Contents

Figures and tables	9
1. Introduction	13
1.1. The research question and its relevance	
1.2. Aim of the study, case selection, data and method	
1.3. Short outlook: research contribution and results	
1.4. Structure of the study	
2. Current state of research and research context	19
2.1. Theoretical approaches and empirical background	19
2.1.1. Government formation as a subject of coalition research	19
2.1.1.1. Established democracies	19
2.1.1.2. Central and Eastern Europe	
2.1.2. The formation of minority governments	29
2.1.2.1. Established democracies	29
2.1.2.2. Central and Eastern Europe	
2.2. Methodological approaches	34
2.2.1. Approaches in coalition research: an overview	34
2.2.2. A Qualitative Comparative Analysis:	
placement of the study at hand	
2.2.2.1. Three steps of a QCA	
2.2.2.2. Purposes of a QCA	
2.3. Summary: identification of the research gap	38
3. Cases and data	
3.1. Definitions	
3.2. Case selection	40
3.3. Data base	
3.3.1. Election data	43
3.3.2. Information on government formation processes	
3.3.3. Measuring policy preferences	44
3.3.3.1. Two main approaches: manifesto analyses and	
expert surveys	44
3 3 3 2 Author's approach	

4. Factors innuencing the formation of inmority governments:	
discussion of their transferability to Central and Eastern Eu	
4.1. Institutional context	
4.1.1. Government formation rules	
4.1.2. Government termination rules	
4.1.3. Functioning of the parliament	
4.2. Electoral decisiveness	
4.3. Consensual democracy	
4.4. Party system factors	
4.4.1. Numerical dimension	
4.4.2. Ideological dimension	
4.5. Result: focus on five party system factors	
4.5.1. Strong divide	
4.5.2. Two-party dominance	
4.5.3. Lack of policy closeness	
4.5.4. High percentage of 'non-coalitionable' parties	
4.5.5. Party near to majority	73
5. Case descriptions	75
5.1. Bulgaria	
5.1.1. Bulgarian Election 1991	76
5.1.2. Bulgarian Election 2001	79
5.1.3. Bulgarian Election 2005	
5.1.4. Bulgarian Election 2009	
5.2. Czech Republic	
5.2.1. Czech Election 1996	
5.2.2. Czech Election 1998	
5.2.3. Czech Election 2002	
5.2.4. Czech Election 2006	
5.2.5. Czech Election 2010	
5.3. Estonia	
5.3.1. Estonian Election 1992	
5.3.2. Estonian Election 1995	
5.3.3. Estonian Election 1999	
5.3.4. Estonian Election 2003	
5.3.5. Estonian Election 2007	
5.4. Latvia	
5.4.1. Latvian Election 1993	
5.4.2. Latvian Election 1995	
5.4.3. Latvian Election 1998	139

	5.4.4. Latvian Election 2002	142
	5.4.5. Latvian Election 2006	147
	5.4.6. Latvian Election 2010	150
	5.5. Lithuania	154
	5.5.1. Lithuanian Election 2000	
	5.5.2. Lithuanian Election 2004	159
	5.5.3. Lithuanian Election 2008	
	5.6. Poland	166
	5.6.1. Polish Election 1991	166
	5.6.2. Polish Election 1993	170
	5.6.3. Polish Election 1997	174
	5.6.4. Polish Election 2001	177
	5.6.5. Polish Election 2005	183
	5.6.6. Polish Election 2007	189
	5.7. Romania	193
	5.7.1. Romanian Election 1992	
	5.7.2. Romanian Election 1996	196
	5.7.3. Romanian Election 2000	200
	5.7.4. Romanian Election 2004	
	5.7.5. Romanian Election 2008	210
	5.8. Slovakia	
	5.8.1. Slovak Election 1994	
	5.8.2. Slovak Election 1998	217
	5.8.3. Slovak Election 2002	220
	5.8.4. Slovak Election 2006	
	5.8.5. Slovak Election 2010	230
6 7	The formation of minority governments in Central and Eastern	
7.	Europe: a Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA)	235
•	6.1. The analytic moment	235
	6.1.1. Threshold setting: presence and absence of conditions	235
	6.1.2. Summary of the data: truth table	236
	6.1.2.1. Errors: contradictory configurations	238
	6.1.2.2. Missing empirical equivalence: logical remainders	240
	6.1.3. Minimisation of the data: solution term	240
	6.1.3.1. Three equifinal paths	242
	6.1.3.2. Explanatory power of the solution term:	
	consistency and coverage	243
	6.1.3.3. Bifurcation of the party system as a	
	'necessary condition'	245

6.1.3.4. Country- or time-specific aspects	246
6.1.3.5. Different paths to formation, different degrees of	
stability?	247
6.2. Downstream: interpretation	247
6.2.1. A closer look at single conditions	248
6.2.1.1. Strong divide	248
6.2.1.2. Lacking policy closeness	249
6.2.2. A closer look at single cases	251
6.2.2.1. Czech Republic 1998: the 'prime example'!?	251
6.2.2.2. Czech Republic 2002:	
Contradictory configuration Part 1	253
6.2.2.3. Romania 2000:	
Contradictory configuration Part 2	254
6.2.2.4. Latvia 1998: a minority government behaving like	a
majority government	
6.2.2.5. Latvia 1993: a case 'falling between two stools'	
6.2.2.6. A common denominator: the influence of personal	
relationships	256
6.3. Summary	
7. Conclusion and outlook	
7.1. Conclusion: the formation of minority governments in Central	
Eastern Europe	
7.1.1. Party system features as explanatory factors	
7.1.2. QCA as a compelling approach for the study of government	
formation	
7.2. Outlook	
Appendices	267
References	271