

# Partitionierende Repräsentation und Polarisierung

## Wie ein übersehener Aspekt heutiger Demokratien politische Polarisierung erzeugt

Hanno Scholtz

*Beitrag zur Session "Analytische Perspektiven auf Phänomene der Polarisierung" der Sektion Modellbildung und Simulation auf dem DGS-Kongress am 27.09.2022 in Bielefeld<sup>1</sup>*

Zusammenfassung: Zur politischen Polarisierung mit dem Extrembeispiel USA liefert das vorliegende Papier eine neue Erklärung: Polarisierung ist ein allgemeines Problem westlicher Gesellschaften, das in den USA nur in einem außerordentlich hohen Maße auftritt, erzeugt dadurch, dass auf der Zuordnung von Individuen zu Gruppen basierende politische Institutionen heutigen individualisierten Gesellschaften nicht mehr angemessen sind. Um dieses Argument zu untermauern, werden Evidenz zu (1) Polarisierung und (2) Individualisierung in westlichen Gesellschaften gesichtet, (3) das Konzept der "partitionierenden Repräsentation" eingeführt und (4) einige allgemeine Einsichten rekapituliert, auf deren Basis beschrieben wird, wie die Diskrepanz zwischen Individualisierung und partitionierender Repräsentation Polarisierung erzeugt, indem sie (5) Wähler:innen verärgert, (6) Parteimitglieder radikalisiert und (7) Elitenakteuren falsche Anreize setzt. Als Lösung ist (8) direkte Demokratie ungeeignet, sondern sind (9) Institutionen nötig, die die Vorteile von Repräsentation für einen individualisierten Kontext anzupassen erlauben. Abschnitt (10) fasst zusammen.

Politische Polarisierung in den Vereinigten Staaten hat zu einer Reihe gesellschaftlicher Probleme geführt, die sich über ein breites Spektrum von der Politik bis zur Gesellschaft erstrecken, von der Außenpolitik (Jeong und Quirk 2019) über Infrastruktur und die Anfälligkeit für *Fake News* bis hin zur Partnersuche. In diesem breiten und vernetzten Spektrum können wir (a) einen Rückgang der politischen Kompromisse feststellen, der zu einer ineffektiven Regierungsführung mit Stillstand und einer zunehmenden Unfähigkeit, Probleme der Bürger:innen zu lösen, führt (Jones 2001), (b) abnehmendes Vertrauen in Institutionen, durch das die Unparteilichkeit von Medien, Justiz oder Wissenschaft an Glaubwürdigkeit

<sup>1</sup> Ich danke Knut Petzold, Andreas Tutic, Axel Franzen und zwei unbekanntem Teilnehmern der Sitzung in Bielefeld für hilfreiche Kommentare. Alle wörtlichen Zitate im Text sind eigene Übersetzungen aus dem Englischen.

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### **Table of Contents Representation Und Realitat**

1. Understanding the eBook Representation Und Realitat
  - The Rise of Digital Reading Representation Und Realitat
  - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Representation Und Realitat
  - Exploring Different Genres
  - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
  - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
  - Popular eBook Platforms
  - Features to Look for in an Representation Und Realitat
  - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Representation Und Realitat

- Personalized Recommendations
  - Representation Und Realitat User Reviews and Ratings
  - Representation Und Realitat and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Representation Und Realitat Free and Paid eBooks
    - Representation Und Realitat Public Domain eBooks
    - Representation Und Realitat eBook Subscription Services
    - Representation Und Realitat Budget-Friendly Options
  6. Navigating Representation Und Realitat eBook Formats
    - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
    - Representation Und Realitat Compatibility with Devices
    - Representation Und Realitat Enhanced eBook Features
  7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
    - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Representation Und Realitat
    - Highlighting and Note-Taking Representation Und Realitat
    - Interactive Elements Representation Und Realitat
  8. Staying Engaged with Representation Und Realitat
    - Joining Online Reading Communities
    - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
    - Following Authors and Publishers Representation Und Realitat
  9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Representation Und Realitat
    - Benefits of a Digital Library
    - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Representation Und Realitat
  10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
    - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
    - Minimizing Distractions
    - Managing Screen Time
  11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Representation Und Realitat
    - Setting Reading Goals Representation Und Realitat
    - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
  12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Representation Und Realitat

- Fact-Checking eBook Content of Representation Und Realitat
  - Distinguishing Credible Sources
13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
- Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
  - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
- Integration of Multimedia Elements
  - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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