



The literature on European parties and party systems since 1945: A quantitative analysis

DANIELE CARAMANI¹ & SIMON HUG²

¹*University of Mannheim, Germany;* ²*Université de Genève, Switzerland and University of California, San Diego, USA*

Abstract. This article analyses the structure and evolution of the literature on parties and party systems in Europe since 1945. Using a bibliographical database comprising all references to scientific work on parties and party systems, we propose an innovative quantitative analysis. The completeness of our database allows us to show in detail the evolution of the literature over time. On the basis of a systematic coding of all references with respect to the type of parties, the countries and topics covered, as well as the language, place and type of publication, we propose a detailed quantitative analysis of the literature in all its dimensions. The result of our exploration is an accurate map of the literature on political parties in Europe.

Introduction

Previous analyses and reviews of the literature on political parties and party systems have mainly been of a qualitative nature. Such work presents a broad image of the main themes and trends in the study of this central topic of political science. Attempting to evaluate the state of the discipline, these surveys usually cover the main topics, methods and approaches prevalent in the literature. Authors of such surveys, however, necessarily rely upon largely subjective criteria for including specific work in their reviews. These criteria often reflect the scientific sensibilities of the authors to a significant degree and tend to mirror their scientific background, which leads them to restrict their surveys to particular themes (e.g., van der Eijk 1993), time periods (e.g., Janda 1993) or countries (e.g., Crotty 1991).

This article proposes an innovative analysis of the scientific research on European parties and party systems. Instead of relying on qualitative and subjective criteria, we base our analysis on a complete inventory of writings and publications. This permits a systematic description of this central literature in political science. Our method allows us to painstakingly document the literature across all its dimensions as well as its evolution over time and its coverage in space. The precise documentation of this vast and rich literature also aims to provide a series of guiding posts and landmarks to orient research

on European parties and party systems. Consequently, we attempt to chart out a map of the literature displaying the configuration of the discipline, allowing the following types of questions to be answered: Which parties and party families have attracted the most attention? From what perspective have they been studied? Which countries have been privileged, and which neglected?

For this endeavour we rely on a systematic collection of all references on political parties and party systems in Europe. Covering the period since World War II we established a computerised bibliographical database comprising approximately 11,500 titles. These titles were mainly collected on the basis of a thorough consultation of international bibliographical sources.¹ However, since the coverage of these sources is incomplete or non-existent for earlier periods, the collection was completed through research using primary sources. Country experts then controlled and checked the accuracy and completeness of the bibliographical database for their respective country of expertise.²

The bibliography, which covers half a century since 1945, comprises four types of references:³ to monographs, edited volumes, articles in journals, and contributions to edited volumes. This fourth type of publication represents one of the main original features of this bibliography, since no standard bibliographical source includes such references. We included all references to studies covering parties in European democracies. Consequently, up until 1989, our database covers essentially all West European countries. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, we also included references to parties and party systems in Eastern Europe. Moreover, we collected not only references published in Europe, but also work produced in other continents, provided that the subject concerned European parties.⁴ As a consequence, the titles appearing in our bibliographical database are not only in all European languages, but also in languages used in other continents (e.g., titles in Japanese).⁵ A final problem we had to solve was related to the fact that political parties are a central element of democracy, and hence most general work on political systems makes at least some passing reference to these central actors. Including all these titles would have enlarged the bibliography beyond reasonable bounds, however, and so we chose to exclude all such general work. The bibliography therefore contains only those titles referring explicitly to political parties and party systems.

Figure 1 depicts the evolution over time of the 11,500 titles collected according to these criteria. From this can be seen that the overall number of publications devoted to political parties and party systems has increased constantly from 1945 until 1978. From then on the scientific output on this topic has slightly decreased. During this time period we can note hardly any erratic movement around this general trend, although it is interesting to highlight a

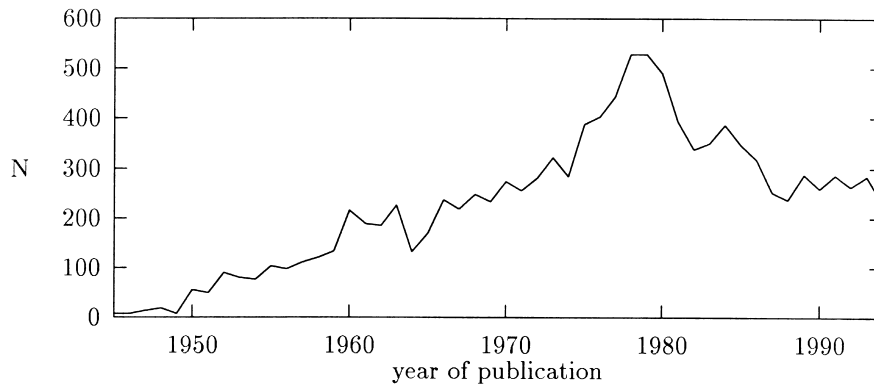


Figure 1. The total number of publications per year.

first blossoming in the literature at the beginning of the 1950s. This period of democratic consolidation after World War II can therefore be considered to be the starting point of the interest devoted to political parties. From then on, except for the first half of the 1960s, there has been an almost linear increase in the number of publications until 1978. The end of the 1970s clearly appears in this figure as the 'golden age' of party research. Almost one-fifth of the publications in our database were published between 1977 and 1980. After this period the number dropped to the average of the beginning of the 1970s.

Our bibliographical database is not limited to a systematic collection of references, but contains in addition a systematic coding of each title. We coded all references using six keys. Based on a classification of 16 categories,⁶ we first coded all titles according to the subject of the work, such as 'ideology of parties', 'parties and social support', 'parties and government', etc. We then classified all titles according to the type of party studied in the work. To achieve this, we grouped parties into the main families or ideological camps, e.g. 'communists', 'Christian-democrats', 'centre', etc. Moreover, each reference was coded according to the country or countries studied,⁷ the country where the work was published, and the language in which the work was written. Finally, we distinguished between monographs, collective books, articles in journals and contributions to edited volumes.

This coding scheme constitutes our main instrument for carrying out the analysis of the literature on European parties and party systems since 1945. Together with the computerised support of our bibliography, the codes allow not only searches combining several criteria – according to the authors, the titles, and so forth – but also thorough quantitative analyses of all titles according to the different key codes. In the following sections, we will use these different codes to gain a better understanding of how the literature is structured and how it has evolved over time.

The countries studied in the literature

We begin our analysis by comparing the countries. Countries can be considered from two angles. On the one hand, there is the idea of a country as the object of study, in that given subjects or party types are studied in relation to certain countries and not others. On the other hand, there is the idea of a country as the source of the study. From this perspective, a given subject or party type might appear as having been studied more in the frame of a given national tradition than in another. There is in effect a difference between saying that studies on communist parties have been mainly carried out in relation to France and Italy and observing that studies on communist parties have been published mostly in the USA and the UK. All sections deal exclusively with the first aspect, with the exception of the section on national traditions which adopts the second perspective. In both cases the list of countries is very extensive. This forced us to group some countries together. Since we have considered the literature on East European parties only since 1989, and consequently the overall number of references turns out to be extremely low, we decided to group them together.⁸ Similarly, some smaller West European countries have been combined into one single category.⁹ Notwithstanding this recoding, the number of titles in these two categories remains very low (respectively 1.3 and 0.9 percent).

The parties of a group of four countries have together attracted most attention by scholars. Germany (15.2), France (13.2), Italy (13.1) and the United Kingdom (11.2) are each the object of at least 10 percent of all studies. These countries share the characteristics of being large and traditionally at the centre of a rich cultural and intellectual life. These characteristics are shared by Spain which democratised anew in the mid-1970s, and whose literature on parties in competitive systems could not develop to the same extent. Nonetheless, Spain follows this leading group of four countries, preceding countries with a longer democratic life but of smaller size, such as the Nordic countries, Ireland, the Benelux countries, etc. All these countries appear with less than 4 percent of the titles in our bibliography.

At the beginning of the post-war period the literature focused mostly on the British parties and party system, and until the end of the 1960s the parties of the United Kingdom remained the most studied objects. By the middle of the 1950s, however, interest in the new German party system had already appeared, and at the beginning of the 1960s, the number of publications on German parties equaled that on British parties. In 1966 the most studied country was Austria, before the German parties took the lead once again. In the middle of the 1970s the Italian parties attracted the attention of scholars, and for some time it became the most studied country. A real explosion of general and comparative work appears toward the end of the 1970s. This suggests that

the peak in the literature (Figure 1) is largely due to these more general studies of parties and party systems.

In addition to work with specific reference to a given country, there exist general studies and broad comparative research covering more than three countries. These references make up almost 20 percent of work. Apart from this type of work, our coding system allows three other types of studies to be distinguished. More than three quarters are case studies focusing on a single country. Much less frequent are two-paired comparisons (1.4 percent) and comparisons among three countries (0.4 percent). This low rate of comparative studies might seem surprising. As mentioned above, however, studies devoted to more than three countries are counted amongst the 19.1 percent of the general studies.¹⁰ These different shares hardly vary over the period covered in our bibliography.

We can use this distinction to see to what extent certain countries are dealt with in case studies, in two-paired comparisons or in comparisons among three countries. The analysis focuses here only on those titles which explicitly make reference to between one and three countries and not on those works making no reference to countries because of their abstract nature, or those works which make reference to four or more countries (broad comparative studies). Among works making reference to specific countries, the great majority are case studies, that is, references focusing on one single country. All countries, when considered, are practically always considered within case studies and very rarely in two- or three-way comparisons. Values are very high for case studies and range from 80.9 percent for works on Sweden to 98.5 percent for works on Ireland. Our analysis, however, is able to detect some privileged comparisons between countries. In fact, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden are more often included in binary analyses than other countries. Similarly, Denmark, Norway, Portugal and Sweden are included more often than other countries in three-way comparisons. This suggests that these different countries are compared with each other according to specific themes. Eurocommunism, for example, is a common denominator for the French, the Italian and the Portuguese communist parties; Portugal and France have the semi-presidential institutional form in common; Denmark, Norway and Sweden are all Scandinavian countries known for their specific party system and social-welfare models. These results are confirmed by the high percentages of tertiary comparisons between Scandinavian countries.

Which parties and party families attracted scholars' curiosity?

Behind the overall evolution depicted in Figure 1, there are important differences regarding the attention devoted to certain types of political parties. However, before going into greater detail concerning the type of party studied, it is important to note that more than half of all titles (51.8 percent) do not refer to any specific type of party. In this half of the literature both general studies not focusing on a particular party and works treating two or more parties belonging to different ideological families are included.¹¹ In the other half of the references, there is a clear predominance of studies looking at parties of the left. The literature appears to have focused on socialist and social-democratic parties (14.6 percent), communist parties (11.2 percent) and the left in general (3.1 percent) – in other words, more than a half of the works referring to party families.

Compared to this overwhelming dominance of research on the left, it appears that the right has been less studied. Taken in a restricted sense (conservative parties, extreme right-wing parties and the right as a general ideological category), the right appears in only 6.4 percent of the work. One might add the Christian-democratic parties and the liberal-radical family in specific country contexts, but even then the total (14.7 percent) remains markedly below that of the left. Minor attention has been given to regional-ethnic (0.8 percent) and agrarian parties (0.2 percent). By contrast, the percentages of work devoted to the ecological parties (2.6 percent) is astonishingly high, being similar to that of the conservatives (2.8 percent), especially given the fact that these studies are all of recent origin.

The example of the ecological parties highlights the need to disaggregate our analysis on a temporal basis for each party type. Most party types show no distinct pattern with respect to the general trend, i.e., a constant increase up until the end of the 1970s and then a slight decline. Not surprisingly this is the case for work without party reference, since they make up more than half of our observations. Obviously, for categories with few cases the pattern is more erratic and therefore does not allow for any meaningful conclusions. Conversely, work on communist parties presents a distinct evolution. This type of party has been widely studied up until the early 1970s, but the increase has been less marked with respect to the general trend. Then, between the middle of the 1970s and the early 1980s, the scientific production on communist parties exploded. There is then a steep decline in the attention paid to the communist parties after the beginning of the 1980s. This explosion followed by decline is closely related to the changes in European party systems during that time. First, communist parties redefined their position within the party systems with respect to their ideology. Second, the interest in these parties was increased by their move from an anti-system and oppositional character

to that of a potential coalition partner. Cases in point are the union of the left in France, the historic compromise in Italy and the rebirth of democratic life in other Southern European countries. With respect to this pattern the comparison with the evolution of the literature on socialist parties is enlightening: the growth of this literature has been more steady, and this can be taken as an indicator of their smoother and earlier integration into party and governmental systems.

Both the extreme right-wing parties and the ecological parties have attracted much attention in the last decade. Although the extreme right-wing parties have always been studied (especially the Italian *Movimento sociale italiano*), a first increase in interest appears after the middle of the 1960s. This increase seems to be linked to the emergence of this type of party in countries like Belgium and Germany. The almost successful participation of the *Nationaldemokratische Partei* (NDP) in the 1969 election, failing only at the 5 percent hurdle, sparked a considerable interest among scholars. From then on the literature on these parties follows the general trend up until the beginning of the 1980s. Then, instead of falling, the interest in these parties appears to have grown, with the rise and success of a newer type of extreme right-wing parties in several European countries stimulating research in this field. In similar fashion, the literature on ecological parties is linked to the emergence and success of this type of party. Some work had already started to appear after the mid-1970s, but only in the mid-1980s did the literature peak. After a certain decline, interest renewed toward the end of the 1980s. The two peaks can be attributed first to the entry of the German Greens in parliament into 1980 and, second, to the success of ecologists in the elections to the European Parliament in 1989.¹²

Considering the relative shares in percentages for each party type allows us to focus more clearly on the relative weight of the different parties in the literature. In effect, a steady increase of titles on a given party does not necessarily mean that more attention has been devoted to this party. Up to the early 1970s the literature has mainly concentrated on socialist and social-democratic parties and to a lesser degree on communist and Christian-democratic parties. The 1970s, especially the latter years until the early 1980s, are characterised by an increase in studies of leftist parties. The decline of interest in communist parties finds a parallel in an increased interest first in extreme right-wing parties and then in ecological parties. In fact, this latter type of party becomes the most frequently studied in both 1989 and 1990. As a result, whilst before the middle of the 1980s there was a clear predominance of work on communist parties and socialist parties with minor attention to Christian-democratic and conservative parties, after this period a general

equilibrium and a more evenly matched distribution of work across most party types can be observed (with the exception of the socialists).

Does the study of political parties vary according to the country to which they belong? Table 1 shows that, in the first place, the more a party is important in a country the more this party is studied. But let us proceed in order. As underlined above, most studies do not make explicit reference to any type of party. However, the number of titles without reference to a specific party type varies to a large extent according to which country is considered. For example, only 33.9 percent of the work on France makes no reference to a party or party family, while this percentage rises to 79.4 percent in the case of works focusing on Ireland. This means that for the latter country studies on specific parties are rare and that the great majority of studies are devoted to the party system in general. For the rest, this country is analysed according to the Labour Party (7.4 percent) and the two *sui generis* parties *Fianna Fáil* and *Fine Gael* (7.9 percent both) which have been coded as conservative parties.

In terms of titles dealing with a specific ideological family, the most frequent reference is to socialist and social-democratic parties, which constitute between 7.4 percent and 27.8 percent of the studies in the different countries. There are however three notable exceptions: the Swiss and Finnish Social-Democratic Parties receive much less attention in comparison to all other European socialist parties (6.2 and 4.8 percent respectively) while the British Labour Party has received much more attention (30.8 percent). It is therefore plausible to conclude that the attention devoted to these parties is a function of their relative strength within their national party systems. This is also the case for the other party family of the left, the communist parties. It appears from the table that the most studied communist parties in a given country are those of Southern Europe (Italy and Spain), France and Finland – in other words, those systems characterised by configurations presenting a divided left.

The feeling that the number of titles devoted to a given party type reflects the importance (in terms of votes and role) of a party in its national party system is confirmed by figures on conservative parties and Christian-democratic parties. Apart from the Irish parties already mentioned, the only two countries for which conservative parties receive considerable attention are Britain (11.8 percent of the work on this country focuses on the Conservative Party) and France (5.3 percent of the work has been done on the different Gaullist formations). Only in two other cases (Norway and Spain) have some titles focused on this kind of party (5.8 and 3.5 percent respectively). Titles on Christian-democratic parties constitute an important part of the literature of those countries in which denominational features are reflected in the party system and which therefore include important Christian parties. This is the case for Belgium (18.2 percent of the titles on Belgium deal with the Christian

Table 1. Type of party by country in row percentages

Country	Type of party ^a													Total (n)	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		13
AU	58.4	15.6	12.7	0.7	4.4	3.4	1.2	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	409
BE	42.3	17.3	18.5	0.5	3.3	6.0	1.0	8.0	0.0	2.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	400
CH	66.9	6.2	4.8	0.0	2.1	7.6	2.8	1.4	2.1	4.1	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.4	145
DK	55.8	24.8	1.4	1.7	4.0	3.7	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.9	1.7	0.3	0.0	0.6	351
ES	46.3	21.2	1.0	3.5	16.1	1.5	0.5	2.5	0.0	0.3	4.8	1.3	0.3	0.8	397
FI	68.1	4.8	0.4	1.2	15.1	0.4	0.8	0.0	2.8	2.4	2.4	0.8	0.8	0.0	251
FR	33.9	15.0	2.4	5.3	19.6	3.4	5.7	0.0	0.0	1.4	9.2	2.3	0.7	1.1	1517
G	47.2	15.5	11.1	0.5	4.3	2.9	6.0	0.2	0.0	8.8	2.0	0.6	0.1	0.9	1741
GR	44.4	27.8	0.0	1.9	18.5	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	108
IE	79.4	7.4	0.0	7.9	1.6	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.1	189
IT	38.3	10.1	14.0	0.1	27.6	2.4	2.6	1.0	0.0	0.5	2.6	0.4	0.1	0.1	1498
NL	72.4	7.5	9.5	0.3	3.1	2.3	1.3	0.0	0.8	0.8	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	388
NO	61.8	15.6	1.8	5.8	4.0	2.9	1.1	0.0	1.5	1.1	1.8	0.0	2.5	0.0	275
PT	53.8	11.5	0.0	0.0	30.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.9	0.0	52
SE	58.6	21.3	0.4	1.6	6.6	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	2.9	0.4	1.2	0.8	244
UK	43.5	30.8	0.1	11.8	2.0	4.1	2.3	2.1	0.0	0.9	1.7	0.2	0.5	0.2	1282
OW	66.0	6.6	5.7	0.9	11.3	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	2.8	0.0	0.0	2.8	106
EE	64.8	4.1	2.1	0.0	13.8	0.7	1.4	0.0	0.7	3.4	2.8	0.0	0.0	6.2	145
Total (n)	5951	1672	656	322	1286	301	337	92	22	303	358	82	36	60	9498

^a Legend: 0, no party reference; 1, socialist and social-democratic parties; 2, Christian-democratic parties; 3, conservative parties; 4, communist parties; 5, liberal and radical parties; 6, extreme-right wing parties; 7, regional and ethnic parties; 8, agrarian parties; 9, ecological parties; 10, left; 11, right; 12, centre; 13, other parties.

Democrats), Italy (14.0 percent), Austria (12.7 percent), Germany (11.1 percent) and the various Dutch denominational parties (9.5 percent). To a lesser extent the *Christlich-Demokratische Volkspartei* in Switzerland (4.8 percent) and the different Catholic formations in France have also received attention from the literature. The French figure (2.4 percent) is perhaps surprising since one could have expected to find more work on the *Mouvement républicain populaire*.

Among the types of party which received less attention from the literature, some interesting exceptions stand out in Table 1. Among the liberal and radical parties, only those of Germany, of France and Denmark have been studied to any extent. Not much attention, perhaps surprisingly, has been given to the British liberals. Belgian regional-ethnic parties are the only such parties to occupy a relevant part of a national literature (8.0 percent), although some attention has been paid to the regional parties of both Spain and the UK. Extreme-right wing parties have been analysed in the context of three countries: Germany, with the rise of the NDP and, more recently, *Die Republikaner* (6.0 percent of the German literature); France with the success of the *Front national* (5.7 percent); and Denmark where the Progress Party has attracted 5.6 percent of Danish literature. Among the agrarian parties, no particular party stands out with the marginal exception of the Finnish Centre Party (2.8 percent) and the Swiss *Schweizerische Volkspartei* (2.1 percent). Finally, green parties reflect more the importance of their role within national party systems than their effective strength in votes. The most studied greens are the German *Die Grünen* whose titles constitute 8.8 percent of the German literature followed by the Swiss *Grüne Partei der Schweiz* (4.1 percent) and by the Swedish *Miljöpartiet de gröna* (3.7 percent). The Belgian *AGALEV-Ecolo* (2.8 percent) and the Austrian *Die Grüne Alternative* (2.9 percent) have also received some attention. The start of this literature in Europe is linked to a large degree to the election of the first member of a green party to a national parliament in Switzerland in 1979 and the first participation of *Die Grünen* at the *Bundestag* election of 1980.¹³ Ideological areas in general (left, centre and right) have not received much attention. The only important outlying case is that of the French left which, among references to France, occupies 9.5 percent of the titles.

Another way of looking at the literature on political parties is to investigate which countries have been studied with regard to each party type. For example, after having seen that the socialist parties are the most studied, we might wish to know which socialist parties, i.e., of which countries, have been mainly studied. Among socialist and social-democratic parties, the most studied are those of the four major countries. In the first place, the British Labour Party (23.7 percent of all work on socialist parties is on this party) followed by

the German social democrats (16.1 percent) and the various Italian socialist formations (together, 9.1 percent). This pattern is similar for works focusing on liberal and radical parties, although, as has been seen above, this type of party has been much less studied than the socialists. As far as the Christian-democratic parties are concerned, the pattern appears quite different. Two parties clearly stand out: the Italian (32.1 percent) and the German (29.5 percent), with the Belgian Christian parties also receiving considerable attention (11.3 percent). Among conservative parties, the literature concentrates upon the parties of two countries: the United Kingdom, with the Conservative Party attracting almost the half of all titles on this type of party (46.9 percent) and France, with the Gaullist formations reaching 25.2 percent. In the case of communist parties, two countries also monopolise the attention of scholars: Italy (32.5 percent of the titles on communist parties deal with the Italian case) and again France (23.2 percent).

A look at the three general and non-party specific tendencies of left, centre and right contains the interesting result that this kind of work is carried out above all with respect to French politics (respectively 39.2, 27.8 and 43.2 percent). This might be interpreted as an indicator of the well-known 'weakness' of French partisan organisations, of their instability and of the dynamic ideological flux in which they act. Under these conditions it is no surprise to find that the literature on the broad ideological fields is first and foremost concerned with the French tendencies.

Approaches, methods and themes: how political parties studied

The attention scholars paid to political parties can be also distinguished by the topics, the aspects treated and the approaches. For this endeavour we employ the classification according to the subjects covered. More than one-third of the scientific publications (34.5 percent) on political parties are of an analytical or theoretical nature. An additional third stems from contributions on the organisation of political parties (10.8 percent), their participation at elections (12.7 percent) and their social support (9.0 percent). Among the remaining third, two topics especially – the ideology of political parties (6.1 percent) and their involvement in the formulation of public policies (5.1 percent) – have received notable attention. Less frequent are studies on the history of political parties (3.7 percent), their parliamentary activity (3.4 percent) and their role in government (3.4 percent). Only passing attention has been given to the remaining topics.¹⁴

The evolution over time of analytical and theoretical work follows a very similar trend to the general one displayed in Figure 1. In contrast to this general trend, however, the work on social support and attitudes toward po-

litical parties has increased in an almost linear fashion between 1945 and the middle of the 1970s. It appears therefore that this kind of study made up a significant part of the literature in the initial decades. Since the beginning of the 1980s, interest in these topics has declined considerably, which shows to some extent the depletion of these approaches. Such a decline cannot be observed in a closely related topic, namely that of elections and electoral strategies of political parties. In effect, interest in this topic first follows the general trend – a steep increase in the early 1970s – and then reaches a level of stability from the early 1980s. This stability can be attributed to two factors: first, the continuing interest in parties within the electoral arena largely due to recurring elections and, second, the inclusion of many recent studies devoted to media, campaigning and political communication in this category.

The bulk of work on parties in parliament and on their legislative behaviour appears in the early 1960s and 1970s which constitutes a slightly precocious development with respect to the general trend. However, the decline in interest has been very marked in the 1980s and 1990s, transforming this topic into a more marginal one. A very interesting pattern is the evolution of work on the ideology of political parties and their belief systems. While being largely a marginal topic up to the 1970s, a remarkable surge occurred in the mid-1970s. This trend has to be considered in relation to the studies on communist parties, whose evolution, as discussed above, displays an identical shape. The closeness between studies on communist parties and studies on ideology is reinforced by the observation of a steep decline after the end of the 1970s.

Recently, some new topics have gained importance in the literature. First, with continuing European integration and in particular the first direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979, scholars became interested in how parties act in the supranational environment. Despite this considerable increase of interest, it appears from our data that the initial enthusiasm quickly cooled off. This, however, cannot be said of studies on public policies and on the involvement of parties in the decision making processes. For this topic the number of publications has followed the general trend up to the end of the 1970s. But instead of declining rapidly, the interest in public policies has maintained a remarkable stability.

Turning now to the comparison across countries, the first question we want to answer is the following: what are the topics that have been studied according to the country which forms the object of the work? As we have seen, above one-third of the references is constituted by analytical and theoretical work and another third is formed by studies on organisational features, elections and the social support of parties. These topics are studied for all countries in a quite homogeneous way over the entire period 1945–1994. Since the

analytical and theoretical work does not – presumably – refer to any particular country, we will focus our analysis on the remaining two-thirds of topics.

As far as election studies are concerned, it appears from Table 2 that they have been carried out with respect to all countries in a quite evenly matched manner, running between a minimum of 9.0 percent in Italy to a maximum of 18.8 percent in Belgium, with the notable exception of Ireland for which this kind of subject constitutes almost a third of all titles (29.6 percent). A similar pattern can be detected in the social support of political parties. This topic is studied in relation to all countries, although to a lesser extent for Austria, Belgium and Germany. The exceptions in this case are constituted by Spain and Greece, for which the values are particularly low (5.3 and 1.9 percent respectively). In this respect, it should be remembered that social support was a relevant topic mainly in the first decades after World War II and that, when party politics took off in Spain and Greece, the wave of research on this topic had already largely faded. In contrast, the attention devoted to the organisational features of parties, although important, is characterised by significant variations according to the different countries studied. For this topic, values run from a minimum of 1.9 percent (works on Portugal) to a maximum of 16.3 percent (works on Belgium). The same pattern can be observed for studies on ideology: this type of work is most common when studying Austria (11.2 percent of the studies on this country) and least common in the case of Switzerland (1.4 percent).

Among the less important topics, four have received marginal attention with respect to almost all countries: reference works, the legal status of parties, parties and other social forces, and the international activity of parties, although the theme of government regulation of parties proves less marginal in Germany, counting for 10 percent of all titles up to the 1970s. As far as electoral laws and their effects on party systems is concerned, the one country that stands out as having been most frequently studied is Ireland, with 7.4 percent of references. The fact that Ireland is the only European country (apart from Malta) using the single-transferable vote as its electoral system is certainly a factor here. Other outliers also appear. Spain is clearly exceptional in relation to the topic of parties in other arenas (9.1 percent), with no other country accounting for more than 4.8 percent (Switzerland) on this topic. Both countries have strongly decentralised party systems, and any work analysing parties in local politics has been included under the label 'other arenas'. With respect to the subject of parties in parliament, an interesting result is that it forms a considerable part of the Nordic literature: Finland, in the first place, but also Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Public policies have also received differentiated attention according to which country has been the object of the analysis, with values running from a minimum of 1.6 percent for

Table 2. Subject by country in row percentages

Country	Subject ^a																Total (n)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
AU	25.2	3.7	6.4	11.2	12.0	3.2	2.7	11.7	6.8	2.4	2.7	4.4	2.4	1.2	3.2	0.7	409
BE	33.0	1.5	6.3	5.8	16.3	0.3	1.0	18.8	7.3	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.8	0.3	4.5	0.0	400
CH	45.5	2.1	3.4	1.4	4.8	2.1	3.4	11.7	11.7	2.1	3.4	2.1	4.8	0.0	1.4	0.0	145
DK	28.8	3.7	4.3	7.4	6.8	0.9	0.6	16.2	10.3	2.3	6.0	3.1	1.4	1.1	7.1	0.0	351
ES	43.6	1.3	4.8	6.3	7.1	2.0	0.0	13.6	5.3	1.5	1.3	1.8	9.1	0.3	2.3	0.0	397
FI	25.1	1.2	2.8	3.6	6.4	1.2	1.6	13.9	17.9	0.8	10.8	5.6	2.0	1.2	5.2	0.8	251
FR	35.9	0.9	4.3	6.4	9.4	0.7	1.2	15.0	10.0	2.3	2.8	2.6	1.3	1.8	4.9	0.4	1517
G	32.4	2.0	3.6	7.0	13.2	3.4	1.0	12.1	6.3	2.8	3.4	3.1	2.4	0.9	6.2	0.1	1741
GR	50.9	0.9	7.4	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.9	24.1	1.9	0.9	0.9	2.8	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	108
IE	22.8	1.6	4.2	3.2	6.9	0.5	7.4	29.6	11.1	1.1	4.2	4.2	0.5	0.5	1.6	0.5	189
IT	32.4	1.5	5.5	5.7	15.0	2.1	0.9	9.0	8.7	4.0	3.4	2.5	1.5	2.8	4.5	0.6	1498
NL	34.3	2.6	4.4	3.1	9.3	2.1	3.1	11.3	14.9	1.8	3.9	4.9	1.8	0.8	1.5	0.3	388
NO	32.7	0.7	5.1	5.5	10.9	1.1	0.7	12.4	12.7	0.7	6.5	2.9	0.7	3.6	3.3	0.4	275
PT	53.8	1.9	0.0	3.8	1.9	3.8	0.0	13.5	11.5	0.0	1.9	1.9	0.0	3.8	1.9	0.0	52
SE	31.6	1.2	1.6	7.8	7.8	1.6	1.2	12.7	13.5	2.9	7.0	2.5	0.4	0.4	7.4	0.4	244
UK	25.7	1.6	3.0	4.7	13.4	0.7	2.0	12.7	9.9	3.6	4.1	4.3	2.3	0.5	11.5	0.2	1282
OW	33.0	1.9	3.8	2.8	0.0	0.0	1.9	32.1	6.6	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	16.0	0.0	0.0	106
EE	59.3	1.4	0.7	0.0	7.6	0.0	0.0	17.9	3.4	1.4	3.4	0.7	1.4	0.7	2.1	0.0	145
Total (n)	3960	171	428	704	1241	181	208	1461	1029	278	388	385	212	219	581	32	9498

^a Legend: 1, analytical and theoretical works; 2, reference works; 3, history of parties; 4, ideology of parties; 5, organisation of parties; 6, legal regulation of parties; 7, electoral systems and parties; 8, parties and elections; 9, parties and social support; 10, parties and other social groups; 11, parties in parliament; 12, parties in government; 13, parties in other arenas; 14, parties in international activities; 15, parties and public policies; 16, other works.

Ireland to a maximum of 11.5 percent for the United Kingdom. The history of parties, finally, has received most attention when dealing with the cases of Austria, Belgium and Italy.

From a different perspective, we would also like to know how much weight certain countries had in the study of given subjects rather than how much weight the subjects had in the study of given countries. In this case we look at the composition of subjects rather than of countries studied. We saw that four countries are the most studied (Germany, France, Italy and the UK). This is true for every subject, that is, these countries are the most studied within each field of study. This is especially so for the important subjects: analytical and theoretical works, ideology, internal organisation of parties, elections, and social support. Some exceptions to this pattern appear among the less studied subjects. Among reference works, for example, the weight of Austria as a studied country is very important (8.8 percent). Similarly, for a subject such as the legal regulation of parties, the weight of countries with strong juridical traditions seems to increase: among these studies, 33.1 percent are on Germany and 17.1 percent on Italy. The weight of the two other major countries decreases significantly for this subject: only 6.1 percent for France and 5.0 percent for the UK. Finally, it is not surprising that a good part of the studies on parties and regionalism is devoted to Spain (17.0 percent) given the territorially fragmented party system of this country.

Towards a single language in the study of political parties?

Almost half of all our titles are written in English (41.6 percent). Much smaller amounts, which moreover have markedly decreased, are constituted by titles in German (18.9 percent), French (14.2 percent) and Italian (10.8 percent). Dutch (4.8 percent) and Spanish (3.3 percent) occupy the following ranks before languages which are used very infrequently. Over time the literature in English follows the general evolution. From the mid-1970s onwards, however, the predominance appears even more clearly, despite the fact that new languages also appear more frequently.

Table 3 shows that works on a given country are mainly written in the language(s) of that given country and then – not too surprisingly – in English. The only exception concerns works on Sweden: these references are firstly written in English (46.7 percent of them) and only secondly in Swedish (40.6 percent).¹⁵ The degree to which works on a given country are written in the language of that country varies to a large extent. The minimum values obviously concern the above-mentioned cases of Sweden and Portugal, and the maximum values concern the two countries in which English is the national language: the UK (92.0 percent) and Ireland (96.3 percent). Works on

Belgium and Switzerland are mainly written in respectively the two (Dutch and French) and three (German, French and Italian) national languages: a total of 85.0 percent for the former and 82.8 percent for the latter. In the case of works on Switzerland, it is interesting to note that Italian represents a marginal medium (2.8 percent) and is largely bypassed by English (15.9 percent). For the remaining countries, works written in national languages range from 48.2 percent (Finland) to 81.4 percent (Austria). The use of English also varies: from 13.5 percent in the case of works on Belgium to 46.7 percent for works on Sweden (not considering references on the UK and Ireland). Finally, an interesting figure concerns the important use of German for works on Portugal (13.5 percent) and that of Swedish (6.8 percent) on Finland (due, presumably, to the presence of a Swedish minority in Finland).¹⁶

Articles and books on political parties: forms of publication

A final element which characterises our titles is the type of publication. Overall journal articles are the most numerous with approximately 50 percent. Less frequent are books (25.7 percent), contributions in edited volumes (18.2 percent) and edited volumes (5.0 percent). This distribution varies heavily over time (Figure 2). In the very early days of the post-war period, contributions appeared mostly in books. From the beginning of the 1950s, articles in journals made their entry in force, with a corresponding decline in the percentage of titles published as books. Together with a steady increase of edited volumes throughout the period of observation, articles in such vol-

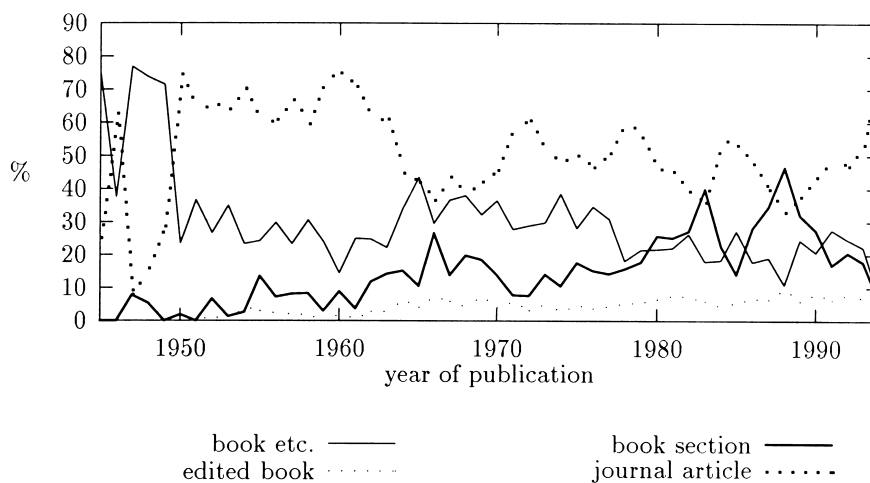


Figure 2. Percentage of publications by type of publication over time.

Table 3. Language by country in row percentages

Country	Language ^a											Total (n)			
	DAN	DUT	ENG	FIN	FRE	GER	GRE	ITA	NOR	POR	SPA		SWE	EE	XX
AU	0.0	0.0	15.4	0.5	1.7	81.4	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	409
BE	0.0	32.0	13.5	0.0	53.0	0.5	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	400
CH	0.0	0.0	15.9	0.0	30.3	49.7	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	145
DK	60.1	0.3	31.9	0.0	1.1	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.1	0.6	0.3	351
ES	0.6	0.0	21.9	0.0	3.8	4.5	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	60.5	0.0	0.3	5.8	397
FI	0.8	0.0	38.2	48.2	2.0	2.4	0.0	1.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	6.8	0.0	0.0	251
FR	0.0	0.3	29.8	0.1	61.9	5.0	0.0	2.0	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.3	1517
G	0.1	0.1	22.9	0.0	4.1	69.5	0.0	1.8	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.0	1741
GR	0.0	0.0	62.0	0.0	10.2	11.1	10.2	3.7	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.9	0.0	108
IE	0.0	1.1	96.3	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	169
IT	0.0	0.1	23.4	0.0	4.7	4.3	0.0	66.0	0.0	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.3	0.0	1498
NL	0.0	71.6	20.4	0.0	2.6	4.9	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	388
NO	1.5	0.4	39.6	0.0	3.3	2.2	0.0	0.0	50.9	0.0	0.4	1.8	0.0	0.0	275
PT	0.0	0.0	36.5	0.0	9.6	13.5	0.0	3.8	0.0	28.8	3.8	1.9	1.9	0.0	52
SE	2.0	0.0	46.7	0.0	4.1	3.3	0.0	1.2	1.2	0.0	0.4	40.6	0.4	0.0	244
UK	0.1	0.3	92.0	0.0	3.5	2.3	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.0	1282
OW	0.0	0.0	61.3	0.0	14.2	11.3	4.7	6.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.9	106
EE	0.0	0.0	55.2	0.7	0.0	6.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	35.9	0.0	145
Total (n)	234	435	4762	141	1622	2161	16	1234	148	26	352	135	155	27	9498

^a Legend: DAN, Danish; DUT, Dutch; ENG, English; FIN, Finnish; FRE, French; GER, German; GRE, Greek; ITA, Italian; NOR, Norwegian; POR, Portuguese; SPA, Spanish; SWE, Swedish; EE, East European languages; XX, other languages.

umes were also on the rise. This occurred in such a way that in the early 1990s books, journal articles and contributions to edited volumes were almost equally frequent.

The percentages of articles in journals, reviews and yearbooks also vary strongly as a function of the countries studied. Only approximately 37–38 percent of all studies on Austrian and Danish parties appeared in journal articles, while more than two-thirds of all studies on Belgium were published in scholarly journals. Apart from these extreme cases for almost all countries the percentage lies between 43 and 57 percent with slight variations. This spread is smaller for the studies published in books, where from one country to the next the percentage only varies from a low 15.4 for Portugal to a high 35.8 for the Netherlands and Spain. A similar variation can be found for studies published as book chapters. Less than 10 percent of all studies on Belgian parties appeared in edited volumes, while this percentage is the highest for studies on Austria, which account for 36.7 percent of all book chapters. The smallest variation, however, appears for edited books themselves, which is mainly due to the small number of such publications. Hence, the percentage goes only from a low of 0.5 for Belgium to a high of 5.6 for Austria.

Publishing countries and national traditions in the study of parties

So far, we have only looked at countries as objects of study. As mentioned above, this is only one way in which to use information on countries. Another way is to ask how much, what and in what form work has been published in each country. A first important result from adopting this new perspective is that the four major European countries are at the top of the list of publishing countries, as they were as countries studied. The United Kingdom (20.3 percent) leads the pack, with Germany (15.8 percent), France (11.7 percent) and Italy (11.2 percent) together publishing a considerable share of all references. But they are joined by the USA (13.7 percent) which publishes almost as much as Germany, the second biggest publisher in Europe.¹⁷ As with the rank-order of countries studied, a significant drop-off can be observed after the four major European countries, which in this case are followed by the Netherlands (4.8 percent). The relative prominence of the Netherlands in this regard is probably due to the presence of several important international publishers with a Dutch base. The United Kingdom was especially marked as a publishing country in the beginning of the post-war period, and it was only thereafter that other countries picked up. It is also interesting to note that while 1,300 titles appeared on British parties in the period as a whole, some 2,600 titles were published in the UK. This gap becomes larger for the period after the mid-1970s.

Turning to a comparative perspective, a first way to analyse 'what' has been published 'where' is to ask to what extent there exists a tendency of a specific country literature to write on its own parties or, conversely, to look abroad. To operationalise this question we will look first to the source of works on a given country and second to the countries on which the national literatures has focused.¹⁸ Table 4 presents the first set of results.

The data in Table 4 suggest that work on a given country relies in the first place on the scientific production of that same country. To take an example, 70.9 percent of the work done on Finnish parties stems from Finnish publications and 29.1 percent from publications from abroad (looking at the diagonal). These figures also reveal important variations in the proportion to which country studies rely upon work published abroad, however. The most 'self-sufficient' country literatures seem to be the Dutch and the Belgian; by contrast, the most externally dependent literature is that of Portugal (only 26.9 percent of home production), followed by Sweden (45.5 percent) and Ireland (51.3 percent). It is also evident that the reliance of national literatures on foreign contributions follows cultural and linguistic patterns. In the Germanic area it appears that both Austria and Switzerland rely upon German publishers. The opposite, however, is not true, and furthermore the two countries do not support each other. The same appears to be true for Southern Europe. Portugal and Spain rely upon Italy (5.8 and 3.8 percent respectively) to some extent. Finally, the Nordic countries seem to be studied more by their neighbours than by other countries. Denmark and Finland rely upon Norway (6.0 and 5.2 percent respectively), Sweden and Norway upon Denmark (5.3 and 4.4 percent respectively) and on Finland (3.3 and 4.0 percent respectively).

On which other countries do the different countries publish? Fundamentally every country mainly publishes works on its own political parties, with the UK being the only European publishing source that devotes a good deal of attention to non-British cases. In fact, at less than 41 percent, the proportion of British publications on British parties turns out to be extremely low compared to other countries. Apart from the Nordic countries, which also publish to some extent on their neighbours, only France devotes a significant percentage of its publications to (two) other major countries (Germany and Italy). Swiss publications evidence attention to the 'big brothers' of the two principal language groups: France and Germany. As far as non-European publishers are concerned, the two North-American countries show a similar pattern, with most attention going to the four major European countries. This is also true of publications emanating from other non-European publishing countries, although it should be noted that Soviet publications devote particular attention to Italian politics (10.4 percent of their publications concern the Italian case).

Table 4. Publishing country by country in row percentages

Country	Publishing country ^a																	Total (n)						
	AU	BE	CH	DK	ES	FI	FR	G	GR	IE	IT	NL	NO	PT	SE	UK	CA		SU	US	XX	OW	EE	Total (n)
AU	73.6	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.7	2.2	7.6	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.8	0.0	0.0	6.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	409
BE	0.0	80.0	0.5	0.0	0.8	0.0	4.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.3	0.0	4.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	400
CH	0.7	0.0	62.8	0.0	0.0	0.7	6.9	11.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.4	6.9	0.7	0.0	5.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	145
DK	0.3	0.3	65.2	0.9	3.1	1.4	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	6.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	10.0	0.0	0.6	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	351
ES	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.5	0.0	3.8	4.5	0.0	0.0	3.8	1.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	11.6	0.0	0.3	7.6	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	397
FI	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	70.9	2.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.4	5.2	0.0	2.4	4.8	0.4	0.0	8.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	251
FR	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.1	61.2	5.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.1	14.3	0.5	0.1	13.4	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.2	1517
G	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.0	4.2	69.5	0.0	0.0	2.1	1.3	0.2	0.0	0.1	10.9	0.3	0.1	9.1	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.5	1741
GR	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	3.7	0.0	4.6	13.0	11.1	0.0	4.6	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	38.9	1.9	0.9	13.9	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	108
IE	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	2.1	0.0	51.3	0.0	5.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.6	1.1	0.0	10.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	189
IT	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.9	0.0	4.4	4.3	0.0	0.0	66.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.2	7.9	0.3	0.3	12.5	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	1498
NL	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	1.5	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.5	79.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.0	0.3	0.0	4.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	388
NO	0.4	0.4	0.0	4.4	0.7	4.0	3.6	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	60.7	0.0	2.5	9.5	0.0	0.0	8.7	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4	275
PT	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.0	3.8	13.5	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.0	0.0	26.9	1.9	25.0	1.9	1.9	11.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	52
SE	0.4	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.4	3.3	4.5	3.7	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.6	8.2	0.0	45.5	14.8	0.0	0.4	10.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	244
UK	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	3.3	2.7	0.0	0.1	1.1	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.5	73.9	0.4	0.2	14.1	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	1282
OW	0.0	3.8	5.7	0.0	0.9	0.0	3.8	12.3	4.7	3.8	7.5	3.8	1.9	0.0	0.9	32.1	1.9	0.0	9.4	0.9	6.6	0.0	0.0	106
EE	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	6.9	0.0	0.7	0.7	2.1	0.7	0.0	0.0	31.7	0.7	5.5	9.7	0.0	0.0	40.0	0.0	145
Total (n)	335	368	138	267	375	240	1334	1813	18	104	1277	553	255	15	162	58	2329	48	1566	71	10	112	11468	

^a Legend: AU, Austria; BE, Belgium; CH, Switzerland; DK, Denmark; ES, Spain; FI, Finland; FR, France; G, Germany; GR, Greece; IR, Ireland; IT, Italy; NL, the Netherlands; NO, Norway; PT, Portugal; SE, Sweden; US, United States of America; XX, other non-European countries; OW, other Western countries; EE, Eastern European countries; UK, United Kingdom; CA, Canada; SU, Soviet Union.

It is also interesting to explore the national publication patterns with regard to specific types of party. Almost one third of works on socialist and social-democratic parties have been published in the United Kingdom (29.2 percent), for example, with another third being published in Germany and France (13.6 and 13.4 percent respectively), and with 8.4 percent in the USA. American publishers have devoted considerable attention to West European communist parties, with 18.3 percent of these publications emanating from the USA. The other main publishing countries with respect to communist parties are Italy (19.1 percent), France (18.9 percent) and the UK (18.9 percent), with an additional 12.5 percent of titles on communist parties being published in Germany. In contrast to this pattern, works on Christian-democratic parties seem to have been published mainly in those countries in which these parties play an important role: Italy (27.8 percent), Germany (26.9 percent) and – to a lesser extent – Belgium (11.3 percent). Similarly, half of the works on conservative parties have been published in the UK (47.2 percent), albeit not all on the British Conservatives. France (20.8 percent) also devotes considerable attention to the literature on these parties.

The United Kingdom further stands out as the main publishing country concerning liberal and radical parties (26.6 percent) which have otherwise received stimulus from German (15.0 percent) and French (14.3 percent) publishers. Works on extreme right-wing parties have been mainly published in Germany (28.2 percent) and France (21.1 percent), which is hardly surprising given the visibility of these parties in these two countries. Two countries appear as the major sources of studies on ethnic and regional parties: Belgium (34.1 percent) and the UK (25.3 percent) while references on agrarian parties are spread over different publishing countries. Finally, although almost the half of all references on green parties concern the German *Die Grünen*, only 31.8 percent of titles on ecological parties are published in Germany, with almost another third (27.5 percent) being published in the UK. The USA also makes an important contribution here.

Another question concerns what the different country-specific traditions of analysis have studied over the last five decades, that is, what differentiates the countries with respect to which subjects they have privileged. This is a very different question from the preceding one, for a country can have been studied on mainly one topic but the scholars of that country may well have turned their interest to totally different subjects. In other words, the question is which country has published how much on a given subject, and in which national tradition a given subject has been studied most compared to other subjects.

As can be seen from Table 5, analytic and theoretical work constitutes the majority of publications in most countries – indeed, it is only in Ireland

Table 5. Subject by publishing country in row percentages

Country	Subject ^a																Total (n)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
AU	24.8	3.9	6.9	11.9	12.5	3.6	2.7	9.6	7.5	2.1	3.0	2.4	2.7	1.5	4.2	0.9	335
BE	34.8	1.4	6.3	6.3	16.0	0.5	0.8	17.9	5.7	1.6	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.6	3.5	0.0	368
CH	44.9	0.7	4.3	2.9	5.1	2.2	4.3	11.6	8.0	2.2	2.2	0.0	5.1	5.1	1.4	0.0	138
DK	27.3	4.5	5.2	9.0	8.2	0.4	0.7	16.9	9.4	2.6	2.2	3.4	1.5	1.1	7.5	0.0	267
ES	44.5	1.1	4.0	4.8	6.9	2.4	0.8	12.0	5.6	1.9	1.9	0.8	10.4	0.3	2.7	0.0	375
FI	23.3	1.3	2.9	4.6	8.3	1.3	2.1	11.7	17.9	1.3	10.8	7.5	2.1	0.8	3.3	0.8	240
FR	34.7	2.1	4.9	6.4	10.0	0.7	1.9	14.5	11.9	2.2	2.4	2.1	1.2	1.7	2.5	0.4	1334
G	36.6	2.0	3.5	7.0	12.4	3.6	0.9	9.3	5.5	2.5	3.4	3.0	1.8	2.6	5.9	0.1	1813
GR	55.6	0.0	22.2	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	18
IE	23.1	1.9	5.8	1.9	4.8	0.0	3.8	27.9	15.4	1.0	5.8	3.8	1.0	1.0	1.9	1.0	104
IT	30.2	1.6	6.7	6.4	16.4	2.6	1.3	7.6	7.8	4.0	3.4	3.1	0.9	2.7	4.5	0.8	1277
NL	29.1	1.6	2.9	4.0	11.2	2.0	4.5	11.8	15.4	1.1	4.2	5.2	1.4	1.4	4.0	0.2	553
NO	27.5	0.4	5.1	4.3	8.6	0.4	0.4	17.3	15.3	0.4	6.7	3.1	2.0	3.5	4.7	0.4	255
PT	33.3	6.7	0.0	0.0	6.7	13.3	0.0	20.0	13.3	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15
SE	24.1	2.5	2.5	9.3	9.9	0.6	0.6	17.3	11.7	1.9	8.0	1.9	0.6	0.6	8.0	0.6	162
UK	34.8	1.1	2.4	6.3	9.3	0.5	2.0	15.4	6.8	2.7	3.0	3.9	1.9	1.9	7.8	0.1	2329
CA	37.9	0.0	0.0	5.2	5.2	0.0	0.0	20.7	12.1	1.7	1.7	8.6	0.0	3.4	1.7	1.7	58
SU	54.2	0.0	0.0	8.3	10.4	4.2	0.0	12.5	4.2	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	2.1	0.0	48
USA	38.6	0.3	1.3	4.9	9.5	0.7	2.4	12.6	11.5	2.4	3.3	4.9	1.1	1.3	5.0	0.1	1566
XX	49.3	0.0	0.0	7.0	15.5	2.8	4.2	4.2	5.6	4.2	2.8	0.0	2.8	0.0	1.4	0.0	71
OW	20.0	10.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10
EE	54.5	0.9	0.0	1.8	6.3	0.9	0.9	14.3	3.6	0.9	5.4	1.8	2.7	3.6	2.7	0.0	112
Total (n)	3960	171	428	704	1241	181	208	1461	1029	278	388	385	212	219	581	32	11458

^a Legend: 1, analytical and theoretic works; 2, reference works; 3, history of parties; 4, ideology of parties; 5, organisation of parties; 6, legal regulation of parties; 7, electoral systems and parties; 8, parties and elections; 9, parties and social support; 10, parties and other social groups; 11, parties in parliament; 12, parties in government; 13, parties in other arenas; 14, parties in international activities; 15, parties and public policies; 16, other works.

that this theme is displaced as the leading category, although even among the remaining countries the proportion of studies on analytical and theoretical problems varies to a great extent: from a minimum of 23.3 percent in Finland to a maximum of 44.9 in Switzerland. It is only outside Western Europe that the proportion of this type of work is larger. Apart from the analytical and theoretical work, the peaks of attention tend to concern either the organisation of parties (in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and non-European publishing countries), their social support (in Finland and the Netherlands) or elections (in the remaining countries including Canada and the USA). Among the less studied topics, the ideology of parties has attracted particular attention from Austria, and is also reasonably prominent in Sweden.

Two final observations which may be made in this context concern the language and form of publication, and here too some interesting variations can be seen. As far as language is concerned, it is of course evident that most countries publish, effectively, in their own national language(s). There are nevertheless three cases where the use of the national language(s) accounts for fewer than 80.0 percent of publications: Norway (only 56.1 percent of titles published in this country are in Norwegian), the Netherlands (55.3 percent) and Finland (58.8 percent). For Norway and the Netherlands, English is the only other language used (58.3 and 48.5 percent respectively) and is therefore the first language of publication. For Finland, English constitutes 33.1 percent of its publications but this co-exists with 7.1 percent of publications in Swedish, and even if Swedish may be considered as a national language in this case, the figure still remains substantially below our 80.0 percent cut-off point. As far as the form of publication is concerned, it is evident that a major part of the literature appears in journal articles. Variation across countries is quite pronounced, however, running from a minimum of 32.5 percent journal articles in Austria to a maximum of 89.7 percent in Canada. Moreover, in both Finland and Sweden the main form of publication is book publication, while in Austria it is chapters in edited volumes. Austria also accounts for a relatively large share of edited collections themselves.

Conclusion

Both conventional wisdom and the analysis presented in this article suggest that the literature on parties and party systems has followed particular fashions and has remained structured along identifiable foci of inquiry. What this analysis also reveals, perhaps unsurprisingly, is the tendency of country literatures to turn attention to their own political parties and party systems. That said, we have also seen that increasing attention is being paid to studies of other countries, and particularly in countries that have a long tradition of po-

litical science scholarship and in those whose native languages have become a vehicle for international communication (most especially English). As far as the overall production of scientific contributions is concerned, the largest countries are also those that have published most, and that have been most published about, and in this respect it is important to recognise the important contribution to the literature on European party systems emanating from American political science. It has also been interesting to observe that the attention devoted to particular types of political party seems to be a function of the relative weight and influence of these parties in their respective political system and national setting.

Perhaps the most striking finding of this analysis, however, is that concerning the overall trend over time in the distribution of titles on political parties and party systems. Production clearly peaked in the late 1970s, and has significantly declined since then. This may suggest that there has been a 'golden age' in the study of political parties, which has now ebbed away. On the other hand, this may also simply reflect the pattern of evolution in political science writing as a whole, and in this sense it would be interesting to compare the curve constituted by the party literature with that of other sub-fields within the discipline. Nevertheless, although such comparable data are not available, we are not inclined to believe that the party pattern is typical of that of all or even most other fields. In this sense, we are inclined to believe that the peak observable in the late 1970s was probably specific to this particular area. For this reason, and much as scholars now often refer to the passing of the golden age of parties themselves, we believe that the golden age of party literature may now also have passed.

Acknowledgments

This article is based on a research project carried out at the European University Institute, Florence, by Stefano Bartolini and the authors of this article, and draws on the introductory chapters of the forthcoming *Parties and Party Systems. A Bibliographic Guide to the Literature on Parties and Party Systems in Europe since 1945* on CD-ROM (Bartolini, Caramani & Hug 1998). To thank Stefano for his helpful comments is hardly enough: in fact, we here simply develop one of his many ideas.

Appendix

Type of party

No code	No part reference
01	Socialist, labour, social-democratic parties (includes also extreme left-wing parties)
02	Christian-democratic parties
03	Conservative parties
04	Communist parties
05	Liberal and radical parties
06	Right-wing and authoritarian parties (includes also nationalist and extreme right-wing parties)
07	Regional and ethnic parties
08	Agrarian parties
09	Ecological parties
10	Left
11	Right
12	Centre
13	Other parties

Subjects

01	Parties and party systems: general	General theoretical, analytical and descriptive works. It includes methodological aspects of party research.
02	Reference works	Data sources; dictionaries, handbooks, publications, documents.
03	History of parties	General historical accounts.
04	Ideologies of parties	In a general and broad sense; internal party debates when they concern broad issues or fundamental party position; beliefs systems, cultural origins and intellectual roots of parties and party personnel, militants, members. It includes also role and position of intellectuals within the parties. Titles on 'Euro-communism' are included in this subject unless reference to another topic is made explicit (see also under No. 14).
05	Internal structure and processes	Organisation; working processes within parties; factionalism; members; activists; nomination processes; finance, ancillary organisations. Also includes leadership and statutes of parties (see also under No. 6)
06	Government regulation of parties	Government finance; parties in the constitutions; parties and public law. The financing of parties has been included under this category when dealing with institutional procedures (see also under No. 5).

Subjects

07	Electoral systems and parties	Includes the literature about electoral systems (with formal models approach). Excludes what concerns pure properties of voting techniques (for instance, the Condorcet paradox and the like).
08	Elections, campaigns issues, electoral strategies	General titles about elections; geographical and statistical analysis of election results and the interpretation of electoral results. Also includes the media and political communication. It does not include studies on electoral behaviour.
09	Parties and social support	Attitudes toward parties; voting behaviour; cleavages, clientelism/patronage. The literature about public opinion, values, attitudes, beliefs etc., is included only when it is explicitly related to party choice. Public opinion studies as such are not included.
10	Parties, interest groups and movements	Relationships between parties, interest groups and social movements.
11.	Parties in parliament	Representation; élite recruitment; social background; leadership, legislative behaviour.
12	Parties and government	Governmental coalitions; political appointment ('partitocracy'); 'cabinet' role; governmental policy output.
13	Parties in arenas other than central government	Local and regional government; advisory agencies; social elections; workplace elections. It does not include parties at the local level as such, but only parties in local government arenas and institutions (executive, coalitions, etc.). In other word, 'local politics' case studies are not included in this section, but are coded according to the substantive subject matter (be it 'internal structure', 'electoral support', etc.). It includes also parties and federal structures and processes.
14	Parties and international activities	Includes international partisan organisations and supranational party federations. Parties in European elections and party groups of the European Union are coded according to the party family and classified under the EU country code. References to eurocommunism have been classified under this category when dealing with international practices (see also under No. 4).
15	Party policies	Party bills and activities on specific policy domain.
16	Other works	Any title that cannot be coded otherwise.

Notes

1. These sources were the 'International Political Science Bibliography'; the 'International Bibliography of Sociology', the 'International Political Science Abstracts', the 'Sociological Abstracts', and the 'ABS Political Science'.
2. A more detailed description of our method of data collection appears in Bartolini, Caramani and Hug (1998, ch. 1). We wish to thank the numerous colleagues who have helped us in this endeavour.

3. We excluded, except for certain topics, those countries and time periods (especially between 1945 and 1965) where little work was published, conference papers, departmental or university publications in the form of working papers and PhD dissertations. Moreover, we refrained from including party platforms, party leaflets and general 'political' publications, debates and commentaries, as well as books written by party leaders and politicians.
4. A special problem was that part of the American literature which had a theoretical importance and impact going well beyond its borders. Despite not fulfilling our geographical criterion, we included such important theoretical work into our bibliography (see on this point Pomper 1978).
5. In the bibliographical database all titles appear in their original language and are followed by an English translation, except for titles in French.
6. The complete list and a detailed explanation of this and all other key codes appears in the Appendix.
7. We coded up to three different countries in this key. This allows us to derive a seventh code which indicates whether a reference is a case study, a binary or tertiary comparison, or finally a broader comparison, i.e., covering more than three countries.
8. The category comprises: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Romania, USSR-Russia, Slovenia, Ukraine and Yugoslavia.
9. These countries are the following: Cyprus, European Union, Iceland, Luxembourg, Malta and Northern Ireland. Publications for each of these countries covered less than one percent of the total number of the references. Portugal – whose literature is inferior to one percent – has not been included into this category, but will be treated separately.
10. Unfortunately, our analysis cannot distinguish between abstract work with no reference to countries and broadly comparative work which refers to more than three countries.
11. Besides the categories of party types (see Appendix) there are three categories for the broader ideological areas of left, centre and right. Therefore, a reference mentioning a socialist and a communist party appears under the heading of 'left'. If only one of these parties is present, then it falls into the corresponding category. If two parties of two different ideological families are concerned (e.g., a communist and a Christian-democratic party), then the reference is coded as having no party reference.
12. Part of this peak is due to the publication of an edited book (Müller-Rommel 1989). However, even without this volume, a steep increase would have been observable.
13. In Germany during the 1990s, almost a quarter of titles concerns *Die Grünen*.
14. See Table 2 where the complete list of subjects appears and the Appendix for the criteria of classification.
15. The same appears for Portugal and Greece. Given the low number of titles, however, it is risky to come to definite conclusions.
16. Greece constitutes the main outlier of this table since only 10.2 percent of work on Greece is written in Greek. Most publications, in effect, have been published in English (62.0 percent) and German (11.1 percent). The low number of cases, however, scales down this result.
17. Let us recall that two other non-European countries are here considered as publishers (the USA and Canada) as well as a residual category of all other non-European publishing countries. The USA and Canada are considered here exclusively as publishing countries of titles explicitly focusing on European parties and party systems.
18. It should be stressed at this point that it is impossible – using the place of publication as an indicator – to know to what extent scholars of a given nationality publish on a given

country since all scholars publish an increasing number of their works in books, journals and edited volumes printed abroad or through foreign publishers. Therefore, the idea of publishing country reflects more a complex structure of interest composed of scholars, publishers, traditions of analysis, public attention, and so forth, rather than necessarily the interests of the scholars of that given country.

References

- Bartolini, S. Caramani, D. & Hug, S. (1998). *Parties and Party Systems: A Bibliographic Guide to the Literature on Parties and Party Systems in Europe since 1945*, on CD-rom. London: Sage.
- Crotty, W. (1991). Political parties: Issues and trends, in: W. Crotty (ed.), *Political Science: Looking to the Future*, Vol. 4: *American Institutions* (pp. 137–202). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Janda, K. (1993). Comparative political parties: Research and theory, in: A.W. Finifter (ed.), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (pp. 163–191). Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.
- Müller-Rommel, F., ed. (1989). *New Politics in Western Europe: The Rise and Success of Green Parties and Alternative Lists*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Pomper, G.M. (1978). The impact of the American voter on political science, *Political Science Quarterly* 94: 617–628.
- Van der Eijk, C. (1993). Comparative studies of elections and political science, in: H. Finifter (ed.), *Comparative Politics: New Directions in Theory and Method* (pp. 59–78). Amsterdam: VU University Press.

Addresses for correspondence:

Daniele Caramani, Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung, Eurodata Forschungsarchiv, Universität Mannheim, 68131 Mannheim, Germany
 Phone: +49 621 2921736; Fax +49 621 2921723
 E-mail: daniele.caramani@mzes.uni-mannheim.de

Simon Hug, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive, Mailcode 0521, La Jolla, CA 92093-0521, USA
 Phone: (619) 232-9151; Fax: (619) 534-7130
 E-mail: simon.hug@politic.unige.ch