## Contents

Lis	t of Tables	ix
Lis	t of Maps and Figures	xi
Preface Political Aurier in France, 1901-2002 key with the visite Honor		xiii
1	Perspectives on Parties in France Parties and social cleavages: the Lipset and Rokkan model Parties and ideology: Left, Right, and familles spirituelles Parties as organisations The Fifth Republic and the institutional framework of party competition Conclusion	1 2 13 16 25 32
2	The Course of Electoral Politics The transitional phase, 1958–1962 Gaullist 'dominance', 1962–1974 The 'bipolar quadrille', 1974–1981 Socialist 'dominance', 1981–1986 Challenges to 'parties of government', 1986–1995 Bipolarisation and fragmentation: 1995–2002 Bipolar multipartism: the party system of the Fifth Republic	34 34 39 42 43 44 49 57
3	Left and Right: Patterns of Co-operation and Conflict The Left The Right Conclusion	60 61 74 92
4	The Communist Collapse  Dimensions of decline  Vanished glories: the first party of France  Explaining decline  Mutation and continuity  The fall-out of decline	93 93 101 103 108 116

5	Influence on the Margins: France's Far Left The far Left: origins and history The Trotskyists: aims and organisation The Trotskyists and the voters The future of the far Left	120 120 123 123
6	Vanished Supremacy: the Socialists Under Mitterrand and After The changing Socialist voter Socialist policy: ideology and instrument Socialist organisation: members, factions, notables and présidentiables Citoyens et Radicaux Conclusion	130 133 134 148 158 173
7	The Green Dilemma From ecology to Les Verts Young, gifted, and Green: the ecology electorate Membership and organisation: an alternative party manqué? Green policy: frustrated maximalism Conclusion: the dilemma intact	179 180 182 189 194
8 zi ix	The Centre Cannot Hold: the UDF and its Disintegration Orleanist traditions The non-Gaullist moderate Right and the voters The Union pour la Démocratie Française (UDF) 1998–2002: disintegration and annexation Conclusion	199 200 206 213 226 231
9	The End of Gaullism and the Birth of the President's Party Rigid pragmatism: Gaullism and ideology Gaullist electorates Gaullists and party organisation From RPR to UMP	234 235 244 258
10	From the Barrel of a Gun: Chasse, Pêche, Nature, Traditions Organisation: CPNT and the chasse policy community Ideology: from bloodsports to 'rurality' Rural populists? The CPNT electorate Conclusion	272 273 278 280
11	'Français d'abord!' The Rise and Rise of the Front National A catch-all extremism: the FN and ideology The far Right electorate Charismatic leadership and the organisation of the far Right Conclusion: the FN in the French party system	287 289 295 305 324 333
12	Conclusion: a Disconnected Democracy?  An accident de parcours? 2002 as unique event The dimensions of malaise Disenchantment and democracy: comparative perspectives on France	338 339 342 363
Bibliography		374
Index decline		380 406
	Auguston and continues	400

*Note*: A key to abbreviations for French parties will be found in Table 1.3 (p. 6). Other abbreviations are given in the Index.