



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Alignment, realignment and dealignment in multi-party systems : a conceptual and empirical study

Federer, H.

Citation

Federer, H. (2012, April 4). *Alignment, realignment and dealignment in multi-party systems : a conceptual and empirical study*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18669>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18669>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/18669> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Federer-Shtayer, Hila

Title: Alignment, realignment and dealignment in multi-party systems : a conceptual and empirical study

Issue Date: 2012-04-04

**ALIGNMENT, REALIGNMENT AND DEALIGNMENT IN
MULTI-PARTY SYSTEMS –
A CONCEPTUAL AND EMPIRICAL STUDY**

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,

op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. P.F. van der Heijden,

volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties

te verdedigen

op woensdag 4 april 2012

klokke 11:15 uur

door

Hila Federer-Shtayer

geboren te Afūla, Israël in 1974

Promotiecommissie:

Promotores:

Prof.dr. Peter Mair, Universiteit Leiden & European University Institute

Prof.dr. Petr Kopecký, Universiteit Leiden

Overige Leden:

Prof.dr. Joop van Holsteyn, Universiteit Leiden

Prof.dr. J.E. Keman, Vrije Universiteit

Dr. Michael Meffert, Universiteit Leiden

© Hila Federer-Shtayer, 2012

ISBN 978-94-6191-228-2

All right reserved. Save exceptions stated by law, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system of any nature, or transmitted in any form by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, included a complete or partial transcription, without the prior written permission of the proprietor.

Picture by Dan C. Federer, 2009

Printed by PrintPartners Ipskamp, Enschede

For Dan, Noa and David

CONTENT

TABLES		p. vii
FIGURES		p. viii
ABBREVIATIONS		p. ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS		p. xi
CHAPTER 1	‘Alignment’, ‘Realignment’ and ‘Dealignment’ in Multi-Party Systems – An introduction	p. 1
CHAPTER 2	The Phenomenon of Alignment, and a Discussion of the Explanations for and Mechanisms of Party Allegiance	p. 9
CHAPTER 3	Finding a Way Through the Disorder – The problems of identifying of alignment, realignment and dealignment	p. 31
CHAPTER 4	Data and Methodology	p. 57
CHAPTER 5	Partisan Alignment, Realignment or Dealignment	p. 68
CHAPTER 6	Voter Alignments along Class and Religious Cleavages	p. 105
CHAPTER 7	Alignment, Realignment, or Dealignment in Two Manifestations – A combined analysis	p. 144
CHAPTER 8	The Party System Structure in Cases of Realignment or Dealignment – A missing piece in the puzzle	p. 157
CHAPTER 9	Alignment, Realignment or Dealignment in Multi-Party Systems, from 1950 to 2010 – Conclusions and implications	p. 191

APPENDIX A	Indices	p. 200
APPENDIX B	Composition of Party Blocs along the Different Cleavages, per case	p. 202
APPENDIX C	National Surveys Datasets and Sources	p. 204
APPENDIX D	Names of Variables, per dataset	p. 205
APPENDIX E	Turnout, Invalid Votes and ‘Not Voting’ Rates in Flanders and Wallonia	p. 209
APPENDIX F	The Identity of the Two Largest Parties, per case, between 1950 and 2010	p. 211
REFERENCES		p. 214
SAMENVATTING		p. 227
CURRICULUM VITAE		p. 232

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	The different definitions for the realignment process	p. 45
Table 3.2	The different indicators for identifying dealignment	p. 49
Table 4.1	Periods, number of cases based on individual-level and aggregate data, per case	p. 59
Table 5.1	OLS regression for (strong) party identifiers over time	p. 72
Table 5.2	OLS regression coefficients for proportions of stable party supporters (or GV) and Electorate Total Partisans (ETP), 1950 – 2010	p. 84
Table 5.3	Autoregressive error model coefficients for proportions of stable party supporters and Electorate Total Partisans (ETP), 1950 – 2010	p. 86
Table 5.4	ANOVA models for indicators of partisanship: Electorate Total Partisans (ETP) and proportions of stable party supporters, in periods of ‘stability’ and ‘change’	p. 91
Table 5.5	Evidence of partisan alignment, realignment or dealignment, per case over mid 1960s-2000s, based on trends of partisanship indicators	p. 99
Table 5.6	Binary Logistic Regression Analysis: prediction of party identifiers and stable party supporters in Denmark, 1973-2005	p. 102
Table 6.1	Calculation of Cleavage Salience measures	p. 114
Table 6.2	Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS) for the class and religious cleavages in the predominantly Protestant countries, 1950–64	p. 120
Table 6.3	Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS) for the class and religious cleavages in predominantly Catholic or mixed countries, 1950–64, based on aggregate data	p. 124
Table 6.4	ANOVA models for Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS) for the dominant cleavage, in periods of ‘stability’ and ‘change’	p. 129
Table 6.5	Stability and change of voter alignments along the class and religious cleavages	p. 140
Table 7.1	Alignment, realignment or dealignment in the two manifestations of alignment, in every election year, between 1950 and 2010, per case	p. 147
Table 7.2	States of alignment, realignment and dealignment across the two manifestations	p. 150
Table 8.1	The conditions based on the two aspects for different models of multi-party systems	p. 171
Table 8.2	Periods of alignment, realignment (and a new alignment) and dealignment in both alignment manifestations, the party system model, and the direction of fragmentation, in every election year, between 1950 and 2010	p. 177
Table 8.3	Changes of party system structure, as identified by the typology’s three criteria, over periods of full and partial dealignment	p. 186

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1	The semi-modular approach: the study of alignment, realignment and dealignment along the two manifestations of alignment, and their possible effect at the party system level	p. 55
Figure 5.1	Turnout and invalid votes per country 1950-2010	p. 77
Figure 5.2	The different hypothetical scenarios	p. 82
Figure 5.3	Electoral Total Partisans (ETP) between 1950-2010 per case, in comparison to the reference line	p. 89
Figure 5.4	Proportion of party supporters in Sweden between 1950-2010, in comparison to the reference line	p. 90
Figure 6.1	The five different theoretical scenarios of voter alignment along a cleavage	p. 118
Figure 6.2	Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS) in Protestant countries, based on aggregate data	p. 122
Figure 6.3	Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS) in Protestant countries, based on individual-level data	p. 123
Figure 6.4	Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS) in Catholic and mixed countries, based on aggregate data	p. 126
Figure 6.5	Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS) in Catholic and mixed countries, based on individual-level data	p. 127
Figure 6.6	Bloc-Weighted cleavage Salience index (WCS) for the class cleavage in comparison to the reference line, based on aggregate data	p. 131
Figure 6.7	Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS) for the religious cleavage in comparison to the reference line, based on aggregate data	p. 132
Figure 6.8	Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS) for the class cleavage in comparison to the reference line, for Sweden, based on individual-level data	p. 133
Figure 7.1	State Transitions matrix of alignment and dealignment across manifestations	p. 153

ABBREVIATIONS

BES	BLOC ELECTORAL SUPPORT
BV	BLOC VOLATILITY
CS	CLEAVAGE SALIENCE
ENP	EFFECTIVE NUMBER OF PARTIES
ETP	ELECTORAL TOTAL PARTISANS
GV	GROSS VOLATILITY
PI	PARTY IDENTIFICATION
PR	PROPORTIONAL PRESENTATION
PS	PARTY SUPPORT
TV	TOTAL VOLATILITY
WCS	BLOC-WEIGHTED CLEAVAGE SALIENCE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although the following dissertation is an individual work, I could never have reached the heights or explored the depths without the help, guidance and support of many people and institutions with whom I was involved. I am truly indebted and grateful to my supervisors, Peter Mair and Petr Kopecký, for their guidance and continuous support. Peter's work has had an enormous conceptual and methodological impact on the present project. It was a great privilege to read his comments and criticism on this project, until the very last stages. Peter died suddenly in August 2011, after approving this manuscript as a PhD thesis.

It is a pleasure to thank to many of my colleagues at Leiden University. Joop van Holsteyn, Galen Irwin, Jessica Kroezen, and Kavita Ziemann for reading and giving me feedback on previous drafts at various stages. Ruud Koole, Sarah de Lange and Simon Otjes provided useful insights for the analysis of Dutch politics. I would also like to thank Rudy Andeweg, Veerle van Doeveren, Sergiu Gherghina, and Girardo Scherlis for our discussions of relevant topics in Comparative Politics that have influenced me over the years. And finally, Robin Best, Imke Harbers, Tom Louwerse, Frits Meijerink, Michael Meffert, Huib Pellikaan, Maria Spirova, and Marc Uriot for discussing various methodological issues with me.

I would like to show my gratitude to Kris Deschouwer for generously making his data available to me and for his guidance that helped me find my way through the confusing Belgian case. I am also grateful to Peter van Aelst and Michael Meffert who offered their help in obtaining the missing (national surveys) data files.

Some of the chapters in this dissertation draw on papers I presented at several seminars and conferences - the Dutch-Flemish Political Science Association, the European Consortium for Political Research's (ECPR) Summer School of Parties and Party Systems, the International Sociological Association (ISA) Forum of Sociology, and the Leiden Ph.D. seminar. I would like to thank the discussants and other participants for their constructive comments and suggestions.

This dissertation would not have been completed without the love and support of my family. My kids, Dan and Noa, were invaluable; their love was a counterbalance to the challenges I faced during this journey. I am grateful to my parents who instilled in me the belief that I could succeed in absolutely anything I put my mind to.

I most want to thank my best friend (and husband) David Federer for his love, sacrifice and encouragement that has kept me going all these years. Our discussions helped me to sharpen my arguments and have improved the content of this dissertation in every aspect.