



K E E L E
UNIVERSITY

Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

Thomas Poguntke

Keele European Parties Research Unit
(KEPRU)

Working Paper 13

© Thomas Poguntke, 2002

ISSN 1475-1569
ISBN 1-899488-64-2

KEPRU Working Papers are published by:

School of Politics, International Relations and the Environment (SPIRE)
Keele University
Staffs
ST5 5BG, UK

tel +44 (0)1782 58 4177/3088/3452
fax +44 (0)1782 58 3592
www.keele.ac.uk/depts/spire/

Editor: Professor Thomas Poguntke (t.poguntke@keele.ac.uk)

KEPRU Working Papers are available via SPIRE's website.

Launched in September 2000, the Keele European Parties Research Unit (KEPRU) was the first research grouping of its kind in the UK. It brings together the hitherto largely independent work of Keele researchers focusing on European political parties, and aims:

- to facilitate its members' engagement in high-quality academic research, individually, collectively in the Unit and in collaboration with cognate research groups and individuals in the UK and abroad;
- to hold regular conferences, workshops, seminars and guest lectures on topics related to European political parties;
- to publish a series of parties-related research papers by scholars from Keele and elsewhere;
- to expand postgraduate training in the study of political parties, principally through Keele's MA in Parties and Elections and the multinational PhD summer school, with which its members are closely involved;
- to constitute a source of expertise on European parties and party politics for media and other interests.

The Unit shares the broader aims of the Keele European Research Centre, of which it is a part. KERC comprises staff and postgraduates at Keele who are actively conducting research into the politics of remaking and integrating Europe.

Convenor KEPRU: Dr Kurt Richard Luther (r.luther@keele.ac.uk)

The author is Professor of Political Science at the School of Politics, International Relations and the Environment (SPIRE) at Keele University

5.1 Introduction*

Parties live in diverse worlds. They live in the sphere of the state, largely controlling the selection of political personnel of all important institutions of the state. Some critics have warned that, once in government, they have virtually become the state (Katz & Mair, 1995: 22). At the same time, they remain voluntary social organisations whose viability depends also on their roots in society. It is exactly this dual role as state actors and societal organisations which makes political parties so essential for democratic governance. By connecting citizens with the institutions of the state, they represent a central linkage between citizens' preferences and actions of democratic governments. Generally speaking, 'any means by which political leaders act in accordance with the wants, needs, and demands of the public in making public policy is a political linkage' (Luttbeg, 1981: 3). V. O. Key has put it in similar terms, writing that linkage means the 'interconnections between mass opinion and public decision' (quoted in Lawson, 1988: 14). Clearly, linkage is more than just communication, it ties elite action to citizens' preferences.

The mechanism is, at least in principle, simple and efficient: since parties need votes for their survival, they are forced to take voters' wishes into account when deciding about policy. This requires them to inform themselves about the grievances, demands and preferences of their potential voters, offer them more or less coherent programmatic packages and, eventually, justify their action vis-à-vis their constituencies. In other words, the mechanism of democratic party competition (Schumpeter, 1950: 428) induces responsiveness (albeit within limits) even if a party were exclusively concerned with achieving office. Parties need to fulfil this linkage function whether they like it or not, whether they are primarily motivated by seeking office, votes or policy, because votes are always the precondition for achieving any other goal (Budge & Farlie, 1983: 22; Budge & Keman, 1990: 10-15; Downs, 1957; Klingemann, Hofferbert, & Budge, 1994: 22-30; Laver & Schofield, 1990: 36-38; {Müller & Strom 1999 #5435}; Sartori, 1976: 25; Strom, 1990). Parties, or, more precisely, party elites may choose to value the goal of achieving office higher than that of maximising their electoral performance, or they may be prepared to incur loss of office and votes in exchange for policy achievements. Yet they cannot do without votes, and this, in turn, means that they cannot do without providing linkage between the institutions of government and the electorate at large, even though the strength of linkage will vary

* Draft Chapter for 'Political Parties in the New Europe: Political and Analytical Challenges' K R Luther and F Müller-Rommel, eds., forthcoming 2002, Oxford University Press

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

according to their primary goal. Even parties which have opted for a strategy of fundamental opposition, that is, who have chosen never to join government, provide linkage: By putting pressure on competing parties, they force them to adjust their policies so as to ensure that the challenger party does not grow excessively large.

However, linkage is not only the inevitable by-product of party competition, it also has an essential function for parties as organisations which, like all organisations, seek to stabilise and control relevant organisational environments in order to ensure their survival (Panebianco, 1988: 12; Streeck, 1987: 488). By providing a 'a substantive connection between rulers and ruled' (Lawson, 1980: 3), which is open to input from both ends, parties can hope to stabilise one of their most important environments, namely their electoral support. Parties can follow two strategies to achieve this goal:

- they can try to communicate directly with individual voters;
- they can connect to voters through different organisational mediators.

Essentially, both kinds of linkage are based on the same mechanism: Votes are exchanged for policies or, more realistically, policy pledges. The way this exchange comes about is, however, fundamentally different, as will be explained in the following section.

5.2 Two Kinds of Linkage

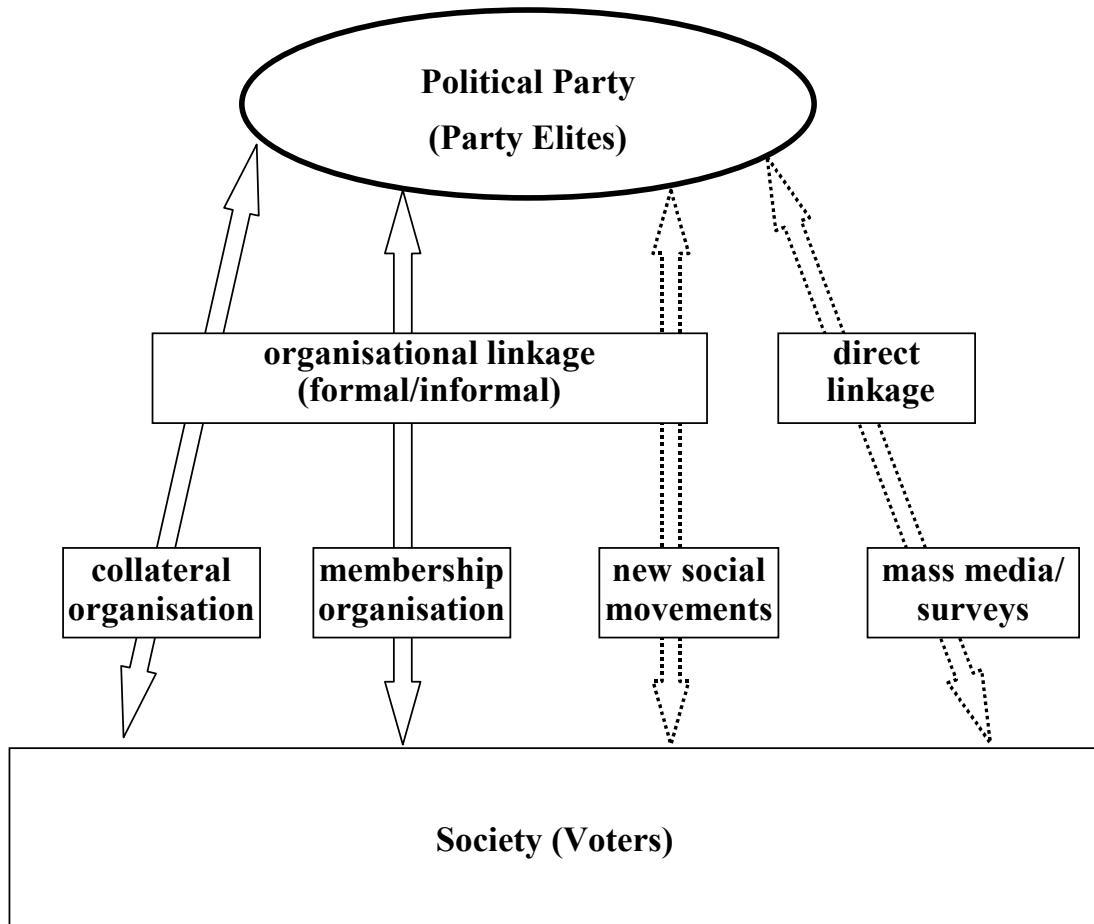
Parties are no unitary organisations. On the contrary, they consist of different fragments or organisational faces (Katz & Mair, 1995: 594-601), which do not necessarily share the same interests, preoccupations and goals. While it is certainly a simplification to distinguish solely between party elites and the party membership organisation, as it is shown in Figure 1, this suffices from our analytical perspective. After all, the essence of linkage is the provision of a connection between those in elite positions and the electorate at large. Seen from the perspective of party elites who need to connect to voters, their own membership organisation is just one of several organisational environments which they can use to establish linkage to relevant portions of the electorate.

In addition to these organisational linkages, to which we will return shortly, party elites establish direct linkage to voters by communicating through the mass media, by using techniques of political marketing and, increasingly, by using means of individualised direct communication like direct mailing, email

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

campaigns and the internet. More and more, these direct linkages involve opportunities for a direct response by individual voters. Conventional direct mailings and email campaigns, for example, ask for voters' responses (Römmele, 1997), while websites normally invite visitors to express their political preferences online. In addition, traditional mass media serve as 'observation systems' which inform party elites about emerging political problems and conflicts (Pfetsch, 1998: 240). Naturally, politicians try to enhance their knowledge about the distribution of individual preferences through increasingly sophisticated opinion research, involving representative surveys and focus group studies. Still, the basis of direct linkage is individualised exchange: politicians try to find out about the distribution of individual preferences and promise responsiveness in exchange for individual electoral support. Such support may be perpetuated through individual socio-psychological ties to parties, but its basis is individual, not collective. In other words, direct linkage between party elites and voters involves no interest aggregation, which means that party elites are left to themselves when deciding which demands and grievances are more relevant than others (admittedly, with the help of opinion research and media feedback). Equally important, and unlike organisational linkage, the exchange relationship via direct linkage does not facilitate agreement on binding deals between party elites and groups of voters. Compared to the effects of organisational linkage, to which we will now turn, direct linkage leaves party elites less secure about voters' demands, and it binds voters less securely to a political party.

Figure 5.1 Party and Society: The Nature of Linkage



Linkage through organisation, on the contrary, means that a considerable part of interest selection and aggregation is achieved without the involvement of party elites. Appropriate organisational environments like, for example, trade unions, religious organisations or a party's own youth organisation, select and aggregate relevant grievances into reasonably coherent packages of political demands which then become the object of negotiation between organisational and party elites. In principle, this facilitates agreement on political packages which will normally not reflect all demands initially raised by a given organisation, but represent a mutually acceptable compromise. While direct linkage is based on individual party support in exchange for elite responsiveness, organisational linkage is based on an exchange between party elites and organisational elites who can mobilise or withdraw the support of their organisation for a political party.

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

Clearly, organisational linkage provides party elites with a much clearer image about relevant grievances among relevant portions of their electorate than direct linkage, because intra-organisational process of interest selection and aggregation have already identified those demands which are most relevant to a majority of organisational members. If organisational elites reach agreement with party elites, they will then mobilise their organisation in support of this party, not least in an election campaign. As long as organisational integration is high, organisation members may cast their vote according to their leaders' recommendation even if they disagree with individual elements of the deal, because their prime loyalty is to the organisation. In other words, organisational linkage extends the organisational 'reach' of party elites beyond the boundaries of their own organisation or, to use Panebianco's terminology, it stabilises relevant environments (Panebianco, 1988: 209). In a nutshell, organisational linkage facilitates two-way communication between party elites and groups of voters, mediated through organisational channels and based on the exchange of electoral mobilisation for policy responsiveness. The exact nature of this exchange varies, however, according to the kind of organisational environment and the degree of formalisation of these organisational contacts.

5.3 Formal and Informal Linkage between Organisations

Exchange between organisations can be formal and informal. Informal ties between a political party and a relevant organisation are essentially based on *reaction* to pressure (Lawson, 1988:15), which is applied in (semi)-permanent negotiations by organisational elites. They may threaten to mobilise their members against certain party policies, or they may advise them against casting their vote for this party in the next elections should certain policy demands not be met. Clearly, this requires that both party and organisation belong to the same political camp. Otherwise, such blackmailing attempts would simply be meaningless. Still, both partners are fully independent of each other although their belonging to the same political camp clearly limits the options available to them.

While formal ties between organisations may in some cases also involve reaction to pressure, they are primarily based on the principle of *penetration*. In most cases, this means that organisational elites have guaranteed, permanent access to a party's decision-making bodies (or vice versa) while in relatively few cases such ties are based on the proportional representation of members in party assemblies, or on the requirement for party members to join a specific organisation. Such rights of access and

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

participation are normally codified in party statutes. The formal and open acknowledgement of a privileged relationship between organisations implies that there are high thresholds against terminating such connections. Not only would this require a formal rule change, which usually involves specific procedural hurdles like a qualified majority. It would also represent an explicit political statement regarding the relationship under question. This is only likely to come about if either both partners agree that a continuation of exclusive relationships is detrimental, or if one partner decides that the other is no longer needed. In any case, it is a highly visible political move, which means that formalised ties between organisations will normally survive phases of strained relationships. Clearly, linkage based on formal organisational ties is more durable, stable and effective than linkage through informal ties, and this is what makes it particularly valuable for party political elites. However, the effectiveness of linkage also depends on the nature of the organisational environment which is connected to party elites through formal or informal ties.

5.4 Three Types of Organisational Environments

Political parties seek to establish stable relations to those organisational environments which are relevant for their survival and success as political organisations. This includes the institutions of the state and several societal arenas (Panebianco 1988: 12). Figure 5.1 depicts those three kinds of organisational environments which facilitate, in principle, organisationally mediated linkage between party elites and the electorate: collateral organisations, the party membership organisation, and new social movements.

5.4.1 *New Social Movements*

New social movements are characterised by a predominant lack of formal organisation, which makes formal ties to party organisations very difficult. They can be understood as networks of networks (Neidhart, 1985: 197) based on a high degree of symbolic integration and low levels of role differentiation (Neidhart & Rucht, 1993, 1993: 315-17; Rucht, 1994: 79, 154). Particularly in phases of high mobilisation, they tend to generate steering committees which can be regarded, to a limited degree, as functional equivalents of decision-making bodies of traditional organisations (Schmitt, 1989, Rochon, 1988: 77-82). While the capacity of such movements to act collectively depends to a

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

considerable degree on movement elites active in such co-ordination bodies (Kaase, 1990: 90), their political mandate typically remains precarious. In fact, their elevated position within the movement rests to a considerable degree on external ascription (mainly by the mass media or other political actors), while their legitimation through the movement itself remains weak. After all, new social movements simply lack the degree of internal formalisation which is the essential precondition for elite selection, because individual movement organisations tend to guard their autonomy. The absence of movement elites with a reliable mandate makes new social movement therefore an unlikely candidate for formal organisational ties with political parties.

There are, however, highly formalised and professionalised elements within new social movements which would, in principle, meet all the organisational requirements to be stable and reliable partners for party elites. Organisations like Greenpeace, Amnesty International and other kinds of NGOs could permanently liaise with a political party. However, these movement organisations are particularly concerned with maintaining their non-partisan image, which is, after all, also a precondition for their substantial fundraising capacity (Dalton, 1994).

While political parties can at best expect to forge informal ties to new social movements, even those are of limited value for party elites seeking to stabilise their electorate. The reason is that new social movements are weak interest aggregators, which limits the effects of linkage. They tend to be based on the smallest common denominator, endorse a plurality of ideological and strategic orientations and frequently limit inherent centrifugal tendencies by calling for maximal solutions (Neidhart & Rucht, 1993: 318; Rucht, 1993: 265). Hence, political parties who depend primarily on linkage through new social movements (like, for example Green parties) have to live with a structurally weak social anchorage which can provide them with comparatively little electoral stability. While good relations to new social movements may be a significant (though highly contingent) electoral asset in phases of high protest mobilisation, it is of little value in quiet times.

5.4.2 *Collateral Organisations*

Collateral organisations are those intermediary organisations which interact either formally or informally with political parties and thereby connect party elites with relevant portions of the

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

electorate. As discussed above, they select, articulate and aggregate interests relevant to their memberships and attempt to influence party policies accordingly. While informal ties may be less durable than formal ties, all collateral organisations will normally interact with a given party (or party political camp) over a longer period of time. Typically, collateral organisations target specific social groups or clearly defined interests. This enables them to recruit members who would not be willing to join a given political party, although they will normally have a generalised sympathy for it (Duverger, 1964: 107; Beyme, 1980: 196f.). A party's youth organisation, to mention an obvious example, may attract radical militants who would reject some of the mother party's political positions as being too moderate, or devout Catholics may join a religious organisation affiliated to a Christian party, but would hesitate to join the party directly. While some of these organisations are created by the party itself, others have emerged without party political involvement; often prior to political parties (Poguntke, 2000: 40f.). Traditional mass integration parties are the classic example of parties embedded in a dense network of collateral organisations which amounted to an integrated subculture encompassing virtually all aspects of life from childhood to old age. The connections between a party and its collateral organisations represented an essential element of the organisational petrification of the cleavage structure of European societies (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967; Bartolini & Mair, 1990: 215). While there can be little doubt that these subcultures have lost much of their strength, the degree of a party's subcultural integration is still an important factor contributing to its electoral stability (Bartolini & Mair, 1990: 235-43; Duverger, 1964: 51; Lepsius, 1973: 67, Luther & Deschouwer, 1998).

Whereas some collateral organisations are fully independent of a given party, many are strongly tied to their party via partially or fully overlapping memberships and mutual co-determination rights. Although *ancillary organisations* are fully integrated in the party organisation and require all members to join the main party, they are nevertheless capable of attracting members who would not be prepared to join the main party. Such a unitary party structure is typical of social democratic parties, while other ideological families often affiliate collateral organisations, which means that there is only partial membership overlap between party and *affiliated organisations*. The differences should not be overestimated, however, and parties frequently combine both organisational models or relax the membership requirements for some of their ancillary organisations (Poguntke, 2000: 35-41). Linkage through *corporate membership* represents a fundamentally different connection between party and an

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

intermediary organisation and involves collective membership of organisational members in a party. While the case of the British Labour Party has gained widespread attention in scholarly and public debate, the so-called Labour Party model based on corporate membership links between a left-wing party and the trade union movement has remained the exception rather than the rule. In any case, it had been phased out by the early 1990s in Norway and Sweden while it was substantially reformed in the UK (Svasand, 1992: 763; Svasand, 1994b: 305; Pierre & Widfeldt, 1992: 813; Pierre & Widfeldt, 1994: 337.; Alderman & Carter, 1994; 1995: 444; Richards, 1997: 30f.; Webb, 1992: 35; 1994: 115).

5.4.3 Party Membership Organisation

Linkage through the membership organisation is certainly the most tightly knit connection between party elites and voters; and with the exception of political parties in the United States, it is universal in all Western democracies, where all relevant parties enrol individual members. Party members are normally ideal communicators of their party's political goals and ambitions in their immediate and wider social environment. They tend to be more attentive to their party's political moves and hence are better informed about its policies (Niedermayer, 1989: 35f.). Even passive party members are more likely to speak out publicly in favour of their party. At the same time, they are important sensors in society and will provide feedback to their leaders about their communities' opinions and grievances. However, this linkage function cannot be taken for granted. In principle, party elites enter into exactly the same exchange relationship with lower levels of their own membership organisation as they do with elites from collateral organisations or new social movements. Since parties are voluntary organisation, leaders of lower-level organisational units will normally not just obey orders from their national leaders (Eldersveld, 1964: 7-12; Eldersveld, 1982: 99). On the contrary, the cohesion of democratic parties is essentially the result of permanent negotiations between different fragments of the party over policy and also, of course, over positions of power and patronage. In this process, lower-level party units select and aggregate interests which are then channelled into a multi-layered negotiation and decision-making process which essentially leads to the formulation of national party policies (Epstein, 1967:113-22). In other words, in order to ensure mobilisation and support by the rank-and-file, national party elites need to agree with middle-level elites about policies and office. Otherwise, they risk parts of their own membership organisation remaining passive during an election campaign or mobilising protest against policies which are supported by the national leadership.

5.5 Measuring Organisational Linkage

The preceding discussion has established that organisational linkage is more effective than direct linkage, particularly if it is formalised. Therefore, any empirical analysis of how party organisational linkage has evolved over a long period of time should concentrate on formal organisational linkage, that is, on linkage through collateral organisation and membership organisation. Other aspects, which may not be as effective in stabilising parties' electorates, are covered also in the chapters by *????* *????*

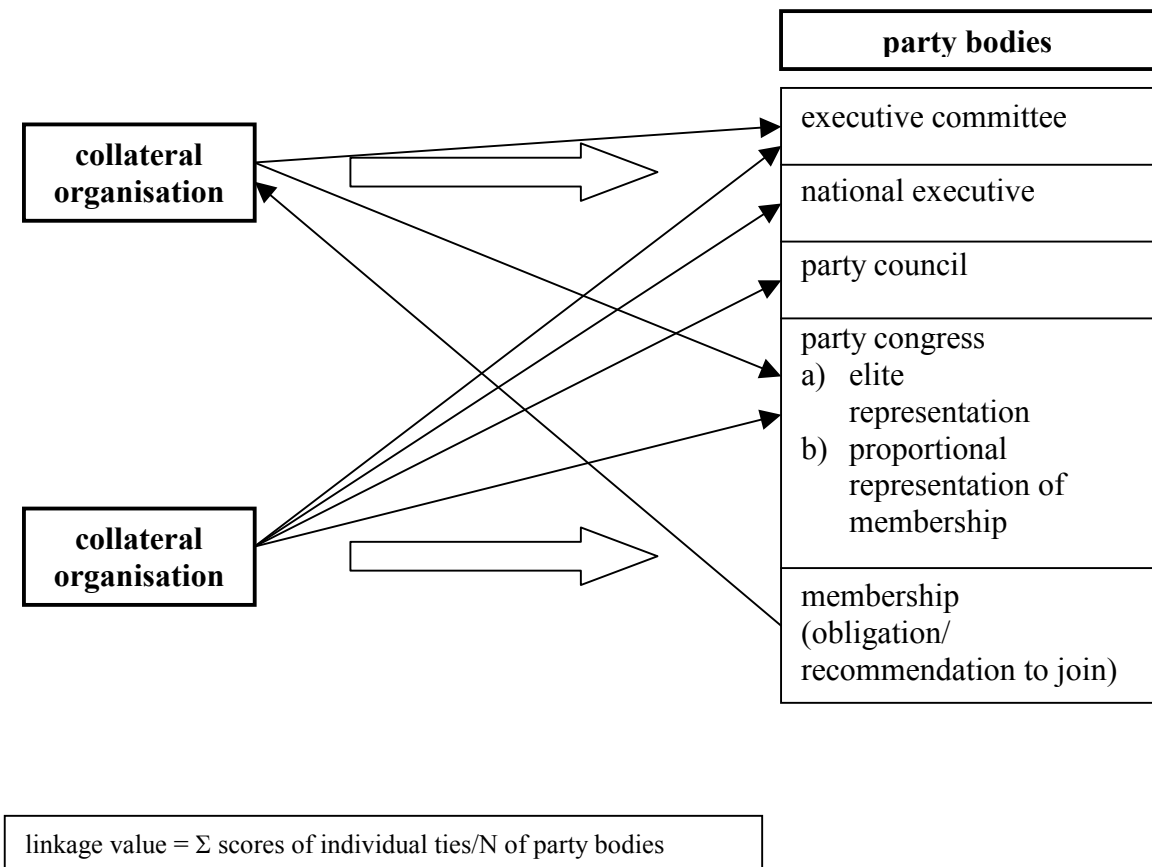
The best and most straightforward way of operationalising the strength of linkage via a party's membership organisation is a standardised measure of membership size. Obviously, the number of party members is only a meaningful gauge for linkage strength if the proportion of active and passive members does not vary substantially across countries and party types. In addition, we must be reasonably certain that membership activity has not substantially changed over time, because this could then render any longitudinal comparison meaningless (van Deth, 1998; Poguntke, 1998). However, research has shown that neither ideological orientations nor national traditions cause gross variation in the activity rate of party members. Everywhere, only a minority of those who join a political party get actively involved in its internal life, and there is no indication that this has dramatically changed over time (Becker, Hombach et al., 1983: 79f.; Bürklin, Neu, & Veen, 1997: 31-33; Falke, 1982: 72; Heidar, 1994: 67-72, 84; Selle & Svasand, 1991: 462-66; Seyd & Whiteley, 1992: 87-97; Niedermayer, 1989: 41-46; Whiteley, Seyd, & Richardson, 1994: 72-77). Not even Green parties, which had initially set out to create participatory party organisations have succeeded in getting a significantly larger share of their members actively involved (Poguntke, 1987; Poguntke, 1993: 155-58; Kitschelt, 1989: 149-51).

However, sheer membership size is not a meaningful measure for comparing the strength of linkage across time and between parties of very different electoral strength. After all, membership figures may simply go up as a result of a growing electorate, or because a party is becoming more successful at the polls (Katz et al., 1992). We can control for such intervening variables by expressing the raw numbers as a percentage of the overall electorate (M/E). This makes a party's membership size comparable across time and nations of widely differing populations. However, it measures tells us nothing about a

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

party's ability to penetrate its own electorate organisationally, which is the appropriate question to ask if we want to assess the strength of linkage via the membership organisation. Therefore, the ratio of a party's membership to its own electorate (M/V) has been chosen as an indicator of *membership density*. By thus standardising membership figures we obtain a measure which is comparable across time and between parties. Like most standardised measures, however, membership density is not without problems, because it will vary as a result of both, a given party's changing performance in recruiting members and attracting voters. In other words, increasing membership density may indicate organisational success or electoral failure. The effect of such possible distortions can be limited by calculating the average membership over several consecutive elections or by analysing groups of parties at a given point in time (Poguntke, 2000: 217-22).

Figure 5.2 Calculating a Linkage Value per Party



5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

The discussion above has shown that formal linkage through collateral organisation is based on the principle of penetration. Members of one organisation (mostly elites) have a *guaranteed right of access* to important decision-making bodies of another organisation. The overall strength of a party's linkage through collateral organisations can therefore be measured via the number and intensity of such organisational ties between party and one or several collateral organisations. Figure 5.2 shows how a party's linkage value is calculated: Each collateral organisation can have more than one formal tie to the party organisation (represented by the thin arrows) which add up to the thick arrows depicting the strength of the connection between this organisation and the party. The measure differentiates between different methods of selecting organisational representatives and between different voting rights. In other words, the number of individual ties are weighted by their substantive meaning. After all, it makes a difference whether a collateral organisation *delegates* its representatives to a party's decision-making bodies or whether the party *selects* organisational representatives according to its own criteria. In addition, not all representatives have full voting rights (see table 1., appendix). Finally, the measure controls for the variable number of party bodies across parties and time by dividing the aggregate value of individual ties by the number of existing party bodies.

The data on linkage through collateral organisations, which will be presented in the following section, has been obtained by coding synopses of party statutes covering the period of time between 1960 and 1989 (Katz & Mair, 1992b). Reliance on party statutes as a source of information about internal party procedures inevitably raises doubts as to whether parties do obey their own rules. While it is certainly true that rules tend to get ignored (Appleton, 1994: 23-26), they nevertheless represent the ultimate constraints in internal power games (Poguntke, 2000: 84f.). Or, as Katz and Mair wrote in 1992, 'they tend to reflect the existing balance of power within the party as a political system, and hence shifts in that balance are likely to be reflected, at least eventually, in discernible modifications in the rules' (Katz & Mair, 1992a: 7).

5.6 From Social Anchorage to Detachment? Linkage since the 1960s

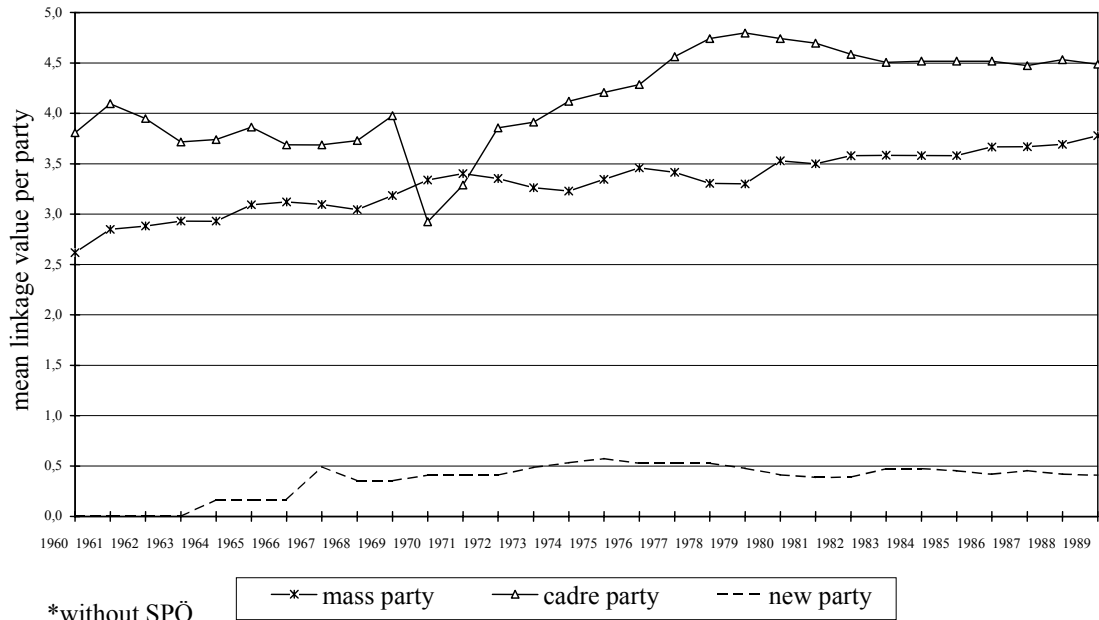
How has formal organisational linkage between party elites and electorates changed since the 1960s? The following analysis is based on data on 78 parties in 11 western European nations^{*}, which means that it covers virtually all western European democracies with an uninterrupted history of democratic party government since the early 1960s.

Throughout the analysis, parties have been grouped according to their organisational origin, that is, whether they were founded as cadre or mass parties. The third group consists of all parties which emerged after World War II, when electoral markets were already fully mobilised[†], because this confronted such parties with entirely different conditions when trying to build up linkages to relevant portions of the electorate (Lipset & Rokkan 1967). This organisational classification of parties facilitates a test of two alternative theories about party organisational development which attracted much attention in scholarly debate. While Panebianco maintains that the original model of party organisation will remain visible throughout a party's history (albeit with receding intensity) (Panebianco, 1988: 17-20, 49-53), Duverger has suggested that the success of the mass party model will lead to a 'contagion from the Left', forcing all parties to imitate this organisational model (Duverger, 1964: XXVII). Similarly, Kirchheimer tended to view parties as organisations which would be compelled by the forces of party competition to increasingly resemble each other by embarking on a catch-all strategy (although he made some important qualifications to this generalisation by excluding, for example, parties in smaller countries) (Kirchheimer, 1966).

^{*} The study includes Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK. For a detailed documentation of operationalisations and data sources see Poguntke, 2000.

[†] All parties which were founded after 1950 were included in this group.

Figure 5.3 Linkage values of organizational types*



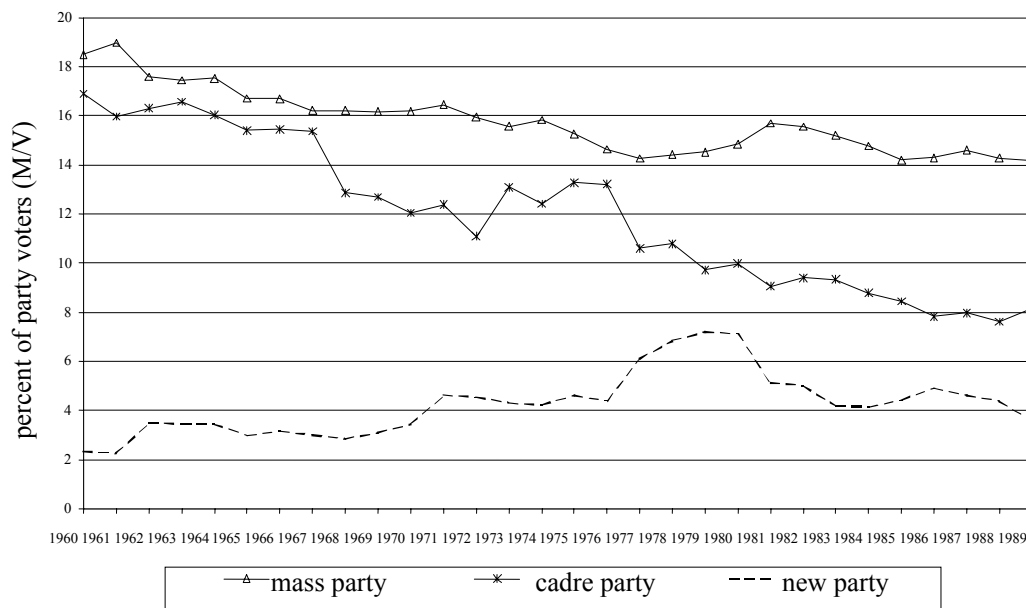
The data on linkage through collateral organisations clearly corroborates Duverger’s evolutionary perspective. On average, traditional cadre parties have even stronger organisational linkages than mass parties (Figure 5.3). In other words, they are ‘over-achievers’ in imitating what they have identified as a superior organisational model. While it could have been expected that processes of social modernisation, or even individualisation, may have weakened parties’ organisational anchors in society, there has been a slight increase over time. The dominant picture, however, is one of tremendous stability over a long period of time which has been characterised by significant social change. Equally conspicuous is the almost entire lack of organisational linkage among the growing group of new parties.

The dominant image of stability changes considerably, however, when we turn to the development of membership density (Figure 5.4). Linkage through party membership has declined dramatically since 1960, and the traditional cadre parties have suffered most. While both traditional party types closely resemble each other in the early 1960s, which again supports Duverger’s adaptation thesis, later developments lend support to Panebianco’s argument that organisational traits remain visible for a very

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

long time. Parties without a genuine mass party tradition apparently find it more difficult to maintain high membership figures in an age where party membership declines across the board. Nevertheless, it is clear that mass parties' hold on their membership has also been eroded since 1960, and more recent data clearly show that this trend has, if anything, accelerated (Scarrow, 2000; Mair & van Biezen, 2000). Again, new parties are characterised by very weak linkage over the entire 30-year period; the temporary increase of the average membership density around the eighties does not indicate a significant exception. Rather, it is a short-lived aberration from the pattern caused by the emergence of several new parties.

Figure 5.4 Membership Density of Organizational Types



Overall, we are therefore confronted with a paradoxical combination of stability and change. While linkage through collateral organisations has been tremendously stable, western European membership organisations have declined substantially. Matters are complicated further by the complete absence of any significant change among new parties, albeit for the simple reason that they have remained on a very rudimentary level of linkage throughout. Since the group of new parties has attracted an increasing share of the vote, this has clearly contributed to an overall decline of linkage in western European party systems since the 1960s.

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

A possible explanation for the uneven development of both kinds of linkage could be that they are not equally effective in stabilising the electorate. Perhaps party elites have actively worked against the maintenance of large membership organisations, because party members are of little electoral value, whereas they constrain their leaders' freedom of manoeuvre (Epstein, 1967: 116; Katz, 1990: 145f.). If this argument were true, it could also partially explain the absence of any significant linkage among new parties: While new parties found it difficult to forge alliances with intermediary organisations because they emerged after this market had already been divided up (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967: 51; Mair, 1997: 35f.), they never even attempted, so the potential argument goes, to build up a strong membership organisations (they could have still attempted to initiate the foundation of party-induced collateral organisations).

5.7 Does Party Organisation Matter?

Any meaningful answer to the questions raised at the end of the preceding section depends on knowledge about the effectiveness of both linkage variants. To this end, the association between linkage strength and electoral performance has been tested. In order to facilitate comparison across time and parties of very different electoral strength, a standardised measure of electoral performance, the standardised party volatility, has been used as dependent variable (Bartolini & Mair, 1990: 20; Pedersen, 1983: 31-34).[‡] If both linkage variants were equally effective in stabilising a party's electorate, we would expect high levels of membership density and linkage through collateral organisations to be associated with low standardised party volatility. Naturally, a measure of linkage strength *prior* to the election in question needs to be used for this analysis. To this end, the mean linkage level over the period beginning in the year of the previous election and ending in the year prior to the next election has been used as independent variable. Since we are dealing with a large number of potentially very diverse countries, party types and ideological families, analyses have been performed separately for each category. This minimises the danger of statistical artefacts as a result of aggregating very diverse cases. In other words, by analysing subgroups separately, we can be reasonably certain that a strong positive association in one group, for example, does not 'override' several weaker negative correlations. The results documented in Table 5.1 (columns 1 and 2) show almost breathtaking

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

uniformity. With very few exceptions, all correlation coefficients (Pearson's r) are, as expected, negative. High levels of both linkage variants are clearly associated with electoral stability.

[‡] Standardised party volatility is the percentage difference between election I and election II expressed as a percentage of the result of election I.

Table 5.1 Party Organization and Volatility (1960-89)*

ideological family	membership density	linkage value	change of rate of organisation
extreme Left	-.201	-.282	.165
green-alternative parties	.540	-.065	.019
Social Democrats	-.198	-.156	.175
Liberals	-.129	-.115	.142
Agrarians	-.330	-.147	.190
bourgeois Right	.141	-.029	.164
rest	-.188	-.087	.093
organizational type			
mass party	-.147	-.201	.211
cadre party	.006	.100	.228
new party	.082	-.058	.056
country			
Belgium	-.233	-.035	.507
Denmark	-.221	-.254	.130
Germany	-.164	-.293	.374
Finland	-.337	-.228	.462
Great Britain	-.075	.089	-.172
Ireland	.594	-.143	.556
Italy	-.401	-.020	.031
Netherlands	-.256	-.415	.201
Norway	-.304	-.357	-.114
Austria	-.290	-.348	-.015
Sweden	-.038	-.017	.484
total	-.190	-.163	.158

*Pearson's r between column headings and the value of standardised party volatility (right column with positive/negative signs)

Obviously, linkage via organisational channels should not only help to stabilise a party's electorate. Successful efforts to strengthen organisational anchorage in society should, in turn, lead to better results at the polls, while weakening linkage should lead to electoral decline. After all, if party elites have more ties with supportive collateral organisations or can mobilise more party members, they can reach out to a larger number of voters. The dynamic effect of linkage can only be tested for the membership organisation, because parties rarely change their organisational ties. In this case, we need a way of standardising membership size, which is independent of the party's electoral performance

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

(unlike membership density). Therefore, the rate of organisation (membership as a proportion of the electorate, M/E) has been used as indicator. The percentage of change of a party's rate of organisation over one electoral period should be positively associated with a parallel change in subsequent electoral performance, again measured through standardised party volatility. In other words, rising membership figures prior to an election should make electoral gains more likely, while membership losses should be followed by electoral decline. Again, our theoretical reasoning is convincingly corroborated by the empirical findings. Column 3 of Table 5.1 shows that only 3 out of 22 correlation coefficients do not have the expected positive sign.

Overall, the findings strongly support the notion that both variants of linkage help parties stabilise their electoral environments. Overall, a mere 10 out of 66 coefficients have a 'wrong' sign, which is a very strong result for this kind of data. Without doubt, party organisation matters, and this is true for linkage through collateral organisations and through membership alike. Party elites have powerful incentives to maintain a strong membership organisation, because, just like collateral organisations, it represents an important electoral asset. Obviously, we need to find alternative explanations for the differential development of both linkage variants since the 1960s.

5.8 Declining Organisational Linkage – Rising Populism?

The puzzle of our empirical results can be disentangled by referring back to our original argument about the different nature of direct and organisationally mediated linkage and the different kinds of organisational environments that can serve as connecting medium between party elites and voters (see Figure 1). Essentially, this provides party elites with three very different modes of linking to society.

Linkage through formal organisation connects party elites primarily to the traditional segments of society. This includes those who are prepared to join a party in large numbers, or who are members of collateral organisations defending relatively homogenous social interest. As societies have become socially more diverse (van Deth, 1995), however, these organisations have found it increasingly difficult to maintain their attractiveness. On the one hand, ever fewer people fall into neat social categories like the classic manual worker, who has nothing to lose but his chains, or the archetypal church-going Catholic farmer in Southern Europe (Streeck, 1987: 474-82; Weßels, 1991: 457; Rucht,

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

1993: 271f.; Katz, 1990: 145). And even those who still belong to these groups may have far more independent views than in the past, not least because, with the advent of the mass media, information is no longer controlled by social elites (Poguntke, 2000: 56f.). Whereas these organisations are still important mobilisers and aggregators, their overall role has clearly declined. Many have suffered membership decline, while others have become internally more pluralistic. To be sure, the apparent stability of linkage via collateral organisations conceals, to a degree, their diminishing substantial importance. Still, they have in most cases remained important allies for party elites, which explains that organisationally mediated linkage has remained so staggeringly stable. After all, as long as mutual benefits outweigh the problems caused by increasing heterogeneity, both party and organisational elites have no reason to terminate exclusive relationships. The few conspicuous cases where close links between parties of the left and the trade unions have been severed indicate, however, that a point can be reached where a formerly beneficial symbiosis turns into a liability (Alderman & Carter, 1995; Richards, 1997: 30f.; Svasand, 1994a: 315; Webb, 1992: 35; Webb, 1994: 115; Widfeldt, 1997: 91).

To a degree, this explains our somewhat paradoxical empirical results. While linkage through collateral organisation has been largely maintained despite a gradual erosion of its effectiveness, the decline of party membership has been directly visible. In other words, our measure of linkage through collateral organisations tends to overestimate stability, because it is not very sensitive to gradual change in the substantive effectiveness of a given organisational connection. Such changes will only become visible if the formal link is eventually terminated. No doubt, it remains a task for future research to produce systematic insights into the ongoing gradual erosion of parties' organisational environments.

Linkage through new social movements, on the other hand, provides connections to the modern, individualistic segments of the electorate. While there is, of course, some overlap between members of traditional organisations and those who are active in protest movements, the latter tend to be reluctant to join formal organisations. Parties which are generally sympathetic to the causes of new social movements will therefore try to establish stable relationships with the 'protest sector', even though its lack of internal formalisation and dependence on mobilising issues means that such linkages are highly unstable and contingent upon cycles of protest mobilisation.

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

While *direct linkage* reaches, in principle, the entire population, it is particularly relevant as a means of connecting to those portions of the electorate that cannot be reached otherwise. This includes a very diverse constituency, ranging from those who are aloof from politics to those who are politically interested but unwilling to get collectively involved in political activity. In any case, the very nature of direct linkage means that those who can only be reached via this channel make up the least reliable portion of a party's electorate. As their share of the electorate is growing everywhere, parties increasingly focus their attention on ever more sophisticated campaigning techniques (see chapter by **Farrell**).

Now that the paradox of declining party membership and stable organisational linkage has been explained, we can turn our attention to the most conspicuous result of the empirical analysis, which clearly is the enormous difference between new parties and the two traditional party types. Old parties combine all modes of linkage. They have managed to maintain their ties with collateral organisations while they could do little to counteract the decline of their own membership organisations, although they are still much stronger than those of new parties. Depending on their ideological orientation, old parties have frequently managed to connect to the so-called movement sector also. This is particularly true for parties of the left who have been relatively successful in forging and maintaining informal alliances with parts of the ecology and peace movements. New parties, on the contrary, have not taken strong organisational roots in western European society; neither through links to collateral organisations, nor through the creation of strong membership organisations. As regards their ideology, new parties are a very mixed bag. They span the entire left-right continuum, comprising parties of the New Left, Greens, Centrist parties like the Dutch D'66 or the Danish Centre Democrats, regionalist parties and right-wing populists of various shades (Poguntke, 2000: 99). Those with ideological affinity to the New Politics have thrived on the mobilisational support through new social movement in the 1980s (Poguntke, 1987), while others have relied almost exclusively on direct linkage.

Regardless of all ideological differences, this leaves old and new parties with significantly different structural opportunities for competition in the electoral market. Old parties can rely on a relatively stable core of voters which they reach via organisational linkage. However, what is, in principle, a significant electoral asset may at times turn into a substantial liability. After all, strong connections

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

with powerful social interests like trade unions or religious organisations may prevent political parties from responding with sufficient flexibility to demands from unaligned voters. To the extent that these core constituencies are shrinking, such parties are cross-pressured between satisfying their organisational allies and trying to reach out to new voter groups. Policies which may win the approval of, for example, unionised manual workers or Catholic churchgoers (who are likely to support their respective parties anyway) may, in turn, alienate large numbers of less attached voters on the fringes. The struggle of the German Christian Democrats against further liberalisation of the abortion law, or the difficulties of many social democratic parties to reconcile traditional union-oriented policies with the need to attract the unaligned new middle class vote are obvious examples for such strategic difficulties.

New parties which maintain strong ties to new social movements may face similar cross-pressures, albeit for very different reasons. While old parties are torn between demands based on organisationally mediated interest aggregation and the need to attract unattached voters, such parties may fall victim to the weak interest aggregation typical of new social movements. Frequently, they will be confronted with maximum demands coming from different single issue movements, which are difficult to integrate into coherent policy packages. The German Greens, for examples, have been ridden by deep conflicts between a general libertarian attitude towards crime and feminist pressures for much harder penalties for rapists. Once in government, such conflicts threaten to undermine the very basis of such parties' electoral support. Again, the example of the German Green Minister for the Environment being confronted by angry anti-nuclear campaigners trying to block transports of nuclear waste exemplifies the difficulties inherent in the attempt to reconcile a tradition of protest politics with governmental incumbency. To be sure, some old parties which have connected to the movement sector may find themselves emeshed in similar debates. They are, however, not nearly as dependent on the continuing support from the movement sector as are new parties.

All parties without strong linkages (mainly new parties) depend on the skilful operation of direct linkage techniques. As the number of unattached voters has increased in modern democracies, their opportunities have grown. Those who are not organisationally integrated are, on balance, more susceptible to media-centred campaigns, personalisation and populist appeals. This has become

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

particularly visible on the right of the political spectrum, where different shades of new right-wing parties have made considerable electoral inroads. This includes ideologically rather diverse parties like the Scandinavian Progress parties, the French National Front, the German Republicans and the Italian Lega Nord (Ignazi, 1992; Beyme, 1988; Kitschelt, 1995). They share a strong emphasis on populist appeals and are frequently led by skilful media operators. Probably the most conspicuous example of a party almost exclusively dependent on its media presence is the Italian Forza Italia; a party mainly based on the media power of its founder and 'proprietor' Silvio Berlusconi, which has twice earned him the highest executive office in the country (Calise, 1994). However, this group includes also old parties who have identified new opportunities by turning populist. Clearly, the Austrian FPÖ is the most successful case in point (Luther, 1988, Luther, 2001).

To a degree, the success of populist parties may indicate a much broader tendency in European democracies. Instead of being the result of processes of intra-organisational interest aggregation, policy decisions may increasingly be determined by the results of political marketing using sophisticated survey techniques and focus group research. Inevitably, this will lead to less coherent political packages. While this may also reflect the growing heterogeneity of modern society, it is mainly the product of changes in internal policy formulation. In the wake of declining organisational linkage, traditional parties depend ever more on targeting their voters directly. Faced with the decline of stable social alliances and the receding capability to formulate unambiguous political alternatives, the electoral appeal of traditional parties depends progressively more on their leaders' capability as media performers. They may refrain from the boldness of outright populism for most of the time, but the temptations are clearly there.

References

- Alderman, Keith and Neil Carter (1994), 'The Labour Party and the Trade Unions: Loosening Ties', in: *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 47, No. 3, pp. 321-37.
- Alderman, Keith and Neil Carter (1995), 'The Labour Party Leadership and Deputy Leadership Elections of 1994', in: *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 48, pp. 438-55.
- Appleton, Andrew (1994), 'The Formal versus Informal Rules of French Political Parties' in: Kay Lawson (ed.), *How Political Parties Work: Perspectives from Within*, Westport, Ct.: Praeger, pp. 23-54.
- Bartolini, Stefano and Peter Mair (1990), *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability. The Stabilisation of European Electorates 1885-1985*, Cambridge u.a.: Cambridge University Press.
- Becker, Horst et al. (1983), *Die SPD von innen. Bestandsaufnahme an der Basis der Partei*, Bonn: Verlag Neue Gesellschaft.
- Beyme, Klaus von (1980), *Interessengruppen in der Demokratie*, 5. edn., München: Piper.
- Beyme, Klaus von (1988), *Right-wing Extremism in Western Europe*, London: Frank Cass.
- Budge, Ian and Dennis J. Farlie (1983), *Explaining and Predicting Elections. Issue Effects and Party Strategies in Twenty-Three Democracies*, London: Allen & Unwin.
- Budge, Ian and Hans Keman (1990), *Parties and Democracy. Coalition Formation and Government Functioning in Twenty States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bürklin, Wilhelm P., Viola Neu and Hans-Joachim Veen (1997), *Die Mitglieder der CDU*, St. Augustin: Interne Studie der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Nr. 148.
- Calise, Mauro (1994), 'The Italian Presidency: Beyond President and Parliament', in: *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 109, No. 3, pp. 441-60.
- Dalton, Russell J. (1994), *The Green Rainbow. Environmental Groups in Western Europe*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- Downs, Anthony (1957), *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York: Harper & Row.
- Duverger, Maurice (1964), *Political Parties*, 3. edn., London: Methuen.
- Eldersveld, Samuel J. (1964), *Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis*, Chicago: MacNally.
- Eldersveld, Samuel J. (1982), *Political Parties in American Society*, New York: Basic Books.
- Epstein, Leon D. (1967), *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, New York/Washington/London: Praeger.
- Falke, Wolfgang (1982), *Die Mitglieder der CDU. Eine empirische Studie zum Verhältnis der Mitglieder- und Organisationsstruktur der CDU 1971-1977*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.
- Heidar, Knut (1994), 'The Polymorphic Nature of Party Membership', in: *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 61-86.
- Ignazi, Piero (1992), 'The Silent Counter-Revolution. Hypotheses on the Emergence of Extreme Right-Wing Parties in Europe', in: *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 3-34.
- Kaase, Max (1990), 'Social Movements and Political Innovation' in: Russell J. Dalton and Manfred

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

- Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order. New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 84-101.
- Katz, Richard S. (1990), 'Party as Linkage: A Vestigial Function?', in: *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 143-61.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair (1992a), 'Introduction: The Cross-National Study of Party Organizations' in: Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *Party Organizations. A Data Handbook on Party Organizations in Western Democracies, 1960-90*, London/Newbury Park/New Delhi: Sage, pp. 1-20.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair (eds.) (1992b), *Party Organizations. A Data Handbook on Party Organizations in Western Democracies, 1960-90*, London/Newbury Park/New Delhi: Sage.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair (1995), 'Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party', in: *Party Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 5-28.
- Katz, Richard S. et al. (1992), 'The Membership of Political Parties in European Democracies, 1960-1990', in: *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 329-45.
- Kirchheimer, Otto (1966), 'The Transformation of the Western European Party System' in: Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (eds.), *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 177-200.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1989), *The Logics of Party Formation. Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*, Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert with A. McGann (1995), *The Radical Right in Western Europe*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Richard I. Hofferbert and Ian Budge (1994), *Parties, Policies, and Democracy*, Boulder/San Francisco/London: Westview.
- Laver, Michael and Norman Schofield (1990), *Multiparty Government. The Politics of Coalition in Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lawson, Kay (1980), 'Political Parties and Linkage' in: Kay Lawson (ed.), *Political Parties and Linkage. A Comparative Perspective*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, pp. 3-24.
- Lawson, Kay (1988), 'When Linkage Fails' in: Kay Lawson and Peter H. Merkl (eds.), *When Parties Fail. Emerging Alternative Organizations*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 13-38.
- Lepsius, M. Rainer (1973), 'Parteiensystem und Sozialstruktur: zum Problem der Demokratisierung der deutschen Gesellschaft' in: Gerhard A. Ritter (ed.), *Deutsche Parteien vor 1918*, Köln: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, pp. 56-80.
- Lipset, Seymour M. and Stein Rokkan (1967), 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction' in: Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds.), *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, New York/London: Free Press, pp. 1-64.
- Luther, Richard K. (1988), 'The Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs: Protest Party or Governing Party?' in: Emil J. Kirchner (ed.), *Liberal Parties in Western Europe*, Cambridge u.a.: Cambridge University Press, pp. 213-51.
- Luther, Richard K. (2001), From Populist Protest to Incumbency: The Strategic Challenges Facing Jörg Haider's Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), KEPRU Working Paper No 4.
- Luther, Kurt Richard and Deschouwer, Kris, eds. Party Elites in Divided Societies. Political Parties in

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

- Consociational Democracy. London/New York: Routledge; 1999.
- Luttbeg, Norman R. (1981), 'Introduction' in: Norman R. Luttbeg (ed.), *Public Opinion and Public Policy. Models of Political Linkage*, Ithaca, Ill.: Peacock, pp. 1-10.
- Mair, Peter (1997), *Party System Change. Approaches and Interpretations*, Oxford u.a.: Clarendon Press.
- Mair, Peter and Ingrid van Biezen (2000), 'Party Membership in Twenty European Democracies, 1980-2000', in: *Party Politics*, Vol. 6, i.E. (**Achtung: ist erschienen**)
- Müller, Wolfgang C. and Strom, Kaare, Hrsg. Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Choices. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1999.
- Neidhart, Friedhelm (1985), 'Einige Ideen zu einer allgemeinen Theorie sozialer Bewegungen' in: Stefan Hradil (ed.), *Sozialstruktur im Umbruch*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich, pp. 193-204.
- Neidhart, Friedhelm and Dieter Rucht (1993), 'Auf dem Weg in die 'Bewegungsgesellschaft'? Über die Stabilisierbarkeit sozialer Bewegungen', in: *Soziale Welt*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 305-26.
- Niedermayer, Oskar (1989), *Innerparteiliche Partizipation*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Panbianco, Angelo (1988), *Political Parties: Organization and Power*, Cambridge u.a.: Cambridge University Press.
- Pedersen, Mogens N. (1983), 'Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility in European Party Systems, 1948-1977: Explorations in Explanation' in: Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds.), *Western European Party Systems*, London/Beverly Hills: Sage, pp. 29-66.
- Pfetsch, Barbara (1998), 'Regieren unter den Bedingungen medialer Allgegenwart' in: Ulrich Sarcinelli (Hrsg.), *Politikvermittlung und Demokratie in der Mediengesellschaft*, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, pp. 233-52.
- Pierre, Jon and Anders Widfeldt (1992), 'Sweden', in: *Political Data Yearbook 1992, European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 519-26.
- Pierre, Jon and Anders Widfeldt (1994), 'Party Organizations in Sweden: Colossuses with Feet of Clay or Flexible Pillars of Government?' in: Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *How Parties Organize. Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, pp. 332-56.
- Poguntke, Thomas (1987), 'New Politics and Party Systems: The Emergence of a New Type of Party?', in: *West European Politics*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 76-88.
- Poguntke, Thomas (1993), *Alternative Politics. The German Green Party*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Poguntke, Thomas (1998), 'Party Organisations' in: Jan W. van Deth (Hrsg.), *Comparative Politics. The Problem of Equivalence*, London/New York: Routledge, pp. 156-79.
- Poguntke, Thomas (2000), *Parteiorganisation im Wandel. Gesellschaftliche Verankerung und organisatorische Anpassung im europäischen Vergleich*, Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Richards, Andrew (1997), *The Life and Soul of the Party: Causes and Consequences of Organizational Change in the British Labour Party, 1979-1997*, Madrid: Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, Working Paper 1997/95.
- Rochon, Thomas R. (1988), *Mobilizing for Peace. The Antinuclear Movements in Western Europe*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

- Römmele, Andrea (1997), 'Communicating with their Voters? The Use of Direct Mailing by the SPD and CDU', in: *German Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 120-131.
- Rucht, Dieter (1993), 'Parteien, Verbände und Bewegungen als Systeme politischer Interessenvermittlung' in: Oskar Niedermayer and Richard Stöss (eds.), *Stand und Perspektiven der Parteienforschung in Deutschland*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, pp. 251-75.
- Rucht, Dieter (1994), *Modernisierung und neue soziale Bewegung*, Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus.
- Sartori, Giovanni (1976), *Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge u.a.: Cambridge University Press.
- Scarrow, Susan E. (2000), 'Parties without Members? Party Organization in a Changing Environment', in: Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.), *Parties without Partisans. Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 79-101
- Schmitt, Rüdiger (1989), 'Organizational Interlocks between New Social Movements and Traditional Elites: The Case of the West German Peace Movement', in: *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 17, pp. 583-98.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. (1950), *Kapitalismus, Sozialismus und Demokratie*, 2. edn., Bern: A. Francke.
- Selle, Per and Lars Svasand (1991), 'Membership in Party Organizations and the Problem of Decline of Parties', in: *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 459-77.
- Seyd, Patrick and Paul Whiteley (1992), *Labour's Grass Roots*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Streeck, Wolfgang (1987), 'Vielfalt und Interdependenz. Überlegungen zur Rolle von intermediären Organisationen in sich ändernden Umwelten', in: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 471-95.
- Strom, Kaare (1990), 'A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties', in: *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 565-98.
- Svasand, Lars (1992), 'Norway' in: Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *Party Organizations. A Data Handbook on Party Organizations in Western Democracies, 1960-90*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, pp. 732-80.
- Svasand, Lars (1994a), 'Change and Adaptation in Norwegian Party Organizations' in: Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *How Parties Organize. Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, pp. 304-31.
- Svasand, Lars (1994b), 'Die Konservative Volkspartei und die Christliche Volkspartei Norwegens: Unbequeme Nachbarn im bürgerlichen Lager' in: Hans-Joachim Veen (Hrsg.), *Christlich-demokratische und konservative Parteien in Westeuropa 4. Schweden-Norwegen-Finnland-Dänemark*, Paderborn u. a.: Ferdinand Schöningh.
- van Deth, Jan W. (1995), 'A Macro Setting for Micro Politics' in: Jan W. van Deth and Elinor Scarbrough (eds.), *The Impact of Values (Beliefs in Government Volume Four)*, Oxford u.a.: Oxford University Press, pp. 76-119.
- van Deth, Jan W. (1998), 'Equivalence in Comparative Political Research' in: Jan W. van Deth (Hrsg.), *Comparative Politics. The Problem of Equivalence*, London/New York: Routledge, pp. 1-19.
- Webb, Paul D. (1992), *Trade Unions and the British Electorate*, Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Webb, Paul D. (1994), 'Party Organizational Change in Britain: The Iron Law of Centralization' in: Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *How Parties Organize. Change and Adaptation in Party*

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage

Organizations in Western Democracies, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, pp. 109-33.

Weßels, Bernhard (1991), 'Vielfalt oder strukturierte Komplexität? Zur Institutionalisierung politischer Spannungslinien im Verbände- und Parteiensystem der Bundesrepublik', in: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 454-75.

Whiteley, Paul, Patrick Seyd and Jeremy Richardson (1994), *True Blues. The Politics of Conservative Party Membership*, Oxford u.a.: Oxford University Press.

Widfeldt, Anders (1997), *Linking Parties with People? Party Membership in Sweden 1960-1994*, Göteborg: Göteborg Studies in Politics.

Appendix:

Table 1: Linkage Variants: Shares and Coding

	<i>full voting rights</i>		<i>guest</i>	
	%	Code	%	Code
representative	10,4	2	1,8	1
delegate	60,0	4	24,6	1
membership (recommended)			1,7	1
membership (obligation)	1,6	4		

N = 11342

5. Parties Without Firm Social Roots? Party Organisational Linkage