

# Contents

<i>Preface</i>	i
1. The Comparative Study of European Parties and Party Systems: An Overview <i>Hans Daalder</i>	1
2. Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility in European Party Systems; 1948–1977: Explorations in Explanation <i>Mogens N. Pedersen</i>	29
3. Is There Still Persistence? Electoral Change in Western Europe, 1948–1979 <i>Maria Maguire</i>	67
4. Voting Turnout in Europe, 1945–1978: Myths and Realities <i>Karl Dittrich and Lars Nørby Johansen</i>	95
5. Incumbency in Government: Asset or Liability? <i>Richard Rose and Thomas T. Mackie</i>	115
6. The European Left Since World War I: Size, Composition and Patterns of Electoral Development <i>Stefano Bartolini</i>	139
7. The Membership of Mass Parties: The Social Democratic Experience, 1889–1978 <i>Stefano Bartolini</i>	177

8.	Harbinger, Fossil or Fleabite? 'Regionalism' and the West European Party Mosaic <i>Derek W. Urwin</i>	221
9.	Testing the Catch-all Thesis: Some Difficulties and Possibilities <i>Karl Dittrich</i>	257
10.	Party Competition – Selective Emphasis or Direct Confrontation? An Alternative View with Data <i>Ian Budge and Dennis Farlie</i>	267
11.	Polarization, Fragmentation and Competition in Western Democracies <i>Giacomo Sani and Giovanni Sartori</i>	307
12.	Governments, Parliaments, and the Structure of Power in Political Parties <i>Klaus von Beyme</i>	341
13.	Political Change and Political Accountability: A Propositional Inventory of Causes and Effects <i>Gunnar Sjöblom</i>	369
14.	Adaptation and Control: Towards an Understanding of Party and Party System Change <i>Peter Mair</i>	405
	<i>References</i>	431
	<i>Author Index</i>	457
	<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	463

# Tables

2.1	The volatility of European party systems, 1948–77	39
2.2	National trends of electoral volatility	40
2.3	The relationship between electoral volatility and the number of parties	50
2.4	The relationship between electoral volatility and changes in the number of parties	51
2.5	The relationship between electoral volatility and changes in the number of parties, controlled for number of parties	51
2.6		52
2.7	Average volatility within categories	54
2.8	Truth table for national predictions	55
2.9	Two sets of hypothetical examples of party systems and the ensuing values of $V_t$	61
3.1	Summary of party trends per annum	72
3.2	Elasticity of party support	76–7
3.3	Variability of party support	78
3.4	Volatility of party support	79
3.5	Cross-tabulation of absolute trends with average volatility	81
3.6	Cross-tabulation of absolute trends with average volatility as a percentage of the mean vote	82
3.7	Trends per annum by age of party	85
3.8	Trends per annum by type of party	86
3.9	Trends per annum for leading parties	89
4.1	Patterns of turnout	97
4.2	The relationship between indicators of competitiveness and voting turnout	109
4.3	Turnout, and change in turnout broken down by change in fractionalization and change in number of parties	112
5.1	Gains and losses of incumbent parties	125
5.2	The gains and losses of coalition governments	126
5.3	The degree of jostling in governing coalitions	127
5.4	The collective electoral fate of governments	128
5.5	Gains and losses of incumbent parties by time periods	130
5.6	Cumulative change in support for different types of parties	131
5.7	Losing votes usually does not cause a party to lose office	133
5.8	The effect of elections upon governments	134
6.1	Electoral size of the socialist party, communist party, and total left	141
6.2	Presence of left parties in parliament	147
6.3	Correlation among communist, socialist and total left average vote	152

6.4	Electoral competition between socialist and communist parties	153
6.5	Average changes in the European left size	157
7.1	Membership and electoral trends	193
7.2	Membership and electoral trends by time period	194
7.3	Growth in year of election and following year	195
7.4	Electoral defeats and increases in membership	197
7.5	Membership trends and government/opposition experience	199
7.6	Western European communist party memberships	202-4
8.1	The universe of regional electoral parties	230
8.2	Electoral trends and fluctuations, National level	244
8.3	Electoral trends and fluctuations, Regional level	245
10.1	Names of coding categories	273
10.2	A broad typology for election cues	284-6
10.3	Expected magnitude and direction of net changes	290
10.4	Classification and scoring of issues	292-4
10.5	Estimates of slope (issue-effects) for individual parties	298-9
10.6	Estimated basic vote for major parties	302
11.1	Importance of reducing inequality and voters' left-right locations	311
11.2	Attitudes towards change and voters' left-right locations	312
11.3	Perceptions of importance of religion, level of religious practice, and voters' left-right locations	315
11.4	Importance of achieving equality and voters' self-locations	316
11.5	Voters' self-locations on left-right continuum	322-3
11.6	Most similar-dissimilar partisan groups, by country	324
11.7	Closeness-distance between pairs of parties	327-8
12.1	Changes of government in Europe	354

# Figures

2.1	The volatility of European party systems	36
2.2	The relationship between national mean volatility and the dispersion around the mean	37
2.3	The frequency distribution for the variable electoral volatility ( $V_t$ )	42
2.4	European elections: classified according to extent of volatility	43
2.5	The relationship between electoral volatility $V_t$ and the number of parties	49
2.6	Possible linkages between key variables	60
2.7	A framework for the study of party system dynamics	64
4.1	National voting turnout and the dispersion around the mean	98
6.1	The European left	142–6
6.2	Communist and socialist average vote	150
6.3	Changes in the average left vote	158
6.4	Electoral development of the Swedish, Norwegian and British lefts	169
7.1	Membership of social democratic parties: absolute figures	183
7.2	Membership of social democratic parties as a percentage of their votes	187
7.3	Membership of social democratic parties as a percentage of the total electorate	188
9.1	Changes in goals caused by the catch-all process	262
10.1	Movement of British parties	277
10.2	Movement of US parties	277
10.3	Correspondence between major party issue-scores and their percentages of the vote in UK elections	297
11.1	Level of trust in the Russians and in the Americans, and voters' left–right locations	313
11.2	Feelings towards unions, big business, and voters' left–right locations	317
11.3	Feelings towards clergy, women's movements and voters' left–right locations	318
11.4	Feelings towards the police, student protesters, and voters' left–right locations	319
11.5	Left–right distribution by parties, across countries	326
13.1	A conceivable relation between the growth of the public sector and increased electoral volatility	373
13.2	Factors influencing the total number of decision alternatives	380
13.3	Some conceivable effects of the growth of the public sector	381
13.4	Some conceivable relations between the growing public sector, the role of the mass media and citizen information	386
13.5	Some conceivable effects on interest organizations (IOs) of the growth of the public sector	388

13.6	Some conceivable relations between increased electoral volatility and party behaviour	394
14.1	Contrast between total volatility and inter-area volatility: Ireland, Italy, Norway and Sweden	412 - 3