b

Vote compass

<http://www.cbc.ca/elections/quebecvotes2014/features/view/vote-compass>

<http://ici.radio-canada.ca/elections-quebec-2014/boussole-electorale>

<http://www.cbc.ca/elections/ontariovotes2014/votecompass>

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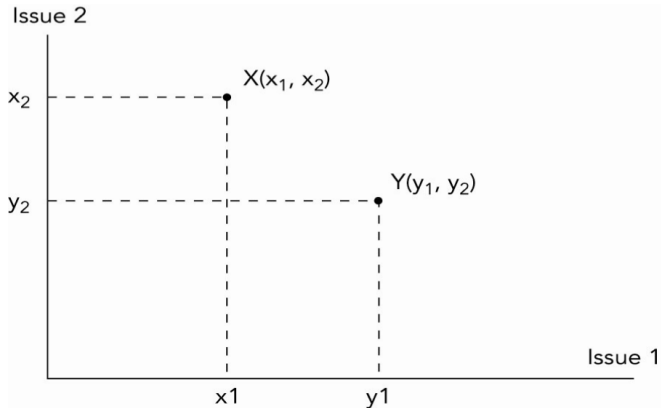
Multiple Issues



- Candidates talk on just a few policy issues.
 - Peladeau?
- Different political parties tend to prefer to focus on different issues.
 - Le shove
- An electoral strategy consists in selecting issues and forming the agenda.

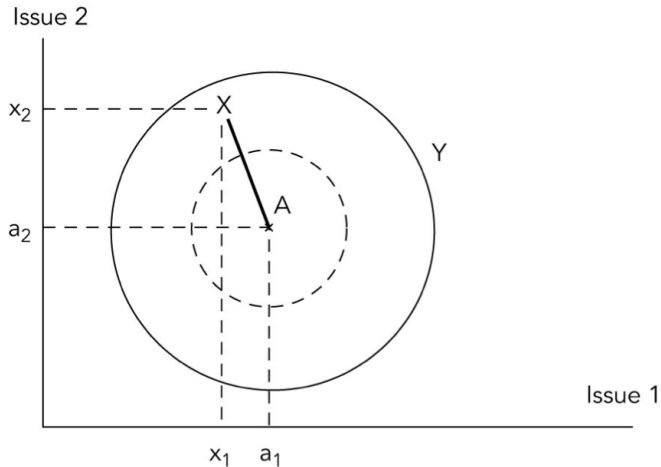
Multiple Issues

A two-dimensional 'spatial' model



Multiple Issues

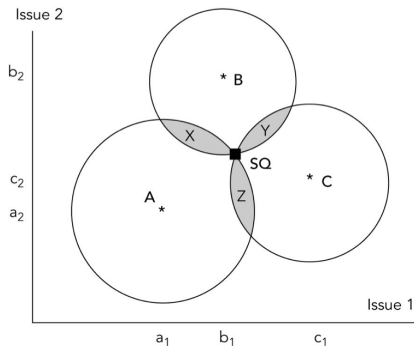
Curves of indifference around voter A's ideal point



Multiple Issues

Parties in a multidimensional space

Win-set: All potentially winner positions against the status-quo policy.



The larger the win-set, the higher the potential policy instability

Germany

Setting the Agenda

Electoral competition between parties may imply the choice of the issues on which they can hold potentially winning positions, and on which they they may want to present their policy proposals and set the agenda.

Setting the Agenda

- 'Position' issues:
 - Parties compete with alternate policy proposals, such as tax or school policies
- 'Valence' issues:
 - Party competition consists of claiming credit or getting blamed; for instance, peace or prosperity

Setting the Agenda

Issue 'ownership'

A party can have the advantage and “own” an issue on the basis of its previous record in government and its likelihood of performing well in the future.

- Managing the economy
- Bringing peace to conflicted territories
- Sovereignty (QC) and the fight between PQ, CAQ, QS

Setting the Agenda

Heresthetics

The art of selecting issues in the public agenda.

In electoral campaigns, rival parties and candidates tend to emphasize different issues, according to different issue ownerships and their expected advantage.

It tends to produce “non-debate” campaigns.

Setting the Agenda

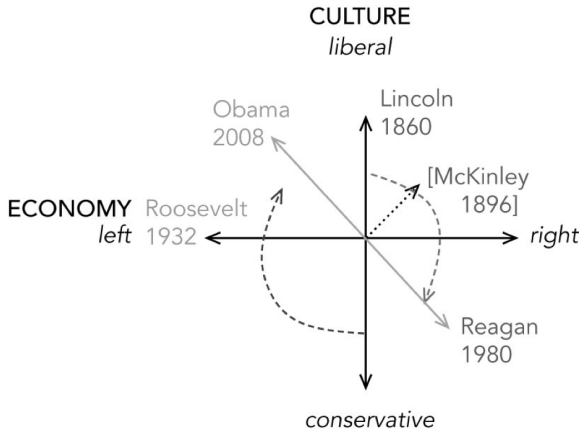
Rhetoric:

The art of framing policy proposals on an issue by means of persuasive values and arguments.

The discussion on different values for each issue can create a new multidimensional value space in which parties emphasize different values.

Setting the Agenda

Issue competition in the United States



Conclusion

- Issue ownership
 - In spite of parties' convergence in their policy positions on some issues, a party can keep advantage and "own" an issue if its past record in government has given it credit for policy making on the issue.
- Non-debate campaigns.
 - In electoral campaigns, rival parties and candidates tend to choose to emphasize different issues, according to issue ownerships and their expected relative advantage.
- Policy consensus.
 - In the long term, broad consensus can be accumulated on an increasing number of issues. But in the short term, mediocre policies and incumbent parties with no good performance may survive for lack of a sufficiently popular alternative.

Number of parties

Party systems in democracies can have:

- Two parties
- Multiple parties

Number of parties

Political parties are based on the politicization of issues by proposing new policy alternatives

The number of issue dimensions (I) plus one equals the number of parties (P):

$$I+1 = P(+/- 1)$$

Number of Parties

Main issue dimensions:

- Socioeconomic (taxes, market, regulation, social spending, agriculture etc.)
- Moral (family, sex, religion...)
- Ethnic (territorial, language, race...),
- + Foreign policy, political regime, environment...

Ideology

A simplified set of policy issues and values

Examples: conservatism, liberalism, nationalism, socialism, communism, fascism, etc.

Symbols: colours, emblems, flags, animals, heroes ...

Ideology

- Ideologies are needed in politics to reduce information costs and deliver the parties' messages to mass audiences.
- An ideology needs to be internally consistent. But they constrain policy innovation (e.g.. new Labour in UK before , NDP in Canada?)

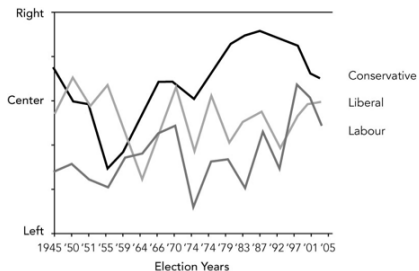
Ideology

- The left-right spatial axis is the most widely accepted ideological representation of political parties.
- It is not the only one, however; in the United States, the “conservative-liberal” axis is widely used.
- What about Canada?

- Pair up
- Pick the two most important dimensions in Canada (or Quebec, given the currently election)
- Please draw a map of Canadian/Quebec party space
 - use vertical and horizontal axes

Ideology

- Swing political parties



- Quebec?
 - Parti Québécois?
 - Liberal Party of Canada?
 - Conservative vs. Liberal re: Free Trade?

Polarization vs. Consensus

- In two-party systems, electoral competition tends to focus on a few policy issues.
 - Why?
- In multiparty systems the public agenda is broadened

Polarization vs. Consensus

There is an inverse correlation between party fragmentation and party polarization.

Two party systems can foster polarization, while multiparty systems can favour intermediate positions by some parties and multiparty cooperation and consensus.

We typically call this Consensual pluralism.

A few principles of style when writing essays (with credit to Eoin O'Malley, DCU)

- Do not be too stuffy
- Do not be arrogant
- Do not be too pleased with yourself
- Never be too chatty
- Do not be sloppy in the construction of sentences
- Remember Orwell!

George Orwell's Six Rules

- 1 Never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech which you are used to seeing in print.
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Common problems

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Common problems

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