

# CONTENTS



<i>List of Figures</i>	xv
<i>List of Tables</i>	xvi
<b>Part I Introduction</b>	
1 On the Freezing of Party Systems <i>Laws and Structures; Constraints, Control, and Adaptation</i>	3
<b>Part II Persistence and Change</b>	
2 Continuities, Changes, and the Vulnerability of Party <i>What Parties Are and What Parties Do; Left, Right, and Policy Competition; Left, Right, and Voter Alignments; A Crisis of Party?; Catch-all Politics and Party Vulnerability; Organizational Change and Electoral Change; Organizational Change: a Research Agenda</i>	19
3 The Problem of Party System Change <i>Party Change versus Party System Change; Party System Change; Electoral Volatility and Cleavage Change; How Much Electoral Change?; The Electoral Bias; Key Problems</i>	45
4 Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of the 'Old' Parties <i>Levels of Electoral Volatility; The Survival of Traditional Parties; What Sustains the Myths of Electoral Change?; The Neglect of Party</i>	76

**Part III Party Organizations and Party Systems**

- 5 Party Organization, Party Democracy, and the Emergence of the Cartel Party (with Richard S. Katz) 93  
*The Mass Party and the Catch-All Party; Stages of Party Development; Parties and the State; The Emergence of the Cartel Party; The Characteristics of the Cartel Party; Democracy and the Cartel Party; Challenges to the Cartel Party*
- 6 Popular Legitimacy and Public Privileges: Party Organizations in Civil Society and the State 120  
*New Perspectives on the Development of Party Organizations; Party Democracies and the Problem of Party Decline; Parties and the State; Changing Parties; Parties and Their Privileges*

**Part IV Party Systems and Structures of Competition**

- 7 Electoral Markets and Stable States 157  
*Developments and Contrasts in Western Europe; Electoral Markets and Consociational Democracy; Small States and Large States; Some Implications for the New East European Democracies*
- 8 What is Different about Post-Communist Party Systems? 175  
*Newly Emerging Party Systems; Post-Communist Democratization is Different; The Electorate and the Parties are Different; The Context of Competition is Different; The Pattern of Competition is Different*
- 9 Party Systems and Structures of Competition 199  
*Approaches to the Classification of Party Systems: a Review; Party Systems and the Competition for Government; Party Systems and Electoral Outcomes*
- References* 225  
*Index* 239