Disappointed Expectations: Downward Mobility and Electoral Change

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一句话总结

后工业化时代,社会向上流动机会的减少会在西方民主国家带来政治后果

背景介绍和文献综述

- 1. 二战后资本主义世界的繁荣 和 后工业时代社会流动水平的下降
- 战后的经济繁荣促进了社会的向上流动
- 20世纪末,这种向上流动的趋势减缓
 - 后工业化时代的职业需求变化: 两极分化, 对高技术职位的需求减少, 大学学历贬值
- 结构性转变带来结构性的政治不满
 - 。 战后的社会共识: 子女能够到达/超过父母的社会地位
 - 实际上: 向上流动的机会减少可能导致期望的普遍落空
 - 人们可能把这种不满转移到政治、政党上
- 2. 政治预期 The Politics of Expectations
- 右翼政党抬头: 工作收入的减少和失业风险的增加促进了民众对右翼政党的支持
 - o 既有文献关注到了地位变化带来的副作用,但是忽略了长期以来经济机会(代际职业流动)的变化
- 预期和现实之间的落差会带来政治后果

失望的选民可能将目光投向激进的右翼政党

研究假设

H1: 代际向下流动的选民更有可能放弃投票

H2: 代际向下流动的选民更有可能投给非主流政党

H3: 代际向下流动的选民更有可能投给激进政党

总体来看,二战后的女性职业地位/受教育水平在提高 女性不太可能以他们的父亲为职业的参照点

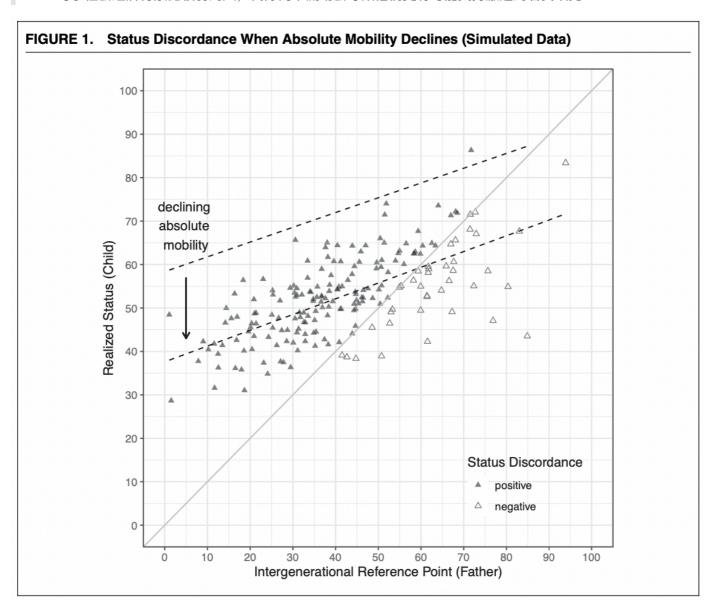
H4: 代际向下流动对女性的影响比对男性的影响小

职业变化受到社会经济背景的影响

• 社会经济地位更低的人更有可能倾向于右翼政党

o 右翼:回到战后的繁荣;左翼:建立新的经济秩序

H5: 对于社会经济背景比较弱的人,代际向下流动会导致他们更有可能支持激进的右翼政党



研究设计

数据: SOEP 德国 家庭 面板数据

变量测量

如何衡量个人的预期/职业地位的代际向下流动?

随机森林算法,用SOEP早期的数据训练算法——为2018年SOEP调查的每个个体预测职业地位(2017年德国进行了联邦选举)

$$ISD_i = \widehat{y}_i - y_i,$$

Yi hat 是预测值

$$\widehat{\mathbf{y}}_{i} = f(\mathbf{X}_{j}, \mathbf{X}_{i})$$

- Xj包括了父亲的职业、职业群体、教育水平、出生年份
- Xi包括个体的人口学变量、童年时期的生活状况(年龄、性别、移民背景、是否有公民资格、上学的地区、幼年时期住在城市/农村、15岁时上几年级)

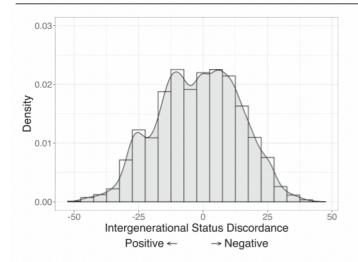
Yi 代表个人真实的社会经济地位,来自ISEI

More intuitively, the ISEI can be understood as a weighted sum of mean education and mean income for each occupational group, adjusted for age to account for life-cycle effects. A detailed comparison of the available indices of class, occupational prestige, and occupational status shows that the ISEI accounts well for what drives the process of intergenerational occu- pational mobility

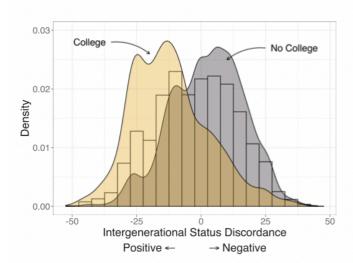
实证结果

描述性统计

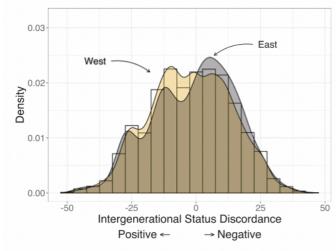
FIGURE 2. Distribution of Intergenerational Status Discordance



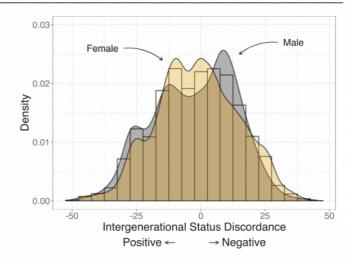
(a) Overall Distribution



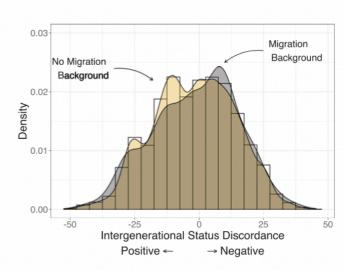
(c) By Education



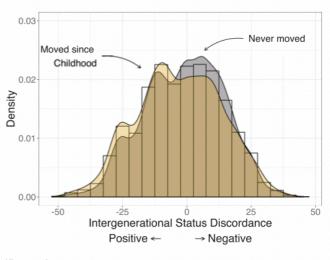
(e) By Residence in 1989



(b) By Gender

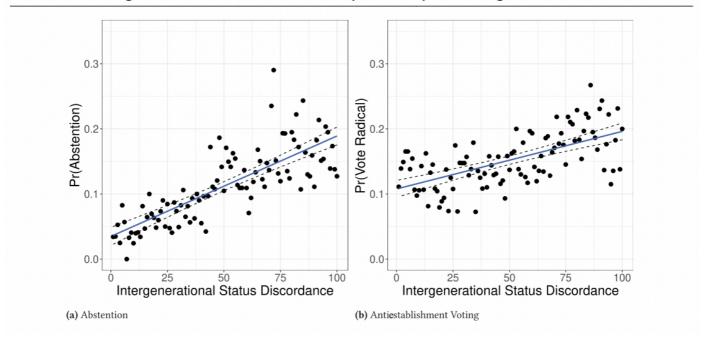


(d) By Migration Background



(f) By Relocation History

FIGURE 3. Intergenerational Status Discordance (Percentile) and Voting Behavior



回归结果

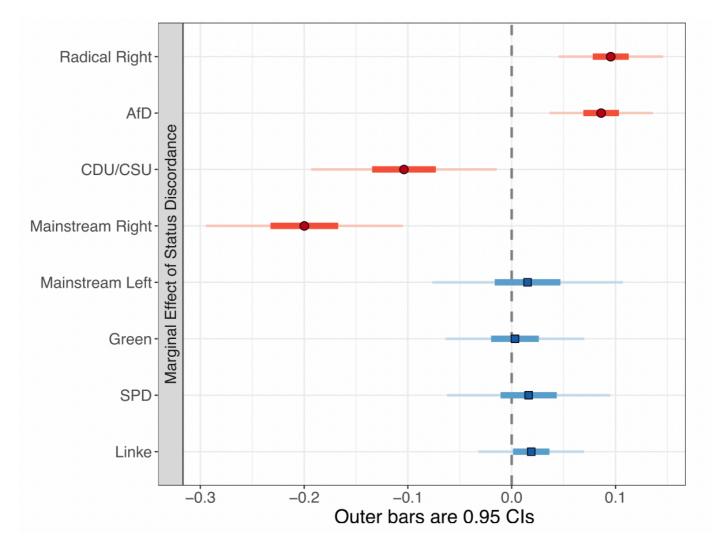
TABLE 1. Intergenerational Status Discordance and Political Alienation

	Abstention	No Party ID	Vote Radical	Vote Mainstream
Status discordance	0.074**	0.139**	0.113**	-0.177***
	(0.029)	(0.046)	(0.035)	(0.043)
Female (1 = yes)	-0.216	7.503***	-4.903***	5.461***
	(0.814)	(1.310)	(0.992)	(1.214)
Age	-0.308 [*] **	–0.511 ^{***}	0.047	0.346***
	(0.041)	(0.067)	(0.050)	(0.061)
Migration background (1 = yes)	`4.235 [*] *	8.357***	0.564	<u>-</u> 2.922
	(1.470)	(2.248)	(1.790)	(2.191)
Education: lower elementary	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
- Upper elementary	-2.342	0.145	-5.500	8.480
	(5.529)	(9.002)	(6.733)	(8.240)
 Lower secondary 	-9.893	-6.785	-11.007	21.038*
	(5.495)	(8.950)	(6.692)	(8.189)
- Secondary	-15.901**	-17.042	-11.926	26.747**
	(5.659)	(9.208)	(6.892)	(8.434)
 University prep. 	-20.010***	-22.012*	-13.043	31.860***
	(5.567)	(9.064)	(6.779)	(8.296)
– Tertiary I	-17.476**	-17.574	-11.761	29.447***
	(5.592)	(9.109)	(6.811)	(8.335)
– Tertiary II	-18.962***	-25.114**	-12.338	32.505***
- remary ii			(6.771)	
Employment status: active	(5.560) ref.	(9.054) ref.	ref.	(8.287) ref.
Not in labor force	0.568	3.262	–2.711	0.546
- Not in labor loice	(1.732)	(2.820)	(2.110)	(2.582)
- Other	1.398	3.897	-0.507	
				-4.754 (4.100)
Incomo (log)	(2.757) -2.078***	(4.307)	(3.357) -1.554*	(4.109) 4.020***
Income (log)		0.235		
Marrad airea abildhaadr na	(0.587)	(0.945)	(0.715)	(0.875)
Moved since childhood: no	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
- Returned	0.084	-4.002 (2.000)	0.390	-0.677 (0.054)
	(1.982)	(3.209)	(2.414)	(2.954)
- Moved away	1.371	-0.503	2.008*	-3.893**
	(0.794)	(1.276)	(0.967)	(1.184)
In 1989: East	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
– West	-2.206	-11.434***	-11.136***	14.331***
	(1.447)	(2.331)	(1.762)	(2.156)
- Abroad	7.847*	-0.095	-0.828	-6.562
	(3.348)	(5.275)	(4.078)	(4.990)
– Born later	0.134	-3.923	-7.189**	7.176*
	(1.875)	(3.025)	(2.284)	(2.795)
Regional FEs	/	/	1	✓
R^2	0.093	0.095	0.064	0.135
Adj. R ²	0.088	0.091	0.059	0.130
Num. obs.	5923	6550	5923	5923

Note: ***p < 0.001; **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05.

No Party ID: 受访者是否认为自己属于任何一个党派

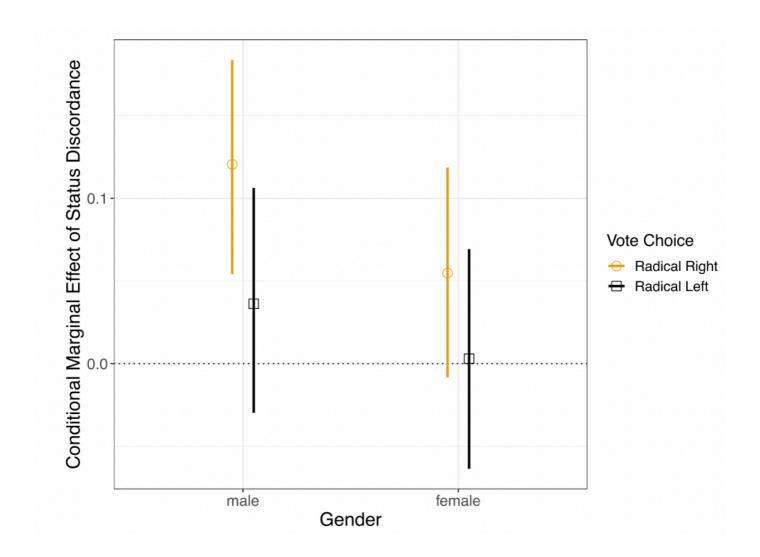
政党支持(控制社会经济情况)

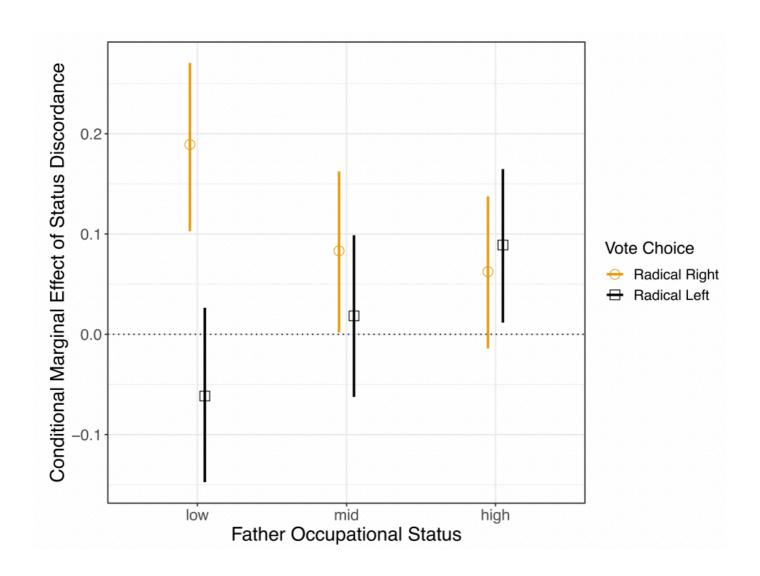


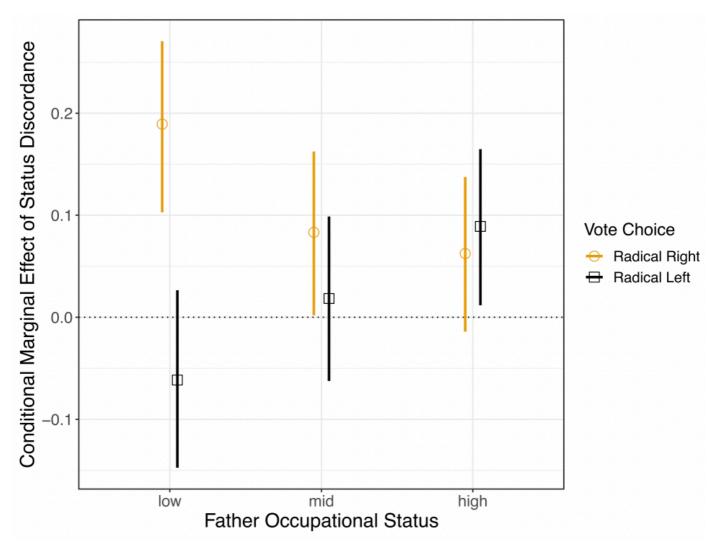
AfD: 新兴的右派民粹政党

主流政党对他们没有吸引力:"建制派的失败"

性别和社会经济地位







结论和未尽的问题

社会流动性减弱带来的失望会引发政治后果

会受到性别和社会经济地位的影响

在西方民主国家的推广: 特朗普 桑德斯

宏观的理论: "失望"跟对民主运作的不满不同,不能通过短期措施或者更换政党领导人来解决