



Introduction to Political Science

POLS 2000

The University of Georgia

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Who Am I?



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Syllabus is on the website. Slides and reading assignments will be posted regularly.

News



A new CNN poll finds Joe Biden continues to lead the Democratic Presidential Race with 29%, followed by Bernie Sanders at 15%, Elizabeth Warren's 14%, Kamala Harris at 5% and Pete Buttigieg at 5%. Harris has plunged from 17% to 5% since June.

"President Trump is expected to name John Sullivan, the deputy secretary of state, to be the next ambassador to Russia, replacing Jon Huntsman Jr. as his liaison to Moscow," the New York Times reports. "The post of ambassador to Moscow is a prestigious diplomatic position that is challenging always, but even more so after a two-year federal investigation into the Trump campaign's possible ties to the Kremlin."



New York Times: "The White House, blindsided by a pact between California and four automakers to oppose President Trump's auto emissions rollbacks, has mounted an effort to prevent any more from joining the other side... But even as the White House was working to do this, it was losing ground. Yet another company, Mercedes-Benz, is preparing to join the California agreement." "Mr. Trump, described by three people as 'enraged' by California's deal, has also demanded that his staffers step up the pace to complete his plan. His proposal, however, is directly at odds with the wishes of many automakers... The administration's efforts to weaken the Obama-era pollution rules could be rendered irrelevant if too many automakers join California in opposition before the Trump plan can be put into effect. That could imperil one of Mr. Trump's most far-reaching rollbacks of climate-change policies."

Ideologies



"An ounce of action is worth a ton of theory." - Friedrich Engels

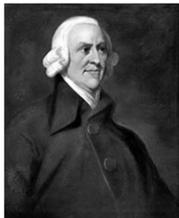
- The difference between political theory and political ideology centers on action.
- Theory is aimed at developing knowledge.
- Ideology is about organizing and directing goal-oriented action.
- Marx wrote both theory and ideology, and it is clear to see the difference between his theoretical writing and his ideological call for the workers of the world to unite.
- A crude way of distinguishing between theories and ideologies is to think about the audience.
 - Political theories are written for elites.
 - Ideologies are written for the masses.

Distinguishing Ideologies from Theories

- Political theories, generally are:
 - complex,
 - logically robust,
 - usually accompanied by an epistemology (a theory of the nature of knowledge),
 - written for a select audience, and
 - in some ways, timeless, because they raise questions and provide answers for problems that persist throughout the centuries.
- Ideologies:
 - attempt to convince mass numbers of people,
 - paint dramatic pictures of the utopia its proponents hope to achieve,
 - are written in simple enough terms to be convincing,
 - contain how-to instructions for achieving the utopia.
- Because ideologies must appeal to large numbers of people in specific countries at specific times, they are also usually malleable enough to be changed to meet the necessary conditions.

Classical Liberalism: The Mother of All Ideologies

- Classic liberalism is rooted in the theories of freedom articulated by Hobbes and Locke that culminated in the American Revolution.
- Adam Smith (1723–1790) added economic freedom as a key variable.
- He believed a nation could achieve economic success by keeping the government out of the economy and allowing the free hand of the market to work unfettered.
- Classic liberalism also includes the belief that people should be generally free from governmental constraints.



"On the road from the City of Skepticism, I had to pass through the Valley of Ambiguity." - Adam Smith

Classical Liberalism: The Mother of All Ideologies



"Deficits mean future tax increases, pure and simple. Deficit spending should be viewed as a tax on future generations, and politicians who create deficits should be exposed as tax hikers." – Ron Paul

- The closest ideology to classic liberalism in existence today is libertarianism.
- Libertarians believe the government should provide military protection, a police force, and basic infrastructure, such as roads and bridges, but do little more.
- Are classic liberals realists or are they idealists?
- To the extent that they believe government is necessary to control the human beings' selfish nature, they are realists.
- Some might argue that their faith in unregulated economic markets is idealistic.

Classic Conservatism

- Classic conservatism is generally associated with the eighteenth-century British parliamentarian Edmund Burke.
- It developed as a reaction to the excesses resulting from the French Revolution (not classic liberalism).
- Burke objected to the belief that unrestrained individual human reason could replace long-lasting traditional institutions.
- Institutions are honed by centuries of experience, success, and failure, as they evolved and as human knowledge grew.



"The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good people to do nothing." – Edmund Burke

Classic Conservatism

- Institutions and traditions are shorthand for information that would be impossible for any group of human beings to possess.
 - **Institution:** In a democracy, an organization that manages potential conflicts between political rivals, helps them to find mutually acceptable solutions, and makes and enforces the society's collective agreements. Among the prominent federal political institutions in the United States are Congress, the presidency and the Supreme Court.
- Classic conservatives believe that people should be very wary of changing things until they understand all ramifications.
- The perfect world envisioned by classic conservatives tends to be negative.
- They draw a picture of the anarchy that might result from the careless elimination of treasured institutions.

News



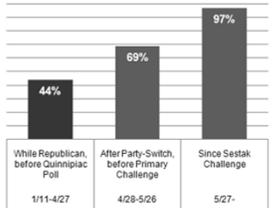
For the first time in history, more than half the members of the House and Senate are millionaires, OpenSecrets found. "Of 534 current members of Congress, at least 268 had an average net worth of \$1 million or more in 2012... The median net worth for the 530 current lawmakers who were in Congress as of the May filing deadline was \$1,008,767 -- an increase from last year when it was \$966,000."

December 20, 2012 -- It was the second time this month that former Sen. Bob Dole has visited his old haunt. Earlier in December, the 89-year-old Kansas Republican came to the Senate floor in a wheelchair to implore his colleagues to vote for a United Nations disability rights treaty. On Thursday afternoon, he walked half the length of the Rotunda and back to say goodbye to an old friend. Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HA), the second-longest-serving senator in history, died Monday at the age of 88. He will lie in state at the center of the Rotunda, his casket draped with the American flag, until Friday morning, when he will be transported for another service at the National Cathedral. His storied relationship with Dole is well-known. The two men met in a Michigan army hospital, where they were both recovering from injuries sustained during World War II, and they went on to serve side by side in Congress for just less than three decades. Dole was assisted to Inouye's casket as the late senators' body lied in state in the Capitol, saying "I wouldn't want Danny to see me in a wheelchair."



News

Arlen Specter: Democratic Loyalty Scores on Contentious Votes



"In the first month or so after becoming a Democrat, Specter was voting with his new party about two-thirds of the time on these Contentious Votes. While there are some less loyal Democrats -- say, Ben Nelson of Nebraska -- who only vote with their party about half the time, this was certainly less than what most Democratic observers were hoping for. But since then, indeed, something has changed. Well, a couple of things have changed. On May 27th, Congressman Joe Sestak announced that he intended to challenge Specter for the Democratic nomination. And since that time, Specter has voted with his party on 28 out of 29 Contentious Votes, or 97 percent of the time." -- fivethirtyeight.com, 7/25/2009

Communism



"From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." -- Karl Marx

- Karl Marx argued that the key to understanding capitalism was its division of classes.
- Under capitalism there are two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.
- The *bourgeoisie* are the capitalists who control the machinery of the state and who benefit from the inequities of the capitalistic system.
- The *proletariat* is the working class, which gets paid only a fraction of the worth of the goods it produces and the services it provides.
- Because the proletariat do not make enough to purchase the goods they supply, there is constant overproduction and, consequently, economic depressions.

Communism

- Marx believed there would be a day when workers from advanced industrial nations would realize that they shared more in common with the other workers around the world than they did with the capitalists in their own countries.
- The workers of the world would revolt and cast off the rule of the capitalists
- They would institute a classless society where justice and fairness prevailed.
- In Marx's utopia, there would be no need for government as we know it.



Communism



"Freedom in capitalist society always remains about the same as it was in ancient Greek republics: Freedom for slave owners." -- Vladimir I. Lenin

- Marx's ideology has been adopted and changed to meet various circumstances.
- Vladimir Lenin applied communist principles to the feudal conditions of Tsarist Russia in the early twentieth century.
- Marxist-Leninism shifts the focus from exploitation of the proletariat within capitalist societies to the exploitation and colonization of countries, imperialism, by advanced capitalist countries.
- Lenin also changed Marx's revolutionary vision; there could be a central communist party that can organize the revolution

Democratic Socialism

- Like Karl Marx, the democratic socialists of the early twentieth century believed that people are inherently social beings.
- They argued that classic liberalism placed too great a stress on individualism.
- They also envision a society characterized by social, political, and economic equality.
- Social democrats believe in operating a political party in democratic countries in order to achieve the socialist policies.
- There is a difference between democratic socialists and social democrats.
- Democratic socialists believe that a socialist state can be achieved through democratic means.
- Social democrats, on the other hand, aim to modify the harshness of capitalism with the infusion of some elements of socialism.



*"Let's see you take *this* under advisement, jerkweed!" -- Eduard Bernstein*

Reform Liberalism



"Yes, they deserved to die and I hope they burn in hell!" – Thomas Hill Green

- In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries some began to think that classic liberalism needed to be modified.
- Reform liberals argued that government should regulate the economy and remove major inequities caused by the capitalist system.
- Government should remove the obstacles that hinder people from pursuing their individual goals and provide opportunities.
- It should provide education, job training, a safety net, etc..
- Classic liberals would agree with the first goal, *negative liberty*.
- Classic liberals would disagree with government's involvement to secure equal opportunity, *positive liberty*.
- Reform liberal's utopia includes a government where no one is left behind.

Facism

- Fascism is a twentieth century ideology.
- Fascists argue for the supremacy and purity of one group of people.
- They believe in a strong military rule headed by a charismatic dictator of a ruling party.
- The fascist party totally controls all aspects of social life, which it molds after the history and traditions of the superior group.
- Fascists often emerge during a severe economic depressions.
- The leader promises to take control of the economy and works with businesses to plan recovery.



"Fascism should more appropriately be called Corporatism because it is a merger of state and corporate power." -- Benito Mussolini

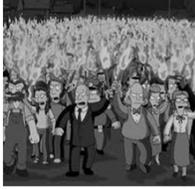
Fascism



"It will be seen that, as used, the word 'Fascism' is almost entirely meaningless. In conversation, of course, it is used even more wildly than in print. I have heard it applied to farmers, shopkeepers, Social Credit, corporal punishment, fox-hunting, bull-fighting, the 1922 Committee, the 1941 Committee, Kipling, Gandhi, Chiang Kai-Shek, homosexuality, Priestley's broadcasts, Youth Hostels, astrology, women, dogs and I do not know what else." – George Orwell

- Public spectacles are used to reinforce traditions and to motivate people to support the ruling party.
- Fascists dislike democracy because it dilutes customs and traditions and because it undermines the dictators' authority.
- Nationalism plays a strong role in fascism as does a belief in constant vigilance against enemies at home and abroad.
- The fascist utopia is one where people of the correct lineage return to the supposed greatness of their roots undistracted by enemies who would change or corrupt their way of life.

Collective Action



"Can't this town go one day without a riot?" - Springfield Mayor "Diamond" Joe Quimby.

- The essence of government is collective action.
- Collective action is coordinated group action designed to achieve a common goal that individuals acting on their own could not otherwise obtain.
- Collective action is the essence of government because there are certain goods that can be achieved only through working together with others.
- There are many things that government does, for example, building roads, protecting the environment, maintaining libraries, which would probably not be accomplished without collective action.
- The first and foremost reason for this action is the collective pursuit of security.

Security

- Security is the ability to protect something of value. The book describes four types of securities:
- State security is the protection of borders and governmental structures from outside threats (commonly referred to as "national security").
- Regime security is the leaders' ability to protect their hold on power.
- What political scientists call national security is the protection of the interests or survival of the ethnic groups with which people identify.
- Individual security is the protection of individuals within society.



Power

- Power is the ability to get something done. We tend to label as an exercise of power any successful effort to accomplish a goal.
- Power is the ability to disturb the momentum of events; it is the ability to *influence*. It is widely believed to be the key variable in politics.
- We usually associate power with the use of force, but power is generally more subtle. Consider the various power relationships with which you are involved. How many involve the use of force?
- Politicians need to collect power and apply it carefully to gain the support of others, win leadership positions, and be effective in politics.
- Political capital is someone's reserve of power that can be called upon to achieve political goals.



"With great power comes great responsibility." - Uncle Ben

Anarchy



If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words — our lives — our pains — nothing! The taking of our lives — lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler — all! That last moment belongs to us — that agony is our triumph. — Bartolomeo Vanzetti

- The types of power one will use depends on the specific political and social context.
 - presidents versus dictators
 - a country with nuclear weapons versus one with petroleum reserves
- There is one context that is fundamentally different from all others: **anarchy**. When political scientists speak of anarchy, they do not mean chaos. It refers to an absence of any kind of overarching authority or hierarchy.
- There is a lack of any means to police behavior or enforce agreements, which can lead to chaos and violence, but does not have to.

Anarchy and Power

- Many anarchists are ideologues who long for a lack of **hierarchy** because they believe that humans are capable of peacefully intermingling and ordering society without broad, formalized governmental structures.
- In an anarchical environment, power is the ultimate resource because:
 - there is no overarching authority
 - there is no structure to prevent you from using your power to get what you want
 - there is no authority that others with less power can turn to in order to stop you from doing something.
- The only way someone can stop you from acting as you wish is if he or she can muster enough power.
- In a hierarchical situation, people can use the coercive power of the authority structure to stop you even if they do not have the ability to stop you directly.



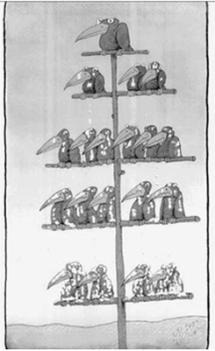
An Impetus for Government

- Anarchy can be thought of as the source of government.
- In an anarchical environment the vast majority of people survive in a context of constant fear and constant threat.
- Everyone has to find a way to defend himself or herself from the more powerful. The collective pursuit of security provides an escape from this threat.
- People strive to protect themselves and those things they value from those who are more powerful.



"Anarchy wears two faces, both creator and destroyer. Thus destroyers topple empires; make a canvas of clean rubble where creators then can build another world. Rubble, once achieved, makes further ruins' means irrelevant. Away with our explosives, then! Away with our destroyers! They have no place within our better world. But let us raise a toast to all our bombers, all our bastards, most unlovely and most unforgivable. Let's drink their health... then meet with them no more." — Alan Moore, V for Vendetta

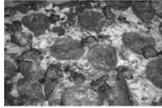
Context of Hierarchy



- Anarchy is on one extreme end of a continuum. Any movement away from anarchy is a movement towards hierarchy
- When societies form governments, they form institutionalized hierarchies.
- The specific structures chosen determine the context for how decisions are made and how people relate to each other in that society.
- The context of the hierarchy is as crucial as its structure.

Alliances

- Alliances (sometimes called coalitions) occur when individuals or groups agree to join resources and abilities for a purpose that *individually* benefits the members of the alliance.
- Alliances are a key part of politics.
- The basics of alliance formation can illuminate how governmental structures emerge.
- The alliance is probably the simplest and the most obvious strategy for those pursuing security in an anarchic environment.
- The alliance that is ultimately successful will form a group—the government.



Group Identities



- The degree to which members identify with a group and identify who is not part of that group can affect the group's strength, cohesiveness, and survival.
- Group identity is not fixed; it can vary in response to events within the group or the experiences of the groups as a whole.
- How a group defines its identity can give it purpose and shape its interactions with other groups.
- It can even be the basis for justifying and maintaining the existence of the group.

Conflict Between Groups



- We may not be able to define precisely who is part of the group, but we can often easily define who is not part of the group.
- You can absolutely define someone who is not part of the group by initiating a conflict with them.
- That group becomes “**the other**,” or the enemy, and you know that one of “them” is not one of “us.”
- Conflict is probably the most central element in political group dynamics.

Conflict Between Groups

- Coser (1956) argues intergroup conflict tends to generate an increase in the willingness of group members to accept and actively support the leadership of the group.
-Intergroup heterogeneity and intragroup homogeneity
- Group response to external threat is more than just a theoretical concept. There is clear evidence that groups tend to coalesce when confronted with an external threat.
- Scholars have found that when nations find themselves in international conflicts, measures of group identification, such as nationalism and patriotism tend to rise; often the rise is dramatic.
- In the United States there is what political scientists refer to as the “rally ‘round the flag effect.”



*“It was so much easier to blame it on Them. It was bleakly depressing to think that They were Us. If it was Them, then nothing was anyone’s fault. If it was us, what did that make Me? After all, I’m one of Us. I must be. I’ve certainly never thought of myself as one of Them. No one ever thinks of themselves as one of Them. We’re always one of Us. It’s Them that do the bad things.” – Terry Pratchett, *Jingo**

Leadership Interests

- In addition to defining who is or is not part of the group, group identity can also affect the purpose of the group, if not justify its existence.
- The identity of the group is crucial to the power and the position of its leader.
- Groups usually form for a specific purpose, but they also tend to continue even after they have accomplished the purpose. They adjust to meet new demands or changes in context. They take on added roles and they persist beyond the lifetime of their founders.



“Leadership is the art of getting someone else to do something you want done because he wants to do it.” – President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Leadership Interests



"Worst damn fool mistake I ever made was letting myself be elected Vice President of the United States. Should have stuck with my old chores as Speaker of the House. I gave up the second most important job in the Government for one that didn't amount to a hill of beans. I spent eight long years as Mr. Roosevelt's spare tire. I might still be Speaker if I didn't let them elect me Vice-President." -- John Nance Garner (D-TX)

- Leaders of such groups have made tremendous investments.
- They have spent decades building their organizations, designing structures to accomplish goals, crafting bylaws, and buying buildings.
- There is a whole army of people who depend on these organizations for their jobs, including the officers, secretaries, and most importantly, the leaders.
- They have an interest in the continued existence of the group.

Green Lantern Theory

Yox -- Presidents consistently overpromise and underdeliver. What they need to say to get elected far outpaces what they can actually do in office. President Obama is a perfect example. His 2008 campaign didn't just promise health-care reform, a stimulus bill, and financial regulation. It also promised a cap-and-trade bill to limit carbon emissions, comprehensive immigration reform, gun control, and much more. His presidency, he said, would be change American could believe in. But it's clear now that much of the change he promised isn't going to happen — in large part because he doesn't have the power to make it happen.



You would think voters in general and professional media pundits in particular would, by now, be wise to this pattern. But they're not. Each disappointment wounds anew. Each unchecked item on the to-do list is a surprise. Belief in the presidency seems to be entirely robust to the inability of any particular president to make good on their promises. And so the criticism is always the same: why can't the president be more like the Green Lantern?

According to Brendan Nyhan, the Dartmouth political scientist who coined the term, the Green Lantern Theory of the Presidency is "the belief that the president can achieve any political or policy objective if only he tries hard enough or uses the right tactics." In other words, the American president is functionally all-powerful, and whenever he can't get something done, it's because he's not trying hard enough, or not trying smart enough.

Nyhan further separates it into two variants: "the Reagan version of the Green Lantern Theory and the LBJ version of the Green Lantern Theory." The Reagan version, he says, holds that "if you only communicate well enough the public will rally to your side." The LBJ version says that "if the president only tried harder to win over congress they would vote through his legislative agenda." In both cases, Nyhan argues, "we've been sold a false bill of goods."

Controlling the Behavior of Others

- One of the key differences between realists and idealists is the way they view human nature.
- Idealists would argue that when studying what governments do, we should judge them and their leaders by how much they maximize these positive human qualities and how effectively they provide for their populations.
- Realists tend to believe that human beings care only about maximizing their own self-interests and they would expect no more from their leaders.
- From a realist perspective, much of what groups and governments do tends to serve the interests of their leaders.



Controlling the Behavior of Others



- This section relies heavily on the realist perspective.
- Whenever you are trying to understand a confusing aspect of politics, simply ask:
 - “Who benefits?”
 - “How do they benefit?”
- The answers to these two questions will usually provide a solid first step toward unraveling the political puzzle.
- Often, the best line is: “Show me the power.”
- The questions “Who benefits?” and “How?” are helpful when discussing the strategies governments and leaders use to maintain control over their populations.
- Regardless of the type of government they head, it can be argued that all leaders try to maximize their self-interests.
- This helps explain what totalitarian governments do and also what democracies do.

Leadership Benefits



- People want to become leaders because of the tremendous individual benefits.
- Leaders can be power hungry or they can be interested in extreme personal wealth.
- Leaders may be after different kinds of benefits, but they all pursue personal benefits.
- Even some of the most revered political leaders benefited by gaining notoriety, prestige, and accomplishing their personal, though altruistic or nationalistic, goals through the political process.

Leadership Benefits

- Some scholars argue that personal benefits are the *only* reason people pursue leadership positions.
- Given the potential for massive benefits, it is understandable why people might be willing to risk their lives to take over a government and why a leader might go to great lengths to prevent this.
- The greater the benefits to be gained from the leadership position, the more willing people are to invest their own resources and to take risks to attain it.



The Panopticon



"The greatest happiness of the greatest number is the foundation of morals and legislation." – Jeremy Bentham

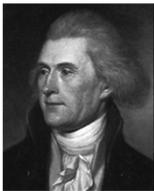
- The concept of the panopticon as a social mechanism for controlling populations comes from an eighteenth-century prison design crafted by Jeremy Bentham.
- In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault argued that the way the panopticon enables a few guards to control hundreds of prisoners is similar to the way governments control their societies.
- In the panopticon:
 - The cells are all built around a central guard tower.
 - The cells are arranged so that the guards in the tower can see everything in every cell.
 - The guard tower is completely enclosed with mirrored windows so that the prisoners never know when they are being watched.
 - The prisoners know they are not being watched all of the time, but the guards' severe and public punishments keep them constantly aware that they *could* be watched at any time.
 - Consequently, the prisoners always behave as if the guards are watching.

The Panopticon

- This panoptic means of controlling behavior is a pervasive aspect of almost every government.
- An example is the way traffic laws are enforced.
- The vast majority of times there are no police to be seen.
- However, there always *could* be a police officer around any bend in the road.
- Through self-policing, a few hundred policemen can control thousands of drivers.
- Leaders use this same concept to prevent revolt and maintain control of their countries.



Collective Action, Revolution and the Use of Force



"Every generation needs a new revolution." – Thomas Jefferson

- One argument for why people initially created government was to collectively pursue security in an anarchic environment.
- As a result, once formed, government serves as a framework for society to use to pursue other collective goals.
- What happens when people do not want to be a part of the governed society or if they wish to cancel the social contract?
- The details are important for understanding the most fundamental threats to a government: **revolution**.
- Revolutions are collective actions focused on the goal of tearing down and replacing the current government.
- Those at the top of the existing social hierarchies are driven by self-interest to actively oppose any collective effort to overthrow the system.

Atomization

- When people are isolated they are kept from forming a group that could threaten a leader's hold on power.
- At the most extreme, you would want to prevent anyone from forming any kind of personal bond
- Keeping people separate is atomization and the two most important mechanisms leaders use to accomplish this are:
 - peer policing
 - preference falsification

Peer Policing



- Peer policing is having people watch each other.
- While peer policing can sometimes occur spontaneously, for it to work as a mechanism for preventing revolt, leaders must usually put a few structural elements in place.
- Leaders need to encourage citizens to engage in the act of peer policing against potential revolutionaries.
- This might be most easily accomplished by making it a crime to not report someone else's efforts to form a revolutionary group.
- It will work well if people believe that government agents will test individuals' willingness to turn others in to the authorities.

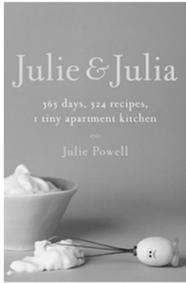
Peer Policing

- Governments and their leaders can handle individual isolated revolutionary actions, but they cannot stop large numbers of revolutionary activities from happening at the same time.
- To prevent revolt, governments have to prevent coordination; revolutionaries must be kept separate.
- Peer policing happens in democracies as well as in totalitarian states.



*"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people **peaceably to assemble**, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." – The United States Constitution*

Preference Falsification



"This was a fun movie." - me
-No. No, it wasn't.

- Preference falsification is when people hide the way they feel while publicly expressing what those in power want them to communicate.
- Governments use preference falsification as part of the atomization and peer-policing process to keep people separate and to keep groups from forming.
- If people do not express their true feelings about the government, how can potential revolutionaries even know if there are others who share their view?

Limits on Forceful Control

- The level of force leaders must use to maintain control is related to the level of dissatisfaction.
- When dissatisfaction is low, less force is necessary.
- When societal discontent outweighs fear, people stop falsifying their preferences and try to overcome the government's mechanisms for atomization.
- When pushed too far, people will stand up to a bully.



Limits on Forceful Control

- When dissatisfaction increases to the point where it again exceeds the restraining effect of the higher level of force, leaders must then exert even more force.
- If the underlying problem remains unaddressed, dissatisfaction grows until more even more force is needed.
- This can lead to a path with no escape, because the underlying problem becomes too large to be fixed.
- When people believe that imprisonment, torture, or death is not any worse than the lives they are living, the leader has reached the point where increasing force will have no effect.
- When you push people to the point where they are desperate, force is simply not enough.

Legitimacy and Government Control



- Instead of relying on force, threats, and punishments, leaders can maintain control by pursuing legitimacy.
- Legitimacy is the voluntary acceptance of their government.
- Legitimacy exists when people have the sense that obeying government is just the right thing to do.
- There are many complex phenomena that affect a government's legitimacy.

• There are many ways that governments can achieve or lose legitimacy, e.g., stay in power a long time, get the blessing of a legitimate past leader, or convince people that God sent the leaders to rule.

• Perhaps the most effective route is to convince people it is in their interest to accept leadership.

Elections and Public Goods



- Popular elections provide the best example of how to use legitimacy as the primary means to avoid revolt.
- Popularly elected leaders are legitimate leaders, at least when they start out.
- Electoral democracies deal with the threat of revolt by embracing it.
- They create political structures that tame and institutionalize the process of revolt.
- The vote is a non-violent way of meaningfully expressing satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the leader.
- Democratically elected leaders constantly consider their (or their party's) chances of reelection.

Balancing Force and Legitimacy

- How do leaders calculate the correct mix of force and legitimacy?
- Simply put, the less dissatisfaction, the less force is necessary.
- The pursuit of legitimacy tends to be a better long-term strategy, while force is very effective in the short-term.
- Once an immediate danger is removed through force, leaders tend to lose the motivation to pursue legitimacy.
- It is cheaper to pay off a small group of army officials and the police force than to invest in meeting the needs of the entire society.



Legitimacy and Conflict within Groups

- After World War I, researchers believed that conflict was something horrible, and that conflict should be eradicated.
- Georg Simmel and later Lewis Coser pointed out problems with this approach.
- The complete elimination of conflicts could be equally bad because conflict serves constructive functions.
- When engaged in a conflict with another group, self-identification with the group increases and support for the leadership increases.
- This can benefit the leader and, perhaps, the group.
- It makes the group more cohesive, gives the leader more control of the group, and enhances stability.
- The work of Simmel and Coser helped redirect the study of conflict toward how conflict within a group can also provide beneficial functions for the group and the leader.

Safety Valve



- Intra-group conflict (conflict within the group) can serve as a safety valve.
- Stopping people within the group from engaging in conflict builds up pressure.
- Frustration and anger can build until people get to the point where just about anything will set them off.
- Conflicts, even small ones, serve the safety valve function.
- Instead of a big blowup, you get a whole bunch of minor, more manageable conflicts.
 - Essentially what Madison meant when he called for more “factions.”

Conclusion



Questions? Concerns? Angry Rants?

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