



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Explaining electoral volatility in Central and Eastern Europe : a party organizational approach**

Gherghina, S.M.

### **Citation**

Gherghina, S. M. (2012, March 8). *Explaining electoral volatility in Central and Eastern Europe : a party organizational approach*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18567>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18567>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/18567> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Gherghina, Sergiu

**Title:** Explaining electoral volatility in Central and Eastern Europe : a party organizational approach

**Issue Date:** 2012-03-08

## Bibliography

- Adams, James F., Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman. 2005. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition. A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Agh, Attila. 1995. "Partial Consolidation of the East-Central European Parties: The Case of the Hungarian Socialist Party". *Party Politics* 1(4): 491-514.
- Agh, Attila. 1997. "Parliaments as Policy-Making Bodies in East Central Europe: The Case of Hungary". *International Political Science Review* 18(4): 417-432.
- Agh, Attila. 1998. *The Politics of Central Europe*. London: Sage.
- Andersen, Kristi, and Stuart J. Thorson. 1984. "Congressional Turnover and the Election of Women". *Western Political Quarterly* 37(1): 143-156.
- Anderson, Cristopher J. 2000. "Economic Voting and Political Context: A Comparative Perspective". *Electoral Studies* 19(1): 151-170.
- Anderson, Christopher J. 2007. "The End of Economic Voting? Contingency Dilemmas and the Limits of Democratic Accountability". *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 271-296.
- Anderson, Christopher J., Silvia M. Mendesb, and Yuliya V. Tsverdova. 2004. "Endogenous Economic Voting: Evidence from the 1997 British Election". *Electoral Studies* 23(4): 683-708.
- Andeweg, Rudy B. and Jacques Thomassen. 2010. "Pathways to Party Unity: Sanctions, Loyalty, Homogeneity and Division of Labour in the Dutch Parliament", *Party Politics*, first published online, 1-18.
- Baeva, Iskra. 2001. *Bulgaria and Eastern Europe*. Sofia: Paradigma.
- Bakke, Elisabeth, and Nick Sitter. 2005. "Patterns of Stability. Party Competition and Strategy in Central Europe since 1989". *Party Politics* 11(2): 243-263.
- Balazs, Magdolna, and Zsolt Enyedi. 1996. "Hungarian Case Studies: The Alliance of Free Democrats and the Alliance of Young Democrats" in Paul. G. Lewis. ed. *Party Structure and Organization in East-Central Europe*. Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar, 43-65.
- Bartolini, Stefano. 2000. "Collusion, Competition and Democracy. Part II". *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12(1): 33-65.
- Bartolini, Stefano, and Peter Mair. 1990. *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability: The Stabilization of European Electorates 1885-1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Batory, Agnes. 2002a. "Attitudes to Europe: Ideology, Strategy and the Issue of European Union Membership in Hungarian Party Politics". *Party Politics* 8(5): 525-539.
- Batory, Agnes. 2002b. "Europe and the Hungarian Parliamentary Elections of April 2002". *RIIA/OERN Election Briefing* No. 1, 1-6.
- Batory, Agnes. 2007. "Euro-scepticism in the Hungarian Party System: Voices from the Wilderness?" in Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul A. Taggart. eds. *Opposing Europe?: The Comparative Party Politics of Euro-scepticism Volume 1: Case Studies and Country Surveys*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 263-276.
- Bean, Clive and Anthony Mughan. 1989. "Leadership Effects in Parliamentary Elections in Australia and Britain". *American Political Science Review* 83(4): 1165-1179.
- Belknap, George, and Angus Campbell. 1952. "Political Party Identification and Attitudes Toward Foreign Policy". *Public Opinion Quarterly* 15(4): 601-623.
- Bellucci, Paolo. 1984. "The Effect of Aggregate Economic Conditions on the Political Preferences of the Italian Electorate, 1953-1979". *European Journal of Political Research* 12(4): 387-401.
- Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Public Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Berglund, Sten, and Jan Ake Dellenbrant. eds. 1994. *The New Democracies in Eastern Europe: Party Systems and Political Cleavages*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Beyme, Klaus von. 1996. *Transition to Democracy in Eastern Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Bielasiak, Jack. 1997. "Substance and Process in the Development of Party Systems of East Central Europe". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 30(1): 23-44.
- Bielasiak, Jack. 2002. "The Institutionalization of Electoral and Party Systems in Postcommunist States". *Comparative Politics* 34(2): 189-210.
- Biezen, Ingrid van. 2000. "On the Internal Balance of Party Power: Party Organizations in New Democracies". *Party Politics* 6(4): 395-417.
- Biezen, Ingrid van. 2003. *Political Parties in New Democracies: Party Organization in Southern and East-Central Europe*, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Biezen, Ingrid van, and Petr Kopecky. 2007. "The State and the Parties: Public Funding, Public Regulation and Rent-Seeking in Contemporary Democracies". *Party Politics* 13(2): 235-254.

- Biezen, Ingrid van and Peter Mair. 2009. "Party Membership and Civil Society". Paper prepared for the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops, Lisbon.
- Bille, Lars. 2001. "Democratizing a Democratic Procedure: Myth or Reality? Candidate Selection in Western European Parties, 1960-1990". *Party Politics* 7(3): 363-380.
- Birch, Sarah. 2001. "Electoral Systems and Party System Stabilization in Post-Communist Europe". Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco.
- Birch, Sarah. 2003. *Electoral Systems and Political Transformation in Post-Communist Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Birnir, Johanna K. 2001. "Party System Stabilization in New Democracies: The Effect of Ethnic Heterogeneity on Volatility of Electoral Preferences". PhD Dissertation, Department of Political Science. University of California, Los Angeles.
- Birnir, Johanna K. 2006. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Birnir, Johanna Kristin. 2007. "Divergence in Diversity? The Dissimilar Effects of Cleavages on Electoral Politics in New Democracies". *American Journal of Political Science* 51(3): 602-619.
- Blais, Andre, Richard Nadeau, Elisabeth Gidengil, and Neil Nevitte. 2001. "Measuring Strategic Voting in Multiparty Plurality Elections". *Electoral Studies* 20(2): 343-352.
- Blais, Andre. 2004. "How Many Voters Change their Minds in the Month Preceding an Election?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 37(4): 801-803.
- Blumler, Jay. 1975. "Electoral volatility: examining communication and change among young voters". Paper presented to the World Association for Public Opinion Research. Montreux, Switzerland.
- Bohrer II, Robert E., Alexander C. Pacek, and Benjamin Radcliff. 2000. "Electoral Participation, Ideology, and Party Politics in Post-Communist Europe". *The Journal of Politics* 62(4): 1161-1172.
- Bolleyer, Nicole. 2009. "Inside the Cartel Party: Party Organization in Government and Opposition". *Political Studies* 57(3): 559-579.
- Bolleyer, Nicole. 2011. "New Party Organization in Western Europe: Of Hierarchies, Stratarchies and Federations". *Party Politics*, published first online, 1-22.
- Borre, Ole, and Daniel Katz. 1973. "Party Identification and Its Motivational Base in a Multiparty System: A Study of the Danish General Election of 1971". *Scandinavian Political Studies* 8(1): 69-111.

- Borz, Gabriela. 2009. "Determinants of Party Unity in Europe. A Comparative Study of Parliamentary Parties in Twenty-Three Countries". PhD Thesis, CEU Budapest.
- Borz, Gabriela, and Zsolt Enyedi. 2007. "Expert Survey of Party Organization". Central European University.
- Boyne, George A., Oliver James, Peter John, and Nicolai Petrovsky. 2009. "Democracy and Government Performance: Holding Incumbents Accountable in English Local Governments". *Journal of Politics* 17(4): 1273-1284.
- Bozoki, Andras. 1993. "Hungary's Road to Systemic Change: the Opposition Roundtable". *East European Politics and Societies* 7(2): 276-308.
- Bozoki, Andras. 1997. "The Ideology of Modernization and the Policy of Materialism: The Day After for the Socialists". *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 13(3): 56-102.
- Bozoki, Andras. 2002. "The Hungarian Socialists: Technocratic Modernizationism, or New Social Democracy?". *EUI Working Paper RSC No. 2002/2*, EUI: Florence.
- Bozoki, Andras, and John T. Ishiyama. eds. 2002. *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*, Armonk, NY: Sharpe.
- Brokl, Lubomír, and Zdenka Mansfeldova. 1995. "Czech Republic". *European Journal of Political Research* 28(3-4): 305-312.
- Bryce, James. 1921. *Modern Democracies*, New York: Macmillan.
- Budge, Ian, and Hans Keman. 1990. *Parties and Democracy. Coalition Formation and Government Functioning in Twenty States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bugajski, Janusz. 1994. *Ethnic Politics in Eastern Europe: A Guide to Nationality Policies, Organizations, and Parties*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- Bugajski, Janusz. 2002. *Political Parties of Eastern Europe: A Guide to Politics in the Post-Communist Era*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Burdick, Eugene, and Arthur J. Brodbeck. eds. 1959. *American Voting Behavior*. New York: Free Press.
- Butler, David, and Dennis Kavanagh. eds. 1992. *The British General Election of 1992*. London: Macmillan.
- Bybee, Carl R., Jack M McLeod, William D. Luetscher, and Gina Garramone. 1981. "Mass Communication and Voter Volatility". *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45(1): 69-90.
- Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn, and Morris Fiorina. 1987. *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

- Campbell, Angus, Gerald Gurin and Warren E. Miller. 1954. *The Voter Decides*, Evanston: Roy Peterson and Company.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.
- Carpenter, Michael. 1997. "Slovakia and the Triumph of Nationalist Populism". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 30(2): 205-219.
- Carty, R. Kenneth. 2004. "Parties as Franchise Systems. The Stratarchical Organizational Imperative". *Party Politics* 10(1): 5-24.
- Carty, R. Kenneth, and Donald E. Blake. 1999. "The Adoption of Membership Votes for Choosing Party Leaders: The Experience of Canadian Parties". *Party Politics* 5(2): 211-224.
- Casal Bertoa, Fernando. 2008. "Party (System) Institutionalization and the Quality of Democracy in 'Third Wave' Europe". Paper presented at the ECPR Summer School on Political Parties and Party Systems, Florence.
- Chan, Kenneth Ka-Lok. 2001. "Structuralism versus intentionalism in Post-communist Party System Evolution". *Party Politics* 7(5): 605-619.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why ethnic parties succeed: Patronage and ethnic headcounts in India*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chiru, Mihail. 2010. "Legislative Recruitment and Electoral System Change: The Case of Romania". MA Thesis, Central European University Budapest.
- Chubb, John E. "Institutions, the Economy, and the Dynamics of State Elections". *American Political Science Review* 82(1): 133-154.
- Cibulka, Frank. 1999. "The Radical Right in Slovakia" in Sabrina P. Ramet. ed. *The Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe Since 1989*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 109-132.
- Colomer, Josep M. 2001. "Disequilibrium Institutions and Pluralist Democracy". *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13(3): 235-248.
- Converse, Philip E. 1962. "Information Flow and the Stability of Partisan Attitudes". *Public Opinion Quarterly* 26(4): 578-599.
- Converse, Philip E. 1969. "Of Time and Partisan Stability". *Comparative Political Studies* 2(1): 139-171.
- Conway, M. Margaret, and Frank B. Feigert. 1968. "Motivation, Incentive Systems and the Political Party Organization". *American Political Science Review* 62(4): 1159-1173.
- Coppedge, Michael. 1998. "The Dynamic Diversity of Latin American Party Systems". *Party Politics* 4(4): 547-568.
- Cotta, Maurizio, and Heinrich Best. eds. 2007. *Democratic Representation in Europe. Diversity, Change, and Convergence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Crawford, Keith. 1996. *East Central European politics today: From chaos to stability?* Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press; St. Martin's Press.
- Crewe, Ivor. 1985a. "Introduction: Electoral Change in Western Democracies: A Framework for Analysis" in Ivor Crewe and David Denver. eds. *Electoral Change in Western Democracies: Patterns and Sources of Electoral Volatility*, London: Croom Helm, 1-22.
- Crewe, Ivor. 1985b. "Great Britain" in Ivor Crewe and David Denver. eds. *Electoral Change in Western Democracies: Patterns and Sources of Electoral Volatility*. London: Croom Helm, 100-150.
- Crewe, Ivor, and David Denver. eds. 1985. *Electoral Change in Western Democracies: Patterns and Sources of Electoral Volatility*. London: Croom Helm Ltd.
- Cross, William. 2008. "Democratic Norms and Party Candidate Selection : Taking Contextual Factors into Account". *Party Politics* 14(5): 596-619.
- Crotty, William J. 1968. "The Party Organization and its Activities" in William J. Crotty. ed. *Approaches to the Study of Party Organization*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 247-306.
- Crowther, William. 1998. "Romania" in Sten Berglund, Tomas Hellen, and Frank H. Aarebrot. eds. *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 295-333.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1984. "Cognitive Mobilization and Partisan Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Democracies". *Journal of Politics* 46(1): 264-284.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1988. *Citizen Politics. Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, Inc.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1996. "Political Cleavages, Issues, and Electoral Change," in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, and Pippa Norris. eds. *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 319-342.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2000. "The Decline of Party Identifications" in Russell J. Dalton and Michael Wattenberg (eds.) *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19-36.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, Russel J., Scott C. Flanagan, Paul Allen Beck, and James E. Alt. eds. 1984. *Electoral Change in Industrial Democracies. Realignment or Dealignment?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.



- Dalton, Russell J., and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. "Unthinkable Democracy. Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies" in Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg. eds. *Parties Without Partisans. Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-16.
- Dalton, Russel J., and Martin P. Wattenberg. eds. 2000. *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J., Ian McAllister, and Michael Wattenberg. 2000. "The Consequences of Partisan Dealignment" in Richard Dalton and Michael Wattenberg. eds. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davidson, Roger, and Walter Oleszek. 2004. *Congress and Its Members*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Davidson-Schmich, Louise K. 2003. "Part 2: Discipline". *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 9(4): 88-101.
- Davis, James W. 1998. *Leadership Selection in Six Western Democracies*. New York: Routledge.
- Day, Alan, Richard German, and John Campbell. 1996. *Political Parties of the World*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. London: Cartermill International Ltd.
- Deegan-Krause, Kevin. 2006. *Elected Affinities: Democracy and Party Competition in Slovakia and the Czech Republic*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Deschouwer, Kris. 2006. "Political Parties as Multi-Level Organizations" in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty. eds. *Handbook of Party Politics*. London: Sage Publications.
- Diamond, Larry, and Richard Gunther. eds. 2001. *Political Parties and Democracy*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dickson, Bruce J., and Maria Rost Rublee. 2000. "Membership Has Its Privileges". *Comparative Political Studies* 33(1): 87-112.
- DiMaggio, Paul, and William Powell. eds. 1991, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, London: Lowe and Brydone.
- Easton, David. 1957. "Function of Formal Education in the Political System". *School Review* 65: 304-316.
- Eldersveld, Samuel J. 1964. *Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

- Elgie, Robert, and Sophie Moestrup. 2008. *Semi-Presidentialism in Central and Eastern Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Elster, Jon, Claus Offe, and Ulrich K. Preuss. 1998. *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies. Rebuilding the Ship at Sea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enelow, James M., and Melvin J. Hinich. eds. 1984. *The Spatial Theory of Voting*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Enyedi, Zsolt. 2006a. "Party Politics in Post-Communist Transition" in William Crotty and Richard Katz. eds. *Handbook of Political Parties*, London: Sage, 228-238.
- Enyedi, Zsolt. 2006b. "The Survival of the Fittest: Party System Concentration in Hungary" in Susanne Jungerstam-Mulders. ed. *Post-Communist EU Member States. Parties and Party Systems*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 177-202.
- Enyedi, Zsolt. 2006c. "Accounting for Organisation and Financing. A Comparison of Four Hungarian Parties". *Europe-Asia Studies* 58(7): 1101-1117.
- Enyedi, Zsolt, and Gabor Toka. 2007. "The Only Game in Town. Party Politics in Hungary" in Paul Webb and Stephen White. eds. *Party Politics in New Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 147-177.
- Enyedi, Zsolt, and Lukas Linek. 2008. "Searching for the Right Organization". *Party Politics* 14(4): 455-477.
- Enyedi, Zsolt, and Fernando Casal Bertoa. 2011. "Patterns of Party Competition (1990-2009)" in Paul G. Lewis and Radosław Markowski. eds. *Europeanising Party Politics? Comparative Perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*. Manchester : Manchester University Press, 116-142.
- Epstein, Leon D. 1967. *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. New York: Praeger.
- Evans, Geoffrey, and Stephen Whitefield. 1993. "Identifying the Bases of Party Competition Eastern Europe". *British Journal of Political Science* 23(4): 521-538.
- Farrell, David M. 1996. "Campaign Strategies and Tactics" in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris. eds. *Comparing Democracies. Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*, London: Sage, 160-183.
- Ferejohn, John. 1986. "Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control". *Public Choice* 50(1): 5-25.
- Fidrmuc, Jan. 2000. "Economics of Voting in Post-Communist Countries". *Electoral Studies* 19(2/3): 199-217.
- Fillipov, Mikhail. 1999. "Parliamentary Stage of the Electoral Cycle and Party System Formation". Paper presented at the Annual APSA Meeting, Atlanta.

- Fiorina, Morris P. 1977. "The Case of the Vanishing Marginals: The Bureaucracy Did It". *American Political Science Review* 71(1): 177-181.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Fisher, Sharon. 2002. "The Troubled Evolution of Slovakia's Ex-Communists" in Andras Bozoki and John T. Ishiyama. eds. *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*, Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 116-140.
- Fitzmaurice, John. 2000. "A Tale of Four Elections: Central Europe. September 1997-September 1998". *Czech Sociological Review* 8(1): 93-101.
- Flanagan, Scott C., and Russell J. Dalton. 1984. "Parties Under Stress: Realignment and Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Societies". *West European Politics* 7(1): 7-23.
- Francis, Wayne L., and Lawrence W. Kenny. eds. 2000. *Up the Political Ladder: Career Paths in U.S. Politics*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Franklin, Mark. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, Mark, Thomas Mackie, and Henry Valen. 1992. *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Freire, Andre, and Marina Costa Lobo. 2005. "Economics, Ideology and Vote: Southern Europe, 1985–2000". *European Journal of Political Research* 44(4): 493–518.
- Frendreis, John P., James L. Gibson and Laura L. Vertz. 1990. "The Electoral Relevance of Local Party Organizations". *American Political Science Review* 84(1): 225-235.
- Gallagher, Michael, and Michael Marsh. eds. 1988. *Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective: The Secret Garden of Politics*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, 1992. *Representative Government in Western Europe*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Gallagher, Tom. 1997. "Nationalism and Post-Communist Politics The Party of Romanian National Unity, 1990-1996" in Lavinia Stan (ed.), *Romania in Transition*, Aldershot, Dartmouth.
- Gallagher, Tom. 1999. *Democratie si nationalism in Romania 1989-1998* (Democracy and Nationalism in Romania 1989 – 1998), Bucharest: All.
- Gelman, Andrew, and Gary King. 1990. "Estimating Incumbency Advantage without Bias". *American Journal of Political Science* 34(4): 1142-1164.

- Geser, Hans. 1999. "The Local Party as an Object of Interdisciplinary Comparative Study: Some Steps Toward Theoretical Integration" in Martin Saiz, and Hans Geser. eds. *Local Parties in Political and Organizational Perspective*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Gherghina, Sergiu. 2007. *Institutional Design and Party Development. The Key-Role of National Parliaments*. Iasi: Lumen.
- Gherghina, Sergiu. 2008. "Downplaying the Centre: Party Organizations and Electoral Volatility in Central and Eastern Europe". Paper presented at the ECPR Political Parties Summer School *Political Parties and European Politics*, Florence.
- Gherghina, Sergiu. 2009. "Still Waters Run Deep: Party Organization and Electoral Stability in New Democracies". Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops, Lisbon.
- Gherghina, Sergiu. 2011. "Does Government Performance Matter? Electoral Support for Incumbents in Six Post-Communist Countries", forthcoming *Contemporary Politics* 17(3).
- Gherghina, Sergiu, and George Jigla. 2008. "The Role of Ethnic Parties in the Europeanization Process: The Romanian Experience". *Romanian Journal of European Affairs* 8(2) 82-99.
- Gherghina, Sergiu, and Mihail Chiru. 2010. "Cat de departe era Romania interbelică de democrație? Un exemplu de manipulare a procedurilor electorale" (How Far was Interwar Romania from Democracy? A Case of Rigging the Electoral Procedures) in Ovidiu Pecican. ed. *Romania interbelica. Istorie si istoriografie (Interwar Romania. History and Historiography)*. Cluj-Napoca, Limes.
- Gherghina, Sergiu, and Mihail Chiru. 2011. "Generating Dissent: Party Cohesion and Voting Loyalty in Romania Following the Electoral Change". Paper Presented at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops, St. Gallen.
- Gherghina, Sergiu, and George Jigla. 2011. "Explaining Ethnic Mobilization in Post-Comunist Countries". *Europe-Asia Studies* 63(1): 49-76.
- Gherghina, Sergiu, Mihail Chiru, and Fernando Casal Bertoa. 2011. "State Resources and Pocket Money: Shortcuts for Party Funding in Romania". *DISC Working Paper 13/2011*, CEU Budapest.
- Gibson, James L., Cornelius P. Cotter and John F. Bibby. 1983. "Assessing Party Organizational Strength". *American Journal of Political Science* 27(2): 193-222.
- Golosov, Grigorii V. 1998. "Party Organization, Ideological Change, and Electoral Success. A Comparative Study of Postauthoritarian Parties". *Working Paper no. 258*, Helen Kellogg Institute.

- Grzymala-Busse, Anna M. 1999. "Redeeming the Past: Communist Successor Parties after 1989". Paper presented at the Conference of the Center for European Studies, Harvard University.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna M. 2002a. *Redeeming the Communist Past. The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2002b. "The programmatic turnaround of communist successor parties in East Central Europe, 1989–1998". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 35(1): 51–66.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2006. "Authoritarian Determinants of Democratic Party Competition: The Communist Successor Parties in East Central Europe". *Party Politics* 12(3): 415-437.
- Gschwend, Thomas. 2007. "Ticket-Splitting and Strategic Voting under Mixed Electoral Rules: Evidence from Germany". *European Journal of Political Research* 46(1): 1-23.
- Gunther, Richard, and Larry Diamond. 2001. "Types and Functions of Parties" in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther. eds. *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 3-39.
- Gunther, Richard, and Larry Diamond. 2003. "Species of Political Parties. A New Typology". *Party Politics* 9(2): 167-199.
- Hanley, Sean. 2000. "Getting the Right Right: Redefining the Centre-Right in Post-Communist Europe". *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 20(3): 9–27.
- Hanley, Sean. 2001. "Towards Breakthrough or Breakdown? The Consolidation of KSCM as a Neo-Communist Successor Party in the Czech Republic". *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 17(3): 96-116.
- Hanley, Sean. 2002. "The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia after 1989. 'Subcultural Party' to Neocommunist Force?" in Andras Bozoki and John T. Ishiyama. eds. *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*. Armonk, NY: Sharpe.
- Hanley, Sean. 2004. "A Nation of Sceptics? The Czech EU Accession Referendum of 13-14 June 2003". *West European Politics* 27(4): 691-715.
- Harmel, Robert, and Kenneth Janda. 1982. *Parties and Their Environments. Limits to Reform*. New York: Longman.
- Harmel, Robert, and Kenneth Janda. 1994. "An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change". *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 6(3): 256-287.
- Haughton, Tim. 2001. "HZDS: The Ideology, Organization and Support Base of Slovakia's Most Successful Party". *Europe-Asia Studies* 53(5): 745-769.

- Haughton, Tim. 2004a. "Explaining the Limited Success of the Communist-Successor Left in Slovakia: The Case of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL)". *Party Politics* 10(2): 177-191.
- Haughton, Tim. 2004b. "What Role has Europe played in Party Politics in Slovakia?". *Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs* 5(1): 75-86.
- Hazan, Reuven Y. 1997. "The 1996 Intra-Party Elections in Israel: Adopting Party Primaries" *Electoral Studies* 16(1): 95-102.
- Heidar, Knut, and Ruud Koole. eds. 2000. *Parliamentary Party Groups in European Democracies. Political Parties behind Closed Doors*. New York: Routledge.
- Henderson, Karen. 2002. "Europe and the Slovak Parliamentary Election of September 2002", *RIIA/OERN Election Briefing* No. 7, 1-8.
- Henderson, Karen. 2008. "The Slovak Republic: Eurosceptics and Phoney Europhiles" in Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul A. Taggart. eds. *Opposing Europe?: The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism Volume 1: Case Studies and Country Surveys*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Herrnson, Paul. 2004. *Congressional Elections: Campaigning at Home and in Washington*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Hlousek, Vit, and Lubomir Kopecek. 2008. "Cleavages in the Contemporary Czech and Slovak Politics Between Persistence and Change". *East European Politics and Societies* 22(3): 518-552.
- Hopkin, Jonathan. 2004. "The Problem with party Finance: Theoretical perspectives on the Funding of Party Politics". *Party Politics* 10(6): 627-651.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic groups in conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hough, Dan. 2005. "Learning from the West: Policy Transfer and Programmatic Change in the Communist Successor Parties of Eastern and Central Europe". *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 21(1): 1-15.
- Houten, Pieter van. 2009. "Multi-Level Relations in Political Parties". *Party Politics* 15(2): 137-156.
- Huckabee, David. C. ed. 2003. *Reelection Rates of Incumbents*. New York: Novinka Books.
- Hucksfeldt, Robert, and John Sprague. 1992. "Political parties and Electoral Mobilization: Political Structure, Social Structure, and the Party Canvass". *American Political Science Review* 86(1): 70-86.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Ignazi, Piero. 1996. "The Crisis of Parties and the Rise of New Political Parties". *Party Politics* 2(4): 549–566.
- Ikstens, Janis, Daniel Smilov, and Marcin Walecki. 2002. "Campaign Finance in Central and Eastern Europe. Lessons Learned and Challenges Ahead". *IFES Report*, Washington D.C.
- Ilonszki, Gabriella. 1999. "Legislative Recruitment: Personnel and Institutional Development in Hungary, 1990–1994" in Gabor Toka and Zsolt Enyedi. eds. *The 1994 Election to the Hungarian National Assembly: Analyses, Documents and Data*. Berlin: Sigma, 82–107.
- Ilonszki, Gabriella, and Sandor Kurtan. 1993. "Hungary". *European Journal of Political Research* 24(4): 445–450.
- Ilonszki, Gabriella, and Sandor Kurtan. 1994. "Hungary". *European Journal of Political Research* 26(4): 319–325.
- Ilonszki, Gabriella, and Sandor Kurtán. 1995. "Hungary". *European Journal of Political Research* 28(4): 359–368.
- Ilonszki, Gabriella, and Sandor Kurtan. 2001. "Hungary". *European Journal of Political Research* 40 (3–4): 320–325.
- Ilonszki, Gabriella, and Sandor Kurtan. 2002. "Hungary". *European Journal of Political Research* 41(7–8): 968–974.
- Ilonszki, Gabriella and Michael Edinger. 2007. "MPs in Post-Communist and Post-Soviet Nations: A Parliamentary Elite in the Making". *Journal of Legislative Studies* 13(1): 142-163.
- Innes, Abby. 2002. "Party Competition in Post-Communist Europe: The Great Electoral Lottery". *Comparative Politics* 35(1): 85–104.
- Ishiyama, John T. 1999. "The Communist Successor Parties and Party Organizational Development in Post-Communist Politics". *Political Research Quarterly* 52(1): 87-112.
- Ishiyama, John. 2001. "Party Organization and the Political Success of the Communist Successor Parties". *Social Science Quarterly* 82(4): 844–864.
- Ishiyama, John T. 2006. "Europeanization and the Communist Successor Parties in Post-Communist Politics". *Politics & Policy* 34(1): 3-29.
- Ishiyama, John T., and Marijke Breuning. 1998. *Ethnopolitics in the New Europe*. London: Lynne Rienner.
- Ishiyama, John T., and Andras Bozoki. 2001. "Adaptation and Change: Characterizing the Survival Strategies of the Communist Successor Parties". *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 17(3): 32-51.
- Jackson, John E., Jacek Klich, and Krystyna Poznańska. 2003. "Economic Transition and Elections in Poland". *Economics of Transition* 11(1): 41-66.

- Jacobson, Gary C. 2001. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 5th edition. New York: Longman.
- Janda, Kenneth. 1980. *Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey*. New York: The Free Press.
- Jasiewicz, Krzysztof. 2007. "Poland: Party System by Default" in Paul Webb, and Stephen White. eds. *Party Politics in New Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 85-118.
- Jasiewicz, Krzysztof. 2008. "The (not always sweet) uses of opportunism: Post-communist political parties in Poland". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41(3): 421-444.
- Jasiewicz, Krzysztof, and Agnieszka Jasiewicz-Betkiewicz. 2003. "Poland". *European Journal of Political Research* 42(7-8): 1053-1057.
- Javor, Istvan, and Tamas Rozgonyi. 1994. "Experiences in a Small Town During the Transition". *Szociológiai Szemle* 2: 79-86.
- Kam, Christopher J. 2009. *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Karacsony, Gergely, and Gabor Toka. 2001. "The Electorate, 1990-1998" in Maria Ormos and Bala K. Kiraly. eds. *Hungary: Government and Politics 1848-2000*. Highland Lakes, NJ: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc. and Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 495-518.
- Karasimeonov, Georgi. 2005. "Internal Party Democracy. The Case of Four Major Political Parties in Bulgaria" in Georgi Karasimeonov. ed. *Organizational Structures and Internal Party Democracy in Southeast Europe*. Sofia: GorexPress, 96-113.
- Katz, Richard S. 1990. "Party as Linkage: A Vestigial Function?". *European Journal of Political Research* 18(1): 143-161.
- Katz, Richard S. 2001. "The Problem of Candidate Selection and Models of Party Democracy". *Party Politics* 7(3): 277-296.
- Katz, Richard S. 2002. "The Internal Life of Parties" in Kurt Richard Luther and Ferdinand Muller-Rommel. eds. *Political Parties in the New Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 87-118.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 1990. "Three Faces of Party Organization: Adaptation and Change". *The European Policy Research: EPRU Working Papers* 4/90, Manchester: Department of Government, Victoria University of Manchester.
- Katz, Richard S., and Peter Mair. eds. 1992. *Party Organizations. A Data Handbook on Party Organizations in Western Democracies, 1960-1990*.
- Katz, Richard S., and Peter Mair. 1993. "The Evolution of Party Organizations in Europe: Three Faces of Party Organization" in William Crotty. ed.



- Political Parties in a Changing Age*, special issue of the *American Review of Politics* 14: 593–617.
- Katz, Richard S., and Peter Mair. eds. 1994. *How Parties Organize. Change and Adaptation in Party Democracies in Western Europe*. London: Sage Publications.
- Katz, Richard S., and Peter Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party". *Party Politics* 1(1): 5-29.
- Key, V.O. 1964. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*. New York; Crowell.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Roderick D. Kiewiet. 1981. "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case". *British Journal of Political Science* 11(1): 129-161.
- Kirchheimer, Otto. 1966. "The Transformation of the Western European Party System" in Joseph LaPalombara and Miron Weiner. eds. *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 177-200.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. "The Internal Politics of Parties: The Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited". *Political Studies* 27 (3), 400-421.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1992. "The Formation of Party Systems in Central and Eastern Europe", *Politics and Society* 20(1): 7-50.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1995. "Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies. Theoretical Propositions". *Party Politics* 1(4): 447-472.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski, and Gabor Toka. 1999. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-Party Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul, and Susan Scarrow. 2006. "Political Parties and the Rhetoric and Realities of Democratization" in Bruce E. Cain, Russell J. Dalton, and Susan Scarrow. eds. *Democracy Transformed? Expanding political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 59-80.
- Klima, Michal. 1998. "Consolidation and Stabilization of the Party System in the Czech Republic". *Political Studies* 46(3): 492-510.
- Kolarova, Romyana. 2002. "The Transformations in the Bulgarian Party System (1991-2001)". *Reason* 2(1): 10-24.
- Koole, Ruud. 1994. "The Vulnerability of the Modern Cadre Party in the Netherlands" in Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair. eds. *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies*. London: Sage, 278-303.
- Kopecek, Lubomir. 2002. "The Slovak Party of the Democratic Left: A Successful Post-Communist Party?". *German Policy Studies* 2(2): 241-258.

- Kopecky, Petr. 1995. "Developing Party Organizations in East-Central Europe: What Type of Party is Likely to Emerge?". *Party Politics* 1(4): 515-534.
- Kopecky, Petr. 2001. *Parliaments in the Czech and Slovak Republics. Party Competition and Parliamentary Institutionalization*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kopecky, Petr. 2006. "The Rise of the Power Monopoly: Political Parties in the Czech Republic" in Susanne Jungerstam-Mulders. ed. *Post-Communist EU Member States Parties and Party Systems*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 125-146.
- Kopecky, Petr. 2007. "Building Party Government: Political Parties in the Czech and Slovak Republics" in Paul Webb and Stephen White. eds. *Party Politics in New Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 119-146.
- Korosenyi, Andras. 1998. *Government and Politics in Hungary*. Budapest: CEU Press.
- Kostelecky, Tomas. 2002. *Political Parties after Communism: Developments in East-Central Europe*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Kramer, Gerald H. 1971. "Short-Term Fluctuations in U.S. Voting Behavior, 1896-1964". *American Political Science Review* 65(1): 131-143.
- Krouwel, Andre. 2006. "Party Models" in Richard S. Katz, William Crotty, *Handbook of Party Politics*, London: Sage Publications.
- Krupavicius, Algis. 1999. "Party Systems in Central East Europe: Dimensions of System Stability". *Studies in Public Policy*, Glasgow: University of Strathclyde.
- Kuenzi, Michelle, and Gina Lambright. 2005. "Party Systems and Democratic Consolidation in Africa's Electoral Regimes". *Party Politics* 4(4): 423-446.
- Kumanov, Milen, and Tanya Nikolova. 1999. *Political Parties, Organizations and Movements in Bulgaria and Their Leaders*. Sofia: Ariadna.
- Laitin, David D. 1998. *Identity in formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Lane, Jan-Erik. 2007. *Comparative Politics: The Principal-Agent Perspective*, New York: Routledge.
- Lane, Jan-Erik, and Svante Ersson. 1997. "Parties and Voters: What Creates the Ties?". *Scandinavian Political Studies* 20(2): 179-196.
- Lane, Jan-Erik, and Svante Ersson. 1999. *Politics and Society in Western Europe*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Laver, Michael, and Norma Schofield. 1990. *Multiparty Government. The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Laver, Michael, and W. Bun Hunt. 1992. *Policy and Party Competition*. New York, Routledge.

- Lawson, Chappell H., and James McCann. 2005. "Television Coverage, Media Effects, and Mexico's 2000 Elections". *British Journal of Political Science* 35( 1): 1-30.
- Lawson, Kay. ed. 1980, *Political Parties and Linkage. A Comparative Perspective*. London: Yale University Press
- Lawson, Kay, and Peter H. Merkl. 1988. *When Parties Fail: Emerging Alternative Organizations*, Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Lawson, Kay, Andrea Römmele, and Georgi Karasimeonov. eds. 1999. *Cleavages, Parties, and Voters: Studies from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania*. Westport: Praeger.
- Lewis, Paul G. ed. 1996. *Party Structure and Organization in East Central Europe*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Lewis, Paul G. 2000. *Political Parties in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*. New York: Routledge.
- Lewis. Paul G. ed. 2001a. *Party Development and Democratic Change in Post-Communist Europe: The First Decade*. London: Frank Cass.
- Lewis, Paul G. 2001b. "The 'Third Wave of Democracy' in Eastern Europe. Comparative Perspectives on Party Roles and Political Development". *Party Politics* 7(5): 543-565.
- Lewis, Paul G. 2008. "Political Parties" in Stephen White, Judy Batt, and Paul G. Lewis. eds. *Developments in Central and Eastern European Politics* 4. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S. 1988. *Economics and Elections: The Major Western Democracies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Mary Stegmaier. 2000. "Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes". *Annual Review of Political Science* 3(1): 183-219.
- Light, David and Duncan Phinnemore. 2001. *Post-Communist Romania: Coming to Terms with Transition*. New York: Palgrave.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1992. "Democratization and Constitutional Choices in Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and Poland 1989-1991". *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 4(2): 207-223.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems. A Study of Twenty Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend, Ronald Rogowski, and R. Kent Weaver. 1993. "Separation of Powers and Cleavage Management" in R. Kent Weaver and Bert A. Rockman. eds. *Do Institutions Matter? Government Capabilities in the United States and Abroad*. Washington: Brookings Institute, 302-344.
- Linek, Lukas, and Zdenka Mansfeldova. 2007. "The Parliament of the Czech Republic. 1993-2004". *Journal of Legislative Studies* 13(1): 12-37.

- Linek, Lukas, and Pat Lyons. 2009. "If You Don't Want It, then You Won't Get It: Why There Is No Demand for Internal Party Democracy within the Czech Christian Democratic Party?". Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops, Lisbon.
- Linek, Lukas, and Jan Outly. 2009. "Selection of Candidates to the European Parliament in the main Czech Political Parties". Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops, Lisbon.
- Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press.
- Lisi, Marco. 2009. "The Democratization of Party Leadership Selection: The Portuguese Experience". Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops, Lisbon.
- Loewenberg, Gerhard, Peverill Squire, and D. Roderick Kiewiet. eds. 2002. *Comparative Perspectives on Representative Assemblies*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Loewenberg, Gerhard, William Mishler, and Howard Sanborn. 2010. "Developing Attachments to New Political Institutions: A Multi-Level Model of Attitude Formation in Post-Communist Europe". *European Political Science Review* 2(3): 475-494.
- Lomax, Bill. 1996. "The Structure and Organization of Hungary's Political Parties" in Paul. G. Lewis. ed. *Party Structure and Organization in East-Central Europe*. Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar, 20-42.
- Lomax, Bill. 1999. "The 1998 Elections in Hungary: Third Time Lucky for the Young Democrats". *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 15(2): 111-125.
- Lundell, Krister. 2004. "Determinants of Candidate Selection - The Degree of Centralization in Comparative Perspective". *Party Politics* 10(1): 25-47.
- Lundell, Krister. 2008. "Electoral Volatility and Democratic Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Third World". Paper presented at the XV NOPS conference in Tromsø, August 6-9.
- Luther, Kurt Richard, and Ferdinand Muller-Rommel. 2002. "Political Parties in a Changing Europe" in Kurt Richard Luther and Ferdinand Muller-Rommel. eds. *Political Parties in the New Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-16.
- Luther, Kurt Richard and Ferdinand Muller-Rommel. eds. 2002. *Political Parties in the New Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- MacDonald, Kenneth, and Anthony Heath. 1997. "Pooling Cross-sections: A Comment on Price and Sander". *Political Studies* 45(5): 928-941.
- Machos, Csilla. 2000. *A magyar parlamenti pártok szervezeti felépítése (1990-1999)* (The Organizational Structure of the Hungarian Parliamentary Parties). Budapest: Rejtjel Kiadó.
- Madrid, Raul. 2005. "Ethnic Cleavages and Electoral Volatility in Latin America". *Comparative Politics* 38(1): 1-20.
- Mahoney, James. 1999. "Nominal, Ordinal, and Narrative Appraisal in Macrocausal Analysis". *American Journal of Sociology* 104(4): 1154-1196.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Timothy R. Scully. eds. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1998a. "Electoral Volatility in Brazil". *Party Politics* 4(4): 523-545.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1998b. "Rethinking Party Systems Theory in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Importance of Party System Institutionalization". *Working Paper #260*, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Edurne Zoco. 2007. "Political Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition: Electoral Volatility in Old and New Democracies". *Party Politics* 13(2): 155-178.
- Mair, Peter. 1997. *Party System Change. Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mair, Peter, and Ingrid van Biezen. 2001. "Party Membership in Twenty European Democracies, 1980-2000". *Party Politics* 7(1): 5-21.
- Mair, Peter, Wolfgang Muller, and Fritz Plasser. eds. 2004, *Political Parties and Electoral Change*. London: Sage Publications.
- Markowski, Radoslaw. 1997, "Political Parties and Ideological Spaces in East Central Europe". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 30(3): 221-254.
- Matland, Richard E., and Donley T. Studlar. 2004. "The Determinants of Legislative Turnover: A Cross National Study". *British Journal of Political Science* 34(1): 87-108.
- Mayhew, David R. 1974. *The Electoral Connection*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Mezey, Michael L. 2008. *Representative Democracy: Legislators and Their Constituents*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Michels, Robert. 1962 [1911]. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Free Press.

- Millard, Frances. 2004. *Elections, Parties, and Representation in Post-Communist Europe*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Miller, Warren E. 1952. "Party Preference and Attitudes on Political Issues: 1948-1951". *American Political Science Review* 46(1): 45-60.
- Miller, Warren E., and J. Miller Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Miller, William L., Stephen White, and Paul Heywood. 1998. *Values and Political Change in Postcommunist Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Mishler, William, and Richard Rose. 1994. "Support for Parliaments and Regimes in the Transition toward Democracy in Eastern Europe". *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 19(1): 5-32.
- Moser, Robert G. 1999. "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States". *World Politics* 51(2): 359-384.
- Moser, Robert G. 2001. *Unexpected Outcomes. Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Representation in Russia*. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Mudde, Cas. 2000. "Extreme Right Parties in Eastern Europe". *Government and Opposition* 34(1): 5-29.
- Mudde, Cas. 2005. *Racist Extremism in Central and Eastern Europe*. New York: Routledge.
- Mughan, Anthony. 1993. "Party Leaders and Presidentialism in the 1992 Election: A Post-War Perspective" in David Denver, Pippa Norris, Collin Rallings, and David Broughton. eds. *British Elections and Parties Yearbook 1993*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 193-204.
- Mughan, Anthony. 2000. *Media and the Presidentialization of Parliamentary Elections*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Muller, Wolfgang C., and Kaare Strom. eds. 2000. *Coalition Government in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2001. "The Return of Populism – The 2000 Romanian Election". *Government and Opposition* 36(2): 230-252.
- Nalewajko, Ewa, and Włodzimierz Wesolowski. 2007. "Five Terms of the Polish Parliament". *Journal of Legislative Studies* 13(1): 59-82.
- Nannestad Peter, and Martin Paldam. 2000. "Into Pandora's Box of economic valuations: a study of the Danish macro VP-function, 1986-1997". *Electoral Studies* 19(2): 123-140.
- Neff Powell, Eleanor, and Joshua Tucker. 2008. "New Approaches to Electoral Volatility: Evidence from Postcommunist Countries". Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6.

- Neff Powell, Eleanor, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2010. "New Approaches to Electoral Volatility: Evidence from Post-Communist Countries". Manuscript available at [homepages.nyu.edu/~jat7/WP\\_Powell\\_Tucker\\_2010.pdf](http://homepages.nyu.edu/~jat7/WP_Powell_Tucker_2010.pdf), last accessed February 13, 2011.
- Neumann, Sigmund. ed. 1956. *Modern Political Parties*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Newton, Kenneth, and Pippa Norris. 2000. "Confidence in Public Institutions: Faith, Culture or Performance?" in S. Pharr and Robert Putnam (eds.) *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Nie, Norman H., Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik. 1976. *The Changing American Voter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Niemi, Richard G., and Laura R. Winsky. 1987. "Membership Turnover in U.S. State Legislatures: Trends and Effects of districting". *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 12(1): 115-123.
- Nikolenyi, Csaba. 2011. "Political Institutions and Party Switching in Post-Communist Legislatures". Paper Presented at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops, St. Gallen.
- Norris, Pippa, and Joni Lovenduski. 1995. *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norton, Philip, and David Wood. 1990. "Constituency Service by Members of Parliament: Does it Contribute to a Personal Vote?". *Parliamentary Affairs* 43(2), 196-208.
- Olson, David M. 1993. "Political Parties and Party Systems in Regime Transformation: Inner Transition in the New Democracies of Central Europe". *The American Review of Politics* 14(1): 619-658.
- Olson, David M. 1998a. "Party Formation and Party System Consolidation in the New Democracies of Central Europe". *Political Studies* 46(3): 432-464.
- Olson, David. 1998b. "The Parliaments of New Democracies and the Politics of Representation" in Stephen White, Judy Batt, and Paul G. Lewis. eds. *Developments in Central and East European Politics 2*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Panbianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pedersen, Mogens N. 1979. "The Dynamics of European Party Systems: Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility". *European Journal of Political Research* 7(1): 1-26.

- Pedersen, Mogens N. 1983. "Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility in European Party Systems, 1948-1977: Explorations and Explanation" in Hans Daalder and Peter Mair. eds. *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Pennings, Paul. 2000. "The Consequences of Ministerial Recruitment for the Functioning of Cabinets in Western Europe". *Acta Politica* 35(1): 86-103.
- Pennings, Paul, and Jan-Erik Lane. eds. 1998. *Comparing Party System Change*. London: Routledge.
- Pennings, Paul and Reuven Y Hazan. 2001. "Democratizing Candidate Selection: Causes and Consequences". *Party Politics* 7(3): 267-275.
- Persson, Torsten, Gerard Roland, and Guido Tabellini. 1997. "Separation of Powers and Political Accountability". *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112: 1163-1202.
- Poguntke, Thomas. 2002. "Party Organizational Linkage: Parties Without Firm Social Roots?" in Kurt Richard Luther and Ferdinand Muller-Rommel. eds. *Political Parties in the New Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 43-62.
- Polsby, Nelson W. 1975. "Legislatures" in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby. eds. *Handbook of Political Science*, vol. V, Reading: Addison-Wesley, 275-319.
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore. 1999. "Separated at Birth or Separated by Birth? The Communist Successor Parties in Romania and Hungary". *East European Politics and Societies* 13(1): 117-147.
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore. 2008. "A Party for All Seasons: Electoral Adaptation of Romanian Communist Successor Parties". *Journal of Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41(4): 465-479.
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore. 2010. "Throwing Out the Bums: Protest Voting and Anti-Establishment Parties after Communism". *World Politics* 62(2): 221-260.
- Posner, Daniel N. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Origin in Africa*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Powell, G. Bingham, and Guy Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context". *American Journal of Political Science* 37(2): 391-414.
- Preda, Cristian. 2002. *Romania postcomunista si Romania interbelica* (The Post-Communist Romania and the Inter-War Romania). Bucharest: Institutul de cercetari politice.
- Preda, Cristian. 2005. *Partide si alegeri in Romania postdecembrista: 1989-2004* (Parties and Elections in Post-Communist Romania: 1989-2004). Bucharest: Nemira.



- Pridham, Geoffrey. 2002. "The European Union's Democratic Conditionality and Domestic Politics in Slovakia: The Meciar and Dzurinda Governments Compared". *Europe-Asia Studies* 54(2): 203-225.
- Pridham, Geoffrey, and Paul G. Lewis. 1996. "Introduction. Stabilizing fragile democracies and party system development" in Geoffrey Pridham and Paul G. Lewis. eds. *Stabilizing Fragile Democracies. Comparing New Party Systems in Southern and Eastern Europe*, London and New York: Routledge. 1-22.
- Przeworski, Adam, Susan Carol Stokes, and Bernard Manin. 1999. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Putnam, Robert. D. 1993. *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Racz, Barnabas. 1991. "Political Pluralism in Hungary: The 1990 Elections". *Soviet Studies* 43(1): 107-136.
- Rae, Douglas W. 1971. *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Rahat, Gideon, and Reuven Hazan. 2001. "Candidate Selection Methods". *Party Politics* 7(3): 297-322.
- Ramet, Sabrina P. 1997. *Whose Democracy? Nationalism, Religion, and the Doctrine of Collective Rights in Post-1989 Eastern Europe*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Randall, Vicky, and Lars Svasand. 2002. "Party Institutionalization in New Democracies". *Party Politics* 8(1): 5-29.
- Ranney, Austin. 1981. "Candidate Selection" in David Butler, Howard Penniman, and Austin Ranney. eds. *Democracy at the Polls*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 75-106.
- Remmer, Karen L. 1991. "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s". *American Political Science Review* 85(3): 777-800.
- Rivera, Sharon W. 1996. "Historical Cleavages or Transition Mode: Influences on the Emerging Party Systems in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia". *Party Politics* 2(2), 177-208.
- Roberts, Kenneth M., and Erik Wibbels. 1999. "Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Latin America: A Test of Economic, Institutional, and Structural Explanations". *American Political Science Review* 93(3): 575-590.
- Rohrschneider, Robert. 2002. "Mobilizing versus Chasing: How do Parties Target Voters in Election Campaigns?". *Electoral Studies* 21(3): 367-382.
- Roper, Steven D. 1995. "The Romanian Party System and the Catch-All Party Phenomenon". *East European Quarterly* 28(4): 518-532.

- Roper, Steven D. 2003. "Is There an Economic Basis for Post-communist Voting? Evidence from Romanian Elections, 1992-2000". *East European Quarterly* 37(1): 85-100.
- Roper, Steven D. 2007. "The Differential Impact of State Finance on the Romanian Party System". *Europe-Asia Studies* 59(1): 97-109.
- Rose, Richard. 1980. *Do Parties Make a Difference?* Chatham, NJ. Chatham House.
- Rose, Richard. 1995. "Mobilizing Demobilized Voters in Post-Communist Societies". *Party Politics* 1(4): 549-563.
- Rose, Richard. ed. 2000, *International Encyclopedia of Elections*, Washington D.C.: CQ Press.
- Rose, Richard and Derek Urwin. 1970. "Persistence and Change in Western Party Systems Since 1945". *Political Studies*, 18(3): 287-319.
- Rose, Richard, and Thomas T. Mackie. 1988. "Do Parties Persist or Fail? The Big Trade Off Facing Organizations" in Kay Lawson and Peter H. Merkl. eds. *When parties Fail: Emerging Alternative Organizations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rose, Richard, and William Mishler. 1998. "Negative and Positive Party Identification in Post-Communist Countries". *Electoral Studies* 17(2): 217-234.
- Rose, Richard, Neil Munro, and Thomas Mackie. 1998. "Elections in Central and Eastern Europe since 1990". *Studies in Public Policy*. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde
- Rose, Richard, and Neil Munro. 2003. *Elections and parties in New European Democracies*, Washington DC: CQ Press.
- Rose, Richard, and Neil Munro. 2009. *Parties and Elections in New European Democracies*, Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Rosenstone, Steven J., and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Rosenthal, Alan. 1974. "Turnover in State Legislatures". *American Journal of Political Science* 18(4): 609-616.
- Rybar, Marek. 2006. "Old Parties and New: Changing Patterns of Party Politics in Slovakia" in Susanne Jungerstam-Mulders. ed. *Post-Communist EU Member States Parties and Party Systems*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Rybar, Marek, and Kevin Deegan-Krause. 2008. "Slovakia's Communist successor parties in comparative perspective". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41(4): 497-519.

- Sartori, Giovanni. 1969. "From the Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology" in Seymour Martin Lipset. ed. *Politics and the Social Sciences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 65-95.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1997. *Comparative Constitutional Engineering: An Inquiry Into Structures, Incentives and Outcomes*. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.
- Saxonberg Steven. 2003. *The Czech Republic before the New Millenium: Politics, Parties and Gender*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Scarrow, Susan. 2000. "Parties Without Members? Party Organization in a Changing Electoral Environment" in Russel J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg. eds. *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 79-101.
- Scarrow, Susan, Paul Webb and David Farrell. 2000. "From Social Integration to Electoral Contestation: The Changing Distribution of Power within Political Parties" in Russel J. Dalton and Martin Wattenberg. eds. *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 129-153.
- Schattschneider, Elmer Eric. 1942. *Political Parties*. New York: Holt, Riehart, and Winston.
- Schattschneider, Elmer Eric. 1960. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. Hinsdale: The Dryden Press.
- Schopflin, George. 1991. "Post-Communism: Constructing New Democracies in Eastern Europe". *International Affairs* 67(2): 235-250.
- Seyd, Patrick, and Paul Whiteley. 1992. *Labour's Grass Roots: The Politics of Party Membership*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shlapentokh, Vladimir, Cristopher Vanderpool, and Boris Doktorov. eds. 1999. *The New Elite in Post-Communist Europe*. Texas: A&M University Press.
- Shomer, Yael. 2009. "Candidate Selection Procedures, Seniority, and Vote-Seeking. Behavior". *Comparative Political Studies* 42(7): 945-970.
- Sikk, Alan. 2005. "How unstable? Volatility and the genuinely new parties in Eastern Europe". *European Journal of Political Research* 44(3): 391-412.
- Sitter, Nick, and Agnes Batory. 2004. "Cleavages, Competition, and Coalition-Building: Agrarian Parties and the European Question in Western and Eastern Europe". *European Journal of Political Research* 43(4): 523-546.
- Sitter, Nick. 2002. "Cleavages, Party Strategy and Party System Change in Europe, East and West". *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 3 (3): 425-451.

- Smilov, Daniel. 2007. "Introduction: Party Funding, Campaign Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe" in Daniel Smilov and Jurij Toplak. eds. *Political Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe. The Transition Period*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1-31.
- Smilov, Daniel, and Jurij Toplak. eds. 2007. *Political Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe. The Transition Period*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Smith, Gordon. 1989. "A System Perspective on Party System Change". *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1(3): 349-363.
- Soare, Sorina. 2007. "Party membership in Romania". Paper presented at the EU's South-Eastern Enlargement: Romania and Bulgaria in Comparative Perspective Conference, University of Salford.
- Soare, Sorina. 2010. "Genul și speciile populismului românesc. O incursiune pe tărâmul tinereții fără bătrânețe și al vieții fără de moarte" (The Genre and Species of Romanian Populism. A travel on the Land of Youth without Elderness and Life without Death) in Sergiu Gherghina and Sergiu Miscoiu. eds. *Partide și personalitati populiste in Romania postcomunista* (Populist Parties and Leaders in Post-Communist Romania). Iasi: Editura Institutul European.
- Sobel, Russell S. 1998. The political costs of tax increases and expenditure reductions: evidence from state legislative turnover. *Public Choice* 96(1-2): 61-79.
- Spirova, Maria. 2005. "Political Parties in Bulgaria. Organizational Trends in Comparative Perspective". *Party Politics* 11(5): 601-622.
- Spirova, Maria. 2007. *Political Parties in Post-Communist Societies. Formation, Persistence, and Change*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Spirova, Maria. 2008. "The Bulgarian Socialist Party: The Long road to Europe". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41(4): 481-495.
- Stonecash, Jeffrey M. 2008. *Reassessing the Incumbency Effect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Strom, Kaare, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman. eds. 2003. *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sum, Paul E. 2010. "The radical right in Romania: Political party evolution and the distancing of Romania from Europe". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 43(4): 19-29.
- Szajkowski, Bogdan. ed. 2005. *Political Parties of the World*. Michigan: Hohn Harper Publishing.
- Szczerbiak, Aleks. 1999. "Interests and Values: Polish Parties and Their Electorates". *Europe-Asia Studies* 51(8): 1401-1432.

- Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2001a. *Poles Together? Emergence and Development of Political parties in Post-Communist Poland*. Budapest: CEU Press.
- Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2001b. "The New Polish Political Parties as Membership Organizations". *Contemporary Politics* 7(1): 57–69.
- Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2001c. "Party Structure and Organizational Development in Post-Communist Poland". *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 17(2): 94-130.
- Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2001d. "Cartelization in post-communist politics: State party funding in post-1989 Poland". *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 2(3): 431-451.
- Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2006. "Power without Love? Patterns of Party Politics in Post-1989 Poland" in Susanne Jungerstam-Mulders. ed. *Post-Communist EU Member States Parties and Party Systems*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 91-124.
- Szczerbiak, Aleks, and Paul A. Taggart. eds. 2008. *Opposing Europe?: The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism Volume 1: Case Studies and Country Surveys*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taagepera, Rein, and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes. The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Taagepera, Rein, and Bernard Grofman. 2003. "Mapping the Indices of Seats–Votes Disproportionality and Inter-Election Volatility". *Party Politics* 9(6): 659-677.
- Tan, Alexander C. 2000. *Members, Organization and Performance. An Empirical Analysis of the Impact of Party Membership Size*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Tavits, Margit. 2005. "The development of Stable Party Support: Electoral Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe". *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 283-298.
- Tavits, Margit. 2008. "Policy Positions, Issue Importance, and Party Competition in New Democracies". *Comparative Political Studies* 41(1): 48-72.
- Toka, Gabor. ed. 1995. *The 1990 Elections to the Hungarian National Assembly*. Berlin: Sigma.
- Toka, Gabor. 1997. "Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in East Central Europe". *Studies in Public Policy* 279, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, 1-66.
- Toka, Gabor. 1998. "Party Appeals and Voter Loyalty in New Democracies". *Political Studies* 46(3): 589-610.
- Toka, Gabor, and Zsolt Enyedi. eds. 1999. *The 1994 Election to the Hungarian National Assembly: Analyses, Documents and Data*. Berlin: Sigma

- Toka, Gabor, and Andrija Henjak. 2007. "Party Systems and Voting Behavior in the Visegrad Countries 15 years after the Transition" in Pavel Saradin and Eva Bradova. eds. *Visegrad Votes: Parliamentary Elections 2005-2006*, Olomouc: Palacky University Press, 210-244.
- Toole, James. 2003. Straddling the East-West Divide: Party Organisation and Communist Legacies in East Central Europe". *Europe-Asia Studies* 55(1): 101-118.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2002. "The First Decade of Post-Communist Elections and Voting: What Have We Studied, and How Have We Studied It?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 5: 271-304.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2006. *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tworzecki, Hubert. 2003. *Learning to choose: electoral politics in East-Central Europe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Vachudova, Milada A., and Liesbet Hooghe. 2009. "Postcommunist Politics in a Magnetic Field: How Transition and EU Accession Structure Party Competition on European Integration". *Comparative European Politics* 7(2): 179-212.
- Vlachova, Klara. 2001. "Party Identification in the Czech Republic: Inter-Party Hostility and Party Preference". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 34(4): 479-499.
- Walecki, Marcin. 2007. "Political Finance in Poland" in Daniel Smilov and Jurij Toplak. eds. *Political Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe. The Transition Period*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 123-142.
- Waller, Michael. 1995. "Adaptation of the Former Communist Parties of East-Central Europe: A Case of Social-Democratization?". *Party Politics* 1(4): 473-490.
- Waller, Michael. 1996. "Party Inheritances and Party Identities" in Geoffrey Pridham and Paul G. Lewis. eds. *Stabilizing Fragile Democracies. Comparing New Party Systems in Southern and Eastern Europe*. London and New York: Routledge, 23-43.
- Waller, Michael, and Georgi Karasimeonov. 1996. "Party Organization in post-Communist Bulgaria" in Paul. G. Lewis. ed. *Party Structure and Organization in East-Central Europe*. Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar, 134-162.
- Walsh, Helga. 1994. "Political Transition Processes in Central and Eastern Europe". *Comparative Politics* 26(4): 379-394.
- Wattenberg, Martin P. 1991. *The Rise of Candidate-Centred Politics: Presidential Elections of the 1980s*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Webb, Paul, and Stephen White. eds. 2007. *Party Politics in New Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weldon, Steven. 2006. "Downsize my Polity? The Impact of Size on Party Membership and Member Activism". *Party Politics* 12(4): 467-481.
- Whitefield, Stephen. 2002. "Political Cleavages and Post-Communist Politics". *Annual Review of Political Science* 5: 181-200.
- Widfeldt, Anders. 1999. "Losing Touch? The Political Representativeness of Swedish Parties, 1985-1994". *Scandinavian Political Studies* 22(4): 307-326,
- Wittenberg, Jason. 2006. *Crucibles of Political Loyalty: Church Institutions and Electoral Continuity in Hungary*. New York. Cambridge University Press.
- Wlezien, Christopher, Mark Franklin, and Daniel Twiggs. 1997. "Economic Perceptions and Vote Choice: Disentangling the Endogeneity". *Political Behavior* 19(1): 7-17.
- Wolinetz, Steven B. 2002. "Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies" in Richard Gunther, Jose Montero and Luan J. Linz. eds. *Political Parties. Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wolinetz, Steven B. 2006. "Party System Institutionalization: Bringing the System Back In". Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Saskatoon.
- Wyman, Matthew, Stephen White, Bill Miller, and Paul Heywood. 1995. "The Place of Party in Post-Communist Europe". *Party Politics* 1(4): 535-548.
- Zibblatt, Daniel F. 1998. "The Adaptation of Ex-Communist Parties to Post-Communist East Central Europe: A Comparative Study of the East German and Hungarian Ex-Communist Parties". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 31(1): 119-137.
- Zubek, Voytek. 1995. "The Phoenix out of the Ashes: The Rise to Power of Poland's SdRP". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 28(3): 275-305.
- Zuckerman, Alan S., Josip Dasovic, and Jennifer Fitzgerald. 2007. *Partisan Families. The Social Logic of Bounded Partisanship in Germany and Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### Documents and Online Sources

- \*\*\* *Congresul Partidului Social Democrat, Raport privind activitatea PSD, în perioada 2001-2004 (The Congress of the Social Democratic Party. Report on PSD's activity in 2001-2004)*, Bucharest, 2004.
- Candidate Countries Eurobarometers (CCEB), available at [www.gesis.org](http://www.gesis.org), last accessed January 21, 2010.

Essex Electoral Archive, [www.essex.ac.uk/elections/](http://www.essex.ac.uk/elections/), last accessed June 18, 2008.

European Social Survey (ESS), available at [www.europeansocialsurvey.org](http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org), last accessed at January 26, 2010.

The Party Statutes were collected from the headquarters and websites of the 29 examined parties for multiple years.

Standard Eurobarometers (EB), available at [www.gesis.org](http://www.gesis.org), last accessed January 21, 2010.

Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, multiple years (1997-2010), available at [www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org), last accessed September 16, 2010.

Website Dnevnik Media outlet,  
[www.dnevnik.bg/bulgaria/2010/01/16/843132\\_bsp\\_subira\\_mladejite\\_si\\_na\\_chetvurta\\_nacionalna/](http://www.dnevnik.bg/bulgaria/2010/01/16/843132_bsp_subira_mladejite_si_na_chetvurta_nacionalna/)], last accessed at 15 March 2011.

Website of PNL, [www.pnl.ro/Public/art/3759/1990-Reinventarea-liberalismului-rom-nesc.html](http://www.pnl.ro/Public/art/3759/1990-Reinventarea-liberalismului-rom-nesc.html), last accessed at January 29, 2011.





