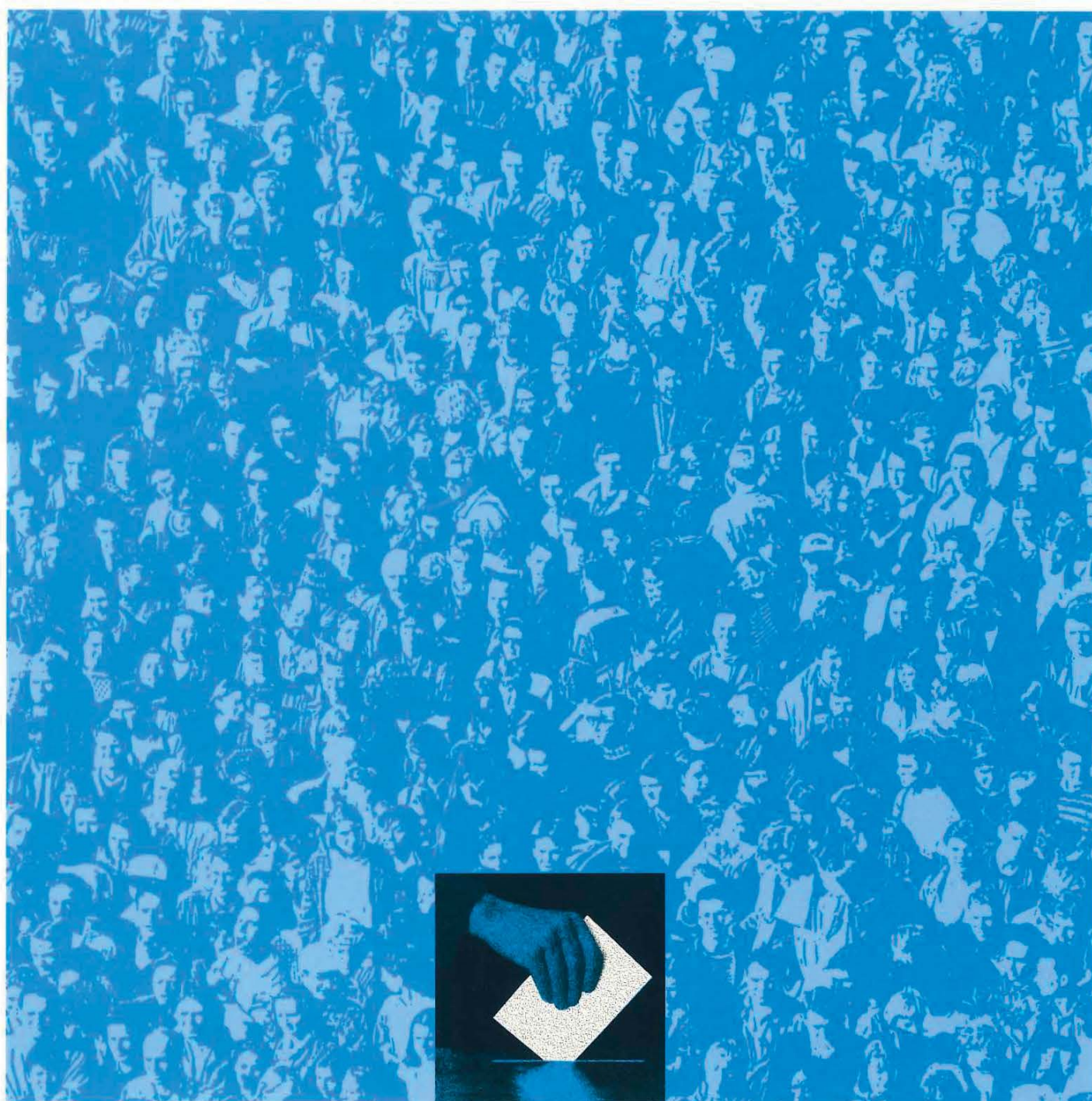


The Party System in Switzerland: an international comparison

A study based on data from
1971–1999 National Council elections



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A study based on data from
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Preface

For the past ten years or so the Swiss party system has undergone changes which have never before been seen since proportional representation was introduced in 1918: the right-wing conservative Swiss People's party, which for many decades had been the country's fourth most popular party, winning 10-12% of party votes, doubled its party votes within two elections and thus became the strongest party in the country. In addition, the "green" party was set up in the 1990s and quickly became the most important party not represented in the Federal Council.

Such changes in the political composition of the federal parliament bring into question the much quoted view of Switzerland as a particularly stable country politically. Is Switzerland really a prime example of a multi-party system which, thanks to its strong federal structure and direct democracy, is uniquely stable? Questions of this kind can best be answered through a comparison with neighbouring countries. The Swiss Federal Statistical Office therefore asked Klaus Armingeon, Professor of Political Science at the University of Berne, to compare changes in the political composition of Switzerland over the past thirty years with changes in other European countries and to indicate similarities as well as divergences. The results of the present study would indicate that the Swiss party system and the changes that have been seen recently are no exception within Europe, even if the Swiss party-political structure is strongly marked by characteristics particular to Switzerland.

The appendices to the study include tables which present the official results of parliamentary elections in all EU and EFTA countries since 1970. The statistical offices of these countries were kind enough to provide the Swiss Federal Statistical Office with their official elections results. The Institute of Political Science of the University of Berne offered its support to the Federal Statistical Office for processing these data.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Armingeon, who is responsible for the scientific aspect of the study, for his interesting work. My appreciation also goes to the directors general of the statistical offices who have allowed us to publish data on political developments in their countries in a simplified and handy form.

I hope that the results of this study will help to illustrate the particularities of the Swiss political system as well as the similarities which link it to Europe.

Swiss Federal Statistical Office
Adelheid Bürgi-Schmelz
Director General

Introduction

The subject of this paper is a comparison of Swiss political parties and the Swiss party system with those of other countries. Political parties are organized associations of like-minded citizens with the aim of pursuing common political causes in opinion-building and decision-making processes concerning public matters. A party system is used to mean all parties acting in the same political arena and how they relate to each other; thus, a party system is more than just the sum of its constituent parts, i.e. of its parties. Important characteristics of party systems include the number of parties, their size, the ideologies of the main parties and the patterns of their interaction, their relationship to society and to the political system as well as the extent to which the party system is institutionalized.

A lot of information already exists about the Swiss party system which has been described in considerable detail. First and foremost, mention should be made of the work of Erich Gruner, in particular his monograph on the parties in the Swiss Confederation (Gruner 1977). Andreas Ladner harvested great praise for his updating and revision of Gruner's presentation (Ladner 1991 and 1999; cf. also Geser, Ladner et al. 1994). Vatter for his part investigated the party system in the various cantons (Vatter 2001). Chapters in textbooks and anthologies provide further important information (Kriesi 1995; Linder 1999; Kerr 1987; Sciarini and Hug 1999), and some of them have also taken international comparative aspects into consideration.

This contribution consistently pursues the comparative approach. In contrast to a detailed description and analysis of Swiss parties in the national context, the aim is not to outline the structures, lines of development and problems of the parties and their relations in the Confederation as comprehensively and faithfully as possible but to identify the differences to and points in common with party systems in other established democracies in the OECD group of countries, especially in Western Europe¹, though the comparison is necessarily confined to selected aspects of the party system. The focus is on the party system in Switzerland; every section takes the situation in Switzerland as its point of departure, deriving questions for international comparison purposes from it.

¹ The comparative group of OECD countries comprises the following countries: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece (from 1974), Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal (from 1975), Spain (from 1977), Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom (GBR), and the United States (USA). The term «Europe» refers to the Western European countries in this group.

Many domestic observers describe the interplay of parties in the Swiss Confederation as an exception in the European party system. At first glance, there are many arguments in support of this view. Nowhere else in Europe does direct democracy occupy such a central position in the political system as in Switzerland. Thus, the options for action of Swiss parties are different from the outset from those of countries with a purely parliamentarily representative political system. Erich Gruner wrote that Swiss parties had developed in conjunction with popular votes, making them the product of popular rights and not of parliamentary development, as in the rest of Europe (Gruner 1977). He also argued that, because of Switzerland's pronounced federalism, the different political systems of the cantons meant that even National Council elections were just 26 cantonal elections held in parallel. Gruner's views were repeated on numerous occasions (Kerr 1987; Kriesi 1998), using the considerable differences that exist in the other cantonal political institutions (Vatter 2001). Nevertheless, as the following comparisons are intended to show, the Swiss party system is not in a class of its own and is not a case «*sui generis*». In fact, it belongs to a group of fragmented party systems in Europe and is subject to similar development trends as those which characterize the European party systems. This even applies to the radical upheavals in the Swiss party landscape in the 1990s which, when seen in comparative terms, no longer appear to be so singular.

1 Comparison criteria and basic data

Party systems can be analyzed from many angles. Comparative study of the differences and similarities of the Swiss system has to use fewer, simpler criteria which permit typological allocation or quantitative measurement. The definition of the party system generates important comparison criteria. These include the number and size of the parties, as well as their ideological lines of thrust. This assumes that there are such things as national party systems in the first place. For Switzerland at least, this is called into question by the theory that national elections are merely 26 parallel elections: the cantonal political systems, and in particular the cantonal party systems, are so different that there must be cantonal variations in the reasons for electoral behaviour. Thus, the homogeneousness of a party system within the various regions of a particular country is another important criterion. This could be described as the degree of «nationalization» of a party system (Caramani 1996). As party systems change, the strength and direction of this change constitute further comparison criteria, and this includes the rise and fall of political parties.

The present description of the Swiss party system is based on chronological and national comparisons, thus showing up points in common with and differences to the Swiss party system seen in international terms. Comparison over time makes it possible to identify stability and change, convergence and divergence, while comparisons between countries allow a distinction to be made between structural characteristics at a specific point in time. Given the similarities and interdependence of the political and historical framework, it seems obvious to make comparisons with Western European countries. As far as the available data allow, all established democracies in the OECD group of countries are included in this comparison. The comparison period covers 1960 to 1999, a forty-year period which is sufficiently long to allow identification of structural constants and long-term changes. Whenever expedient and feasible, I use a simple, easily surveyable analysis strategy, like that recently followed by Peter Mair (Mair 2002), constituting decade averages of the relevant variables for each country.

The data on which the study is based are mainly results of national elections. Election statistics can be found in manuals, such as the Compendia produced by Mackie and Rose or Caramani, the latest product and an outstanding one at that (Mackie and Rose 1991; Caramani 2000). On the basis of official publications, the Swiss Federal Statistical Office in conjunction with Berne University's Political Science Institute, prepared a data set for Western European countries for the period 1971 to 1999 which is annexed to this study (Appendix 3). Further-

more, there are collections of university research that are freely accessible through data archives and via the Internet, one example being the Comparative Political Data Set (Armingeon, Beyeler et al. 2001). The advantage of the latter source is that it is freely accessible via the Internet, can be tapped into direct using standard statistical programs and that the individual national parties can be assigned to the international party families identified by Lane (Lane et al. 1997). For the purposes of this analysis, the data collection was supplemented with that of the Swiss Federal Statistical Office and used to compile the percentage votes of the party families. Election results for a party were taken into consideration only if this party received three percent of all votes at least once in the period under investigation, between 1960 and 1999. On the basis of this rule, parties such as the «Lega dei Ticinesi» (Ticino League) or the «Partei der Arbeit / Parti suisse du travail» (Workers' party) are not taken into account in comparative analyses based on the Comparative Political Data Set.²

² For the percentage of votes received by parties in national elections, the following procedure was used: Up to the year preceding the election year ($t-1$), the percentage votes of the most recent elections (eg in year $t-4$) were entered as the result for the year. From the election year (t) on, the election results from year t up to and including the year preceding the next elections (to be held in $t+4$ for instance) were entered annually. The average of these annual results was then established for the decade. For instance, if Party A had a 40% share of the vote in the 1988 election, a 20% share in the 1992 election and a 10% share in the 1996 election, the percentage shares entered for 1990 and 1991 were 40% respectively, for 1992–95 20% respectively and for 1996 until the end of the decade 10% respectively, giving an average of 20% for 1990–99. In calculating the government's party-political composition, the percentages were calculated on a daily basis using the date of taking up government as the cut-off date, and these annual figures were then averaged out over the decade.

2 Number of parties

In addition to the four parties represented in the Federal Council – the Radical Democratic party, the Christian Democratic party, the Social Democrat party and the Swiss People's party – many other parties also obtained a substantial share of the vote at national level in the 1999 National Council elections, including the Ecologists (Green Party, 5,0%), the Liberals (2,3%), the Evangelical People's Party (1,8%), the Labour Party (1,0%), the Swiss Democrats (1,8%) and the Freedom Party (0,9%). Obviously, Switzerland has many parties, but most European countries also have a large number of political organizations of this type, while other states approximate more closely to the ideal of a two-party system model. The best example of this is the New Zealand party system before the introduction of proportional representation elections in 1995³. In contrast, the party systems of continental Europe are characterized by a large number of parties, and Switzerland is a good example of a multi-party system of this kind.

To compare the number of Swiss parties with that in other countries, the question is which parties are to be counted and how are they to be weighted. Since the comparison of national party systems is involved, it is meaningful to start by taking account only of those parties that are attempting to win seats in the national parliament. Thus, organizations which do not do so are not counted. Moreover, the weighting of the various vote percentages also needs to be clarified. In sociological research, a formula based on an index from 0 to 1 has proved its worth. A value of close to «1» means that the party system consists of a large number of very small parties. In contrast, a value of «0» shows that there is only one party which gains 100% of all votes. If there are two parties, each of which receives 50% of the votes, the value obtained is 0,5. This fragmentation index (FI) is calculated using the following formula:

$$FI = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^m t_i^2$$

where t_i is the share of the vote obtained by party i and m is the number of parties. On the basis of probability theory, the value can be interpreted as the

³ The United Kingdom (GBR) was often wrongly classified as a two-party system in text books. In actual fact, since the Second World War, it has had at least a 2½ party system because, during the postwar period, both between 1964–66 and 1974–2001, there was a third party (the Liberals or left-wing liberal parties) which obtained a share of the vote in excess of 10%.

probability of two voters selected at random voting for different parties (Rae 1968). Laakso and Taagepera (1979) suggested remodelling this index, making it easier to interpret it as an indicator of the actual number of parties (N). This is calculated as: $N = 1/(1-FI)$. A country with two parties of the same size would have an N value of 2; a country with one party with 50%, one with 30% and one with 20% of the votes would have an FI value of 0,62 and hence an N value of 2,63.

1* Number of actual parties

Country	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999	1960 – 1999
Australia	2,9	2,9	3,2	3,2	2,9
Austria	2,4	2,3	3,4	3,5	2,7
Belgium	4,1	6,5	9,5	9,6	7,2
Canada	3,0	3,0	3,7	3,7	3,2
Denmark	4,0	5,5	4,8	4,8	5,0
Finland	5,5	6,0	5,9	5,9	5,8
France	5,0	5,2	6,0	6,1	5,2
Germany	3,3	2,9	3,8	3,8	3,3
Greece		3,3	2,8	2,8	2,9
Iceland	3,6	3,8	4,5	4,4	4,1
Ireland	3,0	2,8	3,9	3,9	3,2
Italy	4,0	3,8	6,7	6,8	4,8
Japan	2,7	3,7	4,3	4,3	3,5
Luxembourg	3,4	3,9	4,7	4,7	4,0
Netherlands	5,1	6,0	4,9	4,9	5,0
New Zealand	2,5	2,6	3,5	3,5	2,8
Norway	3,7	4,3	4,9	4,9	4,2
Portugal		3,7	3,0	3,0	3,3
Spain		4,3	3,7	3,6	3,7
Sweden	3,3	3,5	4,1	4,2	3,6
Switzerland	5,2	5,9	7,1	7,0	6,1
United Kingdom (GBR)	2,4	2,8	3,1	3,1	2,8
United States (USA)	2,1	2,1	2,5	2,1	2,0
Mean	3,6	4,0	4,5	4,5	4,0

Source: Armington, Beyeler et al. 2001

Table 1* contains the results of calculations based on this formula. The values are shown for each country for the last four decades of the 20th century and as the average value of the decade values. In the case of Greece, Portugal and Spain, the appropriate statistics can only be calculated from the introduction of free elections (1974, 1975 and 1977 respectively), following the democratization of these countries in the 1970s. According to these statistics, there were five actual parties in Switzerland in the 1960s, after which the figure rose to six parties (1970s) and then seven (1980s) before falling back to six in the 1990s. This broadly corresponds to the picture in OECD countries, where the number of parties rose until the 1980s. The average variation for OECD countries over time is however lower than in Switzerland (between 3½ and 4½ parties). A glance at the average values of countries for each decade also shows a surprising degree of consistency. Apart from very slight variations, the average number of actual parties is around four organizations. Thus, there is obviously no empirical foundation for the idea of a dramatic change in Western party systems as regards the number of parties. What is more, the larger variation in Switzerland should not be overemphasized. Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands experienced at least a similar degree of fluctuation over that period.

Table 1* reveals a further constant: there is little variation in the ranking of the countries. Countries which had numerous parties in the 1960s were also among those which had numerous parties at the turn of the century, with one major exception. In the 1950s, Belgium still had a three-party system. Over the following decade, there were four parties, a figure which suddenly rocketed to between nine and ten parties. The reason for this drastic change lies in the regionalization of the Belgian political system which resulted in the forming of autonomous regional parties, such as the Social Democrats or the Christian Democrats (Armingeon 1989: 343).

However, there are substantial differences between the countries in a further respect: the degree of party fragmentation varies considerably. The United States (USA), Austria, the United Kingdom, Greece and Australia are countries with 2½ to 3 parties, while Denmark, the Netherlands, France, Finland, Switzerland and Belgium have an average of five to six parties. In a long-term comparison, only Belgium has a more fragmented party system than Switzerland, putting the latter in the group of countries with highly fragmented party systems. However, it is by no means the only party system in democratic countries with a large number of parties. How can this relative stability in the number of parties be explained? For instance, why does the number of Swiss parties differ so much from that of its neighbours, Austria or Germany, throughout the period under investigation?

Maurice Duverger, the French political scientist, provides a famous answer to this question. The structure of a party system and the number of parties in it is largely determined by electoral legislation:

1. Proportional elections result in a multi-party system with rigid, independent and stable parties.
2. Majority elections with a run-off ballot result in multi-party systems with flexible, independent and comparatively stable parties.
3. Simple majority elections result in a two-party system in which large and independent parties alternate (Duverger 1959: 219).

While these «laws» attracted a great deal of criticism, nobody denies that electoral rules have an influence. But it is equally obvious from theoretical and empirical research that the influence of electoral rules depends on context and that there are other important, non-institutional determinants (Nohlen 2000; Ware 1996: 192). If one accepts Duverger's law, this explanation seems to match Switzerland's case, but the United Kingdom would have «too many» and Austria «too few» parties. That is why socio-economic and cultural explanatory factors were developed in party research, in addition to institutional explanations, and these are dealt with in the next chapter.

3 Families of parties and lines of conflict

A second explanation for the differing numbers of parties takes a country's socio-cultural groupings as its point of departure. Parties represent these groupings and the more of them there are, the larger the number of parties must be. Applied to Switzerland, this could mean that the Swiss People's party is traditionally the party of Protestant farmers and the middle classes, while the Radicals represent the bourgeoisie, the Christian Democrats speak for Catholic segments of the population and the Social Democrats defend, in political terms, the interests of the workers. Countries in which there is no conflict between town and country or between different religions should therefore have fewer parties. If this explanation is accepted, it would mean that Switzerland has so many parties because it is a socially and culturally mixed society.

Stein Rokkan and Seymour Martin Lipset made an ambitious attempt to allocate the parties of Western Europe to families based on their underlying socio-cultural cleavage lines (Lipset and Rokkan 1967). The authors argue that Western Europe has gone through two major revolutions – one national, the other industrial – in the course of which four social conflicts were triggered. These conflicts were processed by political parties which saw themselves as the representatives of at least one of these social conflicts and entered into a long-standing coalition with the corresponding population group and the organization representing its interests. Depending on the emergence of one of these modernization conflicts and its organization through an existing party or a newly created one, the Western European party systems had developed up to the period between the Wars. Since then, the party system in Western Europe had been «frozen», according to what the authors wrote in the mid-Sixties. Thus, the historical roots of these party systems partly dated back long before the introduction of democracy.

Rokkan and Lipset's theory was intensively discussed in party research circles and is now regarded as foreshortened for many reasons, one of them being that it confines itself to four central social conflicts, namely between the centre and the periphery, between Church and State, between town and country and between workers and owners. Not each of today's politically organized conflicts, such as that between economics and ecology, can be easily reduced to these four basic conflicts, so it is more appropriate to assume that there is a larger number of conflicts and thus a larger number of party families. Klaus von Beyme has established a useful outline of the nuances between parties in Western democra-

2* Outline of the distinctions between Western European political parties based on social and political conflicts

1. **Liberalism against the old Conservative regime**
 2. **Conservatives against the Liberals**

<i>Switzerland</i>	Liberals vs. Catholic Conservatives (1830 – 1874)
<i>France</i>	Liberals, 'Doctrinaires' vs. Royalists (1814 – 1830)
<i>Germany</i>	Liberals vs. Monarchists (1815 – 1848)
 3. **Labour parties against the bourgeois system**

<i>Switzerland</i>	Grütliverein (1838), Swiss worker's union (1873), Social Democratic party (1888)
<i>Germany</i>	General german worker's association/Social democratic labour party (1863 / 1869)
 4. **Farming parties against the Industrial system**

<i>Switzerland</i>	Bernische Bauern-, Gewerbe- und Bürgerpartei (merged in 1971 with some sections of the Democratic Party to form the Swiss People's party)
<i>Sweden</i>	Farmers party (later: centre party)
 5. **Regional parties against the centralist system**

<i>Switzerland</i>	Lega dei Ticinesi
<i>Italy</i>	Lega Nord
<i>Germany</i>	Bavarian Party
 6. **Christian parties against the lay system**

<i>Switzerland</i>	Conservative people's party (1912), since 1970 Christian Democratic party
<i>Germany</i>	Centre (since 1871) and later Christian Democratic Union
<i>Italy</i>	Partito Popolare (1919), Democrazia Cristiana
 7. **Communist parties against «social democracy»**

<i>Switzerland</i>	Communist party of Switzerland (1921), since 1944 Workers' party
<i>Germany</i>	Communist party of Germany
 8. **Fascist parties against democratic systems**

<i>Switzerland</i>	National Front (1930)
<i>Germany</i>	National-Socialist German worker's party
<i>Italy</i>	Fasci di Combattimento (1919), later Partito Nazionale Fascista
Neo-fascists:	Switzerland (missing), Italy (MSI), Germany (NPD)
 9. **Right-wing populists against the bureaucratic/welfare-state system**

<i>Switzerland</i>	Lega dei Ticinesi, Freedom Party
<i>Italy</i>	Lega Nord
<i>Austria</i>	Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)
<i>Germany</i>	Republicans
 10. **Ecology movement against the Industrial growth society**

<i>Switzerland, Germany, France, Austria, etc.:</i>	Green party
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Source: von Beyrne 2000: 70, supplemented by the author

cies. It distinguishes between ten different party families, taking its lead from the major political controversies and/or lines of conflict which underlie them (von Beyme 2000: 70). Table 2* contains a version of this outline, supplemented by further examples, which also shows that the classifications used by von Beyme are not exclusive: the Lega dei Ticinesi for instance is both a regional and a right-wing populist party; for many years, the Austrian FPÖ matched the type of a right-wing liberal party, and it was only in the 1990s that it took on increasingly right-wing populist traits.

This overview makes it clear that the Swiss party system with its numerous parties is not a system «sui generis» or an exceptional case. Switzerland is an extreme case only in the sense that there is virtually no conflict in European societies which has not occurred in Switzerland too and been covered in party form. In that respect, the Swiss party system is particularly close to the ideal model of a European party system.

This finding is also supported by a further analysis. Arend Lijphart counted the persistent bones of contention in the political systems of Western countries and graded them according to whether they were of major (G) or medium (M) importance (Lijphart 1999: 78-87).

Table 3* shows that there are quite a lot of political conflicts in Switzerland but that it is not alone in this. And where numerous politically controversial issues are debated, a comparatively high number of political parties can emerge, claiming to represent interests in one or more of these conflicts. Lijphart sums up this relationship in the rule of thumb that the number of relevant parties is equal to the number of conflicts, plus one. Seen from the international comparison angle, this would lead to the assumption that there are five relevant parties in Switzerland. This result too indicates that the Swiss party system is not a special case but is typical for a group of countries with numerous social conflicts that are addressed democratically.

3* Political lines of conflict in 23 democracies

Country	Socio-economic	Religious	Ethno-cultural	Town – country	Support for the system	Foreign policy	Post-materialism	Number of conflicts
Australia	G			M				1.5
Austria	G	M						1.5
Belgium	G	G	G					3.0
Canada	M		G					1.5
Denmark	G	M		M		M		2.5
Finland	G	M	G	M	M			3.5
France	G	M			M	M		2.5
Germany	G	G	M				M	3.0
Greece	G				M			1.5
Iceland	G			M		M		2.0
Ireland	G					M		1.5
Italy	G	G			M	M		3.0
Japan	G	M			M	M		2.5
Luxembourg	G	G						2.0
Netherlands	G	G					G	3.0
New Zealand	G							1.0
Norway	G	G		M			M	3.0
Portugal	G	M			M	M		2.5
Spain	G	M	G					2.5
Sweden	G	M		M			M	2.5
Switzerland	G	M	M	M		G	M	4.0
United Kingdom (GBR)	G					M		1.5
United States (USA)	M		M					1.0

G: major conflicts

M: medium conflicts

Source: Lijphart 1999: 80-81, supplemented for Switzerland

4 Ideologies and programmes

Swiss politicians have occasionally expressed the idea that there were more likely to be pronounced programmatic differences between the parties in Switzerland because the larger number of parties prevented rapprochement between them, because the only votes still to be won were in the Centre, among so-called median voters. Others came up with the theory that a «political class» represented objectives and convictions that were no longer representative of the man and woman in the street. Then again, the idea is often advanced that the «age of ideologies» ended at the very latest with the collapse of Eastern European state socialism, leaving parties to develop into vote-catching machines between which no programmatic differences of substance had survived. What is one to think of these views, on the basis of an international comparison of quantifiable indicators?

First, it is a fact that the clear-cut programmatic differences that typified the Western party system up to the Second World War no longer exist. Some authors ascribe this to a gradual convergence of programmes among Western parties over the past four decades that even goes as far as programmatic adjustment (Thomas 1976, 1980). Admittedly, this is the view of a minority. Most party researchers continue to find marked differences between the party programmes and base this reasoning on comparative expertises conducted on parties. And one of these surveys is particularly important for the present study because it includes the Swiss party system.

This survey by Huber and Ingelhart was conducted in 1993 (Huber and Ingelhart 1995). Experts in each country were asked to place their national political parties on a left-right scale ranging between 1 and 10. Table 4* contains the values for the main left-wing party and the strongest centre, centre-right or right-wing party. The «difference» column provides information about the gap between two parties on this scale and shows that there are still considerable differences between the major objectives of the big parties in Western democracies. This applies to Switzerland too, where the values are above-average but by no means extreme. In contrast, there is little support for the argument that there is every likelihood of marked party-political positions in Switzerland because the large number of parties and well-demarcated social and regional groupings on which these organizations are based do not exert a pull towards the centre, as is the case in other countries.

4* Political and ideological differences between the main left-wing party and the strongest centre, centre-right or right-wing party 1993

Country	Difference	Left wing	Right wing	Name of the party
Australia	2.38	4.75	7.13	Australian Labour party / Liberal party
Austria	1.50	4.75	6.25	Social Democrat party / People's party
Belgium	1.76	4.10	5.86	Socialist party / Christian people's party, Christian Social party
Canada	2.20	5.10	7.30	Liberal party / Progressive Conservative party
Denmark	2.34	5.22	7.56	Social Democrats / Conservative people's party
Germany	2.59	3.83	6.42	Social Democrats / Christian Democratic Union
Finland	3.00	4.38	7.38	Social Democrats / National Coalition
Ireland	1.70	4.10	5.80	Labour / Fianna Fail
Italy	3.83	2.50	6.33	Democratic Left / Christian Democrats
Japan	4.64	3.79	8.43	Socialist party / Liberal-democrat party
Netherlands	2.10	4.20	6.30	Labour party / Christian Democrats
New Zealand	3.80	3.50	7.30	Labour party / National party
Norway	3.87	4.13	8.00	Labour party / Conservative party (Hoyre)
Portugal	1.50	4.88	6.38	Socialist party / Social Democrat party
Spain	3.50	4.00	7.50	Socialist worker's party / People's party
Sweden	4.25	4.08	8.33	Social Democrats / Conservatives
Switzerland	3.40	2.60	6.00	Social Democrats / Radical Democratic party
United Kingdom (GBR)	3.28	4.43	7.71	Labour / Conservative party
United States (USA)	2.70	4.15	6.85	Democrats / Republicans
Mean	2.86	4.13	6.99	

Scale of 1 to 10

Left wing	Average values for the expert ratings of the political and ideological positioning of left-wing parties.
Right wing	Average values for the expert ratings of the political and ideological positioning of centre, centre-right or right-wing parties.
Difference	Difference between the two average values.

Calculated from Huber and Inglehart (1995)

The data in table 4* do not support the assertion that modern democracies had spawned catch-all parties without clear programmatic differences. Even such radical changes as those experienced in Italy during the 1990s have not hastened the development of a catch-all party. On the contrary, the new parties in Italy represent the old lines of conflict, particularly the conflict between North and South and the conflict between Catholicism and laicism (Sommer 2002). Furthermore, it was recently argued that these catch-all parties have now become cartel parties (Katz and Mair 1995), with a cartel consisting of political parties that have largely lost their function as representatives of the interests of social groups. According to Katz und Mair, growing state subsidization resulted in independence from membership contributions, an independence which became necessary due to falling party membership figures and to a growing unwillingness on the part of members to devote time and money to party work. At the same time, the cost of electoral campaigns, professionally run party support structures and the advertising agencies and consultants called in to help them had increased to the point where the necessary resources could no longer be covered by contributions from private individuals and organizations. One consequence of state subsidies was a common organizational interest among all parties in respect of the State. Taken in conjunction with less marked ideological differences, Katz and Mair saw this as leading to an informal alliance of the parties in a semi-public cartel which provided a mediation service between the State and its citizens with the help of State resources.

It is hard to position Switzerland in this controversial typology. On the one hand, there are no State subsidies (Drysch 1998), so in that respect Swiss parties are a long way from a State-funded cartel. On the other hand, the concordance and cooperation among the four major parties in the Swiss Federal Council represent a cartel in a narrower sense. Since the introduction of the «magic formula» (1959), the outcome of elections has not resulted in a different party-political composition of the national government (Armingeon 1999: 465 and particularly 473). Admittedly, this would mean that Switzerland had had a cartel party as early as the 1960s, while Katz und Mair place the emergence of this phenomenon in the 1970s.

The theory about the development of «catch-all-parties» and cartel parties is overdrawn, and not just for Switzerland, because the programmatic positioning of parties is still clearly distinguishable and because the socio-cultural profiles of the electorate still do not match. Nevertheless, there is an element of truth at the heart of the theory about the development of catch-all parties, because modern parties now seek electoral support from far beyond their traditional voter circles. Social Democrat parties for instance have not been confined to the working clas-

ses for many years now, and what used to be farmers' parties have recruited new voters from other strata of society. A good example of this is the Swiss People's party, which began as the party of Protestant farmers and small businessmen (Junker 1968). In the last federal elections, however, most of the Swiss People's party's votes did not come from farmers, and the percentage of Catholics among its supporters was comparable with the percentage of Catholics for the electorate as a whole (Hirter 2000). This change in the socio-cultural structure of their supporters is a prerequisite for the survival of parties like former workers' or farmers' parties because neither farmers nor manual workers (those who are eligible to vote) represent a sufficiently large reservoir to preserve or even increase past shares of the vote. The same applies to Christian Democrat parties, whose traditional stock of voters in Switzerland – drawn from practising Catholics – is shrinking as a result of the trend towards secularization. The resultant loss of votes can be compensated for by attempting to win swing votes at each new election. One alternative to replacing the old staunch group of voters who have been lost with «casual voters» is to try to obtain the long-term loyalty of segments of society which barely used to vote for this party.

The cartel party theory too has elements that are important and undeniably true, including the substantial role played by the State in supporting political parties, the gearing of parties to the mass media and the resultant mushrooming of professional adviser teams for PR campaigns, as well as the decreasing importance of active party membership at local community level.

Lastly, what are the merits of another popular idea that a «political class» has staged programmatic conflicts which were watched by an uncomprehending general public and no longer have any support in the electorate?

Empirical research findings contradict this view. Anders Widfeldt analyzed surveys for various countries in which party members and supporters were asked to grade themselves on a scale of «1» (far left) to «10» (far right) (Widfeldt 1995). If the idea of non-representative parties were correct, considerable differences could have been expected between the ideological positioning of these members and supporters. This study was also replicated for Switzerland on the basis of the survey conducted on the occasion of the 1995 Federal Elections (Selects Survey).

The findings are unambiguous: despite what is often written in the mass media, parties in Switzerland, as well as in the other Western democracies, are highly representative of their supporters, so there is no empirical support for the idea that parties have become alienated from their supporters.

5* Representativity of political parties

Country	Party	Members	N	Supporters	N
Switzerland	Christian Democratic party /				
	Christian Social Party	6.1	228	6.0	263
	Radical Democratic party	6.6	312	6.3	459
	Swiss People's party	6.7	115	6.6	237
	Social Democratic party	3.3	125	3.6	814
France	Communist party	1.9	47	2.4	168
	Socialist party	2.6	43	3.3	1'063
	Republicans (RPR)	8.0	31	7.6	440
Italy ¹	Communist party	1.8	116	2.3	541
	Socialist party	3.5	47	3.9	383
	Christian Democrats	5.9	119	5.9	800
Germany	Social Democrats	3.5	109	4.1	995
	Christian Democratic Union /				
	Christian Social Union	7.5	109	7.0	933
Netherlands	Labour party	2.9	86	3.6	967
	Christian Democrats	7.0	107	6.6	886
	Liberals	7.2	31	6.9	445

Average values of self-classification of members and supporters on a left-right scale

¹ The surveys, on which these calculations are based, were conducted in 1986, long before the radical changes in the Italian party system came about. More recent analyses indicate, however, that the changes in the coalitions between socio-cultural population groups and party groups were much less dramatic than the changes in the parties within the individual party groups (Sommer 2002).

Source: Re-Analysis of the Selects 95 survey and Widfeldt 1995: 168 et seq.

5 Left- and right-wing extremist parties

During the period covered by this study, from 1960 to 1999, there were no strong far-left extremist parties in Switzerland. In contrast, in Western Europe, between seven and nine percent of all election voters voted for parties with a Communist programme or which positioned themselves clearly to the left of the Social Democrats (Appendix table T1.4). Particularly in France, Italy and Finland, as well as in Spain and Portugal, the extreme left's share of the vote was or is high. The average percentage of the vote obtained by the Swiss Workers' party or the Progressive Organizations (POCH) fell far short of this figure. Switzerland has under-average figures for the extreme right of the political spectrum also. This is hard to quantify because classification of extreme-right parties is difficult, given that almost none of these organizations labels itself as extremist. In political science research, a right-wing extremist party is generally interpreted as a party that does not accept democratic rules and which ranks its own nation or ethnic group as superior to others (cf. Betz 1996; Gabriel 1996). Examples of such parties are the «Vlaams Blok» in Belgium (classified by Lane, McKay and Newton in 1997 as an ethnic party), the Italian Neofascists, the German Republicans or France's Front National. Switzerland has no comparable far-right parties, not even a party located somewhere between right-wing populism and right-wing extremism, like the Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs of the 1990s. Individual sections of the Swiss People's party and the Freedom Party and the Swiss Democrats could sometimes appear to qualify for such a classification, but their clear identification with democratic rules definitely puts a rather considerable distance between them and right-wing extremism.

How can this lack of a strong far-left and far-right movement in Switzerland be explained in the light of international comparisons? The key can be sought in aspects which were largely faded out in Lipset and Rokkan's theory, namely the institutions of political participation and the strategy of the State and the ruling elites in respect of the workers' movement.

When this movement formed political organizations in Europe roughly a century ago, the ruling elite had to choose between two strategies: marginalization or inclusion. The decision was taken in the period up to the end of the Second World War, as part of a process which was frequently not linear and sometimes violent. Where marginalization was chosen – i.e. particularly in Italy and France – a strong Communist Party managed to establish itself. When the choice was inclusion, the chances of organized left-wing extremism were less good and a moderate social-democrat movement could secure a central role for itself in the political system as the representative of workers' interests. From the 1930s, Swit-

zerland opted for inclusion, thus opening up the way for the Social Democrats to participate as junior partners in the political system: first in the governments of heavily industrialized cantons, then as part of the social partnership following the conclusion of social peace between trade unions and employers in 1937 and then, from 1959, as a permanent member of Switzerland's Federal Council, reflecting the development and expansion of the social state and the corporatist organization of the State and economy. Furthermore, popular rights created opportunities for left-wing participation that did not exist to the same degree in other countries.

The lack of right-wing extremism in the Swiss Confederation can hardly be explained by lack of potential for right-wing extremism in its population. Compared with other countries, Swiss people are no more active in their support of democracy than the people of other Western democracies. Political participation and political interest in Switzerland tends to be below average. Xenophobia, an important prerequisite for the genesis and establishment of far-right organizations, is widespread in Switzerland also. When it comes to hostility to foreigners, the corresponding figures for Switzerland are not so much different from those for other Western democracies. Although there would therefore be many prerequisites for attitudes that nurture organized right-wing extremism, no long-term far-right party developed in Switzerland, while political activists in other countries managed to mobilize this potential support for the corresponding parties. One important reason why this potential far-right extremism just evaporated could be Switzerland's institutions of direct democracy (Armingeon 1995; Kriesi and Wisler 1996; Kriesi 1999). In representative democracies, the fears and anger that underlie right-wing extremism can be programmatically focussed by the appropriate parties, and voting for these parties is virtually the only opportunity for the citizens concerned to have their political say. Matters are different in a direct democracy where people have a chance to air their grievances on certain issues in specific popular votes. Initiatives and referenda on foreigners are a good example of this. Once voters have had an opportunity to effectively express their views on a particular issue, bad feeling can no longer be channelled into support for parties with comprehensive far-right programmes, or at least not as easily as in other countries. However, this institutional explanation for the lack of far-right parties in Switzerland does not exclude other answers. Another important factor is surely the comparatively crisis-free development of the post-war Swiss economy which protected Switzerland against the challenges faced by other countries. And the fact that Switzerland boasts three established centre-right parties, which could tie potential far-right leanings into the democratic system, might be a further important component. In other countries, there is often

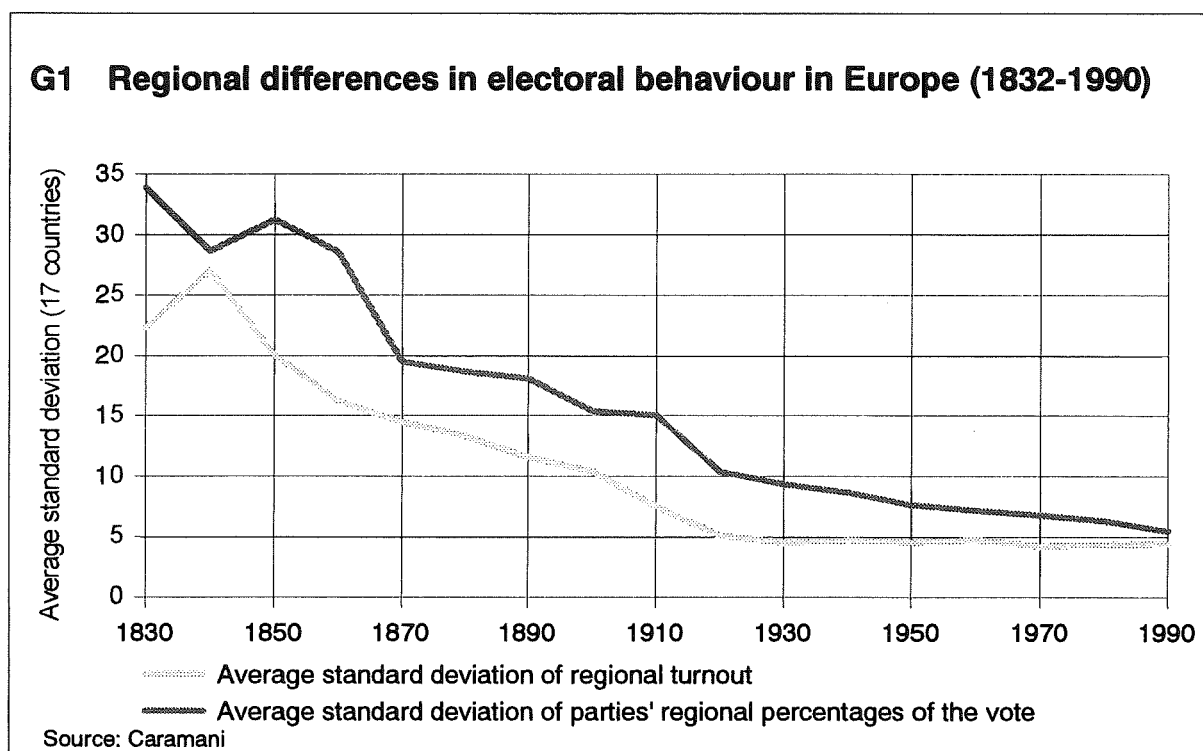
just one respected democratic party to the right of the political spectrum, giving citizens with far-right tendencies less of a choice.

6 Nationalization of the party system

One frequently advanced characteristic of the Swiss political system is the lack of a national party system, with parties being organized on a cantonal basis and combined only fairly loosely at national (federal) level. If this argument is accepted, Switzerland is unique because nationalization of the party system has not taken place or only to a very slight extent.

Nationalization of the party system is interpreted as meaning the adaptation of electoral campaigns and voting behaviour in the individual regions of a political system. The degree of nationalization can be ascertained using aggregate data through the number of parties in the individual regions and regional election results. A second strategy consists of analyzing individual electoral behaviour based on survey data.

Daniele Caramani is the author of the most comprehensive data manual to date, dealing with elections in 18 Western European countries and covering regional election results (Caramani 2000).



Among other things, he calculates three indicators: the average percentage of regions (constituencies) in which a party participates in elections; the deviation of parties' regional election results from national election results (measured as a standard deviation) as well as the deviation of regional election participation from national election participation. A first important finding of his analysis is the homogenization of electoral behaviour in Europe. This process of adaptation was strong up to the time between the wars and slowed down afterwards (Graph G1).

Switzerland corresponds to the overall findings, but with three important exceptions:

1. Until 1872, electoral behaviour developed on different lines in the regions and only then did homogenization begin
2. From then on, the course of homogenization was steadier than in the countries taken overall
3. Independently of the indicator calculated, Switzerland is among the countries with the lowest degree of nationalization of electoral behaviour in the 1990s.

This finding of a comparatively low level of nationalization cannot, however, be used to argue that Switzerland is a special case because there are several other countries where nationalization of the party system is slight. Belgium is a case in point when it comes to variations in election results (for the period 1943–1995), Spain as regards the regional presence of parties (for the period 1918–1995) and Finland comes very close to Switzerland as regards electoral participation (Caramani 2000: 74–80).

Caramani cites two conditions for a low level of nationalization in electoral behaviour – cultural heterogeneousness and when industrialization took place. He argues that a country's cultural heterogeneousness is also expressed in different cultural regions (language regions, Catholic and Protestant regions and regions with a religious mix) that would result in separate political institutions. This explanation seems to fit the Swiss context like a glove. At first glance, the second argument – when industrialization took place – seems to be less plausible. According to Caramani, early industrialization means greater regional mobility of manpower. This would result in premature blurring of the distinctions between regional cultural particularities, with the result that no specific regional political structure could develop. However, Switzerland was in the vanguard of industrialization and yet, even today, it is still a society with marked regional differences in the party system and electoral behaviour. The key to solving this puzzle could lie in the specific nature of Swiss industrialization which took the form of in-

dustrialization without simultaneous urbanization. Thus, Switzerland's transition to the industrial society did not trigger large-scale migration of manpower from rural areas to distant industrial centres. Consequently, despite early industrialization, regional differences were not levelled off, allowing independent regional political structures to be preserved and/or established.

Caramani's study is a milestone in comparative election and party research because for the first time, region-based election data were collected and analyzed for a long period. However, one question remains unanswered: it is assumed in these surveys and analyses that the regional divisions of a national party represent the same programmes in all regions, form the same political coalitions and have supporters of the same social structure. And this just does not apply to Switzerland, as Gruner and Kerr have emphatically shown (Gruner 1977 and Kerr 1987).

Moreover, an analysis based on individual data shows that these major regional differences in nationally organized parties in Switzerland are not unique. The study was based on electoral behaviour data in ten Swiss cantons during the 1995 federal elections and on electoral behaviour data for 14 Western European societies (Armingeon 1998). The study's basic premise is that in Switzerland, a person's decision to vote for a party (and not to vote for other parties) depends on attitudes and socio-cultural characteristics whose importance varies considerably from region to region. And enormous regional differences were indeed found in Switzerland. The theory that there are no national elections in the Swiss Confederation, just 26 parallel cantonal elections, is confirmed in that the election decision bears the stamp of the cantonal institutional context. In actual fact, these differences between cantons are roughly as great as the differences in electoral behaviour between some European societies. However, a second, critical look also reveals that in these European societies, national election results are frequently also an aggregation of very different regional factors that determine electoral behaviour. If regionalized analyses are conducted for EU countries, differences in regional electoral behaviour in Belgium, Italy, Ireland, Portugal and Spain are the same as, or even greater, than in Switzerland. As in the previous analyses, the Swiss party system turns out not to be an isolated case but belongs to a group of European countries where historical, economic and cultural differences between the regions have produced regional differences in the party systems.

7 Relative strengths of the parties

In democracies, percentages of electoral votes are the most important resource available to political parties. They decide the strength of individual parties in Parliament. However, electoral law and the rules of parliamentary seat allocation intervene between these percentage votes and party strength in the legislative body and may produce considerable deviations from percentage votes and seat percentages. In turn, parliamentary strength is determined by the division into Government and Opposition, whereby the conversion of seat percentages into shares of cabinet seats is not a linear process. Many changes are generated by institutional rules – such as majority requirements – and on the basis of coalition patterns. However, percentages of electoral votes are the beginning of this chain of parliamentary seat allocation and government participation and these are presented below for the individual party families. In this connection, two questions occupy a central place: in what respect do Swiss structures deviate from the average values for Europe and the OECD group of established democracies?

6* Allocation of Swiss parties to party families

Party families	Members of these party families in Switzerland ¹
Social Democrat parties	Social Democratic party (PSS / SPS)
Conservative parties	Swiss People's party (UDC / SVP)
Religious parties (mainly Christian Democrat)	Christian Democratic party (PDC / CVP), Christian Social party (PCS / CSP), Evangelical People's party (PEV / EVP)
Liberal parties	Radical Democratic party (PRD / FDP), Independents (Landesring der Unabhängigen AdI/LdU), Liberal Party (PLS / LPS)
Discontent parties	Swiss Democrats (DS / SD), Freedom party (PSL / FPS) Republican Movement (Rep.)
Green parties	Green party (PES / GPS)
Ethnic parties	Lega dei Ticinesi
Communist parties	Workers' party (PST / PdA)
Left-socialist parties	Progressive Organizations of Switzerland (POCH), Autonomous Socialist party (PSA)
Ultra-right parties	(missing in Switzerland)

Note: Percentage votes for these parties were recorded in the Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) only if the party concerned obtained at least 3% of the votes in an election during the period under investigation.

¹ In brackets: french / german abbreviations

And how great are these structural changes in Switzerland compared with the groups of countries mentioned?⁴

The parties were classified in nine groups, based on a subdivision established by Lane and Errson and Lane, McKay and Newton (Lane and Errson 1999; Lane, McKay and Newton 1997). Table 6* shows the allocation of Swiss parties to party families, whereby the alternative classification of a Conservative party (as opposed to a farming party) was chosen for the Swiss People's party because it recruits voters from far beyond its traditional circle. The detailed tables of percentage votes for these party families in the 23 countries investigated and over the four decades are annexed.

An initial overview of the relative strengths of parties is obtained by grading them by size for the whole period under study 1960–1999:

7* Ranking of parties in the OECD group, Europe and Switzerland 1960 – 1999

Rank	OECD	Europe	Switzerland
1st	Social Democrats (29%)	Social Democrats (30%)	Liberals (30%)
2nd	Conservatives (22%)	Liberals (19%)	Social Democrats (23%)
3rd	Liberals (20%)	Christian Democrats (18%)	Christian Democrats (21%)
4th	Christian Democrats (14%)	Conservatives (16%)	Conservatives (12%)
5th	Left-soc. and Comm. p. (7%)	Left-soc. and Comm. p. (8%)	Discontent parties (4%)
6th	Discontent parties (1%)	Discontent parties (1%)	Green parties (2%)
7th	Ethnic parties (1%)	Ethnic parties (1%)	
8th	Green parties (1%)	Green parties (1%)	
9th	Ultra-right parties (1%)	Ultra-right parties (1%)	

Note: In the calculation, the arithmetic mean of all the annual values was found. In interpreting the statistics for the new parties, particularly the Green parties, it should be taken into account that these parties did not exist in the 1960s and 1970s or had only a very small share of the vote. The average value may therefore deviate considerably from the value at the end of the survey period (cf. also text table 8).

⁴ See footnote 2 above for the calculation of the percentage votes of the parties in these 23 OECD countries

A strong liberal grouping is a first characteristic feature of the Swiss party system when it comes to vote distribution. Nowhere else in Europe is party-organized liberalism so strong as in Switzerland. Second, the Social Democrats are weaker, and this weakness is particularly obvious because there are no other major left-wing parties. On average, left-wing parties account for 38% of the votes in Western Europe, while for Switzerland, the figure is roughly 23%. Third, though the Christian Democrats are slightly stronger than throughout Western Europe, regional comparison with neighbouring countries that have similar cultural and religious structures reveals that the Christian Democrat parties in Germany, Austria and Italy have much greater electoral support. The strength of the Conservative party (Swiss People's party) largely corresponds to the European average, while the share of the vote obtained by Swiss Green parties also merits comment: in this respect, they resemble the strong Green parties in the neighbouring countries of Austria, France and Germany.

These observations are based on average figures calculated for numerous countries and over long periods. This suggests that considerable differences exist, not only between the countries, but also between the periods. Twenty years ago, it was discussed whether the century of social democracy was over for good (Dahrendorf 1983: 16 et seq); at that time, there was no empirical proof of this, nor is there any now (Armingeon 1989; Merkel 1993). An undeniable decline in identification with a particular party – i.e. the feeling of belonging to a political party without absolutely having to be a member – raised the question of whether the related increase in voter volatility would necessarily result in a substantial fluctuation in parties' shares of the votes over time (Dalton, Flanagan et al. 1985). Changes in modern-day occupational structures with a decrease in the working classes was a threat to left-wing parties, while secularization eroded the long-term chances of success of the Christian Democrat parties that recruited a substantial percentage of their voters from people with church affiliations.

Study of the tables in the appendix shows that many forecasts about the decline of traditional parties have no empirical foundation. A comparison of parties' shares of the vote for 1960–1969 with the figures for 1990–1999 reveals only slight shifts.

In international comparisons, Christian Democrat parties suffered the heaviest losses, while Green parties chalked up the biggest increase. Apart from the Christian Democrats, the differences between the percentage votes obtained by the individual party families in Europe over a period of forty years represent less than 5 percent. If the Communists, left-wing Socialists, Social Democrats

8* Difference in parties' shares of the votes between 1960 – 1969 and 1990 – 1999

Party	OECD	Europe	Switzerland
Conservative parties	+ 0,1	+ 2,4	+ 2,8
Ethnic parties	+ 1,1	+ 1,0	0
Green parties	+ 3,3	+ 3,5	+ 5,4
Left-socialist and Communist parties	- 0,7	- 1,5	0
Liberal parties	- 1,4	- 0,8	- 6,4
Discontent parties	+ 2,2	+ 1,8	+ 6,8
Christian Democrat parties	- 5,9	- 8,6	- 5,4
Social Democrat parties	- 2,7	- 1,6	- 5,3
Ultra-right parties	+ 0,8	+ 1,0	0

Percentage difference, percentage for 1990 – 1999 minus the percentage for 1960 – 1969

and Greens are combined in a single group, the ratio between the left-wing and non left-wing camp in Western Europe does not even change by one percent. This does not sit well with the frequent assertion that there has been a drastic change in Western party systems! Obviously, the parties – and above all the party blocks – have managed to adapt to social change and to offset the loss of groups of voters by tapping into or developing new voter segments. When it comes to the major parties – Social Democrat, Conservative, Christian Democrat and Liberal parties – the changes largely follow the direction taken by average figures for Western Europe, although there are differences in the size of the losses. The increase in votes chalked up by the Swiss People's party, however, corresponds to the average for Western European Conservative parties. There is no question about the striking growth of four party families, mainly during the 1990s. These are the Green, ethnic, far-right and protest (discontent) parties. In Switzerland, these general changes are reflected in wins for the Greens, the Swiss Democrats (the former Nationale Aktion) and the Freedom Party. The election successes of the Lega dei Ticinesi should also be seen in this context.

This largely stable distribution of electoral strengths also corresponds to stability in the party-political composition of the government (cf CPDS 2001). Contrary to what many people think, elections in Western European countries do not generally result in a substantial change in the party-political composition of the government. A total of 268 elections were held in the 23 countries investigated between 1960 and 1999. Of these elections, only 81 were linked to a change in government composition⁵. So it is not a particularly Swiss characteristic

⁵ In line with a commonly used typology, five types of party-political government composition were distinguished: bourgeois or left-wing hegemony, bourgeois or left-wing dominance, dead-

that elections do not impact on the composition of the Executive, but the general rule in Western countries. Admittedly, no other country can demonstrate so much stability in government composition over the past forty years as Switzerland can.

For the following study of the party-political bias of governments in OECD countries between 1960 and 1999, the parties were assigned to three main groups: left-wing parties, Christian Democrat/Centre parties and Liberal/Conservative parties (for the exact classification cf. Schmidt 1996; CPDS-Codebook).

9* Party-political composition of governments

	OECD	Europe	Switzerland
Left-wing parties			
1960 – 69	25	32	29
1970 – 79	32	37	29
1980 – 89	34	36	29
1990 – 99	34	41	29
Christian Democrat / Centre parties			
1960 – 69	32	32	29
1970 – 79	27	27	29
1980 – 89	24	28	29
1990 – 99	26	26	29
Liberal / Conservative parties			
1960 – 69	42	33	43
1970 – 79	37	30	43
1980 – 89	40	34	43
1990 – 99	35	36	43

Average percentage of cabinet seats

Differences between the sum of the values and 100% are due to rounding off of the figures

Source: Armingeon, Beyeler et al. 2001

lock between left-wing and bourgeois camp. A change in the type of government composition during an election year was counted as a substantial change. For information about the exact operational definition, cf CPDS and the reading cited there.

Between 1960 and 1999, the left-wing parties, with slight chronological variations, held 37% of all cabinet seats, while the Christian Democrats held 28% of all government seats in Europe. Therefore the remaining third was divided between the Liberal and Conservative parties. In contrast to media reports citing the exceptional strength of the Social Democrats in the 1970s, their supposed decline in the 1980s and the rocketing fortunes of the Liberal and Conservative parties in the 1980s and the early 1990s, there is a striking stability in the percentage representation of the three party groups in national governments, whereby no other country was quite as stable as Switzerland. In connection with this data, it should be emphasized, for comparative purposes, that the same pattern of strength distribution at election result level is found at the level of government participation: compared with other countries, the Social Democrats are weak, the Christian Democrats roughly match the European average, and Liberal and Conservative party representation is above the European average.

8 The 1990s in international comparison

Almost all observers of Swiss politics would agree that, compared with the previous three decades, the 1990s were characterized by major changes in the party system. First, there was the establishment of the Ecologists in a completely new party that claimed to represent environmental interests over and against economic ones. Secondly, the 1990s are characterized by election successes by the Swiss People's party in 1995 and 1999 which are dramatic compared with other postwar elections. How are these changes to be evaluated within the context of international comparisons?

Voter volatility i.e. swing voting is an initial benchmark, with net volatility being used as an indicator. This is calculated by dividing the sum of the difference in the share of the vote obtained by each party compared with the previous election by two. Gross volatility is the percentage of all voters that opted for another party compared with the previous election. This figure is higher than net volatility but it can only be reliably calculated for a few elections in a few countries for survey data availability and quality reasons.

Above all, the data in table 10* bring out the stability of electoral behaviour during the postwar period in OECD countries and in Western Europe, though there is a slight tendency towards more swing voting over the past three decades. Switzerland deviates considerably from the Western European average: until the end of the 1980s, net volatility was roughly 50% below the Western European average. While this figure was higher in the 1990s, it still remained below the figure for the other European countries. Even for the 1999 «landslide» federal

10* Net volatility in national elections 1960 – 1999

	OECD	Europe	Switzerland
1960 – 69	8.2	10.1	5.2
1970 – 79	10.3	11.8	4.8
1980 – 89	9.7	10.9	4.8
1990 – 99	11.4	10.9	6.3

Calculation based on the Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS). Net volatility is the sum of the absolute change in the share of the vote of each party compared with the previous election, divided by two. In this calculation, the average values were found for all elections in the OECD group of countries or in Western Europe and not derived from the average value of the national averages, as is the case in the other tables in this study.

election, net volatility – at 7,7– was still well below the arithmetic mean for Western European countries. What is perceived as a dramatic change in chronological terms when confined to Switzerland is more remarkable as a sign of stability rather than as an indicator of change when seen in the European context. Furthermore, the electoral success by the Swiss People's party corresponds with the average gains of the conservative parties in Western Europe.

Admittedly, this does not alter the fact that the Swiss People's party's successes in the 1995 and 1999 elections were unusual for Switzerland. In particular, its penetration of Catholic voter strata points to a dissolving of the Swiss People's party's close relationship with the Protestant middle classes. In a new overview of comparative election research status, Peter Mair argues that the stability of party systems in the postwar era was breaking down in the 1990s (Mair 2002). And the 1999 Swiss elections do provide support for speculation about a basic, future change in the party systems. However, for the time being, this is still mere speculation. The next few years will show whether assumptions that the change is a permanent one are really justified.

The rise of the Green Party in Switzerland can be seen as a further sign of change in the political system. Green parties sprang up in all European democracies in the 1980s and 1990s and have participated in elections with varying degrees of success. In ten European countries (Belgium, Germany, Finland, France, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland) and in New Zealand, their share of the vote averaged over four percent. At the same time, the Social Democrat parties lost a comparable number of votes, with the result that the sum of the green and left-wing shares of the vote did not alter much. Thus, the rise of Ecologist parties can be interpreted not just as the emergence of a new political player but also as a sign that the traditional parties are losing their ability to integrate support. This is reflected in the fact that new conflicts and issues cannot be convincingly incorporated into existing programmes and that the vote potential created by these new conflicts can be mobilized by new parties.

9 Conclusion

What are the central findings of this contribution which analyzes the development of the Swiss party system for the period 1960–1999 in the light of international comparisons?

The first finding concerns the number of Swiss parties, which is very high. Only very few other countries have anywhere near as many parties. The number of lines of conflict which are made the topic of political debate is also very high compared with other countries, and this is probably the main explanation for the large variety of political parties in Switzerland.

A second finding concerns party programmes and ideologies. There is proof that parties have not become vote-collecting machines with no programme profile. Moreover, they represent the views of their supporters pretty well, so in that sense have not become alienated from the «customers». It cannot be asserted that the programmatic differences in Switzerland are much more pronounced than in other Western democracies.

Why does Switzerland have no strong left- and right-wing parties compared with many Western European countries? That is another question addressed by this study, and according to its third finding, the main reason for this lies in the inclusion strategy of the ruling elites vis-à-vis the organized labour movement and in the institutions of direct democracy which makes party-political mobilization of right-wing extremist potential more difficult.

A further question tackled by the study concerns the idea that the 26 cantonal party systems theoretically replace the missing national party system. It was demonstrated that, while Switzerland does indeed have a strongly regionalized party system, this is not a special case but is typical for a whole series of Western European countries.

Analysis of the relative strengths of parties demonstrated that, in international terms, Switzerland has a weak left-wing and a strong liberal camp. What is particularly remarkable is the slight shift in the relative strengths of parties in Western Europe and in Switzerland over the entire period investigated. This is surprising in the case of Switzerland because the 1990s in particular could be regarded as a decade of sweeping changes in its party system. However, seen in international terms, these changes become less drastic. Not even in the 1990s does Switzerland reach the European net volatility average.

10 Outlook

Thus, at the end of the 1990s, stability is still an outstanding feature of the Swiss and Western European party system, as is shown by the indicators presented here about the central aspects of the party systems. Under the surface of this stability, far-reaching changes appear to be taking place, but these will not impact on the indicators analyzed here for several years. Some of these processes are listed below:

- Particularly obvious changes took place between 1990–99 (Mair 2002), as is made very clear by the votes won by the ecologist, protest, extreme-right and ethnic parties during this decade. There is no reason to assume that the growth of these mainly new parties has ended with the 1990s. The traditional parties have evidently lost some of their ability to integrate issues, with the result that a growing number of potential voters could be tapped into by new parties.
- The organizational and working conditions of the parties have undergone radical changes, altering the points of policy reference for party strategists. Today, it is not so much a question of integrating members and mobilizing them for elections and referenda but of generating resources (besides membership fees and donations) in order to conduct and win a professional election and referendum campaign. Members and the programme and ideology that unite them will be less important than in the past. Therefore policy content has to be increasingly scrutinized to see whether it can be successfully put across as part of large-scale campaigns waged through the media to an electorate that is less clearly defined in social and cultural terms.
- Four clear trends are linked to this:
 - (1) First, with few exceptions, the number of party members has declined on the basis of long-term comparisons (Mair and Biezen 2001), thus closing the door behind party managers when it comes to returning to member-based parties.
 - (2) Second, the number of people with firm party affiliations is on the decline (Schmitt and Holmberg 1995). Parties are losing large segments of their loyal core voters.
 - (3) Third, swing voting is on the increase. This is less obvious in the net volatilities that can be systematically calculated for all countries than in the degree of individual swing voting, or gross volatility (Mair 2002; Lane and Ersson 1999: 127-130; Beyme 2000: 59).

- (4) Fourth, in the 15 Western European countries investigated by Mair, election participation declined in the 1980s and 1990s (Mair 2002). These trends are also found in Switzerland (cf. Nabholz 1998, in addition to the above-mentioned reading). All four of these trends could contribute to a future destabilization of the party system.

The surprising overall finding of this study, besides the stability of the Swiss party system, is the similarity of its structures and the similarity of its development trends to those of other Western European countries.

Deviations from the average are not excluded. These include the large number of parties and corresponding lines of conflict, the virtual absence of left- and right-wing extremism in organized party form, the lack of pronounced nationalization of the party system, delayed transition to «professionalized election parties» (von Beyme) due to the fact that parties are not subsidized direct by the State and the weakness of the Left. However, all this does not make the Swiss party system a one-off phenomenon. Even the existence of extensive direct democracy and its importance for the creation of parties, as well as the lessening of the political power of the parties, obviously does not impact so strongly on the Swiss party system that it frustrates its meaningful comparison and classification in terms of the Western European party system.

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Appendix 1:

Shares of the vote by party family and decade

Source: Armingeon, Klaus; Beyeler, Michelle, et al. (2001): *Comparative Political Data Set, 1960–1999*. Bern:
http://www.ipw.unibe.ch/mitarbeiter/armingeon/default.asp?inhalt=CPD_Set.htm

T1.1 Conservative parties' share of the vote¹

	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999
Australia	46.2	46.5	45.5	46.6
Austria	0	0	0	0
Belgium	0	0	0	0
Canada	37.0	34.6	41.6	24.9
Denmark	21.2	11.3	18.6	14.2
Finland	14.4	18.4	22.3	19.3
France	45.7	44.0	43.1	40.6
Germany	0	0	0	0
Greece		36.0	40.2	43.7
Iceland	39.7	38.8	34.2	37.1
Ireland	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	12.4
Japan	53.7	45.3	47.9	55.5
Luxembourg	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	46.0	43.7	39.6	38.2
Norway	19.4	19.9	29.5	17.8
Portugal		0	0	0
Spain		42.6	36.7	36.6
Sweden	14.7	14.5	21.2	21.7
Switzerland	11.3	10.6	11.2	14.1
United Kingdom (GBR)	45.2	40.9	42.8	38.6
United States (USA)	46.1	43.4	45.5	48.1
OECD mean	22.0	21.3	22.6	22.1
Europe mean	14.1	15.4	16.7	16.5

¹ Including the former Farmer parties in Switzerland and Australia

T1.2 Ethnical parties' share of the vote

	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999
Australia	0	0	0	0
Austria	0	0	0	0
Belgium	7,1	19,5	13,1	13,3
Canada	0	0	0	8,6
Denmark	0	0	0	0
Finland	6,3	5,2	5,0	5,6
France	0	0	0	0
Germany	0	0	0	0
Greece		0	0	0
Iceland	0	0	0	0
Ireland	1,8	0	2,9	4,9
Italy	0	0	0,2	7,6
Japan	0	0	0	0
Luxembourg	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	0
Norway	0	0	0	0
Portugal		0	0	0
Spain		0,9	4,1	4,8
Sweden	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom (GBR)	0	0	0	0
United States (USA)	0	0	0	0
OECD mean	0,8	1,1	1,1	1,9
Europe mean	1,0	1,4	1,4	2,0

T1.3 Green parties' share of the vote

	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999
Australia	0	0	0	0
Austria	0	0	1,9	5,3
Belgium	0	0,2	5,4	9,5
Canada	0	0	0	0
Denmark	0	0	0	2,5
Finland	0	0	1,8	6,5
France	0	0,4	1,1	4,3
Germany	0	0	5,2	5,8
Greece		0	0	0
Iceland	0	0	5,3	6,3
Ireland	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	0	0	0
Luxembourg	0	0	2,8	8,8
Netherlands	0	0	0,4	4,5
New Zealand	0	2,6	0,4	12,2
Norway	0	0	0	0
Portugal		0	0	0
Spain		0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	2,1	4,4
Switzerland	0	0,1	2,4	5,4
United Kingdom (GBR)	0	0	0	0
United States (USA)	0	0	0	0
OECD mean	0	0,1	1,3	3,3
Europe mean	0	0	1,6	3,5

T1.4 Left-wing parties' share of the vote¹

	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999
Australia	0	0	0	0
Austria	2,0	1,2	0,8	0,4
Belgium	3,5	3,2	1,7	0,2
Canada	0	0	0	0
Denmark	8,4	11,0	14,7	7,7
Finland	25,1	18,4	15,1	11,0
France	23,0	23,2	14,8	10,0
Germany	0	0	0	3,7
Greece		7,1	10,4	9,6
Iceland	15,4	18,1	16,8	15,5
Ireland	0	1,0	3,3	1,5
Italy	25,7	31,8	29,1	26,9
Japan	4,1	9,7	9,3	9,8
Luxembourg	9,7	10,1	4,6	2,9
Netherlands	5,5	5,0	3,0	1,4
New Zealand	0	0	1,7	0
Norway	3,7	6,8	5,6	7,4
Portugal		16,7	16,0	9,1
Spain		9,8	5,9	9,8
Sweden	4,5	5,0	5,6	6,8
Switzerland	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom (GBR)	0	0	0	0
United States (USA)	0	0	0	0
OECD mean	6,5	7,7	6,9	5,8
Europe mean	8,4	9,4	8,2	6,9

¹ Left-socialist and Communist parties

T1.5 Liberal parties' share of the vote¹

	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999
Australia	0	2,8	5,9	7,1
Austria	6,5	5,5	7,2	23,5
Belgium	12,5	13,7	20,6	21,9
Canada	47,6	48,0	36,0	37,6
Denmark	29,4	30,9	23,9	28,5
Finland	28,4	21,9	18,9	22,5
France	5,6	0	0	0
Germany	10,3	7,7	8,7	8,4
Greece		12,1	1,4	0
Iceland	28,5	29,8	20,5	21,0
Ireland	46,0	47,4	45,4	40,2
Italy	7,2	10,0	9,1	3,1
Japan	0	1,6	2,3	0
Luxembourg	16,6	21,0	20,7	18,8
Netherlands	12,3	19,5	25,4	29,9
New Zealand	10,2	9,3	11,8	2,4
Norway	17,1	13,9	9,4	14,8
Portugal		32,2	46,8	42,9
Spain		0	0	0
Sweden	30,5	34,6	24,8	15,4
Switzerland	32,3	30,8	30,3	25,9
United Kingdom (GBR)	8,0	13,5	21,1	18,5
United States (USA)	53,2	55,2	53,4	48,7
OECD mean	20,1	20,1	19,3	18,7
Europe mean	19,4	19,1	18,6	18,6

¹ Including the former Farmer parties in Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden

T1.6 Discontent parties' share of the vote

	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999
Australia	0	0	0	0
Austria	1,3	0	0	0
Belgium	0	0	0	1,3
Canada	0	0	0,4	13,8
Denmark	0	9,9	7,1	5,6
Finland	1,3	6,8	7,2	3,2
France	0	0	0	0
Germany	0	0	0	0
Greece		0	0	0
Iceland	0	0	3,3	1,6
Ireland	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	0	0	0
Luxembourg	2,4	0,6	2,6	8,4
Netherlands	2,5	1,8	0,2	1,5
New Zealand	0	0	0	7,0
Norway	0	2,6	4,8	11,0
Portugal		0	0	0
Spain		0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	2,5
Switzerland	0,2	5,1	3,4	7,0
United Kingdom (GBR)	0	0	0	0
United States (USA)	2,7	3,3	2,6	0
OECD mean	0,5	1,3	1,4	2,7
Europe mean	0,5	1,5	1,6	2,3

T1.7 Religious parties' share of the vote¹

	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999
Australia	0	0	0	0
Austria	46.3	43.1	42.1	29.6
Belgium	37.9	32.8	28.3	24.5
Canada	0	0	0	0
Denmark	0	3.2	2.4	2.1
Finland	0.5	2.8	3.4	3.1
France	9.6	9.8	0	0
Germany	46.8	46.6	46.2	41.1
Greece		0	0	0
Iceland	0	0	0	0
Ireland	32.5	33.4	34.7	26.5
Italy	39.6	38.7	34.9	17.7
Japan	2.2	9.8	9.5	4.8
Luxembourg	37.3	33.6	36.1	31.1
Netherlands	47.8	36.4	33.4	26.7
New Zealand	0	0	3.8	0
Norway	8.6	10.0	8.7	9.8
Portugal		11.1	5.9	6.7
Spain		0	0	0
Sweden	1.0	1.1	5.2	6.4
Switzerland	23.0	21.1	20.6	17.6
United Kingdom (GBR)	0	0	0	0
United States (USA)	0	0	0	0
OECD mean	16.7	14.5	13.7	10.8
Europe mean	22.1	18.0	16.8	13.5

¹ Mainly Christian Democrat and Catholic parties

T1.8 Social Democrat parties' share of the vote

	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999
Australia	51,5	47,8	46,8	41,0
Austria	43,6	50,1	46,8	39,2
Belgium	32,4	26,8	27,4	25,0
Canada	14,6	16,4	19,5	12,2
Denmark	39,7	33,2	32,1	36,0
Finland	23,3	24,8	25,1	24,9
France	14,5	19,1	34,2	26,3
Germany	37,7	43,9	39,3	35,1
Greece		14,6	44,2	44,0
Iceland	15,0	12,3	17,6	13,2
Ireland	13,4	14,1	9,1	14,7
Italy	18,5	14,0	15,5	7,2
Japan	35,5	28,1	25,3	21,1
Luxembourg	33,8	33,8	30,1	25,4
Netherlands	27,4	31,4	31,7	28,2
New Zealand	43,0	43,3	43,0	35,7
Norway	45,4	40,8	38,9	35,6
Portugal		33,9	27,2	35,9
Spain		33,4	42,7	38,6
Sweden	48,1	43,8	44,4	40,8
Switzerland	25,6	23,9	22,0	20,3
United Kingdom (GBR)	45,5	40,6	31,4	36,3
United States (USA)	0	0	0	0
OECD mean	30,4	29,1	30,2	27,7
Europe mean	30,9	29,7	31,1	29,3

T1.9 Ultra-right parties' share of the vote¹

	1960 – 1969	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 – 1999
France	0	0	4,1	12,5
Germany	1,2	1,2	0,3	1,0
Greece		2,0	0,7	0
Italy	4,9	5,1	6,1	11,2
OECD mean	0,3	0,4	0,5	1,1
Europe mean	0,4	0,5	0,6	1,4

¹ Because, in the area under study, ultra-right parties (as defined by Lane, McKay and Newton) obtained more than 3% of votes in national elections at least once only in Germany, France, Greece and Italy, this table provides data for these countries only. However, the means refer to all 18 European and all 23 OECD countries in this study. Greece, Spain and Portugal were excluded for calculations in respect of the 1960s; thus the mean refers to 15 European and 20 OECD countries.

Appendix 2:

Party-political composition of governments by decade

Source: Armingeon, Klaus; Beyeler, Michelle, et al. (2001): *Comparative Political Data Set, 1960–1999*. Bern:

http://www.ipw.unibe.ch/mitarbeiter/armingeon/default.asp?inhalt=CPD_Set.htm

T2.1 Party-political composition of governments 1960 – 1969

	Average percentage of cabinet seats		
	Right-wing	Centre	Left-wing
Australia	100,0	0	0
Austria	0	68,5	31,5
Belgium	12,8	60,6	26,6
Canada	33,0	67,0	0
Denmark	31,6	0	63,2
Finland	12,7	54,9	24,6
France	71,1	1,8	0
Germany	13,3	71,5	14,5
Greece			
Iceland	65,8	0	39,2
Ireland	100,0	0	0
Italy	0	80,4	19,6
Japan	100,0	0	0
Luxembourg	23,4	53,9	22,7
Netherlands	47,7	45,6	5,6
New Zealand	90,6	0	9,5
Norway	25,8	17,3	57,0
Portugal			
Spain			
Sweden	0	0	96,6
Switzerland	42,9	28,6	28,6
United Kingdom (GBR)	47,9	0	52,1
United States (USA)	20,0	80,0	0
OECD mean	41,9	31,5	24,6
Europe mean	33,0	32,2	32,1

T2.2 Party-political composition of governments 1970 – 1979

	Average percentage of cabinet seats		
	Right-wing	Centre	Left-wing
Australia	71,0	0	29,0
Austria	0	3,0	85,0
Belgium	11,3	60,1	29,5
Canada	5,8	94,2	0
Denmark	33,1	0	65,6
Finland	10,2	37,9	43,1
France	68,8	15,8	0
Germany	23,6	0	75,0
Greece	98,5	0	0
Iceland	29,1	46,7	25,0
Ireland	56,9	29,6	13,5
Italy	2,1	82,2	14,8
Japan	100,0	0	0
Luxembourg	47,1	27,5	25,4
Netherlands	31,8	42,3	25,9
New Zealand	69,9	0	30,1
Norway	10,5	11,4	78,1
Portugal	3,1	0	34,4
Spain	0	91,6	0
Sweden	20,8	9,7	67,6
Switzerland	42,9	28,6	28,6
United Kingdom (GBR)	43,7	0	56,3
United States (USA)	70,5	29,5	0
OECD mean	37,0	26,5	31,6
Europe mean	29,6	27,0	37,1

T2.3 Party-political composition of governments 1980 – 1989

	Average percentage of cabinet seats		
	Right-wing	Centre	Left-wing
Australia	31,9	0	68,1
Austria	7,3	13,8	77,1
Belgium	32,2	51,3	16,5
Canada	54,6	45,4	0
Denmark	60,5	12,4	26,9
Finland	22,0	29,9	46,4
France	18,2	14,7	58,8
Germany	20,7	58,4	21,0
Greece	20,2	0	75,6
Iceland	42,1	35,5	22,4
Ireland	50,7	34,5	11,8
Italy	4,6	61,9	32,3
Japan	100,0	0	0
Luxembourg	25,3	50,7	24,0
Netherlands	36,4	60,0	3,6
New Zealand	45,6	0	54,4
Norway	36,2	11,6	52,2
Portugal	70,9	0	10,7
Spain	0	28,5	70,8
Sweden	14,0	12,3	72,3
Switzerland	42,9	28,6	28,6
United Kingdom (GBR)	100,0	0	0
United States (USA)	89,5	10,5	0
OECD mean	40,2	24,3	33,6
Europe mean	33,6	28,0	36,2

T2.4 Party-political composition of governments 1990 – 1999

	Average percentage of cabinet seats		
	Right-wing	Centre	Left-wing
Australia	38,1	0	31,9
Austria	0	45,1	48,3
Belgium	2,2	45,5	52,1
Canada	38,4	61,6	0
Denmark	42,0	6,6	51,4
Finland	44,4	21,2	31,8
France	35,8	13,7	41,9
Germany	18,4	69,8	11,1
Greece	35,0	0	61,9
Iceland	46,0	27,1	27,0
Ireland	67,0	13,5	19,5
Italy	9,2	29,3	34,8
Japan	84,3	4,0	10,0
Luxembourg	1,7	57,2	41,2
Netherlands	19,8	37,3	42,9
New Zealand	90,3	0	9,0
Norway	8,4	22,1	69,5
Portugal	57,6	0	27,2
Spain	0	37,8	54,0
Sweden	18,9	9,7	69,9
Switzerland	42,9	28,6	28,6
United Kingdom (GBR)	73,3	0	26,7
United States (USA)	32,2	67,8	0
OECD mean	35,0	26,0	34,4
Europe mean	36,2	25,8	41,1

Appendix 3:

Distribution of seats by countries

Source: Official election results provided by national statistical offices

Party families

Agrarian	Farmers' parties
Comm.	Communist parties
Cons.	Conservative parties
Ethnic	Ethnic, regional parties
Green	Green parties
Left-soc.	Left-socialist parties
Lib.	Liberal parties
Protest	Protest, discontent parties
Relig.	Religious parties
Soc.	Social democrat, socialist parties
Ultra-right	Ultra-right parties

T3.1 Austria

Distribution of seats: Nationalrat

Party ¹	1971	1975	1979	1983	1986	1990	1994	1995	1999	Party family ²
ÖVP	80	80	77	81	77	60	52	52	52	Relig.
SPÖ	93	93	95	90	80	80	65	71	65	Soc.
FPÖ	10	10	11	12	18	33	42	41	52	Lib.
Grüne					8	10	13	9	14	Green
LIF							11	10		Lib.
Total	183	183	183	183	183	183	183	183	183	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from official sources; English party names from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): 'Parline' database.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

- ÖVP Österreichische Volkspartei (People's Party)
- SPÖ Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (Socialist Party);
until 1991: Sozialistische Partei Österreichs (Socialist Party).
- FPÖ Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Freedom Party)
- Grüne Die Grünen – Die Grüne Alternative (Green Alternative);
until 1990: Die Grüne Alternative (Green Alternative).
- LIF Liberales Forum (Liberal Forum);
splintered off from the FPÖ in 1993.

T3.2 Belgium

Distribution of seats: Chambre des Représentants – Kamer van volksvertegenwoordigers – Abgeordnetenversammlung

Party ¹	1971	1974	1977	1978	1981	1985	1987	1991	1995	1999	Party family ²
CVP	67	72	56	57	43	49	43	39	29	22	Relig.
PSC			24	25	18	20	19	18	12	10	Relig.
PS	61	59	62	32	35	35	40	35	21	19	Soc.
SP				26	26	32	32	28	20	14	Soc.
VLD	34	30	17	22	28	22	25	26	21	23	Lib.
PRL			16	15	24	24	23	20	18	18	Lib.
Ecolo					2	5	3	10	6	11	Green
Agalev					2	4	6	7	5	9	Green
VI.Blok				1	1	1	2	12	11	15	Ethnic
VU	21	22	20	14	20	16	16	10	5	8	Ethnic
FDF	24	14	11	11	8	3	3	3	-> PRL	-> PRL	Ethnic
RW		11	4	4							Ethnic
FN								1	2	1	Ultra-right
PCB	5	4	2	4	2						Comm.
Others				1	3	1		3			Others
Total	212	212	212	212	212	212	212	212	150	150	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations and English party names from:
Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Inter-Parliamentary
Union (IPU): 'Parline' database.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS)
and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

CVP	Christelijke volkspartij (Christian People's Party)
PSC	Parti social-chrétien (Christian Social Party)
PS	Parti socialiste belge (Socialist Party); 1978 Flemish and Walloon Socialists separated.
SP	Belgische socialistische partij (Flemish Socialist Party); 1978 Flemish and Walloon Socialists separated.
VLD	Vlaamse liberalen en democraten (Liberal Party – Flemish); until 1992: Partij voor vrijheid en vooruitgang.
PRL	Parti réformateur libéral (Liberal Party – Walloon); until 1976: Parti de la liberté et du progrès; 1976: Parti des réformes et de la liberté de Wallonie; 1995 and 1999: together with the FDF.
Ecolo	Ecologistes (Greens – Walloon)

T3.2 Belgium (continued)

Agalev	Anders gaan leven (Greens – Flemish)
VI.Blok	Vlaamse Blok (Flemish Block)
VU	Volksunie (People's Union)
FDF	Front démocratique des Bruxellois francophones (Francophone Democratic Front); 1991: Front démocratique des Bruxellois francophones – Parti pour la Wallonie; 1995 and 1999: together with the PRL.
RW	Rassemblement wallon (Wallon Rally)
FN	Front national (National Front)
PCB	Parti communiste de Belgique – Kommunistische partij van België (Communist Party)

Remarks:

1971:	CVP / PSC:	The Belgian National Institute of Statistics gathers the CVP and the PSC.
	PS / SP:	Included 1 seat of the Rode Leeuwen list
	VLD / PRL:	Included 3 seats of the Parti libéral de Bruxelles; the Belgian National Institute of Statistics gathers the VLD and the PRL.
	FDF / RW:	The Belgian National Institute of Statistics gathers the FDF and the RW.
1974:	CVP / PSC:	The Belgian National Institute of Statistics gathers the CVP and the PSC.
	VLD / PRL:	The Belgian National Institute of Statistics gathers the VLD and the PRL.
	FDF:	Together with the Parti libéral démocrate et pluraliste (1971: Parti libéral de Bruxelles)
1977:	FDF / RW:	The seats of the joint election lists FDF/RW appear under the FDF.
	PS / SP:	Included 1 seat of the joint election list together with the RW
1978:	Others:	Union démocratique pour le respect du travail – Respect voor arbeid en democratie: 1 seat.
1981:	FDF / RW:	The Belgian National Institute of Statistics gathers the FDF and the RW.
	Others:	Union démocratique pour le respect du travail – Respect voor arbeid en democratie: 3 seats.
1985:	Others:	Union démocratique pour le respect du travail – Respect voor arbeid en democratie: 1 seat.
1991:	Others:	Radical omvormers en sociale strijders vor een eerlijke maatschappij (ROSSEM): 3 seats.
1995:	FDF:	Joint election lists with the PRL (seats mentioned under the PRL)
1999:	FDF:	Joint election lists with the PRL (seats mentioned under the PRL)

T3.3 Denmark

Distribution of seats: Folketinget

Party ¹	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979	1981	1984	1987	1988	1990	1994	1998	Party family ²
S	70	46	53	65	68	59	56	54	55	69	62	63	Soc.
RV	27	20	13	6	10	9	10	11	10	7	8	7	Lib.
KFP	31	16	10	15	22	26	42	38	35	30	27	16	Cons.
SFP	17	11	9	7	11	21	21	27	24	15	13	13	Left-soc.
V	30	22	42	21	22	20	22	19	22	29	42	42	Lib.
F		28	24	26	20	16	6	9	16	12	11	4	Protest
CD		14	4	11	6	15	8	9	9	9	5	8	Lib.
K		7	9	6	5	4	5	4	4	4		4	Relig.
KP		6	7	7									Comm.
R		5		6	5								Lib.
VS			4	5	6	5	5						Left-soc.
EL											6	5	Green
DF												13	Protest
Others								4			1		Others
Total	175	175	175	175	175	175	175	175	175	175	175	175	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): 'Parline' database; English party names from official sources.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

S	Socialdemokratiet (Social Democratic Party)
RV	Radikale Venstre (Social-Liberal Party)
KFP	Konservative Folkeparti (Conservative Party)
SFP	Socialistisk Folkeparti (Socialist People's Party)
V	Venstre (Liberal Democratic Party)
F	Fremskridtspartiet (Progress Party)
CD	Centrums-Demokraterne (Centre Democratic Party)
K	Kristeligt Folkeparti (Christian People's Party)
KP	Kommunistiske Parti (Communist Party)
R	Retsforbundet (Justice Party)
VS	Venstresocialisterne (Left-Wing Socialists)
EL	Enhedslisten – De Rød Grønne (Red-Green Unitary List)
DF	Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People's Party)

T3.4 Finland

Distribution of seats: Eduskunta / Riksdagen

Party ¹	1972	1975	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	Party family ²
SDP	55	54	52	57	56	48	63	51	Soc.
VAS	37	40	35	26	20	19	22	20	Comm.
KOK	34	35	47	44	53	40	39	46	Cons.
KESK	35	39	36	38	40	55	44	48	Agrarian
RKP	9	9	9	10	12	11	11	11	Ethnic
LKP	7	9	4			1			Lib.
PS	18	2	7	17	9	7	1	1	Protest
SKL	4	9	9	3	5	8	7	10	Relig.
VIHR					4	10	9	11	Green
ÅS ³	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Others
Others		2		4			3	1	Others
Total	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations and English party names taken from official sources.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

³ The Finnish election legislation guarantees the region of Åland 1 seat in Parliament.

T3.4 Finland (continued)

Abbreviations of party names:

SDP	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (Social Democratic Party of Finland)
VAS	Vasemmistoliitto (Left Alliance); until 1987: Suomen kansan demokraattinen liitto (Democratic League of the People of Finland).
KOK	Kansallinen Kokoomus (National Coalition Party)
KESK	Suomen Keskusta (Centre Party of Finland); until 1987: Keskustapuolue (Center Party).
RKP	Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue (Swedish People's Party in Finland)
LKP	Liberaalinen Kansanpuolue (Liberal Party)
PS	Perussuomalaiset (True Finns); until 1995: Suomen Maaseudun Puolue (Finnish Rural Party).
SKL	Suomen Kristillinen Liitto (Christian League of Finland)
VIHR	Vihreä Liitto (Green League)
ÅS	Åländsk Samling (Coalition of Åland)

Remarks:

1975:	Others:	Suomen Kansan Yhtenäisyyden Puolue (Unification Party of the Finnish People): 1 seat; Suomen Perustuslaillinen kansanpuolue (Constitutional People's Party): 1 seat.
1983:	LKP/KESK:	Coalition of Liberaalinen Kansanpuolue (Liberal Party) and Keskustapuolue (Center Party)
	Others:	Perustuslaillinen oikeistopuolue (Constitutional Party of Finland): 1 seat; Greens: 2 seats, Lapin läänin vaalipiirin yhteislista (The Joint List in the constituency of Lapland): 1 seat.
1995:	Others:	Ekologinen Puolue (Ecological Party): 1 seat; Nuorsuomalainen Puolue (Progressive Finnish Party): 2 seats.
1999:	Others:	Remonttiryhmä (Reform Group)

T3.5 France

Distribution of seats: Assemblée nationale

Party ¹	1973	1978	1981	1986	1988	1993	1997	Party family ²
RPR	185	150	85	77	128	247	139	Cons.
PS	90	104	269	207	262	54	246	Soc.
PCF	73	86	44	35	27	23	37	Comm.
MRG	11	10	14	2	9	6	13	Lib.
PR	54	71	-> UDF					Cons.
Réf.	32							Relig.
Rad.	-> Réf.	7	-> UDF					Cons.
CDS	-> Réf.	35	-> UDF					Relig.
CNIP	-> Réf.	9						Cons.
CDP	23	-> CDS						Cons.
UDF			61	53	130	213	109	Cons.
Union RPR-UDF				147				Cons.
FN				35	1		1	Ultra-right
Éco.							8	Green
Others	22	19	18	21	20	34	24	Others
Total	490	491	491	577	577	577	577	Total

Note on the sources used:

In official French election statistics, the allocation of deputies to parliamentary groups is only fairly approximate. For the purposes of the present publication, however, precise allocation of seats to parties is required. The French electoral system – majority suffrage in single-member constituencies – makes this difficult, and various sources differ in this respect. For the table, the distribution of seats, as found in the handbooks of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, was used (Chronicle of Parliamentary Elections, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Geneva).

For further information about the parties, the following sources were consulted:

Caramani D. (2000): Elections in Western Europe since 1815

Russ S. et al. (2000): Parteien in Frankreich

Haensch, G., Fischer, P. (1994): Kleines Frankreich-Lexikon

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations and english party names taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS); Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): Chronicle of Parliamentary Elections; Caramani, D. (2000): Elections in Western Europe since 1815.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

T3.5 France (continued)

Abbreviations of party names:

RPR:	Rassemblement pour la République (Rally for the Republic); 1973: Union des démocrates pour la république (Union of the Democrats for the Republic).
PS:	Parti socialiste (Socialist Party)
PCF:	Parti communiste français (Communist Party)
MRG:	Mouvement des radicaux de gauche (Movement of Leftist Radicals); Established in 1972 as a splinter of the Parti Radical (Radical Party).
PR:	Parti républicain (Republican Party); 1973: Fédération Nationale des Républicains Indépendants (FNRI); From 1978: part of the UDF.
Réf.:	Mouvement réformateur (Reformist Movement); 1973: Alliance of different centrist parties (Rad., CNIP and CDS).
Rad.:	Parti radical (Radical Party); 1973: part of the Mouvement Réformateur (Reformist Movement); From 1978: part of the UDF.
CDS:	Centre des démocrates sociaux (Centre of Social Democrats); Until 1976: Centre démocrate (Democratic Centre); 1973: part of the Mouvement Réformateur (Reformist Movement); 1976: reunification with the CDP; From 1978: part of the UDF.
CNIP:	Centre national des indépendants et paysans (National Centre of Independents and Farmers); 1973: part of the Mouvement Réformateur (Reformist Movement); From 1978: part of the UDF.
CDP:	Centre démocratie et progrès (Centre Democracy and Progress); 1976: reunification with the CDS.
UDF:	Union pour la démocratie française (Union for French Democracy); Formed in 1978 as an alliance to support president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.
Union	
RPR-UDF:	1986: Electoral alliance of RPR and UDF
FN:	Front national (National Front)
Éco.:	Écologistes (Greens)

T3.5 France (continued)

Remarks:

1973:	Others:	Parti socialiste unifié: 3 seats; Various Right: 14 seats; Various Left: 3 seats; Others: 2 seats.
1978:	UDF:	Electoral alliance of the Parti républicain (PR), the Centre des démocrates sociaux (CDS), and the Parti radical (Rad.).
	Others:	«Majorité présidentielle» (part of the UDF): 16 seats; Mouvement démocratique socialiste de France (part of the UDF): 1 seat; Parti socialiste démocrate: 1 seat; Others: 1 seat.
1981:	UDF:	Parti républicain (PR), Centre des démocrates sociaux (CDS), Parti radical (Rad.) formed the UDF.
	Others:	Various Left: 7 seats; Various Right: 11 seats.
1986:	RPR-UDF:	In certain constituencies RPR and UDF formed an electoral alliance while in others they ran separately.
	Others:	Various Left: 5 seats; Various Right: 14 seats; Union de la gauche: 2 seats.
1988:	Others:	Various Left: 6 seats; Various Right: 12 seats; 2 Polynesian MPs.
1993:	Others:	Various Right: 24 seats; «Majorité présidentielle de gauche»: 10 seats.
1997:	Others:	Various Left: 16 seats; Various Right: 8 seats.

T3.6 Germany

Distribution of seats: Bundestag

Party ¹	1972	1976	1980	1983	1987	1990	1994	1998	Party family ²
SPD	242	224	228	202	193	239	252	298	Soc.
CDU	186	201	185	202	185	268	244	198	Relig.
CSU	48	53	52	53	49	51	50	47	Relig.
F.D.P.	42	40	54	35	48	79	47	43	Lib.
GRÜNE				27	42	8	49	47	Green
PDS						17	30	36	Comm.
Others				1	2				Others
Total	518	518	519	520	519	662	672	669	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from official sources; English party names from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) und Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): 'Parline' database.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democrats)
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union)
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union)
F.D.P.	Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democrats)
GRÜNE	Bündnis '90 – Die GRÜNEN (Greens); until 1993: DIE GRÜNEN. Merger of DIE GRÜNEN and Bündnis '90 in 1993.
PDS	Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus (Party of Democratic Socialism)

Remarks:

1983:	Übrige:	Alternative list; from the Land of Berlin, which had the members of the Bundestag appointed by the Berlin Parliament until 1990.
1987:	Übrige:	Alternative list; from the Land of Berlin, which had the members of the Bundestag appointed by the Berlin Parliament until 1990.

T3.7 Greece

Distribution of seats: Vouli Ton Ellinon

Party ¹	1974	1977	1981	1985	1989a)	1989b)	1990	1993	1996	Party family ²
ND	220	171	115	126	145	148	150	111	108	Cons.
EDIK	60	16								Lib.
PASOK	12	93	172	161	125	128	123	170	162	Soc.
KKE	8	11	13	12	-> SYN	-> SYN	-> SYN	9	11	Comm.
SPAD		2								Left-soc.
KNF		2								Lib.
EP		5								Ultra-right
SYN					28	21	19		10	Comm.
POLA								10		Cons.
DIKKI									9	Soc.
Others				1	2	3	8			Others
Total	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): 'Parline' database; English party names from official sources.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

ND	Nea Dimokratia (New Democracy)
EDIK	Enosis Dimokratikou Kentrou (Union of the Democratic Centre); 1974: Enosi Kentrou – Nees Dinamis (Union of the Centre – New Forces).
PASOK	Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima (Panhellenic Socialist Movement)
KKE	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados (Greek Communist Party); 1989–1990: SYN.
SPAD	Simachia Proodeftikon ke Aristeron Dinameon (Alliance of Progressive and Left Forces)
KNF	Komma Neofilefteron (New Liberal Party)
EP	Ethniki Parataxi (National Order)
SYN	Synaspismos tis Aristeras ke tis Proodou (Coalition of the Left and Progress)
POLA	Politiki Anixi (Political Spring)
DIKKI	Dimokratiko Kinoniko Kinima (Democratic Social Mouvement)

T3.7 Greece (continued)

Remarks:

- 1974: KKE: Together with Kommounistiko Komma Ellados Esoterikou (Greek Communist Party – Internal) and Eniea Dimokratiki Aristera (United Democratic Left) in the alliance Enomeni Aristera (United Left).
- 1985: Others: Kommounistiko Komma Ellados Esoterikou KKE-ES (Greek Communist Party – Internal): 1 seat.
- 1989^a): Elections of 18th June 1989:
- SYN: Alliance formed from KKE, Elliniki Aristera (Greek Left), Enia Dimokratiki Aristera (United Democratic Left), Komma Dimokratikou, Sosialismou (Democratic Socialism Party) and other small parties.
- Others: Empistosini (Trust): 1 seat;
 Dimokratiki Ananeosi (Democratic Renewal): 1 seat.
- 1989^b): Elections of 5th November 1989:
- SYN: Alliance formed from KKE, Elliniki Aristera (Greek Left), Enia Dimokratiki Aristera (United Democratic Left), Komma Dimokratikou, Sosialismou (Democratic Socialism Party) and other small parties.
- Others: Ikologi Enallaktiki (Alternative Ecologists): 1 seat;
 Empistosini (Trust): 1 seat;
 Anexartiti – Memonomeni (Independent – Single): 1 seat.
- 1990: SYN: Alliance formed from KKE, Elliniki Aristera (Greek Left), Enia Dimokratiki Aristera (United Democratic Left), Komma Dimokratikou, Sosialismou (Democratic Socialism Party) and other small parties.
- Others: Ikologi Enallaktiki (Alternative Ecologists): 1 seat;
 Empistosini (Trust): 1 seat;
 Pèpromeno (Fate): 1 seat;
 Dimokratiki Ananeosi (Democratic Renewal): 1 seat;
 Synergasia (Cooperation): 4 seats (joint election lists of PASOK and SYN in five electoral circles with majority rule).
- 1996: SYN: Synaspismos (Coalition)

T3.8 Iceland

Distribution of seats: Althingi

Party ¹	1974	1978	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	Party family ²
SDP	5	14	10	6	10	10	7	-> ALL	Soc.
PP	17	12	17	14	13	13	15	12	Agrarian
IP	25	20	21	23	18	26	25	26	Cons.
PA	11	14	11	10	8	9	9	-> ALL	Comm.
ULL	2								Lib.
SDA				4					Soc.
WA				3	6	5	3	-> ALL	Green
CP					7				Protest
PM							4		Green
LP								2	Protest
LGM								6	Left-soc.
ALL								17	Soc.
Others			1		1				Others
Total	60	60	60	60	63	63	63	63	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): Parline' database; English party names taken from official sources.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

SDP	Social Democratic Party
PP	Progressive Party
IP	Independence Party
PA	People's Alliance
ULL	Union of Liberals and Leftists
SDA	Social Democratic Alliance (splintered off from the SDP)
WA	Women's Alliance
CP	Citizens' Party (splintered off from the IP)
PM	People's Movement (splintered off from the SDP)
LP	Liberal Party
LGM	Left-Green Movement
ALL	The Alliance

T3.8 Iceland (continued)

Remarks:

1979:	Others:	No information in the official sources
1987:	Others:	Association for Equality and Social Justice (splintered off from the PP)
1995:	PA:	People's Alliance and Independents
1999:	SDP:	SPD, PA and WA formed ALL (The Alliance)
	PA:	SPD, PA and WA formed ALL (The Alliance)
	WA:	SPD, PA and WA formed ALL (The Alliance)

T3.9 Ireland

Distribution of seats: Dail Eireann, House of Representatives

Party ¹	1973	1977	1981	1982a)	1982b)	1987	1989	1992	1997	Party family ²
FF	69	84	78	81	75	81	77	68	77	Cons.
FG	54	43	65	63	70	51	55	45	54	Cons.
LAB	19	17	15	15	16	12	15	33	17	Soc.
WP			1	3	2	4	7			Left-soc.
PD						14	6	10	4	Lib.
GP							1	1	2	Green
DL								4	4	Left-soc.
Others	2	4	7	4	3	4	5	5	8	Others
Total	144	148	166	166	166	166	166	166	166	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Party abbreviations taken from official sources.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

FF	Fianna Fáil
FG	Fine Gael
LAB	Labour Party
WP	The Workers' Party; until 1982: Sinn Féin the Worker's Party.
SLP	Socialist Labour Party
PD	Progressive Democrats (splintered off from Fianna Fáil 1985)
DSP	Democratic Socialist Party
GP	Green Party – Comhaontas Glas
DL	Democratic Left (splintered off from Worker's Party 1992 and merged with Labour in 1999)

T3.9 Ireland (continued)

Remarks:

1973: Others: Non-party/independents

1977: Others: Non-party/independents

1981: Others: Non-party/independents: 6 seats;
Socialist Labour Party: 1 seat.

1982^a): February 18th 1982 elections:
Others: Non-party/independents

1982^b): November 24th 1982 elections:
Others: Non-party/independents

1987: Others: Non-party/independents: 3 seats;
Democratic Socialist Party: 1 seat.

1989: Others: Non-party/independents: 4 seats;
Democratic Socialist Party: 1 seat.

1992: Others: Non-party/independents

1997: Others: Non-party/independents: 6 seats;
Socialist Party: 1 seat;
Sinn Féin: 1 seat.

T3.10 Italy

Distribution of seats: Camera dei Deputati

Party ¹	1972	1976	1979	1983	1987	1992	1994	1996	Party family ²
DC	266	263	262	225	234	206	-> Patto pl		Relig.
PDS	179	227	201	198	177	107	-> Prog.	-> Ulivo	Comm.
PSI	61	57	62	73	94	92	-> Prog.		Soc.
AN	56	35	30	42	35	34	11/-> Polo BG	-> Polo Lib	Ultra-right
PSDI	29	15	20	23	17	16			Soc.
PLI	20	5	9	16	11	17			Lib.
PRI	15	14	16	29	21	27		-> Ulivo	Lib.
SVP	3	3	4	3	3	3		3 -> Ulivo	Ethnic
Dem. Prol.		6		7	8				Comm.
PdUP			6						Left-soc.
P. Rad.		4	18	11	13	7			Lib.
FdV					13	16	-> Prog.	-> Ulivo	Green
Lega					1	55	-> Polo Lib	59	Ethnic
RC						35	-> Prog.	35	Comm.
Rete						12	-> Prog.		Soc.
Alliances '94									
- Polo Lib							191		Cons.
- Polo BG							164		Cons.
- Prog.							213		Soc.
- Patto pl							46		Relig.
Alliances '96									
- Ulivo								284	Soc.
- Polo Lib								246	Cons.
Others	1	1	2	3	3	3	5	3	Others
Total	630	630	630	630	630	630	630	630	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from official sources; English party names from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data set (CPDS) und Inter-parlamentarische Union (IPU): 'Parline' database.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

T3.10 Italy (continued)

Abbreviations of party names:

DC	Democrazia Cristiana (Christian Democrats)
PDS	Partito Democratico della Sinistra (Democratic Party of the Left); until 1991: Partito Comunista Italiano PCI (Communist Party), then splitting in PDS and RC.
PSI	Partito Socialista Italiano (Socialist Party)
AN	Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance); until 1994: Movimento Sociale Italiano – Destra Nazionale (Social Movement).
PSDI	Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano (Social Democrats)
PLI	Partito Liberale Italiano (Liberal Party)
PRI	Partito Repubblicano Italiano (Italian Republican Party)
SVP	Südtiroler Volkspartei/Partito Popolare Sud-Tirolese (South Tyrolean People's Party)
Dem. Prol.	Democrazia Proletaria (Proletarian Democracy)
PdUP	Partito di Unità Proletaria per il Comunismo
P. Rad.	Partito Radicale (Radical Party); 1992: Lista Panella.
FdV	Federazione dei Verdi (Greens' Federation); until 1992: Lista Verde (Green List).
Lega	Lega Nord (Northern League); until 1991: Lega Lombarda (Lombard League), then formed the Lega Nord together with the Liga Veneta and other regional parties.
RC	Rifondazione Comunista (Communist Refoundation); 1991 splintered off from the Partito comunista after its renaming in PDS.
Rete	LA RETE – Movimento per la Democrazia (The Network – Movement for Democracy)

Alliances 1994

Polo Lib	Polo della Libertà (Pole of freedom): alliance of Lega Nord and Forza Italia; proportional voting system: 11 seats to Lega Nord, 16 seats to Forza Italia.
Polo BG	Polo del Buon Governo (Pole of Good Government): alliance of Alleanza Nazionale and Forza Italia; proportional voting system: 13 seats to AN, 14 seats to Forza Italia.
Prog.	Progressisti (Progressives): alliance of PDS, RC, PSI, FdV, Rete and Alleanza Democratica (Democratic Alliance); proportional voting system: 38 seats to PDS, 11 seats to RC.
Patto pl	Patto per l'Italia (Pact for Italy): alliance of Patto Segni (Mario Segni) and Partito Popolare Italiano (remainders of the DC); proportional voting system: 29 seats to Partito Popolare Italiano, 13 seats to Patto Segni.

T3.10 Italy (continued)

Alliances 1996

- Ulivo L'Ulivo (Olive tree): alliance of PDS, Lista Dini, FdV, Partito Sardo d'Azione and POP-SVP-PRI-UD-Prodi (alliance of Partito Popolare Italiano, SVP, PRI, UD EUR (Democratic Union for Europe) and Prodi); proportional voting system: 26 seats to PDS, 8 seats to Lista Dini, 4 seats to POP-SVP-PRI-DU-Prodi.
- Polo Lib Polo per le Libertà (Freedom pole): alliance of Forza Italia, AN e CCD-CDU (alliance of DC, Centro cristiano democratico (CCD) and Cristiani democratici uniti (CDU)); proportional voting system: 37 seats to Forza Italia, 28 seats to AN, 12 seats to CCD-CDU.

Remarks:

- 1972: Others: Gruppo Progressista
- 1976: Others: PCI-PSI-PdUP
- 1979: Others: Associazione per Trieste: 1 seat;
UV-UVP-D. Pop.-PLI: 1 seat.
- 1983: Others: Liga Veneta: 1 seat;
Partito Sardo d'Azione: 1 seat;
UV-UVP-Dem. Pop.: 1 seat.
- 1987: Others: Partito Sardo d'Azione: 2 seats;
Others: UV-ADP-PRI: 1 seat.
- 1992: Others: Federalismo – Pensionati Uomini Vivi: 1 seat;
Lega Autonoma Veneta: 1 seat;
Lista della Valle d'Aosta: 1 seat.
- 1994: Since 1994 Italy has had a mixed election system: 3/4 of Parliament is elected from plurality-majority districts, while the remaining members are chosen from proportional representation lists (in 26 constituencies).
- AN: The AN lined up for the elections as well with the alliance Patto BG as on its own; the 11 seats gained outside of the alliance are registered under AN.
- Others: Lista della Valle d'Aosta: 1 seat;
4 seats to others.
- 1996: Others: Lista della Valle d'Aosta: 1 seat;
2 seats to others.

T3.11 Liechtenstein

Distribution of seats: Landtag

Party ¹	1974	1978	1982	1986	1989	1993	1993*	1997	Party family ²
FBP	8	7	7	7	12	12	11	10	Cons.
VU	7	8	8	8	13	11	13	13	Cons.
FL						2	1	2	Green
Total	15	15	15	15	25	25	25	25	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from official sources; English party names from: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): 'Parline' database.

² Classification: SFSO.

Abbreviations of party names:

FBP	Fortschrittliche Bürgerpartei (Progressive Citizens' Party)
VU	Vaterländische Union (Patriotic Union)
FL	Freie Liste (Free List)

Remarks:

1993*: New elections the same year, after the vote of no-confidence against the head of the government.

T3.12 Luxembourg

Distribution of seats: Chambre des Députés

Party ¹	1974	1979	1984	1989	1994	1999	Party family ²
PCS	18	24	25	22	21	19	Relig.
PCL	5	2	2	1			Comm.
PD	14	15	14	11	12	15	Lib.
POSL	17	14	21	18	17	13	Soc.
ADR				4	5	7	Protest
GLEI				2	5	5	Green
GAP			2	2			Green
PSD	5	2					Soc.
Others		2				1	Others
Total	59	59	64	60	60	60	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from official sources; English party names from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data set (CPDS) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): 'Parline' database.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

PCS	Parti chrétien-social (Christian Social Party)
PCL	Parti communiste (Communist Party)
PD	Parti démocratique (Democratic Party)
POSL	Parti ouvrier-socialiste (Socialist Workers' Party)
ADR	Comité d'action pour la démocratie et le droit aux pensions (Action Committee for Democracy and Justice); until 1994: Comité d'action 5/6 Pensions pour tous (Action Committee 5/6 Pensions for All).
GLEI	Liste verte initiative écologique (Green Left); in 1994: joint list of GAP and GLEI (as GLEI-GAP) and from 1999 as 'Les Verts' (Greens).
GAP	Parti vert alternatif (Green Alternative) In 1994: joint list of GAP and GLEI (as GLEI-GAP) and from 1999 as 'Les Verts' (Greens)
PSD	Parti social-démocratique (Social Democratic Party)

Remarks:

1979	Others:	Enrôles de force: 1 seat; Socialistes indépendants (Independent Socialists): 1 seat.
1979	Others:	Déi Lénk / La Gauche (The Left)

T3.13 Netherlands

Distribution of seats: Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal

Party ¹	1971	1972	1977	1981	1982	1986	1989	1994	1998	Party family ²
PvdA	39	43	53	44	47	52	49	37	45	Soc.
VVD	16	22	28	26	36	27	22	31	38	Lib.
KVP	35	27	-> CDA							Relig.
CHU	10	7	-> CDA							Relig.
AR	13	14	-> CDA							Relig.
CDA			49	48	45	54	54	34	29	Relig.
D'66	11	6	8	17	6	9	12	24	14	Lib.
GPV	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	Relig.
SGP	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	Relig.
CPN	6	7	2	3	3		-> GL			Comm.
PSP	2	2	1	3	3	1	-> GL			Left-soc.
DS'70	8	6	1							Soc.
PPR	2	7	3	3	2	2	-> GL			Relig.
RPF				2	2	1	1	3	3	Relig.
SP								2	5	Left-soc.
GL							6	5	11	Green
AOV								6		Protest
Others	3	4	1		2		1	4		Others
Total	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from official sources; English party names from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): 'Parline' database.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party)
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy)
KVP	Katholieke Volkspartij (Catholic People's Party); 1975: union of KVP, CHU and AR to form CDA.
CHU	Christelijk-Historische Unie (Christian Historical Union); 1975: union of KVP, CHU and AR to form CDA.
AR	Anti-Revolutionaire Partij (Anti Revolutionary Party); 1975: union of KVP, CHU and AR to form CDA.
CDA	Christen Democratisch Appèl (Christian Democratic Appeal); emerged in 1975 from the union of KVP, AR and CHU.

T3.13 Netherlands (continued)

D'66	Democraten '66 (Democrats' 66)
GPV	Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond (Reformed Political League)
SGP	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij (State Reform Party)
CPN	Communistische Partij Nederland (Communist Party); 1989: union of the CPN, the PPR, the PSP and the Evangelische Volkspartij (EVP, Evangelic People's Party) to form GL.
PSP	Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij (Pacifist Socialist Party); 1989: union of the CPN, the PPR, the PSP and the Evangelische Volkspartij (EVP, Evangelic People's Party) to form GL.
DS'70	Democratisch Socialisten '70 (Democratic Socialists '70); splintered off in 1970 from the PvdA.
PPR	Politieke Partij Radikalen (Radical Political Party); 1989: union of the CPN, the PPR, the PSP and the Evangelische Volkspartij (EVP, Evangelic People's Party) to form GL.
RPF	Reformatische Politieke Federatie (Reformed Political Federation)
SP	Socialistische Partij (Socialist Party)
GL	Groen Links (Green Left); emerged in 1989 from the union of the PSP, the PPR, the CPN and the Evangelische Volkspartij (EVP, Evangelic People's Party).
AOV	Algemeen ouderen verbond (United Old Persons' League)

Remarks:

1971:	Others:	Nederlandse Middenstands Partij: 2 seats; Boeren-Partij: 1 seat.
1972:	Others:	Boeren-Partij: 3 seats; Rooms Katholieke Partij Nederland: 1 seat.
1977:	Others:	Boeren-Partij: 1 seat.
1982:	Others:	Centrumpartij: 1 seat; Evangelische Volkspartij: 1 seat.
1989:	Others:	Lijst Janmaat/Centrumdemocraten: 1 seat.
1994:	Others:	Centrumdemocraten: 3 seats; Unie 55+: 1 seat.

T3.14 Norway

Distribution of seats: Stortinget

Party ¹	1973	1977	1981	1985	1989	1993	1997	Party family ²
A	62	76	66	71	63	67	65	Soc.
Frp	4		4	2	22	10	25	Protest
H	29	41	53	50	37	28	23	Cons.
KrF	20	22	15	16	14	13	25	Relig.
Sp	21	12	11	12	11	32	11	Agrarian
SV	16	2	4	6	17	13	9	Left-soc.
V	2	2	2			1	6	Lib.
Others	1				1	1	1	Others
Total	155	155	155	157	165	165	165	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations and English party names taken from official sources.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

A	Det norske Arbeiderparti (Labour Party)
Frp	Fremskrittspartiet (Progress Party)
H	Høyre (Conservative Party)
KrF	Kristelig Folkeparti (Christian Democratic Party)
Sp	Senterpartiet (Centre Party)
SV	Sosialistisk Venstreparti (Socialist Left Party)
V	Venstre (Liberal Party)

Remarks:

1973:	Frp:	Anders Lange Parti. Named after the founder of the party, Anders Lange; after 1973 renamed in Fremskrittspartiet.
	SV:	Sosialistisk Valgforbund (Socialist Electoral Alliance); coalition of Sosialistisk Folkeparti and Norske Kommunistiske Parti and some independents; after the elections the new Sosialistisk Venstreparti (Socialist Left Party) was established from this coalition.
	Others:	Det Liberale Folkeparti (the Liberal People's Party)
1989:	Others:	Aunelista (Future for Finnmark)
1993:	Others:	Rød Valgallianse (Red Electoral Alliance)
1997:	Others:	Tverrpolitisk Folkevalgte (Inter-political People's Party)

T3.15 Portugal

Distribution of seats: Assembleia da Republica

Party ¹	1975	1976	1979	1980	1983	1985	1987	1991	1995	1999	Party family ²
PS	116	107	74	74	101	57	60	72	112	115	Soc.
PSD	81	73	7 / -> AD	8 / -> AD	75	88	148	135	88	81	Lib.
PCP	30	40	-> APU	-> APU	-> APU	-> APU	-> CDU	-> CDU	-> CDU	-> CDU	Comm.
CDS/PP	16	42	-> AD	-> AD	30	22	4	5	15	15	Relig.
MDP	5		-> APU	-> APU	-> APU	-> APU					Comm.
AD			121	126							Lib.
APU			47	41	44	38					Comm.
PRD						45	7				Lib.
CDU							31	17	15	17	Comm.
Others	2	1	1	1				1		2	Others
Total	250	263	250	250	250	250	250	230	230	230	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations and English party names taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): 'Parline' database

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

- PS: Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)
- PSD: Partido Social Democrata (Social Democrats);
until 1976: Partido Popular Democrático (PPD);
competed as PPD/PSD in some regions after 1976;
1979 and 1980: in the coalition Aliança Democrática (AD).
- PCP: Partido Comunista Português (Communist Party);
from 1979 until 1985: in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU);
from 1987: in the coalition Coligação Democrática Unitária (CDU).
- CDS/PP: Centro Democrático Social / Partido Popular (Centre Social Democrats / Popular Party);
until 1995: Centro Democrático Social (CDS);
1979 and 1980: in the coalition Aliança Democrática (AD).
- MDP: Movimento Democrático Português (Democratic Movement);
from 1979 until 1985: in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU).
- AD: Aliança Democrática (Democratic Alliance): coalition of the PSD, the CDS and the Partido Popular Monárquico.
- APU: Aliança Povo Unido (United People's Alliance): coalition of the PCP and the MDP.
- PRD: Partido Renovador Democrático (Democratic Renewal Party)
- CDU: Coligação Democrática Unitária (Unified Democratic Coalition): coalition of the PCP and the Partido Ecologista 'Os Verdes' (PEV);
1991 and 1995: competed under the denomination 'PCP/PVE'.

T3.15 Portugal (continued)

Remarks:

1975:	Others:	ADIM: 1 seat; União Democrática Popular: 1 seat.
1976:	Others:	União Democrática Popular: 1 seat.
1979:	PSD:	Together with the CDS and the Partido Popular Monárquico in the coalition Aliança Democrática (AD); distribution of seats in the coalition: PSD 73, CDS 43, Partido Popular Monárquico 5; on the Azores and Madeira the PSD competed separately and won 7 seats.
	PCP:	Together with the MDP in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
	CDS:	Together with the PSD and the Partido Popular Monárquico in the coalition Aliança Democrática (AD); distribution of seats in the coalition: PSD 73, CDS 43, Partido Popular Monárquico 5.
	MDP:	Together with the PCP in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
	Others:	União Democrática Popular: 1 seat.
1980:	PS:	Together with UEDS in the coalition Frente Republicana e Socialista (FRS); all seats in the coalition went to the PS.
	PSD:	Together with the CDS and the Partido Popular Monárquico in the coalition Aliança Democrática (AD); distribution of seats in the coalition: PSD 74, CDS 46, Partido Popular Monárquico 6; on the Azores and Madeira the PSD competed separately and won 8 seats.
	PCP:	Together with the MDP in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
	CDS:	Together with the PSD and the Partido Popular Monárquico in the coalition Aliança Democrática (AD); distribution of seats in the coalition: PSD 74, CDS 46, Partido Popular Monárquico 6.
	MDP:	Together with the PCP in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
	Others:	União Democrática Popular: 1 seat.
1983:	PCP:	Together with the MDP in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
	MDP:	Together with the PCP in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
1985:	PCP:	Together with the MDP in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
	MDP:	Together with the PCP in the coalition Aliança Povo Unido (APU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
1987:	PCP:	With the Partido Ecologista 'Os Verdes' (PVE) in the coalition Coligação Democrática Unitária (CDU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.

T3.15 Portugal (continued)

1991:	PCP:	With the Partido Ecologista 'Os Verdes' (PVE) in the coalition Coligação Democrática Unitária (CDU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
	Others:	Partido da Solidariedade Nacional
1995:	PCP:	With the Partido Ecologista 'Os Verdes' (PVE) in the coalition Coligação Democrática Unitária (CDU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
1999:	PCP:	With the Partido Ecologista 'Os Verdes' (PVE) in the coalition Coligação Democrática Unitária (CDU); all seats in the coalition went to the PCP.
	Others:	Bloco do Esquerda

T3.16 Spain

Distribution of seats: Congreso de los Diputados

Party ¹	1977	1979	1982	1986	1989	1993	1996	Party family ²
PSOE	118	121	202	184	175	159	141	Soc.
UCD	165	168	11					Lib.
PCE	20	23	4	-> IU				Comm.
PP	16	10	107	105	107	141	156	Cons.
CIU	11	8	12	18	18	17	16	Ethnic
PNV	8	7	8	6	5	5	5	Ethnic
EE	1	1	1	2	2	-> PSOE		Soc.
PA		5			2			Ethnic
HB		3	2	5	4	2	2	Ethnic
CDS			2	19	14			Lib.
PSP	6	-> PSOE						Soc.
IU				7	17	18	21	Comm.
CC						4	4	Ethnic
Others	5	4	1	4	6	4	5	Others
Total	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from official sources; English party names from: Armington K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): 'Parline' database.

² Classification taken from: Armington K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Socialist Workers' Party)
UCD	Unión de Centro Democrático (Union of the Democratic Centre); dissolved after the 1982 elections.
PCE	Partido Comunista de España (Communist Party); after 1986: formed the IU.
PP	Partido Popular (People's Party); until 1989: Alianza Popular (AP); then union with some small parties and renamed in Partido Popular.
CIU	Convergència i Unió (Convergence and Unity); until 1979: Coalición Electoral Pacte Democràtic Per Catalunya PDPC.
PNV	Partido Nacionalista Vasco (Basque Nationalist Party)
EE	Euskadiko Ezkerra (Basque Social Party); entered in the PSOE after the 1989 elections.
PA	Partido Andalucista (Andalusian Party)
HB	Herri Batasuna (Basque United People)
CDS	Centro Democrático y Social (Democratic and Social Centre)

T3.16 Spain (continued)

PSP	Partido Socialista Popular – Unidad Socialista (Socialist Popular Party – Socialist Unity); entered in the PSOE after the 1977 elections.
IU	Izquierda Unida (United Left); 1986: coalition formed from communist and ecologist groups around the PCE.
CC	Coalición Canaria (Canarian Coalition)

Remarks:

1977:	Others:	Coalición Electoral Esquerra de Catalunya – Front Electoral Democratic (alliance of the Esquerra de Catalunya and the Partido del Trabajo de España): 1 seat; Candidatura Aragonesa Independiente de Centro: 1 seat; Unió del Centro i la Democracia Cristiana de Catalunya: 2 seats; Agrupación Riojana Independientes: 1 seat.
1979:	PP:	As Coalición Democrática, together with a small Basque party
	Others:	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya – Front Nacional (alliance of the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, the Front Nacional de Catalunya and the Partido Social Demócrata de Catalunya): 1 seat; Partido Aragonés Regionalista: 1 seat; Unión del Pueblo Canario: 1 seat; Unión Nacional: 1 seat.
1982:	PP:	Coalition with Demócrata Popular
	Others:	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya
1986:	PP:	Coalition with the Partido Demócrata Popular and other small parties
	Others:	Coalición Galega: 1 seat; Coalición Agrupaciones Independientes de Centro: 1 seat; Partido Aragonés Regionalista: 1 seat; Unió Valenciana: 1 seat.
1989:	Others:	Agrupaciones Independientes de Canarias: 1 seat; Partido Aragonés Regionalista: 1 seat; Unió Valenciana: 2 seats; Eusko Alkartasuna: 2 seats (splintered off from the PNV after the 1986 elections).
1993:	Others:	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya: 1 seat; Partido Aragonés Regionalista: 1 seat; Unió Valenciana: 1 seat; Eusko Alkartasuna: 1 seat.
1996:	Others:	Bloque Nacionalista Galego: 2 seats; Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya: 1 seat; Unió Valenciana: 1 seat; Eusko Alkartasuna: 1 seat.

T3.17 Sweden

Distribution of seats: Riksdag

Party ¹	1973	1976	1979	1982	1985	1988	1991	1994	1998	Party family ²
m	51	55	73	86	76	66	80	80	82	Cons.
c	90	86	64	56	43	42	31	27	18	Agrarian
fp	34	39	38	21	51	44	33	26	17	Lib.
s	156	152	154	166	159	156	138	161	131	Soc.
v	19	17	20	20	19	21	16	22	43	Comm.
kd					1		26	15	42	Relig.
mp						20		18	16	Green
nyd							25			Protest
Total	350	349	349	349	349	349	349	349	349	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations and English party names taken from official sources.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

m	Moderata Samlingspartiet (The Conservative Party)
c	Centerpartiet (The Centre Party)
fp	Folkpartiet liberalerna (The Liberal Party)
s	Arbetarepartiet – Socialdemokraterna (The Social Democrats)
v	Vänsterpartiet (The Left Party); until 1991: Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna (The Left Party – Communists).
kd	Kristdemokraterna (The Christian Democrats); until 1987: Kristen Demokratisk Samling.
mp	Miljöpartiet De Gröna (The Green Party)
nyd	Ny Demokrati (New Democracy)

Remarks:

1985: kd Together with the Centerpartiet; in this coalition kd obtained 1 seat.

T3.18 Switzerland

Distribution of seats: Nationalrat / Conseil national / Consiglio nazionale

Party ¹	1971	1975	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	Party family ²
FDP	49	47	51	54	51	44	45	43	Lib.
CVP	44	46	44	42	42	35	34	35	Relig.
SPS	46	55	51	47	41	41	54	51	Soc.
SVP	23	21	23	23	25	25	29	44	Cons.
LPS	6	6	8	8	9	10	7	6	Lib.
LdU	13	11	8	8	8	5	3	1	Lib.
EVP	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	Relig.
PdA	5	4	3	1	1	2	3	3	Comm.
PSA	0	1	1	1	1	1			Left-soc.
POCH	0	0	2	3	3	0			Left-soc.
FGA					1	1	2	1	Left-soc.
GPS		0	1	3	9	14	8	8	Green
SD	7	4	1	1	0				Protest
Rep.	4	2	2	4	3	5	3	1	Protest
FPS					2	8	7	0	Protest
Lega						2	1	2	Ethnic
Others	0	0	2	2	1	4	2	2	Others
Total	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations and English party names taken from official sources.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

T3.18 Switzerland (continued)

Abbreviations of party names:

FDP	Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei / Parti radical-démocratique (Radical Democratic Party)
CVP	Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei / Parti démocrate-chrétien (Christian Democratic Party)
SPS	Sozialdemokratische Partei / Parti socialiste (Social Democratic Party)
SVP	Schweizerische Volkspartei / Union démocratique du centre (Swiss People's Party)
LPS	Liberale Partei / Parti libéral (Liberal Party)
LdU	Landesring der Unabhängigen / Alliance des indépendants (Independents)
EVP	Evangelische Volkspartei / Parti évangélique populaire (Evangelical People's Party)
PdA	Partei der Arbeit / Parti suisse du travail (Workers' Party)
PSA	Partito socialista autonomo (Autonomous Socialist Party)
POCH	Progressive Organisationen der Schweiz / Organisations progressistes suisses (Progressive Organizations of Switzerland)
FGA	Feministische und grün-alternative Gruppierungen / Alternative socialiste verte et groupements féministes (Feminist and green-alternative groups)
GPS	Grüne Partei / Parti écologiste (Green Party)
Rep	Schweizerische Republikanische Bewegung / Mouvement national d'action républicaine et sociale suisse (Swiss Republican Movement)
SD	Schweizer Demokraten / Démocrates suisses (Swiss Democrats)
FPS	Freiheits-Partei der Schweiz / Parti suisse de la liberté (Freedom Party of Switzerland)

Remarks:

1979:	Others:	Entente jurassienne: 1 seat; Liste d'unité jurassienne et populaire: 1 seat.
1983:	Others:	Freie Liste: 1 seat; Komitee Herbert Maeder: 1 seat.
1987:	Others:	Komitee Herbert Maeder: 1 seat.
1991:	Others:	Christlich-soziale Partei: 1 seat; Eidgenössisch-Demokratische Union: 1 seat; Alliance jurassienne: 1 seat; Komitee Herbert Maeder: 1 seat.
1995:	Others:	Christlich-soziale Partei: 1 seat; Eidgenössisch-Demokratische Union: 1 seat.
1999:	PdA:	Including a representative of 'Alliance de gauche – solidarités'
	Others:	Christlich-soziale Partei: 1 seat; Eidgenössisch-Demokratische Union: 1 seat.

T3.19 United Kingdom (GBR)

Distribution of seats: House of Commons

Party ¹	1974 ^{a)}	1974 ^{b)}	1979	1983	1987	1992	1997	Party family ²
Con	296	276	339	397	375	336	165	Cons.
Lab	301	319	268	209	229	271	418	Soc.
LibDem	14	13	11	23	22	20	46	Lib.
SNP	7	11	2	2	3	3	6	Ethnic
PC	2	3	2	2	3	4	4	Ethnic
UU	7	6	5	11	9	9	10	Ethnic
UDU	1	1	3	3	3	3	2	Ethnic
SDLP	1	1	1	1	3	4	3	Ethnic
SF				1	1		2	Ethnic
Others	6	5	4	1	2	1	3	Others
Total	635	635	635	650	650	651	659	Total

¹ Current party names are being used. Abbreviations taken from official sources.

² Classification taken from: Armingeon K. et al. (2001): Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS) and Lane J.-E./Ersson S. (1999): Politics and Society in Western Europe.

Abbreviations of party names:

Con	Conservative Party
Lab	Labour Party
LibDem	Liberal Democratic Party; until 1992: Liberal Party; 1992 fusion of Liberal Party and Social Democratic Party (SDP); the two parties had formed an electoral coalition in 1983 and 1987.
SNP	Scottish National Party
PC	Plaid Cymru
UU	Ulster Unionist
UDU	Ulster Democratic Unionist
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party
SF	Sinn Féin

T3.19 United Kingdom (GBR: continued)

Remarks:

1974^{a)}: elections of 28th February 1974:

Others: Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party: 3 seats;
Independents/others: 3 seats.

1974^{b)}: elections of 10th October 1974:

Others: Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party: 3 seats;
Independents/others: 2 seats.

1979: Others: United Ulster Unionist Party: 1 seat;
James Kilfedder (Ulster Unionist Party, but opposed to the official Ulster
Unionist Party): 1 seat;
Independents/others: 2 seats.

1983: LibDem: Alliance of Liberal Party and Social Democratic Party (SDP)
Others: Ulster Popular Unionist: 1 seat.

1987: LibDem: Alliance of Liberal Party and Social Democratic Party (SDP)
Others: Ulster Popular Unionist: 1 seat;
Independents/others: 1 seat.

1992: Others: Ulster Popular Unionist: 1 seat.

1997: Others: UK Unionist Party: 1 seat;
Independents/others: 2 seats.

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Politics

Ladner Andreas: L'évolution des systèmes cantonaux des partis suisses. Une étude basée sur les données des élections au Conseil national et dans les parlements cantonaux de 1971 à 2003. Edité par l'OFS, Neuchâtel 2003, numéro de comande 590-0300.

Elections au Conseil national de 1999. Aperçu et analyse. Neuchâtel 2002, numéro de commande 016-9904.

Les femmes et les élections au Conseil national de 1999. Evolution depuis 1971. Neuchâtel 2000, numéro de commande 016-9902.

Les élections au Conseil national de 1999. L'évolution du paysage politique depuis 1971. Neuchâtel 1999, numéro de commande 016-9901.

Les élections au Conseil national de 1999: Les «mandats assurés» et les «mandats restants» des partis lors des élections au Conseil national de 1995 et l'évolution du paysage politique dans les élections parlementaires cantonales (1996–1999). Actualités OFS, Neuchâtel 1999.

Jürgler Rudolf: Konzepte zur Analyse der Panaschierstatistik. Eine Studie mit Daten der Nationalratswahlen 1999. Edité par l'OFS, Neuchâtel 2001, numéro de commande 016-9903.

La difficile conquête du mandat de députée. Les femmes et les élections au Conseil national de 1971 à 1991. Avec, en complément: 1) Les femmes dans les parlements cantonaux (1961–1994), 2) Etude de quelques déterminants de la représentation des femmes dans les assemblées législatives suisses de Thanh-Huyen Ballmer-Cao/John Bendix. Berne 1994, numéro de commande 016-9103.

La représentation des femmes dans les exécutifs communaux en 2001. Neuchâtel 2001, numéro de commande 221-0100.

Les votations populaires fédérales en 1999. Neuchâtel 2001, numéro de commande 200-9900.

Les votations populaires fédérales en 1998. Neuchâtel 2000, numéro de commande 200-9800.

Is Switzerland a typical example of a politically stable country? The rapid growth in the popularity of the Swiss People's Party, which doubled its party votes within two elections and thus became the strongest party in the country, as well as the green party, which in the 1990s became the most important party not represented in the Federal Council, brings into question the much quoted political stability of Switzerland.

The present study attempts to provide answers to questions such as these by comparing Switzerland with its neighbours. It analyses the changes that have been seen over the past thirty years in the political composition of the country and compares them with party-political changes in other European states. The comparison covers in particular the following aspects:

- the number of parties,
- the differences between their manifestos,
- the parties at the extreme left and right ends of the spectrum,
- the national party system versus the 26 cantonal party systems,
- developments in political composition during the 1990s.

The appendices include tables which present the official results of parliamentary elections in all EU and EFTA countries since 1970 and which thus provide an overview of political developments in those countries.