

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. Første del av kurset tar opp studier av sammenhengen mellom sosialstrukturelle variabler og partivalg, mens andre del tar opp holdninger, verdier og ideologi som partipolitiske konfliktlinjer.

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); Kriesi (1998: 165-168); Mair (2001).

Anbefalt: Bartolini & Mair (1990); Inglehart (1977: kap. 7); Knutsen (1988a); Lane & Ersson (1999: 41-44); Lipset og Rokkan (1967a); Skaare (1998); Zuckerman (1975; 1982); 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); Lane & Ersson (1997); 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 (1991); Clark & Lipset (red.) (2001); Clark, Lipset & Rempel (1993); Crewe (1986); Evans (red.) (1999); Heath, Jowell & Curtice (1987); Hout, Brooks & Manza (1993); Kitschelt (1993); Weakliem (1991; 1995) Manza, Hout & Brooks (1995); Nieuwbeerta (1995); Nieuwbeerta & Ultee (1999); Pakulski (1993).

4. gang: Utviklingen av den religiøse og den territorielle 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); Hoel & Knutsen (1989); Manza & Brooks (1998); Mayer & Smith (1985); Norris (1999); Oskarsson (1995); Studlar, McAllister & Hayes (1998); Togeby (1994)

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

Litteratur: Knutsen (2004: kap. 7); Knutsen (1995a); Knutsen & Scarbrough (1995); Kriesi (1998).
Anbef.: Inglehart (1977: kap. 7-9; 1984); Knutsen (1988b; 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 valgfærd 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)
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 (1998): 'The transformation of cleavage politics. The 1997 Stein Rokkan lecture', *European Journal of Political Research* 33: 165-185. 21 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.

Sum pensum:

ca. 990 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.
- Clark, Terry Nichols & Seymour Martin Lipset (1991): 'Are social classes dying' *International Sociology* 6: 397-410.
- Clark, Terry Nichols, Seymour Martin Lipset & Micheal Rempel (1993): 'The declining political significance of social class', *International sociology* 8: 293-316.
- 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.
- Hoel, Marit & Oddbjørn Knutsen (1989): 'Social class, gender and sector employment as political cleavages in Scandinavia', *Acta Sociologica* 32: 181-201.
- Hout, Mike, Clem Brooks & Jeff Manza (1993): 'The persistence of classes in post-industrial societies', *International sociology* 8: 259-277.
- 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 (1988a): 'Partipolitiske skillelinjer i avanserte industrisamfunn', *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning* 29: 155-175.
- Knutsen, Oddbjørn (1988b): 'The Impact of Structural and Ideological Party Cleavages in 10 West European Countries - A Comparative Empirical Analysis', *British Journal of Political Science* 18: 323-352.
- 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.
- Lane, Jan-Erik & Svante Ersson (1997): 'Parties and voters: What creates the ties?', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 20: 179-196.
- Lane, Jan-Erik & Svante Ersson (1999): *Politics and society in Western Europe*. 4. utgave. London: Sage.

- 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 vælgerens opfattelse af partisystemet', kap. 8 i Jørgen Elklit & Ole Tonsgaard (red.): *Valg og vælgeradfærd. Studier i dansk politik*. Århus: Politica.
- Norris, Pippa (1999): 'Gender: A gender-generation gap?', kap. 8 i Geoffrey Evans & Pippa Norris (red): *Critical elections. British parties and voters in long-term perspective*. London: Sage.
- Oskarson, Maria (1995): 'Gender gaps in Nordic voting behaviour', kap. 3 i Lauri Karvonen & Per Selle (red.): *Women in Nordic politics: Closing the gap*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.

- Pakulski, Jan (1993): 'The dying of class or marxist class theory', *International sociology* 8: 279-292.
- 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 ab 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.
- Togebly, Lise (1994): 'Political implications of increasing numbers of women in the labor force', *Comparative Political Studies* 1994: 211-240.
- 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.
- Zuckerman, Alan (1975): 'Political cleavages: A conceptual and theoretical analysis', *British Journal of Political Science* 5: 231-248.
- Zuckerman, Alan (1982): 'New approaches to political cleavages: A theoretical introduction', *Comparative Political Studies* 15: 131-144.
- 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.