

Weakening social cleavages

API-414 – class 9

Structure

1. What is Lipset & Rokkan's classic theory of social cleavages & voting behavior?
2. Has there been social dealignment?
 - Class and SES
 - Region
 - Gender
 - Religious
3. What are the main causes and consequences of social dealignment?
4. Research plans: paired discussion

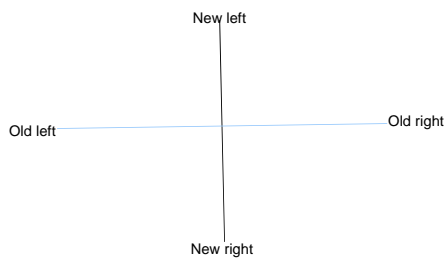
Resources:

- Russ Dalton: *Citizen Politics* Ch 7 and 8
- Pippa Norris *Electoral Engineering* CUP 2004 Ch 5
- CSES dataset

1. Lipset and Rokkan

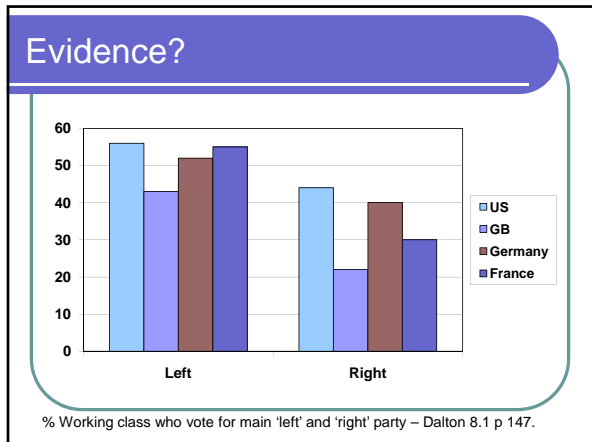
- Social cleavages and party systems
 - Classic theory of the structure of party support
 - Cleavages of religion, center-periphery, workers and owners
 - Expansion of mass franchise – enduring alliances
 - 'Freezing of party systems' 1920s-1960s and stable voting patterns
 - Criticisms in 1970s – new challenges from minor parties, weaker allegiances, more volatility

Structure of party competition



2. Social dealignment?

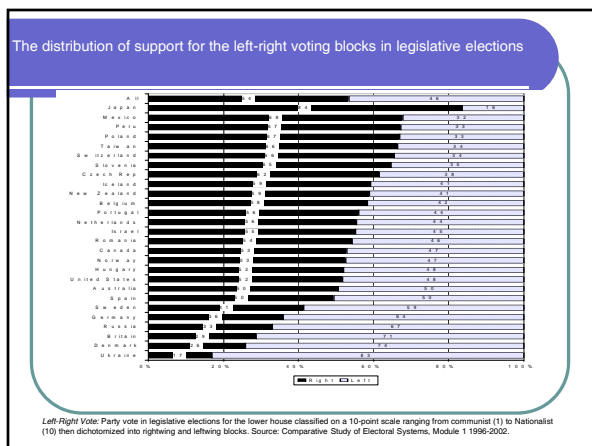
- Class definitions
 - 'Objective' v. 'subjective'
 - 'Interests' or 'identities'?
 - Dichotomy? Alford Index manual v. non-manual workers
 - Dalton: 'New' and 'old' middle class
 - Heath et al: 5-fold categories
 - Professionals and managers
 - Petty bourgeoisie
 - Lower middle/white collar
 - Foremen and technicians
 - Manual workers



- ### Causes of class dealignment?
- Dalton Fig 8.2 Trends in class voting
 - Causes in societal changes?
 - Decline of heavy industry/WC communities
 - Growing education & cognitive skills
 - Rise of non-partisan mass media
 - Greater geographic and social mobility
 - New cross-cutting cleavages eg multiculturalism
 - Kitschelt
 - Shifts in party competition
 - 'Catch all' parties to expand base

- ### Other social cleavages weakened?
- Religion: Dalton Table 8.2, Fig 8.3
 - Region: erosion or new salience?
 - Race and ethnicity
 - Gender gaps
 - New materialist/post-materialist cleavage?

- ### Comparative data
- Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
 - Module I 1996-2002
 - Module II 2002-2006
 - Battery included in national election studies
 - 60+ nations
 - <http://www.umich.edu/~cses/>



Left-Right Vote: Party vote in legislative elections for the lower house classified on a 10-point scale ranging from communist (1) to Nationalist (10) then dichotomized into rightwing and leftwing blocks. Source: Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 1 1996-2002.

Baseline models predicting rightwing voting support : CSES 1996-2002

	Model A			Model B			Coding
	B	S.E.	Sig.	B	S.E.	Sig.	
SOCIAL STRUCTURE							
Age	-.008	.001	-.05 ***	-.006	.001	-.04 ***	A2001 Years old
Sex (Male)	.226	.035	.05 ***	.112	.032	.02 ***	A2002 Male=1/Female=0
Education	.040	.018	.02 *	.047	.017	.02 **	A2003 Highest level of education of respondent. Primary 1, secondary 2, post-secondary technical 3, university 4.
Income	.113	.014	.06 ***	.081	.012	.05 ***	A2012 5-point scale of household income from lowest to highest quintile.
Union member	-.609	.040	-.11 ***	-.374	.036	-.07 ***	A2005 Respondent is union member 1, else 0
Linguistic majority	.362	.036	.08 ***	.224	.033	.05 ***	A2018 Language usually spoken at home. Linguistic majority 1, else 0
Religiosity	.311	.010	.24 ***	.189	.009	.15 ***	A2015 9-point strength of religiosity scale from never attend religious service (1) to attend at least weekly (9).
IDEOLOGY							
Left-right ideology				.409	.006	.43 ***	A3001 Position respondents placed themselves on the 10-point scale from left (0) to right (10).
Constant	4.6						
Adjusted R ²	.074			.248			

Notes: The figures represent the results of OLS multiple regression analysis models including unstandardized beta coefficients (B), standardized error (S.E.), standardized beta coefficients (Beta) and their significance (P). *** p<.001 ** p<.01 * p<.05.
 Voting Change: For the dependent measure, votes for each party family are recoded using a 10-point scale ranging from left (low) to right (high) as follows: (1) Communist; (2) Ecology or Socialist; (3) Social Democrat; (4) Social Liberal; (5) Liberal; (6) Christian Democrat; (7) Right Liberal; (8) Conservative; and (10) Nationalist/Religious. A positive coefficient indicates support for parties on the right. For details of the coding for the independent variables see Appendix B. The pooled sample of legislative elections includes 28 nations and 17,794 respondents. Data was weighted by A104_1 to ensure that the size of the sample is equal per nation. Source: Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 1 1996-2002.