

Table of Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
Introduction: A Systemic Approach to Inter-Party Relationships	1
The Structure of the Book	6
1. The Logic of Inter-Party Competition and Cooperation: Blocs, Poles, Institutionalization, and Closure	8
Cooperation Versus Competition	9
Blocs	12
Poles	13
Party System Institutionalization	16
The Concept of Party System Closure	18
Party System Institutionalization and the Closure of the Governmental Arena	21
The Factors Behind Party System Closure	23
The Relevance of Party System Closure	24
Conclusions	25
2. A New European Dataset and the Measurement of Party System Closure	27
Data	28
Operationalization of Closure: Alternation, Formula, and Access	34
Internal Structure and Validity	45
Conclusions	51
3. Currently Functioning European Party Systems	52
Evolution of Existing European Party Systems over Time	52
Cross-temporal Patterns	71
Party System Classifications	76
Conclusions	85
4. Historical (i.e. Defunct) European Party Systems	86
Evolution of Historical Party Systems over Time	87
Cross-temporal Patterns	99
Party System Classifications	102
Conclusions	106

5. Party System Closure in Comparative Perspective	107
Trends in Closure	107
Historical Periods	112
Party System Closure: Classifications	117
Party System Types, Trajectories, and Closure	122
Conclusions	126
6. From Time to Time: Democratic Age, Birth, and Closure	128
Trends in Closure and Volatility	130
The Covariation of Time and Closure in Current and Defunct Systems	134
Cohorts of Party Systems	139
Countries across Systems	143
Conclusions	144
7. The Whole Is More than the Sum of the Parts: Party Institutionalization and Closure	146
Theoretical Expectations	147
Party Institutionalization: Unpacking and Measuring the Concept	148
Cross-system Differences in Party Institutionalization	153
Party Institutionalization across Time	154
The Relationship between Party Institutionalization and Closure	161
Party Institutionalization and Closure: Within-system Differences across Time	164
Conclusions	167
8. Size Does Matter: The Number of Parties and Closure	169
The Expected Fragmentation-Closure Link	171
How Are the Parties Counted?	172
Fragmentation across Time	173
The Relationship between Fragmentation and Closure	181
Fragmentation and Closure: Within-system Differences across Time	186
Conclusions	188
9. Pulling Apart: Polarization and Closure	190
Operationalization of Polarization	193
Polarization across Time	194
Party System Types and Polarization	200
The Relationship between Polarization and Closure	201
Polarization and Closure: Within-system Differences across Time	204
Polarization and Closure in Fragmented Environments	210
Conclusions	211
10. The Explanatory Model of Closure: Factors and Mechanisms	213
Party Politics and Closure: Dichotomous Variables	214
The Principal Correlational Associates of Closure	216

Our Control Variables	218
Full Model: Regression Analysis	224
Electoral Volatility, Governmental Closure, and Party System Institutionalization	226
The Causal Chain behind Closure	229
Conclusions	240
11. Survival vs Quality: Democratic Consequences of Closure	241
Closure as a Guarantor of Democracy	242
Closure as Threat to Democracy	243
Closure and Democratic Survival/Collapse	244
The Role of Closure in Multivariate Models of System Survival	248
Closure and Dimensions of Democracy	253
Recent Dynamics in Central and Eastern Europe	255
Conclusions	259
3.1 Conclusion: How Do Party Systems Institutionalize?	262
<i>References</i>	267
<i>Index</i>	289