Contents

List of Tables ix
List of Figures xi
Abbreviations and Symbols xv
Preface and Acknowledgments xvii

INTRODUCTION: HOMOGENEITY AND DIVERSITY IN EUROPE 1

Part I Framework
1. THE STRUCTURING OF POLITICAL SPACE 15
2. DATA, INDICES, METHOD 44

Part II Evidence
3. TIME AND SPACE: EVIDENCE FROM THE HISTORICAL COMPARISON 73
4. TYPES OF TERRITORIAL CONFIGURATIONS: NATIONAL VARIATIONS 111
5. THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CLEAVAGES AND PARTY FAMILIES 154

Part III Toward an Explanation
6. THE DYNAMIC PERSPECTIVE: STATE FORMATION AND MASS DEMOCRATIZATION 195
Table of Contents

7. THE COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: NATION-BUILDING AND CULTURAL HETEROGENEITY  251

CONCLUSION: FROM TERRITORIAL TO FUNCTIONAL POLITICS  289

Appendix 1: Party Codes  301
Appendix 2: Territorial Units  306
Appendix 3: Computations  313
Appendix 4: Country Specificities  316
Appendix 5: Sources  321
References  323
Index  341
Tables

I.1 Countries, periods covered, and number of parties and elections  
2.1 Availability of election results by party at the constituency or other subnational level  
2.2 Countries, periods covered, and levels of aggregation  
2.3 Correlation (Pearson’s $r$) between the size of parties (and levels of turnout) and levels of homogeneity  
2.4 Correlations (Pearson’s $r$) between indicators for party support and turnout  
3.1 Levels of territorial disparities in three different historical periods (several indices)  
3.2 Levels of territorial heterogeneity by country (party support): World War II–present  
3.3 Levels of territorial heterogeneity by country (turnout): World War II–present  
3.4 Levels of territorial heterogeneity by country in the 1990s (party support)  
3.5 Levels of territorial heterogeneity before and after World War I  
5.1 The territorial heterogeneity of party families in Europe subdivided by periods  
5.2 Party families by differences in heterogeneity across countries: World War II–present  
5.3–5.9 Series of tables: The territorial heterogeneity of European [family] parties: World War II–present  
page 10  
47  
52  
67  
69  
79  
86  
87  
89  
104  
114–49  
158  
171  
174–86
List of Tables

5.10 One-way analysis of variance of country versus family impact on party levels of territorial homogeneity: World War II–present ........................................ 191
6.1 Steps in the formation of national mass electorates in Europe after 1815 ........................................ 223
6.2 Uncontested constituencies and unopposed seats in the United Kingdom (without Ireland): 1832–1910 .......................... 237
7.1 Patterns of national independence and unification, and transition to general parliamentary representation .................. 255
7.2 Ethnolinguistic and religious fragmentation in Europe .................. 257
7.3 Relationship between cultural heterogeneity and territorial homogeneity of social democratic parties (coverage and IPR) ........................................ 275
7.4 Territoriality and deterritorialization of the religious cleavage in Switzerland and the Netherlands: percentage of population by religion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries .................. 280
7.5 Territoriality and deterritorialization of the linguistic cleavage in Switzerland and Belgium: percentage of population by language in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries .................. 281
A.1 Party families ........................................ 302
A.3 Main missing data ........................................ 314
Figures

1.1 External and internal structuring of the space of political systems page 20
1.2 Type of response and location of forces 37
2.1 Frequency distribution of levels of territorial disparity according to the number of territorial units (8–641) 65
2.2 Typology of indicators on the basis of their sensitivity to party size and number and size of territorial units 70
3.1 The reduction of territorial heterogeneity of party support in Europe: 1830s–1990s (standard deviation and MAD) 75
3.2 The reduction of territorial heterogeneity of party support in Europe: 1830s–1990s (Lee index and variance) 75
3.3 The reduction of territorial heterogeneity of turnout in Europe: 1830s–1990s 76
3.4 Evolution of the territorial coverage by parties in Europe: 1830s–1990s 76
3.5 The evolution of territorial heterogeneity of turnout and party support in Europe: 1960s–90s 82
3.6 The comparative evolution of territorial heterogeneity in Europe: World War II–present 92
3.7 The levels of territorial disparity of party support in 15 European countries: 1847–present 96
3.8 The reduction of territorial heterogeneity of electoral participation: 1845–1998 108
3.9 The evolution of territorial heterogeneity of electoral participation since World War II in four countries 109
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>The evolution of territorial configurations in 15 European countries (mean IPR)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>A classification of party systems on the basis of the territorial configurations of party support</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Evolution of territorial heterogeneity of support for main party families in Europe: 1840s–present</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Evolution of territorial heterogeneity of support for five major agrarian parties</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Evolution of territorial heterogeneity of support for types of confessional parties: 1840s–present</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Types of territorial structures of electoral support for regionalist parties: World War II–present</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Correlation between levels of literacy and turnout in the Austrian Empire (Cisleithania, 1911)</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Correlation between levels of literacy and turnout in Italy: 1919 (and 1861)</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>The growth of social democratic parties in Europe, 1870s–present</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>The presence in constituencies of conservatives, liberals, and social democrats in four countries, 1832–1935</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>The homogenization of support for eight social democratic and labor parties in Europe: 1870s–1960s</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Correlation between the percentage of the social democratic vote (X axis) and the level of territorial heterogeneity (standard deviation) subdivided by periods</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>Percentage of uncontested constituencies in Denmark and the United Kingdom</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>“Shared constituencies” in Britain, 1832–1910</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>Percentage of constituencies in which a second ballot was held in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, and Norway, 1847–1918</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>Number of uncontested constituencies for <em>Højre, Venstre</em>, and Social Democrats in Denmark, 1849–1913</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>Percentage of uncontested constituencies for Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour in Britain, 1832–1935</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

6.12 Schematic representation of nationalization processes 247
7.1 Patterns of formation of national territorial systems according to linguistic and religious homogeneity 267
7.2 Relationship between timing and patterns of state formation, cultural fragmentation, and levels of nationalization of party systems 288