

## **Course description stv4XXX**

### **Norwegian Historical Institutional Change**

The course will provide an overview of important, general theories developed to explain institutional changes, and teach how to analyse case material and data from historical sources. In particular, it aims to enable students to follow in the footsteps of Stein Rokkan in using Norwegian history as a test-lab and springboard for developing and testing theories of institutional change.

Norwegian institutional development poses an interesting puzzle. At the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Norway was a welfare state laggard with suffrage restricted to a small percentage of men through indirect elections with some the highest levels of striking in the world. 40 years later, it was a leader in both political inclusion, welfare and strikes were close to unknown. How did this come about, and why?

The primary focus will be major institutional changes between 1880 and 1940 in Norway. This includes the adoption of the pension law of 1923, extensions of the suffrage, changes in the electoral system, and the industrial relations act of 1915. These pieces of legislation would end being profound centrepieces in explaining the turnaround in Norwegian history.

### **Learning outcome**

#### **Knowledge**

#### **After having completed the course, students will:**

Be familiar with Norwegian historical development, especially critical changes in fundamental institutions.

Be able to employ theories of democratization and welfare state development, such as political mobilization and how to use them to explain critical period of Norwegian suffrage extension.

Understand theories of electoral system change and know how to use them to explain adoption of Single Member District and Proportional Representation electoral systems in Norway.

Enlist prominent theoretical explanations for regulation and control of union rights and collective bargaining institutions to explain institutional change.

#### **Skills**

#### **Having completed the course, students will be able to:**

identify and distinguish institutional change from intuitional inertia.

apply historical analysis for conducting an independent empirical study

collect and compile historical data from Norwegian archives.

## **General competences**

### **The students will be able to:**

Develop hypotheses and identify avenues for further research

Think innovatively around data collection and sources

## **Prerequisites**

Recommended previous knowledge

STV4020A or equivalent

Ability to read Norwegian-Danish

## **Teaching**

10 Lectures with active student engagement and one-to-one tutoring

## **Examination**

### **Term paper.**

The term paper must:

Be between 4000 to 5000 words.

be an empirical study of a relevant institutional change in Norway

have a topic approved by the course instructor before the deadline

reflect the course readings and the curriculum

meet the formal requirements for submission of written

## Lectures

1. Institutional framework. Why do we care about institutions?
2. Democratization: Theory lecture
3. Democratization: Suffrage extensions in Norwegian history
4. Electoral systems: Theory lecture
5. Electoral systems: Adoption of SMD and its replacement by PR in Norway
6. Labor market: Theory Lecture
7. Labor market: The Case of the Norwegian Labour Court of 1915 and later victories and defeats
8. Welfare state: Theory Lecture
9. Welfare state: Norway, setting out the principles of welfare
10. How can we generalize findings from the Norwegian experience?

## Literature

Current total XX pages

### Case-material (in Norwegian, excerpts translated during lectures)

Norwegian Suffrage reforms in 1898, 1908 and 1916: excerpts of parliamentary debates and committee proposals.

Norwegian factory act of 1915: excerpts from parliamentary debate, committee proposal and roll call vote.

Norwegian arbitration act of 1915: parliamentary debate and committee proposal.

Norwegian Pension Reform of 1923: parliamentary debate and committee proposal.

Det Norske Arbeiderparti: Landsmøte protokoll 1918: excerpts of debates and roll call vote.

### Institutions (74 pages)

Peter A. Hall, Kathleen Thelen, Institutional change in varieties of capitalism, *Socio-Economic Review*, Volume 7, Issue 1, January 2009, Pages 7–34, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwn020> 27 pages

Capoccia, G. (2016). When Do Institutions “Bite”? Historical Institutionalism and the Politics of Institutional Change. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(8), 1095–1127. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414015626449> 32 pages

Moe, T. (2005). Power and Political Institutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(2), 215-233. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3688027> 15 pages

### Democratization (275+ pages)

Blom, I. (2012). Structures and Agency: a transnational comparison of the struggle for women's suffrage in the Nordic countries during the long 19th century. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 37(5), 600-620. 20 pages

Stephens, J.D. (1989). Democratic Transition and Breakdown in Western Europe, 1870-1939: A Test of the Moore Thesis. *American Journal of Sociology* 94:5, 1019-1077

Albertus, Michael. 2017. “Landowners and Democracy: The Social Origins of Democracy Reconsidered.” *World Politics* 69(2): 233-276. 43 pages

Ardanaz, M., & Mares, I. (2014). Labor Shortages, Rural Inequality, and Democratization. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(12), 1639–1669. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414013512609> 30 pages

Bengtsson, E. (2019). The Swedish *sonderweg* in question: democratization and inequality in comparative perspective, c. 1750–1920. *Past & Present*, 244(1), 123-161. 39 pages

Przeworski, A. (2009). Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extensions. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(2), 291-321. <https://doi:10.1017/S0007123408000434> 30 pages

Samuels, D., & Thomson, H. (2020). Lord, Peasant ... and Tractor? Agricultural Mechanization, Moore's Thesis, and the Emergence of Democracy. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1-15. <https://doi:10.1017/S1537592720002303> 15 pages

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2008. "Does Landholding Inequality Block Democratization?" *World Politics* 60(4): 610-41. 31 pages

Tilton, T. A. (1974). The social origins of liberal democracy: The Swedish case. *The American Political Science Review*, 68(2), 561-571. 10 pages

Aidt, T. S., & Jensen, P. S. (2017). From Open to Secret Ballot: Vote Buying and Modernization. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(5), 555–593. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414016628268> 38 pages

Kuo, D., & Teorell, J. (2016). Illicit Tactics as Substitutes: Election Fraud, Ballot Reform, and Contested Congressional Elections in the United States, 1860-1930. *Comparative Political Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414016655531>

Mares, Isabela. 2015. *From Open Secrets to Secret Voting: Democratic Electoral Reforms and Voter Autonomy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters XX and XX (ca 50 pages)

Teele, D. L. (2018). How the west was won: Competition, mobilization, and women's enfranchisement in the United States. *The Journal of Politics*, 80(2), 442-461. <https://doi.org.ezproxy.uio.no/10.1086/696621> 19 pages

### **Electoral systems (140 pages)**

Ahmed, A. (2010). Reading History Forward: The Origins of Electoral Systems in European Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(8–9), 1059–1088. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414010370436> 29 pages

Emmenegger, Patrick, and Klaus Petersen. 2015. "Taking History Seriously in Comparative Research: The Case of Electoral System Choice, 1890–1939." *Comparative European Politics*. 897-918. 21 pages

"Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." (with Tom Cusack and David Soskice) *American Political Science Review* 101, August 2007. <https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~iversen/PDFfiles/CusackIversenSoskiceAPSR07.pdf> 19 pages

Leemann, L., & Mares, I. (2014). The adoption of proportional representation. *The Journal of Politics*, 76(2), 461-478. 17 pages

Cox, G. W., Fiva, J. H., & Smith, D. M. (2019). Parties, legislators, and the origins of proportional representation. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(1), 102-133. 31 pages

Walter, A., & Emmenegger, P. (2019). Majority protection: The origins of distorted proportional representation. *Electoral Studies*, 59, 64-77. (13 pages)

Fiva, J. H. and D. M. Smith (2017): 'Local Candidates and Voter Mobilization: Evidence from Historical Two-Round Elections in Norway' *Electoral Studies*, 45, 130-140. 10 pages

### **Labor market institutions (95++ pages)**

Berg, P. (1933). Legislation on Labour Disputes in Norway. *Int'l Lab. Rev.*, 28, 774.

Elazar, D. (1996). Agrarian Relations and Class Hegemony: A Comparative Analysis of Landlord, Social and Political Power - Italy 1861-1920. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 47(2), 232-254.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/591725>

Martin, Cathie Jo, and Duane Swank. 2008. "The Political Origins of Coordinated Capitalism: Business Organizations, Party Systems, and State Structure in the Age of Innocence." *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 181–198. 17 pages

Martin, C. J., & Swank, D. (2011). Gonna Party like it's 1899: Party Systems and the Origins of Varieties of Coordination. *World Politics*, 63(1), 78-114. 36 pages

Ebbinghaus, B. (1995). The Siamese Twins: Citizenship Rights, Cleavage Formation, and Party-Union Relations in Western Europe. *International Review of Social History*, 40(S3), 51-89.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859000113604> 31 pages

Western, B. (1991). A comparative study of corporatist development. *American Sociological Review*, 283-294. 11 pages

Rasmussen, M. B., & Pontusson, J. (2018). Working-Class strength by institutional design? Unionization, partisan politics, and unemployment insurance systems, 1870 to 2010. *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(6), 793-828. 35 pages

### **Welfare state (294 pages)**

Baldwin, P. (1989). The Scandinavian origins of the social interpretation of the welfare state. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(1), 3-24. 21 pages

Alestalo, M., & Kuhnle, S. (1986). The Scandinavian Route: Economic, Social, and Political Developments in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. *International Journal of sociology*, 16(3-4), 1-38. 38 pages

Bjørnson, Øyvind. 2001. "The Social Democrats and the Norwegian Welfare State: Some Perspectives." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 26(3): 197–223.

Mares, I., & Queralt, D. (2015). The Non-Democratic Origins of Income Taxation. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(14), 1974–2009. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414015592646> 35 pages

Scheve, Kenneth, and David Stasavage. 2009. "Institutions, Partisanship, and Inequality in the Long Run." *World Politics* 61(2): 215–253. 38 pages

Manow, P. (2009). Electoral rules, class coalitions and welfare state regimes, or how to explain Esping-Andersen with Stein Rokkan. *Socio-Economic Review*, 7(1), 101-121. 20 pages

Korpi, Walter. 2006. "Power Resources and Employer-Centered Approaches in Explanations of Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism: Protagonists, Consenters, and Antagonists." *World Politics* 58(2): 167–206. 39 pages

Luebbert, Gregory M. 1987. "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe." *World Politics* 39(4): 449–478. 29 pages

Mares, I. 2004. "Economic Insecurity and Social Policy Expansion: Evidence from Interwar Europe." *International Organization* 58(4): 745–774. 29 pages

Rasmussen, M. B. & Knutsen, C.H. (2020). Reforming to Survive: The Bolshevik Origins of Social Policies. Working-paper. 31 pages

### **Suggested additional readings in Norwegian**

Lie, E. (2012). Norsk økonomisk politikk etter 1905. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. Chapters 1-5 is of interest.

Danielsen, Rolf (1984). *Høyres historie. Bind 2: Borgerlig oppdemningspolitikk, 1918–1940*. Oslo: Cappelen. ISBN 82-02-04991-1. pages 9-107 is be of interest

Agøy, N.I. (1994) Militæretaten Og "den Indre Fiende" Fra 1905 Til 1940: Hemmelige Sikkerhetsstyrker I Norge Sett I Et Skandinavisk Perspektiv. Phd. thesis. University of Oslo: Oslo (available digitally from ND)

Hoff, J. (2019). Hvem bør ha stemmerett? Stortingsdebattene om suspensjon av fattigunderstøttede, 1898-1919 (Master's thesis).

Bjørgum, J. (1977). Industrialisering og radikalisme. Replikk til William M. Lafferty. *Tidsskrift for arbeiderbevegelsens historie* (TFAH) 2, 131–142.

Alsos, K., Seip, Å. A., & Nygaard, P. (2016). *I arbeidsfredens tjeneste*. Paxforlag Pages 39-86

Olstad, F. (1998). «Til siste kamp der gjøres klar». Planer om revolusjon i Norge i 1921. *Arbeiderhistorie*, 35–53.