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ster raakt. De vlotte stijl en het vaak speelse gevoel voor taal ('pakketvaart als vaardig middel van bestuur') helpen de aandacht van de lezer vast te houden.

Ten slotte, voor elke boekenliefhebber is het een genot zo'n verzorgde uitgave ter hand te nemen.

N.G. Schulte Nordholt

Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, **Grüne Parteien in Westeuropa: Entwicklungsphasen und Erfolgsbedingungen**, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 1993.

In the last two decades green political parties emerged in almost all Western European countries. Despite the fact that they are a relatively recent phenomenon, there has been quite extensive research, especially in the case of the German greens (die Grünen). The quick organizational development as well as the varying electoral successes of these green parties gave rise to two research questions. The first question is whether Western European green parties constitute a special type or family of parties, that is, whether they have certain programmatic, organizational and socio-demographic features in common. The results of these studies show that green parties do in fact constitute a particular type of party that is closely related to 'new politics'. A second line of research tries to identify the conditions that influence the emergence and electoral success of green parties. Müller-Rommel's book *Grüne Parteien in Westeuropa* addresses this last question in offering a comparative analysis of the electoral development of green parties in 15 Western European countries. Müller-Rommel deals with two main research questions and *Grüne Parteien in Westeuropa* is accordingly divided in two parts. The first part of the book contains a description of the stages of development of green parties, the second and more extensive part deals with the conditions for their electoral success.

In order to systematically explain the differences in the electoral fortunes of green parties in various countries, Müller-Rommel examines the emergence and stages of development of green parties. In the first part of the book he presents several lengthy historical portraits of parties in 17 Western European countries from the date of their foundation up to the moment that they first gained representation in regional and national parliaments, together with overviews of their electoral results until 1989. The resulting picture is that green parties were founded in a relatively short time in all Western European countries (the exception being Norway, where no green party emerged at all). They participated in national elections in 15 countries and entered national parliaments in 11 of these. Still, some differences exist between these parties with respect to their date of foundation and the rate of their development. Based on Pedersen's idea that every small party has to overcome a number of barriers that separate the various stages in their life-span, Müller-Rommel develops a rather curious typology of green parties. He claims to use three thresholds (a legitimation, a mobilization and a representation threshold) to divide green parties into four types, depending on which hurdles they have already taken. The first type of parties, called the profes-

sionals were founded about 15 years ago and have since then taken all three barriers. The Grünen in West Germany are an example of this professional type. The second type is denoted as *new-comers in parliament* and consist of parties that have entered their national parliament (the representation threshold) only recently. Two other types are the *pre-parliamentary* green party (a party that has failed to gain representation in national parliaments, but has entered the European parliament) and the *unprofessional* green party (a party that has won no seats in national or European parliaments).

It appears that Müller-Rommel uses rather ambiguous criteria, which are only partly based on the three thresholds on the basis of which he claims to have developed his typology. For example, overcoming the representation threshold is defined as gaining seats in the national parliament (p. 87). However, the criterium for separating pre-parliamentary green parties from unprofessional ones turns out to be gaining seats in the European parliament. Strictly speaking both types of parties have taken the legitimation and mobilization hurdle, but failed to take the representation hurdle. I have similar difficulties with accepting Müller-Rommel's typology in the case of professionals and new-comers. Again, if we take his criteria seriously, the new-comers overcame the same three barriers the first type (the professionals) overcame. They gained legitimation, mobilized and have entered the national parliament. In other words, why are they not labelled as professionals? Müller-Rommel says that the most important difference between the new-comer type and the professionals is that new-comers do not have as much experience in parliament as their longer existing colleagues. As in the case of the role of European elections, nothing was said about the history of a party playing such a role in the development of the typology. Even if we accept this kind of approach, it raises a problem in the case of the Dutch Greens (GroenLinks), which Müller-Rommel regards as new-comers. It may be formally correct to give this label to GroenLinks if one considers that the PSP, PPR and CPN combined their lists for the first time in 1984 (European elections) and GroenLinks was not officially founded until 1990. But in view of the long history in Dutch national politics of three of the four parties from which GroenLinks evolved, it is not very satisfactory to call such experienced parties 'newcomers'. Moreover, Müller-Rommel asserts that this typology is the starting point for his analyses of the political opportunity structure of green parties. Yet I could not find any reference to this typology in the remainder of the book, not even to explain country-specific differences. There seems to be not much point in developing such a typology and not employing it at all.

In the second part of his book, Müller-Rommel analyses the political opportunity structure of green parties on an aggregate level. He distinguishes six sets of variables relating to, respectively, the socio-economic system, the political system, the party system, extra-parliamentary forces (old and new social movements), political value orientations and attitudes, and internal party organization. Although most of these elements of the political opportunity structure have been used separately before by others, this is one of the first times that someone brings them all together in an analysis of the electoral strength of green parties. The six components of the political opportunity structure are discussed in separate chapters (chapters 6-11), which are all

structured in the same way. They start with bivariate analyses (Pearson's correlations) of the various indicators within a set, and conclude with a multivariate analysis (multiple regression) of the most important variables, *i.e.* those correlating most strongly with the dependent variable, the average percentage of votes in all elections a party participated in. Müller-Rommel presents some interesting findings with regard to the distinct parts of the political opportunity structure. To give some examples, the idea that green parties are particularly thriving in industrialized and economically stable states (the socio-economic system), proves to be only partly true. New value orientations (measured as the percentage of the population with a postmaterialist outlook) and distrust of the problem-solving capacity of national parliaments are relatively strongly correlated with the success of green parties, whereas the percentage of people concerned about the environment turns out to be irrelevant. It comes as no surprise that of the six elements of the political opportunity structure, the political system and, in particular, the electoral system have the strongest influence. On the other hand, the internal organization of a party (its internal factions, party finance and level of organization) is only weakly related to a green party's electoral strength.

Despite the fact that Müller-Rommel makes a considerable effort to list the variables and their indicators, it is not always sufficiently clear how certain variables were constructed, nor what they actually mean. In addition, the reason to include or exclude variables is not always sufficiently clear. Sometimes, the analyses are justified simply by reference to analyses at an individual level and the possibility that they might survive a test at an aggregated level. There is nothing wrong with that, for sure, but such a justification is unsatisfactory, because it does not give any information on the theoretical notions behind the analyses. This sometimes gives the impression that the author is jumping to conclusions. Take, for instance, the discussion on traditional cleavages and their effect on the electoral fortunes of the greens (no more than three and a half pages, of which one with figures). Müller-Rommel's hypothesis is that green parties are less successful in countries where the traditional cleavage between left and right is still significant. He finds that the average percentages of votes for left and right wing parties in the period of 1979-1989 are not correlated with the average percentages of votes for the greens. His concluding remarks are as follows:

'Es konnte nachgewiesen werden, dass sich die unterschiedlich hohen Stimmenanteile für die Grünen unabhängig von der Stärke der traditionellen sozialen Konflikte in westeuropäischen Parteiensystemen entwickelt haben, was die Argumentation von Ronald Inglehart bekräftigt. Er argumentiert, dass neue (post-materialistische) Wertestrukturen ein neues soziales *cleavage* bilden, welches über neue soziale Bewegungen Eingang in das politische System und über die Höhe der Wahlergebnisse von Grüne Parteien einen unmittelbaren Eingang in die Parteiensysteme findet.' (p. 144).

Apart from the obvious objections one can make against operationalizing cleavages as average percentages of votes, the conclusion that the results prove the existence of a new cleavage, based on new (postmaterialist) value orientations, is premature, to say the least.

In order to determine in which countries and to what extent the different elements of the political opportunity structure can explain the success or failure of green parties, the 13 most important variables from earlier chapters are brought together in an analysis that allows for country-specific differences (chapter 13). In this part of the book Müller-Rommel suddenly changes his definition of electoral success. Instead of using the average percentages of votes, he now combines, without any kind of explanation, three criteria to construct an index. Green parties are considered to be successful if they have gained at least an average of four percent of votes in national elections, if they have won at least three or a half percent of the available seats in parliament, and if they have participated at least three times in national elections. According to this index, six countries have successful green parties, while the greens in the other nine nations are classified as failures. It is rather a surprise to find a short discussion on how to define successes and failures of parties on the very last pages of a book that has as its main purpose to explain the electoral successes of green parties. All the more, when it is realized that no explanation is given for this change of definition. Nevertheless, the results of the analysis are interesting in two ways. They show, first of all, that some components of the economic, political and party system of countries can explain the existence of a thriving green party, though the explanatory power of these components varies between the countries. In the second place, Müller-Rommel concludes that the three other elements of the political opportunity structure (*i.e.*, value orientation, extra-parliamentary forces and internal party organization) are only of importance in some of the countries. That is to say, in addition to the three explanatory factors that countries have in common, other characteristics may or may not be responsible for the success or failure of the greens. The postmaterialist value orientation of a country's populations, for instance, is only important in the case of Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Despite the fact that this kind of finding could have essential implications for the ideas about the origin as well as the future of green parties, Müller-Rommel says next to nothing about the consequences his results might have for theories about the greens.

Grüne Parteien in Westeuropa is an interesting book because it is one of the first, if not *the* first, to contain such an extensive description of the factors contributing to the success of green parties. This is extensive with regard to the number and kind of elements of the political opportunity structure discussed, as well as with regard to the number of countries included. However, its comprehensiveness is both the strength and weakness of the book. Despite its very clear structure, the book is often too sketchy in its theoretical descriptions and in the conclusions drawn from the data. The consequence is that one sometimes gets the impression that the book is nothing but a long list of variables (see, for instance, p. 99-103) and figures. Because most of the concluding remarks are summaries of the empirical results and contain no or very brief references to the hypotheses, the book leaves a lot of questions unanswered. It may be that for some it suffices to know which factors do and which factors do not contribute to the electoral success of green parties in specific countries. For my part, I would have preferred to have been given at least an idea about *why* some of these factors turned out to be important and others not. The book would have been much

more interesting if more time and space would have been devoted to the theoretical notions behind the analyses, to the expected relations between the different parts of the opportunity structure, and, especially, to the theoretical implications of the results.

M. Nas

Paul Hainsworth (ed.), *The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA*, Pinter Publishers, Londen, 1992.

The emergence of anti-immigrant parties in Western Europe has induced a series of edited volumes in which this new family of parties are described and compared under the heading of 'extreme right'. These edited books tend to suffer from two weaknesses. First, although they describe and analyse a number of extreme right parties in different countries, they are not really comparative. This is due to the way in which these books are produced. Normally, a specialist in the field who is also a good networker asks a number of colleagues for a contribution on a particular country. Hence the books consist of a number of highly interesting monographic articles which describe and analyse the origin and strategy of the extreme right parties in a specific country. Secondly, and related to the first weakness, it is never quite clear on what ground the parties are selected. This is so because the term extreme right is nowhere defined, even though there seems to be no doubt in the minds of the contributors. Klaus von Beyme stated in a special issue of *West European Politics*, which subsequently has been published as a book: 'Though formal definitions or derivations based on the history of ideas largely failed to provide a convincing concept for 'right-wing extremism', research work on political parties of the right has not had serious problems in selecting appropriate cases.' (Von Beyme, 1988, p.3) This was perhaps true at the time of writing, but now it no longer holds. Not only does the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* in Germany maintain that the *Republikaner* cannot be considered as an extreme right party even though many specialists in the field do not hesitate to call them so. There is even more doubt, even among specialists, whether or not the Italian Lega Lombarda or the Austrian FPÖ should be called extreme right. The fact that there is no consensus about the label which should be attached to the new political family (see Elbers and Fennema, *Racistische partijen in West-Europa*, 1993) reveals a theoretical flaw that also hampers a solid comparative approach. Each contributor has his or her own theoretical framework, which prevents an integrative approach.

Given these restrictions, *The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA* is a very good book. The articles on France (Paul Hainsworth), Belgium and the Netherlands (Christopher Husbands) are outstanding, while none of the others is weak. The chapter on Germany is very informative, but the author (Eva Kolinsky) treats the electorate of the *Republikaner* and the immigration policy of Germany in much more detail than the extreme right parties themselves. Francesco Sidoti, on the other hand,

excavates the historical roots of the extreme right in Italy, but he treats Italy too much as a 'special case', which makes any comparison with other countries very difficult. The chapter on Denmark analyses the successes and failures of a party (*Fremskridtspartiet*) which, according to the author (Jørgen Goul Anderson), is not extreme right (p.194). This party does not, even according to the very vague circumlocution of the editor, belong to the extreme right family, because it shows no sign of anti-parliamentarian attitudes and it gives higher priority to alleviating the burden of taxation than to immigration policy. In the contribution on Greece the party of the Greek colonels (EPEN) is regarded as extreme right, even though in their twelve point program migration is not even mentioned (p.265). According to that program, EPEN can be regarded as a traditional right wing party, but hardly as an extreme right one.

The attempt to give the book a broader scope by including chapters on the USA and Eastern Europe decreases the theoretical coherence of the book even further, and leads in the case of Eastern Germany to a certain overlap with the chapter on Germany. But again, these chapters in themselves are highly informative. The high quality of most chapters, combined with the lack of theoretical coherence, and the price of the book will invite illegal xeroxing. We still have to wait for a 'real' comparative study of racist parties in Europe.

M. Fennema

William E. Connolly, *The Augustinian Imperative: A Reflection on the Politics of Morality*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, 1993.

The Augustinian Imperative is the first volume in the Series Modernity and Political Thought, edited by Morton Schoolman. The common task for the authors in the series is 'to inquire into the thought of figures in the history of political philosophy in light of their possible contributions to our understanding of modernity, the way in which it is constituted, the problems and promises that remain latent in it' (p. vii-viii). The series wants to make clear that the development of liberalism goes along with a process of creating identities to the extent that differences are converted into strangenesses, whereas established identities tend to be naturalised. In this way the politics of liberalism is deconstructed as a social mechanism of power. Corresponding to the intention of the series, *The Augustinian Imperative* seeks to illuminate the political meaning of 'the augustinian imperative', that is, the insistence that there is an intrinsic moral order susceptible to authoritative representation.

In the first chapter Connolly introduces the subject thematically by a discussion of Job and Herculine Barbine. In the next three chapters he explores the writings of Augustine of Hippo. Focussing on central Augustinian notions such as confession, the divided will, the memory, heresy, biblical interpretation, Connolly argues that Augustine's preaching of an intrinsic moral order has discriminating implications which are far more radical than Augustine explicitly shows. The institution of belief