

Economy, corruption or promiscuous voters?

Explaining the Emergence of Anti-Establishment Reform Parties in Eastern Europe

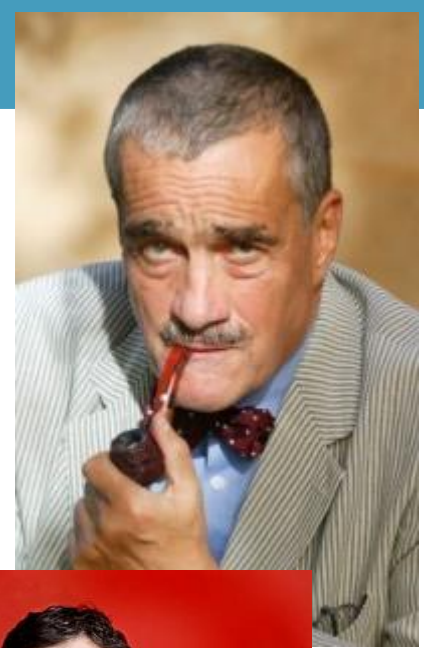
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**ANTICORRP WP 11 Workshop meeting
London, 18-19 November 2013**







Often lumped together with variety of other 'populist' phenomena including 'rise of far right'



Variously explained as response to ...



economic hard times

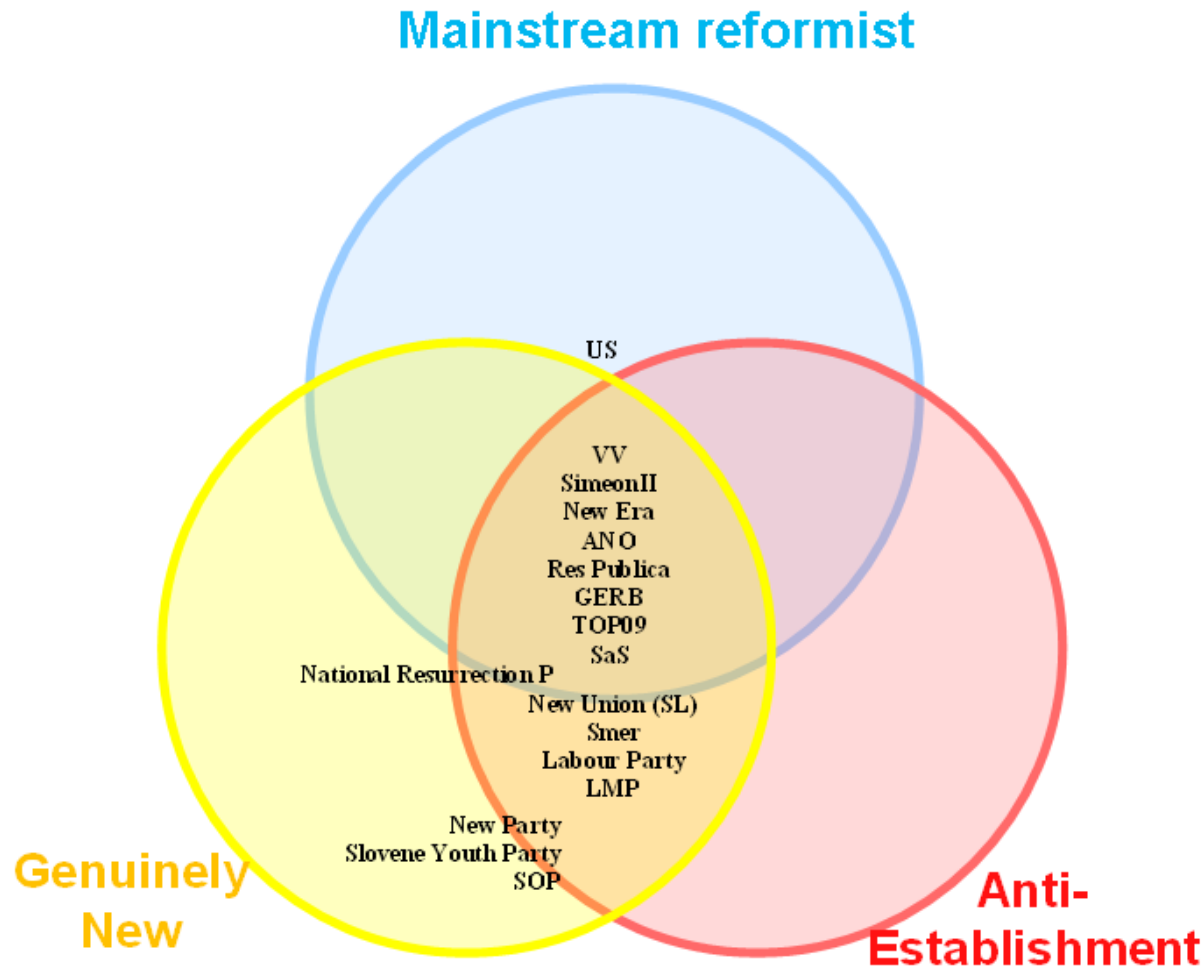


crisis of politics

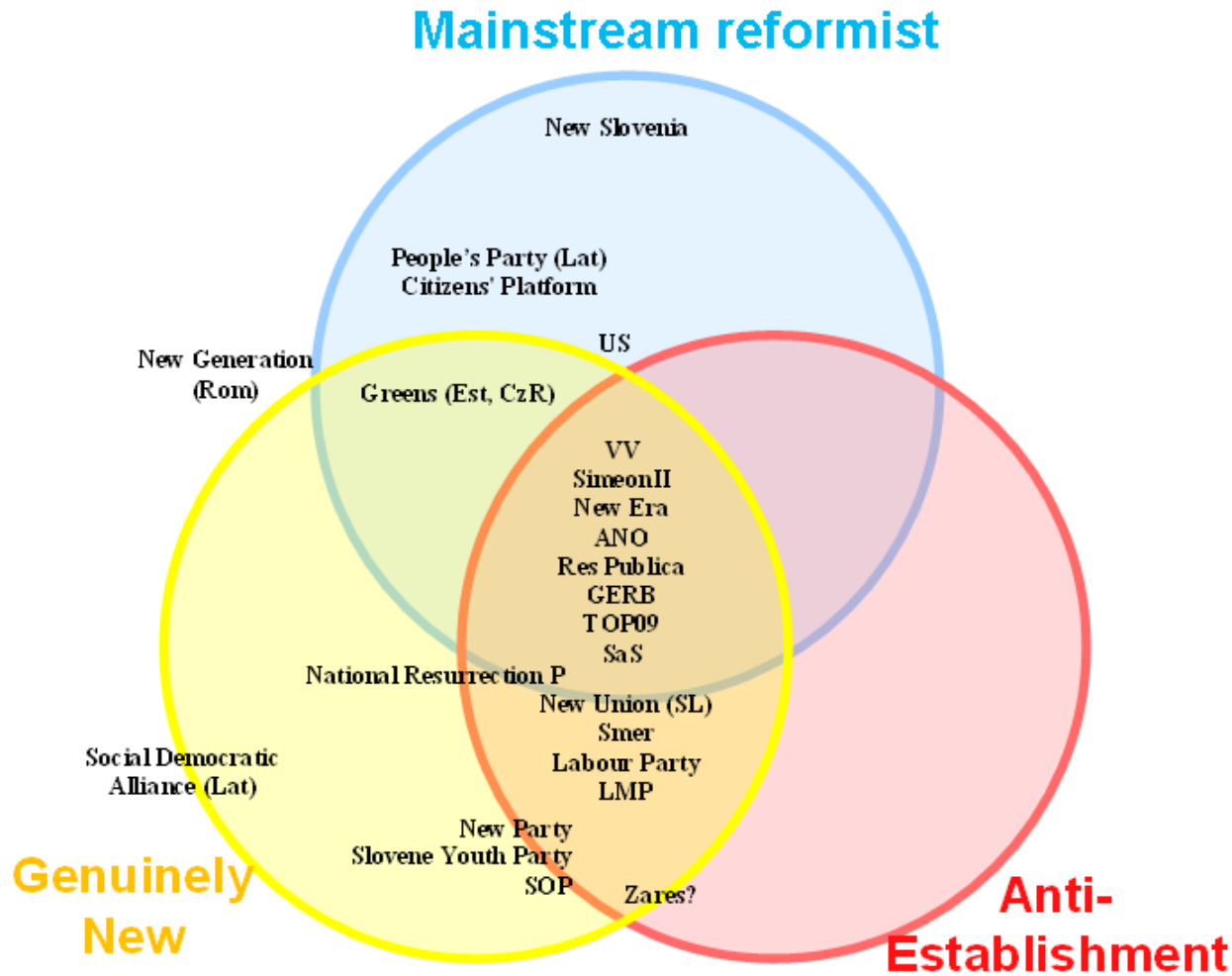


or the decline of traditional parties

Anti-Establishment Reform Parties (AERPs)



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Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis

fsQCA

- QCA identifies **configurations** that lead to a **positive outcome**
- ... and fail to produce a negative one
- **Complex configurations of causes**
- **Several paths to an outcome (equifinality)**
- **Fuzzy set membership:**
- A case can satisfy each condition fully, partly or not at all

AERP emergence in Central and Eastern Europe

- **Breakthroughs in ‘third generation’ elections 1999-2012**
- **Unit of analysis: individual elections**
- **Outcome: AERP breakthrough BREAKTHRU:**
- **Fully in: 30% of votes**
- **Crossover: 7%**

Five causal conditions

- **Increasing unemployment in previous 2 yrs** INCUNEMP
-2.5% / +2.5 / +5.0
- **Economic contraction over previous year** NOGRO
+5% / 0% / -5%
- **High perceived level of corruption** HICORR
5.5 / 4.6 / 3.5
- **Substantial increase in perceived corruption** INCCORR
+0.4 / 0 / +0.4
- **Successful new parties in recent election** HNEWP
0 / 19 / 30

Sufficient paths for AERP breakthrough

Path	Configuration	Consistency	Coverage	Cases
1	nogro*INCUNEMP*HICORR	0.905	0.370	BGR01, BGR09, LTU00, POL01, SVK02, SVK10, SVK12
2	nogro*INCCORR*HGENP	0.841	0.351	BGR09, LTU04, LTU08, LTU12, LVA02, SVK10, SVK12
3	nogro*incunemp*hicorr*INCCORR	0.889	0.157	EST03, LTU04, LTU12
4	NOGRO*INCUNEMP*INCCORR*hgenp	0.831	0.150	CZE10, HUN10, SVN11
5	NOGRO*HICORR*INCCORR*~HGENP	0.985	0.073	LVA11

TIP:
NOGRO – no economic growth
nogro – economic growth (no NOGRO)

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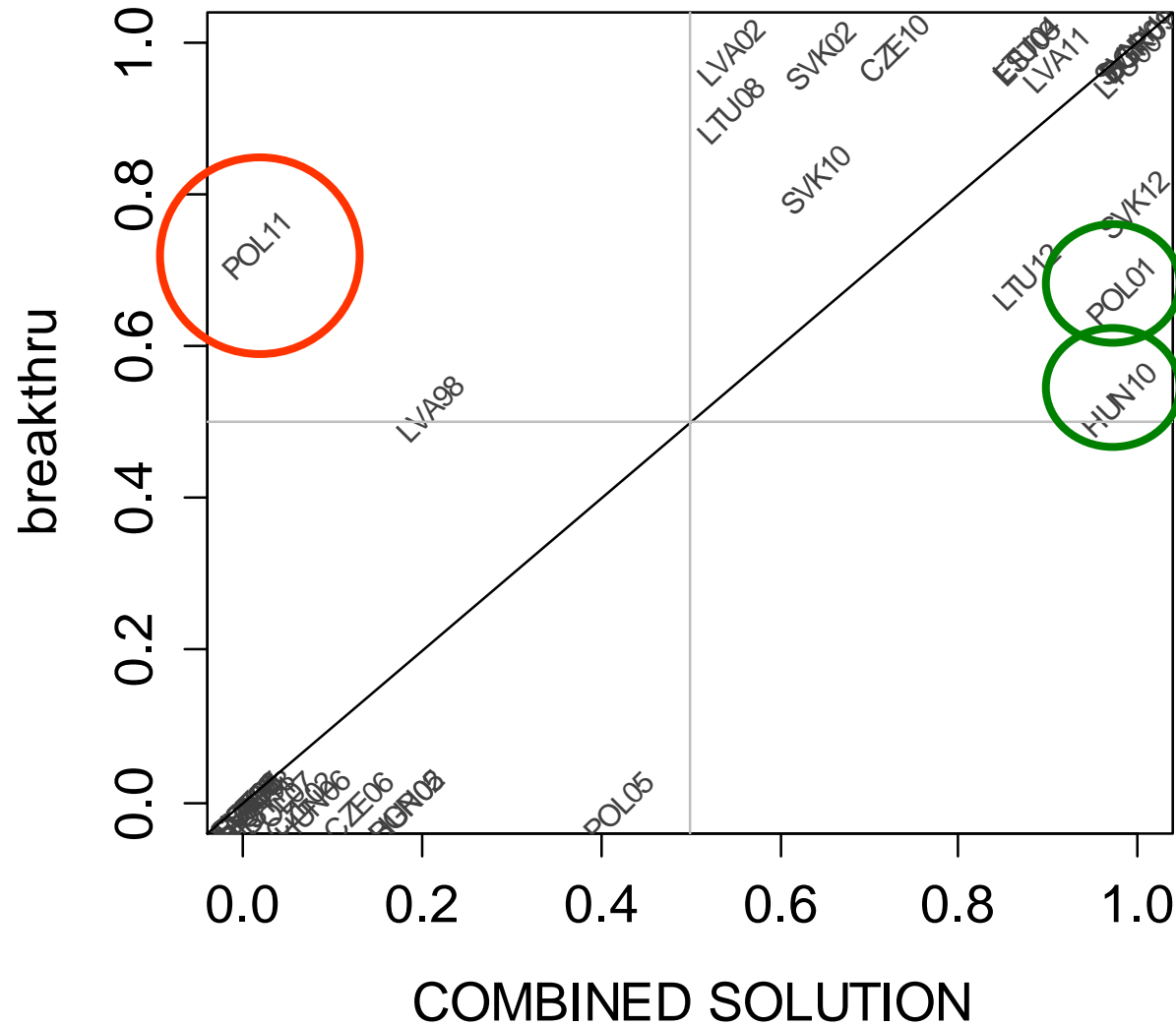
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INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION



Conclusions

- **AERPs more than residual category of hard-to-label protest parties**
- **Broad mono-causal explanations (austerity, democratic strain, corruption) for rise of new anti-establishment parties misconceived**
- **Debate must be reframed in terms of combinations of conditions relating to:**
- **corruption, economics and party system dynamics**

Some counter-intuitive findings

- **AERPs break through more often in good than bad economic times**
- **Party system stability more favourable for breakthrough than party system fluidity;**
- **Changes in perceived corruption often matter more than levels of corruption**

Economic downturn leads to perceived increase in corruption?

