Representative Government in Modern Europe



Fifth Edition







Fourth Pages









Fifth Edition

Representative Government in Modern Europe

Michael Gallagher Michael Laver Peter Mair

The McGraw·Hill Companies

London Boston Burr Ridge, IL Dubuque, IA Madison, WI New York San Francisco St. Louis Bangkok Bogotá Caracas Kuala Lumpur Lisbon Madrid Mexico City Milan Montreal New Delhi Santiago Seoul Singapore Sydney Taipei Toronto







Representative Government in Modern Europe © Michael Gallagher, Michael Laver, Peter Mair ISBN-13 978-0-07-712967-5 ISBN-10 0-07-712967-9



Published by McGraw-Hill Education Shoppenhangers Road Maidenhead Berkshire SL6 2QL Telephone: 44 (0) 1628 502 500

Fax: 44 (0) 1628 770 224 Website: *www.mcgraw-hill.co.uk*

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

The Library of Congress data for this book has been applied for from the Library of Congress

Acquisitions Editor: Mark Kavanagh Development Editor: Jackie Curthoys

Marketing Manager:

Production Editor: Alison Davis

Text Design by Hard Lines Cover design by Adam Renvoize Printed and bound in [country] by [insert printer, City] Page Layout: SR Nova Pvt Ltd., Bangalore, India

Published by McGraw-Hill Education (UK) Limited an imprint of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020. Copyright © 2011 by McGraw-Hill Education (UK) Limited. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written consent of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., including, but not limited to, in any network or other electronic storage or transmission, or broadcast for distance learning.

ISBN-13 978-0-07-712967-5 ISBN-10 0-07-712967-9

© 2011. Exclusive rights by The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. for manufacture and export. This book cannot be re-exported from the country to which it is sold by McGraw-Hill.

The **McGraw·Hill** Companies









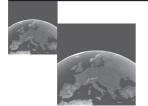
Brief Table of Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	The Executive	23
3	Parliaments	47
4	Constitutions, Judges and Politics	84
5	The European Union and Representative Government	116
6	Central, Regional and Local Governance	164
7	Patterns in Party Politics and Party Systems	195
8	Party Families	238
9	Cleavage Structures and Electoral Change	278
0	Inside European Political Parties	326
1	Elections, Electoral Systems and Referendums	366
2	Making and Breaking Governments	412
3	Politics outside Parliaments	458
4	Does Representative Government make a Difference?	479









Detailed Table of Contents

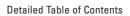
	List of Preface About	f figures f tables ce t the authors sher's acknowledgements	x xi xiii xv xvi				
1	Introduction						
	1.1	Modern Europe	3				
	1.2	Plan of campaign	4				
	1.3	A brief century of European history	6				
	1.4	The vital statistics	12				
2	The E	xecutive	23				
		Introduction	23				
	2.2	Separation or fusion of powers?	24				
	2.2.1	Separation-of-powers regimes	25				
		Fusion-of-powers regimes	26				
	2.2.3	Splitting the difference?					
		'Semi-presidentialism'	27				
	2.3	Parliamentary government in					
		modern Europe	28				
	2.4	The prime minister: chief					
	0.5	executive	30				
	2.5	The cabinet	33				
		Box 2.1: Executives and heads					
	2.6	of state	34				
	2.6	Junior ministers	38				
	2.7	The head of state	39 42				
	2.7.1 Monarchs 2.8 Putting it all together References						
	Keiere	ences	44				
3	Parlia		47				
	3.1	Introduction	47				
	3.2	Parliaments and governments	48				
	3.3	The roles of parliaments	52				
	3.3.1	Appointing and dismissing	= 0				
	2 2 2	governments	52				
		Parliaments and law-making	53				
	3.3.3						
		of government	58				
	2.4	Box 3.1: The role of parliament	60				
	3.4 3.4.1	Parliaments and parties Voters vote for parties	63 65				
	3.4.1	Parliamentarians and	03				
	3.4.2		67				
	3.5	party discipline Parliamentarians and constituency	0/				
	ر. ر	representation	68				
	representation						

0.6	- 1	
3.6	European parliaments: one	
2.7	chamber or two?	71
3.7	The significance of parliaments:	7.0
Intorn	an assessment et resources	76 78
Refere		78
Kelele	ences	70
4 Const	itutions, Judges and Politics	84
4.1	Introduction	84
4.2	European constitutions	86
4.2.1	The origins of constitutions	86
	Constitutional traditions	88
4.2.3	Amending a constitution	89
	Box 4.1: Constitutions	90
4.3	The appointment of judges	92
	Constitutional courts	92
4.3.2	The court system	93
4.4	,	95
	Strong judicial review	97
	Weak judicial review	103
4.4.3	,	
	representative government	105
	Box 4.2: The courts and politics	106
4.5	Conclusions	110
	et resources	111
Refere	ences	112
5 The F	uropean Union and	
	esentative Government	116
5.1	Introduction	116
5.2	The development of European	
J. <u>_</u>	unity	117
5.3	How the European Union works	121
5.3.1		121
	The European Parliament	125
	The Council of Ministers	132
	The European Council	135
	The Court of Justice	136
5.4	What does the European	
	Union do?	139
5.4.1		
5.4.2		140
5.4.3		143
	Box 5.1: The European Union	144
5.5	The European Union:	
	intergovernmental or	
	supranational organization?	147











	5.6	The future of the European		7.2.1	Party politics in the	
		Union	151		United Kingdom	197
	5.6.1	EU enlargement	151	7.2.2	Party politics in Denmark	202
		EU integration	152		Party politics in Germany	204
	5.7	Representative government			Party politics in the	
		and the democratic deficit	155		Netherlands	208
	5.8	Conclusions	157	7.2.5	Party politics in Italy	212
		et resources	158	7.2.6	Party politics in France	216
	Refere		159		Party politics in Spain	220
				7.2.8	Party politics in Poland	223
6	Contr	al, Regional and Local		7.3	The diversity of modern	
U		rnance	164		European party politics	228
		Introduction	164		Left and right	229
	6.2	Politicians and the civil	104		The new bipolar competition	231
	0.2	service	165	7.3.3	Post-communist party systems	233
	621	Civil service cultures	167	7.4	Conclusions	234
			107	_	et resources	235
	0.2.2	Politicization of senior	160	Refere	ences	235
	())	bureaucrats	169			
	6.2.3	Conclusion: increasing	172	8 Party	Families	238
	6.2	accountability of public servants?		8.1	Introduction	238
	6.3	Levels of governance	172	8.2	Families of the left	240
	6.4	Federal government in modern	172		The social democrats	240
	(1 1	Europe	173	8.2.2	The communists	244
	0.4.1	Federal government in Switzerland	172		Box 8.1: The left	246
	(1)		173		The new left	249
	6.4.2	Federal government in	175	8.2.4	Green parties	250
	(1)	Germany Decisions against	175	8.3	Families of the centre and right	253
	6.4.3	Decisions against federalism in central and			The Christian democrats	253
			177	8.3.2	The conservatives	256
	6 F	eastern Europe	177		Box 8.2: The centre and right	258
	6.5	The growing importance of	170		The liberals	261
	C F 1	regional government	178		The agrarian or centre parties	264
	0.5.1	Regional government	170		The far right	265
	6 5 2	in Spain	178	8.4	Other parties	268
	0.5.2	Devolution of power in	170	8.5	The post-communist party	
		the United Kingdom	179	0.6	families Conclusions	270
	6.6	Local government	181	8.6 Refere		274
	6.6.1	Structures of local	100	Keieie	ences	275
	(()	government	182			
	0.0.2	Functions, finances and autonomy			age Structures and Electoral	
		of local government	184	Chang		278
		Box 6.1: Regional and local	100	9.1	Introduction	278
	662	government	188	9.2	The meaning of cleavage	280
	0.0.3	Popular participation in local decisions	100	9.3	Traditional cleavage structures	281
	6 7		190		The centre-periphery cleavage	281
	6.7	Conclusions	191		The church–state cleavage	282
	Refere	ences	192		The rural-urban cleavage	283
7	D-44	ma in Danty Daliti or and			The class cleavage	284
/		ns in Party Politics and	105	9.3.5	The interaction of different	205
	7.1	Systems Introduction	195 195		cleavages	285
	7.1	Eight European party systems	195 197		Box 9.1: Traditional cleavage	206
	1.4	LIGHT LUTOPEAN PARTY SYSTEMS	131		structures	286







viii Detailed Table of Contents

	9.4	The persistence of cleavages an	d	11.2.2	When do people vote?	368
		the freezing of party systems	288	11.3	Types of electoral system	369
	9.5	From persistence to change	290	11.4		372
	9.6	Change in European cleavage		11.5	Proportional representation	376
		structures and electoral		11.5.1	List systems	376
		behaviour	292		Mixed systems	380
	9.6.1	Changing social structure	293		Thresholds	381
	9.6.2	Changing voting behaviour	294		Box 11.1: Electoral systems	382
	9.7	Change towards what?	298	11.5.4	Which candidates get	
	9.7.1	Towards realignment?	298		the list seats?	385
	9.7.2	A new cleavage?	302	11 5 5	The single transferable	505
	9.7.3	Towards dealignment?	304		vote	387
	J., .J	Box 9.2: Trends in electoral	301	11.6	Why electoral systems matter	389
		volatility	312		Proportionality	391
	9.8	Evaluating change and stability	314		The number of parties	391
	9.9	Parties and voters in	311		Coalition or single-party	331
	3.3	post-communist Europe	316	11.0.5	government?	393
	9.10	East versus west, or east and	310	11 6 4	Policy outputs	395
	5.10	west?	320	11.0.4	Box 11.2: The impact of	333
	9.11	Conclusions	321		electoral systems	396
	Referer		321	11 6 5	The backgrounds of	330
	Kelelel	ices	321	11.0.5	parliamentarians	398
10	Incido	European Political Parties	326	11.7	Referendums	400
10	10.1	Introduction	326	11.7	Box 11.3: The referendum	402
	10.1	What do parties do?	327	11.8	Conclusions	406
	10.2	Basic party organization	328		et resources	407
	10.3	Party membership	329	Refere		407
		Who becomes a party	323	Kelelei	nees	707
	10.1.1	member?	329 12	Making	g and Breaking Governments	412
	1042	The activities of party	323 12	12.1		412
	10.1.2	members	335	12.2	Making and breaking governmen	
		Box 10.1: Membership of	333	12.2	the rules of the game	414
		political parties	336	12 2 1	Parliamentary votes of confiden	
	10.5	Power within parties	338		and no confidence	414
		The party manifesto and	330	12 2 2	Investiture requirements	416
	10.5.1	programme	339		Formateurs: the role of the	110
	10 5 2	Election of the party leader	340	12.2.3	head of state	416
		Selection of the	3 10	12 2 4	The status quo and	110
	10.5.5	parliamentary candidates	341	12.2.7	'caretaker' governments	417
		Box 10.2: Selection of	311	12 2 5	Agreeing a joint programme	117
		parliamentary candidates	346	12.2.3	of government	418
	10 5 4	Sources of party finance	349	1226	Choosing a set of cabinet	710
	10.5.4	The changing shape of Europea		12.2.0	ministers	419
	10.0	parties	352	12.3	Government formation	420
	10.7	The future of European parties	356		Office-seeking politicians?	422
		t resources	358		Policy-oriented politicians?	422
	Refere		359		Office-seeking politicians	722
	KCICICI	ices	333	12.5.5	and 'minimal winning'	
11	Flection	ns, Electoral Systems and			governments	423
• •	Refere		366	1234	Policy-oriented politicians	723
	11.1	Introduction	366	12.5.7	and ideologically compact	
	11.2	Elections in Europe	367		governments	424
		Who votes?	367	12.3.5	Minority governments	425
					0-1-11	





ix

Detailed Table of Contents

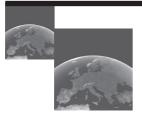


		Surplus majority governments	426	13.4	Policy networks Box 13.1: Economic	469
	12.5./	A minimal winning	420			470
	10 2 0	cabinet in Germany	428	12.41	policymaking	470
		Minority cabinets in Norway	430	13.4.1	Policy networks in action:	
	12.3.9	Surplus majority cabinets		40.40	doctors	472
		in Italy	432	13.4.2	Policy networks in action:	
	12.4	Types of government in modern			farmers	472
		Europe	433	13.5	New social movements	473
	12.5	The allocation of cabinet		13.6	New social networks	474
		portfolios	435	13.7	Conclusions	475
		Box 12.1: Cabinet types	436	Refere	nces	476
	12.5.1	Proportional cabinet pay-offs				
		in France	<i>440</i> 14	Does R	Representative Government	
	12.5.2	Qualitative portfolio		make a	Difference?	479
		allocation in Germany	441	14.1	Introduction	479
	12.5.3	Cabinet portfolios and		14.2	Clear-cut cases of policy	
		government policy	443		impact	482
	12.6	The stability of European		14.2.1	Privatization of state assets in	
		governments	445		Britain and eastern Europe	482
	12.6.1	Cabinet attributes and		14.2.2	Withdrawal of Spanish '	
		cabinet stability	446		troops from Iraq	484
	12.6.2	System attributes and		14.3	Party preferences and	
		cabinet duration	448		government policy	485
	12.6.3	Government stability and		14.3.1	Party manifestos and	
		political events	449		government policy	
		Box 12.2: Government stability	452		programmes	485
	12.7	Conclusions	454	14.3.2	Redeeming campaign pledges	486
	Referer	nces	455	14.4	Government policy and change	S
					in public policy outcomes	488
13		outside Parliaments	458	14.4.1	Differences in public	
	13.1	Introduction	458		spending between and	
	13.2	Corporatism	459		within countries	489
		The corporatist model	459	14.4.2	Differences in welfare	
		Corporatism in Austria	462		state effort	491
		Tripartism and social partners	463	14.4.3	Beyond public spending	492
		Tripartism in eastern Europe	463	14.5	Conditional partisan effects on	
		The decline of corporatism?	464		public policy	494
	13.3	Pluralism	465	14.6	Public opinion or partisanship?	494
		Pluralism in Britain	466	14.7	So, <i>does</i> politics make a	151
	13.3.2	Pluralism in action: the women's	S		difference?	495
		movement	467	Referer		496
	13.3.3	Pluralism in action: the				,,,,
		environmental movement	468	Index		498









List of Figures

2.1	Dynamics of parliamentary democracy	20
12.1	Coalition possibilities in Germany, 2009	420
12.2	Coalition possibilities in Norway, 1997	43
12.3	Shares of portfolios and legislative seats in western European coalition cabinets, 1945–2002	44
12.4	Portfolio allocation in Germany, 2009	44.
12.5	The impact of cabinet ministers in Italy, 1996–1998	44
12.6	Possibilities for strategic election timing in Britain	45









List of Tables

1.1	General and demographic data on European democracies	13
1.2	Gross domestic product in European democracies	17
1.3	Sector, labour force and public sector data	20
2.1	Heads of state in western Europe, 2011	40
3.1	Second chambers of parliament in Europe	72
5.1	Member countries of the European Union	119
5.2	Seats in the European Parliament at the 2009 election	126
5.3	Results of European Parliament elections, June 2009	128
5.4	Votes per country in the Council of the European Union when decisions are made by qualified majority	134
5.5	Gross domestic product of EU member states, and contributions to and receipts from the 2008 budget	141
5.6	Actions of the European Court of Justice with respect to the member states	150
5.7	Evaluations of membership of the European Union, 2009–2010	154
7.1	Elections in the United Kingdom since 1997	198
7.2	Election results in Denmark, 1998–2007	202
7.3	Elections in Germany since 1998	205
7.4	Elections in the Netherlands since 2002	209
7.5	Elections in Italy since 1996	214
7.6	Presidential elections in France since 1995	218
7.7	Legislative elections in France since 1993	219
7.8	Elections in Spain since 1996	221
7.9	Legislative elections in Poland since 1997	226
7.10	Presidential elections in Poland since 2000	227
3.1	Mean electoral support for social democratic parties, 1950-2009	241
3.2	Mean electoral support for communist parties, 1950-2009	245
3.3	Mean electoral support for new left parties, 1960-2009	250
3.4	Mean electoral support for Green parties, 1980–2009	251
3.5	Mean electoral support for Christian Democratic parties, 1950–2009	255
3.6	Mean electoral support for conservative parties, 1950–2009	257







xii List of Tables

8. 7	Mean electoral support for liberal parties, 1950–2009	262
8.8	Mean electoral support for agrarian/centre parties, 1950–2009	264
8.9	Mean electoral support for far-right/populist parties, 1950–2009	267
8.10	Electoral support for party families in the new Europe	273
9.1	Denmark's 'earthquake' election of 1973	291
9.2	The decline of cleavage voting in the Netherlands	295
9.3	The declining impact of social structure on left voting, 1960s to 2004	296
9.4	The persistence of the left, 1950–2009 (in 16 countries)	300
9.5	The persistence of the centre and right, 1950–2009 (in 16 countries)	301
9.6	The decline of party identification	304
9.7	Mean levels of electoral participation, 1950–2009	306
9.8	Mean aggregate electoral support for new political parties, 1960-2009	308
9.9	Mean aggregate electoral volatility, 1950–2009	310
9.10	The most volatile elections since 1900 in Europe's long-established democracies	311
9.11	Aggregate change in parliamentary elections post-communist Europe	318
10.1	Party membership as a percentage of the electorate	331
11.1	Electoral systems in Europe, 2010	370
11.2	The British electoral system in operation, Camborne and Redruth constituency, 2010 election	373
11.3	Votes and seats in the United Kingdom general election of 2010	374
11.4	Features of European electoral systems, 2010	378
11.5	Aspects of electoral outcomes in Europe	391
11.6	Election results in France and the United Kingdom under existing systems and under nationwide PR	394
11.7	National referendums, 1945–2010	401
12.1	Constitutional factors in government life cycles	415
12.2	Government turnover with and without intervening elections	420
12.3	Types of government in modern Europe, 1945–2010	434
12.4	Parliamentary parties in Poland, 1991	439
12.5	Allocation of cabinet seats in France, June 1997	441
12.6	Average durations, in days, of different government types in modern Europe, 1945–2010	447
12.7	Parliamentary parties in Latvia, 1995	449
13.1	Corporatism scores for European democracies	461
14.1	Relationship between long-term ideological complexion of government and government spending	490









Preface

This is the fifth edition of *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. The very fact that there is a fifth edition is evidence of continuing demand for a book that deals in a comprehensive way with the politics of representation in an area of the world that contains a goodly proportion of the world's democracies. Especially since the transitions to democracy in central and eastern Europe, which had not even begun when we wrote the first edition, but which have now for the most part put down strong roots, modern Europe is a rich field of study for anyone who is interested in representative government. Set in the context of the full range of political arrangements we find distributed over the entire planet, there are important ways in which the representative democracies of modern Europe all look quite similar, sharing many common cultural, economic and historical traditions. At the same time, they also differ from each other in systematic and important ways.

As before, our discussions of representative government in modern Europe cover countries that have joined the European Union (EU) plus Iceland, Norway and Switzerland. The latter three are unquestionably part of modern Europe but, for reasons that mostly have to do with domestic politics, they remain outside the EU. Since the last edition, however, the EU has expanded to comprise 27 member states, with the accession of Bulgaria and Romania. These countries are now included in this book. Taking the 30 countries we now study there are, more than ever, big variations in the types of electoral and party system we encounter, in the ways the administration of the state is organized, and in many other matters besides. We learn a lot from analysing the political impact of these variations, while holding constant the broad 'European' context. Homing in on the effects of particular causal factors, while holding as much as we can constant, is the essence of the comparative method. This makes modern Europe an extraordinarily good laboratory for anyone with a serious interest in representative government, and this is true whether or not Europe is the region they most want to know about. This, in short, is a book both for readers who are interested in modern Europe and for readers who are interested in comparative politics more generally, and see Europe as an excellent laboratory for exercising their ideas.

While expanding our country coverage we have been careful to retain the fundamental philosophy that has guided this book through its various editions and, to judge from the feedback we receive, is a major part of its appeal to readers. Our discussions are structured by what we see as the major substantive and intellectual themes in the study of representative government. We try as far as possible to discuss the full range of European countries, large and small, in the context of these themes, rather than organizing the book as a set of country studies. We have tried to keep the book as up to date as possible in its discussions of ongoing theoretical and empirical work on core features of representative government in modern Europe. Reviews of the book have stressed its value in introducing readers to current debates among those who analyse European politics, and this edition sets out to keep our discussion of these debates as up to the minute as possible. Naturally, we have also updated the data in most tables to make these as complete and current as possible.

xiii







Fourth Pages

xiv Preface

> The internet is increasingly the prime source of information for those looking to keep abreast of politics in Europe. In some chapters we have supplied a list of internet resources – sites that are particularly useful or, as specialist sites, possibly obscure - but in others we place our trust in the readers' own web navigation skills, not least because, in our experience, students are at least as likely to inform us about useful sites as we are to inform them.

> We have been helped enormously while producing this fifth edition by advice and assistance from friends, colleagues and anonymous reviewers – far too many to list here. We are also grateful for the great help given to us in keeping things up to date by our researchers, many of whom also made significant intellectual contributions to the revised manuscript. These were: Fernando Casal Bertoa, Iulia Cioroianu, Drew Conway, Pablo Fernandez-Vazquez, Alex Herzog, Marko Klasnja, Didac Queralt Jimenez and David Willumsen.

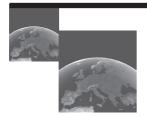
> What above all encouraged us to produce a fifth edition is that we remain every bit as intrigued by and enthused about the study of modern European politics as we were when we wrote the first edition over 20 years ago. Indeed, the events of recent decades have shown beyond all doubt why it is that developing a good understanding of political processes in general, and of representative government in particular, is such an important intellectual project.

Michael Gallagher Michael Laver Peter Mair









About the Authors

MICHAEL GALLAGHER is Professor of Comparative Politics in the Department of Political Science, Trinity College, University of Dublin. He has also been a visiting professor at New York University, the City University of Hong Kong, and the University of Lille. He is co-editor of *Politics in the Republic of Ireland* (5th edition, Routledge, 2010), *The Politics of Electoral Systems* (Oxford, 2008), *How Ireland Voted 2007* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), *The Referendum Experience in Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1996) and *Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective* (Sage, 1988). His research interests include electoral systems and political parties.

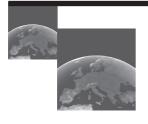
MICHAEL LAVER is Professor of Politics at New York University. His current research interests are dynamic models of party competition, and methods for estimating the policy positions of important political actors. He is author of *Multiparty Government* (with Norman Schofield), *Making and Breaking Governments* (with Kenneth Shepsle), *Party Policy in Modern Democracies* (with Kenneth Benoit) and *Party Competition: An Agent-Based Model* (with Ernest Sergenti).

PETER MAIR is Professor of Comparative Politics at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, and is co-editor of the journal *West European Politics*. He previously taught at the universities of Limerick, Strathclyde, Manchester and Leiden. He is a former winner of the Stein Rokkan Prize, and has recently co-edited *Political Representation and European Governance* (Routledge, 2010), *Accountability and European Governance* (Routledge, 2011) and *Party Government and Party Patronage in Contemporary European Democracies* (Oxford, 2011). He is co-director of the Observatory on Political Parties and Representation, based at the EUI in Florence, and is currently engaged in a wide-ranging study of political parties and contemporary democracy.









Publisher's **Acknowledgements**

Our thanks go to the following reviewers for their comments at various stages in the text's development.

Monique Leyenaar Radboud University, The Netherlands

Astrid Hedin Uppsala University, Sweden

Peter Neidergaard Copenhagen University, Denmark

Kai Arzheimer University of Mainz, Germany

Michael Bruter London School of Economics, UK

Deniz Aksoy Penn State University, US

Seth Jolly Syracuse, US

Liam Weeks University College, Cork, Ireland

Aneta Spendzharova University of Maastricht, The Netherlands

Derek Hutcheson University College, Dublin, Ireland
Clay Clemens The College of William & Mary, US

Gerard Alexander University of Virginia, US

Ecaterina McDonagh Dublin City University, Ireland











gal29679_prelims.indd 17



1/21/2011 12:01:31 PM