Contents

A	cknowledgments	ix
1.	Plural Societies and Democratic Regimes	1
	A Challenge to Democratic Pessimists	2
	Definitions	3
	Plural Societies and Democracy in the First World	3 6
	Separation of Powers and Overlapping Memberships	8
	Plural Societies and Party Systems	12
	Deviant Cases	14
	Plural Societies and Democracy in the Third World	16
	Overdrawn Contrasts between the First and Third	
	Worlds	21
2.	Consociational Democracy	25
	Grand Coalition	25
	Varieties of Grand Coalitions	31
	Mutual Veto	36
	Proportionality	38
	Segmental Autonomy and Federalism	41
	Secession and Partition	44
	Disadvantages of Consociational Democracy	47
3.		53
	The Balance of Power	55
	Multiparty Systems	61
	Size and Consociational Democracy	65
	The Structure of Cleavages	71
	Crosscutting Cleavages	75
	Overarching Loyalties	81
	Representative Party Systems	83
	Segmental Isolation and Federalism	87
	Traditions of Elite Accommodation	99
4.	Consociational Elements in Nonconsociational	
	Democracies	104
	A Typology of Democratic Regimes	105

viii Contents

Centripetal Democracies	109
Centrifugal Democracies	114
Semiconsociational Democracy: Canada	119
Semiconsociational Democracy: Israel	129
The Limits of Consociationalism: Northern Ireland	134
5. Consociational Democracy in the Third World	142
The Lewis Model	143
Consociational Democracy in Lebanon, 1943–1975	147
Consociational Democracy in Malaysia, 1955–1969	150
Lebanon and Malaysia: Favorable and Unfavorable	-30
Conditions	153
Consociational Failure in Cyprus, 1960–1963	158
Democratic Failure in Nigeria, 1957–1966	161
Third World Conditions: A General Appraisal	164
Ambivalent Factors	170
Unfavorable Factors	174
6. The Consociational Example as Colonial Heritage	177
The Colonizers' Democratic Models	177
The Belgian and Dutch Models in Six New States	181
Consociationalism and Formal Constitutional Rules	186
Adaptation of the Autonomy Principle	192
Informal Consociational Practices: Indonesia	198
Intersegmental Coalitions in Surinam and the	190
Netherlands Antilles	201
Coalitions in the Former Belgian Territories	206
Counterconsociational Elements in the Belgian and	
Dutch Examples	209
The Swiss Model in Uruguay	212
The Value of the Consociational Heritage	216
7. Consociational Engineering	223
Alternative or Prior Goals	225
Economic Underdevelopment and Consociational	
Engineering	230
Intense Cleavages and Consociational Engineering	231
Index	290