

Danica Fink-Hafner

Party System Changes and Challenges to Democracy

Slovenia in a Comparative Perspective

palgrave
macmillan

Danica Fink-Hafner
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ljubljana
Ljubljana, Slovenia



ISBN 978-3-031-54948-9 ISBN 978-3-031-54949-6 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54949-6>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2024, corrected publication 2024. This book is an open access publication.

Open Access This book is licensed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license and indicate if changes were made.

The images or other third party material in this book are included in the book's Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the book's Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors, and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: © Alex Linch shutterstock.com

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Paper in this product is recyclable.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction: Studying the Relationship Between Parties and Democracy	1
	<i>Parties and Democracy: Not a Straightforward Relationship</i>	1
	<i>Puzzles from the Real World and from the Political Science View</i>	3
	<i>The Novelty of the Book and the Thesis</i>	6
	<i>Research Questions</i>	7
	<i>Research Approach</i>	8
	<i>Selection of Slovenia as Case Study</i>	8
	<i>Outline of the Book</i>	12
	<i>References</i>	12
2	Political Thought on Democracy Related to Political Parties	17
	<i>Theories of Democracy</i>	17
	<i>Liberal Thought and Parties</i>	20
	<i>Theoretical Adaptations to the Real-Life Phenomena of Political Parties</i>	22
	<i>Empirical Liberalism and an Operational Definition of Liberal Democracy</i>	26
	<i>Illiberal vs Liberal Democracy</i>	28
	<i>A Variety of Other Democratic Ideals in the Frame of a Nation State After the Second World War</i>	32

<i>Transnational Democracy and the European Union as a Regional Political System</i>	35
<i>Cosmopolitan Democracy</i>	38
<i>References</i>	40
3 Relations Between Democracy and Parties	49
<i>Varieties of Democracy and Varieties of Parties</i>	49
<i>Western Lenses</i>	51
<i>Variety of Relationships Between Political Parties and Democracy</i>	54
<i>Parties and Other Factors of Democratic Transitions and Consolidation of Democracy</i>	59
<i>Parties and Other Factors of Democratic Backsliding and Democracy's Failure</i>	66
<i>Illiberal Abuse of Democracy and Autocratization</i>	71
<i>References</i>	75
4 Party System Characteristics and Challenges to Democracy	87
<i>Introduction</i>	87
<i>Party System and Party Institutionalization</i>	90
<i>Party System Institutionalization</i>	90
<i>Individual Party Institutionalization</i>	91
<i>Party and Party System Institutionalization in Relation to Democracy</i>	92
<i>Party System Stabilization as a Dimension of Institutionalization</i>	93
<i>Government Formation and Party System Closure</i>	95
<i>Government Formation and Democracy</i>	96
<i>Personalization—The Opposite to Institutionalization</i>	96
<i>Personalization, Presidentialization and Democracy</i>	98
<i>Party Social Rooting—An Indicator of Party Institutionalization</i>	99
<i>Party Social Roots and Democracy</i>	100
<i>Polarization and Populism</i>	101
<i>Polarization, Populism and Democracy</i>	102
<i>The Role of Actors</i>	103
<i>Parties, Elites and Partisans</i>	104
<i>Citizens</i>	105
<i>References</i>	106

5	Tracing Changes in Parties, Party Systems, Context and Democracy	115
	<i>Introduction</i>	115
	<i>Research Goal and Research Questions</i>	116
	<i>Slovenia Case Study</i>	117
	<i>Tracing Changes in Democracy</i>	118
	<i>Tracing Contextual Characteristics</i>	118
	<i>Party and Party System Characteristics</i>	121
	<i>Party and Party System Institutionalization</i>	123
	<i>Social Rootedness at the Levels of Parties and the Party System</i>	124
	<i>Government Formation and Managing</i>	124
	<i>Polarization: Party and Party System Point of View</i>	124
	<i>Structure of Slovenia's Empirical Study</i>	125
	<i>References</i>	125
6	Fluidity of Slovenia's Democracy in a Changing Context	131
	<i>Political Context and Evaluation of Democracy in Slovenia Over Time</i>	131
	<i>Broader Context of Slovenia's Democracy: Economy, Social Inequalities, Institutions, Actors and External Factors</i>	141
	<i>Institutional Factors</i>	146
	<i>Actors</i>	147
	<i>External Factors</i>	150
	<i>References</i>	152
7	Changes in the Party System (1989–2022)	161
	<i>Introduction</i>	161
	<i>Transitional Party System (1988–1991)</i>	162
	<i>Consolidation of the First Party System Based on the 1991 Constitution (1992–2000 Elections)</i>	170
	<i>Destabilization of the Party System (2004–2008 Elections)</i>	177
	<i>Continuous Radical Renewal of the Party System (2011–2022 Elections)</i>	178
	<i>A Comparative Longitudinal View</i>	184
	<i>Party System Fragmentation</i>	184
	<i>Party and Party System Institutionalisation</i>	185
	<i>Polarization</i>	192
	<i>Key Findings Based on Comparing Changing Party Systems</i>	194
	<i>References</i>	197

8 Summary of Findings and Conclusions	205
<i>Findings from the Theoretical Chapters</i>	205
<i>Summary of Findings from the Slovenia Case Study</i>	207
<i>Contextual and Party Factors in the Transition to Democracy</i>	208
<i>Contextual and Party Factors in Consolidation of Democracy (1992–2000)</i>	210
<i>Contextual and Party Factors in the Period of Increased Challenges to Democracy (2004–2020)</i>	211
<i>Contextual and Party Factors of the Short Radical Decline in Democracy (2020–2021)</i>	214
<i>How and in What Circumstances Is Democratic Backsliding Produced?</i>	215
<i>How Is Democratic Backsliding Stopped?</i>	215
<i>What Is the Role of the Party and Party System Characteristics in These Processes?</i>	215
<i>What Enables the Characteristics of a Party System to Coincide with a Decline in Democracy?</i>	216
<i>Does the Institutionalization of the Party System Matter for Democracy?</i>	217
<i>Does the Persistence of Parties with Roots in the Previous Regime Matter?</i>	218
<i>Does the Polar Structure of the Party System Matter?</i>	219
<i>Can Party System Characteristics per se Have an Impact on Democracy?</i>	219
<i>Old and New Findings from the Slovenia Case Study with Some Comparative Aspects</i>	220
<i>Conclusions</i>	224
<i>References</i>	227
Correction to: Relations Between Democracy and Parties	C1
Index	233