

University of Hradec Králové
Philosophical Faculty

MASTER'S THESIS

2019

Luciana Carolina Serrano Parra

University of Hradec Králové

Philosophical Faculty

Department of History

**Electoral performance of the radical right in
Central Europe.**

The cases of Hungary and Czech Republic.

Master's Thesis

Author: Luciana Carolina Serrano Parra

Study programme: International Territorial Studies

Branch of Study: Central European Studies

Tutor: Mgr. Milan Hrubeš, Ph.D.

Hradec Králové

2019



Zadání diplomové práce

Autor: Luciana Carolina Serrano Parra

Studium: F152

Studijní program: N6744 International Area Studies

Studijní obor: Central European Studies

Název diplomové práce: **Electoral performance of the radical right in Central Europe. The cases of Hungary and Czech Republic.**

Název diplomové práce AJ: Electoral performance of the radical right in Central Europe. The cases of Hungary and Czech Republic.

Cíl, metody, literatura, předpoklady:

Extreme Right parties in Eastern Europe. Mudde, Cas. 2000. 2000, Patterns of Prejudice, pp. 6-27
Pirro, Andrea L. P. 2015. The Populist Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe. New York : Routledge, 2015. Pytlas, Bartek. 2016. Radical Right Parties in Central Europe and Eastern Europe. Mainstream party competition and electoral fortune. New York : Routledge, 2016. The Radical right in post-communist Europe. Comparative Perspectives on legacies and party competition. Bustikova, Lenka and Kitschelt, Herbert. 2009. 2009, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 42, pp. 459-483 Michael Minkenberg . Transforming the Transformation? The East European radical right in the political process. New York : Routledge, 2015

Anotace:

The radical right, is one of the party families that got more attention by the scholars, the electoral performance of this parties has been researched from many different perspectives, despite that, the Central European region cases have had considerable less attention than their counterparts in Western Europe. The success of the radical right in Central Europe is a lot less stable than in other cases and also has a different historical legacy. This work focuses on the electoral performance of radical right parties in Central Europe, specifically the case of the SPD in the Czech Republic and Jobbik in Hungary and the factors that take part in their electoral performance such as the demand-supply side interactions, issue framing and the role of mainstream parties. To do so two elections have been selected in each case, the 2013 and 2017 elections in the Czech Republic and the elections of 2010 and 2014 in Hungary.

Garantující pracoviště: Historický ústav,
Filozofická fakulta

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Milan Hrubeš, Ph.D.

Oponent: Mgr. Stanislav Myšíčka, Ph.D.

Datum zadání závěrečné práce: 18.12.2015

I declare that I have written this Master's thesis independently (under the supervising of the head supervisor of the thesis) and stated all employed sources and literature.

In Hradec Králové 29.07.2019

.....

Signature

Annotation

Serrano Parra, Luciana Carolina

Radikální pravice je jedna z rodin politických stran, které odborníci věnují více pozornosti. Volební kampaně těchto stran byly zkoumány z mnoha různých úhlů pohledu. I přesto se jim v regionech střední Evropy věnuje podstatně méně pozornosti než jejím protějškům v západní Evropě. Úspěch radikální pravice ve střední Evropě je mnohem méně stabilnější než v jiných případech a navazuje na jiný historický odkaz. Tato práce se zaměřuje na volební kampaně radikálně pravicových stran ve střední Evropě, konkrétně SPD v České republice a Jobbik v Maďarsku, ale také faktory, které hrají důležitou roli v jejich kampaních, tj. interakce nabídky a poptávky, rámcování problémů a role mainstreamových stran. Pro tento účel byly vybrány volby z r. 2013 a 2017 v České republice a z r. 2010 a 2014 v Maďarsku.

Klíčová slova

Radikální pravice, volební výkon, rámcování problémů, Česká republika, Maďarsko

Contents

1	Introduction.....	1
2	Overview.....	3
2.1	The radical right. Discussions regarding the accurate terminology.....	3
2.2	New political parties and electoral performance.....	10
2.3	Important approaches in the study of the radical right.....	12
2.4	Supply and demand side.....	17
2.5	Framing and Issue ownership.....	20
2.6	Social Media.....	23
3	Methodology.....	25
4	Cases.....	28
4.1	The radical right in Central Europe.....	28
4.2	The SPD in the Czech Republic.....	36
4.2.1	Position of the radical right regarding specific topics. The case of Usvit in 2013 and the SPD in 2017.....	44
4.3	Jobbik, the Hungarian radical right.....	55
4.3.1	Electoral Performance of the Radical Right in Hungary.....	56
4.3.2	Position of the radical right regarding specific topics. The case of Jobbik in 2010 and 2014.....	65
5	Conclusions.....	75
6	References.....	76

List of Charts and Figures

Chart 1 Important aspects inside the demand and supply side

Chart 4.1 Different legacies of communism by phase

Chart 4.2 Visegrad group radical right parties during the 90's

Chart 4.3 Extreme right parties and Social Movement Organizations in the Visegrad countries during the 90's

Figure 1 Diagram of demand and supply side of the electoral performance of the radical right

Figure 4.2.1 Elections in Czech Republic 1992, 1996 and 1998

Figure 4.2.2 Czech Parliamentary Elections 2002, 2006 and 2010

Figure 4.2.3 Czech Parliamentary Elections 2013 and 2017

Figure 4.2.4 Voting trends in the Czech Republic 1992-2017

Figure 4.2.5 Radical Right Voting in the Czech Republic

Figure 4.2.6 Attitudes towards corruption 2013 and 2017

Figure 4.2.7 Position of the Czech parties regarding corruption

Figure 4.2.8 Position of the Czech parties regarding ethnic minorities

Figure 4.2.9 Evaluation of the coexistence of the Roma and non-Roma population in Czech Republic

Figure 4.2.10 Position of the Czech parties regarding European Integration

Figure 4.2.11 Position of the Czech parties regarding immigrants and asylum seekers 2014 and 2017

Figure 4.3.1 Parliamentary Elections Hungary 1994 and 1998

Figure 4.3.2 Parliamentary Elections Hungary 1998 and 2002

Figure 4.3.3 Parliamentary Elections Hungary 2002 and 2006

Figure 4.3.4 Parliamentary Elections Hungary 2006 and 2008

Figure 4.3.5 Parliamentary Elections Hungary 2010 and 2014

Figure 4.3.6 Trends in the vote for selected Hungarian parties

Figure 4.3.7 Radical right voting in Hungary 1994 - 2018

Figure 4.3.8 Position of the Hungarian Parties regarding corruption

Figure 4.3.9 Position of the Hungarian Parties regarding ethnic minorities

Figure 4.3.10 Position of the Hungarian Parties regarding European Integration

Abbreviations

- AfD: Alternative for Germany
- ANO: Action of Dissatisfied Citizens
- ATAKA: Political Party Attack
- ČSSD: Czechoslovak Social Democracy
- DSSS: Workers' Party/Workers' Party of Social Justice
- FIDESZ: Hungarian Civic Union
- FKgP: Independent Smallholders, Agrarian Workers and Civic Party
- JOBBIK: Movement for the Better Hungary
- KDNP: Christian Democratic Party
- KDÚ-ČSL: Cristian Democratic Union and Czechoslovak People's Party
- KPN-SN: Confederation for an Independent Poland
- KSČM: Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia
- LPR: League of Polish Families
- LSU: Liberal Social Union
- MDF: Hungarian Democratic Forum
- MIEP: Hungarian Justice and Life Party
- MOM: Hungarian Self-Defense Movement
- MS: Matica Slovenska (a cultural association for language and culture)
- MSZP: Hungarian Socialist Party
- NOP: Polish National Rebirth
- NSS: New Free Slovakia
- ODA: Civic Democratic Alliance
- ODS: Civic Democratic Party
- ONR: National Radical Camp
- PiS: Law and Justice
- PWN-PSN: Polish National Community-Polish National Party
- SNJ: Slovak National Union
- SNS: Slovak National Party
- SPD: Freedom and Direct Democracy
- SPR-RSČ: Coalition for Republic – Republican Party of Czechoslovakia
- SZ: Green Party
- SZDSZ: Alliance for Free Democrats
- TOP 09: Tradition REsponsibility Prosperity 09
- US: Freedom Union
- Úsvit: Dawn-National Coalition
- VV: Public Affairs

Electoral performance of the radical right in Central Europe.

The cases of Hungary and Czech Republic.

1 Introduction

The world politics seems to be changing, the last few years we have experienced an, apparently shift to the right that is giving a lot to talk about. New or renew parties with certain specific characteristics are collecting some success all around. The accurate definition to call this parties is still under discussion, according to the time in history, the term has been evolving from, radical right to extreme right and to the now popular denomination of populist radical right parties among the media. All in all, even though there is still a discussion about the correct terminology that should be used to characterize them, they are becoming active actors around the globe. If we follow their development we can notice that in many cases this parties have had, a group of “loyal voters”, who enabled them to be part of the political arena, yet without having, in most of the cases, a significant participation or relevance. This situation is possibly changing, the percentage of votes that they are obtaining has been increasing in comparison to past years, they are starting to gain importance and in some cases they are the protagonists of meaningful political changes.

The study of the radical right in general, is nothing new, this because it is not the first time that they are quite popular, but not everything has been said, Mudde (2016) remarks that the organization and strategies of the parties remain to be relevant for investigation because the parties are changing, old parties like the National Front in France are reinventing themselves and other ones, like the AfD in Germany, are just arising. Taking this in consideration is also important to note that the study of the radical right in Central Europe has been a little neglected in comparison to the Western cases, even though the parties have gain success for some years.

This research focuses in the electoral performance two selected political parties, one in Hungary and one in the Czech Republic. The cases were chosen because, while the parties have some similarities with each other, they have several differences, their organization and longevity is different as well as their relation with the mainstream parties and participation in the political system. Since the “gypsi crime” and “political crime” slogans of Jobbik during the campaign of 2009 and 2010, the time has pass and the popularity of the party seems irreversible, for its part the Czech case has some novel actors entering the political arena with relatively good results, this is interesting because the radical right was not that popular in the country after 1989, just in the period between 1992 and 1999 from the hand of the electoral success of SPR-RSČ. This is not the only interesting fact about the Czech Republic but also the constant emergence of new parties, the work of Obert and Müller (2017) on the country, show the relevance that the case has regarding the appearance and survival of new political parties, fact that we have to take in consideration in order to analyze the Czech case.

At the same time, the cases of the radical right parties in Central Europe are worthy of attention because they have several particularities, outside the clear legacies of their communistic past, another particularity is the momentary glory of the parties that appear, have some electoral success and quick lose it again, this parties do not build a strong institutionalization like for example the National Front in France which counts with a 47-year trajectory. One case that shows the possibility of going from mainstream to margin is Poland, which lacks of a radical right parliamentary party at the moment, but as Kasprowicz remarks the participation of this parties in the past have already sharpened the political and social life in Poland, the repercussion of the moments of glory seem visible until today. (Kasprowicz 2015: 178).

This work will focus in the Central European region and more precisely in two specific parties, one in the Czech Republic and one in Hungary and their electoral performance, offering qualitative data regarding the past two parliamentary elections in the case of Czech Republic and in the parliamentary elections of 2010 and 2014 for Hungary, in order to explore factors that take part in their electoral performance, as well as the role of the mainstream parties in both cases and the interaction between the supply and demand side of

the political system. To make a proper structure for the analysis is necessary to revise the different theoretical and methodological approaches that are part of this research field as well as important historical aspects for each case.

2 Overview

2.1 The radical right. Discussions regarding the accurate terminology.

The research of radical right parties has gone through long discussions, theoretical and methodological. One of the first issues was of course the one related to find a proper name to characterize this parties and it was not an easy task, there is still not a proper consensus about it. From extreme right to populist radical right the discussion is still active.

It is necessary to go back to this discussion in this work in order to justify the reason why those parties have been put in the same branch, there is an extended bibliography when it comes to the point of characterizing the radical wing family, we will mention some of the most important points of view.

Roger Eatwell in his work on the rebirth of extreme right in Western Europe, point out the difference between the terms radical right, extreme right and populist right parties.

For some time after 1945, 'radical right' was the preferred academic term for groups which shared an affinity with pre-war fascism. (Eatwell 2000) The use of the term lost popularity, mainly due to the success of the neo-conservatism parties in the United States or Great Britain, parties that challenged the ideas of the welfare state and that shared certain values with the traditional radical right, like the strong figure of a leader, the nationalism or to some extent the anti-immigration sentiment. During the 1960's and the 1970's the term of extreme right seemed to be more accurate to characterized parties that showed certain hostility to democracy, racism, support for a strong state and nationalism, according to Eatwell the most common claim is that this parties are to some extent anti-system.

Following this idea is also important to mention that these last years the term of "populist right" or "populist radical right" has gain some popularity to characterize a certain political

style, charismatic leadership and anti-establishment rhetoric, not just for the scholars but as well as the mass media and social media.

Even though we decided to use another term to characterize this parties is important to assess the reason of the decision to leave this popular term aside, in his work Mudde gives the following definition;

The third and final core feature is populism which is here defined as an ideological feature, and not merely as a political style. Accordingly, populism is understood as a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, “the pure people” versus “the corrupt elite,” and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people (Mudde 2004: 543)

Mudde is not the only author who has focus on the definition of populism, actually, several authors have written about how to define or redefine the term and nowadays it has gained more popularity because of the success that many political actors with this characteristic have gathered around the world. This is also the exact reason why there has been a long discussion regarding the nature of the term, if the populism is either an ideology, a discursive strategy or an instrument to assure mobilization. From extended works such as “La razón populista”, by Ernesto Laclau positioning populism as a way to actually make politics, to the works of Arditì capturing the relationship between populism and democracy to definitions that situate populism as politics that some politicians use in order to affect the elite but without really benefiting lower classes (Acemoglu, Egorov and Sonin 2012: 795) to others that see populism as not just anti-elitist but anti-pluralist with a moralistic imagination of politics and as a permanent shadow of modern representative democracies (Werner-Müller 2016) it is possible to note the polemic that the term represents. For too long, scholars working on the topic had retained a myopic focus on specific instances of populist politics, leading to overly broad and insufficiently substantiated generalizations about populism’s universal features. (Gidron and Bonikowski 2013: 32) Exactly because of this definition issues, is that for

purposes of this work the decision has been made to leave the term populist aside, it is already difficult to define accurately the radical right and adding such a controversial term as populism can complicate our choice regarding the political parties that have been selected for this research.

Several efforts have been made to determinate the accurate term no name the type of parties that are being studied here, it has been a task of years, this taking also in consideration that the study has developed and its developing constantly. It is a challenge not just to find a way to study them or to find relevant topics inside the research but even naming and differentiating them has become a challenge.

In the 80's Daniel Seiler worked in a separation of political party families, basing himself in studies of Marx and Rokka and he arrived to the conclusion that the radical right parties were difficult to differentiate, he called them "deviant cases" and identified five main characteristics that could be taken in consideration at the moment of identifying them, those characteristics are, the nostalgic and the fascist reaction, the common man protest, the rural pauperism and the "inaiviscisme" of the guaranteed (Seiler 1980) this is a result of the need that the author had to characterize the parties in a very rigorous way, this exercise can bring difficulties at the moment to choose who stays in and who stays out, other authors like Lane and Ersson followed the same logic, they named the parties "ultra-rightist parties" and developed a difficult set of ideological criteria that the parties had to comply. (Lane and Erssons 1987)

Developing another type of categorization, a little bit less rigid, Piero Ignazi opens the 90's, identifying three spectrums to characterize the extreme right (Ignazi 1992: 7):

- Placement in the political spectrum (spatial)
- Declared party ideology and its reference to fascism (historical – ideological)
- Attitude towards the political system (attitudinal – systemic)

With the identification of this spectrums Ignazi tried to developed a less rigid differentiation that could include the parties even if they do not had a fascist heritage, this aspect has a grand importance, because of course the main idea of a radical right party was its relation with the

fascism and the characteristics that the parties could take from it, with the time it was possible to identify that a party could be radical right even with the absence of fascist heritage, this applies as well for a parties acceptance to the political system or not, in other words, a radical right party may have certain accentuated characteristics over others, that's why the author insists on the difference between old and new extreme right parties. (Ignazi 1992: 16)

Related to this issue is, as well, the differentiation that Matt Golder (2003) makes when it comes to the extreme right parties, he points out that a party doesn't have to be fascist to form part of the group, but he does take in consideration the populist character of the parties going back to Canovan (2004) who points out the non-sectional character of the radical right meaning for example not a specific social class interest.

On the other hand, Michael Minkenberg points in his work two main ways to identify the right wing movements and political parties, one related to their fundamental distinction and the second one regarding their way of organizing themselves. Inside the first group we can find four sub-groups.

1.- *Autocratic-fascist right* characterized by using racism and being at the same time inspired by right wing dictators from other periods.

2.- *Racist or ethno-centrist but non fascist right* characterized by using ethno pluralist arguments for incompatibility of cultures and ethnicities.

3.-*Populist-authoritarian right* organized around a strong charismatic leader and diffuse nationalist or xenophobic ideology.

4.-*Religious-fundamentalist right*, merging nationalism and xenophobia with religious rigidity.

The second way of characterizing the parties or movement is mainly related with their type of organization, in this sense the author point 3 sub-groups.

1.-Groups that seek public office and organize themselves through political parties and electoral campaigns.

2.-Groups that do not nominate candidates for public offices but try to mobilize support through larger social movements.

3.-Smaller groups and social-cultural milieus, which do not exhibit formal organizational structures.

This categorization takes in consideration several aspects in order to classify the radical right, and not just that but makes an elemental but important differentiation between a radical right party and radical right movement.

Although making a distinction between a radical right party and a movement seems quite basic, it is of vital importance, taking in consideration that in the Central European region, movements that have and reproduce the ideology of the radical right parties have emerged many times but do not have the same electoral objectives. This is for example the case of the Magyar Gárda in Hungary, the Polish National Union and other groups around the region.

Despite their differences, as some authors point out the radical right parties resemble the social movements in two very important aspects, one of them is the intention to mobilize actively the public support and the other one is the way that they offer interpretative frames for particular issues. (Lucardie 2000, Minkenberg 2002, Pirro 2015) This means that what can bring the radical right movements and parties together is the way that they organize and also how they play at the moment to frame the issues and make them their own issues, this appropriation of issues is very important for the objectives of this research.

Ramet, for example, sees the radical right as a form of organized intolerance, he understands that this attitude comes as a result of an intolerance towards outsiders and an exacerbation of traditional values, this combined with the intention to impose this sentiment to an entire community or nation. (Ramet 1999: 4)

One of the latest works on the radical right in Central Eastern Europe, is the one of Andrea Pirro, he recovers this relations of the radical right parties with the social movements to remark the importance of the mobilization and the framing, but in his definition he adds as well the populist component, this because he argues that this can incorporate clarity to his

work regarding Attaka, Jobbik and the SNS, because it seems that the populist component is somehow attached to the nativist ideology. (Pirro 2015: 6)

In the last time some other characteristics that have been seen as important, are the growing Euroscepticism of the radical right parties as well as their premarket attitudes and strong leadership, but if we would have to summarize into the most important characteristic through all the relevant literature to aspects make a lot of noise and appear as “super issue”: the nationalism and the anti-immigration. It seems to be quite a strong agreement regarding these two characteristics. (Merkl 2003, Carter 2005, Arzheimer 2009)

Bartek Pytlas is another author who has engaged himself in the study of the radical right in Central Europe, he picks up the last two important aspects that have been mention by other scholars as a “basic shopping list” (Pytlas 2016: 24) and adds a fundamental idea basing himself in a concept developed by Karl Mannheim in his work of 1925, this concept is the “core intention” which means the process of determining the character of the style of a thought. This means that it describes the time, context and basic mindset of a particular worldview (Weltanschauung), in other words finding its common denominator. (Pytlas 2016: 24)

Why is this important for our work and for the definition of radical right parties?

This tool used by Pytlas considers the importance of the ideology and the ways of specific articulation of frames, not just that but how they change in time and space, this makes the concept quite movable. What the author decides, is to put together the main ideas of nativism and nationalism and find a way to relate them with the context. This can be very useful to overcome the difficulties regarding the discussion over the correct definition of right wing radicalism, because it makes the concept adaptable in time, at the end the radical right parties are in constant movement and renewal, which in many cases allows them to survive or to success.

There is still an active discussion regarding the correct term to be used, there are differentiations that some authors make between extreme right, far right, radical right or populist right. For example, Uwe Backes sees the extremism as antithetical to democracy and

Mudde defines radicalism as democratic, but anti-liberal to democracy, what they have in common though, is that both are challenging to the contemporary values, Mudde determinates as well that some author like Adorno or Reich work with the term “far” right as beyond the ideological opposition between radicalism and democracy and consider it as a pathology of modern society (Mudde 2007). But the construction of the definition depends on fining a minimum of aspects that should be present in the radical right category, what scholars tend to agree is about nationalism being one of the main characteristics of this party family usually accompanied with ethnocentrism. According to Minkenberg, right-wing radicalism if defined as a political ideology with a core element of a myth of a homogeneous nation, it wants a government by the people but in terms of ethnocracy instead of democracy, the main characteristic is the effort to construct an idea of nation by radicalizing ethnic, religious, cultural and political criteria of exclusion, condensing it in an image of extreme collective homogeneity. (Minkenberg 2000: 175)

The radical right has been going to a process of reinventing itself and using different strategies of party competition, as well as some other mainstream parties. Some new radical right parties such as the Finns Party, the Alternative for Germany and the United Kingdom Independence Party have been using mainstream strategies to legitimate their discourse for the public opinion, this situation can be seen as well in the other way around with parties such as Fidesz or the PiS utilizing some radical right frames in their discourse. (Pytlas 2016) The differentiation of the radical right is important taking in consideration all this previously mentioned aspects, one of the most important tasks is to determinate the legacies that each party brings to the discussion as well as their ways to legitimize themselves, as we will see later in our analysis of the cases, Jobbik has a legacy of nationalist revolutionary movements as well as symbolical references from the past related to previous radical right movements (Pytlas 2016) the SPD in the Czech Republic for instance, even though is a new party with no apparent link with other former radical right parties, adopts the call of direct democracy that was earlier used by the radical right and resembles mostly the Western European party family by having a heavy anti-EU discourse as well as an anti-Islam one.

2.2 New political parties and electoral performance

After the discussion regarding the use of the term radical right, it is also important to review the notions of new parties as well as the ones of electoral performance. There are also different ideas about what is a new party and what exactly means electoral success, it is necessary to do this in order to analyze our selected parties because they both represent relative new actors that have different levels of electoral support. This will take us at the same time, to the discussion about the methodology that was decided to be used for this research.

When it comes to the study of new parties, there are of course different ways of forming a theoretical framework for the analysis, authors have focus in either researching the emergence of the parties or their success, this second term was also part of view from different perspectives, when it comes to the emergence the question is mainly related to what explains this phenomenon? But if the works will be focused in success it is necessary to define what we understand for success, as electoral results that developed in the crossing of the threshold, others see success as the quantity of seats that have been won in the elections and others see it as the permanence capability of the parties inside the party system. Pirro for his work, has divided the electoral performance in three, first if the results gained by the party encounter themselves between 0-5 per cent, then the performance is low, if the results are established between 6 -10 percent then they are moderate and finally if they represent the 11 percent or more the performance is high. (Pirro 2015: 174) This represents a useful tool when it comes to determinate what and how do we want to study.

Along with the success, the definition of new party, gave also a lot to talk about, the reason why we will specify and make a discussion about this definition is because the radical right was one of the party families that was more studied, together with the green parties, by the scholars that dedicated to find the reason not just of new party electoral success but for their formation and establishment.

The existing literature on this matter is of course vast and it come from different study periods, even though it seems easy to understand what new parties are, there are different perspectives that finally include some parties but exclude others.

For some scholars the new parties are those who arrive newly to the party system independently of their electoral results for others new parties are those who appear during a specific moment in history, all these decisions take to several methodological choices that will be explained during the development of this work.

Rochon for example, decided to include in his analysis all parties formed in the Netherlands after the approval of the proportional representation in 1917, meaning that he used a specific time to categorize the new parties, also in other works, he sets an important require, he would study just the parties that had national legislative representation at least one time. Berrington, in his work about Great Britain, decides to add the parties that were new to the original party system of the country. Janda meanwhile includes the legal parties that have won 5% of the legislatives seats in at least two successive elections.

Riggs sees a new party as any organization which nominates candidates for elections to a legislative (Riggs 1968: 51), Hodgkin define them as all political organization which regard themselves as parties and are generally so regarded. (Hodgkin 1961: 16)

Harmel in his works makes an interesting observation, he marks that the decisions of the researchers are useful for controlling their universe, he also sees that this can bring some difficulties of selection bias in the future, in an effort to contest this issue he and Robertson propose the definition of a new party as an organization that purports to have as one of its goals, the placement of its allowed members in governmental office. (Harmel and Robertson 1985)

In their work about the emergence of new parties in Central Eastern Europe, Grotz and T. Weber also remark the importance of separating brand new parties from the renewed ones, that is the reason why they follow the differentiation of Sikks. The genially new parties are those that are not successors to any previous parliamentary parties, have a novel name and structure and also don't have any kind of connection to previous leaders, in the other hand the newly created parties would be those formally new organizations that emerge though, from previous splinters or merges of existing parties. (Sikks 2005: 399)

Lucardie makes a distinction of the parties as prolocutors, purifying and prophetic, for him the first one are those who emerge and try to articulate particular interest but without an established ideology, the second ones are those that want to reform the ideology of their original party and the third ones are the ones that come with new ideologies in order to solve certain issues that are accepted as issues by the citizens. (Lucardie 2000) He mentions that Rochon for example already creates the definition of parties as mobilizers but he doesn't make a distinction between the prolocutors and the prophetic. Meanwhile Meguid speaks about niche parties as those who reject the class based orientation of politics and also the issues that they present are new and in some cases they can convert into single issue parties. (Meguid 2005: 347)

Meguid's definition takes us to another important aspect that has been taken in consideration in the literature, outside of the era in which the parties appear and the percentage of seats that they manage to achieve in elections, is the one related with deeper characteristics, for example the introduction of new topics in to the political arena, about this there are also some perspectives that are worth to review.

Lipset and Rokkan point out that the old parties reflect cleavage structures from the past, this doesn't mean that they cannot pick up new topics, but when they do fail in picking them up is a crucial moment for the new parties to emerge. The proliferation of new party candidates can actually be a referent of this inability. (Lawson and Merkl 1988)

2.3 Important approaches in the study of the radical right

After the revision of the term radical party and the different perspectives on success and new political parties, what follows is how was all this apply to the existing research on the radical right party family.

As it has been seen before, the study of the radical right is not new as well as the study of the emergence and electoral performance of new parties, what is interesting about this is that despite the quantity of existing research, there hasn't been consensus in several aspects as well as the way to approach the research. In order to revise the efforts that have been made

in the scholarship let's start mentioning first the three waves of study of radical right parties that Mudde points out:

- The first wave between 1945-1980 which is characterized by being more descriptive and historical
- The second wave between 1980-2000 predominated by ideas of the modernization theory
- The third one focus on the supply side of the radical right politics.

Mudde affirms that even though a lot of efforts have been made, there are still holes in the research that are necessary to fill in, like the need to focus in the parties with a qualitative approach or check the impacts that the parties have in aspects different than the foreign policy. (Mudde 2016)

The categorization that Mudde makes regarding the waves helps us to situate the time periods in which the research regarding the radical right was relevant, now in their work Krouwel and Bosch identify three approaches on the study of new parties (applies to the study of the radical right specifically as well), the first one is the institutional – formal approach in which the authors focus in the systemic variables that can affect the emergence of new political parties, such as electoral laws and threshold for example. (Harmel and Robertson 1985, Hug 2000). The second approach is the sociological approach which focuses in the transformation of cleavage structures or the change in the value orientation of the citizens (Inglehart 1977; Lipset and Rokkan 1967) finally the third approach which focuses in political opportunity structures and more immediate and temporal developments. (Pennings and Kennan 2003)

In his work, Golder makes a vast analysis on the role played by variables such as unemployment, immigration and electoral institutionalization and point out to the possibility that the institutions constrain the voters' choices given their preferences (Golder 2003: 559) in an another approach Tavits uses cross-sectional time series data in her work, regarding the emergence and success of new parties in new democracies, placing the new party emergence as dependent variable and choosing a long group of independent variables such as type of electoral system, length of democracy, turnout change, type of government and others.

(Tavits 2007) Harmel and Robertson focus on system level causes and conditions to party formation, they assign first the number of parties and then the electoral success as dependent variables and choose to allocate social and structural aspects such as population, pluralism, inequality and election system as independent variables. They arrive to the conclusion that the propensity to form new parties seems not to be related or restricted by structural variables. (Harmel and Robertson 1985: 517)

Inside of the study of the radical right parties and the perspective of political opportunity structures, Kai Arzheimer develops his work drawing a quantitative approach, he chooses the following variables to explain the electoral success of this parties across different countries in Western Europe:

- The Gallagher index to measure the disproportionality of electoral systems
- Lijphart index of territorial decentralization
- The comparative manifesto project to measure party positions inside their political programs.
- The effect of grand coalitions
- Finally, conjectural factors such as unemployment and number of asylum seekers.

The author chooses these variables in order to find out the degree of accessibility that, structural or environmental factors, produce for the success of the radical right in Western Europe. This set of variables are divided in those which can affect by long-term, medium-term or short-term and will later be used in a cross sectional study. We summarize this work here because it follows one of the approaches that have been used to address the radical right electoral success, a quantitative model based on the concept of political opportunity structures.

Now the most popular theoretical framework is actually the one related with the modernization theory. Minkenberg for example, uses this theory to analyze the emergence of the radical right parties, he explains it as follows:

Modernization can be understood as a process of social change characterized by increasing functional differentiation and personal autonomy. Accordingly,

I define right-wing radicalism as the effort to undo or combat modernization by radicalizing inclusionary and exclusionary criteria of belonging. It is the overemphasis on, or radicalization of, images of social homogeneity that characterizes extreme right-wing thinking, with the nation serving as the primary “we-group.” And this logic applies to a large extent to xenophobia, as well. In other words, right-wing extremism is a political ideology revolving around the myth of a homogenous nation – a romantic and populist ultra-nationalism hostile to liberal, pluralistic democracy, with its underlying principles of individualism and universalism. (Minkenberg 2013: 11)

This approach would be after adequate for the Central European region, together with the transformation theory, the fact that the countries of the region are so different and count with totally different historical heritages, makes it necessary to see farther, at the end for example, the East-Central European countries didn't develop as it was expected and also the Western countries had an important role for the regions democratization. (K. von Beyme 2015) That exact discussion will be resumed later, because is essential for understanding the radical right in the region.

Another interesting work that came as controversial, was the one of Ignazi about his idea of the silent counter-revolution, inside this term he points out the importance regarding the changes in the cultural level, related to a neo-conservative mood as legitimizer and changes in the societal level, related to a growing dissatisfaction with the political system, meaning that the radical right parties act as a sort of counter revolution that represents a reaction to the post-materialism. (Ignazi 1992: 25) He argues as well that anti-political and antiestablishment parties are more successful in a polarizing party system, both of his assertions were quite controversial, to the second one Abedi, dedicates a part of his work in which he affirms that this criterion can be applicable to other parties too and not just the radical right ones. (Abedi 2002: 570) Abedi's work also focuses in testing another hypothesis which comes from a work that was also determining as the one of Ignazi. In 1988 Herbert Kitschelt developed a research focused in the success of the Left-libertarian parties' trough Europe, to do so he used macro-structural and resource mobilization approaches, this work set down the foundations for a next one with the collaboration of Anthony McGann, this time

focus on the radical right in Western Europe. As a conclusion, the authors built three premises regarding the radical right occupation of a niche in electoral market contingency:

- Societies have an advanced capitalistic post-industrialist structure that increases the salience of the political division between more left-libertarian and more right authoritarian constituencies.
- The major parties of economic left and right go through a process of strategic convergence in which they alternate in government and/or join government coalitions
- The extreme right can do well in this provided configuration, if it finds its winning formula to attract right authoritarian support.

Let's focus a little bit more in the develop of this last idea. According to the authors the supply side of the radical right success is able to carry some kind of ideological factors and political elements that are coming from the collective actors (this logic was quite present in authors like Lucardie who insisted that the people were the ones legitimating the issues that the new parties were going to carry), the difference is that Kitschelt and McGann identify that the radical right was actually producing a winning formula across western Europe which consisted in the mix of ethnocentric authoritarianism and market liberalism. Now, the analysis of supply and demand-side factor that Kitschelt makes becomes sort of the dominant standard in the topics research.

Although authors like Norris and Mudde stand out an important issue. If a "winning formula" exists why are the parties not winning all the time?

This question has great relevance if we focus in the Central European case, because as Minkenberg and other authors point out, the radical right parties do not experience high stable electoral support in the region.

Other works such as the one of Lubbers, Gijsberts and Scheepers, focus more specifically on the voters, this means that the dependent variable would be specifically the extreme right voting, they choose a multilevel analysis including sociologic, economic and political factors. (Lubbers, Gijsberts and Scheepers 2002: 363)

The proliferation and strengthening of the radical right has pushed some researches to focus as well, in developing strategies to fight them, some of them point out the importance to consider the reason why this parties appear to create a proper contestation based on noncooperation and the empowerment of civic society (Schellenberg 2011) and others highlight also the importance to take other actors like, the media, in consideration. (Langerbacher 2011)

In the following sections we will revise more about two more approaches the one that take in account the demand and supply side interactions as well as the framing approach to the study of radical right parties' electoral success, this due to the importance that they have for this research and the chosen methodology.

2.4 Supply and demand side

Separating the features of supply – demand side and issue framing, come as necessary for the development of this work, because our analysis will be supported by these theories. Demand and supply side arguments have been used by different authors regarding the case of Western Europe (Carter 2005; Kirschelt and McGann 1995) as well as, in less extent, in the cases of Central-Eastern Europe (Pytlas 2016; Pirro 2015), so is not exactly a new approach but is totally useful for identifying certain characteristics of the electoral performance, and if we combine this with issue framing and some quantitative data is possible to learn a little bit more about the radical right parties in Central Europe.

Already Eatwell gave some idea about the importance of the demand side. Demand factors are undoubtedly the necessary prior condition for the success of the extreme right. But they are not sufficient. A complex mix of supply factors are necessary to help launch a party. (Eatwell 2003: 63)

The relationship between demand and supply side is quite interactive, is not just one part influencing the other but, both parts having and influence on each other. On the discussion of the previous works regarding the topic, we saw that Lucardie introduces a similar logic when he argues that those new issues, from what he called prophet parties, would have to be

previously accepted and legitimize by a considerable group of “concern citizens”, this for him is the first condition to make any political project acceptable.

The demand side refers to the public attitudes and the salience of certain issues which are previously outlined, some data like the one of the European Election Studies, is capable to measure the voter’s attitude respect to certain topics, now for example the standard Eurobarometer may be helpful as well to measure the issues in which the public insists of being the most important ones. The correspondence between demand and supply side should be an aspect that can explain the electoral success. (Pirro 2015: 170)

The supply side focuses in the party level, meaning that this time they will be the ones to translate social and cultural structures in programs of action or inaction, here comes the “complex mix” that Eatwell was mentioning, in order for this translation to be valuable it depends on the credibility that it receives or not from the demand side. It can of course happen that the issues that are presented will not be recognized as the most important and the party would lose the issue ownership. This is quite important for the radical right parties, because it seems that they are the ones who show themselves as the only ones who deal with certain issues, this study wants to show how this works in the two selected countries, and here is where the role of mainstream parties comes as fundamental, it appears that in the region they are actually adopting some of the radical right parties. The main concern is, if this can actually help them to weaken the support for the radical right or legitimize their ideology and make their electoral success easier.

Chart 1 Important aspects inside demand and supply side

Demand Side	Supply Side
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Factors that have the capability of shaping the outside conditions of support. -Modernization -Collective imaginations of identity -Socio-demographic patterns of the electorate -Questions of ethnic composition or migration -Attitudes of the public -Societal cleavage structures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -They can be party internal or party external. -Can be identify in the parties’ ideology or organization -Opportunity structures related to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Openness of electoral system = threshold, electoral models, etc. → Patterns of issue competition = alignments conflict and cleavages. → Availability of elite alliances = Role of mainstream parties.

The combination of demand side and supply side factors is justified on the basis that political elite must supply parties that reflect popular demands or risk electoral failure. (Rose and Munro 2009: 1) The demand side of the system can be seen as some kind of electoral reserve; the radical right parties can use this in order to prepare their mobilization, of course there are several factors that affect in this part, the opportunity structures and the capability of resource mobilization (Tarrow 1999, Mudde 2007) are part of a crucial moment for the radical right, they can be able or not to use this in their favor. This is the complexity of the relation of demand and supply, they influence each other constantly, the supply side will put some topics that have to be assimilated by the demand side in order to make the system flow. The following figure can clarify a little this complex relation.

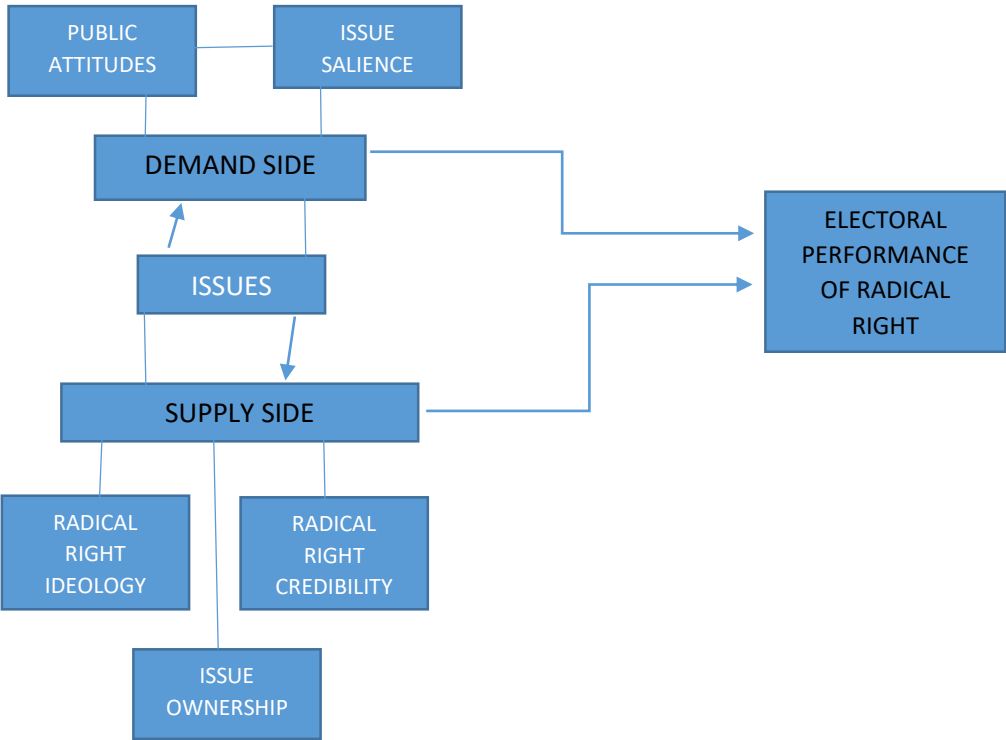


Figure 1 Diagram of demand side, supply side and electoral performance of the radical right. Source Pirro 2015.

As said before, the work developed by Kitschelt and McGann had great importance when it came to the analysis of demand and supply-side relation with electoral success, they gave special importance on determining what the political systems actually involve in order to understand electoral performance. There are three core elements to be identify, those are

the definition of who is going to be the actual player, the choice of collective decisions and the policies that determine the ground rules for allocating scarce resources among the players. (Kitschelt 2008) This draws an interesting perspective, in the west, the post-industrial and capitalistic structures bring some political division that makes possible for us to identify the players, in time, the parties start to engage themselves in a process of strategic convergence, which promoted several coalitions and made difficult to separate the parties by their respective ideologies, and last but not least, the radical right can be able to find what Kitschelt calls “winning formulas”, mainly consisting on an ideological combination of ethnocentric authoritarianism and market liberalism.

Bartek Pytlas in his work of 2016 adds up to this analysis an interesting variable, the importance of framing and frame resonance he sees that framing, together with party competition and narrative forming represent the most crucial discursive opportunity structures for the radical right. (Pytlas 2016: 11) This work regarding the electoral performance of the radical right in Central Europe brings us to the necessity of analysis why the framing can be a useful tool for the analysis, the next section will be orientated to explain the theoretical value of framing for the radical right electoral performance.

2.5 Framing and Issue ownership

Framing is an important tool of analysis inside communication studies, it involves a communication source that will be able to present an issue by defining it in a specific way. Usually framing has been used inside the study of social movements to analyze how the approach to certain topic and present it, it has been also used for analyzing the way in which the media present the news how do they categorized and deliver the issues to the public. First of all is important to remark the complexity of framing, because it is a process, that contains various aspects such as production, context and media use perspectives. (Vreese 2005; 51)

It is complicated because it is not static but quite dynamic, when it comes to news framing for example, Entman notices that the frames have several locations those include the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture, other authors identify that framing involves as well some stages such as an issue building, an issue setting and of course a consequence that can be individual or societal. (D’angelo 2002). During the first stage there is an interaction of factors that influence the structural quality of news frames, this factors can be external and internal. In the next stage there is an interaction between the media frames

developed in the previous stage, with the previous knowledge that the individuals have. Finally, the result can be a change of attitudes in the individual level, or the shaping of the social level process, this can be for example, political socialization or collective actions or decision making. (Vreese 2005)

Goffman in 1974 understood framing as a schema of interpretation that gives the opportunity to the individual to locate and identify certain events that occur in a space and a reality. Framing is a term normally used by the social movement scholars, and understood as an active and processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of the construction of reality. It is active because something is being done, it is processual because its dynamic involves a specific process, it requires agency because it needs the action of the social movements or the movement activists and finally it requires contention in the sense that it involves the generation of interpretative frames that not only differ from existing ones but that may also challenge them. (Benford and Snow 2000) This frames can have the power to mobilize the sympathizers as well as demobilize non-sympathizers, this are collective action frames and are able to simplify the events within a reality but for that, they follow a process in which the adherents negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect the change. (Benford and Snow 2000: 615). For example, political ideologies can be demarcated better if we use a critical approach, in this sense Mannheim in 1925 writes about the “core intention” describing the time and context basic mindset or a particular world view pattern, in other words the ideologies are divided in parts so that they can have a sense. Benford and Snow speak about three tasks surrounding this division of the ideology, to create a consensus for the mobilization, the diagnostic framing, is the one that provides an identification for the problem, prognostic framing is the one that proposes a solution or at least a plan, this can be as well as contestation plan to the opponent’s one and finally the motivational framing, that provides a proper call to engage into mobilization. Even though framing has been used mostly for the study of social movements, it can result useful to apply it to the study of the radical right because as we previously mentioned there are

certain characteristics that these parties and social movements have in common, also because they are actually capable to produce mobilization. Bartek Pytlas in his work of 2016 has applied this method to approach the study of the electoral fortune of the radical right in Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland.

Our study will focus on how the radical right in these two countries has tried to own certain issues and has as well framed them. According to Petrocik, an issue will become owned by a political party when the public opinion has positive reaction or attitude regarding it. In this sense the parties would have to work hard and make a lot of emphasis in the issues they would like to “own”, not only this but also the fact that the ownership of an issue can be more effective, of course with some exceptions, if the party foundation is relatively stable. In this sense it is important to note as well the importance of the social, cultural and historical aspects, the characteristics that a society has, sometimes the parties can use and reflect past conflicts and organize them politically. The author shows in the case of United States that for example the Democratic Party is known as the best able to deal with issues such as education, welfare and civil rights, while the Republican Party has been linked mostly with foreign policy issues as well as national defense and crime. The theory developed on issues ownership, seeks to provide an explanation of party behavior that focuses on the issue that the parties would put as important in their campaigns, the parties would make a big emphasis in certain specific issues in order to appear credible to the voters on the other hand, this theoretical approach also seeks to provide a perspective on the voting behavior based on the role of the ownership of issues in the elections. On this way the work of Meguid and Bélanger, shows as well that the voter is more likely to support a political party if the party seems to be competent to attend a given issue, but the authors also remark that the issue has to be considered as salient. But the parties have to as well address issues they don't want to address because of for example external issues such as the actions of other parties or the pressure of the media, in this moment when they have to address other issues, the parties would optimize their communication by emphasizing specific aspects of the issue and letting some others out, this process is called issue framing. (Lefevre, Sevenans, Walgrave and

Lesschaeve 2019) This part of the theory will provide our work a way of approaching the topic of the electoral performance of the radical right in our selected cases.

A condition that has to be taken in consideration as well in this relationship between the issue ownership, framing and demand side, is the social media, because it can be a new conduct through which this factors interact. The importance that the framing has is in the power that they have to legitimize as well as justify certain projects or policies, but this means of course that the frames are not always successful. When it comes to the success or failure of the movements there is a set of external conditions that determine this fact, these conditions are the opportunity structures, we mention this because the actors are the ones who have the task to take advantage of the opportunities presented in the environment and transform them into collective action with frames (McAdam 1996) now according to Bartek Pytlas is not enough to just use the concept of opportunity structures to understand what framing is, but in his view is necessary to broad the concept including cultural and discursive opportunity structures (Pytlas 2016) for taking advantage of this second ones means to be able to construct successful frames, a frame manages to be successful when it resonates, meaning making noise between the audience. The salience of issues can be seen as an opportunity to create successful frames, according to Meguid and Bélanger, the mainstream parties can use accommodative strategies that can work to take the votes of the radical right in the early emergence of the issue better than later on, also that the delayed actions from the adversaries can actually facilitate the issue ownership by the radical right parties. (Meguid and Bélanger 2008) In this process is also possible that a party would want to integrate new topics in its program, in this sense the party can decide if it should change its existing issue or accommodate narrative without moving of a specific position, this process can as well be successful or not. This can help us to identify if the parties in our selected cases have built strong frames as well as if the mainstream parties have adopted the radical right issues or not.

2.6 Social Media

The radical right around the world, has called the attention because of their constant and strong use of social media and websites in order to spread out its ideas. Everyday a bigger

portion of the population around the world is interconnected, there are more issuers and receptors at the same time. After some events like the Arab Spring or the movement of the outrage in Europe, in which the social media had a fundamental role as an element of mobilization, the scholars started to give more importance to the power that they can have. Some authors have spoken about the disappointment of the people with established parties, meaning that lately, they are unappealing for the normal citizens, they became an inaccessible elite. (Canovan 1999; Mudde 2007) The social media can be utilized by the social movements to engage mobilization and spread their ideas and objectives, now it is important also to note that the parties can make the same but in order to make a link with the people who are actively using the net. According to Hatakka, the latest rise of European right-wing populism has coincided with the birth and growth of online far-right civic activism like Aypixlat in Sweden, Hommaforum in Finland, the Pegida and Britain First movements on Facebook. The political parties need the social networks, as well as resonant frames and believable candidates to make this relationship actually work. The social media has made in this sense the relationship between the people and the candidates different as it was before, there is a new different channel of communication that can give the citizens the sensation of truly communicating with the leaders, and transmitting directly their concerns or critics or support. This opens the possibility of deliberation, meaning a process of communication and dialogue that involves different “equal” actors aimed at reaching a rational consensus. As for some it can be seen as a democratic tool, the use of these platforms have had a lot of criticism when it comes to hate speech and harmful comments that is why the regulation of their use is an open idea, related to this Bart Cammaerts on his work on radical pluralism and free speech in online public spaces, says that the regulation of the use of the internet can produce also some kind of back fire.

Anti-democratic forces are able to construct democratic parties and institutions as ‘undemocratic’ on a continuous basis, claiming that they suppress ‘the true thoughts of the people’, using in effect the formal rules of democracy to destroy democratic culture – arguing for a democratic right to be a racist. (Cammaerts 2009: 571)

The work of Hatakka regarding the Finns Party in Finland shows the relationship between the online social movement as well as the resource mobilization of the party to create an online community, another work that reflects this relationship is the work of Pierfranco Pellizzetti about the electoral success of Beppe Grillo with a campaign developed mostly around its personal blog and the rejection of the traditional organs of communication. There is no doubt that the radical right has been actively using the social media, maybe more than its counter parts, we will focus on it as well later in the cases of Czech Republic and Hungary. Both of the parties have strong activism in the social media mostly through their charismatic leaders.

3 Methodology

The research that has been done regarding the radical right party family has used different approaches over time, different theories and methodologies have been applied to the study of the electoral performance of these parties in response to their success as well as their emergence and reemergence, we will present qualitative data linked with the theories of issue ownership and framing, that take account in the electoral performance of the selected parties.

Previous separated work of Andrea Pirro (2015) and Bartek Pytlas (2016) focused on the electoral performance of the radical right in Central Europe, their approach has some similarities as well as differences. The importance of the way in which issues are framed are taken in consideration, as well as the specific role that the mainstream parties play. None of the authors focuses in the case of the Czech Republic for their investigation.

In his work, Jan Rovný, puts Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland in the same quadrant as they have a relative ethnically homogenous character that would not affect significantly the party competition structure. He argues that if these countries would have politically dominant ethnic minorities, their party competition patterns would be different, the author explains that the in the Czech case, for example, the communist nationalism was mainly directed to the presence of the German minority but it is not anymore a mobilizing factor, in this case the party competition pits then, between left-wing values and right-wing economic beliefs. For its part, the Hungarian case lacking as well of a political strong ethnic minority, has

developed the party competition between the former communist against the traditional Christian-nationalist, the same happens in the Polish case. (Rovný 2014: 697-698)

Now, in the recent years in Hungary, Fidesz has developed overtones of nationalism and authoritarianism and we must also not forget the role of Jobbik and its ability to successfully introduce the issue with the Roma minority in the political arena, a similar situation has occurred in Poland in past years with the PiS party deeply linked to Catholic conservatism and nationalism, both cases have entered into conflict with the European Institutions for some time. In Czech Republic the situation was quite different for some time, but it seems that the country is looking more like its neighbors. According to Rovný the elections of 2017 in the Czech Republic changed the picture to some extent, he claims that populism seems to be what dominates the Czech politics by the presence of the indisputable winner of the elections, ANO, this party shows a traditional opposition to political elites and even though the party appears as pro-European, its leader has some problems with for example the adoption of the Euro and the migration quotas.

The Central European cases differ from cases in West Europe, because the electoral performance of the radical right is a lot less stable, parties come and go, they gain and lose support. The cases of Hungary and Czech Republic have been chosen for its similarities regarding the post-communist past and as well as its differences in the development of politics after the transition, the change of the Czechs political environment after the elections of 2017 and its apparent similarity with its neighbors counts as one of the most important conditions why this two cases were selected. After 1989 in Czech Republic the radical right didn't have a successful electoral performance with exception of the period between 1992-1999. Regarding the Hungarian case, the strengthening of Jobbik since 2010 and its relation with the mainstream party makes it a relevant case. It is important to note why this cases have been chosen for this research, first of all the parties share some similarities regarding aspects such as their attitudes to specific topics (ethnic minorities, European integration, multiculturalism) which makes them part of the radical right family, a second aspect is that their appearance and electoral trajectory is quite different, this can make us note which are the specific characteristics of the radical right in each country, finally this parties have a

different way of interaction with other actors, this aspects can enable us to find the differences as well as particularities of each party, which according to Mudde is still an important task to be done when it comes to the studies of the radical right parties or the alleged radical right parties.

This research will consider the percentage of votes gained by the radical right in the last two parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic and the elections of 2010 and 2014 in Hungary, the relationship and distance that the radical right has with the mainstream parties and the link with the demand side of the political system. These elections have been chosen because of the good results that the parties had, in each case, in the first ones and the capability of increasing the percentage for the next ones. In order to give a structure to the research, the following questions are needed:

- Which factors take part in the electoral performance of the radical right in the Czech Republic and Hungary?
- What role do the mainstream parties play in the electoral performance of the radical right?

To be able to work on this questions we need to use different set of data. First of all, the performance will be measure regarding the percentage of votes that the radical right gain in the last two parliamentary elections plus the euro elections, understanding the success according to the percentage that the party gain in each case.

The data of the Comparative Manifesto Project was considered as a source but even though it offers a complete analysis of party positions inside electoral manifestos, for the present research seems better to use data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey of 1999-2014 and the flash survey of 2017, this because it presents a wider view in not just what the parties say but what they do. This data will be useful to estimate the distance between the radical right party and other party positions according specific topics such as corruption, European integration, ethnic minorities and others.

Data of the Eurobarometer regarding the perception of the population on the main issues that the country faces as well as the perception regarding the European Union will be used in

order to identify the inputs of the demand side. For this part is also necessary to revise the party programs and official statements mainly encounter in party web sites by identifying the way on how the issues are framed, as well as the interactions of the party in social media, Social Bakers offers helpful data regarding the popularity of social media pages this taking in consideration that a lot has been said about the successful use of social media by the radical right parties.

The work will be divided in an overview of the radical right in the Central European region in general as well as the topics that it has recover over time and a particular analysis of each case regarding the electoral performance of the selected parties and the supply and demand side to finally compare and draw a conclusion for both cases.

4 Cases

In the following section we will focus in revising the history of the radical right in Central Europe and the reasons that make the case of the region an import unit of analyses, what makes them different to the cases of the more studied Western Europe, and also the specific characteristics of the two cases that have been chosen for this research.

4.1 The radical right in Central Europe

The radical right parties in Central Europe do not have the same electoral performance as their counterparts in Western Europe. There are several aspects that have to be taken in consideration, of course, the communist past is one of them, this era leaves a heritage for the cases in Central Europe, but it is not a complete determinant for the situation of the radical right nowadays. The fact is that the radical right in this region has a different development, the parties are not that institutionalized as some other important cases in Western Europe and of course the length of the democratic life plays an important role. Some authors like Tavits argue that when the democracy arrives to certain mature state the “conscious vote” should start to take some importance and the population would start voting for parties that they actually think could have an opportunity of achieving good or acceptable results in the elections. This would mean that when the democracy achieved certain maturity the levels of,

for example, volatility would be lower, now, after the careful review of the literature and the cases, it is possible that this can apply to the emergence of new parties in general but the situation of the radical right is quite different. Works like the one of Grotz and Weber regarding the emergence of new parties in East-Central Europe remark the importance of the difficult conditions of the region, the heaviness of the economic transformation as well as the challenges of new constitution building and the pressures of Europeanization. They affirm that the cleavages inside the party systems are different as those in Western Europe and also weaker. Minkenberg refers also to this issue, he assesses that the cleavages are actually new or renew on the other hand in the West the new radical right is situated at the right wing pole of the new politics cleavage that cuts across the older class-religion based cleavages. (Minkenberg (2002))

In order to follow this discussion and the important of historical legacies for some authors, we would have to start by the fact that around the theory there are two main categories of nondemocratic regimes, one is the totalitarian that has certain characteristics such as an ideology used to legitimize the regime, the existence of a “mass party” to which the membership is usually non voluntary, a complex system of terror and censorship. The second type of nondemocratic regime is the authoritarian, here, the ideology doesn’t exist or is used just in the political sphere there is as well a lack of political mobilization, it has been also spoken about quasi-authoritarian regimes this because the for some authors, the situation of the regime in Central Europe, didn’t exactly resemble totalitarianism but an attempt to it. Farther in this way, Kitschelt made a typology of communist regimes, based in three main aspects:

- Extent of contestation
- Articulation of popular dissent
- If the bureaucracy is professional or corrupt

Dimitrova and Simon, added two more aspects in their work, the level of economic freedom and the overall restrictiveness of the regime. After adding this important aspects, three distinctive categories were born, the accommodative socialism that would allow some levels of contestation and dissent as well as some kind of openness to the West and some market

oriented reforms, the bureaucratic socialism, which counted with a strong institutionalized bureaucracy with some economic but few political freedoms, and finally the patrimonial socialism that had very low levels of bureaucratic professionalism, which developed into high levels of corruption and nepotism, few or non-economic freedoms, and also had open doors for political contestation and no access to the West. The authors also remark that the case of Yugoslavia can be put apart, as “Yugoslavian Socialism” this because the separation between Tito and Stalin, made this type of socialism a self-management one, therefore there was a higher economic openness. There was as well some dissent and openness to the West.

Taking this differentiation in account, several works have referred to specific kinds of communist legacies, the research made by Bustikova and Kitschelt comes as quite useful and interesting when it comes to assess the legacies of the communist past. In their work they identify two major legacies, the one of national–accommodative communism and the one from the patrimonial communism.

First of all, they remark that the legacies are the base for understanding the differences and patterns in party competition across East-Central Europe, these legacies can shape the party politics as well as draw causes for the mobilization of the radical right.

Chart 4.1, summarizes the legacies that Bustikova and Kitschelt develop in their work regarding the influence on historical, economic and party system characteristics.

Chart 4.1 Different legacies of communism by Phase

Type	Phase I 1989-1999	Phase II 2000-
<i>East-Central Europe inheritance of national-accommodative communism</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Political economic trajectory Liberalization and capitalist institution building, extension of quasi-socialist welfare state as well as macroeconomic stabilization and gradual recovery after 1994 ○ Strong market liberals, reformist of socialist ruling parties and new social democrats ○ Small radical right separate parties (nationalistic, ethnocentrism and often social protectionists) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Reform of social protection ○ Macro-economic fiscal crisis and pressure to reduce social protection. ○ Market liberal democrats shrinking ○ Social democratic center-left ○ Strengthening of nationalist market protection right. ○ Radical right parties fail as center right parties embrace some appeal.

<i>South eastern European and soviet inheritance of patrimonial communism</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Partial liberalization and failed institution building. ○ Prolonged economic depression. ○ Collapse of social protection and high levels of inequality. ○ Weak market liberal parties and national conservative parties. ○ Presence of post-communist and anti-liberal parties ○ Radical right in some cases absorbed by the communist, but still potential for radical right formation. (Ethnic and nationalist) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Incremental liberalization and some institution building. ○ Raw material rentier economic growth ○ Sharp macro-economic recovery ○ Weak volatile and divided liberal democrats and national conservatives ○ Presence of social democratizing left ○ Residues of authoritarian socialism ○ New populist may assert themselves as social-protectionist with exclusionary appeals.
---	--	---

Source: Bustikova and Kitchelt *The radical right in post-communist Europe. Comparative perspectives on legacies and party competition.*

To take in consideration the differences between West and East-Central Europe is one of the most important tasks, because each region has specific aspects that make them different at the time of choosing the accurate theories for the analysis. In his work of 2000, Mudde makes a typology of radical right parties basing himself on the communist heritage. He makes a distinction between three types of radical right parties:

- Pre-communist. - Build their ideological identity based in the political culture and ideas of pre-communism.
- Communist. – Draw their ideology based on an inspiration from the communist period.
- Post-Communist. – Newly established and focusing on new issues without a nostalgia from the communist past.

Mudde remarks that this is doesn't have to be a static typology, but, it can help to characterize the parties according not just the timing but their relationship with the communist past. Chart 4.2 shows the categorization of Mudde applied to the V4 group until the year 2000. The Slovak Republic and Poland have radical right parties that were already formed in the pre-communist era, although the Slovak National Party is probably the more successful pre-communist radical right party in the region it formed coalition with the pro-fascist Slovak Peoples Party, known during the second world war, and in 1998 it achieves 9% of the votes in the elections.

Chart 4.2 Visegrad group radical right parties during the 90s

Pre-communist radical right		Communist Radical Right		Post-Communist radical right	
<p>-PWN-PSN (Polish National Community-Polish National Party)</p>	<p>-1990 -Nationalist -Anti-Semitic -Opposing to EU and NATO membership.</p>	<p>Patria X (Poland)</p>	<p>-1991 -Borderline case -founded by agents of the communist secret police</p>	<p>-SPR-RSČ (Association for Republic-Republican party of Czechoslovakia)</p>	<p>-1989 -Originally part of Civic Forum (separated and radicalized after) -Nationalist -Anti-German -Xenophobic -Anticommunist</p>
<p>-SNS (Slovak National Party)</p>	<p>-1990 - Identify as successor from SNS of (1871-1938) -Anti-Hungarian -Anti-Roma</p>			<p>-MIÉP (Hungarian Justice and Life Party)</p>	<p>-1993 -National-populist -Anti-Semitic -Biological nativism</p>

*Source: Self elaborated with data from: Mudde (2000) Extreme Right Parties in Eastern Europe

The Polish PWN-PSN was not able to cross the threshold in 1993 and gained 0.1% of the votes in 1997. Another Polish case is the, and the only one inside the categorization of communist radical right, is the one of Patria X that was affected by the electoral changes and was not able to cross the 5% threshold.

The SPR-RSČ of Czech Republic, had to some extent a good electoral performance for a period of time, in the late 90's the party went through financial scandals and criminal convictions and in 1998 gained 4% of the votes losing its six years of parliamentary presence. MIÉP in Hungary, gained 5,5% of the votes in the elections of 1998. We will speak about

the last two parties later on as part of the historical antecedents of the current radical right in Czech Republic and Hungary.

To complement the distinction that Mudde makes it can be also useful to mention Pirro's differentiation in his 2015 work about the different issues that are used by the radical right, he identifies three important groups. The pre-communist issues are mostly linked with clericalism and irredentism, the communist can be linked to the protectionist ideas and the post-communist with ethnic minorities, corruption and the EU accession. Each of these aspects have a logical explanation, this can help us to identify the first differences between east and west. The presence of clericalism in the pre-communist issues is not just link to the Christian tradition but to what that can actually represent, it makes a line between all the traditional values in general, some of these characteristics can be for example seen in Polish groups such as LPR, on the other side the irredentism is related to pan-nationalism and territorial claims, this comes as a consequence of the 1st World War, that brought several changes in territorial features. With respect to the communist issues, the explanation is a little bit more complicated, this because after the communist past and the de-legitimation of the ideology, the majority of parties, movements or organizations formed tended to leave the past behind and didn't present a nostalgia for the past, although the ideas of protectionism were present to some extent, some radical right movements presented themselves as defenders of the transition losers, this means those who were affected by the difficulties that came with the welfare state. (Bustikova and Kitschelt 2009: 460)

The post-communist issues represent those issues that were absent during before 1989, the main issues inside this group are the ethnic minorities, corruption and the accession to the EU. In the West is quite common that the radical right parties would put immigration as sort of a core issue, it is similar in the Central European region in the past years, but not as strongly, this because there is one more enemy that comes at first due to the regions low immigration rates, the enemy has to be identify within the state and outside the nation. (Mudde 2007) It is exactly because of this that the radical right in Central Europe has been so strongly anti-Roma, the Roma communities have been constantly blame for living at the margins of the legality and associated with the rising of the criminality. (Pirro 2015: 43) The

topic of corruption comes together with the transition, the radical right parties present themselves in many cases as those who fight against the corrupt elite, it has some relation with the strong anti-system feelings in the region, it can be seen as a reaction to political unaccountability and corruption scandals. (Bustikova 2009)

Last but not least, the accession to the EU it's a new issue that the radical right parties used frequently, they framed the accession as anti-national, nowadays, for example that the membership is a reality, the radical right parties are still using it but to denounce about what they called "anti-democratic" characteristic of the EU because of the supra-national powers, this has been heard a lot during the refugee crisis in 2015 and the quota policy that the European Union was promoting to mitigate the crisis.

The distinction made by Mudde is not the only one, previously we discussed Minkenberg's categorization of the radical right. He divides parties and social movement organizations by the differences in their ideology as well as their structure. The countries of the Visegrad counted with both of them after 1989.

To address the differences between the parties and movements has great importance because some of the movements, like for example the Magyar Gárda, came as part of the empowerment of certain political party. Now, the essential differentiation is the one between East and West. The transformation process in Central Europe is not the same as the modernization process in Western Europe. Why is that?

Chart 4.3 Extreme right parties and social movement organizations in the Visegrad countries in the 90s

Type	Party	Social Movement Organization
Extremist Right	DSSS (CZ) JOBBIK (HU) SNS (SK)	NOP (PL) ONR (PL) PWN-PSN (PL) Magyar Garda (HU) NSS (SK) SNJ (SK)

Ethno centrist Right	SPR-RSČ (CZ) MIÉP (HU) KPN-SN (PL)	Radio Maryja (PL) MÖM (HU) MS (SK)
Populist Right	Samoobrona (PL) FIDESZ (HU) PiS (PL) HZDS (SV)	Zwiazek Samoobrona (PL)
Religious Fundamentalist	ZChN (PL) LPR (PL) KNDP (HU)	Radio Maryja (PL)

*Source: Self elaborate with data from: Mikenberg (2013) The European radical right and xenophobia in West and East: Trends, patterns and challenges.

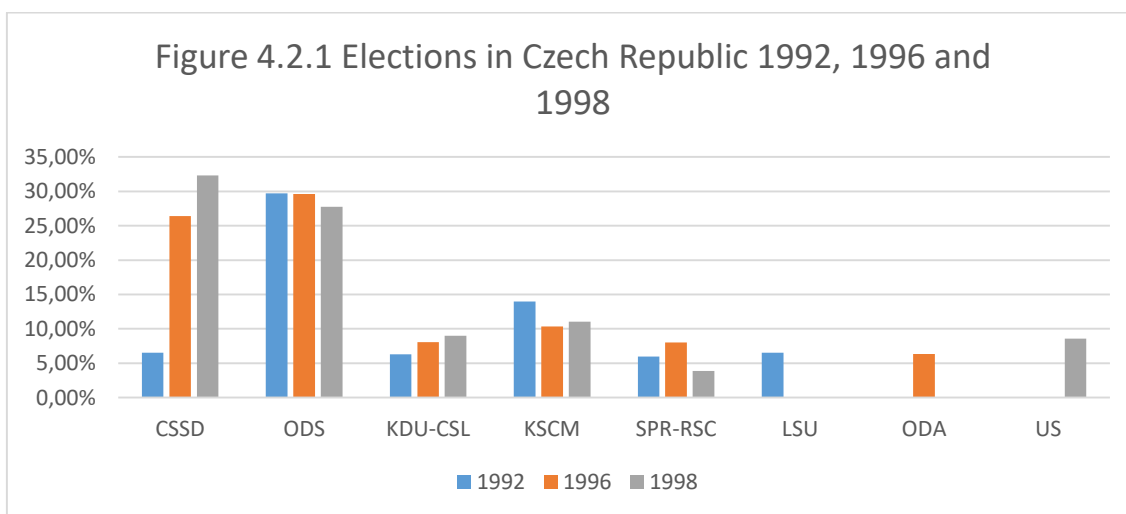
The transformation came to the Central European countries not just with a “change” of ideology but with a total de-legitimation of one as well as deep social and economic changes. The fall of the regime brought the necessity of a transformation theory, decisions had to be made, the adoption of liberal democracy and market capitalism came with big consequences for the countries and the organizations that were going to be developing in time. The radical right was of course affected by this changes too, both of the differentiations (Mudde and Minkenberg’s) are useful to identify important characteristics or periods of time. Now, the radical right in the West had a higher potential of mobilization and for example higher anti-immigration feeling, this made that the issues as well as the frames used would change from one region to another. The radical right in Central Europe had mostly a strong resentment to the Roma minority as we already explain previously and various parties used the topic as a main flag for their cause, we will see it later with the case of Jobbik in Hungary. Another difference comes from the strong anti-system feeling in the regions, this of course produce by the hard changes to which the countries were put trough, this brings us to a topic that goes even farther back, the formation of the idea of nation in East and West. The Central European nations didn’t emerge with a bourgeoisie revolution a strong liberal movement or the establishment of liberal democracy. (Minkenberg 2002: 357)

4.2 The SPD in the Czech Republic

The radical right in the Czech Republic was never having a good electoral performance, we can exclude a short period, but in general this party family was not so successful in the country. Despite this situation it is important to make a review on the performance that some parties had, as well as the evolution of their characteristics and issues that they took as important in their campaigns.

Miroslav Mareš remarks that the radical right in the Czech Republic can be divided in two, the part that has more of an anti-German discourse and the one that has a pan-Aryan idea of unity that tends to be German friendly. (Mareš 2015: 207) The presence of strong nationalism and anti-Roma attitudes are also a characteristic of the radical right in the country, this is as well a characteristic of the Hungarian case that will be analyzed farther on. Mareš separates the radical right also because of its role and activities over time. He identifies four distinctive periods for the radical right in the country between 1989 and 2009. During the communist era, the radical right was not active inside the dissent that is the reason why the first important moment is situated between 1989 and 1992, the characteristic of this period of time is the building process of the radical right by the emergence of the Assembly for Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSC) lead by Miroslav Sládek, a party that would take part on the elections of National Council in 1992 and the Parliamentary elections of 1996 and 1998. During this period groups of skinheads also grew fast as well as anti-Semitic circles connected with some dogmatic Catholicism. The second period is the one of parliamentary success between 1992 and 1998. The party gained parliamentary representation by obtaining 5.98% of the votes in the elections of 1992 and 8.01% of the votes in 1996. Strong hate speech against Roma and Germans and violent behavior of its leader was the characteristic of the party in this period. New civic associations were also developed, the most important was the Patriotic Front (VF). The third period comes with the decline of the radical right and its restructuring during 1998 and 2007. The SPR-RSC lost its political representation in the parliamentary elections of 1998 obtaining an insufficient 3.9% of the votes. After this election the party faced hard internal problems and several parties were formed by former members of the SPR-RSC, parties like New Force (that would later

become the Workers Party) or the National Party and the National Unification, all of this groups tried to achieve the results that the SPR-RSC had before but failed in the attempt. The neo-Nazi movements also regroup themselves according to the German model creating an organization named the National Resistance and a political party project, Right Alternative, that was a total failure. All radical parties coming from this branch would fail and gain together less than 1% of the votes in the elections of 2002 and 2006. (Mareš 2015: 211)

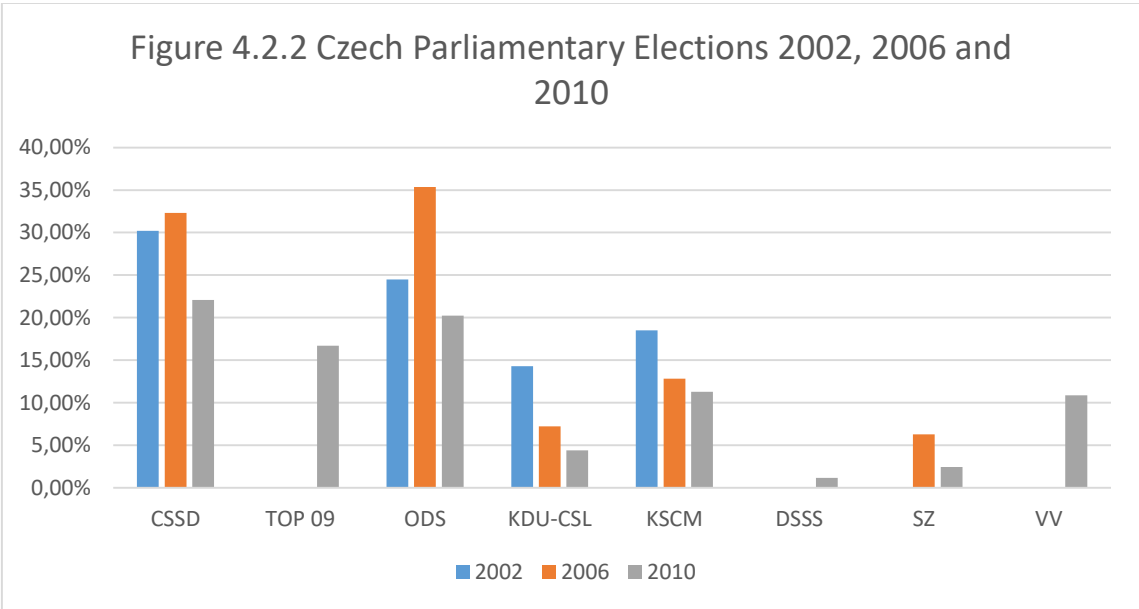


Source: Self Elaboration with data from the European Elections Data Base

The fourth period in which the author places the activity of the radical right is the one starting in 2007, in this year the Workers Party started a deeper cooperation with the National Resistance and other Autonomous Nationalists, at the same time several anti-Roma riots were taking part in the country, the Workers Party got 1.07% of the votes in the European Elections of 2009 but was after banned in 2010, despite the banning, the supporters of the party would later join a successor party called Worker’s Party for Social Justice (DSSS). The party would obtain 1.14% of the votes in the parliamentary elections of 2010.

Figures 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 show the changes in the electoral results in the Czech Republic between 1992 and 2010, until this period we can note that the electoral performance of the radical right in the country is quite unsuccessful, aside from the elections of 1992 and 1996 where the SPR-RSC got some higher results, there are no other elections in which the radical

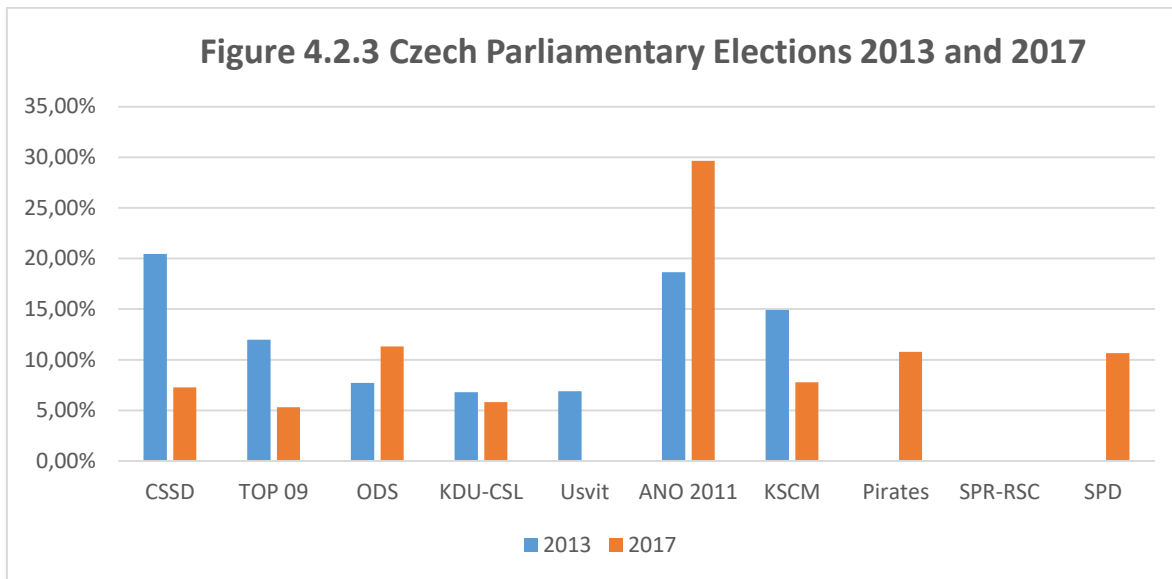
right has had good results or even cross the electoral threshold. When the SPR-RSC appeared its lineament was the one of a conservative party but after the years it started to radicalize, the party captured the electorates attention with a rhetoric of anti-communism, anti-elitism and social populism including frequent racial commentaries directed against the alleged “criminality of Gypsi population”. (Císar and Štetka 2016: 5) Later on we will revise the specific issues that the radical right frame across the time in the Czech Republic. Another important aspect to be note is that it seems to be that the radical right in the country has been present mostly in the form of social movement or social movement organization than powerful political parties. This is for example the case of the previously mentioned National Resistance.



Source: Self Elaboration with data from the European Election Data Base

The elections of 2006 were followed by 230 days without a new government being formed until the ODS, the KDU-CSL and the Greens (SZ) announced their coalition and passed a confidence vote on 19th January 2007. In 2009 it was the turn of the Czech Republic to preside the Council of the European Union, meanwhile it was not a good moment for the national politics, the government lead by Mirek Topolánek from the ODS, faced a hard crisis after the Prime Minister resignation because of the non-confidence vote in the Chamber of Deputies

on 24 March 2009. Till this point, the Czech party system was considered one of the most stable in the post-communist East-Central Europe, the parties that had been always present since the process of democratization were the ODS, the CSSD the KDU-CSL and the Communist Party. These four parties were part of the party system since 1992, some parties appeared with minor success such as the SZ or the SPR-RSC. The elections of 2010 arrived and new contestants like the conservative TOP09 and the VV (Public Affairs) a party label as antisystem, were seen in the political arena. The radical right DSSS as previously mentioned, presented itself also for the elections of 2010, even though, it gained more support for the radical right compared to previous years, it managed to get just an 1.14% of the votes. Once more, the radical right failed in its attempt to recover the forces it had during 1992 and 1996. Furthermore, the significant drop of the electoral support of the once biggest parties brought a change in party system configuration formerly constructed around the two major poles a rivals in terms of competition between the right and the left (whereas in 2006 CSSD and ODS got over two thirds of votes, it was only 42% in 2010 and 28% in 2013). (Havlik 2015: 197). After the elections of 2010 the most popular parties lower their percentage of votes and also the KDU-CSL lost its political representation, despite all this situation the ODS developed a coalition with the new parties TOP 09 and Public Affairs to form government but the established government lead by Petr Necas was going through a difficult time because of the hard corruption and bribery scandals in 2013 that involved several highly positioned state officials, some entrepreneurs and lobbyists. This situation ended up in the resignation of the Prime Minister who also quit as leader of the ODS.



Source: Self Elaborated with data from the European Election Data Base and the Czech Statistical Office

After this complicated situation, there was a call for premature election in 2013. This election represented as well a turn for the Czech politics. New actors were coming once again to the picture. Already in the year 2011 the billionaire Andrej Babiš shared his document “Action of Dissatisfied Citizens”, there he criticized the situation of the Czech politics as well as the politicians. This was the starting point of what it will be the political party ANO 2011.

The initiative became the basis for the ANO 2011 party. The discourse of the party combined a very strong anti-establishment appeal but differed to some extent from the discourse VV had applied before the 2010 election. The cornerstone of ANO’s anti-establishment rhetoric was a contrast constructed between practices typical for running companies – symbolized by the successful businessman Andrej Babiš – and a supposedly dysfunctional, spendthrift, and corruption-ridden state (run by the current set of politicians). (Havlik 2015: 200)

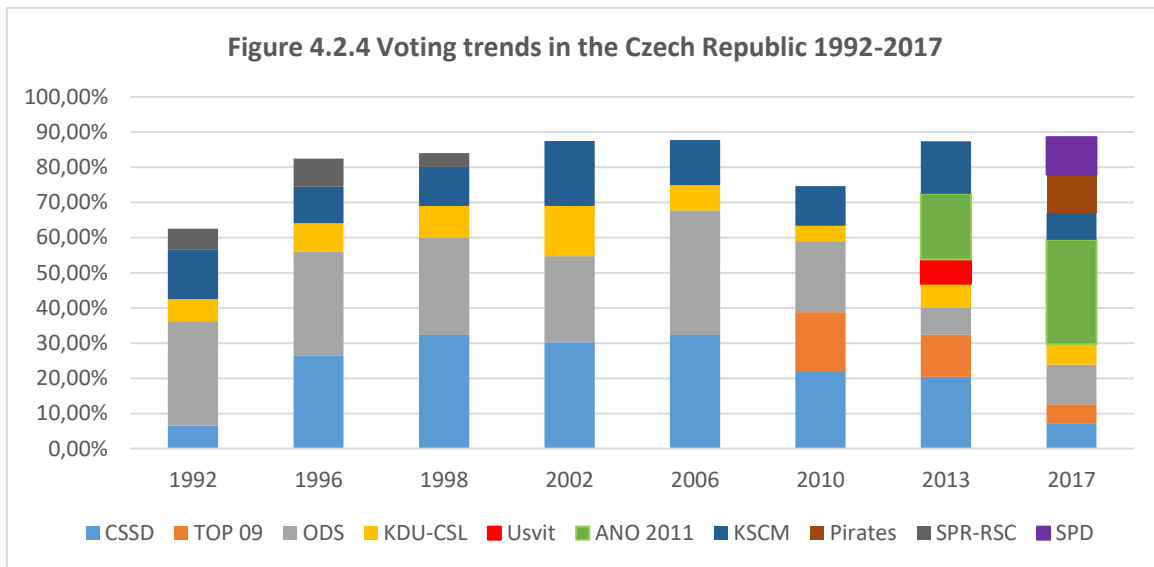
The party of the Andrej Babiš, was going to present itself for its first elections in 2013, the results obtained were surprising, the party gained 18.65% of the votes and placed itself as the second most voted party, after the CSSD, that even tough took the 20,45% of the votes, kept on reducing its popularity.

But ANO was not the only new party to make a successful entrance as figure 4.2.3 one more party made a relevant entrance, Usvit. Czech-Japanese business man, Tomio Okamura, was elected to the senate in 2012 as an independent candidate, who already wanted to present

himself to the 1st presidential elections in January of 2013 but he failed in his attempt because the ministry of interior blocked his candidacy due to the lack of necessary signatures. In May of the same year, after the failed attempt of candidacy, the senator formed his own party named, Dawn of Direct Democracy, the name of the party was influenced by a book from the economist Pavel Kohout named Dawn, in which he supports the idea of fundamental change in political systems and the direct election of deputies. (Žúborová 2015: 99)

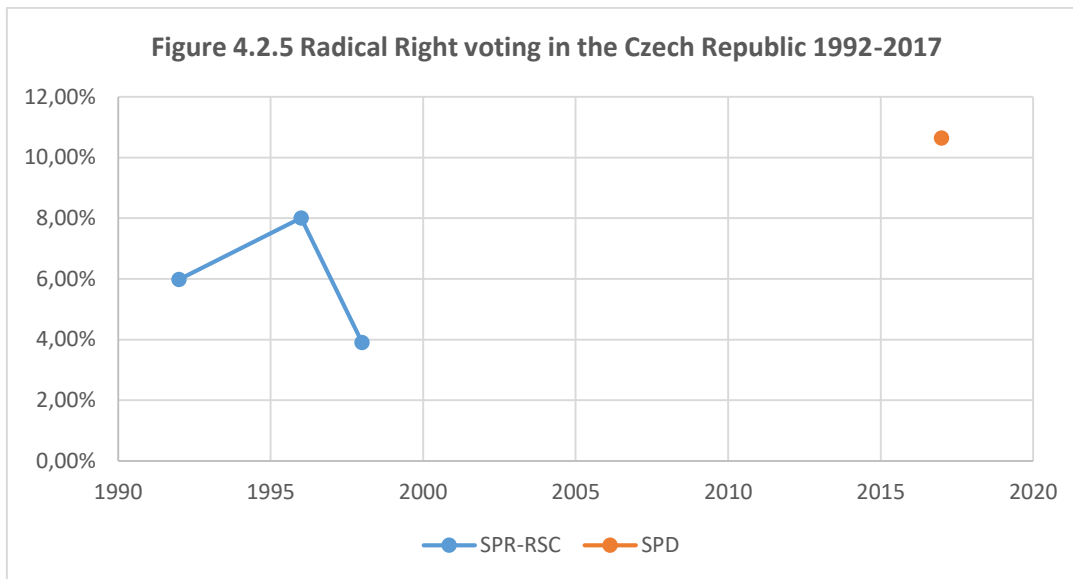
Even though the party was registered just a few months before the elections of 2013, it managed to get 6.88% of the votes and 14 seats, these included two deputies elected in the Central Bohemian Region and one in other regions except Plzn and Karlovy Vary. In January of 2015 the party had some internal problems and the Chief Whip was removed and replaced. Directly after this, in February, most of the nine members of the party and 14 members of the Dawn parliamentary group decided to establish a new party without Tomio Okamura, this moment is important because of what will occur next, the party members that separated from their leader failed into organizing the renewed party correctly and decided not to participate in the legislative elections of 2017, after that the party officially split on the year 2018. On the other hand, the leader Tomio Okamura, created its new political party called Freedom and Direct Democracy – Tomio Okamura (SPD), the name of the party was inspired by the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy, a parliamentary group active on the European Parliament consisting of meanly Eurosceptic members.

The elections of 2013 brought definitely a change to the Czech politics, but as is possible to observe in the Figures 4.2.3 and 4.2.4, the old strong parties didn't manage to recover votes and the new parties gain support but not enough to control the government. After the elections the CSSD made a coalition with ANO and the KDU-CSL in order form government.



Source: Self Elaborated with data from the European Election Data Base and the Czech Statistical Office

The elections of 2017 came, the results for the traditional parties since 1992 were once again not good. The CSSD got just 7.27% of the votes, the ODS improve its 7.72% from the last elections to an 11.32% the new party Pirates got a 10.79% and Tomio Okamura's SPD got the 10.64% of the votes, the big winner of the elections was the party ANO that gain a 29.64% of the votes, the elected president of 2013 Milos Zeman appointed the leader of ANO Andrej Babis as Prime Minister who later on made a coalition with the CSSD supported by the always present Communist Party (KSCM) and finally formed government in a second attempt in July of 2018.



Source: Self Elaboration with Data from European Election Data Base and the Czech Statistical Office

Now, for the purpose of our work here is important to show the difference in the radical right voting in the Czech Republic since 1992. We have placed the SPD as a radical right party because of the construction of the issues that the party has been using. The previous party Usvit had some of the characteristics that the previous existing radical right had in the country, for example the insistence of a direct democracy, we will explain this in the next section of the work with an analysis of the issues framed by the radical right in the time. The problem with Usvit is that some of the aspects presented as issues were not completely clear, for example the Euroscepticism of the party was categorized as soft, even though the movement already saw the European Union as too bureaucratic and expensive and it insisted as well on a stronger position of the Czech Republic within the EU preserving national sovereignty and identity. The attitude towards minorities or immigrants was not as strong as the one adopted by the SPD later on. The party was already against the EU migration policy as well as the EU membership of Turkey and Ukraine, they oppose as well to the adoption of Euro without a referendum. All in all, the party was not clear enough about certain issues but it has to definitely be seen, as an evidence of some kind of revival of the issues that the radical right had previously put on the table years ago.

4.2.1 Position of the radical right regarding specific topics. The case of Usvit in 2013 and the SPD in 2017.

Previously in this work, we explained the characterization made by Mudde in order to separate the radical right into pre-Communist, Communist and Post- Communist, this typology serves mostly to place the parties in a specific time. The SPR-RSC was born after the communist regime and it had some success in the elections of 1992 and 1996, right in the moment of the transition and consolidation of democracy in the Czech Republic, what we want to achieve with this party is to identify the issues that this “old” radical right put already in the table in order to pass to the position that the selected SPD has regarding certain specific topics and its relation with the old radical right.

When the SPR-RSC was born in 1989, it was seen as a strong conservative party but later on, it radicalized its position becoming a radical right party, the party was strongly anti-communist and it attacked as well the new establishment, primarily the political milieu surrounding President Vaclav Havel. (Mares 2015: 212) There were other topics that the party placed as important, for example the spread of conspiracy theories affirming that the existent government was forming alliances with the communists and the demand to re-annex Carpathian Ruthenia, even after the separation of Czechoslovakia, when the Czech Republic already lost its border with Carpathian Ukraine, the leader of the party was still making the claim. We point out this issue because even though Mudde place the party as post-Communist, the irredentism can also be part of a pre-communist issue if we recover the idea of Pirro regarding the issues that the radical right claims. (Pirro 2015) The party was as well against the separation of Czechoslovakia, and remain using Czechoslovak symbolically as a part of its name. (Mares 2015) The Slovak remaining part of the party changed its name but became marginal and later on disappeared. The party had links with the Moravian autonomist and separatists in the beginning of the 90’s but later, after the mid 90’s these Moravian movements became more and more marginalized. This topic brings us to an important one, that continuous to be used by the radical right nowadays, the demands of direct democracy, the SPR-RSC, as well as other radical right movements such as the previous mentioned National Party and the Workers Party were supporters of adding elements of direct

democracy in the Czech legal order, other parties in the last years, such as Public Affairs (VV) and Usvit have taken the topic as fundamental. (Mares 2015)

Another important characteristic of the radical right in the Czech Republic is the position of its members towards the minorities, more specifically the Roma minority, the radical right parties spread a rhetoric against this minority after communism and movements that were close to the parties carried out episodes of strong violence. The anti-Roma rhetoric of the SPR-RSC led to the strong rejection of the party by other political forces. The liberal-conservative ODS at that time required a coalition with the social democrats (CSSD) and one of the reasons why the social democrats accepted the coalition, was the hate speech that the leader of the SPR-RSC, Miroslav Sladek, had in the parliament. (Mares 2015: 214)

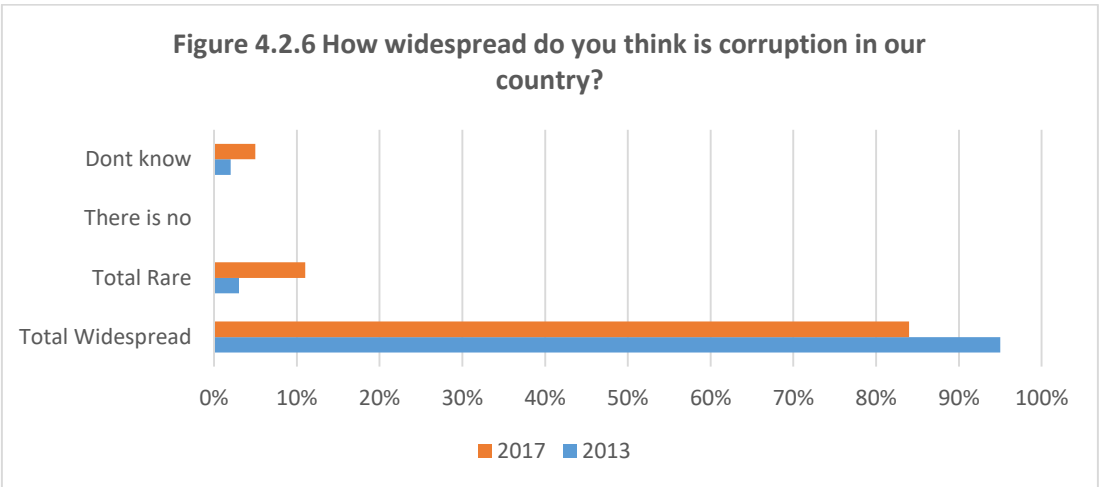
Foreign policy and European policy is one other topic that characterizes the activity of the radical right in the Czech Republic, when the party of Sladek clash in the negotiation with German republicans in 1990, its anti-German campaign started being stronger, supporting as well anti-Sudeten German protest during the 90's, to a less extent the radical right was also involved in some activities against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) but it would never be as influential as expected. The radical right in Czech Republic participated as well in some activities against the enlargement of the EU together with Eurosceptic conservatives and libertarians before the referendum was celebrated. (Mares 2015)

During its moment of "glory" in 1992 and 1996 the radical right was unable to form any alliances or form government with any other political force, they were always isolated and not taken in consideration by other parties, this is one aspect that makes the situation of the radical right different that in other countries such as Poland, Slovakia or Austria.

Now, as we remarked before, when Usvit was born in May of 2013 its position regarding certain topics were not so clear, the ideological spectrum was very broad it didn't exactly fit inside left or right, but it had some aspects that we have pointed as important for the radical right in the country, one of the most important ones is the claim of a direct democracy, the leader of Usvit saw the existing parliamentary democracy with a proportional voting system as the main causative of the political crisis the country was living at the moment. The party,

for example, purposed the use of referendums to solve some issues and made strong reference to the Swiss model. Of course another aspect that the party gave extreme importance was corruption. Usvit was not the only one to give importance to this topic, in the elections of 2013 ANO was as well one of the parties that spoke hardly against the corruption in the country as we pointed out before. The political situation at that moment gave both parties an opportunity to launch their campaign.

Corruption

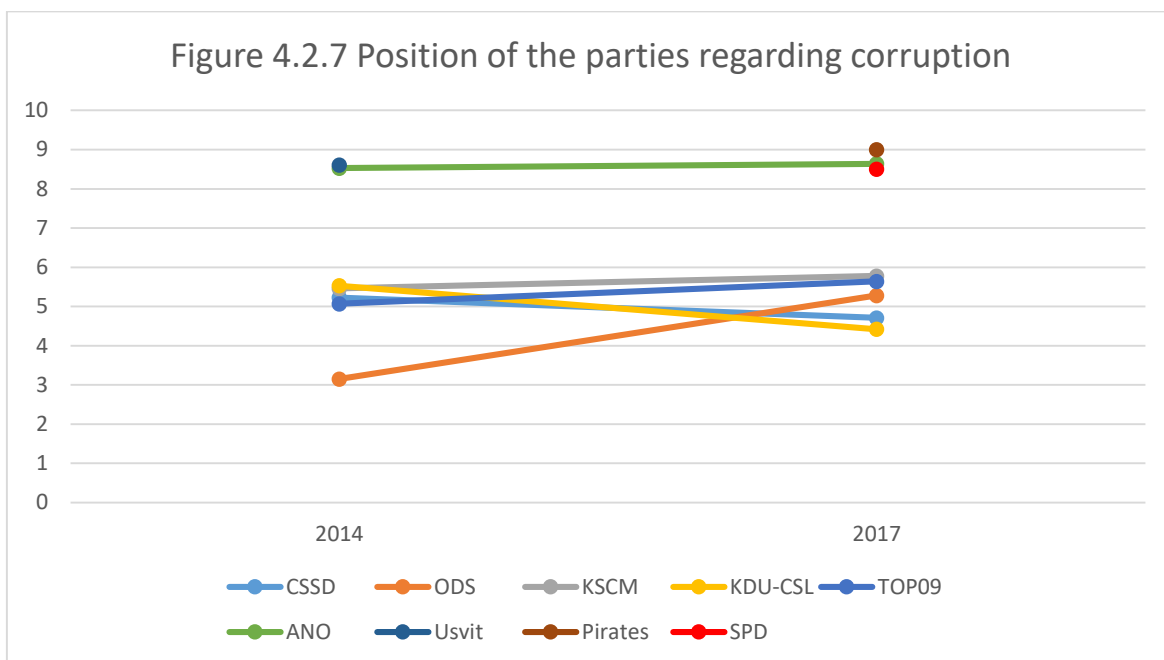


Source: Self Elaboration with data from the European Special Eurobarometer Corruption Report 2013 and 2017

In his previously mentioned worked of 2015, Andrea Pirro assess that corruption is one of the new topics used by the radical right in Central Europe, the perceptions of corruption by the population in the region are quite high in comparison to other countries in Europe. As figure 4.2.9 shows, 95% of the Czech population thought that corruption was highly widespread around the country in 2017 the percentage of people with that perception got lower but it was still considerably high. The timing is important, as we explained in the last section, the country was experiencing a hard political crisis and scandals of bribery and corruption.

Usvit had already spoken hardly against corruption their program they propose harder measures of accountability of judges and prosecutors and saw the direct democracy as a way

to end this circle of corruption in which the political elite had put themselves in, a way of reforming the political system.



Source Self Elaboration with data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey

*0 stands for reducing political corruption is not important at all

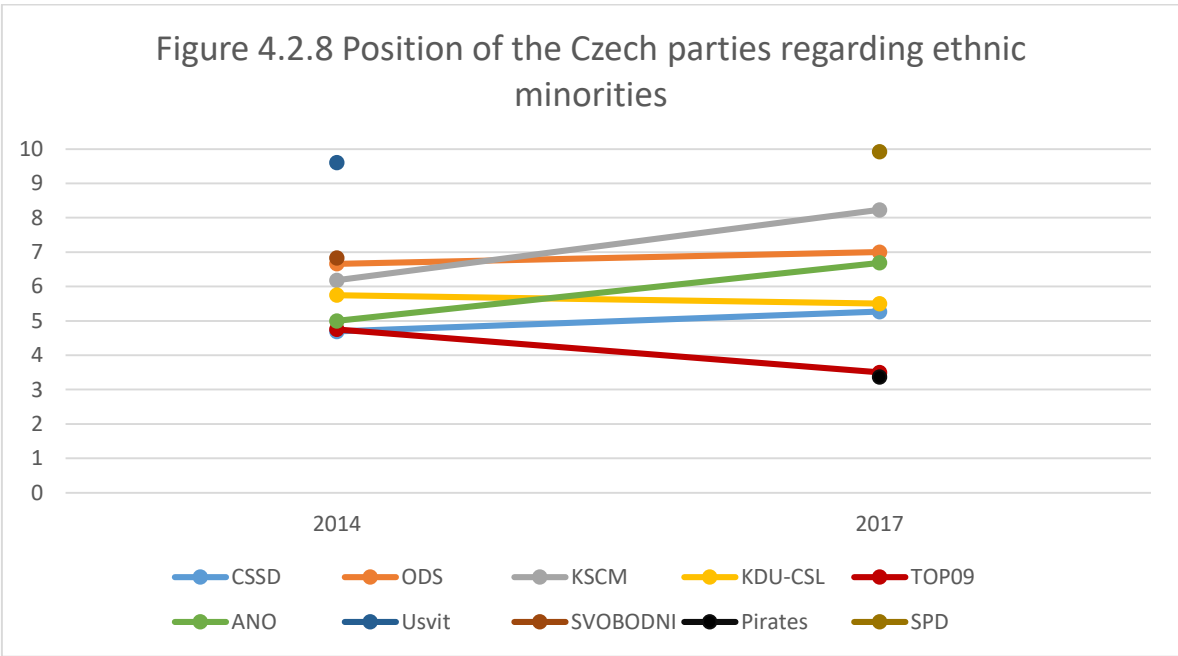
*10 stands for reducing political corruption is extremely important

The SPD as a new alternative from Okamura, also refers hardly against corruption and remarks the necessity of harder punishments to corruption, again it offers the direct democracy as a way of ending the corruption in the country. Figure 4.2.10 shows the position of the parties regarding corruption in 2014 and 2017, four parties stand for reducing political corruption as an extremely important task, therefore the issue corruption is not framed as extremely important just by the radical right. Usvit and the SPD have a strong rhetoric against corruption as well as ANO and the Pirates. This last two parties have gain as well great support in the elections of 2017. Nowadays a new scandal of corruption is open in the Czech Republic, this time attacking the government of Andrej Babis due to accusations of him using fraudulently the subsidies of the European Union. Big demonstrations have been organized across the Czech Republic and the ones in Prague have been categorized by the media as the biggest since the Velvet Revolution. The SPD hasn't take part of the mobilizations by Okamura claiming in his social media, that other parties such as the ODS and the CSSD are

taking part of the protest and they should be as well taking responsibility of their corrupted past.

Ethnic Minorities

Other issue we previously mentioned is the negative attitude of the radical right towards ethnic minorities, specifically the Roma population inside the Czech Republic, but it is highly important to note that the radical right has not been the only one with negative attitudes toward this minority. Before the 2010 municipal elections, several local politicians from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) were prepared to cooperate with the DSSS, the issue of the “unadaptable citizens” was an important factor of this cooperation. (Mares 2015: 215)



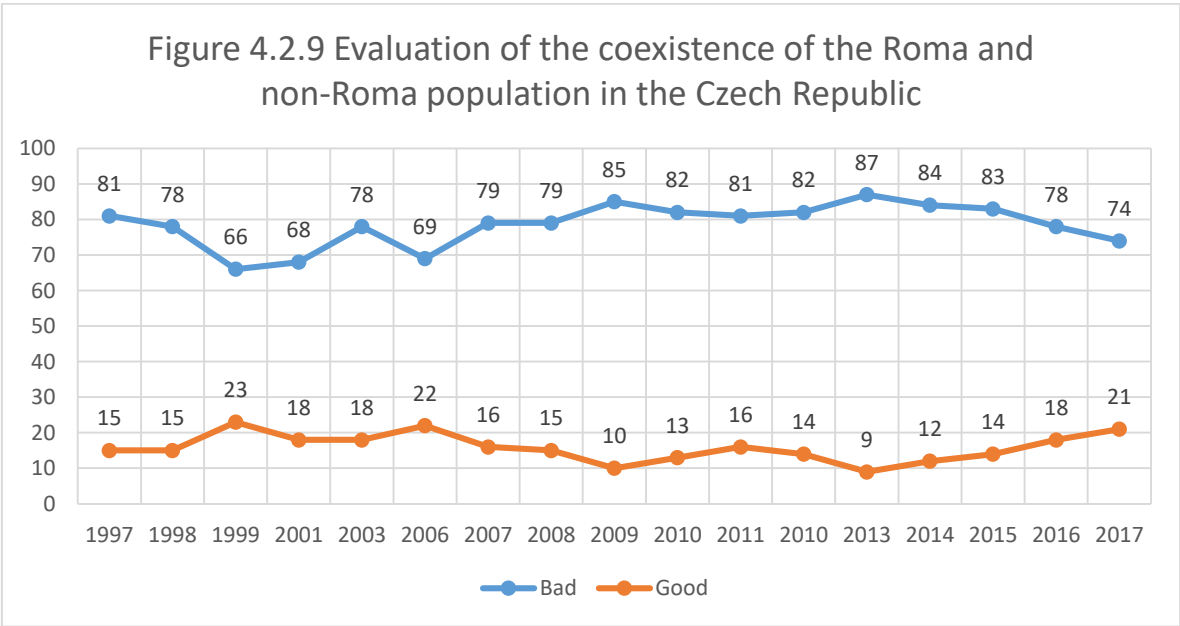
Source: Self Elaboration with data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2014 and 2017

*0 stands for strongly supports more right for ethnic minorities

*10 stands for strongly opposes for more rights for ethnic minorities

Figure 4.2.8 shows the position of different political parties in the Czech Republic in the years 2014 and 2017 regarding the support for more rights for ethnic minorities. It is possible to observe that none of the parties in the figure stands for a total support of more rights for ethnic minorities and there has been as well some shift of attitude from some of the parties between the year 2014 and the year 2017. ANO, for example seems to have radicalized its

ideas about ethnic minorities as well as the Communist Party (KSCM), the TOP09 on the other hand, seems to be more assertive to the rights for minorities in the period of 2017 as well as the KDU-CSL to less extent. The party that seems to support more rights for the ethnic minorities is the newly elected to parliament Pirats, which seems to be the direct opposite to the radical right SPD, who has slightly strengthened its position towards ethnic minorities. Usvit had already present in the program the differentiation between the hard working people who deserve to have a better future with strong opposition to the people who are not working and just making difficult existence to the others. Later the SPD continued with this rhetoric claiming the necessity to cut the social aid for people who are “refusing to work”. According to Cisar and Stetka, Okamura was able to skillfully exploit the Czech people’s obsession with individual success as a defining moment of a person’s general worth, anybody who doesn’t success individually is him or herself to blame, a generally used label for unemployed, poor, or socially excluded people, often ethnicized in the form of the Roma Community. (Cisar and Stetka 2016: 4)



Source: Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění. *Romanies and coexistence with them in view of Czech Public-April 2019*. Milan Tuček. Question: How do you evaluate overall the coexistence of Roma and non-Roma population in the Czech Republic?

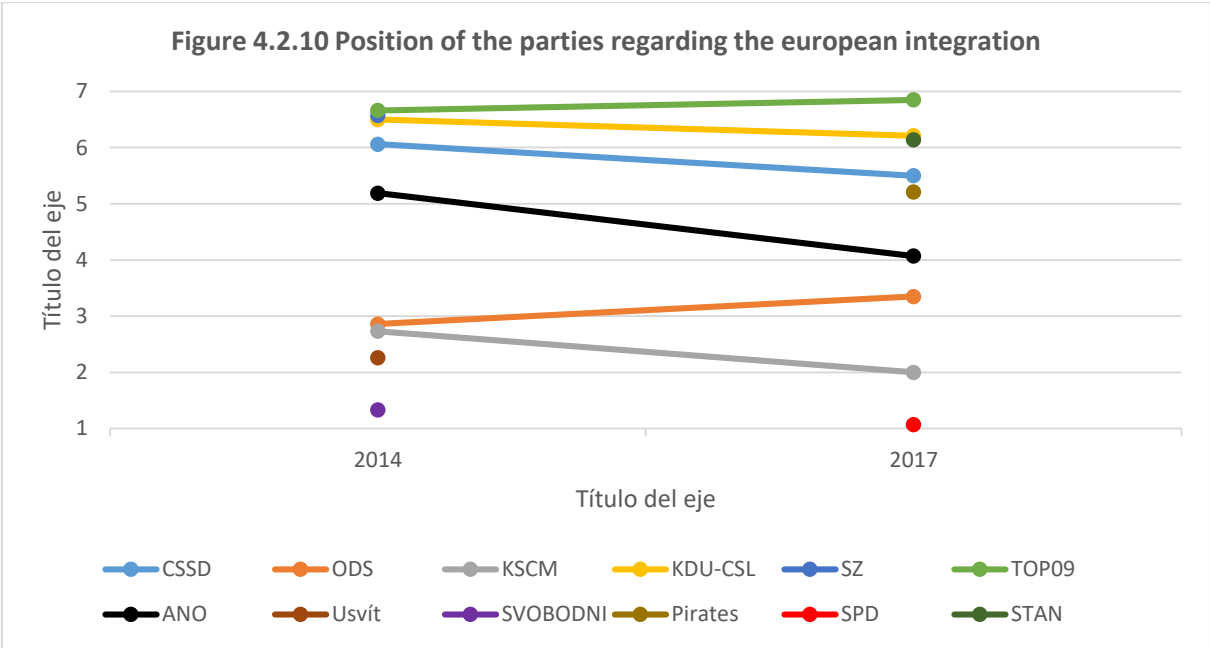
Another element, is not just the fact that traditionally other parties different than the radical right have as well, not been such having such a good attitude towards the Roma minority overall in the Czech Republic, but as Figure 4.2.9 shows the perception on the coexistence of Roma and non-Roma population in the country, the percentage of people who evaluate the coexistence as bad is much higher than the percentage who evaluate it as good. During the 90's the demonstration that were organized against the Roma population, were mostly organized by groups of neo-Nazis and the participation of "normal citizens" was not an element of the protests. Mares points out that this situation changes after some years, since the anti-Roma riots in 2008 there has been more participation of "ordinary" citizens, even though this protests were organized by the Workers Party which would be later banned in 2010, he also assesses that the anti-Gypsyism presented by the radical right has had a specific impact on agenda-setting and the acceptance of the radical right itself, as well as in the domain of policy making phenomena that didn't happened with the anti-Semitism. (Mares 2015:217)

European Integration

After the fall of the communist regime the central and eastern European countries were facing a moment of reorganizing themselves. Clearly this meant that several changes have to be made in different aspects like the economic and the political. The European Union (EU) had a big influence in this process, for example of the Visegrad countries that were pursuing to insert themselves into the western world. After the Maastricht treaty and the official organization of the EU the countries were expecting to go in, and they manage to do it in 2004, but not before going to the process of accession which meant a long process of changes in many aspects. In this sense the term of Europeanization is highly important to understand how the EU played a significant role in the transition of each country. Europeanization is a multidimensional process with three specific dimensions having been identified, this dimensions are, the "top-down", meaning the impact of the EU in national or domestic politics, institutions and also policies, the "bottom-up" dimension which means how the member states tried to show their preferences and the attempt to shape European policies that will also affect them, and the third dimension is the "horizontal" one which is described as a

process of cross-national emulation, learning, and policy transfer that results from intensified interaction among countries within the EU framework (Baun and Marek 2013: 5-6) This process is related with the moment of consolidation of the Czech democracy that is a reason why it became as well an important topic to be used by the radical right.

As we previously mentioned in this work, before the European Integration, the old radical right was for example the face of some issues with the German Republicans in 1991, this became in hard anti-German speeches by the leader of the SPR-RSC, Miroslav Sladek, in the late 90's some protests were organized against the bombing of Yugoslavia by the NATO but it didn't have much influence. Later on, before the accession to the European Union, the radical right together with other Eurosceptic, organized several initiatives against it and since then tried to spread its nationalistic propaganda. When Usvit was borne, in 2013, it was seen as a soft Eurosceptic party, it called for a stronger position of the Czech Republic in the EU and the necessity to preserve the sovereignty and national identity, as we mentioned before, the party was also against the common EU migration policy and the membership of Turkey or Ukraine, even like that its position was not that strong as the position of the SPD.



Source: Self elaboration with data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey

*1 Strongly against

*7 Strongly supports

Now, it is also important to remark that before the radical right, there was already Euroscepticism by some parties such as the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the left wing Communist Party (KSCM). According to Figure 4.2.10 in 2014 four parties were the nearest to the strongly opposing European Integration section, those parties were Usvit, Svobodni, the ODS and the Communist Party, for the elections of 2017 the situation change a little bit, the SPD, as a following party of Usvit, made its discours against European Integration harder, as well as the Communist Party. The ODS seems to have slightly less radical position against European Integration and for its part, the ruling party ANO decrees its positivity towards EU integration.

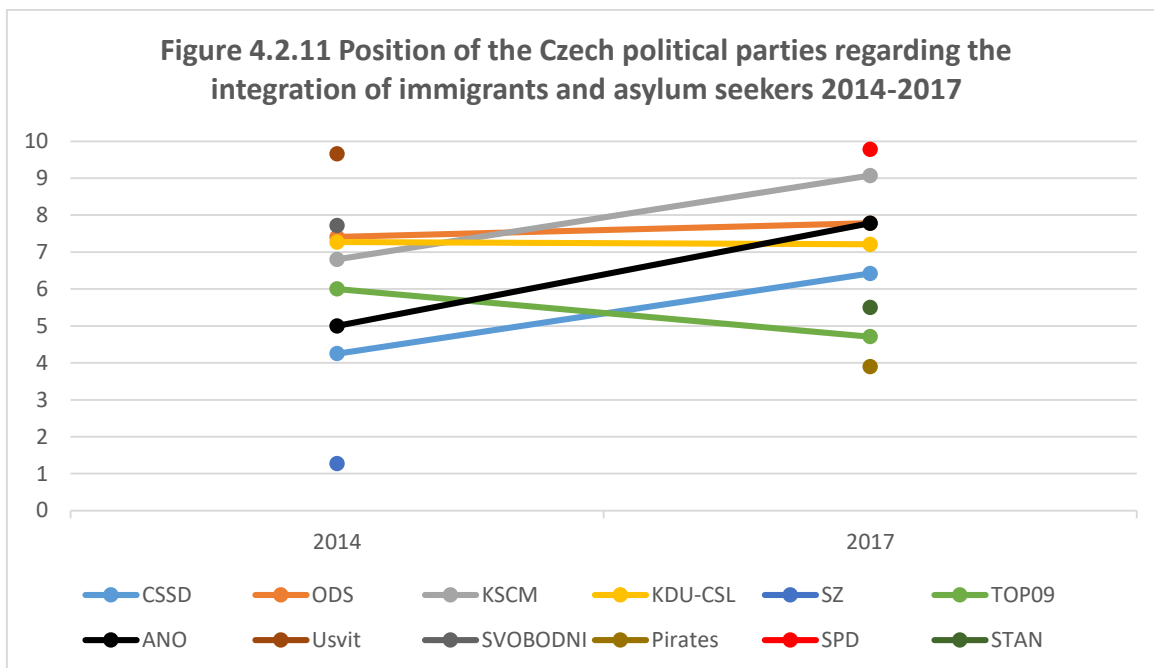
The SPD strengthen its discourse by even contemplating the idea of a withdrawal from the European Union, one of the part of its program for example goes as follows:

First, we will propose to the European Union negotiations to change the conditions of EU membership. We will demand full sovereignty on immigration, internal and external security, food and energy security, taxes and currency. We will ask for the right to reject legislative action under EU directives. If we do not achieve the required results within six months, we will announce a referendum on our country's withdrawal from the European Union. (SPD 2017)

In comparison to Usvit, the SPD clearly strengthened its rhetoric, the leader used the social media for hard accusations and negative propaganda against the EU and in April of 2019, already after the elections parliamentary elections of 2017, the party organized a meeting in Prague, with leaders like Marie Le Pen from the National Front in France and the Dutch politician Geert Wilders from the Party of Freedom. The elections for European Parliament were celebrated a month after the meeting and the SPD got 9.14% of the votes and 2 seats. Previously Usvit presented itself as well for the European Elections in 2014 but was not able to get any seats and got a little bit more than the 3% of the votes. This situation goes as well hand by hand with the attitude of the parties towards immigrants and asylum seekers, it seems that the refugee crisis in 2015 radicalized the position that the radical right in East Central Europe had towards immigrants, let us remember that one fundamental difference between the West radical right and the Central Eastern European one, was specifically the one related

with the immigrants in the West being positioned as the main “other” and dangerous enemy in the society, in East-Central Europe on the other hand, the minorities seemed to fill the role that the immigrants had in West Europe.

For this reason, it is interesting to see as well, the position that the parties have regarding the integration of immigrants and asylum seekers. According to Strapáčova and Hlousek, Usvit’s program was mainly populist with some inclinations to the far right, but after the split of the party the new SPD retains some similar aspects from the party, but comes with harder claims on democracy, referenda, revocability of politicians and nationalism. This nationalism frames are strong and accompanied by strong negative position towards immigrants, more specifically Muslim migration. (Strapacova and Hlousek 2018) Immigrants are related by the party, with a strong security threat and sort of a decay of the Western civilization and values. Figure 4.2.11 shows the position of the parties regarding the integration of immigrants and asylum seekers, the parties that stand the nearest to the idea of multiculturalism are the Green Party in 2014 and the Pirates in 2017, parties such as the CSSD and ANO seemed to be more like in the middle of both positions during 2014, but later in 2017 its position strengthened, mostly the position of ANO, which goes par to par with the position of the ODS, the conservative party that has since 2014 been more for assimilation than multiculturalism. The only party that seems to have loosened its position towards assimilation is the TOP09.



Source Self Elaboration with data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2014 and 2017

*0 stands for strongly favor multiculturalism

*10 stands for strongly favor assimilation

The Communist Party has strengthened its position against multiculturalism and is almost catching the radical right in its position towards the topic. Usvit was already against multiculturalism in 2014, it made clear its opposition for example against a common EU foreign policy, but the SPD was much harder in its discourse towards multiculturalism. It is important that we see how Islamophobia became a hard used topic by the party since 2017.

Above all, we refuse to forcibly accept illegal immigrants and reject the Islamization of our country on the pretext of multiculturalism. We will not allow the creation of a fifth column of radical Muslims in the Czech Republic. Sharia Law and Islamic Jihad are a threat to our freedom and security. Their promotion and dissemination will be outlawed and we will punish unequivocally. (SPD program for the 2017 parliamentary elections)

It was not just the parties program which presented this kind of allegation, but the declarations of the leader of the party as well as the spread propaganda across the country. Here is as well fundamental to speak about the use of social media by the radical right, it seems that they are using these platforms to make launch their ideas, some other groups with

no electoral relevance such as National Democracy and Rozumní are using social media and official Web pages to mobilize their ideas. The case of the SPD is not different. The leader counts with official Websites for him and for the party as well as very active social media accounts, mostly Facebook and YouTube. According with Social-Bakers the parties' Facebook account is one of the political related pages, that is growing the most in the last months, it counts with more than 258 thousand fans and it is very active. Okamura's personal website can be find in Czech as well as in English and the leader is very active in his accounts.

After the refugee crisis in 2015 the Public Opinion Research Center has been conducting regular surveys regarding the public attitudes towards refugees and immigrants. The results between 2015 and 2017 show a tendency, the number of people willing to accept war refugees in the country, is low and slightly sinking. The study shows that in September of 2015 48% of the surveyed were willing to accept war refugees and 50% were in contra, in 2017 there were 35% in favor and 61% reluctant to the acceptance of refugees, this happens despite the people's actual low contact with refugees.

Finally, there is also one important aspect to be considerate that seems a novelty with the new radical right and the old one. In her work about cooperation between radical right parties in Central Europe, Pavla Docekalova, mentions that some factors that can affect to the unfeasibility of the cooperation between the parties, are the very nationalistic nature of them as well as their heterogeneity and the change of success that they have over time. (Docekalova 2006: 18-19) Nowadays Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD) has managed to enter the European Parliament and has an active cooperation with leaders like Marie Le Pen and Matteo Salvini, who founded the European Alliances of Peoples and Nations on April the 8th of 2019 as part of the parliamentary groups inside the European Parliament.

4.3 Jobbik, the Hungarian radical right

The radical right in Hungary has been evolving over the time, although we will focus in The Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik), it is important to make some historical remarks when it comes to the development of the party family in the country, this because of some similarities in the approaches as well as the relation that the party had with the Hungarian

Justice and Life Party (MIÉP), and has with the current ruling party, Fidesz (Federation of Young democrats).

4.3.1 Electoral Performance of the Radical Right in Hungary

The “goulash communism” under János Kádár might have opened some possibility for the radical rightist to mobilize, let’s remember that the opportunities for dissent and political contestation were quite more opened than in other regimes. Already in 1987 the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF, the most important dissent organization), was founded in Hungary by some nationalistic intellectuals one of them was Istvan Csurka, who would after leave the organization because of his right radicalism. The Democratic Forum was not a radical right organization but one of the faces of the Hungarian right-wing radicalism was going to emerge from it.

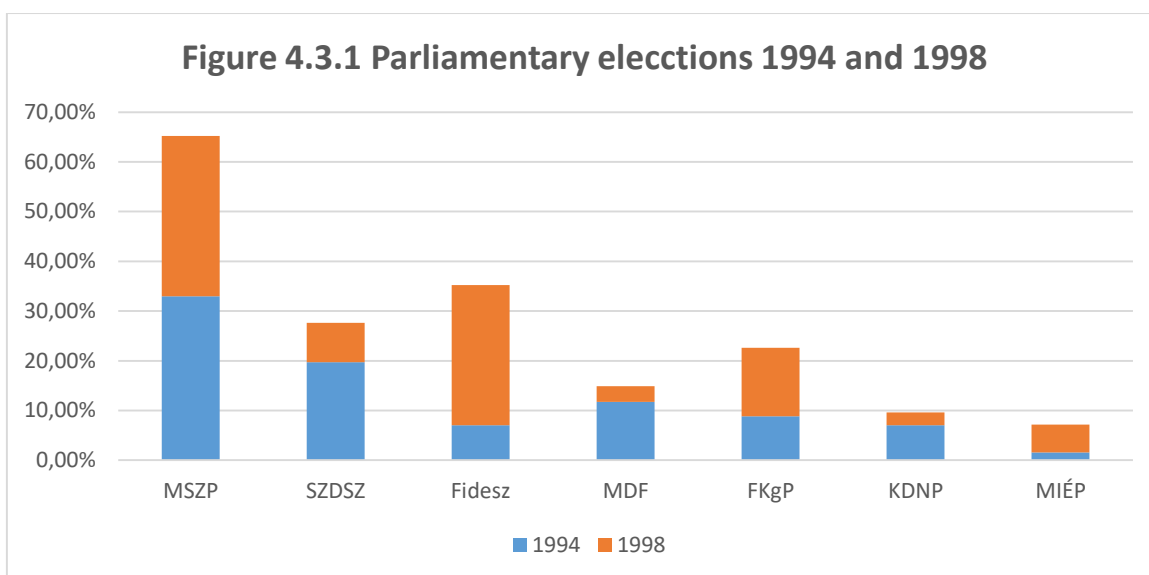
Although the democratic Forum was not extreme right-wing, it was open in that direction... The democratic Forum and its historic leaders, in particular premier József Antall and foreign minister Géza Jeszensky, were at least partly responsible for the anti-Semitic, chauvinistic, xenophobic radical right coming out into open. (Karsai 1999: 134)

In 1993, MIÉP led by Istvan Csurka separated from the Democratic Forum, the party advocated some anti-Semitic as well as nativist views and called for the revision of the 1920’s Treaty of Trianon. The party was characterized by claiming the existence of a Judeo-conspiracy that involved organizations such as the World Bank, the Monetary Found and the philanthropist George Soros. The elections of 1998 the party cross the threshold by obtaining the 5.5% of the votes, however it failed to do so in the next elections.

Meanwhile in 1988, the organization Fidesz was founded by Viktor Orbán, it was presented as a civic youth movement and it also took place in the roundtable negotiations after the fall of the regime in Hungary in 1989. In 1991 it formally became a political party and won 9% of the votes in the first elections. Fidesz was formed by factions, one of the factions was a small liberal group of Gábor Fodor. During the next years Orban’s party strongly opposed to

the conservative religious-national ideology of the Democratic Forum and call it a decaying party. In the elections of 1994 the party managed to achieve just 7% of the votes and after that the liberal faction of Gábor Fodor decided to split from Fidesz and went for the liberal SZDSZ, this allowed Fidesz to have a “turn to the right” after an official congress in 1995, so they preached for what they were criticizing before from the Democratic Forum, who now would be part of the right-wing competition together with the Smallholders Party (FKgP).

The renew party won the elections of 1998 with the 29% of the votes and Orbán became a democratically elected prime minister at a young age. The party was strongly anti-socialist and applied economic measures based in Christian values. (Pytlas, 2015)



Source: Self elaborated, with data from the European Election Data Base

*Difference between the percentages gained by the parties between 1994 and 1998

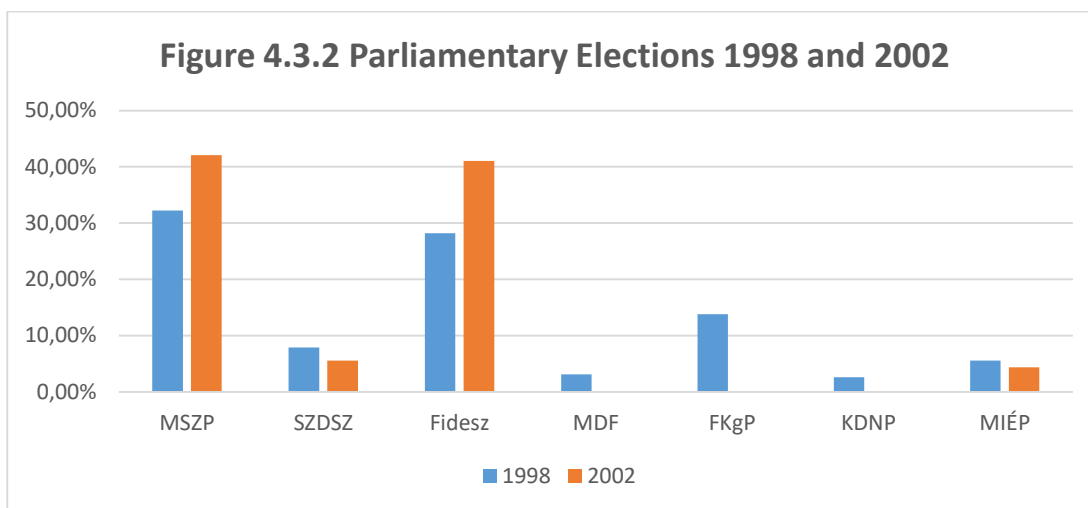
MIÉP was the political party representing the radical right, they got 5.5% of the votes in the elections of 1998, 3.96% more than in the elections of 1992, during the Fidesz government, MIÉP was supporting some of the national and identity politics that the government had.

For example, the recovering of the issue of the non-resident Hungarian ethnic minorities, or the movement of the Holy Crown of St Stephen for the National Theater to the Parliament.

We have to remark the importance of this specific topic and the Holy Crown of St. Stephen, because this is a clear historical legacy, that will be important for understanding Jobbik later

on. St Stephen I was the one who consolidated the Hungarian Kingdom under the Christian rule and it stands for the Greater Hungary (Pytlas 2016; 156), a representation of this is the Holy Coronation Crown which, as we said before stays now in the Parliament. According to Bozóki (2008) Fidesz had the strategy to turn harder to the right in order to take some voters from MIÉP, but at the end it didn't result as expected and they didn't have time to go back to the center, that is why, in his explanation, the party loses the government in the elections of 2002.

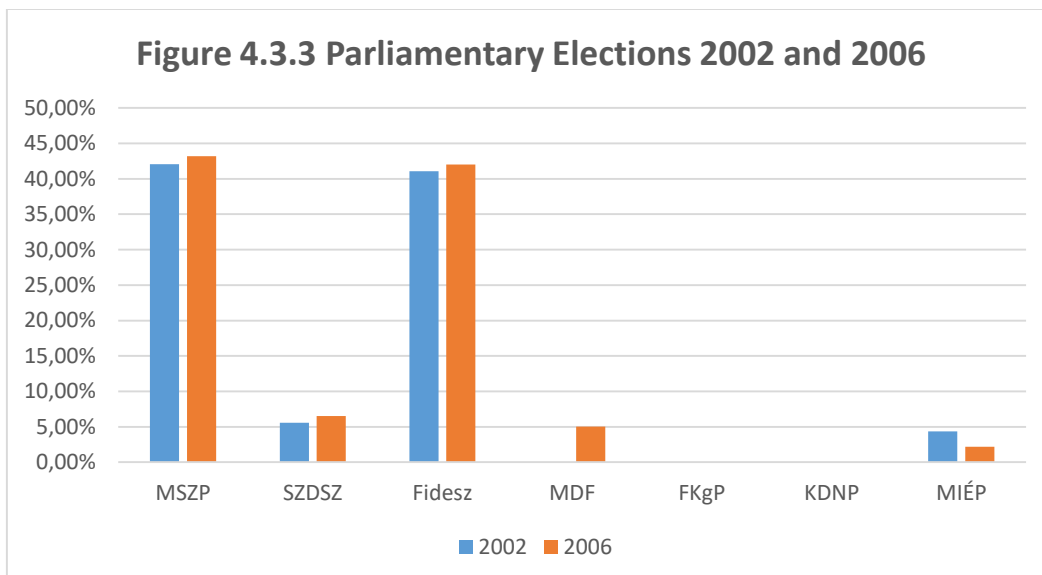
In 2002 Fidesz lost the elections by a narrow difference with the MSZP, but continued having the control over the right-wing sector. This exact time takes us to Jobbik and the reason why it is important to understand this period in order to explain the develop and electoral performance of the party.



Source: Self elaborated with data from European Election Data Base

During the government of Orbán between 1998 and 2002, MIÉP, as we said before, was quite supportive of some politics that the party promoted, there was another organization which was strongly supportive of Fidesz government, the Rightist Youth Organization that identified itself as a National civil association, was already founded by some students of the ELTE University in 1999, this organization was going to be the clear predecessor of Jobbik. When Fidesz lost the elections in 2002, MIÉP lost as well its support and failed to cross threshold, and in addition to this the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) took the victory, the

discontent or the youth organization was evident, they organized a demonstration in July of 2002 demanding the recount of parliamentary votes, this is a crucial moment in for Jobbik, because Orbán didn't support the demonstration, this was seen for the organization, as a big disappointment and they stopped seen Fidesz as representative of the national interest. In spite of this differences, when Orbán created the Civil Association, a group conformed of a small number of people which had the goal to ensure the connection between the people and the party, he invited Gábor Vona, who was one of the leaders of the Rightist Young Organization, he attended to various meetings with hope of a true reform of the party but left after a year in 2003 after deciding that the organization was not meaningful and the objectives were not being reached.

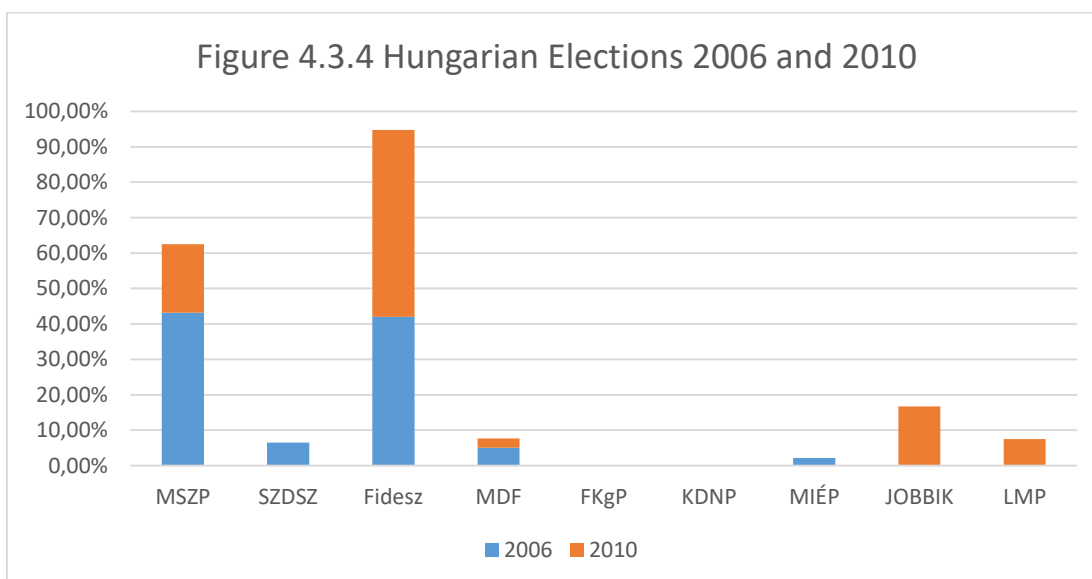


Source: Self elaborated with data from the European Election Data Base. MIÉP and Jobbik's coalition for the 2006 results.

This point, together with the incapability of seeing MIÉP as a solid option, was crucial, because is after this that the idea of creating a new party was finally solid. October the 24th of 2003, the Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik) was founded. The European Elections were ahead, they were going to be celebrate in 2004, but, the party decided not to participated claiming their Euroscepticism. The truth is that they were still not prepared enough, the limits of its own strength led to the alliance with MIÉP in the 2006 general election. (Biro-Nágy 2013: 4)

The 2006 elections didn't go as expected, the alliance between Jobbik and MIÉP gained 2.2% of the votes and failed to cross the threshold. This fact left a clear message for the party, next time they would have to work on building a strong organization.

Even tough, the elections were a failure, 2006 was an important year for Jobbik. In autumn of this year the scandal of the government came with the "Oszöd Speech" a speech in which Gyurcsány admitted lying to win the elections, this produced big mobilizations in which Jobbik and Fidesz were also strongly involved, this events were having big attention from the media because of the violent clashes between the police and the demonstrators, after this Jobbik's name started to make some noise.



Source: Self Elaborated with data of the European Election Data Base

*Data from MIÉP refer to the alliance with Jobbik in 2006

At the same time, another important event was going to happen, the leadership of the party was going to change, Gabor Vóna would replace Kovacs in the task to lead Jobbik. This event has an enormous relevance for the party, because it was going to be one of the initiatives of Vóna that would give even more importance to Jobbik. The Magyar Garda (Hungarian Guard) was a uniformed unarmed but almost military organization created in 2007 because of the strong anti-Roma campaign of the party. Later, Kovacs will have disagreements with

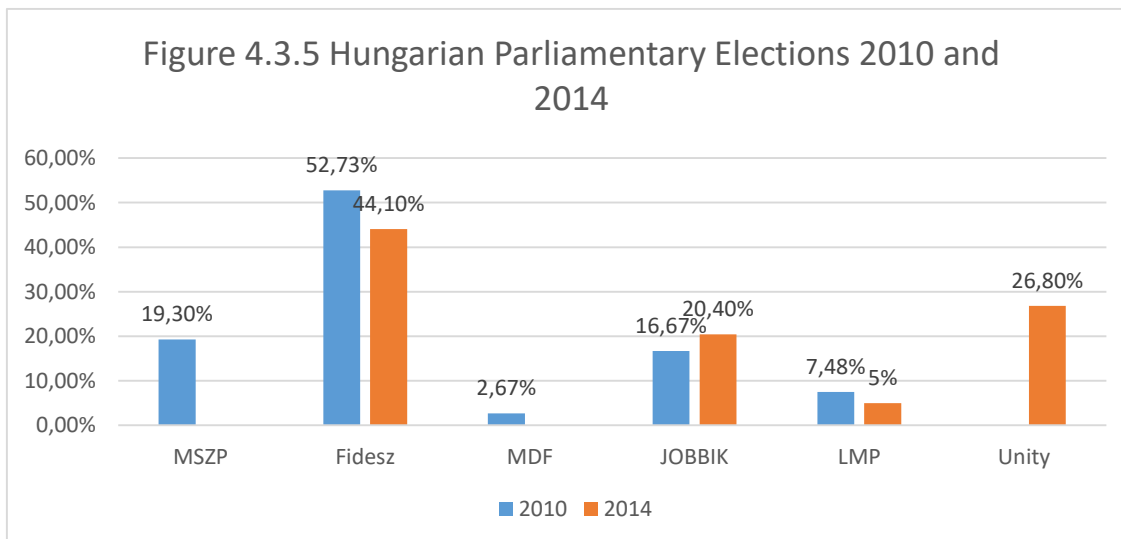
other members of the party because in his eyes the organization was dangerous and was not going to be difficult to control in the future.

The Magyar Garda, cannot be overlooked, because it was kind of a legitimizer of Jobbik's political campaign against the Roma minority, and more accurately to make the party the only one able to take care of the existing "problem". The attention that the media put on the Guard was big, many Hungarians actually heard about the Guard before they even knew about Jobbik. (Biro-Nágy 2013) After the establishment of this group the supporters of Jobbik were also multiplying because of the strong impact that the party had through the Guard as well as their party organization in the regional level. The Guard was disbanded in 2009 by a court ruling, that alleged that the Magyar Gárda activities were a threat to the human rights of Hungarian minorities. Despite the banding of the group, the lesson from the 2006 elections was learned, the party put highly effort in the structure of its organization, by 2008 it had 70 local organizations and in January of 2009 the number escalated to 249 with 3000 thousand members who were actually active. To this strong work regarding the organization of the party we can as well add their online activism, for example by the creation of a Web-Site that would specifically deal with the "Roma Crime", as well as the demonstrations organized in Budapest against the gay parade.

In 2009 the party decided to run for the European Elections and won a 14.8% of the votes and the right to send 3 euro deputies to the European Parliament. Finally, by the elections of 2010 Jobbik had 800 organizations across the Hungarian regions as well as eight thousand active members. The parliamentary elections were celebrated and Jobbik overcome the failure of 2006, by gaining 16,67% of the votes and 47 seats in the Hungarian National Assembly. In the following years, the party was also successful in several municipal elections.

Another important fact of the elections is the recovering of Fidesz with KDNP, the merging obtained 52,73% of the votes after the second round in April. This gave them a comfortable control over the Parliament. This means that Jobbik would actually not be a big influencer in the decision making process of public matter in 2010 but the importance of its

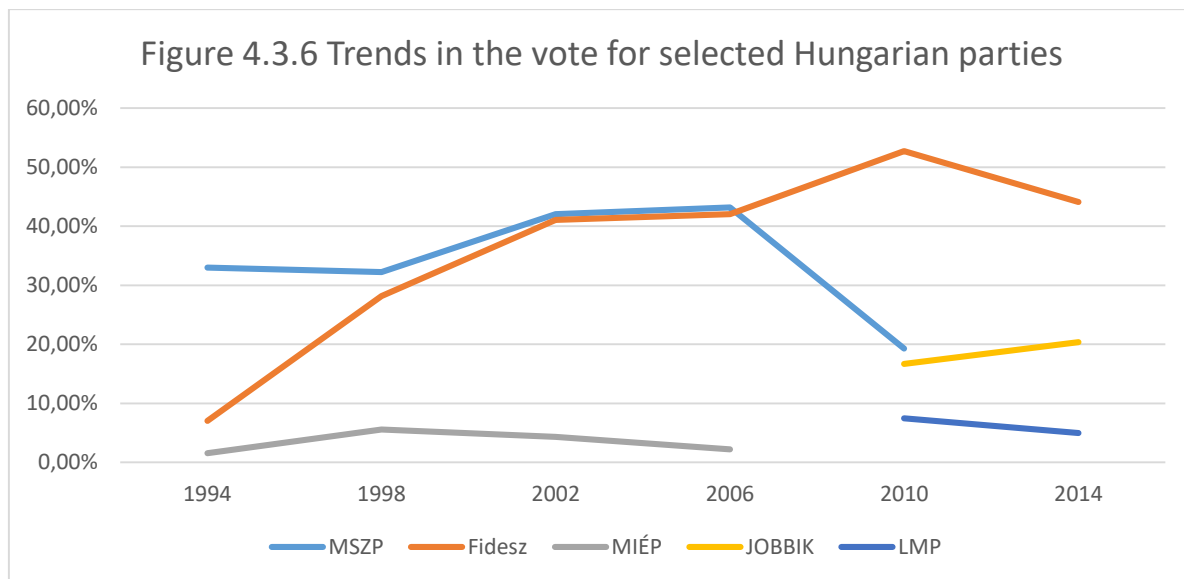
achievement has to be taken in consideration because of the hard and active role in the way to build the organization as well as its relevance in the regional sphere. According to Biro-Nagy and Boros the way to the next elections was already being seen as important by the party leaders, the authors remark the importance of a shift that the party had in its communication strategy, during the campaign for the elections of 2014, Jobbik worked in order to create a strategy that would make the claims of the party a little bit less radical, they affirmed the need of becoming some sort of “peoples party”. During the 2014 election, Jobbik used its promise of a ‘clean campaign’ as a consciously designed campaign and image-building tool that was meant to tell voters than unlike its rivals, Jobbik would engage in an honorable and program-based politics that would focus on the country’s real problems rather than engage in dirty politics. (Biro-Nagy and Boros, 2016: 247)



Source: Self Elaboration with data from the European Election Data Base and the Hungarian Central Statistical Office

The party referred to its opponents practically as old, they assessed that Fidesz and de social-democratic MSZP were stacked in the past, covering issues of the 20th century at the same time they tried hard to show themselves as a new face of politics, as the politics of the 21st century, this claims came of course not alone, one of the aspects that we marked previously as important regarding the electoral success of the radical right, was the use of social media and the internet as a promoting instrument. The party presence in social media since 2009,

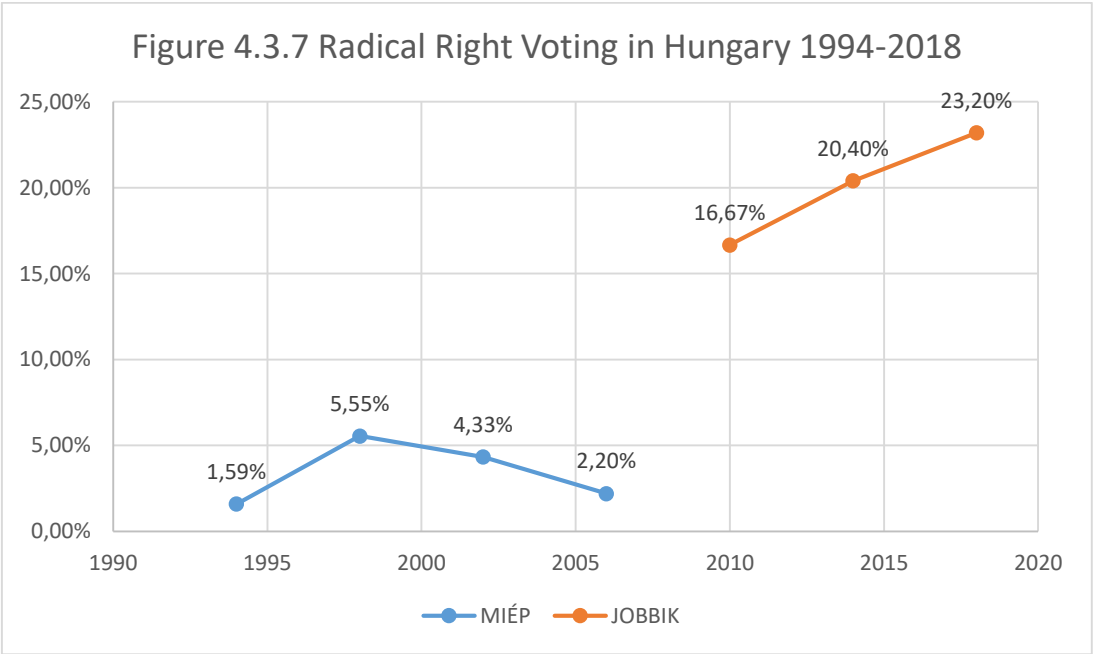
started to escalate, even though Jobbik’s Facebook site was already created in 2003, the number of followers exceeded the 140 thousand by 2013 and keeps on growing with over 495 thousand by this year. The party’s active presence in Facebook is not the only outstanding aspects of the Internet’s use, it also uses its own party website in Hungarian as well as English and several other news and information platforms like the affiliated website Alfahir, to ensure a sort of constant campaign.



Source: Self Elaboration with data from the European Election Data Base and the Hungarian Central Statistical Office

In the election of 2014, with a new electoral system put into effect, Jobbik achieved 20.7% of the votes and 23 seats in the National Parliament. Fidesz-KDNP managed to get 44,10% of the votes and the coalition of the left, Unity (MSZP-EGYÜTT-DK-PM-MLP), obtained 26.80% of the votes, positioning itself as the second force. Jobbik got the third place but ultimately rose as the single largest opposition party with over 1 million votes. (Pirro 2015) The trends in the voting in Hungary have been sort of dynamic since 1994 (See Figure 4.3.6) what we can analyze from it, is that the social democrat MSZP, lost a tremendous amount of support after the elections of 2006. After the fall of the communist regime the party (MSZP) inclined towards the democracy as well as the market economy, all this to overcome the heritage of the communist party, the party implemented several privatization reforms and also budget cuts in public spending. On the other hand, Fidesz managed to gain big support since 2006, and became a strong mainstream party with indisputable power in the parliament.

Although it can be that some of the support that the party lost after 2010 could have been because of the strong presence of Jobbik. Even though for first time a green party such as LMP has some support it is not strong enough to revert the shift to the right that the country has experienced.



Source: Self Elaboration with data from the European Election Data Base and the Hungarian Central Statistical Office

A fourth fact of the electoral development in Hungary is the performance of the radical right over the time. MIÉP never managed to have the relevant support that Jobbik has nowadays. The radical right voting over time can be seen in figure 4.3.7, the performance of MIÉP for example was more or less relevant in the elections of 1998, but shortly after in the 2002 elections, the support for the party went down, also in the elections of 2006 when the party presented itself to the elections with Jobbik. The next period of importance of the radical right in Hungary came with Jobbik after 2010, it has an enormous relevance because of how the party was able to succeed in the election of that year, and not just that but also managed to sustain and improve its electoral performance. Even though we are focusing on the elections of 2010 and 2014, we have to remark that in 2018 Parliamentary Elections were celebrated in Hungary and, as we can see in the figure, Jobbik managed to obtain 23.20% of

the votes, adding up 2.8% of votes to the results of the elections celebrated in 2014. Until now we have checked the electoral development in Hungary and more specifically the Jobbik's electoral performance, the next part of this analysis will focus in the party's position regarding specific topics such as European Integration, ethnic minorities, immigration and multiculturalism, corruption and the difference between the party's position and Fidesz position according to each issue over the time.

4.3.2 Position of the radical right regarding specific topics. The case of Jobbik in 2010 and 2014

Several aspects can take part in the electoral performance of the parties in general, institutional variables as well as historical legacies or supply and demand side effects. It is of course possible to assess the institutional variables that affect the electoral support of the radical right parties, in previous works, mostly about Western Europe (see part 2.3) different authors who decided to work with a more quantitative approach, have found out that variables such as previous coalitions in the countries or institutional barriers for the parties, may affect positively or negatively to the electoral success of the radical right. As we have explained before, for the purposes of this work, which counts with a small N, the historical method as well as the framing analysis, serve as a better tool to achieve our objectives. In this part we will check the position that the radical right in Hungary, specifically Jobbik, have regarding certain topics and assess the issues that are owned by them.

Trianon Treaty

After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire the political dimension of Hungary itself lost importance, it was a moment in which the several aspects of history and heritage had to merge together to form an idea of Hungarian national identity. Pytlas explains about the importance of the mix of certain narratives or national traumas, historical legacies that need to be revised to understand the Hungarian self-definition. (Pytlas 2016: 156)

One of those historical legacies is the one related with the Holy Coronation Crown of St Stephen, that resembles the foundation of the Hungarian kingdom by St Stephen, another

important legacy that worked as a romantic myth of victimization is the lost battle of Mohács against the Turks in 1526 and a legacy that reinforces the previous one is the one of the struggle against the communist government in 1956. This last uprising was brutally repressed by the Soviet army. Even though these moments represent a hard historical legacy for Hungary, maybe the most important one is the related to the Trianon Treaty. In 1920, a Treaty was formally signed to put an end to the war, Hungary as one of the big losers of the war, was left as a landlocked country and parts of its territory were divided between Romania, Czechoslovakia, Austria and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. After this period and between the I and II World War during the lead of the admiral Horthy, several radical right organizations existed, mostly claiming the territories that were lost after the Trianon Treaty. Between 1938 and 1941 with the military support of Nazi Germany, Hungary was able to recover at least 40% of the lost territory, in 1944 Hitler's troops marched to Budapest and pushed the admiral to install a loyal government to Germany. After the end of the II World War the borders became once again, the ones delimited by the 1920's Trianon Treaty. During the communist rule the topic was mostly outside discussion and treated as a taboo, but after 1989 it reemerged. The amended constitution of 1989 declares the responsibility of the State to take care of the Hungarian population living outside its borders, later on the 2011 New Constitution of Hungary refers deeper about this topic and writes the following about the task of the State:

“...promoting and safeguarding our heritage, our unique language, Hungarian culture, the languages and cultures of nationalities living in Hungary, along with all man-made and natural assets of the Carpathian Basin.” (Fundamental Law of Hungary 2011)

Before this new constitution was enforced, there was a very polemical issue related with the grant of nationality to Hungarian people living outside the territory. In 2001 the government passed the Act LXII, most commonly known as Status Law, it granted the possibility to ethnic Hungarians outside the country to get the country's ID plus some other benefits such as social, health and work. This action was quite criticized, not just by the neighbor countries but also by the European Union. In 2003 the next government, due to the international pressure would

amend the law by cutting the benefits that it provided and not just that but also by lowering its nationalistic rhetoric. (Pytlas 2016: 159) The topic didn't end there, the already existent Jobbik backed a referendum proposal to address the issue, later Fidesz supported the proposal as well, even though the government was refusing to the proposal the referendum was celebrated the 5th of December of 2004, the participation was very low so the result of 51% supporting the law had to be declare as invalid. Years after the second Orbán government would propose an amendment for dual citizenship that would finally pass in 2011, even though the law didn't include suffrage rights the changes of 2011 in the electoral law would grant voting rights to non-resident Hungarians. According to all this events, Bartek Pytlas in his work of 2016 identifies that frames of "threat" and "protection" are articulated by the right wing actor in the Hungarian politics, as well as the anti-socialist discourse and the frames of "trauma/martyrology", this means that Fidesz used similar frames than Jobbik but less radicalized.

Corruption, anti-Communism and anti-Elitism

Previously in this work, we mentioned the problems that the social democrat government had after 2006, protests were active in the country during this period, not just due to the known Oszöd speech, but to austerity measures, reform policies that were unsuccessful as well as other scandals related with corruption. Several corruption scandals broke down during this government, scandals such as the one of the youth socialist organization, the real state issues in Budapest as well as some other one related with financial abuses by politicians. (Bíró Nagy and Róna 2012)

The perceptions regarding corruption in Central Easter Europe have always been higher than in other countries in Western Europe, but according to a special report on corruption by the Eurobarometer in 2009 the perception regarding the topic was even higher, 96% of the surveyed in Hungary marked corruption as a major problem in the country and in 2014, 89% of the surveyed saw corruption as total widespread around the country. Other surveys marked as well the unpopularity of the government at the time.

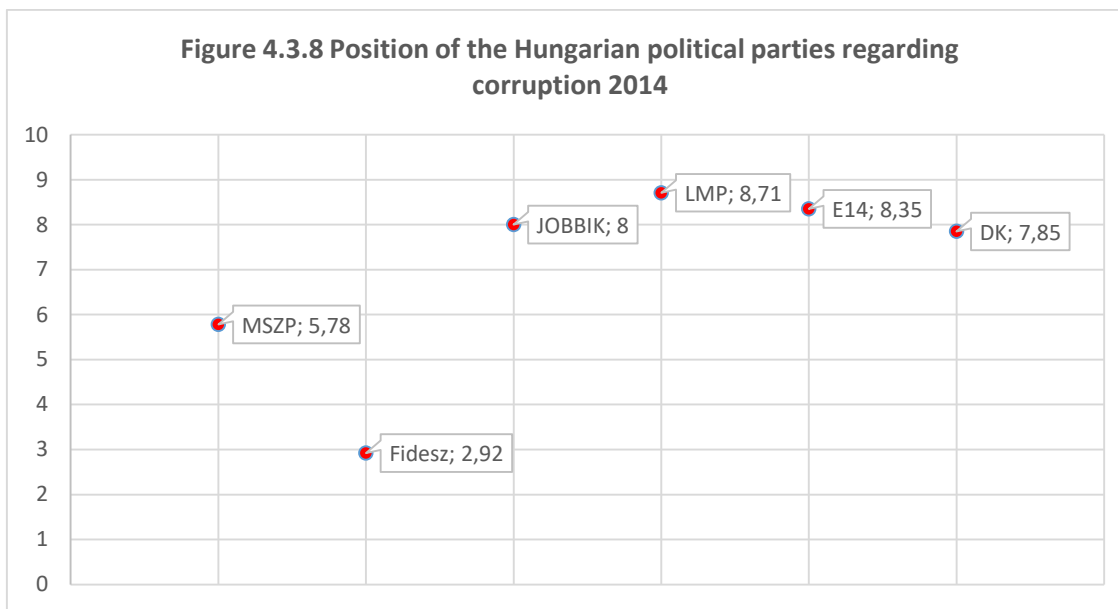
In terms of public support, MSZP's position did not take a turn for worse as a result of the corruption scandals. Nevertheless, the scandals may have played a role in that

they might have prevented MSZP from regaining some of its strength. The public opinion climate improved somewhat for the party after the low it experienced at the time of Ferenc Gyurcsány's resignation and the embarrassing search for a new prime minister. In March 2009 a mere 6% of respondents thought the country was on the right track, a year later that number rose to 15%. However, the better public assessment of the Bajnai-government as compared to its predecessor did not lead to growing support for MSZP. (Bíró Nagy and Róna 2012: 15)

Jobbik and Fidesz were active during the protests on 2006, Jobbik worked hardly during this time to make its organization grow and focus on the main issues to be launched in the campaign and program. Since it started its political activity it presented itself as an anti-establishment party, this is as well related with the strong anti-elite and anti-communist position that the party has. When the party was born in 2003 its main document made clear that the main objective of the party was to keep the communist and the radical liberals who had become like a predecessor of the previous ones, away from the power. Later on, for the election of 2010 the party had more of an anti-elitist line, this due to the fact that now in its view the transition was not made correctly and there were some things still necessary to be fixed.

We must step up against corruption immediately and mercilessly. We practice what we preach: to this end, our party annually publishes the wealth gain audits of its politicians as well as those of their next of kin. Getting into government, we would apply this practice to the entire political leadership. We would abolish politicians' immunity and we would also introduce stricter regulations regarding political players by setting more severe punishment for economic crimes committed by such individuals. (Jobbik 2010)

In the eyes of the party, the national assets were sold off to privates or multinationals, they were blaming a specific elite and propose to organize investigations to public projects, investments as well as offshore companies.



Source Self Elaboration with data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2014

*0 stands for reducing political corruption is not important at all

*10 stands for reducing political corruption is extremely important

After the elections of 2010 and the success of Orbán as well as the success of Jobbik becoming the third strongest party in the country after its separation of MIÉP, the situation of the party as an anti-establishment one, didn't change. The same situation happened after 2014. The position of the party, for example regarding corruption, keeps on being hard, Fidesz as a government party is having less interest in locating the reduction of corruption as an extremely important matter. The reason why anti-communism, corruption and anti-elitism go together in Jobbik's strategy is because one feeds the other and vice versa, in the eyes of the party the shady procedures that characterized the transition came already long ago with the communist past. There are other issues that the radical right in Hungary, specifically Jobbik has made its own, one of them and maybe the most important for the result of the 2010 elections was what the party called the "gypsy crime", in the next section we will focus on the attitudes of Jobbik towards ethnic minorities, specifically the Roma population.

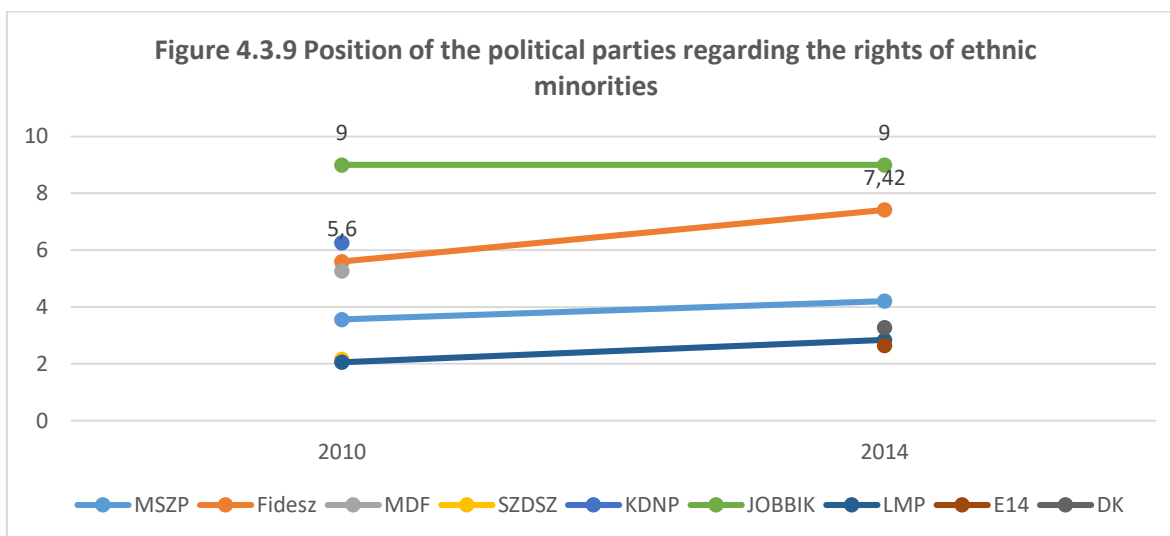
Ethnic Minorities

Previously we spoke about the importance of the Magyar Garda for Jobbik as well as its relationship with what the party calls "gypsy crime". The discrimination against Roma

population is not new in Hungary, it is actually not new across Europe, as a product of this discrimination and prejudice the Roma minority is quite marginalized, suffers of labor market exclusion and social and residential segregation. (Pytlas 2016: 188) The policies around Europe regarding the Roma minority have actually failed in being inclusive, the Hungarian case is not different, the nationality status for the Roma Population was denied during the 50s the situation persisted until 1988, in 1961 the Hungarian United Workers Party promoted a compulsory assimilation plan that ended later in 1984. (Barany 2012) After 1989 some efforts were regarding programs of anti-discrimination as well as minority rights regulation, but nothing was totally clear, also during the years 2002 and 2006 some education programs were developed but, as they didn't have big results either, because the program was not specifically directed just to Roma children but socially disadvantaged youth in general. (Messing 2012). In 2011 because of the growing anti-Roma violence, Orbán's government made promises about inclusion of the Roma population in matter of education and labor, the problem is that, as other measures attempts, they stay in paper and are not able to be materialized. This government strategy was also criticized because of the lack of human rights based approach and general vagueness. (Pytlas 2016: 190)

In a moment where the topic of the Roma minority was actually un-politicized Jobbik managed to go inside the game presenting itself as the only one who could do something about the issue, the way the issue was presented was as well very hard, they introduced successfully the frame "Gypsy Crime" and were able to occupy this political space. The reason that Jobbik used to legitimize its claims were a series of violent events regarding Roma population, the worst one occurred in October of 2006 when a Roma girl was accidentally hit by a car, when a group of Roma noticed what happened believing the girl to be dead, lynched the driver and killed him. After this event it was easier for Jobbik and the Magyar Garda to have more attention from the media as well as to insert the term "Gypsy Crime". According to Pytlas, the translation of the term, its actually not that accurate and the semantic extent of the radical right frame gets lost. In Hungarian the term consists just in one word (*cigánybunözés*) and its constructed around the idea of biological racism, implying an ethnic or genetic innateness of all members of the Roma minority to commit crimes, this racist interpretation assumes that

the Roma are criminal by nature or, through their blood. (Pytlas 2016: 190)



Source: Self Elaboration with data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey

* 0 Strongly supports more rights for ethnic minorities

* 10 Strongly opposes more rights for ethnic minorities

Figure 4.3.9 shows the position of the parties on rights for ethnic minorities during 2010 and 2014. Jobbik stays constant as strongly opponent for more rights for ethnic minorities, this reflects our previous analysis on how they framed the topic and manage to achieve the issue ownership. Another important aspect is the position that the mainstream Fidesz has regarding the topic, it seems that its discourse on ethnic minorities has radicalize between the period of 2010 and 2014. But is important to note that before 2010, there was a counter reaction of Fidesz regarding the use of “gypsy crime” by Jobbik, this party reacted by saying that it was the society the one who had to decide if this crime existed or not. The attitude of Jobbik regarding the ethnic groups goes as it follows:

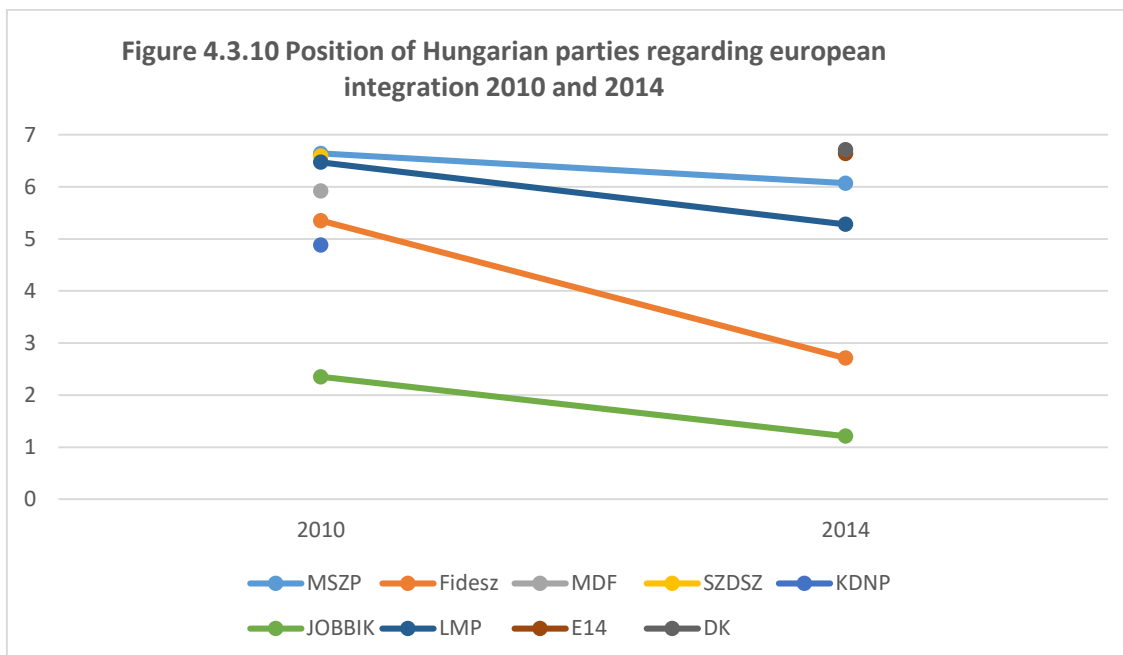
The biggest problem for most ethnic groups is assimilation and exodus arising from living in rural areas. Contrary to that, the problems affecting the Gypsy community have already risen to demographic, social and public security issues by now, due to the grave political negligence of the matter. Inefficient, badly-executed integration programs have caused that the situation of the Gypsy community has actually deteriorated quite much in the past 25 years instead of any improvement. Generations have grown up without seeing any positive example within the family, so they have

carried on with the same lifestyle which often entails a criminal way of life. People's daily lives are soured by hundreds of theft, mugging, burglary and death threat cases which are most often committed by Gypsy individuals, not only against Hungarians but other Gypsy people as well. Thus the issue of Gypsy-Hungarian co-habitation remains in the forefront of the public discourse as a problem that still needs a solution. (Jobbik official Website. Policies 2019)

Without a doubt the negative framing of the party towards the Roma minority had big importance for its popularity in 2009 even though the party was already using this negative connotation since its foundation. According to Pytlas, this frame can be considered as valid because of its acceptance by a large portion of the public opinion. The attitudes of Hungarians towards minorities are negative, in the 2008 Eurobarometer 29% of the respondents' asset that they wouldn't like to have Roma as neighbors, in the Eurobarometer of 2009 54% of the respondents claimed that minorities cause insecurity. According to a survey of the Publishing Research Consortium in 2009 69% of the surveyed Hungarians had unfavorable views of Roma.

European Integration

The position between the radical right, regarding the European Union across Europe, has shown to be traditionally negative. The Euroscepticism appears as an element that the radical right shares across Europe. During the 90's MIÉP shared as well this rejection, later Jobbik, adopted this Euro-pessimism as well.



Source: Self Elaboration with data from Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2010 and 2014

*1 stands for strongly against EU integration

*7 stands for strongly supports EU integration

When the party was already active in 2004, European elections were celebrated but Jobbik didn't participate in those elections claiming Euroscepticism what the party wrote in its party foundation was that the EU membership was unacceptable because it would result in a restriction of Hungary's national independence. In 2006 the party's position regarding the EU was quite negative, it claimed that the accession of Hungary rested under unfairly terms, putting in danger the national assets and having less benefits for the country. The situation in 2009 slightly changed, the debut of the party in the European Elections was good by gaining 3 seats this event, prepared the party for the National Elections of 2010, even though this time the party took part of the European Elections was not discarding the idea of Hungary leaving the European Union. Figure 4.3.10 shows the position of the parties regarding European Integration, Jobbik has since the beginning positioned as Eurosceptic, one of the interesting aspects that can be observed in the figure is that Fidesz has radicalized its position towards the position of Jobbik in an attempt to take the votes from the radical right, but as we previously saw it was not something that they could manage to achieve. According Pirro the change of Fidesz in its attitude towards European Union could be explained by the deteriorated state of the economic situation in Hungary plus the financial crisis of the Union,

even though he admits that is difficult to speak about a specific cause, the fact is that Fidesz has become a hard critical of European institutions. (Pirro 2015: 150)

What Jobbik claims is that Hungary is part of the Europe not because of the accession to the European Union but because of historical reasons. The rejection of the European Union was toned down in comparison to previous years. During 2010 the country had a difficult economic situation and was therefore depending on loans that were guaranteed by the European Union as well as other entities. The party would later reflect this concerns in its position regarding the European Integration and a common foreign policy.

The incompetency of Hungarian governments prevented the EU accession from generating a real boom for the country and the Hungarian nation as a whole. In fact, our situation deteriorated in several respects. Our subservient foreign policy leaders, who were trying to comply with any external demands, missed the historic opportunities entailed by the changing balance of international (and European) powers, thus entering into a bargaining process contrary to the interest of the nation. Hungary's sovereignty was shaken [...] Our foreign policy assigns a key role to the development of the best possible relations with the three great powers that define the situation of the Central European region: Germany, Russia and Turkey. We are convinced that we can and must take this step, even though it is not easy to implement amidst the existing foreign political skirmishes. Germany is the political and economic centre of the European Union, and culturally speaking, it is also one of the closest countries to Hungary; Russia is an important player in global politics and a key to our energy security while Turkey is a core state of the Middle East and as such, important for us. (Jobbik 2017)

The strong Euroscepticism of Jobbik comes sort of more related with realism, with roots in general foreign policy orientation that favors ties with the east over the European integration. (Nagý, Boros and Varga 2012)

One of the other issues that Jobbik finds as extremely important, is the one sort of related with the Trianon Treaty to which we referred previously on this work.

The issue of Hungarians living in neighboring countries has been in the forefront of Hungarian thinking ever since the 1920 peace dictate of Trianon, Paris. We have not

been able to fully recover from the trauma and the situation is further aggravated by the neighboring states' often hostile and intimidating steps against their local Hungarian communities. (Jobbik 2017)

The party refers to the importance of taking measures in the European level that will secure the situation of Hungarians living outside the country, the party proposes the settlement of Hungarian communities and their recognition by the neighboring countries as well as the European Union in order to endure their right to self-governance.

Finally, the party has an active use of the social media, data from Social Bakers, shows that the party's YouTube page is the most popular politics page of the country, with 4818 videos uploaded and 14 130 subscribers, the Twitters page is the 5th fastest political growing page in the country and the party is active in Facebook with 508592 fans and its leader Gabor Vona even more with 518236 fans. The social media is not the only tool that the party uses actively, as previously mentioned it counts with partner information's Websites and the official Website of the party available in Hungarian as well as in English, with the parties Manifesto, Programs and Policies as well as news and official party's declarations.

5 Conclusions

The aim of this work was directed to the electoral performance of the radical right in Czech Republic and Hungary and the way they address certain issues using specific framing strategies. We observed the relationship between the selected parties and the previous radical right in both countries. Even though the historical legacy of communism has still importance to some extent, the issues that the parties locate nowadays are new, in the case of the Czech Republic an issue that seems to come from the past claims of other radical right parties, the SPD is a strong supporter of the direct democracy, in the case of Hungary the topic of the Trianon Treaty stays as well as an active claim and part of a pre-communist issue that was already used by previous radical right parties. Both parties have nationalistic characteristics and are Eurosceptic in different ways, the SPD in the Czech Republic has related its Euroscepticism to strong anti-Islamic frames relating itself mostly with the radical right in

the West, in Hungary, Jobbik relates its Euroscepticism mostly from a realistic point of view of foreign affairs, on the other hand the party was successfully allocate a negative frame regarding the Roma ethnic minority in the country, this is one of the issues that has catapulted the party to good electoral performance after 2009. In both cases previous corruption scandals have been a situation before the success not just of the radical right but of the mainstream parties such as Fidesz in Hungary and now ANO in the Czech Republic. The mainstream parties seem to have been using an accommodative strategy towards the radical right discourse, although this situation is more clear in the Hungarian case than in the Czech case. The present work can help to identify the different characteristics that both parties have in each country, the Czech political situation with the new success of the radical right can show that the country can be more in the line of the political situation of the country can now be similar to the one of its Visegrad neighbors. The active use of the social media, together with the framing of issues can as well resemble the radical right parties more to the repertoire of mobilization that the social movements use differently to the traditional parties. Authors like Chantal Mouffe claim that the crisis of liberal democracy may be a cause for the strengthening of the radical right across Europe, other authors like Pierre Rosanvallon talk about the existence of a counter-democracy that rest in the pillars of a risk society and can have consequences such as more mobilization and participation by the population or the appearance of radical right parties. Farther research is necessary to observe other aspects such as institutional variables that can take part in the electoral success of the radical right in the Central European region.

6 References

- A Political Theory of Populism.* **Acemoglu, Daron, Egorov, Georgy and Sonin, Konstantin. 2012.** 2012, The quarterly journal of Economics, pp. 771-805.
- An insider´s critique of the social movement framing perspective.* **Benford, Robert. 1997.** 4, 1997, Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 67, pp. 409-430.
- An Insider´s Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective.* **Benford, Robert D. 1997.** 4, 1997, Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 67, pp. 409-430.

- Anti-Islamism without Moslems: Cognitive Frames of Czech Anti-migrant Politics.*
Strapáčová, Michaela and Hloušek, Vít. 2018. 2018, *Journal of Nationalism, Memory and Language*.
- Backes, Uwe. 2009.** *Political Extremes. A conceptual history from antiquity to the present.* New York : Routledge, 2009.
- Barany, Zoltan. 2012.** Politics and the Roma in State-Socialist Eastern Europe. [book auth.] Pusca Anca. *Eastern European Roma in the EU: Mobility, Discrimination, Solutions.* New York : IDEBATE, 2012, pp. 27-47.
- Baun, Michael and Marek, Dan. 2013.** *The new member states and the European Union: Foreign policy and Europeanization.* s.l. : Routledge, 2013.
- Biro-Nagy, András. 2013.** Rational Radicalims. Jobbiks road to the Hungarian Parliament. [book auth.] Mese Znikov, o Gyárfásova and O Bútorová. *Alternative Politics? The rise of New political Parties in Central Europe.* Bratislava : Insitute for Politcal Affairs, 2013, pp. 149-184.
- Biro-Nagy, András, Boros, Tomas and Varga, Áron. 2012.** *Right Wing Extremism in Hungary.* Berlin : Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2012.
- Bolleyer, Nicole. 2013.** *New Parties in Old Party Systems. Persistence and Decline in seventeen Democracies.* Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Brožová , Kristýna, Jurečková, Adéla and Pacovská, Anna. 2018.** *The wages of Fear. Attitudes towards refugees and migrants in Czech Republic.* Warsaw : Foundation Institute of Public Affairs. , 2018.
- Bustikova, Lenka. 2015.** The democratization of hostility: minorities and radical right actors after the fall of communism. [book auth.] Michael Minkenberg. *Transforming the Transformation? The East European radical right in the political process.* New York : Routledge, 2015, pp. 59-80.
- Carter, Elisabeth. 2005.** *The Extreme Right in Wester Europe: Success or Failure?* Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Challenges to established parties: The effects of party system features on the electoral fortune of anti-political establishment parties.* **Abedi, Amir. 2002.** 2002, *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 41, pp. 551-583.
- Cisař, Ondřej and Štětka, Václav. 2016.** Czech Republic: The rise of populism from fringes to the mainstream. [book auth.] T. Aalberg. *Populist Political Communication in Europe.* New York : Loughborough University Repository , 2016, pp. 285-298.
- Communism, Federalism and Ethnic Minorities: Explaining Party Competition Patterns in Eastern Europe.* **Rovny, Jan. 2014.** 4, 2014, *World Politics*, Vol. 66, pp. 669-708.

Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in Niche party success. **Meguid, Bonnie. 2005.** 2005, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, pp. 347-359.

Conditions favouring parties of the Extreme Right in Western Europe. **Jackman, Robert W and Volpert, Karin. 1996.** 4, 1996, *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 26, pp. 501-521.

Crisis ideológica de la Democracia Liberal: representación social y legitimidad política. **Márquez Fernández, Alvaro B. 2013.** 2, 2013, *Encuentros*, pp. 67-76.

Czech Protest Movements in the 2014 Parliamentary Elections. **Just, Petr. 2016.** 2, 2016, *Politics in Central Europe*, Vol. 12, pp. 93-99.

Democracia y Desconfianza. **Rosanvallon, Pierre. 2006.** 134, 2006, *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, pp. 219-237.

DEMOKRACIE, SVOBODA A PŘÍMÁ. 2017-2019. *SVOBODA A PŘÍMÁ DEMOKRACIE.* [Online] 2017-2019. <https://www.spd.cz/>.

Explaining the emergence of New Parties. Cynical citizens and the rise of populism. **Krouwel, André and Bosch, Onno. 2004.** 2004, *Politologenetmaa*, pp. 1-19.

Explaining the variation in the success of extreme right parties in Western Europe. **Golder, Matt. 2003.** 2003, *Comparative Political Studies* 36(4), pp. 432-466.

Extreme Right-Wing voting in Western Europe. **Lubbers, Marcel, Gijsberts, Merove and Scheepers, Peer. 2002.** 2002, *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 41, pp. 345-378.

Extreme Right parties in Eastern Europe. **Mudde, Cas. 2000.** 2000, *Patterns of Prejudice*, pp. 6-27.

Formation and success of new parties: A cross-national analysis. **Harmel, Robert and Robertson, John D. 1985.** 4, 1985, *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 6, pp. 501-523.

Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. **Benford, Robert and Snow, David. 2000.** 2000, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 26, pp. 611-639.

— **Benford, Robert D. and Snow, A. David. 2000.** 2000, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 26, pp. 611-639.

Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. **Entman, R B. 1993.** 1993, *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 43, pp. 51-58.

Gyöngyösi, Márton. 2019. *Jobbik Movement for a Better Hungary.* [Online] 2019. <https://www.jobbik.com/>.

- Hodgkin, T. 1961.** *African Political Parties*. London : Penguin, 1961.
- How unstable? Volatility and the genuinely new parties in Eastern Europe.* **Sikk, A. 2005.** 2005, *European Journal of Political Research*, pp. 391-412.
- Hug, Simon. 2001.** *Altering Party Systems*. Michigan : The University of Michigan, 2001.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1977.** *The Silet Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*. Pinceton : Princeton Universtiy, 1977.
- Institutional arrangements and the success of New Parties in old democracies.* **Willey, Joseph. 1998.** 1998, *Political Studies*, pp. 651-668.
- Integrovaný Operacní Program. 2008.** Czech Statistical Office. [Online] 2008.
<https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/home>.
- Issue ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study.* **Petrocik, John R. 1996.** 3, 1996, *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, pp. 825-850.
- Issue reframing by parties: The effect of issue salience and ownership.* **Lefevere, J, et al. 2019.** 2019, *Party Politics*, pp. 507-519.
- Issue salience, issue ownership and issue-based vote choice.* **Meguid, Bonnie and Bélanger, Éric. 2008.** 3, 2008, *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 27, pp. 477-491.
- Janda , K. 1980.** *Political Parties*. New York : Free Press, 1980.
- Jobbik going mainstream; strategy shift of the far right in Hungary.* **Bíro-Nagy, András and Boros, Tomas. 2013.** 2013, *Political Affairs* , pp. 149-184.
- Karsai, László. 1999.** *The Radical Right in Hungary*. [book auth.] S. P. Ramet. *The Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989*. University Park PA : Penn State Press, 1999, pp. 133-146.
- Kasprowicz, Dominika. 2015.** *The radical right in Poland - from the mainstream to the margins*. [book auth.] Michael Minkenberg. *Transforming the Transformation? The East European radical right in the political process*. New York : Routledge, 2015, pp. 157-182.
- La Palombara, Joseph and Weiner, Myron. 1966.** *Political parties and Political Development*. New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Laclau, Ernesto. 2004.** *La razón populista*. México D.F : Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004.
- Lane, J. E. and Ersson, S. O. 1987.** *Politics and Society in Western Europe*. London : Sage, 1987.

Langenbacher, Nora and Schellenger, Britta. 2011. *Is Europe on the "right" path? Right-wing extremism and Right-wing Populism in Europe.* Berlin : Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011.

Learning to make votes count: The role of democratic experience in Eastern and former USSR. **Tavits, Margit and Annus, Taavi. 2006.** 2006, *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 25, pp. 72-90.

Left-Libertarian Parties: Explaining innovation in Competitive Party systems. **Kitschelt, Herbert. 1988.** 2, 1988, *World Politics*, Vol. 40, pp. 194-234.

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy. Government forms and Performance in 36 countries.* Michigan : Yale University Press, 1999.

Lipset, S. M. and Rokkan, S. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives.* New York : Free Press, 1967.

Magyarország.hu. 1999. Hungarian Central Statistical Office. [Online] 1999.
<https://www.ksh.hu/?lang=en>.

Mannheim, Karl. 1925. *Konservatismus. Ein Beitrag zur Sociologie des Wissens.* 1984. Frankfurt am Main : Suhrkamp, 1925.

Mareš, Miroslav. 2015. The impact of the Czech radical-right on transformation and (de-)consolidation of democracy after 1989. [book auth.] Michael Minkenberg . *Transforming the Transformation? The East European radical right in the political process.* New York : Routledge, 2015, pp. 206-224.

McAdam, Doug. 1996. Orígenes terminológicos, problemas actuales y futuras líneas de investigación. [book auth.] Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. *Movimientos Sociales: Perspectivas Comparadas. Oportunidades Políticas, Estructuras de Movilización y Marcos Interpretativos Culturales.* Madrid : ISTMO, 1996, pp. 49-70.

Merkl, Peter. 2003. Stronger than Ever. [book auth.] L. Weinberg and Peter Merkl. *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century.* London : Frank Cass, 2003, pp. 23-46.

Messing, Vera. 2012. Good Practices Addressing School Integration of Roma/Gypsy Children in Hungary. [book auth.] Pusca Anca . *Eastern European Roma in the EU: Mobility, Discrimination, Solutions.* New York : IDEBATE, 2012, pp. 138-154.

Methodological issues in the study of New Parties entry and electoral success. **Selb, Peter and Pituctin, Sandrine. 2010.** 2, 2010, *Party Politics*, Vol. 16, pp. 147-170.

Minkenberg, Michael. 2013. The European Radical Right and Xenophobia in West and East: Trends, patterns and challenges. [book auth.] Raf Meltzer and Sebastián Serafin. *Right-wing Extremis in Europe. Country Analyses, counter strategies, and Labor market oriented exit strategies.* Berlin : Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013, pp. 9-34.

Mobilizers and Challengers: Towards a Theory of New Party Success. **Rochon, Thomas.** 1985. 4, 1985, International Political Science Review, Vol. 6, pp. 419-439.

Mouffe, Chantal. 2016. *La Pardoja Democrática.* Barcelona : Gedisa, 2016.

Mudde, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical right in Europe.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2007.

New comers in politics? the success of new political prties in the Slovak and Czech Republic aafter 2010? **Žuborová, Viera.** 2015. 2, 2015, Baltic Journal of Law and Politics, Vol. 8, pp. 91-111.

New parties, information uncertainty and government formation: Evidence from Central and Eastern Europe. **Grotz, Florian and Weber, Till.** 2016. 2016, European Political Science Review, Vol. 8, pp. 449-472.

New Political Parties in Czech Republic: Anti-Politics or Mainstream? **Spac, Peter.** 2013. 2013, Distributive Politics in Central Europe, pp. 127-148.

Newcomers in Politics? The success of new political parties in the Slovak and Czech Republic after 2010? **Žúborova, Viera.** 2015. 2015, Baltic Journal of Law and Political , pp. 91-111.

News framing as a multi-paradigmatic research program: A response to Entman. **D'Angelo , P.** 2002. 2002, Journal of Communication, pp. 870-888.

News Framing: Theory and typology. **de Vreese, Claes.** 2005. 1, 2005, Information Design Journal + Document Design, Vol. 13, pp. 51-62.

News framing: Theory and typology. **de Vreese, Claes H.** 2005. 2005, Information Design Journal + Document Design, pp. 51-62.

No todo el que dice "redes, redes" entrará en el reino de los "networks". **Pellizzetti, Pierfranco.** 2014. 50, 2014, Vanguardia, pp. 64-71.

On the study of new parties. **Harmel, Robert.** 1985. 4, 1985, International Political Science Review , Vol. 6, pp. 403-418.

Party Institutionalization in the Czech Republic: Towards a New Measurement of the Theoretical Concept. **Stauber, Jakub.** 2015. 4, 2015, Central European Political Studies Review, Vol. 3, pp. 249-275.

Party system change. Testing a model of New Party entry. **Tavits, Margit.** 2006. 1, 2006, Party Politics, Vol. 12, pp. 99-119.

Party system in the making: The emergence and success of new politica parties in New Democracies. **Tavits, Margit.** 2008. 1, 2008, British Journal of Political Sciences, Vol. 38, pp. 113-133.

Pirro, Andrea L. P. 2015. *The Populist Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe.* New York : Routledge, 2015.

Political opportunity structures and right-wing extremist party success. **Arzheimer, Kai and Carter, Elisabeth. 2006.** 2006, *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 45, pp. 419-443.

Political Trust and Historical Legacy: The effect of varieties of Socialism. **Dimitrova-Grajzl, Valentina and Simon, Eszter. 2010.** 2, 2010, *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 24, pp. 206-228.

Populism and Euroscepticism in the Czech Republic, meeting friends or passing by? **Kaniok, Petr and Havlík, Vlastimil. 2016.** 2, 2016, *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*, Vol. 16.

Populism as a spectre of Democracy: A response to Canovan. **Arditi, Benjamin. 2004.** 2004, *Political Studies Association*, Vol. 52, pp. 135-143.

Populism for political theorists? **Canovan, Margaret. 2004.** 3, 2004, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 9, pp. 241-252.

Populism, politics and democracy. **Crick, Bernanrd. 2005.** 5, 2005, *Democratization*, Vol. 2, pp. 625-632.

principalcz. 2019. Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění. [Online] 2019.
<https://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/en/>.

Prophets, purifiers and prolocutors. Towards a theory on the emergence of new parties. **Lucardie, Paul. 2000.** 2, 2000, *Party Politics*, Vol. 6, pp. 175-185.

Pytlas, Bartek. 2016. *Radical Right Parties in Central Europe and Eastern Europe. Mainstream party competition and electoral fortune.* New York : Routledge, 2016.

Radical pluralism and free speech in online public spaces: the case of North Belgian extreme right discourses. **Cammaerts, Bart. 2009.** 6, 2009, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 12, pp. 555-575.

Radical right wing parties in Central Europe: Mutual contacts and cooperation. **Dočekalova, Pavla. 2006.** 2, 2006, *Politics in Central Europe*, Vol. 2, pp. 7-23.

Ramet, S. 1999. *The radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989.* Pennsylvania : The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

Reasons behind the rise of Hungarian Radical Right. **Karacsony, Gergely and Róna, Dániel. 2011.** 1, 2011, *Journal of East-European and Asian Studies*, Vol. 2, pp. 61-92.

Representation and new party survival in multi-level systems. **Obert, Peter and Müller, Jochen. 2017.** 2017, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*.

- Riggs, F. 1986.** Comparative politics and political parties. [book auth.] W Crotty. *Approaches to the Study of Party Organization*. Boston : Allyn and Bacon, 1986.
- Rosanvallon, Pierre. 2006.** *La contrademocracia. La política en la era de la desconfianza*. Buenos Aires : Manantial, 2006.
- Rose, R. and Munro, R. 2009.** *Parties and Elections in New European Democracies*. Colchester : ECPR Press, 2009.
- Satble or not? Patterns of Party system dynamics and the rise of the new political parties in the Czech Republic.* **Havlík, Vlastimil. 2015.** 2015, Romanian Journal of Political Sciences, pp. 185-207.
- Scapegoat-Based Policy making in Hungary: Qualitative Evidence for how Jobbik and its Mayors, govern Municipalities.* **Kovarek, Daniel, et al. 2016.** 3, 2016, Intersections EEJSP, Vol. 3, pp. 63-87.
- Seiler, Daniel. 1980.** *Partis et Families Politiques*. Paris : PUF, 1980.
- Social Bakers a.s . 2019.** socialbakers. [Online] 2019.
<https://www.socialbakers.com/statistics/youtube/channels/>.
- SPD. 2016.** *SVOBODA A PŘÍMÁ DEMOKRACIE PROGRAM*. Praha : s.n., 2016.
- Strategic Fools: Electoral rule choice under extreme uncertainty.* **Andrews, Josephine T and Jackman, Robert W. 2005.** 2005, Electoral Studies, Vol. 24, pp. 65-84.
- Studying the electoral success of new political parties. A methodological note.* **Hug, Simon.** 2, Party Politics, Vol. 6, pp. 187-197.
- The AfD a successful Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic Party for Germany?* **Arzheimer, Kai. 2015.** 2015, West European Politics, Vol. 38, pp. 1-29.
- The crisis of parties an the rise of new political parties.* **Ignazi, Piero. 1996.** 4, 1996, Party Politics, Vol. 2, pp. 549-566.
- The Dutch Parliamentary Elections in 2002 and 2003: the rise and decline of the Fortuyn movement.* **Pennings, Paul and Keman, Hans. 2003.** 1, 2003, Acta Politica, Vol. 38, pp. 51-68.
- The ecologiactal correlates of right-wing extremism in Wester Europe.* **Knigge, Pia. 1998.** 1998, European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 34, pp. 249-279.
- The emergence of new political parties from a game theoretic perspective.* **Hug, Simon. 1996.** s.l. : Kluwer Academic Publishers , 1996, European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 29, pp. 169-190.

The far-right as a social movement. **Castelli-Gattinara, Pietro and Pirro, Andrea. 2018.** 2018, *European Societies*, pp. 1-18.

The new Politics of Resentment: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe. **Betz, Hans George. 1993.** 4, 1993, *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 25, pp. 413-427.

The Populist Zeitgeist. **Mudde, Cast. 2004.** 3, 2004, *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 39, pp. 541-563.

The psychological impact of Electoral laws. Measuring Duverger's elusive factor. **Blais, Andre and Carty, R K. 1991.** 1, 1991, *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 21, pp. 79-93.

The Radical right in post-communist Europe. Comparative Perspectives on legacies and party competition. **Bustikova, Lenka and Kitschelt, Herbert. 2009.** 2009, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 42, pp. 459-483.

The Radical Right in Post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe: Comparative Observations and Interpretations. **Minkenberg, Michael. 2002.** 2, 2002, *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 16, pp. 335-362.

The rebirth of the "extreme right" in Western Europe? **Eatwell, Roger. 2000.** 3, 2000, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 53, pp. 407-425.

The silent counter revolution. Hypotheses on the emergence of Extreme right parties in Europe. **Ignazi, Piero. 1992.** 1992, *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 22, pp. 3-34.

The study of Populist Radical Right Parties: Towards a fourth wave. **Mudde, Cas. 2016.** 1, 2016, *C-REX Workig Paper Series*, pp. 1-22.

TNS opinion and social. 2009. *Attitudes of Europeans towards Corruption. Full report.* Brussels : Directorate General for Justice, Freedom and Security, 2009.

TNS Opinion and Social. 2008. *Eurobarometer 69. Public opinion in the European Union.* s.l. : Directorate General Communication, 2008.

—. **2009.** *Eurobarometer 71. Public opinion in the European Union.* s.l. : Directorate-General for Communication, 2009.

—. **2013.** *Special Eurobarometer 397 Corruption.* s.l. : European Commission, 2013.

—. **2017.** *Special Eurobarometer 470 Corruption.* s.l. : European Commission, 2017.

Towards a multi-party Britain? **Berrington, H. 1979.** 1979, *West European Politics*, pp. 28-52.

Transnational Networks of Extreme Right Parties in East-Central Europe: Stimuli and Limits of Cross-border cooperation. **Mareš, Miroslav. 2006.** 2006, Institute for Comparative Political Research, pp. 1-25.

Varieties of Populism: Literature review and research agenda. **Gidron, Noan and Bonikowski, Bart. 2013.** 13, 2013, Wetherhead Center for International Affairs.

von Beyme, Klaus. 2015. Transforming transformation theory. [book auth.] Michael Minkenberg. *Transforming the Transformation? The East European radical right in the political process.* New York : Routledge. Taylor and Francis Group, 2015, pp. 13-26.

Voting and Protesting: Explaining citizen participation in old and new european democracies. **Marsh, Michael. 2006.** 2006, Democratization, pp. 1-41.

Waiting in the wings: New Parties in the Netherlands. **Krouwel, André and Lucardie, Paul. 2008.** 2008, Acta Política, Vol. 43, pp. 278-307.

Werner-Müller, Jan. 2016. *What is Populism?* Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

What democracy is ... and is not. **Schmitter, Philippe and Terry-Lynn, Karl. 1991.** 3, 1991, Journal of Democracy, Vol. 2, pp. 75-88.

When logics of party politics and online activism collide: The populist Finns Party's identity under negotiation. **Hatakka, Niko. 2017.** 12, 2017, New Media and Society, Vol. 19, pp. 2022-2038.