

The Evolution of Social Cleavages in the 21st Century

Fall 2022

Universität Zürich, Institut für Politikwissenschaft

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Language of Instruction: English

Class Times: Thursdays from 10:15am-12:00pm

Room: BIN-1-D.22 at Binzmühlestrasse 14

Office hours: by appointment

Course Description and Learning Objectives:

In this seminar, we will investigate the shifting social basis of political conflict in advanced capitalist democracies today. The expansion of mass education, the transition to post-industrial economies, demographic change, and the rise of globalization have destabilized longstanding ties between social groups and political parties. This has led to a fierce debate about the bases of political behavior. How have the drivers of political preferences and voting patterns changed? Does social background still matter for individuals' politics, and if so, how?

In the first part of this course, we will examine different sides of this fundamental argument about the bases of political behavior. In the second part of this course, we will analyze the way different social divisions (e.g. class, gender, rural/urban location, generation) are reflected in public opinion and voting behavior today. In the third and final part of the course, students will write and present a final paper which makes use of the concepts learned in class and applies them in an original research project.

By the end of the course, students will be familiar with contending theories about the relationship between social and political change and the evidence each brings to bear. They will hone their ability to critically engage with scholarly texts through response papers, in-class presentations, and discussions. Finally, they will bring this conceptual and empirical knowledge to bear on their own analytic research papers.

Course Requirements and Grading:

This is a discussion-based seminar, and active participation is expected. Readings will be available on OLAT. The amount of reading is deliberately moderate—we're prioritizing quality of reading over quantity of reading. All students should read carefully, take notes, and be prepared to discuss, critique, and bring questions to class about any aspect of the readings you found difficult or confusing.

Reading response paper (HA, 20%): at the beginning of the semester, you will sign up to write a response paper for the set of readings for one of our weekly classes. You will be asked to submit a two-paged (single spaced) response paper. This reading response will be a critical engagement with the texts, not a summary. You can present critiques of the readings or discuss the implications

of the texts for a political event or phenomenon of interest to you. Papers must be emailed to me by 6pm the day before the class in question.

Discussion leader (RE, 15%): for the week you choose to write a reading response paper, you will also be asked to help lead discussion. This means preparing a list of substantive reading questions to stimulate discussion, as well as being ready to describe and defend the arguments of your reading response paper. Reading questions should also be submitted along with your response paper via email by 6pm the day before the class in question.

Paper Presentation (RE, 15%): you will be asked to give a brief powerpoint presentation of the rough draft of your final paper. The presentation should include slides with an overview of your research question, the literature you're building on and addressing, methods and data, and preliminary results if you have them. A final slide should include areas of difficulty or uncertainty you have about the project going forward. We will then have a short question-and-answer session in which the presenter will respond to questions and comments from classmates. The goal of the presentation is for the class to work collectively to support and improve the project as it moves towards a final draft.

Final Paper (SA, 50%): There are two options for your final paper. For either option, you will be expected to present empirical evidence from relevant course readings and outside academic and appropriate journalistic sources. You must schedule a meeting with me **by November 3rd** to discuss and confirm your preferred paper topic. Papers are due on **January 10th**.

Option A: Write a research note of about 6,000 words (all inclusive) which makes an argument EITHER about the causes or consequences of differences in the role of a given social cleavage in politics across two countries OR changes in the role of a certain social cleavage in politics over time within a single country.

Option B: write an analytical brief of about 6,000 words (all inclusive) as a consultant for a real political party of your choice. In this brief, you will first describe in detail what social groups the party performs strongly with, and what groups it struggles to attract the votes of. Then, lay out a strategy for the party leadership on how to mobilize or attract new groups of voters to the party.

NB: these topics are flexible. If adapting the paper topic would allow you to better further your academic or career goals, I'm open to discussing it. However, in this case, you should set up a meeting in advance of the mid-semester deadline so we can come to an agreement on the paper topic.

COVID-19 Seminar Rules

If you may have been exposed to a COVID-positive person or are feeling unwell yourself, please stay home and get tested, for our collective safety. I am more than happy to meet with any student to go over what they may have missed in class due to health-related absences. These rules are subject to change based on how COVID conditions evolve in the fall/winter.

Program Overview

- *Part 1: Explaining Vote Choice, Cleavage Theory and Its Competitors (22 Sept- 27 Oct)*
- *Part 2: Exploring Contemporary Social Divides in Politics (3 Nov.- 1 Dec.)*
- *Part 3: Final Paper and Presentations (8 Dec.-22 Dec.)*

Program

Part 1: Explaining Vote Choice, Cleavage Theory and Its Competitors

Class 1 (Sept. 22nd): Introductions, Logistics, and an Overview of the Class

- 1) Syllabus. Please come prepared with any logistical questions you may have.

Class 2 (Sept. 29th): An Introduction to Cleavage Theory

- 1) Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments."
- 2) Simon Bornschier. 2009. "Cleavage Politics in Old and New Democracies."

Class 3 (Oct. 6th): Identity and Organization as Mechanisms Linking Social Groups to Parties

- 1) Rudy B. Andeweg and Galen A. Irwin. 2005. "Pillarization", from *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands* (tiny excerpt).
- 2) Leonie Huddy. 2013. "From Group Identity to Political Cohesion and Commitment."
- 3) Francesc Amat *et al.* 2020. "From Political Mobilization to Electoral Participation: Turnout in Barcelona in the 1930s."

Class 4 (Oct. 13th): Social Change

- 1) Ulrich Beck and Elizabeth Beck-Gersheim. 2002. "Beyond Status and Class", from *Institutionalized Individualization and Its Social and Political Consequences*.
- 2) Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart "Demand-Side: The Silent Revolution Catalyzes the Cultural Backlash", **read p. 32-42 only**, from *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*.

Class 5 (Oct. 20th): Dealignment Theory

- 1) Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. "Unthinkable Democracy."
- 2) Podcast Interview with Ruth Dassonneville: <https://soundcloud.com/user-639076281/s2-ep2-the-changing-relationship-between-voters-and-parties-with-dr-ruth-dassonneville>

Class 6 (Oct. 27th): The Persistence of Social Divides

- 1) Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2018. "Cleavage Theory Meets Europe's Crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the Transnational Cleavage."
- 2) Arvid Lindh, Anton B. Andersson, and Beate Volker. 2021. "The Missing Link: Network Influences on Class Divides in Political Attitudes."

Part 2: Exploring Contemporary Social Divides in Politics

Class 7 (Nov. 3rd): Class and Education

- 1) Daniel Oesch and Line Rennwald. 2018. "Electoral Competition in Europe's New Tripolar Space: Class Voting for the Left, Centre-Right, and Radical Right."
- 2) Simon Bornschier, Silja Häusermann, Delia Zollinger, and Céline Colombo. 2021. "How Us and Them Relates to Voting Behavior- Social Structure, Social Identities, and Electoral Choice."
- 3) (OPTIONAL): Peter Achterberg and Dick Houtman. 2006. "Why do So Many People Vote 'Unnaturally'? A Cultural Explanation of Voting Behavior."
- 4) (OPTIONAL): David Attewell. 2021. "Redistribution Attitudes and Vote Choice Across the Educational Divide."

Class 8 (Nov. 10th): Gender

- 1) Torben Iversen and Frances Rosenbluth. 2013. "The Political Economy of Gender in Service Sector Economies" from *The Political Economy of the Service Transition*.
- 2) Amanda B. Diekmann and Monica C. Schneider. 2010. "A Social Role Theory Perspective on Gender Gaps in Political Attitudes."
- 3) Tarik Abou-Chadi, Magdalena Breyer, and Theresa Gessler. 2021. "Gender Update: The Repoliticisation of Gender in Western Europe." (Extremely short brief).

Class 9 (Nov. 17th): The Rural/Urban Divide

- 1) Rahsaan Maxwell. 2019. "Cosmopolitan Immigration Attitudes in Large European Cities: Contextual or Compositional Effects?"
- 2) Diane Bolet. 2021. "Drinking Alone: Local Socio-Cultural Degradation and Radical Right Support- The Case of British Pub Closures"
- 3) (OPTIONAL): Katherine J. Cramer. 2016. "For Years, I've Been Watching Anti-Elite Fury Build in Wisconsin. Then Came Trump." (Short Vox Op-Ed)

Class 10 (Nov. 24th): Race and Ethnicity

- 1) Vincent L. Hutchings and Nick A. Valentino. 2004. "The Centrality of Race in American Politics"
- 2) Jean Beaman and Amy Petts. 2020. "Towards a Global Theory of Colorblindness: Comparing Colorblind Ideology in France and the United States"

Class 11 (Dec. 1st): Top-Down vs. Bottom-Up Theories of Social Cleavages

- 1) Geoffrey Evans and Nan Dirk de Graaf. 2013. "Explaining Cleavage Strength: the Role of Party Positions." From *Political Choice Matters: Explaining the Strength of Class and Religious Cleavages in Cross-National Perspective*.
- 2) Jean-Paul Faguet. 2019. "Revolution From Below: Cleavage Displacement and the Collapse of Elite Politics in Bolivia."

Part 3: Final Paper Presentations

Class 12 (Dec. 8th): *student presentations*

Class 13 (Dec. 15th): *student presentations*

Class 14 (Dec. 22nd): *no class, instructor will instead be available for one-on-one meetings to go over rough drafts.*