



WZB

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
für Sozialforschung

Current Societal Developments in Germany: Changing Voters – Changing Party System

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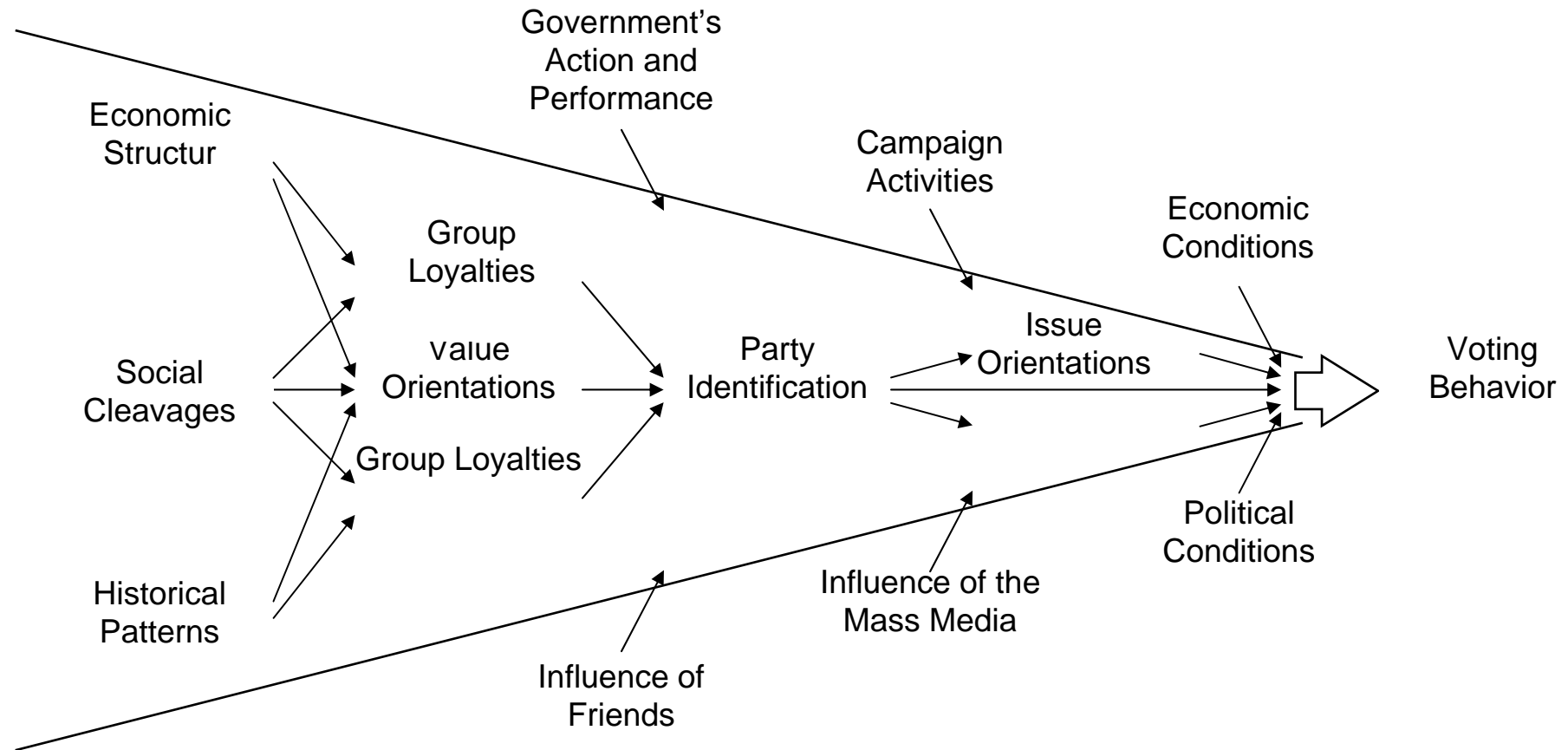
Outline of the Presentation

Introduction: Social Change – the Driver of Political Change

1. German Society and its Party System(s)
2. Changing Demand, Supply, and Outcome
3. Social Change and the Base of Parties
4. The East-West Divide
5. The (New) Flexible Voter

Conclusion

The Funnel of Causality of Voting Behavior

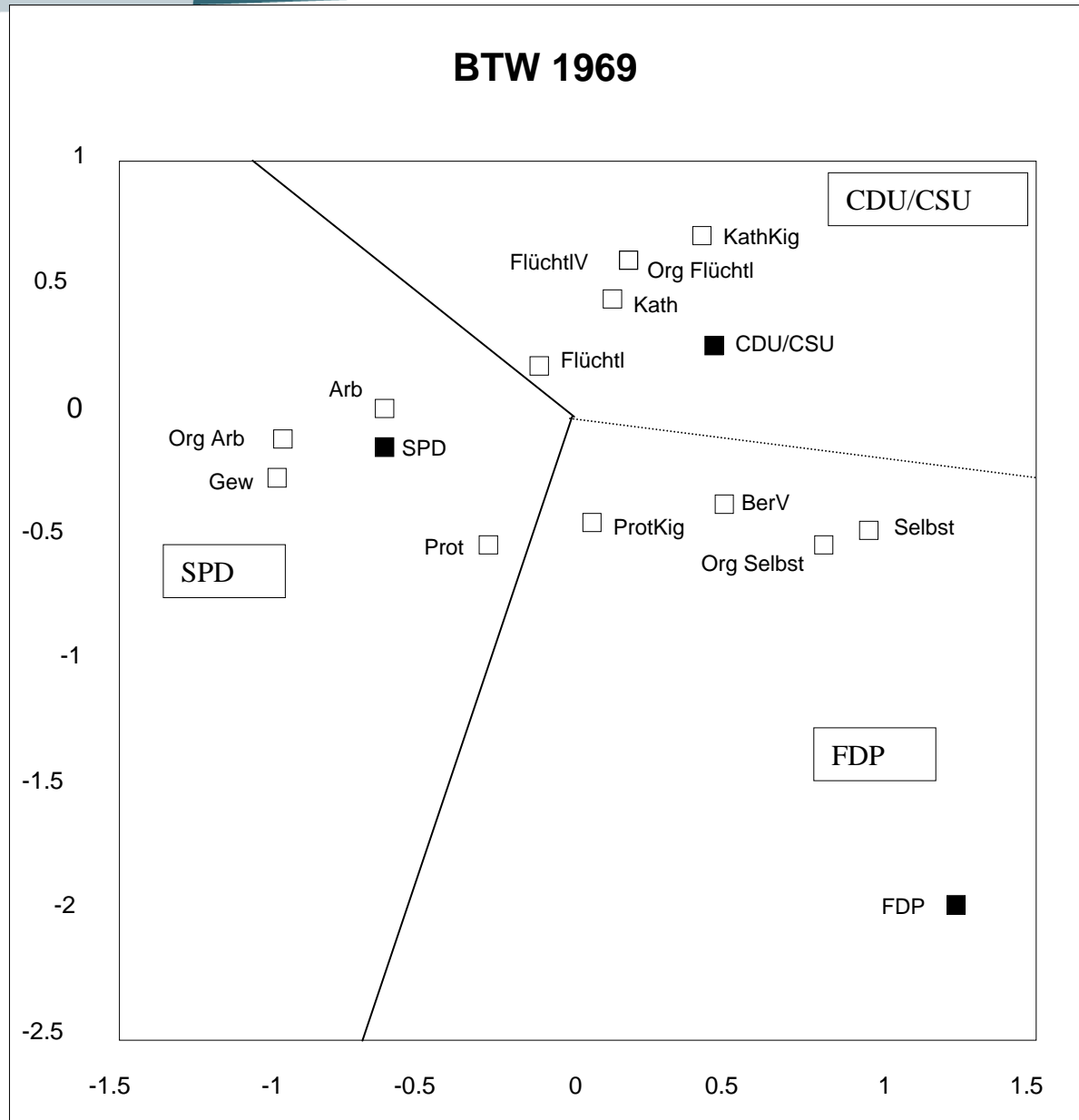


1. German Society and its Party System(s)

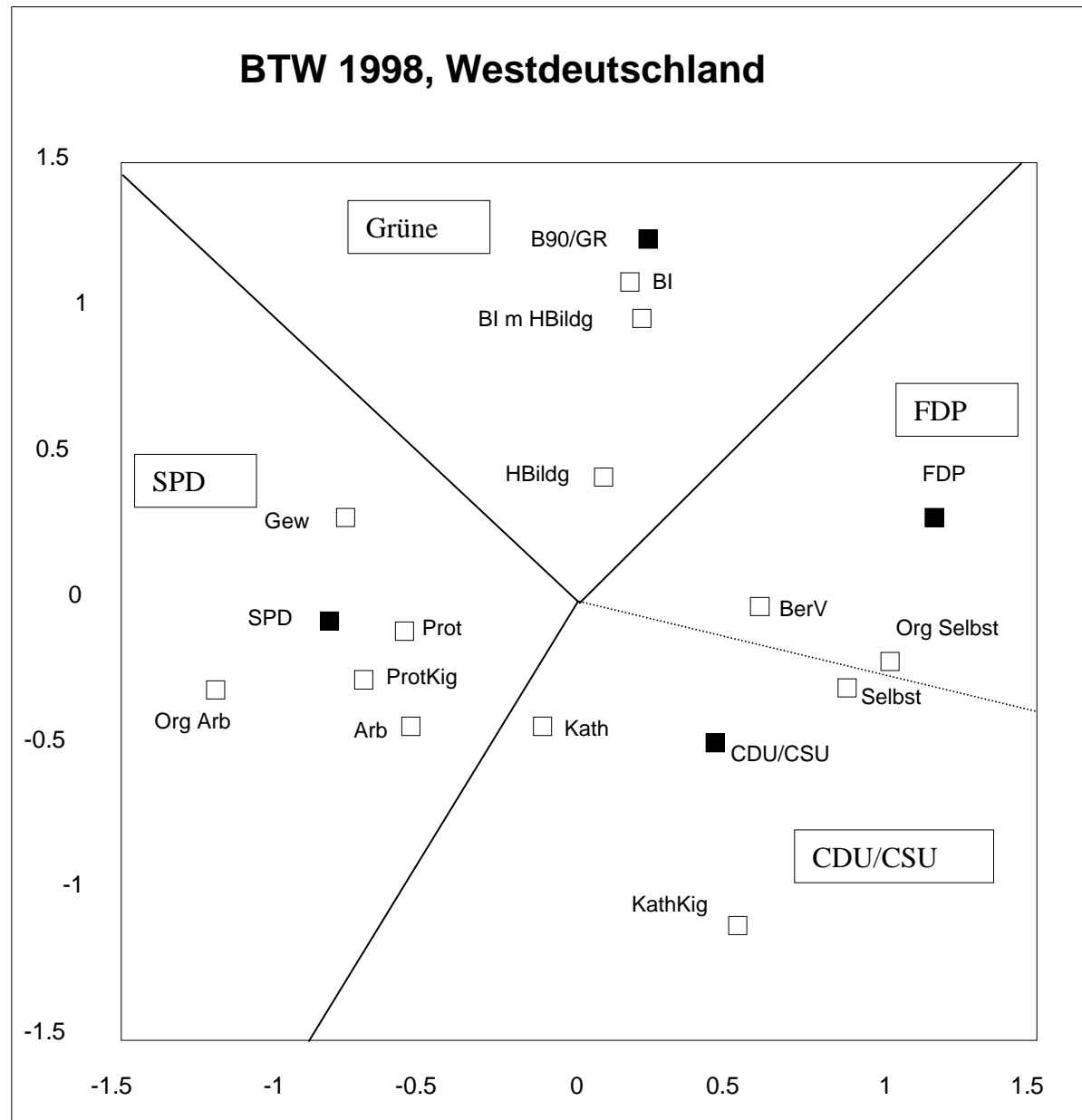
Structure and Institutionalization of Political Cleavages

Character:	Traditional			New	
Dimension:	Socio-economic		Cultural		
Content Basis	Labor	Capital	Religion/ Denomination	“New Politics” Ecology	East/West
Party System	SPD Social Democrats	FDP, CDU/CSU Liberals, Christian Democrats	CDU/CSU Christian Democrats	Greens	PDS Postcommunists
Interest Groups and Movements	Labor unions	Employer's and business associations	Christian churches	Environmental interest groups	?
Social Structure	Blue/white collar	Old middle classes, self- employed	Christian social setting (milieus)	Postmaterial movement milieus	Eastern regional provenance
Value Structure	Unionized economic ideology	Consensus about growth and technological progress, economic individualism	Religious traditionalism	Postmaterialism	Socialist democracy

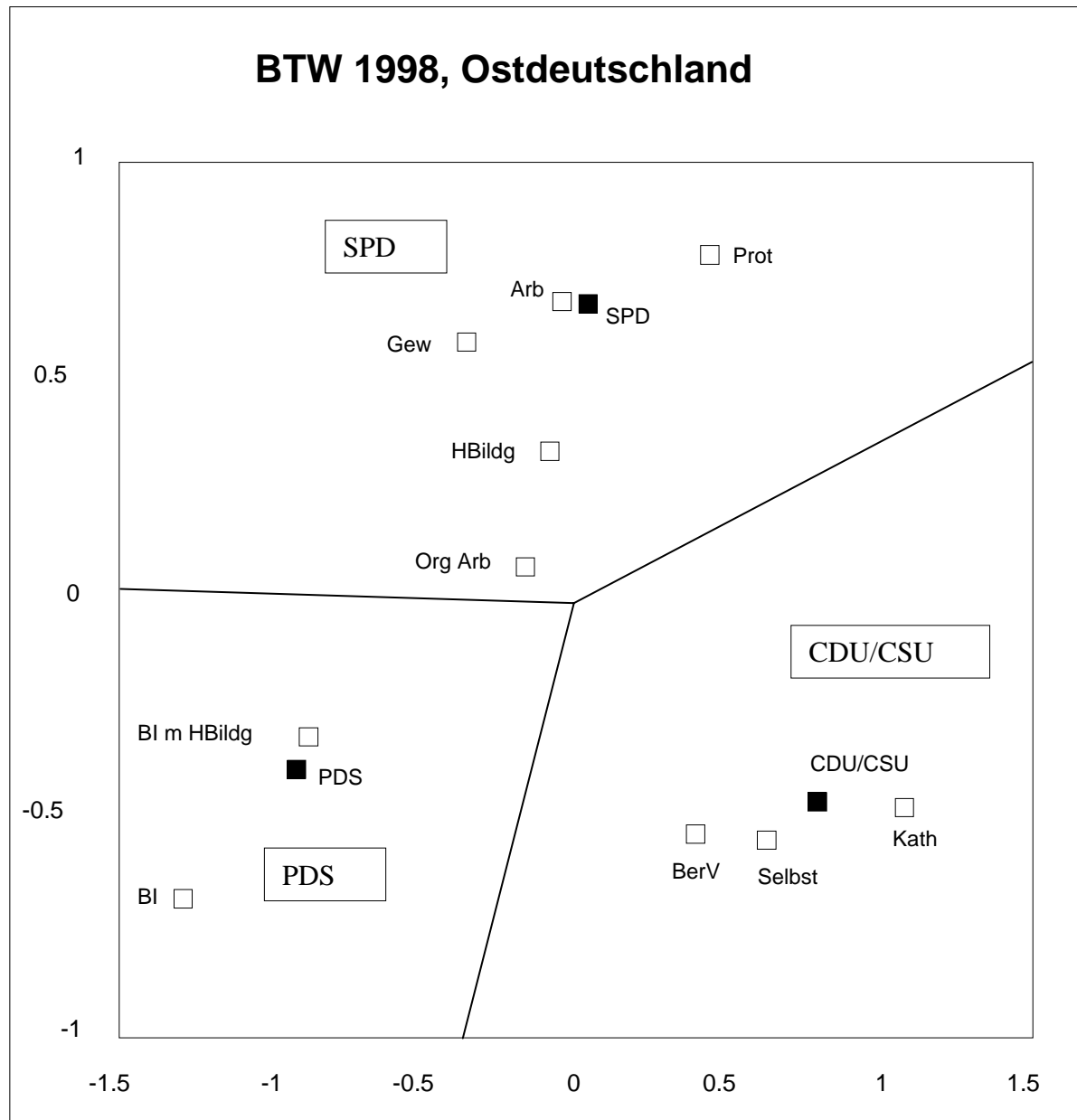
Configuration of Social Groups and Parties, 1969



Configuration of Social Groups and Parties, 1998, Old Länder

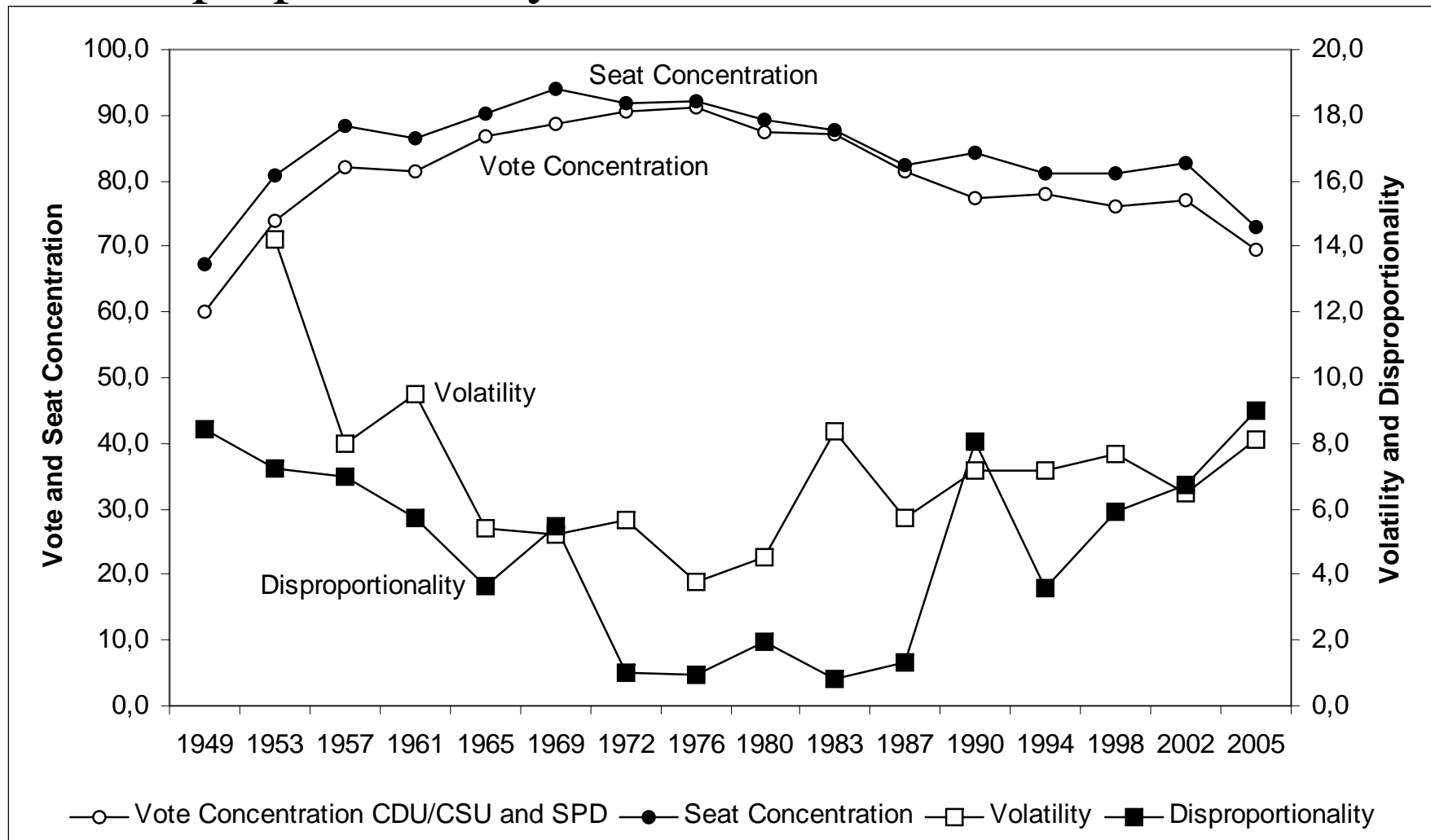


Configuration of Social Groups and Parties, 1998, New Länder

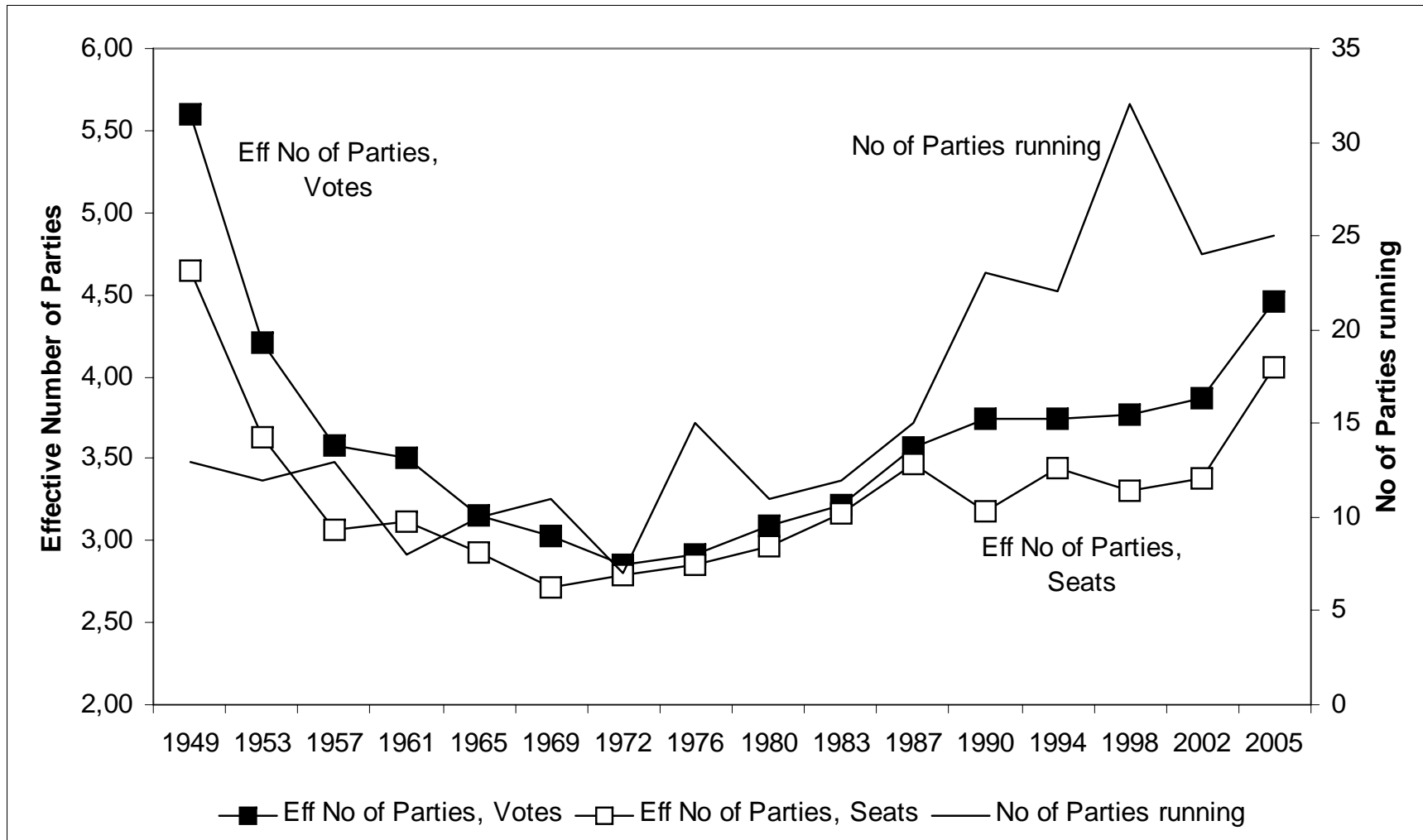


2. Changing Demand, Supply, and Outcome

Volatility, Vote and Seat Concentration, and Disproportionality, 1949-2005

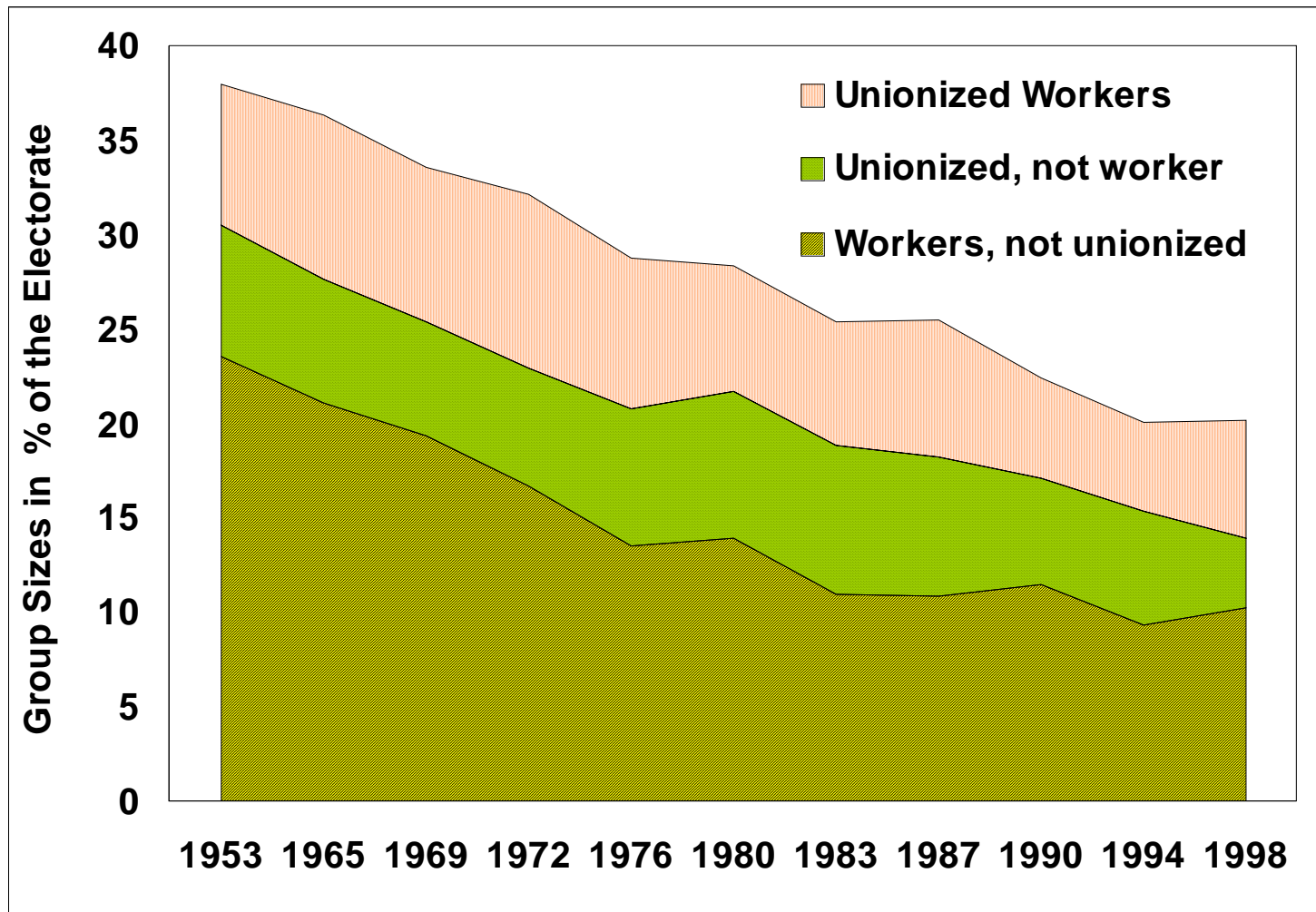


The Change of Political Supply – No. of Parties, 1949-2005

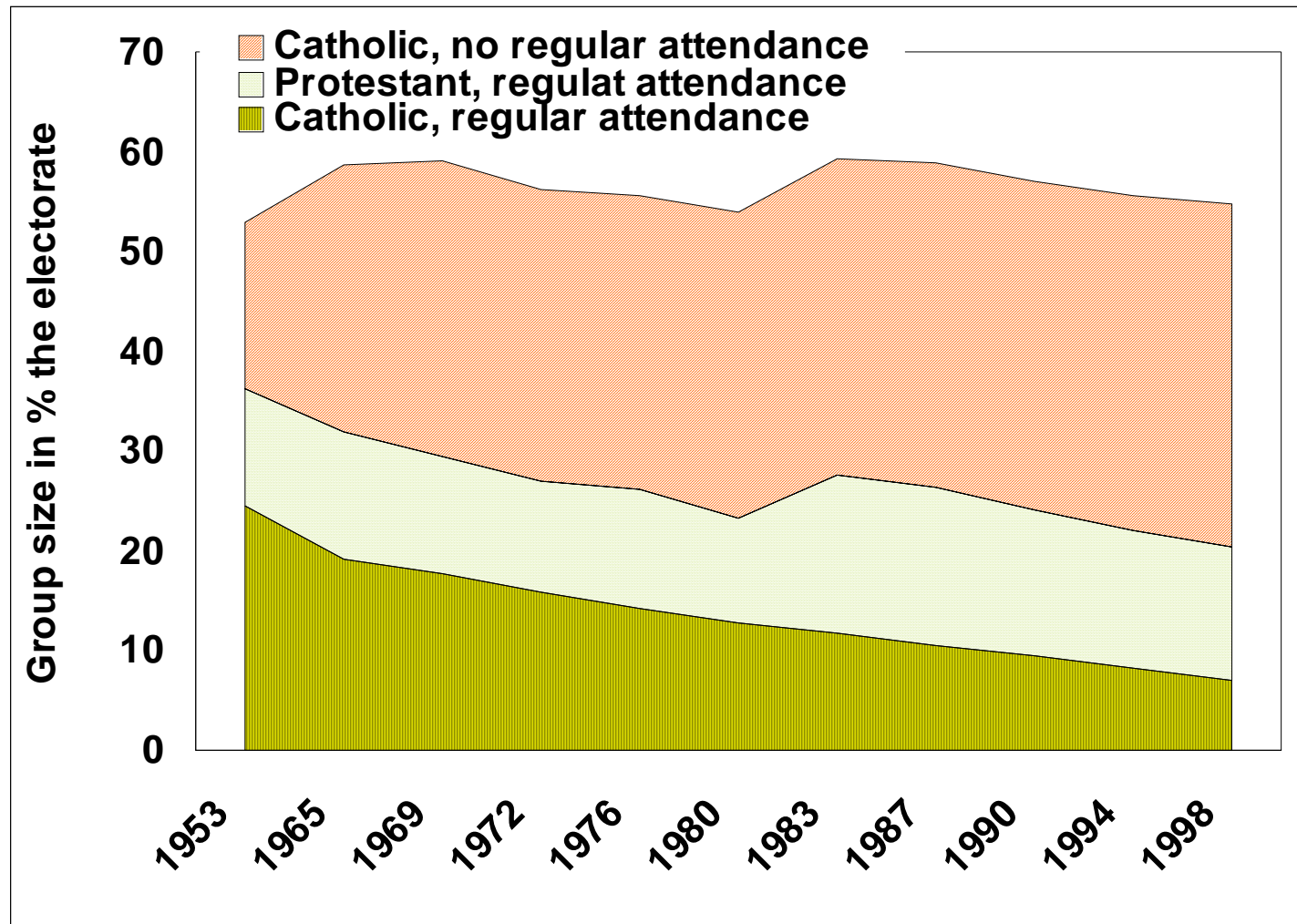


3. Social Change and the Base of Parties

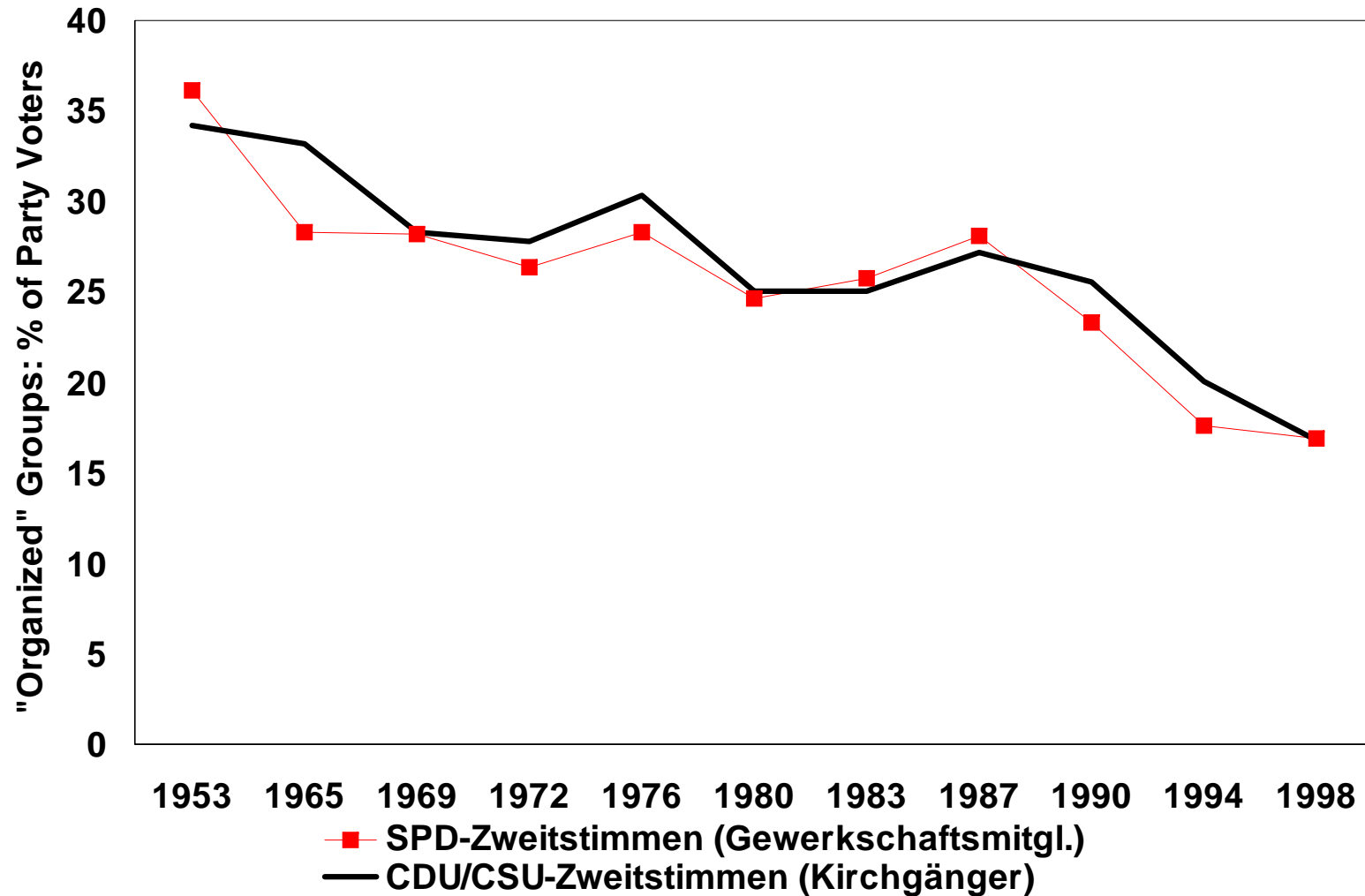
Demographic Theory of Political Change: The Size of Core Groups of the Social Democratic Party, 1953-1998



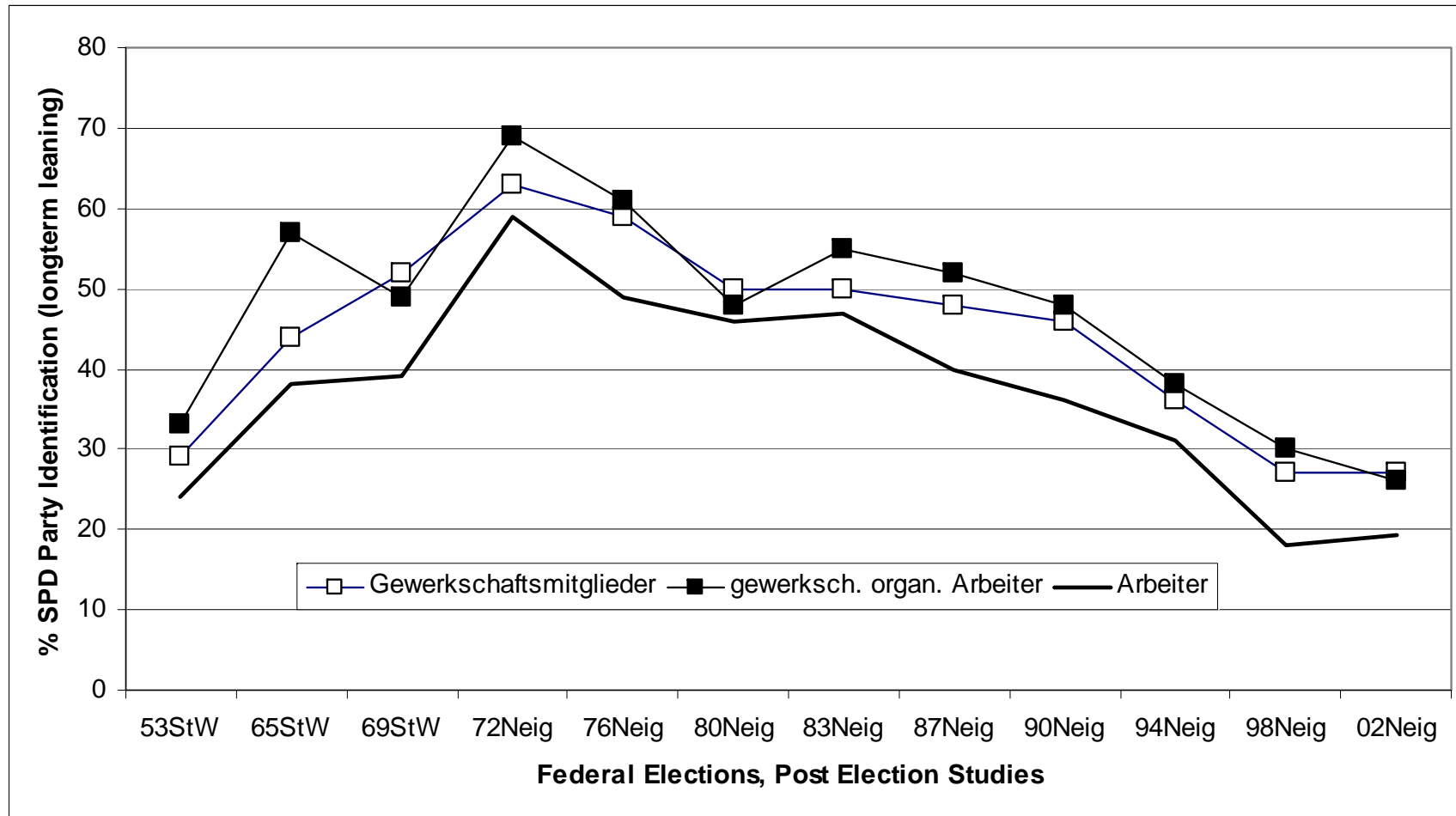
Demographic Theory of Political Change: The Size of Core Groups of the Christian Democrats, 1953-1998



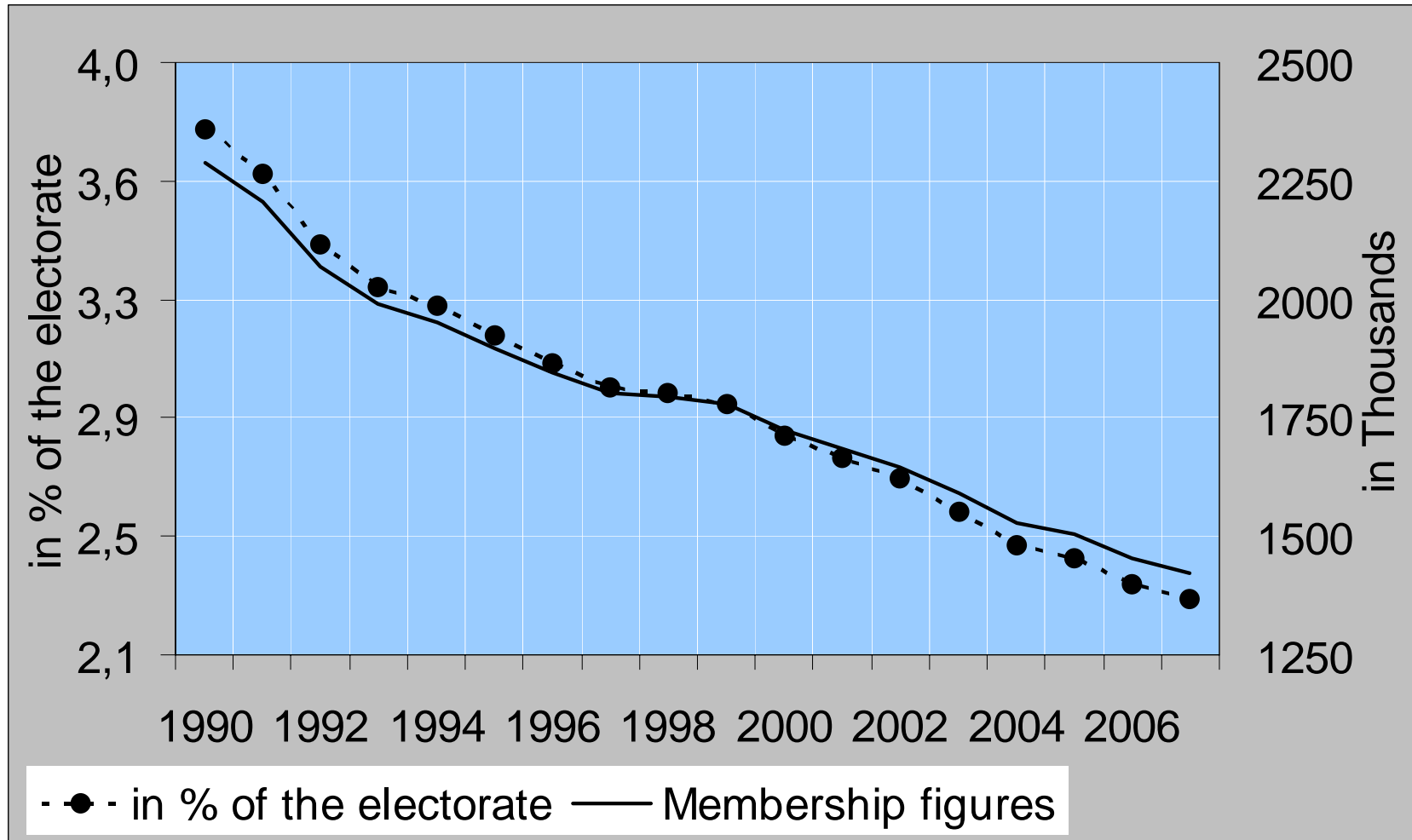
Parties' Core Group Shrinking



Party Identification and Social Groups – The Case of the Social Democrats

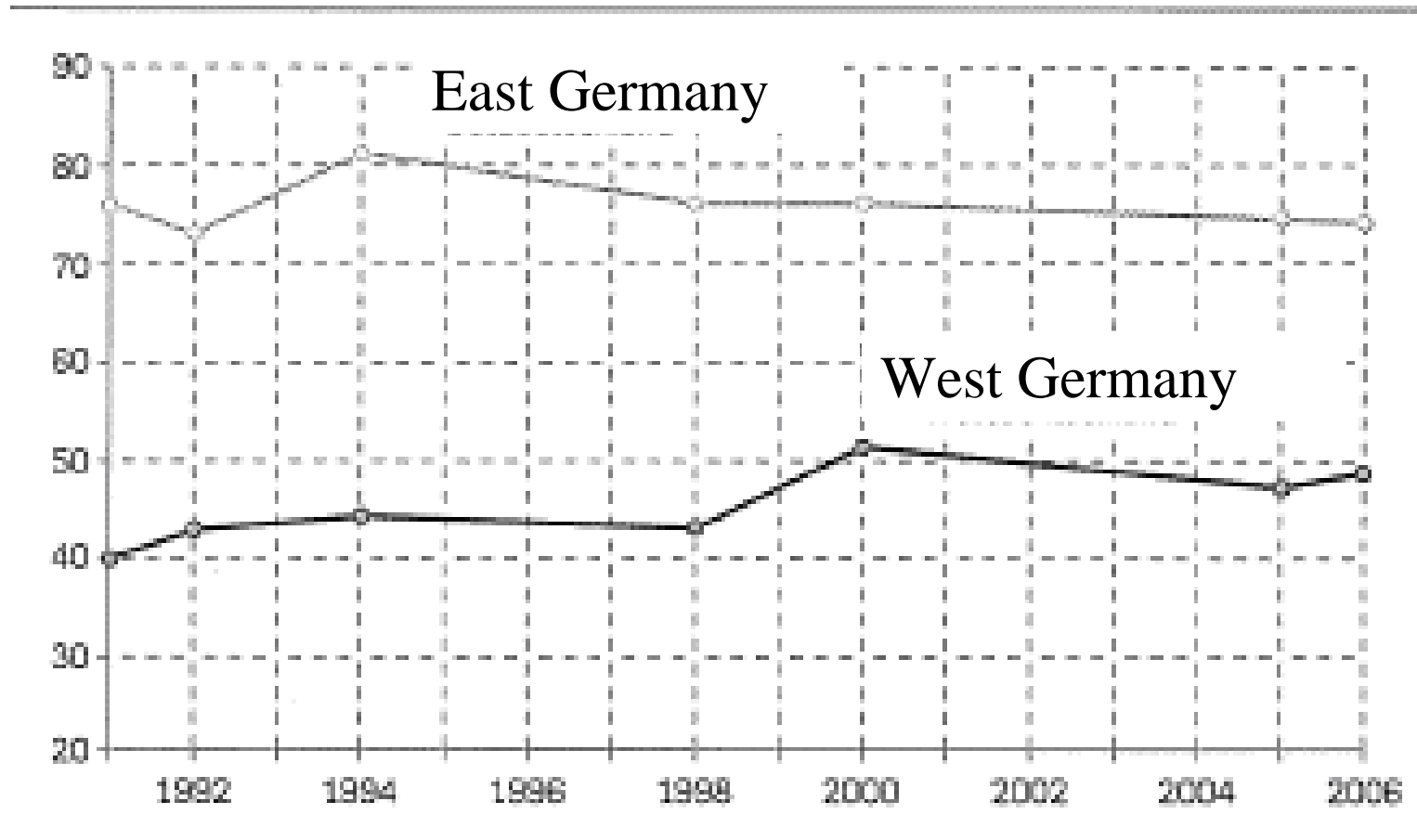


Party Membership, 1990-2008

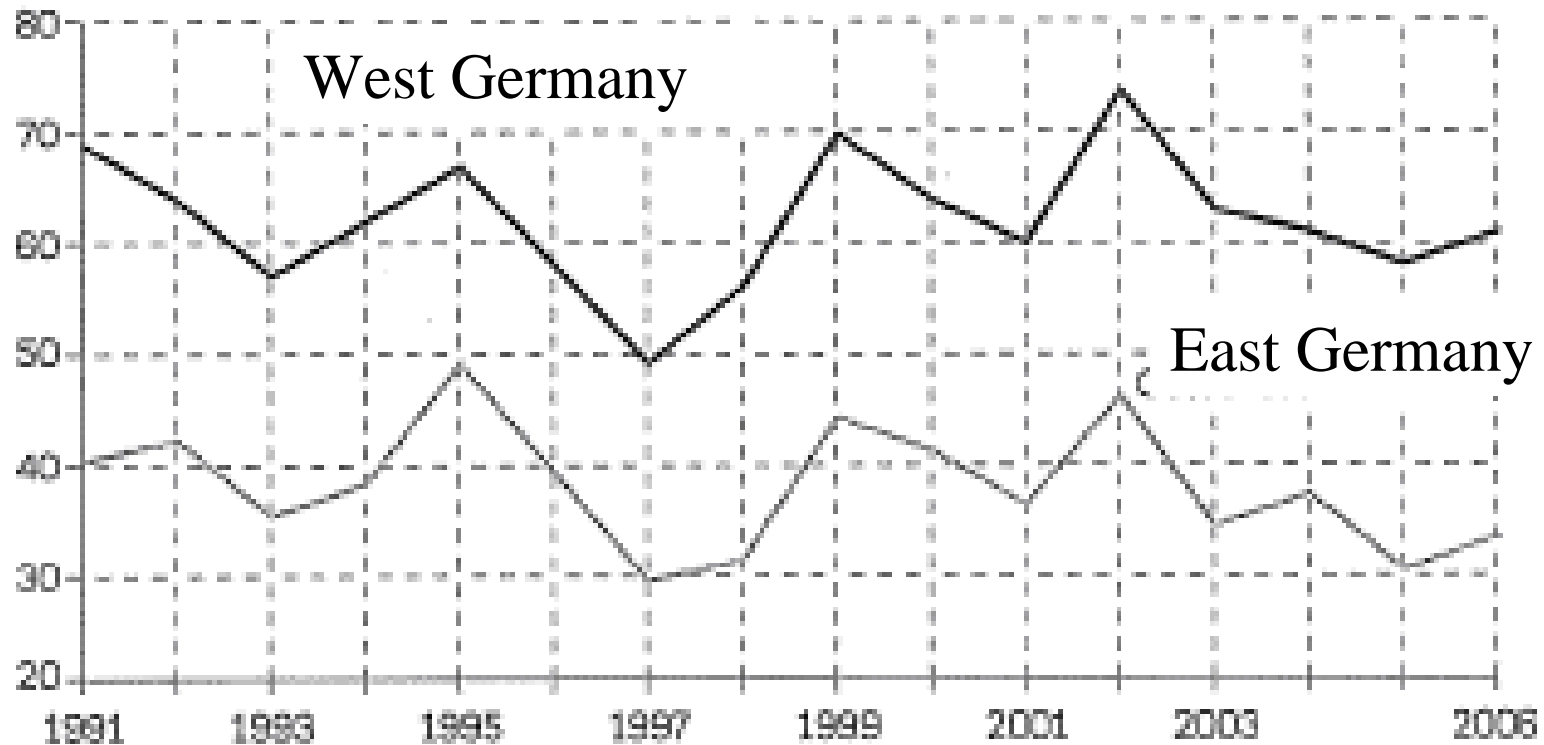


4. The East-West Divide

Socialism was a good idea and only carried out badly



Satisfaction with the Working of Democracy



Election Results – East/West 1990-2005

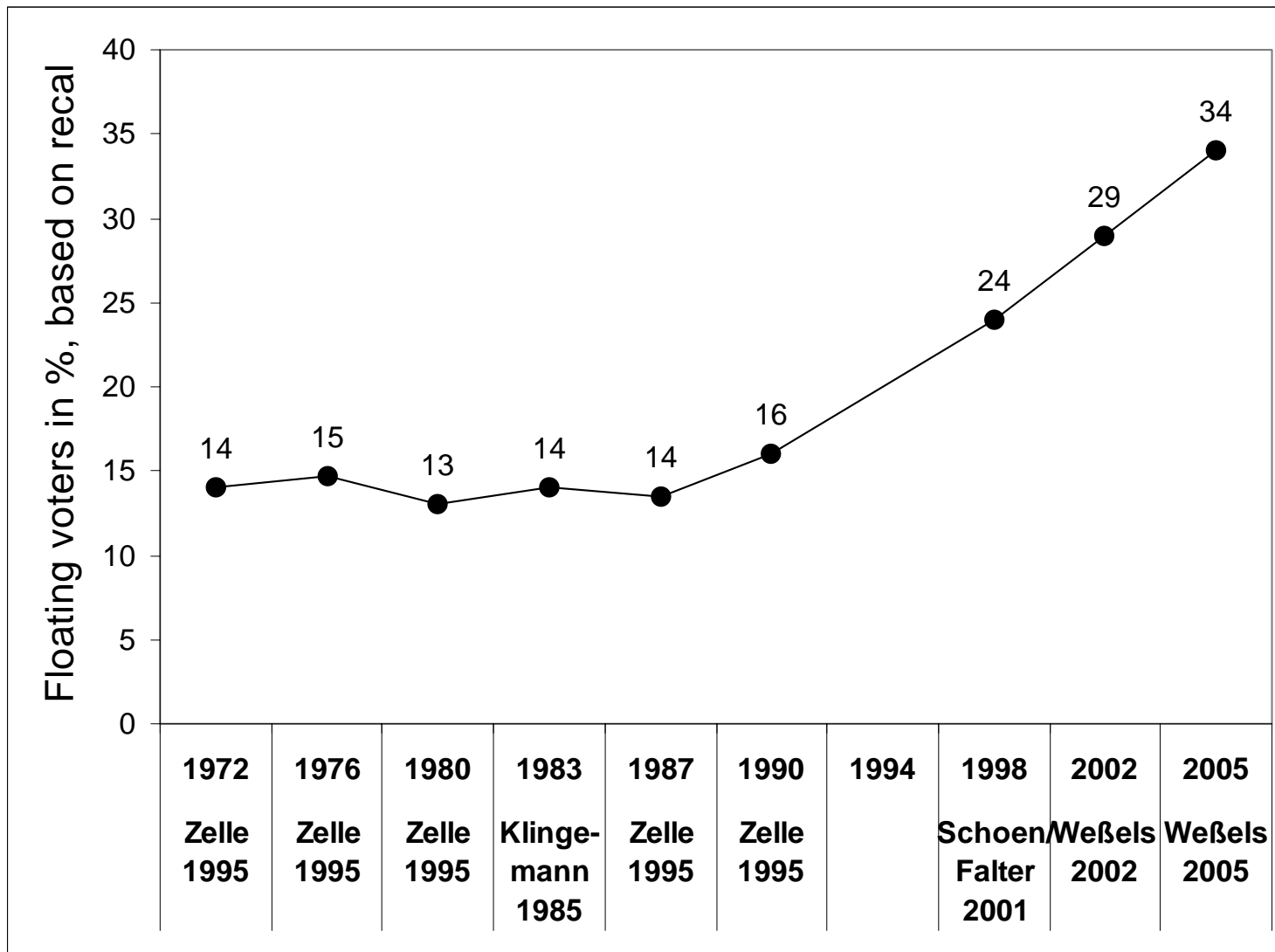
Federal Elections	Turnout	CDU/ CSU	SPD	FDP (1)	Grüne (2)	PDS (3)	Other (4)	Vote Con- centration
1990								
New Länder	74,5	41,8	24,3	12,9	6,1	11,1	3,8	66,1
Old Länder	78,4	44,1	35,9	10,6	4,7	0,3	4,3	80,0
1994								
New Länder	72,9	38,5	31,5	3,5	4,3	19,8	2,4	70,0
Old Länder	80,6	42,2	37,6	7,7	7,8	0,9	3,8	79,8
1998								
New Länder	80,0	27,3	35,1	3,3	4,1	21,6	8,6	62,4
Old Länder	82,8	37,0	42,3	7,0	7,3	1,2	5,2	79,3
2002								
New Länder	72,8	28,3	39,7	6,4	4,7	16,9	4,0	68,0
Old Länder	80,6	40,8	38,3	7,6	9,4	1,1	2,8	79,1
2005								
New Länder	74,3	30,4	25,3	8,0	5,2	25,3	5,8	55,7
Old Länder	78,5	37,5	35,1	10,2	8,8	4,9	3,5	72,6
Mean								
New Länder	74,9	33,3	31,2	6,8	4,9	18,9	4,9	64,4
Old Länder	80,2	40,3	37,8	8,6	7,6	1,7	3,9	78,2

5. The (New) Flexible Voter

Floating Voters: between elections and during the campaign

		2002	2005
Aggregate data	<i>Change between elections</i> - net differences to last elections	6,5	8,1
	<i>Pre-election and Post-election:</i>		
	Prognosis of survey institutes and sum of absolute differences to election results	3,1	12,4
Individual level data	<i>Change between Elections</i>		
	„True floaters" - recall based (definition of Schoen/Falter 2001)	28,6	33,7
	Pre-election recall and reported voting behavior post		
	<i>Pre-election and Post-election:</i>	36,8	42,9
	Pre-election voting intention and reported voting behavior post	16,1	23,9

Floating Voters – Across Elections, 1972 - 2005



Conclusions

- The German society as any other modern society is in flux. Traditional loyalties weakens, political parties cannot rely on old ties any longer
- Strategic entry of new competitors gives voters more choice
- Voters' flexibility has increased as has their rationality
- It is unclear whether this shift in flexibility leads to new re-alignments. For a while, parties have to live with this uncertainty