contents

List of tables	xii
List of figures	xiv
New introduction by the authors	1
Preface and acknowledgments	7
Introduction	11
PART ONE FRAMEWORK	25
Chapter one: Understanding electoral instability	27
The measures	28
Concepts and indices	31
Aggregate volatility as a system property	33
Aggregate volatility and individual voting shifts	34
Theoretical variants	40
A general framework for analysis	42
PART TWO THE STABILISATION OF EUROPEAN ELECTORATES	57
Chapter two: Interpreting electoral change: a debate	59
The evidence of aggregate data	62
Parties and cleavages	65
Chapter three: The bias towards stability	70
Variance in electoral instability	70
Variance in class-cleavage volatility	76
The relationship between cleavage volatility and total volatility	83
Types of elections and cleavages	85
Chapter four: Electoral instability and class-cleavage	
persistence 1885–1985	96
Testing the freezing hypothesis	96
The salience of the class cleavage	103
A general stabilisation?	105
National variations	106
Trends over time: a summary	117

PART THREE THE DETERMINANTS OF	
ELECTORAL INSTABILITY	123
Introduction	125
Chapter five: The fragmentation of party systems	127
Which parties count?	128
Trends in fragmentation	129
Numbers of parties and electoral volatility	131
National variations	134
Chapter six: Institutional constraints and voter opportunities	141
The impact of enfranchisement	142
Voting systems and electoral instability	145
Change of electoral systems	146
Majoritarianism versus proportionality	149
From dichotomised to continuous variables	152
Indicators of disproportionality	154
Disproportionality and volatility	155
Cross-national variation	158
Institutional constraints and electoral instability	160
Chapter seven: Electoral participation	164
When turnout matters	165
Turnout increase	166
Turnout decline	167
Variation between countries	171
Electoral participation and volatility	174
Format, institutional change, and participation	175
Chapter eight: The space of competition	181
The extent of electoral elasticity	181
Spatial competition and electoral instability	183
An interpretation of negative findings	188
Another test of the spatial hypothesis	190
National variations	192
Space and segmentation	195
Chapter nine: Cleavage systems	197
The concept of cleavage	198
Social homogeneity versus closure of mobility	204
Empirical evidence	208
The dimension of cultural heterogeneity	209
The organisational dimension	213
Cultural heterogeneity and organisational density	219
Segmentation and electoral instability	222

PART FOUR COMPETITION AND IDENTITY	231
Chapter ten: Explaining electoral instability	233
The overall pattern	234
Electoral phases	240
Cross-national variation	244
Refining the model: spatial, organisational, and cultural factors	248
A parsimonious model	255
Chapter eleven: Socio-organisational bonds, institutional	
incentives, and political markets	261
The stabilisation of voting patterns	262
From competition to identity	263
The forces shaping electoral mobility	266
Some applications: polarised pluralism and consociational democracy	271
Towards destabilisation?	274
Appendices and data-base	
1 Rules for calculation and notes on sources	283
2 Party volatilities: data-base	293
Index	321