Political Analysis.
Forms and Structures of Political Obligation

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Second Term (January-March 2014)

Thursdays 11:00 – 13:00, Seminar Room 2

+ intensive workshop on March 26-28

Registration with Mariana Spratley (mariana.spratley@eui.eu)

Topic

Analysis is a method of inquiring based on the decomposition of what presents itself as unitary in its constitutive elements. In this course we will critically discuss the constitutive elements of politics and political behaviour at both the individual and aggregate level. Particular attention is given to the way in which political aggregate and structures do emerge from the individual level interactions and the condition under which, in turn, such aggregate and structures can be regarded as unitary actors for higher level interaction patterns. The aim of the course is to critically evaluate the conceptual toolkit of classical political science and to provide a coherent conceptual framework for the interpretation of complex political phenomena.

Audience

The seminar is open to all researchers

Requirements

The course takes the form of lectures accompanied by discussions. The readings are general for the entire course but special relevant readings for each session are indicated in the syllabus. Participants will prepare a deepening paper on one of the conceptual tools of the course. Such paper will be discussed in a special intensive seminar in the third term.

Schedule

The seminar takes place Thursday, 11-13:00, in Seminar Room 2 and will run from January 9th to March 3rd. Please note that on Thursday 16th January and on Thursday 23rd January the sessions will take place in Seminar Room 4.

The seminar is followed by a workshop, which will take place on 26-28 March, in Emeroteca.
The full list of the seminar sessions is the following:
Thursday 9, 16, 23 and 30 January
Thursday 6, 13, 20 and 27 February
Thursday 6 and 13 March
26-28 March (workshop)

Political Analysis: Forms and Structures of Political Obligation

- **The nature of politics**
  - Definitions of politics
    - The outcome of the process
      - (behavioural conformity; distribution of values; who gets what, etc.)
    - The specificity of the means
      - The two distinctive predicaments of political action
      - The ultimate possibility of physical annihilation
    - The motivation of the individual (political action)
      - Utility behaviour, moral behaviour, social honour behaviour. And Political behaviour?
  - Power and Political power
  - Confinement and exit
  - A definition of ‘Politics’
  - The tree ‘i’: Political decisions between ‘Institutions’, ‘interests’ and ‘identities’


- **Forms of circumscription of social actors**
  - Arenas: internal structuring and external consolidation
  - ‘Exit’, ‘boundary’, and ‘hierarchy’ as key concepts for the definition of arenas


  - Exit
    - Total and partial exits
    - Typology of ‘exits’
    - New set of ‘individual/groups behavioural options
    - Differential distribution of the opportunities to exit
  - Boundary
    - Definitional issues
- Types of boundaries
  - Territorial and membership groups
    o Exit options and boundary building


- Actors in institutionalism
  o The survival evolutionary value of rational-self-interested action versus the survival evolutionary value of culture and institutions


  o Type of Actors
    - Individual
    - Aggregate, e.g.
      • Classes, age groups, welfare recipients, etc

  o The formation of collective/corporate actors
    - Actors: some additional elements
    - Preferences and motivations of individual versus collective/corporate actors
    - The conditions of viability for collective/corporate actors
    - Composite
      • Collective
        o Coalitions
        o Clubs
        o Movements
        o Associations
      • e.g.: advocacy coalitions, epistemic communities,

      • corporate (organizations)
        o institutional
        o soci-economic (firms, interest organizations)
        o political (parties, etc.)

• Problems of actors’ interaction:
  o How actors interact (coordination)
  o Negative externalities of actors’ interactions and the public goods
  o redistributive (and welfare,) problems of actors’ interactions.
  o legitimacy issues


• Archetypical actors’ orientations
  o individualism
  o solidarity
  o competition
  o altruism
  o hostility
  o masochism
  o self-sacrifice
  o mutual destruction
  o indolence

• Archetypal forms (i.e. ideal type forms) of interactions
  o conflict
  o negotiation
  o competition
  o cooperation

  o Game-theoretical reproduction of forms of interaction
    ▪ Pure coordination – Pure conflict
    ▪ Assurance
    ▪ Battle of Sexes
    ▪ Chicken
    ▪ Prisoners’ Dilemma
    ▪ (Deadlock and Rambo?)


• Institutional setting
o The constitution of Political Arenas
o Individuals and ‘social relationships’
o Social fields
o Open versus closed fields
o Institutions (rules) and organizations (roles)

o Types of arenas
  ▪ Anarchic arenas (generalized exit and no circumscription)
  ▪ Natural arenas (no exit and no third specialized actor)
  ▪ Authority arenas (exit and third specialised actor)
  ▪ Governmental arenas (no exit and third specialized actor).
  ▪ networks
  ▪ associations (various types of)
  ▪ organizations
  ▪ Regimes,
  ▪ Joint Decision systems

- Bartolini, Stefano 2013, Politics unpublished paper distributed to seminar participants, May.

• Decision rules and conflict resolution
  o Theory of decisions
  o Individual, Collective and Collectivized decisions

  o Unilateral action
  o Negotiations (various solutions)
  o voting
  o hierarchy
  o (violence)


• Combining actors’ orientation, modes of interaction, institutional settings and decision rules

  o Anarchic fields and unilateral action
    ▪ Coordination problems in Anarchic fields settings and unilateral action mode of interaction
    ▪ Conflict resolution in anarchic fields with minimal institutions
    ▪ Non cooperative games (Nash Equilibria)
    ▪ Mutual adjustment
    ▪ Negative Coordination
    ▪ Externalities in anarchic fields
    ▪ Welfare and redistribution in anarchic fields
    ▪ Legitimacy problems of anarchic fields

  o Negotiations
    ▪ Coordination problems of negotiated agreements in different institutional contexts
    ▪ Four modes of negotiation
• Spot contracts
• Distributive bargaining
• Problem solving
• Positive coordination

- Negative externalities of Negotiations
- Welfare and redistribution of negotiations
- Legitimacy problems of negotiations

• Voting
  - Decisions by majority voting
  - The Condorcet paradox
  - Cyclical instability in voting
  - Negative externalities of voting
  - Welfare and redistribution of voting
  - Legitimacy problems of voting
  - Two condition for the feasibility of majority decisions

• Hierarchy and hierarchical decisions.
  - Hierarchical direction
  - Hierarchy within the state: competitive models of politics as a control of governmental hierarchy
    - Competitive democracy
    - Negotiated democracy
    - Competition and negotiation combined


• Political Structures: Processes and Forms of internal structuring of political arenas
  - Micro-macro
  - Process-structure

• Hierarchy and centre formation
  - Why the individual/composite ‘political actor’ looks for political authority?

• Loyalty and system building
  - Individual loyalty (Identity)
  - Normative and cognitive expectations (orientations?)
  - Identities and individual ‘actor interaction’ orientation
  - Systemic loyalty
  - Codes of collective identity


• Voice and Political structuring.
  - The formation of ‘actors’ in Political arenas
    - Voice as a general category
  - Strengthen the connection between voice and exit
  - The relationship of voice to institutions
• The transformation of individual voice into aggregate, collective and organized voice
• The problem of collective action
• Three mechanisms that foster the development from individual voice to aggregate, collective and organized voice (structured voice).
  • External closure and politicizing of the internal closure rules and codes.
  • Resource convertibility
  • Systemic interactions
  o Exit/entry, boundary building and political structuring: the micro-macro framework


• Forms of political structuring: Institutional and Political structures
  o Institutional structures
  o Area of political equality/inequality
    • Political Citizenship
    • Democratisation
    • Responsible Government and governmental structure
    • Fair representation
    • Executive access

• [(NOT DEALT WITH IN THE COURSE)-----→
  o Area of Socio-economic equality/inequality and Area of cultural equality/inequality
    • Kinship and cultural cleavage management
    • Social citizenship
    • Welfare
    • Court system
    • Educational system institutions
    • Communication system institutions]

  o Political Structures
    • Channels of political structuring
      • Electoral
      • Corporate
      • Territorial

  o Variations in forms of political structuring
    • Social input
    • Territorial input
    • Organizational input


- **Political divides**
  - Functional versus territorial divides
  - The special case of territorial divides
  - Types of functional divides
    - Simple divides
    - Compound Divides
      - Interest divides
      - Cultural divides
      - Member-ship divides
      - Corporate divides
      - Social divides
      - Political divides
      - Cleavages
  - The linkage between social stratification, normative and behavioural systems

- Bartolini, Stefano (2005). ‘La formation des clivages’, *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée*, 12 : 9-34. (For those who cannot read French, the following unpublished paper can be distributed: *Cleavages, divides and Voting Theory, Conference on “Religiosity, Ideology, and Vote in Europe”, Florence, 7-8 November 2013*)


- **The historical specific political structuring of the European nation state**
  - The triangles of the nation-state
    - Centre formation
    - System building
    - Political structuring

**Readings**


