

Table 14.2 Varimax orthogonal rotated factor matrix of the ten variables distinguishing majoritarian from consensus democracy in thirty-six democracies, 1945–96

Variable	Factor I	Factor II
Effective number of parliamentary parties	-0.90	0.02
Minimal winning one-party cabinets	0.93	-0.07
Executive dominance	0.74	-0.10
Electoral disproportionality	0.72	0.09
Interest group pluralism	0.78	-0.01
Federalism-decentralization	-0.28	0.86
Bicameralism	0.06	0.74
Constitutional rigidity	-0.05	0.71
Judicial review	0.20	0.73
Central bank independence	-0.07	0.71

Note: The factor analysis is a principal components analysis with eigenvalues over 1.0 extracted

the factor analysis. The same two clusters emerge prominently from this analysis; they are also clearly separate clusters, because the factor analysis used an orthogonal rotation, which guarantees that the two factors are completely uncorrelated.

The factor loadings are very high within each of the two clusters and much lower—in fact, close to zero in most cases—outside of the clusters. The percentage of minimal winning one-party cabinets again turns out to be the strongest variable in the first dimension: its factor loading of 0.93 means that it almost coincides with the factor. The effective number of parties is an almost equally strong element with a factor loading of -0.90. And the federalism variable emerges once more as the strongest element in the second dimension with a factor loading of 0.86. The remaining factor loadings within the two clusters are lower but still impressively strong: all between 0.70 and 0.80.

The Conceptual Map of Democracy

The two-dimensional pattern formed by the ten basic variables allows us to summarize where the thirty-six individual

countries are situated between majoritarian democracy. Their characteristics on each of the variables can be averaged so as to form just one point for each country. These points, and their characteristics, and these can be used to place each country on the two-dimensional conceptual map in Figure 14.1.¹ The horizontal axis represents the executives-parties dimension and the vertical axis the federal-united parties dimension. One standard deviation on these axes represents one standard deviation from the middle; on the executives-parties dimension, all countries are within one standard deviation from the middle; on the federal-united parties dimension, two countries—Germany and the United Kingdom—are at a greater distance of almost two and a half standard deviations from the middle. The exact scores of each country on the two dimensions can be found in Table 14.3.

Most of the prototypical cases of majoritarian democracy discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 are in the top right corner of the map. The United Kingdom is in the top right corner. The United Kingdom is majoritarian on the executives-parties dimension and its overall position is therefore more majoritarian than the proposition that, until 1996, New Zealand was.

1. In order for the five variables in each of the two clusters to be standardized (so as to have a standard deviation of 1), because they were originally measured on different scales, their signs had to be adjusted so that they represented either majoritarianism or consensus democracy. For the purpose of constructing the map, the high values of the five variables were given the high values to majoritarianism (which are the effective number of parties and of all five variables in the first dimension). After averaging these standardized variables, the averages were standardized so that each unit on the axes represented one standard deviation.

2. Note, however, that in Appendix A all values are expressed in terms of degrees of consensus democracy. It is possible to convert these values easily into degrees of majoritarian democracy by re-