

CLEAVAGE POLITICS, ECONOMIC CRISIS AND WORKING-CLASS VOTING

The Case of France

OVERVIEW

- Elements of context
- The broad picture (1969-2007)
- Data and methods
- Results (2007-2010)
- Perspectives

ELEMENTS OF CONTEXT

A PARTY SYSTEM UNDER STRESS

- **The 2007 elections as a moment of rupture**
 - The key features of the old electoral order : a tripolar party system (Left/moderate Right/far Right); systematic alternation
 - The key features of the rupture: the collapse of the National Front, the rise of an independent centre, etc.
- **The opening of a realigning era**
 - Local elections (2008, 2010, 2011) and European elections (2009)
 - Repeated sanctions against President Sarkozy
 - Instability and uncertainty
 - A struggle on the issues shaping the political competition

FINANCIAL CRISIS AND RECESSION

- **The failure of the 'neo-liberal' agenda**
 - Further destabilization of the party system
 - An opportunity for left-wing parties?
- **The rise of unemployment**
 - Average: 7.4% in 2008, 9.1% in 2009
 - Manual workers: 10.2% in 2008, 13.2% in 2009
 - Unskilled workers: 15.4% in 2008, 20.8% in 2009
- **Working-class responses**
 - Hypothesis 1 : support for leftist parties (redistribution)
 - Hypothesis 2 : support for the National Front (cultural issues)

THE BROAD PICTURE

DATA

- **Sofres Post-Election Surveys**
 - All national elections since 1969
 - Weighted data
 - Published crosstabulations
- **French National Election Studies**
 - Legislative Elections: 1962, 1967, 1968, 1978
 - Presidential Election: 1988, 1995, 2002, 2007
 - Modeling, controls, etc.
 - Pooled dataset 1962-2007 (N=4,461 manual workers)

DEALIGNMENT AND REALIGNMENT

- **The declining alignment with the leftist parties**
 - A gradual change
 - The beginning: the 1978 legislative elections
- **Realignment toward the extreme-right**
 - A change within the Right
 - Earthquake: 1984-1988
 - Aftershocks: 1988-2002
- **Generational replacement**
 - Multinomial regression predicting voting with basic controls
 - Predicted probabilities by birth cohort

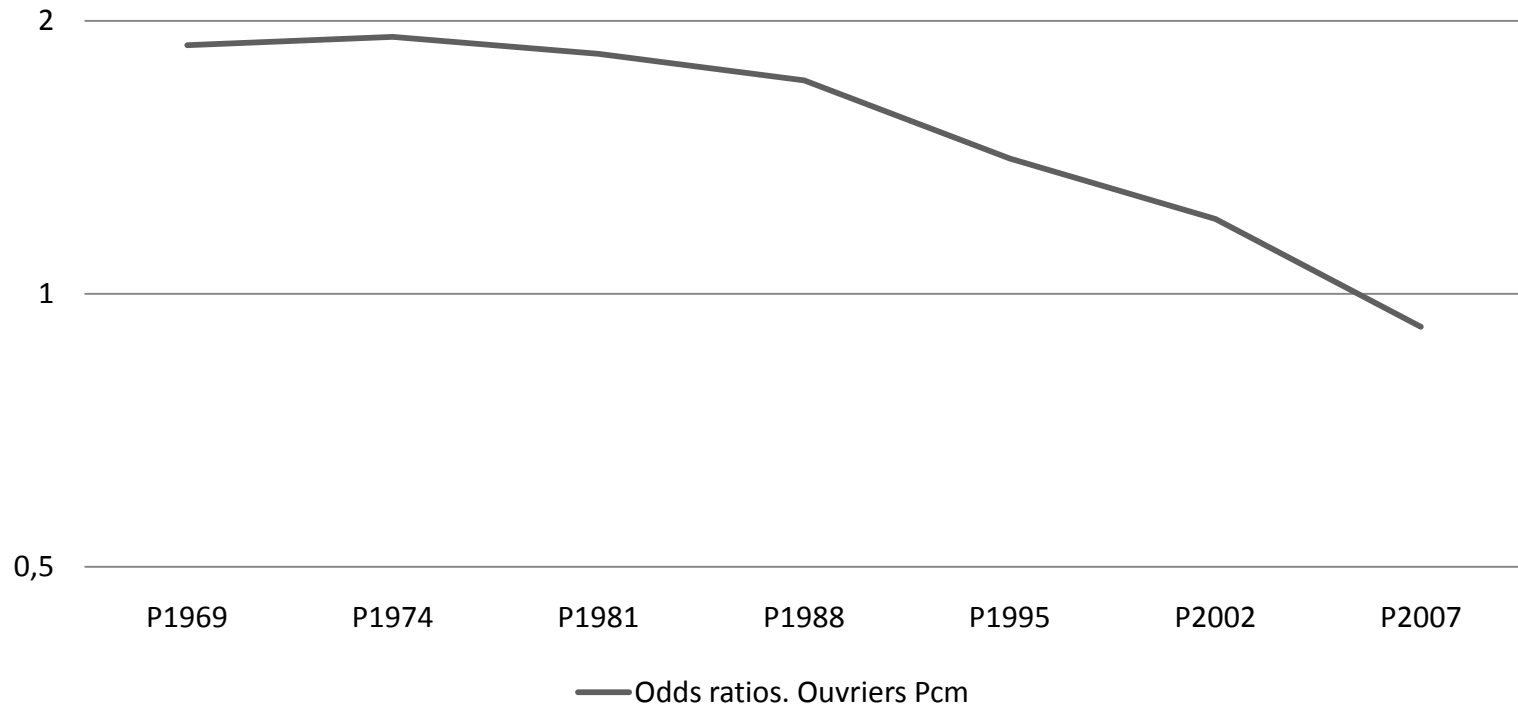
DEALIGNMENT

The declining alignment with the leftist parties

	P1969	P1974	P1981	P1988	P1995	P2002	P2007
Left voting							
Electorate	32	47	47	45,5	40,5	37,5	36
Workers	47	63	62	59	49	42	34
Difference							
Workers	+ 15	+ 16	+ 15	+ 13,5	+ 8,5	+ 4,5	- 2
Odds ratios							
Workers	1,88	1,92	1,84	1,72	1,41	1,21	0,92

NB. Sofres Post-Election Surveys

DEALIGNMENT



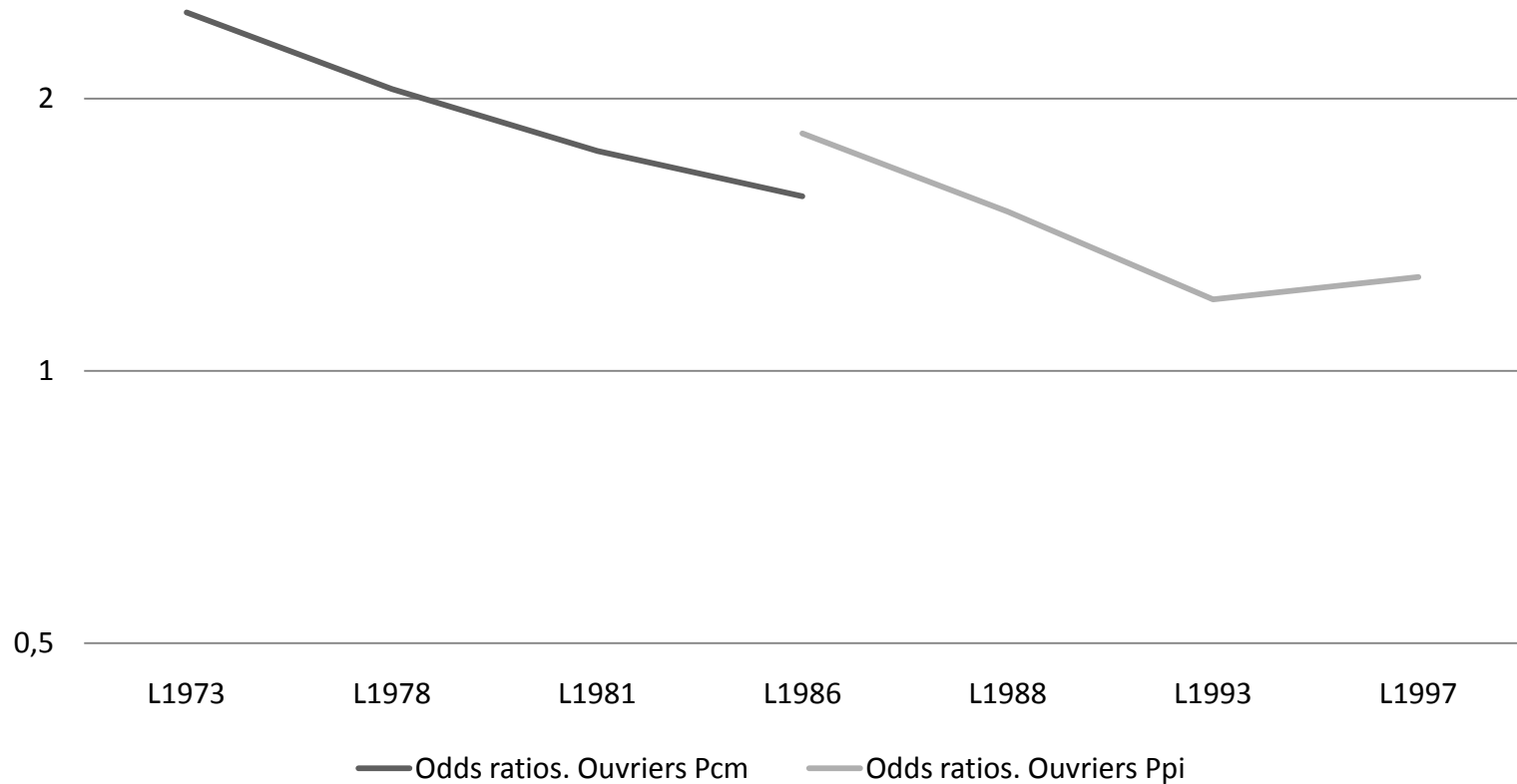
NB. Odds-ratios are asymmetric and have to be figured on a logarithmic scale.

DEALIGNMENT

The declining alignment with the leftist parties

	L1973	L1978	L1981	L1986	L1988	L1993	L1997
Left voting							
Electorate	46	52	56	44	49	31	44,5
Workers (Pcm)	68	69	69	55			
Workers (Ppi)				59	59	35	50,5
Difference							
Workers (Pcm)	+ 22	+ 17	+ 13	+ 11			
Workers (Ppi)				+ 15	+ 10	+ 4	+ 6
Odds ratios							
Workers (Pcm)	2,49	2,05	1,75	1,56			
Workers (Ppi)				1,83	1,50	1,20	1,27

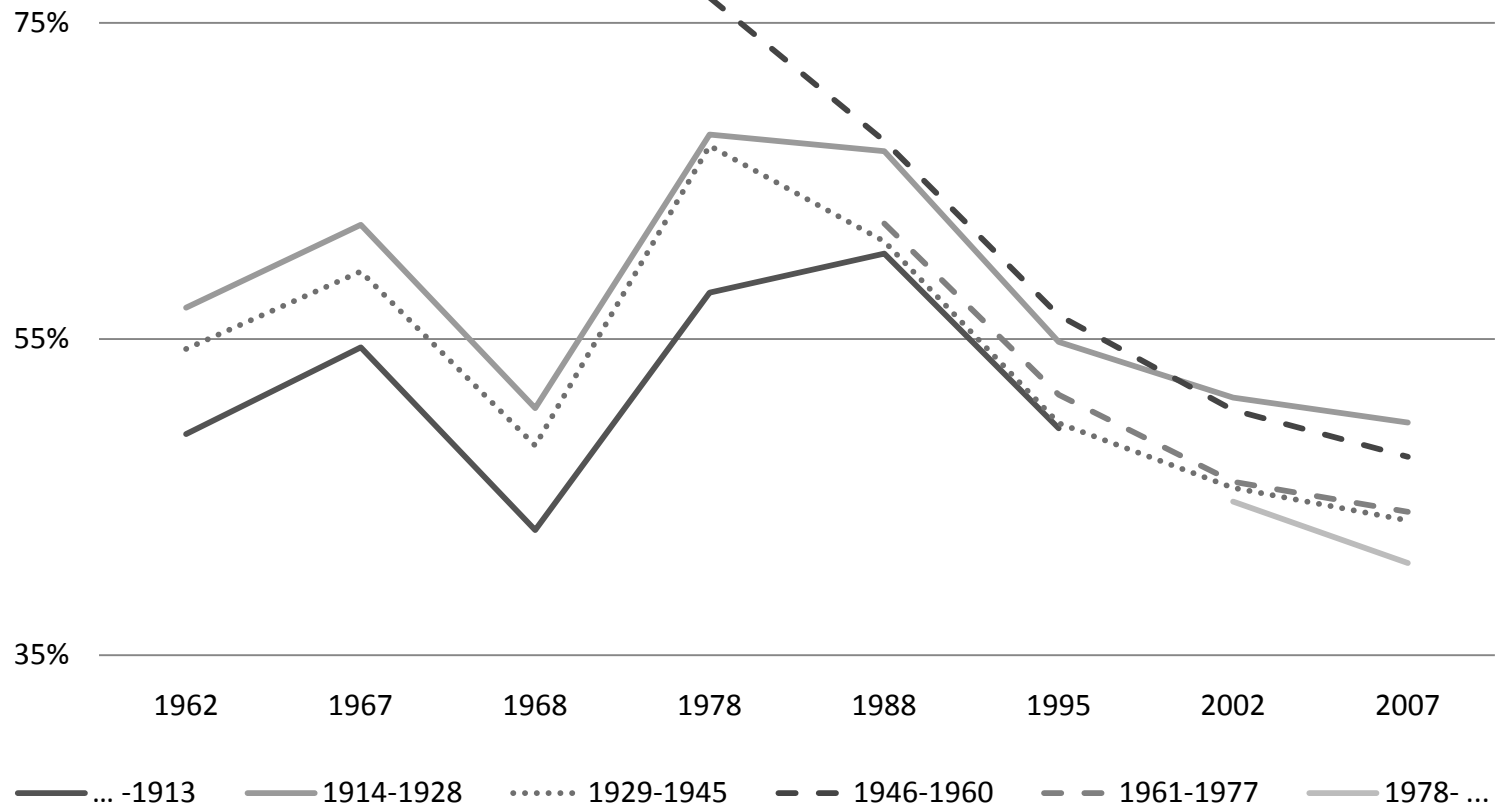
DEALIGNMENT



NB. Odds-ratios are asymmetric and have to be figured on a logarithmic scale.

DEALIGNMENT

Generational replacement: working-class support for leftist parties



REALIGNMENT

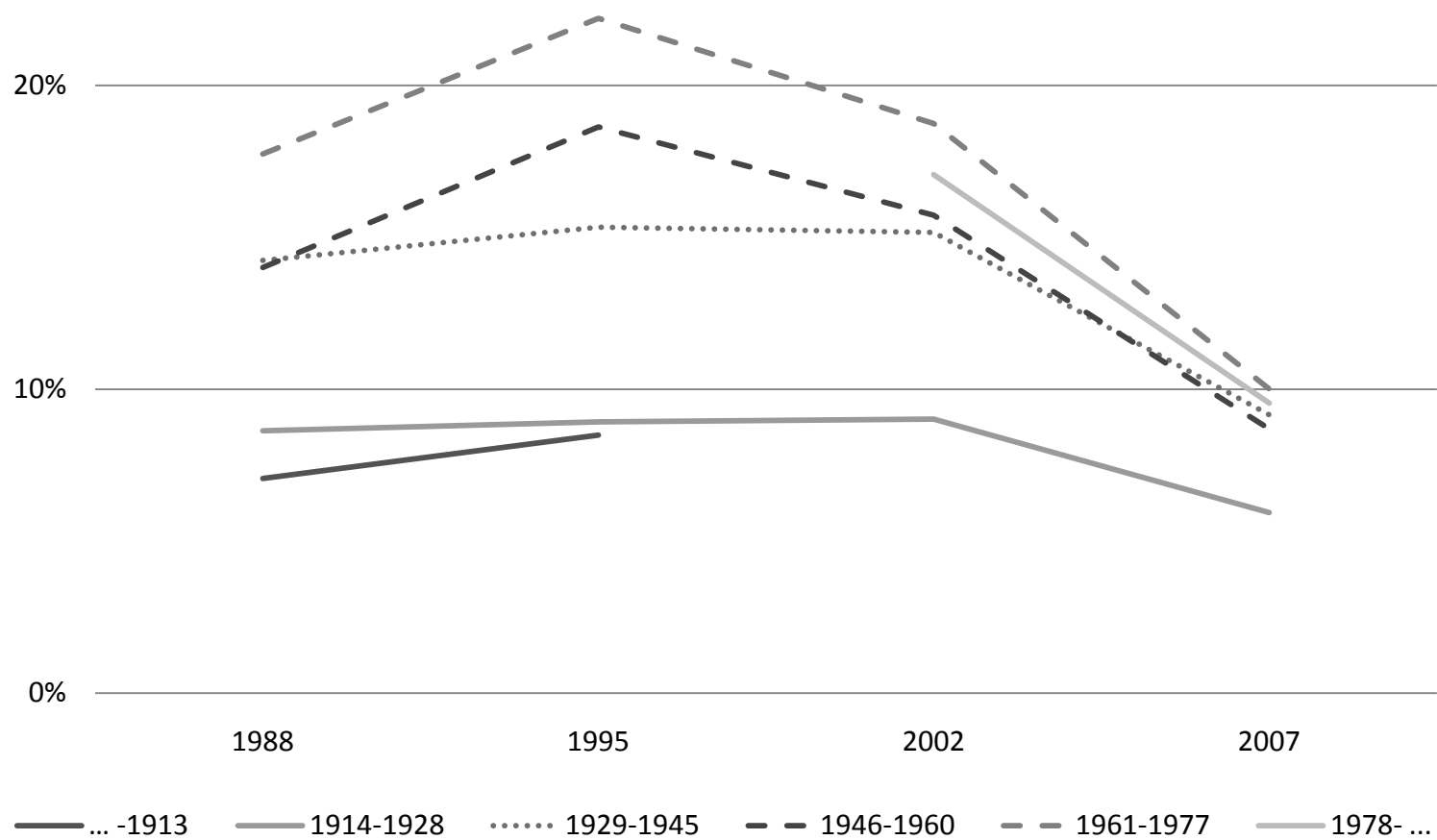
The rise of the extreme right within the rightist working-class

	E1984	L1986	P1988	P1995	P2002	P2007	E2009
Moderate Right							
Electorate	43	45	36,5	44	31,5	33,5	35
Ouvriers (Pcm)	30	32	21	31	19,5	22	19
Extreme Right							
Electorate	11	10	14,5	15	19,5	11	7,5
Ouvriers (Pcm)	7	10	18	19,5	26,5	26	22,5
Odds ratios							
Ouvriers (Pcm)	0,91	1,41	2,16	1,85	2,20	3,60	5,53

NB. Sofres Post-Election Surveys

REALIGNMENT

Generational replacement: working-class support for extreme-right parties



FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

DATA

- **Survey data**
 - French Election Studies are only available for national elections
 - Sofres Post-Election Surveys are incomplete for local elections
 - The case of the 2009 European Elections
- **Electoral results**
 - Free
 - Real votes
 - Available for each election
 - Available at the city-level and at the canton-level

WORKING-CLASS CONSTITUENCIES

- **Selection**
 - Survey data are not available for local elections
 - Manual workers in the labour force > 40 %
 - Leftist voting at the second round of the presidential election
- **Typology**
 - Type 1a : leftist working-class areas (Communists)
 - Type 1b : leftist working-class areas (Socialists)
 - Type 2 : new rightist working-class areas
 - Type 3 : rightist working-class areas

RESULTS

LOOKING FOR THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

- **Support for the Left in working-class areas**
 - Left-wing voting in leftist working-class areas: nothing happens in Communist areas, distrust in Socialist areas
 - Extreme left voting in working-class areas: the failure of anticapitalist parties in leftist working-class areas, the adjustment in rightist working-class areas
- **Support for the Far Right in working-class areas**
 - The first working-class Le Pen electorate: type 3, realignment achieved in 1988
 - The second working-class Le Pen electorate: type 2, aftershocks 1988-2002
 - The logics of the revival after 2007

ELECTORAL CHANGE AFTER THE CRISIS

Left-wing voting in leftist working-class constituencies

	P2002	R2004	E2004	P2007	E2009	R2010
Metropolitan France	37,3	45,9	44,9	(0,95)	(0,97)	(1,42)
Type 1a						
Port-St-Louis-Rhône (13. City)	41,5	60,1	53,9	(1,38)	(1,26)	(1,43)
Saint-Pierre-des-Corps (37. City)	56,4	70,6	67,4	(0,97)	(1,18)	(1,78)
Gamaches (80. Canton)	38,4	49,6	50,1	(1,13)	(0,89)	(1,56)
Type 1b						
Roubaix Nord (59. Canton)	46,9	58,6	59,0	(0,98)	(0,89)	(1,12)
Liévin (62. City)	52,8	66,9	66,8	(0,92)	(0,85)	(1,19)
Lens (62. City)	47,7	61,2	60,2	(0,94)	(0,72)	(1,08)

NB. Odds-ratios are in brackets and have been calculated with reference to the last similar election

ELECTORAL CHANGE AFTER THE CRISIS

Extreme left voting in working-class constituencies

	P2002	R2004	E2004	P2007	E2009	R2010
Metropolitan France	10,6	3,4	4,6	(0,52)	(1,91)	(0,91)
Type 1						
Port-St-Louis-Rhône (13. City)	11,1	3,9	2,7	(0,90)	(2,81)	(1,33)
Saint-Pierre-des-Corps (37. City)	15,1	5,4	9,5	(0,59)	(1,24)	(0,44)
Vénissieux (69. City)	12,0	5,0	8,2	(0,57)	(1,95)	(0,87)
Type 3						
Maîche (25. Canton)	8,8	1,8	2,7	(0,52)	(3,62)	(1,40)
Hirsingue (68. Canton)	8,3	2,7	3,0	(0,56)	(2,24)	(1,52)
Cluses (74. Canton)	8,9	2,7	3,8	(0,52)	(2,03)	(1,23)

NB. Odds-ratios are in brackets and have been calculated with reference to the last similar election

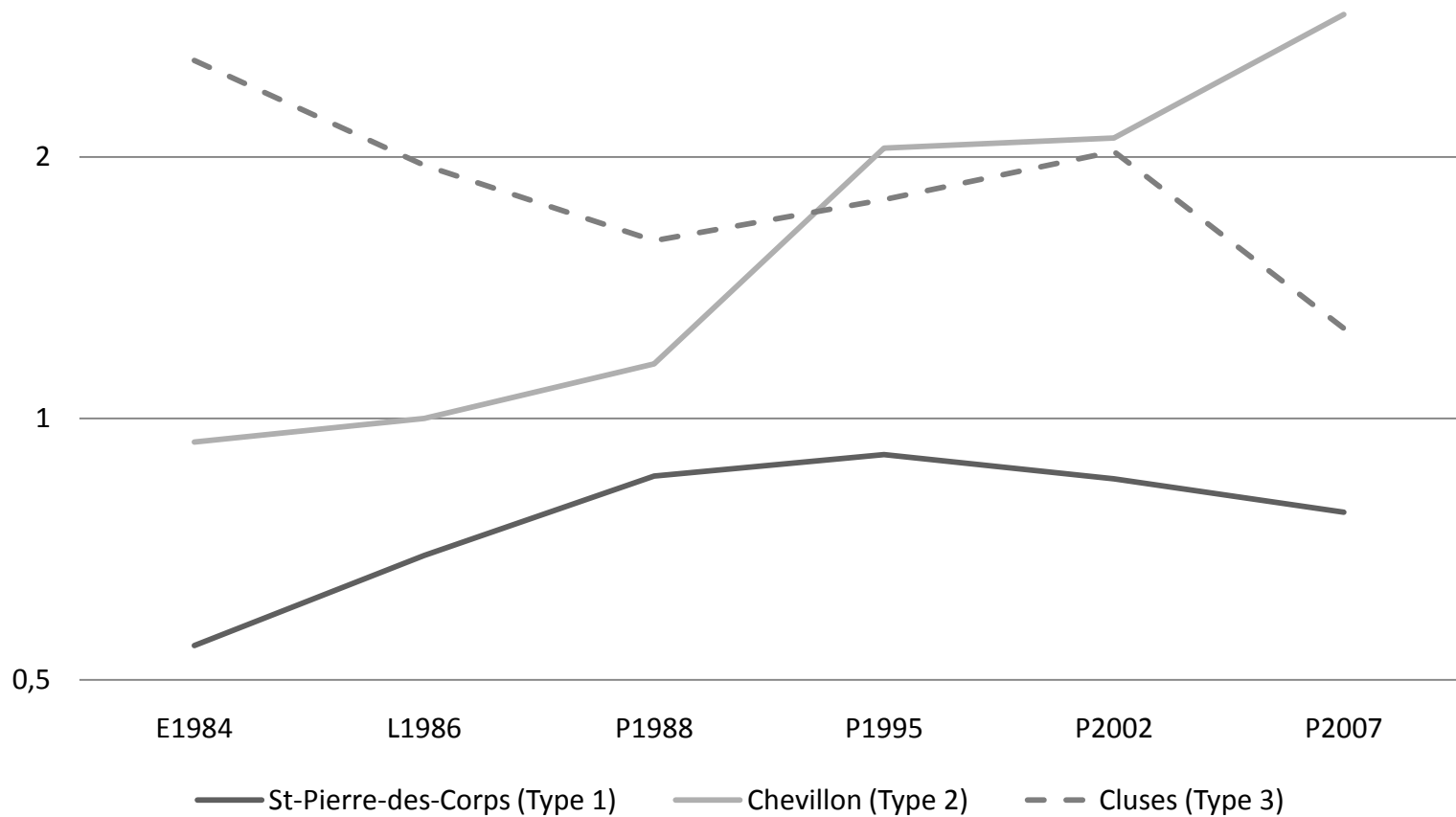
THE TWO LE PEN ELECTORATES

The rise of the extreme right in working-class constituencies

	E1984	L1986	P1988	P1995	P2002	P2007
Metropolitan France	11,1	9,9	14,6	15,3	19,6	10,7
Type 1						
St-Pierre-des-Corps (37)	(0,55)	(0,70)	(0,86)	(0,91)	(0,85)	(0,78)
Gamaches (80. Canton)	(0,59)	(0,48)	(0,56)	(0,73)	(0,82)	(1,44)
Type 2						
Wassigny (02. Canton)	(0,79)	(1,10)	(0,94)	(1,40)	(1,49)	(2,51)
Chevillon (52. Canton)	(0,94)	(1,00)	(1,16)	(2,05)	(2,10)	(2,92)
Roisel (80. Canton)	(1,02)	(1,16)	(1,06)	(1,37)	(1,48)	(2,44)
Type 3						
Oyonnax (01. City)	(2,05)	(1,40)	(1,56)	(1,95)	(1,62)	(1,21)
Hirsingue (68. Canton)	(1,15)	(1,12)	(1,61)	(1,70)	(1,72)	(1,38)
Cluses (74. City)	(2,58)	(1,96)	(1,60)	(1,79)	(2,03)	(1,27)

NB. Odds-ratios are in brackets and have been calculated with reference to metropolitan France

THE TWO LE PEN ELECTORATES



NB. Odds-ratios are asymmetric and have to be figured on a logarithmic scale.

THE TWO LE PEN ELECTORATES

The revival of the extreme right in working-class constituencies

	P2002	L2002	R2004	E2004	P2007	L2007	E2009	R2010
France	19,6	12,7	16,5	10,3	(0,49)	(0,35)	(0,68)	(0,74)
Type 2								
Wassigny (02)	26,6	16,1	29,0	19,6	(0,83)	(0,43)	(1,00)	(0,72)
Chevillon (52)	33,9	23,4	35,7	23,0	(0,68)	(0,53)	(0,57)	(0,64)
Ancerville (55)	30,0	21,8	28,9	18,9	(0,73)	(0,54)	(0,61)	(0,82)
Roisel (80)	26,5	22,2	23,3	16,7	(0,81)	(0,35)	(1,30)	(0,81)
Brouvelieu (88)	28,1	16,3	23,1	16,9	(0,77)	(0,51)	(0,52)	(0,94)
Type 3								
Oyonnax (01)	28,3	21,4	29,2	15,4	(0,37)	(0,33)	(0,69)	(0,65)
Hirsingue (68)	29,6	12,4	30,3	16,4	(0,39)	(0,23)	(0,44)	(0,64)
St-Amarin (68)	35,9	24,1	34,7	18,2	(0,39)	(0,18)	(0,56)	(0,73)
Cluses (74)	33,1	31,2	33,2	18,6	(0,31)	(0,32)	(0,61)	(0,61)

NB. Odds-ratios are in brackets and have been calculated with reference to the last similar election