Is Representative Government Democratic ?
รัฐบาลที่เป็นตัวแทนนั้นเป็นรัฐบาลประชาธิปไตยหรือไม่ ?

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Abstract

Nowadays no one can deny that democratic regime is widely being acknowledged the most legitimacy regime in the world. Presumably, the reason of this is democracy provide a many significance kinds of participation to citizen, and also yield chance to citizen to desire their government. The one kind of participation is election; it means that government is elected by people. Moreover, Heywood claims that the form of elective system is a basically modern understanding of democracy; this also has been progressed by mainly the Western industrialization. It might be said that the modern acknowledge of democracy is related to representative government because of the election. Therefore, it could be accepted that representative government seem to be a democratic government because of the election. In other words, the elected government is representative government by means of voting of the majority people. Furthermore, Heywood says that representative government is likely to

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show that this is the best kind of indirect government, which has been occurred at the moment. Therefore, It has been accepted that the representative government is a part of democratic regime. Besides, following from the book of Urbinati mentions that representative government is democratic because representation is even compatible with democratic, in democratic regime can contribute political judgment. It means that Urbinati seems to believe that representative government can contribute political judgment as the same time. On the other hands, Manin's book disagrees that representative government is democratic. For example, according to Manin's claims that representative government is seemed to be an elective aristocracy. This is because representative government is more based on a combination of democratic and undemocratic, aristocratic components. Thereby, the main purpose of this essay will especially look at whether representative government is democratic or not democratic. By mainly focusing on both Nadia Urbinati's and Bernard Manin's books, which is related to this issue and also provide the relevant reason. Thereby, the main obviously question will be discussed in essay: is representative government democratic?

This essay has been divided into six main pa1ts. In the first place, this essay will talk about the overall conception of representative government. This section will look at the definition of representative government in both broader and narrower senses by means of perspective of history. The second section will focus on democratic by means of examine in historical sense. Moreover, in the section t will

concentrate on representative government is democratic. By mainly looking at the book: representative democracy: principle and genealogy that written by Nadia Urbinati. Afterwards, this section would like to talk about the book: the principle of representative government, which written by Bernard Manin. In this book argues that representative government is not democratic, but it is aristocratic instead. The final section is the standing point of this book, which will be represented in the conclusion.

Key Word: Representative Government, Election, Democratic

บทคัดย่อ

ณ วันนี้คงไม่มีใครที่จะปฏิเสธได้ว่าระบอบประชาธิปไตยคือระบบการปกครองที่ได้รับการยอมรับว่าเป็นระบอบการปกครองที่ได้รับการยอมรับมากที่สุดในโลก ณ ขณะนี้ ซึ่งสันนิษฐานได้ว่าเหตุผลหนึ่งของความชอบธรรมของระบอบประชาธิปไตยก็คือ การให้มีการเข้ามามีส่วนร่วมของพลเมืองในหลายๆ ด้านและให้โอกาสพลเมืองนั้นได้เลือกรัฐบาลที่ตนเองปรารถนาโดยการเลือกตั้ง ยิ่งกว่านั้น Heywood ยังได้กล่าวไว้อีกว่ารูปแบบการเลือกตั้งนั้นได้รับการพัฒนาให้ก้าวหน้าโดยเหตุการณ์การปฏิวัติอุตสาหกรรมของชาติตะวันตก ซึ่งมีความเกี่ยวข้องกับประชาธิปไตยแบบตัวแทนเพราะว่ามีการจัดการเลือกตั้งผู้ปกครอง ดังนั้นจึงเป็นที่ยอมรับได้ว่ารัฐบาลที่เป็นตัวแทนนั้นคือรัฐบาลประชาธิปไตย หรือสามารถกล่าวได้อีกด้วยว่ารัฐบาลที่ได้รับการเลือกคือรัฐบาลแบบตัวแทนของเสียงข้างมาก ในงานของ Heywood ยังได้พบอีกด้วยว่ารัฐบาลแบบตัวแทนนั้นได้แสดงถึงรูปแบบรัฐบาลแบบทางอ้อมซึ่งได้มีมาจนถึงปัจจุบันนี้ ดังนั้นจึงได้มีการกล่าวว่าในหนังสือของ Urbinati

รัฐบาลแบบตัวแทนเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของระบอบประชาธิปไตย เพราะว่าระบบการเป็น
ตัวแทนนั้นมีความเหมาะสมกับประชาธิปไตยโดยการสร้างความพึงพอใจทางการเมือง
แต่ในอีกด้านหนึ่งของประเด็นนี้หนังสือของ Manin's ได้กล่าวไม่เห็นด้วยกับประโยค
ที่ว่ารัฐบาลตัวแทนนั้นคือรัฐบาลประชาธิปไตย เขาได้ให้เหตุผลไว้ว่ารัฐบาลที่เป็น
ตัวแทนนั้นเปรียบเสมือนรัฐบาลที่มาจากการเลือกตั้งของพวกชนชั้นสูงเพราะว่า
รัฐบาลที่มาจากการเลือกตั้งนั้นจะประกอบไปด้วยส่วนประกอบที่ด้วยประชาธิปไตย
และไม่เป็นประชาธิปไตย ก็คือการปกครองโดยชนชั้นสูงนั้นเอง คำถามหลักของ
การศึกษาเรื่องนี้ก็คือ รัฐบาลที่มาจากการเลือกตั้ง (รัฐบาลตัวแทน) นั้นเป็นรัฐบาลที่
เป็นประชาธิปไตยหรือเปล่า? โดยจะศึกษาไปในผลงานหลักๆ ของ Nadia Urbinati
และ Bernard Manin ซึ่งได้ให้เหตุผลที่มีความสัมพันธ์กับประเด็นที่จะศึกษา
การศึกษางานชิ้นนี้ได้ถูกแบ่งออกเป็น 5 ส่วนใหญ่ๆ 1) จะทำการศึกษาแนวความคิด
ภาพรวมของรัฐบาลแบบตัวแทน ตัวอย่างเช่น ความหมายของรัฐบาลแบบตัวแทนทั้ง
ในความหมายเชิงกว้างและแคบ 2) จะทำการศึกษาประวัติศาสตร์ของรัฐบาลแบบ
ตัวแทน 3) จะทำการศึกษาเจาะจงไปในคำถามหลักก็คือ รัฐบาลที่มาจากการเลือกตั้ง
นั้นเป็นรัฐบาลที่เป็นประชาธิปไตยหรือเปล่า? 4) จะทำการศึกษาถึงหลักการของ
รัฐบาลที่เป็นตัวแทน 5) จะทำการสรุปผลการศึกษาข้างต้น

คำสำคัญ: รัฐบาลแบบตัวแทน, การเลือกตั้ง, ประชาธิปไตย

The overall idea of representative government

This section is going to talk about the conception of representative government by explaining the definition of the word: Representation and also describe what representation means in term of political context in the way of concentrating on historical period.

Therefore, the outline of this section has been divided into two main points. In the first place, this is would like to explain the word: Representation. According to Pitkin (1967) the original of this word is from Romans era, where was provided the word: Reprasentare. Furthermore, Pitkin (1967: 3) adds in that time this world was meant "the literal bringing into presence of something previously absent, or the embodiment of an abstraction in an object". It seems to mean that they apply this word from abstract idea to concrete object. To particular definition of this word in the academic way is following from Heywood (1994: 183) "the theory of representation is based upon the belief that only people who are drawn from a particular group can genuinely articulate its interest". Moreover, Heywood (1994: 183) points that "to represent means to speak for, or on behalf of, others, something that is impossible if representative do not have intimate and personal knowledge of the people they present". It might be concluded that in academic term appears that representation is nominated by their people and the main objective of this is to preserve the interest of people. Besides, Rehfeld (2006) points that the representative is originated the volunteering to work for their people. In this context Rehfeld (2006) says the representative can be both single member and multi members. More specifically, Birch (1997: 624) states that "a political representative is a person who, by custom or law, has the status or role of a representative within a political system". It might be said that the representative in term of politics has to have legitimacy by guaranteeing from the law or custom. Furthermore, the substance of

Heywood (1994: 177) article is that "representation is a moral duty: those with the good fortune to possess education and understanding should act in the interest of those who are less fortunate". This can concluded that representation is deal ling with a morality due to the duty of the representative. For example, representative those who have more opportunity to access education than common people those who are lack of access education, therefore representative should act to respond who are less opportunity to access education and so on. Lastly, there are major four basic responsibilities of representative.

1. The representative should act in support of what he believes an effective majority of his constituency desires

2. The representative should act in support of what he believes is in the constituency's interest

3. The representative should act in support of what he believes the nation (or an effective majority of it) desires

4. The representative should act in support of what he believes is in the nation's interest ("Mandate")

As above mentioned four of those duties seem to indicate that the representative has to have the accountability to such as constituency, constituency's interest, the desiring of the nation, and the national interest. Let's move on to another point of this section is historical term. Both Manin and Urbinati say the same that the representative was found in the Middle-Age. For example, Urninati (2007) cites that the representation was used in the context of Church and Manin (2007) also adds that the context of governance by the king

or the emperor. In addition, the paper of both Manin and Urbinati also appear that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which there was the time that the representative government was played a crucial role because of the English constitution revolution in the seventeenth century, the French revolution, and especially the American Revolution. By concentrating on the American Revolution Urbinati (2007: 3) point outs that "in the American case is very interesting because the founders organized representation in the making of their public rather than in theorizing". It might be said that the representative system in American different from other countries, particularly in European countries, presumably because of the American constitution. Therefore, the American founders organize the function of American representative is more public than theorizing. According to, Birch (1971) despite representative government in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were conspicuous, not too many writers had paid concentrate on political representation. Afterward, Plotke (1997) states that after the cold war the status of political representative was more became a leader rather than representative. The reason of this is following from Plotke (1997) the representative in the United States and elsewhere has taken up more strenuous than before. Manin (1997) also points that "during the nineteenth and early twenties centuries, one trend dominated the development of representative of institutions: the extension of the right to vote, which eventually culminated in universal suffrage". It might be assumed that the representative system was more focused on voting due to the universal suffrage. Presumably, I the

moment the representative system is more concentrates on legally than custom. In short, this section can be summarized that the definition and function of representative government have been changing since this word occurred. However, the most importantly, the representative government is definitely associated with the voting of people, especially the modern democracy.

The overall conception of Democracy

This section is going to focus on the meaning of democracy: what is democracy mean by concentrating on the historical term. To begin with, the simple meaning of the word: democracy. Following from Crick (2002: 1) this word is originated from "the Greek for rule was kratos, and demos was the people". As well as Crick (2002: 93) claims that most people understand democracy by means of the Greek acknowledgment in the way of Polity or simply political rule. Two of statements seems to show that the meaning of this world slightly is the relationship between the governor and the governed. Besides, Pettit (2009: 79-80) cites that "central to the idea of a democratic polity is the assumption that citizens can debate with one another about what government and the state should do from positions of relative equality". From Pettit's (2009) point appears that a democratic polity is a direct democracy because their citizen can deliver their idea by themselves to the government. Possibly, in the time there was a very small size of the county, therefore it is not difficult to listening

someone else opinion. In the middle age according to Agus (1952) says that the basic principle of democratic system in this time, which was based on the communities. It means that the community was like a political community, which selected the candidate to be a leader of communities. Afterward in the 17th century Urbinati (2007: 758) claims that "since the French Revolution, democracy has become to denote, like Athens, a state of perfection than the moderns admire and long for all the while knowing it is unattainable to them". More specifically, Bealey (1988: 28) adds that democracy, a political regime found in some modern states, is a decision-making process which can only exist when public contestation, inclusiveness, and responsible government are present; and which can only be maintained when there is a rule of law". Furthermore, in the modern democracy is defined the eight measuring by American political scientist: Robert A. Dahl (1971: 3) claims that

1. Right to vote

2. The right to be elected

3. The right of political leaders to compete for support and votes

4. Elections that is free and fair

5. Freedom of association

6. Freedom of expression

7. Alternative sources of information

8. Institutions for making public policies depend on votes and other expressions of preference.

It can be summarized eight measuring of democracy is desired to focus on the participation of the citizen. Finally, Przeworski (1999: 23) says the in "the Schum peter's opinion shows that conception democracy is just a system in which rulers are selected by competitive elections". In short, this section might be summarized that the definite on of democracy has been shown in different shade because of both external and internal factors in those countries.

Representative government is aristocratic

This section would like to describe the opinion of Bernard Manin on representative government by mainly focusing on his book: The principle of representative government. This book seems to indicate that Bernard's view in the representative government is not look like democratic but it is aristocratic. Thereby, the main aim of this section is going to investigate the reason and the evidence of Bernard's thought. There are three major reasons why representative government is aristocrat instead of democratic. To begin with, the basically of individual right can lead from democratic government to aristocratic government. Following from Manin (1997) a number of theorists believe that an elective system would not be able to provide an equal opportunity to everyone to holding office. It seems to show that Manin did not believe in the outcome of the election system. Manin (1997: 134) also says that "in governments based solely on election, not all citizens would have an equal chance of holding public office". Possibly,

the reason of this is that the position of representation would be reserved for persons regarded as superior for member of higher social classes. In other words, even the basically right have been distributed to every people in the country, the official authority or political authority is still held by some people called as the higher social classes. It is important to note that the main obstruction of this issue is the patron- client system. As a consequence, this also can cause the social problem namely inequality of people, which is opposite to the purpose of the principle of democracy. On the other sides of this issue is that Manin (1997: 140) points that "the situation of choice constrains voters to elected candidates possessing uncommon (and passively valued) characteristic, regardless of their specific preference". Moreover, Man in (1997) assumes that the most of the time candidates might be chosen by the voters because of the candidates have the same character as the voters. Therefore, it should be claimed that this is unfair system of an elective system due to the Judgment of individual right. Suddenly, Man in (1997: 140) also found that voters can ce11ainly desire to elect someone who shares some characteristic with them, and often do so. It means that the basic right of the voter could not select the suitable representative. In short, it might be summa1ized that the basic individual right can provoke the aristocratic government. The Nell's point of this section is that the elemental representative government provokes the aristocratic occur especially by the way of elitism system. The interview of Manin (2007: 7) indicates that elitism play an essential characterization on the representative government.

This is the reason why Manin said that following from Manin (1997: 154) "the elective method tonal de facto to reserve representative system for those elites, it is pa1ticularly likely to get their support and approval, once such elites have grasped the aristocratic nature of the procedure". In other words, the elective methods in representative functi01: have offered the supporting for elites. Specially, Manin (2007: 8) have defined the meaning of word: "elitism as a normative p1inciple holds that it is desirable that people who are objectively superior to other should occupy superior position". Another aspect of this point is that following from Manin (1997) no one denies that voter possibly elect candidates due to a skin color or good looking. Additionally, Manin (1997) point outs the general perception of people is that the wealthy people are better to going to be a representative than the moneyless people because of their background such as wealth, education and so f01th. Most importantly, Manin (1997: 144) point outs that "candidates have to finance their election campaigns out of their own pockets, the advantage of the affluent classes of society assumes its most obvious and most immediate fonn: it is reflected directly in the social composition of the elected assemble". It can be said that the financial reason is a ve1y crucial feature of the election, which is slightly associated with the result of election. In short, it might be concluded that there are many individual factors of candidate, which can help they to be a representative due to the elemental representative government. Lastly, the principle of election in representative government cause aristocratic occurs. According to

Manin (1997: 8) "representation has only been associated with the system of election, sometimes in combination with heredity (as in constitutional monarchies), but never with lot". It means that Manin's understanding of election is just a component of democracy system. So, it does not mean that representative government is definitely related to democracy because of the election system. It might be concluded that Manin seems to indicate that sometime election can mean another general regime such as monarchy, aristocracy, and so on. In addition to Manin (1997) claims there are three main political philosophers such as Aristotle, Montesquieu, and Rousseau had made an argument that election was such as intrinsically aristocratic. The reason of this is according to Man in (1997: 133) "they did not think that aristocratic effect derived from the circumstances and conditions in which the derive method was employed; they believed it resulted from the very nature of election". In other words, three of them thought that election is problematic, therefore it influences to aristocratic happen. Besides, the paper of Manin (1997: 146) shows that "elected representative only need to be perceived as superior ; that is to say, they have to display an attribute (or set of attributes) that on the one hand the rest of the citizens do not possess , or not in the some degree". There are two results of this is according to Manin (1997: 147). Firstly, the elective principle does not guarantee that the political excellence gets selected because clearly there is no guarantee that a gift for public speaking is a good proxy for capability to govern, secondly ; nothing in the nature of elites in the general sense that

Pareto gave to the term". This might say that the result of election or elective government could not testify the capacity of representative government. In short, from this point can sum up that the method of election can result in aristocracy and the most crucially representation is government by the elite's people.

Representative gove1nment is democratic

In this section will explain the opinion of Nadia Urbinati shows that representative government is democratic by mainly looking at the book; Representative Democracy principle and genealogy, which has written by Nadia Urbinati. In this book, Urbinati has mentioned three main crucial reasons why representative government is democratic. Therefore, the main purpose of this section is going to concentrate on three reason of Urbinati. First of all, Urbinati has provided three main principle of representation: Juridical, institution, and political. This is the reason why Urbinati provides those principles can be a significant for representation. According to Urbinati those principles can assist to clarify that representative government is democratic. The point of Urbinati's article (2006) indicates that the juridical and institution theories are intimately associated. Moreover, Urbinati (2006: 21) adds that "they are both grounded in a soft - person analogy and a voluntaristic conception of sovereignty, and they are rendered in fonnalistic language". Urbinati (2006) also point outs both the juridical and institutional theories of representation determine that the state

must transcend society by means of assuring the rule of law. It means that both theories would be able to assist the establishment state especially the rule of law. Thereby, it can be assumed that the juridical and institutional theories have ability to verify the capacity of representative government. This is because representative government is elected in order to the m le of law. In short, in Urbinati's view (2006: 49) summarizes that "the juridical and institutional conception of representation gave birth to former, the political conception of the latter. Furthermore, following from Urbinati, (2006) cites that the juridical theory is the oldest and also demands more concentration than institutional because the institutional theory parted of institutional theory. To particular Urbinati (2006: 22) claims that "the juridical model configures the relationship between represented and representative along the lines of an individualistic a candidates personal qualities rather than their political ideas and projects". In other words, the juridical model can make more imagination of the relationship between represent ted and representative in term of the personal qualities of individualistic on candidate. Additionally on Urbinati's (2006) view on this point seems to conclude that the juridical theory to representation lead to open the door of a functionalistic justification political rights and representation, citizenship, and decision making procedures. Final principle of representation is political, theory. According to Urbinati (2006: 24)" the political conception of representation is that in a government derives its legitimacy from free and regular election and the activation of a commutative current between evil and political

society is essential and constitutive, not just unavoidable". From this point might be said the aim of political theory is tonging in legitimacy such as free, regular election, and the activation of a commutative current especially between evil and political society. Let's move on another aspect of Urbinati's point of view on this topic is that representative itself that would be able to supp01t representative government is democracy. There are two basically points on this issue follow from Urbinati (2006) "the relationship of representation that allow the citizen themselves and their representative to interpret and idealize their social specific, as well as political representation on emerge as a continuing and mediated relation between situated citizens and representatives". It seems to show that the strongly relationship between the voter and the representatives can be developed by the representative system. Besides, according to Urbinati (2006) there are two main evaluations in the political theory of representation, firstly the personal or unique characteristic of the candidate, secondly the characteristic that the candidate shone in common with the voters or that are representative of them. Furthermore, Urbinati's work (2006) leads to her conclusion that "constituents are generally identified in term of their representatives; they are identified that reflection". Hence, following from Urbinati (2006) representatively is crucial because it permits the opinion of citizens to be identified and known. And the most importantly, as Urbinati (2006: 49) states that "representation would maintain a type of naturalness or irreducible determinism that exist prior to political

action". Urbinati (2006: 49) points that "at best, political action could mirror but nor interpret or change the naturalness, a natural (as prepolitical) identity can only mingle with other identities for strategic reason of parliamentary alliance". Ultimately, this is going to talk about advocacy, which has been presented by Urbinati. To begin with, the basically idea of advocacy following from Urbinati (2006) the advocacy is necessary to seek equality by means of rectify and satisfy the demanding of the representative idea. Therefore, it means that advocacy can assist representative idea to be legitimated. Moreover, Urbinati (2006) explains that "Representation as advocacy increase the citizens power to make their claims heard and it is hoped, effectively answered because it encompasses two complements; firstly the representative's passionate link to electors cause, secondly the representative's autonomy of judgment". In other words, from this point advocacy would be able to encourage the power of citizen to participate in politics. Besides, Urbinati (2006: 45) demonstrates that "advocacy gives representatives from convictions and thus nurtures spirit of controversy sympathy of ideas and view joins friends and partisans against their opponents". Urbinati, (2006: 47) also says "advocates believe in their cause that understand the reasoning of other to the point of being able to reconstruct it in their mind". It means that an advocate has ability to address the understanding of each other. Especially, Urbinati (2006: 48) points that "political advocacy, which is implied in the dual conception of equality, suggest a partial resolution of the problem of allowing representatives to act

autonomously while also maintaining some constituents control over them". Therefore, Urbinati (2006: 48) sum ups that "Democratic advocacy requires steadfast commitment to agree upon procedure it does not fever outcome that are true or definitive in their content but congruent with the share principle of political equality presuppose by deliberation". To sum up, this issue in Urbinati's opinion on that approaches seems to show that the approach can be pa1ticle in representative government. In other words, approaches can assist representative government is democracy.

Conclusion

As above has been mentioning both sides of the idea in this issue. Therefore, the aim of this section will show the standing point of this essay. There are many reasons why representative government would not seem to be democratic. In the first place, most of the time representative government is not the representative of the people, but they are the representative of the interesting group, especially in the democratic regime underneath of capitalist economic system. This is because capitalist economic systems can damage the principle of representative system due to the competition in capitalist economic system. It means that representative have to take an account the interesting group rather than the interest of the people. Presumably, it might be said that the interesting group suppo1ts the government's party before election, therefore after that the government have to

react to the interesting group. If we look at this side it is very difficult to see how representative government is democratic. Furthermore, representative government is seemed to distort the meaning of democracy. For example, by saying representative government is the government of the people. This is because they are elected form the majority of people. As a consequence, this is provoked the minority of people those who would not be able to access to the pa1ticipation in politics. In other words, the political power is held by just a group of people. Let's move on to another reason of this is the element of representative government, which provides the limited number of candidates. Therefore, the voters have to choose one of those candidates. Possibly, it means that the voters have not chosen the candidates who they actually want it, but they choose because of the specific number of candidate. As a result of this can lead to representative government is aristocratic due to the specific number of candidate. Moreover, representative system offers the candidates those who have a very good background such as education, progenitor, and prosperous. This is because the competition in the representative system that seems to require an attractive people. Especially, nobody can deny that they elect the candidate due to appearance of the candidate. Therefore, it means that this system is more focused on the appearance than the capacity. In addition to, the political authority has been held by a specific group of people. This is because, at the moment the majority of politician are graduated the same school or university especially high class level. Ultimately, for clearly example of

this point is that American politics seem to be the highest country to spending the money to political campaigns. The reason of this is the recently American election claimed that this election is the most expensive election in world history. It seems to show that even the representative system is more require the wealthy people only due to the budget of election campaign. Possibly, this is because following from The Al Jazeera (02 Dec 2012) point outs that "The vast majority of this political money has come from a handful of super-rich supporters of the Republican Party dwarfing the attempts by citizens, associations or labor unions to do the same". This can be concluded that the money is the crucial factor to drive the political process in the representative government at the same time that money also destroys the political process. All in all, this essay would like to conclude that representative government is more aristocratic than democratic especially in content the modern world politics.

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