

Notes

1 The Consociational Party

1. This review of the development of the concepts of consociationalism, consensus democracy, and power sharing builds on Bogaards (2000).
2. After criticism of the changing, equivocal, and even contradictory rendering of the term “political stability” (see Van Schendelen, 1984: 32–33), Lijphart (1985: 96) chose to replace this “confusing term” with “maintenance of peace and democracy.”
3. Lijphart (1999, 2012) also uses the European Union to illustrate the consensus model. For a critique, see Bogaards (2002).
4. Schneckener (2002) also adds arbitration as a fifth feature of consociational democracy/power sharing.
5. Likewise, the European party federations are not power-sharing parties in our sense because, even apart from the absence of power-sharing features, their members do not represent socio-cultural units (the member-states) but political currents (see Bogaards, 2002).

2 The Alliance Model

1. Likewise, it is hard to see any shift from consociational to deliberative democracy in Malaysia, as does Mohd Sani (2009).

3 The Congress Model

1. The analysis here focuses on the federal level and does not deal with state-level politics. Consociational interpretations of politics in various states can be found. See Phadnis (1980) on Sikkim, Talbot on the Punjab (1996), Chiriyankandath (1997) on Kerala, and Widmalm (1997) on Kashmir.
2. It is not clear to which period Pelinka’s (1997) description applies.
3. What Pakistan got, eventually, was federalism without consociationalism, a problematic combination (Adeney, 2009).
4. Wilkinson (2000b) likewise detects consociational elements in Pakistan, especially adherence to proportionality in representation of religious minorities and government jobs and cultural autonomy for them. Indeed, he blames these policies for fomenting ethnic conflict by encouraging “an extremely divisive struggle over *which* groups ought to be included in the ethnic division of spoils” (p. 221, emphasis in the original).

4 Non-democratic Consociational Parties

1. For a more sobering account of parties of national integration in Africa, see for example Zolberg (1966) and Finer (1967).
2. While Arriola (2009) makes an interesting argument about cabinet size and extraconstitutional threats to power in Africa, he does not look at cabinet composition, the crucial variable in the literature used here.
3. For an analysis of the prior period, focusing on conflict management in the federal parliament, see Cohen (1977).

5 From Inter- to Intraparty Consociationalism in South Africa?

1. This chapter builds on Bogaards (2003, 2005).
2. See the debate between Jung and Shapiro on the one hand and Koelble and Reynolds (1996) on the other in the journal *Politics and Society*.
3. Lijphart's analysis of South Africa has been criticized for its lack of attention to political process and the question of how a consociational bargain might be arrived at (Huntington, 1982; Laitin, 1987). Moreover, the notion of a self-negating prediction – whereby leaders choose power sharing because they realize that adversarial politics will lead to disaster – does not imply that power will be shared equitably in the new dispensation, as Du Toit (1989: 212) observed presciently.
4. See Chapter 6.
5. By looking at ethnicity rather than race, Lijphart saw a multitude of small ethnic groups instead of a black majority. The presence of multiple groups is one of the favourable factors for consociational democracy. See Chapter 6.
6. Southall's (2005) own synthesis under the heading of “weak” party dominance highlights the difference between ANC dominance and dominant authoritarian regimes elsewhere in Africa (see Bogaards, 2004) and matches concern about certain tendencies, such as a centralization of power and the politicization of business, with attention to countervailing forces including the courts and civil society.
7. For some evidence on the role of money in the ANC, see Southall (2008).
8. This debate is highly politicized, as can be seen in the contributions of the former ANC operative Raymond Suttner (2004, 2006), who in various publications in scholarly journals defends the ANC while questioning the motives of the critics.
9. See the debate between Southall and Wood (1999a/b) on the one hand and Habib and Taylor (1999) on the other in the journal *Transformation*; also see Maree (1998).

10. Reddy's (2005) comparison of the ANC and India's Congress Party emphasizes the similarities, which are attributed to their origins as nationalist movements, but does not address the very different way in which the ANC and the Congress Party represent and accommodate socio-cultural diversity.

6 The Origins and Institutional Environment of Consociational Parties

1. This section draws on Bogaards (1998).
2. However, a British colonial legacy by itself does not predestine consociationalism of the intraparty kind, as the case of Cyprus demonstrates (see Lijphart, 1977).
3. This insight echoes Linz and Stepan's (1996) argument about the importance of the sequencing of local/regional and national elections.
4. The author thanks André Bächtiger for sharing his data.
5. As mentioned before, only the United Arab Emirates scores higher.
6. See <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm>.
7. Communist Yugoslavia is not included in Table 6.2 because it did not organize multi-party elections. The 1963 multi-party elections in Kenya were the only ones before 1992.
8. See <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world>.
9. The relationship between culture and structure in the literature on consensus democracy is problematic (Bogaards, 2000) and to say that they are "interdependent" (Lijphart, 2003: 22) does not help.
10. Van Cranenburgh (2006) arrives at the same conclusion in her analysis of consensus democracy in Namibia, explicitly going against Reynolds' (1999) assessment of political institutions in the country.
11. On India, see Iff (2013).

7 Conclusion

1. As the ANC also lacks three of the four features of accommodation, it is clearly not a consociational party and instead of always having to note how the case of South Africa is different, we simply defer all discussion of the particularities of the ANC to the section on types of consociational parties. From here on, the word "all" in combination with consociational parties refers to all cases except South Africa.
2. Regrettably, this discussion has not been included in Lijphart (2012).
3. These new consociational democracies have something in common: they all came out of civil war. Consociationalism after civil war is the topic of my next book.
4. Interestingly, a recent study of electoral system design in peace agreements after civil war also found that peace is a more frequent outcome than democracy (Bogaards, 2013).

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