



## 2. New Parties: Organization Changes

## Organizational structure

- **cadre parties**
  - **mass parties**
  - **catch-all parties**
  - **electoral-professional parties**
  - **cartel parties**
  - **business-firm parties**
  - **member-less parties**
  - **cyber-parties**
- Traditional parties
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# Theory of political parties

- **Cadre parties (late 19<sup>th</sup> century)**
  - Face to face communication, newspapers, local rallies
- **Mass parties (early 20<sup>th</sup> century)**
  - Mass print media, party press, mass membership, class parties
- **Catch-all parties (20<sup>th</sup> century)**
  - Mass media: TV, radio, decreasing importance of mass membership, appeal to a wider range of voters
- **Electoral-professional parties (late 20<sup>th</sup> century)**
  - Privileged access to state run media, professionalization of party campaigns
- **Cyber parties (early 21<sup>st</sup> century)**
  - Cyberspace, low importance of membership, politics in cyberspace
  - New media

## **Electoral-professional party: 1988 Angelo Panebianco**

- **Growing importance of mass media**
- **Parties are driven towards**
  - **personalized campaigns**
  - **candidate-centred and issue oriented strategies**
- **TV and interest groups :**
  - **far more important links between parties and electorates than traditional collateral organizations, bureaucracy and party members**

## Electoral-professional party

- **Parties hire out professionals to run election campaigns**
  - TV specialist
  - Marketing
  - P.R.
- **Professionals: important in certain spheres of party work**
  - fund raising
  - political marketing
  - media presentation
- **helpful as opinion pollsters and advertising consultants**

## **Cartel Party: Richard Katz and Peter Mair (1995)**

### **■ Parties threatened by**

- uncertain electoral gains
- significant drops in membership

### **■ → parties pursue strategies that aimed at provision and regulation of state subventions to political parties**

### **■ Key difference**

- Closer link to state
- increasingly dependent on state (state finance)

## Cartel Parties

- **“characterised by the interpenetration of party and state, and also by a pattern of inter-party collusion”**
- **Cartel parties try to prevent other (non-parliamentary) parties to reach state subsidies and parliamentary representation**
  - **Laws that provide finance assistance only to parliamentary parties**
  - **Access to public media is restricted only to parliamentary parties**
  - **Electoral laws that increase legal threshold for small non-parliamentary parties**

## Memberless parties

- **Oscar Mazzoleni and Gerrit Voerman (2016)**
  - Maximizing centralization of decision-making process
  - Promoting party unity
  - Enhancing electoral effectiveness
  - Flexibility and quick decision making
- **Examples:**
  - The Freedom Party
  - The Lega dei Tiscinesi
  - Dawn of Direct Democracy



## Cyber party: Theory by Helen Margetts (2001)

- **Cyber party = a conceptual model**
  - **Real parties may only approximate the concept**
  - **Modern political parties – some traits of the concept**
- **“virtual parties”**: **“Die Digitalen” in Germany**
  - **ran in the 1999 local government election in Berlin**
  - **operated only on the on-line basis**

## Cyberparties - reaction to:

### 1. Increasing use of ICT

- Citizens, organizations, government, NGOs...
- New apps
- Mass usage of the Internet = key platform for political communication
  - More and more activities shift on-line
  - Cyberspace = major battlefield of politics

### 2. Changing patterns of relationship between parties and voters

- Single-issue political activities
- Declining party membership
  - Increasing reluctance of citizens to join organizations of any kind (especially parties)
- Dealignment (voters are less attached to parties; decreasing partisan identification)

## Single issue political activity

- **Anti-capitalism**
- **Fox-hunting**
- **Animal rights**
- **Environmental issues**
- **Human rights issues**
- **Pirate issues**
- ...
- → **technologies allow target at the respective groups**



## Party Responses: Cyberparties (summary)

- **Origins:**
  - Changing patterns of political participation
  - Web-based technologies
- **Claim to support**
  - Direct linkages to voters
- **Membership**
  - No or little membership
  - Loose definition of supporters
- **Channels of communication**
  - Web-based

## Cyberparties and their weaknesses

- **„preaching to the converted“ (Pippa Norris)**
  - On-line messages can not reach out other people
- **Lack of organizational capacity and weaknesses**
  - Lack of people: grassroots activity is vital for local campaigns
    - Campaign can not be done solely on-line
  - Lack of membership fees paying members
  - X Internet – cost saving device
  - X absence of membership does not preclude donations