Groups and movements

Types of groups: Interest/lobby/pressure groups, social movements, unions, civil society	**Roles of groups:** Contributions to democratic quality - pluralism, holding the state to account; defenders of rights and democratic values; contribution to the policy process
Interest Groups:	
"Organisations seeking to advance a particular sectional interest or cause, while not seeking to form a government or part of a government"	Pursuit of broad economic and identity interest through collective power - social change and agenda setting
Interest groups act as a conduit for information to the government providing information, expertise, and feedback on current conditions, policy problems and needs	Pursuit of narrow economic interest through lobbying and influence seeking
Interest groups aggregate and promote sectional interests and provide information, training, and support services to members	

Interest groups seek to influence policy via direct and indirect measures

Groups and movements (cont)

Types of interest groups: public/issue oriented, private (professional or economic), single-issue, religious, government, institution	**Indirect measures:** education campaigns, research donations/funding, media appearances, social media advertising
Lobbying has little effective regulation, and the entry barriers to entering the industry are low	**Direct measures:** consultation, lobbying, evidence-based persuasion, letters to local members, political support, legal action, protest/strike action, intimidation and bribery
Civil society:	
A public sphere separate from the state - "- Formal or informal groups with common interests, attitudes or aims"	Largely passive but can mobilise & influence political and policy processes
A health civil society would mean a healthy democracy	Comprises of voluntary associations and is an arena free and independent public debate (ideas, policies, protests)
Aligns with liberal commitments to free speech, freedom of association, privacy, etc.	

Activism

Social movements:	
Organised yet informal social entities that are engaged in extra-institutional conflict that is oriented towards a goal	Don't seek to engage directly with members of parliament and seeks to change public pinion
Uses collective action to foster social change by **changing public values** and **shifting public opinion on given issues** (rather than directly influencing decision makers)	**Aims:** framing/de-legitimation of status quo, resource mobilisation/coalition building, timing/political opportunity, transition planning
Unions: Organisations fo workers that seek to advocate for the interests of their members in negotiations wiht employers and (from a social-democratic view) advocate for democratic participation in economic and social policy	Seeks to change a particular secular interest for the interest of workers
Power Resource Theory: the size and nature of a country's welfare state can be explained by the strength of working class mobilisation	**Strategies:** strikes, mobilising resources, advertising/-education campaigns, policy proposals, direct lobbying
Get up!:	

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Activism (cont)

Narrative engagement, email and social media, large membership, post materialist, progressive	A hybrid organisation: membership-based, issue focused civil society group
Online campaign orgaisation that makes use of email, online polling, social media and online videos	Called political action communities, and targets certain people when it comes to elections
BLM:	
Targets socioeconomic inequality within the black demographic	A highly decentralised movement; challenges for message coherence
Characteristics: Began with filming of violence against black people, street protests, has the public opinion of 'defund the police'	**Judicial inequality:** rise in the AA population in federal prison pop.
Emergence: first in 2013 following the acquittal of the Trayvon Martin's murderer	Large part has to do with the war on drugs
Gained wider recognition due to street protests following the death of Michael Brown by a police officer	Massive inequaity in the incarceration rates

Activism (cont)

Eric Garner in NYC, and most recently George Floyd	Movement began formin glocal chapters and was very active during the 2016 Presedential election
Not an official civil society group like GetUp!	A loose association of groups and activists - fragmented
Some efforts to centralise and create cohesive messaging during 2020	Relies far more on decentralised protests, social media slogans, and direct action than an organisation like GetUp!
'Defund the police'	Has clashing interpreteations
- Genuine police abolition often emerging from an anti-capitalist position and black intellectuals	'Defund' = 'reform'; divert resources to social services, prevention, education etc.; reduce militarisation of US police
Effects:	
Changes to attitudes and politics: wider recognition that 'post-racial' America is a myth; bringing broader issues like economic and other inequalities to the agenda; predictably polarised reaction	**Changes to practice and policy:** highly variable, but hardly revolutionary; is the US congress capable of taking on economic redistribution, health care, education, criminal justice reform
Hong Kong Democracy Movement:	

Activism (cont)

Characteristics: 'One nation, two systems'; Liberal youth - HK identity; Repeated Beijing interventions; innovative use of SNS

Both business interests (the traditional source of power in HK) and Chinese central government traditionally hostile to democratic reform	Active since the 70s led by students
Studetn activism characterised by non-material goals, distinctive HK identity, and organisation via social media	Some momentum for liberal reform during 1990s post-Tiananmen Square
Aftermath:	**2014 Umbrella Movement:**
- Withdrawal of extradition bill	- A response to restrictive electoral reforms proposed by Beijing
- Electoral success of pro-democracy candidates in Nov '19	- Led to an occupation of several major sites for over 2 months
- Imposition of new national security law in June '20 by mainland: criminalising secession, subversion, terrorism, and collusion	- Use of western social media appears to have been effective in building distrust for HK authorities and Chinese central government: Western SNS > positive feedback to democratisation

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Activism (cont)

- Clampdown on dissent targeting prodemocracy activists and politicians	- Response: prosecutions, restrictions on political candidates, increasing censorship
- Backlash from Beijing	**Lessons:**
- High level of urbanisation because it's a city	- Increasing importance of digital communication to organise and coordinate campaigns
	- Agenda setting far easier than institutional change
	- Risk of backlash is high, even with record levels of mobilisation
	- State clampdowns on popular movements

Corruption & Oligarchy

Corruption:

"... occurs where a public official (A), **violates the rules and/or norms of office**, to the **detriment of the interest of the public**, (B) who is the designated beneficiary of that office, **to benefit themselves and a 3rd party**, and (C) who rewards or otherwise incentivises A to gain access to goods or services they would not other wise obtain"

Corruption is a major constraint on the ability of countries to democratise	Institutional corruption involves 'access more than action' and institutional more than personal gains

Corruption & Oligarchy (cont)

Forms: 'Institutional'/legitimate corruption; illegal corruption

'Institutional'/ legitimate: campaign finance, regulatory capture, shaping of evidence, lack of transparency	**Illegal:** bribery, extortion, nepotism, leaking information for personal gain

Other forms: in spending of public money, especially through contracting; distributing of funding projects for electoral gain; paradoxically, decentralisation may decrease transaction costs for corruption; shaping and dissemination of evidence by industry

Drivers: underdeveloped public admin; inequality/lack of social trust; local cultural norms; size of state; lack of accountability mechanisms	**Lack of accountability mechanisms**: elections; independent anti-corruption commissions; investigative journalisms; centralisation of power in the executive branch

Inquality & Corruption:

- Increase risk of state/regulator capture by the wealthy elite	- Economic inequality likely to contribute to clientism: 'bribing' voters with short-term benefits (e.g., cash, gifs, jobs) to avoid programmatic redistribution

Corruption & Oligarchy (cont)

- Increase in bureaucratic appointments made on basis of wealth/patronage rather than via meritocracy	- Inequality in education attainment also linked to corruption levels
Corruption also contributes to inequality:	- Inequality increases perceptions of corruption and erode social trust, which in turn may foster normalisation
- Poor especially vulnerable to policy/judicial corruption; less able to afford bribes, yet asked to pay more	- Hinders development of social welfare programs, equal access to asset ownership

Oligarchy:

Political arrangements that are dominated (and serve the interests of) a wealthy few

Indonesia: political investors, and lack of party competition	Power resources: formal political rights, official positions; coercive power, mobilisation power, material power

Populism

Populism

Defining populism:	Demagoguery: the politics of emotions, slogans, and 'common sense'

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Populism (cont)

Opportunism: buying support through popular short-term policies	Academically: as a thin ideology, as a style, as a strategy

Ideology: Cas Mudde (2004); a 'thin' ideology that "considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonisitc groups, 'the pure people' vs. 'the corrupt elite', and which arguest hat politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people

Style: People vs. elite; rudeness; crisisw

Strategy: "A political strategy through which a personalistic leader seeks or exercises government power based on direct, unmediated, institutionalised support from large numbers of mostly unorganised followers"

Versions: Left and right populism, European populism, Populist radical right

Populist radical right:

Policies:	Characteristics:
- Anti-immigration: clamp down on asylum policy	- Nativism: the state shoudl protect the established members of the national from perceived threats from non-national people and ideas
- Focus on law and order	- Tendency towards authoritarianism/illiberalism: repressive se of policing and judicial system towards those perceived as threat

Populism (cont)

- Not necessarily anti-welfare state/pro-market	- Populist though: The pure people vs. corrupt elite
- Full employment & social policy as conservative	-

Populist radical left:

Policies:	Characteristics:
- Broadly similar to traditional left parties: anti-austerity, redistribution, public services, labour rights, racial & gender equality	- Threat from above: oligarchy and economic inequality
- Podemos aimed to be as inclusive as possible	- The 'people' as the workers
	- Motivated by a sense of crisis of representation and expansive conception of democracy: participation, representation, and extension to the economic sphere
	- Anti-austerity, pro-redistribution
Causes: corruption perception, technocracy, globalisation	- Dominance of the 'pragmatic face' of democracy: frustration with existing parties and their strategies

Populism (cont)

- Reaction to economic change/condition: globalisation, economic liberalisation	- Failures of democratic governance, e.g., corruption

Is populism democratic?

Poses challenges for democratic systems:	Significant division over whether it can function as corrective:
- If the people are 'pure' then compromise is difficult	- Populism as useful discursive strategy that can channel political frustration into changing moribund institutions: e.g., the 'folkhemmet in Swedish social democracy
- Tendency to modify constitutional systems	- Populim as a cure that is equal to the cause: nativism on the right, authoritarian means on the left

- Tendency for scepticism of liberal democracy

Rights & Capability

Negative Rights:	Positive Rights:
- Freedom as 'non-interference' - freedom 'from'	- Freedom as 'self--mastery' - freedom 'to'
- Property rights, security, protection from tyranny, protection of liberal values	- To be in control, to make one's own decisions, to lie as a rational and virtuous person

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Rights & Capability (cont)

- Doesn't justify an extensive welfare state	- Can be seen as a justification of the state providing/ensuring necessities: healthcare, education etc.
- e.g., US Bill of Rights	

Capability Rights:

- Amartya Sen: to experience poverty is to experience a deprivation with regard to availability of plausible options and the ability to do certain basic or important things	- Ends rather than means; multidimensionality of poverty; freedoms and agency, as well as functioning's; inequality of capability (e.g., learning rather than literacy; health rather than mortality)

Waves of Indigenous policy in Australia:

70s-90s:	90s onwards:
- Policy focused on increasing self-determination, choice and diversity	- Shift towards 'individual/community responsibility', 'reciprocal obligation'
- Establishing indigenous institutions	- 'passive' welfare states as crating 'dependence' for indigenous Australians
- Self governance	- Attaching behavioural conditions to payments/programs
- Facilitation of social reconciliation	- Incentives for training and work

The Radical centre

Rights & Capability (cont)

- Pearson and co. explicitly make use of Sen's capability appraoch in justifying their advocacy for a shift in indigenous social policy; for Pearson, 'capabilities' cannot exist with 'responsibility'	- Cape York Insititute goals (2007): "Ensuring that Cape York people have the capabilities to choose a life they value"
- Part of Pierson's quest for a 'radical centre' - synthesis of competing views/values	- However, other Australian scholars argue that this deviates substantially from Sen and other capability theorists

Cashless welfare cards

- Aims to ensure that welfare payments cannot be spent on alcohol or gambling	- 80% of payments can only be used by card; 20% can be taken out as cash
- From capability perspective: lack of access to cash economy (esp. in rural areas); social stigma; individualises structural barriers	

Feminist critiques of the welfare state

Rights & Capability (cont)

- "Men tend to make claims on the welfare state as workers while women make claims as members of families (as wives or mothers) and through the very existence of "masculine" and "feminine" programs - the former protecting against labour market failures and targeting a male clientele, the latter providing help for family-related problems and targeting a female clientele"	- Some feminist scholars argue welfare states have traditionalyl supported gender hierarchies, partly as a result of association with blue-collar labour unions:
	- Social benefits deeply associated with paid work (the male industrial worker)
	- Lack of recognition of unpaid care work
	- Assumption of women in home (raising the next generation of workers)

Capabilities and gender inequality

From a capability perspective: is there more than the illusion of choice? Which key functioning's are left behind by existing welfare arrangements?

Implications for future welfare states?

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Rights & Capability (cont)

- There could be a race to the bottom in terms of taxation, liberalisation of economies - even generous welfares states, even social democratic welfare states would have to retrench their ability to regulate economies and provide these sorts of benefits to citizens	- A decline in union movements and pressure to reduce the size of the state that has happened in some cases

Asylum Crisis

Asylum Crisis:	- Domestic anti-immigration attitudes: high salience of immigration as an issue
- Increasing global refugee claims from conflict zones: dangerous Mediterranean sea crossings	- Shift towards Australia-like focus: 'Law enforcement'; combatting smuggling
- Dublin regulation	
- Member state where claim is lodged is responsible	- Burden on Italy, Greece etc.
- Some redistribution among other states, but unequal	
Crisis features:	
- Urgency	- Magnitude
- Complexity/'cross boundary'	High expectations
'Capacity for polarisation'	Possibility for change?

COVID-19

COVID-19:

Unitary vs. federal states & democratic vs. one party states

Vaccine mandates:

Consequences:	**Justifications:**
- Financial penalty	- Vaccination as collective responsibility
- Loss of employment	- As cue for government to improve access
- Lack of access to services/payments	- As cue to highlight importance
- Some redistribution among other states, but unequal	- 'Blunt instrument' to overcome other barriers

The Welfare State

The Welfare State

- A collection or system of government programs, regulations, or arrangements aimed at securing or promoting economic, physical, and social wellbeing of citizens	- Mediates the relationship between citizen, state, and market
Includes: income protection (e.g., due to unemployment, illness, disability, age or family), healthcare, disability support, education, housing	Also: services, cash transfers, tax arrangements, government scholarships, Youth Allowance, Medicare, public hospitals, age pensions, 'Tax expenditure' (negative gearing)

The Welfare State (cont)

Why is it important?

- Major political development of the 20th century	-Huge share of government activity
- Major ideological cleavage between movements and parties	- Key part of a contemporary nation state
- Structure contributes to: treatment of refugees, response to health crisis, economic inequality	- Shapes wellbeing outcomes

Functions/intellectual roots:

- Reforming towards socialism	- Decommodification - protecting workers from the market
- Social liberalism - equality of opportunity	- Economic security/'safety net'
- To maintain legitimacy of capitalism and increase productivity	- To legitimate non-democratic regimes
Drivers:	**Timing:**
- Urban industrialisation and educated middle classes	- In rich countries: 1910s-45; 45-70s
- Emerges alongside increased state capacity and the modern nation state	- Others vary: e.g., East/South Asia period of expansion 45-90s
- Expanded suffrage and political parties	- 1989 another key juncture (USSR welfare state 1922-89)

Models of the welfare state:

Conservative:

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The Welfare State (cont)

- Capitalism without class struggle' - Church & family	- Social provision to: weaken working class discontent and maintain hierarchy
e.g., Germany, Austria, France	- Social insurance
Liberal:	
- State less likely to uphold class division or interfere in the market	- Market seen as a force for equality and overcoming class conflict and the state manages the market conditions and provides a safety net
e.g., US, UK, *Australia*	Social assistance: means testing, welfare stigma
Social Democratic:	
- Social provision weakens dependence on the market (Market will lead to inequality)	- Workers require social resources to participate in a democratic system
e.g., Sweden, Norway, Denmark	- Universalism: equality and left-labour dominance
3 Worlds?	- **Sweden**: hospital based care, staffed by public employees, small out of pocket fees (national health service)

The Welfare State (cont)

- **Germany:** publicly regulated sickness unsurance funds (employer & employee contributions + public subsidies), private physicians and non-profit hospitals	- **US:** fragmented of private and public insurance, mostly employment-based or targeted public; provision mostly private
In other parts of the world:	**Central & Eastern Europe:** hybrids between liberal and continental/-conservative
East Asia: confusion values; high household savings, three gen households and low labour participation among women; weak left parties/unions (outside of China); 'Productivism'; generalisations don't hold for: Japan, SK, Taiwan v China, Singapore & HK	**Latin America:** Uneven pace of industrialisation led to variation; initially mostly contributory social insurance; need for poverty reduction (e.g., conditional cash transfers); in some cases radical privatisation (esp. Chile in pensions)
Explaining the variation:	**Recent trends:**

The Welfare State (cont)

- Cultural values & dominant political ideas; political institutions; labour power; timing and politics - election victories: need to stabilise authoritarian regimes; timing and level of economic development; globalisation	- Privatisation/contracting/retrenchment (i.e. neoliberalism); third way 'social investment' e.g., 'active' labour market policies; capability approach
'Wage earners' welfare state: Australia	
- Private saving for home ownership, rather than collective saving for social security	- Prior to 1980s not especially generous, but not as targeted as some other liberal welfare states
1980s:	**90s and beyond:**
- Medicare	- 'Layering' up of private health insurance
- Shift towards policing of 'conditionality'	- Amping up of: 1. Active labour market policy (welfare to work) and 2. conditionality and social shaming of beneficiaries - e.g., 'robodebt'
- Financialisaton of retirement through superannuation scheme;	- Rising support for increasing JobSeeker payments (and for basic income idea)

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The Welfare State (cont)

- NDIS; expansion through complex contracting
- Detachment of house prices and wages
- Expansion of private debt via low interest rates and government backing
- Government policy as maintaining price growth - access through inheritance or debt (similar across the West)

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