

Kurs STV 4312: Politiske konfliktlinjer og valg**Kursleder: Oddbjørn Knutsen**

Kursets formål: Kurset tar sikte på å gi en oversikt over forskningstradisjoner om partipolitiske konfliktlinjer og å presentere sentrale funn fra longitudinelle komparative studier om temaet, særlig fra vesteuropeiske land. Emnet tar opp: 1) sammenhengen mellom sosial struktur og partivalg, 2) holdninger, verdier og ideologi som partipolitiske konfliktlinjer og 3) partiprogrammene som datakilde for å studere partipolitiske avstander.

Kurset bygger på KP på bachelor-nivå, særlig Rokkans arbeider. Følgende arbeid kan med fordel leses som en introduksjon til de tema som tas opp på kurset: Jocelyn Evans (2004): *Voters and voting. An introduction*. London: Sage.

Forelesningsplan:*1. gang: Om studier av velgeratferd. Hva er en konfliktlinje? Fastfrysingshypotesen*

Litteratur: Knutsen & Scarbrough (1995: 492-500); Knutsen (2004: kap 1); Mair (2001).

Anbefalt: Bartolini & Mair (1990); Inglehart (1977: kap. 7); Lipset og Rokkan (1967a); Skaare (1998); Aardal (1994)

2. gang: Ulike måter å analysere sammenhengen mellom sosial struktur og partivalg på. Hovedperspektiver fra komparative sammenstillinger av nasjonsspesifikke studier.

Litteratur: Rose & Urwin (1969: 7-31); Dalton, Beck & Flanagan (1984); Dalton, Flanagan & Beck (1984a); Franklin, Mackie, Valen m. fl. (red.) (1992: 1, 2, 19).

Anbefalt: Karvonen & Kuhnle (2001); Lipset & Rokkan (1967a); Maquire (1983); Mair (1997: kap. 1-5); Rose & Urwin (1970); Dalton, Flanagan & Beck (red.) (1984b: kap. 2-14); Franklin, Mackie, Valen m. fl. (1992: kap. 3-8, 10,12); Lipset & Rokkan (red.) (1967b: kap. 1-8); Rose (1974a); Rose (red.) (1974b: kap. 2-8, 10, 12).

3. gang: Sosial klasse: Klassestemmegivning. Utdanning og stemmegivning

Litteratur: Knutsen (2006: kap. 1-3, 5-8); Knutsen (2004: kap. 5).

Anbefalt: Alford (1967); Clark & Lipset (red.) (2001); Crewe (1986); Evans (red.) (1999); Heath, Jowell & Curtice (1987); Kitschelt (1993); Weakliem (1991; 1995); Manza, Hout & Brooks (1995); Nieuwbeerta (1995); Nieuwbeerta & Ultee (1999).

4. gang: Utviklingen av den religiøse og den territoriale konfliktlinjen i vesteuropeiske land

Litteratur: Knutsen (2004: kap. 2 og 3); Caramani (2005).

Anbefalt: Den religiøse: Broughton & ten Napel (red.) (2000); Dalton (1990; 1996: 176-185); Hanley (red.) (1994).

Den territoriale: Caramani (2004)

5. gang: *Kjønn og offentlig versus privat sektor som partipolitisk konfliktlinjer.*

Litteratur: Inglehart & Norris (2000); Knutsen (2001, 2004: kap. 6; 2005)

Anbefalt: Iversen & Wren (1998); Manza & Brooks (1998); Mayer & Smith (1985); Studlar, McAllister & Hayes (1998).

6. gang: *Verdibaserte konfliktlinjer og rasjonelle valg. Fra strukturelle til verdibaserte konfliktlinjer?*

Litteratur: Knutsen (2004: kap. 7); Knutsen (1995a); Knutsen & Scarbrough (1995); Stubager 2009.

Anbef.: Inglehart (1977: kap. 7-9; 1984); Knutsen (1995b)

7. gang: *"Issue salience"-teori og partiprogrammer som data for konfliktlinjer*

Litteratur: Budge (2001); Klingemann, Hofferbert & Budge (1994); Budge & Bara (2001).

Anbefalt: Budge, Robertson & Hearl (red.) (1987); Budge et al. (2001); Klingemann, Hofferbert & Budge (1994); Laver & Budge (red.) (1991).

8. gang: *Dimensjonsanalyser for å forklare valgførelse og partikonkurranse. Romlige modeller ("spatial models") basert på velgernes vurderinger av politiske partier*

Litteratur: Budge & Farlie (1978); Listhaug, Macdonald & Rabinowitz (1990)

Anbefalt: Budge & Farlie (1977: Part I-III); Converse & Valen (1971); Nannestad (1984); Rusk & Borre (1976)

9. gang: *Politikkdefinerte politiske rom, partistrategier og verdibaserte konfliktlinjer i post-industrielle samfunn.*

Litteratur: Kitschelt (1994: 8-37; 1995: 13-28); Knutsen (1989); Kriesi et al. (2006).

Anbefalt: Budge & Farlie (1977: Part IV); Inglehart (1997: kap. 8); Kitschelt (1994; kap. 4; 1995: kap. 2-7); Knutsen (2000).

10. gang: *Retningsmodellen. Teori og komparative studier*

Litteratur: Listhaug, Macdonald & Rabinowitz (1994); Rabinowitz & Macdonald (1989);

Anbefalt: Gilljam (1997); Macdonald & Rabinowitz, (1993, 1999); Macdonald, Listhaug & Rabinowitz, (1991); Macdonald, Rabinowitz & Listhaug (1995; 1998a; 1998b); Rabinowitz, Macdonald & Listhaug (1991); Westholm (1997).

Pensumlitteratur:

- Budge, Ian (2001): 'Theory and measurement of party policy positions', kap. 3 i Ian Budge m. fl. (red.): *Mapping policy preferences. Estimates for parties, electors, and governments 1945-1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 16 s.
- Budge, Ian & Dennis J. Farlie (1978): 'The potentiality of dimensional analyses for explaining voting and party competition', *European Journal of Political Research* 6: 203-231. 29 s.
- Budge, Ian & Judith Bara (2001): 'Manifesto-based research: A critical review', kap. 2 i Ian Budge m. fl. (red.): *Mapping policy preferences. Estimates for parties, electors, and governments 1945-1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 23 s.
- Caramani, Daniele (2005): 'The formation of national party systems in Europe: A comparative-historical analysis', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 28: 295-322. 28 s.
- Dalton, Russell J., Paul Allen Beck & Scott C. Flanagan (1984): 'Electoral change i advanced industrial democracies', kap. 1 i Russell J. Dalton, Scott C. Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck (red.): *Electoral change in advanced industrial democracies*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 20 s.
- Dalton, Russell J., Scott C. Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck (1984a): 'Political forces and partisan change', kap. 15 i Russell J. Dalton, Scott C. Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck (red.): *Electoral change in advanced industrial democracies*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 26 s.
- Franklin, Mark N.; Thomas T. Mackie, Henry Valen m. fl. (red.) (1992): *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, kap. 1, 2, 19. 78 s.
- Inglehart, Ronald & Pippa Norris (2000): 'The development theory of the gender gap: Women's and men's voting behavior in global perspective', *International Political Science Review* 21: 441-463. 23 s.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1994): *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, s. 8-37. 30 s.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1995): *The Radical Right in Western Europe – A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: The University Press of Michigan, s. 13-28. 16 s.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Richard Hofferbert & Ian Budge (1994): *Parties, policies and democracy*, Boulder: Westview Press, kap. 2. 16 s.
- Knutsen, Oddbjørn (1989): 'Cleavage dimensions in ten West European countries: A comparative empirical analysis', *Comparative Political Studies* 21: 495-534. 39 s.
- Knutsen, Oddbjørn (1995a): 'Party Choice', kap.17 i Jan van Deth & Elinor Scarbrough (red.): *The Impact of Values*. "Beliefs in Government", bind 4. European Science Foundation. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 31 s.
- Knutsen, Oddbjørn & Elinor Scarbrough (1995): 'Cleavage Politics', kap.18 i Jan van Deth & Elinor Scarbrough (red.): *The Impact of Values*. "Beliefs in Government", bind 4. European Science Foundation. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 32 s.
- Knutsen, Oddbjørn (2001): 'Social Class, Sector Employment and Gender as Political Cleavages in the Scandinavian Countries. A Comparative Longitudinal Study, 1970-95', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 24: 311-350. 40 s.

- Knutsen, Oddbjørn (2004): *Social structure and party choice in Western Europe. A comparative longitudinal study*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, kap. 1-3, 5-7 236 s.
- Knutsen, Oddbjørn (2005): 'The impact of sector employment on party choice: a comparative study of eight West European countries'. *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 593-621 29 s.
- Knutsen, Oddbjørn (2006): *Class Voting in Western Europe. A Comparative Longitudinal Study*. Lanham: Lexington Books, kap. 1-2, 5-8 120 s.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter et al. (2006): 'Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared', *European Journal of Political Research* 45: 921-956. 36 s.
- Listhaug, Ola, Stuart Elaine Macdonald & George Rabinowitz (1990): 'A comparative spatial analysis of European party systems,' *Scandinavian Political Studies* 13: 227-254. 28 s.
- Listhaug, Ola, Stuart Elaine Macdonald & George Rabinowitz (1994): 'Ideology and party support in comparative perspective', *European Journal of Political Research* 25: 111-149. 39 s.
- Mair, Peter (2001): 'The freezing hypothesis. An evaluation', kap. 3 i Lauri Karvonen & Stein Kuhnle (red.): *Party systems and voter alignments revisited*. London: Routledge. 18 s.
- Rabinowitz, George & Stuart Elaine MacDonald (1989): 'A directional theory of issue voting, *American Political Science Review* 83: 93-121. 29 s.
- Rose, Richard & Derek Urwin (1969): 'Social cohesion, political parties and strains in regimes', *Comparative Political Studies* 2: 7-31. 25 s.
- Stubager, Rune (2009): The education cleavage: The socio-structural foundation of culture wars, Paper prepared for presentation at IPSA's 21st World Congress of Political Science, Santiago, July 12-16 2009. 42 s.

Sum pensum:

ca. 1040 s.

Anbefalt litteratur

- Alford, Robert R. (1967): 'Class voting in Anglo-American political systems', kap. 1 i Seymour Martin Lipset & Stein Rokkan (red.): *Party systems and voter alignments*. New York: The Free Press.
- Bartolini, Stefano & Peter Mair (1990): *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Broughton, David & Hans-Martin ten Napel (red.): *Religion and mass electoral behaviour in Europe*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Budge, Ian & Dennis J. Farlie (1977): 'Voting and Party Competition: A spatial synthesis based on a critique of existing approaches applied to surveys from ten democracies'. New York: John Wiley. Part I-IV.
- Budge, Ian, David Robertson & Derek Hearl (red.) (1987): *Ideology, strategy and party change: Spatial analyses of post-war election programmes in 19 democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Budge, Ian m. fl. (red.) (2001): *Mapping policy preferences. Estimates for parties, electors, and governments 1945-1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Caramani, Daniele (2004): *The Nationalization of politics. The formation of national electorates and the party systems in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, Terry Nichols & Seymour Martin Lipset (2001): *The breakdown of class politics. A debate on post-industrial stratification*. Baltimore & London: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Converse, Philip E. & Henry Valen (1971): 'Dimensions of cleavage and perceived party distances in Norwegian voting', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 6: 107-152.
- Crewe, Ivor (1986): 'On the death and resurrection of class voting: Some comments on How Britain Vote', *Political Studies* XXXIV: 620-638.
- Dalton, Russell J., Scott C. Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck (red.) (1984b): *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, kap. 2-14.
- Dalton, Russell J. (1990): 'Religion and party alignment', pp. 66-88 i Risto Sänkiäho et al.: *People and their politics*. Jyväskylä: Finnish Political Science Association.
- Dalton, Russell J. (1996): *Citizen politics: Public opinion and political parties in advanced western democracies*. 2. utgave. London: Chatham House.
- Evans, Geoffrey (red.) (1999): *The end of class politics? Class voting in comparative context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Jocelyn A.J. (2004): *Voters and voting. An introduction*. London: Sage.
- Franklin, Mark N., Thomas T. Mackie, Henry Valen et al. (red.) (1992): *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, kap. 3-8, 10,12.
- Gilljan, Michael (1999): 'The directional theory under the magnifying glass: a reappraisal', *Journal of theoretical politics* 9: 5-12.
- Hanley, David (red.) (1994): *Christian Democracy in Europe: A comparative perspective*. London: Pinter.

Heath, Anthony, Roger Jowell & John Curtice (1987): 'Trendless fluctuation: a reply to Crewe', *Political Studies* XXXV: 256-277.

Inglehart, Ronald (1977): *The Silent Revolution - changing values and political styles among western publics*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Kap. 7-9.

Inglehart, Ronald (1984): 'The changing structure of political cleavages in Western societies', kap. 2 i Russell J. Dalton, Scott C. Flanagan & Paul Allen Beck (red.): *Electoral change in advanced industrial societies*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart (1997): *Modernization and postmodernization. Cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, kap. 8.

Iversen, Torben & Anne Wren (1998): 'Equality, employment, and budgetary restraint. The trilemma of the service economy', *World Politics* 50: 507-546.

Karvonen, Lauri & Stein Kuhnle (red.) (2001): *Party systems and voter alignments revisited*. London: Routledge.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1993): 'Class structure and Social Democratic Party Strategy', *British Journal of Political Science* 23: 299-337.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1994): *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, kap. 4.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1995): *The Radical Right in Western Europe – A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: The University Press of Michigan, kap. 2-7.

Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Richard I. Hofferbert & Ian Budge (1994): *Parties, Policies, and Democracies*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Knutsen, Oddbjørn (1995b): 'The Impact of Old Politics and New Politics Value Orientations on Party Choice – A Comparative Study', *Journal of Public Policy* 15: 1-63.

Knutsen, Oddbjørn (2000): 'Nasjonal identitet som partipolitiske konfliktlinjer i Norge', *Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift* 16: 51-98.

Laver, Michael J. & Ian Budge (red.) (1992): *Party policy and government coalitions*. London: Macmillan.

Lipset, Seymour Martin & Stein Rokkan (1967a). 'Cleavage structure, party systems, and voter alignments: An introduction', i Seymour Martin Lipset & Stein Rokkan (red.): *Party systems and voter alignments*. New York: The Free Press.

Lipset, Seymour Martin & Stein Rokkan (red.) (1967b): *Party systems and voter alignments*. New York: The Free Press, kap. 1-8.

Macdonald, Stuart Elaine, Ola Listhaug & George Rabinowitz (1991): 'Issues and party support in multiparty systems', *American Political Science Review* 85: 1107-1131.

Macdonald, Stuart Elaine & George Rabinowitz (1993): 'Direction and uncertainty in a model of issue voting', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 5: 61-87.

Macdonald, Stuart Elaine, George Rabinowitz & Ola Listhaug (1995): 'Political sophistication and models of issue voting', *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 453-483.

Macdonald, Stuart Elaine, George Rabinowitz & Ola Listhaug (1998a): 'On attempting to rehabilitate the proximity model: Sometimes the patient just can't help', *Journal of Politics* 60: 653-690.

- Macdonald, Stuart Elaine, George Rabinowitz & Ola Listhaug (1998b): 'Issue competition in the 1993 Norwegian national election', *Public Choice* 97: 295-322.
- Maguire, Maria (1983): 'Is there still persistence? Electoral change in Western Europe, 1948-1979', kap. 3 i Hans Daalder & Peter Mair (red.): *Western European party systems*. London: Sage.
- Mair, Peter (1997): *Party system change. Approaches and interpretations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, kap. 1-5.
- Manza, Jeff & Clem Brooks (1998): 'The gender gap in U.S. Presidential elections: When? Why? Implications?', *American Journal of Sociology* 103: 1235-1266.
- Manza, Jeff, Micheal Hout & Clem Brooks (1995): 'Class voting in capitalist democracies since World War II: Dealignment, Realignment, or Trendless Fluctuation?', *Annual Review of Sociology* 21: 137-162.
- Nieuwbeerta, Paul (1995): *The democratic class struggle in twenty countries 1945-1990*. Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers.
- Nieuwbeerta, Paul & Wout Ultee (1999): 'Class voting in Western industrialized countries, 1945-1990: Systematization and testing explanations', *European Journal of Political Research* 35: 123-160.
- Mayer, Lawrence & Roland E. Smith (1985): 'Feminism and religiosity: Female electoral behaviour in Western Europe', *West European Politics* 8: 38-49.
- Nannestad, Peter (1984): 'Dimensioner i vælgernes opfattelse af partisystemet', kap. 8 i Jørgen Elklit & Ole Tonsgaard (red.): *Valg og vælgeradfærd. Studier i dansk politikk*. Århus: Politica.
- Rabinowitz, George, Stuart Elaine MacDonald & Ola Listhaug (1991): 'New players in an old game: Party strategy in multiparty systems', *Comparative Political Studies* 24: 147-185.
- Rose, Richard & Derek Urwin (1970): 'Persistence and change in Western party systems since 1945', *Political Studies* XVIII: 287-319.
- Rose, Richard (1974a): 'Comparability in electoral studies', kap. 1 i Richard Rose (red.): *Electoral behaviour: A comparative handbook*. New York: The Free Press.
- Rose, Richard (red.) (1974b): *Electoral behaviour: A comparative handbook*. New York: The Free Press, kap. 2-8, 10,12.
- Rusk, Jerrold G. & Ole Borre (1976): 'The changing party space in Danish voter perception, 1971-73', kap. 9 i Ian Budge, Ivor Crewe & Dennis Farlie (red.): *Party identification and beyond. representations of voting and party competition*. London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Skare, Audun (1998): 'Politisk skillelinje. En drøfting av begrepet', *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning* 39 (2): 163-192
- Studlar, Donley, Ian McAllister & Bernadette Hayes (1998): 'Explaining the gender gap in voting: a cross-national analysis', *Social Science Quarterly* 79: 779-798.
- Weakliem, David L. (1991): 'The two lefts? Occupation and party choice in France, Italy, and the Netherlands', *American Journal of Sociology* 96: 1327-1361.
- Weakliem, David L. (1995): 'Two models of class voting', *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 254-271.

Westholm, Anders (1997): 'The illusory defeat of the proximity theory of electoral choice', *American Political Science Review* 91: 865-885.

Aardal, Bernt (1994): 'Hva er en politisk skillelinje? En begrepsmessig grensedragning' *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning* 35: 218-249.

Aarts, Kees, Stuart Elaine Macdonald & George Rabinowitz (1999): 'Issues and party competition in the Netherlands', *Comparative Political Studies* 32: 63-99.