

## RESEARCH OUTPUTS / RÉSULTATS DE RECHERCHE

### **Complementary Virtues and Competing Legitimacies: Inter-Chamber Relationships in a Bicameral Elected and Sortitioned Legislature**

Vandamme, Pierre-Etienne; Jacquet, Vincent; Niessen, Christoph; Pitseys, John;  
Reuchamps, Min

*Publication date:*  
2017

*Document Version*  
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication](#)

*Citation for published version (HARVARD):*

Vandamme, P-E, Jacquet, V, Niessen, C, Pitseys, J & Reuchamps, M 2017, 'Complementary Virtues and Competing Legitimacies: Inter-Chamber Relationships in a Bicameral Elected and Sortitioned Legislature', Paper presented at ECPR Summer School on Democratic Innovation in Europe and the EU, Bruxelles, Belgium, 15/09/17 - 17/09/17.

#### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

#### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

# Complementary Virtues & Competing Legitimacies

Inter-Chamber Relationships in a Bicameral  
Elected and Sortitioned Legislature

---

ECPR-Summer School on Democratic Innovation in Europe and the EU  
Workshop-Discussion of Papers on Democratic Innovations - August 25th, 2017

Pierre-Etienne VANDAMME, Vincent JACQUET, Christoph NIESSEN, John PITSEYS & Min REUCHAMPS

# Contents

---



## 2 – Complementary Virtues

- Arguments by Gastil and Wright (2017)
- Additional Considerations



## 1 – Experiences from Belgium

- Political Propositions
- Elite and Citizen Opinions



## 3 – Competing Legitimacies

- Electoral Legitimacy
- Sortition Legitimacy



## 4 – Inter-Chamber Relations

- Equal Power
- Consultative Elected Chamber
- Consultative Sortitioned Chamber
- A Mixed Assembly?



# Experiences from Belgium

- Political Propositions
- Elite and Citizen Opinions



# Political Propositions

---

- Origins
    - Citizen panels and deliberative Mini-publics
    - Window of opportunity: sixth state reform => weakening of the Senate
  - Concrete propositions:
    - Vanvelthoven (sp.a):
      - 10,000 → 150
      - One-year term, 2-3 meetings/week
      - Two projects/senator + two projects from the Chamber
- Picked up by Vandeburre (Ecolo), Onkelinx (PS), Antoine (cdH)
- \* Proposition of mixed parliamentary commissions: Ecolo



# Elite and Citizen Opinions

---

- **Elite Opinions:** *(Survey sent to all Belgian MPs –  $n = 76/473$ )*

- Sortitioned chamber: 87.5% are against
- Mixed chamber: 65.98% are against
- Greater confidence in election: 76,85%

\* Women and greens appear to be less critical (but still are)

Qualitative Research Results  
of Jacquet (2017)...

- **Citizen Opinions** *(Survey sent to a representative sample of Belgian citizen ( $n = 966$ ))*

- Sortitioned chamber: 38.2% are against (neutral: 32.6%)
- Mixed chamber: 24.9% are against (neutral: 29.7%)
- Greater confidence in election: 34.4% (neutral: 32.3%)

\* 45.4% support for mixed chamber



# Complementary Virtues

- Arguments by Gastil & Wright (2017)
- Additional Considerations



# Arguments by Gastil & Wright (2017)

---

- Gastil & Wright: “an optimal bicameral legislative system would work best with a combination of electoral and sortition mechanisms”.
  - 1) in the absence of elections, “political parties would atrophy even more than they have”
  - 2) bargaining is essential to democracy and requires “highly articulated expressions of interests with authorized representatives who can forge compromises”
  - 3) “elections create the possibility for political careers and the development of skilful politicians as political leaders”





# Additional Considerations

---

- Why elections matter – Three more reasons:
- Participation: equal probability different from equal possibility
- Consent: “to be represented, and to be represented by such or such candidate”
- Accountability: “sortition cannot offer it by itself” + limited accountability role of abstention with sortition



# Conflicting Legitimacies

- Electoral Legitimacy
- Sortitioned Legitimacy



# Electoral and sortitioned legitimacies

---

- Electoral: equal possibility + legitimacy vs. justice
  - 1) Elections = chance to choose better representatives vs. Sortition = hope
  - 2) Elections = opportunity to choose representatives but limited accountability (lack of information and absence of recall)
- Sortitioned: not the “active” choice but:
  - 1) Independence (and thus more representative) of sortitioned representatives
  - 2) Similarity
  - 3) Humility



# Inter-Chamber Relations

- ➔ Distribution of power: weak vs. strong bicameralism
- Equal Power
- Consultative Elected Chamber
- Consultative Sortitioned Chamber
- A Mixed Assembly?



# Four “models”

---

- Equal power
  - But status quo and autonomous epistemic communities
- Consultative elected chamber (presidential system?)
  - But political recruitment, loss of electoral legitimacy, stronger executive
- Consultative sortitioned chamber
  - But demotivating effects and public frustration
- Mixed assembly
  - But political recruitment and intellectual domination



# Conclusion

- Different → competing → conflicting legitimacies?
- Distribution of power: different models
- Trade-off(s)