

Political Sociology

Tutorial 6 | Cleavages



EUROPE,
GLOBALIST



Democrats



Up with Italy
League
+ Brothers

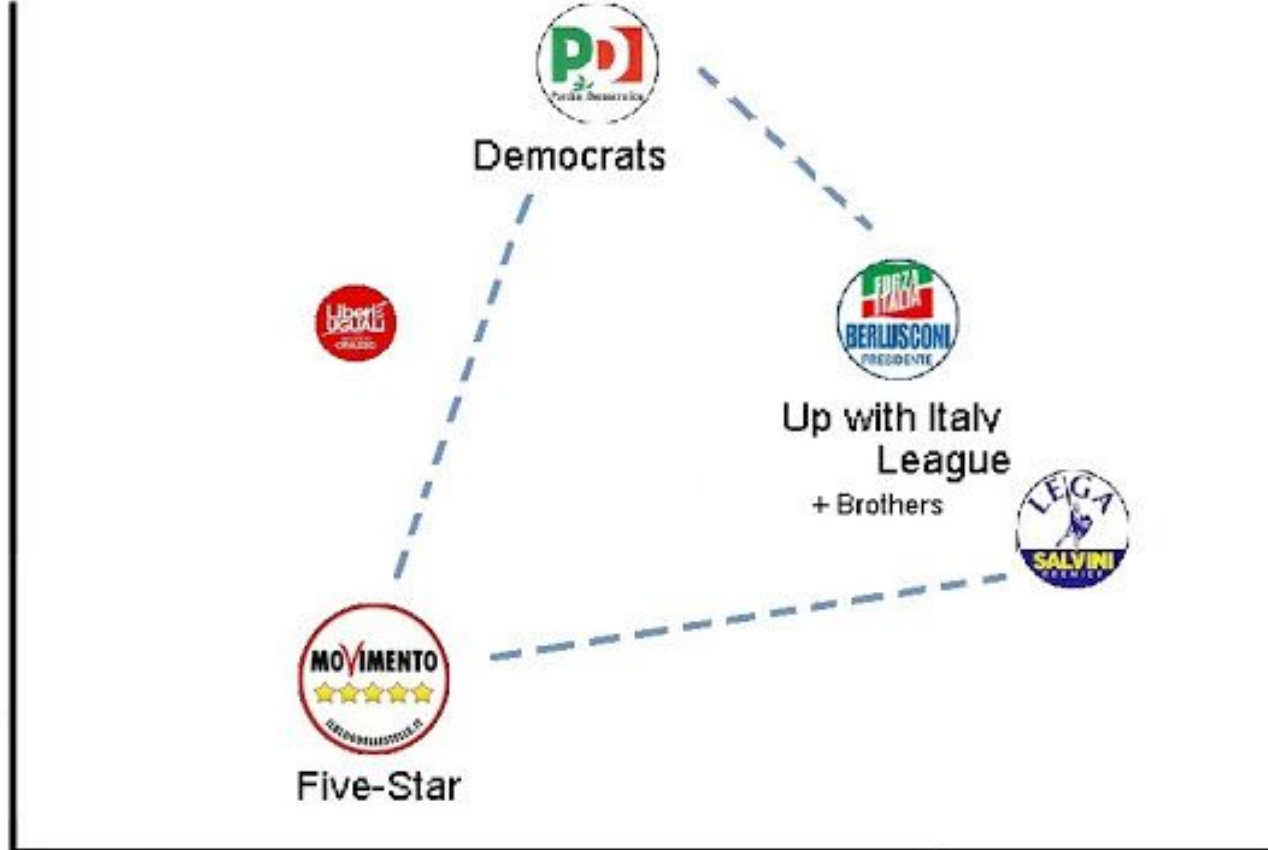


Five-Star

NATIONALIST
POPULIST

LEFT

RIGHT



EUROPE,
GLOBALIST

Macron
En Marche!

Hamon
Socialist

Fillon
Republican

Jadot
Green

Melenchon
Left

Dupont
DLF

NATIONALIST
POPULIST

Arthaud
Trotskyist

Le Pen
National Front

LEFT

RIGHT



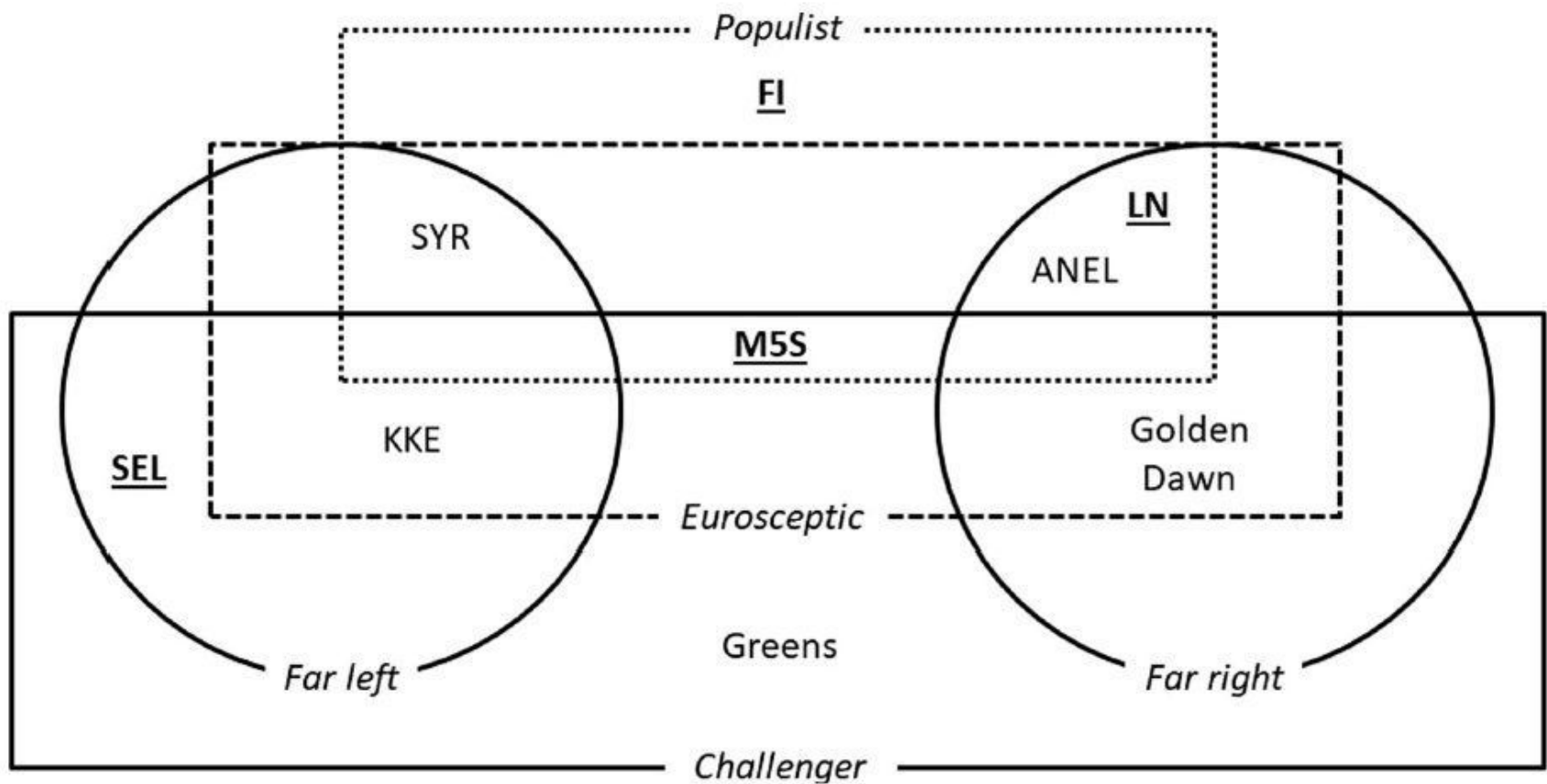


Figure 1. Some of the main contemporary populist, far left/right, Eurosceptic and challenger parties in Italy and Greece (for full party names, see the Online Appendix).

Research questions

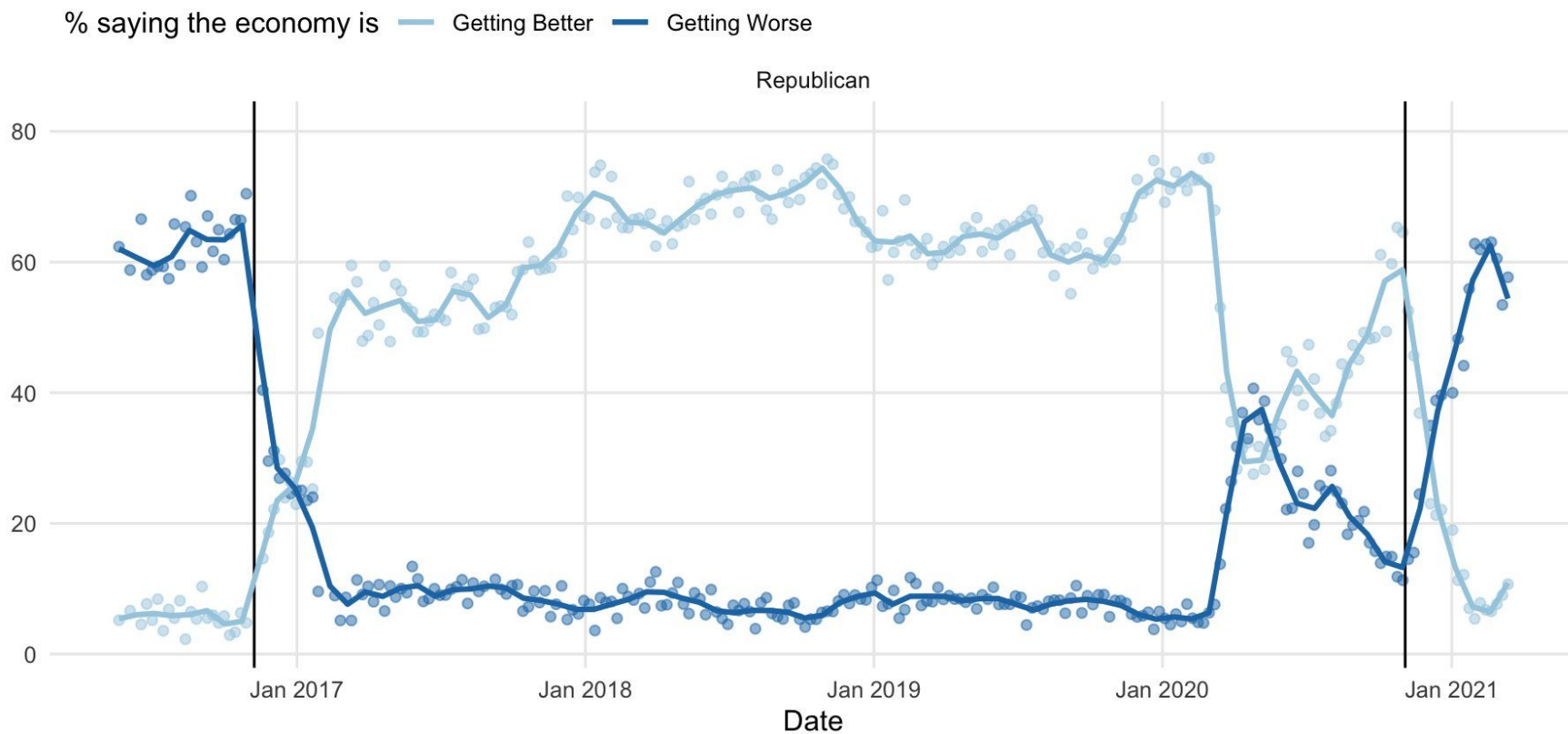
- **How to explain voting behaviour**

- Structural factors (e.g. geography)
- Civic / Political culture (cf. socialization)
- Individual rationality (e.g. economic voting)

- **How to explain party systems**

- Cleavages (left—right and... new ones)
- Electoral formulas (votes—seats translation)
- Voting franchise (suffrage extension)

Further effects: partisanship and polarization



Source: YouGov/The Economist

Reading 6

Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan

INITIAL FORMULATIONS	1
DIMENSIONS OF CLEAVAGE AND ALLIANCE	9
THE TRANSFORMATION OF CLEAVAGE STRUCTURES INTO PARTY SYSTEMS	26
A MODEL FOR THE GENERATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARTY SYSTEM	33
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INITIAL FORMULATIONS

Questions for Comparative Analysis

The analyses brought together in this collection bear on a series of central questions in the comparative sociology of politics.

The first set of questions concerns *the genesis of the system of contrasts and cleavages* within the national community: Which conflicts came first and which later? Which ones proved temporary and secondary? Which proved obdurate and pervasive? Which cut across each other and produced overlaps between allies and enemies, and which reinforced each other and tended to polarize the national citizenry?

A second group of questions focuses on *the conditions for the development of a stable system of cleavage and oppositions* in national political life: Why did some early conflicts establish party oppositions and others not? Which of the many conflicting interests and outlooks in the national community produced direct opposition between competing parties, and which of them could be aggregated *within* the broad party fronts? Which conditions favored extensive aggregations of oppositional groups, and which offered greater incentive to fragmented articulation of single interests or narrowly defined causes? To what extent were these developments affected by changes in the legal and the administrative conditions of political activity, through the extension of the rights of participation, through the introduction of secret voting and the development of strict controls of electoral corruption, and through the retention of plurality

Seymour M. Lipset
et Stein Rokkan

Structures de clivages, systèmes de partis et alignement des électeurs: une introduction

En 1967, les deux politologues de renommée internationale Stein Rokkan et Seymour Martin Lipset éditaient un ouvrage séminal consacré aux partis politiques et aux comportements électoraux. L'introduction de ce volume, qui est l'objet du présent ouvrage, est désormais un passage incontournable pour tout étudiant dans le champ de la science politique et de la sociologie politique. Celle-ci constitue la première présentation de la théorie de clivages, c'est-à-dire des grandes lignes de fractures qui traversent la société dans le temps long.

Selon Lipset et Rokkan, quatre clivages fondamentaux s'expriment dans la construction de l'Etat moderne autour de deux révolutions, la révolution nationale (l'édification de l'Etat et l'avènement de la démocratie parlementaire) et la révolution économique (le passage au mode de production industriel): possédants/travailleurs, Etat/Eglise, Centre/périphérie, primaire/secondaire. Ils prennent des formes différentes dans le temps et suivant les pays.

A l'époque contemporaine, ces clivages sont des conflits qui s'expriment sur le mode pacifié, singulièrement dans la compétition électorale. L'identité et le fondement idéologique des partis politiques s'articulent autour de ces clivages et il en va de même pour les électeurs. La théorie des clivages de Lipset et Rokkan articule donc les problématiques de la construction de l'Etat moderne en Europe, de l'établissement des partis et des comportements électoraux. Elle est devenue un classique abondamment cité et commenté, comme en témoigne par exemple le nombre impressionnant de citations dans la base Google Scholar.

Stein Rokkan a été professeur de politique comparée à l'Université de Bergen. Il est décédé en 1979. Il a été honoré à titre posthume. L'un des prix les plus prestigieux en sciences sociales porte son nom: le Stein Rokkan Prize in Comparative Social Science Research.

Seymour M. Lipset a été professeur de sociologie politique à l'Université de Stanford et de Harvard. Il est décédé en 2006.



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S. M. Lipset et S. Rokkan

Structures de clivages

Seymour M. Lipset
et Stein Rokkan

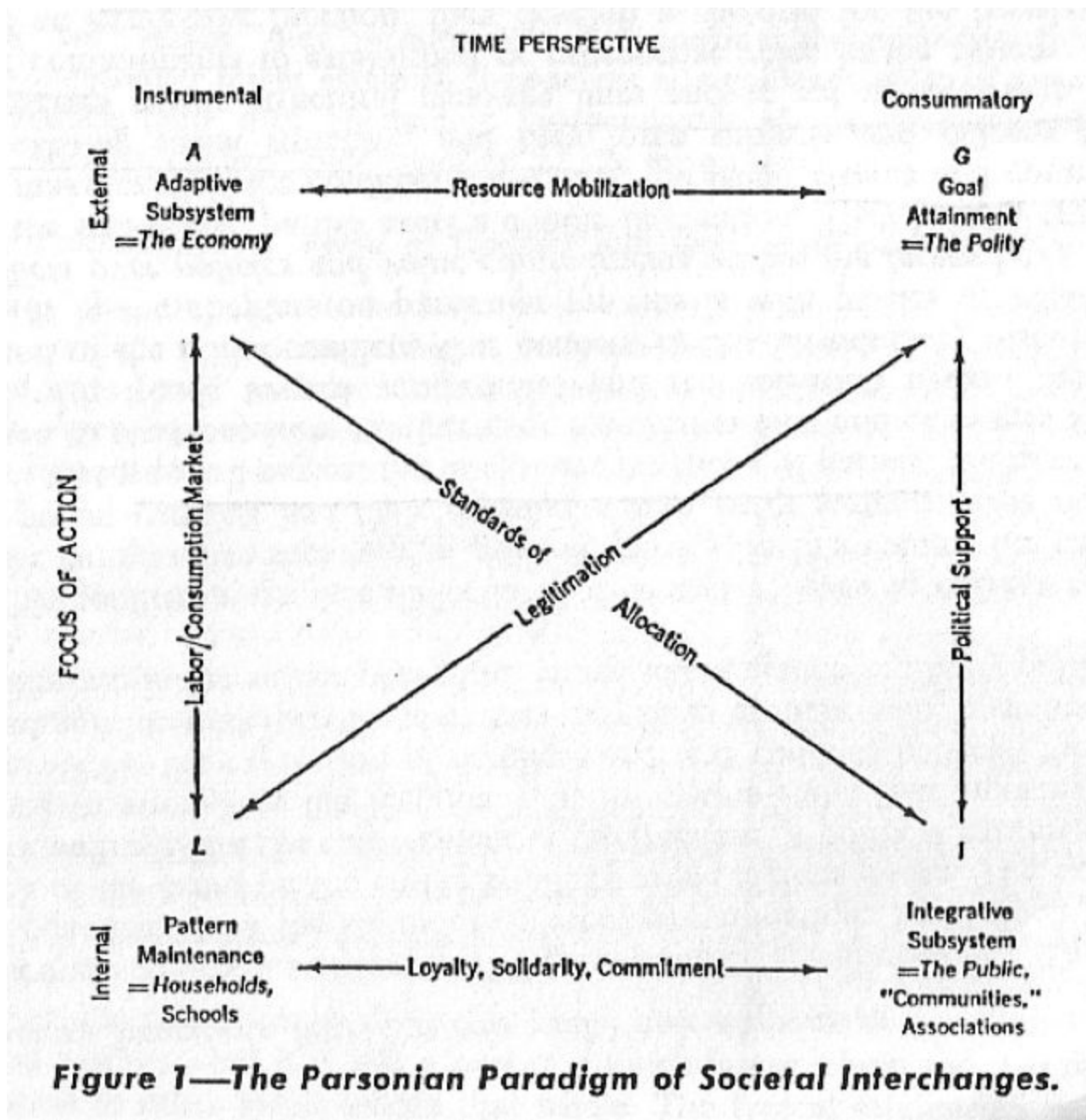
Structures de clivages, systèmes de partis et alignement des électeurs: une introduction



EDITIONS DE L'UNIVERSITE DE BRUXELLES

Lipset and Rokkan (1967)

- **Political parties** are “**alliances** in **conflicts over policies and value commitments** within the larger body politic”
[coalitions based on tensions in the political community]
- **Expressive function:** parties serve to **crystallise conflicting interests** by making them **explicit**
[turn latent conflicts into manifest ones]
- **Instrumental function:** parties **force citizens to ally** across structural cleavage lines **and to set up priorities** among their **commitments** [give them some structure]



Parsons' social system theory (1968)

- **Aadaptation:** **economic** resources that make it possible to adjust to an **environment**
- **Goal Attainment:** **political** resources that make it possible to formulate and reach **goals**
- **Integration:** **normative** resources that make it possible to maintain some **coherence**
- **Latency:** **institutional** resources that defend and diffuse some set of **values**

Lipset and Rokkan's translation / 1

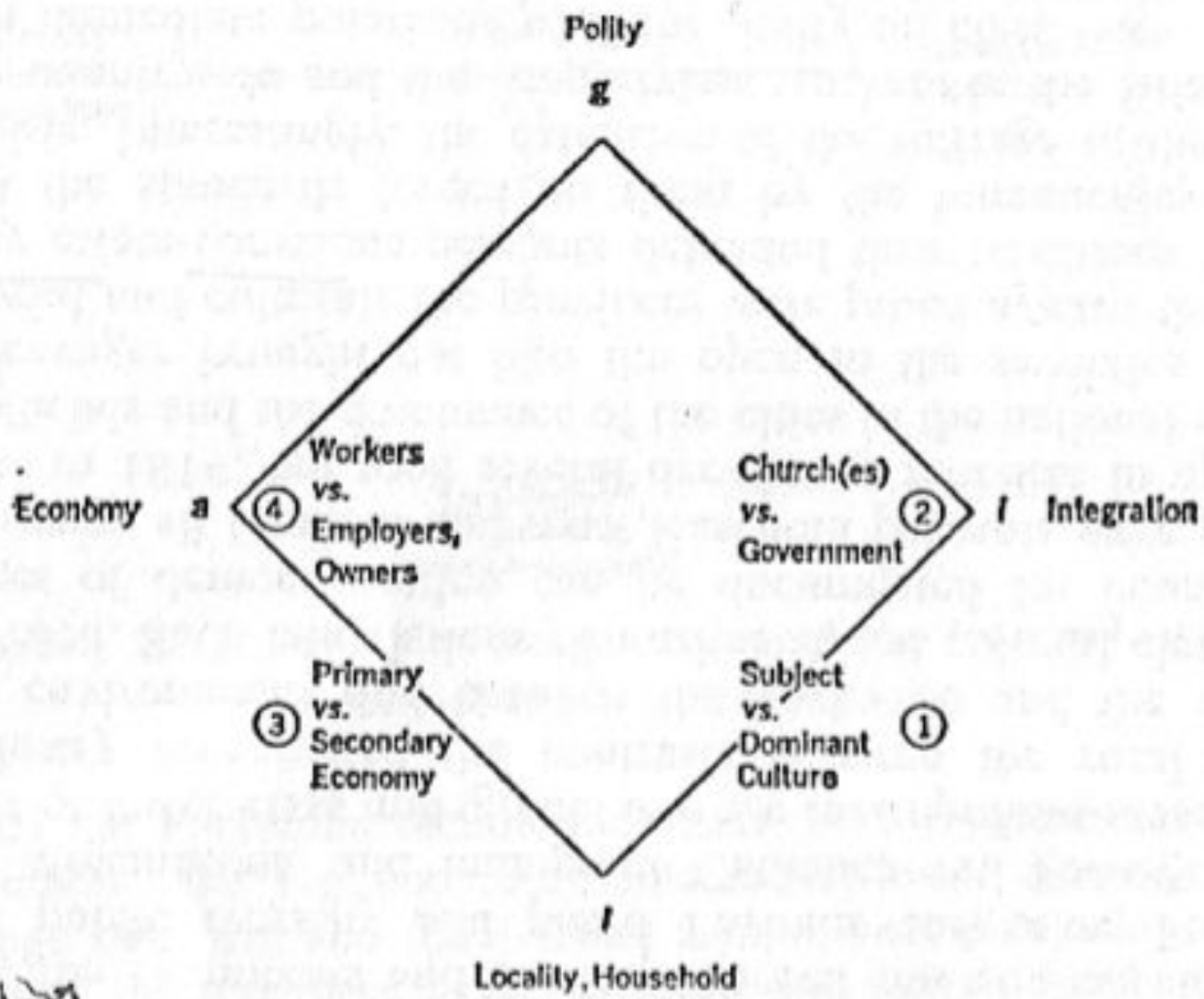
- **Aadaptation:** **interest-specific** oppositions over the allocation of **resources**
- **Integration:** **ideological** oppositions over the allocation of **power**
- **Goal Attainment:** **central** conflicts set within the **national established elite**
- **Latency:** **peripheral** conflicts set within **local and regional organizations**

Lipset and Rokkan's translation / 2

Four **average tendencies** (from 'AGIL' to 'EPIL')

- **Economy** resources
- **Polity** power
- **Integration** values
- **Locality** territory

... yielding four critical **cleavages**



creativity

Figure 3—Suggested Locations of Four Critical Cleavages in the a-g-i-l Paradigm.

Four cleavage lines / 1

Consequences of the (political) **National Revolution**
(in France and Britain)

- **Centre v. Periphery** — conflict between the central nation-building culture and distinct subject populations (created most notably by the Reformation)
- **Nation-State v. Church** — secular v. religious control of mass education (highly salient in France: Catholic Church)

Four cleavage lines / 2

Consequences of the (economic) **Industrial Revolution**

- **Agrarian v. industrial commodities** — conflict between (rural) landed interests v. rising class of (urban) industrial entrepreneurs
- **Owners' v. workers' labour** — national v. international commitment of wage-earning masses (Russian revolution)

Our initial scheme of analysis posited four decisive dimensions of cleavage in Western politics. Our model for the generation of party systems pinpointed three crucial junctures in national history corresponding to the first three of these dimensions:

<i>Cleavage</i>	<i>Critical juncture</i>	<i>Issues</i>
Center-Periphery	Reformation– Counter-Reformation: 16th-17th centuries	National vs. supranational religion National language vs. Latin
State-Church	National Revolution: 1789 and after	Secular vs. religious control of mass education
Land-Industry	Industrial Revolution: 19th century	Tariff levels for agricultural products; control vs. freedom for industrial enterprise

It is tempting to add to this a fourth dimension and a fourth juncture:

<i>Cleavage</i>	<i>Critical juncture</i>	<i>Issues</i>
Owner-Worker	The Russian Revolution: 1917 and after	Integration into national polity vs. commitment to international revolutionary movement

Table 13.1 Stein Rokkan's cleavages and their partisan expression

Revolution	Timing	Cleavage	Divisive issue(s)	Party families	Examples
National	Early 19th century (restricted electorates)	Centre–periphery	Liberals and conservatives face resistance to state/administrative centralization and cultural standardization (language/religion).	Regionalists, ethnic parties, linguistic parties, minorities.	Scottish National Party, Bloc Québécois, Partido Nacionalista Vasco.
		State–church	Conflict between liberal and secularized state against clerical and aristocratic privilege, and over religious education, influence of church in politics, democratic institutions.	Conservative and religious parties (Catholic mainly), Christian democracy.	Austrian People's Party, Christian-Democratic Union, Swiss Catholic Party, Partido Popular.
Industrial	Late 19th century (suffrage extension)	Rural–urban	Conflict between industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy on trade policies: agrarian protectionism vs. industrial liberalism (free trade vs. tariffs).	Agrarian and peasant parties.	Finnish Centre Party, Australian Country Party, Polish Peasant People's Party.
		Workers–employers	Employers vs. the rising working class on job security, pensions, social protection, degree of state intervention in economy.	Workers' parties, socialists and social democrats, labour parties.	British Labour Party, Argentinian Socialist Party, Swedish Social-Democratic Workers' Party, Spanish PSOE.

(continued)

Revolution	Timing	Cleavage	Divisive issue(s)	Party families	Examples
International	Early 20th century (mass electorates)	Communists–socialists	Division within the ‘left’ (workers’ movement) over centrality of the Soviet Union Communist Party and its international leadership, and over reformism vs. revolution.	Communists.	Partito Comunista Italiano, Izquierda Unida, Parti Communiste Français, Japan’s Communist Party.
Post-industrial	Late 20th century (demobilized electorates)	Materialist–post- materialist values	Generational cleavage over policy priorities: new values of civic rights, pacifism, feminism, environment.	Green and ecologist parties.	Die Grünen, Austrian Grünen/Grüne Alternative, Democrats ’66, Women’s Party.
		Open–closed societies	Globalization of the economy, opening up of labour markets, competition from cheap Asian labour, fiscal and monetary integration in Europe, and anti-Americanization of culture.	Protest parties, nationalist parties, extreme right-wing parties, neo-populist parties.	FPÖ, Front National, Danish Progress Party, Fifth Republic Movement (Hugo Chávez), Movement for Socialism (Evo Morales).

Further questions / 1

- **What factors make class conflict endure?**

How are individuals socialized to politics, and through which institutions? (what keeps cleavages ‘frozen’)

e.g. family, church, party organizations

- **How stable are social cleavages?**

When and why do cleavages ‘unfreeze’ to form new axes of political conflict? (new lines of divide)

e.g. environmentalism and ‘Green’ parties

Further questions / 2

- Can there be **'new' revolutions?**

Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution* (1977)

- Are there new **counter-revolutions?**

Reactionary identity conflicts (Ignazi 1992)

- How to express **current cleavages?**

e.g. Libertarian / Authoritarian (Kitschelt 1995)

e.g. GAL / TAN (Green, Alternative, Libertarian v.
Traditional, Authoritarian, Nationalism — i.e. populism?)

(high education, women, symbol and client processing)

Libertarian politics

Left-libertarian politics

high education
symbol and client
processing jobs in
the public sector

high skill, processing symbols and
clients in the private sector

Socialist politics

(public and/or domestic
sector, nonowners)

administrative
and
manual
public
sector
jobs

high skill jobs in
the inter-nationally
competitive
manufacturing and
service sectors

liberal
professionals
and
corporate
organization
men

Capitalist politics

(private
and/or
inter-
nationally
competitive
sector,
owners)

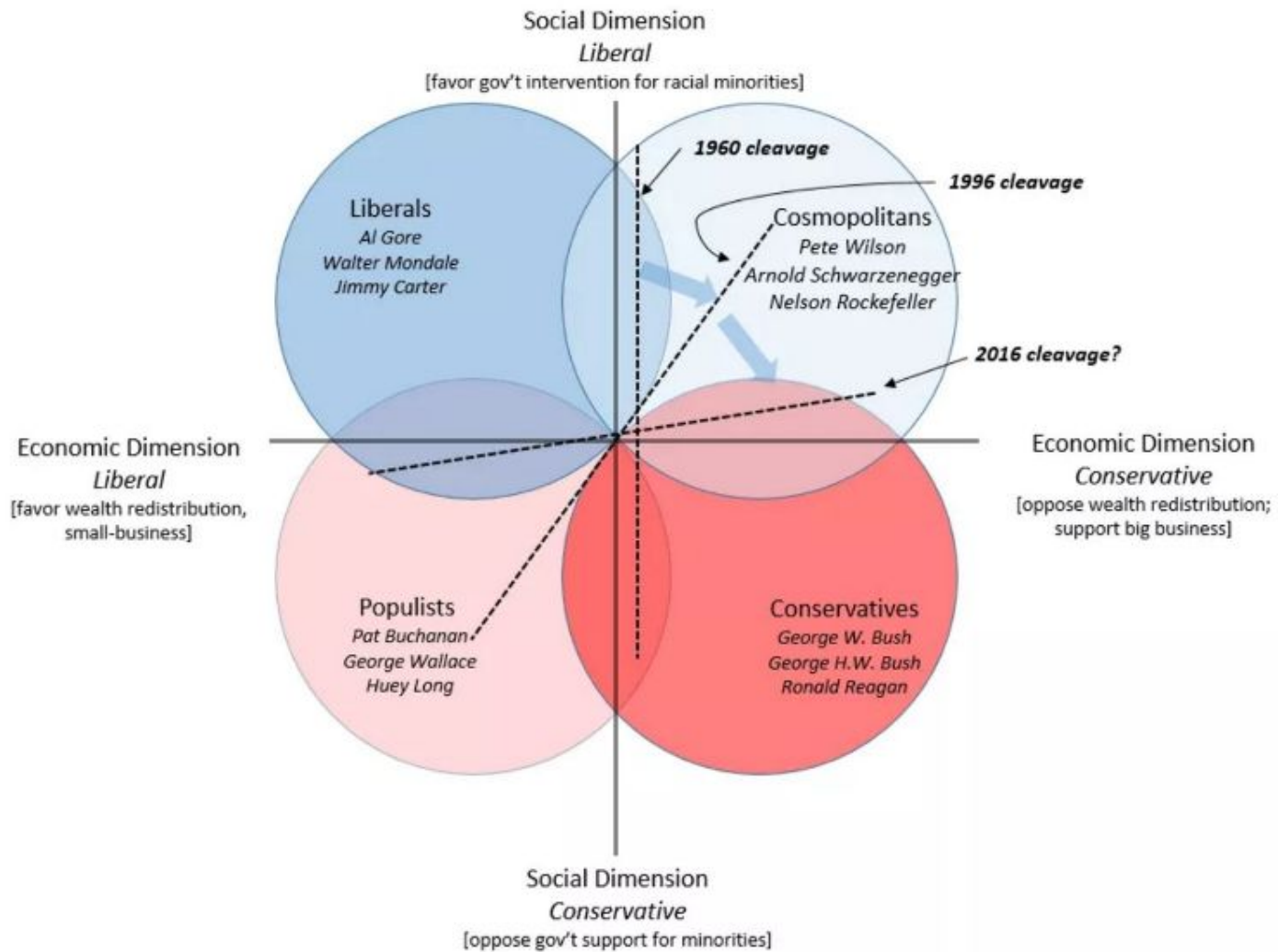
low-skill jobs
in domestic
services and
manufacturing

petite
bourgeoisie

Authoritarian politics

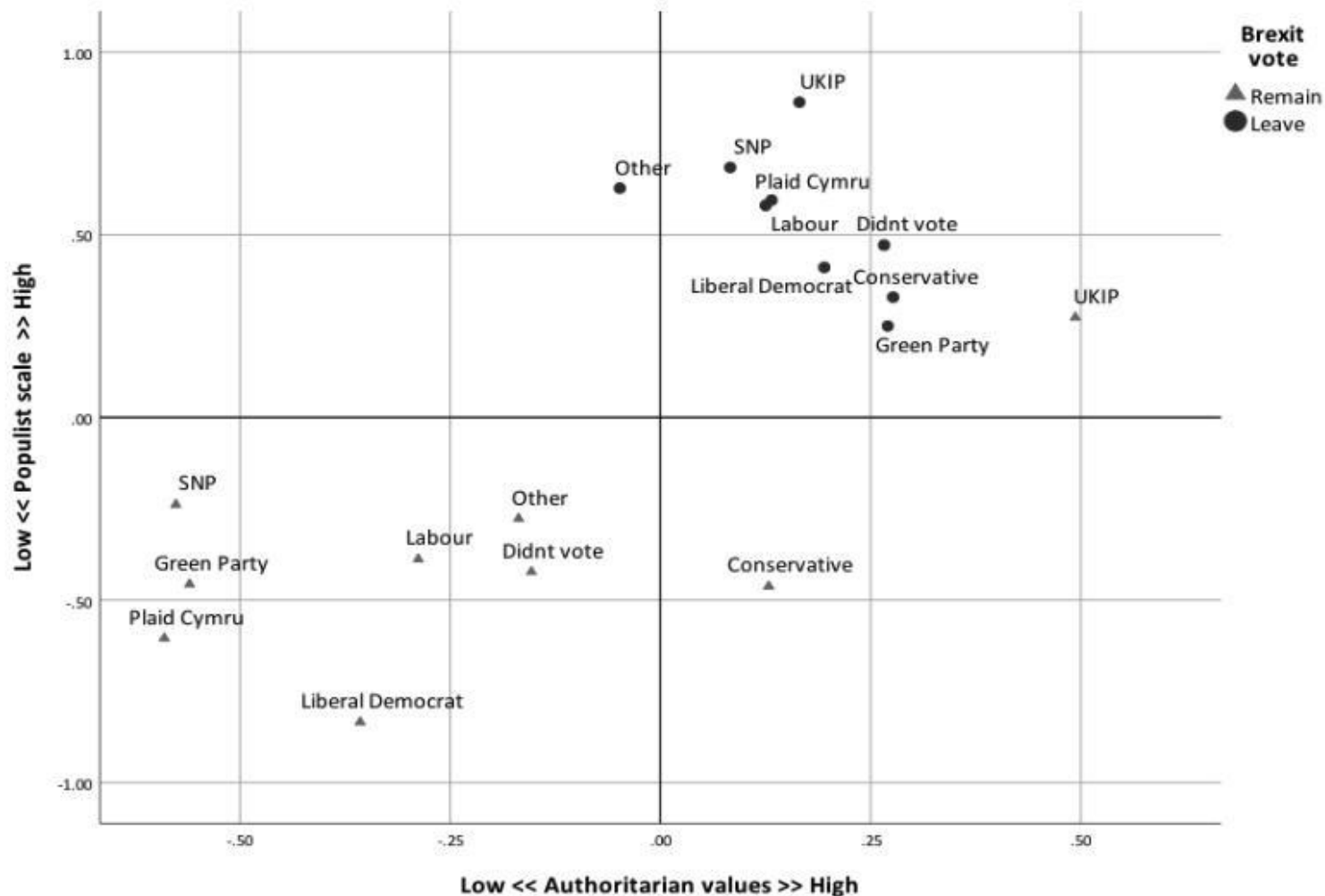
(low education, men, processing artifacts and
documents)

Right-authoritarian politics



Party realignment from 1960 to 2016. | Jennifer Victor

Figure 11.9: Populist and authoritarian values of voters in the UK 2017 general election



Note: The *Populist* standardized scale is a summary (Z-score) measured in BES W10 post-Brexit from the following 5 Likert-style agree/disagree items: “1) The politicians in the UK Parliament need to follow the will of the people; 2) The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions; 3) I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician; 4) Elected officials talk too much and take too little action; 5) What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles. The *Authoritarian* values standardized scale is a summary (Z-score) measured in BES W10 post-Brexit from the following items: “Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have: 1) independence/respect for elders; 2) obedience/self-reliance, 3) considerate/well-behaved, 4) curiosity/good-manners.” The Brexit Leave/Remain vote was measured post-Brexit (W9). The recalled party vote was measured post-2017 UK general election vote (W13).

Source: British Election Study Internet Panel Waves 1-13. <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/data-objects/panel-study-data/>

A stylized illustration of a crowd of people with their hands raised, set against a solid orange background. The figures are rendered in dark brown and black tones, creating a high-contrast, graphic effect. The overall mood is one of collective action or participation.

QUESTIONS

10 minute break



LE TRAVAIL
PRÉCAIRE
C'EST NÉCESSAIRE

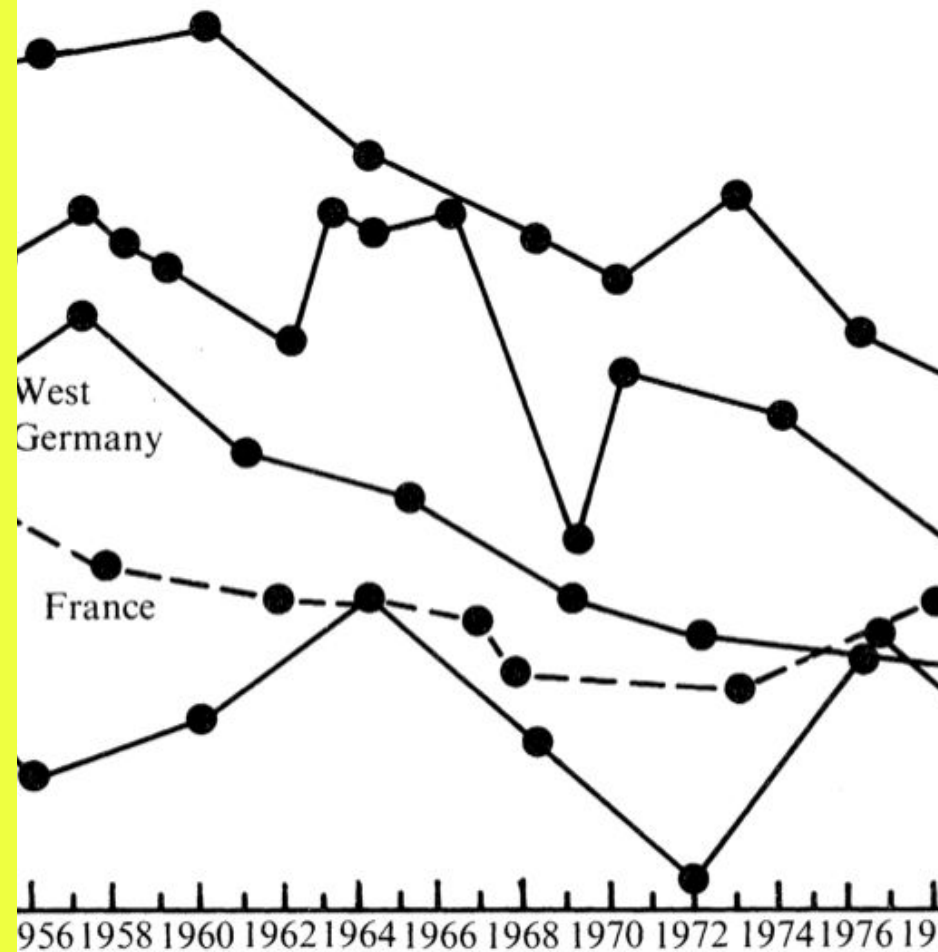
BAISSE
DE LA TVA
SUR
LE FOIE GRAS

L'AIDE SOCIALE
C'EST POUR
LA RACAILLE

LES GAUCHOS
AU BOULOT

Presentation workshop

FIGURE 3
Alford Index of Class Voting Shows Decline Over Time



5; updated by present author with results from recent elections.

Presentation roadmap

Based on previous workshops

1. **Topic** — Why this topic? (relevance to this course, and possibly and more personally to yourselves)
2. **Research question** — What are you asking about it? (the problem that your presentation will solve)
3. **Literature review** — What sources does your answer use? (cite them in the slides, and list them at the end)
4. **Argument** and **structure** (what your answer to the problem consists of, and how you plan to present it)

When to cite your sources

- When you mention **past studies** of your topic
- When you mention **theories** relevant to your analysis
- When you want to indicate **where things come from**
 - **Expressions** and concepts (e.g. ‘Silent Revolution’)
 - **Typologies** (e.g. ‘extremist v. populist’)
 - **Figures** and **tables** (see next slides)
 - Non-trivial **numbers** (i.e. almost any statistic)
 - **Anything non-trivial**, really

Providing **evidence**

- **Citations** and references
 - ⇒ **ESPOL guide on referencing**
- **Names** and translations
 - ⇒ Pay attention to **spelling**
- **Numbers** and quantitative sources
 - ⇒ Pay attention to **precision**
- **Figures** and tables
 - ⇒ Include **sources**

Citing and referencing in **Harvard style**

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London

READ ME NOW

Citing & Referencing: Harvard Style

Writing skills: at your academic level you will be expected to develop your writing skills, and this includes being able to discuss and demonstrate an understanding of other people's work and ideas in your own words. This is called paraphrasing. It is much better to paraphrase than to use many quotations when you write.

Reprinting figures and tables

Figure 1. Monthly Market Capitalization of Major US banks.

Source: Reinke and Culpepper (2014), Figure 2.

If the figure has been altered

Source: adapted from Reinke and Culpepper (2014), Figure 2.

If the figure is original work

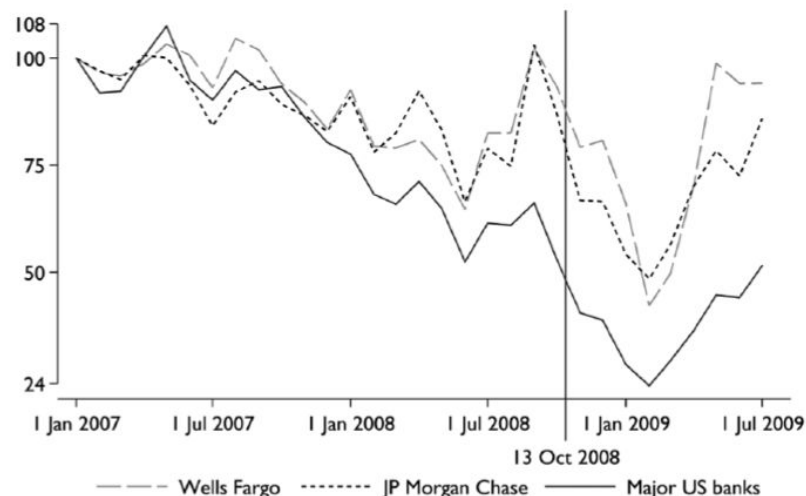
Source: author's calculations.

Structural Power and Bank Bailouts in the United Kingdom and the United States

Politics & Society
2014, Vol. 42(4) 427–454
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Pepper D. Culpepper
European University Institute, Florence, Italy

Raphael Reinke
Department of Political Science, University of Zurich, Switzerland



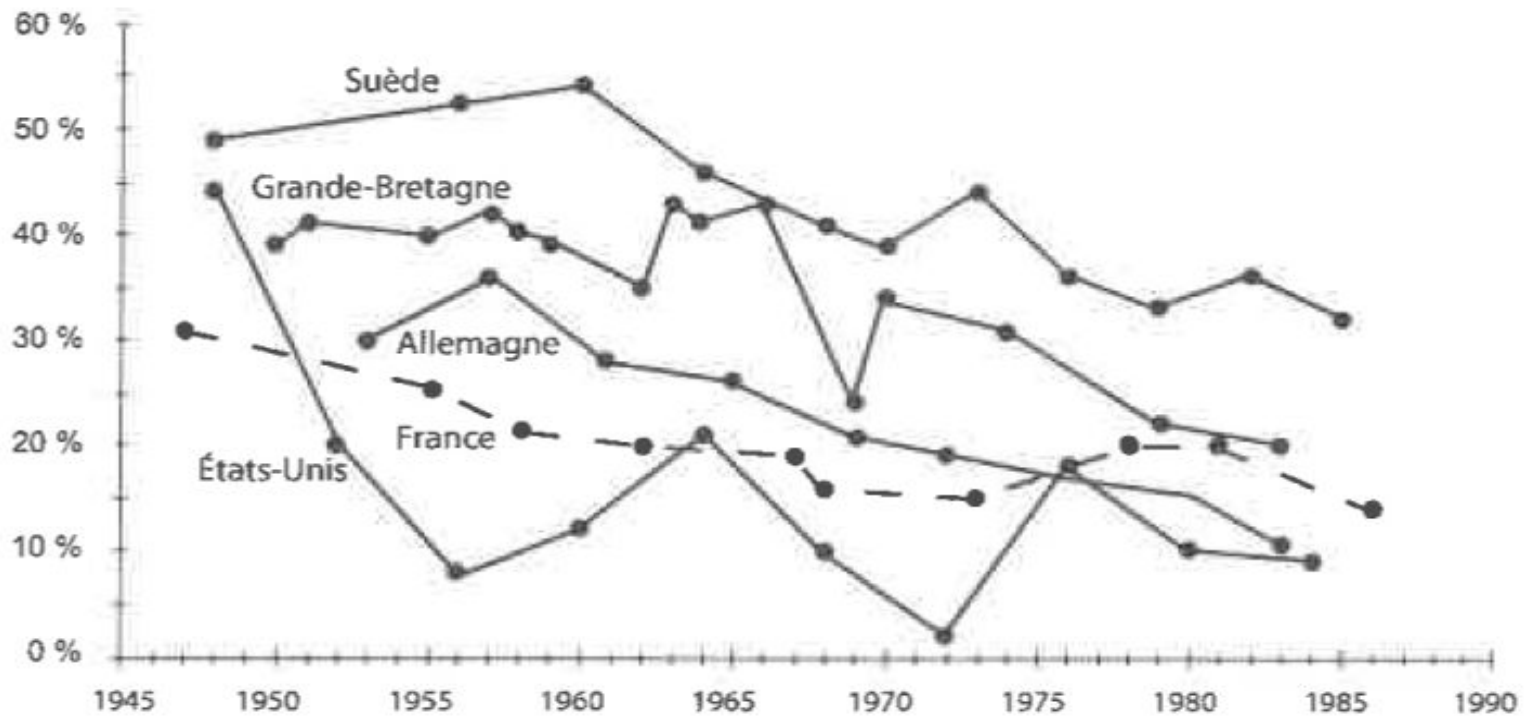
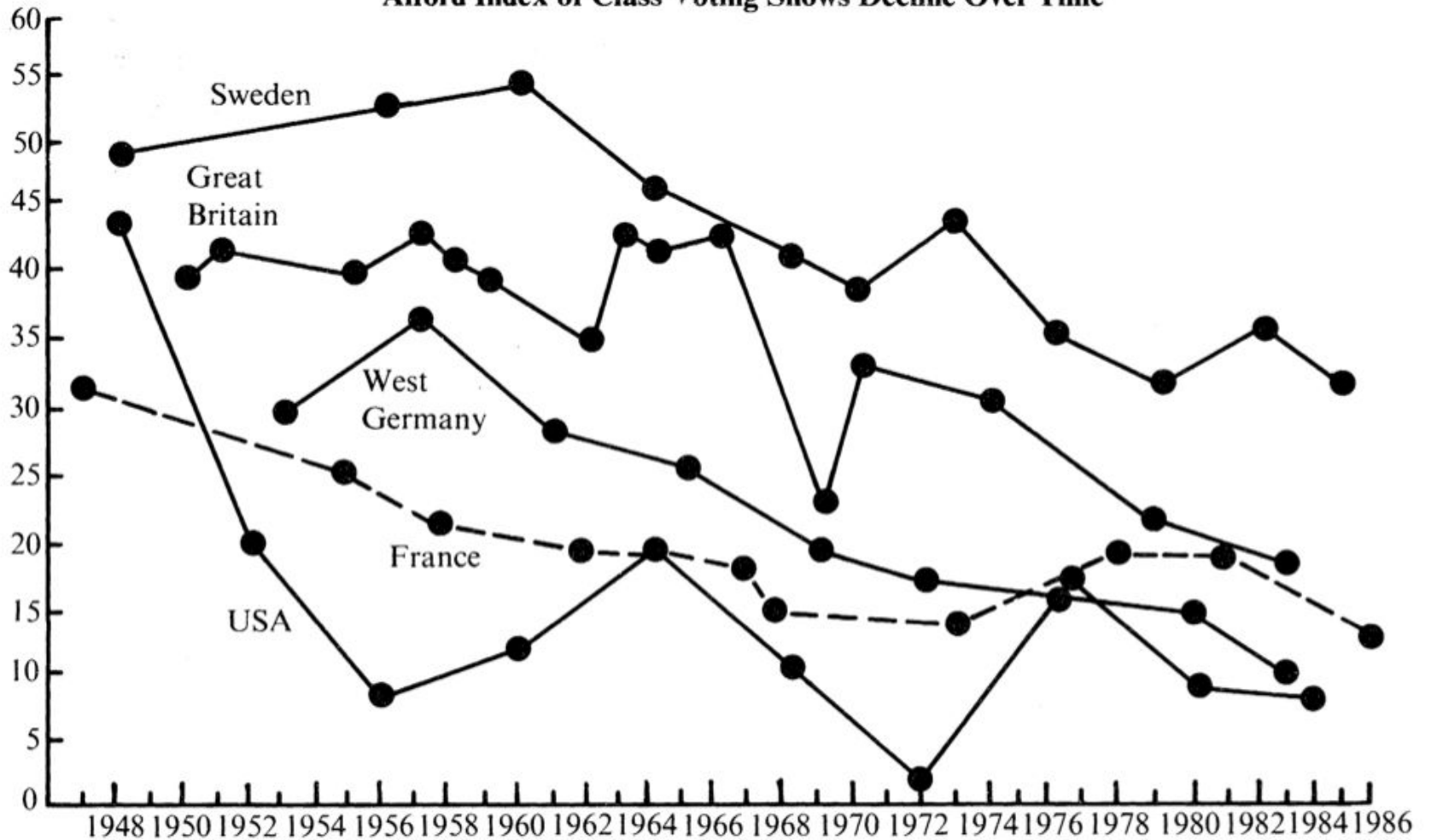


Figure 12. Indice d'Alford

Source: Clarck et al., 1993

FIGURE 3

Alford Index of Class Voting Shows Decline Over Time



Adapted from Lipset (1981): 505; updated by present author with results from recent elections.

Next session

Read **Schwartz and**

Lawson 2005

Tracklist for Tutorial 6



- **L'infanterie sauvage, “Kriegspiel Station” (1984)**

Tu as 18 ans et l'étau se resserre

Tu es un héros de la classe ouvrière

- **Motörhead, “Eat The Rich” (1987)**

Come on baby, eat the rich

Put the bite on the son of a b!tch

- **Rage Against the Machine, “Killing in the Name” (1992)**

Some of those that work forces,

Are the same that burn crosses