References for the Parliamentary Party-System Fragmentation Data

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This appendix cites the sources that I have used to construct the effective number of parties measure at the parliamentary level for the different countries, as used in the Political Studies article "The Parliamentary Origins of Strength in Western Europe before the Second World War". It bears noting that for earlier periods, especially before the 1890s–1900s for many countries, the contours of party groups are in very much flux and that two sources rarely agree exactly, but that an overall picture still can be conveyed. Special caution should be exercised for all countries before the 1870s. My general rule has been to rely on seat statistics as long as historical accounts do not focus other party groups in parliament in a way that suggests that these statistics are too crude.

Austrian data for parliamentary groups 1871–1901 comes from Macartney (1969), who include these in the running text. I judge them more meaningful and followable than the ones presented in Kwan (2013). For 1907–2010, data come from Poier (2010), with the exception of the 1919 constituent assembly that formed the parliament for the first Austrian government. That data come from Lewis (1991, 3). The latest years are drawn from Wikipedia.

Data for the Belgian Chamber of Representatives come from Gilissen (1958, 188–193) and Witte et al. (2009) for the period 1847–2003. They count the Catholic, liberal, and socialist parties as one after their respective splits along linguistic lines, however. I count the split parties as two (e.g. the Flemish Catholics (first CVP and later CDV) and the Walloon Catholics (first PSC and later CDH) are two separate parties), and I have used De Winter et al. (2000, 302–306) to get those seat shares. The most recent years have been retrieved from Wikipedia. For the Belgian Senate, I have used Gilissen (1958, 188-194) for the period 1831–1954, Dujardin and Dumoulin (2008, 86) for the year 1958, and De Winter et al. (2000, 305–306) for the period 1961–1995.

The latest years have been retrieved from `http://www.senate.be`.

Data for the British House of Commons come from Rose and Munro (2010), complemented with Wikipedia. I have used Rallings and Thrasher (2000, 3–66) for data on the Liberal Unionists, but I believe that their data for the period before the 1860s portray Britain as a two-party country in a way that might be acceptable from the point of view of the electoral party system but not the parliamentary party system. I have not found data for the House of Lords anywhere.

Danish lower house (The Folketing) data are from Skou (1999) for the period 1849–1998, complemented with Wikipedia for later years. The Skou data do not make it easy to follow the parties over time, and seem wrong for the year 1876 (corrected through Wikipedia). However, unlike what I think is the best alternative, Elklit (2010), Skou does report data for different Venstre parliamentary party groups in the nineteenth century. Skou's data do not completely agree with the occasional figures presented in other works, but it is the only work I have found that give data for all elections and it comes the closest to capturing the fragmentation of the Danish parliamentary party system. Data for the Danish upper house, the Landsting that existed from 1849 to 1953 come from Møller (1950, 309) for the years 1886–1950 and from Wikipedia for the year 1953, after which the upper house was abolished.

Data for Finland 1907–1917 come from Nousiainen (1971, 180–181). For the 1919–2010 period I draw on Anckar and Anckar (2010). The remaining years are from Wikipedia.

French data for the lower house covers the period 1848–2018 and come exclusively from Salmon (2018). To the best of my knowledge, these data are the best accessible concerning the very complex composition of the French legislature. Unlike other countries, I use the distribution of seats for the different parliamentary groups and not the political parties.[1] This book has been invaluable also in order to map out the genealogies of parliamentary groups. Data for the French upper house for the relatively short period 1921–2020 come from `https://www.france-politique.fr/senat.htm`.

For Germany, Wikipedia, drawing on official German sources, have proven to be the best data source. The CDU and the CSU are understood as two separate parties. I have retrieved data only for the lower house. I have checked party genealogies within and between the Wilhelmine and Weimar

[1] I am very grateful to the author for clarifying this important difference in personal communication.

periods against Koch (1984, 384–385) and a textbook, Evans and Jenkins (1999, 14–15).

Italian data for the lower house from 1861 to 2008 come from Caciagli (2010). He also gives data for the Italian Senate after the Second World War. Unfortunately, there is no senatorial data for the earlier period. For the years after 2009, I have complemented with Wikipedia. Based on Italian historiography I do not deem it historically acceptable to treat the Italian Right, Left, and Extreme Left as parliamentary parties before the 1880s. It is noteworthy that the Italian data might be subject to more uncertainty than those of the other countries.

Dutch data for 1848 and 2010–2017 come from Wikipedia, which also have allowed me to distill data for the BVL (League of Free Liberals). For the period 1850–1887, I have consulted Tijn (1971, 198) and for 1888–2006, Andeweg et al. (2010), who distinguish the Radicals from the Liberals.[2] For the upper house, data are from van den Braak (1998, 143, 208) for 1888–1937 and then from Dutch Wikipedia, which also provide relatively clear data for genealogies.

Data for the Norwegian parliament come from Cadoret (2010), Danielsen (1964), Heidar (1983), and Wikipedia for the years after 2009. The first year with data is 1882.

For Sweden 1887–1969, data on both chambers come from Carlsson (1992, 16, 21). The data up to 1909 do not concern formal parties, but rather the parliamentary groups formed around the issues that dominated Swedish politics at the time, principally the issues of trade and suffrage. However, Carlsson for some reason ignores the split of the Liberal party into two emphatically different ones between 1924 and 1934. Thus, for the period 1912 to 1934, I use Thermaenius (1935, 282–283). For the unicameral years, starting 1970, I use Widfeldt (2010) and Statistics Sweden.

[2]There were numerous elections between 1851 and 1888 were only half of the lower chamber was renewed at a time. Unfortunately, I have no data for these renewals. (English Wikipedia does provide figures, but I have judged them too uncertain to trust.)

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