

# **Representation**

# *Key Concepts in Political Science*

GENERAL EDITOR: Leonard Schapiro

EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Peter Calvert

Other titles in the same series include:

## ALREADY PUBLISHED

Martin Albrow	<b>Bureaucracy</b>
Peter Calvert	<b>Revolution</b>
Brian Chapman	<b>Police State</b>
Ioan Davies	<b>Social Mobility and Political Change</b>
Joseph Frankel	<b>National Interest</b>
P. H. Partridge	<b>Consent and Consensus</b>
John Plamenatz	<b>Ideology</b>
John Rees	<b>Equality</b>
Paul Wilkinson	<b>Social Movement</b>

## IN PREPARATION

Karl Deutsch	<b>Legitimacy</b>
S. E. Finer	<b>Dictatorship</b>
C. J. Friedrich	<b>Tradition and Authority</b>
Geoffrey Goodwin	<b>International Society</b>
Julius Gould	<b>Violence</b>
E. Kamenka and Alice Erh-Soon Tay	<b>Law</b>
J. F. Lively	<b>Democracy</b>
Robert Orr	<b>Liberty</b>
Leonard Schapiro	<b>Totalitarianism</b>
Henry Tudor	<b>Political Myth</b>

# **Representation**

**A. H. Birch**

*University of Exeter*

**Macmillan Education**

© 1971 by Pall Mall Press Ltd, London.  
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be  
reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
without permission.

First published by Pall Mall Press Ltd, 1971

Published in the United States of America in 1971  
by Praeger Publishers Inc.

This edition published in 1972 by  
THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD  
London and Basingstoke  
Associated companies in New York Toronto  
Dublin Melbourne Johannesburg and Madras

SBN 333 11887 1 (paper cover)

ISBN 978-0-333-11887-0      ISBN 978-1-349-01044-8 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-01044-8

Set by Gloucester Typesetting Co. Ltd  
Gloucester

The paperback edition of this book is sold subject to the  
condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise,  
be lent, resold, hired out, or otherwise circulated  
without the publisher's prior consent, in any form of  
binding or cover other than that in which it is  
published and without a similar condition including this  
condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

# Contents

<b>'Key Concepts'</b>	
<b>an Introductory Note</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1/The Meaning of Representation</b>	<b>13</b>
The main usages of the term 'representative'	15
Political representation	18
<b>2/Medieval Concepts and Practices</b>	<b>22</b>
Medieval theories	22
Medieval parliaments	25
<b>3/The Birth of Representative Government</b>	<b>30</b>
Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau	31
English debates in the seventeenth century	35
The Whig theory of representation	37
Early American ideas about representation	40
The French Revolution	44
Conclusions	47
<b>4/Elective Representation and the Franchise</b>	<b>50</b>
The concept of virtual representation	51
Representing the people	52
Reflecting society	53
Acting as trustees for the nation	60
Ignorance as a bar to representation	64
Other limits to the franchise	67
Conclusions	70
<b>5/Representing Interests</b>	<b>72</b>
The representation of personal interests	72
The representation of class interests	74
The representation of sectional interests	78
The limitations of delegated representation	86

<b>6/Representing Opinions</b>	<b>89</b>
The Idealist attitude to representation	93
Party representation	97
Conclusions	100
<b>7/The Functions of Representation</b>	<b>106</b>
Popular control	109
Leadership and responsibility	114
System maintenance	117
<b>8/Conclusions</b>	<b>124</b>
Representation and responsiveness	125
A last word	130
<b>Notes and References</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>Index</b>	<b>143</b>

# **'Key Concepts' an Introductory Note**

Political concepts are part of our daily speech—we abuse 'bureaucracy' and praise 'democracy', welcome or recoil from 'revolution'. Emotive words such as 'equality', 'dictatorship', 'élite' or even 'power' can often, by the very passions which they raise, obscure a proper understanding of the sense in which they are, or should be, or should not be, or have been used. Confucius regarded the 'rectification of names' as the first task of government. 'If names are not correct, language will not be in accordance with the truth of things', and this in time would lead to the end of justice, to anarchy and to war. One could with some truth point out that the attempts hitherto by governments to enforce their own quaint meanings on words have not been conspicuous for their success in the advancement of justice. 'Rectification of names' there must certainly be: but most of us would prefer such rectification to take place in the free debate of the university, in the competitive arena of the pages of the book or journal.

Analysis of commonly used political terms, their reassessment or their 'rectification', is, of course, normal activity in the political science departments of our universities. The idea of this series was indeed born in the course of discussion between a few university teachers of political science, of whom Professor S. E. Finer of Manchester University was one. It occurred to us that a series of short books discussing the 'Key Concepts' in political science would serve two purposes. In universities these books could provide the kind of brief political texts which might be of assistance to students in gaining a fuller understanding of the terms which they were constantly using. But we also hoped that outside the universities there exists a reading public which has the time, the curiosity and the inclination to pause to reflect on some of those words and ideas which are so often taken for granted. Perhaps even 'that insidious and crafty animal', as Adam Smith described the politician and statesman, will occasionally derive some pleasure or even profit from that more leisurely analysis which academic study can afford, and which a busy life in the practice of politics often denies.

8/ 'Key Concepts' an Introductory Note

It has been very far from the minds of those who have been concerned in planning and bringing into being the 'Key Concepts' series to try and impose (as if that were possible!) any uniform pattern on the authors who have contributed, or will contribute, to it. I, for one, hope that each author will, in his own individual manner, seek and find the best way of helping us to a fuller understanding of the concept which he has chosen to analyse. But whatever form the individual exposition may take, there are, I believe, three aspects of illumination which we can confidently expect from each volume in this series. First, we can look for some examination of the history of the concept, and of its evolution against a changing social and political background. I believe, as many do who are concerned with the study of political science, that it is primarily in history that the explanation must be sought for many of the perplexing problems of political analysis and judgement which beset us today. Second, there is the semantic aspect. To look in depth at a 'key concept' necessarily entails a study of the name which attached itself to it; of the different ways in which, and the different purposes for which, the name was used; of the way in which in the course of history the same name was applied to several concepts, or several names were applied to one and the same concept; and, indeed, of the changes which the same concept, or what appears to be the same concept, has undergone in the course of time. This analysis will usually require a searching examination of the relevant literature in order to assess the present stage of scholarship in each particular field. And thirdly, I hope that the reader of each volume in this series will be able to decide for himself what the proper and valid use should be of a familiar term in politics, and will gain, as it were, from each volume a sharper and better-tempered tool of political analysis.

There are many today who would disagree with Bismarck's view that politics can never be an exact science. I express no opinion on this much debated question. But all of us who are students of politics—and our numbers both inside and outside the universities continue to grow—will be the better for knowing what precisely we mean when we use a common political term.

London School of Economics  
and Political Science

Leonard Schapiro  
General Editor



*To J. P. Lees*

# Acknowledgements

I should like to thank Dr Robert Dowse, Professor Maurice Goldsmith and Dr Noel O'Sullivan, each of whom has been generous with criticisms and advice. I am also grateful to my wife for her constant support and assistance and to Miss Elizabeth Brown for typing an untidy manuscript in a cheerful and highly efficient manner. I made the mistakes myself.

I have dedicated the book to my former tutor at Nottingham, who laboured not only in tutorials but also over innumerable pints of beer to develop my interest in political theory, and to whom I shall always be grateful for the stimulation and encouragement he gave me.

Exeter 1971

A.H.B.