

Optional Paper for the MSc and MPhil in Sociology

**Political Sociology**

Academic Year 2018-19

**Course Provider**

Prof. Stephen Fisher, Trinity College. Please contact Prof. Fisher (e-mail: [stephen.fisher@sociology.ox.ac.uk](mailto:stephen.fisher@sociology.ox.ac.uk)) with suggested additions to, or corrections of, items on this list or with any enquiries about teaching for the paper.

**Aims:**

To introduce students to advanced research in political sociology and to prepare students for doctoral research in this area. The course encourages students to become familiar with and capable of engaging with the current research issues and debates in the field. So the reading list is designed to include a selection of the most important texts and a more comprehensive list of the most recent research from the top journals and publishers. The reading list is available from the course provider on request.

**Topics covered by this course include:**

The social circumstances of politics and the impact of politics on society: the organization and representation of interests; the formation and change in political identities, attitudes and social cleavages, and their relationships with the political process. Candidates will be expected to be familiar with the main theoretical approaches to political behaviour and a broad range of both single country and comparative studies.

**Content and Structure:**

The paper covers research on the social bases of politics, such as the roles of class, religion, gender and ethnicity; the factors affecting political behaviour such as protest participation, electoral turnout and vote choice; how citizens relate to the political process, including political culture and the effects of the media; how social and political identities and attitudes are formed and how they change.

**Learning Outcomes:**

By the end of this course, students should:

- be familiar with empirical research in political sociology, the technical tools used, and the empirical results obtained;
- be skilled in reviewing a very large number of studies on a particular topic;
- be skilled in critiquing research in the area on both theoretical and empirical grounds;
- be prepared to undertake doctoral research in this area.

**Teaching Arrangement:**

There will be eight classes in Hilary term. Students will be expected to make at least one and up to three presentations and write three essays. These will be opportunities to receive feedback on ideas and arguments from the course provider and other students. Students are expected to engage constructively in the discussions on all the topics covered in classes. The class is only open to those doing the formal exam, since there is not usually room for 'auditors'.

**Course Assessment:**

The formal assessment is by a traditional three-hour unseen examination for which candidates have to answer three questions.

## Class Topics:

The classes will cover eight topics from the following list. The selection will depend on the preferences of the students taking the course, making sure that all students' interests are adequately catered for.

1. Class
2. Ethnicity
3. Anti-immigrant sentiment and extreme-right parties
4. Religion
5. Gender
6. Nationalism
7. Social attitudes
8. Social movements (Not offered 2018-19)
9. Political participation and turnout
10. Political culture and social capital
11. Party identification
12. Media and campaign effects
13. Theories of voting

## Readings:

Particularly important works are marked with an asterisk (\*) or double or triple asterisk if especially important. The reading list is designed to be relatively comprehensive of recent research, especially from major journals. **The lists for each topic are partly designed to be useful resources for those going on to do research in this area. They are much too long for students to be able to read everything, or even every starred item fully.** Students should review the lists for the topics of their choice, develop an understanding of the main issues and main results, and go into depth where they feel it would be helpful to develop clearer understanding on the most important issues.

For books the library codes are for the Social Sciences Library in the Manor Road Building. Please do let me know if there are any typos or urls that don't work. Thanks go to John Kenny, Eilidh Macfarlane and Lindsey Richardson for help compiling this list, and all those who helped with the undergraduate political sociology list.

## Introductory and Background Reading

- Albarracín, Dolores, and Sharon Shavitt. 2018. "Attitudes and Attitude Change." *Annual Review of Psychology* 69(1): 299–327. [Electronic version here.](#)
- Clark, William Roberts, Matt Golder, and Sona N Golder. 2017. *Principles of Comparative Politics*. Sage. JF51.CLA 2017
- \*Crouch, Colin (1999). *Social Change in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. HN373.5.CRO
- \*\*Dalton, Russell (2014). *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (6<sup>th</sup> edition). Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. JF2011.DAL
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. *The Origins of Political Order*. Profile Books. [Electronic version here](#)
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political Order and Political Decay*. Profile Books. [Electronic version here](#)
- Heath, Anthony et al. 2018. *Social Progress in Britain*. OUP. (especially chapter 8)
- Kalin, Michael, and Nicholas Sambanis. 2018. "How to Think About Social Identity." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21(1): 239–57. [Electronic version here.](#)
- Kellstedt, Paul M, and Guy D Whitten. 2013. *The fundamentals of political science research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. JA86.KEL 2013
- King, Gary, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba (1994). *Designing Social Inquiry*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Especially chapters 1-3. H61.KIN. [Electronic version here.](#)
- Nash, Kate (2010). *Contemporary Political Sociology*. Wiley-Blackwell. JA76.REA.2010 [Electronic version here](#)

## 1. Class

- Adams, James, Jane Green, and Caitlin Milazzo. 2012. "Who moves? Elite and mass-level depolarization in Britain, 1987–2001." *Electoral Studies* 31(4): 643–655. [Electronic version](#)
- Arnold, Jason Ross. 2012. "The electoral consequences of voter ignorance." *Electoral Studies* 31(4): 796–815. [Electronic version](#)

- \*\*Bartels, Larry M. 2008. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton University Press. HC106.5.BAR 2008
- \*\*Best, Robin. 2011. The Declining Electoral Relevance of Traditional Cleavage Groups. *European Political Science Review* 3 (2):279-300. [Electronic version here.](#)
- Bartolini, Stefano, and Mair, Peter (1990) *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability: The Stabilisation of European electorates 1885-1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 1-4 and Conclusion] JN94.A95.BAR
- Brooks, Clem, and Manza, Jeff (1997) Class politics and political change in the United States. *Social Forces*, 76(2): 379-408. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0037-7732%28199712%2976%3A2%3C379%3ACPAPCI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-8> OR Jeff Manza and Clem Brooks (1999) *Social Cleavages and Political Change: Voter Alignments and U.S. Party Coalitions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Chapter 3] JK2271.MAN
- \*Butler, David, and Donald Stokes. 1974. *Political change in Britain: The evolution of electoral choice*. London: Macmillan. Chapters on Class. JN956.BUT
- Carnes, Nicholas. 2012. “Does the Numerical Underrepresentation of the Working Class in Congress Matter?.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37(1): 5–34.
- \*Clark, Terry N. and Lipset, Seymour M. (1991) Are Social Classes Dying? *International Sociology*, 6: 397-410. <http://iss.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/6/4/397>
- \*Clarke, Harold D et al. 2004. *Political choice in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 2 and 3. JN956.POL or [Electronic version here.](#)
- Clarke, Harold D. 2017. “What Do Willie Sutton and Tony Blair Have in Common? a Response to the New Politics of Class by Geoffrey Evans and James Tilley.” *The Political Quarterly*. 88(4): 693-7. [Electronic Version Here](#)
- Crewe, Ivor (1986) On the Death and Resurrection of Class Voting: Some Comments on How Britain Votes. *Political Studies*, 34(4): 620-634. <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/119491847/PDFSTART>
- Corstange, Daniel. 2013. “Ethnicity on the Sleeve and Class in the Heart.” *British Journal of Political Science* 43(04): 889–914. [Electronic version](#)
- Dalton, Russell (2002). *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition). New York: Seven Bridges Press. [Chapter 8] JF2011.DAL
- \*\*Elff, Martin. 2007. “Social Structure and Electoral Behavior in Comparative Perspective: The Decline of Social Cleavages in Western Europe Revisited.” *Perspectives on politics* 5(02): 277–294. [Electronic version here.](#)
- \*Elff, Martin. 2009. Social divisions, party positions, and electoral behaviour. *Electoral Studies*, 28(2), pp.297-308. [Electronic version here](#)
- Evans, Geoffrey (1993) The Decline of Class Divisions in Britain? Class and Ideological Preferences in the 1960s and the 1980s. *British Journal of Sociology*, 44(3): 449-471. [http://www.jstor.org/sici?sici=0007-1315\(1993\)44:3%3C449:TDOCDI%3E2.0.CO;2-&cookieSet=1#&origin=sfx%3Asfx](http://www.jstor.org/sici?sici=0007-1315(1993)44:3%3C449:TDOCDI%3E2.0.CO;2-&cookieSet=1#&origin=sfx%3Asfx)
- \*Evans, Geoffrey, ed. (1999) *The End of Class Politics? Class Voting in Comparative Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Introduction, conclusion and various other chapters] JF1001.END
- Evans, Geoffrey, Heath, Anthony and Payne, Clive (1999) ‘Class: Labour as a Catch-All Party?’ in Evans, Geoffrey and Norris, Pippa (eds.) (1999) *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-term Perspective*. London: Sage Publications. JN956.CRI
- \*Evans, Geoffrey, and Jonathan Mellon. 2016. “Social Class.” In *British Social Attitudes 33*, eds. John Curtice, Miranda Phillips, and Elizabeth Clery. 1–19. <http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/latest-report/british-social-attitudes-33/social-class.aspx>
- \*Evans, Geoffrey, and James Tilley. 2011. “How Parties Shape Class Politics: Explaining the Decline of the Class Basis of Party Support.” *British Journal of Political Science* -1(-1): 1–25. [Electronic version here.](#)
- \*Evans, Geoffrey, and James Tilley. 2012. “The Depoliticization of Inequality and Redistribution: Explaining the Decline of Class Voting.” *The Journal of Politics* 74(04): 963–976. [Electronic version here](#)
- \*\*\*Evans, Geoffrey, and Nan Dirk De Graaf, eds. 2013. *Political Choice Matters*. Oxford University Press. Especially chapters 1-5 and 15. [Electronic version here](#)
- Evans, Geoffrey, and James R Tilley. 2015. “The New Class War.” *Juncture*: 1–7
- \*\*\*Evans, Geoffrey and James R Tilley. 2017. *The New Politics of Class: The Political Exclusion of the British Working Class*. Oxford University Press [Electronic version here](#)
- Fernández, Juan J, and Antonio M Jaime-Castillo. 2018. “The Institutional Foundation of Social Class Differences in Pro-Redistribution Attitudes: a Cross-National Analysis, 1985–2010.” *Social Forces* 96(3): 1009–38.
- Franklin, M. (1985) *The decline of class voting in Britain: changes in the basis of electoral choice, 1964-1983*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. JN956.FRA

- \*Gingrich, Jane. 2017. "A New Progressive Coalition? the European Left in a Time of Change." *The Political Quarterly*. 88(1): 39-51. [Electronic version here.](#)
- \*Hayes, B.C., 1995. The impact of class on political attitudes. *European Journal of Political Research*, 27(1), pp.69-91. [Electronic version here](#)
- \*\*Heath, Anthony, John Curtice and Gabriella Elgenius (2009) 'Individualisation and the Decline of Class Identity'. In Margaret Wetherell, ed. *Identity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Palgrave Macmillan. HM753.IDE 2009
- Heath, Anthony, Jowell, Roger and Curtice, John. (1985) *How Britain Votes*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. JN956.HEA
- Heath Anthony, Jowell, Roger and Curtice, John. (1987) Trendless Fluctuations: A Reply to Crewe. *Political Studies*, 35(2): 256-277. <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/119472228/PDFSTART>
- Heath, Anthony, Jowell, Roger and Curtice, John (2001) *The Rise of New Labour: Party Policies and Voter Choices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Chapters 2, 7 and 8]  
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/oso/public/content/politicalscience/9780199245116/toc.html>
- Heath, A., Jowell, R., Curtice, J., Evans, G., Field, J. and Witherspoon, S. (1991) *Understanding Political Change: The British Voter 1964-1987*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. [Chapters 5, 6 and 7] JN956.UND
- \*\*Heath, Oliver. 2013. "Policy Representation, Social Representation and Class Voting in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science*: [Electronic version here.](#)
- \*\*Heath, Oliver. 2016. "Policy Alienation, Social Alienation and Working-Class Abstention in Britain, 1964–2010." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1–21
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- \*\*Jansen, Giedo, Geoffrey Evans, and Nan Dirk de Graaf. 2013. "Class voting and Left–Right party positions: A comparative study of 15 Western democracies, 1960–2005." *Social Science Research* 42(2): 376–400. [Electronic version here](#)
- Kalmijn, Matthijs, and Gerbert Kraaykamp. 2007. "Social Stratification and Attitudes: a Comparative Analysis of the Effects of Class and Education in Europe." *The British Journal of Sociology* 58(4): 547–76.
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- \*\*Kitschelt, H, and P Rehm. 2014. "Occupations as a Site of Political Preference Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12): 1670–1706. <http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0010414013516066>
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- Kweon, Yesola. 2018. "Types of Labor Market Policy and the Electoral Behavior of Insecure Workers." *Electoral Studies*. 55: 1-10. [Electronic Version Here](#)
- Lahtinen, Hannu, Hanna Wass, and Heikki Hiilamo. 2017. "Gradient Constraint in Voting: the Effect of Intra-Generational Social Class and Income Mobility on Turnout." *Electoral Studies* 45: 14–23. [Electronic Version Here](#)
- Larcinese, Valentino, James M Snyder, and Cecilia Testa. 2012. "Testing Models of Distributive Politics using Exit Polls to Measure Voters' Preferences and Partisanship." *British Journal of Political Science* 43(04): 845–875. [Electronic version](#)
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- Leighley, Jan E, and Jonathan Nagler. 2007. "Unions, Voter Turnout, and Class Bias in the U.S. Electorate, 1964–2004." *The Journal of Politics* 69(2): 430–441. [Electronic version](#)
- Lipset, Seymour M. (1981) *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, expanded and updated edition. London: Heinemann. JC423.LIP
- Lipset, Seymour M. and Rokkan, Stein (1969) 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction' in Lipset, Seymour M. and Rokkan, Stein (eds.) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York : Free Press. [also in Mair, ed., 1990, Chapter 9]. JF2051.LIP
- \*Luttig, M. 2013. "The Structure of Inequality and Americans' Attitudes toward Redistribution." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77(3): 811–821. [Electronic version here.](#)
- \*Manza, Jeff and Brooks, Clem (1999) *Social Cleavages and Political Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Chapter 3.] JK2271.MAN
- Nicholson, Stephen P, and Gary M Segura. 2011. "Who's the Party of the People? Economic Populism and the U.S. Public's Beliefs About Political Parties." *Political Behavior* 34(2): 369–389. [Electronic version](#)

- \*Nieuwbeerta, P., 1996. The democratic class struggle in postwar societies: Class voting in twenty countries, 1945-1990. *Acta sociologica*, 39(4), pp.345-383. [Electronic version here](#)
- \*\*Oesch, Daniel (2008) "The Changing Shape of Class Voting." *European Societies* 10(3): 329–355. [Electronic version here.](#)
- \*Oesch, Daniel, and Line Rennwald. 2018. "Electoral Competition in Europe's New Tripolar Political Space: Class Voting for the Left, Centre-Right and Radical Right." *European Journal of Political Research* 7(2): 271. [Electronic version here.](#)
- \*O'Grady, Tom. 2017. "How Do Economic Circumstances Determine Preferences? Evidence From Long-Run Panel Data." *British Journal of Political Science*. [Electronic version here.](#)
- \*O'Grady, Tom. 2018. "Careerists Versus Coal-Miners: Welfare Reforms and the Substantive Representation of Social Groups in the British Labour Party." *Comparative Political Studies* [Electronic version here.](#)
- Park, Youngduk, and Yongmin Kim. 2018. "Explaining the Brexit Referendum: the Role of Worker Skill Level in Voter Decisions." *The Political Quarterly*. 89(4): 640-8. [Electronic Version Here](#)
- Przeworski, Adam (1985) *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. HX73.PRZ
- Rekker, Roderik. 2016. "The Lasting Impact of Adolescence on Left-Right Identification: Cohort Replacement and Intracohort Change in Associations with Issue Attitudes." *Electoral Studies* 44(C): 120–31.
- \*Rigby, Elizabeth, and Gerald C Wright. 2013. "Political Parties and Representation of the Poor in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3): 552–565. [Electronic version here](#)
- \*Rueda, David. 2005. "Insider–Outsider Politics in Industrialized Democracies: The Challenge to Social Democratic Parties." *American Political Science Review* 99(01). [Electronic version here.](#)
- \*Rydgren, J. ed., 2012. *Class politics and the radical right*. Routledge. HN380.Z9.CLA 2013
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- Thomassen, Jacques (ed) (2005) *The European Voter: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Chapters 1,4 and 11] JN45.EUR
- Tilley, James, and Geoffrey Evans. 2017. "The New Politics of Class After the 2017 General Election." *The Political Quarterly*. 88(4): 710-5. [Electronic Version Here](#)
- \*\* Weakliem, David and Heath, Anthony (1994) Rational choice and class voting. *Rationality and Society*, 6(2): 243-270. <http://rss.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/6/2/243>
- Ware, Alan (1996) *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Chapter 7] JF2011.WAR
- \*Weber, Max (1946). 'Class, Status, Party', in H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (eds.) *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press. H33.WEB
- Wichowsky, Amber. 2018. "Putting Inequality in Context: Class, Public Opinion, and Representation in the United States." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 48(2): 147.

## 2. Ethnic minority political attitudes and behaviour

- Adida, Claire L, Nathan Combes, Adeline Lo, and Alex Verink. 2016. "The Spousal Bump Do Cross-Ethnic Marriages Increase Political Support in Multiethnic Democracies?." *Comparative Political Studies*: 0010414015621080.
- Adida, Claire L, Lauren D Davenport, and Gwyneth McClendon. 2016. "Ethnic Cueing Across Minorities a Survey Experiment on Candidate Evaluation in the United States." *Public Opinion Quarterly*: nfw029.
- Allen, Geoff. 2015. "The Resilience of Ethnic Minority Parties in the Face of Strategic Voting Incentives." *Party Politics* 23(5): 560–65.
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- Arnesen, Sveinung, Dominik Duell, and Mikael Poul Johannesson. 2019. "Do Citizens Make Inferences From Political Candidate Characteristics When Aiming for Substantive Representation?." *Electoral Studies*. 59: 46-60. [Electronic Version Here](#)
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