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# news circular

- **Joint Sessions of Workshops**—Aarhus 1982
- **Lancaster Joint Sessions**—Reports
- **University of Amsterdam**—Vacant Chair in Political Behaviour
- **Workshop Papers 1981**

european consortium for political research

**June 1981** **No. 40**

# EUROPEAN CONSORTIUM FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH

**University of Essex**
Wivenhoe Park, Colchester CO4 3SQ, England
Tel: Colchester (0206) 862286
International +44 206 862286
Telegraphic address: University Colchester
Telex: 98440 (UNILIB G)

*CONTENTS* *PAGE NO*

LANCASTER JOINT SESSIONS - REPORTS 2

European Approaches to War and Peace Studies 3
Referendums as New Forms of Political Participation 4
Patterns of Executive Arrangement Across the World 5
Recent Developments in Social and Political Ecology 7
The Welfare State 8
Electoral Volatility in Western Democracies 9
Mechanisms and Dynamics of Social and Political Systems 10
Problems of Transition to Socialism in Western Europe 15
The Comparative Study of Local Policies and Local Elites 16
Public Bureaucracies and the Powerless 18
Interest Representation in Mixed Polities 22
Industrial Society and Theories of the State 25
Socialism, Freedom and the Market 29
Catastrophe Theory as a Model for Political and Social Change 30
Political Socialisation of Women and Men 31
Party Adaptation to Societal Changes 35
Elections and Media 37
The Middle East in the 1980s: Current Structures and Prospects 39
Unemployment and Selective Labour Market Policies in Advanced Industrial Societies 42
Implementation Seen from the Bottom Up 44

ECPR NEWS

Reports of ECPR Committee Meetings - Lancaster 48
1982 Joint Sessions of Workshops - Aarhus 48
Future Joint Sessions 50
Standing Group for East European Specialists 50
Exchange and Mobility Grants 50
Essex Research Sessions 51
Political Theory and Area Workshops at ECPR Joint Sessions 51
Report on Comparative Colloquium on Society and the State (Lille) 52
Workgroup on Local Government and Politics 52
University of Amsterdam (Chair in Political Behaviour) 53
The First Rokkan Lecture 54

GENERAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

Facilities and Resources for Political Scientists in the UK 56
Report on the Inflation Conference held at the Johns Hopkins University Bologna Center 57
Cattaneo Award 57
Comparative Research - ISA Publication 58
Women in British Political Studies - Publication 59
CES - Third International CES Conference of Europeanists 60
Centre for Economic and Political Analysis 62
Conference Calendar 63

Appendix: Joint Sessions Papers i-xxiii

# LANCASTER JOINT SESSIONS OF WORKSHOPS

## 29 MARCH - 4 APRIL 1981

Approximately 305 participants attended twenty workshops and two planning sessions at the ECPR Joint Sessions this year. One of the workshops, that on Political Socialisation of Women and Men, was held in co-operation with IPSA. Sponsorship from the German Marshall Fund made it possible for five American scholars to participate in the workshops:

| | |
|---|---|
| Professor Robert Gray | European Approaches to War and Peace Studies |
| Professor Glenn Paige | Patterns of Executive Arrangement across the World |
| Professor William Flanigan | Electoral Volatility in Western Democracies |
| Professor Bernard Reich | The Middle East in the 1980s |
| Professor Robert Holt | Catastrophe Theory as a Model for Political and Social Change |

The participation of these American colleagues was greatly valued and the Consortium is appreciative of the grants provided by the German Marshall Fund.

The ECPR is extremely grateful to the University of Lancaster for hosting the Joint Sessions and to Christopher Clapham and Philip Reynolds for their organisation.

We would also like to record our gratitude to several organisations which offered support to the workshops:

Granada Television which provided not only sponsorship, but a generous reception, took a particular interest which was greatly appreciated.

The ECPR is also indebted to The Social Science Research Council, the British Council, and the European Commission for the generous financial support which contributed to the success of the Joint Sessions.

Reports on the workshops are contained in the following pages and a list of participants and the papers they presented can be found in an appendix to this News Circular. Copies of papers can be purchased from the Central Services.

## LANCASTER JOINT SESSIONS - REPORTS

### *EUROPEAN APPROACHES TO WAR AND PEACE STUDIES*

*Ian Bellany and Michael Dillon*

The War and Peace Studies workshop brought together fourteen people from seven countries (counting Northern Ireland) and many different disciplinary and methodological backgrounds.

The most satisfactory feature of the workshop was that it brought together scholars in the War and Peace Studies area who would not, in the normal course of professional events, have readily found themselves in the same conference forum. The War and Peace Studies area is one more than usually riven by methodological, disciplinary and, sometimes, ideological persuasions. The temptation for like to talk only with like is a very strong one. The experience of having to talk across different perspectives, however, was widely regarded as a stimulating and valuable one. It was appreciated also that as the ECPR forum has had little to do with this area in the past it thereby served as a peculiarly useful device for setting up such a cross-disciplinary discussion.

Ten papers were produced and discussed. The panel quickly concluded that there was little if anything in the way of a distinctly European approach to War and Peace Studies. This caused neither surprise or regret. The papers necessarily covered a diverse range of concerns, but each was of high quality, and half have already been placed with appropriate journals. Discussion, however, did become surprisingly well focused upon a number of core issues. Principal amongst these was discussion about the proper relationship between students of War and Peace and Policy-making Communities. The arguments expressed reflected deep-seated views not only about the character of security policy but also about the character of the decision making processes in the stances represented in the panel. Opinion differed not on the principle that War and Peace Studies had a contribution to make to public discussion about policy matters but on issues like who should be the targets of such discussion and what impact co-habiting with the established practitioners and processes of policy-making might have on the students and on the study of War and Peace. All this was given practical and sober grounding in the discussion concerning conflict at the (relatively neglected) sub-state level which was stimulated by the paper on Northern Ireland.

Regrettably there were no participants from either the Federal Republic of Germany or France, despite strenuous efforts by the Workshop Directors to elicit contributions from both these countries. This serves as an illustration of the difficulties involved in breaking out of established 'conference communities' in this area. But the experience of the workshop itself demonstrated the value and the pleasure of doing so.

*Michael Dillon*

*REFERENDUMS AS NEW FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION*

*Geneviève Bibes and Marie-France Toinet*

What struck the participants was the richness of the field, which none of us had really expected: the sheer variety of referendum forms, the complexity in significance of the phenomenon, the variety of approaches on a methodological level, the possibilities on a comparative basis.

Methodologically, we arrived at the conclusion that, granted we wanted to study the impact of the referendum on the democratisation process, the comparison was best made if one started with the problems considered. For instance, land reallotment schemes could be compared in Holland (with referendums), France (without referendums but with some type of public consultation) and the United States (unofficial referendums organised by unions): which process was most 'democratic' and with what effects?

For referendums are not as 'single-issue' as they may appear at first, as compared to elections which could be 'multi-issue' types. Even when a single problem is being 'referended' upon there are always a number of other issues involved in the background: not only has it an influence on the hold political leaders have on power but it affects (often unexpected) relationships - as center-periphery.

Referendums, yet, do not have as much as expected 'polarisation-divisiveness' effect on the polity. The radical party experience in Italy is quite interesting in this respect. In fact their functional role is quite stabilising: they both legitimise and diffuse issues on which parties were unwilling to take positions.

But it does not mean they allow for democratisation, compared to elections. All types, in all polities showed a highly manipulative level by the 'pouvoir d'Etat' to recuperate, one way or the other the meaning and the results of even the most 'popularly initiated' referendums. The Swiss and American cases are quite exemplary on these grounds. The fact is, the more classical and global (as on constitutions) the referendum, the clearer the question, the higher the stakes, and the more predictable, according to classical divisions on party alignment, will be the results. But the more heavily they will bear on the system.

Whatever the form, as in any type of participation, the manipulative attempts meet their counterforce: the 'fickle' voter who keeps his autonomy and his rationality according to (a) his interests (including ideological interests), (b) the rules of the game, and (c) the information he gets. Referendums might very well be one of the highly manipulative forms of participation, more so, certainly than elections. Yet the voter remains uncontrollable and the somewhat more uncertain aspect of the results is deepened by the fact that the stakes are lower than in election. The role of abstention in referendums is particularly interesting: it is a further proof of the political significance of non voting.

All in all, the workshop was quite productive. The last meeting was devoted to an attempt to find a model of analysis. All the participants were interested in pursuing the research, which might be done in connection with a French group in Paris working along these lines.

*Marie-France Toinet*

*PATTERNS OF EXECUTIVE ARRANGEMENT ACROSS THE WORLD*

*Jean Blondel*

There is no shadow of doubt that the field of political leadership should be central in political science analysis: until recent years, however, the subject had only attracted limited interest. The proliferation of biographies and of studies of single institutions (British Cabinet, American Presidency) masked the dearth of efforts devoted to the comparative assessment of leaders and governments, to the discovery of types of leadership and executive structures, and to the examination of the effectiveness of cabinets and administrations. This situation has begun to change in the 1970s: a number of pioneering works (that of J M Burns on Leadership, those of G D Paige on Political Leadership and on the Scientific Analysis of Leadership) provided a long-needed framework for systematic analyses, while my own study of World Leaders endeavoured to give a first general account of the broad characteristics of the men and women who have dominated postwar politics.

The Workshop on 'Patterns of Executive Arrangements across the World' was organised in order to help the process by which studies of leadership and of governments would emerge within the context of a systematic framework. Its first concern was therefore to establish the methodological underpinnings of the analysis of leadership. This was done, first and foremost, by G D Paige (Hawaii), whose paper on 'Dimensions and Meaning in Leadership' provided a framework for many of the more country-specific discussions of the subsequent sessions. G D Paige's extremely wide historical knowledge and deep understanding of the characteristics of leadership in the Pacific area gave colour and concrete evidence to his typology, by which the dimensions of power, instrumentality, and affect of leaders should be studied according to six variables, personality, role, organisation, task, values and setting.

In his paper entitled the 'Psychological Study of Political Leaders', T Bryder (Lulea) undertook to examine the various approaches which psychologists offer to political scientists aiming at assessing leadership. The paper addressed itself to three questions: Which are the major trends in the development of political leadership psychology? Under what circumstances are personality characteristics of major relevance? And what methods are available for personality analyses? In his extremely dense summary, T Bryder examined all the relevant work in the literature and pointed to the most profitable directions for future analyses.

The workshop then turned its attention to the examination of structures of leadership and government. Five papers were devoted to types of leadership. W Suarez (Institute of Political Science, Buenos Aires) presented a 'Taxonomy of Political Leadership' for Latin America: he identified three dimensions which he operationalised; and he showed how the stability of leadership could be discussed by the use of these dimensions; no doubt; too, outputs of leadership could also be examined by these dimensions, especially if the taxonomy was somewhat broadened to be directly applicable outside Latin America.

The other four papers in the group were devoted to individual countries. S Henig (Preston Polytechnic) presented a balanced view of 'prime ministerial' government in Britain, while W Paterson (Warwick) discussed changes in the position of the West German Chancellor. The characteristics of presidential government in Mexico were discussed in the context of F Suarez's (Essex) paper on the 'Career and Social Background of Mexican Presidents since 1934'. Finally the case of dual leadership in Finland, so difficult to assess because of the long rule of President Kekkonen, was closely scrutinised by J Nousianen (Turku) according to the two dimensions of 'vertical' and 'horizontal' dualism.

The workshop then turned to the study of governmental structures in general. My own paper ('What is a Government?') showed the difficulties of defining government precisely and proposed a typology based on degrees of unity or 'segmentation'. The problem of divided government was then analysed specifically in the Polish context by G Sanford (Bristol) with a view to assessing the extent to which the division between a 'policy-making' and an 'administrative' government was realistic. Finally, two papers based on the Swedish experience, those of A Borg (Stockholm) on 'Civil Servants as Initiators or Executors?' and of T Larsson (Stockholm) on 'Co-ordination in Ministries' helped to focus on the role of ministers as administrators by attempting to draw the line between government and 'administration'.

The last two contributions to the Workshop were concerned with outputs of executives. I Kooiman's (Delft) presentation provided a link with previous papers by looking at the relationship between structure and effectivness: his paper, based on the findings of an official Dutch commission, provides a basis for further analysis on a comparative basis. G Robert's (UMIST) wide-ranging examination of the problems posed by the 'Monitoring and Evaluation of Executive Outputs' also presented a programme for future analyses which will provide guidelines for the comparative study of outputs of governments which are beginning to emerge.

The workshop on Political Executives was therefore a striking success. It had a variety of topics, of approaches, and of countries. More importantly perhaps, it brought together scholars with very different skills who proved eager to work together and to appreciate the value of these differences. There will, no doubt, be subsequent developments: it was a unique experience to see how complementary points of view were beginning to build the basis for the comparative study of leadership among European political scientists.

It is therefore with great pleasure that my colleagues in the workshop and I wish to thank the Social Science Research Council for having made this success possible by their generous financial contribution. The study of political leadership will never be quite the same.

*Jean Blondel*

*RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ECOLOGY*

*Frederic Bon and Frank Aarebrot*

The workshop met in conjunction with the Lancaster Joint Sessions with Frederic Bon as Workshop Director and Frank H Aarebrot as co-director.

The proceedings of the workshop fell into three parts. First, a discussion on fundamental aspects of the basis of ecological inference. Secondly, two sessions on the methodological aspects of ecological modelling. Thirdly, a major part of our time was devoted to reviews and discussions of empirical case studies.

The first theme was present in two of the papers given, those by William Flanigan and Nancy Zingale and by Frank Aarebrot and Jofrid Lied. Generally speaking, the discussion seemed to turn around the desirability of making inferences to the individual level - if this were possible, rather than dwelling on the possibility of drawing such conclusions. Not all the fears expressed by the authors, notably in the case of the latter paper, were shared by the rest of the panel, and the discussion ended on an optimistic note, stressing the self-sufficiency of the ecological level also with respect to theory formation.

Methodological aspects were very much present both in Søren Risberg Thomsen's and Otto Schmidt's papers. Risberg Thomsen's attempt at solving the problem of ecological inference provoked a very interesting argument. Schmidt's review paper was thought provoking and eased the ensuing discussion into the area of applications.

One of the most refreshing traits of the workshop, was the provision of examples of applications of ecological analysis from different levels of observation. The participants provided examples of nation-wide analysis, as well as regional studies and urban ecology limited to one city. It was most interesting to observe that the problems of analytical format tended to vary more across level than across nation. Nation-wide studies included Frederic Bon's and Colette Ysmal's papers, both on France and Petti Laulajainen's work on Finnish Lapland provided insights into regional analysis. Urban ecology was represented through Alexis Ferrand's study of Grenoble and Eugenia Salvador's research on Barcelona.

Towards the end of the workshop it seemed to be a shared feeling among the participants that the discussions had been stimulating and useful. The tone of the workshop never became one of exuberant methodological sophistication. The participants never lost contact with ongoing empirical research. In my opinion, that is the most important reason why the relevance of the discourse did not diminish as the week went by. On the contrary, some of our best exchanges took place towards the end of the week. Quite a few of us departed from Lancaster with a conviction that ecological analysis can indeed be advanced further in Europe both as a method and as empirical research. In this area, bridging the gap between the French and English scholarly language communities might prove exceptionally useful.

*Frank Aarebrot*

*THE WELFARE STATE*

*Richard Parry*

This workshop was originally planned by Monica Charlot as a two-stage English-French workshop concentrating on the formation of the welfare states in the 1940s. Her withdrawal as director and replacment by Richard Parry led to a rather broader focus for the workshop, but one that produced an interesting set of papers and a rewarding series of discussions.

The 15 participants came from 9 countries: 3 from Italy; 2 each from France, Britain, the United States, and Norway; and one from Sweden, Finland, Ireland and the Netherlands. This broad representation was most valuable in counteracting the traditional Northern European predominance in welfare state analysis in terms of both research activities and intellectual perspectives. Essentially, the discussion explored the interaction between nation-specific and function-specific explanations of policy. As well as a short introductory paper by Richard Parry, there were three predominantly theoretical papers: Roger Duclaud-Williams outlined an approach to the definition of policy arenas in social policy; Gosta Esping-Andersen developed the concept of 'decommodification' of the market through a cross-national analysis of social insurance; and Marie-Louise Forsberg presented a model of the subjective and objective aspects of welfare outcomes which is to be applied to data about the two German states. In addition, there was a European comparison of old age pension schemes by Maria Maguire and a discussion of the place of legal theory in the welfare field by Evert van Veen - both emerging from research at the European University Institute.

Among the nationally-orientated papers, Stein Kuhnle and Liv Solheim discussed the origin of the welfare state in Norway; Valeria Fargion and Maurizio Ferrera presented two papers which traced themes in Italian welfare development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; Ezio Maestri explored the welfare policies of the Italian Communist Party; Claude Gilbert and Guy Saez traced the influence of 'warfare' motifs in French social policy; and Ralph Pumphrey asked why the United States failed to develop a national health service. The variety of experiences and perspectives described in these papers both exchanged information and stimulated discussion, including mention of current national issues.

A concept as wide as the welfare state gave us plenty to talk about, but we were left conscious that cross-national explanatory approaches are less well developed - not least because political science has no monopoly of the subject-matter. The future development of studies is likely to involve the more rigorous location of historical and institutional analysis within political theory and the political economy, and be less nation-bound. I hope that the ECPR will provide an annual opportunity to present papers on welfare questions, but preferably within a more precisely focused rubric than was possible at Lancaster

*Richard Parry*

*ELECTORAL VOLATILITY IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES*

*Ivor Crewe and David Denver*

This workshop arose out of a planning session held at the Joint Sessions in Florence in 1980. It had been decided then that in 1981 we should focus on electoral volatility in Western Democracies and we arranged for papers to deal with individual countries. In order to make for more fruitful cross-national comparison, participants were asked to follow, as far as possible, a standard set of guidelines in their papers.

In the workshop we discussed electoral volatility in 17 countries. The countries and the authors of papers concerned were as follows:

Australia - D Aitken
Belgium - A Mughan
Canada - L LeDuc
Denmark - O Borre
France - G Grunberg
Germany - H D Klingemann
Great Britain - I Crewe
Greece - W Kuner (with N Wenturis)
United States - W Flanigan (with N Zingale)
Iceland - O Hardarson
Ireland - M Marsh
Luxembourg - D Hearl
Netherlands - C vd Eijk & K Niemoller
Norway - H Valen
Scotland - D Denver
Sweden - S Holmberg
Switzerland - G Schmidtchen

These countries vary widely in size of population, nature of party system, type of electoral system, availability of data and, as it turns out, patterns of electoral volatility. As a consequence, there was a great deal of scope for discussion in a comparative context.

Discussion centred upon three main areas:

Conceptual and Definitional Problems

All participants were agreed that there was a major distinction to be made between 'individual' and 'net' volatility. But there was some discussion about how and whether the term 'volatility' itself could or should be distinguished from others such as 'change', 'instability', 'realignment'; and whether a distinction had to be made between long-term and short-term change. In addition, some participants viewed volatility as essentially referring to behaviour in successive national elections while others took a wider view and utilised behavioural and attitudinal data relating to the periods between elections. Without being finally resolved, discussion of these problems proved stimulating to participants.

Methodological Problems

As already noted, the quality and amount of suitable data available for analysis varies from country to country. In some cases aggregate election data only are available (e.g. Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg); in others there are cross-section surveys (e.g. Belgium, Scotland);

a few have panel surveys covering varying numbers of elections (e.g. Sweden, Great Britain). Problems relating to the measurement of volatility using these three types of data were discussed at length. They included the inaccuracy of recall data in surveys, the usefulness of aggregate indicators and the handling of different kinds of change (party switching, change involving abstention, change within and across blocks in multi-party systems, the physical replacement of the electorate). Problems also arose in some cases where electors' preferences are largely for individual candidates rather than parties.

Explanations for Volatility/lack of Volatility

In our original guidelines the authors of papers were asked to consider three major explanations for the patterns they found: (a) change/stability in social cleavages (b) change/stability in long-term partisan orientations (c) change/stability in issue cleavages. So far as their data allowed participants covered these topics and in addition a variety of other explanations were discussed including the effects of electoral systems, multi-partyism, the mass media, government performance, distrust of government and variations in the scale of different societies.

This workshop was fruitful and satisfying. We think that its success was due to two main factors. Firstly we had used a planning session to determine a specific focus and orientation. Secondly papers generally conformed to a set of guidelines laid down by the directors. The result was that discussion was highly focused and genuinely comparative. We would, therefore, recommend this approach to others.

*Ivor Crewe and David Denver*

*MECHANICS AND DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS*

*Johan K De Vree*

A theory of action: De Vree

This paper presented a part of a larger project, now in the process of being empirically tested with respect to the historical evolution of the European system since 1815: the attempt to develop a general theory of the actions and interactions of social systems, integrating a systems-theoretic approach with decision theory, theories about human learning and attitude formation, as well as theories on political processes, exchanges, violence and warfare, and of integration and co-operation. The theory aims at a high degree of mathematical formalisation. It appears that social systems, too, are basically energy-end formation processing systems. The approach adopted here allows for a natural integration of all the different aspects, forces and mechanisms which appear to be relevant in the conduct and interaction of (sub) systems, including individual man, at different societal levels, in one general model - the essence of the systems-theoretic approach. A distinction was made between 'atomic' and 'compound' systems, the individual being the prime example of the former.

Scribbles towards a theory of the parliamentary system: Wolters

This paper discussed the problem of individual behaviour or decision-making in the context of the European Parliament. In important aspects its approach is closely akin to that adopted by the previous author's contribution; (1) it is based on broadly 'utilitarian' postulates on human action; (2) it seeks to integrate these with insights from learning theory in order to explain what kind of expectations and valuations people will actually adopt; (3) it shows interaction, as in collective decision-making, to be a process which rests upon the fact that A's expectations, and hence his actions, are concerned with and influenced by B's actions, and conversely - a matter of a sort of conditional decision-making. He shows that this approach can explain the formation of coalitions and that the size and nature of these is very much affected by the (initial) uncertainties and inevitably characterises the participants' expectations.

Integrating levels of conflict: a theoretical analysis: Sandole

In true systems-theoretic fashion, and nicely supplementing the papers by Webb, Falger, Rood and De Vree in particular, this paper represents an attempt to formulate a general conflict theory, encompassing several levels of social life as well as insights from a number of relevant disciplines, to wit, psychology, physiology, anthropology, political science, and sociology. Conflict is a multi-faceted phenomenon, related to a great number of biological, psychological, and social forces and mechanisms. Its explanation does require a more general approach than is usually adopted by conflict theorists who tend to stress one factor or group of factors to the exclusion of a number of others. This goes especially for those of a biological nature, caused perhaps by a reluctance on the part of scientists to admit that man is a biological system, too, or that violent conflict is a rather natural phenomenon. An interesting point raised by the author is that such things like 'feelings', 'hate', 'anger', and the like should probably be viewed as signals rather than as causes, or as preparations on the part of the organism, bodily as well as mentally, for violence or conflict necessitated itself by the exigencies of a particular social process.

Modelling bicommunal conflict, i, ii and iii: Webb

This represents another and sophisticated attempt to produce and test a general model of conflict integrating a great number of relevant factors and aspects. Specifically it aims at taking the multiple feedback relationships between, on the one hand, such things as values, discontent, the structure of groups and their distribution in a given society, and, on the other, the course of the political process, into account. For instance, the definition of those characteristics which are thought to lie at the bottom of the phenomenon of nationalism of nationalist movements, their importance to the people involved and their awareness of them, is as much the product of actual political circumstances and processes as of anything else. In other words, nationalism is not simply something given and immutable, but it comes into being as a result of political circumstances, in particular of the efforts at mobilisation and organisation on the part of 'political entrepreneurs' who, for one reason or another, deem it advantageous

to address themselves especially at certain national characteristics. It was pointed out that this state of affairs is not limited to such things as nationalist movements but equally pertains to the formation of all sorts of pressure groups and political parties.

Political systems in a non-anthropocentric perspective: Falger

This paper presents the results of research on the coalition behaviour of animals. It raises the problem of the applicability of theories devised primarily for human conduct to the explanation of the conduct of, and the processes occuring between non-humans. In other words: are non-human social systems in any essential way different from human social systems? Of course, there are great and evident differences between humans and non-humans: the much larger behavioural repertoire, intellect and versatility of the former as compared with the latter, the existence of speech and language, etc. Yet, it may be argued, these differences are of a 'quantitative' nature, and they need not at all imply that the basic mechanisms of action and interaction are really different. In fact, the research discussed did show remarkable similarities between human and non-human conduct. This would not mean that one could simply apply findings about non-humans to humans. It is rather the other way around: it opens the possibility of applying theories developed for human conduct and interaction to non-humans, thus considerably enlarging the scope and testing possibilities of such theories in settings often more easily manageable and accessible than those of a human nature.

The dynamic laws of international political systems: Damgaard-Petersen

While the other papers in the workshop generally chose the axiomatic approach to political systems, i.e. they tried to build theories predicting certain empirical consequences from definite assumptions, trying to unravel the mechanisms between the one and the other, Petersen's can be viewed as a statistical approach. It seeks to empirically determine certain fixed connections between various sorts of data. In the present case it was attempted, with much success in most cases, to see whether such things as the distribution of warfare, or rather its outbreak, conformed to a particular statistical model, the Weibull distribution, closely akin to the Poisson distribution. An obvious limitation of such an approach is that one does not really know what the results obtained mean, one does not know what are the mechanisms or forces behind it, and to what extent one can use it for predictive purposes: can one, or can one not apply them to other cases and circumstances. On the other hand, it was emphasised that such an approach gives certain hints about what kind of regularities there are, thus aiding the search for what lies behind them.

The political event as an amplifier of the dynamics of political systems - a clinical approach: Rauch

This paper seeks to develop a method for the discovery or formation of hypotheses about the functioning of social and political systems. It does not present a theory or model of such systems, but a method for

finding such concepts and assumptions as will eventually constitute such a theory or model. It does so by means of an intensive study of one or more meaningful and important events, and the way these are reported in the media, that are hoped somehow to reflect the workings of the systems as a whole. Problems discussed with respect to this approach were in particular: On the basis of which criteria does one select the events to be studied? Does not this selection itself already presuppose some model or theory? Does one not run the risk, in relying on the media, to be too much bound by the theories, ideologies, or prejudices of the reporters or journalists? To what extent can one assume that the most important or meaningful events are also those most reported in the media?

Modern federalism: Burgess

This paper is an attempt to give a precise and theoretically relevant definition of the notion of 'federalism' in large part on the basis of current literature on the subject. The author tended to view federalism in 'quantitative' terms, without however as yet proposing some measurement methodology for it. Federation is not something which is the same in all circumstances: there appear to be degrees of federation or federalism. Besides one should clearly specify the systems or systematic levels to which it is to be applied, and the nature of the issue involved. In principle this approach would allow us to speak of the degree of federation of any political system. It would also seem that the notion is to be distinguished from the one of integration.

Development and effectiveness of normative rules: Rood

This paper presents a theory on the growth and functioning of normative rules. The latter are not limited to legal or even to written rules, but include non-written, non-legal, moral, and conventional norms and procedures. Norms or rules are here viewed as standards with respect to which conduct is judged - for instance in order to justify certain actions, e.g. sanctions. It is shown that rules may be expected to emerge and be effective in particular social or political circumstances, to be summarised roughly as stabilised patterns of interest and dominance relationships. In this way it also becomes possible to relate the phenomenon of (effective) rules to the course of societal evolution in response to population growth, technological development and changes in the natural environment of the system. The paper contains an extensive review of the relevant literature.

Towards a conceptual framework on flexibility: Kickert

As a result of most unfortunate circumstances the author himself had to return home at the beginning of our Sessions, so that it was impossible for him to present his paper himself. Illustrated by the problems which the Dutch political system faces in adapting to the economic recession, the author argues for a greater degree of flexibility in decision-making structures if they are to survive without too grave strains.

During the discussion it was pointed out that, however, inflexibility may sometimes be essential to a system's survival.

It was also emphasised that in order to assess the (dis) value of flexibility we would need a much more elaborate theory about how systems adapt to their (changing) environment, and what are the mechanics and dynamics of the processes induced by changes in that environment. The distinction between 'adult' and 'child' learning which was made was not found to be very fruitful, and human learning and behaviour is rooted in certain expectations and valuations, information and motivation, on the part of the individual, yet the latter, in their turn, form and adapt under the influence of the perceived outcomes of behaviour (either one's own behaviour or that of others).

Evaluation

Generally speaking, the workshop may be considered to have been a great success. Discussion remained consistently at a high level; and although the substantive empirical interests of the participants ranged over a relatively wide area, while employing different research strategies, discussion and the exchange of views and insights proved not only to be possible (no mean achievement in itself!), but also to be fruitful and stimulating.

To a large extent this vindicates the value and validity of the sytems theoretic approach. As mentioned before, human life, both individual and social, does represent a unity in the sense that all its phases and aspects are interconnected: one cannot, for instance, study international politics, without also taking problems of individual learning and motivation, as well as the feedback relations between these, into account. Systems theory represents the expression of, and framework for the study of this state of affairs.

Thus far, the attempts to apply this insight to the social sciences, as in the work of Easton, Parsons, Kaplan and others, have not resulted in much more than definitional frameworks, the creation of various vocabularies to describe social or behavioural systems at several societal levels. They generally lacked (1) completeness in the sense of encompassing all the relevant levels and aspects; and, more importantly, (2) theory, i.e. sets of axioms, assumptions and research methodologies allowing for the prediction or explanation of empirical relationships.

What accounts for this workshop's success seems to be precisely that it was shown that there is hope for remedying these defects. It was concerned with theory, explanation and prediction, rather than with definitions, terminology, and description. It succeeded in an integrated discussion of the several phases, levels, and aspects of human behaviour and of social life. And, by the same token, it succeeded in integrating the several behaviour and social disciplines commonly distinguished, thus suggesting the possibility of 'the unity of the social and behavioural sciences'. One is tempted to speak here of a 'second-generation systems-theoretic approach' to the social sciences ...

*Johan K De Vree*

*PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN WESTERN EUROPE. THEORY AND PRACTICE*

*Luigi Graziano*

The workshop was attended by twelve participants from seven countries (Italy, Finland, France, Belgium, Ireland, Poland and Spain). The geographical area covered included Italy, Spain and France, as well as Finland and Poland. The inclusion of countries which are generally not associated with Eurocommunist politics proved to be quite fruitful for our discussion. In particular, the discussion on Finland added considerably to our knowledge of coalition politics and transition in view of the SKP's long record in governmental participation, while the inclusion of Poland allowed us to concentrate on developments which are clearly crucial for the prospects of the Eurocommunist strategy.

Generally speaking, the papers fall into three broad categories. A first set of contributions (Graziano, Sole Tura, Girvin) addressed such key theoretical notions as workers' hegemony, the meaning of 'revolution of the majority' and democratic centralism in highly complex societies, and the nature of political compromise in social-democratic systems. A second group of papers consisted of empirical studies on Communist Parties and the working class, notably in Italy. They included Sebastiani's report on a large-scale research on the PCI's cadre, Baldissera and Scamuzzi's study of a sample of FIAT workers (attitudes toward terrorism, parties and unions), and Loeb-Mayer's discussion of the European parliament as an arena for changing relationships between socialists and communists.

A third set of papers dealt with specific countries. They included Olavi Borg and J Paastela's contribution on Finland, Wallon-Leducq and Perrineau's studies on the PCF and of relationships with the French left, respectively, and Stanislav Ehrlich's analysis of the Polish crisis in 1980.

A number of common themes emerged from the discussion. One may distinguish at least four of them.

1 Eurocommunism and the international communist movement. Here the stress was on the radical changes which to varying degrees have characterised the Eurocommunist parties vis-a-vis the Soviet model, in particular the change from defenders of a model state to national mass parties. This has meant, among other things, that the Communist Parties, once external to the State, have become increasingly part of the State, with all the constraints and problems that the change implies.

2 Social alliances. The problem has many aspects, one of which is the extension of the alliances. In contrast to the socialists, the CP's tend to favour a rather inclusive strategy (union du peuple de France in the case of the PCF, etc.). And this leads to what is perhaps the most crucial difficulty, that is, how to weld together such a heterogeneous front in the context of increasingly complex and differentiated societies, in which one finds a plurality of contradictions and arenas peculiar to the various groups.

3 Governmental strategy. With the exception of the PCF, most Communist Parties have opted for broad governmental coalitions. And serious tensions may derive from the compromise structure of such coalitions, as the experience of the so-called Governments of National Unity in Italy (1976-79) illustrates. More important, a coalescent strategy confronts the PC's with the problem of reform and revolution, and the relationship between the two strategies, in the context of a processual scheme of transition.

4 Party structure. Here one finds the contradiction between the need for a cohesive party as an effective tool for transformation, one for which no functional equivalent yet has been found, and the constraints imposed on the party by its coalescent strategy. That is, Eurocommunist parties are supposed to operate within a reformist bloc in which the CP is only one element (and in a number of countries not even the most important element). Also, there are increasing pressures on the CP's to become internally more articulate, pluricentric and secularised, a problem for which no ready solution is at hand.

To conclude. In the view of this writer the workshop proved to be a stimulating and enriching experience. One result of the workshop - and not the least gratifying of it - will be a collective volume in a series sponsored by the ECPR.

*Luigi Graziano*

*THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LOCAL POLICIES AND LOCAL ELITES*

*Andries Hoogerwerf*

This workshop dealt mainly with three questions:

1 Which differences and similarities exist between public policies of different local governments?

2 Which differences and similarities exist between characteristics of political and administrative elites of different local governments?

3 Which relations exist between public policies, elite behaviour or elite opinions on the one hand and characteristics of local political and administrative systems on the other hand?

Most of the fourteen papers made comparisons between local governments in one country, but some dealt with different countries.

Philip E Jacob (Hawaii) had sent an extensive paper on Values and needs in local politics. The central question which he tried to answer was: Do the targets of local government policies reflect the values and felt needs of the local citizenry? Based primarily on secondary analysis of attitudinal surveys and aggregate data on policy outputs, the paper made comparisons across countries and among cities within the same country.

One of the conclusions was that local government has yet to institutionalise regular, effective channels of communication and participation through which citizens can themselves come to grips with policy decisions.

Several other papers were based on quantitative comparative research concerning local policies. Andries Hoogerwerf and Bas Denters analysed local housing policies in 342 Dutch municipalities. The paper deals with the relation between housing policies and aspects of the local administrative structure, such as differentiation, integration, democracy and rationalisation, as well as the political colour of the local government.

Terence J Karran analysed data from 25 of the 58 county councils in England and Wales for the period since 1950. Initial variables including need constraints, which relate to the socio-economic environment, and resource constraints, which indicate the financial capabilities of the authorities, were considered as having an impact on service expenditures both directly and via a set of intervening variables, derived from various facets of the political and administrative system.

Göran Sidebäck and Lars Sundbom studied cross-community differences in day care programmes in Sweden. They examined several possible explanations of the relatively large variations in the extension of child care facilities among the 278 communes.

A paper by Einar Brandsdal tried to answer the question: What pressures have the strongest effect upon the choice of policies by city governments in Norway? The author distinguished pressures arising from the political boundaries of the local government, from the urban region surrounding the city and from the national government. The units of analysis were the 48 Norwegian cities with more than 6000 inhabitants.

Bruno Dente reported on his research concerning the Italian Highland Districts, a compulsory association of the mountain municipalities. He tried to assess the degree of success or failure of a sample of 30 agencies out of 3 regions. These papers concentrating on policies gave evidence of a growing interest in political and administrative factors explaining the contents of local policies.

Two papers dealt exclusively with aspects of local political and administrative cultures. Jeannette Becquart-Leclercq analysed opinions of local political and administrative elites in France on several fundamental aspects of the political system, such as change, equality, democracy, and conflict. Folke Johansson compared political opinions of citizens and councillors in 25 Swedish communes. He paid special attention to opinions on the relations between citizens and councillors, citizen participation, and other aspects of political democracy.

Several papers concentrated on aspects of political and administrative structures. Two of these papers, on Norway, were largely based on theories and research techniques derived from political anthropology. Helge Larsen's paper described political entrepreneurship and administrative activism in four Norwegian communes. The author followed the policy processes over a period of almost ten years. Nils Aarsaether analysed

inter-sectorial co-ordination in commune budgeting in Norway. This paper, based on direct observations, discussed similarities and differences between processes in the communes on the basis of decision-making theories.

Alfonso Bozzo studied the political roles of the bureaucratic elite at the local and the central level in Spain. Frank Bealy's paper analysed the decline in participation of business leaders in local government in Britain and the United States since the nineteenth century.

Two papers dealt with other than western countries. David Goodman and Barbara Krug outlined a series of indicators that may serve to facilitate cross-provincial comparison of economic, provincial and social conditions in China. W J Allan Macartney analysed the functioning of district councils in Botswana.

The participants in the workshop agreed that they learnt a lot about the comparative study of local policies and local elites in nine countries. From the point of view of theory and research methods the papers were complementary. They dealt with policies and elites, with political systems and administrative subsystems, with cultural and structural aspects. The methodological approaches comprised surveys and statistical analysis as well as descriptions of cases based on direct observation. The methods were adopted from political science, sociology, anthropology, economics and history. The lively discussions developed in an atmosphere of good co-operation, which may result in the publication of a book by participants in the workshop.

*Andries Hoogerwerf*

*PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES AND THE POWERLESS*

*Finn Holmer Hoven and Ivar Bleiklie*

The workshop gathered 12 participants from 4 countries (Belgium, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain and Norway) and 10 papers were presented. The papers were divided into four general categories:

1 Theoretical and methodological perspectives on client-bureaucracy studies. Two papers were presented on this topic.

Bleiklie's paper 'Bureaucracy, Access and Autonomy' dealt with theory-formation and models in this field of research, and a model of changes in the client-bureaucracy relationship as dependent on the complexity of administrative distribution systems was presented. The following debate focused on limitations and potentials of such models. Two points were stressed: (a) the need to specify the character of the models, whether they are normative or explanatory, formal or empirical etc. (b) the integration of the clients, their needs and perceptions into the models. A crucial problem in this context, is to determine whether a specific organisational structure is advantageous to the clients or not.

Ellefsen and Brofoss' paper 'Public Services and Personal Resources' presented the results of a nation-wide Norwegian survey on the relationship between citizens and public bureaucracies and discussed some of the methodological and theoretical problems related to the survey-approach. The main finding of the study was that there hardly exists any under-consumption of public services. This somewhat surprising conclusion, challenging the majority of previous Norwegian studies on this subject, formed the point of departure for the following debate which centred upon problems of validity and interpretation. It was pointed out that the actual figures produced by the survey, might be interpreted differently by different researchers dependent on the underlying standards of interpretation. It was also agreed that final valid conclusions on such questions only can be reached by means of a combination of survey- and more intensive case-studies.

2 Sector- and case-studies
Four papers were presented under this heading.

Paton's paper 'US Health Bureaucracy and Access to Health Care Programmes and Facilities' dealt with US health-care bureaucracy in the 1960s and 70s. Its aim was to explain the delivery and types of services as dependent on political and ideological factors. One of the main points made by the author was the following: Whereas US health policy before 1960 had emphasised equal access to health services, several minority groups have been excluded from health-care programmes in the 60s and 70s. This was explained as a result of ideological changes in US health and social policy at the time. It was contended that 'mainstream' american liberalism is unable to cope with the problems presented by the attempts to introduce health and social planning. During the discussion it was argued that the paper maybe addressed itself to too many problems, and that it was difficult to discern the structure of the causal explanation being applied. It was suggested that the historical background for the development of US health and social policy may explain several of the problems facing this policy area. A causal model contributing to a clearer specification of the independent variables was proposed.

Grunow's paper 'Public Health Offices and their Mentally Handicapped Clients' was based on a larger research project on the relationship between local social and health administration and their clients in FDR. The paper raised the question of what problems public bureaucracies actually are able to solve. The client-bureaucracy relationship was then discussed, based on an analysis of how the local social offices selected their mentally handicapped clients among the group of potential clients. It was found that the most severely handicapped tended to be excluded. This was explained by the fact that the offices are staffed with professional social workers who try to avoid administrative control and pick their clients according to their own professional judgement. During the debate it was pointed out that professional and client interests frequently differ. The discussion then concentrated on problems related to the supervision of and control with professional activities and how the clients' interests may be protected by different distribution systems, e.g. professions, bureaucracies and/or markets.

The paper presented by Zwetkoff 'Les satisfactions des besoins sociaux: de l'assistance publique à l'aide sociale' discussed the introduction of

a new social care act in Belgium in 1976. The intention of the reform was to introduce a social policy based on modern principles and replace the old act of 1925 which was characterised by traditional poverty relief attitudes. The 1976-act introduced general rights to public support, increased local responsibility for the implementation of the programme and local social centres for the administration of the services. The author was sceptical about the success of the reform. Division of responsibilities between different levels of administration, bad economic times and the budgetary consequences of the introduction of general rights were among the main reasons for this scepticism. During the debate, comparisons were drawn between similar reforms in different countries and attempts were made to hint at some of the general problems related to the implementation of such reforms.

In his paper 'Public Intervention and Problems of Access' Mikaelsen discussed the relevance of access theory for the study of the distribution of licenses to Norwegian fishermen. The introduction of licensing for certain kinds of fisheries, implied an administrative regulation of access to the market, and licenses became an important and scarce good. Access to the market was further complicated by the absence of clear cut rules. The distribution of licenses was to a great extent based on administrative discretion. Individual chances of access consequently became dependent on personal resources and connections. Licensing therefore meant the introduction of an administrative 'market' where 'voice' replaced money as admission ticket. The dominant topic of the following debate was the question of the fruitfulness of access theory for the analysis of the subject matter discussed in the paper. The fruitfulness of theoretical models depends on several factors. From a scientific point of view, their utility for the generation of hypotheses is of particular importance.

3 Professional Aspects of the Interaction Between Clients and Public bureaucracies. Two papers on the role of professions and professionalism were presented.

Ramsdal's paper 'Reconsidering Social Administration in the Age of Narcissism' discussed the proposed changes of the organisation of health and social services on the local level in Norway, based on data from 10 smaller municipalities in the northern part of the country. These changes imply firstly a strengthening of local political control, as transfers from the state will be given in the form of unspecified block grants instead of percentage grants specifying how the money is to be distributed between different kinds of services. Secondly, the changes imply a deprofessionalisation by giving increased influence to local political authorities in questions of projecting and distribution. This activates the two dilemmas of centralisation vs. decentralisation and professionalisation vs. deprofessionalisation in social policy. The following debate elaborated these topics further, and it was held that more data were required in order to reach more substantial conclusions.

Lyngstad's paper 'Professionalism and the Powerless' was a normative discussion of the consequences of professionalisation on the political influence of the under privileged. On the one hand it may represent a governing problem. On the other hand it may be necessary in order to

protect the interests of the powerless. The advantages and disadvantages of professionalisation depends, in the opinion of the author, on whether it concerns preventative or therapeutic measures. With regard to preventive measures, politicisation is preferable to professionalisation, whereas professionalisation is more advantageous with regard to therapeutic measures. The discussion after the presentation, partly concentrated on a clarification of the concept of professionalisation and partly on the actual role of different professions under different societal conditions.

4 Interest articulation of low status clients and normative limits to bureaucratic welfare services. This topic included two papers.

Jensen's paper 'Articulating the Interests of the Low Status Clients' discussed the problem of interest articulation from the clients' point of view with special reference to the field of public drug-control. The topic was discussed in terms of a theoretical model where interest articulation is dependent on the organisation of information flows. Four different modes of organisation were discussed: beneficial organisations, self-help organisations, interest organisations and public control agencies, of which the two latter ones were emphasised as particularly important. After the presentation, the debate mainly concentrated on two points. Firstly, what are the implications of different social conditions on control policies, e.g. control of market vs. administrative systems or control policies in market vs. non-market societies? Secondly, the definition of client-interests and powerless client groups. For instance, is the powerlessness primarily a result of general social status or of the particular client-role?

Kolberg and Pettersen in their paper 'Shaping the Institution of Welfare' presented the results of a Norwegian survey on citizen attitudes regarding core-institutions of the welfare state. The main finding was a generally strong support of the institutions. The following debate centred on methodological questions, partly the validity of the results presented and partly on different ways of expanding the empirical basis of interpretation. For instance, what is the relation between public and other kinds of welfare systems? What about surveys over time to obtain the diacrone data required to map fluctuations of public opinion over time? Some comparative data were also given, especially from Germany, indicating a certain caution regarding the interpretation of the Norwegian data.

5 Planning session on future co-operation

In addition to the presentation of papers, a planning session on future co-operation was held. It resulted in the agreement on plans for contact and co-operation between a German and Norwegian research group. It was decided not to propose a workshop for 1982, as the participants supported the proposed workshop on professionalisation. However, it was agreed to keep in touch and discuss a proposal for the 1983 Joint Sessions.

*Ivar Bleiklie*

*INTEREST REPRESENTATION IN MIXED POLITIES*

*Ole P Kristensen*

The workshop dealt with a wide range of topics from questions concerning why people join organisations to questions concerning the impact of organisational participation on policy outcome.

The following papers were presented:

Juhani Pehkonen: Parties and Central Trade Unions Organisations. In his presentation the author of the paper focused on the following points: the Finnish party sytem, and its interrelations with the sytem of trade unions since the early seventies. Those developments implied a changing power structure of Finnish politics and changes in links of parties and unions. The access of unions to political decision-making had increased substantially. Finally, a discussion of the distribution of resources between parties and unions were performed: electoral support of parties by unions and increased material resources of the unions providing for effective participation in policies.

The discussion centred on the following points: explanation of membership growth? Membership growth probably has to be explained by changes in organisational structures and by the increasing importance of incomes policies. Membership's role for the party/organisationsl system's functioning? Are there differences between parties and organisations in terms of importance of a high membership density?

P R Jones: Membership Associations with the Public Sector: The Case of BMA Presentation of the paper: two major approaches to the question of organisation formation:-

1 If a group becomes aware of a common interest, it implies the formation of an organisation.
2 The Olson approach, acknowledgement of a common interest is by itself not a sufficient basis for organisational formation. Those approaches were tested on BMA, where doctors are not forced to join, the provate or selective benefits are not that important for members. BMA has nevertheless been successful in recruiting most doctors as members.

A general discussion took place on the factors which make individuals join interest organisations, and how to make empirical tests of those factors.

Hans E Berg: Are Active Organisational Members an Avantgarde? The aim of the paper was, departing from the theories of participation, to analyse the importance of organisational participation in articulating of demands in the Swedish communes of different size and different rate or urbanisation.

In the discussion of the paper, several points emerged. Firstly, the theoretical point of departure was questioned; the implications of the theory of J S Mill on the empirical study completed was regarded somewhat too 'strong'. Secondly, the operationalisations of the activities under consideration were held as insufficient for finding out the connections between the theoretical conceptions and the empirical findings. Thirdly, certain interpretations of the empirical findings were regarded as too bold:

a question was raised if the author had interpreted the differences between the values of the dependent variables in a consistent way. The paper opened a discussion on the meaning of organisational participation in different countries.

Matti Niemi: The Structure and Configuration of the Public and Private Sector Interests in the Policy of the Finnish External Functional Relations. The paper concentrated on an analysis of the networks between central agencies and interest groups in the sector of foreign policy in Finland. The main goal for the study is to develop an explanation model for analysing the phenomenon on two levels: the structural and percentional levels.

In the discussion attention was paid to several aspects; firstly, a theoretical question about corporative and pluralistic models in international policy was raised; especially the issue of whether the interest intermediation in the Finnish foreign policy system with its peculiarities takes place according to the corporatist model was discussed. Secondly, the mode of decision-making in the agencies under consideration was brought into focus; especially the role of interest group representatives was questioned. Thirdly, the role played by the parliament in controlling the activities of the public agencies was problematicised; the financial decisions, as means for control, were under discussion. Fourthly, a question about the similarities and dis-similarities between the foreign policy sector and other important policy sectors came into consideration.

Andre Jaeggi: Between Parliamentary Weakness and Bureaucratic Stength: Interest Representation in Swiss Foreign Relations. The paper presented an empirical study of the role of organised interests in Swiss foreign relations in the different phases of policy-making. This was done in the consociational setting of Swiss politics. In the conclusion the weakness of parliament in relation to the conduct of foreign relations was stressed. In the discussion a number of questions was raised. What was meant by the term compromise (coercion, packages ...)? To what degree are all interests satisfied in the Swiss foreign relations system? Is it partly a zero sum game, so somebody has to pay the 'bill'? Are new policy needs emerging which may not be satisfied by a consociational mode of policy-making, and is this the cause of the increasing number of referenda.

Klaus Armingeon: Collective Bargaining and Incomes Policies in the Seventies: A Comparative Analysis of Incomes Policies in Eight European Countries. The paper raised the question of the nature of neo corporatist practices. Are they stable subsystems in the political system or are they highly unstable modes which only work for brief periods? Four models of incomes policies were then presented. The empirical experiences were presented and the differences were related to potential factors of explanation like: organisational and institutional factors in the particular countries and the distribution of power.

In the discussion questions were raised about the typology of types of incomes policies, and some of the interpretations of the empirical findings were discussed.

Voitto Helander/Dag Anckar: Structural Corporatism in Finland: As Essay on Developments and Causes. It was stressed that the principal problem with corporatism was that in Finland - but also in most other countries where the phenomenon can be seen - one can say who participates in corporate decision-making, but it is almost impossible to say anything about the extent to which an organisation takes part. It is therefore hardly possible to really measure the degree and variations of corporatism and to make an assumption of the actual influence of the different interest organisations. For Finland, four different types of corporatist mechanisms can be shown. Namely (1) preparatory, progress or project groups, (2) consultative participation (in remiss-system or general hearings), (3) bargaining participation (in the sense of 'sectoral tripartism' as defined in the Czada Paper for incomes policy), and (4) decisive participation or indirect state administration by so-called 'parastate' or 'quasi non-governmental' organisations.

Discussion: to explain the differences of the degree of corporatism in the different policy sector remains a difficult task. It nevertheless might be that these differences are due to the fact that there are more politicised sectors ruled directly by ministries, and others, ruled by almost autonomous, independent agencies. Thus, statements on the degree of corporatism ought to be made mainly with regard to the implementation of a given policy and not only with regard to the decision structure itself.

Roland Czada and Gerhard Lembruch: Economic Policies and Societal Consensus Mobilisation: 'Sectoral Tripartism' vs. 'Corporatist Integration'. A major point in the paper was to make a distinction between 'sectoral tripartism' and the corporatism which implies a transectoral co-ordination. The discussion raised among others the following questions:

- Are there not the same bargaining/competition situations in tripartism and neo-corporatism?
- Logic of public interest: common goals. Does it hold true?
- On the one hand corporatism needs centralisation; on the other hand the private interest tends to decentralise.

Czada agrees with the last point. The crucial point is to find a suitable compromise between centralisation and decentralisation. As to the first point: the competitions in tripartism/corporatism are different. As to the second point, private interests are sectoral; public (governmental) interests are trans-sectoral. Government is an intermediator.

- Is the dichotomy sectoralism/trans-sectoralism appropriate? The political system can move from one to the other. State agencies do not act in order to reach a whatsoever common goal, but their policies are determined by the influenced interests. So, all political sytems are more or less segmented.
- The indicator of public expenditure is not appropriate. The goals of corporatism are not increased public expenditure but goals such as unemployment, etc.

Czada: in corporatist countries there is a correlation between overall economic growth and public sector growth, whilst in non-corporatist countries the correlation cannot be found.

*Ole Kristensen*

*INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY AND THEORIES OF THE STATE*

*Jack Lively*

The broad themes which the workshop pursued were the emergence of the idea of industrial society, theories about the origins of property and state, the division of labour and its political impact, the harmonisation of interests and theories of the industrial state. Clearly, the papers presented could only touch on particular aspects of these themes, but the subject matter of the papers was sufficiently various to allow all of these themes to be brought up and developed in discussion.

Andrew Reeve (University of Warwick) opened the workshop with a paper on 'The labour theory of value and the labour theory of property entitlement'. It examines three areas of political and economic theory, those ideas about the origin of value that relate it to the expenditure of labour, those ideas about property entitlement that base such entitlement on labour, and the prescriptions for political action derived from such ideas. These concerns are pursued through an examination of the relevant theories of William Petty, John Locke, Adam Smith and Thomas Hodgskin, with a concluding reference to Karl Marx's labour value theory.

The paper by Jack Lively (University of Warwick), 'The division of labour in early conceptions of industrial society' traces some major attempts - notably those of Smith and Marx - to define the character of early industrial society. It offers a typology of types or stages of the division of labour - functional, primitive, occupational, manufacturing, and machinofacturing divisions - and examines in detail Smith and Marx's ideas on the last two and their relation to industrialisation and the development of capitalism. The major question raised in discussion were what types of division of labour its critics have been concerned with, what they have seen as its evils, and what have been envisaged as the methods of transcending the division.

Fritz van Holthoon (Rijks Universiteit, Groningen) presented a paper on 'Rousseau and common-sense'. It argues that the actuality of Rousseau's thought is very different from what was derived from it in the nineteenth century. The actual foundation of his ideas is an essentially conservative appeal to common-sense or the conventional wisdom of age; this is what informs his attack on the arts and the sciences, his educational theories and (despite his advocacy of popular sovereignty) his political theory. The intellectual influence of Rousseau - on revolutionary thinking, on the idea of alienation and on the development of anti-industrial ideas - has been based on a selective and distorting use of his ideas.

Margaret Canovan (University of Keele) presented a paper on 'Society and politics in the thought of Hannah Arendt'. Its aim is to trace the meaning and implications of Arendt's contrasted concepts of society and politics, to set these understandings against more familiar views and to detail some of the difficulties of Arendt's position. Society, for her, is the realm in which private economic wants are satisfied but which, unlike Hegel's civil society, is characterised not by competition but by conformity. The political realm is characterised, in contrast, by plurality, the interaction of equals acting with

different purposes in a common public arena. The problems raised by her distinction and by her account of the development of modern society are, firstly, what place economic questions have within her view of politics and, secondly, what possibility there is of 'politics' if, as she argues, 'social' questions have become the dominant concerns of modern governments.

'The problematic rationality of revolution: Hegel, Marx and modern theories', the paper by John Maguire (University College, Cork), opens with a critique of Hegel's account of civil society and the state, arguing that Hegel fails to provide reasons why persons should enter into political activity. After examining the rational-choice theoretical viewpoint, it goes on to argue that, from this viewpoint, Marx is involved in the same difficulty as Hegel, in that he provides no reasons for the proletariat engaging in revolutionary action. The conclusion is reached that this deficiency can be overcome only through the assertion and exploration of the moral dimension in Marxist thought.

The paper by John Cunliffe (Birmingham Polytechnic), 'Marx, Engels and artisanal-communism', deals with the ideological aspect of Marx and Engel's relationship with the League of the Just in the 1840s. The 'artisanal communism' espoused by the journeyman-artisans of the League saw the communal ownership of the traditional means of production as a means of protecting craft skills against the threats of industrialisation. This was in direct opposition to Marx and Engels, who urged that industralisation, in its capitalist form and involving as it did the replacement of artisans by proletarians, was both necessary and desirable.

John Baker (University College, Dublin), puts the question 'Was utilitarianism an aggregate theory'. Drawing mainly from J S Mill's Utilitarianism, he argues that utilitarianism was not a purely aggregate principle which excluded distributive considerations. He supports this view by pointing out that Mill does not offer a detailed felicific calculus, assumes that 'happiness' is an attainable state, is egalitarian in many of his commitments, objects to the sacrifice of individuals to general utility, and directs his arguments against a priori moral sense theories.

The paper presented by Jennifer Todd (University College, Dublin) deals with three main topics - the relationship between class structure and the capacity of the state to mediate class conflicts, the rationality of the state bureaucracy within liberal-capitalist democracies and the extent to which these problems are resolved in the discussions of Habermas and Poulantzas. The conclusion is reached that, whilst there are deficiencies in both perspectives, a fruitful way forward can be found by combining Habermas's emphasis on legitimation with Poulantzas's analysis of the nature of the capitalist state.

Heidrun Arbomeit (Mannheim Institut für Sozial Wissenschaften) presented a paper 'Theses on the restrictions of state capacity to act in contemporary capitalism'. It argues that there are systemic restrictions on capitalist states which stem from a basic asymmetry between state and economy in such systems. Specifically there are contradictions between the functions demanded of the state and the resources - financial, administrative and

ideological - available to it. The only situation in which state autonomy can be expanded is a crisis of legitimacy, particularly one which arises from the emergence of new demands incompatible with the capitalist ethos.

Jean Woodall (Kingston Polytechnic) in her paper, 'The Socialist industrial state', examines how socialist societies view the process of their own industrialisation. She does this by analysing the notion of developed socialism, Soviet and Eastern European views on Western theories of convergence and post-industrial society and the theory of the scientific technological revolution, more particularly as it has been developed in Poland. The questions raised were the role of distributive principles in 'developed socialism' and the status of politics in this theory, the conception of the neutrality of science and of scientific management, the relationship between the thrust for scientific management and grass-roots demands in relation to the work environment and the envisaged position of the 'socialist intelligentsia'.

Marion Alexis (Lehrstuhl für Politische Wissenschaft, Universität Mannheim) presented a paper on 'The role of German trade unions as political actors in 'neo-corporatist' solutions to industrial relations'. It puts forward the thesis that internal organisational pressures may make participation by unions in neo-corporatist decision-making inherently contradictory and particularly that the structure of conflict regulation within unions will significantly affect their ability to participate successfully. The paper examines the assumptions implicit in the neo-corporatist model and tests the thesis against the case of German trade unions.

Jan Keman (Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam) gave a paper on 'Social democracy, corporatism and the capitalist state'. This starts from the propositions that the combination of a capitalist economy and a liberal democratic political system are compatible with various formulations and implementations of economic policy and that these variations are important to the success or failure of the state to solve the problems confronting western industrial societies. It sets out, expands and tests the hypothesis that the political complexion of government and parliament and the degree of evolution of corporatist modes of policy formation are important variables in determining these variations.

The paper by Elias Berg (Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm) 'On the limits and unity of politics and the state' argues that liberal democratic doctrine contains different and contradictory implications about the limits and unity of politics and the state. The liberal tradition has emphasised limits on state action, and particularly the exclusion of much economic activity from its purview. The democratic tradition has stressed the unity of the state and pressed the view that important social decisions and allocations should be politically decided. In consequence, the doctrine directs attention towards political decisions when those decisions cannot fundamentally affect areas of social life which are (and on the liberal doctrine should be) beyond political control.

Finally Pierre Muller (Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Universite de Grenoble) presented a paper on 'State Intervention and the Division of Labour'. The paper's starting point is a comparison of the views of Spencer and Durkheim on the effects on state activity of increasing division of labour.

The differences between the two are seen as stemming from a divergence between them on the degree to which social solidarity is guaranteed by increasing division of labour, Spencer believing it is and that therefore state intervention will become decreasingly necessary, Durkheim believing the opposite. Pierre Muller takes a modified Durkheimian position, holding that increased state intervention becomes necessary to the degree that the division of labour, when it produces 'sectorisation' (that is the emergence of relatively autonomous sectors of economic activity), produces contradictions requiring state regulatory action. In his presentation of his paper, he applied this theoretical frame to the 'sectorisation' of French agriculture since the 1960s.

A paper by Pierre Birnbaum (Université de Paris I) on 'Etat corporatisme et action de la classe ouvrière' was also circulated but Professor Birnbaum was unable to be present to discuss it.

*Jack Lively*

NB A fuller version of this report may be obtained from the Central Services of the ECPR.

*SOCIALISM, FREEDOM AND THE MARKET*

*David Miller*

The main focus of the workshop was a theoretical assessment of alternative socio-economic systems, with particular emphasis on the role played by the concept of freedom in the choice between capitalism and socialism. It attracted a wide range of papers, which nevertheless fell naturally into three broad areas of interest: the place of altruism and co-operation within a market economy; the economic implications of the idea of freedom; the ramifications of the Marxian critique of capitalism for the theory of socialism.

We began our discussion with two papers each considering the idea that a market economy might by itself be deficient in altruism or fraternity, and assessing Titmuss's use of the blood donation model to illustrate how voluntary welfare provision might offset the egoism of the market. Plant maintained that Titmuss's argument was difficult to extend beyond the special case of blood donation, and that a firmer basis for provision was to be found in the idea of welfare rights. Harris suggested that rights might be seen not as replacing voluntary provision but as backing it up. It was generally felt that Titmuss's notion of 'impersonal altruism' was problematic, and that whatever form of community might be possible in a large society could not be modelled on face-to-face relationships.

In the second session the group considered whether co-operative forms of production were viable in a market economy. Helenius argued that consumer co-operation was necessary in order to remedy the insensitivity of productive enterprises to consumers' needs, and favoured co-determination between consumers and producers on the model of management/worker co-determination. Miller, on the other hand, defended producers' co-operatives operating in a free market, but argued that such a system was unlikely to emerge in a capitalist economy without political intervention. Discussion focused on the benefits claimed for co-operation of both sorts, and on the issue of why, if the claims were true, co-operatives had failed to emerge spontaneously.

Debate then switched to the idea of freedom. De Beus attempted to develop a value-free concept of freedom suitable for empirical research, but it was claimed in discussion that the concept developed was contestable, in particular because it counted only intentionally-imposed constraints as limitations of freedom. P Jones presented an alternative view in which redistributive mechanisms were seen not as reducing freedom but merely as transferring it between persons. This was likewise challenged for focusing only on assignments of goods as outcomes while ignoring the processes through which these outcomes were reached. Though the discussion was inconclusive, it was clear that no simple answer could be given to the question whether capitalism or socialism was the freer system. This was confirmed in the following session when Smith explored the difficulties created for J S Mill's view of liberty by his advocacy of socialist policies. Finally Laver used rational choice theory to show that the collective goods problem was more intractable than had previously been realised, implying a corresponding increase in the use of coercion if such goods were to be provided.

Van der Veen opened the discussion on Marx with a reconstruction of the Marxian theory of exploitation and a model of distributive justice under socialism. He was asked whether Marxian exploitation referred to the distribution of economic benefits between capitalist and worker or to the relationship of control between them; and this led to an extended debate about whether socialism on Van der Veen's model might similarly infringe the freedom of workers. The alternative view - that Marx's critique of capitalism was fundamentally couched in terms of freedom - was presented by Fiocco; it was felt, however, that she was insufficiently specific about the organisation of a society in which neither personal nor impersonal forms of control were operative. A. Jones concluded the session with a comparison between Lenin's and Kautsky's views of democracy under socialism. This led to a discussion of the general structure of a market socialist economy, with particular attention to the question whether market socialism might resolve the problem of bureaucracy which concerned both men.

In the summing-up session it was widely felt that futher work was needed on the theoretical foundations of socialism, and in particular on the choice between the different models of socialism (co-operative, market, centrally-planned, etc.) that had been considered during the workshop. The group agreed that a proposal along these lines should be forwarded to the workshop committee.

*David Miller*

*CATASTROPHE THEORY AS A MODEL FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE*

*Michael Nicholson*

Apart from having to put up with the jokes of the members of other workshops, the participants in the catastrophe theory workshop had an enjoyable as well as fruitful week. Catastrophe theory is a branch of mathematics which deals in particular with discontinuous 'jumps' in normally continuously moving variable. It would therefore seem a good candidate as a mathematical tool for the analysis of the outbreak of wars, revolutions and so on. The papers and discussion fell broadly into two categories. Those attempting to apply the theory to specific types of phenomena, and those dealing with the conceptual problems involved in application - while most have a bit of both. Some applications seem extremely fruitful, such as Holt's application to the onset of violence and Edmead's to loss cutting in conflicts. Others were less successful such as the group's collective attempt to explain the emergence of the Social Democrats in a catastrophe theory framework. Thus, while there are problems for which it is very useful it is unlikely to be a route which all theories of political behaviour will have to travel (as the non-mathematics will be relieved to hear). It is likely to be important however for, as became clear over the week, it has the powerful property of yielding structually stable models - i.e. models which if they are perturbed a bit, due to measurement error, or whatever, still lead to qualitatively the same conclusions.

As far as future research is concerned, it should be fruitful to analyse more problems in catastrophe terms and test such theories against data. Both these activities ought to grow (and probably will). The group thought it appropriate to try to produce a collection of papers based on the ones presented at the workshop but added to and modified in significant ways. Thus there is significant writing as well as editing to be done. This was in part due to the very positive attitude in the group to one another's papers, where the effort was very much towards improving and adding to each others work rather than negative criticism only. The small size of the group was a major factor in bringing about this very good atmosphere.

*Michael Nicholson*

*POLITICAL SOCIALISATION OF WOMEN AND MEN*

*Margherita Rendel and Frank R Boddendijk*

Given the fact that in many societies men dominate the public part of society in spite of the fact that very often legal constraints for female participation in this male dominated part of society are disappearing, this workshop focused on the process that makes from children loyal citizens who play their traditional gender roles in society in the way they have learned to do. Thanks to the fact that this workshop was a combined ECPR/IPSA initiative, 17 participants from rather different countries and cultures (East and West, North and South: USSR and Bulgaria. Denmark, UK, The Netherlands, Switzerland and Spain, Nigeria, India, Brazil and the USA) discussed 15 papers on political socialisation of women and men in general and the actual political socialisation of women and men in specific countries.

Margherita Rendel argued in her paper that one of the most potent mechanisms for the subjugation of women is the imposition on them of stereotypes. The various stereotypes imposed on women all require them to be dependent upon and submissive to men or portray women as evil and therefore specifically available for punishment. The stereotypes (Madonna/Mother, Nun, Whore and Witch) appear in different forms in religion and in its modern successor, education. The stereotypes imposed on men tend to be less rigid but also require dominance over women. The mass of men are therefore constituted as a quasi middle class between a small male elite and all the women. Dominance over women is then the pay-off the mass of men receive for their subjection to the elite.

Corina van Arnhem and Monique Leijenaar presented a paper about the significance of political socialisation for Dutch political practice, in which they confronted the findings of their research project on male and female municipal councillors with the findings of recent psycho-analytical research on the early development of gender-identity by children. They concluded that Dutch female councillors found themselves in a rather dualistic position: even in politics women go on with 'mothering', specialising themselves in so-called soft political issues like education, social welfare, healthcare.

Beverly Cook focused on the education of (American) Judges to Sex Bias. She first explained the kinds of bias prevalent in American courts, evidenced by attitudes and by behaviours, which treat women as sex objects and/or as dependents. Secondly, she gave an overview of judicial education programmes which have developed in the US, where judges are selected from the practicing bar and have no specific training for judicial duties, with special attention for the new courses on sex and other prejudices. Thirdly, she discussed different theories of adult socialisation in relation with different types of programmes with special attention to questions like 'what kind of bias is amenable to resocialisation of political elites' and 'how women's groups have been able to gain access to the judicial educational programmes'.

Maria-Angelas Duran discussed in her paper the question why women in Spain have shown little interest in official political life. She argued that in order to answer this question, attention should be given to women's political socialisation in the context of family life: 'a women's deepest political socialisation comes about as she internalises the ideas and values about her own body, her family, and her place in the domestic production of goods and services, thus guaranteeing her permanence in this traditionally assigned role'.

In Fanny Tabak's paper a detailed account was given of some crucial aspects of the political socialisation of women in the authoritarian Latin American countries. The authoritarian character of a regime restricts political participation to the 'happy few', which mostly consists of men, while the 'machismo' of Latin American men will prevent the passing on of political information to women. In a political and ideological way women's role in society is therefore rather restricted to the traditional one, which means a powerless one. The only possibility for political action of women at this moment is created by economic conditions. The struggle against high prices has motivated many women to organise themselves, especially in the more developed urban centres. And what started as an economic fight, turned out to be a political one.

Hem-Lata Swarup summarised in her paper the results of a case study in political socialisation, based on interviews with 64 male and 36 female political workers in Kanpur-India. Also in India the most important social constraints for women to participate in politics are the family responsibilities women normally have, a lack of education and problems with security: when you have to work eight days a week to earn a decent living, politics will remain the play-garden of the happy few.

Maja Pankratova focused in her paper on the double burden problem in her country: the problem of combining professional and family roles in the USSR, where women constitute 51% of all employed people. According to her, working outside the home gives a women advantages and especially in a country where the general social climate is strongly in favour of working women (and men). The money 'working' women do earn constitutes a very considerable part of the family budget, and is not seen as an extra, as is mostly the case in capitalist countries. But paid labour does not only free women financially, it also stimulates women to participate in community affairs. The crucial problem is of course how can women combine these new working roles with the traditional role as a housewife?

Time budget studies show that the average working day (inside and outside the home) for a woman is three hours longer than a man's average working day. Traditionally, shortage of childcare facilities, canteen services, etc. and the personality structure of Russian women are responsible for this difference.

Nora Ananieva discussed in her paper some of the theoretical and practical issues of the political equality of women, and especially the relationship between political equality and women's participation in the system of social production. With statistical data she showed that during the last twenty or thirty years the social status of Bulgarian women has undergone a qualitative leap in the direction of affirmation of their independent place in society. Because of the fact that changes in the social status of men took more time the equality of women and men was fostered by these developments. But the political equality of women can only be achieved on the basis of a wholesome sociopolitical system directed to the achievement of social equality. And in the line of Fourier's reasoning Nora concluded that the adequate projection of the women's interests into the state policy is one of the criteria for democracy of a given political system and one of the important criteria for measuring the achieved level of social progress.

The study of women in mass media developed along four main lines and has posed four main types of questions: (1) the portrayals question, i.e. what is being shown or presented (and what not)?, (2) the media system question, i.e. how do different types of media systems affect the content about women in the mass media?, (3) the organisation participation question, i.e. what is the role of women in the media system themselves?, and (4) the change question, i.e. what are the necessary conditions or catalysts for change? Milda Hedblom offered in her paper some comment on each question and reported on research relating to the third question in media organisations in England and France primarily, and she concluded that when women enter the male dominant media workplace, they are forced to develop a particular social map, to be socialised into the mores of a skewed work group. Therefore, the media organisational experience does not seem likely to lead to a set of media women whose careers could signify changes in content patterns.

In her paper 'Sex-role differences in front of the small screen' Anna Melich focused on the attitudes of children towards television and the use children make of it. On both points, boys and girls did differ. The impact of TV is also different for boys and girls, which can become explained partly by the fact that boys identify themselves only with male characters, girls with female and male characters because of the importance of men in society. Discussion following this paper made it clear that mass-media does have more or less the same function in different countries and cultures. In Africa and Asia TV is sometimes unimportant, still people develop more or less the same attitudes and behaviour in context with the sex-gender-system. That means that mass media are just a means in transporting certain attitudes and beliefs, but never a creator of new images.

This point was also stressed in the paper of Judy Evans, 'Soap is not enough', in which is stressed that sex differences in political attitudes and behaviour don't find their origins in specifically political learning, but in the acceptance of more general gender role stereotyping.

According to Judy, gender socialisation has an effect quite independent of concomitant political attitudes. The basic asymmetry in male-female relationships - an imbalance reinforced by the portrayal of women in television programmes and commercials - acts against the attainment of sexual political equality.

The absence of sexual political equality has often led to speculation about the relationship between early political socialisation and later political action. According to Eileen Wormald it must be agreed that on the whole young people do 'learn' conformity to the norms of the political system, while the 'learning' of sex differences in political orientation can't become sustained by empirical evidence: therefore she argued that the fact that many women are 'apolitical' can't become explained by the myth of early socialisation. An explanation might be sought not in a behavioural exposition of internalisation of a passive role, not even in a male-inspired paradigm of the 'political', but in women's acute perception of structural constraints which make them decide against active participation in an area which, because of late female access, has been designated a 'man's world'.

In her paper 'The Women's Movement in Ireland and its impact on Women's participation in Politics', Brigid Laffan concluded that existing sex role patterns do limit a greater expansion of women's role in politics. For women to achieve de facto equality and to enter political life in the same number as men, a social revolution is required. Up until now the women's movement has been too much preoccupied with legislative change on specific issues and has paid insufficient attention to the cultural and psychological aspects of women's subordination.

Drude Dahlerup developed in her paper a scheme for studying agenda-building, including non-decisionmaking. According to her the political system is biased for certain interests and especially for the so-called women's questions. Because of this bias women's issues are kept out of the political agenda and can be labelled as non-decisions. Because political parties, political organisations and the formal political institutions are structured around conflict dimensions, feminist issues, like many other new or not accepted issues, have to create new channels of access to the political system.

As a general conclusion it can be formulated that in almost every society political socialisation transmits attitudes and behaviour from one generation to the other in a rather sexist way, i.e. a way by which traditional gender roles are confirmed. Politics as a 'man's world' will not wither away in the same way as in marxist theory the state does. By the fact of its existence the sex-gender-system is strengthening itself. A way out of this vicious circle must be found in an educational system in which the learning of non-adjusted behaviour will be central.

*Frank Boddendijk*

*PARTY ADAPTATION TO SOCIETAL CHANGES*

*Gunnar Sjöblom*

12 papers by 14 authors were presented to the workshop. The papers covered a very wide area of party research: dimensions of European party systems; theoretical analyses of party adaptation and party control; dimensions of change, relevant for party action; the origins of parties and their life-spans; party adaptation to changes in different European countries; the role of party organisation in electoral mobilisation and the relation between the electoral and the organisational strength of a party; different obstacles to policy change in parties; parliamentary party cohesion; public support for parties and for interest organisations, etc.

In what follows a brief description of the main themes of each of the papers presented will be given.

Svante Ersson and Jan-Erik Lane'Democratic Party Systems in Europe: Dimensions, Change and Stability' is a broad analysis of party system variation in 14-16 party systems in West-European democracies from 1920 to 1980. Three basic problems are addressed: (a) how do party systems vary cross-sectionally and longitudinally? (b) what factors may be identified as explaining most of the variation of party systems? (c) how much of the variation in governmental stability may be explained by party system variation?

Peter Mair tries in his paper 'Party Adaptation, Party Control, and the Meaning of Party System Change' to identify the parameters within which the meaning of party system change can be usefully discussed. Four such parameters are identified: location, extent, duration and order, and then the notion of party adaptation is assessed in their context, as well as that of the sources of change. The notion of party adaptation refers to the dependency of parties rather than their ability to control their environment. In the latter part of the paper Mair discusses some of the ways in which parties can lose control.

In 'Notes on the Notion of Party Adaptation' Gunnar Sjöblom starts with a cursory overview of definitions of change and of some theories of change, and then proceeds to an analysis of 'party adaptation'. The result is not very encouraging: it seems to be very difficult to construct a useful concept of 'party adaptation', with a reasonable degree of precision and which in use does not lead to unacceptable consequences. The latter half of the paper is an effort to reconstruct a party's decisional situation considering its constraints and options in a changing environment.

Mogens N Pedersen argues in his paper 'Notes for a New Typology of Party Lifespans' that the current neglect in party research of minor parties and especially of new minor parties, is unfortunate, as such parties may play an important role in the transformation of party systems. Parties (broadly defined) can be looked upon as mortal organisations bounded by a lifespan, and this lifespan can be described by means of four thresholds: of declaration, of authorisation, of representation and of relevance. It is further argued that lifespan curves can be studied in terms of their

modality, dispersion, flatness and skewness. Using such concepts a new typology of minor parties and of party lifespans may be generated.

Alain Gagnon, 'Third Parties: A Theoretical Framework', is an effort to identify the factors that may explain why Canadian third parties seem to form a durable and important part of the political landscape in contrast with the nearly total failure of their American counterparts. Three sets of explanatory factors are traditionally used - institutional, conjunctural, and structural - but Gagnon argues that at least two other sets of factors - cultural and psychological - appear to have a determining role in the rise of third parties.

In 'Party Adaptation to Post-Industrial Society. Tentative Notes of the Finnish Party System', Krister Ståhlberg and Göran Djupsund comes to the conclusion that the Finnish political parties do not seem able to fulfil the essential systematic function of consensus-building in the transition from industrial to post-industrial society. Some of their arguments for this conclusion are: a continuing decrease in election turnout - an increasing electoral volatility - an increasing use of alternative and new channels of articulation - the degradation of the Parliament into a mere rubber stamp (because of very broad governmental coalitions).

In 'Societal Change and Party Adaptation in the Republic of Ireland 1960-1981', Michael Gallagher states that the extensive societal changes in Ireland during that period have not been followed by any great changes in the parties. This raises the question of whether there is a necessary connection between societal change and political change, and of whether the Irish parties offer examples of successful non-adaptation to societal change, or even whether they had in fact 'pre-adapted' to social changes before those changes actually took place.

In 'Strategies for Party Organisation and Voter Mobilisation', E Spencer Wellhofer tests the proposition of the declining importance of parties and particularly party organisations in electoral mobilisation. He employs structural modelling, which allows a combination of factor analysis, path analysis and analysis of variance, on material from the Norwegian Labor Party from two periods: 1909-1939, and 1945-1975. The tentative evidence suggests that while the traditional social bases of the party may have changed, party organisation continues to be important among those sectors of the electorate more recently mobilised into political life.

Norwegian party organisations are also the subject of the paper by Lars Svåsand, 'Membership Trends in Norwegian Political Parties', in which the relationships between a party's electoral strength and its organisational strength are discussed. Having presented a typology of possible relationships between the factors of organisational and electoral strength, Svåsand finds from an analysis of Norwegian data that the two factors seem to move in the same direction: changes in the membership, up and down, will be followed by similar changes in the next election. On the basis of these findings some tentative predictions of future electoral results in Norway are made.

One of the main types of party adaptation to societal changes is obviously change of policies. In 'Obstacles to Policy Change. An Exploratory Study', Jon Pierre analyses the difficulties of the parties to make such changes. He distinguishes between structural obstacles, policy obstacles, and strategic obstacles. He also discusses the patterns of steering and control of party organisation when it tries to adapt to new demands, which are put upon it.

Palle Svensson writes on 'Party Cohesion in the Danish Parliament in the 1970s'. The breakdown of the Danish party system in 1973 and the increased volatility and heterogeneity of party voters could make us expect a decline of party cohesion. An analysis of the parliamentary voting patterns (compared to parallel studies of earlier voting patterns) demonstrates that this is not so: parliamentary party cohesion in the 1970s is as high as in the previous decade. The general explanation of this is that party cohesion is a function of basic regime norms in the Danish political system, in particular a combination of the norms of proportional representation and of parliamentarism and governmental reponsibility to parliament.

In the paper by Hans-Jørgen Nielsen, 'Electorate Politics and the Corporate System. The Question of Support', a comparison is made of the impacts on mass opinion by the parties and by the big interest organisations, respectively. Granted that the latter organisations have an increasing influence on the daily business of government, is it also the case that parties face an electorate of citizens-as-organisation identifiers instead of an electorate of citizens-as party- identifiers? Analysis of data from the Danish 1979-election study indicates that the impact of interest organisations on public opinion is rather restricted: interest organisations are often completely neutral objects for the citizens; affiliation to organisations also means very little with respect to the content of political opinions. Thus organisations may be more important at the elite level than at the mass level.

*Gunnar Sjöblom*

*ELECTIONS AND MEDIA*

*Gabriel Thoveron*

The first morning, after the workshop directed by Gabriel Thoveron welcomed all participants, Jay G Blumler briefly introduced the subject by recalling the main aspects of the International Institute of Communication project on the Role of Broadcasting in the European Elections, a project in which most of the workshop participants are collaborating.

To complete this introduction and to propose a working order, Gabriel Thoveron presented a diagram illustrating how, during these European Elections, information has circulated among the main actors: politicians, media professionals, public (voters/viewers). The presentation of the diagram was followed by a lively discussion about relationships among the principal actors and about filters existing between them and limiting the flow of information.

Then the presentation of the different workshop papers started with Kees Brants (Department of Collective Political Behaviour, University of Amsterdam): 'Political Parties in a Media-Election. Campaigning for the European Parliament'. The ensuing debate centred mainly on methodological problems inherent to the treated material.

After discussing the politicians, the workshop turned to the political influences on broadcasting systems, introduced by Mary Kelly's paper (Department of Sociology, University College of Dublin): 'Broadcasting Policies and the European Elections'. The different countries' situations were commented by the participants and Gianpietro Mazzoleni (Department of Political Sciences, University of Milan) showed in his paper 'The Role of Private TV Stations in Italian Elections' how in Italy the broadcasting system has developed ahead of the political system.

According to indications given at the beginning by the diagram, the workshop then centred the discussion on a more specific broadcasting problem, introduced by Marie-Claude Noel-Aranda's paper (Institut de Sociologie, Universite Libre de Bruxelles) on the 'Roles and Values of Broadcasters in the first European Election', treating the situation in the nine countries comparatively, while Vibeke Petersen (Institute of Political Studies, University of Copenhagen) concentrated on a national case: 'The Danish Broadcasters and the direct Election to the European Parliament of June 1979'.

After having treated the broadcasters' role, the workshop considered the television's output in the European election on the basis of three papers. Two comparative analyses presented by Karen Siune (Institute of Political Science, University of Aarhus) on 'Who said what during the EC Campaign 1979. Journalists versus Politicians on Television', and by Denis McQuail (Department of Mass Communication, University of Amsterdam): 'Role of Television in the European Elections: cross-national comparisons of the relative frequency and treatment of 'Eurovision' themes in television content during the campaign'; and one case study about 'The Context of Coverage of the European Campaign in Britain in main Television News Programmes', presented by Martin Harrison (Department of Politics, University of Keele).

The discussion then turned towards the third actor in the campaign: the public, which is both voter and viewer. This theme was illustrated comparatively by Jay G Blumler (Centre for Television Research, University of Leeds) in his paper: 'Communication and Television Influences in the European Elections: What we have learned so far', and Gabriel Thoveron (Institut de Sociologie, Universite Libre de Bruxelles): 'Abundance of offered Messages and Poverty of received Messages?', and by Steen Sauerberg (Institute of Political Studies, University of Copenhagen), who tried to establish 'Differences in Voters' Involvement in the European Parliamentary and the National General Elections'.

During the different discussions following each paper, many interesting and new perspectives were suggested for a further treatment of the material collected on the role of television in the European Elections. The workshop's activity finished with a tentative general definition by Roland Cayrol (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques) of 'The Influence of Television on the Content and Form of Electoral Campaigns'.

*Marie-Claire Noel-Aranda*

*THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE 1980s: CURRENT STRUCTURES AND PROSPECTS*

*Michael Wolffsohn*

Fourteen participants presented fourteen papers. The emphasis was put on structures understood as factors which could hardly be changed or only changed with considerable costs. Structures thus defined were distinguished from constants (geography, for instance), cycles and events or actions.

Referring to the Braudellien definition Shamir suggested that one speak of a series of structures which, as they move from the lower to the upper levels, gradually lose some of their solidity, permanence and capability to support or constrain historical developments, yet remain potent enough to jointly affect realities.

In Olsen's mind class constellations were the dominant structures, and Reich emphasised bureaucratic politics as the decisive factor given. Steinbach considered interests as the precondition and Shaked the interdependence of global, regional and domestic factors.

The aim of these structural approaches was to develop an analytical as well as political-pragmatic instrumentarium for serious forecasts - beyond the somewhat amateurish analyses of many journalists and, more regretably, those of the so-called experts from the social sciences.

The papers dealt with external and internal actors.

External Actors

Bernard Reich (George Washington University) tried 'preliminary observations' on the Middle East policy of the Reagan administration. He stressed the all-out importance of bureaucratic politics making predictions structurally difficult. However, based on electoral statements, preconceived views and initial actions in office, he described the main actors as well as the most likely bargaining structures within the new US administration. The discussion tried to verify the dominance of East-West over North-South and other considerations for the Reagan administration. It was assumed that modifications are more than likely. Another topic was a comparison of the 'Carter' and 'Reagan' ME approach.

Heather Deegan (University of Keele) combined historical analysis with the bureaucratic politics model. She concentrated upon the Palestine Policy of the British government in the 1930s and 40s and worked out the bargaining process within British government and within certain departments. The discussion stressed the similarity rather than the dissimilarity of British and US Palestine policy in that time. A comparative analysis of the two approaches should be done in a wider study.

Françoise de LaSerre (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris) studied the Mediterranean policy of the European Community during the 1970s. She described the three main approaches of the Community: the 'global and balanced' Mediterranean one, the European Political Co-operation (EPC), and the Euro-Arab dialogue. She proved that three approaches are yet to

be developed into one coherent policy. The second enlargement of the EC (Greece, Spain and Portugal) may well find an even more involved EC in the ME region. The EC position in the Arab-Israeli conflict may be more difficult because of the strong ties of the new members with the Arab world.

Udo Steinbach (Deutsche Orient-Institut, Hamburg) described Western Europe's approach to the Middle East Conflict. He showed that a coherent EC ME policy was developed before the Yom Kippur War, namely in 1971. In spite of modifications, the basic convictions remained unchanged: Israeli withdrawal and realisation of Palestinian rights. He stressed the need for and the ability of EC involvement in the process of conflict resolution.

The discussion centered on US-EC rivalry and/or co-operation in that region. It was claimed by critics of the EC policy that it over-emphasised the importance of the Arab-Israeli Conflict and ignored inter-Arab conflicts and rivalries.

Internal Actors

Michael Wolffsohn (Saarland University) claimed and tried to prove that governmental as well as extra-governmental political actors in Israel seem to have moved towards a prospective dialogue with the PLO during the 1970s. There are, however, vocal and strong groups objecting to this change. Comparing the starting point in the early 1970s with the present situation the signals seem to indicate growing polarisation within Israel, but the structures are increasingly favourable to a dialogue. The discussion dealt primarily with the analytical model presented by the author (structural system approach).

Jacob Goldberg (Tel-Aviv University) looked at the PLO's Israel policy during the 1970s. He observed basic adherence to the PLO charter of 1964/1968. The aim of the PLO remains, according to his analysis, the destruction of Israel. Neither the 'phase strategy' adopted in 1974 nor modifications of it in 1977 indicate changes. On the contrary, the 1979 PNC as well as the Fatah Congress of May 1980 show the dominance of the hardliners. The discussion looked at the different PLO 'factions' trying to find out the similarity/dissimilarity of their approaches. The question was raised whether or not the PLO reacted to Israeli policy.

Clare Wells (University of Lancaster) was concerned with the decision by the Executive Board of UNESCO in November 1976 to submit to inter-governmental scrutiny the textbooks used in the education of Palestinian refugees in UNRWA/UNESCO schools. This decision was treated in her paper as a precedent for 'politicisation'. Extraneous politics were introduced, ideological politics reversed existing policy, Arab national sovereignty was violated, selective morality shown by the Western dominated Executive. The discussion centered on the relevance of the issue. Whereas the analysis as such was accepted, it was asked by some participants whether or not this was a 'point in the case'. The textbooks were, they claimed, contrary to UNESCO basic principles and called for genocide. It was retorted that this did not refute the main argument: that there were no other precedents for such a 'politicisation', and only the Arabs were subject to this kind of scrutiny.

C H Dodd (University of Hull) showed the importance of the 1924 Turkish Constitution for the understanding of the political development of that country up to the present. Assembly government made it difficult, practically impossibly, to govern. It remains to be seen now the present military government will deal with these structures they inherited and which made up part of the political culture of Turkey. The discussion focused on the external influences on the making of the 1924 constitution. They, in turn, were looked at as structures significant of the basic Western orientation of the country.

Semih Vaner (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris) summarised Turkish foreign policy since the 1920s. He then worked out the more Mideast oriented 'new' Turkish foreign policy and analysed its implications. The discussion was concerned with the effects of Islamic revival on Turkey as well as with its EC connection, its strategic role, its 'obsession' (?) with Greece (and vice versa).

Gorm Rye Olsen (University of Aarhus) studied economic, social and political development in Saudi Arabia in the 1970s. He used the method of class analysis, introduced a model and then compared his empirical findings with it. He was primarily concerned with the role of the bourgeoisie (national and foreign). His conclusion: the Saudi government will continue to have many common interests with the foreign bourgeoisie.

Haim Shaked (Tel-Aviv University) compared images and reality of Saudi Arabia. He was concerned especially with Saudi 'mightiness' which was analysed by comparing domestic, regional, international forces. His conclusion: pros and cons weighed against each other seem to indicate mutual neutralisation. Basically, the Saudi leadership is more concerned with manoeuvering than strategy. Rather than a means this could become an end.

The discussion centered on domestic structures which might lead to political change. No short term changes are to be expected. In the long run, the forces of basic change may prevail.

Nicole Grimaud (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques) studied newly developing and somewhat contradictory structures between Maghreb and Mashrek states. She stressed the growing interdependence on the one hand and the rivalries on the other.

The discussion elaborated a new 'pattern' for the Arab World which no longer could be divided, it was claimed, between 'progressives' and 'traditionalists'. Instead, national interest has become the decisive given. Pan-Arabism or regional considerations are on the decline. The traditional dichotomy between pan-nationalism and localism ('narrow nationalism'), up to now characteristic of Arab Nationalism as such, seems to be fading away gradually in favour of the latter.

Claudia Werde (Mannheim) looked at the Iranian development model from 1962 to 1978. She underlined that the purely economic development strategy was doomed to failure because it neglected the social and political conditions and consequences of economic development. This, in turn, is of more than local interest; its conclusions are of general

validity. The discussion focused on the rapid disintigration of monarchical structures and its reasons.

Shimon Shamir (Tel-Aviv University) analysed the dominant Egyptian structures and tried to draw conclusions as to future developments. He described the inter-relatedness of structures of 'longue durée' (geography, ecology, mentalité, religion) and moyenne durée measured by decades (economic cycles) with dominant sub-structures (technology import, for instance) and 'mini-structures' of up to two or three decades (i.e. monarchy in the 20th century, Nasserism, Sadat). The discussion looked at the three alternative options Shamir pointed out (fundamentalist Islamic, neo-Nasserism, leftist) as well as the likelihood of continuing 'Sadatism'.

*Michael Wolffsohn*

## *PLANNING SESSIONS*

### *UNEMPLOYMENT AND SELECTIVE LABOUR MARKET POLICIES IN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES*

*Jürgen Gabriel and Michael Bolle*

Almost all advanced West European industrial societies face the problem of a too high and unevenly distributed unemployment rate. Comparing this economic scenario with the fairly well developed sets of labour market policies some questions about the efficiency of policy measures to combat unemployment have to be asked. And it was exactly this aim of the planning session to see:

- whether from the point of view of the theory of economic policy already implemented, labour market policies are efficient enough to increase employment and to decrease unemployment, and,

- from the point of view of a genuine policy approach, to specify possible deficits of the implementation schemes.

Not really surprisingly, the papers presented and the discussion focused rather quickly on the interactions between the economic and the political system. The papers of Schmidt on 'Macrosocietal Determinants of Rates of Unemployment in Advanced Capitalist Democracies', of Henning on 'Swedish Labour Market Policy', of Webber on 'Development of Selective Labour Market Policies since 1969 in the FRG', of Gabriel on 'Firms' Reaction on Labour Market Policies', and of Hjern on 'Inflation, Unemployment and Selective Manpower Policy' all dealt with the links between economics and politics. On the basis of cross-nation comparisons Schmidt argued that the different levels of the unemployment rate have mostly to be explained by macrosocietal factors like the degree of corporatism, the distribution of power etc., but not by the specifics of policy programmes. Henning's analysis supported these findings. Henning showed that labour market policies were hardly changed in Sweden

by new governments. The policy approach remains rather stable with a left-wing or a right-wing government. The same idea was stressed by Webber. Webber pointed out that economic restrictions to labour market policies were strong enough not to enable the social liberal coalition in the FRG to carry out their full employment programme totally. The economic restrictions were developed in more detail by Gabriel. In his paper Gabriel showed that the uneven distribution of unemployment rates and the non-efficiency of specific labour market policies argue to the dominant role of the internal labour market. Labour market policies normally tackle only the external labour market. They are therefore bound in the limits of firms' decisions on hirings, lay-offs and the improvement of the internal labour market itself. Again, this kind of reasoning was in line with Hjern's paper. Hjern dealt with the trade-off between unemployment and inflation and stressed the fact, that the idea of a 'natural rate of unemployment' is based on some misunderstandings. Deficits of labour market policies do not stem from the malfunctioning of programmes, but from the mis-specification of models, i.e. from not coming to grips with reality.

Within the second main issue of the planning session, the implementation problem, several papers concentrated on specific labour market programmes. Dealing with 'The Impact of Unemployment Insurance or Unemployment. A Comparison between the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom', Krause showed that the duration of unemployment is influenced to an only small degree by unemployment insurance, but mostly depended on other variables. Isensee, analysing 'The Impact of Selective Labour Market Policies on the Labour Force' on the basis of a regional model, developed the links between the efficiency of labour market policies and working conditions. And Richardson/Stringer, dealing with 'Implementation Problems of Industrial Training in the United Kingdom' developed an empirical model which proved to be useful to clarify deficits and shortcomings of the implementation schemes of industrial training problems.

The growing need for a new philosophy of labour market policies was stressed in the last papers of Bolle and Duffy. In his paper on 'The Impact of Shorter Work Time on Unemployment' Bolle showed first the possible productivity and employment effects of a reduction of work time. Second, and perhaps more important, it was pointed out that policies to cut work hours are in line with preferences of workers. To a large extent, preferences of workers are biased in favour of more leisure time than of higher wages. Thus, policy has to understand changing attitudes towards work. Somewhat similar to this argument, Duffy showed in his paper on 'Problems of Implementing Labour Market Policies' that the main future aim of policy-makers has to be seen in the formulation of socially aware areas of employment rather than to develop further systems of financial aid. Even young people especially suffering from unemployment no longer accept any job offered. To match the need for jobs with better working conditions, time sovereignty and self-fulfilment within the job, the economic system and the political system are challenged to provide more 'good jobs'.

All participants of the planning session felt the need for further work on the issues of the planning session. It was pointed out that we should

meet again in Aarhus. The workshop in Aarhus should concentrate more on the policy problems, given the information on the patterns of the economic system already developed in Lancaster.

*Jürgen Gabriel*

*IMPLEMENTATION SEEN FROM THE BOTTOM UP*

*Benny Hjern and Chris Hull*

This planning session was intended to provoke a critical appraisal of conventional approaches to implementation research by arguing that the dominant 'top-down' perspective needs to be counterbalanced by a 'bottom-up' approach. The Session attracted 18 participants and 14 papers from six countries and 10 member institutions.

The conventional 'top-down' approach to implementation research tends to focus on single programmes with given goals which are neutrally and competently translated into outcomes by the successive actions of the hierarchical levels of a mandated organisation. The model is an essentially managerial one, which owes much to Weberian theories of bureaucracy.

Much recent research challenges this hierarchical view of implementation. Goals are often vague and the mandated organisation may be neither competent nor neutral. Many policy areas are characterised by multiple programmes and the meaningful isolation of single programmes as objects of research can be difficult and distorting (because programmes may complement or substitute for one another). Goals may be less given than the product of continuing negotiation and adaptation in the course of implementation. The mandated organisation is often only one of many organisations whose participation is necessary for the achievement of given outcomes. In short, implementation is frequently a more differentiated process - with more relevant actors and policy activities, and more complex behaviours - than is allowed for in the 'top-down' view of things.

The Session's emphasis on 'bottom-up' is intended to signal an alternative methodological approach to researching implementation. The basic proposition is that, in order to capture the complexity of implementation behaviour in multi-programme, multi-actor settings, we would do better to start from the outcomes of policy and to relate these upwards and backwards to the institutions and programmes which, in one way or another, contributed to their emergence. Using an approach of this sort, the researcher seeks to map empirically and neutrally who did what and why in the policy-action relationship.

There was no dispute among the participants that the conventional 'top-down' research approach is limiting and should be counterbalanced by a 'bottom-up' perspective. That said, there was much to discuss about the theoretical and methodological character of a bottom-up research strategy. The key points of discussion are briefly noted below.

What is implementation? A hoary old chestnut of a question, perhaps, but one which cannot be ignored. We were, of course, agreed that implementation is something more than the a-political execution of policy mandates. Once one recognises, however, that activities in the 'policy-making' or 'pre-implementation' stage may impinge on what is done by whom in 'implementation', and that 'implementation' itself may be characterised by the interaction of multiple objectives and motives and hence unpredictable outcomes, one is bound to ask whether the all-encompassing policy process must not be seen as an irreducible whole and whether it makes analytic sense not to want to isolate some phase in that process as the implementation phase'. We were broadly agreed that some segmentation is feasible: implementation may be generally defined as the method (s) adopted by the various implementing actors in order to proceed from 'intent to do something about a perceived problem' to 'something being done about a perceived problem'. At the same time, any all too rigorous delineation of what is distinctly implementation and what is not has to be avoided.

What is/are the appropriate level (s) of analysis? This is first and foremost the pragmatic question of what should be construed as the bottom i.e. the starting point for the analysis. In a study of policies against unemployment, for example, the bottom might be individuals, firms or the local agencies delivering policies; it might be all three of them. The choice of bottom is not necessarily self-evident and can influence the content and conclusions of the subsequent analysis.

What is the appropriate unit of analysis? In the top-down perspective the unit of analysis is relatively easily defined in terms of the selected programme and the related mandated organisation. Taking a bottom-up approach the unit of analysis can be defined relatively easily in the first instance as the set of actors and policy activities relevant to the 'bottom' selected as the starting point of the analysis. This immediately raises important questions of method, however, for the actors and policy activities actually drawn into the study can only be as accurate and complete as the method for identifying them allows. 'Snowballing' techniques of interviewing such as have been employed in network analytic studies would seem useful for the purpose, since in principle they allow the associated actors and activities to identify themselves neutrally and exhaustively. Methodologically less rigorous but in practice perhaps adequate may be an approach whereby the researcher engages in exploratory primary and secondary research to identify relevant actors and policy activities.

What are the key analytic variables? The 'bottom-up' approach is intended to capture more of and more accurately the complexity which is often present in implementation processes. The objective should, however, be more than simply the retelling of interestingly complex implementation stories. The analysis needs structuring by both psychological (perceptions, norms, values, etc.) and behavioural ( e.g. motives and modes of interaction between actors) variables. The Session devoted relatively little attention to these issues in favour of the other questions raised here.

What is success/failure? When implementation is characterised by multiple programmes and multiple actors possibly pursuing quite different ends, by what criteria can the success or failure of implementation be judged? It would seem that the answer must be that there are as many criteria for judgement as there are interests being pursued or otherwise affected by implementation. Acceptance of this view raises important questions concerning accountability in implementation processes. The 'top-down' perspective of course postulates traditional values of democratic accountability in its mandated organisations; seen from the bottom a more differentiated view of accountability would seem necessary. By extension, an equally differentiated view of (central) co-ordination and control capacities is called for. Where responsibility is very diffuse it may become practically meaningless to speak of effective co-ordination and control by any one single agency. This in its turn raises the question of whether co-ordination and control can perhaps only be aspired to by resort to metapolitical strategies (setting the rules of the implementation game) rather than by direct influence in the substantive implementation process itself.

The papers given together represent a fairly coherent whole, particular papers serving to raise particular issues outlined above. The Session's participants agreed to try to develop the specific issues raised in each paper so that a reader can be compiled and offered through the Consortium to Sage for publication in the Modern Politics Series, where it would usefully follow on from Hanf and Scharpf (1978) in their volume on Inter-organisational Policy-making; Limits to Central Co-ordination and Control. The participants were similarly agreed that it would be valuable to continue the Session's work and a request to convert from a Planning Session to a Workshop at the 1982 Joint Sessions was kindly met by the Consortium's Workshop Committee.

*Chris Hull*

NB Unfortunately two workshop reports were not received in time to be included in this News Circular. They are: the report on Environmental Politics and Policy directed by Peter Knoepfel and Nicholas Watts; and the report on Normative and Empirical Dimensions of Legitimacy directed by Uriel Rosenthal.

ecpr news

# REPORTS OF ECPR COMMITTEE MEETINGS

# IN LANCASTER

## *EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ECPR*

The Executive Committee met at the University of Lancaster on Tuesday 21 March and Wednesday 1 April.

Three new applications to join the Consortium were approved, bringing the total ECPR membership to 108. The new members are: the Swedish Institute for Social Research; the Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, Mardrid; and the National Centre of Social Research in Athens.

The Committee passed the audited accounts for 1979/80 and spent some time in a discussion of the budget for 1981/82. After several minor changes, a projected expenditure of 126,000 units of account was approved. This was to be balanced by an income derived primarily from member subscriptions, but supplemented by royalties, sales of publications and the funds which it is anticipated that the University of Aarhus will raise towards the cost of the 1982 Joint Sessions.

The Consortium now sponsors three summer schools, in Essex, Grenoble, and Florence, and as usual, these and the workshop programme were two major items of expenditure at 28,000 u.a. and 31,000 u.a. respectively.

The Data Information Service was allocated 5,500 units of account and the publications budget was raised slightly to 7,500 u.a. A further 3,000 u.a. was devoted to Training and the promotion of Exchange and Mobility. Inevitably, the administrative costs of running the Consortium formed a large item of expenditure. At 51,000 units of account, this included staff salaries, all office expenses and travel and subsistence for the Central Services and the Executive Committee.

## *WORKSHOP COMMITTEE*

The main business of the Workshop Committee in Lancaster was to finalise the programme for the 1982 Joint Sessions in Aarhus.

## *1982 JOINT SESSIONS OF WORKSHOPS - UNIVERSITY OF AARHUS*

The next ECPR Joint Sessions will take place in Aarhus, Denmark, from 29 March to 3 April 1982. Further details will be provided in forthcoming issues of the News Circular and the printed programme will be available in October of this year, when detailed memoranda on the workshops will also be mailed to Official Representatives.

The following workshops will take place:

| DIRECTOR | WORKSHOP |
|---|---|
| W Grant (Warwick)<br>D McKay (Essex) | Industrial Policies in Western Europe |
| R Wildenmann (EUI)<br>G Sjöblom (Copenhagen) | Problems of Party Government |
| A Melich (Geneva) | The Development of National Identity |
| C Sorensen (Aarhus)<br>M Mowlam (Newcastle) | Decision-making Processes in European Integration |
| M Heisler (Aarhus) | The Political Economy of the Welfare State: What Kind of Future? |
| G Moyser (Manchester) | The Interviewing of Elites |
| J Domes (Saarland) | The Relationship between Chinese Domestic and Foreign Policies |
| S Cohen (Paris)<br>M-C Smouts " | The Role of Advisers in the Formation of Foreign Policy |
| A Rouquié (Paris) | Demilitarisation of Military Regimes |
| J Santamaria (Madrid) | New European Democracies |
| J Tournon (Grenoble) | European Policies of Regional Development |
| S J Botella (Barcelona)<br>J M Valles " | Voting Behaviour and Multi-level Electoral Systems |
| R Rønning (Lillehammer)<br>J Christensen (Aarhus) | Professionalisation and Problems of Governance |
| R McKinlay (Lancaster) | International Political Economy |
| K Siune (Aarhus) | Media Policy and the New Technology |
| R Barston (Lancaster)<br>D Travers " | International Negotiations |
| Z Layton-Henry (Warwick) | The Politics of Immigration |
| B Hjern (IIM, Berlin)<br>C Hull " | Instruments of Public Administration in the Mixed Economy |
| R Henning (Uppsala)<br>J Richardson (Keele) | Policy Responses to Unemployment in Mixed Economies |
| J Kooiman (Delft) | The Problem of Organisation of National Governments |

Other workshops may be added to the programme at the discretion of the Workshop Committee.

*Planning Sessions*

| | |
|---|---|
| A Cohan (Lancaster) | The Status of Civil Liberties in Europe |
| M Franklyn (Strathclyde) | Over-Time Analysis of Survey Data |

*FUTURE JOINT SESSIONS*

The 1983 Joint Sessions will be hosted by the Arnold-Bergstraesser Institut in Freiburg. Members of the Workshop Committee will be meeting in Freiburg in October 1981 to consider proposals for the 1983 Joint Sessions. Anyone wishing to submit a proposal for 1983 should send a synopsis to Valerie Stewart, ECPR Central Services, by 25 September 1981. The synopsis should outline the need for a workshop in the suggested field and indicate the projected areas of discussion. The name of the suggested director should be given, and a list of possible participants.

*STANDING GROUP FOR EAST EUROPEAN SPECIALISTS*

Would anyone who is interested in organising a standing group to bring together East European Specialists please contact the Central Services of the ECPR.

*EXCHANGE AND MOBILITY COMMITTEE*

At its meeting in Lancaster, the Exchange and Mobility Committee awarded four grants to member departments for the purposes of promoting scholarly visits and exchanges. These grants were allocated as follows:

1 To Nuffield Collge, University of Newcastle, and the London School of Economics to bring S Angelo Panebianco of the University of Bologna to England to visit the three institutions for a period of about ten days in November 1981. Panebianco would give a seminar on Italian politics to graduate and undergraduate students in all three institutions.

2 To the SSRC Survey Archive, University of Essex to invite J-C Deheneffe of the Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences, University of Louvain-la-Neuve, to attend a workshop at the SSRC Archive.

3 To Professor Jürgen Domes, University of Säarbrucken in order to enable Gabriel Filipp to visit the London School of Economics to do research under Mr George Schöpflin, in connection with his doctoral thesis.

4 To Ekkhard Mochmann of the Zentralarchiv, University of Köln to invite Eric Tanenbaum of the University of Essex to Cologne.

*SAGE EDITORIAL BOARD*

The meeting of the Sage Board unanimously endorsed the decision of the Executive Committee to appoint Professor Ken Newton of the University of Dundee as editor of the Modern Politics Series. Professor Newton will liaise between the publishers and workshop directors wishing to propose a volume for inclusion in the series.

*RESEARCH BOARD*

Research Sessions, Essex: 1 - 5 September 1981

Approximately four research groups will meet with members of the Research Board during the first week of September to formulate research proposals which it is hoped will be placed before European Foundations in 1982.

Further details will be given in forthcoming issues of the News Circular.

## POLITICAL THEORY AND AREA WORKSHOPS AT ECPR JOINT SESSIONS

There still seems to be widespread misapprehension about ECPR policy on the selection of workshop topics for Joint Sessions. Basically, the type and number of workshops depend on popular demand. The Workshop Committee rarely initiates proposals itself, but does its best to respond to the proposals sent in. Indeed so far as possible the Committee tries to meet all requests for workshops - if necessary by combining two or three proposals that seem closely related.

Nor is there an inner circle whose proposals are specially favoured. The Committee considers all the requests sent into it, although naturally priority is given to those contained in reasoned requests of 4-5 typewritten pages, covering the general need for a discussion of the topic at this time; a summary of relevant or ongoing work; an indication of likely participants; and a list of topics to be covered in the various sessions.

One consideration which the Committee has very much in mind is to secure an equal representation of specialities within the discipline. A curious notion seems prevalent that the ECPR is primarily concerned with quantitative research. This perhaps derives from the fact that the oldest existing activity of the ECPR is the (quantitative) Essex Summer School. Its name was obviously also modelled on the quantitatively oriented Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at Michigan. While the Inter-University Consortium basically consists of a Summer School and Data Archive however, the ECPR has always left archiving in the capable hands of the various national archives in Western Europe, meanwhile extending its activities to

serve all specialisations within the discipline. Our first two Standing Groups, for example, are in East Asian Politics and Local Politics. One of the summer schools with which we are associated, at the European University Institute in Florence, is in (substantive) comparative politics.

This emphasis is reflected in the selection of workshops. In the field of Political Theory, for example, a workshop on that broad field itself was organised at Strasbourg - the second Joint Sessions of Workshops in 1974 - by Brian Barry. Since then there have been workshops on Ideology and Consensus; Democracy - Problems of Power and Consciousness; Social Contract: Political Community; Theories of the State; Authority; Liberty; Markets and Heirarchies; Machiavelli; Socialism; Industrial Society; Freedom and the Market; and Legitimacy. More are welcome. All you need to do is to put forward a suitable proposal.

What may have been under-represented more seriously than Political Theory are International Relations and Area Studies. The former is being put right next year, when no less than 5 IR workshops are being organised at Aarhus. Area Studies have only had two workshops - the Middle East, and Communist States. A workshop on Chinese Politics has been accepted for Aarhus. But more proposals are welcome. This is true generally for any area members feel to have been under-represented. We are happy to be responsive to the wishes of the membership, but first we require these wishes to be expressed.

*Ian Budge*

## REPORT ON THE COMPARATIVE COLLOQUIUM ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIETY AND THE STATE IN BELGIUM AND ITALY, HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LILLE II ON 16 JANUARY 1981, AND SPONSORED BY THE ECPR.

Invited participants met with members of the Lille Faculty of Law, Politics and Social Sciences and doctoral students. The Colloquim aimed to look at the differing approaches to Society-State interaction in the light of the two examples of Belgium and Italy. Discussions focused on links between centre and periphery, on consocialist integration and on clientelism.

## WORKGROUP ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The latest issue of the Workgroup's Newsletter (Number 13, April 1981) has just been distributed. Its contents include:

- Balancing the Books: The Financial Problems of Local Government in West Europe
- Urban Policy and Politics, ECPR Workshop, 1980

- Current Research of the Institute of Political Science, Copenhagen

- SSRC/IPSA Conference on Centre-Local Relations

- The Inner City in Context

- The Inner City: A European Dimension

- CES Research Planning Group on Comparative Community Economic Development

- Journals

  The Urban Interest
  Urbanism Past and Present
  Urban Transportation Abroad
  The Urban Edge
  International Political Science Review
  International Journal of Urban and Regional Development

- New Books

- New Members

If those in ECPR institutions with a special interest in local government and politics let me have their name and address, they will be added to the membership of the Workgroup, and its circulation list. Would those already on the circulation list keep me informed of any change of address.

Ken Newton
Department of Political Science
The University
DUNDEE DD1 4HN
Scotland Tel: 0382 23181 Ext. 461

## UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

The University of Amsterdam (Department of Political and Social Sciences) announces a vacancy in the newly created chair of *(COLLECTIVE) POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR*. Applications or requests for further information should be directed to the Chairman of the Nomination Committee:

Prof. Dr Marten Brouwer
Baschwitz Institute
Weteringschans 100-102
1017 XS AMSTERDAM
The Netherlands

## THE FIRST ROKKAN LECTURE IN BERGEN

The first Stein Rokkan lecture at the University of Bergen, to be organised by the Institute of Comparative Politics, will be held on:

*SEPTEMBER 11, 1981*

*SPEAKER: Professor Erik ALLARDT*
*Department of Sociology*
*University of Helsinki*

On the same day the building which has been recently acquired and rebuilt by the University and subsequently named 'Stein Rokkans hus' (the Stein Rokkan Building) will be officially opened. The building houses the library, reading and seminar rooms for the social sciences, as well as a room for Rokkan's book collection.

A portrait of Stein Rokkan bought by the University will be presented at the opening and placed in the building carrying his name.

# general announcements

# FACILITIES AND RESOURCES FOR POLITICAL SCIENTISTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom has recently carried out a survey of the facilities and resources available to members of the profession in institutes of further and higher education. A report of the survey was published in April 1981.

Mail questionnaires were filled in and returned by 82 of the 112 institutions which are thought to employ political scientists, a response rate of 73%. The 82 responses cover universities, polytechnics, technical colleges, colleges of further education, and a small number of specialised institutes and research centres. They also employ 958 political scientists, so it is reasonable to assume that the survey covers a large majority of institutions and members of the profession in the UK.

The information collected in the survey is grouped under ten main headings:

1 Number of teaching and research staff
2 Secretarial staff
3 Libraries
4 Photocopying
5 Computing
6 Sabbatical leave
7 Seminars
8 Teaching and research time
9 Finance
10 Phones

The survey is mainly concerned with collecting hard information about what sorts of facilities are available in what types of institutions, but some tables give figures for the subjective rating of these facilities. In the main, the report presents a series of tables, plus accompanying discussion, which compare the 48 universities, the 23 polytechnics, and the 11 'other' institutions which returned a questionnaire. Each table gives an average for each type of institution, plus a maximum and a minimum, where appropriate, to give an idea of the extremes and the range.

The report finishes with a general comparison of the universities, the polytechnics and the other places, and concludes with a brief commentary on past and future trends. It finds considerable differences between the universities and other places, the universities most generally being better provided. It also finds a gap between the average university and one of the 'big ten' - that is one of the ten universities with 20 or more members.

The report is a mine of useful and fascinating information for all European political scientists who want to know how the other one-tenth lives and works.

*Facilities and Resources for Political Scientists*, by K Newton, published by The Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom and the Centre for the Study of Public Policy, Strathclyde Studies in Public Policy No. 79. Price £1.50 in the UK, £1.75 abroad. ISSN 0140-8240.

## THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

## BOLOGNA CENTER

*REPORT ON THE INFLATION CONFERENCE: 29-30 APRIL 1981*

Chaired by Karl Deutsch of Harvard University and Director of the Science Center of Berlin, the 'Inflation Workshop' examined the theses of a forthcoming book by Professors Wilhelm Hankel and Robert Isaak entitled: Modern Inflation: A Case for Exorcism or Moderation? (the German version to appear in October 1981, published by the Bundrerlag of Köln, the English version in 1982). Other distinguished commentators included Stephen Goldfield, Member of Council of Economic Advisers to the President in the Carter Administration and Chairman of the Department of Economics at Princeton University; David Coe, OECD Economist; Wolfgang Hager, Professorial Research Associate at the European University Institute in Florence; Edward Weisband, Chairman of the Political Science Department at SUNY at Binghamton, and Professors of Economics Ahmet Aker, Vera Zamagni, and Stefano Zamagni of the Johns Hopkins SAIS Bologna Center. The workshop was dedicated to the memory of Sir Andrew Shonfield who originally was to be its Chairman, and excerpts of the discussion will appear in the Hankel and Isaak volume. The Johns Hopkins University Bologna Center will also publish an Occasional Paper in August on the theses and discussion of the Workshop (contact Ms Janice Delbert, The Johns Hopkins University Bologna Center, Via Belmeloro 11, 40126 Bologna, Italy).

## CATTANEO AWARD

The Istituto Carlo Cattaneo is offering five awards of one million lire each for the best unpublished PhD dissertations filed in 1979, 1980, 1981 dealing with the Italian political system and Italian society. Empirical studies based on primary data will be preferred. The best five dissertations will be published in Italian as a monograph in the publication series of the Istituto. Deadline for application is December 31, 1981. For further information write to:

The Chairman
Istituto Carlo Cattaneo
Via Santo Stefano 11
40125 BOLOGNA
Italy

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## PUBLICATION

*WOMEN BETTER OFF AS POLITICAL SCIENTISTS THAN POLITICIANS*

Women with an interest in politics are more likely to find a job teaching politics in a university than preaching politics in Parliament, according to a study by Joni Lovenduski published in April. At the 1979 general election, only three per cent (19 of 635) MPs elected were women, whereas nine per cent of university politics lecturers and 14 per cent of polytechnic politics lecturers are women.

Ms Lovenduski's study, undertaken for the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom, was intended to find out to what extent women were under-represented in teaching politics. It concluded that, in the universities as in Parliament, the higher up the career ladder you go, the less likely there is to be a woman in the post. Mrs Thatcher has shown that a woman can become Prime Minister, but there has yet to be a women professor of politics in the United Kingdom.

Women study politics in about their proportion in the undergraduate population at universities and polytechnics. Moreover, the proportion of men and women is about equal earning good undergraduate degrees in politics. But women are less likely than men to enter postgraduate work, a necessary qualification for a teaching career. Three-quarters of postgraduate students in politics are men.

While there are more than one hundred women teaching politics at degree level in Britain, this is only 11 per cent of the total teaching staff, and is less than half the number of women entering postgraduate study in the subject. Ms Lovenduski's survey of male and female politics teachers showed that the median male lecturer in universities earned £2,200 more than the median female (at 1979 figures) and in polytechnics, had an £800 salary advantage.

From the statistics amassed, Ms Lovenduski concluded that on average women are no less able, motivated or committed to studying politics or to pursuing a career. But they do not do as well in career teaching terms as their male counterparts, nor is their research achievement equal to that of men.

The study found no clear evidence of a pattern of sex discrimination in employment. A noteworthy minority (36 per cent) of both men and women felt that women were discriminated against in their promotion prospects. Moreover, women are less likely than men to believe that their present institution was good for their interests.

Ms Lovenduski interpreted the study as showing that there may well be sociological influences indirectly leading women to feel less self-confident than their male colleagues. This, in turn, would reduce their ambition and achievement, thus lowering their chances of promotion.

*WOMEN IN BRITISH POLITICAL STUDIES* by Joni Lovenduski, Strathclyde Studies in Public Policy No. 78, Price £1.50 UK,and £1.75 abroad. ISSN 0140-8240

## COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

*THIRD INTERNATIONAL CES CONFERENCE OF EUROPEANISTS*

*'Periods and Cycles in Europe - Past and Present'*

The Council for European Studies announces the convening of the Third International CES Conference of Europeanists to be held in Washington DC from 29 April to 1 May 1982.

The Conference will consist of a series of panels closely related to a central theme - 'Periods and Cycles in Europe - Past and Present' - as elaborated in the statement of theme below. There will also be a limited number of other panels on topics of general interest. American, European and other scholars of Europe are invited to submit their suggestions for participants, panels and specific papers to the Program Committee by *1 November 1981*. Panel and paper proposals should be accompanied by a short precis of proposed content and an abbreviated vita. Conference groups and other co-operating associations are invited to propose additional panels related to the central theme.

*STATEMENT OF THEME*

The possibility of regular cycles and of distinct periods in the history of societies has long intrigued social observers and analysts. Conceiving of cycles and periods has two advantages. The concepts can help to organise the seeming flux of economic, social and political life and point to continuities where only change seemed present. They might also offer integrative frameworks for a wide range of seemingly disparate phenomena.

In none of the social science disciplines nor in the humanities, however, are either cycles or periods the predominant organising metaphor. Even less is there agreement among even those who use the concepts about the existence of specific cycles or periods. Nonetheless, there is widespread usage of this terminology. In economics, where they have been extensively studied for some time, a number of specific cycles have been distinguished. In history, political science, sociology and some of the humanities, they also have received increased attention in recent years. This expanded use of the concepts, and the challenges they pose, invite our attention, especially as much of the work has utilised data drawn from the European context.

The Program Committee has conceived of the central theme not as an assertion of conviction but rather as a response to these challenges and a stimulus to creative thought. There is no assumption that cycles and periods are necessarily the appropriate way of thinking of social life. Instead we propose that the Conference focus its attention on whether cycles and periods exist and are useful organising concepts, what might be their causes and effects and how they might relate to one another and to other aspects of European social, economic and political life. Some possible themes for specific panels are suggested below; submission of others is encouraged. The general theme is intended to invite contributions from scholars in any of the disciplines of the social sciences and humanities. Interdisciplinary papers and panels

are encouraged as are those which span a range of European countries and historical periods. Papers and panels which include primarily European cases, but non-European ones as well, will also be accepted.

POSSIBLE THEMES FOR PANELS

Social Mobilisation, Reforms and Repression

The 'Life-Cycle' of Social Movements

Innovation

'Great Awakenings'

Generations

Business Cycles - Kitchin, Juglar, Kondratieff - and their political and other correlates

Artistic Creativity

Product Cycles and their political and other correlates

Fashion

Labour Unrest

Centralisation/Decentralisation

Demographic

International Hegemonic Cycles and Periods

Women's Position: Cyclical Change or Evolution

Family: Structure and Feeling

Natural Resources

Disease

Decolonisation

Electoral and Political Business Cycles

Depression

For any of these, and others which might be proposed, panels and papers may want to address conceptual or substantive issues, or both. It is also expected that the specific subject matter of any panel would generally focus on a narrower topic within these general themes.

The conference program committee is composed of the following:

Peter Lange (chair), Center for European Studies, Harvard University
Peter Katzenstein, Cornell University
Michael Piore, MIT
Louise Tilly, University of Michigan

Proposals for panels and papers precis should be addressed to:

CONFERENCE 1982, COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES, 1429 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, NY 10027, USA.

# C E P A

The CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS at the University of Essex aims at providing a strong analytical base for the study of certain important economic and political issues of the 1980s and beyond. It will also be concerned with the evaluation of policy responses at the private, country and international levels.

## AIMS

We are witnessing the restructuring of postwar relations between national governments, international organisations, and firms both as economic agents and as social organisations. Yet both private and public decision-makers respond typically in an ad hoc manner, usually without considering the broader implications of their actions. This is primarily because the framework for such a broader analysis is still insufficiently elaborated and the combined consequences of decisions at all three levels insufficiently examined. It is CEPAs aim to contribute to the development of these broader analyses.

In the international field, the area of North-South relations provides an illustration. Firms and governments of advanced industrial countries use a combination of bilateral and multilateral forms of action which are in part contradictory, and are not normally related to a global strategy. Another international example comes from the field of international trade in resources, and the impact that this has both on the economies of the industrial and developing countries, and also on the internal and external political conditions prevailing in those countries. In all of these cases, the impact of the greater open-ness of the world economy is insufficiently perceived, and the lack of a broader framework for analysis is apparent.

CEPA is designed to provide such a framework. The overall aim is to integrate economic, political and social factors which jointly play a part in the increasing interdependence of the world economy. In providing such a framework, CEPA starts from the recognition that the conventional lines of political divisions are breaking down. It intends to use this opportunity to develop a theoretical analysis and to apply it to the examination of issues at the national and at the international level.

## RESEARCH PROGRAMME

CEPA has been launched with the help of a generous grant from the University of Essex. It intends to develop its research programme in collaboration and with the support of national and international public agencies, as well as private bodies. Under consideration is a project which will study the implications of the increasing minimum efficient scale of operation of much modern industrial plants for public policy towards state industry and the private sector, and for international economic relations. Also being developed is a project relating to the impact of OPEC oil pricing policy on the economic development of the non-oil producing countries and the Third World, and a project comparing the

behaviour of firms and government in a number of advanced industrial countries.

CONFERENCES

CEPA is sponsoring Conferences and Workshops relating to its research projects. These conferences and workshops are designed to bring together experts from national and international agencies, as well as academics engaged in the analysis of a problem falling within the aims of the Centre and likely to become the subject of a research project.

PUBLICATIONS

CEPA publish working papers relating to ongoing research projects. It is also engaged in a programme of joint publications specifically relating to the projects sponsored by the Centre.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership of CEPA is open widely to the academic community as well as to experts from national and international organisations. There are four categories of members: fellows, who are scholars currently working at the University of Essex; associates, who are professionals associated with research projects; and affiliates, who are experts or organisations interested in the activities of the Centre and wishing to receive its publications and to be kept informed of its activities.

## CONFERENCE CALENDAR

The ECPR plans to have a 'Conference Calendar' as a regular feature in the News Circular. Dates of forthcoming meetings, seminars, workshops and colloquia should be forwarded to the Central Services for inclusion in the Calendar.

*THE XIVth INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CIRIEC, VIENNA. 24-26 MAY 1982*

The International Research and Information Centre for Public and Co-operative Economy (CIRIEC) will hold its XIVth International Conference on 'Public Economy and Co-operative Economy - Ensuring Progress of Society'. Registration forms will be available this autumn from the local organisation:

Arbeitsgemeinschaft der österreichischen
Gemeinwirtschaft
A-1050 WEIN V
Vogelsanggasse 36
Austria

Tel: (0222) 55 31 97

*GERMAN MARSHALL FUND FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM*

The German Marshall Fund Fellowship supports comparative analysis of political, social, and economic problems common to advanced industrial societies. Appointments permit full-time research and writing on individual projects for up to one year. 1982 Fellowship Program flyers and materials will be available in late summer 1981. The deadline for applications in the 1982 program is 30 November 1981. For further information contact Bonnie Manwell at:

The German Marshall Fund of the United States
11 Dupont Circle, NW
WASHINGTON DC 20036
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