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APPENDIX A

INDICES

1. Volatility indices

The Total Volatility index (TV) measures the quantity of voters that shift their vote between two consecutive elections, calculated as the total percentages which point to change for each party between two successive elections. The total change for all of the parties is then divided by two.

The change in the strength of party 'I' since the previous election ($\Delta P_{i,t}$) is calculated as: $P_{i,t} - P_{i,t-1}$.

Therefore, the total change of the party system (total net change) (TNCt) is calculated as:

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \frac{\Delta P_{i,t-1}}{2}$$

(Pedersen, 1979, 1983)

The Bloc Volatility index (BV) is calculated by using the Total Volatility index, but the calculation is based on blocs of parties rather than on individual parties.

The formula for Bloc Volatility is:

$$(\text{Bloc Volatility} = \frac{|P_iV + P_jV + P_kV| + |P_oV + P_mV + P_nV|}{2})$$

or simply $|P_iV + P_jV + P_kV|$

where PV is the individual volatility of parties i,j,k, etc.

(Bartolini & Mair, 1990:313)

The Cleavage Salience index (CS): $\frac{\text{Bloc volatility}}{\text{Total volatility}} * 100$

The Bloc-Weighted Cleavage Salience index (WCS):

$$WCS = \left(1 - \frac{BV}{TV}\right) * BES$$

where BV is bloc volatility, TV is total volatility and BES is bloc electoral support (in numbers).

The Electorate Total Partisan index (ETP) is the TV index's complementary number, calculated by subtracting the TV index level from the percentages of the valid votes in the current election.

$$VVi,t - \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{\Delta EP_{i,t} - \Delta EP_{i,t-1}}{2}$$

* Change in the electoral strength of party 'I' (as measured by its proportion of valid votes from the whole electorate in the current election) since the previous election ($\Delta EP_{i,t}$) is calculated as: $EP_{i,t} - EP_{i,t-1}$.

* This is divided by two, in order to account for the fact that when one party "wins", the other party "loses".

* Subtracting the index score from the fraction of valid votes in the current election (VVi,t).

2. Other indices

Rae's Fragmentation index is computed as:

$$1 - \sum_{i=1}^n Ti^2$$

Ti =any party's decimal share of the vote (Rae, 1967)

Laakso and Taagepera's (1979) Effective Number of Parties (ENP) is calculated as:

$$1 / \sum Pi^2$$

Pi = the proportion of votes (or seats) won by party i.

APPENDIX B

COMPOSITION OF PARTY BLOCS ALONG THE DIFFERENT CLEAVAGES, PER CASE

	Class Cleavage	Religious Cleavage
Austria	Socialists (SPÖ), Austrian People's Opposition (WÖV)/Communists and Left Socialists (KuL)/ Communist Party (KPÖ), Democratic Progressive Party (DFP), Socialist Left Party (SLP)/ The Left	Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), the Christians (DC)*
Denmark	Social Democrats (SD), Communist Party (DKP)/ The Unity List (ELRG), Socialist People's Party (SF), Left Socialist Party (VS)	Christian People's Party (KrF)/ Christian Democrats (KD)
Finland	Social Democrats (SSP), the Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL)/Left Alliance (V), Social Democratic League of Workers and Smallholders (TPSL)*, Communist Party (SKP)*, For Peace and Socialism (KTP)*, The Finnish Workers' Party (STP)*	Christian League (SKL)/ Christian Democrats (KD)
Flanders	Flemish Socialist Party (BSP), Flemish Socialist Party – Different) (SP. A) & SPIRIT (SPSp)*, Communist Party (KP)*	Christian People's Party (CVP)/ Christian Democratic and Flemish (CD & V), Christian Democratic and Flemish (CD & V) & (NVA)*
Germany	Social Democrats (SPD), Communist Party (KPD), All-German People's Party (GVP)*, Action for Democratic Union (ADF)*, German Peace Union (DFU)*, Democratic Socialist (PDS)/ the Left (L)	Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Christian Social Union (CSU)
Italy	Communist Party (PCI/ PDS), the Democrats of the Left (DS)* Proletarian Unity*, Party of the Italian Communist (PdCI)*, Communist Re-foundation (RC)*, Continuous Struggle (LC)*, Socialist Party (PSI), New Italian Socialists Party (NPSI)*, United Socialist Party *, Social Democrats (PSDI),	Christian Democrats (DC), Popular Party (PPI)*, Christian Democratic Centre (CCD)*, Christian Democratic Centre (CCD) - United Christian Democrats (CDU)*/Union of Christian and Centre Democrats (UDC)*, Segni Pact*

	Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP), Democratic Party of Proletarian Unity for Communism (PdUP)*, Democratic Proletarian (DP), Democrats Socialist (DS), Italian Socialists (SI)*, Democratic Party (PD)*, The Left-The Rainbow (SA)*	
Luxembourg	Socialist Workers' (POSL)/ Social- Democratic Party (LSAP), Communist Party (PCL), Socialists, Social Democratic Party (PSD), Independent Socialists, The Left	Christian Social Party (PCS)/ Christian Social Peoples Party (CSV)
the Netherlands	Communist Party (CPN), Labour Party (PvdA), Democratic Socialists 70 (DS 70), Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP), Green Left (GL), Socialist Party (SP)	Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP), Catholics/ Catholic People's Party (KVP), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Political Reformed Party (SGP)*, Reformed Political League (GPV), Roman Catholic Party (RKPN)*, Catholic National Party (KNP)*, Evangelical People's Party (EVP)*, Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Reformed Political Federation (RPF)*, Christian Union (CU)*
Norway	Labour party (DNA), Communist Party (NKP), Socialist Left Party (SV)	Christian People's Party (KrF), Christian Unity Party (KSP)*
Sweden	Social Democrats (SdaP), Communist Party (SKV)/ Left Party (V)	Christian Democratic Party (KdS) (the results of 1985 are those with the Centre Party (C))
Wallonia	Francophone Socialist Party (PS), Communist Party (PC)*	Christian Social Party (PSC)/ Democratic Humanistic Centre (CDH)

* Assignment of party by author based on party ideology.

APPENDIX C

NATIONAL SURVEYS DATASETS AND SOURCES

	File numbers	Source
Belgium 1991	P1228	Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS)
Belgium 1995	P1422	
Belgium 1999	P1693	
Belgium 2003		
Denmark 1971-98	ZA-Nr. 3911	ISPO - K.U.Leuven, PIOP - U.C.Louvain The European Voter Database* Danish Data Archive (DDA)
Denmark 2001	dat12516	
Denmark 2005	dat18184	
Finland 1991	FSD1018	
Finland 1995	FSD1031	Finnish Social Science Data Archive (Pesonen, et al., 1991) (Gallup, 1995) (Moring & Gallup, 1999) (Karvonen, et al., 2003) (Paloheimo, et al. 2007)
Finland 1999	FSD1042	
Finland 2003	FSD1260	
Finland 2007	FSD2269	
Germany 1961-94	ZA-Nr. 3911	The European Voter Database* ZACAT
Germany 1998	ZA3083	
Germany 2002	ZA3861	
Germany 2005	ZA4559	
Germany 2009	ZA5303	Italian National Election Studies (ITANES)
Italy 1994	ITA1994	
Italy 1996	ITA1996	
Italy 2001	ITA2001	
Italy 2006	ITA2006	DANS
Italy 2008	ITA2008	
the Netherlands 1967	P0044	
the Netherlands 1972	P0353	
the Netherlands 1977	P0354	
the Netherlands 1981	P0350	
the Netherlands 1986	P0866	
the Netherlands 1989	P1000	
the Netherlands 1994	P1208	
the Netherlands 1998	P1415	
the Netherlands 2002-03	P0353	
Norway 1965-97	ZA-Nr. 3911	
Norway 2005		
Sweden 1956-98	ZA-Nr. 3911	The European Voter Database* Norwegian Social Science Service Data (NDS) The European Voter Database* Swedish Social Science Data Service
Sweden 2002	VALU2002 (0787-001)	
Sweden 2006	VALU2006 (0844-001)	

*GESIS

APPENDIX D

NAMES OF VARIABLES, PER DATASET

		PI	Turnout recent election	Party support recent election	Turnout present election	Party support present election	Weight variable
Belgium	1991			V44		V31	v_weight
Belgium	1995			Q59	Q43.1	Q42	Lsv_vla; Lsv_wal
Belgium	1999			R43	Missing	R35_1	Lsp_belg
Belgium	2003			q23_1		q32	w_agev_vla w
Denmark	1971-98	STRENGTH	RECALL TURNOUT	RECALL CHOICE	TURNOUT	PARTY CHOICE	for 1998 election: weigpo98
Denmark	2001	V0051	V0032		V0022		vegtede partiandele fv
Denmark	2005	V0118	V0037		V0020		politisk wegt
Finland	1991		V130	V131		V264	My calculation
Finland	1995			V110		V73*	My calculation
Finland	1999		Q32	Q33	Q3	Q5	My calculation
Finland	2003		Q32	Q33	Q9	Q10	My calculation
Finland	2007		Q23	Q23b	Q21	Q21c	My calculation
Germany	1961	STRENG61	TURNOUT2	PARTY CHOICE2	TURNOUT	PARTY CHOICE	--
Germany	1965	STRENG65					
Germany	1969-94	STRENGTH					

Germany	1998	V7	V194	V196		V197*	My calculation
Germany	2002	vpidststrk	V330		V70*		My calculation
Germany	2005	V17c (Staerke der Parteinaehe)	V21 (Teilnahme BTW05)	V22b (Zweitstimme BTW02)	V18 (Teilnahme BTW05)	V19b (Zweitstimme)	My calculation
Germany	2009	POST052	PREV087		POST002	POST004	My calculation
Italy	1994	--	Q34		Q14	Q27	--
Italy	1996	--	Q133		Q143	Q154	--
Italy	2001	--	E7		E20	--	
Italy	2006	--	C80_2 (C808)		C133B (C119)	C140 (CAMERA1. C.123)	--
Italy	2008	--	D053		D119	D123	--
the Netherlands	1967	--	V054		V026	--	
the Netherlands	1971	R226, R230	V272	V273	V763	V764	My calculation
the Netherlands	1972	VAR224, VAR226	V154	V155	V143	V150	My calculation
the Netherlands	1977	V159, V161	V94	V95	V315	V323	My calculation
the Netherlands	1981	V019	V016	V017	V512	V513	My calculation
the Netherlands	1982	V1021	V1171	V1172	V1045	V1046	My calculation
the Netherlands	1986	V024	V203	V204	V180	V181	My calculation
the Netherlands	1989	V027	V055	V056	V146	V147	My calculation
the Netherlands	1994	V026	V055	V056	V280	V281	My calculation
the Netherlands	1998	V0058	V0165	V0166	V0610	V0611	CBD
the Netherlands	2002	V0112	V0235	V0236	V0646	V0647	SDELM02
the Netherlands	2003	--	V0646	V0647	X0195	X0196	SDELM03
the Netherlands	2006	V065	V220	V 221	V510	V512	SOCIO DEM FOR ALL WAVES

Norway	1965-97	STRENGTH	RECALL TURNOUT	RECALL CHOICE	TURNOUT	PARTY CHOICE	--
Norway	2005	V299 (pidstyrk)	V242		V220	V223	
Sweden	1956-98	STRENGTH	RECALL TURNOUT	RECALL CHOICE	TURNOUT	PARTY CHOICE	Only for 1970 and 1976: Weight 70, Weight 76
Sweden	2002	--	V20		V7		My calculation
Sweden	2006	--	V13		V7		My calculation

* question of vote intention

**Names of variables as they appeared in the national election surveys, which
were collected in the European voter datasets**

		STRENGTH	RECALL TURNOUT	RECALL CHOICE	TURNOUT	PARTY CHOICE
Denmark	1971	V254		V241		V318
	1973	V161		V154		V146
	1975	V64		V40		V33
	1977	V177		V207		V26
	1979	V161		V165		V94
	1981	--		V182		V232
	1984	V110		V63		V2
	1987	--		V38b		V8b
	1988	--		*V92		s3
	1990	V245		V148		V143
	1994	V32		V31		V11
	1998	V45		V44		V4
Germany	1961	V175	--		V90	V91
	1965	V172	--	V202	V113	V114
	1969	--	V183	V185	V615	V617
	1972	V306	V170	V172	V263	V266
	1976	V553	V513	V515	V434	V437
	1980	V299	V10	V12	V246	V248
	1983	V396	V278	V278	V272	V274
	1987	V418	--	V206	V361	V362
	1990	V607	V172	V173	V489	V490
	1994	V176	V172	V173	V9	V11
Norway	1965- 97	Strength	Recall		Turnout	Choice
Sweden	1956- 98	PIS	VOTER	PARTYR	VOTE	PARTY

APPENDIX E

TURNOUT, INVALID VOTES AND ‘NOT VOTING’ RATES IN FLANDERS AND WALLONIA

The data for these two regions were calculated based on constituencies-level data, as is specified in Caramani (2000) and based on the official election results. Due to the discussion on the Brussel-Halle-Vilvoorde area, some districts in this area were excluded (Brussels was excluded between 1961-91, and from 1995 onward the Anderlecht, Brussel, Elsene, Schaarbeek, Sint-Gillis, Sint-Jans-Molenbeek, Sint-Joost-Ten-Node, and Ukkel were excluded). Table 1 specifies the turnout and valid votes rates for each region, in each election year, over the same period, while Table 2 presents the constituencies distribution per region between 1950 and 2010.

Table 1: Turnout and valid vote, per region, in each (national) election year				
	Flanders		Wallonia	
	Turnout	Valid votes	Turnout	Valid votes
1950	93.41	88.35	92.18	87.63
1954	93.76	88.75	92.84	87.95
1958	93.81	89.15	93.04	88.50
1961	93.14	88.24	91.48	86.58
1965	92.61	86.06	90.63	84.49
1968	91.11	84.25	88.74	83.43
1971	92.63	84.59	90.22	83.95
1974	91.49	84.06	89.20	82.52
1977	95.89	89.39	94.81	87.31
1978	96.05	88.37	93.71	85.34
1981	95.75	88.61	93.69	86.88
1985	94.84	88.05	92.91	85.64
1987	94.74	88.68	92.54	86.37

1991	94.28	88.23	91.67	84.33
1995	92.51	86.09	90.53	82.92
1999	92.30	87.12	89.36	81.53
2003	93.36	89.32	83.65	83.65
2007	92.68	88.54	89.91	75.45
2010	90.82	86.05	87.68	81.27

Table 2: The constituencies of Flanders and Wallonia, 1950-2010

Flanders	Wallonia
Antwerpen, Mechelen, Turnhout, Leuven, Brugge, Veurne-Diksmuide-Oostende, Kortrijk, Roeselare-Tielt, Ieper, Gent-Eeklo, Sint Niklaas, Dendermonde, Aalst, Oudenaarde, Hasselt, Tongeren-Maaseik, Aarlen-Marche-Bastenaken	Nivelles, Mons, Soignes, Tournai-Ath-Mouscron, Charleroi, Thuin, Liège, Huy-Waremme, Verviers, Arlon-Marche-Bastogne, Neufchâteau, Namur, Dinant
Antwerpen, Mechelen-Turnhout, Leuven, Brugge, Veurne-Diksmuide-Ieper-Oostende, Kortrijk-Roeselare-Tielt, Gent-Eeklo, Sint-Niklaas-Dendermonde, Hasselt-Tongeren-Maaseik	Nijvel, Mons-Soignes, Tournai-Ath-Mouscron, Charleroi-Thuin, Liège-Luik, Huy-Waremme, Verviers, Arlon-Marche-Bastogne-Neufchâteau-Virton, Namur-Dinant-Philippeville
Antwerpen, Limburg, Oost-Vlaanderen, Vlaams-Brabant, West-Vlaanderen	Luxemburg, Henegouwen, Luik, Namen, Walloon Brabant
Antwerpen, Limburg, Oost-Vlaanderen, West-Vlaanderen, Leuven and kantons of Halle, Vilvoorde, Lennik, Meise, Zaventem and Asse	Luxemburg, Henegouwen, Luik, Namen, Walloon Brabant

APPENDIX F

THE IDENTITY OF THE TWO LARGEST PARTIES, PER CASE, BETWEEN 1950 AND 2010

	Period	First party	Second party
Austria	1953-1966	Social Democrats (SPÖ)/Austrian People's Party (ÖVP)	
	1970-1999, 2006-	Social Democrats (SPÖ)	Austrian People's Party (ÖVP)
	2002	Austrian People's Party (ÖVP)	Social Democrats (SPÖ)
Denmark	1950-1966	the Social Democratic Party (SD)	the Agrarian Liberals (V)
	1968-1971	the Social Democratic Party (SD)	Conservatives (KF)
	1973-1977	the Social Democratic Party (SD)	Progress Party (FP)/the Agrarian Liberals (V)
	1981-1998	the Social Democratic Party (SD)	Conservatives (KF)
	2001-	Agrarian Liberals (V)	the Social Democratic Party (SD)
Finland	1951-58, 1966	Social Democrats	Agrarian Union (M), Centre Party (K)/Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL)/ Left Alliance
	1962	Agrarian Union (M), Centre Party (K)	Social Democrats
	1970-87	Social Democrats	National Coalition/Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL)/ Left Alliance
	1991-2003	Centre Party (K)/	Social Democrats
	2007	Centre Party (K)	National Coalition
Flanders	1950-1978	Catholic Party (CVP/PSC), Flemish Christian People's Party (CVP)	Socialist Party (POB/BSP/PSB), Flemish Socialist Party (BSP)
	1981-1995	Flemish Christian People's Party (CVP)	Flemish Socialist Party (BSP)/ Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV)
	1999	Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV)	Flemish Christian People's Party (CVP)
	2003	Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV)	Flemish Socialist Party (BSP)
	2007	Christian Democratic	Flemish Bloc (VB)

	2010	and Flemish (CD & V) New Flemish Alliance (N-VA)	Christian Democratic and Flemish (CD & V)
Germany	1953-57	Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	Social Democrats (SPD)
	1961-87; 1994-2005	Social Democrats (SPD)	Christian Democratic Union (CDU)
	1990, 2009	Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	Social Democrats (SPD)
Italy	1953-1992	Christian Democrats party (DC)	Communist Party (PCI), in 1992 Democratic Party of the Left (PDS)
	1994-	Go Italy (FI)/ Democratic Party of the Left (PDS), in 1996 the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), in 2006 the Olive Tree List, in 2008 the Democratic Party (PD)	
Luxembourg	1951-1994, 2004-	Christian Social Party (PCS), Christian Social Peoples Party (CSV)	Socialist Workers' (POSL), Social-Democratic Party (LSAP)
	1999	Christian Social Party (PCS), Christian Social Peoples Party (CSV)	Democratic Party
the Netherlands	1952-1972	Catholic People's Party (KVP)/ Labour Party (PvdA)	Labour Party (PvdA)
	1977-1994, 2003-	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)/ Labour Party (PvdA)	Labour Party (PvdA)
	1998	Labour Party (PvdA)	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)
	2002	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)	List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)
	2010	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)	Labour Party (PvdA)
Norway	1953-1993	Labour party (DNA)	Conservatives, Unionist Party (H)
	1997-	Labour party (DNA)	Conservatives, Unionist Party (H)/ Anders Lange, Progress Party (FRP)
Sweden	1952-1964	Social Democrats (S)	People's Party, People's Party the Liberals (FP)/ The Right Party (Conservatives), Moderate Unity Party
	1968-	Social Democrats (S)	Agrarian Party, Center Party/ People's Party, People's Party the Liberals (FP)/ The Right Party (Conservatives), Moderate Unity Party
Wallonia	1950-1961	Socialist Party (POB/ BSP/PSB),	Catholic Party (CVP/PSC),

1965-2003, 2010	Francophone Socialist Party (PS)	Walloon Christian People's Party (PSC)
	Francophone Socialist Party (PS)	Walloon Christian People's Party (PSC)/Party of Liberty and Progress (PLP)
2007	Party of Liberty and Progress (PLP)	Francophone Socialist Party (PS)

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