List of Figures and Tables

Figures	
Figure 2.1: The trade-off between cases and properties	81
Figure 3.1: AID analysis of voting intention as indicated in the 1969 Gallup Poll	106
Figure 3.2: The Irish party system since 1927	109
Figure 6.1: Contrast between total volatility and inter-area volatility: (a) Ireland, (b) Italy, (c) Norway and (d) Sweden	168
Figure 7.1: Parties positions on the left-right scale: A summary	200
Figure 9.1: Dimensions of cleavage strength	244
Figure 9.2: Segmentation and electoral instability	246
Figure 9.3: Cultural heterogeneity and electoral instability	247
Figure 9.4: Cultural heterogeneity and class-cleavage volatility	249
Figure 9.5: Measures of organisational density and electoral instability (a) Party-membership ratio and electoral volatility	254
Figure 9.5: Measures of organisational density and electoral instability (b) Left trade-union membership and electoral volatility	254
Figure 9.5: Measures of organisational density and electoral instability (c) Trade-union density and electoral volatility	255
Figure 9.6: Organisational density and electoral instability	257
Figure 9.7: Cultural heterogeneity and organisational density	257
Figure 9.8: Cleavage strength and electoral instability	260
Figure 9.9: Cultural and organisational segmentation and electoral instability 1918–85	260
Figure 13.1: The electoral performance of the left in Denmark and The Netherlands	337
Figure 16.1: Parties of the cadre or caucus type	399
Figure 16.2: Mass parties act as links between the state and civil society	400
Figure 16.3: Parties act as brokers between the state and civil society	401
Figure 19.1: Electoral access to European decision-making	474
Figure 23.1: Turnout levels in Western Europe, 1950s–1990s (per cent)	538

Tables		
Table 2	2.1: Sartori's ladder of abstraction	77
Table 3	3.1: First preference percentages for major parties	94
	3.2: Percentage first preferences gained by various relevant parties, 7–32	97
Table 4	ACTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE	117
Table 4	4.2: Subjective class identification in EC countries (1989)	122
Table	4.3: Class support for left parties in EC countries (1989)	123
	4.4: Percentage of contents of election programmes devoted to al and economic issues	127
Table	5.1: Mean aggregate electoral volatility (1950–2000)	146
	5.2: Western Europe's most volatile elections (1950–2006)	146
Table	5.3: Patterns of alternation in government	152
Table	5.4: Aggregate electoral volatility in The Netherlands (1952–2006)	157
	try tables and comments	190
	Australia	190
	Austria Belgium Belgium	190 190
	Canada Denmark	191 191
	Finland will detent functoels bns vitensh is not selection 13.9 s	192
	France vilanob lanohazinagia bira vilanaganatai lanahi 3 3 7 2 3	193
	Germany villidateni latotosia ban digusate susvesi/3 :8.0 s	193
	9.9; Cultural and organisational segmentation and electoral bnalarl	194
	Italy 28-8191 yillida	
	The Netherlands	195
	New Zealand	
	Norway Spain Spai	
	Sweden was like his only on new bod arolloid as to a selfin 4 cf. df.	197
	United Kingdom	
	United States 20001 20001 agonul measure in alevel monut 11.22	

Table 7.1: Party scores and types of party	201
Table 8.1: European elections by levels of volatility (1885–1985)	223
Table 8.2: High-volatility elections (1885–1985)	224
Table 8.3: Net volatility between those elections bracketing sequences of high-volatility elections	224
Table 9.1: Ethno-linguistic and religious heterogeneity	246
Table 9.2: Organisational density	252
Table 10.1: The growth of electorates in Western Europe	273
Table 10.2: The survival of traditional parties	275
Table 11.1: Types of party systems	284
Table 11.2: Structure of party competition and the pattern of alternation in government	291
Table 12.1: Number of elections, by country and by decade	310
Table 12.2: Mean levels of electoral participation, by country and by decade (per cent of electorate)	312
Table 12.3: Mean total volatility, by country and by decade	315
Table 12.4: Mean total vote for new parties, by country and by decade (percentage)	317
Table 12.5: Mean vote for Green parties and extreme right parties, by country and by decade (per cent)	321
Table 14.1: Ratio of central office staff to parliamentary party staff	365
Table 15.1: Development of party membership	375
Table 15.2: Development of party resources	377
Table 16.1: The models of party and their characteristics	406
Table 17.1: National levels of party membership in the late 1990s	419
Table 17.2: Party membership change, 1980–2000: M/E ratios and absolute numbers	422
Table 17.A.1: Summary data, by country	425
Table 17.A.2: Membership levels, individual parties	428
Table 19.1: Support for parties in recent national elections, by position on European integration	464
Table 19.2: Anti-European parties in national elections	466
Table 23.1: Low turnout elections	541

Table 23.2: High volatility elections	541
Table 23.3: Change in party membership, 1980–2000	545
Table 24.1: Trends in party identification in Western Europe, 1960s-199	0s 565
Table 24.2: Growing bipolarism among the long-standing European democracies	567
Boxes	
Box 24.1: Rose conditions for party government	568
Box 24.2: Katz conditions for party government	569
Box 24.3: Thomassen conditions for party government	569
Day 24 A: Summary conditions for party government	560