

(d) The study is also concerned with the ecological aspects of the election results with the commune as the basic unit, analyzing such aspects as regional party support in 1966 and the areal changes that took place 1962-1966. Party loyalties and the shifting of party support is explained by both political variables (including political tradition dating back to 1929, turnout and the support of other parties), and by social variables (including occupation, social class, income level, development of the communes, availability of the mass media and how the communes stand in regard to the movement of population). The ecological part of the study, which uses factor analysis, has been planned in such a manner that it helps to test many of the interview findings.

(e) A study of the campaign work of the individual candidates to the Parliament is also under way.¹³ Added to this is the comparing of social backgrounds of parliamentary candidates with those members who were elected. This work's problem structuring reminds us of a Norwegian study on the same subject.¹⁴

(f) In order to develop a more effective method of measuring the direct influence of mass communication, the semantic differential was tried in connection with the "great election debate" conducted on T.V. and radio. Supplemented with transformation analysis, the method makes it possible to demonstrate especially the immediate influences of the mass media on those to whom the transmission is directed. Kaarle Nordenstreng and Osmo A. Wiio report on this work in a separate article on pages 223-244 of this volume.

As can be noticed, the research on the 1966 election is rather diffused. It has not been feasible to plan and carry out an extensive but unified research program. Yet, an attempt is made to bring together the findings of the various projects in order to form a unified presentation.

Pertti Pesonen and *Onni Rantala*
University of Tampere University of Helsinki

THE NORWEGIAN PROGRAM OF ELECTORAL RESEARCH

Plans for a broad program of research on parties and elections in Norway were worked out in 1955-56 by Stein Rokkan and Henry Valen, and were developed in detail during the first half of 1957 (Publications B-2, C 1). Support was obtained from the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the U. S. Social Research Council. The program was launched by the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, where both the principal researchers were located. The Christian Michelsen Institute in Bergen became a

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partner in 1958 when Rokkan moved to that Institute.¹ In 1965 the Institute for Press Research at the University of Oslo joined the program.

On the following pages we shall first describe the types of data and the character of the studies. Second, a brief outline will be given of the major themes which the program has focused upon. Third, we will briefly describe some future perspectives. Finally, a list of publications within the program will be presented.

Types of Approaches

The program combines a number of different approaches to the study of electoral behavior. It started as a set of field studies of the campaign of the 1957 *Storting* election: a voter survey based upon a nationwide probability sample and a local community study in which samples of voters and party leaders were interviewed.

However, ecological data based upon territorial units gradually became an important part of the program. Already in 1957 a set of aggregate data was established for each of the 744 communes. The purpose was mainly to facilitate the designing of a nationwide sample and the selection of a local community for intensive study. However, as the analysis proceeded, it became apparent that ecological data constitute an excellent supplement to survey data. Information from public statistics on previous elections made it possible to study trends in the electorate's behavior over long time series and aggregate data from public statistics and other sources made it possible to analyze variations between territorial units. Consequently, it was decided to establish a *continuous cumulative archive* of ecological data.² This archive contains the following types of data for each commune:

a) *Election statistics*: data on turnout and party distributions for all elections since 1945.

b) *Cultural and organizational variables*: local strength of trade unions, farmers' organizations, and temperance organizations, data on religious activities and the language conflict.

c) *Census data 1946-1960*: data on occupations, education, age and sex distributions, proportion of population living in densely populated areas.

d) *Other data from public statistics*: data on farming, forestry, industrial production, income, taxation, and education.

e) *Mass communications*: data on newspaper circulation and TV-coverage in 1963 and 1965.

Data on political leaders constitute a third major part of the program. So far background data have been collected for:

a) All candidates nominated at the *Storting* elections of 1957, 1961, and 1965.

¹ Concerning research activities of the Institute for Social Research and the Christian Michelsen Institute, see S. Rokkan, "Political Research in Scandinavia, 1960-65: Norway" in *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. I. 1966, pp. 266-280. For an earlier account of the Norwegian program of election studies, see S. Rokkan and H. Valen, "Parties, elections and political behavior in the northern countries", in O. Stammer (ed.) *Politische Forschung*, Cologne, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960, pp. 103-136.

² See S. Rokkan and H. Valen, "Archives for Statistical Studies of Within-Nation Differences", in Merritt (R. L.) and Rokkan (S.) eds. *Comparing Nations*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966.

b) All members of the Storting and all Cabinet ministers from 1814 to 1965.

In 1964 a proposal was made to undertake a voter survey of the 1965 Storting election. Support was obtained from several sources: an allocation over the Norwegian State budget, a grant from the Norwegian Research Council, and a subsidy from UNESCO.

The studies which have been launched within the program fall in seven sets:

1) Analyses of variations in turnout based upon the *public registers of the electorate*: analyses have been carried out for the city of Stavanger of the 1957 Storting election, and for the age brackets 21-25 years for a sample of rural communes at the 1961 Storting election. (Publication A.23)

2) *Ecological studies* based upon aggregate data for communes and focusing upon the relationships between socio-economic structure, local politics, turnout and the party distribution of the votes. (A.16, A.20, A.22, A.25, A.26, A.27, A.29, A.39, C.2)

3) *Nationwide voter surveys* at the Storting elections of 1957 and 1965. In both studies the samples were interviewed twice: before and after the election. In 1965 an additional sample from the TV-less areas of Northern Norway was interviewed once. Finally, secondary analyses have been done on the basis of data collected in independent samples by the Gallup Institute. (A.4, A.6, A.7, A.16, A.20, A.28, A.38, A.40, C.4, D.1)

4) *Local surveys* of rank and file voters and party leaders in a set of neighboring communes in the Stavanger area at the 1957 Storting election. (A.5, A.8, A.9, A.14, A.18, A.19, A.20)

5) Studies of the processes of *mass communication*: campaign activities of political parties, the stand in the campaign taken by interest organizations, campaign reporting in the newspapers and the political functions of the press, the impact of television upon electoral turnout and political interest. (A.7, A.21, A.37, B.6, B.9, B.13, C.3, D.15)

6) Statistical analyses of *the recruitment of party personnel, candidates and representatives*. (A.16, A.19, A.30, A.35, A.36, B.12, D.14, D.16)

7) Studies of the *political parties*, their development and organizational structure, their role and activities in the campaign, and their relationships to interest organizations on the local and national level. (A.19, A.36, A.38, A.41, D.13, D.16)

Research Problems

The studies planned within the program were originally organized around two central themes:

1) *The implications for politics of the ongoing processes of economic and social change in Norway*: the effects on the parties and the electoral alignments of the continued growth of industry and the tertiary sectors of the economy, of the increasing residential and occupational mobility, of the steady rise in levels of standard of living and the consequent changes in leisure time activities. (A.5, A.19, A.20, A.40, C.2)

This problem has been most thoroughly analyzed through data from the local study in the Stavanger area. In fact, the communes included in this study were selected in such a way that they should represent two distinct trends in modern economic development: a rural community characterized by a rapid growth of industry, and an old industrial city in which the tertiary sector of the economy had become increasingly important. The findings from the study indicated that social and

geographical mobility in this area indeed contributed to changes in voter behavior and in political identifications. (A.5, A.19, A.20)

2) *The forces making for increasing between-party consensus and national integration* and the effects of these "entideologisierenden" developments on the attitudes of the electorate to political life, on the level of active participation, and on the character of electoral decisions. (A.4, A.16, A.29, B.6, C.3)

As indicated above, a considerable part of the analyses carried out within the program do not deal with these themes. In fact, the research interests have changed greatly during the process of analysis. The problem of the relationship between social and political changes has been a central theme throughout the program. But, in addition, several new problems have emerged.

The studies of the 1965 *Storting* election focused upon four central themes:

1) *The impact of social and economic change upon political development.* A comparative analysis of the survey data from the nationwide samples for 1957 and 1965 will now be undertaken. The 1957 election was the last in a series of stable postwar elections; in 1965 considerable changes in the political alignments were evident.³ The question is, to what extent the differences between these two elections may be accounted for by the rapid economic and social changes in the postwar period. Furthermore, in the planned analysis it will be of crucial importance to study the impact on the individual's behavior of local factors in his home community. For each respondent interview data will be supplemented by data from the ecological archive on social structure and economic development in his commune of residence. Secondly, the problem will be studied in a historical perspective. By using aggregate data political change will be related to the process of economic modernization, and in this analysis one may follow the development back to the 1880's when the first political parties were established.

2) *Controversial issues in Norwegian politics.* Respondents in the 1965 voter survey were asked a number of questions concerning political issues. One purpose is to describe the stand of the voters on specific issues: how do the electorates of the various parties differ with regard to issues? But even more important is the analysis of the following problems: to what extent and under which circumstances do attitudes held by an individual reflect some underlying ideological structures, to what extent is his stand on issues determined by specific social or cultural values? Furthermore, attitudes will be analyzed in relation to political and social structure: how are attitudes of an individual affected by the character of the community in which he is living? Again the problem calls for a combined analysis of survey data and ecological data.

3) *The role of mass media in politics.* In the 1965 surveys considerable attention was given to the voters' exposure to mass media, in particular people's exposure to television. Norway came later than almost any other country in the Western World in developing television. Television was gradually introduced after 1960, and as late as 1965 the three northernmost provinces were still practically without TV coverage.

The fact that Norway was still in the process of introducing TV offered an excellent opportunity to study the effects on political life of the new medium: how does TV effect the voters' perceptions of issues and their image of political leaders, does TV have any impact upon people's activity and involvement in politics, and upon their leisure time activities, how does TV exposure affect people's exposure to other mass media and their interpersonal communications?

³See S. Rokkan and T. Hjellum, "The Storting election of September 1965" in *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. I. 1966: 237-245.

In any survey one is likely to find that a certain proportion of the respondents would indicate that they are not exposed to TV. However, if TV is available in the community they may be influenced by this media in several indirect ways. Since sizable areas of Norway were still untouched by TV in 1965 the impact of TV could be studied by comparing the respondents from TV-less areas with people from TV-covered areas. Northern Norway is sparsely populated, and consequently, the nationwide sample would not provide a sufficient number of cases for analysis from the TV-less areas. Therefore, a special sample of 900 was drawn from this region. The sample was interviewed once, and the interview, which was patterned after the nationwide survey, included questions from this study on mass media, social background and political behavior.

4) *Local politicization.* A number of publications within the program (A.16, A.17, A.20, A.21, A.29, A.39, A.41, B.11, B.13, B.17) have dealt with problems of "local politicization". "Politicization" has been defined by the degree of similarity in the political alternatives facing the electorate at local and national elections. A change in the electoral law in 1896 introduced proportional representation as an optional system at communal elections. Prior to this date local elections had been arranged as majority elections, and they had been largely nonpartisan in character. After 1896 the parties gradually established themselves in local politics, but throughout the period politicized communes, in which two or more parties have dominated local elections, have existed side by side with communes in which local elections were largely non-partisan, either because they maintained the old system of majority elections or because local and non-partisan lists were faced with little or no competition from party lists. And still at the most recent communal elections a number of communes rank low in politicization.

The analysis so far has focused upon the following problems: to what extent is the politicization process related to modernization of the economy, urbanization and regional differences (A.16, D.16), how does politicization effect the recruitment of political leadership (A.30, A.39, B.12), what is the impact of politicization upon the electoral behavior, the political activities and attitudes of the electorate (A.16, A.20, A.39, A.41, B.11)? Although the analyses have not been completed it has been clearly demonstrated that politicization has a decisive impact upon the electorate in several respects: the turnout level tends to increase with increasing politicization, in particular, marginal groups like women tend to be mobilized when political parties enter local politics, and further, politicization is positively correlated with polarization of the electorate, i.e., the relative support for the extreme parties on the left and right wing in the system is stronger the more politicized local elections are. (A.16, A.20, B.39) The analysis has so far been based upon ecological data. However, the regularities which have been established suggest several problems that can most appropriately be tested by survey data combined with ecological data. The fact that some parties establish themselves in local politics brings the individual voter in the given commune into closer contact with the national political scene, partly because local matters tend to be organized along national cleavage lines, and partly because the parties provide an important communication channel between the community and the centers of national politics. We may, therefore, expect that local politicization will have a substantial impact upon the political perspectives of the individual voter. We may, for example, ask such questions as these: how does politicization affect the individual's involvement in politics and his party identification? Does it have any impact upon his perception of and attitudes towards national controversial issues and his reactions towards politics? These and similar problems were built into the design of the 1965 voter surveys. Our hypotheses about such relationships may be directly tested by classifying the respondents according to the degree of politicization of their commune of residence.

Future Perspectives

Several years will be needed to analyze the 1965 studies. A major concern in this analysis is the problem of how to exploit most fruitfully the three different types of data which are available to the program: survey data, ecological data, and data on political leadership. For many purposes one single type of data will provide a sufficient test. In several of our publications, however, we have found it useful to combine different approaches. (A.16, A.20, A.22, A.30, A.35, A.40, B.11) In future work efforts will be made to improve the techniques for such combined analyses. In this regard we may draw upon the methodological progress made by students of political behavior in other countries. Of particular relevance are attempts which have been made in recent years towards developing methods for combined analyses of survey data and ecological data.⁴

Plans for the future work within the program have developed along two lines:

1) *Generating new data.* During the next few years efforts will be concentrated upon a further development of the ecological data archive which so far includes data only for the postwar period. The archive will be extended in two directions:

a) *In time:* for the period back to the 1880's by including census data, data from electoral statistics and from several other sources. (B.18)

b) *In depth* by adding data for the postwar period. An abundance of aggregate data for each commune is available in public statistics and other sources. In the future efforts will be made to include a variety of data which are not of primary interest for political analysis. In this way the archive will hopefully become a useful instrument not only for political scientists but also for experts in other fields of social analysis. As a first attempt in this direction the archive will be made available for an analysis of ecological factors in the recruitment of students to various educational institutions.

2) *New research perspectives.* The analysis of the present data will largely focus upon the four themes specified above. However, three related themes which have already been of considerable concern within the program, are likely to constitute the guidelines in our future work:

a) *The role of local government in national politics.* The analysis of the phenomenon of local politicization has called our attention to a number of other problems in the area of local government: how are groups and parties involved in community decision-making and what is the role of the administrative bureaucracy in this process? What is the character of the relationship between national and municipal government? Although the ecological archive will provide substantial information on these problems, it will be necessary to collect a variety of new data.

b) *Recruitment of political leadership:* who become political leaders, why do they obtain leadership status, to what extent does the political elite overlap with other social elites, and how are the recruitment patterns related to specific values and power relationships in society? For studying these and similar problems it will be necessary to generate new data. The data archives on nominees and parliamentarians provide a promising opening to the study of political leaders, and background data of this character can easily be combined with aggregate data

⁴The possibilities of such combined approaches were discussed in detail at the UNESCO-ISSC *Symposium on Quantitative Ecological Analysis* organized by Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan at Evian in September, 1966. A volume of the papers of this Symposium is in preparation.

⁵On these research efforts see S. Rokkan and H. Valen, "Parties, elections, and political behavior in the Northern countries", *op. cit.*

for the commune of residence of the individual leaders. (A.16, A.30, A.35, B.12) However, in future work it will be a major concern to include other types of political leaders, e.g., members of local councils and party officers.

The study of the process of elite recruitment calls for a complicated design taking into account the mutual interactions of leaders and followers. Consequently, attempts will be made at future elections to undertake surveys with both voters and political leaders.

c) *Comparative electoral research.* Comparative cross-national research had been a major concern at the Institute for Social Research long before the launching of our program of electoral studies.⁵ Stein Rokkan had been heavily involved in these endeavours since 1951 and continues to pursue these interests within the new program. (A.4, A.7, A.9, A.10, A.12, A.13, A.29, A.34, A.40, B.7)

More specifically the cross-national character of the Norwegian program has been demonstrated by the close cooperation which has been maintained with the well-known experts in voting research at the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. The designs of the nation-wide surveys of 1957 and 1965 were heavily influenced by the models developed by Angus Campbell and his colleagues in studies of U.S. Presidential elections since 1952. Campbell spent the year 1958-59 as a Fulbright Visiting Professor at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, and he has cooperated with the Norwegian team in comparative analysis. (A.7, A.15)

The surveys conducted in the Stavanger area in 1957 were designed as a Norwegian counterpart, with all the modifications this involved, to a study of party officers and rank and file voters in the Detroit area in 1956. Daniel Katz, one of the directors of the Detroit study, stayed at the Oslo Institute during 1957-58 on a grant from the Social Science Research Council. He shared with Henry Valen the responsibility for designing and carrying out the local studies in the Stavanger area: he also cooperated actively in the subsequent analysis and is the co-author with Henry Valen of the volume *Political Parties in Norway*, which gives a main report of the local study. (A.9, A.20) During his stay at the Survey Research Center, 1956-57, Henry Valen had opportunity to follow closely the 1956 presidential election study. Again he spent a year at the Survey Research Center in 1962-63, and, together with students of voting behavior from other countries, the year 1966-67 to carry out comparative analyses with the Michigan team.

Efforts have also been made to widen the network of research cooperation within Western Europe. As secretary of the Committee on Political Sociology of the International Sociological Association Stein Rokkan has organized a number of conferences on comparative political research⁶ and edited, with S. Martin Lipset, a major collective volume on *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. (A.40) He has taken a good deal of interest in the comparative study of processes of democratization (A.12, A.13, A.29, B.7) and of variations in electoral systems (D.12, D.2) and is currently engaged in the organization of a cooperative international study of "The Politics of the Smaller European Democracies".

The Norwegian program of electoral research will, hopefully, contribute toward the growth of a dynamic cross-national community of scholars concerned to advance our understanding of the development and functioning of pluralist mass democracies.

Henry Valen and Stein Rokkan
Institute for Social Research, Oslo University of Bergen

⁶ See his Introduction to Erik Allardt and Yrjö Littunen, eds. *Cleavages, Ideologies and Party Systems*. Helsinki, Westermarck Society, 1964.

Appendix: Publications 1956–1966

A. Published articles and books

A1. Valen (H.), "Nominasjon ved stortingsvalg." (Nominations at Storting elections) *Statsøkonomisk Tidsskrift*. 70 (2) 1958: 115–142.

A2. Rokkan (S.), Torgersen (U.), Valen (H.) et Dupeux (G.), "Les élections norvégiennes du 7 octobre 1957." *R. franç. de sci.pol* 8 (1), 1958: 73–94.

A3. Valen (H.), "Factional activities and nominations in political parties." *Acta sociol.* 3 (4), 1958: 183–199.

A4. Rokkan (S.) *Sammenlignende politisk sosiologi*, (Comparative political sociology). Bergen, Chr. Michelsens Institutt, 1958, 21 pp.

A5. Valen (H.), "Velgerne og den partipolitiske stabilitet." (Voters and party stability) *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 1 (1), 1960: 50–64.

A6. Rokkan (S.) "Electoral activity, party membership and organizational influence" *Acta sociologica* 4 (1), 1959: 25–37.

A7. Rokkan (S.) ed., "Citizen Participation in Political Life." *Int. Soc. Sci. J.*, 12 (1), 1960: 7–99. Includes:

S. Rokkan, "Introduction," pp. 7–14.

S. Rokkan and A. Campbell, "Norway and the United States of America", pp. 69–99. Reprinted in J. Meynaud, ed. *Decisions and Decision-Makers in the Modern State*, Paris, UNESCO, 1967. Partly reprinted in Edward C. Dreyer and W. A. Rosenbaum, *Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior*. Belmont, Calif., Wadsworth, 1966, pp. 429–462.

A8. Rokkan (S.) and Torsvik (P.) "Der Wähler, der Leser und die Parteipresse." *Kölner Zsch. f. Soz. u. Sozialpsych.*, 12 (2), 1960: 278–301.

Abbreviated English version "The Voter, the reader and the party press." *Gazette*, 6 (3) 1960: 311–328.

A9. Valen (H.) and Katz (D.), "An electoral contest in a Norwegian province". Pp. 207–236 i M. Janowitz, ed., *Community Power Systems*. Glencoe, Free Press, 1961.

A10. Rokkan (S.) and Valen (H.), "Parties elections and olitical behaviour in the Northern countries; a review of recent research." Pp. 103–136 i O. Stammer ed., *Politische Forschung*, Cologne, Westdeutscher Verlag 1960, with bibliogr. pp. 237–249.

Abbreviated version: Rokkan (S.), Research on elections and the sociology of politics in the Northern countries." *Sociological Inquiry*. 31 (1) 1961: 3–22.

A11. Rokkan (S.), "Chr. Bay. *The Structure of Freedom: et opposisjonsinnlegg*." *Statsvet. ts.* 64 (1) 1961: 64–81.

A12. Rokkan (S.), "Mass suffrage, secret voting and political participation." *Archives européennes de sociologie* 2 (1) 1961: 132–152. Reprinted in Lewis Coser, ed. *Political Sociology*. New York, Harper, 1966, pp. 101–131.

A13. Rokkan (S.), "The Comparative Study of Political Participation: notes towards a perspective on current research." Pp. 47–90 of A. Ranney ed. *Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics*. Urbana, Ill., University of Illinois Press, 1962.

A14. Campbell (A.) and Valen (H.), "Party identification in Norway and the United States." Pp. 245–268 of Campbell (A.), Converse (P. E.), Miller (W. E.) and Stokes (D. E.), *Elections and the Political Order*. New York, Wiley, 1966.

A15. Rokkan (S.) and Høyer (S.), "Comparative Research on Citizen Participation in Politics." *Int. Soc. Sci. J.* 14 (2) 1962: 351–363.

A16. Rokkan (S.) ed. *Approaches to the Study of Political Participation*. Bergen, Chr. Michelsens Institutt, 1962, 171 pp.

Includes:

S. Rokkan, "Approaches to the Study of Political Participation: Introduction," pp. 1-8.

S. Rokkan and H. Valen, "The Mobilization of the Periphery: Data on Turnout, Party Membership and Candidate Recruitment in Norway," pp. 111-158.

U. Torgersen, "The Trend toward Political Consensus: the Case of Norway," pp. 159-172.

A17. Rokkan (S.), "Valgsamfunnet og organisasjonssamfunnet" (The electoral order and the organizational society). *Økonomi og Politikk*, Bergen, Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1963: 21-30.

A18. Brun-Gulbrandsen (S.) and Wallace (J. G.), "Regner de Dem som avholdsmand?" (Do you consider yourself as a teetotaler?). *Norsk Tidsskrift for alkoholforskning*, 15 (3) 1963: 129-155. Secondary analysis of the voter survey in the Stavanger area in 1957.

A19. Valen (H.) and Katz (D.), *Political Parties in Norway: a Community Study*. Oslo. Norwegian Universities Press, 1964, London, Tavistock Publications, 1965. 326 pp+appendices. Main report from the Stavanger area study.

A20. Rokkan (S.) and Valen (H.), "Regional Contrasts in Norwegian Politics". Pp. 162-238 in E. Allardt og Y. Littunen eds. *Cleavages, Ideologies and Party Systems*. Helsinki, Westermarck Society, 1964.

A21. Høyer (S.), "Pressens økonomiske og politiske struktur." (The economic and political structure of the press). *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*. 4 (4) 1964: 221-242.

A22. Valen (H.), "Regionale forskjeller i norsk politikk", (Regional differences in Norwegian politics). *Forskningsnytt* 10 (4), 1964: 61-71.

A23. Rokkan (S.), *Valgdeltagelsen blant de yngste*. (Electoral participation among the youngest). Bergen. Chr. Michelsens Institutt, 1964, 21 pp. Reprint from *Innstilling om stemmerettsalderen*. (Report on the voting age). Oslo, Department of Justice, 1964.

A24. Rokkan (S.), "Zur entwicklungssoziologischen Analyse von Parteiensystemen," *Kölnener Zschr. f. Soziologie* 17 (3), 1965: 675-702.

A25. Rokkan (S.) and Valen (H.), "Archives for Statistical Studies of Within-Nation Differences," R. L. Merritt & S. Rokkan eds. *Comparing Nations*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966, pp. 411-419. Also printed in S. Rokkan, ed., *Data Archives for the Social Sciences*, Paris, Mouton, 1966.

A26. Rokkan (S.), Valen (H.), Amundsen (A.), "Stortingsvalget 1965: et første sett analyser av resultatene." (The 1965 Storting election: a first set of analyses). *Samtiden* 74 (8) Oct. 1965: 63-80.

A27. Rokkan (S.), and Valen (H.), "Stortingsvalget 1965 i søkelyset" (The 1965 Storting election in focus). *Aschehougs Leksikon* 4 (4) 1965: 170-178.

A28. Rokkan (S.), "Norway: Numerical Democracy and Corporate Pluralism", in R. A. Dahl ed. *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966, pp. 70-115. Also includes "Bibliographical Note" pp. 440-442.

A29. Rokkan (S.), "Electoral Mobilization, Party Competition and National Integration", in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner eds. *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 241-265.

A30. Valen, (H.), "The Recruitment of Parliamentary Nominees in Norway", *Scandinavian Political Studies*. Helsinki, Academic Bookstore, Vol. 1, Pp. 121-166.

A31. Rokkan (S.) and Hjellum (T.), "Norway: The Storting Election of September 1965", *Scandinavian Political Studies* Vol. I, 1966, pp. 237-246.

- A32. Rokkan (S.), "Political Research in Scandinavia 1960-65: Norway", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. I, 1966, pp. 266-280.
- A33. Rokkan (S.) and Meyriat (J.) eds. *International Guide to Electoral Statistics*. Vol. I: *National Elections in W. Europe*, Paris, Mouton, 1967. Includes:
 Rokkan (S.) "The Comparative Study of Electoral Statistics: an Introductory Note", Also printed in *Social Sciences Info.* 5 (2) June 1966: 9-19.
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- A34. Rokkan (S.), "Cross-national Sociology: An Introductory Note", *Transactions of the VI World Congress of Sociology*, Geneva, International Sociological Association, Vol. I, 1966: pp. 164-171.
- A35. Valen (H.), "Den sosiale og politiske bakgrunn for rekrutteringen av det politiske lederskap" (Social and political background in the recruitment of political leaders), *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 6 (2/3) 1966: 175-198.
- A36. Valen (H.), "Om oligarkiets jernlov i nyere samfunnsforskning" (On "The Iron Law of Oligarchy" in modern social research), *Samtiden*, 75 (5), 1966: 282-300.
- A37. Høyer (S.) *Samfunnsvitenskapelig tekstanalyse*. Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1964, new ed. 1966, 47 pp.
- A38. Rokkan (S.) "Valgatferd og velgerreaksjoner" (Voting behavior and the reactions of voters) in *Norske meninger*. Oslo, Pax, 1967.
- A39. Hjellum (T.) *Partiene i lokalpolitikken*. Oslo, Gyldendal, 1967.
- A40. Lipset (S. M.) and Rokkan (S.) eds. *Party System and Voter Alignments*, New York, Free Press, 1967 (in press) Includes:
 S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan
 "Cleavage structure, party systems, and voter alignments: an introduction"
 S. Rokkan
 "Geography, religion and social class: Cross-cutting cleavages in Norwegian politics."
- A41. Valen (H.), "De politiske partiene og samfunnet" (Political Parties and the Society), in F. F. Gundersen (ed.) *Ny Solidaritet*. Oslo, Aschehoug, 1966. pp. 85-102.

B. Mimeographed papers prepared for international conferences and congresses

- B1. Rokkan (S.), "The case for comparative secondary analysis: an example from political sociology". ESOMAR Conference, Biarritz, Sept. 1955, 5 pp. mimeo.
- B2. Rokkan (S.), "The current programme of election studies in Norway". Private Conference on European Electoral Studies, Oxford, Nuffield College, March 1957, 7 pp. mimeo.
- B3. Rokkan (S.), "Electoral activity...". World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Rome, Sept. 1958, see A.5, above.
- B4. Rokkan (S.) and Torsvik (O.), "The voter, the reader and the party press". Fourth World Congress of Sociology, Stresa, Sept. 1959, see A.8.
- B5. Rokkan (S.), "The Comparative Study of Political Participation." Paper, IPSA Conference, University of Michigan, September 1960, cf. publ. A.13. An abbreviated version was presented at World Congress of Political Science, Paris, Sept. 1961.
- B6. Høyer (S.), "Political Commitment and Audience Coverage: a Content Analysis of Norwegian Newspapers". UNESCO Seminar at Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, June 1961, cf. C.3.
- B7. Bendix (R.) and Rokkan (S.), "The extension of national citizenship to the lower classes: a comparative perspective." Fifth World Congress of Sociology,

Washington, D. C., Sept. 1962, 39 pp. Revised version published in R. Bendix. *Nation-Building and Citizenship*. New York, Wiley, 1964, pp. 77-104.

B8. Valen (H.) and Katz (D.), "The Norwegian Party System: Decision-Making, Oligarchic Tendencies, and Democratic Functioning." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., Sept. 1962, 76 pp., cf. A.19.

B9. Høyer (S.), "Avisen og dens lesere" (The newspaper and those who read it). Paper, Nordic meeting on press research, University of Aarhus, June 1963, 18 pp.

B10. Rokkan (S.), "Mobilization, politicization and national integration." Paper, SSRC Seminar on Political Parties and Political Development, Frascati, Jan. 1964, 30 pp., cf. A.29.

B11. Valen (H.) and Rokkan (S.), "Local politicization and party commitment". Paper, Sixth World Congress of Political Science, Geneva, Sept. 1964, 18 pp. + tables.

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B13. Valen (H.) and Torsvik (P.) "Økningen i valgdeltagelsen ved kommunevalget i 1963 og stortingsvalget i 1965." (The increase in turnout at the local election of 1963 and the Storting election of 1965). Paper, First Nordic Conference in Political Science, Oslo, June, 1966.

B14. Høyer (S.), "Politisk engasjement som determinant for avisvalg: noen bemerkninger til antatte sammenheng." (Political involvement as a determinant factor in the choice of newspapers - some remarks on assumptions about relationships). Paper, First Nordic Conference in Political Science, Oslo, June 1966.

B15. Høyer (S.), "En redegjørelse for avisundersøkelsen 1965-67 ved Institutt for samfunnsforskning i Oslo." (The design of a study of the press 1965-67 undertaken at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo.) Paper, First Nordic Conference in Political Science, Oslo, June, 1966.

B16. Hjellum (T.) and Salhus (K.), "Rekruttering til Storting og Statsraad i Norge 1814-1965. Opplegg av et hullkortarkiv for biografisk informasjon for stortingsrepresentanter og regjeringsmedlemmer." (Recruitment to parliament and cabinet in Norway 1814-1965. Design for a data archive on biographical information for members of Storting and cabinets.) Paper, First Nordic Conference in Political Science, Oslo, June, 1966.

B17. Hjellum (T.), "Politiseringen av lokalstyret i Norge: endringsrater, forlaringsfaktorer og virkninger." (Politicization of local politics in Norway: change rates, explanatory factors, and effects.) Paper, First Nordic Conference in Political Science, Oslo, 1966, cf. A.39.

B18. Rokkan (S.), "Data-arkiver for historisk-sosiologisk forskning" (Data archives for historical-sociological research). Paper, Nordic Conference on Historical Research, Oslo, June, 1966, 18 pp.

B19. Dogan (M.) and Rokkan (S.), "Quantitative Ecological Analyses: Contexts, Trends, Tasks". Introductory Paper, ISSC Symposium on Quantitative Ecological Analyses, Evian September, 1966, 20 pp.

C. Other documents and reports

C1. Rokkan (S.) og Valen (E.), *Forslag til opplegg av empiriske undersøkelser av sosiale prosesser og individuelle reaksjoner under stortingsvalget 1957*. (Proposal for a study of the electoral process in Norway). Institute for Social Research, 1957, 45 pp. Oslo, mimeo.

C2. Saeter (E.) *Industrialisering og stemmegivning: en valgstatistisk analyse*. (Industrialization and voting: an analysis of election statistics). Institute for Political Science, University of Oslo, 1959 (typewritten).

C3. Høyer (S.), *Enkelte stiltrekk i avisenes lederartikler foran tre stortingsvalg*. (Characteristics of style in leading articles before three Storting elections). Institute for Social Research, Oslo, 1960, mimeo.

C4. Rokkan (S.), *The Nationwide Election Survey 1957: Basic Tables*, Bergen, Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1960, 25 pp. mimeo.

C5. Rokkan (S.) og Høyer (S.), *Samfunnsvitenskapelige undersøkelser omkring den kommende folkeavstemning om Norges inntreden i EEC: en redegjørelse og et forslag*. (Proposal for a study of the planned referendum on the problem of Norwegian membership in the European Common Market). Bergen, Chr. Michelsen Institute 1962, 29 pp.

C6. Rokkan (S.) and Valen (H.), *Samfunnsvitenskapelige undersøkelser omkring stortingsvalget 1965*. (A proposal for studies of the 1965 Storting election). Oslo, Institute for Social Research, Bergen, Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1964, p. 9, mimeo.

D. Mimeographed manuscripts prepared for publication

D1. Selected results of research under the program will also be published in Norwegian in a series of monographs, to be called *VALG I NORGE*. The first volumes in this series appeared in 1967: see A.39.

Drafts for the following monographs have been prepared:

11. *Valgforskning: teori, metode, program*.

(Electoral research: theory, method, program).

Rokkan (S.), "Et norsk forskningsprogram" (A Norwegian research program). 60 pp.

12. *Valgordning, stemmerett og velgermobilisering*.

(Electoral system, suffrage and mobilization of the voters).

Kristvik (B.) and Rokkan (S.), "Valgordningen" (The electoral system), 39 pp.

13. *De politiske partier i Norge*. (The political parties). Manuscript by Valen (H.), 111 pp.

14. *Massepåvirkning og velgratferd*. (Mass persuasion and voter reaction).

Torgersen (U.) "Partienes dilemma" (The dilemma of the parties), 46 pp.

Torsvik (P.) and Rokkan (S.) "Pressen og velgerne" (The press and the voters), 50 pp.

Fivelsdal (E. and Jacobsen (K. D.), "Interesseorganisasjoner og stortingsvalg" (Interest organizations and Storting elections), 51 pp.

15. Valen (H.) *Nominasjonene*. (Nominations of candidates). 150 pp. mimeo.

D2. Rokkan (S.), "Electoral Systems", *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, forthcoming 1968.