Appendices

Appendix I. Robustness

A) Fuzzy-set QCA

1. Calibration of set membership

The fuzzy-set QCA conducted here applies 0.2 intervals. The calibration of fuzzy set membership follows the same considerations as the crisp set analysis, but it adds additional qualitative thresholds to produce gradual membership scores. The outcome is coded 1 if radical right parties were junior partners in coalition governments. Radical right parties that participated in government as support parties of a minority government receive a membership score of 0.8 if they were the only support party and 0.6 if they were one of several support parties (Fagerholm 2021). Radical right parties that remain in opposition generally receive a membership score of 0. There are three exceptions to this general rule, however. Even though there was no formal agreement between Ataka and the formateur of the 2013 Bulgarian government, the BSP, the radical right supported the government in the investiture vote and on several other occasions (Ilonszki 2019, 226). Therefore, Ataka receives a membership score of 0.4 in 2013. The Hungarian MIÉP also voted with the first Orbán government in the 1998 legislature on various occasions but not as constantly as Ataka in 2013 (Karasimeonov 2013a, 2013b; Kostadinova and Popova 2014, 2015; Avramov 2015). The set membership of this party is therefore 0.2. The Latvian NA receives the same membership score in 2010, though for a different reason. Future prime minister and formateur, Valdis Dombrovskis, had invited the NA to join an oversized coalition with his electoral alliance, Unity, and the ZZS. Yet, one party from the Unity alliance ultimately vetoed NA's government participation (Auers 2011).

Regarding the ideological proximity on the socio-economic (LRECONPROX) and socio-cultural (GALTANPROX) dimensions, the calibration of set membership makes a distinction according to whether radical right parties and formateurs are located on the same side of the respective ideological dimension or not (see Chapter 7). If they are located on the same side, the following thresholds will be applied: 0 – 1 point = 1, 1.01 – 1.75 = 0.8, 1.76 – 2.50 = 0.6, 2.51 – 3.25 = 0.4; 3.26 – 4.00 = 0.2, >

4.00 = 0. If radical right parties and formateurs are not located on the same side, the following thresholds will be applied: 0 – 0.5 points = 1, 0.51 – 1.00 = 0.8, 1.01 – 1.50 = 0.6, 1.51 – 1.75 = 0.4; 1.76 – 2.00 = 0.2, > 2.00 = 0.

Regarding seat share (SEATS), the threshold of indifference between set membership and non-membership is set at ten per cent of the seats in parliament. Moreover, radical right parties are considered full members of the set of large radical right parties if they hold at least 13 per cent of the seats, and full non-members of this set when their seat share is below seven per cent. These consideration result in the following thresholds of fuzzy set membership: ≥ 13 per cent of the seats in parliament = 1; 11.5 – 12.9 = 0.8, 10.0 – 11.4 = 0.6, 8.5 – 9.9 = 0.4, 7.0 – 8.4 = 0.2, < 7.0 = 0.

The SAMESIDE condition is included in the same dichotomous coding as in the crisp-set QCA (see Chapter 7). The fragmentation of the party system (FRAG) can be calibrated into fuzzy set membership scores. Based on the discussion of party system fragmentation and coalition formation found in Chapter 7, the following thresholds will be applied: ≥ 4.7 effective parliamentary parties = 1, 4.6 – 4.4 = 0.8; 4.3 – 4.1 = 0.6; 4.0 – 3.8 = 0.4; 3.7 – 3.5 = 0.2; < 3.5 = 0. The result of the calibration of fuzzy set membership is reported in Table A1.1.

Table A1.1: Calibration of fuzzy set membership

Case	GOVPART	LRECONPROX	GALTANPROX	SEATS	FRAG	SAMESIDE
BG_2005_Ataka	0	1	0.2	0.4	1	0
BG_2009_Ataka	0.6	0	0.6	0.4	0	1
BG_2013_Ataka	0.4	1	0.2	0.4	0	0
BG_2014_Ataka	0	0	0.4	0	1	1
BG_2014_PF	0.8	0	0.8	0.2	1	1
BG_2016_Ataka	0	0	0.4	0	1	1
BG_2016_PF	0.8	0	0.8	0.2	1	1
BG_2017_UP	1	0	0.6	0.6	0	1
CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ	0	0	0	0.2	1	0
CZ_1996_SPR-RSČ	0	0	0	0.4	0.6	0
CZ_2013_Úsvit	0	0	0	0.2	1	0
CZ_2017_SPD	0	1.0	0.2	0.6	1	0
EE_1992_ERSP	1	0.8	0.8	0.4	1	0
EE_2015_EKRE	0	0	0	0.2	1	0
EE_2016_EKRE	0	1	0.4	0.2	1	0
EE_2019_EKRE	1	1	0.4	1	0.6	0

HU_1998_MIÉP	0.2	1	0.8	0	0.2	1
LV_2010_NA	0.2	0.8	0	0.2	0.4	1
LV_2011_NA	1	0.8	0	1	0.8	1
LV_2014a_NA	1	1	0	1	0.8	1
LV_2014b_NA	1	1	0	1	1	1
LV_2016_NA	1	1	1	1	1	1
LV_2018_NA	1	0.8	0	1	1	1
PL_2001_LPR	0	0.6	0	0.2	0.2	0
PL_2003_LPR	0	0.6	0	0.2	0.2	0
PL_2005_LPR	0.6	1	0.8	0.2	0.6	1
PL_2006_LPR	1	1	0.8	0.2	0.6	1
RO_1992_PRM	0.6	1	0.6	0	1	1
RO_1992_PUNR	0.6	1	0.8	0.4	1	1
RO_1994_PRM	0.6	1	0.6	0	1	1
RO_1994_PUNR	1	1	0.8	0.4	1	1
RO_1996_PRM	0	0	0.2	0	0.6	0
RO_1996_PUNR	0	0	0.2	0	0.6	0

RO_1999_PRM	0	0	0.2	0	0.6	0
RO_1999_PUNR	0	0	0.2	0	0.6	0
RO_2000_PRM	0	0.8	0.2	1	0.2	0
RO_2004_PRM	0	0	0	1	0	0
RO_2007_PRM	0	0	0	1	0	0
SK_1992_SNS	1	1	0.8	0.6	0	0
SK_1994_SNS	1	1	0.8	0	0.8	0
SK_1998_SNS	0	0	0	0.4	1	0
SK_2006_SNS	1	0.6	0.6	1	1	0
SK_2010_SNS	0	0	0	0	0.4	0
SK_2016a_ĽSNS	0	0.8	0.6	0.4	1	0
SK_2016a_SNS	1	1	0.8	0.6	1	0
SK_2016b_ĽSNS	0	0.8	0.6	0.4	1	0
SK_2016b_SNS	1	1	0.8	0.6	1	0
SK_2020_ĽSNS	0	0	0.4	0.6	0.8	0

Source: Own compilation, based on data from Casal Bértoa 2021; Nordsieck 2021; Jolly et al. 2022.

2. Government formation with radical right parties before the first third-generation elections

2.1 Government participation of radical right parties

The result of the analysis of necessity is reported in Table A1.2. Unlike in the crisp-set QCA, GALTANPROX falls just short of the minimum consistency required for necessary conditions. Hence, based on the fuzzy-set QCA, only socio-economic proximity between radical right parties and the formateur qualifies as a necessary condition for radical right government participation in the period before the first third-generation elections.

Table A1.2: Parameters of fit necessity: Government participation of radical right parties (before first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	1.00	0.85	0.83
GALTANPROX	0.897	0.89	0.84
SEATS	0.31	0.92	0.64
FRAG	0.79	0.34	0.43
SAMESIDE	0.48	0.89	0.70
∼LRECONPROX	0.00	0.50	0.00
∼GALTANPROX	0.28	0.50	0.21
∼SEATS	0.76	0.29	0.39
∼FRAG	0.21	0.84	0.38
∼SAMESIDE	0.52	0.36	0.30

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019).

The fuzzy set truth table (Table A1.3) is exactly the same as in the crisp-set QCA. Even the raw consistency of the four rows that cover the empirically observed cases indicates a perfect set relation despite the fuzzy membership scores.

Table A1.3: Truth table: Government participation of radical right parties (before first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

	LRECON-PROX	GALTAN-PROX	SEATS	FRAG	SAMESIDE	GOVPART	Raw consistency	Number of cases	Cases
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1.00	4	RO_1992_PRM RO_1992_PUNR RO_1994_PRM RO_1994_PUNR
2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1.00	2	EE_1992_ERSP SK_1994_SNS
3	1	1	1	0	0	1	1.00	1	SK_1992_SNS
4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0.00	7	CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ CZ_1996_SPR-RSČ RO_1996_PRM RO_1996_PUNR RO_1999_PRM RO_1999_PUNR SK_1998_SNS
5	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	
6	1	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	
7	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	
8	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	
9	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	
10	1	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	
11	0	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	
12	1	0	0	1	0	?	?	0	

13	0	1	0	1	0	?	?	0	
14	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	
15	1	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	
16	0	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	
17	1	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	
18	0	0	0	0	1	?	?	0	
19	1	0	0	0	1	?	?	0	
20	0	1	0	0	1	?	?	0	
21	1	1	0	0	1	?	?	0	
22	0	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
23	1	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
24	0	1	1	0	1	?	?	0	
25	1	1	1	0	1	?	?	0	
26	0	0	0	1	1	?	?	0	
27	1	0	0	1	1	?	?	0	
28	0	1	0	1	1	?	?	0	
29	0	0	1	1	1	?	?	0	
30	1	0	1	1	1	?	?	0	
31	0	1	1	1	1	?	?	0	
32	1	1	1	1	1	?	?	0	

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

The conservative, intermediate, and parsimonious solutions resulting from the truth table analysis are reported in Table A1.4. In light of the theoretical assumptions, and because LRECONPROX is a necessary condition and GALTANPROX is very close to being one, the intermediate solution is based on the directional expectations that these two conditions are present. These directional expectations do not result in any further minimisation, though. Hence, the intermediate solution is exactly the same as the conservative solution. When calculating the parsimonious solution, the prime implicants LRECONPROX and GALTANPROX are tied. Both parsimonious solutions are based on difficult counterfactuals and are therefore not considered for further interpretation. The parsimonious solution reported in Table A1.4 which keeps both prime implicants, is therefore reported merely for illustrational purposes.

Table A1.4: Sufficient conditions for the government participation of radical right parties (before first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

Conservative/intermediate solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*~SEATS*FRAG	0.66	0.66	1.00	RO_1992_PRM RO_1992_PUNR RO_1994_PRM RO_1994_PUNR SK_1994_SNS
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*SEATS*~FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.10	0.10	1.00	SK_1992_SNS
Solution coverage: 0.76; Solution consistency: 1.00				
Parsimonious solution**				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*

LRECONPROX	1.00	0.10	0.83	EE_1992_ERSP RO_1992_PRM RO_1992_PUNR RO_1994_PRM RO_1994_PUNR SK_1992_SNS SK_1994_SNS
GALTANPROX	0.90	0.00	0.84	EE_1992_ERSP RO_1992_PRM RO_1992_PUNR RO_1994_PRM RO_1994_PUNR SK_1992_SNS SK_1994_SNS
Solution coverage: 1.00; Solution consistency: 0.74				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* The intermediate solution based on the directional expectations LRECONPROX (present) and GALTANPROX (present) is exactly the same as the conservative solution.

** The prime implicants LRECONPROX and GALTANPROX are tied. The parsimonious solution includes both prime implicants.

The conservative solution is very similar to that in the csQCA and corroborates the above findings. The only difference is the lower coverage of the fsQCA solution. However, the lower coverage does not indicate that there is a case in which radical right parties entered government which is not covered by this solution, but it is a result of the fuzzy set membership scores which yield gradually different membership scores in the outcome set and the respective sufficient solution path. For instance, the membership score of the case of the Estonian ERSP in the set of the solution is only 0.6 while its membership in the outcome is 1.

2.2 The exclusion of radical right parties from government

Table A1.5 shows that none of the conditions, nor their negations, qualify as necessary condition for the negative outcome. ∼LRECONPROX, ∼GALTANPROX, ∼SEATS and ∼SAMESIDE fall just below the required consistency threshold for necessary conditions. Of these four conditions, however, only ∼LRECONPROX and ∼GALTANPROX show coverage and RoN scores that are high enough to rule out triviality. In sum, however, the fsQCA yields no necessary conditions for the negative outcome in this period.

Table A1.5: Parameters of fit necessity: Exclusion of radical right parties from government (before first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	0.15	0.55	0.17
GALTANPROX	0.24	0.65	0.32
SEATS	0.17	0.89	0.50
FRAG	0.76	0.41	0.57
SAMESIDE	0.15	0.78	0.30
∼LRECONPROX	0.85	1.00	1.00
∼GALTANPROX	0.88	0.91	0.92
∼SEATS	0.88	0.41	0.64
∼FRAG	0.24	0.90	0.63
∼SAMESIDE	0.85	0.57	0.70

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019).

The analysis of sufficient conditions for the negative outcome is based on the same truth table as the analysis of government participation. Table A1.6 reports only those rows that cover empirically observed cases (for logical remainders, see Table

A1.3). It shows that only row 4, which covers all cases in which radical right remained in opposition before the first third-generation elections, has a sufficiently high, raw consistency with the negative outcome (∼GOVPART).

Table A1.6: Truth table: Exclusion of radical right parties from government (before first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

	LRECON-PROX	GALTAN-PROX	SEATS	FRAG	SAMESIDE	~GOVPART	Raw consistency	Number of cases	Cases
1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0.50	4	RO_1992_PRM RO_1992_PUNR RO_1994_PRM RO_1994_PUNR
2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0.00	2	EE_1992_ERSP SK_1994_SNS
3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0.00	1	SK_1992_SNS
4	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.00	7	CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ CZ_1996_SPR-RSČ RO_1996_PRM RO_1996_PUNR RO_1999_PRM RO_1999_PUNR SK_1998_SNS

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

The conservative, intermediate, and parsimonious solutions resulting from the truth table analysis are reported in Table A1.7. Since all empirically observed cases are clustered in the same truth table row, the conservative solution is identical with the configuration of that row. Given the theoretical assumptions, and the fact that ∼LRECONPROX and ∼GALTANPROX come closest to being a non-trivial, necessary condition, the intermediate solution is based on the directional expectations that these two conditions are absent. Again, however, these directional expectations do not result in further minimisation. Hence, the intermediate solution is the same as the conservative solution. When calculating the parsimonious solution, the two prime implicants, ∼LRECONPROX and ∼GALTANPROX, are tied. Since it serves only illustrational purposes, the parsimonious solution reported in Table A1.7 again includes both tied prime implicants.

The results from the fsQCA of the negative outcome mirror those from the csQCA. It is striking however, that the coverage of the solution term in the fsQCA is significantly lower than in the csQCA, despite the fact that both solutions cover all empirically observed cases in which radical right parties did not enter government in the period before the first third-generation elections. Hence, even though the results from the csQCA and the fsQCA in this period are fairly similar, the low coverage of the solution term points at a certain degree of noise within the cases and solution paths, which is reflected in the discussion of the variation within these explanatory patterns (see Chapter 8).

3. Government formation with radical right parties after the first third-generation elections

3.1 Government participation of radical right parties

The results of the analysis of necessity are reported in Table A1.8. None of the conditions, or their negations, come close to the 0.9 consistency threshold required for necessary conditions. Hence, there are no necessary conditions for the government participation of radical right parties in the period after the first third-generation elections.

Table A1.7: Sufficient conditions for the exclusion of radical right parties from government (before first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

Conservative/intermediate solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.54	0.54	1.00	CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ CZ_1996_SPR-RSČ RO_1996_PRM RO_1996_PUNR RO_1999_PRM RO_1999_PUNR SK_1998_SNS
Solution coverage: 0.54; Solution consistency: 1.00				
Parsimonious solution**				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~GALTANPROX	0.88	0.12	0.92	CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ CZ_1996_SPR-RSČ RO_1996_PRM RO_1996_PUNR RO_1999_PRM RO_1999_PUNR SK_1998_SNS

~LRECONPROX	0.85	0.10	1.00	CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ CZ_1996_SPR-RSČ RO_1996_PRM RO_1996_PUNR RO_1999_PRM RO_1999_PUNR SK_1998_SNS
Solution coverage: 0.98; Solution consistency: 0.93				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* The intermediate solution based on the directional expectations LRECONPROX (absent) and GALTANPROX (absent) is exactly the same as the conservative solution.

** The prime implicants ~LRECONPROX and ~GALTANPROX are tied. The parsimonious solution includes both prime implicants.

Table A1.8: Parameters of fit necessity: Government participation of radical right parties (after first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	0.73	0.60	0.53
GALTANPROX	0.58	0.83	0.66
SEATS	0.73	0.73	0.62
FRAG	0.78	0.50	0.50
SAMESIDE	0.70	0.80	0.68
∼LRECONPROX	0.29	0.67	0.30
∼GALTANPROX	0.51	0.48	0.35
∼SEATS	0.38	0.60	0.33
∼FRAG	0.27	0.76	0.36
∼SAMESIDE	0.30	0.51	0.23

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019).

The following analysis of necessity is based on the truth table in Table A1.9. The literature recommends a minimum consistency cut-off of 0.75 – 0.80 in fsQCA. In Table A1.9, there is a large gap between the first five rows, which show a perfect consistency score of 1.00, and the following ones with a consistency score of 0.67 or lower. Hence, a consistency cut-off of 1.00 can be applied.

Table A1.9: Truth table: Government participation of radical right parties (after first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

	LRECON-PROX	GALTAN-PROX	SEATS	FRAG	SAMESIDE	GOVPART	Raw consistency	Number of cases	Cases
1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1.00	4	LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2014b_NA LV_2018_NA
2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1.00	2	PL_2005_LPR PL_2006_LPR
3	0	1	0	0	1	1	1.00	1	BG_2009_Ataka
4	0	1	1	0	1	1	1.00	1	BG_2017_UP
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.00	1	LV_2016_NA
6	0	1	0	1	1	0	0.67	2	BG_2014_PF BG_2016_PF
7	1	1	0	0	1	0	0.63	1	HU_1998_MIÉP
8	1	1	1	1	0	0	0.58	3	SK_2006_SNS SK_2016a_SNS SK_2016b_SNS
9	1	0	0	0	1	0	0.50	1	LV_2010_NA
10	1	0	1	0	0	0	0.40	1	RO_2000_PRM
11	1	0	1	1	0	0	0.35	2	CZ_2017_SPD EE_2019_EKRE

12	0	0	0	1	1	0	0.33	2	BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka
13	1	1	0	1	0	0	0.29	2	SK_2016a_ĽSNS SK_2016b_ĽSNS
14	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.22	3	BG_2013_Ataka PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR
15	0	0	1	1	0	0	0.18	1	SK_2020_ĽSNS
16	1	0	0	1	0	0	0.11	2	BG_2005_Ataka EE_2015_EKRE
17	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.00	2	RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM
18	0	0	0	1	0	0	0.00	2	CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	1	SK_SNS_2010
20	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	
21	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	

22	0	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	
23	1	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	
24	0	1	0	1	0	?	?	0	
25	0	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	
26	0	0	0	0	1	?	?	0	
27	0	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
28	1	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
29	1	1	1	0	1	?	?	0	
30	1	0	0	1	1	?	?	0	
31	0	0	1	1	1	?	?	0	
32	0	1	1	1	1	?	?	0	

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

The solutions from the analysis of sufficiency, generated using the fsQCA software, are reported in Table A1.10. Since the theoretical assumptions do not allow for directional expectations regarding individual conditions, and the analysis of necessity did not yield any conditions that qualify as necessary, no directional expectations are made in the standard analysis in fsQCA. Therefore, the conservative and intermediate solutions are identical. The parsimonious solution includes two tied prime implicants (~LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*~FRAG and ~LRECONPROX*~FRAG*SAMESIDE). Table A1.10 reports both prime implicants for illustrational purposes, but they are not subjected to further interpretation.

Table A1.10: Sufficient conditions for the government participation of radical right parties (after first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

Conservative/intermediate solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*~FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.08	0.08	1.00	BG_2009_Ataka BG_2017_UP
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.16	0.07	1.00	LV_2016_NA PL_2005_LPR PL_2006_LPR
LRECONPROX*SEATS*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.34	0.25	1.00	LV_2014b_NA LV_2016_NA LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2018_NA
Solution coverage: 0.49; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Parsimonious solution**				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
LRECONPROX*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.41	0.38	0.97	LV_2014b_NA LV_2016_NA LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2018_NA PL_2005_LPR PL_2006_LPR
∼LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*∼FRAG	0.08	0.00	0.75	BG_2009_Ataka BG_2017_UP
∼LRECONPROX*∼FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.14	0.03	0.83	BG_2009_Ataka BG_2017_UP
Solution coverage: 0.52; Solution consistency: 0.88				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* Since no directional expectations about individual conditions have been made, the intermediate and conservative solutions are exactly the same.

** The prime implicants ∼LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*∼FRAG and ∼LRECONPROX*∼FRAG*SAMESIDE are tied. The parsimonious solution includes both prime implicants.

The intermediate solutions from the csQCA and the fsQCA differ in two respects. First, the fsQCA solution includes only solution paths in which the SAMESIDE condition is present. However, a comparison between these solutions paths and those three in the csQCA solution, which also contain this condition, reveals that these sufficient solution paths are relatively similar. Secondly, the fsQCA solution has a much lower coverage than the csQCA solution. Unlike in the analysis of sufficiency of the negative outcome in the earlier period, here, the low coverage results from the fact that the solution does not cover several cases of government participation. More precisely, it covers only nine out of 14 cases, more than half of which concern the government participation of the Latvian NA.

3.2 The exclusion of radical right parties from government

The parameters of fit reported in Table A1.11 indicate that none of the conditions, or their negations, are necessary conditions for the negative outcome. They all fall well short of the consistency threshold of 0.9.

Table A1.11: Parameters of fit necessity: Exclusion of radical right parties from government (after first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	0.50	0.57	0.48
GALTANPROX	0.29	0.75	0.44
SEATS	0.41	0.65	0.47
FRAG	0.63	0.51	0.54
SAMESIDE	0.25	0.65	0.32
∼LRECONPROX	0.52	0.83	0.71
∼GALTANPROX	0.77	0.67	0.71
∼SEATS	0.67	0.81	0.77
∼FRAG	0.41	0.88	0.71
∼SAMESIDE	0.75	0.77	0.77

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019).

The abbreviated truth table in Table A1.12 (for logical remainders, see Table A1.9 above) shows relatively small gaps in the consistency of individual rows in the area above 0.75. Since all truth table rows with a raw consistency of at least 0.75 cover only cases in which radical right parties did not enter government, the consistency cut-off is set at 0.75, thus including rows 1 to 10 in the minimisation.

Table A1.12: Truth table: Exclusion of radical right parties from government (after first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

	LRECON-PROX	GALTAN-PROX	SEATS	FRAG	SAMESIDE	~GOVPART	Raw consistency	Number of cases	Cases
1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.00	3	BG_2013_Ataka PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR
2	0	0	1	0	0	1	1.00	2	RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM
3	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.00	2	CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE
4	0	0	0	1	1	1	1.00	2	BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka
5	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.00	1	SK_SNS_2010
6	1	0	0	0	1	1	1.00	1	LV_2010_NA
7	1	0	0	1	0	1	0.89	2	BG_2005_Ataka EE_2015_EKRE
8	0	0	1	1	0	1	0.82	1	SK_2020_ĽSNS
9	1	0	1	0	0	1	0.80	1	RO_2000_PRM
10	1	1	0	0	1	1	0.75	1	HU_1998_MIÉP
11	1	1	0	1	0	0	0.71	2	SK_2016a_ĽSNS SK_2016b_ĽSNS

12	1	0	1	1	0	0	0.65	2	CZ_2017_SPD EE_2019_EKRE
13	0	1	0	1	1	0	0.50	2	BG_2014_PF BG_2016_PF
14	1	1	0	1	1	0	0.43	2	PL_2005_LPR PL_2006_LPR
15	1	1	1	1	0	0	0.42	3	SK_2006_SNS SK_2016a_SNS SK_2016b_SNS
16	0	1	0	0	1	0	0.40	1	BG_2009_Ataka
17	0	1	1	0	1	0	0.40	1	BG_2017_UP
18	1	1	1	1	1	0	0.14	1	LV_2016_NA
19	1	0	1	1	1	0	0.06	4	LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2014b_NA LV_2018_NA

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

The solutions from the analysis of sufficiency are reported in Table A1.13. Since neither the theoretical assumptions nor the results from the analysis of necessity allow for any directional expectations regarding individual conditions, the conservative and intermediate solutions yielded by the fsQCA software's standard analysis are identical. The parsimonious solution again serves only illustrational purposes and includes two tied prime implicants (∼LRECONPROX*∼GALTANPROX and ∼LRECONPROX*∼SAMESIDE). The conservative solution is very similar to the csQCA of the negative outcome in the same period. It only differs in one of the five solution paths, both of which include the condition ∼SAMESIDE, but in combination with different INUS conditions. The consistency and coverage are lower than in the csQCA, but not as significantly as in the analysis of government participation in this period. This results from the fact that there are three cases of radical right parties in opposition not covered by the solution.

Overall, the fsQCA yielded fairly similar results as the csQCA, though mostly with a lower consistency and coverage. These lower consistency scores indicate that some of the factors for radical right parties' inclusion in, and exclusion from, government during the first post-Communist decade which were necessary conditions in the csQCA do not qualify as such in the fsQCA. Because they are on the border to being necessary, however, this result does not fundamentally contradict the findings in the csQCA. The sufficient solution paths in the fsQCA and the csQCA are also quite similar. Hence, the fsQCA corroborates the robustness of the results in this study (Schneider and Wagemann 2012, chap. 11.2).

Table A1.13: Sufficient conditions for the exclusion of radical right parties from government (after first third-generation elections) (fsQCA)

Conservative/intermediate solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~GALTANPROX*~FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.30	0.03	0.91	RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM BG_2013_Ataka PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR RO_2000_PRM SK_2010_SNS
~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*~SAMESIDE	0.39	0.12	0.95	SK_2010_SNS CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR BG_2005_Ataka BG_2013_Ataka EE_2016_EKRE
~LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~SAMESIDE	0.34	0.03	0.94	CZ_2013_Úsvit RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM SK_2010_SNS EE_2015_EKRE SK_2020_ĽSNS

~LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*FRAG	0.24	0.08	1.00	CZ_2013_Úsvit BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka EE_2015_EKRE
LRECONPROX*~SEATS*~FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.09	0.08	0.82	HU_1998_MIÉP LV_2010_NA
Solution coverage: 0.74; Solution consistency: 0.89				
Parsimonious solution**				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~GALTANPROX*~SEATS	0.55	0.15	0.93	SK_2010_SNS CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE LV_2010_NA PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR BG_2005_Ataka BG_2013_Ataka BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka EE_2016_EKRE

LRECONPROX*∼FRAG	0.23	0.08	0.73	BG_2013_Ataka HU_1998_MIÉP RO_2000_PRM LV_2010_NA PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR
∼LRECONPROX*∼SAMESIDE	0.36	0.02	0.95	CZ_2013_Úsvit RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM SK_2010_SNS SK_2020_L'SNS EE_2015_EKRE
∼LRECONPROX*∼GALTANPROX	0.45	0.00	0.88	CZ_2013_Úsvit RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM SK_2010_SNS BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka EE_2015_EKRE SK_2020_L'SNS
Solution coverage: 0.79; Solution consistency: 0.84				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* Since no directional expectations about individual conditions have been made, the intermediate and conservative solutions are exactly the same.

** The prime implicants ∼LRECONPROX*∼GALTANPROX and ∼LRECONPROX*∼SAMESIDE are tied. The parsimonious solution includes both prime implicants.

B) Temporal threshold: EU membership (csQCA)

1. Government formation with radical right parties before EU membership

In Chapter 4, the first third-generation elections were selected as the temporal threshold instead of the countries' accession to the European Union. Dividing the three post-Communist decades into before- and after-accession periods results in certain changes to the results.

1.1 Government participation of radical right parties

Table A1.14 shows that the RoN and coverage of socio-economic proximity (LRECONPROX) between radical right parties and formateurs decreases, so that it no longer qualifies as a necessary condition, rendering socio-cultural proximity (GALTANPROX) the only necessary condition for government participation. This finding corroborates the argument that the importance of socio-economic issues decreases in the consolidating decades.

Table A1.14: Parameters of fit necessity: Government participation of radical right parties (before EU membership)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	1.00	0.62	0.58
GALTANPROX	1.00	0.92	0.88
SEATS	0.14	0.90	0.33
FRAG	0.86	0.43	0.43
SAMESIDE	0.57	0.94	0.80
∼LRECONPROX	0.00	0.60	0.00
∼GALTANPROX	0.00	0.40	0.00
∼SEATS	0.86	0.21	0.35
∼FRAG	0.14	0.74	0.17
∼SAMESIDE	0.43	0.29	0.20

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019).

Extending the first period reduces the number of logical remainders to 22 (see Table A1.15), compared to 28 in the period before the first third-generation elections (see Chapter 8).

Table A1.15: Truth table: Government formation with radical right parties (before EU membership)

	LRECON-PROX	GALTAN-PROX	SEATS	FRAG	SAMESIDE	GOVPART	Raw consistency	Number of cases	Cases
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1.00	4	RO_1992_PRM RO_1992_PUNR RO_1994_PRM RO_1994_PUNR
2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1.00	2	EE_1992_ERSP SK_1994_SNS
3	1	1	1	0	0	1	1.00	1	SK_1992_SNS
4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0.00	7	CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ RO_1996_PRM RO_1996_PUNR RO_1999_PRM RO_1999_PUNR
5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	2	PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR
6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.00	1	RO_2004_PRM
7	1	0	1	0	0	0	0.00	1	RO_2000_PRM
8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0.00	1	BG_2005_Ataka
9	1	1	0	0	1	0	0.00	1	HU_1998_MIÉP
10	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	
11	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	
12	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	

13	0	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	
14	0	1	0	1	0	?	?	0	
15	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	
16	1	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	
17	0	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	
18	1	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	
19	0	0	0	0	1	?	?	0	
20	1	0	0	0	1	?	?	0	
21	0	1	0	0	1	?	?	0	
22	0	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
23	1	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
24	0	1	1	0	1	?	?	0	
25	1	1	1	0	1	?	?	0	
26	0	0	0	1	1	?	?	0	
27	1	0	0	1	1	?	?	0	
28	0	1	0	1	1	?	?	0	
29	0	0	1	1	1	?	?	0	
30	1	0	1	1	1	?	?	0	
31	0	1	1	1	1	?	?	0	
32	1	1	1	1	1	?	?	0	

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

The conservative solution that results from the minimisation of rows 1 to 3, remains the same as in the period before the first third-generation elections (see Table A1.16), because all additional cases concern radical right parties that remained in opposition.

Table A1.16: Sufficient conditions for the government participation of radical right parties (before EU membership)

Conservative/intermediate solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*~SEATS*FRAG	0.86	0.86	1.00	EE_1992_ERSP RO_1992_PRM RO_1992_PUNR RO_1994_PRM RO_1994_PUNR SK_1994_SNS
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*SEATS*~FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.14	0.14	1.00	SK_1992_SNS
Solution coverage: 1.00; *Solution consistency:* 1.00				

Parsimonious solution				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
GALTANPROX*∼SAMESIDE	0.43	0.14	1.00	EE_1992_ERSP SK_1992_SNS SK_1994_SNS
GALTANPROX*FRAG	0.86	0.57	1.00	EE_1992_ERSP RO_1992_PRM RO_1992_PUNR RO_1994_PRM RO_1994_PUNR SK_1994_SNS
Solution coverage: 1.00; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* Since no directional expectations about individual conditions have been made, the intermediate and conservative solutions are exactly the same.

1.2 The exclusion of radical right parties from government

Similar to the analysis of necessary conditions for government participation of radical right parties, the negation of the LRECONPROX condition does not qualify as a necessary condition for the exclusion of radical right parties from government when the time frame is extended until accession to the EU (see Table A1.17). The consistency of the socio-cultural distance between radical right parties and formateurs (∼GALTANPROX) is lower than in the period before the first third-generation elections, but it is still above the minimum consistency for necessary conditions. As the lower consistency results from a contradiction in kind (MIÉP 1998), however, it is questionable whether or not this condition can be considered necessary for the negative outcome. The negation of the SAMESIDE condition also passes the consistency threshold of 0.9. However, the RoN is rather low and ∼SAMESIDE reflects two theoretically different concepts—the absence of a bipolar opposition in the party system and the radical right and the formateur in opposite camps. Hence, this condition is not considered necessary either.

Table A1.17: Parameters of fit necessity: Exclusion of radical right parties from government (before EU membership)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	0.39	0.53	0.42
GALTANPROX	0.77	0.63	0.13
SEATS	0.15	0.94	0.67
FRAG	0.62	0.50	0.57
SAMESIDE	0.08	0.79	0.20
∼LRECONPROX	0.62	1.00	1.00
∼GALTANPROX	0.92	1.00	1.00
∼SEATS	0.85	0.33	0.65
∼FRAG	0.39	0.93	0.83
∼SAMESIDE	0.92	0.63	0.80

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019).

The analysis of sufficient conditions for the negative outcome before the accession to the EU includes more truth table rows and is more complex than in the period before the first third-generation elections, when all cases in which radical right parties were excluded from government clustered in a single truth table row. Therefore, the solutions in Table A1.18 differ somewhat from the results of the original anal-

ysis. This observation indicates that country-specific party competition in Central and Eastern Europe began to diversify in the period between the first third-generation elections and the accession to the European Union.

Table A1.18: Sufficient conditions for the exclusion of radical right parties from government (before EU membership)

Conservative/intermediate solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~GALTANPROX*SEATS*~FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.15	0.08	1.00	RO_2000_PRM RO_2004_PRM
~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.62	0.54	1.00	BG_2005_Ataka CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ CZ_1996_SPR-RSČ RO_1996_PRM RO_1996_PUNR RO_1999_PRM RO_1999_PUNR SK_1998_SNS
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*~SIZE*~FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.08	0.08	1.00	HU_1998_MIÉP
LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.23	0.00	1.00	PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR RO_2000_PRM
LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*~SAMESIDE	0.23	0.00	1.00	BG_2005_Ataka PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR
Solution coverage: 1.00; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Parsimonious solution**				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
∼GALTANPROX	0.92	0.77	1.00	BG_2005_Ataka CZ_1992_SPR-RSČ CZ_1996_SPR-RSČ PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR RO_1996_PRM RO_1996_PUNR RO_1999_PRM RO_1999_PUNR RO_2000_PRM RO_2004_PRM SK_1998_SNS
∼SEATS*∼FRAG	0.23	0.00	1.00	HU_1998_MIÉP PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR
∼FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.08	0.00	1.00	HU_1998_MIÉP
Solution coverage: 1.00; *Solution consistency*: 1.00				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* Since no directional expectations about individual conditions have been made, the intermediate and conservative solutions are exactly the same. The prime implicants LRECONPROX*∼GALTANPROX*∼FRAG*∼SAMESIDE and LRECONPROX*∼GALTANPROX*∼SEATS*∼SAMESIDE are tied. The conservative/intermediate solution includes both prime implicants.

** The prime implicants ∼SEATS*∼FRAG and ∼FRAG*SAMESIDE are tied. The parsimonious solution includes both prime implicants.

2. Government formation with radical right parties since EU membership

2.1 Government participation of radical right parties

The parameters of fit in Table A1.19 illustrate that none of the conditions in the analytical model, nor their negations, are necessary for government participation of radical right parties in the period since EU membership. This mirrors the result in the period after the first third-generation elections.

Table A1.19: Parameters of fit necessity: Government participation of radical right parties (since EU membership)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	0.73	0.65	0.65
GALTANPROX	0.67	0.89	0.83
SEATS	0.67	0.83	0.77
FRAG	0.87	0.40	0.59
SAMESIDE	0.73	0.82	0.79
∼LRECONPROX	0.27	0.71	0.36
∼GALTANPROX	0.33	0.52	0.31
∼SEATS	0.33	0.57	0.33
∼FRAG	0.13	0.85	0.33
∼SAMESIDE	0.27	0.58	0.29

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019).

The number of logical remainders in the truth table that covers the period after the countries' accession to the EU is slightly lower than in the period after the first third-generation elections, and the truth table contains the same contradictory configuration (see Table A1.20).

Table A1.20: Truth table: Government formation with radical right parties (since EU membership)

	LRECON-PROX	GALTAN-PROX	SEATS	FRAG	SAMESIDE	GOVPART	Raw consistency	Number of cases	Cases
1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1.00	4	LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2014b_NA LV_2018_NA
2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1.00	3	SK_2006_SNS SK_2016a_SNS SK_2016b_SNS
3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1.00	2	BG_2014_PF BG_2016_PF
4	1	1	0	1	1	1	1.00	2	PL_2005_LPR PL_2006_LPR
5	0	1	0	0	1	1	1.00	1	BG_2009_Ataka
6	0	1	1	0	1	1	1.00	1	BG_2017_UP
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.00	1	LV_2016_NA
8	1	0	1	1	0	0	0.50	2	CZ_2017_SPD EE_2019_EKRE
9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0.00	2	CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE
10	1	1	0	1	0	0	0.00	2	SK_2016a_ĽSNS SK_2016b_ĽSNS

11	0	0	0	1	1	0	0.00	2	BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	1	SK_2010_SNS
13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	1	BG_2013_Ataka
14	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.00	1	RO_2007_PRM
15	1	0	0	1	0	0	0.00	1	EE_2016_EKRE
16	0	0	1	1	0	0	0.00	1	SK_2020_ĽSNS
17	1	0	0	0	1	0	0.00	1	LV_2010_NA
18	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	
19	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	
20	1	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	
21	0	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	

22	1	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	
23	0	1	0	1	0	?	?	0	
24	0	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	
25	0	0	0	0	1	?	?	0	
26	1	1	0	0	1	?	?	0	
27	0	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
28	1	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
29	1	1	1	0	1	?	?	0	
30	1	0	0	1	1	?	?	0	
31	0	0	1	1	1	?	?	0	
32	0	1	1	1	1	?	?	0	

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

Because changing the temporal threshold affects only cases in which radical right parties remained in opposition, the analysis of sufficiency in the period since EU membership yields the same conservative solution as in the period after the first third-generation elections (see Table A1.21).

Table A1.21: Sufficient conditions for the government participation of radical right parties (since EU membership)

Conservative/intermediate solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*SEATS*FRAG	0.27	0.20	1.00	LV_2016_NA SK_2006_SN SK_2016a_SNS SK_2016b_SNS
LRECONPROX*SEATS*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.33	0.27	1.00	LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2014b_NA LV_2016_NA LV_2018_NA
∼LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*∼FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.13	0.13	1.00	BG_2009_Ataka BG_2017_UP
GALTANPROX*∼SEATS*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.27	0.27	1.00	BG_2014_PF BG_2016_PF PL_2005_LP PL_2006_LPR
Solution coverage: 0.93; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Parsimonious solution				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
GALTANPROX*SEATS	0.33	0.20	1.00	BG_2017_UP LV_2016_NA SK_2006_SNS SK_2016a_SNS SK_2016b_SNS
GALTANPROX*SAMESIDE	0.47	0.20	1.00	BG_2009_Ataka BG_2014_PF BG_2016_PF BG_2017_U LV_2016_NA PL_2005_LPR PL_2006_LPR
LRECONPROX*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.47	0.27	1.00	LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2014b_NA LV_2016_NA LV_2018_NA PL_2005_LP PL_2006_LPR
Solution coverage: 0.93; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* Since no directional expectations about individual conditions have been made, the intermediate and conservative solutions are exactly the same.

2.2 The exclusion of radical right parties from government

Table A1.22 shows that there are no necessary conditions for the exclusion of radical right parties from government in the period after the countries' accession to the EU.

Table A1.22: Parameters of fit necessity: Exclusion of radical right parties from government (since EU membership)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	0.46	0.50	0.35
GALTANPROX	0.15	0.62	0.17
SEATS	0.23	0.60	0.23
FRAG	0.69	0.32	0.41
SAMESIDE	0.23	0.56	0.21
∼LRECONPROX	0.54	0.81	0.64
∼GALTANPROX	0.85	0.71	0.69
∼SEATS	0.77	0.72	0.67
∼FRAG	0.31	0.92	0.67
∼SAMESIDE	0.77	0.78	0.71

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019).

The analysis of sufficiency yields fewer, and slightly different, solution paths than in the period after the first third-generation elections because some cases have already been included in the period before EU membership (see Table A1.23). However, both approaches to periodisation result in similar findings. Here, again the absence of socio-cultural proximity between radical right parties and the formateur is included in three of the four solution paths, and the cases covered by the solution comprise a large number of parties that remained in opposition due to a cordon sanitaire, sometimes despite otherwise favourable conditions.

C) Recalibrating fragmentation

In Chapter 7, the set of fragmented party systems was calibrated to assign party systems with more than 4.0 effective parliamentary parties a membership score of 1. The two cases with a fragmentation of 3.9 and 4.0, Latvia and Slovakia in 2010, were characterised as moderately complex bargaining situations, because the level of complexity in these two cases was more similar to party systems with lower fragmentation. Hence, both cases were not included in the set of fragmented party sys-

Table A1.23: Sufficient conditions for the exclusion of radical right parties from government (since EU membership)

Conservative/intermediate solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~SAMESIDE	0.38	0.23	1.00	CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE RO_2007_PRM SK_2010_SNS SK_2020_ĽSNS
LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*~FRAG	0.15	0.15	1.00	BG_2013_Ataka LV_2010_NA
~LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*FRAG	0.31	0.15	1.00	BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE
LRECONPROX*~SEATS*FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.23	0.23	1.00	EE_2016_EKRE SK_2016a_ĽSNS SK_2016b_ĽSNS
Solution coverage: 0.92; Solution consistency: 1.00				
Parsimonious solution**				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~SEATS*~SAMESIDE	0.54	0.15	1.00	BG_2013_Ataka CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE EE_2016_EKRE SK_2010_SNS SK_2016a_ĽSNS SK_2016b_ĽSNS

∼LRECONPROX*∼GALTANPROX	0.54	0.08	1.00	BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE RO_2007_PRM SK_2010_SNS SK_2020_ĽSNS
∼GALTANPROX*∼FRAG	0.31	0.00	1.00	BG_2013_Ataka LV_2010_NA RO_2007_PRM SK_2010_SNS
∼GALTANPROX*∼SEATS	0.62	0.00	1.00	BG_2013_Ataka BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE EE_2016_EKRE LV_2010_NA SK_2010_SNS
Solution coverage: 0.92; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* Since no directional expectations on individual conditions have been made, the intermediate solution is exactly the same as the conservative solution.

** The prime implicants ∼GALTANPROX*∼FRAG and ∼GALTANPROX*∼SEATS are tied. The parsimonious solution includes both prime implicants.

tems. Lowering the threshold to 3.8 and thus including both cases in this set changes the results marginally. Since both cases concern the period after the first third-generation elections, the results of the earlier period are not affected.

1. Government participation of radical right parties

Table A1.24 shows that changing the calibration of the FRAG condition does not affect the conclusions regarding necessary conditions. The consistencies of FRAG and ∼FRAG remain constant, while the RoN and coverage scores change marginally.

Table A1.24: Parameters of fit necessity: Government participation of radical right parties (after first third-generation elections)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	0.73	0.52	0.50
GALTANPROX	0.67	0.88	0.77
SEATS	0.67	0.79	0.67
FRAG	0.87 (0.87)	0.43 (0.52)	0.52 (0.57)
SAMESIDE	0.73	0.83	0.73
∼LRECONPROX	0.27	0.73	0.33
∼GALTANPROX	0.33	0.45	0.24
∼SEATS	0.33	0.52	0.26
∼FRAG	0.13 (0.13)	0.78 (0.72)	0.22 (0.18)
∼SAMESIDE	0.27	0.50	0.21

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019); values in parentheses report parameters of fit in the original analysis.

The new truth table (see Table A1.25) shows that changing the calibration results in one additional logical remainder, since the case of the Slovak SNS in 2010 now has the same configuration as the Czech Úsvit in 2013 and the Estonian EKRE in 2015. The change neither resolves the previously existing contradiction nor does it create a new one.

Table A1.25: Truth table: Government participation of radical right parties (after first third-generation elections)

	LRECON-PROX	GALTAN-PROX	SEATS	FRAG	SAMESIDE	GOVPART	Raw consistency	Number of cases	Cases
1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1.00	4	LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2014b_NA LV_2018_NA
2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1.00	3	SK_2006_SNS SK_2016a_SNS SK_2016b_SNS
3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1.00	2	BG_2014_PF BG_2016_PF
4	1	1	0	1	1	1	1.00	2	PL_2005_LPR PL_2006_LPR
5	0	1	0	0	1	1	1.00	1	BG_2009_Ataka
6	0	1	1	0	1	1	1.00	1	BG_2017_UP
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.00	1	LV_2016_NA
8	1	0	1	1	0	0	0.50	2	CZ_2017_SPD EE_2019_EKRE
9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	3	BG_2013_Ataka PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR

10	0	0	0	1	0	0	0.00	3	CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE SK_2010_SNS
11	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.00	2	RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM
12	1	0	0	1	0	0	0.00	2	BG_2005_Ataka EE_2016_EKRE
13	1	1	0	1	0	0	0.00	2	SK_2016a_ĽSNS SK_2016b_ĽSNS
14	0	0	0	1	1	0	0.00	2	BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka
15	1	0	1	0	0	0	0.00	1	RO_2000_PRM
16	0	0	1	1	0	0	0.00	1	SK_2020_ĽSNS
17	1	1	0	0	1	0	0.00	1	HU_1998_MIÉP
18	1	0	0	1	1	0	0.00	1	LV_2010_NA
19	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	

20	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	
21	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	0	
22	0	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	
23	1	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	
24	0	1	0	1	0	?	?	0	
25	0	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	
26	0	0	0	0	1	?	?	0	
27	1	0	0	0	1	?	?	0	
28	0	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
29	1	0	1	0	1	?	?	0	
30	1	1	1	0	1	?	?	0	
31	0	0	1	1	1	?	?	0	
32	0	1	1	1	1	?	?	0	

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

As the change in the calibration concerns only cases in which radical right parties remained in opposition, it does not affect the conservative solution yielded by the analysis of sufficient conditions for the participation of radical right parties in government in the period after the first third-generation elections (see Table A1.26). Additionally, the recalibrated cases are not covered by any of the logical remainders that were used for crafting the intermediate solution in the original analysis (see Chapter 9.1).

Table A1.26: Sufficient conditions for the government participation of radical right parties (after first third-generation elections)

Conservative/intermediate solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*SEATS*FRAG	0.27	0.20	1.00	LV_2016_NA SK_2006_SNS SK_2016a_SNS SK_2016b_SNS
LRECONPROX*SEATS*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.33	0.27	1.00	LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2014b_NA LV_2016_NA LV_2018_NA
∼LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*∼FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.13	0.13	1.00	BG_2009_Ataka BG_2017_UP
GALTANPROX*∼SEATS*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.27	0.27	1.00	BG_2014_PF BG_2016_PF PL_2005_LPR PL_2006_LPR
Solution coverage: 0.93; Solution consistency: 1.00				
Parsimonious solution**				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*

GALTANPROX*SEATS	0.33	0.20	1.00	BG_2017_UP LV_2016_NA SK_2006_SNS SK_2016a_SNS SK_2016b_SNS
SEATS*SAMESIDE	0.40	0.27	1.00	BG_2017_UP LV_2011_NA LV_2014a_NA LV_2014b_NA LV_2016_NA LV_2018_NA
GALTANPROX*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.33	0.13	1.00	BG_2014_PF BG_2016_PF LV_2016_NA PL_2005_LPR PL_2006_LPR
∼LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX	0.27	0.00	1.00	BG_2009_Ataka BG_2014_PF BG_2016_PF BG_2017_UP
∼LRECONPROX*∼SEATS*∼FRAG	0.07	0.00	1.00	BG_2009_Ataka
∼LRECONPROX*∼FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.13	0.00	1.00	BG_2009_Ataka BG_2017_UP
Solution coverage: 0.93; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* Since no directional expectations on individual conditions have been made, the intermediate solution is exactly the same as the conservative solution.

** The prime implicants ∼LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX, ∼LRECONPROX*∼SEATS*∼FRAG, and ∼LRECONPROX*∼FRAG*SAMESIDE are tied. The parsimonious solution includes all three prime implicants.

2. The exclusion of radical right parties from government

The recalibration of fragmentation results in marginal changes to the parameters of fit necessity for the negative outcome (see Table A1.27). However, there are still no necessary conditions for the exclusion of radical right parties from government in the period after the first third-generation elections.

Table A1.27: Parameters of fit necessity: Exclusion of radical right parties from government (after first third-generation elections)

Condition	Consistency	RoN	Coverage
LRECONPROX	0.58	0.52	0.50
GALTANPROX	0.16	0.68	0.23
SEATS	0.26	0.66	0.33
FRAG	0.63 (0.53)	0.41 (0.46)	0.48 (0.44)
SAMESIDE	0.21	0.63	0.27
∼LRECONPROX	0.42	0.85	0.67
∼GALTANPROX	0.84	0.72	0.76
∼SEATS	0.74	0.75	0.74
∼FRAG	0.37 (0.47)	0.93 (0.92)	0.78 (0.82)
∼SAMESIDE	0.79	0.79	0.79

Source: Created with QCA Package for R (Duşa 2019); values in parentheses report parameters of fit in the original analysis.

The conservative solution in Table A1.28 is somewhat different from the one resulting from the original calibration of fragmentation in Chapter 9 (see Table 9.5). In the original analysis of sufficiency, the intermediate solution was crafted by reversing the minimisation step that led to dropping the condition SAMESIDE from the first solution path. Thus, the intermediate solution better illustrates which conditions led to the negative outcome when the SAMESIDE condition was present or absent, respectively. The same procedure is used here. After this step, the two intermediate solutions are quite similar and illustrate that the recalibration does not result in a significant change of the explanatory patterns for the negative outcome.

Table A1.28: Sufficient conditions for the exclusion of radical right parties from government (after first third-generation elections)

Conservative solution				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*FRAG	0.42	0.32	1.00	BG_2005_Ataka BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE EE_2016_EKRE LV_2010_NA SK_2010_SNS
LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.21	0.21	1.00	BG_2013_Ataka PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR RO_2000_PRM
~LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*SEATS*~SAMESIDE	0.16	0.16	1.00	RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM SK_2020_ĽSNS
LRECONPROX*~SEATS*FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.21	0.11	1.00	BG_2005_Ataka EE_2016_EKRE SK_2016a_ ĽSNS SK_2016b_ĽSNS
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*~SEATS*~FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.05	0.05	1.00	HU_1998_MIÉP
Solution coverage: 0.95; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Intermediate solution				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.16	0.16	1.00	BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka LV_2010_NA
LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX*~SEATS*~FRAG*SAMESIDE	0.05	0.05	1.00	HU_1998_MIÉP
~GALTANPROX*~SEATS*FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.26	0.16	1.00	BG_2005_Ataka CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE EE_2016_EKRE SK_2010_SNS
LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*~FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.21	0.21	1.00	BG_2013_Ataka PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR RO_2000_PRM
~LRECONPROX*~GALTANPROX*SEATS*~SAMESIDE	0.16	0.16	1.00	RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM SK_2020_ĽSNS
LRECONPROX*~SEATS*FRAG*~SAMESIDE	0.21	0.11	1.00	BG_2005_Ataka EE_2016_EKRE SK_2016a_ ĽSNS SK_2016b_ĽSNS
Solution coverage: 0.95; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Parsimonious solution*				
Solution paths	*Raw coverage*	*Unique coverage*	*Consistency*	*Cases*
~SEATS*~SAMESIDE	0.53	0.11	1.00	BG_2005_Ataka BG_2013_Ataka CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE EE_2016_EKRE PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR SK_2010_SNS SK_2016a_L'SNS SK_2016b_L'SNS
~GALTANPROX*~SEATS	0.58	0.05	1.00	BG_2005_Ataka BG_2013_Ataka BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE EE_2016_EKRE LV_2010_NA PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR SK_2010_SNS

LRECONPROX*∼FRAG	0.26	0.11	1.00	BG_2013_Ataka HU_1998_MIÉP PL_2001_LPR PL_2003_LPR RO_2000_PRM
∼LRECONPROX*∼SAMESIDE	0.32	0.00	1.00	CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM SK_2010_SNS SK_2020_ĽSNS
∼LRECONPROX*∼GALTANPROX	0.42	0.00	1.00	BG_2014_Ataka BG_2016_Ataka CZ_2013_Úsvit EE_2015_EKRE RO_2004_PRM RO_2007_PRM SK_2010_SNS SK_2020_ĽSNS
Solution coverage: 0.95; Solution consistency: 1.00				

Source: Created with fsQCA 3.0 (Ragin and Davey 2016).

* The prime implicants ∼LRECONPROX*SAMESIDE and ∼LRECONPROX*GALTANPROX are tied. The parsimonious solution includes both prime implicants.

Appendix II. Salience of socio-economic and socio-cultural issues in Central and Eastern European party systems

Since the 2014 wave, the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) provides data on the salience of the socio-economic and socio-cultural dimensions for the individual parties, in addition to their positions (Jolly et al. 2022). The salience ranges from 0 (low) to 10 (high). The average salience of each dimension in the party system can be obtained by summing the salience of the respective dimension for each party and weighting it by their vote share. The mathematical formula for calculating the salience is as follows:

$$\text{Salience} = \Sigma\{(\text{salience}_i * \text{vote share}_i)/(\Sigma\text{vote share}_i)\}$$

where i represents individual parties. Table A2.1 shows the average salience of the socio-economic and socio-cultural dimensions in the countries covered by this study in the second half of the 2010s, which is based on the salience of the LRECON and GALTAN dimensions in the 2014 and 2019 CHES waves.

Table A2.1: Salience of the socio-economic and socio-cultural dimension in the second half of the 2010s

Country	LRECON salience	GALTAN salience
Bulgaria	6.71	4.93
Czech Republic	6.87	4.94
Estonia	7.27	6.78
Hungary	7.20	7.58
Latvia	6.60	5.76
Poland	6.55	7.21
Romania	7.02	5.27
Slovakia	6.09	5.49

Source: Own compilation, based on data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (Jolly et al. 2022).

Appendix III. Calibration of the higher-order condition of fundamentally similar socio-cultural positions

Table A3.1 displays the calibration of the higher-order condition of fundamentally similar socio-cultural positions of radical right parties and formateurs (SOCCUL). The SOCCUL condition is true if GALTANPROX is present and/or SAMESIDE is present and based on ideological polarisation that originates from socio-cultural divides.

Table A3.1: Calibration of the higher-order condition of socio-cultural similarity (SOCCUL)

Country	Formation year	Party	Set membership: socio-cultural proximity (GALTAN-PROX)*	Set membership: bipolar opposition in the party system (SAME-SIDE)*	Fundamentally similar socio-cultural positions (SOCCUL)	
					Description	*Set membership*
Bulgaria	2005	Ataka	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between Ataka and BSP; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2009	Ataka	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between Ataka and GERB; bipolar opposition in the party system, but not based on socio-cultural divides	1
	2013	Ataka	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between Ataka and BSP; bipolar opposition in the party system, but not based on socio-cultural divides	0
	2014	Ataka	0	1	No socio-cultural proximity between Ataka and GERB; bipolar opposition in the party system, but not based on socio-cultural divides	0
		PF	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between PF and GERB; bipolar opposition in the party system, but not based on socio-cultural divides	1
	2016	Ataka	0	1	No socio-cultural proximity between Ataka and GERB; bipolar opposition in the party system, but not based on socio-cultural divides	0
		PF	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between PF and GERB; bipolar opposition in the party system, but not based on socio-cultural divides	1
	2017	UP	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between UP and GERB; bipolar opposition in the party system, but not based on socio-cultural divides	1

Czech Republic	1992	SPR-RSČ	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between SPR-RSČ and ODS; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	1996	SPR-RSČ	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between SPR-RSČ and ODS; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2013	Dawn	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between SPR-RSČ and ČSSD; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2017	SPD	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between Dawn and ANO; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
Estonia	1992	ERSP	1	0	Socio-cultural proximity between ERSP and Pro Patria; no bipolar opposition in the party system	1
	2015	EKRE	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between EKRE and ER; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2016	EKRE	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between EKRE and EK; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2019	EKRE	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between EKRE and EK; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
Hungary	1998	MIÉP	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between MIÉP and Fidesz; bipolar opposition based primarily on socio-cultural divides	1

Latvia	2010	NA	0	1	No socio-cultural proximity between NA and Unity; bipolar opposition based primarily on socio-cultural divides	1
	2011	NA	0	1	No socio-cultural proximity between NA and Unity; bipolar opposition based primarily on socio-cultural divides	1
	2014a	NA	0	1	No socio-cultural proximity between NA and Unity; bipolar opposition based primarily on socio-cultural divides	1
	2014b	NA	0	1	No socio-cultural proximity between NA and Unity; bipolar opposition based primarily on socio-cultural divides	1
	2016	NA	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between NA and ZZS; bipolar opposition based primarily on socio-cultural divides	1
	2019	NA	0	1	No socio-cultural proximity between NA and Unity; bipolar opposition based primarily on socio-cultural divides	1
Poland	2001	LPR	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between LPR and SLD; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2003	LPR	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between LPR and SLD; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2005	LPR	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between LPR and PiS; bipolar opposition in the party system, but not based primarily on socio-cultural divides	1
	2006	LPR	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between LPR and PiS; bipolar opposition in the party system, but not based primarily on socio-cultural divides	1

Romania	1992	PRM	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between PRM and FDSN; bipolar opposition in the party system based on the regime divide	1
		PUNR	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between PUNR and FDSN; bipolar opposition in the party system based on the regime divide	1
	1994	PRM	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between PRM and PDSR; bipolar opposition in the party system based on the regime divide	1
		PUNR	1	1	Socio-cultural proximity between PUNR and PDSR; bipolar opposition in the party system based on the regime divide	1
	1996	PRM	0	0	Socio-cultural proximity between PRM and PNŢCD; bipolar opposition in the party system based on the regime divide but radical right party and formateur not in the same camp	0
		PUNR	0	0	Socio-cultural proximity between PUNR and PNŢCD; bipolar opposition in the party system based on the regime divide but radical right party and formateur not in the same camp	0
	1999	PRM	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between PRM and PNŢCD; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
		PUNR	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between PUNR and PNŢCD; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2000	PRM	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between PRM and PDSR; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2004	PRM	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between PRM and PNL; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0
	2007	PRM	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between PRM and PNL; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0

Slovakia	1992	SNS	1	0	Socio-cultural proximity between SNS and HZDS; no bipolar opposition in the party system	1
	1994	SNS	1	0	Socio-cultural proximity between SNS and HZDS; no bipolar opposition in the party system	1
	1998	SNS	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between SNS and SDK; bipolar opposition in the party system based also on socio-cultural divides but radical right party and formateur not in the same camp	0
	2006	SNS	1	0	Socio-cultural proximity between SNS and Smer; no bipolar opposition in the party system	1
	2010	SNS	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between SNS and SDKÚ-DS; bipolar opposition in the party system based also on socio-cultural divides but radical right party and formateur not in the same camp	0
	2016a	SNS	1	0	Socio-cultural proximity between SNS and Smer; no bipolar opposition in the party system	1
		ĽSNS	1	0	Socio-cultural proximity between ĽSNS and Smer; no bipolar opposition in the party system	1
	2016b	SNS	1	0	Socio-cultural proximity between SNS and Smer; no bipolar opposition in the party system	1
		ĽSNS	1	0	Socio-cultural proximity between ĽSNS and Smer; no bipolar opposition in the party system	1
	2020	ĽSNS	0	0	No socio-cultural proximity between ĽSNS and OĽaNO; no bipolar opposition in the party system	0

Source: Own compilation; data on ideological positions: Chapel Hill Expert Survey (Jolly et al. 2022), amended by the author's qualitative assessment based on secondary literature (see Chapters 5 and 6).

* For the calibration of these conditions, see Chapter 7.

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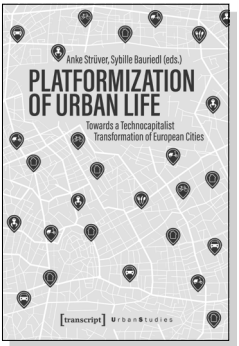

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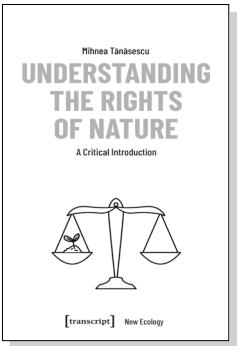

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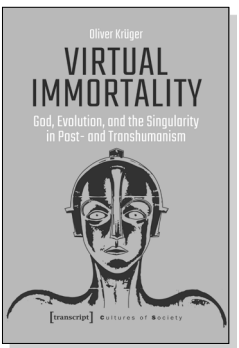

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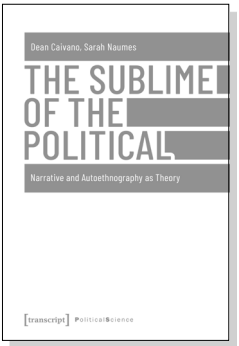

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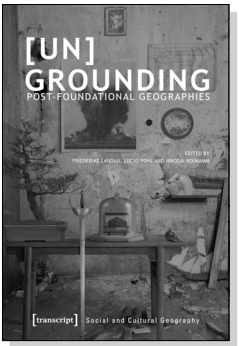

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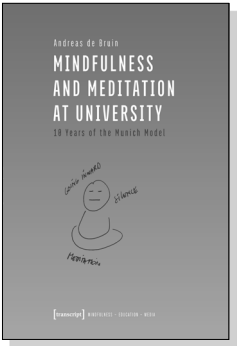

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