

<p><b>GV9201</b></p> <p><b>Parties and Elections in Western Europe</b></p>
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Professor David Farrell (o.2.8)

one module - term one (1998)

Tuesdays, 4-6.00 pm, Room o.2.8

This seminar course is divided into two parties, studying political parties first at a systemic level and then at an organizational level. The first approach is associated primarily with the party literature of the 1950s-1970s, when political scientists and political sociologists were concerned with understanding party *systems*: their origins, patterns, stability, and latterly instability. As we move into the 1980s, the attention switched to the *organizational* level, trying to get inside the 'black-box' of the party organization, to understand how parties compare across nations and over time.

One of the first requirements for this course is that each student should open an email account and ensure that they know how to use it. A class email list will be established for the circulation of notes and course materials. At the start of the course each student will be given one country study to focus on. They will be required to accumulate data relevant to the study of the country's parties and party system. As the course proceeds these materials will be circulated among the group via the class email list so that by the end of the semester everyone should have a complete document setting out the party systems of a selection of West European cases. More details will be provided at the opening session.

We will meet each week in my office (bring your own coffee!). There will be no lectures: everyone is expected to have done some preparatory reading each week, and to come ready to talk! Course assessment will be broken down as follows: course essay (further details in a separate handout) 75%; seminar presentation 15%; attendance and participation in seminars 10%.

#### CORE TEXTS

There is a pretty vast literature on Western European parties. The following (especially the asterisked) are a selection of ones you might think of purchasing. Ware is probably the most suitable overall.

\*A. Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* (Oxford: University Press, 1996)

\*P. Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System* (Oxford: University Press, 1990)

M. Gallagher, M. Laver, P. Mair, *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1995) 2nd Edn

R.S. Katz & P. Mair (eds), *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies* (London: Sage, 1994)

The principal journal for this course, *Party Politics*, is available in the Rylands library. Students will be expected to keep abreast of recent articles in this and other relevant journals available in Rylands (such as *European Journal of Political Research*, *West European Politics*, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*). For source material see the relevant country textbooks, the *Keesings Record of World Events* (in Rylands; excellent for up-to-date material), recent issues of *Electoral Studies*, or the 'Political Data Yearbook' of the *European Journal of Political Research*. In addition, relevant wide web sites should be accessed on a regular basis. The following web sites are by way of illustration. Get surfing!

- <http://ssdc.ucsd.edu/lij> [*The Lijphart Elections Archive*]
- <http://www.lgu.ac.uk/psa/epop.html> [*Elections, Public Opinion and Parties specialist group of the Political Studies Association*]
- <http://www.psci.unt.edu/es/> [*Electoral Studies*]
- <http://partypolitics.org/> [*Party Politics*]
- <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/polit/damy/prlib.htm> [*PR Library*]
- <http://www.ai.mit.edu/projects/iiip/Cambridge/prop-voting/prop-voting.html> [*Proportional Voting in Cambridge*]
- <http://www.igc.apc.org/cvd/other.html> [*PR Web Sites*]
- <http://www.geocities.com/~derksen/election.htm> [*Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Around the World*]
- <http://hypatia.ss.uci.edu/democ/> [*Center for the Study of Democracy*]
- <http://www.igc.apc.org/cvd/> [*Center for Voting and Democracy*]
- <http://www.indiana.edu/~playpol/RESHome.html> [*Representation and Electoral Systems Bibliographies*]
- <http://www-polisci.mit.edu/bostonreview/newdf.html> [*The Case for Proportional Representation*]
- [http://www.motherjones.com/mother\\_jones/MA98/lind.html](http://www.motherjones.com/mother_jones/MA98/lind.html) [*Mother Jones*]
- <http://www.klipsan.com/elecnews.htm> [*Klipsan Election Notes*]
- <http://qsilver.queensu.ca/~inroads> [*Inroads*]

## SEMINAR SCHEDULE

### PARTY SYSTEMS

#### 1. Introduction and Administration (September 29)

#### 2. Political Cleavages and the Development of Party Systems (October 6)

[RL. 1] At a minimum, read and be familiar with the Lipset and Rokkan ‘Introduction’. Consider both their main contributions about ‘cleavages’ and the ‘freezing of alternatives’ [*Lipset & Rokkan*]. Explore their application in your selected case-study. How would you define a cleavage [*Gallagher et al.*]? Why has the Lipset/Rokkan essay been so influential? How has it been ‘operationalized’ in the party literature [*Lorwin; Rose & Urwin*]?

#### 3. First Efforts to Classify Party Systems (October 13)

[RL. 2] How useful are the various classification schemes? How well do they fit your selected case-study? The earliest efforts tended to involve simple counts of numbers of parties [*Blondel*]. Later, more sophisticated models took account of party size, relevance, ideological location, etc. Early authors tended to favour two-party systems particularly on the grounds of system stability. [*Almond; Duverger*] Their critics spoke in favour of multi-party systems. [*Lijphart; Sartori*] [*Hazan on ‘centre parties’?*] [Party family approach: *von Beyme; Gallagher et al.*]

#### 4. Institutional Influences on Party Systems (October 20)

[RL. 3] The principal one of interest is the electoral system, and this is the one we will spend most time on [check out the debate over ‘Duverger’s Law’; *Blais & Carty*; chs. in *Grofman & Lijphart; Taagepera & Shugart*]. Others worth considering [*Lijphart’s Democracies*] include: the governmental system (presidential v. parliamentary), whether unitary or federal, party laws (if any), majoritarian v. consensual systems. Familiarize yourself with the debates surrounding each of these, and any others that might occur to you. Which are influential in your selected case-study?

#### 5. Electoral Volatility and Dealignment (October 27)

[RL. 4] Much of the discussion this week will focus on problems of definition, operationalization, and measurement. Compare the aggregate approaches of authors like

*Pedersen* or *Maguire*, with the more individual-level approaches adopted by authors like *Mair*, *Crewe & Denver*, or *Franklin*. How are volatility and dealignment related [*Dalton; Dalton et al.*]? What do they have to contribute to the analysis of Western European party systems?

#### 6. Preliminary discussions about essays (Week starting November 2)

Each of you must provide an outline (less than one page) of your proposed essay topic. I will be discussing this with each of you face-to-face.

#### 7. Franklin et al. versus Bartolini and Mair (November 10)

[RL. 4] Which is correct: *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Europe* (Franklin, Mackie, Valen, et al.) or *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability: The Stabilisation of European Electorates* (Bartolini and Mair)?

### PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

#### 8. Party Organizations and Change (November 17)

[RL. 5] What have been the different approaches to modelling party-types: from *Neumann* and *Duverger*, through *Epstein*, *Kirchheimer* and *Panbianco*, to *Katz* and *Mair* (though see *Koole*)? How useful are these distinctions, and do they help in the understanding of party development in your selected case-study? Can they be easily operationalized? What problems, if any, can you identify with this paradigmatic approach?

#### 9. The Study of Party Membership (November 24)

[RL. 6] Defining membership. The problem of measurement. What have been the comparative trends and how can we explain them? The party change literature tends to suggest that membership decline is an inevitable consequence of professionalization. Is this true? Do the party leaders still want members? *Scarrow*, *Seyd & Whiteley* would suggest they do; *May*'s 'Law' would suggest they don't; *Mair*'s 'paradox' suggests a way in-between.

#### 10. Party Professionalization and New Campaign Styles (December 1)

[RL. 7] Defining and measuring 'professionalization'. Work by *Kirchheimer*, *Panbianco* and *Katz & Mair* place great stress on this. *Epstein* suggests it involves a process of 'Americanization' (though see *Negrine*, and *Swanson & Mancini*). It manifests itself most clearly during election campaigns (see the overview in *Farrell*, 1996). Are we seeing a process of convergence in campaign styles? How are the trends likely to develop in the future? How does this feed (if at all) into the debate over party decline?

#### 11. The Party Decline Debate (December 8)

[RL. 5] This debate has a particular U.S. resonance. How does it play in Western Europe? If parties are not in decline, are they becoming weaker or more vulnerable? And how would you measure this? Compare *Reiter* and *Lawson* with *Mair*. Consider *Panbianco*'s point re. 'deinstitutionalization'. Do the membership trends, we considered, support the decline thesis? What other indicators are relevant [*Schmidt & Holmberg*]? What happens if we consider different 'faces' of the parties? What happens when we start to draw comparisons with party structures in other regions (notably the newer democracies)?

## 12. Final discussions about essays (Week starting December 14)

By now you will be busily writing your essay. This will be an opportunity to discuss final outlines, and raise difficulties with source material.

### READING LIST

There are plenty of other sources apart from those listed here. Feel free to range widely!

#### 1. POLITICAL CLEAVAGES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY SYSTEMS

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, Peter Mair (1995), *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (2nd Edn) New York: McGraw Hill. [Ch. 9] *SLC, Lewis 321.8*

H. Kriesi. 'The transformation of cleavage politics: the 1997 Stein Rokkan lecture', *EJPR*. 33, 1998: 165-85.

A. Lijphart, 'Religious versus Linguistic versus Class Voting', *American Political Science Review* 73, 1979.

S M Lipset, *Political Man* 1960

S M Lipset & S Rokkan, 'Introduction' in S M Lipset & S Rokkan, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments* (1967). Reprinted in Mair (1990). Usefully summarised in P J Taylor & R J Johnson *Geography of Elections* 1979

V R Lorwin, 'Belgium: Religion, Class and Language in National Politics', in R A Dahl (ed.), *Political Opposition in Western Democracies* 1966

V R Lorwin, 'Segmented Pluralism, Ideological Cleavages and Political Cohesion in the Smaller European Democracies', *Comparative Politics* 1971, 3: 141-75

S. Rokkan, *Citizens, Elections, Parties* 1970, ch. 3.

R Rose & D Urwin, 'Social Cohesion, Political Parties and Strains in Regimes', *Comparative Political Studies* 2(1) 1969; also reproduced in J LaPalombara & M Weiner (eds), *Political Parties and Political Development* 1966

G Smith, *Politics in Western Europe* ch. 2

D Urwin, 'Harbinger, Fossil or Fleabite? "Regionalism" and the West European Party Mosaic', in H Daalder & P Mair (eds), *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change* 1983.

A. Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* 1996, ch. 6.

#### 2. CLASSIFYING WEST EUROPEAN PARTY SYSTEMS

G.A Almond, 'Comparative Political Systems', *Journal of Politics* 18 (3), 1956. Reprinted in Mair (1990).

J Blondel, 'Party Systems and Patterns of Government in Western Democracies', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1(2), 1968: 180-203. Reprinted in Mair (1990).

H. Daalder, 'The Consociational Democracy Theme', *World Politics* 26(4), 1974

M. Duverger, *Political Parties*

- L. Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*
- M Gallagher et al, *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, ch. 7.
- D Gross & L Sigelman, 'Comparing Party Systems: A Multidimensional Approach', *Comparative Politics* 16, 1984
- R. Hazan, 'Does Center Equal Middle? Towards a Conceptual Delineation, with Application to West European Party Systems', *Party Politics* 2(2), 1996.
- J-E Lane & S O Ersson, *Politics and Society in Western Europe* ch. 7.
- L. LeDuc et al. (eds), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. 1996 [ch. by Mair].
- A. Lijphart, 'Typologies of Democratic Regimes', *Comparative Political Studies* 1(1) 1968
- A. Lijphart, 'Consociational Democracy', *World Politics* 21(2) 1969
- A. Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies* 1977
- A. Lijphart, *Democracies*. 1984.
- G. Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* 1976 (esp. chs. 5, 6)
- G. Sartori, 'European Political Parties: The Case of Polarised Pluralism', in J. LaPalombara & M. Weiner (eds), *Political Parties and Political Development* 1966
- K. von Beyme, *Political Parties in Western Democracies* 1985, ch. 4.
- G. Smith, *Politics in Western Europe*.
- A. Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* 1996, ch. 5

### **3. INSTITUTIONAL INFLUENCES ON PARTY SYSTEMS**

#### **ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**

- Blais, André and R. K. Carty (1991), 'The Psychological Impact of Electoral Laws: Measuring Duverger's Elusive Factor', *British Journal of Political Science* 21: 79-93.
- Blais, André and Louis Massicotte (1996), 'Electoral Rules', in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris (eds), *Comparing Democracies* Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage. **SLC, RS**
- Duverger, Maurice (1954), *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, London: Methuen. **Lewis 329.9**
- Farrell, D., *Comparing Electoral Systems* 1997.
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, Peter Mair (1995), *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (2nd Edn) New York: McGraw Hill. [Ch. 11] **SLC, Lewis 321.8**
- Grofman, Bernard and Arend Lijphart (eds) (1986), *Electoral Laws and their Political Consequences* New York: Agathon Press. [Introduction] **SLC-2 nights, RS, 342 [esp. Duverger, Sartori, Riker]**
- Katz, R., 'Electoral Reform and the Transformation of Party Politics in Italy', *Party Politics* 2(1) 1996.
- Laakso, M. and R. Taagepera (1979), 'Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe', *Comparative Political Studies* 12: 3-27.
- Lijphart, Arend (1994), *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990* Oxford: Oxford University Press. **SLC-2 nights, RS 324**
- Lijphart, Arend and Bernard Grofman (eds) (1984), *Choosing an Electoral System: Issues and Alternatives* New York: Praeger. [Ch. 1] **SLC-2 nights 324.2**

Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Soberg Shugart (1989), *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems* New Haven: Yale University Press. [Chs. 1-3] **SLC-2 nights 324.2**

#### **OTHER INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS**

L. LeDuc et al. (eds), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. 1996.

A. Lijphart, *Democracies* 1984.

G. Sartori, *Comparative Constitutional Engineering*. 1997.

M. S. Shugart and J. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. 1992.

#### **4. DEALIGNMENT AND VOTER VOLATILITY**

S. Bartolini & P. Mair, *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability* 1990

I. Crewe & D Denver (eds), *Electoral Change in Western Democracies* 1985

H Daalder & P Mair (eds), *Western European Party Systems* 1983

R. Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies* 2nd Edn, 1996.

R. J Dalton et al (eds), *Electoral change in Advanced Industrial Democracies* 1984

R. J. Dalton & M. Kuechler, *Challenging the Political Order* 1990

S. Flanagan, 'Changing Values in Advanced Industrial Societies', *Comparative Political Studies* 1982

M. Franklin, T. Mackie, H. Valen et al *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries* 1992

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, Peter Mair (1995), *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (2nd Edn) New York: McGraw Hill. [Ch. 9] **SLC, Lewis 321.8**

P. Ignazi, 'The Crisis of Parties and the Rise of New Political Parties', *Party Politics* 2(4) 1996.

R. Inglehart, 'The Changing Structure of Political Cleavages in Western Society', in R.J Dalton et al (eds), *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies* 1984

R. Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political styles Among Western Publics* 1977.

R. Inglehart & H.D Klingemann, 'Party Identification, Ideological Preference and the Left-Right Dimension among Western Mass Publics', in I. Budge, I. Crewe, & D. Farlie (eds), *Party Identification and Beyond* 1976

R Inglehart, 'Socioeconomic change and human value priorities', in S. Barnes, M. Kaase et al, *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies* 1979

R. Inglehart & J.L Rabier, 'Political Realignment in Advanced Industrial Society: From Class-Based Politics to Quality-of-Life Politics', *Government and Opposition* 1986

R. S. Katz, 'Measuring Party Identification with Eurobarometer Data: A Warning Note', *West European Politics* 8(1) 1985.

L. LeDuc et al. (eds), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. 1996 [ch. by Dalton].

M Maguire, 'Is There Still Persistence? Electoral Change in Western Europe, 1948-79', in H. Daalder & P. Mair (eds), *Western European Party Systems* 1983

- P. Mair, 'Party Politics in Contemporary Europe:: A Challenge to Party?', *West European Politics* 7(4) 1984.
- P, Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System* 1990, Part 3.
- M Pedersen, 'The Dynamics of European Party Systems: Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility', *European Journal of Political Research* 1979; also in Daalder & Mair (eds) (1983). See the 'reflections' on this piece by R. Katz and H. Rattinger, and Pedersen's response in *European Journal of Political Research* 31(1-2) 1997.
- H. Reiter, 'Party Decline in the West: A Skeptic's View', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1(3), 1989: 325-48
- R Rose & D Urwin, 'Persistence and Change in Western Party Systems since 1945', *Political Studies* 18 1970
- E. Scarbrough, 'Materialist-Postmaterialist Value Orientations', in J. van Deth and E. Scarbrough (eds), *The Impact of Values* 1995.
- M Shamir, 'Are Western Party Systems Frozen?', *Comparative Political Studies* 17, 1984
- H. Schmitt, 'On Party Attachment in Western Europe and the Utility of Eurobarometer Data', *West European Politics* 12(2) 1989
- A. Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* 1996, ch.7.
- S. Wolinetz, 'The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited', *West European Politics* 2 (1979)
- A. Zuckerman & M I Lichbach, 'Stability and Change in European Electorates', *World Politics* 29(4), 1977

## 5. PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND CHANGE

- M. Duverger, *Political Parties*
- L. Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, Peter Mair (1995), *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (2nd Edn) New York: McGraw Hill. [Ch. 10] *SLC, Lewis* 321.8
- K. Janda et al., 'Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos', *Party Politics* 1(2), 1995.
- R. S Katz & P Mair, 'Three Faces of Party Organizations: Adaptation and Change', *EPRU Working Paper* 4/90, 1990
- R. S Katz & P. Mair (eds), *Party Organizations: A Data Handbook* 1992 (esp. the Intro.) NB. Useful data for any essays.
- R. S. Katz & P. Mair (eds), *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies* 1994
- R. S Katz & P. Mair, 'Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics* 1(1), 1995.
- R. S. Katz & P. Mair, 'Cadre, Catch-all or Cartel: A Rejoinder', *Party Politics* 2(4) 1996.
- O Kirchheimer, 'The Transformation of Western European Party Systems', in P. Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System* 1990; or in J. LaPalombara & M. Weinder (eds), *Political Parties and Political Development* 1966
- R. Koole, 'Cadre, Catch-all or Cartel: A Comment on the Notion of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics* 2(4) 1996.

- K. Lawson & P. Merkl (eds), *When Parties Fail: Emerging Alternative Organizations* 1988
- L. LeDuc et al. (eds), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. 1996 [ch. by Katz].
- P. Mair, 'The Problem of Party System Change', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1(3): 251-76, 1989
- P. Mair, *The West European Party System* 1990, Part 1.
- P. Mair, 'Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of Traditional Parties', *European Journal of Political Research* 24(2) 1993.
- P. Mair & G. Smith (eds), special issue on *Understanding Party System Change in Western Europe*, *West European Politics* 12(4), 1989
- F. Müller-Rommel (ed.), *New Politics in Western Europe: The Rise and Success of Green Parties and Alternative Lists* 1989
- F. Müller-Rommel & G. Pridham (eds), *Small Parties in Western Europe* 1991
- S. Neumann, 'Towards a Comparative Study of Political Parties', in S. Neumann (ed.), *Modern Political Parties: Approaches to Comparative Politics* 1956
- A. Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organization and Power* 1988
- Party Politics* 3(3) 1997 – special issue on 'Party Change'
- G. Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* 1976 (esp. chs. 5, 6)
- G. Sartori, 'European Political Parties: The Case of Polarised Pluralism', in J. LaPalombara & M. Weiner (eds), *Political Parties and Political Development* 1966
- P. Selle & L. Svåsand, 'Membership in Party Organizations and the Problem of Decline of Parties', *Comparative Political Studies* 23(4) 1991.
- K. von Beyme, *Political Parties in Western Democracies* 1985, ch. 4.
- A. Ware (ed.), *Political Parties: Electoral Change and Structural Response* 1987
- A. Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* 1990, chs 2-3.
- M. P. Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties, 1952-96* 1996 (read any edition).
- S. Wolinetz, 'The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited', *West European Politics* 2 (1979)
- W. E. Wright, 'Comparative Party Models: Rational-Efficient and Party Democracy', in W.E. Wright (ed.), *A Comparative Study of Party Organization*. 1971.
- A. Zuckerman & M I Lichbach, 'Stability and Change in European Electorates', *World Politics* 29(4), 1977

#### **PARTY STRUCTURES IN NEW DEMOCRACIES**

- P. Burnell & A. Ware (eds), *Funding Democratization*. (1998)
- P. Lewis (ed.), *Party Structure and Organization in East-Central Europe* (1996)
- S. Mainwaring & T. Scully (eds), *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. (1995)
- D. Perkins, 'Structure and Choice: The Role of Organizations, Patronage and the Media in Party Formation', *Party Politics*. 2(3) 1996.
- Party Politics*. 1(4) 1995 – special issue on 'Party Politics in Eastern Europe'

*Political Studies* 46(3) 1998 – special issue on ‘Party Structures and Party Performance in New and Old Democracies’

### **PARTY DECLINE DEBATE**

- K. Lawson & P. Merkl (eds), *When Parties Fail: Emerging Alternative Organizations* 1988
- H. Schmidt and S. Holmberg, ‘Political Parties in Decline?’, in H.-D. Klingemann and D. Fuchs (eds), *Citizens and the State* 1995.
- H. Reiter, ‘Party Decline in the West: A Skeptic’s View’, *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1(3), 1989: 325-48
- P. Webb, ‘Are British Political Parties in Decline?’, *Party Politics*. 1(3) 1995.

### **6. THE STUDY OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP**

- M. Dogan (ed.), *Pathways to Power: Selecting Rulers in Pluralist Democracies* 1989.
- M. Gallagher and M. Marsh (eds), *Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective* 1988.
- R S Katz, ‘Party as Linkage: A Vestigial Function?’, *European Journal of Political Research* 18(1) 1990. See the ‘reflections’ on this piece by W. Müller, and Katz’s response in *European Journal of Political Research* 31(1-2) 1997.
- R. S. Katz and P. Mair (eds), *Party Organizations* 1992 [useful comparative data]
- R. S. Katz and P. Mair (eds), *How Parties Organize* 1994 [see Mair’s discussion on the ‘paradoxical role of party members’]
- R. S Katz, P. Mair et al, ‘The Membership of Political Parties in European Democracies 1960-1990’, *European Journal of Political Research* 22: 329-45, 1992.
- L. LeDuc et al. (eds), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. 1996 [ch. by Katz].
- J. May, ‘Opinion Structure of Political Parties: The Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity’, *Political Studies* 21(2) 1973.
- P. Norris, ‘May’s Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited’, *Party Politics* 1(1), 1995.
- S. Scarrow, *Parties and their Members: Organizing for Victory in Britain and Germany*. 1996.
- P. Selle & L. Svåsand, ‘Membership in Party Organizations and the Problem of Decline of Parties’, *Comparative Political Studies* 23(4) 1991.
- P. Seyd and P. Whiteley, *Labour’s Grass Roots: The Politics of Party Membership*. 1992.
- A. Tan, ‘Party Change and Party Membership Decline: An Exploratory Analysis’, *Party Politics* 3(3), 1997.
- P. Webb, ‘Are British Political Parties in Decline?’, *Party Politics* 1(3), 1995.
- P. Whiteley et al. *True Blues: The Politics of Conservative Party Membership*. 1994.
- A. Widfeldt, ‘Party Membership and Party Representativeness’, in H.-D. Klingemann and D. Fuchs (eds), *Citizens and the State* 1995.

### **7. PARTY PROFESSIONALIZATION AND NEW CAMPAIGN STYLES**

- H. Alexander (ed.), *Comparative Political Finance in the 1980s* 1989
- S. Bowler & D. Farrell (eds), *Electoral Strategies and Political Marketing* 1992

- S. Bowler & D. Farrell, 'The Internationalization of Election Campaign Consultancy', *Manchester Paper in Politics* 1998.
- D. Butler & A. Ranney (eds), *Electioneering: A Comparative Study of Continuity and Change* 1992.
- R. Dalton & M. Kuechler (eds), *Challenging the Political Order* 1990
- L. Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*
- D. Farrell, 'Campaign Strategies and Tactics', in L. LeDuc, R. Niemi, P. Norris (eds), *Comparing Democracies*, 1996.
- D. Farrell, 'Political Consultancy Overseas: The Internationalization of Campaign Consultancy', *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 31(2) 1998.
- D. Farrell & M. Wortmann, 'Party Strategies in the Electoral Market: Political Marketing in West Germany, Britain and Ireland', *European Journal of Political Research* 15 1987.
- D. Farrell and P. Webb, 'Political Parties as Campaign Organizations', *Manchester Paper in Politics*, 1998.
- D. Farrell, R. Kolodny, S. Medvic, 'The Political Consultant/Political Party Relationship: A Health Warning for Representative Democracy or a Welcome Advance?', *Manchester Paper in Politics* 1998.
- R. S. Katz & P. Mair (eds), *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies* 1994
- R. S. Katz & P. Mair, 'Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics* 1(1), 1995.
- O Kirchheimer, 'The Transformation of Western European Party Systems', in P. Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System* 1990; or in J. LaPalombara & M. Weinder (eds), *Political Parties and Political Development* 1966
- R. Negrine and S. Papathanassopoulos, 'The "Americanization" of Political Communication: A Critique', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 1 1996 (in photocopy section of Lewis library).
- A. Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organization and Power* 1988
- M. Scammell, *Designer Politics* 1996.
- D. Swanson and P. Mancini (eds), *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences* 1996.
- A. Ware (ed.), *Political Parties: Electoral Change and Structural Response* 1987
- S. Wolinetz, 'The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited', *West European Politics* 2 (1979)