

<p>GV9251 Parties and Elections in Western Europe</p>

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One Module – Semester One (200x)
 Tuesdays, 4-6.00 pm, Room o.2.8

Credit rating: 15

The University's Academic Standards Code of Practice specifies that a 15-credit course is expected to require about 150 hours work by students.

This course is normally offered in our postgraduate programme specializing in European Politics and Policy but is available as an option across most postgraduate programmes.

Aims of the Course

The study of party politics has come a long way over the last 30 years or so, in large part, recently, fed by developments in the new democracies. Given that much of the 'classic' literature was based on the trends within western Europe, this course will focus predominantly on this region; though, as required, we may range more widely on occasions.

This principal aim of this seminar course is designed to introduce students to a core selection of texts on the study of west European party politics. At all times, our examination of these texts will be located in a close scrutiny of trends in key west European cases.

Objectives of the Course

At the end of the course you should have developed the following knowledge and skills:

- The meaning and definition of parties and party systems
- Explanations for why party systems are/were stable and how they might be categorized
- Examining parties from inside
- The key analytical and theoretical skills for understanding party politics in western Europe

Course Contents and Rationale

The course is divided into two parts: 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 moved 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, and assessing the question of their possible demise.

Course Organization

This is a seminar-based course. We meet weekly, for two-hour sessions. Everyone will be expected to have done some reading prior to the session and to contribute fully to discussions. Attendance at seminars is compulsory. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond

your control will prevent you from attending a seminar, you should contact the tutor as soon as possible to explain your absence.

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.

Course Assessment

Course assessment will be broken down as follows: course essay 75%; seminar presentation 15%; attendance and participation in seminars 10%.

Essay titles will be provided. The final deadline for the course essay (3,500 words) is 4.30pm on Friday xx January 200x. The essay must be typed (double-spaced), and it must be submitted to the Graduate Office (O.1.23), with a Submission Form and signed Plagiarism Declaration Form attached to the front. Extensions are granted only by the MA tutor, and permission must be sought prior to the deadline. If you are encountering any problems, please see either Prof. Farrell, or the MA Tutor.

A lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate reference will be penalised by the deduction of marks. For guidance, see the end of this course guide.

Plagiarism is a serious offence. Students should consult the University's statement on plagiarism, which can be either found in their programme handbooks or *Taught Masters and Postgraduate diploma Student Guide* which is distributed during registration or which can be obtained from room 0.1.23.

Essays must not be faxed or e-mailed to the Department or to a member of staff.

Core Texts

There is a pretty vast literature on Western European parties, much of it in the main library. The following (especially the asterisked) are a selection of ones you might think of purchasing. The Mair reader is probably the most suitable overall.

- *P. Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System* (Oxford: University Press, 1990)
- *A. Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* (Oxford: University Press, 1996)
- M. Gallagher, M. Laver, P. Mair, *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2001) 3rd Edn
- R. Dalton and M. Wattenberg (eds), *Parties Without Partisans: Political Chance in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) Hardback only!

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://janda.org/icpp/> [International Comparative Political Parties Project]
- PippaNorris.com [*Pippa Norris's website*]
- <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.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.klipsan.com/elecnews.htm> [*Klipsan Election Notes*]

SEMINAR SCHEDULE

PARTY SYSTEMS

1. Introduction and Administration (September x)**2. Political Cleavages and the Development of Party Systems (October x)**

[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 x)

[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 x)

[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 x)

[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 x)

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 x)

[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 x)

[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 x)

[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 x)

[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 x)

[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 x)

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 others 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.
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- 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)

Appendix

THE SCHOLARLY APPARATUS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCING

All essays **must** employ the scholarly apparatus of references (or footnotes) and a Bibliography. At the end of an essay, you **must** provide a Bibliography which lists your sources **in alphabetical order** by author's surname. In the essay itself, you **must** use a **reference or footnote** to give the source for any quotation, any data, and/or for any view or interpretation which you summarise or which you attribute to another source or author. References (or footnotes) enable the reader to find as easily as possible the authority for every important fact not obviously of the 'textbook' kind and the sources contributing to all ideas and comments.

There are different acceptable referencing styles. Professional journals and scholarly books can provide students with examples of different acceptable styles. Whatever referencing style and bibliographic style you choose to use, *be consistent*.

Whatever style a student chooses, the titles of book, journals, newspapers, and magazines are either underlined (or italicized) while the titles of articles are placed inside quotation marks. Quotation marks are **not** placed around the titles of books and journals.

Also, in the Bibliography, sources are listed in alphabetical order by author's surname. Hence, in the Bibliography, an author's surname comes before forenames; however, in a footnote (or endnote), forenames precede surname.

References may be placed

- at the bottom of each page (footnotes),
- at the end of the essay before the Bibliography (endnotes),
- or in the text if a student uses the Harvard style of referencing. (For the Harvard style of referencing, see below.)

Some journals place p. before a page number and pp. before page numbers. Other journals simply use the page number(s). You may choose either to use p. and pp. before the page number(s) or not to use them.

The following style of referencing is used by Political Science Quarterly, Political Studies, Politics and Society, Political Theory, Philosophy, Philosophy and Public Affairs, Philosophical Review, Nous, Phronesis and other academic journals and many academic publishers.

book, first reference:

Forenames Surname, Title (place of publication: publisher, date), pages.

Robert W. Johannsen, Stephen A. Douglas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 765.

Robert C. Trundle, Jr., Ancient Greek Philosophy (Aldershot: Avebury, 1994), p. 37.

book, subsequent references:

Johannsen, Douglas, 765.

Trundle, Ancient, 86.

journal article, first reference:

Forenames Surname, "Title of Article," Journal (date), volume: pages.

Stephen White, "Gramsci and the Italian Communist Party," Government and Opposition (Spring, 1972), 7: 202.

Joseph Levine, "Conceivability and the Metaphysics of Mind," Nous (Dec. 1998), 32 (4): p. 462.

journal article, subsequent references:

White, "Gramsci and the Italian Communist Party," 214.

Levine, "Conceivability," p. 461.

a chapter in a collection, first reference:

Forenames Surname, "Title of chapter," name of editor(s), ed., Title of Book (place of publication: publisher, date), page(s).

Kay Lawson, "When Linkage Fails," in Kay Lawson and Peter H. Merkl, eds., When Parties Fail: Emerging Alternative Organizations (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 18.

Peter Edwards, "The Future of Ethics," in Oliver Leaman, ed., The Future of Philosophy (London: Routledge, 1998), 56.

a chapter in a collection, subsequent references:

Lawson, "When Linkage Fails," p. 21.

Edwards, "Future," 57.

a source from the www:

Sharon Parrott, "Welfare Recipients Who Find Jobs: What Do We Know about Their Employment and Earnings?," (<http://www.cbpp.org/11-16-98wel.htm>), p. 18.

www source, subsequent references:

Parrott, "Welfare Recipients," p. 34.

Bibliographic reference (non-Harvard style):

a book:

Surname, Forenames, Title, place of publication: publisher, date.

Johannsen, Robert W. Stephen A. Douglas, New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Trundle, Robert C., Jr., Ancient Greek Philosophy, Aldershot: Avebury, 1994.

a journal article:

Surname, Forenames, "title of article," Journal (date), volume (no.): pages.

Webb, Paul D., "Are British Political Parties in Decline?," Party Politics (July, 1995), 1: 299-322.

Levine, Joseph, "Conceivability and the Metaphysics of Mind," Nous (Dec. 1998), 32 (4): 449-80.

a chapter in a collection:

Surname, Forenames, "Title of Chapter" in editor's or editors' name(s), ed., Title, place of publication: publisher, date, pages.

Dunleavy, Patrick, "Chapter 6: The Political Parties," in Patrick Dunleavy, Andrew Gamble, Ian Holliday, and Gillian Peele, eds., Developments in British Politics 4th edition, London: Macmillan, 1994, pp. 123-153.

Edwards, Peter, "The Future of Ethics," in Oliver Leaman, ed., The Future of Philosophy, London: Routledge, 1998, 41-61.

a source taken from the www:

Parrott, Sharon, "Welfare Recipients Who Find Jobs: What Do We Know about Their Employment and Earnings?," <http://www.cbpp.org/11-16-98wel.htm>, pp. 1-43.

The Harvard Style of Referencing is a short form of referencing used by the American Political Science Review, the Journal of Politics, Party Politics, Politics, International Organization, Pacific Review, Philosophical Studies, Philosophy of the Social Sciences, and many other journals and publishers.

In the Harvard style, the Bibliography at the end provides the complete reference, while the note **in the text** provides only author's surname, year, and page(s). The Harvard style reserves numbered footnotes for explanatory footnotes. The Harvard style of referencing uses a, b, etc. when the Bibliography lists more than one source for the same author(s) for the same year.

Near the end of each issue of Pacific Review are clear examples of how to reference every type of publication in the Harvard style. Hence, any student who wants to use the Harvard style of referencing and has a question about how to reference a particular type of publication, should consult the extensive and clear examples provided by the Pacific Review.

Example:

After the break-up of the national Democratic party in 1860, Stephen Douglas declared: "Secession is *disunion*. Secession from the Democratic party means secession from the federal Union" (Johannsen 1973, 772).

HARVARD STYLE BIBLIOGRAPHY:

a book:

Johannsen, Robert W. 1973. Stephen A. Douglas. New York: Oxford University Press.
Trundle, Robert C. Jr. 1994. Ancient Greek Philosophy. Aldershot: Avebury.

a journal article:

Webb, Paul D. 1995. "Are British Political Parties in Decline?," Party Politics 1: 299-322.
Agassi, Joseph. 1998. "Knowledge Personal or Social," Philosophy of the Social Sciences 28 (4): 522-51.

a chapter in a collection:

Dunleavy, Patrick. 1994. "The Political Parties," in Patrick Dunleavy, Andrew Gamble, Ian Holliday, and Gillian Peele, eds., Developments in British Politics 4th edition, pp. 123-53. London: Macmillan.
Edwards, Peter. 1998. "The Future of Ethics," in Oliver Leaman, ed., The Future of Philosophy, 41-61. London: Routledge.

a source taken from the www:

Parrott, Sharon. 1998. "Welfare Recipients Who Find Jobs: What Do We Know about Their Employment and Earnings?," <http://www.cbpp.org/11-16-98wel.htm>, pp. 1-43.

When the Bibliography lists more than one source for the same author from the same year:

Bowler, Shaun and David Farrell. 1995a. "A British PR Election Testing STV with London's Voters," Representation, 32: 90-94.
Bowler, Shaun and David Farrell. 1995b. "The Organizing of the European Parliament: Committees, Specialization, and Coordination," British Journal of Political Science, 25: 219-43.
Towell, P. 1995a, "Rebellious House Republicans Help Crush Defense Bill," Congressional Quarterly, 30 Sept., pp. 3013-16.
Towell, P. 1995b, "Congress Clears Defense Bill," Congressional Quarterly, 18 Nov., p. 3550.