



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Leadership and Institutional Reform in Consensual Democracies: Dutch and Swedish Defence Organizations after the Cold War

Noll, J.E.

Citation

Noll, J. E. (2005, April 7). *Leadership and Institutional Reform in Consensual Democracies: Dutch and Swedish Defence Organizations after the Cold War*. Cuvillier Verlag, Gottingen. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/2306>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/2306>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Contents

Acknowledgements	v
Tables	ix
Figures	x
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 The end of the Cold War	1
1.2 Defence policy and conscription after the Cold War	2
1.3 The conscription puzzle	4
1.4 Some methodological considerations	6
1.5 Overview of the book	7
Chapter 2: Crisis and change in policy sectors: the role of leadership	9
2.1 Institutional crisis: a window for reform?	9
2.2 Managing institutional crisis: strategies and outcomes	10
2.3 Institutional crisis management as a leadership challenge	14
2.4 Leadership orientation: reformist versus conserving crisis management strategies	15
2.5 Leadership style: active versus passive leadership	22
Chapter 3: Research design and methods	33
3.1 Studying leadership in action	33
3.2 A comparative case study	34
3.3 Operationalisation	36
Chapter 4: The History of Conscription in the Netherlands and the structure of the defence sector	45
4.1 Introduction	45
4.2 King William I	45
4.3 Neutrality till World War II	49
4.4 Conscription and the Dutch defence: the initial post-war years	53
4.5 Dutch conscription during the Cold War years	54
Chapter 5: Leadership in postponement of the draft	63
5.1 Introduction	63
5.2 Dutch defence politics	63
5.3 Rethinking defence policy: the 1991 White Paper	65
5.4 The commission on conscription: the beginning	70
5.5 The commission at work	73
5.6 The Minister changes his mind	79
5.7 Military leaders and the conscription issue	86
5.8 Cabinet politics	90
5.9 Priorities White Paper and conscription in Parliament	94
Chapter 6: Explaining the postponement of the draft: hidden-hand leadership and policy change in Dutch defence policy	105
6.1 Introduction	105
6.2 Setting the stage: actors, strategies and outcomes	106
6.3 Leadership opportunities and actors' calculations	108
6.4 Reformist and conserving leadership: dissecting the process	115
6.5 Passive and active leadership styles	123

6.6 Leadership and institutional crisis management in the Netherlands: What have we learned?	125
Chapter 7: History of conscription in Sweden	129
7.1 Introduction	129
7.2 The allotment system - 'indelingsverket'	129
7.3 Conscription and defence policy under neutrality	132
7.4 Conscription through the ages: a summary	139
Chapter 8: From general to special conscription in Sweden	143
8.1 Introduction	143
8.2 The organisation of Swedish defence policymaking	144
8.3 Coping with the end of the Cold War	150
8.4 The armed forces own plans for the future forces	153
8.5 The centre-right government 1991-1994	156
8.6 1992 Inquiry on total defence duty	159
8.7 The social democratic return to power	164
8.8 Major military reforms put pressure on conscription	169
8.9 Implications for conscription: The total defence duty inquiry 1998	183
Other relevant function	185
8.10 Towards the erosion of conscription?	187
Chapter 9: The silent goodbye to general conscription: piecemeal leadership incrementalism in Swedish defence policy	197
9.1 Introduction	197
9.2 Setting the stage: actors, strategies and outcomes	198
9.3 Leadership opportunities and actor calculations	201
9.4 Reformist and conserving leadership: dissecting the process	207
9.5 Passive and active leadership styles	214
9.6 Leadership and institutional crisis management in Sweden: What have we learned?	215
Chapter 10: Conclusion	219
10.1 Introduction	219
10.2 Conserving reflex vs. pragmatic reforming leadership	220
10.3 From conserving to reforming leadership	225
10.4 Leadership and institutional reform in consensus democracies	234
10.5 What have we learned	237
Appendix 1: Conscription and the military in the Dutch public opinion	239
Appendix 2: Conscription and the military in the Swedish public opinion	241
List of interviews	243
References	247
Samenvatting (Summary)	257
Index	265
Curriculum Vitae	271

Tables

Table 1: Crisis response strategies and outcomes	11
Table 2: Differences between Westminster and consensus democracies	24
Table 3: Sets of hypotheses	39
Table 4: Characteristics of the dependent variable	41
Table 5: Present size autumn 1814 and 1819	48
Table 6: Overview of Dutch conscription commissions during the Cold War	57
Table 7: Necessity of Armed Forces, 1963 – 1991	58
Table 8: Members of the commission on Conscription 1991	71
Table 9: Models compared	88
Table 10: Parts of the armed forces war organisation 1948-1992	136
Table 11: Overview of conscription laws	138
Table 12: Government composition in Sweden	144
Table 13: Swedish general election results 1988-2002	145
Table 14: Commissions and committees in Swedish defence policy process	148
Table 15: Alternative options for army units and personnel	152
Table 16: Members of the 1992 Pliktutredningen	160
Table 17: Percentage young men of all drafted not completing basic training	161
Table 18: Personnel inflow and need in the total defence for the years 1994-99	162
Table 19: Chronology of defence budget crisis 1997/98	172
Table 20: Alternative futures of the armed forces	176
Table 21: Economical limit of defence for budget proposition 2000	182
Table 22: Enrolment figures. Source: Pliktverket	183
Table 23: Members of the 1998 Duty Inquiry	185
Table 24: Enrolment figures 1999-2002	187
Table 25: Women in the armed forces	188
Table 26: Comparison of leaders' perceptions	221
Table 27: How leaders reform or conserve in Sweden and the Netherlands	232
Table 28: Conscription policy and the room for reforming leadership	234
Table 29: Types and styles of leadership in the two case studies	236
Table 30: Necessity of armed forces	239
Table 31: Conscription or voluntary armed forces	240
Table 32: Professional armed forces or conscription	242

Figures

Figure 1: A typology of Force Structures and Expected Changes	3
Figure 2: A continuum of leadership roles	20
Figure 3: Leadership and its environment	23
Figure 4: Country selection and hypothesised national policy styles	26
Figure 5: Leadership types and styles	27
Figure 6: Necessity of Armed Forces, 1963 – 1991	58
Figure 7: Conscription or voluntary forces?	73
Figure 8: Types and styles of leadership in Dutch defence policymaking	123
Figure 9: Defence policymaking until the 1990s	145
Figure 10: Alternatives A, B, C and D in billion crowns a year	154
Figure 11: Former and future defence budgets	181
Figure 12: Opinion on fulfilling military duty	188
Figure 13: Styles and types of leadership in the Swedish defence sector	215
Figure 14: Necessity of armed forces	239
Figure 15: Sweden assisted by other countries in case of attack	241