

Table VII.A.1: National Level Election Results and Seat Distributions

| | | Fianna Fail | Fine Gael | Labour | Progressive Democrats | Workers' Party* | Green Party* | Others | Total Valid Poll |
|--------|---|-------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------|------------------|
| 1957 | v | 592.700 | 326.400 | 111.700 | -- | -- | -- | 196.200 | 1.227.000 |
| | % | 48,3 | 26,6 | 9,1 | | | | 16 | |
| | s | 78 | 40 | 12* | | | | 17 | 147 |
| 1961 | v | 511.800 | 373.900 | 136.700 | -- | -- | -- | 146.000 | 1.168.400 |
| | % | 43,8 | 32 | 11,6 | | | | 12,6 | |
| | s | 70 | 47 | 16* | | | | 11 | 144 |
| 1965 | v | 597.414 | 427.081 | 192.740 | -- | -- | -- | 35.887 | 1.253.122 |
| | % | 47,7 | 34,1 | 15,4 | | | | 2,8 | |
| | s | 72 | 47 | 22* | | | | 3 | 144 |
| 1969 | v | 602.234 | 449.673 | 224.575 | -- | -- | -- | 42.474 | 1.318.956 |
| | % | 45,7 | 34,1 | 17 | | | | 3,2 | |
| | s | 75* | 50 | 18 | | | | 1 | 144 |
| 1973 | v | 624.528 | 473.781 | 184.656 | -- | 15.366 | -- | 52.206 | 1.350.537 |
| | % | 46,2 | 35,1 | 13,7 | | 1,1 | | 3,9 | |
| | s | 69* | 54 | 19 | | 0 | | 2 | 144 |
| 1977 | v | 811.615 | 488.767 | 186.410 | -- | 27.209 | -- | 89.026 | 1.603.027 |
| | % | 50,6 | 30,5 | 11,6 | | 1,7 | | 5,6 | |
| | s | 84 | 43 | 17* | | 0 | | 4 | 148 |
| 1981 | v | 777.616 | 626.376 | 169.990 | -- | 29.561 | -- | 114.668 | 1.718.211 |
| | % | 43,5 | 36,5 | 9,9 | | 1,7 | | 6,6 | |
| | s | 78* | 65 | 15 | | 1 | | 7 | 166 |
| Feb'82 | v | 786.951 | 621.088 | 151.875 | -- | 36.263 | -- | 68.956 | 1.665.133 |
| | % | 47,3 | 37,3 | 9,1 | | 2,3 | | 4 | |
| | s | 81 | 63 | 15 | | 3 | | 4* | 166 |
| Nov'82 | v | 763.313 | 662.284 | 158.115 | -- | 54.888 | 3.716 | 46.404 | 1.688.720 |
| | % | 45,2 | 39,2 | 9,4 | | 3,3 | 0,2 | 2,7 | |
| | s | 75 | 70 | 16 | | 2 | 0 | 3* | 166 |
| 1987 | v | 784.547 | 481.127 | 114.551 | 210.583 | 67.273 | 7.159 | 111.925 | 1.777.165 |
| | % | 44,1 | 27,1 | 6,4 | 11,8 | 3,8 | 0,4 | 6,4 | |
| | s | 81 | 51* | 12 | 14 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 166 |
| 1989 | v | 731.472 | 485.307 | 156.989 | 91.013 | 82.263 | 24.827 | 84.942 | 1.656.813 |
| | % | 44,1 | 29,3 | 9,5 | 5,5 | 5 | 1,5 | 5,1 | |
| | s | 77 | 55 | 15 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 5* | 166 |

Notes:

*. Denotes that the figure includes the outgoing ceann comhairle, who is returned automatically.

a. The figures for the Workers' Party in 1973 refer to Official Sinn FÓin; the figures for 1977, 1981 and February 1982 refer to Sinn FÓin the Workers' Party.

b. The figures for the Green Party in November 1982 refer to the Ecology Party of Ireland; the figures for 1987 refer to the Green Alliance.

c. Numbers and percentages of first preference votes.

Source: 1

Table VII.A.2: Party Composition of National Governments

| | Party of Prime Minister | Other Parties | Status |
|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| March 1957-Oct. 1961 | FF | | Majority |
| Oct. 1961-April 1965 | FF | | Minority |
| April 1965-July 1969 | FF | | Majority |
| July 1969-March 1973 | FF | | Majority |
| March 1973-July 1977 | FG | LAB | Majority |
| July 1977-June 1981 | FF | | Majority |
| June 1981-March 1982 | FG | LAB | Minority |
| March 1982-Dec. 1982 | FF | | Minority |
| Dec. 1982-Dec. 1987 | FG | LAB | Majority ^a |
| March 1987-July 1989 | FF | | Minority |
| July 1989- | FF | PD | Majority |

Note:

a.

The Fine Gael-Labour coalition was in a minority position from January 1986 onwards due to defections of politicians from both parties. In January 1987 there was a cabinet split and Labour left the government.

Table VII.A.3.i: Subnational Governing Status: Chairpersons of Local Government.^a

| | Fianna FBil | Fine Gael | Labour | Progressive Democrats |
|------|-------------|-----------|--------|-----------------------|
| 1973 | 8 | 16 | 6 | - |
| 1974 | 6 | 13 | 9 | - |
| 1975 | 12 | 14 | 2 | - |
| 1976 | 14 | 9 | 7 | - |
| 1977 | 13 | 14 | 3 | - |
| 1978 | 12 | 6 | 11 | - |
| 1979 | 13 | 12 | 1 | - |
| 1980 | 7 | 14 | 3 | - |
| 1981 | 5 | 11 | 10 | - |
| 1982 | 9 | 17 | 2 | - |
| 1983 | 8 | 16 | 7 | - |
| 1984 | 10 | 15 | 2 | - |
| 1985 | 6 | 16 | 7 | - |
| 1986 | 22 | 2 | 2 | - |
| 1987 | 22 | 4 | 2 | - |
| 1988 | 23 | 4 | 1 | 1 ^b |
| 1989 | 22 | 5 | 2 | - |
| 1990 | 26 | 4 | 2 | - |

Notes:

a. ^aSubnational' refers to local government (county councils and county borough councils). These figures are based on the number of chairpersons/mayors the parties had throughout the country on any given year.

b. A FF dissident who joined the PDs after the 1985 election. Several councillors defected from FF to join the party.

Source:

Table VII.A.3.ii: Subnational Governing Status: Local Election Results

| | Fianna FBil | | Fine Gael | | Labour | | Progressive Democrats | | Workers' Party | | Green Party | |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------|-----|--------|-------|-----------------------|-----|----------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| | %S ^a | %1S ^b | %S | %1S | %S | %1S | %S | %1S | %S | %1S | %S | %1S |
| 1967 | 42,89 | 100 | 36,48 | 100 | 10,82 | 77,42 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1974 | 44,15 | 100 | 35,35 | 100 | 9,69 | 77,42 | -- | -- | 0,75 | 19,35 | -- | -- |
| 1979 | 43,05 | 100 | 38,46 | 100 | 9,55 | 74,19 | -- | -- | 1,12 | 25,81 | -- | -- |
| 1985 | 49,49 | 100 | 32,05 | 100 | 6,57 | 71,43 | -- | -- | 2,27 | 31,43 | 0 | 0 |
| 1991 ^c | 40,54 | 100 | 30,58 | 100 | 10,19 | 79,41 | 4,19 | 50 | 2,72 | 35,29 | 1,47 | 20,59 |

Notes:

- a. This figure is the percentage of local authority seats held by the party nationally.
- b. This figure is the percentage of local authorities on which the party holds at least one seat.
- c. The source for these figures is the Irish Times, July 1 1991.

Source: 1

Table VII.A.4.i.a: Party Identification (IMS)

| Party | 1976 | 1977 | 1981 | 1982 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| Fianna FBil | 39 | 37 | 42 | 39 |
| Fine Gael | 23 | 25 | 23 | 32 |
| Labour | 14 | 13 | 8 | 8 |
| Other | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| None | 20 | 20 | 21 | 14 |
| Refused/DK | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 |

Question: `In politics do you usually think of yourself as Fianna
FBil, Fine Gael, Labour, or whatever?'a (%s)

Note:

- a. The `coalition' responses have been proportionally
divided between Fine Gael and Labour.

Source:

Table VII.A.4.ii.a: Strong Party Identifiers* (IMS)

| Party | 1976 | 1977 |
|-----------------|------|------|
| Fianna FBil | 25 | 21 |
| Fine Gael | 19 | 17 |
| Labour | 17 | 12 |
| Coalition | 6 | 1 |
| Total Coalition | 17 | -- |
| Other | -- | 27 |

Question: `How strongly do you generally feel about ... (party supported/close to)?' (% of party identifiers responding `very strongly')

Notes:

- a. These were unprompted questions, and the coding of the categories (for parties) tends to vary somewhat from survey to survey.

Source: 16

Table VII.A.4.i.b: Party Identification (Eurobarometer)

| Party | nov-81 | apr-86 | nov-86 | nov-87 | nov-88 | apr-89 |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Fianna FBil | 36,8 | 32,3 | 35,5 | 29 | 20,9 | 23,5 |
| Fine Gael | 23,8 | 18,3 | 18 | 19 | 12 | 10,5 |
| Labour | 10,5 | 5,7 | 3 | 4 | 2,5 | 2,7 |
| Progressive Democrats | | 4,3 | 2,6 | 5,1 | 1,8 | 1,2 |
| Workers Party | | 1,7 | 1,2 | 1,8 | 2 | 1,1 |
| Green Party | | 0,2 | 0,1 | 0,4 | 0,2 | 0,6 |
| Other | 1,4 | 1,3 | 1,7 | 1,5 | 1 | 0,3 |
| None | 23,8 | 29,4 | 30,2 | 29,2 | 58 | 57,9 |
| DK/No response | 3,7 | 6,8 | 7,8 | 10 | 1,6 | 2,1 |

Question: (in 1981) 'Generally speaking, do you feel closer to any of the parties on this list than others? If so, which one?'

'Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? To which party do you feel close?'

Source:

Table VII.A.4.ii.b: Strong Party Identifiers (% very close) (Eurobarometer)

| Party | nov-81 | apr-86 | nov-86 | nov-87 | nov-88 | apr-89 |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Fianna Fail | 12,8 | 6,5 | 9,5 | 12 | 14,7 | 10,8 |
| Fine Gael | 9,6 | 5,8 | 8,5 | 7,4 | 14,5 | 3,9 |
| Labour | 9,2 | 1,9 | 6,9 | 13,5 | 16,7 | 11,1 |
| Progressive Democrats | | 0 | 4 | 12,8 | 16,7 | 8,3 |
| Workers Party | | 0 | 0 | 5,9 | 10 | 0 |
| Green Party | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 5,9 | 21,4 | 10 | 0 |

Question: (in 1981) 'Do you consider yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close or merely a sympathizer?'

'Do you feel yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close or merely a sympathizer?'

Source: 16

Table VII.A.5: Official Status of Parties

| | Requirements to Form Parliamentary Fraktion | Requirements to Register | Requirements for Ballot | State Subvention | Media Access |
|------|--|--|--|--|---|
| 1960 | To receive financial aid as a parliamentary party, must have fielded candidates in previous election and must have a minimum of 7 TDs. | No rules. | No rules. | Small sums payable to leaders of opposition parties which contested previous election as an organised party and which has a minimum of 7 TDs (the Oireachtas grant). | (1) Government may direct RTE 'to refrain from broadcasting any particular matter or matters of any particular class'. (2) Parties can broadcast election broadcasts. (3) RTE must provide 'objective' coverage. |
| 1962 | As above, plus to participate fully in the Dáil legislative process must have minimum of 7 TDs. ^a | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above. |
| 1963 | As above. | To be recognised by the registrar of political parties, (1) must be 'a genuine political party'; (2) organised to contest a Dáil or local election; (3) must provide a name, address of HQ, name(s) of officer(s) authorised to sign certificates authenticating candidates; (4) name must be unique, should not be 'unnecessarily long', or 'in the case of a party operating in relation to a particular part only of the State, does not include such reference to that part, as in the opinion of the registrar, distinguishes the party as so operating'; (5) must inform the registrar each year if wishes to remain registered. | Ballot papers now carry the names of parties. Only registered parties can have their name on the ballot paper. | As above. | As above. |
| 1965 | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above. | First 'television' election. Parties with a minimum of 7 TDs given election broadcasts. Others given short 'spots' during news programmes. TV news obliged to provide 'balanced' coverage. |
| 1971 | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above, plus ministerial order that RTE 'to refrain from broadcasting 'any matter that could be calculated to promote the aims and activities of any organisation which engages in, promotes or encourages, or advocates the attaining of any particular objective by violent means'. |
| 1973 | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above, plus Oireachtas grant extended to leaders of government parties (same conditions). | Government clarifies that the 1971 order bans the transmission of interviews or reports of interviews with spokesmen of 'illegal organisations'. (i.e. organisations engaged in terrorist activities in Northern Ireland) |
| 1976 | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above, plus the media ban must be renewed annually. Now specifies which organisations to be banned from airwaves (includes Provisional Sinn Féin). |
| 1977 | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above. | Election broadcast time given to any party or group fielding at least 7 candidates. Amount of time based on (1) votes in last election; (2) number and geographical spread of candidates. |
| 1990 | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above. | As above. |

Note:

a. By 'fully participating' is meant (1) the right to present private members' bills, to move a motion, to proceed with a stage of a bill (Standing Order 89(1)), and (2) the right to address questions to the Taoiseach and government ministers (Standing Orders 35(2)(b), 37 and 89).

Sources:

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

Table VII.B.1.aef: Numbers of Members and Basic Party Units. WP. PD. G

| | Progressive Democrats | | Workers Party ^c | | Greens | |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| | Direct Members ^a | Basic Party Units ^a | Direct Members | Basic Party Units | Direct Members ^d | Basic Party Units |
| 1970 | | | 1.000 | 120-130 | | |
| 1975 | | | 1.500 | 130-140 | | |
| 1980 | | | 1.700 | 130-150 | | |
| 1985 | | | 2.000 | 150-175 | 300 | 15 |
| 1986 | 15.000 | 273/283 ^e | | | 400 | 20 |
| 1987 | 12.000 | 265 | | | 500 | 16 |
| 1988 | 9.000 | 240 | | | 700 | 20 |
| 1989 | 9,000 ^f | 205 | | | 1.200 | 40 |
| 1990 | | | 3.200 | 200-220 | 1.400 | 40 |

Notes:

- a. These are estimates provided by the Progressive Democrats.
- b. These are estimates from Irish Political Studies.
- c. The Workers' Party has provided estimates for every five years, starting in 1970.
- d. These estimates provided by the Green Party are rough, reflecting the party's open and fluid membership.
- e. The first entry is an estimate provided by the party.
- f. The party claims that in reality its 'core' membership probably stands at about 6-7,000.

Sources: 19, 49, 52, 55

Table VII.B.1.b: Numbers of Members and Basic Party Units, LAB

| | Direct Members ^a | Corporate Members ^a | Ancillary Members ^a | Total Members ^a | Basic Party Units ^a |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1960 | -- | 29,669 | -- | -- | na |
| 1961 | -- | 30,670 | -- | -- | 400 |
| 1962 | -- | 31,086 | -- | -- | na |
| 1963 | -- | 31,722 | -- | -- | na |
| 1964 | -- | 31,527 | -- | -- | 248 |
| 1965 | -- | 56,764 | -- | -- | 289 |
| 1966 | -- | 55,770 | -- | -- | 357 |
| 1967 | -- | 54,764 | -- | -- | 457 |
| 1968 | -- | 146,891 | -- | -- | 477 |
| 1969 | -- | 144,656 | -- | -- | 501 |
| 1970 | -- | 153,556 | -- | -- | 479 |
| 1971 | -- | 155,156 | -- | -- | 450 |
| 1972 | -- | 155,156 | -- | -- | 436 |
| 1973 | -- | 157,656 | -- | -- | 480 |
| 1974 | -- | 154,182 | -- | -- | 499 |
| 1975 | -- | 169,100 | -- | -- | 497 |
| 1976 | 4,461 | 169,100 | -- | 173,561 | 538 |
| 1977 | 4,389 | 175,100 | -- | 179,489 | 582 |
| 1978 | 4,329 | 175,100 | na | 179,429 | 490 |
| 1979 | 4,471 | 174,100 | na | 178,571 | 502 |
| 1980 | 6,009 | 202,100 | na | 208,109 | 510 |
| 1981 | 5,285 | 203,100 | na | 208,385 | 508 |
| 1982 | 5,635 | 200,100 | na | 205,735 | 470 |
| 1983 | 5,364 | 200,500 | na | 205,864 | 504 |
| 1984 | 5,858 | 200,000 | na | 205,858 | 497 |
| 1985 | 5,537 | 173,500 | 1,787 | 179,037 | 486/432 ^c |
| 1986 | 5,157 | 175,000 | 1,844 | 180,157 | 486/402 |
| 1987 | 5,377 | 187,000 | 2,640 | 192,377 | 390 |
| 1988 | 7,377 | 183,500 | 4,047 | 190,877 | 401 |
| 1989 | 6,701 | 182,373 | 4,080 | 189,074 | 394 |
| 1990 | 7,028 | 44,373 ^a | na | 51,401 | 409 |

Notes:

- a. Labour has maintained a central register of members since 1971, but has only had reliable figures 1976. These data have been collated from the party's records of branch affiliation and membership.
- b. These are best estimates of trade union affiliated membership. In the case of each union involved, its members pay a percentage of their dues into a 'political fund'. The union then decides what proportion of the total fund it wants to use towards affiliating to the Labour party. The remainder is used for contributions to election campaigns. The proportion used for affiliating will vary depending on such things as whether in any given year a union wants the right to more conference delegates. Therefore, the figures are substantially less than they would be if unions affiliated all their members. Individual trade union members have the right to opt out. Their contribution is paid automatically unless they specifically request not to be included as affiliated. These estimates are derived from the party's membership cards. In quite a number of cases the entries are incomplete, so I have made estimates based on the preceding years' trends. The trade unions involved are as follows:

1. Amalgamated Engineering Union (1977--)
2. Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers [Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians] (1960--)
3. Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union (1970--)
4. Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers [TASS] (1969--)
5. Draughtsmen and Allied Technicians' Association (1968-1969)
6. Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing (1973--)
7. Graphic Arts Society (1974-1988)
8. Irish Bakers' Union (1960-1968)
9. Irish Municipal Employees (1960--)
10. Irish Post Office Workers' Union [Postal and Telecommunications Workers' Union] (1960-1989)
11. Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (1968-1989)
12. Irish Women Workers' Union [joins FWUI] (1960-1984)
13. Munster and District Graphical Society (1986--)
14. National Association of Transport Employees (1960-1987)
15. National Union of Seamen [National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers] (1960--)
16. National Union of Sheet Metal Workers and Gas Meter Makers (1960-1983)
17. National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers (1960--)
18. National Union of Vehicle Builders (1960-1971)
19. Operative Plasterers' Trade Society (1960-1967)
20. Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers (1963-1982)
21. Transport Salaried Staffs' Association (1960--)
22. Workers' Union of Ireland [Federated Workers' Union of Ireland - FWUI] (1965-1989)

There are several reasons why a union may cease to be included in the totals: (1) it is no longer affiliated, (2) it merges with another union and is included as part of that union's membership total, (3) there is an error in the Labour party's membership records. The following unions are apparently affiliated but the party has no official record of them: Bakery and Food Workers' Amalgamated Union (1960--); Union of Construction and Allied Trades (1968--); Manufacturing Science Finance Trade Union (no dates, 1980s?).

It is worthwhile listing what would be the party's corporate membership if the unions affiliated all their members. At the very least such a set of figures gives an indication of the numbers of union members which Labour has even a peripheral or indirect access to. The total figures for 1960-1987 are as follows: 1960/43,938; 1961/45,234; 1962/46,311; 1963/47,321; 1964/46,338; 1965/76,122; 1966/76,356; 1967/74,030; 1968/239,360; 1969/247,699; 1970/270,424; 1971/265,337; 1972/265,852; 1973/269,448; 1974/271,972; 1975/273,066; 1976/269,329; 1977/288,844; 1978/299,405; 1979/321,076; 1980/326,608; 1981/325,698; 1982/324,009; 1983/310,035; 1984/298,429; 1985/279,302; 1986/270,228; 1987/262,435. These aggregates are derived from data provided by Dr W K Roche, using virtually the same list of unions as above. The few -- unavoidable but apparently quite negligible -- exceptions are as follows: (1) I am including data on the Bakery and Food Workers' Amalgamated Union (1960--), the Union of Construction and Allied Trades (1968--); and (2) I am excluding data on the Draughtsmen and Allied Technicians' Association (1968-1969), the Irish Bakers' Union (1960-1968), and the Munster and District Graphical Society (1986--).

- c. Figures include Labour Youth and the Women's Section. These are estimates provided by the party for Irish Political Studies.
- d. All ancillary members are at the same time direct members of the party. Therefore the total membership equals the direct membership plus the corporate membership.
- e. From 1961-1986 the source is Mair (1987). He obtained the 1964-1986 figures from the party. The 1961 figure was from Desmond (1966). It is virtually impossible to use the branch/membership cards, ex post facto, as a source for deriving an accurate estimate of numbers of branches since the early seventies. Branches come and go; change their names; are merged.
- f. This second entry for 1985 and 1986 and the remaining entries for 1987-1990 are derived from the party's branch/membership cards.
- g. This substantial, though temporary, drop in corporate membership is due to the period of negotiations which preceded the merger of the two largest unions, ITGWU and FWUI to form SIPTU [Services Industrial Professional Technical Union], formally launched in 1991.

Sources: 11 18 19 20 43

Table VII.B.1.cd: Numbers of Members and Basic Party Units, PF, FG

| | Fianna Fail ***** | Fine Gael | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Basic Party Units ^a | Direct Members | Ancillary Members ^b | Total Members ^c | Basic Party Units ^d |
| 1960 | 1.639 | -- | -- | -- | 356* |
| 1961 | 1.958 | -- | -- | -- | 262* |
| 1962 | 1.581 | -- | -- | -- | 361* |
| 1963 | 1.575 | -- | -- | -- | 293* |
| 1964 | 1.556 | -- | -- | -- | 276* |
| 1965 | 1.776 | -- | -- | -- | 471* |
| 1966 | 1.743 | -- | -- | -- | 426* |
| 1967 | 2.016 | -- | -- | -- | na |
| 1968 | na | -- | -- | -- | na |
| 1969 | 2.003 | -- | -- | -- | na |
| 1970 | 2.240 | na* | -- | -- | (1,500)** |
| 1971 | 2.225 | na | -- | -- | na |
| 1972 | 2.398 | na | -- | -- | na |
| 1973 | 2.288 | na | -- | -- | na |
| 1974 | 2.386 | na | -- | -- | na |
| 1975 | 2.432 | na | -- | -- | na |
| 1976 | 2.583 | na | -- | -- | na |
| 1977 | 2.775 | 20,000** | -- | 20.000 | na |
| 1978 | 2.734 | 20,000** | -- | 20.000 | 1,957*** |
| 1979 | 2.475 | 27,000** | -- | 27.000 | 1,849*** |
| 1980 | 2.676 | 30,000** | 2,847** | 32.847 | 2,003*** |
| 1981 | 2.758 | 35,000*** | 4,000**** | 39.000 | 1,800**** |
| 1982 | 2.811 | 30,000*** | 6,000**** | 36.000 | 1,797**** |
| 1983 | 2.818 | 31,000** | na | na | 1,733**** |
| 1984 | 2.762 | 30,000** | na | na | 1,731**** |
| 1985 | 2.771 | 36,000*** | 6,000**** | 42.000 | 1,483**** |
| 1986 | 2.810 | 34,000** | na | na | 1,718**** |
| 1987 ^e | 2.601 | 25,000**** | 777**** | 25.777 | 1,488**** |
| 1988 | 2.807 | 22,000**** | 401**** | 22.401 | 1,445**** |
| 1989 | 2.399 | 20,242**** | 451**** | 20.693 | 1,320**** |
| 1990 | 2.446 | 20,000**** | 700**** | 20.700 | 1,286**** |

Notes:

- a. The figures for 1960-1973 are from Mair (1987). Fianna Fail does not have individual membership figures. In recent years the party has provided rough estimates (see Irish Political Studies (Vols. 2-6)) as follows: 1986, 80,000; 1987, 89,000; 1988, 89,000; 1989, 89,000; 1990, 75,000.
- b. Estimates are only available for Young Fine Gael.
- c. This is calculated by adding direct and ancillary members.
- d. Figures refer to the number of registered branches; figure in brackets refers to the total number of branches. To register a branch must pay an annual registration fee to HQ.
- e. Fine Gael has maintained a central register of members only since 1970.
- f. The sudden drop in Fine Gael is explained by the current acting general secretary as probably due to an unwillingness of Fine Gael in the mid-eighties to publicly acknowledge a decline in membership.

Sources: *=36 **=18 ***=35 ****=38 *****=18 and 29

Table VI.C.1.b: Numbers of Paid Staff,* CDU

| | Central | Subnational | Parliamentary ^b (CDU/CSU) |
|------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1960 | | | |
| 1961 | | | |
| 1962 | | 224 ^h | |
| 1963 | | | |
| 1964 | | 251 ^h | |
| 1965 | 153 ^d | 218 ^d | |
| 1966 | 110 ^s | | |
| 1967 | 83 | 2,238 ^h | |
| 1968 | 98 | 2,248 ^h | |
| 1969 | 108 | 2,398 ^h | 207 |
| 1970 | 150 ⁱ | | 344 |
| 1971 | 162 | | 375 |
| 1972 | 178 | | 367 |
| 1973 | 196 | | 413 |
| 1974 | 238 | | 437 |
| 1975 | 229 | | 434 |
| 1976 | 233 | | 405 |
| 1977 | 213 | | 493 |
| 1978 | 206 | | 583 |
| 1979 | 218 | | 670 |
| 1980 | 218 | | 651 |
| 1981 | 218 | | 567 |
| 1982 | 201 | 256 ^c | 631 |
| 1983 | 199 | | 606 |
| 1984 | 212 | | 607 |
| 1985 | 237 | | 988 |
| 1986 | 242 | | 1.102 |
| 1987 | 205 | | 1.145 |
| 1988 | 209 | | 1.312 |
| 1989 | 196 | | 1.309 |

Notes:

- a. Estimates of total party staff, excluding parliamentary party are: 550 (1965, source in note "d"); 322 (1974, source Frankfurter Rundschau, 16.10.74, based on an internal paper of the SPD); about 500 (1976, source in note "e"); 900 (1987, source in note "f").
- b. Source: Datenhandbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen Bundestages for the year 1969-1987. For 1988/1989: Deutscher Bundestag, Referat ZA 2 (includes full and part-time positions). CDU and CSU always form a joint parliamentary party in the Bundestag.
- c. Source: Schmidt, Ute "Die Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands" in: St+ss, Richard (Ed.) Parteienhandbuch, Vol.2, 1983, Westdeutscher Verlag:Opladen.
- d. Source: Referat des geschäftsführenden Vorsitzenden Josef Dufhues, 29.3. 1965, p.27/28.
- e. Source: CDU-Pressemitteilung, 24.3.76
- f. Source: German Press Agency (dpa) news, 18.8. 1987 "Geibler stellt CDU vor Röntgenschirm".
- g. Source: 1966-1969, Schmid, Josef, "Die CDU - Organisationsstrukturen und Funktionsweisen einer Partei im Föderalismus", Opladen, 1990, S.146
- h. Source: Anlage zum Bericht des Generalsekretärs Dr. Bruno Heck, 17. Bundesparteitag der CDU, 17./18.11.1969, Mainz (includes full and part-time positions).
- i. Source: Information provided by Mr.Wilczek, CDU-Bundesgeschäftsstelle, during an interview on March, 13th, 1990. (All data 1970-1989 for staff employed in central organisation). According to Mr. Wilczek, there have been virtually no part-time positions since 1976. Ever since, the proportion has been as follows: 1/3 administrative, 2/3 political, including secretarial staff. In 1986, there were about 40 additional positions for the election campaign.

Table VI.C.1.d: Numbers of Paid Staff, FDP^b

| | Central | Subnational | Parliamentary ^a |
|------|---------|-------------|----------------------------|
| 1969 | | | 25 |
| 1970 | | | 37 |
| 1971 | | | 42 |
| 1972 | | | 46 |
| 1973 | | | 56 |
| 1974 | | | 77 |
| 1975 | | | 92 |
| 1976 | | | 62 |
| 1977 | | | 69 |
| 1978 | | | 83 |
| 1979 | | | 106 |
| 1980 | | | 105 |
| 1981 | | | 123 |
| 1982 | | | 136 |
| 1983 | | | 130 |
| 1984 | | | 131 |
| 1985 | | | 207 |
| 1986 | | | 231 |
| 1987 | | | 241 |
| 1988 | | | 285 |
| 1989 | | | 278 |

Notes:

- a. Full-time and part-time positions; cf. Peter Schindler, Datenhandbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen Bundestages, Baden-Baden: Nomos, Vols. 1949-82 (3:1984), 1980-84 (1986), 1980-87 (1988); data for 1988/89: Deutscher Bundestag, Referat ZA 2.

- b. For individual data protection reasons, the FDP would not provide documents or data.

Table VI.C.1.e: Numbers of Paid Staff, G

| | Central | Subnational | Parliamentary ^a |
|------|-----------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| 1980 | | | - |
| 1981 | | | - |
| 1982 | 6 ^a | | - |
| 1983 | 12 ^a | | 75 |
| 1984 | | | 96 |
| 1985 | | | 125 |
| 1986 | 19 ^b | | 141 |
| 1987 | 19 ^b | | 146 |
| 1988 | 23 ^c | | 178 |
| 1989 | 27 ^d | | 183 |

Notes: There have been few temporary positions in the federal party head office for special activities like conferences and election campaigns. The parliamentary party has practiced job-sharing on a considerable scale. Many members of staff tended to work unpaid over-time, de facto turning part-time positions into underpaid full-time jobs.

a. 1982: 5.5 full-time positions; 1983: 11.5 full-time positions; Rechenschaftsbericht der Bundesgeschäftsstelle der Grünen zur Bundesdelegiertenkonferenz, November 1982 and interview with Robert Camp, federal party head office.

b. 1986: 4 additional, short-term position for the federal election campaign; Wahlkampfbericht der Bundesgeschäftsstelle, May 1987.

c. 21.5 full-time positions; Rechenschaftsbericht der Bundesgeschäftsstelle, March 1988.

d. 23 1/3rd. full-time positions; Die Grünen im Bundestag, Bericht zur Lage der Fraktion, March 1989.

e. Full-time and part-time positions; cf. Peter Schindler, Datenhandbuch zur Geschichte des Deutschen Bundestages, Baden-Baden: Nomos, Vols. 1949-82 (3:1984), 1980-84 (1986), 1980-87 (1988); data 1988/89: Deutscher Bundestag, Referat ZA 2.

Table VII.B.2.a: Obligations of Membership, WP

| | Minimum Subscription | | Other Obligations of Membership |
|-------------------|---|---|---|
| | From Member to Branch | From Branch to Central Party | |
| 1957 ^a | Each cumann sets its own membership fee. ^b | £1 per annum. | (1) New members serve a probationary period of 3 months. (2) Can only be a member of one cumann. (3) Members must not be: part of, or supportive of, any organisation which recognises 'the proceedings of either the British or Partition governments by which Ireland is ruled'; a member of a secret society; a member of the British armed forces. ^c |
| 1973 ^a | As above, plus the ard fheis may set its own annual subscription. | £10 per annum. New cumainn pay £5 for the 1st year. Cumainn that have ceased to exist and are re-organised within 1 year pay £10. | (1) Members are expected to work 'in whatever sphere of activity they are assigned to. The Brd comhairle may excuse a member from activity when they consider there are legitimate reasons for doing so'. (2) Breach of rules may result in expulsion, suspension, fine, or 'other'. (3) 'While accepting that differences of opinion can exist in relation to formulation of policy or in deciding on strategic or tactical activities, the existence of factions or individuals that oppose or refrain from engaging in activities decided upon by the movement shall not be allowed'. (4) New members serve a probationary period of 6 months, and attend classes. (5) Can only be a member of 1 geographical cumann; can also join a 'specialist' cumann. |
| 1978 | As above. | As above, except new rates are £15 and £10 respectively. | As above. |
| 1983 | As above, except the ard comhairle sets the fee. In addition to this and any cumann fee, each member pays a weekly contribution (low rate for unemployed, housewives, students): 25% goes to the cumann, 25% to the constituency council, 50% to the Brd comhairle. | As above, except no monetary amount specified in constitution. | As above, plus (1) New members must show they have an understanding of party policy and a commitment to work for it. (2) Members must participate in the 'party education programme'. (3) Sanctions now includes 'expulsion, suspension, or fine'. (4) All cumainn must be geographically based unless the executive political committee makes an exception. |
| 1989 | The ard comhairle and cumainn fees as above. The weekly contribution set at 20p for unemployed, students & housewives, 50p for others. | As above. | As above, plus in those areas where the party has a youth section, a new member under 18 years may be directed to join Workers' party youth instead. |
| 1990 | As above. | As above. | As above. |

Notes:

- a. This constitution was apparently in force until 1971.
- b. The party also operated a system of 'associate membership' 'obtainable only through and at the discretion of the Brd comhairle'. The annual fee was set at 10 shillings.
- c. Sinn FÓin referred to the Irish government as 'partitionist', relating to the partition of the island between the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland.
- d. This entry is based on an un-dated constitution from the early seventies, which I am assuming to be from 1973.

Sources:

Table VII.B.2.b: Obligations of Membership, LAB

| | Minimum Subscription | | Other Obligations of Membership |
|------|---|---|--|
| | From Member to Branch | From Branch to Central Party | |
| 1952 | Amount may be fixed by administrative council. ^a | £1, plus 10 shillings for each additional 50 members or part thereof. | (1) Must accept the Constitution. Must not be a member of another party. (2) Branches can frame own rules, providing these do not conflict with those of the party. |
| 1968 | As above. | £2. | As above. |
| 1970 | As above. | £3. | As above. |
| 1975 | As above. | (1) Branches with 1-29 members in (specified) urban areas pay £5 per annum. (2) With 1-29 members in other areas, £4. (3) With 30+ members, £1 for each additional 30 members or part thereof. | As above. |
| 1978 | As above, plus an additional £1 per annum through branch to headquarters. | As above. | As above, plus members are prohibited from publicly associating with another party without the express and prior approval of the administrative council. |
| 1981 | As above, increased to £3 (pensioners, students, etc. £1.50). To be automatically increased every 2 years in line with inflation. | (1) With 1-10 members in (specified) urban areas, £10. (2) With minimum 5 in all other areas, £8. (3) With excess members, £2 for each additional 5 or part thereof. (4) Automatic increases every 2 years in line with inflation. | As above. |
| 1983 | Amount to headquarters set at £4 (and £2). | As above. | As above. |
| 1984 | Amount to headquarters set at £6 (and £2), subject to administrative council review. | Affiliation fee set at £15, subject to review by administrative council. | As above. |
| 1989 | As above. | As above. | As above, plus must not be a member of 'Militant' or have any connection with same. |
| 1991 | Amount to headquarters set by the executive committee. | The executive committee determines the affiliation fee in consultation with the relevant constituency and divisional councils. ^b | As above, except (1) reference to 'Militant' removed and replaced by a ban on membership of, or association with, 'any organisation, publication or other institution the objects or activities of which have been declared by the general council to be injurious to the interests of the party or inconsistent with its principles and objects.' (2) A member who is 2 years in arrears of membership fee shall be deemed to have resigned from the party. (3) A branch cannot admit to membership, or continue the membership, of any person whom the executive committee determines is ineligible. |

Notes:

- a. This was not actually implemented until 1967.
- b. The constituency and divisional councils may also prescribe annual affiliation fees.

Sources:

44, 45

Table VII.B.2.c: Obligations of Membership, FF

| | Minimum Subscription From Branch to Central Party | Other Obligations of Membership |
|-------------------|--|---|
| 1953 ^a | Cumann must pay annual registration fee (10 shillings). ^b | (1) Must not support a candidate who is running in opposition to a Fianna Fail candidate (or faces expulsion). (2) Must not be 'guilty of conduct unbecoming a member of the organisation' (or faces expulsion). (3) Can only be a member of 1 cumann. |
| 1972 | Fee increased to £1. | As above. |
| 1975 | Fee increased to £2. | As above. |
| 1978 | As above. | As above, plus any member who contests any election other than as a duly ratified Fianna Fail candidate automatically ceases to be a member as from the close of nominations. |
| 1980 | As above. | As above, plus new members will not be eligible for cumann voting rights until the next meeting following on the meeting of the formal acceptance. |
| 1983 | As above. | As above, plus (1) Any member who fails to comply with an instruction of the director of elections, during any election, may be suspended by the Brd comhairle. (2) A member may either be expelled or suspended (for 6 months-2 years) if found 'guilty of conduct unbecoming a member of the organisation'. (Specimen cumainn standing orders) (i) New members shall be required to sign acceptance of the Fianna Fail constitution by receiving and signing the membership card. (ii) Must take 'an active part in cumann activities, and in particular the annual national collection and all election activities unless expressly excused from time to time from doing so'. (iii) Any member who has not attended a meeting either in the previous 3 years or the previous 6 meetings forfeits his AGM voting rights. |
| 1985 | Fee increased to £5. ^c | As above, plus duty of cumann members to 'ensure that every supporter in their area who is entitled to a vote is registered as a voter and that no unqualified person appears on the register as a voter. They should familiarise themselves with the procedures and the law relating to the electoral register'. |
| 1986 | na | As above, plus no member has voting rights until at least 16 years of age. ^d |
| 1990 | na | As above. |

Notes:

- a. Fianna Fail has always operated a system of associate membership for those who, 'for private or business reasons', are unable to become 'an active member of the organisation'. Associate members are expected to pay 'a regular contribution to the funds of the cumann' (amount unspecified) and to 'assist actively when called upon'. They may attend all ordinary meetings of the cumann but have no voting rights. They are not eligible for election as officers or Brd fheis delegates.
- b. A comhairle ceantair has the power to impose a levy on registered cumainn in the county.
- c. See Mair (1987).
- d. Another amendment stated that where a cumann has not adopted any standing orders the specimen standing orders (as specified in the 1983 coru) shall be deemed to apply.

Sources:

18, 30, 31

Table VII.B.2.d: Obligations of Membership, FG

| | Minimum Subscription | | Other Obligations of Membership |
|------|---|---|--|
| | From Member to Branch | From Branch to Central Party | |
| 1963 | 2 shillings. | £1. | Must accept the party programme and agree to abide by its rules. |
| 1970 | 5 shillings, 'or such other sum as may from time to time be fixed by the national executive.' | £3, 'or such other sum as may from time to time be fixed by the national executive.' | As above, plus must not be a member of more than 1 branch except where, at the discretion of the national executive, the member also joins a branch 'without functional area' (i.e. a branch which is not organised on a territorial basis). |
| 1975 | As above, now 50p. | As above, now £5. | As above. |
| 1978 | National executive no longer determines the amount, instead it determines what proportion, if any, of the subscription to be paid to head office. | National executive determines branch affiliation fee and what proportion of members' subscription to be paid to head office. Still set at £5. | As above. |
| 1981 | Set at 75p. | As above. | As above. |
| 1982 | As above, except once again national executive determines amount. | As above. | As above. |
| 1983 | Set at £2. | Set at £15. | As above. |
| 1987 | As above. | As above. | As above, plus no member may campaign for or assist any candidate who has not been ratified as an official party candidate by the national executive. |
| 1988 | Set at £4. Pensioners are excluded from payment, but a branch must have a minimum of 9 paid up members. | Set at £30. | As above. |
| 1990 | As above. | As above. | As above. |

Sources:

37 38

Table VII.B.2.e: Obligations of Membership, PD

| | Minimum Subscription | | Other Obligations of Membership |
|------|--|--|--|
| | From Member to Branch | From Branch to Central Party | |
| 1986 | Annual subscription, amount fixed by national conference. Suggested rate £5 (£1 for pensioners, students, etc.). | Pays registration fee to head office. Set at £50. | Must not be a member of more than 1 branch with a functional area (i.e. a branch which is not organised on a territorial basis). |
| 1988 | Amount of subscription fixed by national council. Same rates. | Fee paid to national treasurers, through the constituency council. Same rates. | As above. |
| 1989 | As above. | As above, plus fee reduced to £10. | As above. |
| 1990 | As above. | As above. | As above. |

Sources:

49, 50

Table VII.B.2.f: Obligations of Membership, G

| | Minimum Subscription from Branch to Central Party | Other Obligations of Membership |
|------|--|--|
| 1983 | 'Required to subscribe financially to the existence' of the party. | (1) Must accept the principles and objectives of the party. Must not contravene the constitution. (2) Persons who 'subscribe to the conditions of membership' but who choose not to be a member of a local group, can become a member of the Movement for Ecology Politics. This group has no veto power in consensus decision-making. |
| 1988 | As above. | As above, plus (3) If in the opinion of convention a member 'has behaved or is behaving in a manner which has caused or is likely to cause serious harm to the party', convention may direct the relevant group to suspend that person. If the group fails to comply within 28 days, the council may suspend the individual. All suspensions will be in accordance with the terms decided by convention. To pass such resolutions: (i) it must be circulated to all local groups, the Movement for Ecology Politics, and the individual 21 days before the convention meeting - 'this will serve as a warning period'; (ii) a 75% level of consensus is required. (4) A person who is a member of another Irish party cannot be a member of the Movement for Ecology Politics. A group which contains a member of another Irish party cannot be affiliated to the Green party. 'Members of parties registered in other countries which have aims substantially different to the party' cannot be Green party members. |
| 1989 | As above. | (1) As above. (2) A person can be a party member without affiliation to a local group, subject to council's approval and that of any local group which may be in existence in the area. Such a member has no veto powers in consensus decision-making at local group meetings. (3) As above, except for 'convention' read 'council' and for 'the Movement for Ecology Politics' read 'members of the party who are not members of local groups'. May expel as well as suspend, and this rule also applies to members not affiliated to local groups. The individual concerned has a right of appeal to a committee of 3 appointed by council whose decision is final. (4) Party members cannot be members of other Irish parties. Members of parties in other states which have 'aims substantially different to those' of the Green Party cannot be party members. In any dispute on the matter, the council is the final arbiter. (5) In an election a party member who actively supports a candidate running against a properly adopted party candidate may be expelled. (6) New members serve 6 months probationary period (which can be extended for another 6 months by council at request of local group), where they cannot vote on matters affecting internal party affairs, except in the election of officers or newly-formed groups, and are not eligible for election to executive position. |
| 1990 | As above. | As above. |

Table VII.C.1: Numbers of Paid Staff (five-year averages)

| | Fianna Fail | | Fine Gael | | Labour | | Progressive Democrats | | Workers' Party | | Green Party | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Head Office ^a | Dail & Senate ^b | Head Office ^c | Dail & Senate | Head Office | Dail & Senate | Head Office | Dail & Senate | Head Office | Dail & Senate | Head Office | Dail & Senate |
| 1960-64 | na ^d | -- | 8 | -- | 3 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1965-69 | 6 ^e | -- | 10 | -- | 3 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1970-74 | 8 ^f | -- | 12 | -- | 5 | -- | -- | -- | na | -- | -- | -- |
| 1975-79 | 14 ^g | 7 | 16 | 4 | 4 | 1 | -- | -- | na | 0 | -- | -- |
| 1980-84 ^h | 20 | 58 | 17 | 38 | 6 | 8 | -- | -- | na | 2 ⁱ | 0 | 0 |
| 1985-89 | 26 | 70 | 25 | 56 | 9 | 12 | 11 ^j | 11 ^k | 7 ^l | 3 | 1 ^m | 1 ⁿ |

Notes:

- a. These are employees working for the party either at its headquarters, or else in the Dail (e.g. the press office or the leader's office). Unless otherwise indicated, the entries are five-year averages based on information provided by the parties and by the department of Finance. In the case of the latter, an average is taken for the election years of 1987 and 1989 which saw changes in staff allocations to the parties due to government changes.
- b. These are secretaries, paid for by the State, who work for the TDs and Senators. This scheme was introduced in 1975 for non-office holding TDs (i.e. excluding ministers, junior ministers, ceann comhairle, and leas cheann comhairle). Initially the ratio was 1 secretary for each 10 TDs. The ratio was gradually changed: 1978, 1:7; 1981, 1:2; 1982, 1:1. A similar scheme was introduced for non-office holding Senators (excluding cathaoirleach and leas chathaoirleach) in 1981 with a ratio of 1:5. In 1985 the ratio was reduced to 1:3. These calculations are based on five-year averages.
- c. Other employees which are not included are (in various years): a caretaker/cleaner, a driver, a messenger/printer, occasional clerical staff, and collectors/organisers. The latter numbered about 3-5 from 1960-1974. In the seventies they were whittled down and by 1987 they were no longer used. Some were paid out of central funds, others worked on commission. There are several possible reasons why Fine Gael appears to be better staffed than Fianna Fail: (1) it was in opposition more often and therefore had to support a larger staff; (2) Fianna Fail's figures may under-estimate the true picture; (3) the Fine Gael figures could be subject to a degree of double-counting.
- d. Correspondence with a former officer reveals that the average staff size for 1954-1957 was about 11, 5 of whom were secretarial.
- e. This is the figure for 1966, given in Mair (1987). The fact of it seeming so small could be due to it not including all secretarial staff.
- f. This is the figure for 1973, given in Mair (1987).
- g. This is the figure for 1977, provided by a former party officer. Note that Mair's (1987) estimate for that year is 10.
- h. A new scheme of extra secretarial assistance paid for by the department of Finance was introduced in late 1981.
- i. Four-year average (1981-1984).
- j. Three-year average (1987-1989).
- k. Three-year average (1987-1989).
- l. This is the figure for 1989 only. There are two additional employees working in its Belfast office.
- m. This employee, first employed in 1989, is paid for out of the salary of the party's sole TD.
- n. 1989 figure only.

Sources: 10, 12, 18, 32, 38, 45, 49, 52, 55