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

% saying the economy is getting better and getting worse among Republicans

Date

Source: YouGov/The Economist
Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan

INITIAL FORMULATIONS

1. DIMENSIONS OF CLEAVAGE AND ALLIANCE
2. THE TRANSFORMATION OF CLEAVAGE STRUCTURES INTO PARTY SYSTEMS
3. A MODEL FOR THE GENERATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARTY SYSTEM
4. IMPLICATIONS FOR COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

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...
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 éditèrent 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'État moderne autour de deux révolutions, la révolution nationale (l'édition de l'État et l'avènement de la démocratie parlementaire) et la révolution économique (le passage au mode de production industriel): possédants/travailleurs, État/Eglise, Centre/periphérie, primaire/secondaire. Ils prennent des formes différentes dans le temps et suivant les pays. À 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'État 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.
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 **cristallise 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]
Figure 1—The Parsonian Paradigm of Societal Interchanges.
Parsons’ social system theory (1968)

- **Adaptation**: 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

- **Adaptation**: *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**
Figure 3—Suggested Locations of Four Critical Cleavages in the a-g-i-l Paradigm.
Four cleavage lines

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)
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cleavage</th>
<th>Critical juncture</th>
<th>Issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Center-Periphery</td>
<td>Reformation—Counter-Reformation: 16th-17th centuries</td>
<td>National vs. supranational religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State-Church</td>
<td>National Revolution: 1789 and after</td>
<td>National language vs. Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land-Industry</td>
<td>Industrial Revolution: 19th century</td>
<td>Secular vs. religious control of mass education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner-Worker</td>
<td>The Russian Revolution: 1917 and after</td>
<td>Tariff levels for agricultural products; control vs. freedom for industrial enterprise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is tempting to add to this a fourth dimension and a fourth juncture:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revolution</th>
<th>Timing</th>
<th>Cleavage</th>
<th>Divisive issue(s)</th>
<th>Party families</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>Late 19th century (suffrage extension)</td>
<td>Rural-urban</td>
<td>Conflict between industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy on trade policies: agrarian protectionism vs. industrial liberalism (free trade vs. tariffs).</td>
<td>Agrarian and peasant parties.</td>
<td>Finnish Centre Party, Australian Country Party, Polish Peasant People’s Party.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Employers vs. the rising working class on job security, pensions, social protection, degree of state intervention in economy.</td>
<td>Workers’ parties, socialists and social democrats, labour parties.</td>
<td>British Labour Party, Argentinian Socialist Party, Swedish Social-Democratic Workers’ Party, Spanish PSOE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution</td>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>Cleavage</td>
<td>Divisive issue(s)</td>
<td>Party families</td>
<td>Examples</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>Early 20th century (mass</td>
<td>Communists–socialists</td>
<td>Division within the ‘left’ (workers’ movement) over centrality of the Soviet Union</td>
<td>Communists.</td>
<td>Partito Comunista Italiano, Izquierda Unida, Parti Communiste Français, Japan’s Communist Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>electorates)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Communist Party and its international leadership, and over reformism vs. revolution</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Open–closed societies</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td>Protest parties, nationalist parties, extreme right-wing parties, neo-populist parties.</td>
<td>FPÖ, Front National, Danish Progress Party, Fifth Republic Movement (Hugo Chávez), Movement for Socialism (Evo Morales).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 internationally competitive manufacturing and service sectors

liberal professionals and corporate organization men

low-skill jobs in domestic services and manufacturing

petite bourgeoisie

Authoritarian politics

(low education, men, processing artifacts and documents)

Right-authoritarian politics

Capitalist politics

(private and/or internationally competitive sector, owners)
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).

QUESTIONS
FIGURE 3
Alford Index of Class Voting Shows Decline Over Time

West
Germany
France


...; 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**

**Imperial College London**

**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.
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’étou se resserre*
  
  *Tu es un héros de la classe ouvrière*

  
  *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*