

EUROPEAN SCHOOL OF LAW AND ECONOMICS

Introduction to the study of state and politics

Key issues handbook for students

XVI -> XIX century: process of transition from traditional state to modern state and from non modern society to modern one. Characteristics of **traditional state** (by A. Giddens):

- **Unclear geographical layout** (no clear borders, fragmentation),
- **weak interrelations** between social groups (nobility, merchants, peasants),
- **sharp division** between city and province,
- **low influence** of central government on province,
- **major type of internal political actions – violence** (requisitions, crime fighting, punitive expeditions),
- most common way of international competition – **war**.

The result of continuous state of war was constant need for resources (mostly money) and was the core reason for any reforms undertaken by European rulers in XVI – XIX century. Three stages in formation of modern state are:

- **Administrative Revolution:**
 - Stripping local elites (nobles) of their **privileges**,
 - enforcing one, centralized **tax system**,
 - **accumulation of authority** in central government,
 - obtaining **the monopoly for using armed violence** by government.
- **People's (French) Revolution:**
 - **Change of legitimization** of central government – from birthright (monarchy) to social agreement (republic) and election,
 - **opening public (political) sphere** to all citizens.
- **Industrial Revolution:**
 - Invention and adaptation of **modern communication methods** (newspaper, radio, TV),
 - formation of **modern mass culture**,
 - creation of **market economy**, commodification of all goods.

Four main drivers in history of political power competition (by S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan):

Division	Critical point	Problems
Centre vs. Periphery	Reformation – Counter Reformation, XVI – XVII c.	Local vs. universal religion, local language vs. Latin
State vs. Church	National Revolution, XVIII – XIX c.	Secular vs. religious control of mass education
Agriculture vs. Industry	Industrial Revolution, XIX c.	Tax level on agriculture goods, freedom vs. control of industrial production
Proprietors vs. Laborers	Russian Revolution, XX c.	Integration inside the state vs. involvement in international revolutionary movement

Main characteristics of **modern state**:

- **Monopoly** for using armed violence,
- Usage of **surveillance** (information gathering) instead of armed force,
- existence of **clearly defined borders** with other countries,
- **strong interactions** between social groups inside the states
- main purpose can be defined as upkeep of internal peace and laws enforcement.

Possible additional readings:

- A. Giddens, *“The Nation State and Violence, Volume Two of Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism”*, University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- W. McNeill, *“The Pursuit of Power, Technology, Armed Force and Society since A.D. 1000”*, The University of Chicago Press.

Possible meanings of **politics**:

- Politics as a **scene** set of institutions regulated by formal rules and designed for small portion of population to compete,
- politics as **social process of power circulation**, involving all members of society.

Common element: politics as a process of competition for power, commonly conducted by non – violent methods.

Simplest definition of **political power**:

- Ability to influence other people's actions directly,
- ability to compete efficiently (possible never-ending loop: struggling for power to get power).

State is the **main political institution**: in everyday life, political process is being conducted by peaceful methods. State and its institutions is the guardian of peaceful behavior, internal stabilization and general obedience to rules of political competition. **State and Law**: State not only upholds the law, it is also created by them. Basic idea of the State is based on general acceptance of laws and rulers. M. Weber has defined three types of rule:

- Traditional, based on tradition, rituals and authority of elders,
- charismatic, based on specific person merits,
- rational, based on set of laws and rules.

During the course of European history, first two types were replaced by third. Enacting constitution is a good example of transition between 1st or 2nd to 3rd type. **Basic features of rational rule**:

- Constant commitment to upholding laws and rules,
- division of competences of each government branch (separating parliament, government and courts),
- punishment for not adhering to the rules is exerted on the base of pre – defined code.

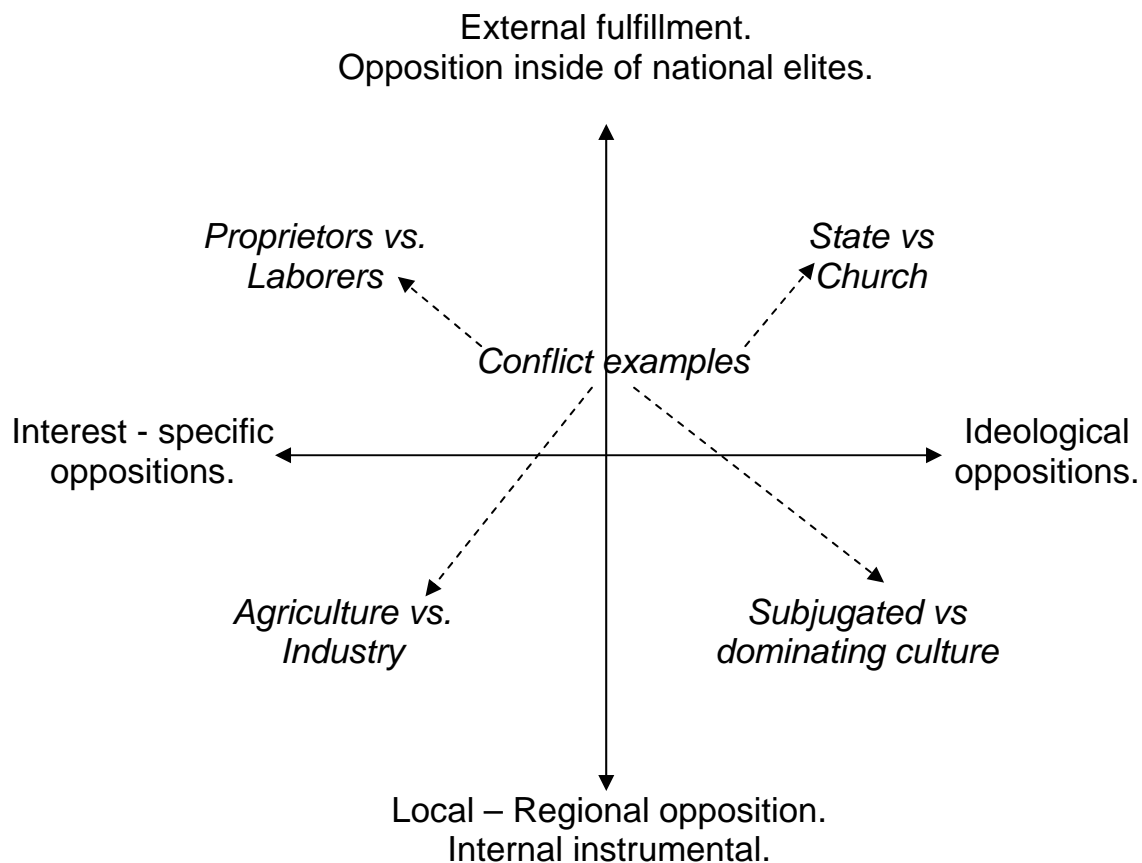
Issue of non - violent **political conflict**: Internal pacification does not mean disappearance of political conflict. It is still present and may be based on:

- **Interests** – based on rational calculation and material needs,
- **values** – based on nonmaterial (moral, ideological) factors.

Various conflicts differ in terms of subject and range. Common way of interpretation of political conflicts involves using two axes:

- **Subject of conflict**, (interest versus value)
- **Geographical range**, (local versus national)

According to Lipset and Rokkan political conflicts can be placed on two dimensional chart:



Forms of political action:

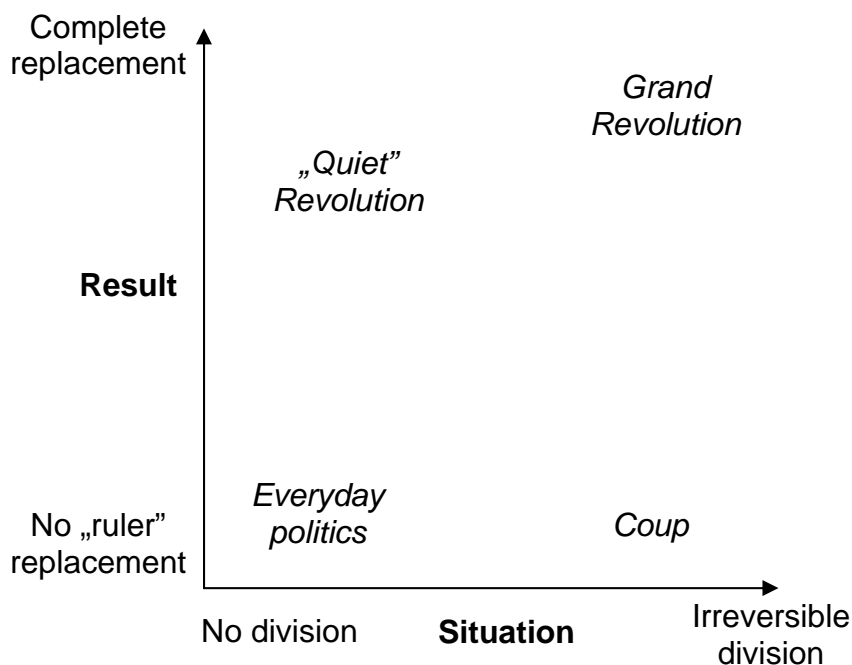
- Peaceful (elections, public support or protests), predominant in societies with common access to public sphere (**open society**), where articulation of one's issues is possible for majority of members.
- Violent (**revolution, coups**), predominant in societies with limited access to public sphere (**anomy**), where articulation of one's issues is possible only for small, privileged group.

Coup can be defined as an act of power transfer from one group to another, not involving drastic rearrangement of social and political system. Connected with term of *elites circulation* – where one dominant group is cyclically replaced by other. **Revolution** is an act of

destruction of old social and political system, often drastic and violent. Main elements of revolution, according to P. Calvert include:

- Process, in which state's ruling group is being **discredited** in the eyes of country population or its important parts,
- **government change**, conducted in short period of time and with use (or credible threat of use) of violence – one time, single event,
- more or less coherent **change plan** in political and/or social institutions,
- **political myth**, which serves as legitimization source for revolutionary leadership as legitimate (yet transitional) government.

Chart of possible violent types of political action, by C. Tilly:



Possible additional readings:

- D. Marsh, G. Stoker, *“Theory and Methods in Political Science”*, 2nd edition by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- S. M. Lipset, S. Rokkan, *“Party Systems and Voter Alignments. Cross National Perspectives”*, The Free Press, New York.
- C. Tilly, *“Mobilization and Revolution”*, Adison-Wesley Publishing Company

Z. Brzezinski's defines totalitarianism as "[...] a new kind of government, which fits into general classification of dictatorial systems, in which technologically advanced political power instruments are used without any constraints by centralized leadership of specific elitist movement, in order to conduct total social revolution of some sort, including shaping of a "New Man". Planned revolution is based on some arbitrary, ideological assumptions, proclaimed by movement's leader in overall mood of complete unity of whole society."

Six factors differentiating totalitarian regime from others (by C. Friedrich):

- Totalitarian **ideology**,
- **one party**, following this ideology, usually led by one person – dictator,
- extensive **secret police** system,
- state's monopoly **over means of mass communication**,
- state's monopoly **all operational armed forces**,
- state's monopoly **all organizations**, including non – political ones (religious, economical, cultural, etc)

Basic characteristics of totalitarian system:

- Importance of **social mobilization**, with only one party as mobilization's focal point
- importance of **ideology**, driving the party,
- **one power centre** (either one person or a small group)

All three of the above conditions have to be fulfilled, in order to call a system "totalitarian".

Additional features of totalitarian system are:

- **Merging** of political and private sphere of life,
- **relative lack of any opposition groups** (either voluntary, caused by total support of society or enforced by terror),
- **socio – political monism**, lack of open competition for power,
- **population is expected to participate** in state's political life. It is both encouraged and enforced,
- terror is more often used **inside** the ruling group than outside of it

Authoritarian system's definition (by J. Linz): *“**Authoritarian** systems are systems with limited responsibility of government before the society, devoid of any strong and coherent ideology and mass mobilization, featuring limited political pluralism. In authoritarian systems, the leader does not suffer from any formal constraints, though his power is limited by other, informal factors.”*

Basic features of **authoritarian** system are:

- **Limited political pluralism**, meaning that power struggle exists, but it is limited to specific segments of society. Only few groups are able to participate in power competition and none of them is strong enough to eliminate other. Still, the government remains one most powerful actor, capable of removing any other group – but not all of them.
- Dependency between government and those interest groups is **two – directional**, government doesn't want to be contested actively, and group needs approval for functioning.
- **Strong ideology is rarely present**. This way, it is easier for the ruling person to cooperate with all other political actors (lack of ideology means lack of constraints).
- Lack of strong ideology makes **social mobilization much more difficult**. Lack of broad mobilization and participation is one of most distinct features of authoritarian system. Increase in mobilization is likely to proper the system either towards more democratic or totalitarian one.

Authoritarian regimes are most common type of non – democratic political systems in contemporary world. J. Linz proposed their classification, based of three dimensions:

- Degree of **social mobilization** (usually low to very low),
- **role of ideology** (usually leader's mentality replaces s\coherent ideology),
- **type of party system** present (varying from one party system, through bi – party, to system without strong parties and technocratic / military elite present instead)

Theocracy may be :

- a system of government in which **God or a deity is held to be the civil ruler**,
- a system of **government by priests**,
- a state **under such a form of rule** is a government of a state by immediate divine guidance or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided.

Term derives from Greek *theos* = god + *kratos* = power.

Basic features of theocracy:

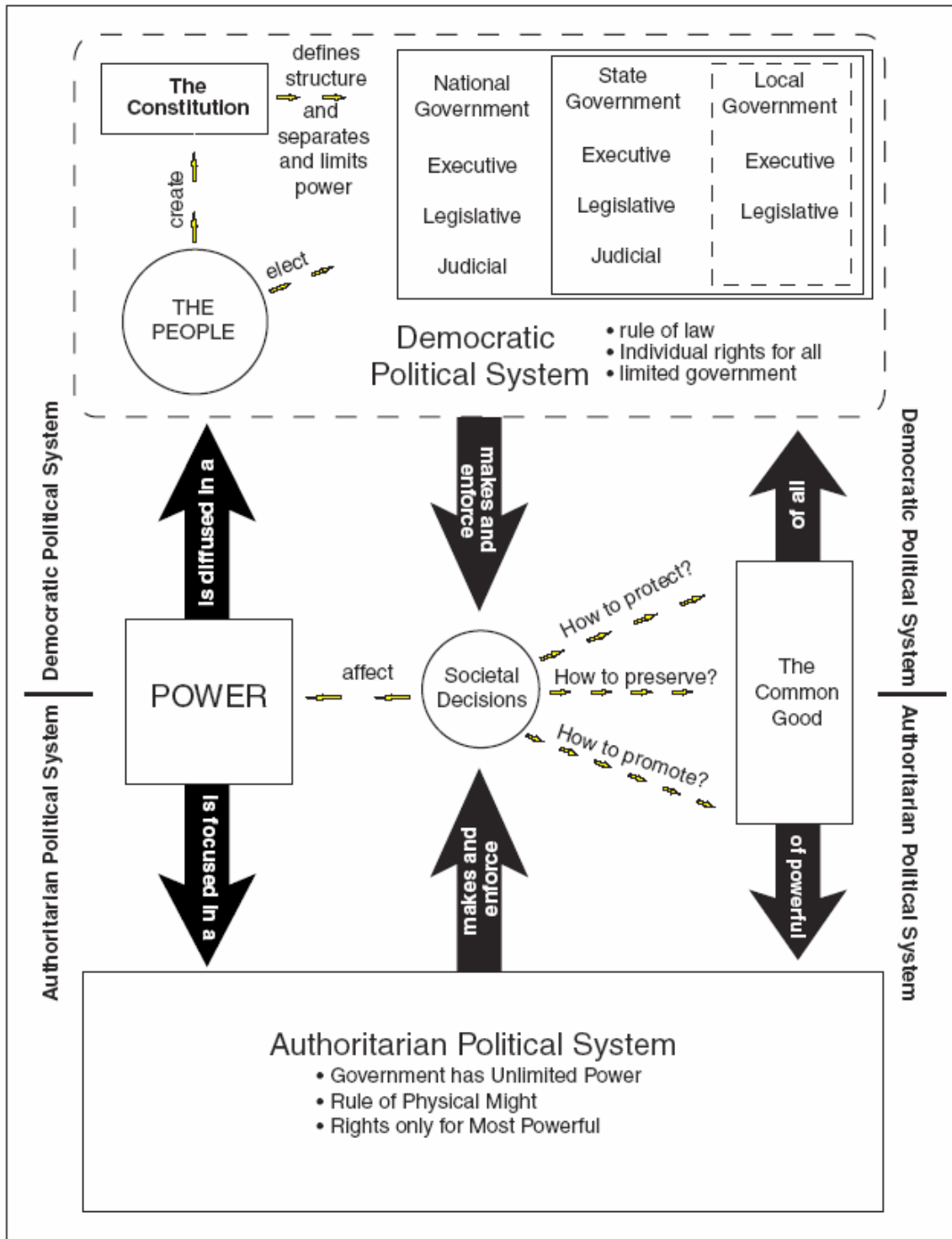
- Basic paradox – **mixing “sacred” sphere with mundane**, political action,
- **specific type of dominant ideology** – religion (organized, monotheistic one),
- **specific type of mobilization** – towards religious life, not political action,
- **specific type of ruling organization** – religious organization (even if not governing directly)
- strong **affiliation with traditional** type of the state,
- most **distinct and unique** type of state organization in modern times.

Recommended additional readings:

- J. Linz, *“Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regime”*, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.
- C. J. Friedrich and Z. K. Brezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*.
- H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

Concept Map

NSL - Unit One • Political Principles and Structure of Systems



Definition of **democracy**: “a political system, in which those holding power are responsible before the citizens, where citizens elect their representatives and the representatives compete and cooperate with each other.”

Public sphere: area, where collective norms and decisions are being created. Those norms often restrict individual freedom of action and have to be enforced by government. Even then, however they may be considered democratic.

Key features of democratic political system (by P.C. Schmitter and T.L. Karl):

- **Existence of people holding power**, occupying specific positions, allowing them to issue orders. What distinguish democratic systems from non – democratic ones are the rules of selecting occupants of such positions.
- There is **no simple set of “democratic institutions”**. One society might be more liberal (focused on upholding individual freedoms), other may be social democratic (focused on enforcing common good) – but may be considered democratic.
- **Citizens**, namely people allowed participating in public sphere and having influence of governance. The scope of such group may vary from one system to another.
- **Competition** and power struggle inside the system is considered “necessary evil” of any large (non – local) democratic political system.

Foundation of democratic system (by P.C. Schmitter and T.L. Karl):

- **Elections**, often considered basic (and sufficient) condition of democracy. Their purpose is to allow each citizen selecting people, that will represent them in various branches of government (most often, Parliament).
- **Majority rule**, attributing *democratic* feature to every institution legitimized by approval of more than 50% of citizens allowed participating in the election. Majority rule might cause some problems when, majority’s will violates various minority’s interests. Several ways of dealing with this may be enforced:
 - Constitutional constrains, that remove some issues from majority rule (Card of Basic Rights),
 - rules stating that in order to change some basic regulations, majority in several distinct institutions is required (confederalism),
 - guaranteeing of local autonomy in relation to central government demands (federalism),

- practice of negotiating all important issues with specific groups interested (neocorporativism).
- every day's work of interest – protection societies and social movements
- **Cooperation**, one of most important foundations of democratic system. Political actors have to focus on community as being most important, while making any common decisions. Competition is allowed and enforced, but it must have been conducted with peaceful, legal and non – disrupting means. Common description of such practice is **civil society**.
- **Representatives**, their presence is common characteristic of all contemporary political systems. They may be elected either directly or indirectly, most often they will be professional politicians, building their careers on occupying various governmental positions.

Procedures allowing democracy to work (by R. Dahl):

- Control over political decisions is assigned to **freely elected politicians**,
- “elected” positions are being filled in result of regular **and fair elections**, where no kind of compulsion is present,
- **practically all adult members** of society are allowed to participate in the elections and choose their representatives,
- **practically all adult members** of society are allowed to try to get elected as the such representative,
- citizens are **allowed to formulate their opinions** concerning all political matters freely, without risk of being punished for this,
- citizens **are allowed to seek alternative sources of information**, which exist and are protected by the law,
- citizens may **create and participate in** independent societies and organizations, including their own political parties and interest groups,
- elected officials may **work and make decisions, without encountering opposition** (even informal) from non – elected officials (eg. members of military),
- government's decisions must have be made **independently** of other, even much stronger political systems.

Proper functioning of democratic system rests on basic agreement concerning election effects; election winner is allowed to take power, but he will not try to use it to change the electoral system in his favor, to prohibit other actors from winning future elections.

Not all democracies are identical. They may differ to some extent, but they also have to fulfill some basic conditions:

- **Agreement**; not all citizens have to agree to system's basic goals and role,
- **participation**; not all citizens have to participate in the system to the same extent, however all of them should have the same possibilities to do so,
- **access**; although government does not have to react to all pleads of citizens, all citizens must be able to articulate them ,
- **responsibility**; government does not have to act in manner supported by citizens, however it must be responsible for its actions via established, objective procedures,
- **majority rule**; assignment to specific roles in government does not have to regulated only by the result of the elections, however deviations from such procedure have to be reported and explained to the society,
- **parliament sovereignty**; legislative branch of government does not have to be the dominant one in term of law making, however if any other branch (executive or judicial one) is capable of creating laws – it should be held responsible for doing so,
- **party rules**; it is not necessary to form government only on the basis some party, but this way is usually the easiest one to follow,
- **pluralism**; activity of diverse and autonomous interest groups does not have to be the only foundation of public life in the system, but where the monopolies, hierarchy and compulsory membership is present – the power struggle will be less democratic and more closely bound to the state's institutions,
- **federalism**; territorial division of the country does not have to assume self – governance, but the common notion of all democratic systems includes decentralization of some sort,
- **president's office**; top executive authority does not have to be assigned to single person and such person does not have to be selected in free election. However, in every democratic system top executive officials must be responsible before the citizens in some way,

- **control and balance**; it is not required that all branches of government check and control each other all the time, however some kind of responsibility for their actions have to be present.

Democracy **does not** automatically mean:

- **greater economical performance**,
- **more efficient form of governance**, meaning less problems with forming governments and dealing with various challenges and problems,
- **stabilization**, agreement and smooth governance.

Although all three of the above are more often encountered in democratic systems, than in others, democracy does not automatically protect from economical breakdown, social crisis and switching to other forms of government.

Classification of democratic system, (by A. Liphart):

		Dimension II (Federal – Unitary)		
		Majoritarian	Intermediate	Consensual
Dimension I (Executive – Parties)	Majoritarian	New Zealand United Kingdom	Ireland	Australia Austria Canada Germany United States
	Intermediate	Iceland Luxembourg	France V Norway Sweden	Italy Japan
	Consensual	Denmark Israel	Belgium Finland France IV Netherlands	Switzerland

Dimension I is defined by:

- Concentration of executive power versus executive power – sharing,
- executive dominance versus executive legislative balance,
- two – party versus multiparty system,
- one – dimensional versus multidimensional party system,
- plurality elections versus proportional representation.

Dimension II is defined by:

- Unitary and centralized versus federal and decentralized government,
- unilateralism versus strong bicameralism,
- unwritten versus rigid constitutions.

There is **strong relationship between the degree to which the countries are plural and their type of regime**. The *consensual* ones are more plural. Population size is linked with second dimension, 10 million being the dividing point between majoritarian (less than 10 mil) and consensual (more than 10 mil). The influence of tradition might be observed as well, strong influence of British governance model is visible with regard to dimension I (British – influenced countries are majoritarian ones).

According to A. Liphart, as far as system stability is concerned, **consensus democracy is superior to majoritarian democracy** for plural societies and the democratic quality of consensus democracy is superior insofar as its first dimension is compared with same dimension of majoritarian democracy.

Every existing democracy today is either:

- **Presidential** (e.g. United States),
- **parliamentary** (as in most of Western Europe),
- **semipresidential** (e.g. France, Portugal).

Pure parliamentary regime in a democracy is a system of mutual dependence:

- The chief executive power must be supported by a majority in the legislature can fall if it receives a vote of no confidence,
- The executive power (normally in conjunction with the head of the state) has the capacity to dissolve the legislature and call for elections.

A pure presidential regime in a democracy is a system of mutual independence:

- The legislative power has a fixed electoral mandate that is its own source of legitimacy,
- The chief executive power has a fixed electoral mandate that is its own source of legitimacy.

According to A. Stepan and C. Skach, parliamentary system is superior to others, especially presidential one:

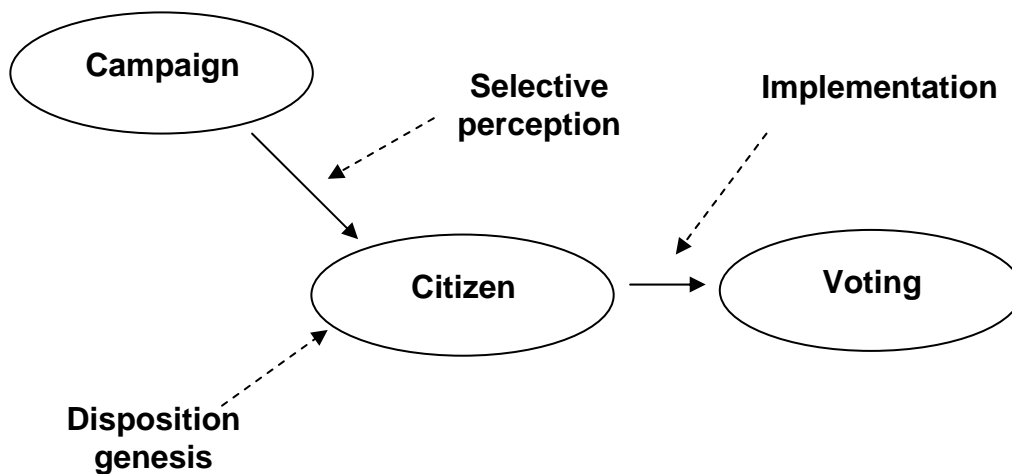
- Parliamentary system has greater propensity for government to have **elected majorities implement their programs**,
- parliamentary system has greater ability **to rule in a multiparty setting**,
- parliamentary system has lower propensity for executives **to rule at the edge of constitution** and greater facility for **removing a chief executive who does so**,

- military coups are much more likely in pure presidential constitutional frameworks than in parliamentary ones, since several ways **to break the possible political impasse exist** (like vote of no confidence and possibility to dissolve the parliament),
- parliamentary system it has **greater tendency to provide possibilities of long term government careers**, which add loyalty and experience to political society,
- many new democracies select presidential because they believe it to be strong form of executive government. However, **between 1973 and 1987 presidential democracies enjoyed legislative majorities less than half of the time.**

Possible additional readings:

- P. C. Schmitter, “*What Democracy Is... and Is Not*”, *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 2, Summer 1991,
- M. Shugart, J. Carey, “*Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Social Dynamics*”, Cambridge University Press, 1992,
- J. J. Linz, A. Valenzuela, „*The Failure of Presidential Democracy, Comparative Perspectives*“, The John Hopkins University Press, 1994,
- A. Bebler, J. Serocka, “*Contemporary Political Systems, Classification and Typologies*”, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990

Campaign – citizen – vote schematics, by B. Berelson, P. Lazarsfeld, W. McPhee:



There is no simple “influence cascade” coming from political party extended thorough campaign, ending on voting process. Several mechanisms might be pointed:

- When members of specific group show general tendency to vote in similar manner, such **visible majority will be altering voting patterns** of other group members, who weren't at first agreeing with predominant voting pattern.
- **Such group influence is usually extended through informal** meetings and talks with peers, rather than via broad, mass campaign means.
- Individual who is a **subject of strong pressure coming from contradictory sources** (e.g. two parties fighting for his vote) is likely to **change his mind late in the course of campaign or to skip the voting altogether**.
- **Voting intensions are strongly correlated with voting outcomes expectations**. A “bandwagon effect” might be observed, making people vote on the person that they think is likely to win. From the other hand, people usually expect their candidate should win.

“Practical side” of real electoral systems, from individual citizen's perspective:

- Democracy's theory assumes broad **mobilization and participation**, in practice quite low level of both is observed. One of the reasons is that people simply don't see any “real” effects of their voting decisions.
- Theory assumes that citizens have full **knowledge** about candidates and parties, while making electoral choice. This is rarely true – no individual is capable of getting such information and processing it, even if it would be freely available.

- In theory, while casting a vote, citizen should be driven by ideology, belief, **political vision**. In practice, most of voters cannot construct such broad vision and they just act the way other member of their group act.
- Three points above are the reason, that it is hard to consider individual voters being fully **rational**.

In political theory, many features of ideal system are mutually exclusive, others are just too hard to fulfill. In the effect, each voting system in real life is heterogeneous. Examples are:

- **Participation and indifference.** Citizens are supposed to mobilize, but if anyone would want to participate in the system, state his interests and values and defend them, every political action would become extremely difficult to conduct. The amount of people that would have to be convinced to start support any notion would become very high, making any action very hard and time consuming.
- **Stability and flexibility.** Each political system is supposed to be stable, so the rules don't change too often, but in the same time it should be able to adapt. Political stability is usually based of **social stability** – existing pattern of groups and organization whose interests and values doesn't change too fast. Strong position of such groups doesn't allow the system to evolve and change too drastically. The change is possible through groups of voters that aren't bound strongly with any of such stable groups and that **aren't too consistent** in their voting patterns.
- **Unity and division.** Ideally efficient system assumes total unity; however such total unity would lead to system's stagnation and severe limitations of individual freedom. At the same time, too strong division and lack of unity can paralyze whole system and dissolve the society. The only reasonable way is finding optimal combination of those two features.
- **Individualism and collectivism.** Although it is individual who is casting a vote, this individual is driven by many collective – based factors. Information is socially distributed, opinions are being formed in interaction with various groups, starting from those closest, people are usually subject to political campaigns, driven by political parties.

Sample electoral systems:

<p>First Past The Post (FPTP)</p>	<p>Each voter votes for one candidate. The candidate they prefer. The candidate with the most votes is elected.</p> <p>FPTP can also be used to elect multiple candidates for a constituency in some local elections. Each voter gets N votes where there are N people to be elected. The voters must use each vote on a different candidate; they cannot put all their votes on the same candidate.</p> <p>The N candidates with the most votes are elected.</p>
<p>Run-Off Voting</p>	<p>Voting takes place in two rounds. The first round is a FPTP election. If no candidate gets a majority of the vote in the first round, a second round is held, with only the candidates who did well in the first round standing.</p>
<p>Single Transferable Vote (STV)</p>	<p>Each voter marks '1' against the candidate they most like, '2' against their next favorite, and so on until they have no preference for the remaining candidates.</p> <p>The highest preferences for each candidate are counted. If any candidate has more votes than the Quota, they are elected. The Quota is calculated as:</p> $\text{Quota} = \text{int}(V/(N+1)) + 1$ <p>where:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> V = number of votes N = number of candidates to be elected int() = convert to integer, rounding down <p>The rationale for this formula is that the quota is the smallest number of votes such that the candidate is certain to be within the top N candidates.</p> <p>If someone is above the quota, the additional votes above the quota are reallocated to the other candidates according to the voters' lower preferences. This is done by giving each vote of the candidate a fractional value according to the fraction that the candidate was above the quota.</p> <p>If no-one is above the quota, the candidate with the smallest number of votes is eliminated, and their votes are reallocated to other candidates.</p> <p>When votes are reallocated, if the voter has expressed no further lower preferences, their vote is discarded.</p> <p>This procedure is continued until all N candidates are elected.</p>
<p>Party List systems (PL)</p>	<p>Each party makes out a list of candidates. Each voter votes for a party list. Each party is then allocated MPs in proportion to how many people have voted for it. Sometimes the MPs are allocated according to the order they appear on the party's list. Sometimes voters can influence the order.</p> <p>Some PL systems have a threshold, so that if a party gets a lower proportion of the votes than this, it is allocated no seats at all.</p> <p>Parties won't qualify for whole numbers of seats - they will theoretically be entitled to eg 34.72 seats or 19.14 seats. Two approaches for allocating the surplus seats are commonly used - the Hare system, under which the surplus seats go to the lists with the largest number of surplus votes; and the d'Hondt system, under which the surplus seats go to the lists with the highest average vote per seat.</p>

Concepts related to elections and voting systems:

- **Gerrymandering.** The practice of fixing the result of an election by altering electoral boundaries to favor one side. Gerrymandering is a lot easier to do in some electoral systems than in others.
- **Splitting the vote.** May happen, when two candidates with very similar views and program compete with each other and split the votes between them. Third candidate may amass fewer votes than those two combined, but more than any of them taken individually.
- **Tactical Voting.** Occurs when votes vote in any pattern other than their true preference, because doing this allows them to better influence the result of the election in their favor.

Basic features of properly functioning voting systems:

- **Efficiency.** Capability to influence country politics based on election's results rather than on any other factors
- **Clarity.** Capability to link specific political decisions with specific parties and individuals.
- **Representativeness.** Capability to reflect voters diversity (based on geography, interests, values, programs, etc).

First Past The Post versus Proportional Representation, example arguments:

Small parties rule the roost under Proportional Representation	Under FPTP a small group of swing voters decide who is in government.
First Past the Post is tried and tested	FPTP fails decisively on three counts – seats that look like the votes cast, voter choice and representing society fairly.
PR is incomprehensible	Opponents of PR sometimes try to make it sound complicated when it is not.
PR doesn't let you kick out an unpopular government	Under FPTP by taking safe seats for granted and focusing on marginals, a party can win an election despite being unpopular
First Past the Post is best for representing a constituency	A constituency link established on a feeble mandate does not look that strong from the voters' point of view.
PR does nothing for turnout	The things that turn people off politics – the obsession with swing voters in marginal seats that makes all the parties sound alike –are all products of FPTP
PR creates weak coalitions	The most unstable governments are often those governments with a small, or no, overall majority that FPTP throws up
PR lets in extremist parties	It is only in FPTP that there is the possibility of having representation monopolized by an extremist party
STV form of PR is bad for party cohesion and therefore government	Many voters would not feel that it is a bad thing that candidates are more dependent on their local base than the approval of head office.

Today, all dynamic societies are based on **participation**. Two types might be distinguished:

- Democratic,
- totalitarian.

Definitions of **political culture**:

- G. Almond, S. Verba: *“system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values, which defines the situation in which political action takes place. In other words, the specifically political orientations and - attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system”*.
- L.W. Pye: *“the sum of the fundamental values, sentiments and knowledge that give form and substance to political process”*.
- D. Kavanagh: *“A shorthand expression to denote the set of values within which the political system operates”*

Types of political culture, by A. Lijphart:

- Based on range:
 - Political culture of **masse**,
 - political culture of the **elite(s)**.
- Based in internal characteristics and political culture of elite(s):
 - **Coalitional**,
 - **contradictive**.
- Based on the structure of society:
 - **Homogeneous**,
 - **heterogeneous**.

Basic elements of political system, by G. Almond and S. Verba:

- Specific **roles and structures** (legislative / executive branch of government),
- specific **people** holding specific positions (representatives, ministers, president),
- specific **political strategies**, decisions and ways of enforcing them.

All of the above might be divided into two groups:

- Those **initiating** political actions (political parties, interest groups),
- those **processing** political actions (bureaucracy, ministries).

Types of political culture:

- **Parochial**, in which no clear differentiation of specific political roles and expectations exists among actors, i.e. "political specialization is minimal". The parochial tends to be unaware, or only dimly aware, of the political system in all its aspects.
- **Subject**, in which institutional and role differentiation exists in political life, but towards which the citizen stands in largely passive relations. A subject tends to be cognitively oriented primarily to the output side of government: the executive, bureaucracy, and judiciary.
- **Participant**, in which the relationships between specialized institutions and citizen opinion and activity is interactive. A participant is assumed to be aware of and informed about the political system in both its governmental and political aspects.

The three types above are the **ideal** ones. Every modern society existing today is composed of some kind of mixture of those types. The fairer and more stable those mixtures would be the more durable the system will become. Some **mixture types** are:

- **Parochial & Subject**. A system in which majority of society has refused to follow the traditional rule and pledged their allegiance to some kind of more complex government (like absolutist monarchy).
- **Subject & Participant**. Where a faction of population is active and as clearly participatory features, but another part is largely passive and expecting state's involvement in their everyday life.
- **Parochial & Participant**. Where parochial culture is still dominant, but some new elements are being introduced. There are still no state structures and modern democratic system is just being built.

The values and attitudes which emerge and in democratic system relate to the manner in which people view their relationships with each other. **The civic culture** is pluralistic, and based on communication and persuasion, it's a culture of consensus and diversity, a culture that permits change but moderates it. Political culture is formulated as "the connecting link between micro- and macro politics.

According to R. Inglehart, among the polities of Europe, **basic satisfaction with life and political circumstance, and levels of inter-personal trust, are strongly correlated**

with both the existence of relatively long-lived and stable democratic institutions, and with relative affluence of the populace. Viable democracy does not depend on economic factors alone. Specific cultural factors are crucial, and they in turn are related to economic and macropolitical developments. Stable democracy interacts with three kinds of factors:

- Economic,
- political,
- cultural.

If a democratic political system is one in which the ordinary citizen participates in political decisions, **a democratic political culture should consist of a set of beliefs, attitudes, norms, perceptions and the like, that support participation.**

Ecological fallacy: mistake based on wrong assumption, stating that a phenomenon that exists on one level also exists on another level. Example: “Since there are no visible correlations between individual people’s opinions about democracy and overall system efficiency, there is no relation between democracy and political culture”. This assumption is wrong because of three reasons:

- Since it’s an attribute of societies, not individuals, relation between political culture and **democracy does not work strongly on individual level**, only on aggregated, national one.
- So, **it is not that important what individual person thinks and says about the democracy**, especially that nearly no – one will speak against democracy today.
- Impact of pro (or non) democratic political culture on effective democracy operates mainly on **aggregate (group) level**. Culture that emphasizes self – expression, tolerance, trust, life satisfaction and participation plays a crucial role in the effective democracy.

Possible additional readings:

- G. Almond, S. Verba, „The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations”, Sage Publications, 1989.
- R. Inglehart, C. Welzel, “*Political Culture and Democracy. Analyzing Cross – Level Linkages*”, Comparative Politics, Vol. 36, No.1 (Oct 2003), p 61-79

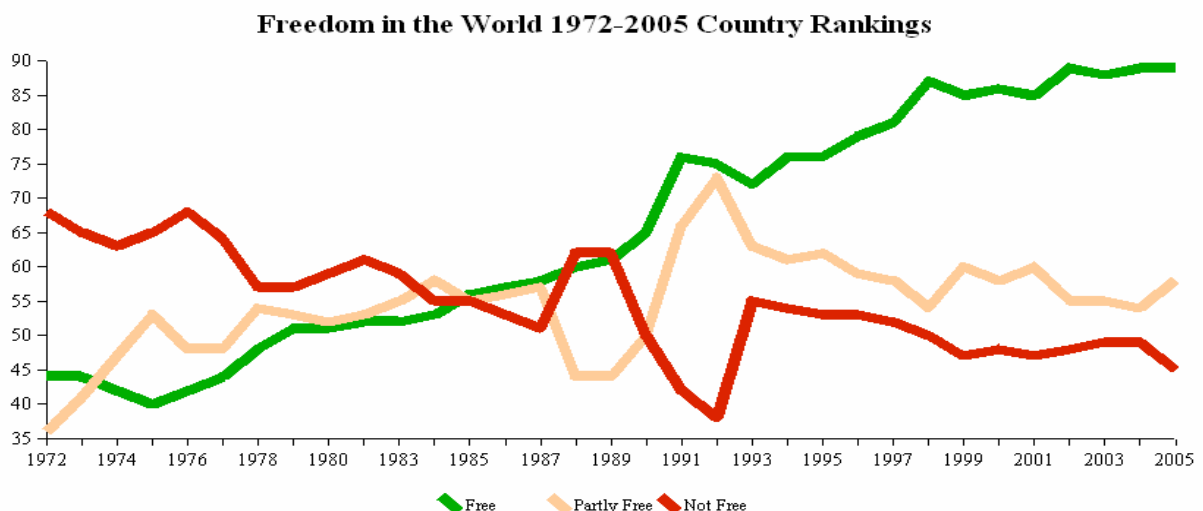
S. Huntington defines a ‘wave of democratization’ simply as “*a group of transitions from nondemocratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specified period of time and that significantly outnumber transitions in the opposite direction during that period*”. He identifies three waves of democratization:

- **a long slow wave** from 1828 to 1926
- **second post–WWII wave**, from 1943–1964
- **third, in the mid-1980s**, when the pace of global democratic expansion accelerated markedly, to the point where as of 1996 there were somewhere between 76 and 117 democracies (depending on how they are counted).

Significantly, each of the first two waves ended with what a “**reverse wave**” of democratic breakdowns:

- **first in 1922–42**, gave rise to the expansionist fascist regimes that brought on the Second World War.
- and the **second in 1961–75**, which occurred during the peak of the Cold War and witnessed a number of regional conflicts and civil wars in which (in contrast to the current period) some established democracies fought directly or through surrogates and vigorously backed certain anticommunist authoritarian regimes.

During each of these two reverse waves, **some but not all of the newly established (or reestablished) democracies broke down**. Overall, in each reverse wave, the number of democracies in the world decreased significantly but left more democracies in place than had existed prior to the start of the previous democratic wave.



Five changes in the world that paved the way for the latest wave of transitions to democracy (by S. Huntington):

- the **deepening legitimacy problems** of authoritarian governments unable to cope with military defeat and economic failure,
- the **burgeoning economies** of many countries, which have raised living standards, levels of education, and urbanization, while also raising civic expectations and the ability to express them,
- **changes in religious institutions** which have made them more prone to oppose governmental authoritarianism than defend the status quo,
- **the push to promote human rights** and democracy by external actors such as non-governmental organizations and the European Community,
- the "**snowballing**" or **demonstration effects**, enhanced by new international communications, of democratization in other countries.

Four general types of transitions are:

- **transformations** (as in Spain, India, Hungary, and Brazil) where the elites in power took the lead in bringing about democracy,
- **replacements** (as in East Germany, Portugal, Romania, and Argentina) where opposition groups took the lead in bringing about democracy,
- **transplacements** (as in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bolivia, and Nicaragua) where democratization occurred from joint action by government and opposition groups,
- **interventions** (as in Grenada and Panama) where democratic institutions were imposed by an outside power.

Conditions that have favored or are favoring the consolidation of new democracies (by S. Huntington):

- the experience of a previous effort at democratization, even if it failed;
- a **high level of economic development**,
- a **favorable international political environment**, with outside assistance,
- **early timing** of the transition to democracy, relative to a worldwide "wave," indicating that the drive to democracy derived primarily from indigenous rather than outside influences,
- experience of a **relatively peaceful rather than violent transition**.

When **defining *real* democracy**, key features of effective democratic system should be taken into account:

- Control of the state and its key decisions and allocations lies, **in fact as well as in constitutional theory**, with elected officials; in particular, the military is subordinate to the authority of elected civilian officials.
- Executive power is constrained, **constitutionally and in fact**, by the autonomous power of other government institutions (such as an independent judiciary, parliament, and other mechanisms of horizontal accountability).
- **Not only are electoral outcomes uncertain**, with a significant opposition vote and the presumption of party alternation in government over time, **but no group that adheres to constitutional principles is denied the right to form a party and contest elections**.
- Cultural, ethnic, religious, and other minority groups are not prohibited (**legally or in practice**) from expressing their interests in the political process nor from using their language and culture.
- Beyond parties and intermittent elections, citizens **have multiple ongoing channels and means for the expression and** representation of their interests and values, including a diverse array of autonomous associations, movements, and groupings that they have the freedom to form and join.
- In addition to associational freedom and pluralism, there exist **alternative sources of information** (including independent media) to which citizens have (politically) unfettered access.
- Individuals also have **substantial freedom** of belief, opinion, discussion, speech, publication, assembly, demonstration, and petition.
- Citizens **are politically equal under the law** (even though they are invariably unequal in their political resources), and the above individual and group **liberties are effectively protected** by an independent, nondiscriminatory judiciary whose decisions are enforced and respected by other centers of power.
- **The rule of law protects citizens** from unjustified detention, exile, terror, torture, or undue interference in their personal lives not only by the state but by organized antistate forces as well.

Colonialism: *is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another.* It is the **extension of a nation's sovereignty over territory beyond its borders by the establishment of either settler or exploitation colonies in which indigenous populations are directly ruled, displaced, or exterminated.** Colonizing nations generally dominate the resources, labor, and markets of the colonial territory, and may also impose socio-cultural, religious, and linguistic structures on the indigenous population (see also cultural imperialism). It is essentially **a system of direct political, economic, and cultural intervention and hegemony by a powerful country in a weaker one.**

Though the word *colonialism* is often used interchangeably with imperialism, the latter is sometimes used more broadly as it covers control exercised informally (via influence) as well as formal military control or economic leverage.

Decolonisation: *the action of changing from colonial to independent status.* It is a political process, frequently involving violence. Typically, it is **composed of dynamic cycle of pressure, negotiations and disturbances, resulting in suppression by the police and military forces, escalating into more violent revolts that lead to further negotiations until independence is granted.** In extreme circumstances, there is a war of independence, sometimes following a revolution. Decolonization is rarely achieved through a single historical act, but rather progresses through one or more stages of emancipation, each of which can be offered or fought for: these can include:

- the **introduction of elected representatives** (advisory or voting; minority or majority or even exclusive),
- degrees of **autonomy**,
- **self-rule.**

Thus, the final phase of decolonisation may in fact concern little more than handing over responsibility for foreign relations and security, and soliciting *de jure* recognition for the new sovereignty. But, even following the recognition of statehood, a degree of continuity can be maintained through bilateral treaties between now equal governments involving practicalities such as military training, mutual protection pacts, or even a garrison and/or military bases.

Possible additional reading:

- Samuel P. Huntington, „*The Third Wave: Democratization In The Late Twentieth Century*”, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991

According to F. Fukuyama, “*remarkable consensus concerning the legitimacy of liberal democracy as a system of government had emerged throughout the world over the past few years, as it conquered rival ideologies like hereditary monarchy, fascism, and most recently communism*”.

Fukuyama's thesis consists of three main elements:

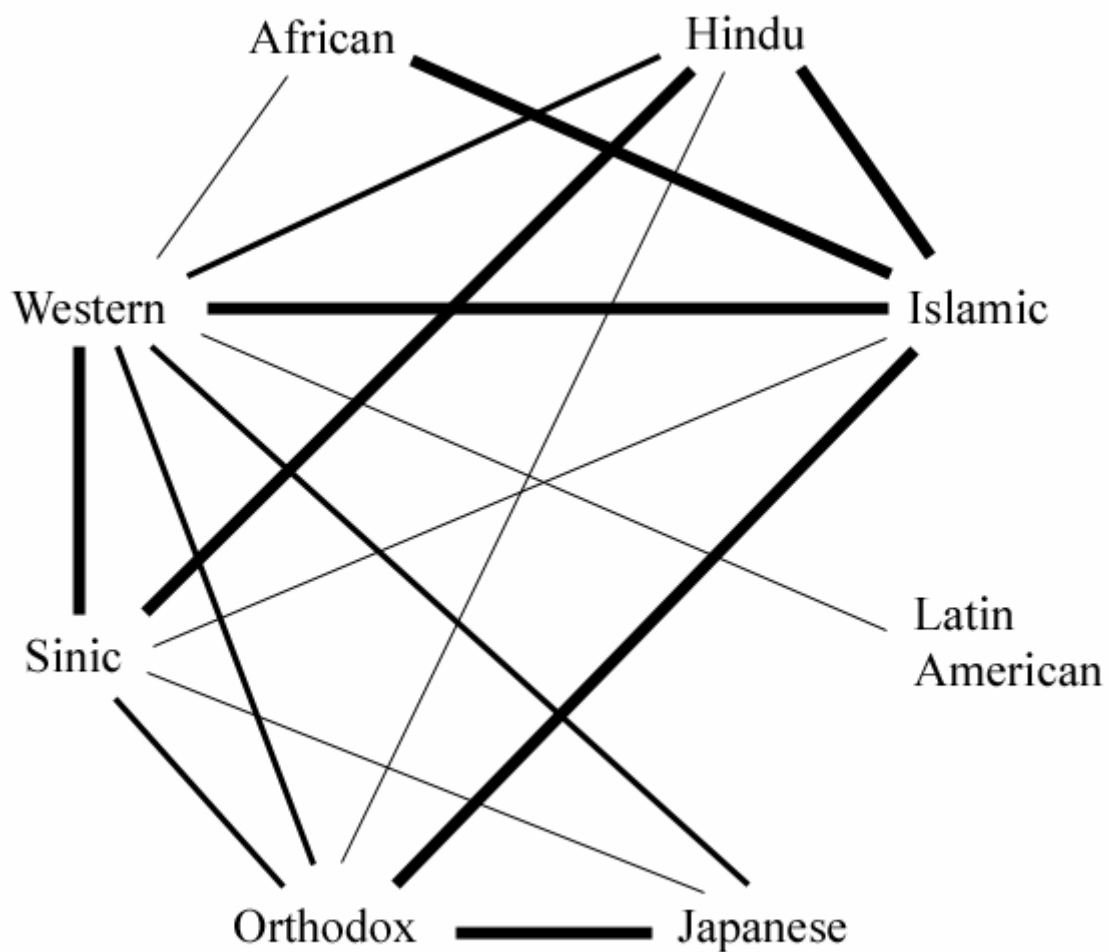
- First, Fukuyama points out that since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, **democracy**, which started off as being merely one among many systems of government, **has grown until the majority of governments in the world are termed "democratic"**. He also points out that democracy's main intellectual **alternatives** (which he takes to be various forms of dictatorship) **have become discredited**,
- second, there is a philosophical argument examining the influence of thymos (or **human spiritedness**). Fukuyama argues that the original battles for prestige among the first men of history, and the willingness of some to risk their lives in order to receive recognition from another is an unnecessary form of human behavior within a democracy. In essence; the roles of master and slave are rationally understood by both parties to be unsatisfying and self-defeating,
- finally Fukuyama also argues that **radical socialism** (or communism) is **likely to be incompatible with modern representative democracy**. Therefore, in the future, democracies are overwhelmingly likely to contain markets of some sort, and most are likely to be capitalist or social democratic.

However, what Fukuyama suggests that **what had come to an end is not the occurrence of events, even large and grave events, but History**: that is, history understood as a single, coherent, evolutionary process, when taking into account the experience of all peoples in all times.

As a reaction to Francis Fukuyama's book, S. Huntington formulated the theory of “**The Clash of Civilizations**”. Huntington believes that while the age of ideology had ended, **the world had only reverted to a normal state of affairs characterized by cultural conflict**. He states that the primary axis of conflict in the future would be **along cultural and religious lines**. As an extension, he posits that the **concept of different civilizations**, as the highest rank of cultural identity, will become increasingly useful in analyzing the potential for conflict.

Huntington states: “It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future”.

“Emerging alignments” of civilizations, per Samuel Huntington’s theory in *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996).



Greater line thickness represents more conflict in the civilizational relationship.

Democratic “Peace” and “Victory” theories

It has been often said that **no two countries with established liberal democracies have ever gone to war against one another**. However, at the same time, regimes in transition may be prone to international conflict and democracies have a long history of war and conquest against non-democracies,

According to Bruce Russett, democracies “*rarely fight each other even at low levels of lethal violence*” and they are **much less likely to let their disputes with one another escalate**. This is not only because of the institutional restraints for decisions to go to war but even more so because of **democratic normative restraints** on the use of force to resolve disputes. The longer democracies endure and enhance democratic political culture, the less likely is any kind of violent conflict between them.

As UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has observed, “*a culture of democracy is fundamentally a culture of peace*”. More generally, **the relative openness of democracies to the free flow of information, and their valuing of law and constitutionalism, logically make them much more likely than authoritarian regimes to honor their obligations under international laws and treaties**. The secretiveness, repression, and dubious legitimacy of authoritarian regimes make them “*more likely to incite hostilities against other States in order to justify their suppression of internal dissent or forge a basis for national unity*”.

The core of *democratic victory theory* states, that democracies are more likely to win wars because they **choose to start only wars they can win** and because democratic system helps to **secure all kinds of resources and technology, needed for war effort**. Additionally, democratic systems have formed stronger alliances, make better decisions, have higher levels of public support, or can count on greater effort from their soldiers.

David Lake was the first to argue that democracies are more likely to win wars because of their **economic capacities**. He claimed that democratic system, due to economical reasons, tend to:

- create fewer economic distortions, enables to build greater national wealth, and thus to devote more resources to security,
- possess greater support for their policies and therefore a greater fund – raising capability,
- form overwhelming countercoalitions against expansionist autocracies.

Dan Reiter and Allan Stam, after running various statistical tests:

- rejected the proposition that democratic targets are more likely to attract democratic allies,
- found that democracies do not win wars because of their overwhelming economic capacities,
- proposed instead that political institutions and individual soldiering can better account for democratic victory.

According to Stam and Reiter, since **democratic governments are held accountable to their citizens** and since the **people are unwilling to suffer in costly or lost wars; democratic leaders will choose to start only wars they can win**. At the same time, autocratic leaders know that their power is secure even in the worst of cases (such as a defeat at war) and will **tend to risk more often**. Also, **democratic governments, make better estimates current situation and probability of victory**. The reason for that is that democratic systems have more and higher quality information as both opposition parties and the free press facilitates open discussion of ideas. What explains why democracies are more likely to win when they are targets is soldiering. In particular, **the democratic political culture**, focusing on individual rights and privileges, **produce armies fighting with higher levels of leadership and initiative** on the battlefield.

Possible additional readings:

- S. P. Huntington, *“The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order”*, P. Boehmer, New York. 1996
- F. Fukuyama, *“The End of History and the Last Man”*, The Free Press, 1992