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**Boekbespreking van: Party Elites in Divided Societies: Political Parties in Consociational Democracy**  
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countries. Although the Dutch government would be pleased to see the Netherlands being treated under the same rubric as France and Great Britain, it might have been better to consider more significant relations, such as the German-Italian or German-Spanish. In the chapter on enlargement an overview of German-Polish relations would have been interesting.

The consequent overview of case studies is backed up by a substantive amount of empirical work and from the comparisons between the case studies the authors arrive at some interesting conclusions. The 1996-7 IGC was affected by an inclusive German domestic policy arena (the authors do not buy Kohl's argument of a *Länder* veto on more qualified majority voting in Justice and Home Affairs), a difficult relationship with France on European employment policies, and, finally, a limited extension of multilateral policies in the milieu realm. The authors argue that EMU was a classic case of milieu shaping by Germany: German policies were adopted at the European level forcing other member states to implement domestic changes. This success was helped by a closed domestic policy front, Franco-German centrality and supportive (the Netherlands in stage II with the stability pact) or cooperative partners (the United Kingdom in stage III on the Euro-zone membership). The enlargement of the European Union, on the other hand, is characterized by a fragmented German policy stance. The Ministries of Agriculture, Trade and Industry as well as the Treasury have sometimes taken a 'protectionist' stance in EU negotiations. A supportive public opinion exists only in key fields. The German public's anxiety has led to tough German positions on the EU budget, free movement of labour and border controls. Concerning partnerships, it has proved difficult to sustain the Franco-German alliance and potential alliances with the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are looming large on the question of enlargement itself and on budgetary issues. The traditional milieu goal is a geographical extension of multilateral cooperation and, possibly, German institutional export to Central and Eastern Europe. The latter point would mean that CEE-countries copy the German political or social-economic model. The authors do not present any empirical proof of this, however.

The case studies prove the centrality of the Franco-German axis. Although a change in discourse towards national interests occurs, the pursuit of milieu goals has remained the leading idea in Germany's European diplomacy, also after the 1998 change in government. Furthermore, different regional and public institutions have tried to influence the federal government. The crucial point is that in Germany a party-wide consensus on the need of European solutions to domestic problems continues to dominate the debate. The authors conclude by remarking that not only is Germany becoming more European, but also that Europe is becoming more German, through the pursuit of milieu goals.

What is the added value of the book? I am afraid that the concept of 'milieu goals' is not going to survive the test of time. It seems to be another word for a German preference for multilateralism. It does not contain more explanatory or descriptive powers than concepts like civilian power or trading state. The authors correctly claim that until the 1980s European integration was largely following French wishes. They

do not explain why and how a change towards a more 'German' Europe occurred at that particular time. Moreover, the inclusion of subsidiarity and the monetary stability pact in European integration does not wipe out French designs of European integration like a weak Commission. The institutional and bilateral emphasis of the authors is valuable but no convincing argument is made for the absence of economic issues. In their introduction the authors leave these to economists, a case of exaggerated parsimony in my opinion. One cannot disentangle the economic turmoil following reunification from Germany's European diplomacy.

The three British authors have written a book with an empirically rich overview of Germany's European diplomacy on three case studies of integration. They have made a valuable contribution to the field of German studies. Their approach has, however, been too narrow to make a more general contribution to, for example, sub-disciplines of political science like international relations and European integration.

Ivo Stork

Richard Luther and Kris Deschouwer (eds.), *Party Elites in Divided Societies. Political parties in consociational democracy*. London: Routledge, 1999, 291 p., ISBN 0-415-20127-6, £60.00

Four countries should be grateful to Arend Lijphart, as it was thanks to his seminal theory on consociational democracy that they received some attention from the international community of political scientists. The countries involved are Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland. These four are characterized by remarkable stability notwithstanding the segmentation of their societies. According to Lijphart's theory, elite co-operation and accommodation are the origins of this stability, and this is illustrated by the dominance of the executive, centralized government, grand coalitions, etc.. Despite the revolutionary character of Lijphart's theory at the end of the 1960s, it looks as if his institutional approach is no longer adequate to explain the recent changes and developments in consociational democracies. Some theoretical knowledge is missing, in particular on the role of political parties in pillarized and segmented societies. This assessment is the point of departure of *Party Elites in Divided Societies*. Therefore, this volume mainly focuses on the electoral evolutions of the parties and the pillars, while – unfortunately – only little attention is paid to the intra-party position of the party elites.

The volume is divided into three parts. In the first part, Richard Luther sets out a very interesting framework, with strong heuristic power. It aims at explaining both the 'vertical' linkage of parties with their respective subcultures and their 'horizontal' role in inter-subculture relations. Luther's model is a useful tool for analysis. It is based on three party-related indicators (organizational penetration of parties in the subculture, their ability to mobilize masses and provide incentives, and the hierarchical party control of the subculture), and two inter-party related indicators (the 'format' of party interaction and

its 'mechanisms'). In a second contribution to this introductory part, Paul Pennings persuasively demonstrates that the original institutional indicators of Lijphart's theory have to be combined with party-related indicators in order to explain recent evolutions in the countries under investigation. Examples of such party-related indicators are the evolving policy distances between parties and the changing direction of party competition.

The second part of the book consists of five single country studies. They deal with the political systems of Austria (by K.R. Luther), Belgium (by K. Deschouwer), The Netherlands (by R.B. Andeweg), Switzerland (by P. Sciarini and S. Hug) and Israel (by R.Y. Hazan). The inclusion of the latter two countries in a book on consociationalism is challenging, though not undisputed. Even though Switzerland was included in the original set of archetypes of consociationalism, some scholars have considered the Swiss case to be a deviant one. First, its society is not characterized by a segmentation that is so typical of the other countries (and which was defined by Lijphart to be a crucial variable). Furthermore, Swiss elite accommodative decision-making is under threat of direct democratic institutions (referenda). Unfortunately, Sciarini and Hug do not try to end this debate in their contribution to this volume. They assess that there are convincing arguments to put the Swiss political system on a par with the three other archetypes, while they admit that even the tradition of accommodative decision-making is under threat.

Unlike the persisting doubt whether Switzerland should be considered a consociational democracy or not, Reuven Hazan firmly assesses that the Israeli political system has been "almost archetypal of consociationalism" (p. 163) in its pre- and immediate post-independence period. It was a time when Israeli politics was characterized by executive power-sharing, elite cooperation, mutual vetoes and the status quo-principle. Due to a more pluralistic and open society in recent decades, however, the elite has lost its control over social tensions. This affected the ability of the elite to settle issues via accommodative decision-making. As the author admits at the end of his contribution, it has become difficult to consider Israel a consociational democracy. After all, the idea of Israel as a semi-consociational democracy remains rather unconventional. In my opinion, the assessment would have been stronger if the same indicators had been used for Israel as for the analyses of the other countries.

The analyses of the archetypal Austrian, Belgian and Dutch political systems result in thorough and well-documented contributions. The strict application of the analytical framework as set out in the first chapter, in combination with detailed longitudinal information, makes it easy to draw comparisons between the countries. It then becomes clear that, while sharing a common evolution of de-segmentation, these political systems differ greatly from one another. According to Steven Wolinetz (Chapter 9), for instance, there is not even a pattern of party systems change that is unique to consociational democracies. "Instead, changes in the party systems of consociational democracies are best understood as part of broader processes of change in liberal democracies," he claims (p.241).

However, changes and evolutions are not confined to the party system alone. Richard Luther's analysis of the Austrian political system reveals that de-segmentation occurred

two decades later in Belgium and the Netherlands. In spite of this decline in segmentation, parties still play a dominant role (e.g., because of the provision of incentives) and the degree of elite accommodation remains high. In Belgium, the process of de-segmentation has been intersected by a radical process of federalization since the late 1960s. This caused the bifurcation of the national parties into separate Francophone and Flemish parties. According to Kris Deschouwer, it is therefore more appropriate to speak of a 'new' system of consociationalism, even though the 'classic' system has not completely disappeared. With respect to the Dutch political system, Rudy Andeweg stresses the weakness of the Dutch political parties. Their degree of penetration and incorporation of the subculture does not reach very far, nor do they possess any hierarchical control over the pillar. Moreover, due to Calvinist culture and the absence of any form of territorial representation, even the provision of incentives is absent. Therefore, Andeweg concludes, it is no surprise that Dutch parties are not at the core of the pillars.

In the final part of the book recent developments in the four 'traditional' consociational democracies are compared. Unfortunately, this is not the strongest part of the book. Concerning the 'horizontal' linkage of parties in their inter-subcultural interactions, in particular, the comparison does not really provide an extra dimension to the single country analyses. Notwithstanding this general remark, Mónica Méndez-Lago's comparative analysis of the pillar, class and religion volatilities to the total electoral volatility, truly draws some interesting and important conclusions on the 'vertical' linkages of the parties to their subculture. Her findings underpin the assumption that most of the total volatility can not be accounted for by exchanges of voters between pillar parties, but between pillar and non-pillar parties.

The specific value of Luther's model and the whole conception of this volume, lies in its focus on the use of objective indicators. The interest of the various contributions is to explain the role of parties and their elites in the existence, decline, and eventual survival of consociationalism, using rather simple parameters (like degree of penetration, electoral support, ability to mobilize and the dominance of the party over the pillar). This serves the degree of comparability of the single country analyses. Hence, this approach should be praised. However, some additional information on how elite accommodation and cooperation have really worked (and work) would have assisted the understanding of the particularities of elite accommodative decision-making. Even the inclusion of anecdotes from time to time would have given an extra dimension to the rather formal approach of party success in terms of electoral success, popular support, etc.

Neither this point of criticism, nor the previous remark that the comparative chapters do not add much value to the single country analysis, should, however, draw our attention away from the strong features of this book. This volume collects basic data on four (five) countries, applies a handy framework that focuses on the three faces of political parties (party-in-the-electorate, party-organization and party-in-government). It will be of crucial importance, therefore, for any scholar wishing to study the role of political parties in Austria, Belgium, The Netherlands, Switzerland and Israel in the future.

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