

Publications

Research Monographs

1. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, *Civil Society's Democratic Potential: Organizational Trade-Offs between Participation and Representation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024, xvi + 313 pp. Available open access: <https://fdslive.oup.com/www.oup.com/academic/pdf/openaccess/9780198884392.pdf>
2. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, *The State and Civil Society: Regulating Interest Groups, Parties and Public Benefit Organizations in Contemporary Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, xvi + 351pp.
3. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, *New Parties in Old Party Systems: Persistence and Decline in 17 Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, xvi + 272 pp.
4. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, *Intergovernmental Cooperation – Rational Choices in Federal Systems and Beyond*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, xvi + 251 pp.

Special Issues

1. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Wilfried Swenden and Nicola McEwen (eds.): 'The Dynamics of Multilevel Systems in Europe: Constitutional Power and Partisan Conflict', Special Issue of *Comparative European Politics* 12, 4/5, 2014.
2. Swenden, Wilfried and **Nicole Bolleyer** (eds.): 'After Enlargement – Still a Europe of the Regions?' Special Issue of *Regional and Federal Studies* 24, 3, 2014.
3. McEwen, Nicola, Wilfried Swenden and **Nicole Bolleyer** (eds.): 'Governments in Opposition? Intergovernmental Relations in the UK in a Context of Party Political Incongruence', Special Issue of the *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 14,2, 2012.

Journal Articles (peer-reviewed)

1. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Adam Eick, Paula Guzzo Falci and Agnieszka Bejma, "Foreign Influence Regulation in Liberal Democracies: Translations of Harmful Foreignness into Regulatory Designs", forthcoming with *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*
2. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Paula Guzzo Falci, "Governments Limiting Fundamental Rights: An Expansion of Liberal-Democratic Self-Defense in Europe?", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Online First 04 May 2026
3. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Paula Guzzo Falci and Valentin Daur "Specifying the Outer Boundaries of Constitutional Self-Defense in Liberal-Democratic States: A Framework for Analysis", *Perspectives on Politics*, Online First 07 April 2026
4. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Adam Eick, Paula Guzzo Falci, Agnieszka Bejma, Fabrizio Di Mascio, Orsolya Salát, Vivian Spyropoulou, Burtejin Zorigt and Gabriel Katz, "Studying the Shrinking and Expansion of Civil Society Space in Europe", *Democratization*, Online First 09 March 2026

5. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Philipp Schroeder, "Liberal-Democratic Self-Defense through Rights Restrictions: The European Court of Human Rights between Enabling Self-Defense and Constraining Governmental Overreach", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Online First 30 November 2025
6. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Ann-Kristin Kölln. "The Study of Intraparty Frictions: Conceptual Reflections on Preference Heterogeneity, Disagreement, and Conflict" *Perspectives on Politics*, 2025, 23,2, 885 – 900
7. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Adam Eick, Milka Ivanovska Hadjievska and Leonhard Grevesmühl, "When Do Liberal Governments Restrict Civil Society?" *Governance*, 2025, 38,1, 1-12
8. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "How to Study Political Parties: From Civil Society to the State and Back. The Peter Mair Lecture 2023", *Irish Political Studies*, 2024, 39,4, 499-521
9. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Patricia Correa Vila and Gabriel Katz, "Genetic Imprints, Party Life Cycles and Organizational Mortality: An Application of State-Space Duration Models", *Journal of Politics*, 2023, 85,1, 266-279
10. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Party Conflict Regulation and Intra-Party Hierarchy in Contemporary Party Organization", *Irish Political Studies*, 2022, 37,2, 1-20
11. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Patricia Correa, "Advocacy in European Civil Societies: Organizational Trade-offs Between Selective and Collective Incentive Provision", *Social Forces*, 2022, 101, 2, 864–889
12. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Civil Society – Politically Engaged or Member-serving? A Governance Perspective", *European Union Politics*, 2021, 22, 3, 495–520
13. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Orsolya Salát, "Parliaments in Times of Crisis: COVID-19, Populism and Executive Dominance", *West European Politics*, 2021, 44, 5-6, 1103-1128
14. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "State Funding Pressure in Interest Groups, Political Parties and Service-oriented Membership Organizations", *West European Politics*, 2021, 44, 7, 1577-1603
15. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Patricia Correa, "Member Influence and Involvement in Civil Society Organizations: A Resource Dependency Perspective on Groups and Parties", *Political Studies*, Online First, 2020, 1-22
16. **Bolleyer Nicole** and Patricia Correa, "Why Parties Narrow their Representative Profile: Evidence from Six European Democracies", *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 2020, 29-57
17. **Bolleyer Nicole** and Patricia Correa, "Self-Maintenance versus Goal Attainment – Drivers of Mortality Anxiety in Organized Civil Society", *European Political Science Review*, 2020, 12, 3, 271-288
18. **Bolleyer Nicole**, Anika Gauja and Patricia Correa, "Legal Regulation and the Juridification of Party Governance", *The Journal of Comparative Politics* 52, 4, 2020, 1-22
19. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Valeria Smirnova, Fabrizio di Mascio and Alessandro Natalini, "Conflict of Interest Regulation in European Parliaments: Studying the Evolution of Complex Regulatory Regimes", *Regulation & Governance* 14, 3, 2020, 428-446
20. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Felix Christopher von Nostitz and Nils-Christian Bormann, "Judicial Decision-Making within Political Parties: A Political Approach", *Party Politics* 25, 5, 2019, 724–735

21. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Raimondas Ibenskas and Carina Bischoff, "Drivers of Political Party Death: Theorizing and Testing Downsian and Sociological Rationales", *European Political Science Review* 11, 1, 2019, 1-18
22. **Bolleyer Nicole** and Saskia Ruth-Lovell, "Party Institutionalization as Multilevel Concept: Base-versus Elite-Level Routinization", *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, 13, 2, 2019, 175-198
23. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Patricia Correa Vila and Gabriel Katz, "Political Party Mortality in Established Party Systems: A Hierarchical Competing Risks Approach", *Comparative Political Studies* 52, 1, 2019, 36–68
24. Ibenskas, Raimondas and **Nicole Bolleyer**, "Forms of Inter-Party Cooperation: Electoral Coalitions, Party Mergers and Party Systems", *East European Politics* 32, 3, 2018, 451-472
25. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Florian Weiler, "Why Groups Are Politically Active: An Incentive-Theoretical Approach", *Comparative Political Studies* 51, 12, 2018, 1628–1660
26. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Saskia Ruth, "Elite Investments in Party Institutionalization in New Democracies: A Two-Dimensional Approach", *Journal of Politics* 80, 1, 2018, 288-302
27. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Anika Gauja, "Combating Terrorism by Constraining Charities? The Connections between Charity and Counterterrorism Legislation", *Public Administration* 95, 3, 2017, 654-669
28. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Executive-Legislative Relations and Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation in Federal Systems - Lessons for the European Union", *Journal of European Public Policy* 24, 4, 2017, 520-543
29. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Valeria Smirnova, "Parliamentary Ethics Regulation and Trust in European Democracies", *West European Politics* 40, 6, 2017, 1218-1240
30. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Liam Weeks, "From Cartel Party to Traditional Membership Organization: The Organizational Evolution of Fianna Fáil", *Irish Political Studies* 32, 1, 2017, 96-117
31. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Felix-Christopher von Nostitz and Valeria Smirnova, "Conflict Regulation in Political Parties: An Account of Tribunal Decision-Making", *Party Politics*, 23, 6, 2017, 834–847
32. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Evelyn Bytcek, "New Party Performance after Breakthrough: Party Origin, Building and Leadership", *Party Politics*, 23, 6, 2017, 772–782
33. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Raimondas Ibenskas and Dan Keith, "The Survival and Termination of Party Mergers in Europe", *European Journal of Political Research* 55, 3, 2016, 642–659
34. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Conor Little and Felix-Christopher von Nostitz, "Implementing Democratic Equality in Political Parties. Organizational Consequences in the Swedish and the German Pirate Parties", *Scandinavian Political Studies* 38, 2, 2015, 158-178
35. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Anika Gauja, "The Limits of Regulation: Indirect Party Access to State Resources in Australia and the UK", *Governance* 28, 3, 2015, 321–340

- 36. Bolleyer, Nicole** and Evelyn Bytzek, "Beyond Duverger: Party Ideology, Party-State Relations and Informal Finance Strategies in Advanced Democracies", *European Political Science Review* 6, 4, 2014, 503-525
- 37. Bolleyer, Nicole** and Siim Trumm, "From Parliamentary Pay to Party Funding: The Acceptability of Informal Institutions in Advanced Democracies", *European Journal of Political Research* 53, 4, 2014, 784-802
- 38. Swenden, Wilfried** and **Nicole Bolleyer**, "Regional Mobilization in the 'New Europe': A Research Agenda", *Regional & Federal Studies* 24, 3, 2014, 249-262
- 39. Swenden, Wilfried** and **Nicole Bolleyer**, "Regional Mobilization in the New Europe: Old Wine in a New Bottle?", *Regional & Federal Studies* 24, 3, 2014, 383-399
- 40. Bolleyer, Nicole**, Swenden, Wilfried and Nicola McEwen, "A Theoretical Perspective on Multi-level Systems in Europe: Constitutional Power and Partisan Conflict", *Comparative European Politics* 12, 4/5, 2014, 367-383
- 41. Bolleyer, Nicole** and Tanja A. Börzel, "Balancing Integration and Flexibility in the European Union: Constitutional Dispositions and Dynamics of Coordination", *Comparative European Politics* 12, 4/5, 2014, 384-403
- 42. Bolleyer, Nicole**, Swenden, Wilfried and Nicola McEwen, "Constitutional Dynamics and Partisan Conflict: A Comparative Assessment of Multi-level Systems in Europe", *Comparative European Politics* 12, 4/5, 2014, 510-534
- 43. Bolleyer, Nicole** and Evelyn Bytzek, "Origins of Party Formation and New Party Success in Advanced Democracies", *European Journal of Political Research* 52, 6, 2013, 773-796
- 44. Bolleyer, Nicole** and Anika Gauja, "Parliamentary Salaries as a Party Resource – Organizational Commitment and Control in Westminster Democracies", *Party Politics* 19, 5, 2013, 778-797
- 45. Bolleyer, Nicole**, Siim Trumm and Susan Banducci, "Towards an Organizational Perspective on Party Funding: Explaining Financial Transfers from MEPs to their National Parties", *European Journal of Political Research* 52, 2, 2013, 237-263
- 46. Bolleyer, Nicole** and Lori Thorlakson, "Beyond Decentralization – The Study of Interdependence in Federal Systems", *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 42, 4, 2012, 566-591
- 47. Bolleyer, Nicole**, Joost van Spanje and Alex Wilson, "New Parties in Government: The Organisational Costs of Public Office", *West European Politics* 35, 5, 2012, 971-998
- 48. McEwen, Nicola**, Wilfried Swenden and **Nicole Bolleyer**: "Introduction: Political Opposition in a Multi-level Context", Special Issue of the *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 14, 2, 2012, 187-97
- 49. McEwen, Nicola**, Wilfried Swenden and **Nicole Bolleyer**: "Intergovernmental Relations in the UK: Continuity in a Time of Change?" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 14, 2, 2012, 323-43

50. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "The Partisan Usage of Parliamentary Salaries: Informal Party Practices in Five Democracies", *West European Politics* 35, 2, 2012, 209-237
51. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Christine Reh, "EU Legitimacy Revisited – The Normative Foundations of a Multilevel Polity", *Journal of European Public Policy* 19, 4, 2012, 1-19
52. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "New Party Organization in Western Europe: Of Hierarchies, Stratarchies and Federations", *Party Politics* 18, 3, 2012, 315-36
53. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Party Linkage and Policy Coordination", *Governance* 3, 24, 2011, 467-492
54. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Lise Storm, "Problems of Party Aid in Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Morocco", *Democratization* 6, 17, 2010, 1202-1204
55. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "The Irish Greens – From Protest to Mainstream Party?", *Irish Political Studies* 25, 4, 2010, 605-25
56. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Why Legislatures Organise: Inter-Parliamentary Activism in Federal Systems and its Consequences", *Journal of Legislative Studies* 16, 4, 2010, 411-437
57. **Bolleyer Nicole** and Tanja A. Börzel, "Non-Hierarchical Policy Coordination in Multi-level Systems", *European Political Science Review* 2, 2, 2010, 157-185
58. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Evelyn Bytcek, "Government Congruence and Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems", *Regional and Federal Studies* 19, 3, 2009, 371-97
59. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Inside the Cartel Party: Party Organization in Government and Opposition", *Political Studies* 57, 3, 2009, 559-79
60. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Liam Weeks, "The Puzzle of Non-Party Actors in Party Democracy: Independents in Ireland", *Comparative European Politics* 7, 3, 2009, 299-324
61. **Bolleyer, Nicole** and Diana Panke, "The Irish Greens and Europe - An Unhappy Marriage? ", *Irish Political Studies, Special Issue: Party Politics and the EU on the Island of Ireland* 24, 4, 2009, 543-57
62. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Small Parties – from Party Pledges to Government Policy", *West European Politics* 30, 1, 2007, 121-47
63. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Consociationalism and Intergovernmental Relations - Linking Internal and External Power-Sharing in the Swiss Federal Polity", *Swiss Political Science Review* 12, 3, 2006, 1-24
64. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Intergovernmental Arrangements in Spanish and Swiss Federalism - The Impact of Power-Concentrating and Power-Sharing Executives on Intergovernmental Institutionalization", *Regional and Federal Studies* 16, 4, 2006, 1-23
65. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Federal Dynamics in Canada, the United States and Switzerland - How Sub-states' Internal Organization Affects Intergovernmental Relations", *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 36, 4, 2006, 1-32

66. Bolleyer, Nicole, "Kleine Parteien zwischen Stimmenmaximierung, Politikgestaltung und Regierungsübernahme am Beispiel Irlands und Dänemarks", *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* 1, 2004, 132-48

67. Bolleyer, Nicole, "Minderheitsparlamentarismus - eine akteursorientierte Erweiterung der Parlamentarismus-Präsidentalismus-Typologie", *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 11, 2001, 1519-46

Selected Book Chapters

1. Bolleyer, Nicole and Patricia Correa, "Federalism and Interest Groups" in Colino, C (ed) *Handbook of Federations and Federal Studies*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, forthcoming.

2. Bolleyer, Nicole, "Party Institutionalization" in Carter, N, Sindre G, Vasilopoulou S, Keith D (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Political Parties*, London: Routledge, 2023, pp. 78-89

3. Bolleyer, Nicole, "Civil Society, Crisis Exposure and Resistance Strategies" in Uitz R, Sajó A, Holmes S (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Illiberalism*, London: Routledge, 2021, pp. 939-956

4. Dickinson, Nicholas and Nicole Bolleyer, "[Remuneration of Political Work in Ireland: Favourable Conditions, But Dependent on Economic Context]", in Le Saout, R (ed) *La rémunération du travail politique en Europe*, Paris: Berger-Levrault, 2019 (in French)

5. Bolleyer, Nicole, Nicholas Dickinson and James Mitchell, "[Remuneration of Political Work in the UK: From Self-regulation to Stricter Control]", in Le Saout, R (ed) *La rémunération du travail politique en Europe*, Paris: Berger-Levrault, 2019 (in French)

6. Bolleyer, Nicole, "Challenges of Interdependence and Coordination in Federal Systems", in: Detterbeck, K, Hepburn, E (eds) *Handbook of Territorial Politics*, Cheltenham: Edgar Elgar, 2018, pp. 45-60

7. Bolleyer, Nicole, "Political Actors: Parties – Interest Groups – Government", in: Keman H and Woldendorp J.J. (eds) *Handbook of Research Methods and Applications in Political Science*, Cheltenham: Elgar, 2016, pp. 141-51

8. Bolleyer, Nicole, "The Organizational Foundations of New Party Institutionalization: Linking Structure to Agency", in: Morlock, M, Poguntke, T, Zons, G (eds) *Etablierungschancen neuer Parteien*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2016, pp. 91-112

9. Bolleyer, Nicole, "The Regulation of Conflict in Political Parties: Organizational and Legal Dimensions", in Casal Bertoa F, Mueller-Rommel F (eds) *Party Politics and Democracy in Europe: Essays in Honour of Peter Mair*, London: Routledge, 2015, pp. 101-16

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11. Bolleyer, Nicole, "The Change of Party-State Relations in Advanced Democracies: A Party-Specific Development or Broader Societal Trend?", in Mueller WC, Narud HM (eds) *Party Governance and Party Democracy: Festschrift for Kaare Strom*, New York: Springer, 2013, pp.231-252

12. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "The Rise and Decline of the Irish Green Party", in Clark A, Weeks L (eds) *Radical or Redundant? Minor Parties in Irish Politics*, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2013, pp. 110-125
13. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "Paradoxes of Self-coordination in Federal Systems", in Benz A and Broschek J (eds) *Federal Dynamics: Continuity, Change and the Varieties of Federalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 321-342
14. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "The Organisational Costs of Public Office", in: Deschouwer K. (ed), *New Parties in Government*, London, Routledge, 2008, pp. 17-41

Datasets

1. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, Fabrizio Di Mascio, Orsolya Salát, Paula Guzzo Falci, Adam Eick, Agnieszka Bejma, Vivian Spyropoulou, Burtejin Zorigt, and Gabriel Katz, "The CIVILSPACE Dataset." 2026. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/SZ8GGU>
2. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "The Regulating Civil Society Dataset", University of Exeter, 2019. <https://www.cps-lmu.org/civilspace---research.html>

Other Publications

1. **Bolleyer, Nicole**, "The UK: Civil Society in Times of Political Change" in *The 2019 Report on the State of Civil Society in the EU and Russia*, The EU-Russia Civil Society Forum, Berlin, pp. 44-63. https://eu-russia-csf.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/20200116_RU-EU_Report2019_online_covers.pdf
2. 'Critical Dialogue' between Stephanie McNulty and **Nicole Bolleyer** on "The State and Civil Society: Regulating Interest Groups, Parties, and Public Benefit Organizations in Contemporary Democracies by Nicole Bolleyer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018", *Perspectives on Politics* 17 (4): 1144-6.
3. 'Critical Dialogue' between **Nicole Bolleyer** and Stephanie McNulty on "Democracy from Above? The Unfulfilled Promise of Nationally Mandated Participatory Reforms by Stephanie L. McNulty. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019", *Perspectives on Politics* 17 (4): 1146-9.