

Lipset S M & Rokkan S. Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments: an introduction. (Lipset S M & Rokkan S, eds.) *Party systems and voter alignments: cross-national perspectives*. New York: Free Press, 1967. p. 1-64. [Reprinted in: Lipset S M. *Consensus and conflict: essays in political sociology*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1985. p. 113-85.]
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This volume brings together the findings of electoral research in various countries. Since we were interested in facilitating comparative generalizations, we asked the authors to present data concerning the bases of support over time of the major political tendencies. In the introduction we discuss: a typology of possible cleavage bases within national political communities, the actual party systems in Western polities, and differences between party systems in the voters' characteristic alignments. [The SSCJ[®] indicates that these book chapters have been cited in over 360 publications.]

How Do Political Parties Arise?

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Stein Rokkan, probably the most important influence on the study of comparative politics in the post-World War II era, spent an academic quarter at the University of California, Berkeley, where I was then teaching, in the early 1960s. He and I were committed to edit a volume of essays dealing with political cleavages in the Western world that was an outgrowth of meetings of the Research Committee on Political Sociology, which he and I headed from 1959 on. In planning our introductory essay for the volume, we decided to try to systematize the structural factors underlying the diverse character of European political systems.

In the article we wrote, which has now received recognition as a *Citation Classic*, we analyzed modern political controversies as the outgrowth of two revolutions, the National Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. (Two other publications of mine are *Citation Classics*.^{1,2}) These transformations produced various social divisions that became linked to party divisions and voting behavior. The first political revolution resulted in a *center-periphery* conflict between the national culture and assorted subordinate ones, for example, ethnic, linguistic, or religious groups often located in the peripheries, the outlying regions, and *church-state* tension between the state, which sought to dominate, and the church, which tried to maintain its historic corporate rights. The economic revolution gave rise to *land-industry* cleavage between the landed elite and the growing bourgeois class. This was followed by the one Marx focused on, that between *capitalist and workers*.

These four sources of cleavage, each of which has continued to some extent into the contemporary world, have produced a framework for the party systems of democratic polities. But, as Rokkan and I noted, class became the most salient source of conflict and voting, particularly after the extension of the suffrage to all adult males. The partisan expressions of the four cleavage models obviously have varied greatly internationally. They have been most fully expressed in multiparty systems and condensed into broad coalitions in two-party ones like those of the US or Australia. Given all the transformations in Western society over the first half of the twentieth century, it is noteworthy how little the formal party systems changed.³ Essentially the cleavages had become institutionalized, and the party systems of the 1960s closely resembled those of pre-World War I Europe.

Some critics of the four-cleavage model have argued that it assumes too much rigidity and largely derives party systems from structure. But, as a discussion by Russell J. Dalton, Scott Flanagan, and Paul Beck notes:

Although the Lipset-Rokkan model emphasized the institutionalization and freezing of cleavage alignments, the model also has dynamic properties. It views social alignments as emerging from the historical process of social and economic developments. New alignments develop in response to major social transformations such as the National and Industrial revolutions. While the structure of cleavages is considered to be relatively fixed, the political salience of the various cleavages and patterns of party coalitions may fluctuate in reaction to contemporary events.³

The Western world appears to have entered a new political phase that roughly dates from the mid-1960s with the rise of so-called "post-materialistic issues, a clean environment, use of nuclear power, a better culture, equal status for women and minorities, the quality of education, international relations, greater democratizations, and a more permissive morality, particularly as affecting familial and sexual issues."² (p. 503-21) These have been perceived by some social analysts as the social consequences of an emerging third "revolution," the Post-Industrial, which is introducing new bases of social and political cleavage, such as those reflected in the Greens.

Issues and cleavages derivative from those of industrial society, however, remain more important sources of policy division and electoral choice, since the more materialistically oriented workers and the self-employed constitute much larger strata than the intelligentsia, who form the main support base of postmaterialist politics. Hence, the article continues to influence current research, as reflected in its citation history.

1. Lipset S M, Trow M A & Coleman J. *Union democracy: the internal politics of the International Typographical Union*. New York: Free Press, 1956. 455 p. (Cited 395 times.) [See also: Lipset S M. *Citation Classic. Current Contents/Social & Behavioral Sciences* 20(20):16, 16 May 1988 and *CC/Arts & Humanities* 10(20):16, 16 May 1988.]
2. Lipset S M. *Political man: the social bases of politics*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, (1960) 1981. 586 p. (Cited 1,060 times.) [See also: Lipset S M. *Citation Classic. Current Contents/Social & Behavioral Sciences* 18(26):14, 30 June 1986.]
3. Rose R. Persistence and change in Western party systems since 1945. *Polit. Stud.—London* 18:287-319, 1970. (Cited 25 times.)
4. Dalton R J, Flanagan S & Beck P. *Electoral change in advanced democracies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. p. 455. (Cited 30 times.)