Michael Gallagher Michael Laver Peter Mair

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN MODERN EUROPE

Fifth Edition

Fifth Edition

Representative Government in Modern Europe

常州大学山书馆
藏书章

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

Mixed Sources
Product group from well-managed forests and other controlled sources
www.fsc.org Cert no. TT-COC-002769
© 1996 Forest Stewardship Council

McGraw-Hill Higher Education

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

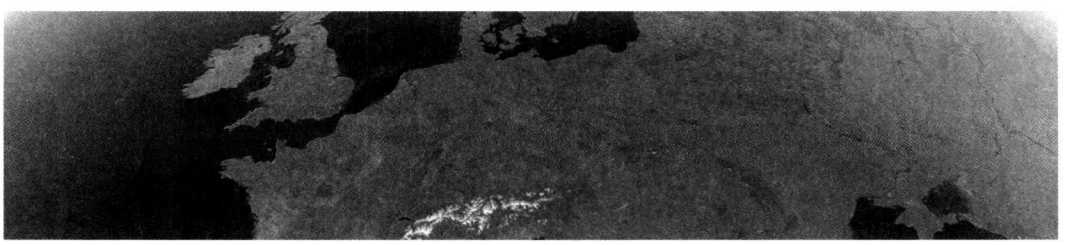
Acquisitions Editor: Mark Kavanagh
Development Editor: Jackie Curthoys
Marketing Manager: Vanessa Boddington
Production Editor: Alison Davis

Text Design by Hard Lines
Cover design by Adam Renvoize
Printed and bound in the UK by Bell and Bain Ltd, Glasgow
Page Layout: SR Nova Pvt Ltd., Bangalore, India

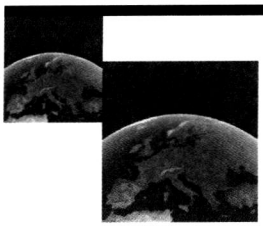
Published by McGraw-Hill Education (UK) Limited an imprint of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020. Copyright © 2011 by McGraw-Hill Education (UK) Limited. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any 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.

Representative Government in Modern Europe



Fifth Edition



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.

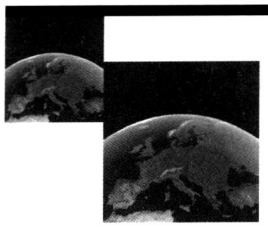
试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com

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

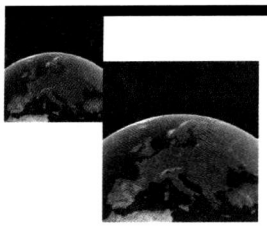


About the Authors

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.



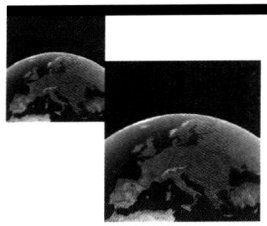
Publisher's Acknowledgements

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

Deniz Aksoy	Penn State University, US
Gerard Alexander	University of Virginia, US
Kai Arzheimer	University of Mainz, Germany
Michael Bruter	London School of Economics, UK
Clay Clemens	The College of William & Mary, US
Astrid Hedin	Uppsala University, Sweden
Derek Hutcheson	University College, Dublin, Ireland
Seth Jolly	Syracuse, US
Monique Leyenaar	Radboud University, The Netherlands
Ecaterina McDonagh	Dublin City University, Ireland
Peter Neidergaard	Copenhagen University, Denmark
Aneta Spendzharova	University of Maastricht, The Netherlands
Liam Weeks	University College, Cork, Ireland

Every effort has been made to trace and acknowledge ownership of copyright and to clear permission for material reproduced in this book. The publishers will be pleased to make suitable arrangements to clear permission with any copyright holders whom it has not been possible to contact

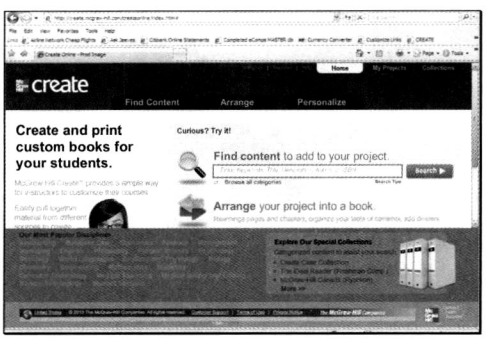
Reykjavik
ICELAND
SWEDEN
FINLAND
NORWAY
Oslo
Helsinki
Stockholm
Tallinn
ESTONIA
North Sea
RUSSIA
LATVIA
Riga
IRELAND
Dublin
UNITED KINGDOM
Copenhagen
DENMARK
LITHUANIA
Vilnius
NETHERLANDS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
London
Amsterdam
BELARUS
Warsaw
Brussels
POLAND
BELGIUM
Paris
Prague
CZECH REP.
UKRAINE
LUXEMBOURG
SLOVAKIA
Vienna
Bratislava
FRANCE
Bern
AUSTRIA
Budapest
MOLDOVA
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
SLOVENIA
Ljubljana
ROMANIA
CROATIA
Bucharest
Black Sea
PORTUGAL
Madrid
ITALY
SERBIA
Lisbon
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
BULGARIA
SPAIN
Sofia
Rome
MONTENEGRO
KOSOVO
ALBANIA
TURKEY
MACEDONIA
Mediterranean Sea
GREECE
Athens
Valletta
MALTA
Nicosia
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
CYPRUS



Custom Publishing Solutions: Let us help make our content your solution

At McGraw-Hill Education our aim is to help lecturers to find the most suitable content for their needs delivered to their students in the most appropriate way. Our **custom publishing solutions** offer the ideal combination of content delivered in the way which best suits lecturer and students.

Our custom publishing programme offers lecturers the opportunity to select just the chapters or sections of material they wish to deliver to their students from a database called CREATE™ at **www.mcgrawhillcreate.com**



CREATE™ contains over two million pages of content from:

- textbooks
- professional books
- case books - Harvard Articles, Insead, Ivey, Darden, Thunderbird and BusinessWeek
- Taking Sides - debate materials

across the following imprints:

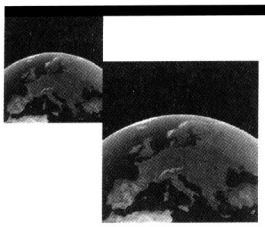
- McGraw-Hill Education
- Open University Press
- Harvard Business Publishing
- US and European material

There is also the option to include additional material authored by lecturers in the custom product – this does not necessarily have to be in English.

We will take care of everything from start to finish in the process of developing and delivering a custom product to ensure that lecturers and students receive exactly the material needed in the most suitable way.

With a Custom Publishing Solution, students enjoy the best selection of material deemed to be the most suitable for learning everything they need for their courses – something of real value to support their learning. Teachers are able to use exactly the material they want, in the way they want, to support their teaching on the course.

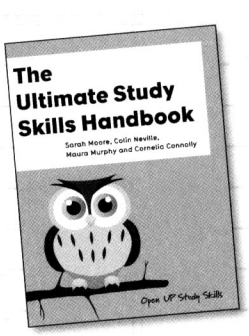
Please contact your local McGraw-Hill representative with any questions or alternatively contact Warren Eels **e:** warren_eels@mcgraw-hill.com.

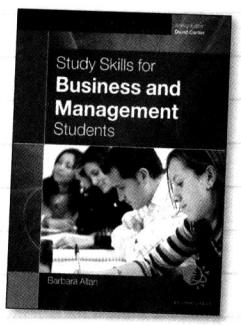


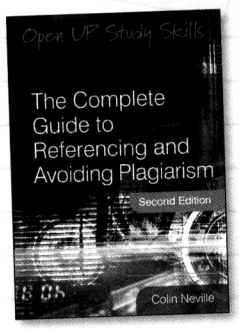
Make the grade

Improve your grades!

20% off any Study Skills book!







Our Study Skills books are packed with practical advice and tips that are easy to put into practice and will really improve the way you study.

Our books will help you:

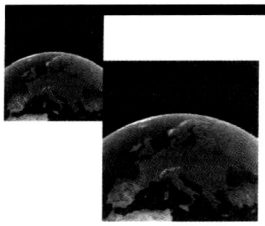
- ✔ Improve your grades
- ✔ Avoid plagiarism
- ✔ Save time
- ✔ Develop new skills
- ✔ Write confidently
- ✔ Undertake research projects
- ✔ Sail through exams
- ✔ Find the perfect job

Special offer!

As a valued customer, buy online and receive 20% off any of our Study Skills books by entering the promo code **BRILLIANT!**

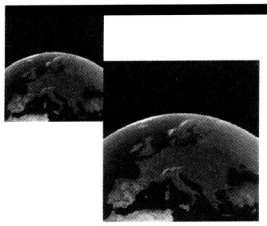
www.openup.co.uk/studyskills

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com



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*
10	Inside European Political Parties	*326*
11	Elections, Electoral Systems and Referendums	*366*
12	Making and Breaking Governments	*412*
13	Politics outside Parliaments	*458*
14	Does Representative Government make a Difference?	*479*



Detailed Table of Contents

List of figures *x*
List of tables *xi*
Preface *xiii*
About the authors *xv*
Publisher's acknowledgements *xvi*
Custom Publishing Solutions *xviii*
Make the grade *xix*

1 Introduction *1*
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 Executive *23*
2.1 Introduction *23*
2.2 Separation or fusion of powers? *24*
2.2.1 Separation-of-powers regimes *25*
2.2.2 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 executive *30*
2.5 The cabinet *33*
Box 2.1: Executives and heads of state *34*
2.6 Junior ministers *38*
2.7 The head of state *39*
2.7.1 Monarchs *42*
2.8 Putting it all together *44*
References *44*

3 Parliaments *47*
3.1 Introduction *47*
3.2 Parliaments and governments *48*
3.3 The roles of parliaments *52*
3.3.1 Appointing and dismissing governments *52*
3.3.2 Parliaments and law-making *53*
3.3.3 Parliaments and oversight of government *58*
Box 3.1: The role of parliament *60*
3.4 Parliaments and parties *63*
3.4.1 Voters vote for parties *65*
3.4.2 Parliamentarians and party discipline *67*
3.5 Parliamentarians and constituency representation *68*
3.6 European parliaments: one chamber or two? *71*
3.7 The significance of parliaments: an assessment *76*
Internet resources *78*
References *78*

4 Constitutions, Judges and Politics *84*
4.1 Introduction *84*
4.2 European constitutions *86*
4.2.1 The origins of constitutions *86*
4.2.2 Constitutional traditions *88*
4.2.3 Amending a constitution *89*
Box 4.1: Constitutions *90*
4.3 The appointment of judges *92*
4.3.1 Constitutional courts *92*
4.3.2 The court system *93*
4.4 Judicial review *95*
4.4.1 Strong judicial review *97*
4.4.2 Weak judicial review *103*
4.4.3 Judicial review and representative government *105*
Box 4.2: The courts and politics *106*
4.5 Conclusions *110*
Internet resources *111*
References *112*

5 The European Union and Representative Government *116*
5.1 Introduction *116*
5.2 The development of European unity *117*
5.3 How the European Union works *121*
5.3.1 The Commission *121*
5.3.2 The European Parliament *125*
5.3.3 The Council of Ministers *132*
5.3.4 The European Council *135*
5.3.5 The Court of Justice *136*
5.4 What does the European Union do? *139*
5.4.1 Single market and single currency *139*
5.4.2 A people's Europe *140*
5.4.3 Agriculture *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 Union 151
5.6.1 EU enlargement 151
5.6.2 EU integration 152
5.7 Representative government and the democratic deficit 155
5.8 Conclusions 157
Internet resources 158
References 159

6 Central, Regional and Local Governance 164
6.1 Introduction 164
6.2 Politicians and the civil service 165
6.2.1 Civil service cultures 167
6.2.2 Politicization of senior bureaucrats 169
6.2.3 Conclusion: increasing accountability of public servants? 172
6.3 Levels of governance 172
6.4 Federal government in modern Europe 173
6.4.1 Federal government in Switzerland 173
6.4.2 Federal government in Germany 175
6.4.3 Decisions against federalism in central and eastern Europe 177
6.5 The growing importance of regional government 178
6.5.1 Regional government in Spain 178
6.5.2 Devolution of power in the United Kingdom 179
6.6 Local government 181
6.6.1 Structures of local government 182
6.6.2 Functions, finances and autonomy of local government 184
Box 6.1: Regional and local government 188
6.6.3 Popular participation in local decisions 190
6.7 Conclusions 191
References 192

7 Patterns in Party Politics and Party Systems 195
7.1 Introduction 195
7.2 Eight European party systems 197
7.2.1 Party politics in the United Kingdom 197
7.2.2 Party politics in Denmark 202
7.2.3 Party politics in Germany 204
7.2.4 Party politics in the Netherlands 208
7.2.5 Party politics in Italy 212
7.2.6 Party politics in France 216
7.2.7 Party politics in Spain 220
7.2.8 Party politics in Poland 223
7.3 The diversity of modern European party politics 228
7.3.1 Left and right 229
7.3.2 The new bipolar competition 231
7.3.3 Post-communist party systems 233
7.4 Conclusions 234
Internet resources 235
References 235

8 Party Families 238
8.1 Introduction 238
8.2 Families of the left 240
8.2.1 The social democrats 240
8.2.2 The communists 244
Box 8.1: The left 246
8.2.3 The new left 249
8.2.4 Green parties 250
8.3 Families of the centre and right 253
8.3.1 The Christian democrats 253
8.3.2 The conservatives 256
Box 8.2: The centre and right 258
8.3.3 The liberals 261
8.3.4 The agrarian or centre parties 264
8.3.5 The far right 265
8.4 Other parties 268
8.5 The post-communist party families 270
8.6 Conclusions 274
References 275

9 Cleavage Structures and Electoral Change 278
9.1 Introduction 278
9.2 The meaning of cleavage 280
9.3 Traditional cleavage structures 281
9.3.1 The centre–periphery cleavage 281
9.3.2 The church–state cleavage 282
9.3.3 The rural–urban cleavage 283
9.3.4 The class cleavage 284
9.3.5 The interaction of different cleavages 285
Box 9.1: Traditional cleavage structures 286

9.4 The persistence of cleavages and the freezing of party systems 288
9.5 From persistence to change 290
9.6 Change in European cleavage structures and electoral behaviour 292
9.6.1 Changing social structure 293
9.6.2 Changing voting behaviour 294
9.7 Change towards what? 298
9.7.1 Towards realignment? 298
9.7.2 A new cleavage? 302
9.7.3 Towards dealignment? 304
Box 9.2: Trends in electoral volatility 312
9.8 Evaluating change and stability 314
9.9 Parties and voters in post-communist Europe 316
9.10 East versus west, or east *and* west? 320
9.11 Conclusions 321
References 321

10 Inside European Political Parties 326
10.1 Introduction 326
10.2 What do parties do? 327
10.3 Basic party organization 328
10.4 Party membership 329
10.4.1 Who becomes a party member? 329
10.4.2 The activities of party members 335
Box 10.1: Membership of political parties 336
10.5 Power within parties 338
10.5.1 The party manifesto and programme 339
10.5.2 Election of the party leader 340
10.5.3 Selection of the parliamentary candidates 341
Box 10.2: Selection of parliamentary candidates 346
10.5.4 Sources of party finance 349
10.6 The changing shape of European parties 352
10.7 The future of European parties 356
Internet resources 358
References 359

11 Elections, Electoral Systems and Referendums 366
11.1 Introduction 366
11.2 Elections in Europe 367
11.2.1 Who votes? 367
11.2.2 When do people vote? 368
11.3 Types of electoral system 369
11.4 Plurality and majority systems 372
11.5 Proportional representation 376
11.5.1 List systems 376
11.5.2 Mixed systems 380
11.5.3 Thresholds 381
Box 11.1: Electoral systems 382
11.5.4 Which candidates get the list seats? 385
11.5.5 The single transferable vote 387
11.6 Why electoral systems matter 389
11.6.1 Proportionality 391
11.6.2 The number of parties 391
11.6.3 Coalition or single-party government? 393
11.6.4 Policy outputs 395
Box 11.2: The impact of electoral systems 396
11.6.5 The backgrounds of parliamentarians 398
11.7 Referendums 400
Box 11.3: The referendum 402
11.8 Conclusions 406
Internet resources 407
References 407

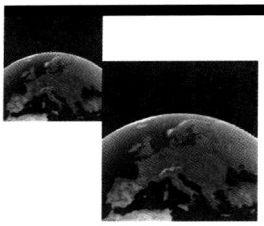
12 Making and Breaking Governments 412
12.1 Introduction 412
12.2 Making and breaking governments: the rules of the game 414
12.2.1 Parliamentary votes of confidence and no confidence 414
12.2.2 Investiture requirements 416
12.2.3 *Formateurs:* the role of the head of state 416
12.2.4 The status quo and 'caretaker' governments 417
12.2.5 Agreeing a joint programme of government 418
12.2.6 Choosing a set of cabinet ministers 419
12.3 Government formation 420
12.3.1 Office-seeking politicians? 422
12.3.2 Policy-oriented politicians? 422
12.3.3 Office-seeking politicians and 'minimal winning' governments 423
12.3.4 Policy-oriented politicians and ideologically compact governments 424
12.3.5 Minority governments 425
12.3.6 Surplus majority governments 426

12.3.7 A minimal winning cabinet in Germany 428
12.3.8 Minority cabinets in Norway 430
12.3.9 Surplus majority cabinets in Italy 432
12.4 Types of government in modern Europe 433
12.5 The allocation of cabinet portfolios 435
Box 12.1: Cabinet types 436
12.5.1 Proportional cabinet pay-offs in France 440
12.5.2 Qualitative portfolio allocation in Germany 441
12.5.3 Cabinet portfolios and government policy 443
12.6 The stability of European governments 445
12.6.1 Cabinet attributes and cabinet stability 446
12.6.2 System attributes and cabinet duration 448
12.6.3 Government stability and political events 449
Box 12.2: Government stability 452
12.7 Conclusions 454
References 455

13 Politics outside Parliaments 458
13.1 Introduction 458
13.2 Corporatism 459
13.2.1 The corporatist model 459
13.2.2 Corporatism in Austria 462
13.2.3 Tripartism and social partners 463
13.2.4 Tripartism in eastern Europe 463
13.2.5 The decline of corporatism? 464
13.3 Pluralism 465
13.3.1 Pluralism in Britain 466
13.3.2 Pluralism in action: the women's movement 467
13.3.3 Pluralism in action: the environmental movement 468
13.4 Policy networks 469
Box 13.1: Economic policymaking 470
13.4.1 Policy networks in action: doctors 472
13.4.2 Policy networks in action: farmers 472
13.5 New social movements 473
13.6 New social networks 474
13.7 Conclusions 475
References 476

14 Does Representative Government make a Difference? 479
14.1 Introduction 479
14.2 Clear-cut cases of policy impact 482
14.2.1 Privatization of state assets in Britain and eastern Europe 482
14.2.2 Withdrawal of Spanish troops from Iraq 484
14.3 Party preferences and government policy 485
14.3.1 Party manifestos and government policy programmes 485
14.3.2 Redeeming campaign pledges 486
14.4 Government policy and changes in public policy outcomes 488
14.4.1 Differences in public spending between and within countries 489
14.4.2 Differences in welfare state effort 491
14.4.3 Beyond public spending 492
14.5 Conditional partisan effects on public policy 494
14.6 Public opinion or partisanship? 494
14.7 So, *does* politics make a difference? 495
References 496

Index 498



List of Figures

2.1 Dynamics of parliamentary democracy *28*

12.1 Coalition possibilities in Germany, 2009 *428*

12.2 Coalition possibilities in Norway, 1997 *431*

12.3 Shares of portfolios and legislative seats in western European coalition cabinets, 1945–2002 *440*

12.4 Portfolio allocation in Germany, 2009 *442*

12.5 The impact of cabinet ministers in Italy, 1996–1998 *444*

12.6 Possibilities for strategic election timing in Britain *454*

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com