Ex-Communist Party Choices and the Electoral Success of the Radical

Right in Central and Eastern Europe

Maria Snegovaya

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2018

ABSTRACT

Ex-Communist Party Choices and the Electoral Success of the Radical

Right in Central and Eastern Europe

Maria Snegovaya

What explains the proletarization (the increasing embrace by the blue-collar constituencies) of the radical right vote in the countries of post-Communist Europe? I argue that the centrist shift of the ex-Communist left parties along the economic policy dimension drives the electoral success of radical right parties in the region. I show that the programmatic shift of the ex-Communist left parties (as instrumented by the implementation of austerity reforms) opened up their traditional blue-collar constituencies to the redistributive appeals of the radical right parties. I test my argument using several different approaches. First, I examine the relationship between the support for the radical right parties and the ex-Communist left parties' policy positions using a quantitative cross-country analysis. Second, I provide an overview of the experiences of the four Visegrád Group countries and trace the blue-collar constituencies' shift away from the ex-Communist left parties to the populist and radical right parties over time, as the left parties became more economically centrist. I then test my argument using constituency-level and individual-level experimental survey data within Hungary. Both methods help establish that the centrist shift of the ex-Communist left parties along the economic policy dimension boosted support for the radical right party. My argument contributes to our understanding of the dynamics of political systems and the rise of the radical right parties in Europe.

CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of Tables

Introduction

The Puzzle

The recent rise of populist and radical right politicians across Europe made many observers wonder: why are right-wing parties and candidates gaining popularity and attracting voters frustrated with the economic impact of globalization? Why are the left parties less successful in mobilizing voters on similar appeals? What is the origin of the current rightward drift in politics, particularly in the post-Communist world?

Moreover, as right-wing parties and politicians increasingly gain success in Europe, observers are noticing a puzzling variation in the electoral fortunes of the radical right. While radical and populist right parties succeed in some countries, they fail in others. Most Central European countries have recently witnessed multiplying parties and politicians that combined right-wing attitudes on public and private morality with left-wing attitudes on economic issues. These parties have called for price regulations, increased taxation for the wealthy, the renationalization of privatized property, and protection of their countries against job loss. In the United States, Donald Trump won the 2016 election on an openly populist platform, portraying himself as an opponent of global financial elites. For example, he promised to reintroduce the Glass-Steagall regulations, increase trade protection, and withdraw from NAFTA. This arguably brought Trump the support of the traditional Democratic bastions of the Rust Belt. As an acting President, Trump continues to emphasize the need for job creation and his successes in bringing American jobs back to the country, a strategy that plays directly into the working class's acute sense of economic loss (Gest, 2016).

Interestingly, this mixture of socialist and conservative attitudes in the electoral platforms of these parties and politicians does not fit the usual left-right divide. For example, while the Slovak National Party, Jobbik in Hungary, or Law and Justice in

Poland are often referred to as "radical right" parties, their economic programs are as leftwing as those of many old left parties. What explains this dynamic?

My research attempts to explain this empirical puzzle. I focus on the supply-side of the story, modeling the success of radical right actors in terms of the timing of the implementation of market reforms and the subsequent emergence of a socioeconomic cleavage in a particular country. In countries where the left parties moved to the center of the economic policy (as exemplified by the implementation of austerity packages), the radical right is more likely to be electorally successful. This is because in such countries, their blue-collar constituencies of the ex-Communist left felt abandoned by the left parties and were increasingly incorporated into the populist right parties. In other words, the left party's economic policy switch (often made under the pressure coming from the IMF) opened up a space on the political right to challenge the left by using the anti-austerity agenda. In such countries, this move has created the conditions for a party realignment process.

In the aftermath of the collapse of the Communist system, the ex-Communist parties had two possible strategies in context of the market transition. These strategies were 1) to preserve the ideological orthodoxy and the redistributionist economic platform, or 2) to shift to the center of the ideological spectrum (by implementing austerity policies, curtailing government spending, controlling the public debt etc.). Tavits and Letki (2009: 555) explain that implementing pro-market reforms was particularly electorally advantageous for the ex-Communist left, since it allowed these parties to demonstrate their disassociation from socialism and their ability to operate in a democracy and market economy. I show that such choices during the transition period largely shaped the consequential electoral fortunes of the populist right parties in such countries.

In my dissertation, I show that in the countries where successor left parties chose to move to the center of the political spectrum and enact austerity policies while in power (Tavits and Letki, 2009), they eventually discredited themselves in the eyes of their core constituencies (blue-collar workers, lower middle class, and broadly defined "globalization losers"[1]). The blue-collar workers who suffered the most from the erosion of many traditional factory-based jobs as a result of the market transformation were particularly damaged. The accumulated frustration with the ex-Communist left created a political opening for the radical right parties, which targeted the frustrated groups using populist and redistributionist appeals (Varga, 2014). As result, blue-collar voters are now disproportionately represented within the radical right electorate (Mudde, 2016), explaining the observed phenomenon of the so-called "proletarization" of the right vote (Ignazi 2003; Arzheimer 2013). Therefore, according to my theory, the radical right parties can be understood as competitors to the center left parties along the economic policy dimension for the social groups broadly defined as "working class." As I show in the case-study section, the populist challengers of the reform parties tended to arise following the implementation of austerity packages.

This argument explains why populist and radical right parties are particularly electorally successful in countries like Hungary or Poland. By contrast, in countries where the ex-Communist party preserved its more traditional leftist agenda (e.g., rejection of socioeconomic inequality, strong support for equal opportunities and income redistribution), like in the Czech Republic or Slovakia, they were able to retain a significant shares of their traditional working-class voters, typically resulting in weaker

---

[1] Yotam Margalit defines "the losers" as a broader group of individuals that perceive themselves to be adversely affected by the process of global market integration. (Margalit, 2008: 6) Tucker et al. (2002) define "losers" as people who have been hurt by the unprecedented economic transition across the former communist states (557).

radical right parties (since they fail to attract significant shares of the working population) while traditional party alignments have been more stable.

The findings in this dissertation go beyond purely theoretical inquiry. The rise of the extremist and radical right parties in contemporary European politics threatens to undermine the stability of its political systems. The radical right parties are notorious for their use of extreme nationalist rhetoric and may represent a threat to survival of the European democracies.

For example, Hungary's radical Right party, Jobbik, which is the main focus of this dissertation, has been notorious for its use of extremely xenophobic and anti-Semitic rhetoric. For instance, a 2014 Jobbik election manifesto offered two ways to solve the "Gypsy question." They wrote: "The first one is based on peaceful consent, the second on radical exclusion … Our party wishes to offer one last chance to the destructive minority that lives here, so first it will consider peaceful consent. If that agreement fails, then and only then the radical solution can follow" (Rorke 2014). Moreover, in the late 2000s and early 2010s, Jobbik organized a series of paramilitary anti-Roma marches where even harsher statements were made. Some participants went so far as to suggest that "all the trash must be swept out of the country," and that "the Gypsy is genetically-coded for criminality" (Cain 2012). In addition, the extremist language is contagious; for instance, while Hungary's ruling Fidesz party has by and large not adopted Jobbik's harsh anti-Roma rhetoric, it has at times also tapped into anti-Roma sentiment in subtler ways (Snegovaya 2018).

Therefore, the importance of understanding the factors underlying the success of the radical right parties goes beyond purely academic interest. It is also driven by the necessity to outline policy recommendations in order to limit the growth of the populist

and radical right parties in the region and eventually contribute to the political stability in Europe.

Why the Post-Communist Countries?

While the above argument is applicable to the Western Europe and the U.S. as well (see, for example, Berman 2016b), in this dissertation I limit the analysis to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe with a special focus on Visegrád Group countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia). Such an approach provides several specific advantages and allows me to draw a clearer line between different explanatory variables.

Several factors drive the regional focus. First, traditional explanations for the success of the radical right parties focus on the anti-immigration sentiment of their supporters (Yılmaz 2012; Rydgren 2008; Lubbers and Scheepers 2000; Lubbers et al. 2002; Norris 2005). Yet in the post-Communist countries, the influx of immigrants was generally smaller and these countries suffered less from the 2014 Syrian immigration crisis. Few migrants were particularly interested in settling in Eastern Europe and preferred instead to head to Germany or Scandinavia where they had higher social welfare benefits, greater employment opportunities and established immigrant communities (Lyman 2015). Hence, historically Central and Eastern Europe supplied, rather than received, EU migrants (Allen 2015: 8–10; Bustikova and Kitschelt 2009; Rovny 2014). In these countries, immigration became a hot issue only from May 2015 following the European Commission's distribution scheme (Hooghe and Marks 2018: 125).

The above observation explains why Eastern European radical right parties rarely used anti-immigration platform prior to 2014. For example, Allen (2015) shows that the

linkage between the anti-immigrant attitudes and radical right support has been stronger in Western Europe than Eastern Europe. Bustikova (2017) argues that until 2015, Eastern European radical right never effectively mobilized against the new minorities arriving from the non-European countries. However, in many such countries the radical right parties became quite strong and electorally successful despite the absence of a huge refugee influx. This suggests that other factors, such as the role of party realignment, might have been at play. Therefore, in contrast with the countries of Western Europe, the traditional explanations of the rise of the radical right (anti-immigration sentiment) do not fit the Central and Eastern European cases.

Once the immigration crisis hit, the right-wing politicians in countries that only tangentially experienced an influx of immigration tried to capitalize on the anti-refugee rhetoric. For example, Viktor Orban insisted that Hungary is under no obligation to endanger its traditional Christian values by accepting large numbers of Muslims during the peak of the crisis. Hungary's radical right Jobbik party consistently advocated a total ban on immigration. Poland's President, Andrzej Duda, complained about "dictates" from the European Union to accept migrants flowing into the Continent from the Middle East and Africa (Lyman 2015). Yet the electoral success of these radical and populist right parties predated the crisis by several years. Hungary's radical right Jobbik and populist right Fidesz made it into the parliament before the refugee crisis. Jobbik received 14.77% of votes in the 2009 European Parliament election and 16.67% of votes in the 2010 Hungary's Parliamentary election respectively; Fidesz has won several elections prior to the refuge crisis as well. Similarly, the right populist Law and Justice party, which won the 2015 election in Poland, was also successful before the immigration crisis — it won the Polish Parliamentary election back in 2005.

Second, the timing of the formation of the socioeconomic cleavages, which is crucial for my argument, is much easier to study in post-Communist countries. Here, the socioeconomic cleavage refers to the economic division between the "winners" and "losers" of the transition, which in the CEE context were shaped primarily during the market reforms that split those societies across reform-winners and losers. The parties that implemented the reforms were usually supported by transition winners. Parties opposing the reforms appealed to transition losers. Because the reforms were implemented around the same period in most of the CEE countries, the starting point for my argument is much easier to identify in this particular regional context. Since the market transition took place in post-Communist countries during a relatively short span of the 1990s, the effects of this transition are clearer and easier to compare across different countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

One possible reservation about focusing on the post-Communist region is the fact that Communist regimes tended to be perceived as "classless societies" (Kovacs 2013). Hence, as this objection goes, my research question would not be applicable to them as such since a class-based voting was not a factor prior to the transition. However, as I show below, at least in the early years of the post-Communist transition, the working-class groups tended to be overrepresented amongst the supporters for the traditional left parties in many countries of the region. I also show that the realignment processes and the workers shift to the radical right parties tended to occur faster in the countries where the left chose to implement the pro-market policies.

Ultimately, despite the similarities in the historical fortunes of the Eastern and Central European countries, they show a substantive variation in the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties (Figure 1). Radical and populist right parties in Hungary and

Poland steadily attracted some voter support since the early 1990s, yet in Czech Republic and Slovakia, the success of the radical right parties was relatively short-lived.
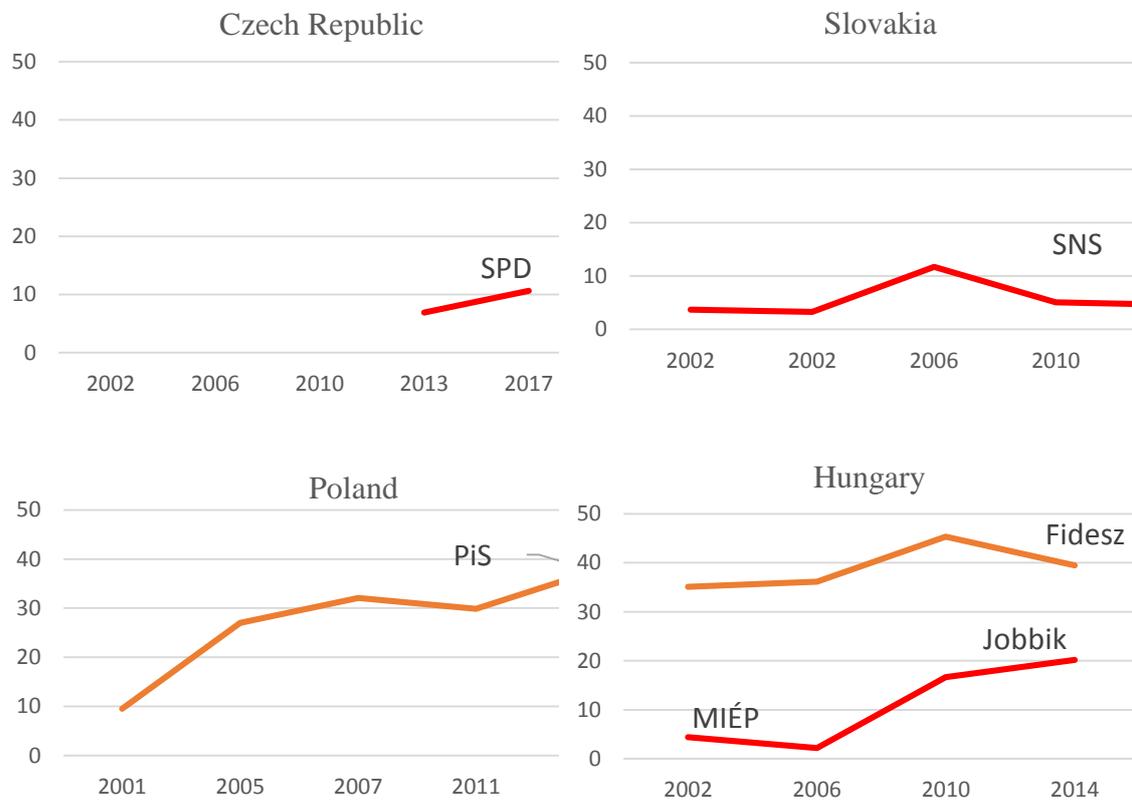
Figure 1. Variation in the Electoral Shares in the National Parliamentary Elections of the Populist and Radical Parties in selected Central and Eastern European countries, 2002-2014. Orange Line – Populist Right, Red Line – Radical Right. Countries: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia. Source: Chapel Hill Database

The question is then, which factors account for such variation in the popularity of the radical right parties across the region? My research attempts to explain this puzzle.

My particular focus in this dissertation is Hungary's radical right Jobbik party. Hungary's Jobbik party (Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom) is a radical right party (see chapter 3 for a definition), which has been consistently electorally successful in the elections over the past 8 years, gaining 14-20% of the overall vote. By focusing on the

Hungarian case, I show that the radical right parties became one of the key beneficiaries of the working-class voters' large-scale swing away from the Hungarian center left.

Contributions of the Dissertation

In the past few years, the rise and spread of the radical right parties across Europe has become a defining feature of our current political moment. The extremist nature of such parties represents a potential threat to the continued successful functioning of European democracies. In this dissertation, I develop an argument that provides a better account for the factors contributing to the success of the radical right parties. Understanding these factors should allow to make policy recommendations regarding ways to limit the electoral prospects of the radical right parties, help policymakers everywhere to address the grievances of the radical right voters, and prevent further political radicalization in their countries.

The theoretical argument developed in this dissertation explains how the economic policy shift of the ex-Communist left parties launched a process of party realignment in these countries by creating a political opportunity for the radical right parties to appeal to former left constituencies on the protectionist economic agenda. This helped the radical right parties to gain subsequent electoral success and explains the variation in the electoral shares of the radical right parties across the region. I instrument the economic policy switch of the ex-Communist left parties by whether or not they implemented austerity policy packages in the 1990s and 2000s when in power. Typically, the implementation of austerity reforms was a condition imposed by the IMF loans, a consideration that helps me address the endogeneity problem. The examples of such countries are Hungary and Poland. In the countries where the left switch did not occur, the alignments of the political

groups and parties continued more along the traditional lines. Examples of such countries are the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Hence, I expect in such countries the working-class constituencies to be more likely to support the left parties and the radical right generally to be weaker.

Several important implications follow the findings of this dissertation. First, I show that party competition along the economic policy dimension plays an important role in the support for the radical right parties along with the competition along the cultural dimension (see chapter 2). Second, I demonstrate that rather than being the function of structural factors (economic crisis, unemployment etc.) alone, the electoral success of the radical right parties also is a result of particular political choices made by other parties, specifically the center-left parties. This finding allows one to make important policy recommendations, such as altering the center-left parties' policy positions in order to reduce the political opportunities available for mobilization by the radical right political actors (see the conclusion chapter). Ultimately, I show the congruence of political processes in both Eastern and Western Europe, which places the post-Communist region in a broader political context.

My argument complements previous scholarly accounts on the topic by merging different stream of literature in a coherent explanation of the radical right success.

First, my dissertation engages the bulk of literature on definitions of radical and populist right parties. I review the available approaches to defining the radical right parties such as the anti-system parties (Capoccia 2002) and the anti-establishment parties (Schedler 1996; Kubát 2007) and discuss their benefits and pitfalls. I also introduce the definitions that focus on the cultural dimension in approaching the radical right parties, by comparing those that engage a single cultural policy issue (typically, the immigration) (Brug, Fennema, Tillie 2000; Fennema 1997; Brug and Fennema 2003) with those that

introduce several cultural policy issues (Mudde 1995; Mudde 2000; Mudde 2002). I conclude that the latter approach allows best to distinguish the radical right parties from other parties (Pop-Eleches 2010; Bustikova 2014).

Second, I engage the literature on populism, by defining it primarily as a political strategy (rather than discourse or ideology) used by parties under specific circumstances (Canovan 1999; Weyland 1999; Mudde 2000). I define populism as a political strategy that involves the appeals to "the people" against both the established structure of power and the dominant ideas and values" (Canovan 1999; Mudde 2000). Hence, populism is not reduced to the radical-right politics but may be combined with other constituent elements of the radical right politics as ethno-nationalism (Mudde 2007; Bonikowski 2017). This conceptual separation allows me to distinguish between the radical right parties and the populist parties more broadly.

I then show how radical right parties are likely to use populist strategy under specific circumstances. In particular, populist strategy becomes more attractive under conditions when large social groups are frustrated with the policies of the establishment (Betz 1994; Canovan 1999; Betz 2002; Inglehart and Norris 2016; Zakaria 2016; Ishkanian and Marlies 2017). I demonstrate that periods of crisis and the implementation of austerity packages give challenger parties incentives to use populist appeals in order to attack the elites. Existing empirical evidence suggests that austerity policies tend to decrease support for the incumbent parties and boost support for populist parties (Vasilopoulou et al. 2013; Bailey et al. 2018; Barber and Hope, 2015; Lupu 2014; 2015; Nyman 2016a; 2016b; Thomas 2016). I complement this finding by showing that the implementation of the austerity policies by the ex-Communist left parties impacted the subsequent success of the populist right parties in the region. As I show in chapter 4, the

success of the populist radical right Jobbik in Hungary followed the fiscal adjustment package imposed by the center left MSZP party in 2008.

Third, my argument builds on the scholarship that finds a consistent association between the economic policy convergence of mainstream parties and the electoral success of radical right parties. Mainstream parties' ideological proximity can foster the electoral success of the radical right parties (Kitschelt and McGann 1997; Carter 2005; Nissan and Carter 2005; Brug and Fennema 2005), whether it is the ideological convergence between the mainstream left and right parties (Nissan and Carter 2005) or a grand coalition government prior to the elections (Arzheimer and Carter 2006). The relationship holds in Central and Eastern European (Pop-Eleches 2010), Western European (Berman 2010, 2016a, 2016b) and Latin American (Lupu 2014, 2015) cases. In line with the above literature, my argument focuses on the centrist shift along the economic policy scale of the ex-Communist left parties as being explanatory of the radical right fortunes in the post-Communist context.

Fourth, the above assumption also engages the scholarship that looks at the policy choices made by the ex-Communist parties. In the post-Communist context, Communist successor parties that stayed in power after the Communist times often had the advantage of choosing their policy stances in the aftermath of the transition. Most of these parties in the region chose to transform themselves into full-fledged social democratic parties (Hanley 2001; Grzymala-Busse 2002; March and Mudde 2005), as did the Hungarian Socialist Party and Poland's Democratic Left Alliance that became proponents of pro-market economic policy. Programmatic transformations allowed the communist successor parties to sway the democratic electorate frustrated with the Communist legacies of these parties, stay in power (Grzymala-Busse 2002) and implement the reforms (Tavits and Letki 2009). I show that while these policy choices benefited the ex-Communist parties

in the short term, they ended up damaging these parties in the long term because of the voters' accumulating frustration with the programmatic inconsistency of these parties and the increasing outflow of these parties' traditional constituencies (blue collar workers) to the right side of the political spectrum.

Ultimately, I engage the literature that focuses on the overtime incorporation of the blue-collar voters by the radical right parties. The empirical studies show that the working-class voters became the core of the right-wing constituencies in western Europe (Norris 2005; Rydgren 2007; Kalb and Halmai 2011; Gougou and Mayer, 2013). As I argue in my dissertation, this so-called "proletarization" of the radical right vote is not unique to Western Europe (Linden 2018; Ost 2018). Building on the available scholarship (Ignazi, 2003; Norris 2005; Rydgren 2007; Arzheimer 2013), in chapter 5 I demonstrate that the proletarization of the radical right vote also takes place in Eastern and Central Europe.

Overall, my argument brings together different streams of literature and demonstrates both theoretically and empirically the similarity of political processes in different regions. While I situate my argument in the larger bulk of scholarship, I also back it with the empirical evidence collected on different levels of the analysis using a number of qualitative and quantitative methods. Such a mixed methods approach is advantageous in that it allows me to control for the weaknesses of each individual method and to increase the breadth and depth of understanding of the phenomenon in question.

Plan for the Dissertation

In this subsection I provide the outline of my dissertation and address the key assumptions tested in each subsequent chapter. This dissertation argues that the economic

policy choices made by the ex-Communist left parties in the aftermath of the post-Communist transition significantly influenced the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties. The remainder of this dissertation will expand on this theoretical argument by developing a broad theory of the center left and radical right party competition along the economic policy dimension for the support of blue collar constituencies.

The rest of this dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 1 lays out the theoretical argument. I explain the dynamic of party competition and formation of socioeconomic cleavages in the post-Communist region. I then discuss the key tenets of my theoretical argument and introduce the key concepts (such as cleavage formation, austerity reforms, party competition along two-dimensional policy space etc.) used in the subsequent analysis. Then I discuss why the particular focus on this dissertation is on the party competition along the economic (rather than cultural) policy dimension. Finally, in chapter 1, I overview the set of strategies available to the ex-Communist left parties in the aftermath of the post-Communist transition, explain the consistency of such choices and the impact that these choices had on the blue-collar constituencies' support for the ex-Communist left parties.

Chapter 2 is designed to frame my theoretical argument in terms of broader scholarship on the topic. To define the key concepts used in my analysis I overview different scholarly approaches to defining the radical right and populist parties and conceptual differences between these terms. I also explain the coding of the left parties. In addition, I overview the alternative party-level and country-level approaches that aim to explain substantive variation in the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties in the post-Communist Europe.

Chapter 3 reviews the methodological approaches I use to test my hypotheses and provides a different type of plausibility test of my theory. In this dissertation, rather than

using a "silver bullet" test on which the main argument rises or falls, I test my theoretical expectations on different levels of analysis using a number of qualitative and quantitative methods. These methods include cross-country (regression and case study) analysis, constituency-level analysis of voting patterns, and individual level analysis of political attitudes using survey experiments. The advantage of such mixed methods approach is the ability to control for the weaknesses of separate approaches by combining quantitative and qualitative evidence. In Chapter 3, I discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each respective methodological approach, as well as how the strengths of some approaches allow to compensate for the weaknesses of other methods.

Chapter 4 reviews the trajectories of Hungary's ex-Communist left and right parties. Hungary is of particular interest to my dissertation, as in this country the radical right party Jobbik has achieved particularly high levels of electoral success. I trace the economic policy choices of Hungary's ex-Communist left MSZP in the aftermath of the democratic transition and show how the rightward drift of Hungary's politics since 2009 was the function of the austerity policies implemented by Hungary's left party. I complement the analysis with quantitative evidence from individual survey that show that over time the blue-collar constituencies in Hungary tend to switch from supporting the ex-Communist left MSZP to embracing the (Fidesz and Jobbik) right parties.

In Chapter 5, I expand the analysis to a larger set of Central and Eastern European countries. First, I look at the relationship between support for the radical right parties and the ex-Communist left policy positions on the European Social Survey data in a set of Eastern European countries. Second, I apply my theoretical framework to the experiences of the three other Visegrad Group countries —the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia—to see whether it holds in each of these country cases.

In Chapter 6, I run the constituency level analysis by demonstrating the existence of an empirical association between the districts that voted for Hungary's ex-Communist left MSZP in the 2006 parliamentary election and the districts that supported the radical right Jobbik in the 2010 parliamentary election. This finding confirms the theoretical expectation that the implementation of the 2008 austerity package by the center left MSZP party contributed to the embrace of the radical right Jobbik party in the subsequent 2010 parliamentary election.

Finally, in Chapter 7, to address possible causal inference problems with my argument I run an experimental survey in Hungary and find a strong and significant increase in support for Jobbik on both a general sample and on different specifications of blue-collar subsamples following the treatment exposure that models the centrist economic policy shift of the ex-Communist left party. However, the effects are statistically significant only when respondents are told that the radical right Jobbik party adopted a protectionist (rather than anti-immigration) policy platform, which also confirms my assumption about the party competition on the economic policy dimension.

The last chapter concludes the dissertation by summarizing the evidence produced in previous chapters and by discussing its contributions and implications.

Chapter 1. Is the Radical Right the New Left?

In the above chapter, I introduced the key tenets of my theoretical argument. I stressed that in the post-Communist countries where left parties moved to the center of the political spectrum to become more like typical western Social Democratic parties, like in Hungary, the left parties discredited themselves in the eyes of their traditional constituency (workers, lower middle class), a constituency that was ultimately incorporated by the radical right parties. Hence, the radical right parties are strong in such countries.

The purpose of this chapter is to lay out the specific hypotheses tested in this dissertation and to present the theoretical arguments underlying each of them. This chapter consists of six sections. In the first section, I formulate the key argument and the main concepts it relies upon. In the second section, I discuss such key theoretical concepts — cleavages and the realignment process. In the third section, I focus on the strategies of the left parties that led to the economic policy switches. I also address the potential endogeneity in my argument (the same factors might underlie the economic policy switch of the left-wing party and the rise of the radical right) by explaining that the western institutions (such as the IMF) were often an external factor behind the left policy choices. Finally, in the fourth section, I explain why the key constituency most susceptible to the left policy switch was the working-class groups.

Party Competition in the Two-Dimensional Space

In this dissertation I argue that the populist and radical right parties often enjoy electoral success in the countries where the ex-Communist left parties shifted to the center

of the economic policy scale, creating a political space for the radical right. In other words, the economic policy switch (such as the implementation of the market reforms) during the period of transition and the formation of the socioeconomic cleavages by the Communist successor parties launched the realignment process in which the traditional supporters of the left parties (blue-collar voters) shifted to embrace the populist and radical right. I also show that the economic policy choices of the left parties were largely a function of the exogenous push that came from the international institutions in the early and mid-1990s.

For the purpose of my argument, it is necessary to introduce the concepts of party competition and describe the political space in which the parties operate. Party competition may be defined as strategic contest among parties as political actors to gain political power along policy dimensions (Franzmann and Spies 2011: 320). The strategic choices made by the parties may be described in terms of spatial theory that describes parties as contesting each other by positioning themselves on different dimensions (Downs 1957). This contestation depends on parties' credibility and reputational advantage over each other across dimensions of competition. The "policy dimensions" or "cleavages" refer to a particular type of conflict in democratic systems that is created by the social structural transformations such as nation building, industrialization, marketization, and post-industrialization (Bornschier 2009).

The introduction of the market economy (marketization) has produced several major cleavages in the countries of the post-Communist region: urban-rural, workers-owners, religious-secular, traditionalists-modernists, democracy-communism, national-multicultural, protectionist-free market, libertarian-authoritarian etc. (Kitschelt 1992; Berglund et al. 2004; Arvanitopoulos 2009). Contemporary literature on the European party systems (Kitschelt 1992, 2002; Hooghe et al. 2002; Benoit and Laver 2006; Marks

et al. 2006; Vachudova and Hooghe 2009) often depicts the political space as projected on two main dimensions—(1) the economic axis (from state-directed redistribution to market allocation) and (2) the non-economic axis including socio-cultural issues such as national identity, immigration, religion (from socially liberal to socially conservative), along which parties design their electoral moves and strategically reposition themselves.The cultural (national-multicultural) dimension represents a conflict between parties that want to preserve their 'national' and/or 'cultural' distinctiveness and limit immigration and the parties that emphasize the importance of open border and multiculturalism. Parties on the cultural right tend to prioritize the preservation of the national identity, call for national solidarity, emphasize the defense of tradition and national sovereignty, support tougher immigration and integration policy and favor restrictions of the number of foreigners (Bornschier 2010b). Parties on the cultural left tend to embrace cultural diversity, international cooperation and the open borders.

The economic (left-right) dimension (socioeconomic cleavage) refers to parties' preferences on economic policy issues, including economic regulation, welfare expansion, economic openness, taxation and privatization. This policy space is defined as a continuum that structures economic policy preferences from those most favorable to more regulation and less economic freedom to those that give preference to a lean state and economic freedom. Parties on the economic right typically favor less government intervention and regulation, lower taxes and the privatization of state assets. Parties on the economic left tend to prioritize the active role of the government in the economy, more regulation in order to reduce inequalities caused by the market and higher taxes and expansion of welfare (Elias et al. 2015; Marks et al. 2006).

The socioeconomic cleavage reflected in the economic division between the "winners" and "losers" played a particularly important role in the post-Communist

transition (Markus 1996: 13-14; Arvanitopoulos 2009: 260). The formation of the socioeconomic cleavage did not take place simultaneously in all countries in the region. In those countries that implemented the fiscal austerity policies immediately in the early 1990s, it took place sooner, while in the cleavage formation has been delayed in others. Gijsberts and Nieuwbeert (2000) show that in the years when the first general democratic elections occurred in Eastern European countries (around 1991-92), there were hardly any significant differences in voting behavior of different social strata. This suggests that at the beginning of the market transition, the socioeconomic cleavage in most post-Communist countries had not yet formed. It was not until the start of the market reforms implementation (particularly, the fiscal austerity reforms) that such cleavage began to form. The socioeconomic cleavage tended to be more accentuated in more modernized countries with an advanced class structure and a class-based party politics, such as the Czech Republic (Kitschelt et al. 1999; Zajc and Boh 2004). Less modernized countries (such as Romania or Bulgaria) delayed the implementation of the market reforms by adopting the strategy of partial reforms instead, and hence the formation of the socioeconomic cleavage in those countries has been postponed.

However, the implementation of the market reforms launched the formation of the socioeconomic cleavage, which was created by the emerging distinction between the winners and losers of transition. For party competition at the elite level, the severest divisions appeared to be related to positions on market reform and were mirrored in similar bases for partisanship among voters (Evans and Whitefield 1998). The most obvious social divisions underlying partisanship stemmed from divergent economic interests: in different economic sectors, such as agriculture, industry, and services; in different types of ownership structure - state and private ownership and a variety of possible intermediate property forms; in different types of employment status - between

the employed, unemployed, those working at home, and those on pensions; over access to goods and services and so on (Evans and Whitefield 2001). Hence, the economic liberalization launched the struggle about differences over the economy, distribution of resources, state versus private property, collective versus individualist strategies for economic advancement, the role of the state in redistributing income, merit versus need based conceptions of justice and so on (Evans and Whitefield 2001). Pop-Eleches and Tucker (2010: 2) demonstrated that post-Communist citizens are more likely to rely primarily on their economic attitudes when placing themselves on a left-right scale, while the citizens elsewhere tend to bring a combination of economic and social attitudes to bear on their left-right self-placement. This observation is key to my theoretical argument, as I show that the party realignment process to a large extend resulted from the mainstream parties' economic policy choices during the market reforms implementation.

The above division between the transition winners and losers deepened after the "Fourth revolution" - namely, globalization (Kriesi et al. 2008; Kriesi et al. 2012). The combination of both the "Third" and the "Fourth" revolutions exacerbated the existing discontinuity between the reforms' winners and losers. The literature refers to this phenomenon as a "cleavage leap"— a specific pattern of the post-Communist cleavage formation, which featured a quick switch from the unfinished industrial cleavage formation of Lipset-Rokkan type into a new cleavage configuration generated by transition and globalization (Saarts 2015: 30). Kriesi (1998: 180) pointed out "the emergence of yet another cleavage – the cleavage opposing the new middle-class winners of the transformation of Western European societies to the group of losers of the very same process <...> These losers are first and foremost to be found among the unqualified members of the working class, who are about to constitute the core of a new underclass". Those winners and losers have distinctive social-structural characteristics: "Two of the

21

most important groups on the winners' side, highly educated people and socio-cultural specialists, are far more supportive of opening borders than are those with lower levels of education and those who are unskilled workers" (Kriesi et al. 2012: 73).

A subsequent party realignment process—the changing of parties' electoral coalitions followed. The parties that implemented the reforms tended to appeal to reform-winners (including middle class and white-collar groups), the parties that opposed the reforms tended to appeal to reform-losers (primarily, the retirees, the unemployed, and the unqualified working-class groups). Depending on whether the ex-Communist left parties chose to implement the market reforms (in particular, the painful austerity reforms) or not, they were respectively less or more likely to retain their traditional electoral constituencies—the working-class constituencies. In the cases, where the left parties implemented harsh austerity reforms, the populist and radical right parties (which campaigned on reactionary anti-reform agenda) were more likely to gain electoral advantage in next electoral rounds.

Most scholars focus in their analysis on the impact of economic openness and globalization on Western European political systems. In what follows, I show that in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the dynamics were very similar if we adjust for higher speed of socioeconomic transformation that took place in these countries during the period of the economic transition and market reforms.

Main Argument

My argument focuses on the party realignment process brought about by the market reforms in the post-Communist countries. I argue that specific economic policy choices of the ex-Communist left parties played a decisive role in this process. In

particular, in the countries where the left post-Communist countries switched to the center of the economic policy spectrum (Hungary, Poland), the party realignment took place faster. In these countries, the traditional left constituencies felt abandoned by the left parties (especially as the ex-Communist parties abandoned their protectionist policies), and eventually switched to embrace the parties on the right of the political spectrum. In such countries, the right parties adopted the anti-market populist agenda to challenge the left.

In other words, I argue that in the countries where the ex-Communist left parties implemented the economic policy switch, one should observe the right parties adopting the redistributionist agenda, and the subsequent electoral success of the radical right parties. I instrument the economic policy switch by the austerity policies introduced by the left parties in the post-Communist countries in the 1990s and 2000s.

In the countries where the left switch did not occur, the alignments of the political groups and parties stayed more along the traditional lines. Examples of such countries are the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Hence, I expect in such countries the working-class constituencies to be more likely to support the left parties, and the radical right generally to be weaker.

The below figure provides a simplified representation of the respective trajectories of the left and the radical right parties (Kitschelt 1992, 1995a; Arzheimer 2013).
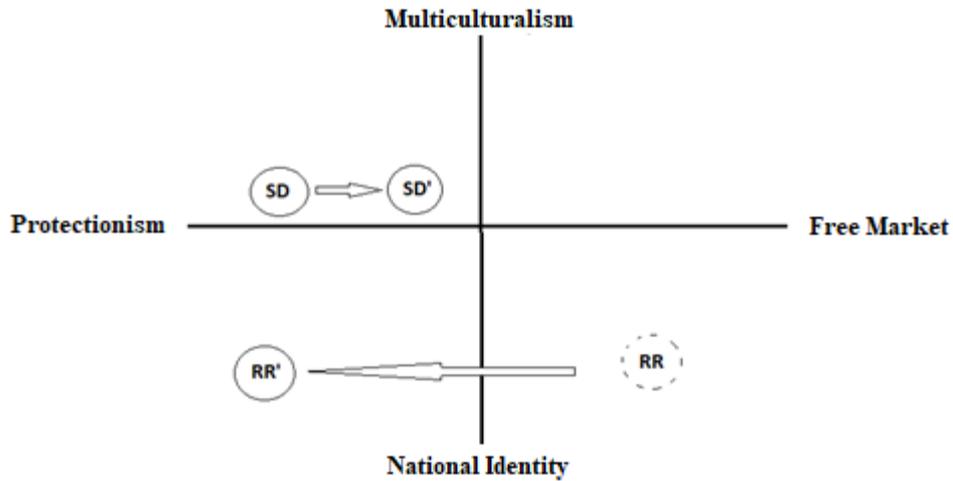
Figure 2. European Party Systems, the Left Parties Providing a Political Opening for the Radical Right.

Source: modified Arzheimer (2013), Kitschelt (1995a)

To sum up the above analysis, my general theoretical arguments are:

- The working-class constituencies are the social groups particularly vulnerable to the industrial misbalances, globalization, and export of low-skilled jobs outside of Europe.

- As the left parties became more economically centrist, the blue-collar constituencies were increasingly shifting away from these parties to embrace the radical right parties.

Given my theoretical expectations, I make the following predictions (Table 1):

	Explanatory Variable	**Outcome Variable**
Theory	Left party shits to the center of the economic policy (IV = austerity reforms implementation)	- Traditional constituencies (lower middle class, blue-collar workers) abandoned ↓ - Radical Right adopts redistributionist platform ↓ - Radical Right targets the ex-left constituencies ↓ - Radical Right is electorally successful

Table 1. Outline of the Key Theoretical Argument

What are the key elements of my theory? The case study analysis in chapter 5 reveals that the radical right parties often emerged in response to the austerity reforms implementation by the mainstream parties that drew a harsh divide between economic policy winners and losers and launched the formation of a socioeconomic cleavages in a given country. Austerity (fiscal adjustment) packages refer to the painful and socially unpopular economic policies of a government's budget deficit involving a combination of spending cuts and/or tax rises. Austerity policies tend to increase unemployment as result of decline in government spending and they tend to reduce consumption by cutting household disposable income (Grittersova et al. 2016) and they are often met with significant public protests (Ponticelli and Voth 2011). Lower-skilled workers are particularly vulnerable to such cuts, so these groups often end up being hurt by austerity measures particularly badly. Because austerity measures involve fundamental decisions about the role of the state in the economy, they tend to frame political discourse along the primary axis of political cleavages, namely the socio-economic dimension (Grittersova et al. 2016).

The introduction of austerity in the post-Communist region was not limited to the period of market transition alone; for example, in Hungary, the center-left MSZP party had to repeatedly introduce socially unpopular austerity measures in 2008, when Hungary found itself on the verge of bankruptcy. As I show, this policy shift largely determined the eventual downfall of MSZP.

Therefore, I use the implementation of austerity policies as an instrument for the center left parties' economic policy shift. The introduction of the austerity measures by the ex-Communist left parties was inconsistent with their original programmatic commitments and hurt their blue-collar constituencies (traditional electoral constituencies of the left parties) particularly hard. This eventually pushed those groups away from such ex-Communist left parties and created a political opportunity for the radical right parties. The radical right parties filled this vacuum by appealing to those social groups on the protectionist economic platform traditionally associated with the left pole of the economic spectrum and gained electoral success.

Some of the left parties in the analyzed country cases (Smer in Slovakia, KSČM and ČSSD in the Czech Republic) managed to sustain the support of traditional support groups. Their electoral success depended on the preservation of a consistent pro-labor and redistributionist economic policy because of the presence of a strong competitor on the left and an enduring relationship with labor unions. The programmatic consistency of the left parties in the latter case ensured the preservation of the traditional party alignments in a given political system and traditional policy positions along the economic policy scale by the left and right parties.

In this dissertation, I specifically focus on the example of Hungary to explain my argument in more detail, which I combine with overview of similar dynamics in three other Visegrád countries (see Chapter 5). Hungary's case is particularly interesting, since

its radical right Jobbik party emerged as one of the largest and most established radical right parties in Central and Eastern Europe. As I show in Chapter 4, Hungary's ex-Communist left party MSZP was historically associated to a more pro-market economic policy, which offered the Hungarian rightwing parties an opportunity to oppose it from a more redistributionist populist economic platform. Therefore, following the implementation of tough austerity policies by the MSZP (which took place around 1995-6), the voters' alignment along the economic policy axis started shifting in Hungary with those with more redistributive preferences (working class) gradually moving to the right. As the Communist-successor left embraced the pro-market policies, the right-wing parties became increasingly pro-redistribution oriented in their economic policies and capitalized on the reforms dissatisfaction among the Hungarian people. I demonstrate that the first shift of the blue-collar working constituency in Hungary away from the left MSZP towards the right-wing Fidesz party occurred around 1995–6. The next wave followed another round of the austerity measures imposed by MSZP in the 2006–10 electoral cycle. The blue-collar workers' dissatisfaction with mainstream parties in Hungary over the years kept pushing this electoral constituency further to the right, leading to its increasing support for the radical right Jobbik party.

In the subsequent chapters of this dissertation I test my hypotheses on different levels of analysis: cross-country observational and qualitative comparisons, the constituency level analysis and individual-level experimental surveys. In Chapter 3, I explain how my theoretical expectations may be converted into the empirically testable hypotheses. I approach my analytical question on different levels of analysis and various methods, which allow me to address the limitations of particular approaches and check the external validity of my argument.

First, I focus on cross-country level evidence using both quantitative and qualitative (case-studies) evidence to check whether the working-class voters do in fact switch from the ex-Communist left to the radical right parties following the adoption of a more pro-market stance by the ex-Communist left parties in the countries of the region.

Second, I look at four selected Visegrád countries—the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia—and run a qualitative case-study analysis on secondary data by tracing the timing of the emergence of the socio-economic cleavage, the policy choices made by the ex-Communist left parties, the party realignment process that followed those choices and the electoral success of the radical right parties that followed. I show that in the countries where the ex-Communist left parties implemented market reforms (Hungary and Poland), the blue-collar constituencies tended to switch to the right side of the political spectrum and eventually embrace the radical right parties. I back my argument with the individual survey data from the Comparative Study of the Electoral System and Median Opinion Ltd. to show that the blue-collar constituencies switched overtime from supporting the ex-Communist left to embracing the radical right parties. By contrast, in the countries where the ex-Communist left parties preserved their traditional pro-labor agenda (the Czech Republic and Slovakia) the success of the radical right was more short-lived.

Third, I use the constituency-level data in Hungary to track the voters' support for the ex-Communist left MSZP and radical right Jobbik. In line with my theoretical argument, I find that at least part of the electoral success of Jobbik in the 2010 election came from the constituencies that supported MSZP in 2006 following the implementation of austerity reforms by the MSZP.

Fourth, I run an experimental survey in Hungary to show that the embrace of a pro-market agenda by the ex-Communist left MSZP party leads to a strong and significant

increase in support for Jobbik on both general sample and different specifications of blue-collar subsamples when the radical right Jobbik party adopts a protectionist economic agenda.

The Economic vs The Cultural Dimension

As the above analysis suggests, my theoretical argument primarily focuses on the economic policy competition between the center left and the radical right parties. By contrast, a substantial bulk of the literature on Central and Eastern Europe emphasizes the role played by the cultural policy dimension in the success of the radical right parties, such that no radical right party has been "successful without mobilizing grievances over immigration" (Ivarsflaten 2008: 3). Such scholarship assumes that individuals have a natural tendency to associate with similar individuals while perceiving their ingroup as superior to outgroups (Golder 2016) and stresses the role of minorities and the backlash against diversity and inclusiveness in the electoral success of the radical right parties (Bustikova 2017).

For example, a cultural backlash approach links the success of the radical parties to their ability to politicize issues on the cultural dimension, which includes strong stances on traditional values, nationalism, law and order, and opposition to multiculturalism (Bornschier 2010b; Inglehart and Norris 2016). As the argument goes, the integration into the increase of working migration, refugees, and asylum seekers triggered the cultural backlash among the population in these countries, which in turn lead to an upsurge in popularity of the radical right parties (Fraser 2000; Mudde 2015; Inglehart and Norris 2016; Betz 2018). Individual level studies find a consistent association between the cultural grievances and anti-immigrant attitudes and the support for the radical right

(Lubbers and Scheepers 2002; Norris 2005; Ivarsflaten 2008; Rydgren 2008). While I do not definitively reject the importance of the cultural dimension for radical right politics, the argument outlined in this dissertation focuses primarily on the competition between the center left and radical right parties along the economic policy dimension.

Several reasons explain my focus on competition along the economic rather the cultural policy dimension in this dissertation.

First, methodologically separating the economic and cultural policy positions is tricky, since a decline in one's individual well-being may drive racism and anger against more "privileged" cultural groups (Snegovaya 2018). The concerns about immigrants and immigration may have clear economic underpinnings; for example, members of the working class may perceive predominantly unskilled or semi-skilled immigrant workers as an economic threat (Arzheimer 2013). For instance, Szombati (2018) demonstrates that in Hungary anti-Roma prejudices led to anti-Roma mobilization only in the presence of the structural preconditions, the devastating impact of neoliberal globalization. Many studies find that both economic and cultural concerns matter for anti-immigrant attitudes (Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior 2004; Mayda 2006; Sides and Citrin 2007).

In addition, defining a party as either left or right often depends on its positions on both the economic and cultural policy dimensions, which further complicates the analysis of their strategic shifts along those dimensions. To make a clear distinction between the two policy dimensions and to avoid conceptual confusion, I define the parties based on their position on the cultural dimension and then trace their strategic choices along the economic policy scale (see chapter 2 for party definitions).

Second, during the post-Communist period, the left and radical right shifted their policy positions primarily along the axis of economic policy; their cultural (identity) positions remained largely unchanged during the transition. In the same period, the

electoral fortunes of the radical right parties fluctuated dramatically. This suggests that economic policy choices may provide better explanations for the radical right parties' electoral success in this context.

The key focus of my paper is Hungary, a country with one of the most established and electorally successful radical right parties in Central and Eastern Europe - Jobbik, the Movement for a Better Hungary. Hungary is the only country in the region where a radical right party Jobbik was able to mobilize more than 10 percent of voters in three consecutive elections in 2010, 2014 and 2018 (Minkenberg 2017a). Founded in late 2003, Jobbik rose in popularity on the wave of the 2008 financial crisis, and quickly became the most electorally successful radical right party in Central and Eastern region. Led by Gábor Vona until 2018, Jobbik's manifestos and leadership statements often displayed strong anti-Semitic, anti-Roma and homophobic tendencies. In its first national 2006 election, where Jobbik participated as part of coalition of small radical right parties, the MIÉP-Jobbik Third Way Alliance of Parties, it received 2.2 percent of the vote and failed to make into the parliament. Jobbik's first electoral success came in the 2009 European elections where the party received 14.8 percent of the vote. In the subsequent national parliamentary elections of 2010, 2014, and 2018, Jobbik received 16.7 percent, 20.2 percent and 19.1 percent of votes respectively.

The below figure compares Hungary's radical right positions on issues pertaining to the galtan dimension from the Chapel Hill dataset in 2006-2017 (see Figure 3). The galtan dimension captures the parties' positions on sociocultural issues related to national identity (Hooghe et al. 2002; Rydgren 2007; Vasilopoulou 2018), where "gal" stands for "green, alternative, and libertarian" and "tan" refers to "traditional, authoritarian, and nationalist".

31
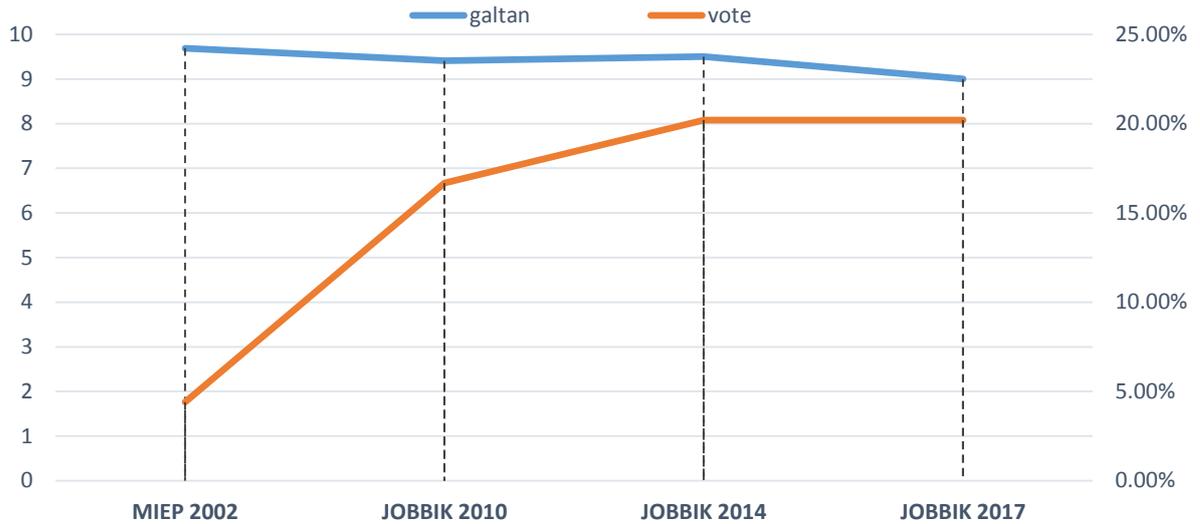
Figure 3. Party Positioning on the Ideological Scale and Electoral Vote in Hungary's Elections to the National Parliament. Source: Chapel Hill Dataset. The variable galtan (position of the party in a given year on sociocultural issues) takes the values 0 to 10, where 0 is associated to libertarian/postmaterialist, 10 is associated to traditional/authoritarian. Available at: https://www.chesdata.eu/our-surveys/

As Figure 3 suggests, the positions of the Hungarian radical right parties on the sociocultural issues tended to stay relatively constant in the years 2002-2014, if anything a slight decline on these issues is observed in-between the years 2014-2017. By the Chapel Hill data[2], the earlier Hungary's radical right party MIEP received 9.69 on the galtan dimension in 2002, while Jobbik received 9.41 in 2010, and 9.5 in 2014 respectively. And while Jobbik's positions on sociocultural issues in 2010-2014 where slightly less radical than those of MIEP in 2002, in the same period, Jobbik has become a far more electorally successful party (from 4.4 percent for MIEP in the 2002 election, to 20.2 percent for Jobbik in the 2014 election). In other words, the positions of the Hungarian radical right parties along the cultural axis do not satisfactorily explain the dramatic variation in their electoral fortunes. This suggests that some other explanation may be a better fit to account for the variation in the success of the radical right parties.

---

[2] https://www.chesdata.eu/our-surveys/

Third, in the post-Communist context, the anti-immigration (cultural) concerns do serve as good explanations for the success of the radical right parties, like they do in the Western European cases (Lubbers and Scheepers 2000; Norris 2005; Yılmaz 2012; Rydgren 2008). The post-Communist countries suffered less from the 2014 Syrian immigration crisis and historically supplied, rather than received, EU migrants (Allen 2015; Bustikova and Kitschelt 2009; Rovny 2014). Hence, Eastern European radical right parties rarely used the anti-immigration platform prior to 2014 (Allen 2015; Bustikova 2017) and their electoral success predated the crisis by several years. As I show in chapter 2, another popular explanation that involves the radical right parties' positions on the cultural dimension (anti-Roma sentiment and shares of Roma population in a given country) also fail to satisfactorily account for the variation in the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties.

Fourth, I test the assumption that the radical right parties primarily compete for their voters along the cultural dimension in chapter 7. I do not find confirmation of this hypothesis; when the left parties changed economic policy, the radical right parties that only compete along the cultural dimension do not gain additional votes. By contrast, when the radical right competes against the left on the economic policy dimension, their support increases substantially.

The above reasoning explains my predominant focus on the competition between the center left and the radical right parties in the subsequent chapter of this dissertation.

Ex-Communist Left Parties and the Market Transition

In this dissertation, I argue that the rightward shift of the ex-Communist parties following the collapse of Communism played an important role in the party realignment

process. Grzymala-Busse (2002) and March and Mudde (2005) find that following the collapse of Communism, majority of former ruling parties in Central and Eastern Europe transformed into full-fledged social democratic parties. Such was the choices made by the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Democratic Left Alliance that became proponents of privatization and integration into the European Union.

What were the reasons behind the ex-Communist parties' reinvention? In the wake of the collapse of the Communist system, the reinvention was aimed at regaining democratic access to governmental power by winning elections and entering democratic government (Grsymala-Busse 2017: 3). Because of the hostility towards people associated with the previous regime, the old party members often saw the reformed Communist party as the only potential protector of their interests, and therefore were willing to tolerate their party policy switch without abandoning it entirely (Grzymala-Busse 2002). Programmatic transformations were thus of great importance to the communist successor parties, as they were the only way that these parties could now sway the democratic electorate without their old patronage networks and populist leaders (Grzymala-Busse 2002). In an effort to reject their Communist legacy, such parties often tended to become holier than the Pope. Tavits and Letki (2009) show that reformed ex-Communist parties were much more likely to implement more coherent fiscal austerity programs, as opposed to the right-wing parties.

By contrast, some ex-Communist parties remained loyal to their original programmatic commitments. Such orthodox successor parties survived in the Czech Republic, East Germany and in Slovakia (along with a transformed but shorter-lived communist successor party). For example, the Czech Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM) retained much of its former appeals in terms of redistribution, connection to labor unions, and anti-market stance (Hanley, 2001). This made KSČM

largely a protest party that was able to preserve a relatively orthodox stance and retain the loyal support of a constituency of the so-called "globalization losers". This eliminated a potential political opening for the radical right parties and delayed the realignment processes. In Slovakian case, the original party dynamic was similar to the one in Hungary and Poland with the reformist left SDL party gradually losing popular support. However, in early 2000s a small fraction of SDL split from it, created a new left party SMER and was able to retain the left voters. That SMER occupies a substantive part of the distributive economic agenda limits the political opportunities for the radical right in Slovakia. This explains the substantive fluctuations in its popularity.

Why did the left parties choose to implement the pro-market reforms? If they chose the strategies of promoting austerity for the same reason that the radical right parties were subsequently likely to arise, then I might have an endogeneity problem. In other words, both the choice of the left-wing party to promote austerity and the rise of the radical right might be driven by the same factor. For example, if the economic crisis was more severe in the cases where the left chose the austerity reforms, both the choice of the policies by the left parties and the emergence of the radical right parties may be spurious to some other third factor, such as the pre-existing economic conditions in a given country.

To counter this important objection, I rely on the argument advanced by Stone (2002). He argues that the IMF was an external factor that frequently defined the choices of the left parties in power during the transition by pushing them into adoption of the austerity programs. The early post-Communist governments were indebted from the Communist period and were dependent on the IMF's continuous debt restructuring and aid; this provided the IMF with the leverage to push the parties in power to implement the painful pro-market reforms. Some post-Communist governments were more pro-reformist and hence more compliant (Poland, Hungary), and others were more traditional

and less compliant with the IMF conditionality (Bulgaria), but this variation had more to do with specific cabinet compositions rather than the structural economic shocks experienced by the left governments. In fact, by the start of the reforms, Poland, one of the pioneers of the IMF-induced adjustments, had one of the smallest budget deficits in the socialist bloc (Roaf et al. 2014: 10).

Despite the general pro-market orientation of the Polish government, the strong impetus for neoliberal reforms still came from the IMF. While the Polish government was generally ideologically committed to reforms, the international institutions imposed specific incentives to ensure its strict adherence to the reform plan. Three times in 1991, 1993 and 1994, the international institutions used the opportunity to restructure the Polish debt to push the Polish government into further implementation of the painful reforms. The governing coalition therefore had no choice but to swallow its policy preferences and to implement the reforms prescribed by the IMF-imposed constraints (Stone 2002: 114). In line with this argument, Bonker (2007: 119) shows that in Poland the ex-Communist SLD-led government, which took power in 1993, greatly benefited from the IMF's insistence on fiscal constraint. The new government aimed to defy critics and demonstrate its respectability by not losing the support of the IMF. In addition, conflicts with the IMF threatened to endanger a substantive reduction of Poland's foreign debt in 1994, as Poland's 1991 agreement with the Paris Club had made the second tranche of the Polish debt relief conditional on the adherence to an IMF-supported reform program. The reliance on the IMF-imposed policy standards strengthened the Polish Finance Minister Borowski's position in the negotiations on the 1994 budget and helped him to fend off the demands for further spending increases. Bonker (2007) stresses that the Polish post-Communist government's desire not to risk IMF support also became visible after Borowski's resignation in February 1994. While the Minister of Finance's position

remained vacant for three months, the government managed to prevent the budget renegotiation throughout this period.

Hungary is quite similar to the Polish case. As I show in the next chapter, the relationship between Hungary's ex-Communist left and the IMF was established in the late 1970s as a direct consequence of Hungary's indebtedness after Kadar's reforms. The Communist Hungarian government was pushed into becoming an IMF member in the mid-1980s by the threat of insolvency and the economic collapse (Csizmadia 2008: 11); this membership was conditional on restarting the reforms. The collaboration between the Hungarian reformed ex-Communist party MSZP and the IMF continued in the 1990s. The strong indebtedness of Hungarian economy made the left MSZP government consistently dependent upon the IMF support. Ziblatt (1998) illustrates Hungary's left government's adherence to the IMF-imposed constraints with the following episode. In 1995, the MSZP government under Bokros and Horn pursued an extensive austerity program that aimed to receive a special "stand-by" three-year loan from the IMF as a reward for its efforts at budget cuts, social state reduction and inflation control. Instead, the IMF commended the MSZP austerity efforts but demanded further cuts in social security and accelerated privatization (Szilagyi 1995: 64). This pushed Bokros and Horn into announcing an even deeper budget deficit reduction in January 1996, finally winning the IMF loan in February 1996. Therefore, the pro-reformist orientation of Hungary's left MSZP was also largely imposed by an external factor— dependence upon IMF loans. Similarly, in the late 2000s, the MSZP downfall in the 2010 parliamentary election followed another round of implementation of austerity measures. These measures had been introduced in 2008 under the IMF loan agreement (Csaba 2011; Gal 2010). See chapter 4 for more details.

It is important to note that an economic crisis per se was not a decisive factor for the reform's implementation. Countries that experienced the economic crisis prior to the

reforms were still overwhelmingly pushed into implementing austerity policies by the IMF. This case can be illustrated with the example of the Bulgarian left government, which was forced to implement the pro-market reforms largely as result of the IMF-imposed prescriptions from the 1997 economic crisis. Having initially attempted to implement quick reforms, Bulgaria subsequently slowed down its progress due to rising economic and social challenges. Stone (2002: 232) shows that throughout the 1990s, the left-leaning Bulgarian governments were never truly committed to the reform effort, rather, they were pushed into these efforts by market pressures and the need for the international aid. Only as a result of the intense crisis in 1997, the IMF has finally been able to reclaim the leverage strong enough to push the left Bulgarian government into fully implementing the IMF program. Even then, the persistent opposition to the structural reforms frequently threatened to jeopardize the reform outcomes.

The above analysis has shown that the IMF often forced the post-Communist successor parties to alter their preferred economic policy. This suggests that the economic policy choices of the left parties in the post-Communist world were exogenous to other political calculations of these parties (such as competition from other political actors) and were predominantly the result of an exogenous IMF push. Exogeneity of the choices of the left parties suggests that their policy choices were not imposed by or directly related to the competition from the right. This claim allows me to address the endogeneity-related concerns.

Role of the Blue-Collar Constituencies

The new cleavages created an opportunity for the parties to mobilize new voters because of the realignment process that was ongoing at the same time. Because of the

policy choices by the established parties during the transition, the previous links between the parties and their traditional constituencies weakened, and the voters who suffered most from the transition became vulnerable to the mobilization efforts of the new actors (Bornschier 2009: 4). Eventually, this created incentives for some social groups to abandon the parties they originally supported (Martin 2000, Lachat 2007) and gradually switch to embrace new political actors.

The groups that suffered more from the transition (the transition losers) typically belong to one of the following social categories: the unemployed, the retirees, and the blue-collar workers. The particular focus of this dissertation is the *working class* or *blue-collar workers*[3] category, a constituency that proved to be the most susceptible to the party realignment processes and hence more likely to switch to a different party block (Fidrmuc 2000). Due to the industrial misbalances in the post-Communist states and the globalization process that accelerated the export of low-skilled jobs outside of Europe, this segment of population suffered particularly strongly from the transition and the fiscal austerity reforms. Such reforms tended to weaken the worker sodalities, and dramatically shrink their power, prestige and opportunities in post-Communist Europe (Kalb 2009: 17). It hence should come as no surprise that in the countries where the left parties actively participated in introducing the reforms, the blue-collar workers' support for the left parties has consistently declined. Instead, this constituency was switching to embrace the populist and radical right parties.

---

[3] In this paper, I use the terms "working class", "blue-collar worker", "physical worker" and "manual worker" as interchangeable to denote a working-class person performing non-agricultural manual labor. Bain and Prince (1972) enumerate the characteristics pertaining to white collar as opposed to blue-collar work: intellectual as opposed to manual activities; differing functions (administration, design, analysis and planning, etc. vs. actual production) as opposed to routine; proximity to the authority etc. One problem with such classification has to do with the categorization of the "service workers" (cooks, domestic servants, janitors, waiters, barbers, firefighters, police officers etc.), since their work activity tends to include both manual and non-manual activities. Unless otherwise specified, in my analysis I excluded "service workers" from the blue-collar workers' category. For more discussion of classification of the blue-collar workers see chapter 8, subsection "Categorizing the Blue-Collar Respondents."

Why are blue-collar constituencies likely to switch to the radical right? Historically, workers (typically blue-collar, manual workers) and lower middle class more broadly were the primary constituency of the left. In the recent years, however, scholars talk about the increasing "proletarization" (Ignazi 2003) of the western radical right parties, i.e. the increasing affinity of the working class to the radical right parties. Arzheimer (2013) finds that the odds of the blue-collar workers' radical right vote have risen considerably since the 1990s. Norris (2005) and Rydgren (2007) point out that the working-class voters are the core of the right-wing constituencies in Europe. Kalb and Halmai (2011) argue that globalization and neoliberal capitalism disrupted the old, working-class communities and rendered workers more dependent on the whims of capitalists. Right-wing populism offers a panacea for the insecurity of the world and the everyday struggle to make a decent living. The breakthrough of the radical right parties came in the 1990s or 2000s, and broadly coincided with the decline of left-wing workers' parties. For example, workers in western Europe have become the core constituency of the Austrian Freedom Party, the Belgian Flemish Block, the French National Front, the Danish People's Party, the Norwegian Progress Party, Law and Justice in Poland, and the Hungarian Civic Alliance. Similar shifts occurred in the United States with the presidential election of 2016 (Linden 2018: 75).

Hence the growing "proletarization" of the radical right parties (the increasing representation of the blue-collar voters among these parties' constituencies) came as a result of a double process of the working class abandoning the left parties and their realignment towards the populist and radical right (Gougou and Mayer 2013). The radical right parties appeal to these groups from the left side of the state-market dimension (Bale et al. 2010; De Lange 2007). The populist rhetoric finds fertile ground among the low-skilled, blue-collar constituencies with low wages and lack of job protection (Betz 1994).

Over the last decade, as globalization has been eroding many traditional factory-based jobs, the median real income in Europe has stagnated or declined and the gains of the economic growth have gone to the higher income groups (Piketty 2014). Increasing automation and jobs outsourcing, rising capital mobility, the erosion of blue-collar labor unions, and liberal austerity policies made traditional blue-collar workers particularly vulnerable to the populist appeals (Bornschier 2010a; Inglehart and Norris 2016) and further fostered these processes.

In the post-Communist countries, this problem is sharpened by the fact that workers believed that their situation would improve under capitalism and were disillusioned with the results. It was often difficult for these workers to articulate this dissatisfaction along anti-capitalist lines, so they switched to embrace the populist right parties instead (Linden 2018: 77). For instance, Ost (2018: 119) suggests that in Poland "workers were experiencing capitalism as a system of class exploitation but lacked any class-based ways to express their dissatisfaction. And the right began to fill that vacuum." However, this explanation clearly does not fit all of the country cases discussed in this dissertation. In particular, in chapter 5 I show that in the Czech and Slovak case the left parties were able to retain workers' support due to their economic policy choices.

In what follows, I show that the post-Communist countries generally follow the dynamics described above. By focusing on the case of Hungary in particular, I trace the process of workers' alienation from the left parties and their subsequent embrace of populist and radical right. I complement this analysis with a Case Study section in chapter 5, where I depict the policy choices of the left parties and their subsequent electoral fortunes in six different CEE countries.

Chapter 2. The Literature

Defining the Radical Right

Much confusion surrounds definitions of "radical" parties. This confusion stems from the multiplicity of terms that describe more or less the same concept: "radical right", "authoritarian", "anti-establishment", "anti-immigrant", "nationalist", "anti-system", or "populist". For the purpose of this dissertation, I use the term "radical right" to discuss the parties linked to the discussed phenomenon.

Historically, the radical right has demonstrated a high degree of fluctuation in terms of their positioning on key issues, such as anti-systemness, immigration, and economic policies (Rovny 2014).

Most of the research on the radical right (Capoccia 2002) is based on Sartori's (1976) concept of anti-system party defined as "a party that would change, if it could not the government, but the system of government." In other words, the anti-system party has a belief system that does not share the values of the political order within which it operates. This ideological anti-systemness usually describes democracy as a "system" to be abandoned or modified. Problem with this concept is that the anti-systemic stance of the radical right has not been constant over the decades. As pointed out by Kopeček (2007: 286), the political context was different during the Cold War when Sartori labeled the anti-system party as a party attempting to overthrow democracy from ideological positions. In the post-Cold War period, some of the parties, which Sartori classified as anti-systemic (such as the Austrian Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ), stayed in government without any intent to overthrow democracy. Hence Mudde (2002) argues against using the "anti-systemic" feature to conceptualize the radical right as many such parties accept and actively participate in the contemporary democratic system (such as

Republikaner, DVU, Vlaams Blok, Centrumdemocraten, Centrumpartij'). As result, most contemporary radical right parties can only be defined as protest or anti-establishment (Schedler 1996; Kubát 2007) rather than purely anti-systemic. One way to reformulate the anti-systemness is to look at the radical right parties as the anti-establishment parties. For example, Hans-Georg Betz (1994, 2002) defines a "right-wing populist party" as a party that radically opposes the current cultural and socio-political system in European democracies without attacking the foundations of such systems while emphasizing cultural and/or ethnic homogeneity with a particular advantage given to "our own people" over "foreigners", law and order and importance of traditional values.

Because it proved problematic to categorize the radical right parties based on their economic positions (see discussion in the subsequent section), many contemporary authors have proposed focusing on their cultural policy stances to conceptualize the radical right parties (Rovny and Marks 2011) as single-policy or single-issue parties. Using immigration as a single-issue criterion, scholars stress the anti-immigration positions of the radical right using a twofold criterion: (1) vote mobilization on the basis of anti-immigrant sentiments, (2) stigmatization by mainstream political parties (Brug, Fennema, and Tillie 2000; Fennema 1997; Brug and Fennema 2003). However, there are several problems with such an approach. First, the predominant focus on the immigration may substantively bias the sample of the radical right parties since today's mainstream parties also use the anti-immigration platform (especially in the aftermath of the Syrian crisis). Second, the popularity of the anti-immigration stance is not constant over time: by the late 1990s the role of the ideological voting at the expense of the anti-immigration protest seemed to increase among many electorally-successful radical right parties (Alleanza nazionale, Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, Dansk Folkeparti, and the Vlaams Blok). Third, Mudde (1999) shows that the majority of the radical right voters do not

unilaterally base their support on the basis of their anti-immigration attitudes. Although immigration is often considered the most important issue within the whole radical right electorate, it is still not true for the (large) majority of such parties. Hence, other cultural policy issues should also be included in the classification.

Given the above considerations, most authors define the radical right as parties with several distinct ideological features (Mudde 1995; Mudde 2002) ranging from one to over ten (for example, racism, xenophobia, and nationalism (Macridis 1989); or anti-democratic dispositions (Backes and Jesse 1993). Mudde (2000) proposed a popular definition, which includes four ideological foundations of the radical right parties: (1) nationalism, (2) xenophobia, (3) law and order and (4) welfare chauvinism (the idea of preferential provision of social policies to "our own people" at the expense of the "foreigners").

For the purposes of my dissertation, I define a party as radical right on three cultural issues: 1) radical nationalism, 2) radical socio-cultural conservatism (Pop-Eleches 2010; Bustikova 2014) and 3) strong anti-Roma and anti-Semitic rhetoric. If a party scores high on one issue and low on another (as some nationalistic ex-Communist parties do), it is not classified as a radical right. A high score on both cultural issues still makes distinguishing, say, Hungary's radical right Jobbik from a center right Fidesz problematic since both parties tend to use similar language on both issues. Hence, I add a third issue: open rhetorical attacks on Roma and Jews ("Jewish capital"), which narrows down this definition to the right extremist parties only.

On both radical nationalism and radical socio-cultural conservatism Hungary's Jobbik ("The Movement for a Better Hungary"), the party of my main theoretical interest, gets a high score.

1. Jobbik is a radical nationalist party due to its strong nationalist, irredentist (or nativist as in Mudde, 2007) claims and pleas for cross-border ethnic self-determination. For instance, Jobbik demanded "territorial autonomy" for Szekely Land in Romania and expressed desire to make Transcarpathian Ukraine an independent Hungarian district. Jobbik also often suggests returning to pre-Trianon Treaty borders.

2. Jobbik also classifies as a radical socially conservative party due to its active advocacy for traditional Christian values (such as marriage, preservation of traditional family). In its founding statement, Jobbik described itself as a "principled, conservative and radically patriotic Christian party", whose "fundamental purpose" is the protection of "Hungarian values and interests" (Kovacs et al. 2003: 243).

3. Ultimately, Jobbik party members have often been openly making aggressive anti-Roma and anti-Jewish statements, which highlighted the extremist nature of the party (Kovacs 2013)

Note that this radical right party definition is based strictly on cultural policy dimension (as discussed in chapter 2) to avoid methodological confusion in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation where I focus on the strategic considerations underlying party choices of the economic policy positions.

Redistributive Agenda and the Radical Right

In this dissertation, I argue that the radical right parties are able to attract the traditional (blue collar) constituencies of the center left parties when and if they use the redistributionist economic platform.

The ability of the radical right to monopolize the redistributionist platform depends on the existence of a political opening in the system—namely, whether or not there is a credible competitor on the left occupies this political space. According to my theory, in countries where the ex-Communist parties transformed themselves into Social-Democratic parties and shifted to the center of the economic policy dimension (as instrumented by their implementation of austerity packages), the left parties will be likely to lose their credibility among their blue-collar constituencies. This situation will create a political opening for the radical right parties to appeal to those groups using redistributionist appeals. Under such conditions, a radical right party stands a good chance to attract former left supporters. Hence, in countries with reformed post-Communist parties' adoption of redistributive positions on economic dimension should dramatically improve the electoral fortunes of the radical right.

Scholars emphasize the fluid nature of the economic policy positions of the radical right parties. In the 1990s, scholars tended to suggest that the radical right parties tend to hold classical neoliberal position on the economic dimension (Betz 1994). Kitschelt (1995b; Kitschelt and McGann 1997; McGann and Kitschelt 2005) suggested that in the 1990s the radical right adopted a "'winning formula' of combining authoritarian and nationalistic appeals with extreme neo-liberalism," ''calling for the dismantling of public bureaucracies and the welfare state" and demanding a "strong and authoritarian, but small" state. Kitschelt and McGann (1997) hypothesized that while the radical right parties used nativist and conservative sociocultural agenda to attract blue-collar workers; they needed free market economic platform to draw support from small domestic producers. In 2007, Kitschelt argued that a "market-liberal appeal may be a necessary, albeit not a sufficient condition of radical right-wing electoral success" (2007: 1183).

However, later scholars noticed that the radical right parties changed their economic policy positions away from pro-market towards a more centrist stance over time. De Lange (2007) argued that the economic component of Kitschelt's "winning formula" may have changed from fiscal conservatism to welfare chauvinism. He analyzed three party cases, the French FN, the Flemish Vlaams Blok and the Dutch LPF and concluded that established radical right parties moved their economic policy position to the economic center. Rovny (2014: 5) described Western European radical right economic positioning as erratic and theorized that these parties deliberately blurred their positions on economic policy and adopted "vague, contradictory or ambiguous" stances on economic dimension while seeking to compete on neglected, secondary issues (sociocultural issues) to attract broader support. Cavallaro, Flacher and Zanetti (2018) studied radical right parties' voting behavior on economic matters at the European Parliament and discovered substantive heterogeneity in their preferred economic policies.

In the last decade, it became clear that the radical right ended up shifting not to a centrist or blurred but to a protectionist economic policy platform. Mudde (2007) points out the rising inclinations toward more protectionist positions and more social market economy among the radical right parties. The evolution of the positions of the radical right parties on the economic dimension may be interpreted a function of their anti-systemness. Under this logic, the radical right parties tend to choose their economic platforms in opposition to the existing economic policy mainstream. In the second half of the 20th century, the rise of radical right parties in Western Europe was associated with a backlash against the "excessive role of the state" in the economy, and the power of labor unions (Ignazi 2003). In early 21st century, when the premarket neoliberal doctrine has become a mainstream orthodoxy, the radical right has adopted a more redistributionist protectionist stance on the economic policy. However, it is more likely that the economic

policy shift of the radical right parties was driven by the changing nature of their constituencies (Derks 2006). In his framework, to capture the votes of the disenchanted industrial workers hurt by globalization ("globalization losers") who face the challenges of the post-industrial society and the supply of cheaper immigrant labor, the radical right parties introduced a mix of egalitarianism and anti-welfare chauvinism in their economic platforms.

Recent policy choices by the radical right parties confirm these observations. The French Front National (FN), for example, under the leadership of Marine Le Pen underwent significant changes in its economic policies and endorsed statist redistributive economic policies (as demonstrated by the party's motto "social without socialism"), reflecting the consolidation of a strong FN working-class constituency traditionally leaning towards the left. In the 2012 presidential election, no less than 68 percent of the FN policy pledges were located to the left on the economic axis (Ivaldi 2013). Recently the extra-parliamentary radical right Estonian Patriotic Movement merged with the agrarian People's Union (a radical left party) to create The Conservative People's Party of Estonia (CPP). CPP combined cultural nationalist and economic socialism with an emphasis on anti-western economic nationalism, attracted support from rural voters, old people, the unemployed and self-employed, and made it to the Estonian parliament with 8% of votes (Lust 2016).

Hungary's Jobbik is another example of such successful transformation. Unlike its radical right predecessor MIÉP which competed along a single cultural dimension, Jobbik combined cultural pledges with protectionist economic policy position, which proved to be a very successful combination. Jobbik is the only radical right party in the region to receive over 10 percent of votes in three consecutive parliamentary elections. Scholars stress the importance of the economic policy issues for the increase in Jobbik's

popularity, such as opposition to welfare retrenchment and anti-austerity campaigning (Jordan 2010; Waterbury 2010; Varga 2014; Kim 2016). I provide a more detailed description of Jobbik's successful use of protectionist economic policy platform in chapter 4.

My argument complements the existing literature and makes it possible to explain variation in the economic policy stances of the radical right parties by focusing on the policy choices of their competitors—center left parties. I argue that the radical right parties espouse the protectionist economic policy stance under the presence of the political opening, which is provided by the ex-Communist left parties' switch to the center of the economic policy dimension.

The Populist Parties and the Austerity Packages

The conceptual boundaries between definitions of populist right and the radical right are fused. Populism may be defined both as a political strategy and as a type of political party using this strategy. Therefore, while some scholars describe the radical right parties as populist (due to the use of a populist political discourse), others categorize populist parties as a distinct party subgroup which may or may not intersect with the category of the radical right parties.

For conceptual clarity, in this dissertation, I define populism as a political strategy that involves the appeals to "the people" against both the established structure of power and the dominant ideas and values" (Canovan 1999: 2). Specifically, this strategy implies an emphasize on the divide distinguishing the "pure people" and "the corrupt elites" (Mudde 2000: 37). As a political strategy, populism is not reduced to a single element but may be combined with such a constitutive element of the radical-right politics as ethno-

nationalism (Mudde 2007; Bonikowski 2017). This conceptual separation allows to distinguish between the populist radical right party—a party combining extreme ethno-nationalist and populist appeals (as Hungary's Jobbik party) from other types of populist parties that combine populist appeals with less extreme right positions (as Hungary's Fidesz and Poland's PiS) or left positions on the cultural dimension. In other words, while different types of parties may have incentives to use populist appeals, these parties' policy positions on the cultural dimension categorize them as left, right or radical right respectively.

To overcome the existing rigid and corrupt state structures, a populist leader has to appeal to the people directly. Therefore, "a personal leader appeals to a heterogeneous mass of followers who feel left out and are available for mobilization; the leader reaches his followers by a direct, quasi-personal manner that bypasses established intermediary organizations, especially parties; if the leader builds a new or revives an old party, it remains a personal vehicle with a low level of institutionalization" (Weyland 1999: 381). In theory, populism distinguishes the people and the elite on the basis of just one moral dimension, contrasting the good people versus the evil elite (Hawkins, 2009). In practice, however, populists tend to apply different meanings to the people using class or commonness in their definition of the people (Mudde 2017), which depends on specific groups targeted by a populist leader.

In particular, the "people" may refer to a specific group of individuals united by a common nationality, ethnicity, culture, religion, class or social base. Historically in Latin America, left-wing populists, such as the Peronists in Argentina, tended to define "people" as the working class as opposed to the industrialists (Deiwiks 2009). Recently, for the reasons explained in this dissertation, right-wing populists in Europe picked up that approach. For example, the French Front National (FN) is a radical right party that has

successfully appealed to and attracted the support of the blue-collar constituencies, the phenomenon termed left Lepenism (Deiwiks 2009), which made some scholars label it as "the party of the working class" (Chassany 2016).

When are the challenger parties more likely to use the populist strategy? Populist politicians portray themselves as "true democrats voicing popular grievances and opinions systematically ignored by governments, mainstream parties, and the media" (Canovan 1999: 2). In other words, populism appears primarily as a way to express and channel the popular frustration with or resentment toward the elites, as the demarcation between the "people" and the "other" suggests. Panizza (2005: 10) defines ressentiments as instances of popular frustration, the "unmet demands" are conducive to spread of populism "where people do not know how to name what they are lacking." Ressentiments tend to involve blame attribution and demands for compensation, they play a particularly significant role during the mobilization phase of populist movements (Betz 2002)

Hence, one should expect the populist strategy to become more attractive during the periods when the incumbents implement unpopular policies, which fuel popular grievances and provide outsider political parties with an opportunity to attack those elites by using the populist strategy. Betz (1994: 4) described the European populist parties as: "right-wing first in their rejection of individual and social equality and of political projects that seek to achieve it; second in their opposition to the social integration of marginalized groups; and third in their appeal to xenophobia, if not overt racism and anti-Semitism. They are populist in their unscrupulous use and instrumentalization of diffused public sentiments of anxiety and disenchantment and their appeal to the common man and his allegedly superior common sense."

For example, populism should become particularly attractive to challenger parties following the implementation of austerity packages that foster social inequality and

increase anxiety of disadvantaged social groups (Inglehart and Norris 2016; Zakaria 2016). Ishkanian and Marlies (2017) find that the critiques of the economy during the anti-austerity protests are inextricably linked to the criticism of the current political system and of the shortcomings of representative democracy. Policy switches and subsequent blurring and erosion of party brands create the preconditions that are favorable for the emergence of outsiders who challenge the incumbent parties from a radicalized platform and attack the established order those parties symbolize (Lupu 2014; 2015).

In this sense, one should expect populist parties on both sides of political spectrum gain advantage in the periods following the implementation of austerity programs by the incumbent parties. This expectation is confirmed by the empirical findings that show that austerity policies decrease support for the incumbent parties and boost support for populist parties (Vasilopoulou et al. 2013; Bailey et al. 2018; Nyman 2016a; 2016b; Thomas 2016). For example, in Greece, the 2015 electoral success of the populist left Syriza followed the painful fiscal adjustment policies introduced by the incumbents. Syriza's Alexis Tsipras blamed Greece's "humiliation and misery" on harsh austerity measures and interpreted his electoral victory as the end of the vicious austerity cycle in Greece (Barber and Hope 2015). As I show in chapter 4, the success of the populist radical right Jobbik in Hungary also followed the fiscal adjustment measures imposed by the center left MSZP party and subsequent Jobbik's anti-austerity campaign. I demonstrate that whether or not a challenger populist party emerged on the right side of the political spectrum was a function of the party realignment process brought about by the ex-Communist left parties' economic policy choices.

Coding the Left Parties

In this dissertation, I coded the parties as reformed Communist successor parties if they followed the below criteria. First, I traced out the successors of the Communist parties following the transition. Typically, that implied identifying the descendants and splinter-groups from the round table negotiations. I also traced the parties where the ex-members of the Communist parties went. Second, I analyzed whether a given party attempted to reject its Communist ideology and platform and reinvent itself as a pro-democratic and a pro-market party.

Often the above change combined with a modification of the party's name from "Communist" into "Socialist", or a rejection of using the term "Worker" in the party name. For example, the reformist Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt, MSZP) emerged as a reform wing of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. In Poland, after the collapse of the Polish United Workers' Party, some of its former activists established the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland party, which later became part of the Democratic Left Alliance. In Slovakia, the successor of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS), which in 1991 changed its name to the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) as part of the effort to adopt a more reformist outlook (Tucker 2006).

By contrast, a party was coded as the radical or "Old Left" if it constituted the part of the unreformed Communist party that refused to break away with the Communist past and largely preserved its Marxist agenda. In my analysis, only one electorally successful party represents such a clear-cut case—the Czech Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, the successor to the Czechoslovak Communist Party in the Czech Republic. The Hungarian radical left party (which was also a splinter of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party), the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSzMP), failed to attract a substantial

number of supporters and does not represent a substantive political force in today's Hungary. Similarly, in Slovakia, some of the more hardline members refused to join the reformed SDL party and formed a new Communist Party of Slovakia. Another faction of the SDL split from this party in 1994 and established the Union of Workers of Slovakia (ZRS), which is headed by a known communist, Jan Luptak. None of these Slovak parties, however, achieved substantive electoral success in the consecutive years, so I have excluded them from my analysis.

Explaining Consistency of the Left Party Choices

While the ex-Communist left parties initially tended to preserve the allegiance of their constituencies (Tavits and Letki 2009), eventually the economic policy switch ended up damaging the left parties in the long-term. As I show in chapter 5 below, within one or two electoral rounds such parties tended to lose the election and face an emergence of a successful radical right competitor. The programmatic policy switch of the left parties and the resulting convergence of mainstream parties on economic policy increased the number of disaffected voters who served as "a natural reserve" for the extreme right parties (Mudde 1999) and fostered their spread across Central and Eastern Europe (Pop-Eleches 2010).

Ironically, the countries with less orthodox and more flexible Communist parties that were ready to implement this policy switch were more likely to witness such convergence. For example, in Hungary, MSZP partnered with liberal parties in implementing the austerity reforms (Bokros package), which increased the popular dissatisfaction with the open markets and strengthened positions of populist right parties that were able to politicize that resentment and convert it into substantial political support.

The "shifting constituency" and programmatic inconsistency of the left parties made them open to charges of opportunism and "fishtailing" (March and Mudde 2005), ultimately contributing to the growing disenchantment with the left amongst their traditional working-class constituencies. Eventually, the mainstream left lost their credibility as strong and stable governing parties. In those countries today, one can observe the growth of the radical and populist right parties, which capitalize on the popular resentment with the political mainstream and offer to compensate the market losers through protectionist economic programs. In Central and Eastern Europe, these processes were accelerated by weaker partisan identities in the region (Marinova 2015; Hanley and Sikk 2014; Pop-Eleches 2010; Powell and Tucker 2014; Sikk 2012). Weaker partisan identities allow voters to switch across different parties more easily.

Why did the left parties stick with a new position on the economic policy dimension instead of shifting back to their original protectionist economic policy position? This puzzle has two possible explanations. First, a party system change is a disruptive rather than an incremental process (Hooghe and Marks 2018: 18). Once a shift occurs and party realignment unravels, it becomes more difficult for parties to undo this process because the political opening (electoral constituencies) is no longer available to them since it is already occupied by the parties from the opposite side of the spectrum. Second, while the political parties are in constant motion and seek to adapt their positions to voters' preferences, their efforts are constrained by the policy-commitments of the self-selected activists and leaders, as well as the interests and values of their new social base (Hooghe and Marks 2018: 18). Hence, the ex-Communist left parties that lost their working-class bases as result of their economic policy choices but attracted the upper- and middle-class voters instead were limited in their ability to go back to their original policy platform out of fear to lose the newly found constituencies. One exception to this rule is Slovakia,

where the left Smer party, which defected from the ex-Communist reformist SDL, managed to undo the realignment process, adopt the redistributive agenda and successfully retain its core left electorate base (see chapter 5).

Alternative Explanations

In this dissertation, I argue that the electoral success of the radical right parties in the Central and Eastern European countries can be explained by the centrist economic policy shift of the Communist successor parties, which opened up the opportunity for the populist and radical right parties to appeal to the traditional left constituencies using the redistributionist economic platform.

Below I summarize some of the potential criticisms likely to be raised concerning my theory.

Party-Level Explanations

Supply side explanations for the radical right parties' success tend to focus on the political opportunity structure open to radical parties (Mudde 2007). While many party-level theories explain the success of the radical right parties as a function of the electoral system, the actions of the mainstream parties, other theories focus on the role of smaller ethnic and socially liberal parties on the left. In the below section I show what alterative party-level theories would lead us to expect.

A popular argument links *the proportionality of the electoral system* to the electoral fortunes of the radical right —proportionalsystems with lower thresholds may have a positive effect on the success of the radical right parties (Golder 2003; March and

Rommerskirchen 2015). In particular, an argument may be made that the disproportionality of the electoral system may provide an advantage to the radical right vote in countries like Hungary. Specifically, while more permissive electoral systems allow smaller parties to make it to the parliament, they may also split the protest vote. By contrast, the disproportional system may incentivize the voters to unite around one particular protest and/or radical party (Arzheimer and Carter 2006). The success of the Jobbik party in Hungary may be a result of this disproportionality.

In fact, scholars often disagree as to the results of disproportionality on third parties' vote. Some found that mixed electoral systems incentivize strategic voting and disadvantage "third parties" (Prinz 2013) rather than help them. Others (Norris 2005) found no effect of disproportionality at all. Overall, one can argue that the relationship can go either way.

The below figure provides a visual representation of the relationship between the electoral system disproportionality and the radical right parties' electoral fortunes in four selected countries (Figure 4). The Gallagher Index of electoral disproportionality compares the relationship between parties' votes to the legislative seats they are given, hence it is not constant over time within a given country. Higher numbers on the Gallagher Index suggest greater disparity between votes and seats, and higher electoral disproportionality. The Figure 4 below does not suggest existence of a substantive correlation between the electoral system disproportionality and the radical right parties' electoral fortunes in most of the countries of my interest. Only in case of Hungary there seems to be some positive association between the radical right fortunes and the electoral disproportionality starting 1998.
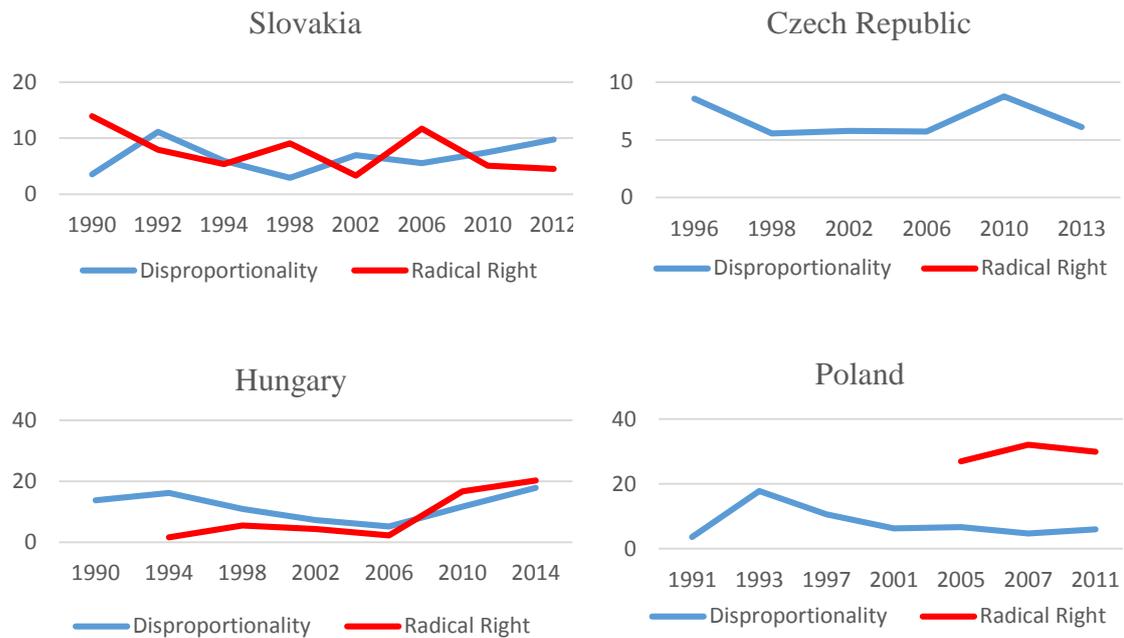
Figure 4. The Disproportionality of the Electoral System and the Electoral Fortunes of the Radical Right Parties.

Source: Christopher Gandrud, Disproportionality Data. Available at:

http://christophergandrud.github.io/Disproportionality_Data/

The electoral thresholds that appear important for the fortunes of the left in post-Communist region (Moraski and Loewenberg 1999) are the same in both Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland, while the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties vary in these countries quite dramatically. In general, with the exception of Bulgaria and Slovenia, where the electoral thresholds are set at 4%, most of the post-Communist countries set a 5% electoral threshold. Therefore, the electoral threshold does not appear to explain the variation in the electoral fortunes of the populist and radical right parties of the region.

Another popular stream of literature connects th*e convergence of the mainstream parties* to the support for the radical right parties. There is little doubt that silencing of certain salient issues by the mainstream parties is likely to create the political openings for the outsider parties to fill in. For example, Kitschelt (1995a), Kitschelt and McGann

(1997) argue that the convergence of the mainstream left and right parties creates an opening on the bottom of the left-right continuum for the radical right to be successful. This is particularly true if the radical right discovers a "winning formula" to attract the right-authoritarian support from the masses, which includes a market-liberal stance on the economy and particularistic stance on democracy, social lifestyle and cultural issues (Kitschelt 1995a: 25, 275). While Kitschelt's explanation worked well for the dynamics of the radical right electoral fortunes in the 1990s, it does less well in today's CEE context when many radical right parties tend to have a distinctively redistributionist policy preferences on the economic axis (Bustikova 2017). However, scholars disagree about specific measurements of the mainstream parties' convergence, and the particular types of convergence (specific policy issues) that are conducive to the success of the radical right parties.

Many studies show that the mainstream parties' ideological proximity (Carter 2005; Brug and Fennema 2003) can be conducive to the electoral success of the radical right parties. Kitschelt and McGann (1997) suggest that the small enough distance between moderate left and moderate right parties provides the political entrepreneurs with an opportunity to build a successful electoral coalition with a radical agenda. Carter (2005:7) argues that "the degree of the ideological convergence between the mainstream right and left parties may affect the right-wing extremist party vote." Nissan and Carter (2005) find that the most important factor that predicts success of the radical right is the ideological convergence between the mainstream left and right parties. This factor explains up to 50% of the variation in the radical right parties' electoral fortunes. Arzheimer and Carter (2006) discover that the support for the radical right almost doubles in presence of a grand coalition government prior to the elections. Lupu (2014, 2015) shows that party brands dilution (a consequence of the party coalitions) can lead to an

increased protest vote for the radical right parties. Meguid (2005) shows that controlling for the effects of the mainstream parties on the niche party's new issue dimension eliminates any impact of the usual institutional and sociological explanations on the green and radical right parties vote. In other words, the mainstream parties are shaping the electoral fortunes of the niche parties (Meguid 2008). Using this approach, an argument can be made that the failures of the radical right parties the Czech Republic have to do with the extreme pronouncements of the "mainstream" parties on ethnic politics that left no gap to be filled by the radical right parties. Czech mainstream parties often use quite aggressive anti-immigrant rhetoric[4], which might limit the political opportunities for the radical right. Yet the use of similarly charged rhetoric by Prime Minister Orban did not prevent the electoral gains of the radical right Jobbik in Hungary.

The "convergence" approach is subject to a measurement critique: since the radical right parties are usually defined as the ones with high salience along the cultural dimension, measuring the ideological convergence of the mainstream parties in cultural terms may be tautological. Hence, it is much easier to measure the convergence of the mainstream parties along the economic scale. Kitschelt (2007) specifically emphasizes the role of the convergence of the mainstream parties on economic issues for the fortunes of the radical right parties, stressing that economics normally matter the most in the minds of voters. "The greater they perceive the impact of differences between the competing parties' positions on economic policies and 30 incomes ("greed"), relative to the differences they anticipate to flow from the parties' rival conceptions of governance ("grid") or citizenship universalism ("group"), the greater will be the weight of economic considerations in their final vote choice." (Kitschelt 2007, 237) Hence, the economic

---

[4] For example, the Czech Social Democrat President Zeman argued that moderate Muslims could be radicalized by the extremists among them easier than Germans were by the Nazis in the 1930s
www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/milos-zeman-czech-leader-refugees

convergence of the mainstream parties may facilitate the emergence of the openings within the political space for the radical right to occupy (Kriesi 1998). Spies and Franzmann (2011) find some confirmation of the economic convergence theory, showing that the less distinct the mainstream parties are in their programs, the more political space they offer the radical right parties. Yet the theories that focus on convergence typically do not explain why the latter occurs and to what extent it may be beneficial for the mainstream parties to converge. My theoretical argument builds on the convergence theory by explaining how exactly it occurs and why it was specifically the left parties in the post-Communist region that abandoned their traditional policy positions. My approach also allows explaining the variation in the economic policy positions of the radical right parties across the region.

While most party-level theories tend to explain the radical right's electoral prospects as a function of mainstream party strategies, Bustikova (2014) pictures the temporal variation in the success of radical right parties as driven by the success of ethnic and socially liberal parties on the left. In this approach, the radical right becomes successful following the inclusion of ethno-liberal parties in governing coalitions, which polarizes party systems and increase issue salience (Bustikova 2014: 1743). Still, however, this approach does not explain the economic policy choices of the radical right parties. My theory allows filling in this gap.

Among the alternative party-level explanations, it is possible to make the case that my theory challenges the *Median voter theorem*, since the basic premise of my argument is that the left and the radical right parties tend to compete along the single (economic) dimension. The expectation of the Median voter theorem is that shifting to the center of the policy spectrum is the winning position for the party, since it allows it to receive a majority of votes (Downs 1957). This suggests that as major parties gravitate toward the

center in the general election, they get more votes located near the median voter. My argument challenges this theoretical assumption by stating that in the long run shifting to the center of the political spectrum ended up eroding some of the previous support bases of the Communist successor parties. However, Romer and Rosenthal (1978) provided a theoretical explanation for this puzzle by showing that agenda-setters could exploit the differences between the median voter's policy preferences and the actual status quo to offer a new policy that is located the closest possible to the agenda-setter's preferences. The further away the status quo is located from the median voter, the more a partisan agenda-setter can propose an alternative that deviates from the center while still receiving a majority of support. "The worse the status quo, the greater this threat and, consequently, the greater the gain to the setter from being able to propose the alternative." (Romer and Rosenthal 1978, 35-36) This argument seems to explain the drift to the populist right that is observed in the analyzed political systems and combine the median voter theorem with my theoretical predictions.

Country-Level Explanations

A number of theories also focus on the level factors in a specific country that may explain the variation in the electoral fortunes between the radical right parties in Hungary and the Czech Republic.

One popular explanation focuses on *Communist legacies* as predictors of the success of the radical right parties in Eastern Europe. For example, Bustikova and Kitschelt (2009) distinguish between post–Communist countries with a legacy of national accommodative communism (Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Estonia), which have cushioned those who are "losers" of reforms through their relatively generous welfare

states, and countries with a legacy of bureaucratic-authoritarian (Czech Republic and Germany) or patrimonial communism with post-communist partisan polarization (Bulgaria, Romania, Russia and Serbia) with high levels of inequality resulting from a rapid dismantling of the welfare state. The authors argue that while in the former case, the potential for the radical right parties remained quite limited, the latter type of countries provided a fertile ground for blossoming of the radical right parties that capitalized on the economic resentment stemming from the retrenchment of the welfare state. The emergence of a successful and strong radical right in Hungary, a country with accommodative communism, however, questions the implications of this approach.

Another important argument that is raised in this regard is *the legacy of the fascist movements of the interwar period* that might be driving the contemporary success of the populist and radical right parties in Hungary. Unlike other countries in the region, Hungary has a history of fascist movements that largely stemmed from its defeat in the First World War and its frustration with the results of the Trianon Treaty, which cost the country large shares of its territory. This fascist movement, known as the Arrow Cross Party, ruled Hungary for a short period of time during the Second World War, allied Hungary with Nazi Germany and led to many civilians' deaths. In post-Communist Hungary, the right parties in general and Jobbik in particular have capitalized on the memories and symbols of the interwar period. Jobbik's predecessor, a radical right MIÉP party, for example, used some ideas and symbols from the Nazi ideology (Minkenberg 2017: 78). Jobbik went even further by directly using some of the ideas of the Hungarian Arrow Cross Party. For example, the Hungarian Guard, a movement launched by Jobbik, wore uniforms and a flag modeled after the symbols of the Arrow Cross (Bayer, 2009: 295; Minkenberg, 2017a: 78). In their rhetoric, Jobbik leaders often resorted to Holocaust denial and anti-Semitic comments (Goldfarb 2014). This legacy suggests that the

Hungarian people may indeed be voting for the radical right parties for reasons that differ from the choices of the electorate in other Visegrád countries, like the Czechs Republic, and be more innately susceptible to extreme nationalism.

While I do acknowledge this critique, an emphasis on the fascist legacies in Hungary and their relationship to the radical right cannot persuasively explain the *timing* of the emergence of these parties. While extreme nationalist ideas do proliferate in Hungary, the examination of their historical legacy does not explain why the Hungarians did not immediately embrace the radical right parties during the transition period. By contrast, my theory explains the timeline of the emergence of the radical right and the importance of left parties' choices for its electoral success. The preexisting tendency of the Hungarians to support the radical right parties had to be activated, and I explain how that process occurred in the contemporary Hungarian politics.

Moreover, the legacy argument fails to account for the substantial *variation* in the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties in Central and Eastern European countries. While contemporary radical right parties exploit the legacy of the fascist regimes (Bustikova 2017), the existence of the legacy per se does not explain the radical right parties' success. For example, during the interwar period, several Central and Eastern European regimes were described as fascist or strongly related to fascism: the Iron Guard movement in Romania (1940–1941), the Ustaše in Croatia (1941–1945), the Hlinka Guard in Slovakia (1939-1945), and the Arrow Cross Party in Hungary (1944–1945) (Bustikova 2017; Silva 2013). Given this legacy, one would expect radical right parties to attract substantive support at least in Croatia, Hungary and Slovakia. Yet the only case of a radical right party able to mobilize over 10 percent of votes in three consecutive elections is the Hungarian Jobbik in 2010, 2014 and 2018. Moreover, the average life span of a radical right party in 1990-2014 (measured as over 1 percent of the vote in at

least two national elections) is just ten years (Minkenberg 2017b). Ultimately, until recently the only party in the region to consistently gain over 3 percent in all national elections in 1990-2016 was the Slovak SNS. In Croatia, parties like the Croatian Party of Rights, which attempted to associate themselves with Ustaše, attracted support of a small percentage of the population (in coalition with other parties it received 6.4 and 3.5 percent of votes in 2003 and 2007 parliamentary election respectively, and failed to make it to the Croatian parliament in the subsequent elections). Hence, the legacy argument fails to explain the timing and the electoral success of the radical right parties.

A popular explanation for the Jobbik party's success in Hungary has to do with Jobbik's ability to successfully mobilize *the anti–Roma agenda*. Bustikova (2017: 1) suggests that in more ethnically homogeneous countries, such as Hungary, the ethnic cleavage is less pronounced and the radical right politics are focused on mobilization against Roma. In a similar vein, Karacsony and Róna (2011), and Nagy and Róna (2013) argue that the anti-establishment attitude, nationalism and anti-Roma sentiments are the main explanatory factors behind the Jobbik vote in Hungary. The problem with this argument is that Hungary's Roma population and anti-Roma attitude is not very different from those of other countries, like the Czech Republic, where the radical right parties emerged much later and were less influential. Although the Roma population in Poland is relatively small (30,000), in the other Visegrad countries—the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia— it represents about 2%, 7.5%, and 9%, respectively.[5] By contrast, when it comes to the levels of the anti-Roma sentiment, it tends to be higher in the Czech Republic

---

[5] Estimates on Roma population in European countries. Support Team of the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe for Roma Issues. // Capabilities of The Visegrád Group in Preventing Extremism - isp.policja.pl/download/12/29789/ReportV4TaskForce.pdf

than in Hungary (see Table 2).[67] In other words, if the anti-Roma attitudes were the main driver behind the radical right vote, one should have seen an even more successful radical right party in the Czech Republic than in Hungary. However, that is not the case.

	1999	2008
Czech Republic	45.5	78.5
Hungary	42.5	44.6
Poland	39.2	28.4

Table 2. Scale of Anti-Gypsy Hostility in Selected European Countries, 1999–2008.

Source: World Value Survey 1999, Eurobarometer 2008 (Vitale and Claps, 2010)

According to the Table 2, the levels of the anti-Roma sentiment vary dramatically both over time and across different countries, such as the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. According to the World Value Survey data presented above, the Czech Republic manifested the highest levels of the anti-Roma sentiment back in 2008, when the Czech radical right parties have been quite weak. By contrast, both Poland and Hungary have much lower levels of the anti-Roma sentiment, which hence cannot alone explain the relative success of their populist and radical right parties.

---

[6] www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/discriminazione/intercultura/luoghi-comuni/allegato%204%20Stewart_capitolo-Vitale.pdf

[7] Another popular explanation is the fact that the Czech parties have the Roma issue on their agenda while Hungarian parties ignored the issue until Jobbik's successful rise in 2009. However, starting around 2014 Jobbik dropped referencing the Roma issues, hile largely kept its voting shares.

Conclusion

Overall, in the above chapter I have provided a review of the existing scholarship on the left parties' choices and definitions and explanations of the success of the radical right parties. Specifically, I have provided the definitions of the radical right and populist parties and described the differences and similarities among the different approaches. I also provided the explanations for the coding of the left parties used in my dissertation.

Ultimately, I have reviewed the alternative explanations for the success of the radical right parties. As I have shown above, none of the existing explanations can satisfactorily explain the electoral success of the radical right parties and the timing of their emergence. Specifically, I have demonstrated that a number of alternative explanations do not provide a satisfactory account for the electoral success of the radical right parties, including the theories that explain the success of the radical right parties by the features of countries' electoral systems, the existence of a Communist or fascist legacy, and the share of the Roma population or the scale of the anti-Roma attitudes in a given country. By contrast, I have demonstrated that my argument builds on the convergence theory by explaining how exactly the policy convergence occurs and why specifically in the post-Communist region the ex-Communist left parties were the ones to move away from their traditional policy positions and launch the party realignment process.

In the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, I demonstrate how my argument is able to account for the timing and the electoral success of the radical right parties in four selected countries of the Central and Eastern European region – the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. I build on the existing literature on the topic and engage the existing explanations to demonstrate that the left parties' policy switch allows to satisfactorily explain the success of the radical right parties. In the below chapter I

overview the main methodological approaches and hypotheses used to develop my theoretical argument.

Chapter 3. Multiple Methods

Rather than using a "silver bullet" test on which the main argument rises or falls in this dissertation, I use differing forms of analysis and many different forms of evidence to support my theoretical arguments. This chapter outlines the key methods and the reasoning behind each particular strategy chosen to address the research questions investigated in the dissertation. This approach avoids the risks of making an incorrect conclusion due to the weaknesses of the chosen single approach. By contrast, there are several advantages to using mixed methods; this approach allows us to control for the weaknesses of separate approaches by mixing both quantitative and qualitative data and research, to increase the breadth and depth of understanding of the phenomenon in question and to approach the phenomenon from different perspectives using different techniques.

In this chapter, I review the different methods used in the dissertation, including the cross-country (regression and case study analysis), the constituency-level and the individual level (experimental survey) approaches. The key approach that allows me to test for the direction of the causality is the experimental survey method that I introduce in the chapter 7 of my dissertation. The experimental surveys allow me to establish the direction of the causal link in the most rigorous fashion by directly manipulating the subjects' values on the independent variable and then measuring the subsequent changes in the dependent variable's values. However, one of the weaknesses of the experimental methods is the external validity of the findings, that is the generalizability of the results significant within a given sample group to the population at large. In order to address this potential criticism, in the chapters that describe the cross-country and constituency-level approaches I analyze the same causal relationship through a set of different methods and using larger datasets.

The below table briefly outlines the different methods, approaches and hypotheses used in this dissertation. In the subsequent subchapters I discuss each of the chosen approaches in greater details and explain their relative weaknesses and strengths.

Level of Analysis	Method	Hypotheses
Cross-Country	Regression analysis, Probit model	- *Hypothesis I:* There is an exodus of the working-class respondents from the center left parties towards the radical right parties over time. - *Hypothesis II:* The chosen positions of the center left parties on the economic policies play a significant role in this trend: the more pro-market the left party is, the more likely it is that the working-class respondents will switch to support the radical right parties.
	Case Studies (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia)	- *Hypothesis I:* In the countries where the ex-Communist left parties implemented the austerity reforms and shifted to the economic policy center, the working-class constituencies are more likely to support the right parties and the radical right parties are more electorally successful. - *Hypothesis II:* In the countries where the left parties preserved their pro-labor stance, the alignments of the political groups remained closer to the traditional lines; the working-class constituencies were more likely to support the left parties and the radical right parties are weaker.
	Hungary	- *Hypothesis I:* In Hungary, after 1994 (period of the austerity reforms implementation) the working-class status has been decreasingly associated to the support for the center-left MSZP.

		- *Hypothesis II:* In Hungary, the working-class status over the years has been increasingly associated to the support for the populist and radical right parties.
Constituency-Level	Probit model	- *Hypothesis I*: The constituencies that supported MSZP in the 2006 election were more likely to embrace the radical right Jobbik in the 2010 election in Hungary.
Individual-Level	Experimental Survey	- *Hypothesis I:* the pro-market economic policy stance of MSZP fuels the support for the radical right Jobbik party. - *Hypothesis II:* the pro-market economic policy stance of MSZP fuels the support for the radical right Jobbik party among the economically disaffected groups, specifically blue-collar workers.

Table 3. Main Hypotheses and Methods Used to Address Them

Cross-Country

First, I work with cross-country evidence using both quantitative and qualitative (case-studies) evidence to check whether the exodus of the working-class voters in fact characterizess the countries of the region following the adoption of a more pro-market stance by the ex-Communist left parties in the countries of the region.

To explore my theoretical argument using the cross-country data available from the European Social Survey, I first test whether or not the blue-collar support for the radical right parties is a trend that takes place in the countries in the region over the years. Second, I test whether this trend is correlated with the ex-Communist left parties' pro-market economic policy positions. I use the available survey data on Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia to address this question. The quantitative cross-country analysis makes it possible to test for larger trends across a set of different countries, and therefore extends the theoretical argument's external validity.

One of the key strengths of the cross-country approach is that it makes it possible to establish important sources of variation of the phenomenon on question. Typically, cross-country comparative studies are implemented to compare a selected number of countries using same concept with the purpose of generalizing or gaining a better understanding of the analyzed phenomenon (Hantrais and Mangen 1998) while controlling for the countries' different sociocultural setting. Hantrais and Mangen (1998) argue that cross-country analysis can lead to a deeper understanding of the most critical issues that are of central concern in different countries and help sharpen the focus of analysis by offering new perspectives. Specifically, in this dissertation, the application of the cross-country approach allows me to test my theory on a different set of cases, and hence to extend its external validity.

In addition, comparative analysis can provide new insights into the impact of wider socio-political context upon phenomenon of interest, such as the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties. Comparative cross-country analyses offer the possibility of highlighting the competing priorities operating in different contexts; making visible the assumptions that are taken for granted; and exposing the arbitrariness of specific concepts and categorizations (Salway et al. 2011). By introducing several control variables into my cross-country regression, I test the assumptions that the positions of the center-left parties on economic issues contribute to the overtime switch of the blue-collar constituencies to support the radical right parties.

Using the European Social Survey data over the period of 2004–2016, I show that the exodus of voters from the left parties to the right characterized the selected sample of Central European countries over the analyzed time period, and that the chosen positions of the ex-Communist left parties on the economic scale played a role in this process. However, quantitative cross-country analysis has two important limitations. First, cross-country analysis involves a high degree of variation in the data that is hard to control for. Second, the cross-country analysis creates a difficulty in maintaining a high level of matching (in terms of timing and outcome variables) among the analyzed countries and nonequivalence of the key concepts in a cross-country comparison.

There are a number of further pitfalls for using this approach. One particular limitation is that it is difficult to ensure the rigorousness of the research, given the variability of the cross-country data and the high degree of discretion a researcher is allowed in (cherry-) picking the suitable explanations. Another problem is the nonequivalence of the key concepts in a cross-country comparison and the use of divergent data sources (Mangen 1999; Gharawi, Pardo, Guerrero 2009). In my case, this limitation, for example, applies to defining as radical right different parties in different

countries; scholars disagree whether to categorize a given country as radical right or not depending on context. To overcome this problem, I used my own definition of the radical right the parties (see chapter 2, "Defining the Radical Right") and categorized as radical right only the parties commonly labelled as such in the literature and reputable datasets.

Another limitation for cross-country studies is the difficulty in maintaining a high level of matching among the analyzed countries (Milliman and Glinow 1998). Although I attempted to eliminate the sources of external variation by focusing only on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe that had strong similarities in their geography, their Communist experiences and the timing of market transitions (instrumental for my theory), there is still substantive variation in these countries' culture and history that can impact the results. There is a similar concern regarding the timing of data collection, which may affect the comparability of the data analyzed. This issue becomes more important as the time gap increases. For example, since different radical right parties emerged in different countries in differing periods and contexts, the discrepancies may have more to do with unrelated divergent explanatory factors than my theory (Milliman and Glinow 1998). I attempt to handle this issue by limiting the time discrepancy across my country cases so that the data and the events analyzed are within 10–15 years of observation. Moreover, I specifically address the different timing of the emergence of the radical parties in my sample by explaining how my explanatory factors (the timing of formation of socioeconomic cleavages in a particular country, and the shift of the ex-Communist left parties to the center of the economic axis) play a decisive role in this time discrepancy.

Case-Studies

While cross-country studies allow scholars to track the emergence of trends across a selected dataset and confirm the external validity of the theoretical argument, they often fail to eliminate substantive variation present at a high level of aggregation. For example, the cross-country comparative analysis fails to account for all of the variation over time within countries. In addition, cross-country analysis is less conducive to process tracing and discovering causal mechanisms. While observational studies allow me to draw conclusions about what happened, they are less instrumental at suggesting how it happened. Therefore, it is generally recommended to complement the quantitative cross-country analysis with a case study approach. The multiple case study approach enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context and partly account for the variation unique to a particular country case.

The large-N analysis also provides for a far less nuanced description of these causal mechanisms than a case study may provide (Johns 2013). For example, while I am able to establish the relationship between center left parties adopting more pro-market policies and the increase in support for the radical right parties among the blue-collar constituencies in my cross-country analysis section, I am unable to persuasively trace the causal links that connect the adoption of those policies by the center left and the subsequent success of the radical right. By contrast, in my case study section, I show how the party realignment process created an opportunity for the radical right parties to appeal to those groups using redistributionist economic platforms.

The case-study research method consists of selecting a small geographical area as the subject of study and tracing the key elements of the theoretical argument in depth. Yin (1984: 23) defines the case study analysis "as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between

phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used." These are analyzed using qualitative material from multiple secondary sources.

The advantage of country case studies is that they provide contextual description, allow for the generation of hypotheses, and can confirm and inform theories (Landman 2008). The case study method provides a deep, intensive study of a given country unit using limited resources. In addition, this approach gives a researcher a lot of flexibility while using process-tracing to uncover evidence of causal mechanisms or to explain outcomes (George and Bennett 2005).

Specifically, in my case-study subsection, I look at four Visegrád countries—the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia—that are more similar in terms of their historical experience than other Central and Eastern European countries (see the introduction for explanations of my regional focus). I run a qualitative case-study analysis on secondary data by looking at the timing of the emergence of the socio-economic cleavage, the policy choices made by the ex-Communist left parties, the party realignment process that followed those choices and the subsequent emergence of the populist and radical right parties in these countries. I show that in the countries where the ex-Communist left parties implemented the market reforms, the blue-collar constituencies tended to switch to the right side of the political spectrum and eventually embrace the radical right parties. I use quantitative evidence to back these findings by using the available individual survey data from the Comparative Study of the Electoral System and Median Opinion Ltd. and comparing the differences in support of blue- and white-collar respondents for the ex-Communist left and populist and radical right parties. I show that over time the blue-collar constituencies tended to switch from supporting the ex-Communist left to embracing the radical right parties.

However, the case-study analysis also includes important limitations extensively recorded in the social science literature. First, the amount of the available data for each case make it difficult to almost impossible to represent the analysis and generalize it in a simple way (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001). Landman (2008) points out that "inferences made from single-country studies are necessarily less secure than those made from the comparison of several or many countries." Unlike with large cross-country regression analysis, generalizations about other units are difficult to make from a single or several country case studies. Hence, the case study approach is often considered intensive rather than extensive since it tends to offer sophisticated in-depth analysis of a single country at the expense of breadth analysis (Johns 2013).

Second, choosing the case study approach instead of a large-N study increases the danger of scholars' discretion. The latter can be conducive to the "selection bias" that occurs when a unit is chosen on its "intrinsic historical importance" or "on the accessibility of evidence" (George and Bennett 2005). This is further complicated by the fact that case study method makes it difficult for researchers to cross check the information (Bell 2005:11). Altogether, these problems may make the objectivity of the case study results questionable. One way to tackle this problem in case studies for researchers is to be explicit about the methodological choices they make (Meyer 2001).

Finally, case studies tend to be more exploratory than confirmatory in their nature, attempting to gain new insights into a topic or unit from which new hypotheses might be developed. The descriptive nature of case studies limits their capacity to establish causation.

To account for the subjectivity in discretion involved in the case-study analysis and possible challenges with establishing causality, I complement the case-study approach with the alternative approaches described below.

Constituency-Level

In Chapter 6, I use the constituency-level data to track how the constituencies for the ex-Communist left in Hungary switched to embrace the radical right Jobbik party between the 2006 and 2010 national parliamentary elections following the implementation of austerity reforms by the ex-Communist left. The constituency-level analysis allows me to trace the shift in electoral support from the ex-Communist left MSZP to the radical right Jobbik party over time. In line with my theoretical expectations, I show that at least part of the electoral success of Jobbik in the 2010 election came from the constituencies that supported MSZP in 2006.

Such a method of analysis has several advantages over the individual-level data. First, it allows me to empirically test the robustness of my argument on yet another type of data. Second, the constituency-level data allows me to check whether the individual-level party support translated into its electoral gains. Third, this approach allows me to track the shifts in party support over time, which I otherwise cannot test on the available data in Hungary due to the absence of the individual-level panel data and the respondents' tendency to misrepresent their previous voting choices in regular surveys.

In addition, the constituency-level approach has a great advantage over country-level regression analysis since it allows me to hold many other potentially causal variables constant by focusing on within-country variation (Culpepper 2005).

In my constituency-level chapter, I use the data from Psephos, Adam Carr's Election Archive, to look at the changes in constituency-level party support in Hungary's 2006 and 2010 national parliamentary election. I find a consistent positive association between the vote for MSZP in 2006 and the 2010 vote for Jobbik on constituency level.

However, it is important to point out that this approach has a number of important limitations as well. First, constituency-level analysis involves the problem of the

ecological fallacy. Attempting to extend the inferences about the nature of individuals from the inferences about the group to which those individuals belong (in this case—constituency) may be problematic (Landman 2000: 49) since there is a possibility that the analysis carried out at one level can overestimate the relationship at another level (Robinson 1950: 353). To address this weakness of the constituency-level analysis, one could complement it with individual-level analysis.

Second, while studies show that researchers can reap large marginal gains in the quality of their sub-national opinion estimates through inclusion of relevant area-level predictors (Buttice and Highton 2013; Warshaw and Rodden 2012), the constituency-level is typically has limited data availability (usually there is much more data available on the national level). Because it is not possible to include all of the relevant data in the analysis, this limited data availability at the constituent-level imposes substantial limitations on the interpretations of results of the constituency-level analysis. If some important controls are missing, an omitted variable bias may emerge causing scholars to attribute the effects of the missing variable to the estimated effects of the included variables. In the latter case, experimental analysis can help address the omitted variable bias by controlling for alternative sources of variation in data (Mutz 2011:9).

Acknowledging the limitations of this approach, I complement the constituency-level analysis with the individual-level experimental survey analysis presented in chapter 7.

Experimental Survey

The above findings generally confirm my theoretical expectations, but they do not allow me to persuasively address the causality issue in a methodologically rigorous

fashion. While the results of the previous analysis go in line with the theoretical prediction of my dissertation, the above methods make it difficult to establish causality since it is hard to isolate the effect of the studied cause on observational data. The omitted variable bias threatens most causal arguments in observational research.

In addition, while I have argued that the socioeconomic issues played an important role in the respondents turning away from the center-left parties to embrace the radical right in the Hungarian context, I have yet to demonstrate that quantitatively. For example, will survey participants be more likely to support the radical right Jobbik party when presented the information about the pro-market MSZP policy stance than when shown information on redistributionist MSZP policy positions? How does Jobbik's own policy platform condition these effects?

Survey experiments provide several advantages for examining my hypotheses and addressing the above research questions. First, the experimental approach allows me to design and control the information that individuals are exposed to by manipulating the treatment of the information provided to respondents (and keeping all many important sources of variation constant) with the aim of exploring the hypothesized causal mechanisms. The random assignment of treatment in experiments allows establishing the association of interest on two comparison groups. Then, the value difference of the independent variable between these two groups allows me to conclude whether the association, in fact, exists between the independent and dependent variables. By conducting two experiments with different groups of subjects, I am able to estimate the effects of the changes in the positions of the left party on economic policy on support for the radical right party.

Second, the random assignment of information to respondents in experiments enables me to make causal predictions. This approach also partly alleviates the problem

of third variables and spurious relationships that often remain unaddressed in observational studies. As discussed above, most of the previous work on the link between the mainstream parties' policy positions and support for the radical right parties has relied on cross-sectional data, which makes establishing causality very difficult. Since parties tend to adjust their political strategies relative to each other, radical right parties also influence the policy positions of mainstream parties (Han 2014). This makes establishing causality on observational data quite difficult. In addition, the time-lags that exist between changes in party policy positions, people's perceptions of those changes and the measurements of those perceptions further complicates the possibility to address questions of interest to this dissertation on observational studies.

Finally, unlike laboratory experiments survey experiments use larger datasets and representative sample of the population. Hence, survey experiments allow scholars to draw more accurate inferences about respondents' opinions (Siedler and Sonnenberg 2010).

In March 2018 (just before Hungary's April 2018 parliamentary election) I ran an experimental survey in Hungary. The results of my experimental survey analysis confirmed the original expectations —I found a strong and significant increase in support for Jobbik on both the general samples and different specifications of blue-collar subsamples following the treatment exposure (the pro-market as opposed to the redistributionist economic policy position of the ex-Communist left party), but only when the radical right Jobbik party adopted a protectionist (rather than anti-immigration) policy platform.

However, the experimental survey methodology is not immune to potential criticism as well. The first potential concern is the external validity or generalizability of the results obtained through such an approach. One of the criticisms leveled against

experimental research is that its external validity is low. My experimental survey design allows to address concerns regarding external validity. First, I used the representative sample taken from a cross-section of Hungarian society. Second, the treatments in my experimental survey have been designed to reflect the realities of Hungary's political context. I had four Hungarian native speakers discuss the specific formulations of the treatments in order to mirror realities of the political environment in Hungary. Finally, to ensure the external validity of my findings, in this dissertation I complemented the experimental surveys with the evidence received through different methods and on other levels of analysis.

The second possible problem with experimental surveys has to do with non-robustness of the findings to the alternative specification of the treatment. Specifically, in my analysis a slight change in the wording of party platforms may substantively modify the results of the analysis.

The third concern regarding experimental studies conducted in their natural environment is that it may be difficult to control all extraneous variables. With regards to my analysis, this issue has to do with the fluctuations of party perceptions that occur over time and which may substantively shift respondents' responses to the information about these parties. For example, Jobbik's self-rebranding as a more centrist party (as opposed to its previous more radical stance) (Byrne 2017) may have made this party a more acceptable voting option for some of the respondents and hence may have me overestimating the effects of the treatment.

Overall, while the experimental research remains a powerful tool for determining or verifying causation, it has important limitations and it is best to synthesize its usage with alternate methods. Hence, by combining my experimental survey approach with the

alternative methods—such as cross-country or case study analysis—I am able to address the potential concerns about the external validity of my theory.

Conclusion

The above chapter reviews different methods used in this dissertation to address the theoretical argument made above. Rather than using one silver bullet test, I introduce a number of alternative approaches (cross-country regression, case study, and experimental survey analysis) to challenge my argument on different levels of the analysis and through qualitative and quantitative evidence.

The mixed methods approach has a number of advantages over using separate methods of analysis. First, such an approach allows analyzing a more comprehensive type of data, combining quantitative and qualitative evidence to evaluate the argument. Second, combining different methods allows to overcome individual weaknesses of one particular approach and enhance the results' generalizability. For example, I use the experimental survey methods to establish the direction of the causality, while complement them with cross-country regression analysis to address the concerns with the external validity of the experimental findings. Ultimately, the results obtained from different methods help validate each other, and therefore increase the breadth and depth of understanding of the phenomenon in question, while also providing for stronger evidence in support for the theoretical argument.

In the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, I proceed to demonstrate the results of the analysis. As the evidence suggests, I find the confirmation of my theoretical argument on different levels and by using different types of data.

Chapter 4. Hungary's Left and Radical Right Parties

The key focus of my dissertation is Hungary, a country with one of the most established and electorally successful radical right parties in Central and Eastern Europe—Jobbik, the Movement for a Better Hungary. Hungary is the only country in the region where a radical right party Jobbik was able to mobilize more than 10 percent of voters in three consecutive elections in 2010, 2014 and 2018 (Minkenberg 2017b).

In this chapter, I trace the trajectory of the Hungarian parties in the aftermath of the post-Communist transition. Specifically, I focus on the political choices faced by the ex-Communist Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) and the reasons why the party eventually chose to implement the pro-market reforms and an austerity package. I then proceed to explain how its political strategies determined the success of the populist (Fidesz) and radical right (Jobbik) parties in the Hungarian political context. I complement this analysis with the individual-level data analysis on Medián Opinion and Market Research Ltd dataset to show that the blue-collar Hungarian constituencies have been switching from supporting the ex-Communist left party to embracing the populist and radical right over the span of 1994–2014.

To extend the external validity of my theory, I complement this chapter with a quantitative cross-country analysis and an analysis of three other post-Communist cases—the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia (see Chapter 5).

Historical Legacy and Transition Period

Following the collapse of the Communist system, the ex-Communist parties had two strategies to choose from. The first, and overwhelmingly more popular strategy

among the ex-Communist parties was to embrace the market reforms and austerity, and shift to the center of the ideological spectrum, particularly in the economic policy scale (as did the ex-Communist parties in Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria or Slovakia) (Grzymala-Busse, 2002). Hungary's left is a canonical example of the aforementioned programmatic shifts of the left parties.

The economic left-right divide started shifting in Hungary prior to the transition and largely had to do with the reformed nature of Hungary's Communist party. The 1956 Hungarian Revolution launched a new period of reforms in the country. Those reforms were led by Janos Kadar, the General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt, MSzMP). In 1966, the Party's Central Committee approved the "New Economic Mechanism" (NEM) aimed at boosting Hungary's economy, increasing productivity and creating prosperity to ensure political stability in the country. Kadar increased consumer expenditures and reintroduced some market mechanisms into the Hungarian market and pursued a foreign policy that encouraged more trade with western countries. Although the reforms proved quite successful and transformed the country into "the happiest barrack of the Communist camp", they also dramatically raised Hungary's public debt— which later ended up delaying the country's economic reform during the transition years (Csizmadia 2008).

As a direct consequence of the NEM reforms, by the end of the 1970s, Hungary was one of the countries with the highest per capita debt in the world. The situation kept worsening so that by the 1980s the country had serious insolvency issues and was on the border of a financial and economic collapse (Csizmadia 2008: 11). Given the deplorable state of most other countries of the Communist system at the time, Hungarian government had to look for the funding elsewhere and launched discussions about joining the IMF and the World Bank, where Hungary applied in 1981. Having been granted the IMF

membership, Hungarian government restarted the reforms and adjusted the economic policy. However, a new approach led to a large-scale increase in prices and currency devaluations that negatively affected the Hungarian population (Bogel, Edwards, Wax 1997: 11).[8] In this sense, in the eyes of Hungarians, the Communist party was associated with a more pro-market economic policy prior to the start of the transition. In late 1980s, the right parties used this as an opportunity to challenge the ex-Communist left from an opposite side of the economic policy spectrum—by using a more redistributionist, populist agenda.

Eventually, the limitations of reforms in a non-free economy and a worsening economic situation launched the democratization process in Hungary. In mid-1980s, a series of round-table discussions was held, where the reformist wing of the ruling Communist Party and Hungary's dissidents were able to agree on a new constitution. The first limited multiparty elections took place in 1985.

Following the transition, Hungary's Socialist Party (MSZP, Magyar Szocialista Párt) became a reform wing of the ruling socialist Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which chose to split from the old Communist party and move to the ideological center. In the early years, the party represented a cross-class coalition of former nomenclature elites and blue- and white-collar workers (Evans and Whitefield 1995: 1191).

Since 1990, the Hungarian general elections were held in a mixed, dual-ballot system, which created incentives for strategic voting and a moderate amount of desertion from the "third parties" (Prinz 2013). Hence, the newly created electoral system favored nation-wide parties and incentivized formation of a two-party system. Small or regional parties on the left side of the spectrum had difficulty gaining electoral support, and the New Left and the Hungarian Workers' Party (MSzMP, a small Communist faction that

---

[8] The Polish story is somewhat similar in this regard.

opposed the reformist orientation of the MSZP and broke away from it) were unable to mobilize enough support and get past the 5% electoral threshold. Instead, the reformed ex-Communist MSZP has taken the lead in the representation of the Hungarian "left" (Palonen 2009: 14).

These developments explain why the alignment along the economic policy axis has been shifting in Hungary since the early years of transition. While the ex-Communist left tended to embrace the neoliberal reform agenda, the right-wing parties were quite non-rightist in their economic policies. The first post-Communist government in Hungary after the 1990 election—which included three right wing parties: the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), the Independent Party of Smallholders (FKgP) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP)—was reluctant to undertake difficult economic reforms despite the country's dire economic conditions. The right-wing parties came to power by criticizing the economic reforms implemented by the Socialists (Racz 2000) and employed the populist rhetoric that promised to protect the common people from the "antisocial reforms" pursued by the MSZP (Morlang 2003). While in power, instead of implementing the reforms, the right government attempted "to calm public dissatisfaction by increasing government spending" (Morlang 2003: 70). This approach served as the best survival strategy for the newly emerged, fragmented and poorly politically organized rightist parties (Bakke and Sitter 2005; Fowler 2004).

First Wave of Realignment

Starting in 1989, the MSZP rejected the old Communist Party image and adopted a pro-European program, which combined a universalist welfare state and acceptance of the market economy (Toth 2015). This strategy, which echoed the approach chosen by many western European left parties (Berman 2016b), aimed to preserve the party's nature as an organization of left-leaning reformist technocrats from the middle ranks of the former regime (Toth 2015). Embracing the market and pursuing reforms seemed to provide the MSZP with the only viable long-term strategy for party development (Grzymala-Busse 2002; Morlang 2003). Additionally, the reformed wing of the Communist party already had the legacy of reform implementation and established relations with the international economic institutions.

The market economic orientation was later reinforced when MSZP entered a coalition with the liberal and reformist Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) party in 1994–1998 and again in 2002–2008. The coalition with the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) and the MSZP self-portrayal as the original initiator of liberal economic reforms in 1989 further reinforced the party's liberal free market-oriented image (Tavits and Letki 2009: 559). MSZP also strongly emphasized European integration, democracy, political correctness, human rights and multiculturalism.

Initially, the rebranding strategy worked very well. In the 1994 parliamentary election, MSZP won an absolute majority and entered into a coalition with the liberal SZDSZ. This coalition launched far-reaching economic reforms that were needed in light of Hungary's dire economic conditions, and that attempted to avert the danger of a financial crisis and national bankruptcy due to the country's extensive debt. The rightwing Magyar Democrat Forum's government that was in power in 1990–1994 before MSZP failed to implement those reforms (Racz 2000).

While the MSZP government accelerated the privatization of Hungarian state-owned companies, the key element of the reform was the so-called Bokros Package. Announced in 1995, the Borkos package included a series of austerity measures, such as the gradual devaluation of the forint and the reduction of social benefits and real wages. Extensive austerity program pursued by the MSZP government under Bokros and Horn aimed to receive a special "stand-by" three-year loan from the IMF as a reward for its efforts at budget cuts, social state reduction and inflation control (Ziblatt 1998). However, while the IMF commended the MSZP austerity efforts it demanded further cuts in social security and accelerated privatization (Szilagyi 1995: 64). This pushed Bokros and Horn into announcing an even deeper budget deficit reduction in January 1996, finally winning the IMF loan in February 1996. Designed to avoid national bankruptcy, the Bokros package devalued the forint to counterbalance the deficit while also limiting social benefits and reducing real wages. In other words, the Bokros package combined the short-term stabilization measures with economic and social restructuring. Such policies brought on strong criticism from right wing and labor union forces that argued for more gradual stabilizing policies (Köves 1995, Boros-Kazai 2005). At the forefront of the opposition was right-wing Fidesz party that deemed the package catastrophic.

While the Bokros package proved to stabilize economic growth by 1997, it also reinforced the cleavage along the socioeconomic policy by introducing a visible economic divide between the right and left. The latter now has been economically defined based on its more pro-market, conservative austerity measures, and taking advice from international institutions (aka the IMF or EU for structural assistance). The former has embraced more paternalistic and pro-redistribution socialist policies, focusing on the internal growth of smaller scale private ownership and the social mechanisms of redistribution and welfare (Fowler 2004). While the populist side of such initiatives

became more pronounced further down the road with Fidesz criticizing the IMF and EU policies as encroaching on the freedoms of the Hungarian people (Saltman 2014: 33), the key dividing lines were created back in 1995.

Although Hungary's economic situation improved after the Bokros package, the population was reluctant to accept the huge costs of transformation. The stabilization policies were followed by a sharp increase in social dissatisfaction and a loss of social support for the ruling coalition. The reform resulted in a sharp decline in the living standards of the majority of Hungarians (Greskovits 2000). The major cuts in public spending (unemployment benefits, education, pension and healthcare) led to an increase in mortality and a reduction in fertility (Kando 2001).

Although it was successful in the short term, the MSZP strategy put a strain on its relationship with the blue-collar constituencies and labor unions and over time led to the increasing frustration with the left among the social groups that historically supported MSZP. In chapter 4, I analyze the individual-level surveys in Hungary to trace the dynamics of the working-class support for the MSZP. I show that while the blue-collar working status is positively and significantly associated with likely support for MSZP in 1994 (prior to implementation of the Bokros package), the turnaround occurs in 1998 election, when the working-class status for the first time becomes negatively associated with the support for the left party. By contrast, following the 1998 election, I find a consistent positive association between the working-class status and probability of voting for the right Fidesz party. Hence the blue-collar workers initially turned to Fidesz to oppose the MSZP neoliberal policies. In the following years, however, those constituencies became increasingly disappointed with Fidesz as well (Eszter-Tóth 2015) and continued radicalizing by shifting further to the right of the political spectrum.

Second Wave of Realignment

The Bokros package and its welfare cuts eventually cost MSZP support in the 1998 election. The right parties capitalized on the increase of dissatisfaction among the Hungarian people. Agh (2002) draws a parallel between MSZP and Blair's government, which implemented similar policies (such as privatizing the British National Health Service) in the UK (Agh 2002). In both cases, such strategies contributed to the electoral success of the radical right parties in both the UK and Hungary.

The Hungarian Justice and Life Party (Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja, MIÉP) was a radical nationalist party, founded in 1993, that managed to enter the parliament with 5.47% of votes in 1998. The party used an anti-Semitic platform (which was also an anti-left platform due to the existing tradition in Hungary to frame the Communist/left government as a benefactor of Hungary's Jewish community) and campaigned against Hungary's accession to the European institutions.

Most importantly, rightwing Fidesz used the opportunity to transform its platform from a cosmopolitan liberal ideology. It reconstructed itself as a conservative party with populist elements and combined rightwing attitudes on public- and Christian-conservative morality with left-wing attitudes on economics. Committed to state-led economic development, Fidesz advocated the defense of Hungary's national interests and domestic employers against foreign influences and rejected the takeover of state companies by foreigners through privatization (Toth 2015). The strategy proved to be a winning one—the support for Fidesz, which had not been in power before, rose from around 9 percent in 1990 to 26 percent in 1998.

Having won the 1998 election, Fidesz's leader Victor Orban became Hungary's new prime minister by forming a government with MDF and FKGP parties. While in power, Fidesz continued to criticize the neoliberal policies of the previous MSZP-SZDSZ

government, especially those related to the industry privatization and the welfare cut-offs. In a series of public speeches, Orban referenced neoliberalism as a western ideology, which was not to be entirely trusted due to its tendency to prioritize the market over the individual before the culture and society in which it was embedded (Wilkin 2016 :61). Yet Fidesz was constrained in its use of the populist policies due to the need to ensure Hungary's accession to the European Union (and hence to comply with the restrictions imposed by the EU). Thus, despite its rhetoric, Orban's government undertook a series of reforms aimed at cutting the existing budget deficit and public-sector debt, and largely continued the MSZP track.

However, from that point on, the populist appeals became an important electoral component in Hungarian politics. Fidesz's rhetoric became more aggressive and populist over time with Victor Orban attacking the elites, the banks and the multinationals while emphasizing the country's national symbols and traditions (Enyedi 2016; Palonen 2009). To avoid defeat in the 2002 elections, the Fidesz government implemented a massive stimulation of consumer demand by raising public sector wages by 75 percent, the minimum wage by 60 percent and implementing a lavish mortgage lending program.

Attempting to outbid Fidesz, in the 2002 election MSZP promised wage increases in the public sector, a 13th-month bonus, the abolition of income tax for the low paid and an ambitious investment program in infrastructure (Lehndorff 2014: 236) and won the election. Despite the fact that Fidesz lost, Hungary's economic policy-making took a new direction since 2002: both Fidesz and MSZP sought to outbid one another calling for a "new social system." When the MSZP-SZDSZ coalition returned to power, its economic policy became subordinated to reelection campaign promises. While the expansive spending program gave a boost to Hungary's economy, the increase in public debt now became a permanent problem.

The relevance of socioeconomic issues was evident in the 2006 campaign, which focused on economic issues and the convergence with the Maastricht criteria after the recent accession of Hungary to the EU (Korkut 2007; Sitter and Batory 2006). The 2006 elections continued the populist cycle of both the MSZP and Fidesz competing on who promised the voters more, largely ignoring the budget deficit of over 9% at the time (Batory 2010). Concerned with losing votes in the forthcoming elections in 2006, the MSZP government led by new prime-minister Ferenc Gyurcsány returned to an expansive deficit-financed spending policy.

Although the MSZP-SZDSZ coalition managed to secure reelection, the new government suffered a massive popularity drop few months later, largely due to its economic policies. Having returned to power in 2006, Gyurcsány had to comply with the European Commission's request to curb new debt in accordance with the Maastricht stability criteria, but the majority of Hungarians were not prepared to a sudden change of course in the direction of public spending cuts (Lehndorff 2014: 236).

The impending implementation of the austerity measures stayed in the top 15 news in Hungary in April and May 2006 (Nagy and Rona 2012). The MSZP-SZDSZ coalition government adopted the first set of measures, the so-called New Balance Program, on June 9th. The key issues included raising of gas prices by 30%, electricity prices by 10-14%, increasing the medium VAT rate from 15% to 20%. Five exceptionally negative months followed consecutively for MSZP between July and November 2006 and were accompanied by a negative public mood: by August 2006 72% Hungarians thought that things in Hungary was headed in the wrong direction, in comparison with 49% of Hungarians in June. By the end of summer 2006, MSZP popularity experienced its greatest decline in the entire 2006–10 term (Nagy and Rona 2012).

The situation escalated when Gyurcsány's private comment that the state of Hungary's economy was much worse than any party had admitted was leaked on the national radio in September 2006. By then, the MSZP rating has been declining dramatically for three consecutive months. Observers often blame the dramatic collapse in MSZP support on the leaked Gyurcsány's Őszöd speech. Yet, in fact, it was austerity measures that made MSZP's support reach a level that even Gyurcsány's speech did not decrease further (26-28%). Thus, Gyurcsány's popularity did not implode following the exposure of his secret speech: his ratings fell before (from 55% in May 2006, to 34% in August 2006) (Nagy and Rona 2012).

Yet the exposure of Gyurcsány's Őszöd speech was a last straw that sparked a wave of riots and further dropped the popularity of the left government. Fidesz accused the MSZP of election fraud and demanded new elections, but the MSZP government refused and instead continued its austerity program. So much public criticism followed that Fidesz's campaign for a referendum on the reforms was supported by the population. The referendum, which was held in spring 2008, dramatically reinforced Fidesz as the party that promised to defend the welfare state against the neoliberal deregulation (Lehndorff 2014: 236). As if that was not bad enough, the 2008 global economic unraveled in mid-2008. Lehndorff (2014: 237). Forint devaluation followed pushing up monthly payments for foreign-currency denominated mortgages and put a severe burden on many Hungarian households (Batory 2009). As result, the Hungarian economy stalled, and its GDP plunged by 6.8 percent in 2009. The crisis was exacerbated by the legacy of government spending driven growth since anticyclical measures were now off the agenda and Hungary's high foreign indebtedness.

Owing to the 2008 financial crisis and the inadvertent fiscal policies of the Hungarian government, by mid-2008 Hungary was on the verge of bankruptcy. Things

became so bad that the MSZP government was forced to rely on an IMF-led bailout. The loan of 20 billion euros secured by the European Commission, the IMF and the World Bank helped Hungary to avoid bankruptcy, but they included a series of conditionalities that severely restrained Hungarian government's room to maneuver for the Hungarian government (Csaba 2013: 8). These socially unpopular stipulations included raising the retirement age, severing disabilities and cutting unemployment benefits.

Rising popular discontent eventually led to Gyurcsany offering his resignation in March 2009. He stated, "I hear that I am the obstacle to the co-operation required for changes, for a stable governing majority and the responsible behavior of the opposition…if so, then I am eliminating this obstacle now" (Batory 2009). Following Gyurcsany's resignation, MSZP scrambled to find a new prime minister—a number of candidates refused the offer. Eventually, MSZP appointed Gordon Bajnai in April 2009. In an attempt to gather cross-party and popular support, Bajnai promptly introduced a comprehensive set of austerity measures designed to reform the tax and benefits systems. The latter included paid parental and sick leave cuts, pensions and government support for housing. It also included an increase in VAT and excise taxes (Batory 2009).

Already by Spring 2009, even before the introduction of the Bajnai package, Hungary's public opinion of the MSZP government was exceptionally negative. In a Median poll in March 2009, 87% of respondents reported that their household's financial situation worsened over the past 12 months (47% thought it got a lot worse), while the vast majority expected it to get even worse even in the next year months. A few weeks after his appointment new prime-minster Bajnai was almost as unpopular as his predecessor Gyurcsany (Batory 2009). The announcement of the austerity measures delivered the coup de grace to the MSZP that received in the June 2009 European elections the smallest share of the vote since 1990 (Batory 2010). While Bajnai's fiscal

stabilization succeeded in significantly reducing the deficit, the austerity measures together with the IMF-imposed conditionalities gave the MSZP government little room to relax the crisis measures which could help recover popular support for the party. Ultimately, a number of noisy corruption scandals, such as a series of revelations about large sums stolen from the (massively subsidized) Budapest public transport company delivered a final blow to the MSZP in the run up to the 2010 elections (Batory 2010).

Nagy and Rona (2012) argue that the combined effect of austerity measures and corruption allegations toppled MSZP in 2006–2010 electoral round. In fact, they demonstrate that from June 2008 on, there was not a single month when news favorable to MSZP dominated the agenda, which gradually eroded the support for MSZP. The party suffered the greatest blow in the early months following the second Gyurcsány-government's entry in the office, when the prime minister announced his austerity package. Following this announcement, MSZP support within the population at large dropped from 37% in May 2006 to 26% in August 2006, while its relative position vis-à-vis Fidesz fell by 20% below the level seen immediately after the elections. Subsequent erosion of MSZP popularity continued more gradually. The domination of austerity measures, the unsuccessful reform policies and the corruption scandals within MSZP on the political agenda between 2006 and 2010 resulted in massive drop in the polls (Nagy and Rona, 2012).

In the meantime, Fidesz continued a campaign against the MSZP government that attacked the measures demanded by the IMF and the European Commission and portrayed Fidesz as the spokesman for the general discontent. Fidesz argued that once the neoliberal and corrupt politics of the ex-Communist left was stopped dead in its tracks, a new period of strong growth could begin (Lehndorff 2014: 237). As result, Fidesz won the 2010 election with a landslide victory, securing a two-thirds majority in parliament. MSZP

lagged far behind, while the right radical Jobbik secured a third place with 16.7% of vote. Following its 2010 electoral defeat, the MSZP has never been able to recover and has continued to lose votes over time. New left parties that subsequently emerged in the Hungarian politics were also unable to gain substantive levels of popular support.

This period illustrates the continuous shift of the dissatisfied Hungarian voters along the right dimension. Together with center right Fidesz that actively uses populist rhetoric, the radical right Jobbik rose on the wave of frustration with the establishment, capitalizing on social grievances. Jobbik's focus on the economy explains a substantive share of its electoral popularity. Varga (2014) shows that the electoral success of Jobbik can be explained not only by its attempts to mobilize the anti-Roma sentiment, but also by its ability to present itself as a party that takes considerable interest in the economic issues of poverty and inequality triggered by capitalism. For example, an attack on MSZP and neoliberalism played a strong role in Jobbik's 2010 electoral platform (Volford 2012). In its electoral manifesto "Radikalis Valtozas" (Jobbik 2010; Jobbik 2014), Jobbik in its economic section accused the established elites of misleading the country and causing devastating economic conditions during the transition process. Csaba Gyüre, Jobbik MP, argued that "Jobbik unanimously attacked— and still attacks—the established parties that emerged during the transition to democracy. They are responsible for mishandling the systemic change. The general public has seen that a large amount of state property has been up for sale for 25 years [meaning since the fall of communism state property has been sold off unfairly], in the meantime, [levels] of state debt have increased significantly. Hundreds of thousand people cannot avoid moving to Western Europe, as they had a difficulty in making ends meet. Driven into the [current] situation, the established parties were accountable. Jobbik called for their removal from power" (Kim 2016: 349). In particular, Jobbik's program portrayed the MSZP as being responsible for most of

Hungary's problems. According to Jobbik, as direct result of MSZP's policies and attachment to the EU—a "corrupt capitalist organization"—Hungary lost its sovereignty and got stuck in the economic crisis. Negative references to MSZP featured in each section of Jobbik's 2010 program contrasting it with a polar opposite stance of Jobbik (Volford 2012). Along with the established parties, Jobbik also attacked globalization and the multinational corporations allegedly responsible for the destruction of the economy and for pushing Hungarian businesses to the state of bankruptcy.

After the 2009 European parliament election (where Jobbik received 14.8 percent), a Budapest polling firm, the Perspective Institute, ran a survey that discovered that large shares of the left-wing voters were turning toward Jobbik. They concluded that Hungary's radical right primarily recruited its supporters from members of the leftist camp that were disappointed with the governmental performance of MSZP, not from the center-right camp (Phillips 2010). In a 2009 survey of Jobbik voters about their 2006 party preferences, Median discovered different results. Of those surveyed 9% did not remember or refused to answer; 25% voted for Fidesz-KDNP, and 14% came from the MSZP camp (Balogh 2009). The difference in findings may have to do with voters' proclivity to forget their previous voting choices. In some cases, Jobbik doubled its nationwide share of the votes in cities that had been Socialist strongholds (Phillips 2010). In the analysis conducted in chapter 6, I find similar results for Hungary's district-level constituencies: there is a consistent positive association between the vote for MSZP in the 2006 election and the vote for Jobbik in the 2010 election on constituency level. This conclusion is not trivial, since a mass exodus of the former supporters of the left party to the far right of the political spectrum (rather than to a competing left party or to the immediate centrist competitor - Fidesz) is a paradox that requires explanation.

The anti-establishment backlash of disaffected voters was exacerbated by the economic recession, unemployment, and demand for protectionism in light of globalization (Norris 2005). That such anti-establishment backlash took the form of a radical right voting in Hungary may be understood in terms of the dealignment process. In Hungary, the left parties increasingly came to be associated with the neoliberal economic policies. Hence, Hungarian voters disappointed by such policies were increasingly shifting to the right parties, which in turn adopted a more protectionist paternalistic rhetoric. The economic factors, such as global economic crisis, high levels of unemployment (particularly, in Hungary's north-east regions which became Jobbik's strongholds), and Jobbik's own rhetoric that accused the governing parties, international capital and the Roma minority ensured the success of the radical right (Varga 2014; Szombati 2018).

Jobbik's efforts to reach out to the disaffected blue-collar constituencies paid off. Batory (2010) conducted a series of the interviews with workers at Hungary's factories and discovered that workers who supported MSZP and/or leaned to the left in their political preferences constituted a minority among those interviewed. Instead, while few explicitly embraced the radical right Jobbik, many indirectly confirmed that Jobbik would be their preference in the next elections. By some estimates, up to a third of the factory employees were ready to vote for the radical right, due to their earlier disappointment with Fidesz and MSZP. Recent studies also show that a significant segment of the electorate that is disappointed in Fidesz do not support the left, but are opting for the radical right party Jobbik instead (Győri 2015: 14).

The figure below shows the share of blue-collar respondents among the radical right parties' supporters in comparison to the growth in the electoral share of the radical right parties in the same time period (Figure 5).
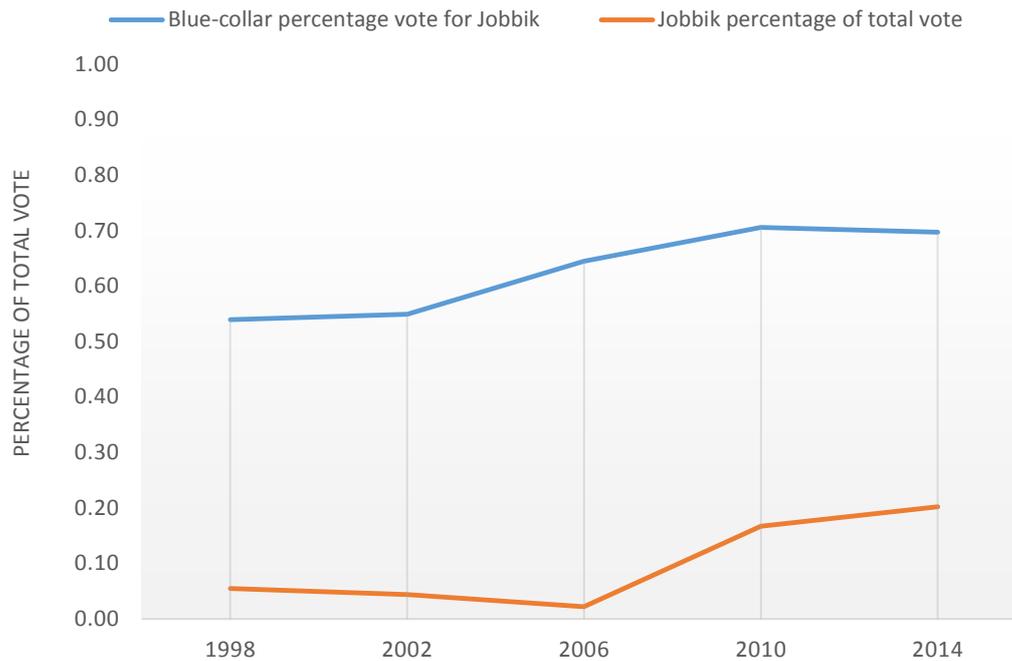
Figure 5. The Share of Blue-Collar Workers in the Radical Right MIEP/ Jobbik Vote and the Vote for the Radical Right parties, Medián Opinion and Market Research Ltd Omnibus Polls, Hungary, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014

In other words, the political dealignment in Hungary's politics opened up a political space for the radical right party Jobbik to reach out to the constituencies of the former MSZP.

The Left and Labor Policies

The success of the radical right parties may also be explained by the fact that they offer new possibilities of political expression and mobilization and substitute the patronizing function for the social groups previously catered by socialist or communist parties (Perrineau 1997; Oesch 2008). Therefore, the weakening of trade unions, which traditionally served as networks intended to integrate workers into the left-wing support base, might have given an extra boost to the popularity of the radical right parties among the working class (Pappi 2002). Social disorganization and the weakening of unions is

theorized to make workers subject to political alienation and more attracted to new channels of political expression and mobilization offered by the radical right that substitutes the function traditionally implemented by the left parties (Perrineau 1997; Oesch 2008).

However, the conditions of the post-Communist countries make one skeptical about how applicable the unions' explanation may be in this context. Here, the alliances between political parties and trade unions have traditionally been weaker than in western European countries (with the possible exception of Poland) because the Communist rulers manipulated trade unions and replaced them with fictitious structures. Eventually, like most other quasi-independent Communist institutions, the unions only existed to conduct pro-Communist policies—often at the expense of the workers.

In post-Communist Europe, the unions' historical weakness made them of little importance to the workers and politics in general. The left parties predominantly failed to lead the radical workers' protests and for the most part, mass left organizations did not emerge in the post-Communist countries. Most trade unions avoided structured political alliances except for several alliances with more moderate forces, such as the social democratic successor parties of Poland and Hungary.

Hungary is a canonical case for illustrating the trade union situation in the post-Communist world. As shown by Andras Toth (1994: 88), during the Communist period the unions were transformed into subordinate dummy organizations of the Communist dictatorship. Their goal was to serve as a "transmission belt", conveying central economic policy from the decision-making Communist bodies to workers. This detached the unions from their original social functions—collective bargaining and social rights protection. As result, the interests of Hungarian trade unions and workers diverged. Toth (1994) speaks of a double history of the official trade-union hierarchy on the one hand, and a

separate history of workers' attempts to defend their own rights outside the trade unions on the other. As a result, the unions have not played a particularly influential role in Hungarian politics. Hungary's fragmented union structure with "partial links with political parties" led to partial successes but mostly failures in enacting pro-labor policy (Avdagic 2005; Sil 2017).

The independent anti-communist Hungarian unions (particularly LIGA and MOSZ) have never been particularly strong. However, some ties between the unions and political parties developed, as described by Avdagic (2005). MOSZ established links with the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and its chairman entered the first parliament on the MDF ticket (Bruszt 1995). LIGA developed strong informal links to the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ). MSZOSZ, one of the descendants of the old official union center SZOT, established a formal alliance based on the common "leftist values" with the Socialist Party (MSZP) (Rácz 1993: 662).

In the first years of transition, unions often signed tripartite agreements mostly limited to the income policy. Matthes (2004) argues that Hungarian unions have played a crucial part in the pension reforms. When MSZP won the 1994 elections, the president of MSZOSZ, Sándor Nagy, ran second on the Socialist party list. The new MSZP-led government started negotiations on broader social pact, which were soon abandoned. Because of the worsening economic situation and government conflicts, MSZP turned its back on the union and initiated a harsh austerity Bokros package, while Sándor Nagy resigned from his union post. This general trend continued under the subsequent right-wing governments.

The weakened and divided unions were little obstacle to the Fidesz government, which often portrayed unions as a "Bolshevik travesty", drastically reduced the role of

the tripartite council, and excluded the unions from the most important areas of economic policy-making.

The situation has persisted into the present; Hungarian unions have little impact on the policy-making. In interviews, workers named Jobbik, as the only party which put trade unions' rights in its program, promised to remove the trade union leaders who aligned with corrupt politicians and make the unions completely politically independent and only fight for workers' rights (Eszter-Tóth 2015). However, in a private conversation with me, Jobbik's Márton Gyöngyösi argued that trade unions played a zero role in Jobbik's ability to attract working class constituencies in the unemployed regions of Hungary back in the 2010 in 2014 election. While more recently, Jobbik attempted to attract support of smaller trade unions (such as teachers' unions), this approach played a marginal role in Jobbik's electoral success.

Individual-Level Surveys

In this subsection I complement the above qualitative analysis of Hungary's parties' historical trajectory with the individual-level observational data. On the individual level over the span of 20 years, I look at the odds of the blue-collar workers supporting the left MSZP and the right Fidesz and Jobbik parties in Hungary. I show that in line with the original expectations, the support of blue-collar respondents' decreases for the center left MSZP and increases for the populist and radical right parties.

As my theoretical argument postulates, in light of the shifting political allegiances of the working-class voters, one shall expect their support for the populist and radical right to increase over time, at the expense of the left parties. Therefore, my basic expectation is that:

- *Hypothesis I:* In Hungary, after 1994 (period of the austerity reforms implementation) the working-class status has been decreasingly associated to the support for the center-left MSZP.

- *Hypothesis II:* In Hungary, the working-class status over the years has been increasingly associated to the support for the populist and radical right parties.

Earlier Findings

One important reservation has to address the timing of the expected party realignment.

Historically, in Western countries, working-class voters tended to be embedded in networks of trade unions and pro-labor structures, held pro-redistribution preferences and were attached to the traditional left parties. However, in the case of the post-Communist countries, the blue-collar workers' preference for the post-Communist parties was less obvious. In the aftermath of the democratic transitions, such social groups might have chosen to abandon these parties in light of their authoritarian legacy.

Hence, before proceeding to the next section, I have to show that the working-class voters were more likely to embrace MSZP at some point during the analyzed time span. To prove this point, I first provide some evidence available in the literature, and then confirm it with my own analysis using the Median omnibus surveys.

The available scholarly research suggests that at the start of the reforms back in the early 1990s, MSZP strongly enjoyed the support of blue-collar workers, particularly the non-agricultural manual workers (Toka 1999: 176). Using the Median exit-poll data, Szelenyi, Fodor and Hanley (1997: 216) showed that in the 1994 Hungarian election the representation of the blue-collar and agricultural workers in the MSZP vote increased

substantively and these groups became the main support base of MSZP. The blue-collar respondents were significantly more likely to vote for MSZP than professionals or white-collar workers.

Hence, the erosion of the working-class support for the Hungarian left did not start until the mid-1990s, and gradually continued until a dramatic collapse in the popularity of MSZP in late 2000s. By early 2000s, MSZP preserved about 80% of its previous voters, despite the harsh economic reforms; about 70% of the party members approved and supported the reform policies pursued by the party, and only about 13% favored returning to a more welfarist course (Markus 1999; Curry 2003; Morlang 2003). Some scholars explain MSZP's impressive electoral performance by emphasizing the fact that its voters put the blame on its liberal coalition partner, SZDSZ, whose vote fell from about 20% before to about 7% after the reforms (Morlang 2003); others explain MSZP's success with the lack of serious leftist competitors due to the political system's two-party tendencies.

Yet by the mid-2000s, the realignment processes became more apparent. In the study of reported voting in the 2006–2009 Hungarian election, Knutsen (2013) discovered that Fidesz had the strongest support among workers and the petty-bourgeoisie and the weakest support among managers, while MSZP had the strongest following primarily among managers and middle-class professionals.

The overall review suggests that the realignment processes did in fact occur in Hungary in the observed period, with the working-class workers increasingly shifting away from the Hungarian center-left. In the below section I present my own analysis that confirms the above conclusions.

The Shifting Allegiances of the Hungarian Working Class

In my analysis, I focus on working class support patterns for the Hungarian left and right parties. My theoretical expectations go in line with the party realignment hypothesis outlined above. I argue that in Hungary the working-class constituencies are increasingly less likely to vote for the center-left MSZP party and increasingly more likely to embrace the populist and radical right Fidesz and Jobbik parties.

To test this hypothesis, I use the data collected in the years 1994–2014 by the Medián Opinion and Market Research Ltd, a major, well-respected Hungarian polling company. Median's monthly omnibus-type opinion polls (representative survey for the population 18+, sample size: 1,200 individuals) control for basic party preference questions. Not all surveys were available for each month, so depending on their availability, I used 7–12 surveys per each electoral year in Hungary (1994/5, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014) coding all variables identically in each case.[9]

To see whether the assumption was correct, I looked at the differences in party support between Hungary's blue- and white-collar respondents. The below graph illustrates the differences in support between blue- and white- collar supporters for Hungary's center left MSZP, center right Fidesz and radical right Jobbik respectively (Figure 6).

---

[9] Belonging to the worker-class category was coded based on the variable 'fogl' ('the occupation of the respondent'), a categorical variable consisting of eight categories ('top leader', 'middle management', 'public intellectual', 'other intellectual, 'foreman, technician', 'workman', 'other physical', 'other'). I recorded the 'fogl' variable as a dummy variable, taking a value of '1' when for one of the following categories: 'foreman, technician', 'workman', 'other physical', and 'other'.
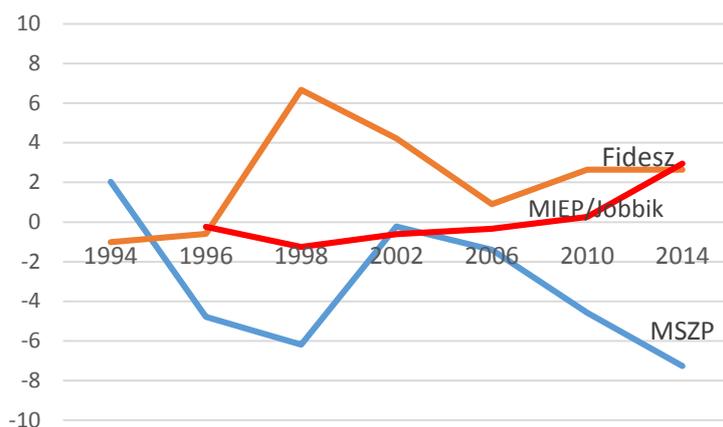
Figure 6. The Differences in Support Between Hungary's Blue- and White-Collar Respondents for the Center Left MSZP, Center Right Fidesz and Radical Right MIÉP/ Jobbik Parties, Medián Opinion and Market Research Ltd Omnibus Polls, Hungary, 1995/6, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014

The above graph confirms the main theoretical expectation and both my hypotheses. Over time, working-class support becomes increasingly associated with the right parties (both populist Fidesz and radical right Jobbik) (H1). By contrast, one also notices an increasing negative association between the working-class status and the probability of supporting the center-left MSZP (H2). Very importantly, the change in the working-class preference for MSZP happens between the years 1994–1998, i.e. precisely during the period of the implementation of the radical austerity reforms (the Bokros package) by MSZP. It continues further following another round of austerity implemented in 2006-09.

This finding goes directly in line with my theoretical argument that the switch in the economic policies of the center left have repelled the blue-collar workers support away from MSZP.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have applied the key core elements of my theoretical argument to the Hungarian case study.

I have shown that the adoption of pro-market economic policy switch (as instrumented by the implementation of the austerity packages in 1996 and 2006 by the ex-Communist left MSZP opened up an opportunity for the right parties (Fidesz and Jobbik) in Hungary to challenge the left from a more redistributionist economic agenda and to appeal to reform losers. This launched the process of political realignment, which led to the blue-collar workers becoming the main constituency of the right (populist and radical) Hungarian parties, while the working class has increasingly abandoned the Hungarian center-left parties. Over time, this ensured the consistent electoral success of Hungary's radical right Jobbik party.

I have also traced this dynamic on the individual-level data in Hungary by showing how over time Hungary's working-class support became decreasingly associated with the center-left party MSZP while increasingly associated to the right parties. I have specifically demonstrated that, in line with the argument, the change in the working-class occurred during the periods of implementation of austerity packages by the center-left MSZP party (the 1994–1998 and 2006–09 respectively).

Overall, the analysis in this section goes in line with my general theoretical argument. To extend the external validity of my argument, I repeat this analysis on a set of other Visegrád Group cases— the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia—in the next chapter of this dissertation. Again, I will focus on the economic policy choices made by the left parties to trace how those choices influenced the electoral fortunes of the populist and radical right parties in each respective country. In the cases of Czech Republic and

Poland, I complement this analysis with the individual-level data analysis of blue-collar voters' support for the left and right parties analogous to the one used in this chapter.

In addition, the above analysis does not allow me to address the causality problem in a rigorous fashion. Hence, in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, I will focus on the causality problem and will use a number of alternative methodological approaches (constituency-level and experimental analysis) to establish the direction of the causal link between the left parties' economic policy choices and the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties.

Chapter 5. Cross-Country and Case Study Analyses

In the above chapter, I illustrated my theory using the example of Hungary. I have shown how the policy choices of the ex-Communist Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP, determined the successes of the populist and radical right parties in this country. Specifically, I have demonstrated that the implementation of the pro-market reforms and the austerity package by the MSZP pushed the blue-collar constituencies away from the left party and that these constituencies were later incorporated by the populist (Fidesz) and radical right (Jobbik) parties. I combined the qualitative analysis with the individual-level survey data to illustrate the dynamics of this movement in Hungary over the last two decades.

To extend the external validity of my theory, in this chapter I expand the above analysis to a larger set of Central and Eastern European countries. I test my argument using the analysis of observational and individual data.

First, on the cross-country level, I examine the relationship between the dynamics of the blue-collar support for the center-left and the radical right parties on the European Social Survey data for the available samples of Central and Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia). The analysis follows the framework that Arzheimer (2013) applied to western European polities. By exclusively limiting the analysis to respondents employed in unskilled and semi-skilled manual occupation, I look at the determinants of their vote for either an ex-Communist left party (0) or a radical right party (1) in the respective years of observations. Among the explanatory factors, I include the left parties' position on economic policy and immigration policy (which reflects the assumption on parties' competition along the cultural and economic axes, as discussed in chapter 1).

Second, I provide an overview of the experiences of the three other countries that together with Hungary constitute the Visegrád Group—the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia. The approach in this section largely follows the analysis for the Hungarian case in chapter 4. I look at the ex-Communist party's economic policy choices in each country case and the impact of those choices on the subsequent electoral fortunes of the radical and populist right parties. I also complement this approach with the individual-level analysis on the Comparative Study of the Electoral System dataset by tracing the dynamics of blue collar respondents' support for the center-left and the populist and radical right parties in the Czech and Polish cases (the Slovak data was not available) over time.

Overall, the findings in this chapter are consistent with my general theoretical argument. In line with my expectations, the quantitative analysis confirms that the blue-collar constituencies switched their support from the ex-Communist left to the radical right parties over the decade and that this trend is correlated with the ex-Communist left parties' pro-market economic policy positions. The qualitative analysis demonstrates that the left parties in the post-Communist setting tended to alter their positions on the economic dimension and move to the center of the economic axis, which later helped the radical right parties to attract new supporters by promoting a redistributionist paternalistic platform that these blue-collar workers would find attractive.

Cross-Country

In Chapter 1, I argued that blue-collar respondents (the traditional constituencies of the ex-Communist left parties) are more likely to switch to embrace the radical right parties as result of the programmatic shift of the left parties. I have illustrated this

argument on the example of Hungary by tracing how specific policy choices of the ex-Communist left MSZP party provided a political opening for the populist and radical right parties to attract those constituencies.

In this chapter, I test this argument using the European Social Survey (ESS) data through a quantitative cross-country analysis. While cross-country analysis has its fair share of limitations (see Chapter 3), it provides a great opportunity to test the external validity of my theory and its ability to explain the success of the radical right parties in countries beyond Hungary. Below, I present the main hypotheses and discuss my empirical findings in more details.

In light of my theoretical expectations, I make the following empirical predictions:

(1) *Hypothesis I:* There is an exodus of the working-class respondents from the center left parties towards the radical right parties over time.

(2) *Hypothesis II:* The chosen positions of the center left parties on the economic policies play a significant role in this trend: the more pro-market the left party is, the more likely it is that the working-class respondents will switch to support the radical right parties.

Arzheimer (2013) uses the Eurobarometer data collected between 1980–2002 to demonstrate comparatively and longitudinally that the Western European radical right electorates underwent a process of proletarization between 1980 and the early 2000s.

Below, I ran a simple baseline Arzheimer's (2013) model, applying his framework to a set data of Central and Eastern European countries. In this model, I use the data from the eight rounds of the European Social Survey by limiting the sample to semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupation respondents only (using the ISCO08 data) who voted for either an ex-Communist left party (0) or a radical right party (1) in the respective years of

observations. Instead of the multi-level model, I have used a standard probit model with clustered errors. While both approaches address the same problem - the correlation of residuals within a cluster, the latter approach does not account for possible random effects.

Country	Working Class Vote for the Radical Right vs ex-Communist Left, %							
	2002	**2004**	**2006**	**2008**	**2010**	**2012**	**2014**	**2016**
BG			15.67	15.75	19.83	4.00		
CZ	0	0		0	0	0	7.35	7.56
HU	1.63	0.90	2.07	1.35	41.78	28.93	50.30	
PL	7.76	15.15	88.43	84.16	81.45	88.41	88.15	
RO				5.96				
SI	5.83	21.65	11.86	16.31	12.20	11.54	0	0
SK		0	0	0	7.47	0		

Table 4. The Working-Class Respondents and Voting for the ex-Communist Left vs Radical Right Parties over Time. Proportions of Blue Collar Votes Received by a Given Radical Right Party in Each Respective Wave. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Selected Central and Eastern European Countries

The above table shows the proportions of blue collar votes received by a given radical right party in each respective wave of the European Social Survey. The dependent variable was recoded based on the question, which asked "Which party voted in the last election." The following responses were coded as "1": "Attack," "Usvit," "Jobbik," "Law and Justice," "The Greater Romania Party," "Slovenian National Party," and "Slovak National Party." The following responses were coded as "0": "Bulgarian Socialist Party," "Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia," "Hungarian Socialist Party," "Democratic

Left Alliance," "Social Democratic Party," "Liberal Democracy of Slovenia," and "Direction – Social Democracy."

As the data in the Table 4 shows, the support for the radical right parties is not equally distributed across different years. For example, there are few observations for such countries, as the Czech Republic or Slovakia.

I then proceed to using the model to measure this data. Since my dependent variable "party" is a binary variable (with "1" indicating the blue-collar vote for the radical right and a "0" a blue-collar vote for the ex-Communist left), I used the regular probit model with country fixed effects and clustered standard errors. The model also included a single socio-demographic control (gender) to account for the fact that male respondents tend to be more likely to support the radical right parties and a linear time trend with two-year lags between the respective ESS rounds ("trends") to account for the time effects of the eight rounds of the ESS. For my two hypotheses of interest, my key independent variables included (1) the time trend designed to test the over-time relationship between the blue-collar vote for the left and radical right parties; (2) the left parties' positions on the economic policy dimension.

For the latter parameters, I merged the ESS data with the Chapel Hill dataset and introduced the variables measuring the ex-Communist left parties' positions on the economy and the immigration policy. These specific party policy positions were included in the model in line with the theoretical assumptions about party competition on two axes (cultural and economic) discussed in Chapter 1. In this analysis, the party position on the economic policy reflects the competition on the economic scale, and the immigration policy position reflects the party competition on the cultural scale respectively. I used the lagged Chapel Hill data assigning to each ESS observation a respective CHES value from a previous electoral round. The following variables were included:

- Immigrate_Policy—is a variable that reflects a given party's position on immigration policy with a "0" reflecting a strong opposition to a tough immigration policy, and a "10" —being in favor of a restrictive immigration policy.

- Spending—is a categorical variable that reflects a given party's on improving public services vs. reducing taxes with a "0" reflecting a strong support for improving public services, and a "10"—strongly favoring tax reduction.

- Deregulation—is a categorical variable that reflects a given party's position on deregulation with a "0" reflecting a strong opposition to market deregulation, and a "10" —strongly supporting the deregulation of markets.

- Redistribution—is a categorical variable that reflects a given party's position on redistribution with a "0" reflecting a strong support for redistribution, and a "10" —strongly opposing redistribution.

Additional controls from the World Bank data included the country-level unemployment rates, annual GDP growth rates, and a share of the asylum requests per year (adjusted for the size of a country's population) to reflect the refugee influx into a given country.

All variables were standardized to account for their different scale. The results of the analysis (marginal probit for easier interpretation) are presented in the below tables. Each respective table contains the estimates for three different positions of the left parties on the economic scale (increased spending vs reduced taxation, decreased vs increased deregulation, and supporting vs opposing redistribution).

The results of the analysis for the left parties' position on increased redistribution vs reduced taxation issue is provided in the Table 5 below.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Trend	**0.025*****	**0.023**^{T}	**0.027*****	**0.027*****	**0.021****
	(3.73)	**(1.88)**	**(2.66)**	**(3.07)**	**(2.42)**
Male	0.036	0.0425**	0.042**	0.040**	0.039^{T}
	(1.27)	(1.99)	(2.01)	(1.97)	(1.85)
Left: strongly favors reducing taxes (Y-1)		**0.097**^{T}	**0.072**	**0.183****	**0.136*****
		(1.90)	**(1.57)**	**(2.14)**	**(2.82)**
BG	0.144***	0.098***	0.054^{T}	0.159^{T}	0.347***
	(5.33)	(3.47)	(1.68)	(1.92)	(3.43)
CZ	-0.100***	0.087	-0.030	0.370	0.145
	(-2.59)	(0.84)	(-0.29)	(1.23)	(1.15)
HU	0.149***	0.099**	0.092**	0.037	0.211***
	(5.60)	(2.22)	(2.26)	(0.74)	(4.95)
PL	0.412***	0.443***	0.450***	0.225^{T}	0.237^{T}
	(20.10)	(21.94)	(4.16)	(1.87)	(1.82)
SI	0.172***	0.162***	0.074	0.334^{T}	0.218^{T}
	(6.55)	(3.20)	(1.04)	(1.68)	(1.87)
Unemployment (Y-1)			-0.051	0.010	-0.025
			(-1.34)	(0.15)	(-0.49)
Growth (Y-1)			-0.014	0.048	0.107*
			(-0.36)	(1.46)	(1.66)
Left: Favors tough policy on immigration (Y-1)				-0.080	
				(-1.49)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)					-0.115***
					(-5.03)
N	7815	4860	4860	4860	4860

^{T} p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 5. Full Model: RR vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class Respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Spending vs Taxation Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects.

The below Table 6 presents the results of the analysis results of the analysis for the left parties' position on increased deregulation issue.

	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Trend	**0.011**	**0.016** [T]	**0.013**	**0.020****
	(1.55)	**(1.94)**	**(1.51)**	**(2.14)**
Male	0.041 [T]	0.040[T]	0.040**	0.038 [T]
	(1.94)	(1.92)	(1.96)	(1.84)
Left: strongly supports	**0.045****	**0.043**[T]	**0.068****	**-0.017**
deregulation of markets (Y-1)	**(2.22)**	**(1.85)**	**(2.22)**	**(-0.64)**
BG	0.103***	0.069 [T]	0.066**	0.249***
	(4.21)	(1.77)	(2.03)	(2.98)
CZ	0.012	-0.087**	-0.149**	-0.116**
	(0.19)	(-1.96)	(-2.00)	(-2.37)
HU	0.177***	0.146***	0.134***	0.295***
	(7.41)	(10.25)	(5.75)	(6.73)
PL	0.385***	0.313	0.151	0.628***
	(16.33)	(1.50)	(0.61)	(3.03)
SI	0.133***	0.071	0.083	-0.020
	(4.39)	(1.06)	(1.43)	(-0.24)
Unemployment (Y-1)		-0.054 [T]	-0.047	-0.086**
		(-1.69)	(-1.57)	(-2.20)
Growth (Y-1)		0.016	0.081	-0.044
		(0.23)	(0.95)	(-0.61)
Left: Favors tough policy			0.039	
on immigration (Y-1)			(1.39)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)				-0.100***
				(-5.45)
N	4860	4860	4860	4860

[T] p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 6. Full Model: RR vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Deregulation Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects.

Ultimately, the Table 7 below presents the results of the analysis results of the analysis for the left parties' position on redistribution issue.

	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Trend	**0.012**	**0.023*****	**0.023*****	**0.023*****
	(1.32)	**(3.55)**	**(3.10)**	**(3.15)**
Male	0.041**	0.040**	0.040**	0.038*
	(1.97)	(1.97)	(1.98)	(1.87)
Left: strongly opposes	**0.014^T**	**0.009**	**0.003**	**-0.062*****
redistribution (Y-1)	**(1.65)**	**(1.47)**	**(0.08)**	**(-8.86)**
BG	0.112***	0.0297	0.0318	0.300***
	(5.57)	(0.63)	(0.64)	(5.11)
CZ	-0.043	-0.146***	-0.128	-0.122**
	(-1.38)	(-3.25)	(-0.91)	(-2.05)
HU	0.183***	0.148***	0.150***	0.332***
	(8.26)	(11.71)	(7.08)	(10.08)
PL	0.424***	0.532***	0.575*	0.908***
	(15.42)	(4.20)	(1.79)	(9.24)
SI	0.112***	-0.0164	-0.016	-0.075
	(5.72)	(-0.23)	(-0.23)	(-1.10)
Unemployment (Y-1)		-0.080 ^{T}	-0.079 ^{T}	-0.089**
		(-1.76)	(-1.73)	(-2.12)
Growth (Y-1)		-0.054	-0.070	-0.111***
		(-1.05)	(-0.58)	(-2.75)
Left: Favors tough policy			-0.009	
on immigration (Y-1)			(-0.15)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)				-0.136***
				(-10.56)
N	4860	4860	4860	4860

^{T} p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 7. Full Model: RR vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Redistribution

Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset.

Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects.

The results in Tables 5-7 generally follow my initial expectations. First, the coefficient to the time trend variable shows that the odds of a radical right vote have risen substantively over the years. For example, from a simple baseline model (1), taking the estimates at face value a one-unit change in the trend (a two-year shift) increases the probability of a working-class respondent voting for the radical right by 0.025. The results for the time trend variable are generally robust to alternative model specifications and inclusion of additional variables, although the significance of the coefficient tends to depend on the inclusion of additional control variables in the model (see models (1)–(13) above). Overall, these findings suggest that the ex-Communist left parties are losing

support among the working-class respondents in favor of the radical right parties. This confirms the main theoretical expectation that the blue-collar constituencies in the post-Communist region tend to behave in a pattern that their counterparts follow in the western European countries as well—they abandon the center left parties in favor of the radical right. In other words, these findings go in line with the realignment Hypothesis I.

The share of refugee asylum applications per country is negatively correlated with the radical right vote in all models (5), (9), and (13), which is somewhat counter-intuitive, but suggests that the immigration issue has been less important for the Central and Eastern European region (as discussed in Chapter 1). The unemployment rate tends to be negatively correlated with the working class radical right support, which again goes against the expectations. The coefficient to the economic growth rates is not robust to alternative model specifications. The coefficient to the center-left parties' positions in the immigration policy is not statistically significant in different specifications of my model

Finally, the results of the analysis also generally confirm the expectations for the economic positions of the left parties. In particular, the coefficients of the left parties' policy positions on spending and deregulation in the model are positive and statistically significant in most specifications of my model (Tables 5 and 6), which suggests that a more pro-market position chosen by a given ex-Communist left party increases the probability of the working-class vote for the radical right party. For example, according to the model (5), a one-unit change in the left parties' position on the spending policy towards a stronger support for tax reduction (at the expense of improving public services) increases the probability of the working-class vote for the radical right parties by 0.136. Similarly, according to the model (8), a one-unit change in the left parties' position on the deregulation policy towards a stronger support for deregulation increases the probability of the working-class support for the radical right parties by 0.068. However, the findings

are not as supportive for the last left parties' economic policy position (Table 7). While the coefficient to the left parties' position on redistribution policy in positive in most model specifications (models (10)-(12)), it is not significant and turns negative in the last model (13). While the results for the redistribution variable are not robust regarding the inclusion of additional controls, overall these findings confirm Hypothesis II.

When it comes to the country fixed effects, in most model specifications one notices a negative association between country fixed effects for the case of the Czech Republic and blue-collar voting for the radical right (as opposed to Slovakia chosen as a baseline category). This goes in line with my earlier finding regarding the preservation of the traditional alignments for the Czech case: I find a consistent and stable association between a working-class status and voting for the (ex-Communist) left parties over time. By contrast, I also find a strong positive association between country fixed effects for the case of Hungary and Poland and blue-collar voting for the radical right (as opposed to Slovakia chosen as a baseline category).

Overall, the above results confirm my theoretical expectations. I show that the exodus of the voters from the left parties to the right is a cross-country phenomenon in Central and Eastern European countries, and that the chosen positions of the ex-Communist left parties on the economic scale play a role in this process. My findings about the policy positions of the left parties hold even when variables related to immigration are introduced.

One possible limitation of this study may be the fact that the trend variable absorbs some of the variation in my dependent variable. Since the realignment process happens over time, the "trend" variable may be consuming some of the effect of the voting for the radical right parties. To account for this possibility, I run the identical model excluding

the "trend" variable and substituting it with year fixed effects; the results of the analysis are presented below (Tables 8-10).

The below Table 8 presents the results of the analysis results of the analysis for the left parties' position on increased redistribution vs reduced taxation issue.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Male	0.042**	0.042**	0.041**	0.040**	0.039 ^{T}
	(2.01)	(2.05)	(2.05)	(2.01)	(1.88)
Left: strongly favors reducing taxes (Y-1)		**0.047**	**0.045**	**0.152****	**0.109*****
		(0.70)	**(0.79)**	**(2.00)**	**(3.37)**
BG	0.131***	0.107***	0.086^T	0.163	0.356**
	(5.20)	(3.76)	(1.80)	(1.60)	(2.04)
CZ	-0.0778**	-0.00379	-0.0580	0.294	0.112
	(-2.02)	(-0.03)	(-0.53)	(1.05)	(1.10)
HU	0.144***	0.124**	0.109**	0.051	0.232***
	(6.09)	(2.21)	(2.05)	(1.05)	(2.63)
PL	0.407***	0.431***	0.392***	0.220	0.228
	(23.37)	(22.88)	(4.03)	(1.35)	(1.19)
SI	0.169***	0.125**	0.0885	0.307	0.206*
	(7.85)	(2.38)	(1.27)	(1.54)	(1.65)
Unemployment (Y-1)			-0.032	0.017	-0.025
			(-0.79)	(0.22)	(-0.48)
Growth (Y-1)			0.008	0.053	0.110
			(0.22)	(0.95)	(1.11)
Left: Favors tough policy on immigration (Y-1)				-0.0671	
				(-1.35)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)					-0.114**
					(-2.57)
2002	-0.373***				
	(-6.50)				
2004	-0.317***				
	(-4.09)				
2006	-0.127**				
	(-2.06)				
2008	-0.130**	-0.147**	-0.161***	-0.173***	-0.117
	(-2.42)	(-2.44)	(-3.07)	(-2.92)	(-1.34)
2010	-0.0776***	-0.0932*	-0.100**	-0.118**	-0.0505
	(-2.70)	(-1.84)	(-2.01)	(-2.13)	(-0.55)
2012	-0.128**	-0.117***	-0.111***	-0.106***	-0.0500
	(-2.52)	(-2.92)	(-3.09)	(-2.65)	(-0.92)
N	7815	4860	4860	4860	4860

^{T} p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 8. Full Model: RR vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Spending vs Taxation Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects. Trend Variable Excluded.

The below Table 9 presents the results of the analysis results of the analysis for the left parties' position on increased deregulation issue.

	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Male	0.041**	0.040*	0.041**	0.038 ^{T}
	(1.98)	(1.95)	(2.00)	(1.88)
Left: strongly supports	**0.034***	**0.054****	**0.086***	**0.004**
deregulation of markets (Y-1)	**(2.70)**	**(2.03)**	**(4.85)**	**(0.23)**
BG	0.107***	0.168	0.183 ^{T}	0.290
	(4.32)	(1.55)	(1.85)	(1.58)
CZ	-0.021	-0.052	-0.099	-0.083
	(-0.43)	(-0.62)	(-0.90)	(-1.36)
HU	0.165***	0.151***	0.146***	0.276***
	(6.22)	(4.80)	(3.59)	(3.06)
PL	0.389***	0.011	-0.215	0.345
	(21.77)	(0.03)	(-1.23)	(1.24)
SI	0.119***	0.206	0.247 ^{T}	0.090
	(4.14)	(1.26)	(1.76)	(0.62)
Unemployment (Y-1)		0.0112	0.027	-0.041
		(0.15)	(0.38)	(-0.70)
Growth (Y-1)		0.132	0.223***	0.0523
		(1.05)	(3.23)	(0.42)
Left: Favors tough policy			0.042	
on immigration (Y-1)			(1.58)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)				-0.086**
				(-2.09)
2008	-0.106**	-0.072	-0.039	-0.093
	(-2.54)	(-0.77)	(-0.56)	(-0.89)
2010	-0.055	-0.022	0.004	-0.024
	(-1.33)	(-0.25)	(0.06)	(-0.23)
2012	-0.103**	-0.103**	-0.094**	-0.070
	(-2.42)	(-2.50)	(-2.29)	(-1.30)
N	4860	4860	4860	4860

^{T} p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 9. Full Model: RR vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Deregulation Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects. Trend Variable Excluded.

Ultimately, the Table 10 below presents the results of the analysis results of the analysis for the left parties' position on redistribution issue.

	(10)	**(11)**	**(12)**	**(13)**
Male	0.041**	0.040**	0.040**	0.038 [T]
	(2.04)	(2.01)	(2.02)	(1.90)
Left: strongly opposes	**0.012**	**0.029**	**0.044**	**-0.055****
redistribution (Y-1)	**(0.70)**	**(0.92)**	**(1.33)**	**(-2.45)**
BG	0.114***	0.132	0.144	0.308**
	(5.44)	(1.12)	(1.21)	(2.05)
CZ	-0.0645 [T]	-0.107	-0.135	-0.112 [T]
	(-1.70)	(-1.58)	(-1.34)	(-1.73)
HU	0.166***	0.155***	0.156***	0.333***
	(7.44)	(5.00)	(4.98)	(4.13)
PL	0.412***	0.171	0.034	0.844***
	(11.36)	(0.42)	(0.08)	(2.73)
SI	0.102***	0.127	0.149	-0.065
	(4.69)	(0.72)	(0.85)	(-0.49)
Unemployment (Y-1)		-0.017	-0.011	-0.093 [T]
		(-0.23)	(-0.15)	(-1.83)
Growth (Y-1)		0.0770	0.128	-0.0915
		(0.52)	(0.86)	(-0.76)
Left: Favors tough policy			0.018	
on immigration (Y-1)			(0.59)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)				-0.138***
				(-3.53)
2008	-0.117***	-0.108	-0.092	-0.141
	(-2.81)	(-1.26)	(-1.23)	(-1.57)
2010	-0.0636 [T]	-0.0479	-0.0334	-0.060
	(-1.75)	(-0.53)	(-0.40)	(-0.61)
2012	-0.122***	-0.117***	-0.116***	-0.041
	(-2.61)	(-3.24)	(-3.32)	(-0.70)
N	4860	4860	4860	4860

[T] $p<0.1$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$

Table 10. Full Model: RR vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Redistribution Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects. Trend Variable Excluded.

As the above table suggests, the results remain largely similar. Yet again, I find a consistent positive association between the indicators of the left parties' pro-market economic policy positions and blue-collar voters' shift to the radical right parties, except for the left parties' position on the redistribution policy. The signs and significance of the coefficients stay largely the same. This confirms the robustness of my results.

Overall the above analysis goes in line with my theoretical expectations. The analysis demonstrates the process that Arzheimer (2013) calls the "proletarization of the

radical right" (a trend in which the radical right electorates that used to be heterogeneous become more working class-dominated constituencies). This process is not unique to Hungary, but rather represents a common trend in (both Eastern and Western) European countries and stems from the twin process of de-alignment and social change, in which the working-class groups stop affiliating as strongly with the traditional left parties and increasingly become more available for other parties. In response, the radical right in different countries has modified its programmatic appeal considerably, thereby becoming more palatable for members of the working class (Snegovaya 2018). I provide more evidence to support these claims in Chapter 7, where I use experimental survey data to show that the use of the protectionist economic platform by the radical right party brings it more support from the blue-collar constituencies if the left parties adopt pro-market economic policies. In the below sections of this chapter I trace how this process unraveled on case studies of three other Visegrád countries—the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia.

One possible limitation of my analysis is the choice of the statistical model - instead of the multi-level model used in the original analysis by Arzhimer (2013), I have used a standard probit model with clustered errors. Since the latter does not account for possible random effects, future analysis could apply the multi-level model approach to the question of interest.

Another possible limitation is that as the previous chapters stipulated, along with the radical right parties my theoretical argument is generally also applicable to the electoral success of the populist parties. Therefore, in order to check the robustness of my findings, I also have recorded the dependent variable to account for the blue-collar respondents who voted for the populist right Fidesz in Hungary. Then I repeated the above analysis. The results of the analysis with the modified dependent variable are provided in

the Appendix I. Overall, I find a positive association between the support for the populist/radical right parties and the left parties positions on the spending policy and deregulation policy issues, albeit not on the redistribution issue (Appendix I).

Case Studies

While cross-country studies allow scholars to track the emergence of trends across a selected dataset and confirm the external validity of the theoretical argument, they fail to eliminate substantive variation present at the high level of aggregation. Therefore, the case study approach can complement the quantitative cross-country analysis by allowing a researcher to examine the data within a specific context and account for the variation unique to a particular country case.

In the below sub-sections of this chapter, I focus on three Visegrád countries—the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia—that are more easily compared with each other than they are with other Central and Eastern European countries because of their historical experiences (see the introduction chapter for more details). I implement a qualitative case-study analysis on secondary data in each of these countries by tracing the timing of the emergence of the socio-economic cleavage, the policy choices made by the ex-Communist left parties at the beginning of the market transition, the party realignment process that followed those choices, and the subsequent emergence of the populist and radical right parties in these countries.

I show that in the countries where the ex-Communist left parties implemented the market reforms, the blue-collar constituencies tended to switch to the right side of the political spectrum and eventually embraced the radical right parties. I use some individual-level quantitative evidence to back these findings from the Comparative Study of the Electoral System. Specifically, I compare the differences in support of blue- and white-collar respondents for the ex-Communist left and populist and radical right parties.

While the case-studies allow me to address a number of limitations of the cross-country comparative analysis, they also have a number of important limitations. Specifically, the characteristic intricacy in qualitative case studies make it difficult to

prove scientific thoroughness and difficult to validate the resulting findings (Baškarada 2014). The subjectivity and preferences of researchers may bias the data selection. Therefore, I supplement the case-study analysis with more rigorous quantitative methods in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

Czech Republic

Historical Legacy and Transition Period

The programmatic choices of Czech's ex-Communist left were largely shaped by the party's historical legacy during the Communist period. KSČM is a direct heir of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska - KSČ), which was Czechoslovakia's ruling party between 1948 and 1989. Unlike Hungary, where the 1956 resulted in a victory of a pro-reformist wing, the 1968 revolution had a different impact on the Czech Communist party (KSČ). The reformist wing was heavily purged out of the Party apparatus, and those left among in the party were the most rigid, ossified, and resistant to programmatic change (Stolarik, 2016). This trend was further fostered by the Communist leadership. The respectability and career growth of high-ranking party functionaries depended on their activities during the 1968 Prague Spring; politicians that were complicit in the suppression of dissidents in 1968 had higher odds of being nominated for a seat in either legislative chamber (Rizova 2016: 152). As result, the Czech Communist party accumulated very rigid and anti-reform-oriented cadres and was not in a position to embark on democratic reforms during the democratization period.

After the transition, KSČM gradually supplemented Leninism with a more Marxist democratic left stance, but its image continued to carry some reflection of its past (Hanley 2001). The party leadership has even opted to keep the label "Communist" even

in the party name, unlike the majority of other ex-Communist parties in the region that have opted to change their names to "social democratic" (Lach et al. 2010); KSČM has remained "the least social democratized and least organizationally like other European left parties" (Ishiyama 2006). One explanation for KSČM's ability to survive relatively unchanged after the Velvet Revolution is its ability to preserve for the most part its membership in comparison with other ex-Communist parties. The KSČM's departing members did not attempt to create a specific secessionist party (unlike Hungary's MSZP or KSČ Slovakian wing); and therefore, KSČM avoided early competition with a party of a European leftist type as it happened in Poland or Hungary (Lach et al. 2010: 368-369). Holubec (2015) lists several other reasons for the resilience of the KSČM communist identity: 1) its reform wing, which was purged after 1968, was relatively weak; 2) unlike the Baltic and Romanian Communist parties that were banned between 1989–1991, the legal existence of KSČM was relatively secure, so the party didn't need to reinvent its identity; 3) given the strong anti-Communist public sentiment in the Czech Republic, KSČM was concerned that taking on a social-democratic identity would disrupt the existing support base without bringing a new one. KSČM's inability to move closer to the political center was also a consequence of a boycott from the mainstream parties, which tried to punish KSČM for its Communist past. Every time KSČM was elected to the Czech National Parliament, other parties avoided forming coalitions and alliances with it, contributing to the preservation of its anti-establishment and ideologically conservative platform.

The lack of governmental responsibility ended up helping KSČM; because KSČM had not participated in government for 20 years, it could claim the outsider status of the uniquely "clean" party in a corrupt political system (Lach et al. 2010: 369). This made KSČM largely a protest party, which was able to preserve relatively orthodox positions

on the economic issues and attracted the support of blue-collar workers, "globalization losers", and those dissatisfied with the status quo. Lach et al (2010: 321) show that regional unemployment levels and crime rate were among the top predictors of KSČM vote. By the 2006 Czech Election Study, KSČM voters had the highest dissatisfaction with the functioning of democracy, highest distrust in the institutions, and prioritized crime reduction over civil liberties (Stegmaier and Vlachova 2009: 808–10).[10]

Reflecting the party's ideological rigidity, the KSČM platform consistently stressed some of the Marxist dogmas, for example, identifying capitalism as the main disease afflicting world's population and offering to combine the Marxist collectivist goals with democratic objectives (Lach et al. 2010: 375). A particular sub-section of the party platform was devoted to creating new jobs, increasing social protection, fighting the unemployment and the unfavorable conditions of the young, disabled and elderly people. Interestingly, KSČM also addressed the cultural policy: it offered specific economic assistance to the Roma groups, and opposed the Czech accession into "the US- and Germany-dominated" NATO and the EU. In other words, KSČM largely used a platform combining redistributionist and national appeals (Lach et al. 2010: 376; KSČM Party Manifesto 2006, 2010, 2013).

Another centrist left party in Czech Republic, ČSSD, was also able to maintain a traditional left platform and did not engage in the market transition reforms. ČSSD, which dates back to the period of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, re-appeared after the Velvet Revolution in 1989 and remained one of the two largest political parties in the country. Initially, ČSSD assumed a party platform of a typical western European social democratic

---

[10] Initially it was popular among the Czech commentators to assume that KSČM would perish in isolation after its voters died off. This argument was supported by the empirical data showing that KSČM voters were generally older. Yet the party's electoral share proved remarkably stable over time and almost quarter a century later it ended up winning its second highest share of vote in 2013 election (Stolarik, 2016). In the 2017 election the result dropped to 7.8% (but it was synchronized with the falling electoral fortunes of ČSSD, which got only 7.3% of votes.

party, supporting a mixed economy, strong welfare state, progressive taxation, and European integration. Since 1993, when ČSSD was headed by Milos Zeman, its left-wing orientation started to be more clearly pronounced.

Since the Czech ex-Communist parties did not attempt to embark on a reforms trajectory, the center-right parties took on that endeavor. The right-wing alliance between the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) with the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) that won the majority of votes in 1992 launched privatization and European integration. These policies were continued when the alliance won the consecutive 1996 parliamentary election. The ČSSD criticized the specific form of transformation chosen by the right-wing government and exploited the KSČM's orthodox-communist background to position itself as the only acceptable party for the voters dissatisfied with the results of the economic transformation. The emerging division between the left and right reflecting the socioeconomic cleavage became the most important indicator of the positions of the individual parties around that time (Hlousek and Kopecek 2008: 10).

In this sense, the traditional left-right parties' alignment along the economic axis has been preserved in the Czech Republic. The formation of the socioeconomic cleavage took place around the 1992–96 elections during the reforms implementation period (Kitschelt et al. 1999: 226–231, 244–260; Hlousek and Kopecek 2008: 10), and its effects on voting in the Czech Republic have remained stable or increased slightly over time (Smith and Matějů 2011; Linek and Lyons 2013). The main policy issues concerning this division included wealth redistribution, state regulation, and public welfare (Linek 2015: 4).

Social class remained the primary cleavage, separating the left-wing parties (the traditional left KSČM and the center-left ČSSD) from the liberal and conservative right-wing parties (ODS, ODA, US, TOP09). Linek (2015) finds a strong and consistent

130

association between belonging to a particular social group and party choice between 1990–2013. The right-leaning ODS has consistently received high support among entrepreneurs (around 50%), higher and lower professionals, and gained lower support among the manual workers and the retired (below 20%). By contrast, the ČSSD support was the strongest among the manual workers (above 35%) and the retired. KSČM also retained a large share of blue-collar workers and the retired voters. In 1996 KSČM received 10% of all workers' support (Grzymala-Busse 1996). In 1999 its membership structure included a disproportional share of blue-collar workers (14.2%) (Strmiska 2002), and in 2016 working class voters were overrepresented among KSČM voters (34.2%).[11]

The Czech left parties' collaboration with labor unions (Avdagic 2005) and their implementation of more pro-labor policies also explain their ability to retain higher support among the working class. While KSČM[12] and ČSSD did not pursue a coalition, they collaborated with Bohemian-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions (ČMKOS) and frequently voted together on issues relevant to Czech labor (Sil 2017), which created a relatively more pro-labor climate in the Czech Republic than that in Hungary or Poland (Ost 1997; Orenstein 2000). On several occasions, ČSSD and KSČM independently lined up to the left, including during the period of the ČSSD-led government in 2002–06, when the Czech Labor Code was passed. Under Jiri Paroubek, who served as ČSSD Prime Minister in 2005–06, the ČSSD and KSČM jointly worked on revisions to the Labor Code and other issues (Sil 2017).

Overall, the presence of a viable left party (or set of parties) that resisted the efforts to undercut the rights of trade unions and to reduce the social protection of workers that

---

[11] Czech Median 2016 MML-TGI survey accumulates the data on 15,000 of Czech respondents per year. Data available upon request.
[12] KSČM preserved strong links to trade union activists; in 1992, 57% of KSČM supporters were drawn from union members, and in 1996, 38%. In 2000 about 20% of trade union members were supporters of the KSČM and 17% of ČSSD (11% and 22% in 2001 respectively).

came from the reformist right parties strengthened Czech workers' support for the left (Sil, 2017).

Individual-Level Surveys

For the Czech case, the data allows me to test this argument regarding the consistency of the alignments. As explained above, I expect the left-right political alignment to be largely maintained in the Czech case, and for blue-collar workers' support for the left parties to remain strong over time.

I used the data from the Comparative Study of the Electoral System (CSES) dataset available for the following years: 1996, 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2013[13] to test this hypothesis. The CSES dataset allows me to classify respondents as blue-collar workers based on their occupational status: "Main occupation: worker" ("D2011"). The variable, which I recoded as a dummy, takes a value of "1" for all of the physical work/ labor related occupations.

The below figure maps the differences in party support between the Czech blue- and white-collar respondents. The below graph illustrates the differences in support across blue- and white- collar supporters for the Czech center left ČSSD and the old left KSČM parties respectively (Figure 7).

---

[13] http://www.cses.org/electionstudies.htm Unfortunately, CSES data is only available for the Hungarian case for the years 1998 and 2002.
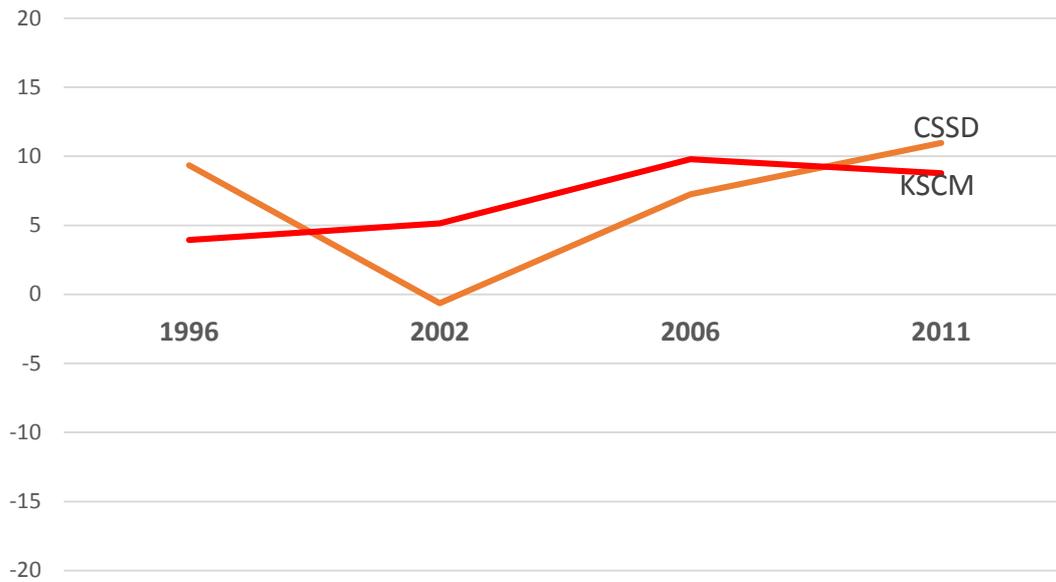
Figure 7. The Differences in Support between Czech Blue- and White-Collar Respondents for the Center Left ČSSD and Old Left KSČM, CSES, 1996, 2002, 2006, and 2011.

The findings seem to confirm my expectations: a voter's blue-collar status is positively and consistently associated with their support for the Czech left parties over time. This finding goes in line with my theoretical expectations: the preservation of traditional party alignments is manifested through a consistent positive association between physical worker status and support for the left parties in the Czech Republic.

Overall, in line with my theoretical expectations, in the case of the Czech Republic, the political alignments of the right and left have been preserved throughout time. Moreover, the Czech blue-collar voters still overwhelmingly support the left parties, unlike the blue-collar respondents in, say, Hungary or Poland. I illustrated this pattern by looking at the differences in support for the ex-Communist left parties between blue- and white-collar respondents in the Czech Republic.

Poland

The Polish case is one of the clearest examples of electoral swings related to popular frustration with economic reforms and a longing for the social safety net of the bygone Communist era. Poland's division into winners and losers generated nostalgic longings for the times of full employment and a reliable social safety net and eventually contributed to the emergence of political populism. The electoral fortunes of the Polish left parties reflected this dynamic quite well. The resistance to the liberal reforms in the Polish context centered on a set of populist gestures associated with the emergence of a new right and the steady disappearance of the left beginning in 1989 (Shields 2012).

The Polish transition was launched by the free trade union Solidarity, which became a broad, non-violent, anti-communist social movement and greatly contributed to the fall of communism. Eventually, Poland's communist government was forced to negotiate with Solidarity, opening a road to the round table talks which eventually led to semi-free elections in 1989. The Polish Round Table allowed for a peaceful transition of power to the democratically elected government and the formation of a Solidarity-led coalition government by the end of August 1989. In December 1990, Lech Wałęsa became the elected President of Poland and the Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki of the first non-Communist Polish government embarked on a program of economic reform aiming to start the transition to a market-oriented economy. The key components of these reforms were those implemented in early 1990 by a team of economists headed by Leszek Balcerowicz and known as shock therapy.

In light of growing resistance to Communism, the collapse of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) became inevitable. Some of the former activists of the PUWP established the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP), which was assigned to take over all the rights and duties of the PUWP and divide out its property. The rest of

the activists formed the Social Democratic Union of the Republic of Poland (UsdRP). Just prior to Poland's first free elections in 1991, SdRP together with the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), trade unions, feminists, the unemployed and other groups within the working class formed an electoral alliance known as Democratic Left Alliance (SDL, the Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej). In the first 1991 election that was won by the liberal Democratic Union, the SDL finished second with 12% of votes (only 0.3% of votes below the winner). The newly formed five-party center-right coalition continued with Balcerowicz reforms.

The implementation of painful shock-therapy reforms contributed to the success of the left SLD in the next 1993 election (Rae 2007: 105). Many observers were surprised that the Polish voters decidedly swung to the left and away from the reformist right embracing non-Solidarity parties (Hunter and Ryan 1990: 172). During its electoral campaign, SLD supported market reforms, but it also demanded higher consideration for the interests of labor and continued "central intervention" in the economy to reduce the costs of transformation (Hunter and Ryan 1990: 172). As the popular frustration with the reforms grew, SLD gained 20.4% of votes, which allowed it to form a ruling coalition with the agrarian Polish Peasant Party (PSL), beating the Christian-Liberal Democratic Union. Two years later, in 1995, Aleksander Kwasniewski, SLD candidate, was elected Polish president.

While PSL represented the interests of Polish farmers and, as the party of the countryside, had a larger proportion of practicing churchgoers among its voters and drew the support of the Catholic Church, SLD voters were leaning to a more secular side. A greater share than the general electorate of SLD supporters opposed privatization and the closure of factories (CBOS 1993; Gibson and Cielecka 1995). SLD was supported by industrial and other public-sector workers and pensioners, but also employers, including many private entrepreneurs. Gibson and Cielecka (1995: 769) found that the SLD was

successful in drawing support from reform "losers" who demanded reforms modification, a greater emphasis on spending and an increase in social services (Paradowska, Janicki and Markowski 1993). Chan (1995) interpreted the results of the 1993 election as a proof that the major political cleavage in Poland has shifted from the ideological to the socio-political dimension.

Having come to power in 1993, the parties in the left coalition found themselves facing two opposing demands. Their supporters expected the left parties to reduce transformation costs and increase pensions, unemployment insurance, wages, protect the farmers, limit foreign participation in the economy and raise taxes. By contrast, the government urgently needed IMF approval to qualify Poland for the second stage of a 50% cut in its $33 billion foreign debt. A need for debt restructuring and an inflow of the much-needed greater foreign investment created strong incentives to limit budgetary spending (Gibson and Cielecka 1995: 770). The result was the continuation of reforms and fiscal adjustment. After a short oscillation, the new government announced that it would "push ahead with a mass privatization scheme" and continued with the Balcerowicz's plan of privatization, deregulation, and sound fiscal policies (Hunter and Ryan 1998: 172). A relatively tight budget was passed for 1994, and an increase in pensions' indexation and social payments in that budget were well below what was promised during the election campaign (Gibson and Cielecka 1995: 770). By 1995, when Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance Grzegorz Kolodko announced his "Strategy for Poland", it became clear that the ruling left coalition chose the neoliberal approach of controlling budget deficits, combatting inflation, cutting down expenditures and opening the Polish economy to foreign investors (Bozóki and Ishiyama 2002: 66).

Despite the four years of the economic growth and decreasing unemployment, the voters punished SLD in 1997 by voting for Solidarnosc Election Action (AWS), a right-

wing coalition of Solidarnosc trade unions and the Catholic parties led by the Polish trade union leader Marian Krzaklewski. In its electoral program, the SLD continued to evolve towards a more neoliberal economic platform, and openly advocated support for new and small businesses, even labelling one segment of its platform "Entrepreneurism Above All" (Jackson, Klich, Poznariska 2005: 43). By contrast, the AWS campaigned on a less liberal platform than the SLD, by offering to aid the badly lagging coal and steel sectors, which were not yet restructured or privatized. While AWS emphasized the economic interventionism, it also offered to continue with privatization and economic reforms. Yet despite its electoral promises, ASW formed a coalition government with the Freedom Union, a pro-market party headed by Leszek Balcerowicz, who became the deputy prime minister and the minister of finance in the new government. In turn, the new government focused on further privatization of services and industries, along with reforms directed at overhauling the state administration and welfare services (pensions, healthcare and education) (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland 2013: 200). In other words, the Polish voters were left with no party representing a viable pro-redistribution alternative.

This might have been the reason why in 2001 they voted for SLD. The pendulum swung back, ensuring a 41% landslide victory of SLD in coalition with Labor Union. In their campaigns, both parties capitalized on the economic turmoil and the decline in living standards, which followed the reforms of previous center-right government. Despite the economic recovery, the unemployment remained high and a sense of social and individual dislocation spread in Poland. At the time the center-right parties, the liberal Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska, PO) and the Law and Justice Party (Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc, PiS), failed to offer credible alternatives (Shields 2012).

Yet again, the left parties were not in the position to cater to social demands. They needed to ensure the Polish accession to the European Union, which constrained the ruling

parties' policy choices, since the European Union demanded that the government continued with the reform program. In addition, the previous AWS-UW government's social reforms proved to be extremely costly (as well as unpopular). Therefore, when the SLD-PSL regained office in 2001, it had to focus on avoiding fiscal crisis. The government's economic policy prioritized the interests of business, introduced a more flexible labor code, expanded entrepreneurship support and proposed a flat-income tax in Poland. To support small and medium-sized enterprises, the new government also intended to make labor market more flexible and more closely conforming with the laws of the EU. The program document of the new government "Entrepreneurship Above All", which was approved in the beginning of 2002, reflected this spirit and sought to liberalize the Polish Labor Code by making hiring and firing easier, cutting sick pay, reducing overtime pay and limiting union consultation rights (Phelan 2007: 313). While the program intended to decrease the unemployment, initially, the already high unemployment spiked even higher.

The voters did not appreciate the new government's policies. Having introduced large tax increases and expenditure cuts in its first budget, the left parties in power immediately saw an unusually sharp downturn in their approval ratings (Szczerbiak 2002). Several corruption scandals during the SLD term (such as the "Rywin affair") helped to further weaken its support. The negative impact of the corruption scandals was exacerbated by the introduction of economic austerity measures at the end of 2003 to prevent the budget deficit from spiraling out of control (Shields 2012). Overall, between the 2001 and 2005 parliamentary elections the SLD support fell from over 40% to 15%, and since then the party remained on the margins of Polish politics, creating the space for the populist right to fill in (Szczerbiak 2007). In the 2005 election, SLD lost 30% of its voters and for the first time since its establishment, it entered parliament as the third party,

winning only 11% of votes. This trend continued in the subsequent elections. Despite several new left-wing parties consecutively formed to fill the vacuum of left-wing reformism (Razem, the Greens and Social Justice Movement Party), none has been able to achieve substantial success. In ten consecutive years since the collapse of the SLD, the main contestation on the Polish political scene occurred between Polish right parties – populist Law and Justice and a liberal Civic Platform.

In the 2005 election, the decline of the electoral support for SLD came partly due to the abstention of its voters, but also because of the increased switching of its voters to the right parties, such as Self-Defense (6% of SLD voters) and Law and Justice party (13% of SLD voters) (Szczerbiak 2007). The right parties increasingly capitalized on Poles' frustration with the losses incurred by the economic transition. In a specific post-Communist context, this bitterness took the form of attacks on the communists for old-regime's repressions and transition losses. The most powerful of these parties, the Law and Justice party, used this ressentiment to campaign against corrupt government officials and "the elite", promising to end corruption and inequality and to punish and exclude the communists and their agents from power (Wolchik and Curry 2008: 175), while emphasizing the Polish traditions and Catholic religious values. This emerging populist discourse configured virtuous homogeneous national people against a set of self-serving corrupt politicians (predominantly associated with the left parties), who allegedly conspired to deprive the "people" of what is rightfully theirs in terms of their economic and social standing. Using such rhetoric, PiS won the parliamentary election and its head Lech Kaczyński won the presidential election in October 2005. In his electoral slogans, Kaczynski used a socio-conservative program and pledged not to re-nominate the reformer Leszek Balcerowicz for a further six-year term as President of the National Bank of Poland.

PiS, elected in 2005, emphasized its "Fourth Republic" program for the moral and political renewal of the Polish state, along with a vague pledge to build a "solidaristic" Poland in contrast to Civic Platform's economic liberalism. PiS particularly lamented the fate of workers abandoned by post-communist neoliberal economic policies, but blamed the identity of the new leaders, rather than the nature of the new capitalist system for their misfortunes (Ost 2018: 114). PiS proposed that the conditions of Polish workers could have been improved if Poland had leaders who followed true Polish values, such as banning abortion, purging former communists, and distributing a piece of state property to all citizens. PiS's electoral program largely echoed the claims of Solidarity leaders from the mid-1990s, who did not oppose capitalism, but wanted to offer solutions for the economic problems experienced by their members (Ost 2018: 119). In its first tenure in 2005–7, PiS continued fairly liberal economic policies; it eliminated the inheritance tax, cut payroll taxes, and created a deficit in the social security account that led to pressure to raise the retirement age (Ost 2018: 114). The party's subsequent success came from Poland's continuing economic growth and falling unemployment rates, along with PiS's ability to avoid radical social or economic reforms that could have produced negative short-term electoral consequences (Szczerbiak 2007). In the local 2006 local elections, PiS pushed the populist slogans even further under the banner "Close to the People", promising "to create a social order in Poland, in which good is good, and bad is bad" (Solidarne państwo, solidarnych obywateli 2006, Wysocka 2009). Yet it pursued fairly orthodox, pro-market economic policies by lowering income and payroll taxes, pushing through a tax relief package for families, and bearing down on the budget deficit and public debt (Szczerbiak 2015).

A political crisis (the result of corruption allegations on the part of Andrzej Lepper, leader of the Self-Defense of the Republic of Poland) broke up the ruling coalition and

led to the earlier parliamentary election called in 2007. The main competition unraveled between the right Civic Platform and Law and Justice. Interestingly, both parties moved away from the economic liberalism in their slogans by squeezing the center-left. Civic Platform promised to bring about an "economic miracle" that would pay for improved public services and infrastructure by abandoning excessive regulation. Distancing itelf from an open espousal of economic liberalism, CO targeted public-sector workers' dissatisfaction with the PiS-led government by promising better salaries for doctors, nurses and teachers. The party argued that such policies would prevent Poles from being forced to work abroad in order to improve their standard of living (Szczerbiak 2007: 5). By contrast, Law and Justice failed to develop an effective response to PO slogans and attempted to shift the campaign back to anti-corruption issues (Szczerbiak 2007: 5). The election resulted in a clear victory for the Civic Platform with 41.51% of the votes and 209 (out of 460) seats in the Sejm. The "Left and Democrats"—an electoral alliance of four center-left parties anchored by the Democratic Left Alliance—received the third result of 13.15%. Yet this result was below the total combined vote for these parties in the 2005 election and below the 55 seats that the Democratic Left Alliance won on its own in the previous election.

The 2011 election saw a clear victory for the Civic Platform, which became the first incumbent governing party to secure re-election for a second term of office since 1989, while the right-wing PiS party came a strong second. Yet PO support was not based on particular enthusiasm about its policies. While PO took credit for ensuring that Poland was the only EU member that avoided recession during the 2007–8 financial crisis, it did not deliver on its 2007 campaign pledge to create an "economic miracle." Moreover, while Poland managed to avoid the 2008 crisis, social frustration continued to accumulate because of years of insecure labor contracts, stagnant wages and regional disparities: most

Poles generally with unstable contracts and without union representation (Ost 2018: 114). Hence concerned about avoiding the fate of the SLD, the PO government also avoided more radical social and economic policy reforms. As a result, the government was criticized from both sides for lack of major achievements and ambition, which led to a steady erosion in the government's public approval ratings and satisfaction with its performance, particularly the evaluations of its handling of the economy (Szczerbiak 2011). While in the office, after 2011 the party continued to depart from its market-oriented roots; it abandoned its flagship promises to reduce taxes and curb pension privileges for selected professional groups and it was accused of acting illegally in dismantling the obligatory private pension fund (Markowski 2016: 1313). The PO moderation about further economic liberalization suggests that it was relatively perceptive to changing societal demand in Poland.

The decline of PO popularity culminated in 2015, when PiS won the parliamentary election with 37.6% of votes and gained 235 seats. For the first time in democratic Poland, a winning party was able to create a government without having to negotiate with coalition partners. Having lost the elections of 2007, PiS's made appeals to workers the center of its 2015 campaign. Prior to May 2015 presidential election, PiS candidate Andrzej Duda signed an agreement with Solidarity trade union. In exchange for the union's support, Duda promised to roll back the retirement age, increase the minimum wage, strengthen tripartite social dialogue, and fight the short-term "junk contracts." Following Duda's victory, PiS party accepted these terms (Ost 2018: 119).

During the 2015 parliamentary campaign, PiS and a new right populist movement set up by a rock singer, Paweł Kukiz, argued that Poland was in the hands of corrupt elites; that Polish economic development was proceeding more slowly than it might have; that Poland was left "in ruins" by the maladministration of previous governments. PiS also

made a number of costly pledges popular among the wider public: a universal child benefit; reversing the PO-PSL government's unpopular but necessary plan to increase the retirement age to 67 for people of both sexes; and increasing the tax-free income thresholds (Markowski 2016: 1312).

These promises aimed to attract those Poles who had lost as a result of the Polish modernization—even if that loss was only relative— in particular, the blue-collar workers. PiS was closest to industrial workers employed full-time in manufacturing firms (Ost 2018: 121). The strongholds of PiS support also included the economically depressed rural regions of Poland's south and east, whose sense of marginalization had a basis in economic reality (Traub, 2016). PiS electorate of PiS had a dramatic over-representation of (a) people with primary (53%) and vocational (56%) education; (b) peasants and farmers (53%); (c) people over 50 years of age (48%); (d) pensioners (49%); (e) workers and rural residents (47%). Kukiz'15, which received 8.8% of active voters, also had a disproportional representation of workers (13%) (Markowski 2016: 1317). In other words, the societal division about the economic transformation remained a key cleavage in the Polish politics 25 years later. The more striking difference between the 2015 election and the previous 25 years was the complete absence of parliamentary representation for the left parties as a logical continuation of the realignment process ongoing in the Polish politics.

A smaller sub-group of PiS supporters includes the non-unionized workers from small towns and cities. PiS mostly appealed to this group via nationalism, offering to work together to build a strong Poland where one can stay home and thrive instead of living as a second-class citizen somewhere in western Europe. Yet nationalism has a concrete economic appeal for this group: "We will build industry at home, we will renovate the

places liberalism bypassed, and we will not allow Poles to be treated as neocolonial subjects" (Ost 2018: 122).

Since coming to power for the second time in 2015, PiS has proceeded to deliver on its electoral promises. For example, PiS reversed the previous government's increase of the retirement age, offered new drug benefits for the elderly and initiated a broad program for the construction of new affordable housing (Ost 2018: 115). In addition, PiS imposed limits on the use of insecure short-term "junk contracts," raised the guaranteed hourly minimum to 13 złotys, introduced a new child-benefit program with a monthly payment of 500 złotysto parents of each additional child, introduced a new surcharge tax imposed on foreign-owned banks and insurance companies. These policies made full-time manufacturing employees PiS's most loyal working-class constituency (Ost 2018: 115, 122).

Given its program and policies, today's PiS combines the right policies on the cultural dimension with the left policies on the economic dimension—the combination that proved successful for many other populist and radical right parties. Adopting this successful platform was made possible due to left SLD's abandonment of its traditional policy stances, because no other movement was going to appeal to Polish workers' resentment toward capitalism (Ost 2005; Ost 2018).

Individual-Level Surveys

For the Polish case, the data allows us to test the argument regarding the consistency of the alignments. As explained above, I expect the left-right political realignment to occur in Poland largely in the same way observed in Hungary— I expected the support of blue-collar voters to shift to the populist right PiS party over time.

I used the data from the Comparative Study of the Electoral System (CSES) dataset available in Polish case for the following years: 1997, 2001, 2005, 2007, and 2011[14] to test this hypothesis. CSES dataset allows for classifying respondents as blue-collar workers based on their occupational status: "Main occupation: worker" ("D2011"). The variable, which I recoded as a dummy, takes a value of "1" for all of the physical work/ labor related occupations.
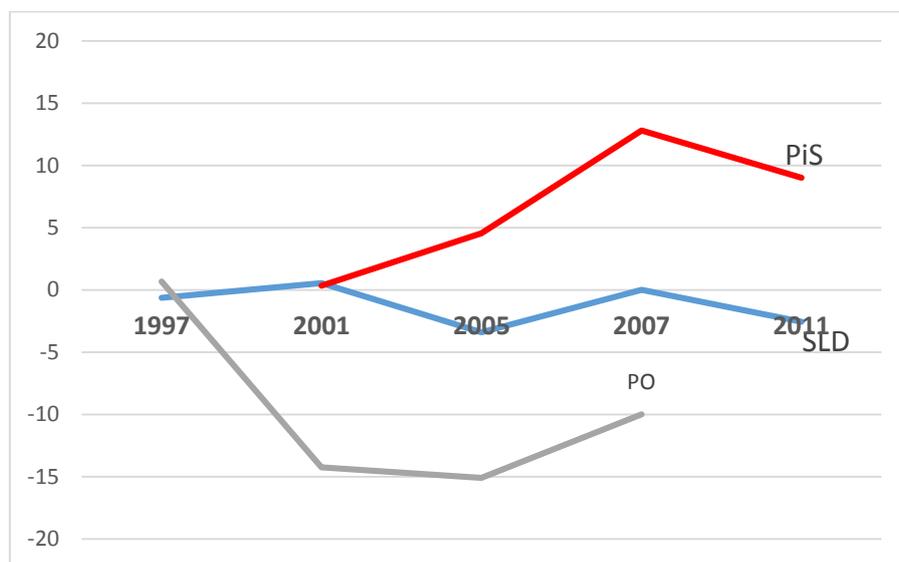
Figure 8. The Differences in Support Between Poland's Blue- and White-Collar Respondents for the Centre-Right PO, Center Left SLD, Populist Right PiS, CSES, 1997, 2001, 2005,2007,2011

The above graph confirms my hypothesis (H1) (Figure 8). Over time, relative working-class support becomes increasingly associated with the right party PiS. Additionally, one also notices an increasing negative association between the working-class status and the probability of supporting the center-left SLD. There is also a negative association between the blue-collar status and support for the center-right PO. This analysis confirms my theoretical expectations. The adoption of austerity economic

[14]http://www.cses.org/electionstudies.htm

policies by the ex-Communist left SLD opened up the opportunity for the right PiS party in Poland to challenge the left from a more redistributionist economic agenda and to appeal to reform losers and workers. This contributed to the political realignment, leading to increasing embrace of blue-collar voters for the populist PiS party, and a subsequent collapse of the center-left SLD party.

Slovakia

The Slovak story is somewhat different due to the persistence of the non-democratic tendencies until the 1998 election, which was mostly a problem of institutional rather than electoral accountability. Slovakia's case is mixed: both right and left parties were in power while implementing reforms, and hence the reaction came from both sides. On the left, populist Smer found a political opportunity, split from the ex-Communist left and went in opposition to the reforms. On the right, the national populist Slovak National Party (SNS) also used the participation of the left SDL in the reforms as an opportunity to challenge them from the right. In the long run, however, Smer has been more successful in capturing the anti-reformist vote and drawing such voters from SNS and another reactionary party HZDS.

Slovakia's Communist party elites, in contrast to their pragmatic and reform-minded Polish and Hungarian counterparts, were more orthodox and traditional due to the legacy of the post-Prague Spring normalization (Williams 1997). As result, in both the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the Communist successor parties reflected a more orthodox stance on political and economic transition. Founded in 1991, the People's Party—Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) was a newly established Slovakia party that ruled the country from 1992 to 1998 (with a short break in 1994). Featuring many ex-

Communist party members, HZDS nonetheless embodied the Slovak national movement. HZDS's leader, Vladimír Mečiar, led Slovakia through the Velvet Divorce, and during his tenure - which lasted until 1998, Slovakia was considered a non-democratic political system.

Slovakia's ex-Communist Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) was a social-democratic political party in Slovakia, which was founded in 1990 out of the Communist Party of Slovakia and stayed in power from 1990 to 2004. Being the most objectionable party in Slovakia (Grzymala-Busse 2002) prompted SDL to stress pragmatism, commitment to democracy and market reform and avoid joining the government of HZDS throughout the 1990s (Deegan-Krause 2006). While the nationalist HZDS implemented only partial economic reforms, when the right-leaning government took power in 1998, SDL chose to stand out "as technocrats and advocates of reform" in the newly formed cabinet (Vachudova 2008, 391; Tavits and Letsky 2009).

Initially, the HZDS and the SDL programs bore strong similarities. HZDS advocated managed economic reforms with an emphasis on market transition, but particularly stressed the "social aspect" of the market (Haughton 2004; Williams 2000: 4–8). This language resembled SDL's, which called for privatization with the least amount of social losses. While SDL emphasized solidarity, social justice and the promotion of the health and economic well-being of working people, HZDS emphasized the preservation of the Slovak nation. Yet the traditional left constituencies of the communist-successor party in Slovakia that were skeptical about the marketization and nostalgic for Communist times generally supported HZDS rather than SDL (Bútorová and Bútora 1994: 32; Evans and Whitefield 1998: 131; Haughton 2004: 183). According to Haughton (2004), HZDS policy towards the trade unions diluted SDL's support base— HZDS had de facto control over the largest unions in Slovakia, while the lack of a strong

147

link between the unions and SDL in mid-1990s deprived it of a potentially strong left-leaning support base. The absence of reforms and similar economic stances of the main parties delayed the formation of socioeconomic cleavages in the party system until late 1990s (Deegan-Krause 2006; O'Dwyer 2006).

The real change to Slovak political system came in 1998. In light of the EU's rejection of Slovakia's accession in 1998, all segments of civil society mobilized to bring the reformers to power. Although Mečiar's HZDS won again, the right-leaning conservative parties managed to compose a broad pro-European coalition in which SDL was dominated by the center-right Slovak Democratic Coalition party (SDK) and formed a government. Together with the assistance of the IMF and the World Bank, Prime Minister Dzurinda implemented one of the most exemplary market reforms in the region. The fundamental public-sector reforms and economy-wide restructuring included privatization of the SOEs, passing anticorruption laws, introducing a flat tax, liberalizing the Labor Code, restructuring of the health care and social welfare systems (Laursen and Sasin 2004). The reforms resulted in one of the least demanding regulatory and tax environments in Europe and a minimal social policy. As result, Slovakia got admitted to the OECD and joined the EU and NATO in 2004.

While these policies attracted a lot of foreign investment, they created loud opposition from the country's unions. The radical reforms ended a tripartite bargaining system that de facto existed in Slovakia since 1989. Dzurinda's government dismissed the unions as reform partners (O'Dwyer and Kovalcík 2007). Meciar's HZDS and the Slovak National Party (SNS) went into opposition.

As the reforms proceeded, the ex-Communist SDL found itself in an ambiguous position as a left-wing party in a largely center-right government (Henderson 2002). The SDL decision to take the finance portfolio during the reform years and therefore to

become the public face of painful economic reform decreased its public support and exacerbated internal tensions within SDL. As result, SDL suffered a dramatic decline in its support, exacerbated by some serious corruption scandals and by internal divisions on its positioning vis-à-vis government policy. The SDL eventually lost the 2002 election gaining only 1.4% of the vote. In the end, SDL ended up merging with another left party, Smer-SD in January 2005.

The 2002 elections again brought to power a center-right coalition, which continued the reforms until 2006. This period marked an increasing relevance of the socioeconomic cleavage in Slovakia's party politics. The center-right government was heavily criticized by the opposition parties, particularly Smer, which increasingly portrayed the government as neo-liberal, a term with negative connotations. Rybář (2006) illustrates the growing importance of socio-economic themes in Slovakia throughout the 2002–06 election cycle on two expert surveys carried out in 2004 and 2006. The 2004 survey revealed that two economic issues—redistribution and state-run versus market economy—were the most prominent in the Slovak party politics, followed by nationalism and democracy (Rohrschneider and Whitefield 2004). In the 2006 expert survey (Rybář 2006), two economic issues (state versus market and social welfare) were also estimated as the most important on the political scene, followed by nationalism and social order. Hence, by 2006 the socioeconomic dimension came to dominate Slovak party politics.

The presence of the left SDL in a generally right-leaning coalition created an opportunity for the populist right parties to capitalize on the anti-reforms platform. For example, Slovakia's SNS party— which Mudde (2011: 12) classifies as a populist radical right party that combined a mixture of nationalism and xenophobia, authoritarianism and populism—was able to use this political opening. SNS combined a nationalist stance with left-leaning economic program, including elements of state interventionism, paternalism

and redistribution. SNS voters favored state intervention, redistribution, state paternalism and etatism (Gyarfasova 2013: 9).

Using the anti-reform platform (which was also utilized by its left competitors—HZDS and Smer), SNS made it to the parliament in 2006 election with 11.83% of votes. The party's 2006 electoral program entitled "We Are Slovaks. A Slovak government for Slovaks" devoted a large section to the analysis of the overall threat brought about by the processes of globalization and Europeanization. The SNS manifesto portrayed globalization as a process that created easily malleable cosmopolitan citizens lacking bonds to their families and nations. Although SNS program accepted the international cooperation, it questioned liberalization, commercialization and the dechristianization of Europe that threatened the Latin-Slavic identity of the Slovak nation (Černoch, Husák, Schütz and Vít 2011: 187). In response, SNS offered to "return Slovakia into the hands of Slovaks!" and overall devoted about a fifth (22%) of its program to the elaboration of the socio-economic themes in its manifesto (Haughton and Rybář 2008). Similarly, the 2010 SNS manifesto offered a considerable space to its economic program by emphasizing the need for economic sovereignty and autarky, particularly in the areas of food production and energy industry. SNS remained skeptical of foreign capital and big corporations, stressing a need to replace them with Slovak companies instead (Černoch, Husák, Schütz and Vít 2011: 190).

However, SNS was successfully challenged on the left by the Smer-SD party. Smer (Smer-SD since 2005 when it absorbed the SDL) emerged in 1999 as a breakaway from the SDL and was headed by Robert Fico, the most popular SDL member at that time. Fico sensed a political opportunity to campaign against the market reforms led by the center-right ruling coalition from the left, and quickly made Smer-SD one of the most popular parties in Slovakia.

Smer-SD consecutively campaigned on a traditional left platform, criticizing the Slovak center-right governments for ignoring Slovakia's growing disparities, catering to the multinational corporations and financial interests. Instead, Smer offered a protectionist solution, emphasizing the need to return to the basic principles of solidarity and state involvement in the economy, offering changes in the labor code, pension and taxation systems, pledging to increase public spending on healthcare, pensions and education and to introduce a second VAT on basic goods (Rybář 2006).

Combining strong left-leaning social etatism and paternalism with moderate nationalism, Smer-SD was able to integrate substantial shares of former SNS supporters into its own constituency (Gyarfasova 2013; Haughton and Deegan-Krause 2016). In addition, the populist left rhetoric allowed Smer-SD to gradually capture former HZDS voters, the traditional left constituencies of the communist-successor party who tended to come from the poorer, older, less educated and more rural part of the Slovak population (Henderson 2012: 2).

In 2006 decrying the "extreme right-wing government" that had brought poverty to Slovakia and led to 300,000 people moving abroad to seek work (Henderson 2006: 6) brought Smer-SD a decisive victory with 29.1% of votes. In the subsequent elections, Smer-SD continued to position itself as the defender of Slovak national and state interests and to combine elements of ethnocentrism and protectionist economic appeals in its platform. For example, in the 2012 election, Smer-SD campaigned on criticizing the spending cuts undertaken by the center-right Radicova government. Fico claimed: "We are against privatizations, we support a better protection of workers and greater state investments" (The European Elections Monitor: Slovakia 2012). Smer-SD also offered to get rid of the 19% flat VAT rate and to increase it to 25% for the wealthiest Slovaks and to 22% for the wealthiest businesses. Like Viktor Orban, Fico proposed a special 0.7%

tax on bank deposits (The European Elections Monitor: Slovakia 2012). In other words, Smer-SD campaigned or a typical populist platform combining protectionist economic policies with a nationalist stance and an attack on the reformist right parties. This approach proved successful in the Slovak case (just as it did in the other country cases outlined above), leading to Smer-SD winning 44.41% of the vote and 83 of the 150 seats in the National Council in 2012 election.

Overall, over the years Smer-SD gradually captured former SNS (Gyarfasova 2013; Haughton and Deegan-Krause 2016) and HZDS voters, whose characteristics (poorer, older, less educated and more rural social groups) align with the blue-collar constituencies which are the main focus of the analysis in this dissertation (Henderson 2012: 2).

The Slovak example suggests that the destinies of ex-Communist left parties are not predetermined. In fact, successful rebranding is possible under the right circumstances. In Slovakia, Smer-SD has been able to notice a political opportunity, reject the SDL's neoliberal legacy, to challenge the reform-oriented right-wing governments from a protectionist economic agenda and to successfully retain the support of the traditional left base.[15]

---

[15] The CSES data is only available for Slovakia for the years 2010 and 2016 (by that time the SDL has already disappeared from the political landscape), and in both of them the variables that would allow to identify respondents' socio-economic status ("Occupation", "Socio-Economic status") are missing. Hence, I was unable to provide a quantitative analysis of the support of blue-collar voters for the left and right Slovak parties over time.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I developed my argument further by extending the earlier analysis for Hungary to a larger set of country cases. The results above generally confirmed my expectations.

First, I ran a cross-country regression to look at the dynamics of the blue-collar support for center-left and the radical right parties in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. I have demonstrated that the odds of the blue-collar constituencies in these countries backing a radical right party (as opposed to supporting the ex-Communist left party) have risen substantively between 2002–2016. The results suggest that this shift is associated with a more pro-market economic policy position on taxation, deregulation and redistribution policy issues chosen by each respective ex-Communist left party.

Second, I ran case study analysis by focusing on the party dynamics in three Visegrád Group countries, the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia. I looked at the economic policy choices made by the ex-Communist parties in each respective country and the subsequent electoral dynamics of the radical and populist right parties. I also traced the overtime dynamics of blue collar respondents' support for the center-left and the populist and radical right parties in the Czech and Polish cases (the Slovak data was not available).

In the Czech case I found that the presence of a credible left KSČM party with a more traditional economic left policy allowed the Czech left to retain substantive shares of support among the blue-collar constituencies. This largely preserved the traditional left-right parties' alignment along the economic axis in the Czech Republic and limited the size of the blue-collar constituencies available for mobilization to the Czech radical right. This explains the limited success of the Czech radical right parties until recently. These

findings are complemented with the individual-level analysis that shows that in the Czech Republic, the blue-collar status has been positively and consistently associated to the support for the Czech left parties over time.

In the Polish case I found dynamics that are very similar to the Hungarian case. I show that the implementation of neoliberal and austerity measures in 1993-1997 and 2003 by the ex-Communist left SLD party led to the overtime decline in the blue-collar support for this party. This provided the Polish right parties (particularly the populist right Law and Justice) with an opportunity to use Pole's frustration with the losses incurred by the economic transition and the left parties and launched the party realignment process. Eventually that led to the increasing incorporation of the blue-collar voters by the PiS, which targeted those support groups through elaborate combination of offering and implementing consistent pro-labor policies and negotiating with labor unions. I complement this analysis with the individual-level data that confirmed (just as in the case of Hungary) that overtime support of Polish working-class constituencies became increasingly associated with the right party PiS and negatively associated with the ex-Communist left SLD.

Ultimately, I showed that in the Slovak case the results have been mixed. Originally the trajectory of the ex-Communist SDL was very similar to the cases of the Hungarian and Polish center-left parties (embrace of the painful economic reform and the subsequent electoral collapse). I even show that the Slovak right SNS attempted to use this opportunity at its own advantage (just as the right parties in the Hungarian and Polish case did). However, Smer-SD, a breakaway faction from the SDL headed by Robert Fico, noticed the political opening as well, successfully combined moderate nationalism with strong left-leaning social etatism and protectionism, and was able to retain the support of the traditional left constituencies. The Slovak case suggests that successful rebranding

may preserve traditional party alignments and ensure the electoral success of the left parties.

Overall, the findings in this chapter are consistent with my theoretical argument. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses confirm that the blue-collar constituencies in Central and Eastern European countries tend to switch their support from the ex-Communist left to the radical right parties over time. However, this trend is correlated with the ex-Communist left parties' pro-market economic policy positions and austerity reforms implementation and may be prevented if the left parties preserve their traditional pro-labor policy (as in the Czech Republic) or adopt more protectionist policy stances (as in Slovakia). These findings may be used for policy implications and I return to them in the concluding chapters of this dissertation).

Chapter 6. The View from the Constituency

The Approach

In the above chapters of my dissertation, I argued that the success of the radical right parties in Hungary could be partly explained by a switch of the traditional constituencies of the ex-Communist left parties to the right parties. In particular, on the cross-country level, I demonstrated the external validity of my argument that the switch of blue-collar respondents from the left to the right parties over time is a phenomenon that characterizes many countries in Central and Eastern Europe. I also provided the individual-level data to demonstrate that the shift of blue-collar constituencies away from the ex-Communist left to the populist and radical right parties has occurred over the years in countries such as Hungary and Poland.

However, the individual-level data does not necessarily translate into the electoral shares of votes won by specific parties. This chapter seeks to ask the following question in relation to the results of the above analysis—what does this individual-level data mean in terms of the likely numbers of Jobbik seats? Do voters' preferences change by shifting from the support for the ex-Communist left to the radical right parties in light with the logic outlined in the theoretical parts of this dissertation?

Some available survey data tracks closely with my expectations. For example, according to Medián Opinion and Market Research Ltd, among Jobbik supporters in 2010, 37% supported Fidesz in 2006 and 21% of supporters came from MSZP, while 20% did not report their preferences and 13% were first-time voters (Figure 9). Therefore, the data shows that former MSZP voters constituted at least the second largest group among 2010 Jobbik voters (although it is hard to estimate the actual size of this group due to a large share of those who refused to answer) (Nagy et al. 2012).
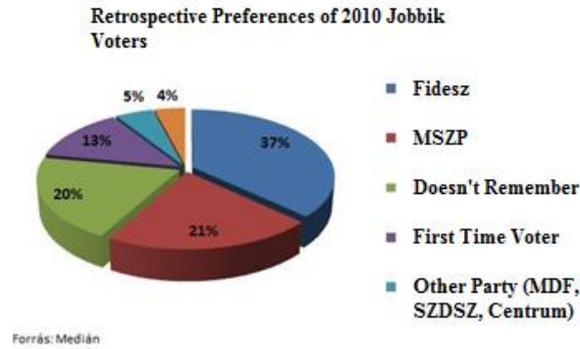
Figure 9. Retrospective Party Preferences of 2010 Jobbik Voters. Source: Median pre-election survey, April 2010. Április. From Nagy et al. (2012): A szélsőjobboldal Magyarországon. A Policy Solutions tanulmánya a Friedrich Ebert Alapítvány számára http://www.policysolutions.hu/userfi es/elemzesek/A%20sz%C3%A9ls%C5%91jobboldal%20Magyarorsz%C3%A1gon.pdf

One important limitation of this data is the unreliability of respondents' reports of their previous voting history, since they tend to forget their former party preferences.[16] Hence, while an analysis of the past voting behavior would have substantively complemented the picture, the available data does not provide persuasive conclusions.

While a panel for individual-level data does not exist in Hungary,[17] one can repeat the same analysis on the constituency level, by testing whether the districts that voted for MSZP in 2006 tended to support Jobbik in the 2010 election. In the below subsection of the chapter, I run such an analysis on the constituency (electoral precinct) level by looking at the electoral fortunes of Hungarian Jobbik in relation to the results of the ex-Communist left party—MSZP —in the preceding national election.

---

[16] Laszlo Beck, a sociologist from Medián suggests that this is due to memory distortion. Before the 2010 election, only 26 percent remembered they had voted for MSzP in 2006, and 40 percent they had voted for Fidesz. The actual results of 2006 elections was 43% and 42% respectively. The ratio of those who remembered having voted for MSzP in the 2010 elections decreased from 42% to 32% between April and December in the same year.

[17] Essentially the only panel available for the period starting in 2006 is the Tarki panel—Hungarian Longitudinal Election Survey 2008–2009 (http://www.tarki.hu/cgi-bin/katalogus/tarkimain_en.pl?sorszam=TDATA-H27), which asked about respondents' political preferences in 2006 and 2009, but in 2009 the number of Jobbik supporters in the panel is insufficient to make any conclusions.

Specifically, I use the data from the Psephos, Adam Carr's Election Archive to look at the changes in constituency-level party support in Hungary's 2006 and 2010 national parliamentary elections. In line with my theoretical expectations, I find a consistent positive association between the vote for MSZP in 2006 and the 2010 vote for Jobbik on constituency level.

I explain the method and the results of the analysis below.

Hypotheses and Methodology

From the analysis in the above chapters, one should expect that the former constituencies of the centrist parties switched to embrace the radical right parties following the programmatic shift of the ex-Communist left parties to the center of the economic axis. Below I test this argument on the electoral data that was available within Hungary.

In Chapter 4, I demonstrated that the implementation of the austerity reforms by the left MSZP party was one of the key issues that toppled it in the 2006–2010 electoral round and provided the electoral advantage to the radical right Jobbik, which capitalized on the MSZP demise. Quantitatively, it means that between the 2006 and 2010 parliamentary elections in Hungary, one should have observed the increasing shift to the rightwing outsider party Jobbik among those constituencies that previously supported the centrist left MSZP.

Existing evidence confirms this expectation. In the 2010 parliamentary election, the extreme right Jobbik did extremely well—better than any new party ever in the post-communist history of Hungary (Batory 2010: 10). The combined vote received by Hungarian right parties (Jobbik's 17% and Fidesz' 53%) demonstrated that the absolute

majority of Hungarian voters turned away from the left. In other words, the 2010 parliamentary election resulted in a fundamental swing to the right in Hungarian politics.

Jobbik's success was particularly visible in the counties East of the Danube, where the center-left MSZP support shrunk so drastically as to allow Jobbik to attain the position of the second strongest party (Batory 2010: 10). During its breathtaking rise in 2010, Jobbik won many of the counties that previously were considered the bastions of the Socialist Party. Specifically, in this election Jobbik outperformed MSZP in seven counties—of which six were situated in Northeastern Hungary, which had hitherto been the left 's most important bastion outside Budapest: Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen, Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg, Hajdu-Bihar, Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnnok, Heves, and Nograd (Szombati 2018).

The above qualitative evidence can thus be converted in the following empirical hypothesis:

- *Hypothesis I: The constituencies that supported MSZP in the 2006 election were statistically likely to embrace the radical right Jobbik in the 2010 election in Hungary*

In order to test this hypothesis, I run a regression analysis using the Hungarian 2006 and 2010 voting results on the constituency level. In Hungary, certain constituencies held two electoral rounds, while others only held one. To avoid confusion and distortions that may result from strategic voting in the second round of the elections, I used the results for the first round of the election for all of my voting data.

Because I limited the study to the first round of the national parliamentary elections, the dependent variable used was constituency-level voting for the Jobbik party in the first round of the National Assembly Election held in April 2006 from Psephos,

Adam Carr's Election Archive. Psephos Archive includes detailed statistics for presidential and legislative elections from 182 countries for every country that holds genuine national elections.[18]

Based on the Archive electoral data for Hungary, I constructed voting variables, which contained 177 independent observations. The main explanatory variable included constituency-level MSZP support data in the first round of the National Assembly Elections held on April 2010.[19] One limitation is due to the fact that in 2006, MSZP in six constituencies ran in an alliance with SZDSZ (Alliance of Free Democrats), a liberal political party. Hence, I introduced a special dummy variable to control for those six observations.

I also control for the time-dependence in the radical right vote and introduce a variable "MDF2006"—voting for Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) in 2006 election. MDF was a Hungarian party with a nationalist, national-conservative and Christian democratic ideology, which ran in 2006 election, and can be counted among Jobbik predecessors. I also used voting for another centrist right Fidesz (Alliance of Young Democrats) among other controls.

Among other variables that are typically listed among predictors of the radical right support, I also introduced the size of the Roma population and unemployment data. The size of the Roma population on the precinct level came from the data available at Hungarian Central Statistical Office.[20] The Roma population in percentages is available from the 2011 census (the previous census was run in 2001, so I chose the data closest to the time of my analysis). The data was available on constituency level. Among other

---

[18] http://psephos.adam-carr.net/countries/h/hungary/hungary20103.txt
[19] http://psephos.adam-carr.net/countries/h/hungary/hungary20063.txt
[20]
http://www.ksh.hu/interaktiv/terkepek/mo/nemz.html?mapid=WDSD005&layer=regi&color=1&meth=sug&catnum=4

controls, I also introduced the unemployment data at constituency level from Hungary's National Employment Service.[21] I used the proportion of registered jobseekers according to their permanent residency in a given constituency on January 20, 2010 as a measure of unemployment.

Ultimately, I added regional controls using NUTS1 regions: one for the Central Hungary (Budapest and Pest), and one for Transdanubia (Central, Western and Southern Transdanubia) to control for the variation in the regional voting patterns.[22]

All of the variables were standardized to account for the differences in scales.

The below subsections provide the results of the analysis.

Results

Table 11 below summarizes the results of my analysis.

---

[21] http://nfsz.munka.hu/engine.aspx?page=full_afsz_stat_telepules_adatok_2010
[22] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NUTS_statistical_regions_of_Hungary

Variable: Jobbik First Round Vote 2010	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
MSZP2006	0.209**	0.184**	0.455***	0.177***	0.149**	0.151**	0.146**	0.249**
MSZP-SZDSZ	-0.429	-0.122	-0.666	-0.579	-0.512	-0.216	-0.366	-0.409
MDF2006		-0.049		-0.003	0.013	-0.044	-0.010	
FIDESz2006			0.323***					0.076
Roma Share 2011					0.338***		0.257**	0.255***
Share Jobseekers 2010						0.397***	0.182	0.387***
Central Hungary				-1.366***	-0.984***	-0.612**	-0.730**	
Transdanubia				-1.079***	-0.762***	-0.714***	-0.664***	
_cons	0.025	0.013	0.034	0.723***	0.554***	0.398***	0.446***	0.057
N	175	157	175	157	145	157	145	161
r2	0.044	0.040	0.091	0.410	0.475	0.475	0.485	0.410
r2_a	0.032	0.022	0.075	0.390	0.452	0.454	0.459	0.390

[T] $p<.1$; ** $p<.05$; *** $p<.01$

Table 11. Jobbik first round vote in 2010 and MSZP first round vote in 2006, Constituency-Level Analysis.

OLS Standardized Coefficients, Robust Standard Errors.

In line with my expectations, Table 11 shows a consistent positive association between the vote for MSZP in 2006 and the post-crisis vote for Jobbik in 2010 on the constituency level. The coefficient of the variable "MSZP vote in 2006 election" is consistently positive and significant even after introduction of other control variables. Another popular explanation—the Roma share (see, for example, Karácsony and Róna, 2011)—is statistically significant in most regressions as well (and its standardized coefficient is larger).

By contrast, in this specification the unemployment variable matters only when introduced independently and loses its significance when the Roma share is included in the equation. This might be due to the introduction of the regional controls. Since Great Plain and North Hungary are the poorest regions in the country (Duseka et al. 2014), controlling for this area might eliminate some of the variation in the economic indicators otherwise captured by the unemployment variable as the model (8) illustrates.

Overall, the above results confirm my theoretical expectations (H1): at least part of the electoral success of Jobbik in the 2010 election came from the constituencies that supported MSZP in 2006. This finding goes in line with my theoretical argument: the increase in support for the radical right Jobbik over time came in part from the constituencies that had previously embraced the ex-Communist left MSZP party.

Conclusion

In the above chapter, I ran a regression analysis on the constituency level to test whether the districts that voted for MSZP in 2006 supported Jobbik in the 2010 election. The theoretical expectation from the above chapters is that the implementation of the 2008 austerity package by the center left MSZP party resulted in the switch of its constituencies away from MSZP to embrace the radical right Jobbik party in the subsequent 2010 parliamentary election. The results of the above analysis confirmed my original theoretical expectations: I discovered a consistent positive association between the vote for MSZP in 2006 and the vote for Jobbik in 2010.

The constituency level analysis allowed me to address the limitations of the cross-country and individual-level data analysis. This analysis allowed me to reduce the data variation in the cross-country analysis by reducing the scope of the analysis to within-

country variation only. Moreover, the constituency-level analysis complemented the findings from the individual-level analysis by showing that the individual-level political preferences of Hungarian respondents translated into the electoral shares of the votes won by MSZP and Jobbik parties. This chapter has demonstrated that the shift in the individual-level preferences away from the center left MSZP to the radical right Jobbik occurred in between the 2006 and 2010 parliamentary elections in Hungary, which is consistent with the logic outlined in the theoretical parts of this dissertation. This shift in the individual political preferences manifested itself in the increase in the number of seats won by the radical right Jobbik party in the 2010 parliamentary election.

However, the constituency level analysis has a number of limitations. First, the problem of the ecological fallacy (mistakenly extending the inferences about the nature of individuals from the inferences about the group to which those individuals belong) remains on the constituency level just as it exists on the country level. In this context this means that the conclusion that the regions that supported MSZP in 2006 embraced Jobbik in 2010 does not allow to directly extend the implications to the behavior of the individual voters. Thus, such an analysis should be further substantiated with individual-level approaches.

Second, data limitations on the constituency level do not allow me to control for alternative sources in temporal variation in the support for the radical right Jobbik. Hence, there is still a possibility that the omitted variable bias may be influencing the results of my analysis.

These concerns may be addressed by the individual-level experimental survey analysis, which I perform in the below chapter.

Chapter 7. A Survey Experiment on Support for the Radical Right

In the above chapters of this dissertation, I traced the process of the exodus of the blue-collar constituencies from the ex-Communist left parties to the populist and radical right parties, as the left parties became more economically centrist.

I have demonstrated this on two different levels of analysis, using cross and within country data. On the cross-country level, I have shown that the working-class respondents in the post-Communist Europe increasingly shifted away from the old left parties to support the radical right in the span of the last fifteen years (the period available for the analysis in the European Social Survey). As the regression analysis demonstrates, this process is correlated with the anti-redistribution and pro-market positions of the ex-Communist left parties. On the individual level, I have shown that the working-class respondents in Hungary increasingly switched away from the ex-Communist left MSZP to support the right populist Fidesz and radical Jobbik in Hungary in the period between 1994–2014 following the implementation of the austerity Bokros package by the ex-Communist left MSZP party. Using the case studies, constituency-level and observational studies, I have shown that the center-left Hungarian party MSZP was in fact consistently losing the support of the blue-collar Hungarian respondents since the late 1990s.

However, these findings do not allow to address the direction of the causality, as well as to check whether using the redistributionist platform is in fact advantageous for the radical right parties. While the results of the previous analysis go in line with the theoretical prediction of my dissertation, the methods chosen above make it difficult to establish causality since it is hard to isolate the effect of the interested cause on observational data.

In addition, while I have argued that the socioeconomic issues play an important role in the respondents turning away from the center-left parties to embrace the radical right in the Hungarian context, I have yet to demonstrate that quantitatively. For example, will survey participants in be more likely to support the radical right Jobbik party when presented with information about the pro-market MSZP policy stance, than when shown the information about redistributionist MSZP policy positions? How does Jobbik's own policy platform condition these effects?

The experimental surveys allow me to address this problem by manipulating the treatment information provided to respondents (and keeping all many important sources of variation constant) with the aim of exploring these causal mechanisms. Therefore, between late March and early April 2018 (just before Hungary's April 2018 parliamentary election), I ran an experimental survey on a representative sample of Hungarian population. The survey was designed to address the following elements of my theoretical argument: 1) the center-left MSZP party shift to a more pro-market economic agenda increases the support for the radical right party Jobbik; 2) the use of the protectionist economic platform by the radical right party Jobbik increases its appeal to supporters when compared with the use of anti-immigration platform.

Overall, I have found strong confirmation of my original expectations. I discovered a significant effect of my treatment (the MSZP's use of a pro-market economic policy platform as opposed to a redistributionist economic policy platform) on increased support for the radical right Jobbik. The results were substantive and significant for alternative specifications of the dependent variables and different subsamples of blue-collar respondents. However, these results only remained consistent under the use of the protectionist platform by Jobbik. In the treatment option when Jobbik used an anti-immigration platform, the change in Jobbik support was not significant. While I

discovered significant heterogeneous effects only for the blue-collar voters subsampled by education (the results for the blue-collar subsamples were not that different from the general samples results), overall, the results confirmed my original expectations. In cases like Hungary, the blue-collar constituencies frustrated by the abandonment of the mainstream left political parties on the economic policy are more likely to shift to the far-right of the political spectrum and support the radical right parties. The lack of heterogeneous effects suggests that I class behavior is not the only factor that drives the voters' shift to the radical right parties, but rather this process is also found among other social groups.

The experimental design and the results of the analysis are presented and discussed below.

The Policy Switch of the Center-Left and Protectionist Radical Right

Experimental Design

Unlike observational studies, the experimental setting allows me to tackle the causality issues in a more systematic way by determining whether the relationship studied in an experiment is actually caused by the manipulation (administered treatment). As the theoretical basis of my experiment, I followed the framework proposed in Brader and Tucker (2008) and Lupu (2014). Under this framework, the respondents are split into several groups that are shown the information regarding different party positions. By assigning the center-left MSZP different (pro-market and redistributionist) positions on the economic scale, I intended to show that the socioeconomic issues contributed to the working-class constituencies' defection to the radical right parties away from the center-left parties. By assigning the radial right Jobbik different (economic protectionist and anti-

immigration) positions I tested whether the use of economic protectionist platform brings more voters to the radical right parties.

My main research focus is the blue-collar working constituencies, since they are the social group that is most susceptible to the radical right populism in the current political context. As I have discussed in Chapter 1, the blue-collar workers are more likely to be hurt by globalization, since it is a major force beyond the real wages decline and destruction of the low-skilled jobs. I argue, however, that this constituency is also more likely to switch to the radical right parties when the center-left parties embrace the policies of economic openness and abandon their traditional pro-labor stance. Therefore, my theory predicts that the disenchantment with the left parties' centrist position along the economic scale brings a very specific response from the blue-collar workers group: it increases the workers' frustration with the center-left parties (that have allegedly betrayed workers' expectations by shifting economic policy positions) and hence lowers their supports for the left, and it also pushes the workers further to the right of the political spectrum (increasing their radicalization along the self-identification scale).

Hence the expectations of my theory for the case of Hungary are:

- *Hypothesis I:* the pro-market economic policy stance of MSZP fuels the support for the radical right Jobbik party.

- *Hypothesis II:* the pro-market economic policy stance of MSZP fuels the support for the radical right Jobbik party among the economically disaffected groups, specifically blue-collar workers.

In late March 2018, I ran an internet-based experimental survey in Hungary of a total size of 1,000 participants (500 respondents for two treatment groups respectively).

The subjects were randomly recruited from a representative sample of Hungary's population by the professional polling company Solid Data.

My experimental design was as follows. I split the sample into two groups of equal size, each of which was shown different combinations of the information about Hungary's largest parties' alleged platforms in the upcoming Hungarian April 2018 election. The administered treatment provided the respondents with two alleged excerpts from a Hungarian non-partisan newspaper article, which contained the information regarding the party platforms in the upcoming parliamentary election. The respondents were told that the experiment would study the frequency of their exposure to the specific type of news. The respondents were debriefed in the end of the survey.

To strengthen the treatment and simplify the content, the respondents were shown the same information about the three Hungarian parties in different combinations. First, they were shown the information about Fidesz and MSZP platforms; second, they were demonstrated the information regarding the Fidesz and Jobbik platforms; and lastly, they were shown the information the policy positions of all three parties together. This was done in order to allow the respondents sufficient time to process the data, ensure compliance and allow the respondents to have a consistent focus on the provided information. Following the treatment exposure, I asked the respondents several questions regarding their specific party and policy preferences.

The pictures below provide an illustration of the materials in Hungarian demonstrated to each treated group of the respondents during the internet experimental survey (Figure 10).

Figure 10. The Examples of Treatment Presented to the Survey Participants: Article Excerpt

Experiment 1: The Protectionist Stance of Jobbik

The only difference across the two treatments was the information on the policy stance of Hungary's center-left party, MSZP. In the first treatment, MSZP embraced a pro-market policy, while in the second treatment it adopted redistributionist policy positions. The policy stance of both the center-right Fidesz party (neutral policy stance) and the radical right Jobbik (protectionist policy stance) remained constant across these two treatments. Hence, in this experiment, I measured how manipulating the center-left MSZP economic policy position affected respondents' attitudes towards MSZP, Fidesz and Jobbik.

In line with the theoretical expectations outlined in this dissertation, by assigning the center left MSZP pro-market and redistributionist positions on the economic scale, I mean to test whether the socioeconomic issues lead to the proletarization of the radical right vote. I hypothesize that the pro-market policy stance of the MSZP will decrease its support among the respondents in comparison with the redistributionist policy stance of MSZP. I had four Hungarian native speakers who consulted me discuss the specific formulations of the treatments to make them more synchronized with the realities of the political environment in Hungary. Whenever the sentence was in dispute, the four native Hungarian speakers deliberated until they reached an agreement.

The pro-market treatment contained the following information:

Please read the following newspaper abstract: "As the political parties prepare for the April 2018 parliamentary election, they are revising their political platforms and strategies.

Fidesz, the ruling party, will preserve its current policy focus as part of its electoral strategy.

*MSZP **will push for policies of economic openness and seek to satisfy international investors/capital in order to further integrate the Hungarian economy into global markets.***

Jobbik in the meantime will maintain its focus on the protection of the Hungarian economy and propose to limit the presence of multinational companies because, as it claims, multinational companies stifle the development of Hungarian-owned enterprises."

The redistributionist treatment contained the following information:

Please read the following newspaper abstract: "As the political parties prepare for the April 2018 parliamentary election, they are revising their political platforms and strategies.

Fidesz, the ruling party, will preserve its current policy focus as part of its electoral strategy.

*MSZP **has decided to focus on improving the living standards and will campaign for the introduction of a guaranteed basic income for all citizens.***

Jobbik, in the meantime, will maintain its focus on the protection of the Hungarian economy and propose to limit the presence of multinational companies because, as it claims, multinational companies stifle the development of Hungarian-owned enterprises."

Following the treatment exposure, I asked the respondents in each group a set of questions designed to evaluate their political and policy preferences. I used several other versions of my dependent variable designed to measure the respondents' political and policy preferences.

Question: Now imagine you had to choose among the three above parties, which one appeals to you more?

- *Fidesz*

- *MSZP*

- *Jobbik*

Would you participate in the national elections to Hungarian Parliament in April?

- *certainly will go to vote,*

- *probably will go vote*

- *probably will not go vote*

- *certainly won't go vote*

How would you vote if the national election took place this Sunday?

- *Demokratikus Koalíció (DK)*

- *Együtt*

- *Fidesz-KDNP*

- *Jobbik Magyarországért*

- *Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt*

- *Kétfarkú Kutya Párt*

- *Lehet Más a Politika (LMP)*

- *Liberálisok (MLP)*

- *Magyar Munkáspárt*

- *Magyar Szocialista Párt (MSZP)*

- *Modern Magyarország Mozgalom (MOMA)*

- *Momentum Mozgalom*

- *MSZP – Párbeszéd közös lista*

- *Párbeszéd*

- *Polgári Konzervatív Párt*

- *Új Kezdet*

- *egyéb párt*

- *semmiképpen nem szavazna*

- *nem mondja meg, kire szavazna*

- *nem tudja, kire szavazna"*

Given the controversial reputation of the radical right parties, there is always a concern that the respondents will not openly declare their preference for Jobbik. Along with the above questions, I also added several indirect questions about the party most likely to win the election, the legitimacy of the Jobbik party and support for the Jobbik joining the governing coalition. The latter two questions were structured as ordinal variables, ranking respondents' attitudes on a scale from lowest to the highest.

In your opinion, **how likely it is that you will vote Jobbik** *(the Movement for a Better Hungary) party?*

- *yes*

- *probably yes*

- *probably not*

- *no*

How would you feel if Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became part of the government coalition?

- *strongly approve*

- *somewhat approve*

- *somewhat disapprove*

- *strongly disapprove*

I also addressed the respondents' positions on the economic and immigration policy issues following the treatment exposure and salience of these issues:

There are some who believe the government should strongly regulate private businesses. How much do you agree with this?

- *strongly agree*

- *agree*

- *disagree*

- *strongly disagree*

And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?

- *very important*

- *somewhat important*

- *somewhat important*

- *not important at all*

There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?

- *strongly agree*

- *agree*

- *disagree*

- *strongly disagree*

And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?

- *very important*

- *somewhat important*

- *somewhat important*

- *not important at all*

There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?

- *strongly agree*

- *agree*

- *disagree*

- *strongly disagree*

And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?

- *very important*

- *somewhat important*

- *somewhat important*

- *not important at all*

Categorizing the Blue-Collar Respondents

I categorized the respondents' working-class status in three different ways: 1) based on their professional occupational status; 2) based on the respondents' "lower middle class" self-identification; and 3) based on their educational levels.

This categorization is in line with the existing scholarship on the topic. The conventional approaches to measuring blue collar status include occupation, education and subjective self-identification. While the advantage of the objective measurements (occupation and education) is that they limit the impact of subjective biases in respondents' self-reports, they are acontextual and may overlook the impact of other sociodemographic variables in educational and occupational contexts (for example, the impact of age, ethnicity and region on a person's cultural and social capital) (Rubin et al. 2014).[23] The subjective (self-identification) measures compensate for the weaknesses of the objective measures by accounting for the impact of context (at least through the individual interpretation) and hence should be included alongside the objective measures of socioeconomic status.

The occupation-based approach is the most widely accepted way to categorize blue collar respondents based on such types of physical work as manufacturing, mining, construction, mechanic, maintenance, warehousing, firefighting, technical installation and others (Rose and Pevalin 2003). The common justification for using occupation-based

---

[23] For example, Rubin et al. (2014) suggest that although the education or occupation of a minority group member may be considered to be "low" relative to a majority population, it might also be considered "high" relative to the person's minority group.

measures stress that they serve as good proxies for indicators of the individuals' social positions (Connelly et al. 2016). While the position of the clerical work in the social class structure is a disputed question (DeVault 1990), I categorize the clerical work as a blue-collar type of job due to the income and job type similarities.

In line with the above discussion, a respondent was identified as a "blue-collar worker" based on his/her professional status if he selected one of the below options from a "professional status" category:

What is your professional qualification?

- *Has never worked outside the home for pay*

- *Small business owner (< 25 employees)*

- **Clerk**

- **Service or sales worker**

- **Skilled agricultural or fishery worker**

- **Craft or trade worker**

- **Plant or machine operator**

- **General laborers**

- *Corporate manager or senior official*

- *Professional (scientists, mathematicians, computer scientists, architects, engineers, life science and health professionals, teachers, legal professionals, social scientists, writers and artists, religious professionals)*

- *Technician or associate professional*

As another objective measure of blue collar status, scholars sometimes include income, since it tends to be correlated with the type of occupation. However, such a

measure has a number of limitations. Specifically, income-based measures fail to account for geographic and temporal variation in living costs between various regions and different stages of life. In addition, most income measures use overall household estimates and hence fail to capture variation in sizes of households. Therefore, I substitute the income-based approach with a subjective self-identification that relies on respondents' subjective assessment of the social class status and implicitly accounts of the contextual variables. In this dissertation, I use the conventional measure of the subjective social class status that categorizes respondents into five groups (lower class, lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class, and upper class). The blue-collar respondents are more likely to self-classify as the lower middle-class group, which usually includes semiprofessionals (people in technical and lower level management positions) (Tarkhnishvili 2014) and respondents with incomes above poverty line.

Hence, in line with the above discussion, the respondents were identified as "blue-collar workers" based on their subjective self-identification status if they selected the "lower middle class" option from a "subjective social status" category:

Which of the following social groups or classes do you personally belong?
- *lower class*

- ***lower middle class***

- *middle class*

- *upper middle class*

- *upper class*

Ultimately, yet another common approach to categorizing blue-collar respondents is through their educational attainment due to a strong correlation between the educational

attainment and the type of occupation. However, in the post-Communist setting, the education-based approach suffers from the inability to capture dramatic variation in the types of schooling quality in the various tracks of secondary education (Lannert 2000; Fodor et al. 2006). Typically, this measure categorizes as blue collar those respondents with less than a 4-year college education (Frank 2004; Brooks 2005).

In this dissertation, I categorized a respondent as a "blue-collar worker" based on the educational criterion if he/she selected the following options from the "education level" category:

The highest finished education level:

- *Bachelor's degree*

- *Doctoral Degree*

- ***High School Diploma***

- ***Less than a high school diploma***

- ***Professional degree***

- *Some college, no degree.*

Below I present the results of the analysis in the following order: first, I analyze the impact of the treatment manipulation on the preferences among the respondents in the general sample, and then on the respondents from the working-class subsamples categorized in three different ways.

Below I provide the summary statistics for my two treatment groups. Only two individual-level controls were used for balancing the sample – subjects' gender and age. The results of the analysis are provided in Table 12.

	Treatment 1 Redistribution	Treatment 2 Pro-Market	N
Gender **[1 – man, 2 - woman]**	1.505952	1.507937	505
Age	41.45635	41.17857	505

Table 12. Descriptive Statistics. (Group 1 vs Group 2)

The results suggest that the data in both samples appear to be balanced by basic demographic characteristics.

For the purposes of my experiment, I have included one manipulation check at the end of my post-treatment list of questions, asking the respondents whether they would support MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform. The results of the analysis are provided in Table 13 below.

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you vote for MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform?	2.081	2.224	z = -2.525***	Prob > |z| = 0.012

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 13. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on MSZP Support. Question: Would You Vote for MSZP If It Ran on a More Protectionist Platform?

As one can see, the treatment exposure (pro-market vs redistributionist platform of the left MSZP party) is associated with a significant increase in the number of respondents who would support the left party using a more protectionist platform in the treatment

group with a pro-market economic policy stance of the MSZP party. This goes in line with my original expectation that the respondents are more likely to defect from the MSZP when the party is taking a more pro-market policy stance.

General Sample

The results of the analysis are presented below. Treatment Group 1 (neoliberal, pro-market policy stance of the center-left MSZP) is compared against the Treatment 2 (redistributionist policy stance of the center-left MSZP), holding positions of the other parties (Fidesz—neutral, Jobbik— protectionist) constant.

Below, I map the results of the analysis. The means comparisons and relevant statistics are provided in the Appendix II. Overall, the treatment exposure has a substantive and significant effect on declining support for Hungary's left.

The below graph shows the results of the treatment exposure to the question "Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most?" As the Figure 11 suggests, the exposure to the treatment on the general sample results in a significant increase in support for the radical right Jobbik party, combined with a decrease in support for both mainstream parties- the center-left MSZP and the right populist Fidesz. By Table 22 (Appendix II), I find a statistically significant increase in support for Jobbik (0.222 versus 0.318, p=.000) and decrease in support for the MSZP party (0.355 versus 0.331, p=.213) as result of my treatment.
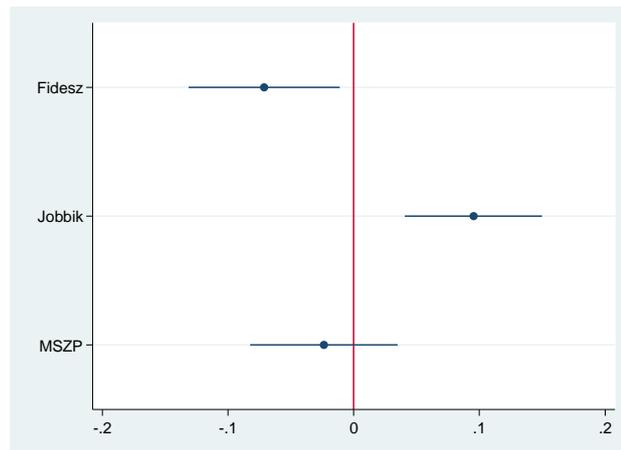
Figure 11. The Impact of Treatment Exposure on Party Choice, Question: Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most? (Group 1 vs Group 2), General Sample, t-test

I then plot the results of the analysis for my other dependent variable, which is the respondents' answer to the question: "Which party would you vote for on the party list?" As the below figure suggests, the results generally go in line with the expectation: the treatment exposure results in a significant increase in support for the radical right Jobbik party (along with the "won't tell category", which also may be partly reflective of Jobbik support due to the reluctance of some respondents to openly name this party as their preferred party choice). By Table 24 (Appendix II), I find a statistically significant increase in support for Jobbik (0.141 versus 0.183, p=.036) and decrease in support for both Fidesz and MSZP party (0.331 versus 0.279, p=.038 and 0.069 versus 0.064, p=.352 respectively) as result of my treatment. There is also an increase in support among the respondents who refused to name the party they support (0.105 versus 0.157, p=.008).
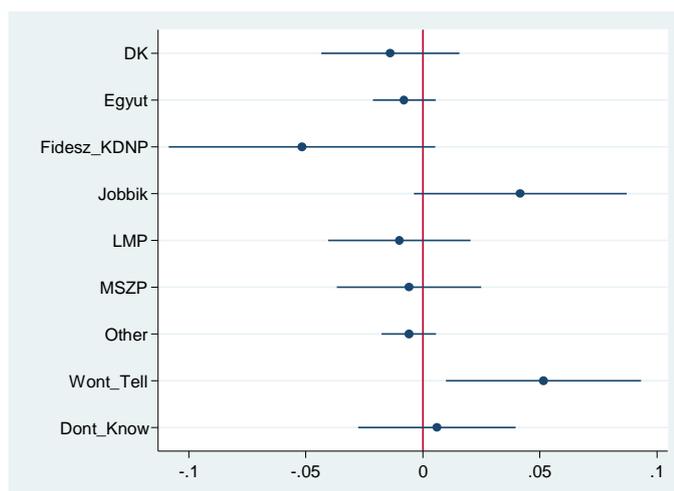
Figure 12. The Impact of Treatment Exposure on Party Choice, Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2), General Sample, t-test

I then repeat the same analysis for the respondents' answers to a set of categorical questions about respondents' party and policy preferences (Figure 13, Table 23 and Tables 25-33 in the Appendix II). In line with my expectations, the treatment exposure is associated to a substantive increase in the number of respondents who are likely to vote for Jobbik. A Wilcoxon Rank test indicates, the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks for the likelihood of voting for Jobbik ($z = 2.112$, $p = .035$) (Table 26 in the Appendix II).

Interestingly, I also discover a significant increase in anti-immigration attitudes and the salience of the immigration issue. According to Wilcoxon Rank test, the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks for stronger immigrants' integration in the society ($z = 2.604$, $p = .009$, Appendix II, Table 21) and salience of these preferences ($z = 1.990$, $p = .046$, Appendix II, Table 33). This may point out an existence of a link between respondents' economic frustration and the anti-immigration attitudes.

184
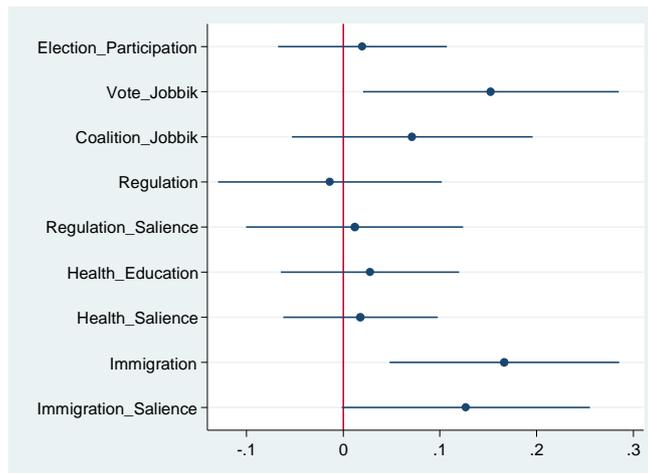
Figure 13. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Questions: In your opinion, how likely it is that you vote Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) party? How would you feel if Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became part of the government coalition? How much do you agree with the following statement: "The government should strongly regulate private businesses"; "And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?";" There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?"; "There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?" (Group 1 vs Group 2), General Sample, t-test

Overall, the above findings on the general sample follow my expectations. The exposure to the pro-market policy platform of the center-left MSZP (in comparison to the pro-redistribution policy stance of the MSZP) results in a substantial increase of the support for the radical right Jobbik party. These results are robust for the alternative specification of my dependent variable. This allows me to accept my *Hypothesis I*: the pro-market economic policy stance of MSZP fuels the support for the radical right Jobbik party.

Blue-Collar Workers by Profession

In the above chapters, however, my focus was on one particular constituency—blue-collar workers who are more likely to support the radical right parties. This constituency is theorized to be most susceptible to the rightwing populism due to its lower educational levels and globalization-induced economic deprivation. In the below analysis, I focus on the response of this constituency to the treatment exposure.

In this subsection, I categorized the respondents as blue-collar workers based on their occupational status (in line with the categorization approach described above):

What is your professional qualification?

Has never worked outside the home for pay

Small business owner

Clerk

Service or sales worker

Skilled agricultural or fishery worker

Craft or trade worker

Plant or machine operator

General laborers

Corporate manager or senior official

Professional

Technician or associate professional

The below graph maps the results of the treatment exposure to the question, "Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most?" As the Figure 14 suggests, the exposure to the treatment on the blue-collar workers' sample results in a significant

increase in support for the radical right Jobbik party, combined with a decrease in support for the populist Fidesz. In Table 34 (Appendix II), I find a statistically significant increase in Jobbik support (0.212 versus 0.313, p=.019) as result of my treatment.
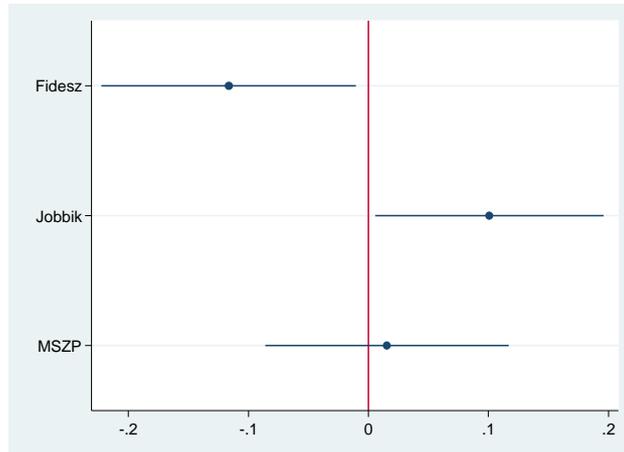
Figure 14. The Impact of Treatment Exposure on Party Choice, Question: Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Workers by Occupation, t-test

Figure 15, below, shows the results of the analysis for the question: "Which party would you vote for on the party list?" As the below figure suggests, the treatment exposure leads to an increase in support for the radical right Jobbik party (along with the "won't tell" and "don't know" category). By Table 36 (Appendix II), I find a significant increase in vote for Jobbik (0.186 versus 0.278, p=.024), a statistically significant decrease in vote for Fidesz (0.372 versus 0.273, p=.027), and some decrease in support for the MSZP party (0.103 versus 0.080, p=.233) as result of my treatment.
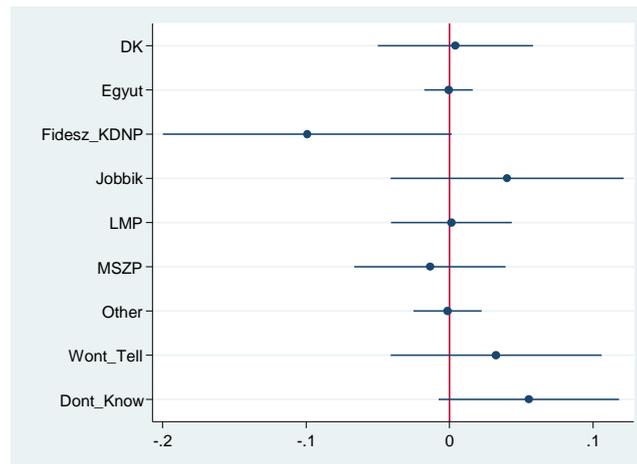
Figure 15. The Impact of Treatment Exposure on Party Choice, Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Workers by Occupation, t-test

Ultimately, I plot the difference in respondents' answers to a set of categorical questions about respondents' party and policy preferences (Figure 16). The treatment exposure is associated with a substantive increase in the Jobbik vote and some increase in support of Jobbik joining the ruling coalition. I again discover an increase in respondents' anti-immigration attitudes and salience of the immigration. By Wilcoxon Rank test, the median post-test ranks were statistically significantly higher than the median pre-test ranks for the likelihood of voting for Jobbik ($z = 2.366$, $p = .018$) (Table 38 in the Appendix II), and support for government regulation of businesses ($z = 1.614$, $p = .107$, Table 41 in the Appendix II).
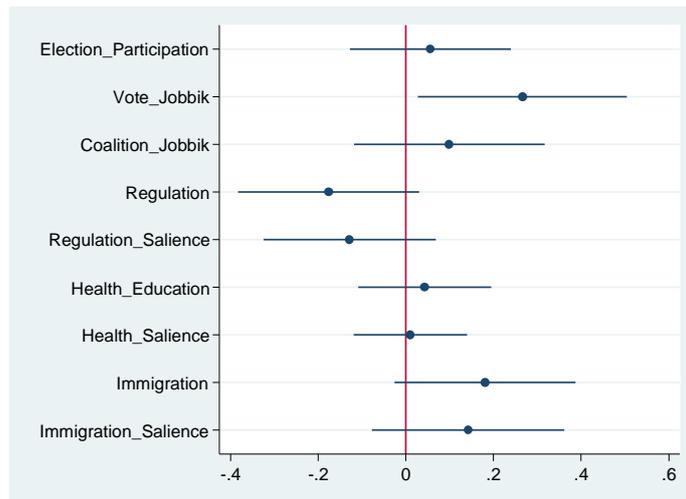
Figure 16. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Questions: In your opinion, how likely it is that you vote Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) party? How would you feel if Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became part of the government coalition? How much do you agree with the following statement: "The government should strongly regulate private businesses"; "And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?";" There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?"; "There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?" (Group 1 vs Group 2), Workers by Occupation, t-test

Overall, the results of the analysis on the subgroup of respondents with blue-collar occupations go in line with my expectations and confirm *Hypothesis II*. The treatment exposure strongly and significantly increases the support for the radical right Jobbik. The results are robust for alternative specifications of the dependent variable.

189

In the next section, I focus on a different way of coding the working class (the strengths and weaknesses of different classification approaches were addressed above). An alternative way to measure the working-class status is by asking the respondents to place themselves in a specific class category. In this section I focus on the subgroup of my respondents who chose to identify themselves as the "lower middle class":

Which of the following social groups do you personally belong?

> *Lower class*
>
> ***Lower middle class***
>
> *Middle class*
>
> *Upper middle class*
>
> *Upper class*

Again, I repeat the above analysis on this subgroup of respondents.

The below graph maps the results of the treatment exposure to the question "Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most?" As shown in the Figure 17, the exposure to the treatment on the self-identified blue-collar respondents leads to a significant increase in support for the radical right Jobbik party, along with a substantive decrease in support for the center-left MSZP. By Table 47 (Appendix II), Jobbik support significantly increases (0.215 versus 0.359, p=.005), while the support for the MSZP significantly decreases (0.408 versus 0.297, p=.027) as result of my treatment.
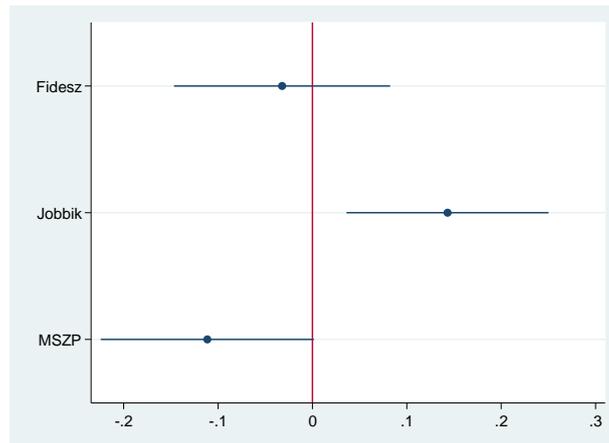
Figure 17. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Workers by Self-Identification, t-test

The subsequent Figure 18 illustrates the results of the analysis for the question: "Which party would you vote on the party list?" As the below figure suggests, exposure to the treatment leads to a decrease in the center-left MSZP vote, some increase in support for the radical right Jobbik party, and a significant increase in the "won't tell" category. By Table 49 (Appendix II), I find some increase in vote for Jobbik (0.154 versus 0.172, p=.340), and a statistically significant decrease in vote for MSZP (0.085 versus 0.042, p=.069) as result of my treatment.
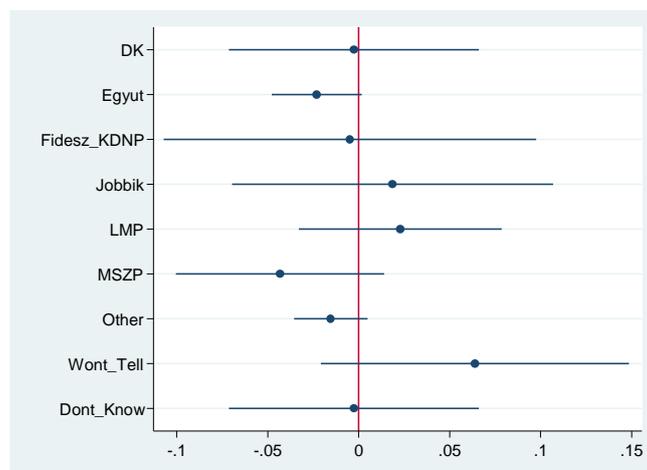
Figure 18. The Impact of Treatment Exposure on Party Choice, Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Workers by Self-Identification, t-test

191

Finally, Figure 19 shows the treatment effect on a set of categorical questions about respondents' party and policy preferences. The treatment exposure is associated with a substantive increase in Jobbik vote. Along with an increase in respondents' anti-immigration attitudes, I also discover a decrease in the salience of the government regulation issue. By Wilcoxon Rank test, the median pro-market treatment test ranks were higher than the median redistribution treatment test ranks for the likelihood of voting for Jobbik (z = 1.342 p = .180) (Table 51), and support for immigrants to fully assimilate in the Hungarian society (z = 1.702, p =.089, Appendix II, Table 59).
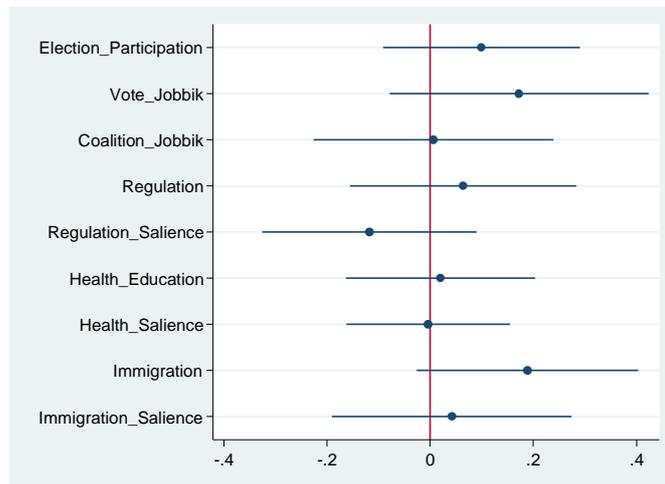
Figure 19. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Questions: In your opinion, how likely it is that you vote Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) party? How would you feel if Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became part of the government coalition? How much do you agree with the following statement: "The government should strongly regulate private businesses"; "And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?";" There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?"; "There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?" (Group 1 vs Group 2), Workers by Self-Identification, t-test

Again, the above results are consistent with my earlier findings and general theoretical expectations. The treatment manipulation significantly decreases support for MSZP among the self-identified blue-collar respondents. In the same time, in this blue-collar sub-category, the treatment response is strong with the support for the radical right Jobbik party significantly increasing in different specifications of the outcome variable. Overall, in this specification of the blue-collar workers category, I find substantive confirmation for my *Hypothesis II.*

Workers by Education

Finally, I introduce the last specification of the blue-collar status based on a respondent's education level. The respondents were classified as blue-collar if they chose the following responses as their "highest finished education level":

The highest finished education level:

    Bachelor's degree

    Doctoral Degree

    High School Diploma

    Less than a high school diploma

    Professional degree

    Some college, no degree

For this specification, I repeat the above analysis. The results are provided in the Table below.

As in the previous subgroups of blue-collar respondents. The results confirm the original expectations. There is a visible increase in support for the radical right Jobbik as a result of the treatment exposure.

The below graph shows the treatment effects for the question "Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most?" As the Figure 20 illustrates, the treatment exposure results in a significant increase in support for the radical right Jobbik party, combined with a decrease in support for both - a center right Fidesz and a center-left MSZP. By Table 60 (Appendix II), Jobbik support significantly increases (0.243 versus 0.340, p=.002), while the support for the MSZP somewhat decreases (0.349 versus 0.320, p=.209) as result of my treatment.

Figure 20. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Workers by Education, t-test

The below graph shows the results of the analysis for the question: "Which party would you vote on the party list?" As the Figure 21 suggests, the exposure to the treatment leads to an increase in support for the radical right Jobbik party (along with the "won't tell" category), and a decrease in support for the center right Fidesz. By Table 62

(Appendix II), I find a significant increase in vote for Jobbik (0.164 versus 0.210, p=.054), and some decrease in MSZP vote (0.063 versus 0.078, p=.219) as result of my treatment.

Figure 21. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Workers by Education, t-test

Ultimately, I plot the difference in respondents' answers to a set of categorical questions about their party and policy preferences. Yet again the treatment exposure is associated with a substantive increase in Jobbik vote along with an increase in the anti-immigration attitudes and the salience of the immigration. The latter finding once again hints at the existence of a link between the economic frustration and the anti-immigration attitudes. By Wilcoxon Rank test, the median pro-market treatment test ranks were higher than the median redistribution treatment test ranks for the likelihood of voting for Jobbik ($z = 1.944$ $p = .052$, Table 64 in the Appendix II), support for immigrants to fully assimilate in the Hungarian society ($z = 3.452$, $p = .001$, Table 71 in the Appendix II), and salience of the immigration issue ($z = 2.879$, $p = .004$, Table 72 in the Appendix II).
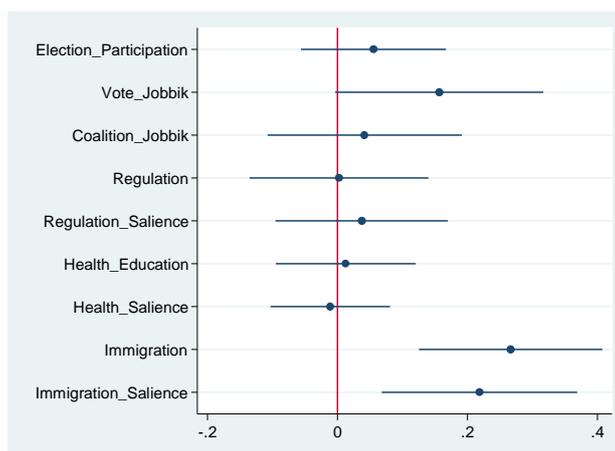
Figure 22. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Questions: In your opinion, how likely it is that you vote Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) party? How would you feel if Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became part of the government coalition? How much do you agree with the following statement: "The government should strongly regulate private businesses"; "And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?";" There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?"; "There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?" (Group 1 vs Group 2), Workers by Education, t-test

Overall, the results of the above analysis go in line with my original expectations and strongly confirms *Hypothesis II*. In different subsamples and alternative classifications of the blue-collar workers, I find a strong and significant increase in support for Jobbik following the treatment exposure. Since my treatment for both groups does not manipulate information on the radical right Jobbik and the center right Fidesz, but only the economic platform of the center-left MSZP (portraying it as using a pro-redistribution and a pro-market policy platform respectively), I conclude that the shift in the left party's policies leads to the increase of respondents' support for the radical right Jobbik.

Contrary to my expectations, I do not discover heterogeneous effects of treatment exposure for most of my dependent variables, except for the education-based blue-collar workers' category (Appendix II). This suggests that the effects of my treatment is not specific to the blue-collar respondents, but expand to broader audience.

Overall, for the radical right parties adopting a protectionist economic policy stance may be an advantageous strategy in the situation when the left parties move to the center on the economic policy and abandon their traditional constituencies.

The Policy Switch of the Center-Left and the Anti-Immigration Radical Right

In the above section of this chapter, I have addressed the connection between the economic policy switch of the center-left party and the use of redistribution platform by the radical right. The main argument developed in this dissertation states that in the countries where the ex-Communist left parties implemented the policy switch along the economic policy scale, one should observe the right parties adopting a redistributionist agenda, and subsequently, those radical right parties should achieve electoral success. The key element to my argument is that the center left and the radical right parties primarily compete along the socioeconomic policy dimension.

However, a popular counterargument states that the radical right parties primarily compete for their voters along the cultural dimension (see the discussion about the two axes of party competition in chapter 1). If the latter assumption is correct, then we should expect that the radical right parties would attract the left constituencies regardless of the radical right economic policy positions. To account for this possibility, I repeated the above experiment by assigning the radical right Jobbik a more typical anti-immigration

policy position along the cultural scale. The experimental design was identical to the one outlined in the above part of this chapter, but Jobbik's platform was replaced with an anti-immigration policy position.

The rest of this chapter looks at the results of the analysis for this treatment. If the key competition between the center left and the radical right parties happens along the economic policy scale, we should not see an increase in Jobbik support in current specification of the experimental survey. By contrast, if the cultural policy stance of the radical right matters for the competition with the center left parties, then we should expect to see an increase in Jobbik support under the center-left parties socioeconomic policy switch.

Experimental Design

In March 2018, I ran another internet-based experimental survey in Hungary of a total size of 1,000 participants (500 respondents for two treatment groups respectively). The subjects were randomly recruited from a representative sample of Hungary's population by the professional polling company Solid Data.

The sample was split into two groups of equal size, each of which was shown different combinations of the information about Hungary's largest parties' alleged platforms in the upcoming Hungarian April 2018 election. The treatment, which looked like a newspaper excerpt, contained the information regarding the party platforms in the upcoming parliamentary election.

Again, the only difference across the two treatments shown to the groups was the information on the policy stance of Hungary's center-left party MSZP. Group 1 received the information about the MSZP embracing a pro-market policy, while Group 2 received

the information about the MSZP taking a redistributionist policy position. Both groups received the information about the Jobbik party taking an anti-immigration policy stance. The positions of other two parties—the center right Fidesz party (neutral policy stance) and the radical right Jobbik (anti-immigration policy stance)—remained constant across these two treatments.

Similar to the previous survey experiment, the respondents were shown the same information about the three Hungarian parties in different combinations. First, they were shown the information about Fidesz and MSZP platforms; second, they were demonstrated the information regarding the Fidesz and Jobbik platforms; and lastly, they were shown the information about the policy positions of all three parties together. Following the treatment exposure, I asked the respondents the same questions regarding their specific party and policy preferences, as above.

The example of the information demonstrated to the respondents is provided below (Figure 23).

Figure 23. The Examples of Treatment Presented to the Survey Participants: Article Excerpt.

Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik

The English translation of the treatment materials is provided below. The treatment with a pro-market policy stance of MSZP contained the following information:

Please read the following newspaper abstract: "As the political parties prepare for the April 2018 parliamentary election, they are revising their political platforms and strategies.

Fidesz, the ruling party, will preserve its current policy focus as part of its electoral strategy.

*MSZP **will push for policies of economic openness and seek to satisfy international investors/capital in order to further integrate the Hungarian economy into global markets.***

Jobbik's leadership will return to the party's radical roots and, leaving other issues aside, to focus primarily on the need to limit the inflow of migrants into Hungary."

The treatment with a redistributionist policy stance of MSZP contained the following information:

Please read the following newspaper abstract: "As the political parties prepare for the April 2018 parliamentary election, they are revising their political platforms and strategies.

Fidesz, the ruling party, will preserve its current policy focus as part of its electoral strategy.

*MSZP **has decided to focus on improving the living standards and will campaign for the introduction of a guaranteed basic income for all citizens.***

Jobbik's leadership will return to the party's radical roots and, leaving other issues

aside, to focus primarily on the need to limit the inflow of migrants into Hungary."

Sample Statistics

Below I provide the summary statistics for my two treatment groups. Only two individual-level controls were used for balancing the sample – subjects' gender and age. The results of the analysis are provided in Table 14.

	Treatment 1 Redistribution	Treatment 2 Pro-Market	N
Gender [1 – man, 2 - woman]	1.505952	1.50495	505
Age	41.25694	41.34059	505

Table 14. Descriptive Statistics. (Group 1 vs Group 2)

The results suggest that the data in both samples appear to be balanced on basic demographic characteristics.

For the purposes of my experiment, I have included one manipulation check at the end of my post-treatment list of questions, asking the respondents whether they would support MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform. The results of the analysis are provided in Table 15 below.

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you vote for MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform?	2.181	2.244	z = -1.157	Prob > |z| = 0.247

[T] $p<0.1$; ** $p<0.05$; *** $p<0.01$

Table 15. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on MSZP

Support. Question: Would You Vote for MSZP If It Ran on a More Protectionist Platform?

As one can see, the treatment exposure (pro-market vs redistributionist platform of the left MSZP party) is associated with a positive increase in the number of respondents who would support the left party using a more protectionist platform in the treatment group with a pro-market economic policy stance of the MSZP party. Although the effect is not statistically significant, the difference between the means is substantive: the treatment exposure leads to a 3% increase in support for the left party if it used a more redistributionist platform.

General Sample

The results of the analysis are presented below. Treatment 1 (MSZP pro-market policy stance) is compared to Treatment 2 (MSZP redistributionist policy stance), holding positions of the other parties (Fidesz – neutral, Jobbik – anti-immigration) constant. Generally, the results suggest that the treatment exposure has little if any significant effect on the respondents' preferences. The change in answers to most of the questions is not statistically significant.

Below (Figure 24), I plot the results of the analysis of respondents' answer to the question: "Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most?" (Table 73 in the Appendix III). As the graphs illustrate, the treatment does not have a significant effect on the change in respondents' party and policy preferences.
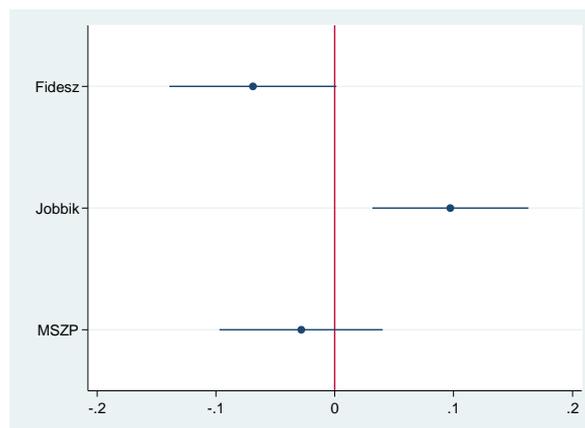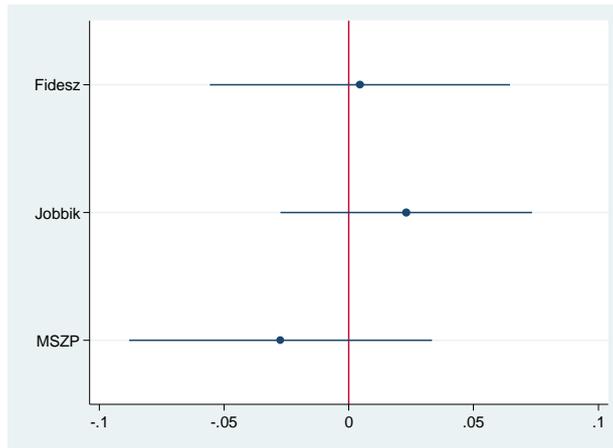
Figure 24. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, General Sample, t-test

I then plot the results of the analysis for my other dependent variable, as an answer to the question: "Which party would you vote for on the party list?" (Figure 25, Table 75 in the Appendix III). As the below graph suggests, the treatment has no significant impact on support for any party from the list.
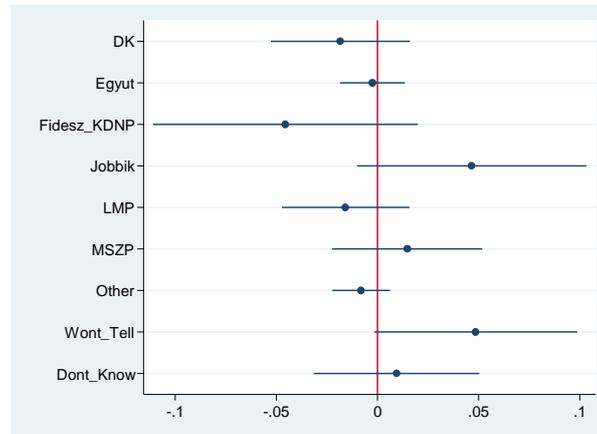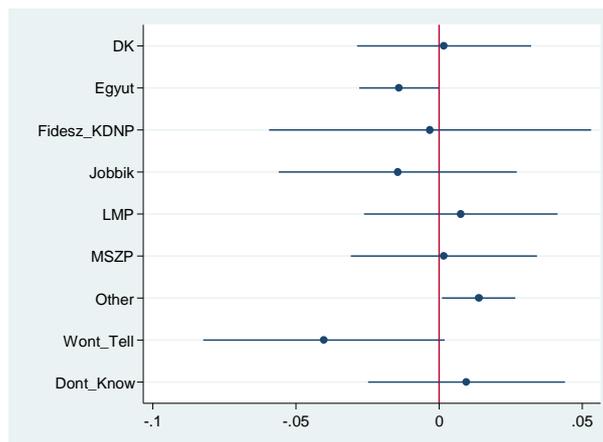

Figure 25. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, General Sample, t-test

I then repeat the same analysis for the respondents' answers to a set of categorical questions about respondents' party and policy preferences (Figure 26, Tables 74 and 76-85 in the Appendix III).
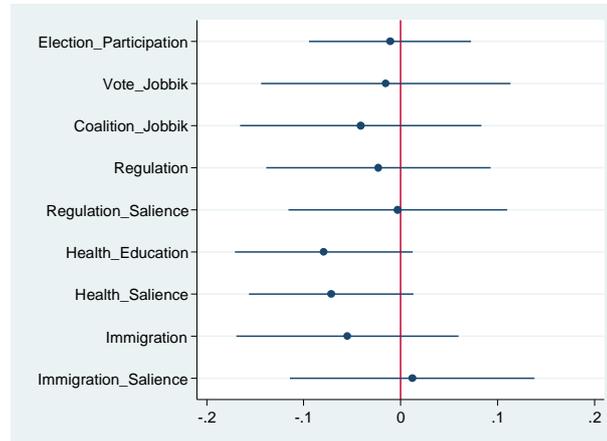
Figure 26. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Questions: In your opinion, how likely it is that you vote Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) party? How would you feel if Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became part of the government coalition? How much do you agree with the following statement: "The government should strongly regulate private businesses"; "And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?";" There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?"; "There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?" (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, General Sample, t-test

Overall, as the results above suggest, the exposure of the respondents to Jobbik's anti-immigration platform under the center-left party policy switch does not have a significant impact on the respondents' parties' and policy choice.

These null findings are highly consistent with my main theoretical argument—the competition between the center left and radical right parties occurs primarily along the

economic policy dimension, although this general orientation is not specific to the blue-collar subjects. Therefore, the radical right parties fail to attract the former constituencies of the center left parties on the cultural dimension alone. It is only with the adoption of the economic protectionist platform that the radical right parties are able to increase their electoral shares. Hence, the parties' competition and policy positions along the socioeconomic dimension play a key role in this context.

There is a possibility, however, that the blue-collar constituencies respond differently to the treatment exposure. Therefore, in the remaining sections of this chapter I focus on the impact of the treatment exposure on blue-collar respondents' support for the radical right Jobbik party.

Blue-Collar Workers by Profession

I then repeat the above analysis on the subsample of the respondents belonging to blue-collar workers based on their occupational status responds to the above treatment. The below tables summarize the main results of the analysis.

Below I plot the results of the above analysis for the respondents' answer to the question: "Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most?" (Figure 27, Table 86 in the Appendix III). As the graphs illustrate, the treatment does not have a significant effect on the change in respondents' party and policy preferences.
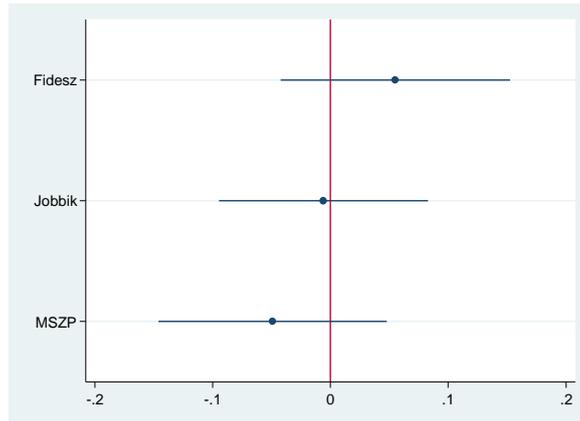
Figure 27. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, Workers by Occupation, t-test

I then plot the results of the analysis for my other dependent variable, as an answer to the question: "Which party would you vote for on the party list?" (Figure 28, Table 88 in the Appendix III).
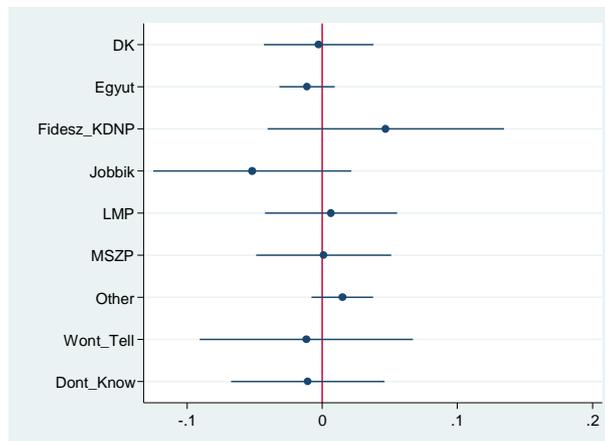
Figure 28. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, Workers by Occupation, t-test

I then repeat the same analysis for the respondents' answers to a set of categorical questions about respondents' party and policy preferences (Figure 29, Tables 87 and 89-98 in the Appendix III).
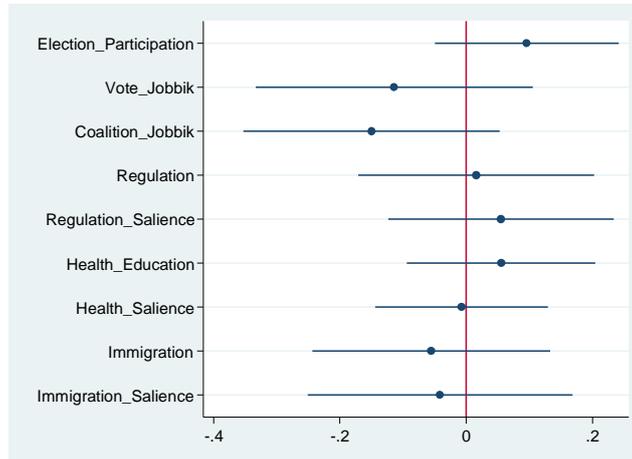
Figure 29. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Questions: In your opinion, how likely it is that you vote Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) party? How would you feel if Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became part of the government coalition? How much do you agree with the following statement: "The government should strongly regulate private businesses"; "And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?";" There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?"; "There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?" (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, Workers by Occupation, t-test

Overall, based on the results of the above analysis, I do not find any significant impact of my treatment on any of my other outcome variables for the subsample of blue-collar respondents based on their occupational status.

Again, the above results provide more support for the assumption that the competition between the center-left and radical right parties occurs primarily along the economic policy dimension. When they compete on the cultural (anti-immigration) policy

dimension alone, the radical right parties fail to attract substantive electoral support after the economic policy switch of the center left parties. By contrast, as the above analysis has demonstrated, the adoption of the economic protectionist policy stance allows the radical right parties to increase their electoral shares. These results are consistent on both the general samples and the blue-collar subsamples of my respondents.

Overall, the above findings confirm the expectations that the center left vs radical right party competition occurs primarily along the socioeconomic policy dimension.

Self-Identified Workers

An alternative way to measure the working-class status is by asking the respondents to place themselves in a specific class category. In this section I focus on the subgroup of my respondents who chose to identify themselves as "lower middle class."

I provide the results of the analysis for this subgroup below.

Below I graph the results of the analysis for the subsample of self-identified lower middle-class respondents for the question: "Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most?" As the below figure suggests, I find a decline in support for the MSZP in this specification of the blue-collar respondents (Figure 30, Table 99 in the Appendix III).
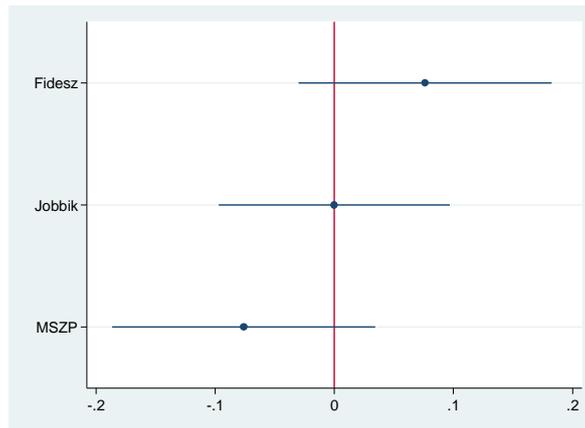
Figure 30. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, Workers by Self-Identification, t-test

I then plot the results of the analysis for my other dependent variable, as an answer to the question: "Which party would you vote for on the party list?" (Figure 31, Table 101 in the Appendix III).
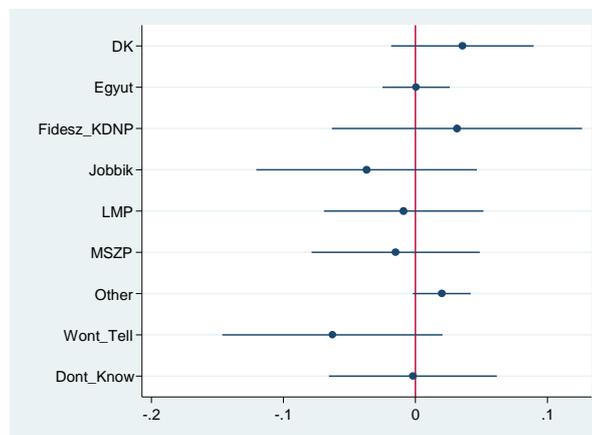
Figure 31. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, Workers by Self-Identification, t-test

I then repeat the same analysis for the respondents' answers to a set of categorical questions about respondents' party and policy preferences (Figure 32, Tables 100 and 103-111 in the Appendix III).

210
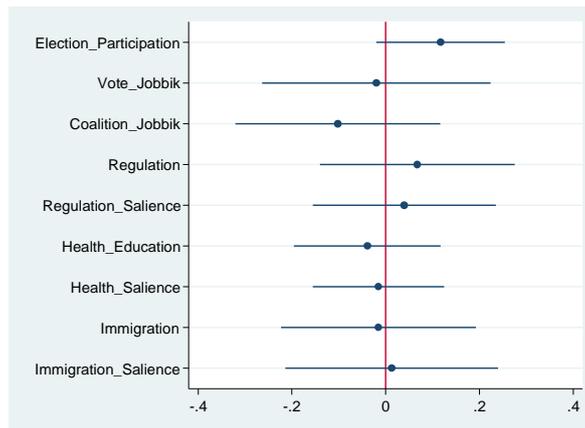
Figure 32. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Questions: In your opinion, how likely it is that you vote Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) party? How would you feel if Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became part of the government coalition? How much do you agree with the following statement: "The government should strongly regulate private businesses"; "And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?";" There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?"; "There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?" (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, Workers by Self-Identification, t-test

Yet again, the results of the above analysis suggest that the exposure to the treatment does not significantly alternate the results on the subsample of self-identified blue-collar respondents.

Workers by Education

Finally, I introduce the last specification of the blue-collar status based on a respondent's education level and repeat the above analysis for this specification. Overall, the results are similar to the ones presented above.

Below I plot the results of the analysis for the subsample of lower educated respondents. According to the below graph below, which maps the respondents' answer

to the question: "Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most?", I find a decrease in support for the MSZP in this specification of the blue-collar respondents significant on 90% confidence level (Figure 33, Table 112 in the Appendix III).
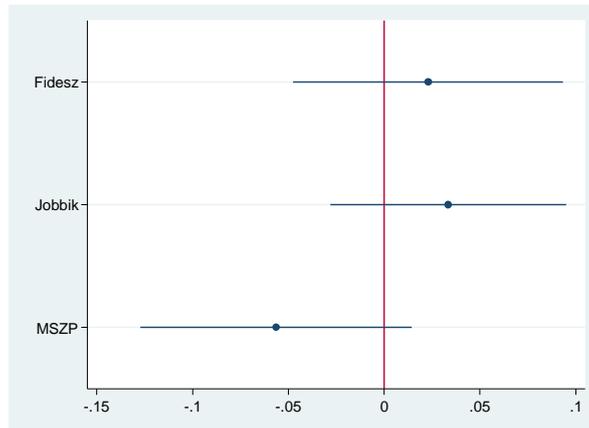
Figure 33. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: Of the above parties, which one appeals to you most? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, Workers by Education, t-test

I then plot the results of the analysis for my other dependent variable, as an answer to the question: "Which party would you vote on the party list?" (Figure 34, Table 114 in the Appendix III).
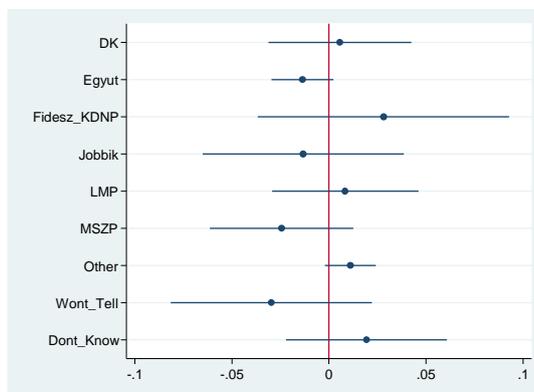
Figure 34. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote

for on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, Workers by Education, t-test

I then repeat the same analysis for the respondents' answers to a set of categorical questions about respondents' party and policy preferences (Figure 35, Tables 113 and 116-124 in the Appendix III).
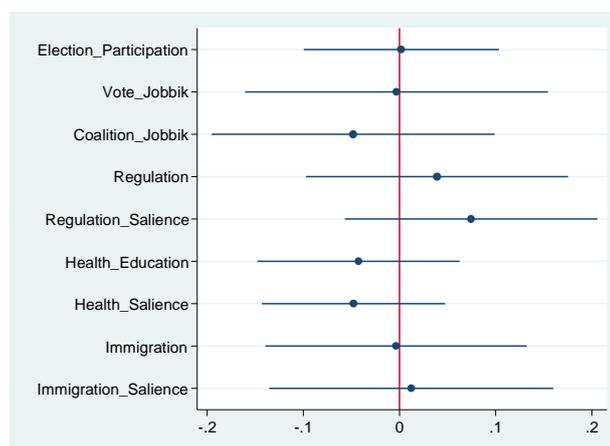
Figure 35. The Impact of the Treatment Exposure on the Party Choice, Questions: In your opinion, how likely it is that you vote Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) party? How would you feel if Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became part of the government coalition? How much do you agree with the following statement: "The government should strongly regulate private businesses"; "And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?";" There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?"; "There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?"; "And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?" (Group 1 vs Group 2), Experiment 2: The Anti-Immigration Stance of Jobbik, Workers by Education, t-test

The above analysis suggests that in this specification, for this treatment specification I do not find a substantive change in respondents' party and policy preferences. The treatment exposure decreases support for the center-left MSZP, the effects are significant for the subsamples of the respondents identified by lower middle class and lower education status.

However, this treatment specification does not have a substantive impact on support for the radical right Jobbik. In other words, the adoption of pro-market policy platform by the center-left party does not result in respondents' embrace of the radical right party when the latter uses only the anti-immigration policy platform.

Conclusion

Overall, the results of both my experiments confirm my theoretical expectations. In the first treatment specification (protectionist platform of Jobbik), I discovered a significant effect of my treatment on increased support for the radical right Jobbik. The results are substantive and significant for alternative specifications of the dependent variables and different subsamples of blue-collar respondents. In cases like Hungary, the blue-collar constituencies frustrated by the abandonment of the mainstream left political parties' centrist shift along the socioeconomic policy dimension are more likely (as the analysis of the subsample of the blue-collar respondents by education reveals) to support the radical right parties when the radical right parties adopt the protectionist economic policy positions.

By contrast, in the second treatment specification (anti-immigration platform of Jobbik) I do not find that my treatment has a substantive impact on support for the radical right Jobbik. This suggests that the use of the anti-immigration platform per se does not suffice to attract the supporters to the radical right under the center-left policy switch. The protectionist platform of the radical right plays a key role in attracting the new supporters. This null finding goes in line with my main theoretical argument—the competition between the center left and the radical right parties takes place primarily along the economic policy dimension. Hence, the radical right parties fail to attract the former

constituencies of the center left parties on the cultural dimension alone but are able to do so when they adopt the protectionist positions on the economic policy scale. These findings explain why the radical right parties generally hold more left leaning policy stances on the economy when compared to other parties in their respective political systems (Allen 2015; Bustikova and Kitschelt 2009; Burstikova 2017).

This finding supports the main argument of this paper: when the views of the working-class voters are not represented by the political mainstream due to the center left parties' shift along the economic policy scale, this constituency becomes more likely to shift to the right of the political spectrum and has a propensity to radicalize further when the right parties adopt a protectionist economic platform.

Conclusion

Summary of Main Findings

In this dissertation I examine the variation in the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties as a function of the left parties' economic policy positions. My argument contributes to the scholarship on the variation in the popularity of the radical right parties by explaining how the choices of the ex-Communist parties in the aftermath of the collapse of the Communist systems created the political opportunities available for the radical parties.

I show that following the fall of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe, the Communist successor parties were left with two major strategies: to maintain the economic orthodoxy and redistributionist platform (as did the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM) in the Czech Republic), or to embrace the liberal economic reforms and shift to the center of the political spectrum (as did the MSZP in Hungary and the SLD in Poland). According to my theory, while the latter strategy was profitable in the short term, allowing the ex-Communist left parties to expand their electoral bases, it was harmful in the long term since it pushed the traditional blue-collar constituencies of the left parties away. Abandoned by the left, these voters were eventually incorporated by the radical right parties that used redistributionist economic appeals to attract the former left supporters. This approach allows me to explain the current rightwards drift in the post-Communist region.

I tested my hypotheses on different levels of analysis: cross-country observational and qualitative comparisons, the constituency level analysis and individual-level experimental surveys, which allowed me to address the respective weaknesses of each individual approach. First, I focused on cross-country level using quantitative evidence to trace the voting preferences of blue- collar voters over the last quarter century. I

demonstrated that the blue-collar voters do in fact switch away from the ex-Communist left to the radical right parties. I also demonstrated that this process is related to ex-Communist left parties' adoption of more pro-market positions.

Second, I looked at four selected Visegrád countries — the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia—and ran a qualitative case-study analysis on the secondary data by tracing the economic policy choices made by the ex-Communist left parties, the party realignment process that followed those choices and the electoral success of the radical right parties that followed. I demonstrated that in the countries where the ex-Communist left parties implemented austerity reforms (Hungary and Poland), the blue-collar constituencies tended to switch to the right side of the political spectrum and eventually embrace the radical right parties. I supported my argument with the individual survey data from the Comparative Study of the Electoral System and Median Opinion Ltd. to show that the blue-collar constituencies shifted over time from supporting the ex-Communist left to embracing the radical right parties. By contrast, in the countries where the ex-Communist left parties preserved their traditional pro-labor agenda (the Czech Republic and Slovakia), the success of the radical right was more short-lived.

Third, I used the constituency-level data in Hungary to track the voters' support for the ex-Communist left MSZP and radical right Jobbik in the 2006–2010 electoral round (after another round of the implementation of austerity package by MSZP in 2008). In line with my theoretical argument, I discovered a correlation between the support for Jobbik in the 2010 election and the support for the MSZP in 2006 on a constituency level following the implementation of austerity reforms by the MSZP.

Fourth, I ran an experimental survey in Hungary that demonstrated that the embrace of a pro-market agenda by the ex-Communist left MSZP party led to a strong and significant increase in support for Jobbik on both general sample and different

specifications of blue-collar subsamples when the radical right Jobbik party adopts a protectionist economic agenda. By contrast, I found that my treatment had no effect on Jobbik's support in the other experiment specification where Jobbik adopted a cultural (anti-immigration) agenda alone.

My dissertation merges the different streams of literature in a coherent account describing the factors that contribute to the success of the radical right in Visegrád countries. In engaging the literature on the definitions of the radical right (Mudde 1995; Mudde 2000; Mudde 2002; Brug et al. 2000; Fennema 1997; Brug and Fennema 2003; Pop-Eleches 2010; Rovny and Marks 2011; Bustikova 2014) and populist right (Canovan 1999; Weyland 1999; Mudde 2000; Mudde 2007) parties I highlight the conceptual distinctions between the two concepts. Specifically, I show that while populism is not limited to the radical-right politics, it may be combined with other constituent elements of the radical right politics, such as ethno-nationalism (Mudde 2007; Bonikowski 2017). I also discuss the specific circumstances that may make populist appeals a more attractive political strategy, such as when large social groups become frustrated with the policies of the establishment (Betz 1994, 2002; Canovan 1999; Inglehart and Norris 2016; Zakaria 2016; Ishkanian and Marlies 2017). In addition, I engage the literature about the impact of austerity policies by mainstream parties on the electoral success of challenger parties (Vasilopoulou et Halikiopoulou 2013; Bailey et al. 2018; Barber and Hope 2015; Lupu 2014; 2015; Nyman 2016a, 2016b; Thomas and Tufts 2016). I demonstrate that the austerity reforms implementation by the ex-Communist left parties increased the popularity of the populist and radical right parties in the region.

I also build on the scholarship about the impact of economic policy convergence on the election successes of radical right parties (Kitschelt and McGann 1997; Carter 2005; Nissan and Carter 2005; Brug and Fennema 2003) to show that in the post-Communist

setting, the policy choices of the Communist successor parties played a particularly important role in this policy convergence. I engage the literature on the political strategies and policy choices of the ex-Communist parties (Hanley 2001; Grzymala-Busse 2002; March and Mudde 2005; Tavits and Letki 2009) that determined their short-term success and long-term demise. As I demonstrate in the above chapters, these policy choices fueled the process of "proletarization" of the radical right (Ignazi 2003; Norris 2005; Rydgren 2007), echoing the similar dynamics in western European countries (Arzheimer 2013; Ost 2018).

By merging different streams of literature from different European contexts and showing the similarity of the political processes in these contexts, I increase the breadth and depth of our understanding of the phenomenon in question. In this sense, my argument complements and unifies previous accounts of the success of the radical right parties.

Contributions and Implications

A number of implications of the theory described and tested in the above chapters are worthy of discussion.

First, in this dissertation I demonstrate that the mainstream parties' behavior on issues other than the radical right's own immigration matters is important. I showed that party competition along the economic policy dimension (and not just the cultural dimension) plays an important role in building support for the radical right parties. Specifically, in Chapter 7, I tested the assumption that the radical right parties primarily compete for the center left party voters along the cultural dimension and did not find confirmation of this hypothesis. Instead, I found only null results. After the left parties' economic policy switch, the radical right parties competing solely along the cultural

dimension did not gain additional votes. By contrast, in a slightly modified version of this experiment, the support for the radical right competing along the economic policy dimension increased substantively. The conclusion that the positions of the center left parties along the economic policy dimension matter for the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties is non-trivial and has important policy implications discussed below.

Second, I demonstrated that political opportunity structures explain a substantive share of variation in support for radical right parties, specifically the political choices made by other (center left) parties; this is in line with the previous scholarship on the topic. Political opportunity structures can be defined as the set of structural factors external to the party that affect its success. This suggests that along with purely economic factors, such as crises, economic stagnation or regional disparities, the programmatic strategies of mainstream parties (in particular, the left parties), and their positions on specific policy issues help explain substantive share of variation in the success of the radical right parties in post-Communist Europe over time.

Third, I have shown that some of the political processes of the ex-Communist party systems largely mirror the political processes in Western Europe. In particular, the so-called "proletarization" of the radical right parties (a phenomenon first examined in Western European countries) also takes place in Eastern and Central Europe. In this sense, the findings in this dissertation suggest that the trajectories of the post-Communist polities are not as distinct from the rest of European countries, as some scholars have suggested (Ekiert 2015). The distance between Europe's new European Union members and the rest of the countries may be shrinking, and the economic, social, and political differences may become less pronounced.

My findings allow me to make important policy recommendations. Specifically, my research demonstrates that the left parties are often the ones responsible for the

convergence of the political mainstream on the economic policy dimension. Therefore, there might be a possibility of reducing a rightward drift among their populations if the left parties adjust policies and programs in their economic platforms that alienated the blue-workers' constituencies in the first place (as the cases of Czech's KSČM and Slovakia's Smer-SD suggests).

In particular, in the Czech case, I find that the presence of the KSČM party, which preserved the traditional economic left policy positions and succeeded in implementing pro-labor policies (in alliance with the ČSSD party) allowed the Czech left to retain substantive shares of support among the blue-collar constituencies. As result, the traditional left-right parties' alignments (as suggested by the individual-level analysis) were preserved. Moreover, the Czech radical right parties failed to attract substantial support due to the limited size of the blue-collar constituencies available for mobilization (since they remained incorporated by the left parties to a large extent). Hence, the Czech populist and radical right parties failed to increase their popularity to the extent that Hungary's and Polish populist and radical right parties did.

In the Slovak case, the situation was somewhat similar, except that the Slovak populist left Smer-SD was able to rebrand itself as a pro-labor left party with strong left-leaning social etatism and protectionism after the other left party SDL took part in the liberal reforms (like the Polish and Hungarian left did). As result, Smer-SD was able to retain the support of the traditional left blue-collar constituencies and prevent the populist right SNS from incorporating these groups. The Slovak case is particularly instrumental in terms of developing policy recommendations, since it suggests that successful rebranding of the left may limit the electoral success of the radical right parties.

The analysis in this dissertation is also applicable to explaining the fortunes of the center left parties in Western Europe. Berman (2010) explains that since the 1970s, the

uninspiring administrators who offered little more than a gentler version of neoliberalism dominated on the left side of the western European political spectrum. This phenomenon led the left parties to lose the core social democratic insights (Berman 2010). As result of these policy choices by the western European left parties, the process of the proletarization of the radical right followed—in these countries, the blue-collar constituencies became continuously incorporated into the radical right (Arzheimer 2013).

Given this problem with the political programs of the left parties, Habermas (2016) argues that today's political left needs to re-establish a distinct position: "One would therefore have to make contrasting political programs recognizable again, including the contrast between the – in a political and cultural sense – liberal open-mindedness of the left, and the nativist fug of right-wing critiques of an unfettered economic globalization. In a word: political polarization should be re-crystallized between the established parties on substantive conflicts." Such an approach would address the concerns of the radical right voters who are frustrated with the political establishment without rejecting the economic tenets championed by the international liberal institutions.

The experiences of the left parties in the Czech Republic and Slovakia discussed above suggest ways to adjust policies and programs of the left parties that would reduce the effects of the centrist drift in their economic platforms and attract back workers' support. The left parties' ability to retain parts of their blue-collar constituencies would limit the growth of the populist and radical right parties in these countries and ultimately contribute to the political stability in the region. Ost (2018: 124) suggests that only a significant left alternative will be able to stop the spread of populist right in Poland. While Ost acknowledges that it would be particularly hard to do in the post-Communist countries where the radical left is still associated with dictatorships, the example of successful rebranding by Smer-SD suggests otherwise. Moreover, the fact that the electoral success

of PiS, Fidesz and Jobbik has to do with their willingness to introduce economic policies hitherto identified with the left suggests that the parties on the left will play a large part in determining the future.

The realignment theory introduced in this dissertation allows me to extend my conclusions beyond the electoral fortunes of the radical right parties and include the populist right parties more broadly. As I show in Chapters 4 and 5, in Hungary and Poland the electoral success of the populist right Fidesz and PiS was to some extent the function of the same economic policies stances chosen by the ex-Communist left parties. While focusing on populists may have the greatest payoff, the scope of this dissertation does not allow me to extend the analysis to those parties as well. Future research should address the fortunes of the right populist parties in the region as the result of the center-left parties' economic policy choices.

Another interesting methodological problem is the conceptualization of the left and right. The rise of the populist parties and the mainstream parties' repositioning on policy dimensions and ideological blurring made some scholars wonder to what extent the traditional definitions of the left and right parties continue to apply to the contemporary political landscape. In this dissertation, I go around this problem by defining the parties on their position along the cultural policy dimension (which I hold fixed) and then focusing the analysis on parties' strategic choices along the economic policy continuum. However, the potential problem remains. Future research should address the applicability of the usual left-right divide and traditional party labels to the emerging political landscape. This will help to complete the picture of the roles that the programmatic choices of the left parties play in today's populist backlash.

Bibliography

Abedi, Amir. (2002). Challenges to Established Parties: The Effects of Party System Features on the Electoral Fortunes of Anti-Political-Establishment Parties. *European Journal of Political Research*, 41:4, 551–83.

Abraham, Florin. (2017). *Romania since the Second World War: A Political, Social and Economic History*. London Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Abramowitz, A. and R. Teixeira. (2009). The Decline of the White Working Class and the Rise of a Mass Upper-Middle Class. *Political Science Quarterly*, 124: 391–422.

Adam, Frane, Tomsic, Matevz, and Kristan Primoz. (2012). The Dynamics of Elites and the Type of Capitalism: Slovenian Exceptionalism? *Historical Social Research* 37, 2, pp. 53-70.

Ágh, Attila. (2002). The Dual Challenge and The Reform of the Hungarian Socialist Party. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3.

Allen, T.J. (2015). All in The Party Family? Comparing Far Right Voters in Western and Post-Communist Europe. *Party Politics*.

Arvanitopoulos, C. ed. (2009). *Turkey's Accession to the European Union: And Unusual Candidacy.* Heidelberg: Springer.

Arzheimer, Kai. (2009). Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002. *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2), pp. 259-275.

Arzheimer, Kai. (2013). Working Class Parties 2.0? Competition between Centre Left and Extreme Right Parties. *Class Politics and the Radical Right*. Ed. Rydren, Jens. London, New York: Routledge.

Arzheimer, K. and E. Carter. (2006). Political opportunity structures and right-wing extremist party success. *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (3), pp.419–443.

Attila, Juhász, Krekó, Péter, and Molnár Csaba. (2012). Attitűd-szélsőségesek. Magyarországon – nemzetközi kontextusban. A szélsőjobboldali eszmék iránti keresletet mérő index (DEREX). *Kutatási összefoglaló*. Political Capital, Budapest.

Avdagic, S. (2005). State–Labor Relations in East-Central Europe: Explaining Variations in Union Effectiveness, *Socio-Economic Review*, 3.

Backes, U. and E. Jesse. (1993). *Politischer Extremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.* Berlin, Propyläen.

Bailey, DJ, Clua-Losada, M, Huke, N. (2018). Challenging the Age of Austerity: Disruptive Agency After the Global Economic Crisis. *Comparative European Politics* 16(1), pp. 9–31.

Bain, S. and R., Prince. (1972). Who is a White Collar Employee? *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. X.

Bakke, Elisabeth, and Nick Sitter. (2005). Patterns of Stability: Party Competition and Strategy in Central Europe since 1989. *Party Politics* 11 (2), pp. 243–63.

Bale, T., Green-Pedersen, Ch., Krouwel, A. Luther, K.R. and Sitter N. (2010). If You Can't Beat Them, Join Them? Explaining Social Democratic Responses to the Challenge from the Populist Radical Right in Western Europe, *Political Studies*, Vol.58, No.3, pp. 410:426.

Baleaunu V.G. (2000). Romania's November 2000 Elections: A Future Return to the Past? *Network EP*, Occasional Brief N0 80, 17 November. Accessed on November 30,

2017. Available at: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/38635/2000_Nov.pdf. (Accessed on July 1, 2017.)

Balogh E.S. (2009). Political Opinion in Hungary–Medián and Tárki. *Hungarian Spectrum*. Accessed on November 30, 2017. Available at: https://hungarianspectrum.wordpress.com/2009/06/24/political-opinion-in-hungarymedian-and-tarki/.(Accessed on June 1, 2017.)

Ban C. (2016). Romania: A Social Democratic Anomaly in Eastern Europe? Op*en Democracy*, 12 December. Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/cornel-ban/romania-social-democratic-anomaly-in-eastern-europe. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Baškarada, S. (2014). Qualitative Case Study Guidelines. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(40), 1-18.

Barber, T. and K.Hope. (2015). Syriza Win Throws Down Challenge to Europe. *Financial Times*. Available at: https://www.ft.com/content/9610da8a-a496-11e4-8959-00144feab7de. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Batory, Agnes. (2009). The European Parliament Election in Hungary, June 7 2009. European Parties Elections and Referendums *Network EP,* Election Briefing No 25. Available at http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/documents/epernep2009hungary.pdf. (Accessed on May 16, 2018.)

Batory, Agnes. (2010). Europe and the Hungarian Parliamentary Elections of April 2010, European Parties Elections and Referendums, *Network EP,* Election Briefing No 51. Available at https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=epern-election-briefing-no-51.pdf&site=266. (Accessed on May 16, 2018.)

Bell, Janice. (1997). Unemployment matters: Voting patterns during the economic transition in Poland, 1990–1995, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 49:7, 1263-1291.

Bell, J. (2005). *Doing your Research Project. A Guide for First-Time Researchers in Education.* Health and Social Science (4th Edition). Buckinghamshire, Open University Press.

Benoit Kenneth Laver Michael. (2006). *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. London: Routledge.

Berglund, Sten, Joakim Ekman and Frank H. Aarebrot, eds. (2004), *the Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.

Berglund, Sten, Ekman, Joakim, Deegan-Krause, Kevin, and Terje Knutsen, eds. (2013). *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, Third Edition.

Berman, Sheri. (2010). What Happened to the European Left? *Dissent*, 57, 3.

Berman, Sheri. (2016a). Populism Is Not Fascism. But It Could Be a Harbinger. *Foreign Affairs*, November/December. Available at: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-10-17/populism-not-fascism. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Berman, Sheri. (2016b). The Specter Haunting Europe: The Lost Left. *Journal of Democracy* 27(4), pp. 69–76.

Betz, Hans-Georg. (1994). *Radical Rightwing Populism in Western Europe*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Betz, Hans-Georg. (2002). Conditions Favoring the Success and Failure of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Contemporary Democracies. In *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, e. by Y. Mény and Y. Surel. New York: Palgrave.

Bogel, G., Edwards, V. and Wax, M. (1997). *Hungary Since Communism: The Transformation of Business.* Basingstoke and London: Macmillan.

Bonikowski, Bart. (2017). Ethno-Nationalist Populism and The Mobilization of Collective Resentment. *The British Journal of Sociology* 2017 Volume 68 Issue S.

Bonker, Frank. (2007). *The Political Economy of Fiscal Reform in Central-Eastern Europe: Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic from 1989 to EU Accession*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Bornschier, S. (2009). Cleavage Politics in Old and New Democracies. *Living Reviews in Democracy*, vol. 1.

Bornschier, S. (2010a). *Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right: The New Cultural Conflict in Western Europ*e. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bornschier, S. (2010b). The New Cultural Divide and the Two-Dimensional Political Space in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 33:3, 419-444, DOI: 10.1080/01402381003654387.

Boros-Kazai, András. (2005). Hungary. In Richard Frucht (ed.), *Eastern Europe: An Introduction to the People, Lands and Culture*, (1), ABC-CLIO, Inc.: Santa Barbara.

Bos, Linda, Sheets, Penelope, and Boomgaarden, Hajo G. (2017). The Role of Implicit Attitudes in Populist Radical-Right Support. *Political Psychology*, Vol. xx, No. xx, 2017.

Bozoki, Andras and John T. Ishiyama. (2002). *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*. Eds.Andras Bozoki and John T. Ishiyama, eds. Armonk, NY: M.E.

Brader, T., and J.Tucker. (2008). Pathways to Partisanship: Evidence from Russia. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 24 (3).

Brooks, David. (2005). Meet the Poor Republicans. *New York Times*, May 17. Accessed on May 15, 2018. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/15/opinion/meet-the-poor-republicans.html.

Brug, Van Der, Fennema, Meindert, and Jean Tillie. (2000). Anti-immigrant parties in Europe: Ideological or protest vote? *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 37, Number 1.

Brug, Van Der, and Meindert Fennema. (2003). Protest or Mainstream? How the European Anti-Immigrant Parties Developed into Two Separate Groups by 1999 *European Journal of Political Research*, 42: 55-76.

Bruszt, László. (1995). The Antall Government, the Labor Unions, and the Employers' Associations. In: Béla Király/András Bozóki (eds.), *Lawful Revolution in Hungary, 1989–94.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Bustikova, L. (2014). Revenge of the Radical Right. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47:12, 1738-1765.

Bustikova, L. (2017). The Radical Right in Eastern Europe. In: Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bustikova, L. and Kitschelt, H. (2009). The Radical Right in Post-Communist Europe: Comparative Perspectives on Legacies and Party Competition, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 42(4): pp. 459–83.

Bútorová, Zora and Martin Bútora. (1994). Slovensko Po Rok: Cesty A Križovatky Nového Štátu Očami Jeho Obyvateľ'ov. *Sociologické Nakladatelstv,* Prague.

Buttice, Matthew K., and Benjamin Highton. (2017). How Does Multilevel Regression and Poststratification Perform with Conventional National Surveys? *Political Analysis*, Vol. 21, No. 4: 449-467.

Byrne, Andrew. (2017). Hungary's Far-Right Jobbik Party Tries to Soften Image. March 5. *Financial Times*. https://www.ft.com/content/43137b62-ff25-11e6-96f8-3700c5664d30. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Cain, Phil. (2012). Hungary Nationalists Whip Up Anti-Roma Feeling.s *BBC News*, September 1. Accessed on May 17, 2018. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-19439679. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Canovan, Margaret. (1999). Trust the People! The Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy. *Political Studies* 47(1):2-16.

Capoccia, Giovanni. (2002). Anti-System Parties: A Conceptual Reassessment. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. Vol 14, Issue 1: 9 – 35.

Carey, H.F. (2004) in H.F. Carey, ed. *Romania since 1989: Politics, Economics and Society*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Carter, E. (2005). *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Cavallaro, Matteo, Flacher, David, and Massimo Angelo Zanetti. (2018). Radical Right Parties and European Economic Integration: Evidence from The Seventh European Parliament. *European Union Politics*, Vol 19, Issue 2, pp. 321 – 343.

CBOS. (1993). *Wyborcy Zwycieskich Partii', Servis Informacyjny*. Centrum Badania Opinii Spolecznej, Warsaw, December.

Černoch Filip, Husák Jan, Schütz Ondrej, and Michal Vít. (2011). *Political Parties and Nationalism in Visegrad countries*. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, Mezinárodní Politologický Ustav, Monography Series 46.

Chan, Kenneth Ka-Lok. (1995). Poland at the Crossroads: The 1993 General Election, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47:123-145.

Chassany, Anne-Sylvaine. (2016). How France's National Front is Winning Working-Class Voters. *The Financial Times*, October 21. Available at:

https://www.ft.com/content/ad9502f4-8099-11e6-bc52-0c7211ef3198. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Cinpoes E. (2012). The Extreme Right in Contemporary Romania. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, *International Policy Analysis*. Available at: http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id-moe/09408.pdf. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Connelly, R., Gayle, V., and P. Lambert. (2016). A Review of Occupation-Based Social Classifications for Social Survey Research. *Methodological Innovations Online*, 9.

Costea V. (2014). PP-DD and the Romanian Government – How Can a Radical Populist Party Fit into a Social Democratic Coalition? *The Political Science Club*, June 8. Available at: http://thepoliticalscienceclub.com/pp-dd-and-the-romanian-government-how-can-a-radical-populist-party-fit-into-a-social-democratic-coalition/. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Csaba, Laszlo. (2011). The Challenge of Growth. Hungarian Review, 2(3), 32-44.

Csaba, László. (2013). Growth, Crisis management and EU: The Hungarian Trilemma, 53(3–4) *SüdEuropa Mitteilungen*, 154–169.

Culpepper, Pepper D. (2005). Single Country Studies and Comparative Politics. *Politics & Society*, No. 60, Spring: 2-5.

Curry, Jane Leftwich. (2003). Poland's Ex-Communists: From Pariahs to Establishment Party. In The Left Transformed in *Post-Communist Societies*, eds. Jane Leftwich Curry and Joan Barth Urban. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 19-60.

Csizmadia, Lidia. (2008). The Transition Economy of Hungary between 1990 and 2004. M.Sc. finance diss., University of Aarhus, 2008, 40. Available at: http://pure.au.dk/portal/files/2620/Csizmadia-Thesis.pdf. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Deegan-Krause, Kevin. (2006). *New Dimensions of Political Cleavage.* Oxford Handbook of Political Science, eds. R. Dalton and H.-D. Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Deiwiks, Christa. (2009). Populism. Living Reviews in Democracy, Center for Comparative and International Studies, ETH Zurich and University of Zurich. Available at: www.livingre views.org/lrd-2009–3. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

de Lange. Sarah L. (2007). A New Winning Formula? *Party Politics.* Vol 13, Issue 4, pp. 411 – 435.

Derks, Anton. (2006). Populism and the Ambivalence of Egalitarism. How do the Underprivileged Reconcile a Right-Wing Party Preference with Their Socio-Economic Attitudes? *World Political Science* Review 2, Article 1.

Derksen, W. (2009). Elections around the World. Accessed on: November 30, 2011. Available at: http://www.electionworld.org. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

DeVault, I. A. (1990). *White Collar/Blue Collar. Sons and Daughters of Labor: Class and Clerical Work in Turn-Of-The-Century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Downs, Anthony. (1957). An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy. *Journal of Political Economy.* 65 (2): 135–150.

Duseka T, Lukács R., and I. Rácz. (2014). Development Differences Among the Regions of Hungary. *Procedia Economics and Finance*.

EEAG. (2017). The EEAG Report on the European Economy, "Economic Policy and the Rise of Populism – It's Not So Simple." *CESifo*, Munich: 50–66.

Ek Carl. (2001). Romania after the 2000 Elections: Background and Issues for Congress. *The Library of Congress*, April 12.

Ekiert, G. (2015). Three Generations of Research on Post-Communist Politics – a Sketch. *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, 29(2), pp. 323-337.

Elias, A., Szöcsik, E., and C. Zuber. (2015). Position, Selective Emphasis and Framing How Parties Deal with a Second Dimension in Competition. *Party Politics* 21 (6), pp. 839-850.

Enyedi, Zsolt. (2016). Populist Polarization and Party System Institutionalization: The Role of Party Politics in De-Democratization. *Problems of Post-Communism*, pp. 1–11.

Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland. (2013). *The Britannica Guide to Countries of the European Union Series.* Editor: Amy McKenna. Britannica Educational Publishing, Rosen Publishing Group, Incorporated, 2013

Eszter-Tóth, András, B. (2015). The Working of the Ethno-Neo Nationalistic Identity Politics in Postsocialist Hungary. *Working paper*. Available at: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/42938606.pdf. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Evans, G., and S. Whitefield. (2000). Explaining the Formation of Electoral Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies. In H. D. Klingemann, E. Mochmann, and K.Newton (Eds.), *Elections in Central and Eastern Europe*: *The First Wave*. Berlin: Edition Sigma.

Evans, Jocelyn A.J. (2005). The Dynamics of Social Change in Radical Right-Wing Populist Party Support. *Comparative European Politics* 3: pp. 76-101.

Evans, Geoffrey and Whitefield, Stephen. (1995). Social and Ideological Cleavage Formation in Post-Communist Hungary. *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol.47, no.7.

Evans, Geoffrey and Stephen Whitefield. (1998). The Structuring of Political Cleavages in Post-Communist Societies: The Case of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. *Political Studies* 46/1: pp. 115-39.

Evans, Geoffrey, and Stephen Whitefield. (2001). The Dynamics of Cleavage Formation in Conditions of Economic Transformation: Comparing Cleavages in Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco.

Fennema, M. (1997). Some Conceptual Issues and Problems in the Comparison of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe. *Party Politics* 3: 473-492.

Fidrmuc, Jan. (2000). Economics of Voting in Post-Communist Countries. *Electoral Studies* 19(2/3): 199-217.

Fodor, Eva, Sata, Robert, and Olga Toth. (2006). Social Inequality and Why It Matters for the Economic and Democratic Development of Europe and Its Citizens: Post-communist Central and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective: Hungary. *Deliverable 2, Desk Research*, EUREQUAL.

Fowler, Brigid. (2004). Concentrated Orange: Fidesz and the Remaking of the Hungarian Centre-Right, 1994- 2002. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 20(3), September, pp. 80-113.

Frank, Thomas. (2004). *What's the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Franzmann, Simon, and Dennis C. Spies. (2011). A Two-Dimensional Approach to the Political Opportunity Structure of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe. *West European Politics* 34(5):1044-1069.

Gal, Robert. (2001). *Hungary – ASISP Annual Report*. Available online at: http://socialprotection.edu/files_db/896/asisp_ANR10_Hungary.pdf. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Gaal, van S., de Lange F. P., and Francken J. C. (2011). Immediate and Long-Term Priming Effects Are Independent of Prime Awareness. Conscious. Cogn. 20: 1793–1800.

Ganev, V. I. (2006). Ballots, Bribes and State Building in Bulgaria. *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. XVII, No. 1: 75-89.

George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett. (2005). *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Massachusetts: MIT Press, Harvard.

Gerring, John. (2007). *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gest, J. (2016). The White Working-Class Minority: A Counter-Narrative. *Politics, Groups, and Identities,* Vol. 4, Issue 1.

Gharawi, Mohammed A., Pardo, Theresa A., and Santiago Guerrero. (2009). Issues and Strategies for Conducting Cross-National E- Government Comparative Research. Paper presented at the 3rd International Conference on Theory and Practice of Electronic Governance, Bogotá, Colombia, November 10-13.

Gibson, J., & Cielecka, A. (1995). Economic Influences on the Political Support for Market Reform in Post-Communist Transitions: Some Evidence from the 1993 Polish Parliamentary Elections. *Europe-Asia Studies, 47*(5), 765-785.

Gijsberts, M., and Nieuwbeerta, P. (2000). Class Cleavages in Party Preferences in the New Democracies in Eastern Europe: A Comparison with Western Democracies. *European Societies* 2, 397–430.

Golder, Matt. (2003). Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 36: 432-66.

Golder, Matt. (2016). Far Right Parties in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science* 19, pp. 477-497.

Goldfarb, Michael. (2014). Rise of Hungary's Right-Wing Jobbik Party Bodes Poorly for Jews and Roma. *PRI*, May 22. Available at: www.pri.org/stories/2014-05-22/rise-

hungarys-right-wing-jobbik-party-bodes-poorly-jews-and-roma.   (Accessed   on   November 30, 2017.)

Gougou, F., and N. Mayer. (2013). The Class Basis of Extreme Right Voting in France: Generational Replacement and the Rise of New Cultural Issues (1984–2007). in *Class Politics and the Radical Right*, ed. J. Rydgren, 156–172. Abingdon: Routledge.

Greskovits, B. (2000). Hungary's Post-Communist Development in Comparative Perspective in: W. Baer and J. L. Love (eds.), *Liberalization and its Consequences: A Comparative Perspective on Latin America and Eastern Europe. America and Eastern Europe.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar: 126-149.

Grittersova, J. Indridason, I.H., Gregory C, and R. Crespo. (2016). Austerity and Niche Parties: The Electoral Consequences of Fiscal Reforms. *Electoral Studies* 42: 276-289.

Grzymała-Busse, A. (1996). *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*. Mlada Fronta Dnes.

Grzymała-Busse, A. (2002) The Programmatic Turnaround of Communist Successor Parties in East Central Europe. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*.

Grzymała-Busse, A. (2003). Political Competition and Politicization of the State in East Central Europe, *Comparative Political Studies* 36: pp. 1123-47.

Grzymała-Busse, A. (2017). Hoist on Their Own Petards? The Reinvention and Collapse of Authoritarian Successor Parties. *Party Politics*: pp. 1-14.

Guardiancich, I. (2012). *Pension Reforms in Central, Eastern and. Southeastern Europe: From Post-Socialist. Transition to the Global Financial Crisis.* London, New York, NY: Routledge/ EUI Studies in the Political Economy of the Welfare State.

Gyarfasova O. (2013). Metamorphosis of Radical Right in Slovakia. Paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, September 4-7, 2013 in Bordeaux. Institute of European Studies and International Relations. Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences. Comenius University, Bratislava.

Győri, Gábor. (2015). Hungarian Politics in 2014. *Policy Solution Research Papers*, Friedrich. Ebert Stiftung Foundation.

Habermas, J. (2016) For a Democratic Polarization: How to Pull the Ground from Under Right-Wing Populism. *Social Europe*, 17 November. Available at: https://www.socialeurope.eu/2016/11/democraticpolarisation-pull-ground-right-wing-populism. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Han, Kyung Joon. (2014). The Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties on the Positions of Mainstream Parties Regarding Multiculturalism. *West European Politics*.

Hanley, S. (2001). Towards Breakthrough or Breakdown? The Consolidation of KSČM as a NeoCommunist Successor Party in the Czech Republic. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 17, no. 3: 96–116.

Hanley, Sean and Allan Sikk. (2014). Economy, Corruption or Floating Voters? Explaining the Breakthroughs of Anti-Establishment Reform Parties in Eastern Europe. *Party Politics*.

Hantrais, L., and S. Mangen. (1998). *Cross-national Research Methods in the Social Sciences: Method and Management of Cross-National Social Research*. Pinter, London.

Haughton, Tim. (2004) Explaining the Limited Success of the Communist-Successor Left in Slovakia: The Case of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL'). *Party Politics*, 10 (March): 177-191.

Haughton, Tim and Marek Rybář. (2008). A Change of Direction: The 2006 Parliamentary Elections and Party Politics in Slovakia, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 24:2, 232-255.

Haughton Tim and Kevin Deegan-Krause. (2016). Slovakia Will Probably Reelect Its Center-Left Government. Here's Why That Party Has Held On. *The Washington Post's Monkey Cage*. February 25. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/02/25/slovakia-will-probably-reelect-its-center-left-government-heres-why-that-party-has-held-on/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.8f8a295171f4. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Hawkins, K. A. (2009). Is Chávez Populist? Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42, 1040-1067.

Henderson, Karen. (2002). *Slovakia: The Escape from Invisibility.* Routledge, London.

Henderson, Karen. (2006). Election Briefing #26. Europe and the Slovak Parliamentary Election of June 2006. *European Parties Election and Referendums Network.* Available at: https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=epern-election-briefing-no-26.pdf&site=266. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Henderson, Karen. (2012). Election Briefing #69. Europe and the Slovak Parliamentary Election of June 2012. *European Parties Election and Referendums Network.* Available at: https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=epernslovakia2012.pdf&site=266. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Herrmann, Michael, Simon Munzert, and Peter Selb. (2016). Determining the effect of strategic voting on election results, 179(2): 583-605.

Hlousek, Vit, and Lubomir Kopecek. (2008). Cleavages in Contemporary Czech and Slovak Politics: Between Persistence and Change. *East European Politics and Societies* 22:518–52.

Holubec S. (2015). The Radical Left of the New EU: Between Communist Nostalgia and Postmodern Radicalism. *Socialism and Democracy*. Volume 29, Issue 3: 126-134.

Hodkinson, P., and H. Hodkinson. (2001). The Strengths and Limitations of Case Study Research. *Learning and Skills Development Agency Conference, Making an Impact on Policy and Practice*. Cambridge.

Hofstadter, Richard. (1963). *Anti-intellectualism in American Life*. New York: Vintage Books.

Hooghe Liesbet, and Marks Gary Wilson Carole J. (2002). Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration? *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (8): 965–989.

Hooghe L. and Marks G. (2018). Cleavage Theory Meets Europe's Crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the transnational cleavage, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:1: 109-135.

Hrast M.F. and Rakar T. (2015). The Future of the Slovenian Welfare State and Challenges to Solidarity. *Paper prepared for the Annual ESPAnet Conference*: The Lost and the New Worlds of Welfare, 3-5 September, 2015, Odense, Denmark.

Hungarian Far Right Launches a New Political Party. (2017) *Reuters*, July 8. Accessed on December 2, 2017. Available at: www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/08/hungarian-far-right-launches-new-political-party.

Hunter R.J. and Ryan L.V. (1998). *From Autarchy to Market: Polish Economics and Politics 1945–1995*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Ignazi, P. (2003). *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Inglehart, R. and Norris, P. (2016). Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash. *HKS Working Paper* No. RWP16-026.

Ishiyama, John. (2006) Europeanization and the Communist Successor Parties in Post-Communist Politics. *Politics and Policy*, Vol.34, No.1: 3–29.

Ishkanian, Armine and Glasius Marlies. (2017). Resisting Neoliberalism? Movements Against Austerity and for Democracy in Cairo, Athens and London. *Critical Social Policy.*

Ivaldi, Gilles. (2013). A New Radical Right Economic Agenda? The Transformation of the Front National in France. *Workshop on" Radical Right-Wing Populists and the Economy"*, Oct, Groningen, Netherlands.

Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth. (2005). The Vulnerable Populist Right Parties: No Economic Realignment Fueling Their Electoral Success. *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 465-492.

Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth. (2008). What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe? Re-Examining Grievance Mobilization Models in Seven Successful Cases. *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (1): 3-23.

Jiglău G., Burean T., Bădescu G. (2013). The Ideological Mapping of Political Parties in Romania. The Relationship between Dimensions of Competition and Ideological Consistency, ECPR General Conference, 4-7, 2013.

Jackson, John E., Klich, Jacek, and Krystyna Poznanska, eds. (2005). *The Political Economy of Poland's Transition: New Firms and Reform Governments.* Cambridge University Press, New York.

Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom. (2003). Alapító Nyilatkozat. In.: Koltay, G.: *Adjatok egy jobbik világot.* Szabad Tér, Budapest.

Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom. (2007). *Bethlen Gábor Program*. Budapest.

Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom. (2010). Radikális változás. *A Jobbik országgyűlési választási programja a nemzeti önrendelkezésért és a társadalmi igazságosságért*. Budapest.

Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom. (2014): Kimondjuk. Megoldjuk. - Választási program 2014. Budapest.

Johns, Luke. (2013). Evaluating Research Methods of Comparative Politics. *E-International Relations Students*, May 13. Available at: http://www.e-ir.info/2013/05/09/evaluating-research-methods-of-comparative-politics. (Accessed on May 16, 2017.)

Jordan, Michael J. (2010). The Roots of Hate. *World Policy Journal* 27: 99-111.

Juhász, Attila, Péter Krekó and Csaba Molnár. (2012) Attitűd-szélsőségesek Magyarországon – nemzetközi kontextusban. Budapest: *Political Capital*. Available at: http://www.politicalcapital.hu/wp-content/uploads/fes_derex_20120229.pdf. (Accessed on February 30, 2018.)

Kalb, D. (2009). Conversations with a Polish Populist: Tracing Hidden Histories of Globalization, Class, and Dispossession in Postsocialism (and Beyond). *American Ethnologist*, 36: 207-223.

Kalb, D. and Gabor Halmai, eds. (2011). *Headlines of Nation, Subtexts of Class. Working Class Populism and the Return of the Repressed in Neoliberal Europe*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 1-63.

Kando, T.M. (2001). Demographic and Public Health Trends in Hungary in the First Post-Communist Decade. *Society and Economy in Central and Eastern Europe*: 7-27.

Karácsony Gergely, and Daniel Róna. (2011). The Secret of Jobbik. Reasons behind the Rise of the Hungarian Radical Right. *Journal of East European and Asian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, Special Issue: "Democratic Institutionalism ", February.

Kates S. and Joshua Tucker. (2016). Ethnic Nationalists or Economic Malcontents? The Far Right in a Post Crisis Europe. Working Paper Presented at American Political Studies Association.

Kim, Dae Soon. (2016). The Rise of European Right Radicalism: The Case of Jobbik. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 49 (December): 345-357.

Kitschelt, Herbert. (1992). The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe. *Politics & Society*, vol. 20, issue 1: 7-5.

Kitschelt, Herbert P. (1995a). Formation of Party Cleavages in Post–Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions, *Party Politics* 1: 447-472.

Kitschelt, Herbert P. (1995b). *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert P. (2002). Popular Dissatisfaction with Democracy: Populism and Party Systems, in: Yves Meny and Yves Surel, eds., *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*. Houndsmill: Palgrave, 179–96.

Kitschelt, Herbert P. (2007). Growth and Persistence of the Radical Right in Postindustrial Democracies: Advances and Challenges in Comparative Research. *West European Politics*, 30:5: 1176–206.

Kitschelt, Herbert, and Anthony J. McGann. (1997). *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert, Mansfeldova, Zdenka, Markowski, Radowslaw, Toka, Gabor. (1999). *Post-Communist Party Systems. Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Klich J. and Poznańska K. (2005). *The Political Economy of Poland's Transition: New Firms and Reform Governments*. Cambridge University Press.

Knutsen, O. P. (2013). Social Structure, Social Coalitions and Party Choice in Hungary. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 46(1): 25-38.

Kopeÿek, Lubomír. (2007) The Far Right in Europe. A Summary of Attempts to Define the Concept, Analyze Its Identity, And Compare the Western European and Central European Far Right. Written as a Part of the Research Project *Political Parties and Representation of Interests in Contemporary European Democracies.* Available at: http://www.cepsr.com/dwnld/kopecekx20040403.pdf. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Korkut, Umut (2007). The 2006 Hungarian Election: Economic Competitiveness versus Social Solidarity. *Parliamentary Affairs* 60.4: 675–690.

Kovacs, D. (2003). Adjatok egy Jobbik Vilagot: Besz elget esek a Jobbik Magyarorsz ag ert Mozgalomr ol (Give us a World of Jobbik: Conversation about Movement for Better Hungary, Jobbik). *Szazad Ter Kiado*, Budapest.

Kovács, A. (2010). Antisemitic Prejudice and Political Antisemitism in Present-Day Hungary. *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism*: 4:2.

Kovács A. (2013). The Post-Communist Extreme Right. The Jobbik Party in Hungary in *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, eds. Ruth Wodak, Majid KhosraviNik, Brigitte Mral. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Kovacs, T. (2012). The Jobbik Phenomenon: The Hungarian Youth is on the Road of Radical Right. *Working Paper*. Accessed on May 1, 2018. Available at: http://pte.academia.edu.

Köves, András. (1995). After the Bokros Package: What Next? *Acta Oeconomica*, 37(3/4), pp. 249- 265.

Kriesi, H. (1998). The Transformation of Cleavage Politics. *European Journal of Political Research* 33 (2), pp. 165–185.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S., and Frey, T. (2008). *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Dolezal, M., Helbling, M., Höglinger, D., Hutter, S., and Wüest, B. (2012). *Political Conflict in Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

KSČM. (1998). Jiní o lidech, my s lidmi. Volební program KSČM pro volby do PSP ČR 1998. Tištěno.

KSČM. (2002). S lidmi pro lidi. Volební program KSČM pro volby do 2002. Available online at: http://www.kscm.cz/index.asp?managepreview=ok&thema=3283&category=&language=1&item=2831. (Accessed on July 8, 2017).

KSČM. (2006). Volební program Komunistické strany Čech a Moravy na období 2006-2010. Volební program KSČM pro volby do 2006-2010. (Election Program of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia for the Period 2006-2010). Available online at: http://www.kscm.cz/article.asp?thema=3783&item=35527. (Accessed on July 8, 2017).

KSCM. (2010). Volebníprogram Komunistické strany Cech a Moravyna obdobi 2010-2013 (Election Program of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia for the Period 2010-2013). Available online at: http://www.kscm.cz/index.asp?thema=2680&category=, staženo. (Accessed on July 8, 2017).

KSCM. (2013). Volebníprogram Komunistické strany Cech a Moravyna obdobi 2013-2017 (Election Program of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia for the Period 2013-2017). Available online at: http://old.kscm.cz/uvodni-stranka/nas-program/volebni-program (Accessed on July 8, 2017).

Kubát, Michal. (2007). Teorie antisystémové strany, *Politologický ÿasopis*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 110-123.

Lach, Jiří, James T. La Plant, Jim Peterson and David Hill. (2010). The Party Isn't Over: An Analysis of the Communist Party in the Czech Republic. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 26:3: 363-388.

Lachat, R. (2007). *A Heterogeneous Electorate: Political Sophistication, Predispositional Strength, and the Voting Decision Process.* Baden Baden: Nomos.

Landman, Todd. (2000). *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics.* London: Routledge

Landman, Todd. (2008). *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.

Lannert, Judit. (2000). Továbbhaladás a magyar iskolarendszerben. (Advancing in the Hungarian school system). In Kolosi, Tamás, Tóth István György és Vukovich György, eds., *Társadalmi Riport 2000*, Budapest: Tárki.

Laursen, Thomas and Marcin Sasin. (2004). *World Bank EU8 Quarterly Economic Report (English)*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group. Available at; http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/626861468771053419/World-Bank-EU8-quarterly-economic-report. (Accessed on July 10, 2017).

Lehndorff, S. (2014). *Divisive integration. The Triumph of Failed Ideas in Europe — Revisited*. Brussels: ETUI.

Linden, Marcel van der. (2018). Workers and the Radical Right. *International Labor and Working-Class History* No. 93, Spring 2018: 74–78.

Linek L. (2015). Class, Religion, and Generations: Cleavage Voting and the Mediating Role of Party Identification in the Czech Republic, 1990−2013. *ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops*, Warsaw, 29 March - 4 April, 2015. Available at:

https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/1047884d-ea32-4367-857d-346bbf32b72a.pdf. (Accessed on May 1, 2018.)

Linek, L. and P. Lyons. (2013). Dočasná stabilita? Volební podpora politických stran v České republice v letech 1990–2010, *Sociologické nakladatelství*, Prague.

Linke, U. (2013). H*eadlines of Nation, Subtexts of Class: Working-Class Populism and the Return of the Repressed in Neoliberal Europe*. Don Kalb and Gábor Halmai, eds. New York: Berghahn, 2011.

Lubbers, M. and Scheepers, P. (2000). Individual and Contextual Characteristics of the German Extreme Right-Wing Vote in the 1990s: A Test of Complementary Theories. *European Journal of Political Research* 38(1): 63–94.

Lubbers, M., Gijsberts, M. and Scheepers, P. (2002). Extreme Right-Wing Voting in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 41(3): 345–378.

Lupu, N. (2014). Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America. *World Politics*, 66(4): 561-602.

Lupu, N. (2015). Party Polarization and Mass Partisanship: A Comparative Perspective, *Political Behavior* 37(2): 331– 356.

Lust, Aleksander. (2016) The Blue Awakening? The Rise of the Far Right in Estonia. *Presentation at American Political Science Association*, Philadelphia.

Lyman, R. (2015) Eastern Bloc's Resistance to Refugees Highlights Europe's Cultural and Political Divisions. The *New York Times,* September 15. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/13/world/europe/eastern-europe-migrant-refugee-crisis.html. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Macridis, Roy C. (1989). *Contemporary Political Ideologies*. Boston: Scott, Foresman and Company.

Madrid, R. L. (2008) The Rise of Ethnopopulism in Latin America. *World Politics*, Vol. 60(3): 475–508.

Mangen, S. (1999). Qualitative Research Methods in Cross-National Settings. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 2, 2: 109-124.

March, L. and Mudde C. (2005). What's Left of the Radical Left? The European Radical Left after 1989: Decline and Mutation. *Comparative European Politics* 3(1): 23–49.

March, Luke, and Charlotte Rommerskirchen. (2015). Out of Left Field? Explaining the Variable Electoral Success of European Radical Left Parties. *Party Politics* 21: 40-53.

Mares I. (2017). Romania Fights Graft. What the Recent Protests Can Teach Us. *Foreign Affairs*, February 17. Available at: www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/romania/2017-02-17/romania-fights-graft. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Margalit, Yotam. (2008). Commerce & Oppositions the Political Responses of Globalization's Losers. *PhD Dissertation for the Department of Political Science Stanford University.* Available at: www.princeton.edu/~pcglobal/conferences/domestic08/papers/ComOp%20_%20 Margalit%20April08.pdf. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Marinova, Dani M. (2015). A New Approach to Estimating Electoral Instability in Parties. *Political Science Research and Methods* 3(2): 265–280.

Markowski, Radoslaw. (2016). The Polish Parliamentary Election of 2015: A Free and Fair Election that Results in Unfair Political Consequences. *West European Politics*, 39:6: 1311-1322.

Marks, G., L. Hooghe, M. Nelson, and E. Edwards. (2006). Party Competition and European Integration in the East and West. Different Structure, Same Causality. *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (2): 158-159.

Markus, Gyorgy G. (1996). Cleavage Dynamics and Party System in Hungary. In *Conflicts and Consensus: Pluralism and Neocorporatism in the New and Old Democracies*, eds. Samo Kropivnik, Igor Lukšič and Drago Zajc. Ljubljana: Slovenian Political Science Association.

Markus, Gyorgy G. (1999). Cleavages and Parties in Hungary after 1989. In *Cleavages, Parties, and Voters*, eds. Kay Lawson, Andrea Rommele, and Georgi Karasimeonov. Westport, CT: Praeger, 141-58.

Martin, P. (2000). *Comprendre les évolutions électorales. La théorie des réalignements revisitée.* Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Massetti, Emanuele. (2009). Explaining Regionalist Party Positioning in a Multidimensional Ideological Space: A Framework for Analysis. *Regional and Federal Studies,* 19:4-5: 501-531.

Matthes, Claudia. (2004). Die Reform der Kranken- und Rentenversicherung in Ostmitteleuropa. in *Policy-outcomes und politisch-institutionelle Konstellationen*. 131-152.

Mayda, Anna Maria. (2006). Who is Against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes Toward Immigrants. *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 88(3): 510–530.

McGann, A.J., and Herbert Kitschelt. (2005). The Radical Right in the Alps: Evolution of Support for the Swiss SVP and Austrian FPO. *Party Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 03:147-171.

Meguid, B. M. (2005). Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success. *American Political Science Review*, 99: 347-359.

Meguid, Bonnie M. (2008). *Party Competition between Unequals. Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meseznikov, Grigoij, Gyarfasova, Olga, Kollar, Miroslav, and Tom Nicholson. (2003). Slovak Elections 2002. Results, Implications, Context. *The Institute for Public Affairs*, Bratislava.

Meyer Ch.B. (2001). Case Study Methodology. *Field Methods*, Vol. 13, No. 4, November: 329–352.

Milliman, J., and M. Glinow. (1998). Research and Publishing Issues in Large Scale Cross-National Studies. *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 13, 3/4: 137 - 142.

Mills, Albert J., Durepos, Gabrielle and Elden Wiebe. (2010). *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research.* Volumes I and II. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Minkenberg M (2017a). *The Radical Right in Eastern Europe: Democracy under Siege?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Minkenberg M (2017b). The Rise of the Radical Right in Eastern Europe: Between Mainstreaming and Radicalization. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs,* the Winter/Spring 2017, Volume 18, No. 1. Available at https://www.georgetownjournalofinternationalaffairs.org/online-edition/2017/12/22/the-rise-of-the-radical-right-in-eastern-europe-between-mainstreaming-and-radicalization. (Accessed on May 1, 2018.)

Moraski, Bryon, and Gerhard Loewenberg. (1999). The Effect of Legal Thresholds on the Revival of Former Communist Parties in East Central Europe. *Journal of Politics* 61(2): 151-70.

Morlang, Diana. (2003). Hungary: Socialists Building Capitalism." in *The Left Transformed in Post-Communist Societies*, eds. Jane Leftwich Curry and Littlefield, 61-98.

Mudde, Cas. (1995). Right-Wing Extremism Analyzed. European Journal of Political Research, 27: 203-224.

Mudde, Cas. (1999). The Single-Issue Party Thesis: Extreme Right Parties and The Immigration Issue. *West European Politics* 22 (3): 182–197.

Mudde Cas. (2000). Extreme Right Parties in Eastern Europe. *Patterns of Prejudice* 34: 5-27.

Mudde Cas. (2002). *The Ideology of the Extreme Right*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Mudde, Cas. (2007). *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mudde, Cas. (2011). Radical right parties in Europe: What, Who, Why? *Participation*, 35(1): 12–15.

Mudde, Cas. (2016). *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe Today. Transformations of Populism in Europe and the Americas: History and Recent Tendencies*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Mudde, C. (2017). *Populism: An Ideational Approach*. The Oxford Handbook of Populism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mutz, D.C. (2011). Population-Based Survey Experiments. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. *International Journal of the Commons*. 6(1): 70–71.

Nagy A.B., Boros T. and A. Varga. (2012). Extreme Right in Hungary - Executive Summary of the Policy Solutions study. *Policy Solutions*.

Nagy, A.B. and Daniel Rona. (2012). Freefall. Political agenda explanations for the Hungarian Socialist Party's Loss of Popularity Between 2006-2010. *Working Paper*. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301340910_Freefall_Political_agenda_explanations_for_the_Hungarian_Socialist_Party's_loss_of_popularity_between_2006-2010. (Accessed on June 1, 2017.)

Nagy A.B., Boros T. and Varga A. (2012). A szélsőjobboldal Magyarországon. A Policy Solutions politikai elemzése és javaslatai a Friedrich Ebert Alapítvány számára, Policy Solutions. *Politikai Elemző és Tanácsadó Intézet*. Available at: http://www.policysolutions.hu/userfi les/elemzesek/A%20sz%C3%A9ls%C5%91jobboldal%20Magyarorsz%C3%A1 gon.pdf. (Accessed on June 1, 2017.)

Nagy, A.B. and Daniel Rona. (2013). Rational Radicalism. Jobbik's Road to the Hungarian Parliament. In: Meseznikov, Grigorij, Gyárfásova, Olga, Butorova, Zora, eds. *Alternative Politics? The Rise of New Parties in Central Europe*. Institute for Public Affairs, Bratislava.

Netrdová, P., and Nosek V. (2011). Regional and Spatial Concentration of Socio-Economic Phenomena: Empirical Evidence from the Czech Republic. *Ekonomický ústav,* SAV.

Nieuwbeerta, Paul and Gijsberts, Merove. (1998) *Do Socio-Eonomic Cleavages Exist in Post-Communist Politics? The Middle Class as a Precondition of a Sustainable Society.* ed. Tilkidjiev Nikolai. Sofia: LIK Publishing House.

Nissan, E., and G. Carter. (2005). Decomposition of Regional Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Income Inequality. *Journal of Economics and Finance*, 29(1): 73-84.

Norris, P. (2005). *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nyman, Pär. (2016a). Austerity Politics. Is the Electorate Responsible? Digital Comprehensive *Summaries of Uppsala Dissertations from the Faculty of Social* Sciences. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Nyman, Pär (2016b). Punished for Austerity? The Electoral Consequences of Fiscal Adjustments. *Working Paper*, Department of Government, Uppsala University.

O'Dwyer, Conor. (2006). *Runaway State-Building: Patron- age Politics and Democratic Development*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

O'Dwyer C. and Kovalcík D. (2007). And the Last Shall Be First: Party System Institutionalization and Second-Generation Economic Reform in Postcommunist Europe. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 41, No. 4: 3-26.

Oesch, Daniel. (2008) Explaining Workers' Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway, and Switzerland. *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*. Vol. 29, No. 3: 349-373.

Orenstein, M. A. (1998). A Genealogy of Communist Successor Parties in East Central Europe and the Determinants of Their Success. *East European Politics and Societies*, 12(3): 472-99.

Orenstein, M. A. (2000). *Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Post-Communist Europe.* Ann Arbor: Univeristy of Michigan Press, 2000.

Ost, David. (1998). Can Unions Survive Communism? *Dissent,* Winter.

Ost, David. (2005). *The Defeat of Solidarity: Anger and Politics in Postcommunist Europe.* Ithaca, 2005.

Ost, David. (2018). Workers and the Radical Right in Poland. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, No. 93: 113–124.

Palonen, Emilia. (2009). Political Polarisation and Populism in Contemporary Hungary. *Parliamentary Affairs* 62.2, pp. 318–334.

Panizza, Francisco, ed. (2005). *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. London, New York: Verso.

Pappi, F.U. (2002). Die politisierte Sozialstruktur heute: Historische Reminiszenz oder aktuelles Erklärungspotential? in F. Brettschneider, J. van Deth, and E. Roller, eds., *Das Ende der politisierten Sozialstruktur?* Opladen: Leske, Budrich.

Paradowska, Janina, Janicki, Mariusz, and Radoslaw Markowski. (1993). Krajobraz po wyborach: mapa mandatow. *Polityka*, October 2: 14-15.

Parvulescu, Sorana. (2004). 2004 Romanian Elections: Test Case for a True Romanian Democracy. *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 4, 2 (Winter): 7-28.

Perrineau, Pascal. (1995). La dynamique du vote Le Pen : le poids du 'gaucho-lepénisme'. In Perrineau, Pascal and Colette Ysmal, eds. *Le vote de crise*. Paris: Presses de Sciences-Po: 243-261.

Perrineau, P. (1997). *Le symptome Le Pen: Radiographie des lecteurs du Front National*. Paris: Fayard

Phelan, Craig. (2007). *Trade Union Revitalisation: Trends and Prospects in 34 Countries*. Oxford: Peter Lang. Harvard (18th ed.).

Phillips, Leigh. (2010). A Far-Right for the Facebook Generation: The Rise and Rise of Jobbik. *EU Observer*, April 19. Available at: https://euobserver.com/political/29866. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Phinnemore, David, Traian Basescu. (2006). *The EU and Romania: Great Expectations*. (The Federal Trust): Books.

Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital*. Cambridge, MA: Bellnap Press.

Pirro, Andrea L.P. (2015). *The Populist Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe: Ideology, Impact, and Electoral Performance*. Routledge: London.

Ponticelli, H.-J. Voth. (2011). Austerity and Anarchy: Budget Cuts and Social Unrest in Europe 1919–2009. *Centre for Economic Policy Research*, Discussion Paper No. 8512.

Pop-Eleches G. (2001). Romania's Politics of Dejection. *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 12, Number 3, July 2001: 156-169.

Pop-Eleches, Grigoire. (2009). *From Economic Crisis to Reform: IMF Programs in Latin America and Eastern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pop-Eleches, G. (2010). Throwing Out the Bums: Protest Voting and Unorthodox Parties After Communism. *World Politics* 62(2): 221-260.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Joshua A. Tucker. (2010). After the Party: Legacies and Left-Right Distinctions in Post-Communist Countries. Paper prepared for presentation at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept 2-5, 2010, Washington, DC.

Powell, Eleanor Neff and Joshua A. Tucker. (2014). Revisiting Electoral Volatility in Post-Communist Countries: New Data, New Results, and New Approaches. *British Journal of Political Science* 44: 123–147.

Prinz, Daniel. (2013). Strategic Voting, Mixed and Runoff Elections: Evidence from Hungary. *PhD Dissertation.* March 30. Available at: pdfs.semanticscholar.org/aa81/ba341d3bb5cf16b357de3e200202db94a257.pdf. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Racz, Barnabas. (1993). The Socialist-left Opposition in Post-communist Hungary. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 45(4): 647-670.

Racz, Barnabas. (2000). The Hungarian Socialists in Opposition: Stagnation or Renaissance. *Europe-Asia Studies,* 52 (2): 319-47.

Rae, G. (2007) *Poland's Return to Capitalism: From the Socialist Bloc to the European Union.* London: Tauris Academic Studies.

Rae, Gavin. (2008). Two Rights Make a Wrong? The Remaking of Polish Politics after the 2007 Parliamentary Elections. *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 16:1, pp. 73-86.

Rizova, Tatiana P. (2012). Communist Successor Party Adaptation in Candidate-Centered Systems: The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the Czech Social Democratic Party in the Czech Republic. *Journal of Politics and Law,* 5.2.

Roaf, James, Ruben Atoyan, Bikas Joshi, and Krzysztof Krogulski. (2014). 25 Years of Transition. Post-Communist Europe and the IMF. *Regional Economics Issues Special Report*, IMF.

Robertson, Graeme B. (2004). Leading Labor: Unions, Politics, and Protest in New Democracies. *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 3: 253-72.

Robinson, W.S. (1950). Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals. *American Sociological Review*, 15(3): 351-357.

Roderick, Martin. (2013). *Constructing Capitalisms: Transforming Business Systems in Central and Eastern Europe.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Rohrschneider, Robert and Stephen Whitefield. (2004). Support for Foreign Ownership in Eastern Europe: Economic Interests, Ideological Commitments and International Context. *Comparative Political Studies* 37(3): 313-339.

Romer, T. and Rosenthal, H. (1978). Political Resource Allocation, Controlled Agendas, and the Status Quo. *Public Choice* 33: 27 – 43.

Rorke, Bernard. (2014). 10 Things They Said About Roma in Hungary. *European Roma Rights Center*. Available at: http://www.errc.org/news/10-things-they-said-about-roma-in-hungary. (Accessed on April 30, 2017.)

Rose, D. and D.J. Pevalin, eds. (2003). *A Researcher's Guide to the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification*. London: Sage.

Rovny, J. (2014). The Other 'Other': Party Responses to Immigration in Eastern Europe. *Comparative European Politics* 12(6): 637–62.

Rovny, J. and G. Marks. (2011). Issues and Dimensions in Public Opinion. Unpublished manuscript.

Rubin, M., Denson, N., Kilpatrick, S., Matthews, K. E., Stehlik, T., and D. Zyngier. (2014). "I am Working Class": Subjective Self-Definition as a Missing Measure of Social Class and Socioeconomic Status in Higher Education Research. *Educational Researcher*, 43: 196-200.

Rybář M. (2006). The 2006 Parliamentary Election and its Impact on Party Political Scene in Slovakia. *Working Paper.* Available at:http://ispo.fss.muni.cz/uploads/2download/v4/v4-rybar.pdf. (Accessed on April 30, 2018.)

Rydgren, Jens. (2007). The Sociology of the Radical Right. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33: 241–262.

Rydgren, Jens. (2008). Immigration Sceptics, Xenophobes or Racists? Radical Right-Wing Voting in Six West European Countries. *European Journal of Political Research* 47:6: 737-765.

Rydgren, Jens. (2013). *Class Politics and the Radical Right*. Routledge.

Saarts, Tonis. (2015). The „Third Revolution" and the Formation of Cleavages in Central and Eastern Europe: Some Conceptual and Theoretical Innovations. Paper for the ECPR Joint Sessions, Warsaw, March 29, – April 4. Workshop: no 15" Structures of Political Competition in Post-Communist Democracies: If Not Cleavages, Then What?"

Saltman, E.M. (2014). Turning Right: A Case Study on Contemporary Political Socialization of the Hungarian Youth. *Doctoral Thesis*, University College London.

Salway S.M., Higginbottom G, Reime B, Bharj KK, Chowbey P, and C. Foster. (2011). Contributions and Challenges of Cross-National Comparative Research in Migration, Ethnicity and Health: Insights from a Preliminary Study of Maternal Health in Germany, Canada and the UK. *BMC Public Health*: 11:514.

Sartori, G. (1966). European Political Parties: The Case of Polarized Pluralism, in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press): 136–176.

Schedler, Andreas. (1996). Anti-Political-Establishment Parties. *Party Politics,* Vol.2, No.3, 291-312.

Shields S. (2012). Opposing Neoliberalism? Poland's Renewed Populism and Postcommunist Transition. *Third World Quarterly*, 33(2): 359–381.

Sides, John and Jack Citrin. (2007). European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests, and Information. *British Journal of Political Science* 37: 477–504.

Siedler, Thomas and Bettina Sonnenberg. (2010). Experiments, Surveys and the Use of Representative Samples as Reference Data. *Working Paper Series of the German Council for Social and Economic Data 146*, German Council for Social and Economic Data (RatSWD).

Sikk, Allan. (2012). Newness as a Winning Formula for New Political Parties. *Party Politics* 18(4), pp. 465 – 486.

Sil, Rudra. (2014). Liberalization and Labor Incorporation in Postcommunist Europe: A Paired Comparison of Poland and the Czech Republic. Paper presented at the

annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, March 26 -29.

Sil Rudra. (2017). The Battle over Flexibilization in Post-Communist Transitions: Labor Politics in Poland and the Czech Republic, 1989-2010. *Journal of Industrial Relations*.

Silva, Rochelle. (2013). How Popular Was Fascism in Interwar Europe? *Robson History Essay Prize 2013*. online at: https://mcshistory.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/robson-prize-2013-rochelle-silva.pdf. (Accessed on May 18, 2018.)

Sitter, Nick and Agnes Batory. (2006). Europe and the Hungarian Elections of April 2006. *Election Briefing 28*. Sussex European Institute.

Smith, M. L. and P. Matějů. (2011). Restratifikace české politiky. Vývoj třídně podmíněného volebního chování v České republice v letech 1992–2010. *Sociologický časopis*, 47, 1.

Smrčková, Markéta. (2009). Comparison of Radical Right-Wing Parties in Bulgaria and Romania: The National Movement of Ataka and the Great Romania Party. *Středoevropské politické studie*, 1: 48-65.

Solidarne państwo, solidarnych obywateli. 365 Dni Realizacji Programu. (2006). (PiS Electoral Program in 2006.) Available online at: http://old.pis.org.pl/download.php?g=mmedia&f=365_dni_realizacji_programu_solidarnego_panstwa.pdf (Accessed on July 1, 2017).

Snegovaya, Maria. (2018). The Economic Origins of Populist Support. *The American Interest*, February 22. Available at: https://www.the-american-interest.com/2018/02/22/economic-origins-populist-support. (Accessed on April 30, 2017.)

Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn and Markus Prior. (2004). Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities. *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35– 49.

Spies D. and Franzmann, T. (2011). A Two-Dimensional Approach to the Political Opportunity Structure of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 34:5: 1044-1069.

Stegmaier, Mary, Klára Vlachová. (2009). The Endurance of the Czech Communist Party. *Politics and Policy* 37 (4): 799-820.

Stijn van Kessel. (2015). *Populist Parties in Europe Agents of Discontent?* Palgrave Macmillan.

Stoica M.-S. (2016). The Turning Fortunes of Romania's Far Right. The Rise and Fall of Greater Romania Party. *Secherheits Politik-Blog*, 31. Available at: www.sicherheitspolitik-blog.de/2016/03/31/the-turning-fortunes-of-romanias-far-right-the-rise-and-fall-of-greater-romania-party. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Stolarik, Mark. (2016). *The Czech and Slovak Republics: Twenty Years of Independence, 1993-2013.* Central European University Press.

Stone Randall W. (2002). *Lending Credibility: The International Monetary Fund and the Post-Communist Transition.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Szilagyi Press.

Strmiska, M. (2002). The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia: A Post-Communist Socialist or a Neo-Communist Party? *German Policy Studies/Politik Feldanalyse,* 2: 220–240.

Szacki, Jerzy. (2003). Pytania O Populizm. *Krytyka polityczna* 4, no. 4: 28-35.

Szczerbiak, A. (2002). The Political Context of EU Accession in Poland. *APER Briefing Paper*.

Szczerbiak, A. (2007). Social Poland' Defeats 'Liberal Poland'? The September– October 2005 Polish Parliamentary and Presidential Elections. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 23: 203–232.

Szczerbiak, Aleks. (2011). Election Briefing No 65: Europe and the October 2011 Polish Parliamentary Election. Working Paper. Sussex European Institute, Brighton.

Szczerbiak, A. (2015). How Will Poland's Law and Justice Party Govern? *EuroppBlog*. Available at: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/70831/1/blogs.lse.ac.uk-How%20will%20Polands%20Law%20and%20Justice%20party%20govern.pdf. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Szelenyi, Ivan, Eva Fodor and Eric Hanley. (1997). The Left-Turn in Post- Communist Politics: The Hungarian and Polish Elections, 1990 1994. *East European Politics and Societies* 11 (1): 190-224.

Szilagyi, Z. (1995). A year of Economic Controversy, *Transition*, 62–66.

Szombati, Kristof. (2018). *The Revolt of the Provinces: Anti-Gypsyism and Right-Wing Politics in Hungary*. Berghahn Book, Oxford.

Tarkhnishvili, Levan. (2014). Middle Class: Definition, Role and Development. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science Research* 13, no. 7.

Tarrow, S. (2010). The Strategy of Paired Comparison: Toward a Theory of Practice. *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 230-59.

Tavits M. and N. Letki. (2009). When Left Is Right: Party Ideology and Policy in Post-Communist Europe. *American Political Science Review* Vol. 103, No. 4: 634–47.

Taylor-Gooby, Peter, Leruth, Benjamin, and Heejung Chung, eds. (2017). *After Austerity. Welfare State Transformation in Europe after the Great Recession*. Oxford University Press.

Teixeira, R. and Abramowitz, A. (2008). The Decline of the White Working Class and the Rise of a Mass Upper Middle Class. *Brookings Working Pape*r, April: 9-10.

The European Elections Monitor: Slovakia. (2012). Robert Fico's Party, Direction-Social Democracy, (Left) Wins the Absolute Majority in The Slovakian Elections, an All Time First in the Country. Foundation Robert Schuman. *The Research and Studies Center on Europe*, March 12. Available at: https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/eem/1289-robert-fico-s-party-direction-social-democracy-left-wins-the-absolute-majority-in-the-slovakian-elections-an-all-time-first-in-the-country. (Accessed on April 30, 2018.)

Thomas, M. and S. Tufts. (2016). Austerity, Right Populism, and the Crisis of Labor in Canada. *Antipode* 48(1): 212–230.

Tismaneanu V. (2009). Moldova's Revolution Against Cynical and Cronyist Authoritarianism, April 13. *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. Available at: www.rferl.org/a/Moldovas_Revolution_Against_Authoritarianism/1607656.html. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Tóka, Gábor. (1999). Parties and Social Divisions: A Common East Central European Pattern? *A Society Transformed? Hungary in Time-Space Perspective*, ed. by Rudolf Andorka, Tamás Kolosi, Richard Rose and György Vukovich. Budapest: Central European University Press: 155-78.

Toplišek Alen. (2017). The Slovenian United Left: From Protest to Movement, and from Movement to Party. *Open Democracy*, 19 January. Available at: www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/alen-topli-ek/slovenian-united-left-from-protest-to-movement-and-from-movement-to. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Tóth, A. (1994). *Great Expectations – Fading Hopes: Trade Unions and System Change in Hungary.* In M. Waller and M. Myant (eds). Trade Unions and Society in East-Central Europe. London: Frank Cass.

Tóth, A. (2015). Coming to the End of the Via Dolorosa? The Rise of Selective Economic Nationalism in Hungary in: Lehndorff S. (ed.) *Divisive Integration. The Triumph of Failed Ideas in Europe — Revisited*, ETUI Brussels, 2015: 233-251.

Traub, J. (2016). The Party That Wants to Make Poland Great Again. *New York Times Magazine*, 2 November. Available at: https://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/11/06/magazine/the-party-that-wants-to-make-poland-great-again.html. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Tucker, J. A. (2006). *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tucker, Joshua A., Pacek, Alexander C., and Adam J. Berinsky. (2002) Transitional Winners and Losers: Attitudes toward EU Membership in Post-Communist Countries. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 46, No. 3: 557-571.

Tupy, Marian L. (2006). The Rise of Populist Parties in Central Europe: Big Government, Corruption, and the Threat to Liberalism. *Cato Institute*. Available at: https://object.cato.org/pubs/dpa/dpa1.pdf. (Accessed on November 30, 2017.)

Vachudova, Milada Anna. (2008). Center-Right Parties and Political Outcomes in East Central Europe. *Party Politics* 14 (4): 387–405.

Vachudova, M. A., & Hooghe, L. (2009). Postcommunist Politics in a Magnetic Field: How Transition and EU Accession Structure Party Competition on European Integration. *Comparative European Politics*, *7*(2): 179-212.

Van Biezen, Ingrid, Peter Mair and Thomas Poguntke. (2012). Going, Going… Gone? The Decline of Party Membership in Contemporary Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 51(1): 24–56.

Varga, M. (2014). Hungary's 'Anti-Capitalist' Far Right: Jobbik and the Hungarian Guard. *Nationalities Papers* 42(5): 791-807.

Vasilopoulou, S. (2018). The Radical Right and Euroskepticism. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, ed. Jens Rydgren. New York: Oxford University Press.

Vasilopoulou, S., and D. Halikiopoulou. (2013). In the Shadow of Grexit: The Greek Election of 17 June 2012. *South European Society and Politic*s 18(4): 523–542.

Vegetti, Federico and Daniela Sirinic. (2016). Left-Right Categorization and Perceptions of Party Ideologies. In: Working Paper.

Visser, M., Lubbers M., Kraaykamp G., and Jaspers E. (2014). Support for Radical Left Ideologies in Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 53:3: 541–558.

Vitale, T., and E. Claps. (2010). *Not Always the Same Old Story: Spatial Segregation and Feelings of Dislike against Roma and Sinti in Large Cities and Medium-size Towns in Italy"* in Michael Stewart, Márton Rövid, eds., Multi-Disciplinary Approaches to Romany Studies, CEU Press, Budapest: 228-53.

Volford, C. (2012). Jobbik's Portrayal of MSZP (Hungarian Socialist Party). *Research Master Thesis*, Modern History and International Relations.

Warshaw, Christopher, and Jonathan Rodden. (2012). How Should We Measure District-Level Public Opinion On Individual Issues? *Journal of Politics* 74: 203-19.

Waterbury, Myra A. (2010). *Between State and Nation: Diaspora Politics and Kin-state Nationalism in Hungary.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Werts H., Scheepers P., Lubbers M. (2012). Euro-Skepticism and Radical Right-Wing Voting in Europe, 2002–2008: Social Cleavages, Socio-Political Attitudes and

Contextual Characteristics Determining Voting for The Radical Right. *European Union Politics*, Vol 14, Issue 2: 183 – 205.

Weyland, Kurt. (1998). Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol.31, No 5.

Weyland, Kurt. (1999). Neoliberal Populism in Latin America and Eastern Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 31, No 4.

Wilkin, Peter. (2016). *Hungary's Crisis of Democracy: The Road to Serfdom*. Lexington Books.

Williams, K. (1997). *The Prague Spring and its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics 1968-1970*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Williams, K. (2000). Introduction: What was Meciarism?, in Williams, K. (ed.) (2000) *Slovakia After Communism and* Meciarism. London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies Occasional Papers.

Wolchik, Sharon L. and Jane L. Curry. (2008). Democracy, the Market, and the Return to Europe: From Communism to the European Union and NATO. In *Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy*, ed. Sharon L. Wolchik Jane L. Curry. New York: Rowman 8: Littlefield Publishers.

Wysocka, Olga. (2009). Populism in Poland: In/visible Exclusion. *Institute for Human Sciences*. Available at: http://www.iwm.at/publications/5-junior-visiting-fellows-conferences/vol-xxvi/populism-in-poland/ (Accessed on July 1, 2017).

Yılmaz, Ferruh. (2012). Right-Wing Hegemony and Immigration: How the Populist Far-Right Achieved Hegemony Through the Immigration Debate in Europe**.** *Current Sociology*, Vol 60, Issue 3: 368 – 381.

Yin, R.K. (1984). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods.* Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications.

Zajc, D., and T. Boh. (2004). Slovenia. In S. Berglund, T. Hellén & F. H. Aarebrot, eds. *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*. Cheltenham; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Zakaria, F. (2016). Populism on the March: Why the West is in Trouble. Foreign Affairs, 9: 9-15.

Ziblatt, Daniel. (1998). The Adaptation of Post-Communist Parties to Post-Communist East Central Europe: A Comparative Study of the East German and Hungarian Post-Communist Parties. Communist and Post-Communist Studies, vol.31, no.2: 119-37.

Appendix I. Populist Right Support and the Left Parties' Economic Choices

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Trend	**0.0358*****	**0.0243****	**0.0244*****	**0.0243****	**0.0165**
	(6.20)	**(2.45)**	**(2.99)**	**(2.52)**	**(1.23)**
Male	0.0202	0.0221	0.0220	0.0217	0.0213
	(0.86)	(1.17)	(1.25)	(1.23)	(1.20)
Left: strongly favors reducing taxes (Y-1)		**0.106****	**0.114****	**0.258*****	**0.156*****
		(2.11)	**(2.16)**	**(3.04)**	**(5.65)**
BG	0.188***	0.118***	0.135 [T]	0.247**	0.329***
	(4.84)	(3.41)	(1.93)	(2.32)	(2.67)
CZ	-0.142***	0.101	0.0850	0.545 [T]	0.189
	(-3.00)	(1.01)	(0.48)	(1.84)	(1.48)
HU	0.461***	0.365***	0.348***	0.267***	0.430***
	(12.51)	(8.56)	(6.70)	(5.29)	(6.98)
PL	0.549***	0.533***	0.409***	0.102	0.223
	(16.51)	(20.42)	(3.25)	(0.45)	(1.21)
SI	0.232***	0.191***	0.217 [T]	0.518**	0.317**
	(6.21)	(3.46)	(1.74)	(2.27)	(2.30)
Unemployment (Y-1)			0.00115	0.0600	0.0148
			(0.02)	(0.75)	(0.20)
Growth (Y-1)			0.0454	0.134 [T]	0.143 [T]
			(1.21)	(1.74)	(1.70)
Left: Favors tough policy on immigration (Y-1)				-0.0918**	
				(-1.97)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)					-0.0730***
					(-2.88)
N	9160	5952	5952	5952	5952

[T] p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 16. Full Model: Populist Right vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class Respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Spending vs Taxation Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects.

	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Trend	**0.00849**	**0.0130**	**0.00883**	**0.0121**
	(1.00)	**(1.18)**	**(1.03)**	**(0.83)**
Male	0.0210	0.0203	0.0209	0.0200
	(1.13)	(1.17)	(1.18)	(1.16)
Left: strongly supports	**0.0202**	**0.0185**	**0.0593** [T]	**-0.000672**
deregulation of markets (Y-1)	**(0.86)**	**(0.76)**	**(1.65)**	**(-0.04)**
BG	0.132***	0.104	0.103	0.191
	(5.24)	(1.52)	(1.64)	(1.50)
CZ	-0.0245	-0.0805	-0.168	-0.0892
	(-0.37)	(-0.90)	(-1.40)	(-1.00)
HU	0.459***	0.440***	0.422***	0.507***
	(20.28)	(12.72)	(8.74)	(8.26)
PL	0.513***	0.504**	0.261	0.574***
	(18.44)	(2.22)	(1.06)	(3.02)
SI	0.141***	0.0937	0.118	0.0760
	(4.52)	(0.92)	(1.36)	(0.62)
Unemployment (Y-1)		-0.0351	-0.0212	-0.0446
		(-0.50)	(-0.32)	(-0.57)
Growth (Y-1)		-0.00351	0.0953	-0.00659
		(-0.05)	(1.26)	(-0.08)
Left: Favors tough policy			0.0619	
on immigration (Y-1)			(1.60)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)				-0.0417 [T]
				(-1.88)
N	5952	5952	5952	5952

[T] p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 17. Full Model: Populist Right vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Deregulation Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects.

	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Trend	**0.0116**	**0.0189****	**0.0193*****	**0.0155**
	(1.37)	**(2.24)**	**(2.98)**	**(1.08)**
Male	0.0215	0.0208	0.0208	0.0206
	(1.14)	(1.20)	(1.20)	(1.19)
Left: strongly opposes	**-0.00173**	**-0.00599**	**-0.0105**	**-0.0354*****
redistribution (Y-1)	**(-0.23)**	**(-0.50)**	**(-0.29)**	**(-3.23)**
BG	0.138***	0.0808	0.0821	0.238**
	(5.81)	(1.11)	(1.06)	(2.19)
CZ	-0.0680	-0.113	-0.101	-0.101
	(-1.62)	(-1.08)	(-0.58)	(-0.98)
HU	0.453***	0.437***	0.438***	0.543***
	(20.20)	(11.99)	(10.20)	(9.65)
PL	0.540***	0.670***	0.700**	0.776***
	(30.34)	(3.54)	(2.43)	(3.89)
SI	0.127***	0.0409	0.0403	0.0343
	(5.20)	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.24)
Unemployment (Y-1)		-0.0455	-0.0455	-0.0482
		(-0.57)	(-0.58)	(-0.57)
Growth (Y-1)		-0.0553	-0.0664	-0.0528
		(-0.84)	(-0.67)	(-0.63)
Left: Favors tough policy			-0.00645	
on immigration (Y-1)			(-0.12)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)				-0.0706**
				(-2.27)
N	5952	5952	5952	5952

[T] p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 18. Full Model: RR vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Redistribution Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Male	0.0310	0.0228	0.0223	0.0220	0.0217
	(1.64)	(1.25)	(1.28)	(1.25)	(1.23)
Left: strongly favors reducing taxes (Y-1)		**0.0886**	**0.0867**	**0.232*****	**0.144*****
		(1.08)	**(1.21)**	**(2.94)**	**(4.51)**
BG	0.165***	0.122***	0.116 T	0.219**	0.308 T
	(5.06)	(3.06)	(1.77)	(2.02)	(1.88)
CZ	-0.0570	0.0918	0.0368	0.479 T	0.156
	(-1.54)	(0.64)	(0.21)	(1.82)	(1.48)
HU	0.441***	0.380***	0.364***	0.280***	0.444***
	(13.02)	(5.28)	(5.43)	(4.78)	(4.96)
PL	0.546***	0.533***	0.444***	0.170	0.277
	(20.47)	(19.55)	(3.22)	(0.76)	(1.19)
SI	0.234***	0.183***	0.166 T	0.456**	0.258**
	(7.91)	(2.64)	0.0223	0.0220	0.0217
Unemployment (Y-1)			-0.0219	0.0395	-0.0224
			(-0.40)	(0.53)	(-0.45)
Growth (Y-1)			0.0280	0.109	0.120
			(0.58)	(1.39)	(1.10)
Left: Favors tough policy on immigration (Y-1)				-0.0808 T	
				(-1.95)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)					-0.0799**
					(-2.00)
2002	-0.483***				
	(-10.42)				
2004	-0.405***				
	(-5.61)				
2006	-0.104***				
	(-2.80)				
2008	-0.0976***	-0.141**	-0.150**	-0.154 T	-0.0999
	(-3.00)	(-2.07)	(-2.16)	(-1.90)	(-0.92)
2010	-0.0269	-0.0682	-0.0689	-0.0904	-0.0312
	(-0.59)	(-0.95)	(-0.96)	(-1.20)	(-0.31)
2012	-0.0638	-0.0480	-0.0446	-0.0470	0.00443
	(-1.09)	(-1.15)	(-1.25)	(-1.46)	(0.06)
N	9160	5952	5952	5952	5952

T p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 19. Full Model: Populist Right vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Spending vs Taxation Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects. Trend Variable Excluded.

	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Male	0.0222	0.0216	0.0225	0.0215
	(1.23)	(1.24)	(1.27)	(1.23)
Left: strongly supports deregulation of markets (Y-1)	**0.0258**	**0.0448**	**0.105***	**0.0358^T**
	(1.44)	**(1.26)**	**(4.25)**	**(1.66)**
BG	0.134***	0.206	0.244**	0.226
	(4.25)	(1.30)	(1.97)	(1.09)
CZ	-0.0115	-0.0572	-0.134	-0.0652
	(-0.18)	(-0.64)	(-1.10)	(-0.92)
HU	0.460***	0.445***	0.432***	0.468***
	(15.93)	(11.71)	(7.99)	(5.11)
PL	0.505***	0.0826	-0.352	0.146
	(20.01)	(0.16)	(-1.28)	(0.37)
SI	0.143***	0.241	0.330^T	0.216
	(3.99)	(1.01)	(1.84)	(1.13)
Unemployment (Y-1)		0.0140	0.0496	0.00156
		(0.14)	(0.59)	(0.02)
Growth (Y-1)		0.150	0.324***	0.134
		(0.76)	(3.00)	(0.79)
Left: Favors tough policy on immigration (Y-1)			0.0776**	
			(1.99)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)				-0.0159
				(-0.39)
2008	-0.0655	-0.0270	0.0315	-0.0288
	(-1.33)	(-0.19)	(0.32)	(-0.20)
2010	0.00424	0.0411	0.0867	0.0410
	(0.06)	(0.32)	(0.93)	(0.31)
2012	-0.0494	-0.0525	-0.0469	-0.0424
	(-0.89)	(-1.39)	(-1.63)	(-0.68)
N	5952	5952	5952	5952

^{T} p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 20. Full Model: RR vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Market Deregulation Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects. Trend Variable Excluded.

	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Male	0.0223	0.0215	0.0216	0.0213
	(1.24)	(1.25)	(1.25)	(1.23)
Left: strongly opposes	**0.00879**	**0.0233**	**0.0629**	**-0.0245**
redistribution (Y-1)	**(0.55)**	**(0.62)**	**(1.42)**	**(-0.73)**
BG	0.138***	0.162	0.196	0.240
	(4.83)	(1.00)	(1.14)	(1.27)
CZ	-0.0472	-0.0995	-0.164 [T]	-0.114 [T]
	(-0.89)	(-1.38)	(-1.82)	(-1.77)
HU	0.458***	0.445***	0.445***	0.542***
	(16.24)	(10.81)	(10.48)	(5.82)
PL	0.521***	0.259	-0.0937	0.660
	(19.43)	(0.45)	(-0.15)	(1.37)
SI	0.130***	0.159	0.222	0.0334
	(4.22)	(0.67)	(0.89)	(0.17)
Unemployment (Y-1)		-0.0153	0.00432	-0.0694
		(-0.16)	(0.04)	(-0.85)
Growth (Y-1)		0.0861	0.216	-0.0178
		(0.40)	(0.93)	(-0.10)
Left: Favors tough policy			0.0420	
on immigration (Y-1)			(1.52)	
Asylum Requests (Y-1)				-0.0727
				(-1.43)
2008	-0.0809 [T]	-0.0694	-0.0291	-0.0841
	(-1.84)	(-0.51)	(-0.22)	(-0.62)
2010	-0.00901	0.0108	0.0467	-0.000903
	(-0.14)	(0.08)	(0.36)	(-0.01)
2012	-0.0579	-0.0558	-0.0604 [T]	-0.000540
	(-0.99)	(-1.47)	(-1.74)	(-0.01)
N	5952	5952	5952	5952

[T] p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 21. Full Model: RR vs ex-Communist Left Vote amongst Working-Class respondents, Left Parties' Positions on Redistribution Policy. European Social Survey, 1-8 Waves, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia. Chapel Hill Dataset. Probit Model with Clustered Standard Errors, Marginal Effects. Trend Variable Excluded.

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	.355	.331	t = 0.796	Pr(T > t) = 0.213
Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	**.222**	**.318**	**t = -3.422*****	**Pr(T < t) = 0.000**

^Tp<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 22. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Which party appeals to you more?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you participate in the election? [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	3.691	3.710	z = -0.226	Prob > |z| = 0.821

^Tp<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 23. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting Propensity. Question: Would you participate in the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who would you vote for? DK	.067	.053	t = 0.924	Pr(T > t) = 0.178
Who would you vote for? Egyutt	.015	.008	t = 1.161	Pr(T > t) = 0.123
Who would you vote for? Fidesz	**.331**	**.279**	**t = 1.779****	**Pr(T > t) = 0.038**
Who would you vote for? Jobbik	**.141**	**.183**	**t = -1.798****	**Pr(T < t) = 0.036**
Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	.069	.064	t = 0.379	Pr(T > t) = 0.352
Who would you vote for? LMP	.069	.059	t = 0.641	Pr(T > t) = 0.261
Who would you vote for? Liberalisok	.005	.001	t = 1.001	Pr(T > t) = 0.158
Who would you vote for? Magyar Munkaspart	**.009**	**.001**	**t = 1.638****	**Pr(T > t) = 0.051**
Who would you vote for? Momentum	.019	.032	t = -1.192	Pr(T < t) = 0.117
Who would you vote for? Other party	.012	.006	t = 1.004	Pr(T > t) = 0.158
Who would you vote for? Can't tell	**.105**	**157**	**t = -2.432****	**Pr(T < t) = 0.008**

^Tp<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 24. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting for Different Parties. Question: Who would you vote for?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who will win the election: MSZP	.119	.099	t = 1.010	Pr(T > t) = 0.156
Who will win the election: Jobbik	**.155**	**.218**	**t = -2.594*****	**Pr(T < t) = 0.005**

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 25. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Belief in Which Party Will Win Election: MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Who will win the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How likely vote for Jobbik [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	**1.889**	**2.042**	**z = -2.112****	**Prob > |z| = 0.035**

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 26. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2.393	2.464	z = -1.061	Prob > |z| = 0.289

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 27. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should regulate business [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	2.296	2.282	z = 0.081	Prob > |z| = 0.935

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 28. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Business Regulation. Question: There are some who believe the government should strongly regulate private businesses. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government regulating business to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.258	2.270	z = -0.327	Prob > |z| = 0.744

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 29. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Business Regulation. Question: And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should pay for health care and education for all citizens [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	3.462	3.490	z = -0.756	Prob > |z| = 0.450

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 30. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government paying for health care and education for all citizens to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	3.560	3.577	z = -0.369	Prob > |z| = 0.712

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 31. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
All immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	**2.692**	**2.859**	**z = -2.604*****	**Prob > |z| = 0.009**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 32. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	**2.413**	**2.540**	**z = -1.990****	**Prob > |z| = 0.047**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 33. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?

Blue-Collar Workers by Profession

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Question: Which party appeals to you more: MSZP	.314	.330	t = -0.300	Pr(T < t) = 0.382
Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	**.212**	**.313**	**t =-2.088****	**Pr(T < t) = 0.019**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 34. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Which party appeals to you more?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you participate in the election? [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	3.506	3.563	Z = -0.600	Pr(T < t) = 0.274

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 35. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting Propensity. Question: Would you participate in the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who would you vote for? DK	.064	.068	t = -0.149	Pr(T < t) = 0.441
Who would you vote for? Egyutt	.006	.006	t = 0.085	Pr(T > t) = 0.466
Who would you vote for? Fidesz	**.372**	**.273**	**t = 1.938****	**Pr(T > t) = 0.027**
Who would you vote for? Jobbik	**.186**	**.278**	**t = -1.990****	**Pr(T < t) = 0.024**
Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	.103	.080	t = 0.729	Pr(T > t) = 0.233
Who would you vote for? LMP	.038	.040	t = -0.0613	Pr(T < t) = 0.476
Who would you vote for? Liberalisok	0	.006	t = -0.9413	Pr(T < t) = 0.174
Who would you vote for? Magyar Munkaspart	.013	.006	t = 0.685	Pr(T > t) = 0.247
Who would you vote for? Momentum	.006	.011	t = -0.475	Pr(T < t) = 0.318
Who would you vote for? Other party	.013	.011	t = 0.121	Pr(T > t) = 0.452
Who would you vote for? Can't tell	.115	.148	t = -0.866	Pr(T < t) = 0.194

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 36. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting for Different Parties. Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	.0705	.057	t = 0.510	Pr(T > t) = 0.305
Who would you vote for? Jobbik	.147	.188	t = -0.971	Pr(T < t) = 0.166

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 37. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Which Party Will Win the Election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How likely vote for Jobbik [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	**1.859**	**2.125**	**z = -2.366****	**Prob > |z| =0.018**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 38. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2.327	2.426	z = -0.914	Prob > |z| =0.361

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 39. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you vote for MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform?	**1.987**	**2.227**	**z = -2.483****	**Prob > |z| =0.013**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 40. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on MSZP Support. Question: Would You Vote for MSZP if it Ran on a More Protectionist Platform?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should regulate business [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	**2.449**	**2.273**	**z = 1.614^T**	**Prob > |z| =0.107**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 41. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Business Regulation. Question: There are some who believe the government should strongly regulate private businesses. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important Government Regulation issue to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.378	2.25	z = 1.251	Prob > |z| = 0.211

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 42. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Business Regulation. Question: And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should pay for health care and education for all citizens [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	3.571	3.614	z = -0.791	Prob > |z| = 0.429

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 43. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government paying for health care and education for all citizens to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	3.660	3.671	z = -0.092	Prob > |z| = 0.927

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 44. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
All immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.808	2.9886	z = -1.536	Prob > |z| = 0.125

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 45. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.597	2.739	z = -1.251	Prob > |z| = 0.211

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 46. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?

Self-Identified Workers

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	**.408**	**.297**	**t = 1.937****	**Pr(T > t) = 0.027**
Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	**.215**	**.359**	**t = 1.937*****	**Pr(T < t) =0.005**

 T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 47. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Which party appeals to you more?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you participate in the election? [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	3.569	3.669	z = -1.526	Prob > |z| =0.127

T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 48. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting Propensity. Question: Would you participate in the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who would you vote for? DK	.092	.090	t = 0.076	Pr(T > t) = 0.470
Who would you vote for? Egyutt	.023	0	t = 1.844	Pr(T > t) = 0.033
Who would you vote for? Fidesz	.246	.241	t = 0.0917	r(T > t) = 0.464
Who would you vote for? Jobbik	.154	.172	t = -0.414	Pr(T < t) = 0.340
Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	**.085**	**.042**	**t = 1.487 T**	**Pr(T > t) = 0.069**
Who would you vote for? LMP	.046	.069	t = -0.8048	Pr(T < t) = 0.211
Who would you vote for? Liberalisok	.008	0	t = 1.056	Pr(T > t) = 0.146
Who would you vote for? Magyar Munkaspart	.023	0	t = 1.844	Pr(T > t) = 0.033
Who would you vote for? Momentum	**.015**	**.041**	**t = -1.280 T**	**Pr(T < t) = 0.100**
Who would you vote for? Other party	.015	0	t = 1.499	Pr(T > t) = 0.067
Who would you vote for? Can't tell	.115	.179	t = -1.487	Pr(T < t) = 0.069

 T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 49. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting for Different Parties. Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who will win the election: MSZP	.169	.124	t = 1.057	Pr(T > t) = 0.146
Who will win the election: Jobbik	**.169**	**.235**	**t = -1.341 ^{T}**	**Pr(T < t) = 0.091**

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 50. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Belief in Which Party Will Win Election: MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Who will win the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How likely vote for Jobbik [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	1.931	2.103	z = -1.342	Prob > |z| = 0.180

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 51. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2.538	2.545	z = 0.029	Prob > |z| = 0.977

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 52. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you vote for MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform?	2.131	2.235	z = -0.962	Prob > |z| = 0.336

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 53. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on MSZP Support.Question: Would You Vote for MSZP if it Ran on a More Protectionist Platform?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should regulate business [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	2.246	2.310	z = -0.633	Prob > |z| = 0.527

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 54. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Business Regulation. Question: There are some who believe the government should strongly regulate private businesses. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important Government Regulation issue to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.338	2.221	z = 1.144	Prob > |z| = 0.253

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 55. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Business Regulation. Question: And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should pay for health care and education for all citizens [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	3.469	3.490	z = -0.215	Prob > |z| = 0.830

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 56. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government paying for health care and education for all citizens to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	3.569	3.566	z = 0.382	Prob > |z| = 0.702

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 57. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
All immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	**2.708**	**2.897**	**z = -1.702 ^{T}**	**Prob > |z| =0.089**

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 58. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.39	2.435	z = -0.441	Prob > |z| = 0.660

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 59. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?

Workers by Education

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	.349	.320	t = 0.810	Pr(T > t) = 0.209
Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	**.243**	**.340**	**t =-2.904*****	**Pr(T < t) =0.002**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 60. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Which party appeals to you more?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you participate in the election? [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	3.621	3.677	z = -0.649	Prob > |z| =0.517

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 61. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting Propensity. Question: Would you participate in the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who would you vote for? DK	.068	.049	t = 1.054	Pr(T > t) = 0.146
Who would you vote for? Egyutt	.013	.011	t = 0.314	Pr(T > t) = 0.377
Who would you vote for? Fidesz	.305	.259	t = 1.364	Pr(T > t) = 0.086
Who would you vote for? Jobbik	**.164**	**.210**	**t = -1.611****	**Pr(T < t) =0.054**
Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	.063	.078	t = -0.776	Pr(T < t) =0.219
Who would you vote for? LMP	.057	.041	t = 0.983	Pr(T > t) = 0.163
Who would you vote for? Liberalisok	0	.003	t = -1.007	Pr(T < t) = 0.157
Who would you vote for? Magyar Munkaspart	.013	0	t = 2.233	Pr(T > t) = 0.013
Who would you vote for? Momentum	.022	.028	t = -0.506	Pr(T < t) = 0.306
Who would you vote for? Other party	.014	.006	t = 1.121	Pr(T > t) = 0.131
Who would you vote for? Can't tell	**.114**	**.163**	**t = -1.899****	**Pr(T < t) = 0.029**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 62. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting for Different Parties.Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who will win the election: MSZP	.123	.108	t = 0.629	Pr(T > t) = 0.265
Who will win the election: Jobbik	**.191**	**.252**	**t = -1.977****	**Pr(T < t) =0.024**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 63. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Belief in Which Party Will Win Election: MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Who will win the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How likely vote for Jobbik [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	**1.954**	**2.111**	**z = -1.944****	**Prob > |z|=0.052**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 64. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2.436	2.478	z = -0.511	Prob > |z| =0.610

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 65. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you vote for MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform?	**2.076**	**2.227**	**z = -2.349****	**Prob > |z|=0.019**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 66. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on MSZP Support. Question: Would You Vote for MSZP if it Ran on a More Protectionist Platform?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should regulate business [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	2.368	2.370	z = -0.112	Prob > |z| =0.911

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 67. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Business Regulation. Question: There are some who believe the government should strongly regulate private businesses. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government regulating business is to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.311	2.348	z = -0.666	Prob > |z| =0.505

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 68. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Business Regulation. Question: And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should pay for health care and education for all citizens [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	3.523	3.536	z = -0.297	Prob > |z| =0.766

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 69. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government paying for health care and education for all citizens to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	3.608	3.597	z = 0.330	Prob > |z| =0.741

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 70. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
All immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	**2.679**	**2.945**	**z=-.3452*****	**Prob > |z|=0.001**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 71. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	**2.433**	**2.652**	**z= -2.879*****	**Prob > |z|=0.004**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 72. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society

Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

Blue-Collar Workers by Profession

	Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	Who would you vote for? Jobbik	Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	Who will win the election: Jobbik	How likely vote for Jobbik	Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition
workerT	-0.008	-0.021	0.029	-0.084	0.305**	0.130	-0.062
T	-0.062	0.297***	0.161	-0.018	0.123	0.106	0.102
_cons	-0.371***	-0.765***	-1.076***	-1.480***	-1.016***		
N	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008
Chi-sq	0.638	11.679	3.279	0.350	12.321	6.237	1.799

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 73. Heterogeneous Treatment Effects, Blue-Collar Workers by Profession. Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Probit and Ordinary Probit. Questions: Which party appeals to you more? And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2? Who will win the election? How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik? Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Self-Identified Workers

	Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	Who would you vote for? Jobbik	Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	Who will win the election: Jobbik	How likely vote for Jobbik	Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition
T	-0.137	0.160	-0.054	-0.277	0.076	0.099	0.117
T*worker	-0.026	0.243***	0.186*	0.022	0.216**	0.122	0.046
worker	-0.371***	-0.765***	-1.076***	-1.480***	-1.016***		
N	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008
chi2	1.759	13.220	3.376	1.956	7.034	5.489	2.666

^{T} p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 74. Heterogeneous Treatment Effects, Self-Identified Blue-Collar Workers. Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Probit and Ordinary Probit. Questions: Which party appeals to you more? And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2? Who will win the election? How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik? Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

	Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	Who would you vote for? Jobbik	Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	Who will win the election: Jobbik	How likely vote for Jobbik	Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition
T	**-0.106**	**0.229***	**0.406*****	**0.485****	**0.438*****	**0.261****	**0.054**
T*worker	0.011	0.123	-0.136	-0.428*	-0.092	-0.038	0.041
worker	-0.371***	-0.765***	-1.076***	-1.480***	-1.016***		
N	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008	1008
chi2	1.318	14.669	10.219	4.958	15.615	10.214	1.672

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 75. Heterogeneous Treatment Effects, Blue-Collar Workers by Education. Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Probit and Ordinary Probit. Questions: Which party appeals to you more? And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2? Who will win the election? How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik? Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Appendix III. Experimental Survey 2
General Sample

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	.420	.392	t = 0.885	Pr(T > t) = 0.188
Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	.199	.222	t = -0.894	Pr(T > t) = 0.186

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 76. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Which party appeals to you more?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you participate in the election? [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	3.726	3.715	z = -0.252	Prob >|z| =0.801

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 77. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting Propensity. Question: Would you participate in the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who would you vote for? DK	.064	.065	t = -0.112	Pr(T < t) = 0.456
Who would you vote for? Egyutt	.019	.005	t = 1.963	Pr(T > t) = 0.025
Who would you vote for? Fidesz	.292	.289	t = 0.110	Pr(T > t) = 0.456
Who would you vote for? Jobbik	.074	.075	t = -0.102	Pr(T < t) = 0.459
Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	.137	.122	t = 0.680	Pr(T > t) = 0.249
Who would you vote for? LMP	.078	.085	t = -0.442	Pr(T < t) = 0.329
Who would you vote for? Liberalisok	.002	0	t = 1.002	Pr(T > t) = 0.158
Who would you vote for? Magyar Munkaspart	.004	.002	t = 0.581	Pr(T > t) = 0.281
Who would you vote for? Momentum	.029	.042	t = -1.006	Pr(T < t) = 0.157
Who would you vote for? Other party	**.004**	**.018**	**t = -2.118****	**Pr(T < t) = 0.017**
Who would you vote for? Can't tell	**.155**	**.115**	**t = 1.870****	**Pr(T > t) = 0.031**

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 78. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting for Different Parties. Question: Who would you vote for?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who will win the election (MSZP)	.167	.155	t = 0.542	Pr(T > t) = 0.291
Who will win the election (Jobbik)	.127	.125	t = 0.119	Pr(T > t) = 0.453

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 79. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Belief in Which Party Will Win Election: MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Who will win the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How likely vote for Jobbik [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	1.867	1.852	z = 0.512	Prob > |z| =0.609

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 80. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2.370	2.329	z = 0.663	Prob > |z| =0.507

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 81. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Self-identification [1 – far left; 4 – far right]	2.730	2.693	z = 0.469	Prob > |z| =0.639

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 82. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on MSZP Support. Question: Would You Vote for MSZP if it Ran on a More Protectionist Platform?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should regulate business [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	2.266	2.244	z = 0.397	Prob > |z| =0.691

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 83. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Business Regulation. Question: There are some who believe the government should strongly regulate private businesses. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important Government Regulation issue to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.235	2.232	z = 0.211	Prob > |z| =0.833

T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 84. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Business Regulation. Question: And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should pay for health care and education for all citizens [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	3.495	3.416	z = 1.537	Prob > |z| =0.124

T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 85. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government paying for health care and education for all citizens to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	.573	3.501	z = 1.231	Prob > |z| =0.218

T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 86. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
All immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.835	2.780	z = 0.929	Prob > |z| =0.353

T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 87. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.467	2.479	z = -0.124	Prob > |z| =0.902

T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 88. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?

Blue-Collar Workers by Profession

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	.3892	.340	t = 0.995	Pr(T > t) = 0.160
Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	.265	.259	t = 0.133	Pr(T > t) = 0.447

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 89. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Which party appeals to you more?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you participate in the election? [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	3.595	3.690	z = -1.304	Prob > |z|=0.192

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 90. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting Propensity. Question: Would you participate in the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who would you vote for? DK	.043	.040	t = 0.128	Pr(T > t) = 0.449
Who would you vote for? Egyutt	.016	.005	t = 1.068	Pr(T > t) = 0.143
Who would you vote for? Fidesz	.227	.274	t = -1.059	Pr(T < t) = 0.145
Who would you vote for? Jobbik	.184	.132	t = 1.391	Pr(T > t) = 0.083
Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	.065	.066	t = -0.044	Pr(T < t) = 0.482
Who would you vote for? LMP	.059	.066	t = -0.262	Pr(T < t) = 0.397
Who would you vote for? Liberalisok	.005	0	t = 1.032	Pr(T > t) = 0.151
Who would you vote for? Magyar Munkaspart	.011	.005	t = 0.633	Pr(T > t) = 0.264
Who would you vote for? Momentum	.027	.046	t = -0.969	Pr(T < t) = 0.167
Who would you vote for? Other party	**.005**	**.020**	**t = -1.279[T]**	**Pr(T < t) = 0.100**
Who would you vote for? Can't tell	.195	.183	t = 0.295	Pr(T > t) = 0.384

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 91. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting for Different Parties. Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who will win the election: MSZP	.092	.117	t = -0.792	Pr(T < t) = 0.215
Who will win the election: Jobbik	.173	.178	t = -0.120	Pr(T < t) = 0.452

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 92. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Belief in Which Party Will Win Election: MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Who will win the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How likely vote for Jobbik [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2.038	1.924	z = 1.234	Prob > |z| =0.217

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 93. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2.460	2.310	z = 1.496	Prob > |z|=0.135

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 94. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you vote for MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform?	2.181	2.244	z = -1.157	Prob > |z| =0.247

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 95. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on MSZP Support. Question: Would You Vote for MSZP If It Ran on a More Protectionist Platform?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should regulate business [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	2.324	2.340	z = -0.216	Prob > |z| =0.829

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 96. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Business Regulation. Question: There are some who believe the government should strongly regulate private businesses. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government regulating business to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.265	2.320	z = -0.464	Prob > |z| =0.643

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 97. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Business Regulation. Question: And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should pay for health care and education for all citizens [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	3.427	3.482	z = -0.713	Prob > |z| =0.476

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 98. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government paying for health care and education for all citizens to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	3.535	3.528	z = -0.093	Prob > |z| =0.926

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 99. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
All immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.908	2.853	z = 0.436	Prob > |z|=0.663

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 100. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.595	2.553	z = 0.441	Prob > |z| =0.659

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 101. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?

Self-Identified Workers

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	**.449**	**.373 T**	**t = 1.355**	**Pr(T > t) = 0.088**
Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	.247	.247	t = 0.003	Pr(T > t) = 0.499

T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 102. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Which party appeals to you more?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you participate in the election? [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	**3.696**	**3.813**	**z =-2.245****	**Prob > |z| = 0.025**

T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 103. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting Propensity. Question: Would you participate in the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who would you vote for? DK	.044	.08	t = -1.301	Pr(T < t) = 0.097
Who would you vote for? Egyutt	.012	.013	t = -0.052	Pr(T < t) = 0.479
Who would you vote for? Fidesz	.215	.247	t = -0.654	Pr(T < t) = 0.257
Who would you vote for? Jobbik	.184	.147	t = 0.869	Pr(T > t) = 0.1929
Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	.095	.08	t = 0.462	Pr(T > t) = 0.3222
Who would you vote for? LMP	.082	.073	t = 0.292	Pr(T > t) = 0.385
Who would you vote for? Liberalisok	0	0		
Who would you vote for? Magyar Munkaspart	.006	0	t = 0.974	Pr(T > t) = 0.165
Who would you vote for? Momentum	.019	.033	t = -0.789	Pr(T < t) = 0.215
Who would you vote for? Other party	0	.02	t = -1.790	Pr(T < t) = 0.037
Who would you vote for? Can't tell	**.196**	**.133**	**t = 1.484 T**	**Pr(T > t) = 0.069**

T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 104. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2?

292

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who will win the election: MSZP	.133	.153	t = -0.511	Pr(T < t) = 0.305
Who will win the election: Jobbik	.158	.153	t = 0.118	Pr(T > t) = 0.453

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 105. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Belief in Which Party Will Win Election: MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Who will win the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How likely vote for Jobbik [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2	1.98	z = 0.232	Prob > |z| = 0.816

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 106. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2.462	2.36	z = 0.853	Prob > |z| = 0.394

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 107. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you vote for MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform?	2.272	2.347	z = -0.733	Prob > |z| = 0.464

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 108. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on MSZP Support. Question: Would You Vote for MSZP If It Ran on a More Protectionist Platform?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should regulate business [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	2.272	2.34	z = -0.679	Prob > |z| = 0.497

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 109. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Business Regulation. Question: There are some who believe the government should strongly regulate private businesses. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government regulating business to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.247	2.287	z = -0.192	Prob > |z| = 0.848

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 110. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Business Regulation. Question: And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should pay for health care and education for all citizens [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	3.519	3.48	z = 0.381	Prob > |z| = 0.703

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 111. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government paying for health care and education for all citizens to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.247	2.287	z = -0.192	Prob > |z| = 0.848

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 112. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
All immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.842	2.827	z = 0.109	Prob > |z| = 0.913

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 113. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.494	2.507	z = -0.169	Prob > |z| = 0.866

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 114. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?

Workers by Education

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Question: Which party appeals to you more? MSZP	**.418**	**.362**	**t =1.563[T]**	**Pr(T > t)=0.059**
Question: Which party appeals to you more? Jobbik	.219	.252	t = -1.066	Pr(T < t) = 0.143

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 115. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Support for MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Which party appeals to you more?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you participate in the election? [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	3.689	3.690	z = -0.574	Prob > |z|=0.566

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 116. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting Propensity. Question: Would you participate in the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who would you vote for? DK	.066	.071	t = -0.303	Pr(T < t) = 0.381
Who would you vote for? Egyutt	.019	.005	t = 1.674	Pr(T > t) = 0.047
Who would you vote for? Fidesz	.259	288	t = -0.852	Pr(T < t) = 0.197
Who would you vote for? Jobbik	.156	.143	t = 0.503	Pr(T > t) = 0.308
Who would you vote for? MSZP party list	**.082**	**.058**	**t = 1.296 [T]**	**Pr(T > t) = 0.098**
Who would you vote for? LMP	.068	.076	t = -0.438	Pr(T < t) = 0.330
Who would you vote for? Liberalisok	.002	0	t = 0.999	Pr(T > t) = 0.159
Who would you vote for? Magyar Munkaspart	.005	.003	t = 0.576	Pr(T > t) = 0.283
Who would you vote for? Momentum	**.082**	**.058**	**t = 1.296 [T]**	**Pr(T > t) = 0.098**
Who would you vote for? Other party	**.003**	**.014**	**t = -1.644****	**Pr(T < t) = 0.050**
Who would you vote for? Can't tell	.164	.134	t = 1.126	Pr(T > t) = 0.130

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 117. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Voting for Different Parties. Question: And (if you go) which party would you vote on the party list? (Group 1 vs Group 2?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	T-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Who will win the election: MSZP	.139	.118	t = 0.869	Pr(T > t) = 0.193
Who will win the election: Jobbik	.183	.175	t = 0.272	Pr(T > t) = 0.393

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 118. T-test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Belief in Which Party Will Win Election: MSZP and Jobbik. Question: Who will win the election?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How likely vote for Jobbik [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	1.954	1.951	z = 0.338	Prob > |z|=0.735

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 119. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: How Likely Are You to Vote for Jobbik?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Support Jobbik joining ruling coalition [1-definitely no; 4 – definitely yes]	2.432	2.384	z = 0.670	Prob > |z|=0.503

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 120. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Jobbik Voting Propensity. Question: Would You Support Jobbik Joining the Ruling Coalition?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Would you vote for MSZP if it ran on a more protectionist platform?	2.240	2.274	z = -0.566	Prob > |z| = 0.572

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 121. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on MSZP Support. Question: Would You Vote for MSZP If It Ran on a More Protectionist Platform?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should regulate business [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	2.260	2.299	z = -0.586	Prob > |z|=0.558

[T] p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 122. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Business Regulation. Question: There are some who believe the government should strongly regulate private businesses. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government regulating business to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.221	2.296	z = -0.970	Prob > |z|=0.332

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 123. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Business Regulation. Question: And how important do you consider for the government to strongly regulate private businesses?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
Government should pay for health care and education for all citizens [1 – fully disagree; 4 – fully agree]	3.508	3.466	z = 0.674	Prob > |z|=0.500

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 124. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: There are some who believe the government should pay for health care and education for all citizens. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important government paying for health care and education for all citizens to you? [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	3.587	3.540	z = 0.808	Prob > |z|=0.419

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 125. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Government Paying for Healthcare and Education. Question: And how important do you consider it is for the government to pay for health care and education for all citizens?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
All immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.836	2.833	z = 0.067	Prob > |z|=0.947

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 126. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: There are some who believe all immigrants should reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society. How much do you agree with this?

Variable	Redistribution Mean	Pro-Market Mean	Z-statistic	Ha, Pr(T > t)
How important for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society [1 – not important at all; 4 – very important]	2.514	2.526	z = -0.106	Prob > |z|=0.916

^T p<0.1; ** p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 127. Wilxon Rank Sum Test Results Comparing Pro-Market and Redistributionist MSZP Treatment on Salience of Immigrants' Integration in the Society. Question: And how important do you consider it is for all immigrants to reject their traditional culture and wholly accept the values of the Hungarian society?

Appendix IV. Earlier Versions of the Experiment

While working on this dissertation, I have tried several alternative versions of the experimental treatment before accepting the final version described above. These choices were made for two following reasons. First, as my theory has evolved over time, I clarified the experiment to better reflect my hypotheses and identify the causal effects. Second, I modified the treatment in several subsequent modifications of my experiment to ensure it more directly addressed my hypotheses of interest and possible concerns regarding treatment formulation.

1) The original version of the experiment for this paper followed more closely the framework proposed in Brader and Tucker (2008) and Lupu (2014) and focused on policy convergence of mainstream Hungarian parties (MSZP and Fidesz), instead of the policy shift of the left MSZP party only (final version of the experiment). I assigned these parties certain positions on the socioeconomic policy issues and tracked the subjects' party choices following treatment exposure.

In 2016 I ran two internet-based experimental survey in Hungary of a total size of 1,000 participants (500 respondents for treatment and control groups respectively). The subjects were randomly recruited from a representative sample of Hungary's population by a professional polling company Solid Data. The administered treatment intended to create among the respondents a perception of convergence of Hungary's mainstream parties (right-wing Fidesz and left-wing MSzP) on the economic policy issues.

Two subsequent types of treatment were tried in this experiment. First, the respondents were asked to view a positioning of Hungary's mainstream parties on selected economic policies based on the information from the parties' 2014 electoral

programs, and to compare those with the estimates of a non-partisan group "Political Analytics". While the original picture showed that the positioning of the two parties on economic issues was different, the alleged estimates of the "Political Analysis" showed convergence of two parties on those issues.

Next, the respondents were told that the experiment would study their exposure to the specific type of news. The treated group was administered a video resembling a Hungarian cable TV news broadcast. The broadcast showed a video footage of the interviews with people (of allegedly 'manual working professions') in the streets, who complained about both Fidesz and MSzP failing to deliver the good economic policies to "the working people". In the video, the host also discussed the results of a recent study by a Hungarian research institute, which claimed to have demonstrated that both MSzP and Fidesz were implementing similar and pro-market economic policies while in power (opening up the markets to the multinational companies and decreasing social protection instead of protecting workers and the local producers from the negative impact of globalization).

I have discovered that my treatment contributed to a shift of Hungary's blue-collar respondents further to the right of political spectrum, as measured by their self-positioning on left-right self-identification scale. In line with my expectations, these findings suggested that the frustration with the mainstream parties in Hungary pushed the respondents in the blue-collar category further to the right of the political spectrum. However, this version of the treatment made it difficult to identify whether the parties' failure to deliver or the socioeconomic policy shift accounted for the subsequent change in party preferences.

As my theory evolved over time, I refocused on the policy switch of one particular party – MSZP along the economic policy dimension and redesigned my experiment accordingly.

2) While in the above experiment I have used video as my treatment material, in the subsequent versions of my experiment I used newspaper articles as a treatment, because written manipulation of the party policy positions provided a more direct control over the experimental treatment, which in turn facilitated the interpretation of results and causal mechanisms.

In early 2018, on the basis of Solid Data I ran several pilot experiments designed to check the impact and strength of my treatment effects for different formulations of the MSZP policy positions. I tried the following version of treatment formulations with neutral option for the MSZP policy stance in control group:

Please read the following details from a newspaper:

1) Treatment: "As the current parliamentary parties prepare for the elections to be held in April 2018, each of them will rethink its platforms and strategy. Fidesz plans to keep its current political platform in the pre-election period. MSZP **remains faithful to the tradition of supporting free trade and continuing Hungary's economic integration into the world markets. This strategy has been held by the party since the mid-1990s, when it abandoned its pro-labor policy positions.** By contrast, Jobbik will focus on the protection of the Hungarian economy and offer to limit the presence of multinational companies in the country. The party

accuses these companies of fraud, which according to Jobbik's claims, is depriving Hungarian people of their jobs.

The LMP emphasizes the importance of environmental protection and the introduction of a greener policy."

2) Control: "As the current parliamentary parties prepare for the elections to be held in April 2018, each of them will rethink its platforms and strategy.

Fidesz plans to keep its current political platform in the pre-election period.

MSZP **will focus on increasing its regional support, focusing mainly on the transformation of its local constituencies.**

By contrast, Jobbik will focus on the protection of the Hungarian economy and offer to limit the presence of multinational companies in the country. The party accuses these companies of fraud, which according to Jobbik's claims, is depriving Hungarian people of their jobs.

The LMP emphasizes the importance of environmental protection and the introduction of a greener policy."

However, this version of treatment made it hard for me to identify a specific mediational process through which the treatment influenced the dependent variables of interest. Specifically, this version of treatment led to a sharp decrease in support for the MSZP party in control group, against the expectations. Scholars I consulted with offered different explanations for these findings, few of which had directly to do with the tested hypotheses. One explanation claimed that the respondents in the second group punished MSZP because the left unlike other parties in the provided newspaper abstract offered no policy solutions, and instead took a rather selfish stance by focusing on rebuilding its

regional network. If this interpretation of the results was correct, this version of the treatment did not allow me to reject or to confirm my hypothesis.

Therefore, I had to alter the treatment formulation to more directly target my research question.

3) One more objection has been raised with regards to the treatment formulation used in the experiment described in this dissertation. In the current version of the experiment described in this dissertation, I have used the following pro-market treatment for MSZP economic policy positions:

"MSZP will push for policies of economic openness and seek to satisfy international investors/capital in order to further integrate the Hungarian economy into global markets."

However, some scholars raised concerns that this treatment may be too obviously pushing subjects to defect from the MSZP party due to its strong emphasis on protection of the interests of the international investors. To address the criticism, I ran a small experiment on 500 participants dropping the wording about the investors from the MSZP policy description:

"MSZP will push for policies of economic openness in order to further integrate the Hungarian economy into global markets."

I then measured the impact of the treatment on my dependent variables of interest. Despite the modified treatment, the impact was in line with my theoretical expectations,

which allowed me to counter possible concerns regarding the experimental treatment described in this dissertation.