

The role of party organization in the electoral success of antiestablishment parties: ANO in the Czech Republic Cirhan, T.

Citation

Cirhan, T. (2021, May 12). The role of party organization in the electoral success of antiestablishment parties: ANO in the Czech Republic. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3161383

Version: Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3161383

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/3161383 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Cirhan, T.

Title: The role of party organization in the electoral success of anti-establishment parties:

ANO in the Czech Republic **Issue date**: 2021-05-12

Acknowledgements

Conducting research and the completion of the dissertation are arduous time and energy-consuming processes. As such, I would not be able to achieve either without the support of many people. First and foremost, I would like to express special thanks to both of my supervisors Prof. Dr Petr Kopecký and Dr Maria Spirova, for their enthusiastic help throughout my entire time of studies at Leiden University. They have been there for me during the whole time of planning the research, writing the proposal, conducting research and writing up the dissertation. Their expert feedback, friendly assistance, thoughtful support and permanent guidance in this work are invaluable. I would never be able to finish my doctorate without you.

Secondly, I would like to thank all interviewed politicians from ANO party that agreed to spend their time and energy and thus allowed me to collect crucial data for my research, your input in this study is irreplaceable. Because completion of this project took over four years, I cannot do justice to thank everyone, who was there for me and supported me, and I admit that I am risking that I will forget to mention someone. I would nevertheless like to start by thanking my colleague and friend Mgr. Jakub Stauber, PhD candidate at Charles University in Prague, for fruitful academic cooperation, enriching discussions about politics and overall support. I would like to express similar gratitude to Olga Brunnerová, PhD candidate at Metropolitan University Prague for her valuable help during editing of the dissertation. Importantly, I would like to thank all members of the doctoral committee for their valuable feedback.

My thanks also go to my colleague Pietro Votino for language assistance with Italian party data. I also recognise help from Dr Martin Bart, former PhD candidate at Leiden University for his assistance with translation of German party data. I am grateful to Dr Erik Bähre from the Institute of Cultural Anthropology of Leiden University for his feedback on my research proposal in the first year of my doctoral studies. Similarly, I much appreciate extensive input provided by Dr Sean Hanley from the UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London. Also, I would like to pay gratitude to Prof. Dr Jeroen Duindam, Modern History professor at Leiden University, for his assistance with preparation for attending the conference. On a similar note, I appreciate conference discussions and feedback given by Dr Sergiu Gherghina, lecturer in Comparative Politics at the University of Glasgow.

And last, but certainly not least, any academic accomplishment in my life, including the acquirement of a doctorate, would not be possible without love and support of my life partner Petra, who always believed in me and stood beside me.

Contents

Abstract	3
Abstract (Dutch)	4
Acknowledgements	5
Contents	6
List of tables	9
List of figures	10
List of Appendices	11
List of Acronyms	12
CHAPTER 1 Introduction	14
1.1. Failed Newcomers to Czech Party System	15
1.2. The Story of ANO's Electoral Success	20
1.3. ANO's Electoral Success as Part of Wider Phenomenon	23
1.4. Role of Party Organization in Electoral success	25
1.5. Plan of the Book	34
CHAPTER 2 Local party organization	36
2.1. Introduction	36
2.2. The Role of Local Party Organization in the Electoral Success	37
2.3. Methodological Approach	43
2.4. Empirical Analysis	44
2.4.1. Local Organizational Density	44
2.4.2. Local Organizational Density by Municipalities	49
2.4.3. Local Organizational Density per Number of Eligible Voters	
2.4.4. Local Organizational Autonomy	
2.5. Discussion and Conclusions	
CHAPTER 3 Party membership	73

3.1.	Introduction	73
3.2.	Role of Membership in the Electoral Success	75
3.3.	Methodological Approach	78
3.4.	Empirical Analysis	79
3.4.1	. Traditional Individual Membership - Size	79
3.4.2	. Restrictions on Traditional Individual Membership	83
3.4.3	. Number of Traditional Individual Members and Electoral Success	87
3.4.4	. Light membership - Party Sympathisers	89
3.4.5	. Party Sympathisers' Rights and Obligations	91
3.4.6	. Social Media Followers/Friends	93
3.5.	Discussion and Conclusions	95
СНАРТЕ	R 4 Party Elite	98
4.1.	Introduction	98
4.2.	Role of Party Elites in Electoral Success	101
4.3.	Methodological Approach	105
4.4.	Empirical Analysis	106
4.4.1	. Career Backgrounds and Political Experience of ANO's Elite	106
4.4.2	. Professional Links Between Elites	110
4.4.3	. Homogenous Party Elite and ANO as Cohesive Party	112
4.4.4	. ANO's Positive Public Image Stemming from Party Cohesion	114
4.5.	Discussion and Conclusions	116
	R 5 Organization of Anti-establishment Parties: A Compa	
5.1.	Introduction	118
5.2.	Role of Party Organizational Features in Electoral Success	119
5.3.	Different Party Organization Models	121

5.4.	Anti-establishment Parties in Europe: A Case Selection	123
5.5.	Methodological Approach	131
5.6.	Empirical Analysis	134
5.6	1. Local Party Organization	134
5.6	2. Party Membership	139
5.6	.3. Party Elite	145
5.7.	Discussion and Conclusions	150
CHAPT	ER 6 Conclusions	155
6.1.	Cohesive, Stable and Legitimate Party as a Formula for Electoral	l Success
		155
6.2.	General Outcome of the Research	159
6.3.	Directions for Further Research	162
6.1.	Further Discussion About the Role of ANO in Czech Politics	163
6.2.	References	174
6.3.	Interviews	214
6.4.	Appendices	215
6.5	Curriculum Vitae	235

List of tables

Table 1.1 Chamber of Deputies Electoral Results since 1992	17
Table 3.1 Party Membership Types	74
Table 5.1 Definition of Electoral Success of Anti-Establishment Parties	126
Table 5.2 Electoral Performance of ANO, TS, OL'aNO and FI	128
Table 5.3 Local Party Organizational Density	131
Table 5.4 Control of Local Party Organizational Autonomy	132
Table 5.5 Restrictions on Party Membership	133
Table 5.6 Party Elite Career Backgrounds	133
Table 5.7 Party Elite Professional Links	134
Table 5.8 Local Party Organizational Density of Anti-establishment Parties	135
Table 5.9 Local Party Organizational Density of Anti-establishment Parties	135
Table 5.10 Restrictions on Traditional Individual Party Membership	143
Table 5.11 Corporate links of parties' elites	147
Table 5.12 Party organizational features and electoral success	151

List of figures

	Figure 1.1 Electoral Performance of ANO	21
	Figure 1.2 Party Organizational Features and Electoral Success	30
	Figure 2.1 Local Party Organization and Electoral Success	40
	Figure 2.2 Local party organization network, March 2015	45
	Figure 2.3 ANO's Electoral results, 2013 General elections	46
	Figure 2.4 Local party organization network, March 2017	47
	Figure 2.5 ANO's Electoral results, 2016 Regional elections	48
	Figure 2.6 Local organizational density by municipalities	49
	Figure 2.7 Local organizational density by number of voters	51
	Figure 2.8 2013 General Election Locally Selected Candidates	57
	Figure 2.9 2017 General election locally selected candidates	58
	Figure 2.10 2013 General election locally selected (top 25% candidates)	59
	Figure 2.11 2017 General election locally selected (top 25% candidates)	60
	Figure 2.12 2013 – 2017 Elections re-nomination.	61
	Figure 3.1 Party Membership and Electoral Success	76
	Figure 3.2 Number of ANO's Traditional Individual Members	80
	Figure 3.3 M/E Traditional Individual Membership, Year 2017	81
	Figure 3.4 M/V Traditional Individual Membership Czech Parliamentary Parties	82
	Figure 3.5 Membership base size by region	87
	Figure 3.6 Electoral relevance of party membership for ANO	88
	Figure 3.7 Number of ANO's Sympathisers vs. Number of Traditional Indi	vidual
Memb	pers	89
	Figure 3.8 Sympathiser network size by region	90
	Figure 3.9 Number of ANO's Social Media Followers/Friends in Years Comp	arison
		94
	Figure 5.1 Anti-establishment Parties' Votes, EU Countries' Last General Ele	ctions
		126
	Figure 6.1 Findings Party Organization and Electoral Success	156

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 Local organizational density by municipalities	215
Appendix 2 Local organizational density by voters	216
Appendix 3 Locally selected candidates, general election 2013	217
Appendix 4 Locally selected candidates, general election 2017	218
Appendix 5 General election 2013, Locally selected (top 25 % candidates)	219
Appendix 6 General election 2017, Locally selected (top 25 % candidates)	219
Appendix 7 Candidates 2013 – 2017 general elections re-nomination	220
Appendix 8 Electoral relevance of party members	221
Appendix 9 ANO MPs	222
Appendix 10 ANO Mayors	223
Appendix 11 ANO Ministers	224
Appendix 12 ANO Party Praesidium	224
Appendix 13 ANO Regional Leaders	225
Appendix 14 ANO Regional Managers	225
Appendix 15 ANO Central Party Staff	226
Appendix 16 Overview of anti-establishment entrepreneurial parties	227
Appendix 17 TS MPs	230
Appendix 18 OĽaNO MPs	230
Appendix 19 FI MPs	231
Appendix 20 Regions of the Czech Republic	234

List of Acronyms

Acronym	Original Name	English Name
ANO	ANO2011	YES/YES2011
CZK	Česká Koruna	Czech Crown
ČSSD	Česká Strana Sociálně Demokratická	Czech Social Democratic Party
EU	European Union	European Union
EUR	Euro	Euro
FI	Forza Italia	Forward Italy
KDU-ČSL	Křesťanská a Demokratická Unie	Christian Democratic Union
KDU-CSL	 – Československá Strana Lidová 	-Czechoslovak People´s Party
KSČM	Vannaistial Stuare Časla Manara	Communist Party of Bohemia and
KSCM	Komunistická Strana Čech a Moravy	Moravia
ODA	Občanská demokratická aliance	Civic Democratic Alliance
ODS	Občanská Demokratická Strana	Civic Democratic Party
OĽaNO	Obyvšajní Ľvydia a nazávialá osobnasti	Ordinary People and Independent
OLano	Obyčajní Ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti	Personalities
Smer SD	Smer – sociálna demokracia	Direction – Social Democracy
SPD	Svoboda a přímá demokracie	Freedom and Direct Democracy
	Sdružoní pro Dopubliku	Coalition for Republic
SPR-RSC	Sdružení pro Republiku	- Republican Party of
	- Republikánská strana Československa	Czechoslovakia
STAN	Starostové a nezávislí	Mayors and Independents
SZ	Strana Zelených	Green Party
TOP 09	Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita	Tradition Responsibility Prosperity
TS	Team Stronach für Österreich	Team Stronach for Austria
US-DEU	Unie Svobody–Demokratická unie	Freedom Union–Democratic Union

VV Věci Veřejné Public Affairs
