

Party-system formation in Europe and the 'freezing hypothesis'

Session 01

Álvaro Canalejo-Molero

University of Lucerne

Spring Term 2021-2022

- ① Introduction to the course
- ② Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems
- ③ The origins of party-systems in Europe
- ④ European party-systems compared
- ⑤ The ‘freezing hypothesis’
- ⑥ References

Introduction to the course

Introduction to the course

- Presentations

Introduction to the course

- Presentations
- The course: what is it about and what are we going to do

Introduction to the course

- Presentations
- The course: what is it about and what are we going to do
 - Review of party-system formation/evolution in WE

Introduction to the course

- Presentations
- The course: what is it about and what are we going to do
 - Review of party-system formation/evolution in WE
 - Analysis of the main patterns of continuity and change

Introduction to the course

- Presentations
- The course: what is it about and what are we going to do
 - Review of party-system formation/evolution in WE
 - Analysis of the main patterns of continuity and change
 - Discussion of the main factors explaining these patterns

Introduction to the course

- Presentations
- The course: what is it about and what are we going to do
 - Review of party-system formation/evolution in WE
 - Analysis of the main patterns of continuity and change
 - Discussion of the main factors explaining these patterns
 - Students' presentations

Introduction to the course

- Presentations
- The course: what is it about and what are we going to do
 - Review of party-system formation/evolution in WE
 - Analysis of the main patterns of continuity and change
 - Discussion of the main factors explaining these patterns
 - Students' presentations
 - Wrap-up session

Introduction to the course

- Course structure and class dynamics

Introduction to the course

- Course structure and class dynamics
 - Not a lecture, I appraise debate

Introduction to the course

- Course structure and class dynamics
 - Not a lecture, I appraise debate
 - Interrupt me whenever you want

Introduction to the course

- Course structure and class dynamics
 - Not a lecture, I appraise debate
 - Interrupt me whenever you want
 - I hope to learn too!

Introduction to the course

- Course structure and class dynamics
 - Not a lecture, I appraise debate
 - Interrupt me whenever you want
 - I hope to learn too!
- Today's programme

Introduction to the course

- Course structure and class dynamics
 - Not a lecture, I appraise debate
 - Interrupt me whenever you want
 - I hope to learn too!
- Today's programme
 - ① Party-system formation in Europe and the 'freezing hypothesis'

Introduction to the course

- Course structure and class dynamics
 - Not a lecture, I appraise debate
 - Interrupt me whenever you want
 - I hope to learn too!
- Today's programme
 - ① Party-system formation in Europe and the 'freezing hypothesis'
 - ② Green parties and the silent revolution

Introduction to the course

- Course structure and class dynamics
 - Not a lecture, I appraise debate
 - Interrupt me whenever you want
 - I hope to learn too!
- Today's programme
 - ① Party-system formation in Europe and the 'freezing hypothesis'
 - ② Green parties and the silent revolution
 - ③ New far right parties and the counter-revolution

Introduction to the course

- Course structure and class dynamics
 - Not a lecture, I appraise debate
 - Interrupt me whenever you want
 - I hope to learn too!
- Today's programme
 - ① Party-system formation in Europe and the 'freezing hypothesis'
 - ② Green parties and the silent revolution
 - ③ New far right parties and the counter-revolution
 - ④ Economic voting and the Great Recession: new politics in Southern Europe

Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems

Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems

- What is a political party?

Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems

- What is a political party?
 - A political party, for the sake of this seminar, is a hierarchical organization that compete for votes to achieve office with the aim of implementing its preferred policies

Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems

- What is a political party?
 - A political party, for the sake of this seminar, is a hierarchical organization that compete for votes to achieve office with the aim of implementing its preferred policies
- What is a party-system?

Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems

- What is a political party?
 - A political party, for the sake of this seminar, is a hierarchical organization that compete for votes to achieve office with the aim of implementing its preferred policies
- What is a party-system?
 - The interaction of parties competing in the given electoral market. It is characterised by the number, size, and ideological preferences of the parties, among other aspects

Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems

- Why is it important to study political parties and party-systems?

Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems

- Why is it important to study political parties and party-systems?
 - It help us to understand a myriad of political phenomena. Each party-system indicates levels of societal fragmentation and polarization, the most likely electoral and policy outcomes at a given moment in time, potential coalitions, etc. Comparatively, it helps us to assess dynamics of evolution of the public opinion, foresee potential reforms, alliances...

Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems

- Why is it important to study political parties and party-systems?
 - It help us to understand a myriad of political phenomena. Each party-system indicates levels of societal fragmentation and polarization, the most likely electoral and policy outcomes at a given moment in time, potential coalitions, etc. Comparatively, it helps us to assess dynamics of evolution of the public opinion, foresee potential reforms, alliances...
- In the end, party politics is a crucial aspect of political science: 'the science of (public) power'

Mapping the terrain: political parties and party-systems

- Why is it important to study political parties and party-systems?
 - It help us to understand a myriad of political phenomena. Each party-system indicates levels of societal fragmentation and polarization, the most likely electoral and policy outcomes at a given moment in time, potential coalitions, etc. Comparatively, it helps us to assess dynamics of evolution of the public opinion, foresee potential reforms, alliances...
- In the end, party politics is a crucial aspect of political science: 'the science of (public) power'
- In this seminar, we will try to understand why European party-systems looks like they are today, considering how they were born and evolved, which surely help us to assess future events (although never fully predict them)

The origins of party-systems in Europe

The origins of party-systems in Europe

- Here we don't care much about the origins of political parties themselves ([some say that they were born in the UK in the early 18th century...](#)), but on **the determinants of party-systems**. Two main approaches can be highlighted ([Boix, 2007](#)):

The origins of party-systems in Europe

- Here we don't care much about the origins of political parties themselves ([some say that they were born in the UK in the early 18th century...](#)), but on **the determinants of party-systems**. Two main approaches can be highlighted ([Boix, 2007](#)):
 - ① Institutional approaches

The origins of party-systems in Europe

- Here we don't care much about the origins of political parties themselves ([some say that they were born in the UK in the early 18th century...](#)), but on **the determinants of party-systems**. Two main approaches can be highlighted ([Boix, 2007](#)):
 - ① Institutional approaches
 - ② The **socio-historical approach**, famously indebted to Lipset and Rokkan ([1967](#))

The origins of party-systems in Europe

① Institutional approaches

The origins of party-systems in Europe

① Institutional approaches

- Institutions (the rule of the game) determine the number, size and characteristics of competing parties via direct and indirect (the so-called psychological) effects

The origins of party-systems in Europe

① Institutional approaches

- Institutions (the rule of the game) determine the number, size and characteristics of competing parties via direct and indirect (the so-called psychological) effects
- For example, the **Duverger law** stipulates that single-ballot plurality-rule elections (such as first-past-the-post system) structured within single-member districts tend to favor a two-party system

The origins of party-systems in Europe

① Institutional approaches

- Institutions (the rule of the game) determine the number, size and characteristics of competing parties via direct and indirect (the so-called psychological) effects
- For example, the **Duverger law** stipulates that single-ballot plurality-rule elections (such as first-past-the-post system) structured within single-member districts tend to favor a two-party system
- Effects can be **direct** when institutions automatically shape the conversion of behaviour (i.e., vote) into outcomes (i.e., parliamentary seats)

The origins of party-systems in Europe

① Institutional approaches

- Institutions (the rule of the game) determine the number, size and characteristics of competing parties via direct and indirect (the so-called psychological) effects
- For example, the **Duverger law** estipulates that single-ballot plurality-rule elections (such as first-past-the-post system) structured within single-member districts tend to favor a two-party system
- Effects can be **direct** when institutions automatically shape the conversion of behaviour (i.e., vote) into outcomes (i.e., parliamentary seats)
- Effects can also be **indirect** when people modify their behavior prior to the application of the rule because they anticipate direct effects (e.g., I anticipate that my preferred party may not win a seat due to the majoritarian electoral rule, therefore I cast a ballot for my second preferred option, which has higher probabilities to win a seat)

The origins of party-systems in Europe

① Institutional approaches

- Institutions (the rule of the game) determine the number, size and characteristics of competing parties via direct and indirect (the so-called psychological) effects
- For example, the **Duverger law** estipulates that single-ballot plurality-rule elections (such as first-past-the-post system) structured within single-member districts tend to favor a two-party system
- Effects can be **direct** when institutions automatically shape the conversion of behaviour (i.e., vote) into outcomes (i.e., parliamentary seats)
- Effects can also be **indirect** when people modify their behavior prior to the application of the rule because they anticipate direct effects (e.g., I anticipate that my preferred party may not win a seat due to the majoritarian electoral rule, therefore I cast a ballot for my second preferred option, which has higher probabilities to win a seat)
- **Any other example** of direct vs. indirect effect?

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The **socio-historical** approach

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The **socio-historical approach**

- The structure of party-systems in Europe is mainly due to the lines of conflict politicized in each country

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The **socio-historical approach**

- The structure of party-systems in Europe is mainly due to the lines of conflict politicized in each country
- These lines of conflict, that we call **cleavages**, are delved into the formation of each nation-state and also fostered by common economic and cultural shocks

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The **socio-historical approach**

- The structure of party-systems in Europe is mainly due to the lines of conflict politicized in each country
- These lines of conflict, that we call **cleavages**, are delved into the formation of each nation-state and also fostered by common economic and cultural shocks
- These common shocks affect each country differently nonetheless (most importantly to Lipset and Rokkan: the industrial revolution)

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The **socio-historical approach**

- The structure of party-systems in Europe is mainly due to the lines of conflict politicized in each country
- These lines of conflict, that we call **cleavages**, are delved into the formation of each nation-state and also fostered by common economic and cultural shocks
- These common shocks affect each country differently nonetheless (most importantly to Lipset and Rokkan: the industrial revolution)
- A cleavage is characterised by 1) a *social divide* of which citizens at each side develop 2) *social consciousness* and turn into 3) *political demands*

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The **socio-historical approach**

- The structure of party-systems in Europe is mainly due to the lines of conflict politicized in each country
- These lines of conflict, that we call **cleavages**, are delved into the formation of each nation-state and also fostered by common economic and cultural shocks
- These common shocks affect each country differently nonetheless (most importantly to Lipset and Rokkan: the industrial revolution)
- A cleavage is characterised by 1) a *social divide* of which citizens at each side develop 2) *social consciousness* and turn into 3) *political demands*
- Any example of what may be and what may not be a cleavage nowadays in any European country?

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The socio-historical approach

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The socio-historical approach

- Lipset & Rokkan establish four cleavages:

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The socio-historical approach

- Lipset & Rokkan establish four cleavages:
 - ① **Class** cleavage (owner versus worker)

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The socio-historical approach

- Lipset & Rokkan establish four cleavages:
 - ① **Class** cleavage (owner versus worker)
 - ② **Urban-rural** cleavage (industry versus land)

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The socio-historical approach

- Lipset & Rokkan establish four cleavages:
 - ① **Class** cleavage (owner versus worker)
 - ② **Urban-rural** cleavage (industry versus land)
 - ③ **Centre-periphery** cleavage (dominant versus subject culture)

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The socio-historical approach

- Lipset & Rokkan establish four cleavages:
 - ① **Class** cleavage (owner versus worker)
 - ② **Urban-rural** cleavage (industry versus land)
 - ③ **Centre-periphery** cleavage (dominant versus subject culture)
 - ④ **State-church** cleavage (state versus church institutions)

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The socio-historical approach

- Lipset & Rokkan establish four cleavages:
 - ① **Class** cleavage (owner versus worker)
 - ② **Urban-rural** cleavage (industry versus land)
 - ③ **Centre-periphery** cleavage (dominant versus subject culture)
 - ④ **State-church** cleavage (state versus church institutions)
- The first two cleavages would be directly influenced by social changes brought by the industrial (and liberal) revolutions

The origins of party-systems in Europe

② The socio-historical approach

- Lipset & Rokkan establish four cleavages:
 - ① **Class** cleavage (owner versus worker)
 - ② **Urban-rural** cleavage (industry versus land)
 - ③ **Centre-periphery** cleavage (dominant versus subject culture)
 - ④ **State-church** cleavage (state versus church institutions)
- The first two cleavages would be directly influenced by social changes brought by the industrial (and liberal) revolutions
- The other two would be influenced by each national revolution, and it would depend on specific preconditions (e.g., strong privilege of the Catholic Church in Italy / strong minority elites in Spain)

The origins of party-systems

- The transformations of cleavages into party-systems depends on the specific **political opportunity structure**¹, that determines how far within a *sequence of thresholds* any movement pressing forward new sets of demands arrives

The origins of party-systems

- The transformations of cleavages into party-systems depends on the specific **political opportunity structure**¹, that determines how far within a *sequence of thresholds* any movement pressing forward new sets of demands arrives
 - ① The threshold of *legitimation* (i.e., opposition recognition)

The origins of party-systems

- The transformations of cleavages into party-systems depends on the specific **political opportunity structure**¹, that determines how far within a *sequence of thresholds* any movement pressing forward new sets of demands arrives
 - ① The threshold of *legitimation* (i.e., opposition recognition)
 - ② The threshold of *incorporation* (i.e., participation rights)

The origins of party-systems

- The transformations of cleavages into party-systems depends on the specific **political opportunity structure**¹, that determines how far within a *sequence of thresholds* any movement pressing forward new sets of demands arrives
 - ① The threshold of *legitimation* (i.e., opposition recognition)
 - ② The threshold of *incorporation* (i.e., participation rights)
 - ③ The threshold of *representation* (i.e., institutional presence)

The origins of party-systems

- The transformations of cleavages into party-systems depends on the specific **political opportunity structure**¹, that determines how far within a *sequence of thresholds* any movement pressing forward new sets of demands arrives
 - ① The threshold of *legitimation* (i.e., opposition recognition)
 - ② The threshold of *incorporation* (i.e., participation rights)
 - ③ The threshold of *representation* (i.e., institutional presence)
 - ④ The threshold of *majority power* (i.e., participation in government)

¹Lipset and Rokkan mention (1) the traditions of decision-making in the polity, (2) the channels of expression and mobilization of protest, **(3) the opportunities, the payoffs and the costs of alliances**, (4) and the possibilities, the implications and the limitations of majority rule in the system

European party-systems compared

European party-systems compared

The basic party families²:

- *Socialist and communist parties*: competition based on the class cleavage

Beyond this simplification, most parties compete on several overlapped arenas (a clearly example is the *Liberals party family*; class and urban-rural), but depending on the most salient issues, some parties will be stronger than others

²Based on Camia and Caramani ([2012](#))

European party-systems compared

The basic party families²:

- *Socialist and communist parties*: competition based on the class cleavage
- *Agrarian parties*: competition based on the urban-rural cleavage

Beyond this simplification, most parties compete on several overlapped arenas (a clearly example is the *Liberals party family*; class and urban-rural), but depending on the most salient issues, some parties will be stronger than others

²Based on Camia and Caramani ([2012](#))

European party-systems compared

The basic party families²:

- *Socialist and communist parties*: competition based on the class cleavage
- *Agrarian parties*: competition based on the urban-rural cleavage
- *Regionalist/independentist parties*: competition based on the centre-periphery cleavage

Beyond this simplification, most parties compete on several overlapped arenas (a clearly example is the *Liberals party family*; class and urban-rural), but depending on the most salient issues, some parties will be stronger than others

²Based on Camia and Caramani ([2012](#))

European party-systems compared

The basic party families²:

- *Socialist and communist parties*: competition based on the class cleavage
- *Agrarian parties*: competition based on the urban-rural cleavage
- *Regionalist/independentist parties*: competition based on the centre-periphery cleavage
- *Religious and people's parties*, such as the Christian democrats: competition based on the state-church cleavage

Beyond this simplification, most parties compete on several overlapped arenas (a clearly example is the *Liberals party family*; class and urban-rural), but depending on the most salient issues, some parties will be stronger than others

²Based on Camia and Caramani (2012)

European party-systems compared

- The main cleavage structuring party competition in Europe is the class cleavage

European party-systems compared

- The main cleavage structuring party competition in Europe is the class cleavage
- The class cleavage is not only the one that accounts for the most part of variation on voting behavior across social groups

European party-systems compared

- The main cleavage structuring party competition in Europe is the class cleavage
- The class cleavage is not only the one that accounts for the most part of variation on voting behavior across social groups
- It is also the only cleavage that holds across European countries and over time

European party-systems compared

- The main cleavage structuring party competition in Europe is the class cleavage
- The class cleavage is not only the one that accounts for the most part of variation on voting behavior across social groups
- It is also the only cleavage that holds across European countries and over time
- Depending on the combination of parties and their modes of interaction, we can talk of two main types of party systems ([Sartori, 2005](#)):

European party-systems compared

- The main cleavage structuring party competition in Europe is the class cleavage
- The class cleavage is not only the one that accounts for the most part of variation on voting behavior across social groups
- It is also the only cleavage that holds across European countries and over time
- Depending on the combination of parties and their modes of interaction, we can talk of two main types of party systems ([Sartori, 2005](#)):
 - ① **Moderate party systems** have relative small ideological distance between the major parties, a propensity to form coalitions between parties of different views and predominantly centripetal competition

European party-systems compared

- The main cleavage structuring party competition in Europe is the class cleavage
- The class cleavage is not only the one that accounts for the most part of variation on voting behavior across social groups
- It is also the only cleavage that holds across European countries and over time
- Depending on the combination of parties and their modes of interaction, we can talk of two main types of party systems ([Sartori, 2005](#)):
 - ① **Moderate party systems** have relative small ideological distance between the major parties, a propensity to form coalitions between parties of different views and predominantly centripetal competition
 - ② **Polarised party systems** have two main strongly opposed party blocks, presence of small 'anti-system' parties and substantial ideological distance between parties at each side, with predominantly centrifugal competition

European party-systems compared

- The existence of **overlapping/coinciding** vs. **cross-cutting cleavages** raises different patterns fo party competition

European party-systems compared

- The existence of **overlapping/coinciding** vs. **cross-cutting cleavages** raises different patterns for party competition
- For example, **on the strength of Socialist/Labor parties**³:

European party-systems compared

- The existence of **overlapping/coinciding** vs. **cross-cutting cleavages** raises different patterns for party competition
- For example, **on the strength of Socialist/Labor parties**³:
 - Protestant countries with the smoothest nation-building experience (e.g., Britain, Denmark, and Sweden) produced the most cohesive and integrated Socialist parties

European party-systems compared

- The existence of **overlapping/coinciding** vs. **cross-cutting cleavages** raises different patterns for party competition
- For example, **on the strength of Socialist/Labor parties**³:
 - Protestant countries with the smoothest nation-building experience (e.g., Britain, Denmark, and Sweden) produced the most cohesive and integrated Socialist parties
 - Catholic countries with recent or difficult national revolutions had deeply and alienated working class movements instead (e.g., France, Spain, and Italy)

European party-systems compared

- The existence of **overlapping/coinciding** vs. **cross-cutting cleavages** raises different patterns for party competition
- For example, **on the strength of Socialist/Labor parties**³:
 - Protestant countries with the smoothest nation-building experience (e.g., Britain, Denmark, and Sweden) produced the most cohesive and integrated Socialist parties
 - Catholic countries with recent or difficult national revolutions had deeply and alienated working class movements instead (e.g., France, Spain, and Italy)
 - The countries in between have the additional factor of whether the nation-building elites were friendly with the Catholic Church during the period of mass education and enfranchisement (e.g., Austria, Ireland and Belgium)

European party-systems compared

- The existence of **overlapping/coinciding** vs. **cross-cutting cleavages** raises different patterns for party competition
- For example, **on the strength of Socialist/Labor parties**³:
 - Protestant countries with the smoothest nation-building experience (e.g., Britain, Denmark, and Sweden) produced the most cohesive and integrated Socialist parties
 - Catholic countries with recent or difficult national revolutions had deeply and alienated working class movements instead (e.g., France, Spain, and Italy)
 - The countries in between have the additional factor of whether the nation-building elites were friendly with the Catholic Church during the period of mass education and enfranchisement (e.g., Austria, Ireland and Belgium)
- What are the mechanisms underlying these processes?

³Based on Merkl (1969)

European party-systems compared

- Another example, on the factors facilitating the emergence of agrarian parties⁴(e.g., prevalent in Nordic countries vs. Southern Europe):

⁴Based on Merkl ([1969](#))

European party-systems compared

- Another example, on the factors facilitating the emergence of agrarian parties⁴(e.g., prevalent in Nordic countries vs. Southern Europe):
 - ① Weak industrial-urban centers at the time of suffrage extension

⁴Based on Merkl ([1969](#))

European party-systems compared

- Another example, on the factors facilitating the emergence of agrarian parties⁴ (e.g., prevalent in Nordic countries vs. Southern Europe):
 - ① Weak industrial-urban centers at the time of suffrage extension
 - ② Dominant family-size farms or legally protected lease-holding

⁴Based on Merkl (1969)

European party-systems compared

- Another example, on the factors facilitating the emergence of agrarian parties⁴(e.g., prevalent in Nordic countries vs. Southern Europe):
 - ① Weak industrial-urban centers at the time of suffrage extension
 - ② Dominant family-size farms or legally protected lease-holding
 - ③ Cultural and economic barriers between countryside and cities

⁴Based on Merkl (1969)

European party-systems compared

- Another example, on the factors facilitating the emergence of agrarian parties⁴ (e.g., prevalent in Nordic countries vs. Southern Europe):
 - ① Weak industrial-urban centers at the time of suffrage extension
 - ② Dominant family-size farms or legally protected lease-holding
 - ③ Cultural and economic barriers between countryside and cities
 - ④ Insignificance of Catholicism

⁴Based on Merkl (1969)

European party-systems compared

- Another example, on the factors facilitating the emergence of agrarian parties⁴ (e.g., prevalent in Nordic countries vs. Southern Europe):
 - ① Weak industrial-urban centers at the time of suffrage extension
 - ② Dominant family-size farms or legally protected lease-holding
 - ③ Cultural and economic barriers between countryside and cities
 - ④ Insignificance of Catholicism
- There are typologies beyond the scope of this seminar that help to explain differences within clusters (e.g., consensual vs. majoritarian institutions)

⁴Based on Merkl (1969)

The 'freezing hypothesis'

The 'freezing hypothesis': the German case



Figure 1: German Federal election results, images from Wikipedia

The ‘freezing hypothesis’: continuity between the 1920s and the 1960s

- “The authors conclude (...) that the current European party systems, with some exceptions, reflect the survival of the ‘cleavage structures’ of the 1920’s in spite of the onslaught of Fascism and National Socialism and World War II” ([Merkel, 1969](#))

The 'freezing hypothesis': continuity between the 1920s and the 1960s

- “The authors conclude (...) that the current European party systems, with some exceptions, reflect the survival of the ‘cleavage structures’ of the 1920’s in spite of the onslaught of Fascism and National Socialism and World War II” ([Merkel, 1969](#))
- Lipset and Rokkan highlight the shockingly pervasive stability of European party-systems despite intermittent wars, autocratic periods and revolutions

The 'freezing hypothesis': continuity between the 1920s and the 1960s

- “The authors conclude (...) that the current European party systems, with some exceptions, reflect the survival of the ‘cleavage structures’ of the 1920’s in spite of the onslaught of Fascism and National Socialism and World War II” ([Merkl, 1969](#))
- Lipset and Rokkan highlight the shockingly pervasive stability of European party-systems despite intermittent wars, autocratic periods and revolutions
- But are European party-systems currently frozen? What does the case of Germany suggest to you?

The ‘freezing hypothesis’: let’s debate!

- ***Final activity!*** Let’s divide the class in two groups. You have 5-10 minutes to discuss potential explanations against or in favour of the freezing hypothesis, that is, why should we expect party-systems to remain ‘frozen’ until nowadays (or not). Someone from each group should summarise the main points and then we will briefly debate.

The ‘freezing hypothesis’: let’s debate!

- ***Final activity!*** Let’s divide the class in two groups. You have 5-10 minutes to discuss potential explanations against or in favour of the freezing hypothesis, that is, why should we expect party-systems to remain ‘frozen’ until nowadays (or not). Someone from each group should summarise the main points and then we will briefly debate.
- The activity begins now!

References

References I

- Boix, C. (2007). The emergence of parties and party systems. In *The oxford handbook of comparative politics*.
- Camia, V., & Caramani, D. (2012). Family meetings: Ideological convergence within party families across Europe, 1945–2009. *Comparative European Politics*, 10(1), 48–85.
- Lipset, S. M., & Rokkan, S. (1967). *Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments: an introduction*. Free Press.
- Merkel, P. H. (1969). Political Cleavages and Party Systems. *World Politics*, 21(3), 469–485.
- Sartori, G. (2005). *Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis*. ECPR press.