

Using Moral Foundations Theory to understand how right-of-centre populist parties communicate with voters in Central and Eastern Europe

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**Year of Submission: 2021
Word Count: 23,552**

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Declaration

In full awareness of my liability I declare that all texts, diagrams and tables in this thesis, with the exception of the parts referenced in accordance with the applicable requirements, are original and exclusively the result of my own work and such texts, diagrams and tables do not originate from any other document or contributor.

In full awareness of my liability I declare that overlapping between this thesis and my thesis submitted in my parallel training does not exceed 10%. I acknowledge that if the program leaders (or the persons appointed by them) find more than 10% similarity, then I did not fulfil my academic obligation and cannot take the final examination.

I have written this Master's thesis independently. All viewpoints of other authors, literary sources and data from elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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Introduction

This thesis seeks to understand how right-wing and centrist populist parties in Central and Eastern Europe communicate with voters in order to gain electoral support, through the lens of Moral Foundations Theory. Previous studies into voter motivations for supporting right-of-centre populist parties have focused primarily upon economic, cultural or social factors. However, there has been limited research into the emotional appeal of populism to voters, and how it is expressed through party communication. In the course of this analysis the communications of six governing populist parties in the region during their most recent parliamentary election periods will be considered: ANO 2011 in the 2017 Czech legislative election, Fidesz in the 2018 Hungarian parliamentary election, GERB in the April 2021 Bulgarian parliamentary election, PiS in the 2019 Polish parliamentary election, and the SDS in the 2018 Slovenian parliamentary election. The parties studied are assessed against the framework of Moral Foundations Theory based upon the news articles posted on their respective websites during the period in question, to develop an understanding of how they use emotive language to communicate with the electorate.

Moral Foundations Theory was used to conduct this analysis due to its previous applicability to studies of political ideology and communication. The theory explains how individuals perceive morality through the use of five so-called “moral foundations”, which act as moral “taste receptors” (Haidt, 2012: 132) and guide reactions to certain notions and themes. The five foundations identified by Haidt (2012: 145-146) are care/harm, fairness/cheating, loyalty/betrayal, authority/subversion, and sanctity/degradation, with each playing a distinct role in shaping the moral palette of an individual. How individuals respond to suffering and to those in need is shaped by the care/harm foundation, while the fairness/cheating foundation indicates openness to working with others and instinctive responses to attempts by others to cheat (Haidt, 2012: 178). The loyalty/betrayal foundation considers the role of others working within a team and how trust is built within a group, whereas the authority/subversion foundation is concerned with the importance of social hierarchies and responsiveness to accepted norms (Haidt, 2012: 178). Lastly, the sanctity/degradation foundation acts as what Haidt (2012: 178) terms a “behavioural immune system”, which shapes how individuals react to certain symbols and objects (either encouraging engagement with them or triggering an aversion to them). The use of the five foundations as a framework of reference allows this study to understand how the parties analysed engage with voters’ conceptions of morality, and therefore creates the potential for an understanding of emotive appeals to national electorates by right-of-centre populist parties in Central and Eastern Europe.

As a starting point for enquiry, this thesis will begin by discussing the existing work regarding Moral Foundations Theory and ideology as well as how it translates to the context of the study. It will then assess prior criticisms of Moral Foundations Theory and discuss their relevance to this study, finding that while there is validity in the critiques made they are not applicable in this context due to the nature of the research being undertaken. Following on from the introduction to Moral Foundations

Theory it will then discuss definitions of populism, drawing upon existing literature and setting the framework for case selection. In the aforementioned section it will discuss the difficulties with defining populism as a “thin” ideology, and the impact that this will be expected to have on the findings of the research. As a next step it will then discuss the two populist typologies covered by the study - right-wing populism and centrist populism - and how they are determined, highlighting both their shared and unique characteristics. Existing literature offering explanations for why voters support populist parties, with a particular focus on arguments based around economic, cultural and social factors will then be discussed. As a final step in the background section it will use data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey in combination with discussions of specific policy positions to create profiles of the six parties studied so as to inform the discussion about them contained within the analysis section.

Having introduced the study and provided the necessary background information, this thesis will then move on to discuss the research methods used. This will include references to the research design (including the variables assessed) as well as the core hypotheses. It will consider the challenges surrounding operationalisation, as well as the limitations of the study and how they were overcome, particularly focusing on how accurate translation was ensured and data collection was standardised across the six case studies. Having covered the relevant background information and discussed the research methods used, it will then move into the analysis and findings. As a starting point it will assess the headline figures in terms of word use frequency on each of the five moral foundations, using two different Moral Foundations Dictionaries to ensure the most accurate results. It will then consider the same results in terms of the virtue and vice aspects of each foundation, to discern any deeper trends that could not be observed in the initial surface-level analysis. From there the thesis will move on to discuss the specific word usage by each of the parties studied through the lens of Moral Foundations Theory, assessing whether any outlier values can be explained by context as part of the process. Finally, it will discuss the common themes that emerge across the two party groupings studied (as well as for populist parties more generally) in terms of word usage on each foundation, before concluding with a restatement of the findings of the research, reconsideration of the original hypotheses and identification of potential avenues for further research.

Moral Foundations Theory

Moral Foundations Theory and Ideology

As a starting point for this enquiry into populism through the lens of Moral Foundations Theory (henceforth referred to interchangeably as MFT), it is worth considering the statement of Feldman (2013: 601) that “it is unfortunate that so little empirical research has focused on the psychological appeal of populism”. This is true not just of MFT, but of the field of political psychology more widely - explanations for support for populist parties and politicians have rarely focused upon psychology, and rather on socio-economic conditions. Therefore it is unsurprising that it is hard to ascertain from the existing literature how exactly one would expect populists to be classified by the foundations of the MFT scale. However, it is possible to develop underlying assumptions based on how MFT has been applied in different contexts to themes consistent with, or in opposition to, the populist right and centre-right.

Firstly, there are the general observations by Graham, Haidt and Nosek (2009) during their original development of MFT. They find that liberals (in the US context, the left in a European context) construct their perception of morality predominantly upon the care/harm and fairness/reciprocity foundations, whereas conservatives also rely upon the ingroup/loyalty, respect/authority, and purity/sanctity foundations (Graham, Haidt and Nosek, 2009: 1029). The former group of foundations become less important as you move rightwards across the political spectrum, whereas the opposite effect can be observed regarding the latter group (Graham, Haidt and Nosek, 2009: 1033). They also note that purity is particularly unimportant as a foundation for those to the left of centre, with fairness given a high degree of importance, and authority being given the greatest degree of importance by those to the right of centre (Graham, Haidt and Nosek, 2009: 1036).

There are also useful observations to be found in how different issue areas correlate with different MFT foundations. Those supporting big government (e.g. an interventionist state) tend to score highly on the care/harm and fairness/reciprocity foundations, while those supporting a strong stance on law and order score higher on the same foundations with the addition of respect/authority (Haidt and Graham, 2009: 395). On so-called “culture war” issues the purity/sanctity foundation is the best predictor of attitudes, acting as a better indicator of views on topics regarding sexuality, relationships, marriage and the sanctity of life than self-described political orientation (Koleva et al., 2012: 186-188). Similarly, the purity/sanctity foundation tends to predict attitudes to opposition to illegal immigration, while the ingroup/loyalty foundation is a strong predictor of nationalistic views (Koleva et al., 2012: 189-190). Unsurprisingly, religiosity also correlates strongly with high scores on the purity/sanctity foundation (Miles, 2014: 85).

It is however worth considering that the majority of the baseline work for the development of MFT took place in the context of the American political system, which is characterised by different issues and partisan divides to the political systems of Central and Eastern Europe (henceforth referred to as CEE). While there has been no previous research applying MFT to politics in the region, there are a

number of studies which have focused upon Western Europe, which are likely to be more relevant when contemplating the expected outcomes of the same type of research in CEE. In the case of Sweden, Nilsson and Erlandsson (2015: 30) found that care/harm and fairness/reciprocity were the most important foundations for all but the far right, although they declined in importance moving rightwards across the political spectrum, with the opposite effect true of the other three foundations - an almost identical trend as observed in the studies in the USA.

In the UK, research was also conducted using MFT to understand the differences between Remain and Leave in the 2016 referendum on membership of the European Union, and between the Conservative Party and the Labour Party in the 2017 general election. The former research found that Remainers scored higher on the care/harm and reciprocity/fairness foundations, while the respect/authority and purity/sanctity foundations were more important for Leavers (Prosser, 2019) - in effect, a repeat of the findings of the American research, with the Remain/Leave split mirroring the left/right split. Similarly, the research into the 2017 general election by Smith and Baroni (2017) showed the same pattern, although large differences could be discerned between the two parties on the fairness/reciprocity (higher for Labour), ingroup/loyalty and respect/authority foundations (higher for the Conservatives).

Taken in sum, the previous research into MFT and political ideology as well as regarding MFT and specific issues makes it possible to come up with hypotheses about how the populist-right parties of CEE would expect to score on the respective foundations. However, it is worth considering that even within Europe there is a potential divide to be accounted for. Prior research has shown that the individualizing foundations (care/harm and fairness/reciprocity) tend to be given precedence in Western societies over the remaining binding foundations (Federico et al., 2013: 591). With this in mind, one would expect this effect to be lessened somewhat in CEE, as the societies in question have undergone different historical processes to those of the West, for example the communist era standing in stark contrast to the democratic period of the same time in the majority of Western societies, and the later advent of nation-states in the region.

Assessing Moral Foundations Theory

A number of criticisms of Moral Foundations Theory have been advanced, mainly relating to the causal link between the foundations and ideology. One argument put forward suggests that Moral Foundations are related to context, and tied to ideology based upon cognitive processes, rather than being something innate and intuitively linked to ideology (Smith et al., 2016: 434-435). In effect, such an argument suggests that Moral Foundations Theory is useful only for understanding the consequences of ideology, rather than the causes - the importance ascribed to each foundation is dependent on ideological leanings, rather than determining them (Smith et al., 2016: 434-435). The same argument is advanced by Hatemi, Crabtree and Smith (2019: 803-804), describing the foundations as a series of moral reasonings motivated by political beliefs.

Another challenge to Moral Foundations Theory comes from Suhler and Churchland (2011: 2111-2112), who question the innateness of the theory due to the lack of

evidence presented to ground it in neuroscience and biology, despite claims that it is rooted in evolution, psychology and development. In response to this critique, Haidt and Joseph (2011: 2119) argue that considering what is known about genetics, it would be unusual for there to be a biological link between moral intuitions and genetic traits. They also hone in on the concept they describe as “organization in advance of the editing” to describe innateness, suggesting that some things are innately known even if they are then shaped further at a later point by lived experience (Haidt and Joseph, 2011: 2120).

The two critiques discussed above each have slightly different implications for the use of Moral Foundations Theory in the context of this study. The latter challenge put forward by Suhler and Churchland (2011) is more of a challenge to the theory as a whole, rather than any specific aspect. Yet a reasonably compelling counter to their argument is put forward by Haidt and Joseph (2011), which is enough to dissuade concerns about the general validity of the theory, and enough to make me comfortable in the use of it for this study. However, the challenge from Smith et al. (2016) is more relevant to the analysis being conducted here, as it discusses the use of Moral Foundations Theory during the assessment of political ideology. Yet regardless of whether the foundations determine ideology, or vice versa, one would expect the findings of this study to remain valid nonetheless. While it cannot be clearly determined whether supporters of right-wing populist parties care more about a specific foundation due to their ideological leanings or vice versa, it is still possible to assess how the parties communicate in terms of the foundations (and therefore the lens voters see them through) without deciding whether ideology or morality came first.

Populism

Defining Populism

As an object of study, there has been a great deal of discussion around populism and what the term itself should be understood to mean. For the purposes of this research, a definition has been adopted based on the existing literature on the topic, which allows for the classification of the six parties chosen as case studies as populist. This definition is based around an ideational approach to defining populism, rather than one based upon specific policies. Such an approach was chosen as the emphasis in this research is upon two specific types of populism (centrist populism and right-wing populism), and therefore the intent when defining populism is not to set out specific tenets of populist ideology expected to shape the findings of the research, but rather to provide a base to build upon.

To begin, the definition originally offered by Mudde (2004) is used to set the general scope in which populist parties are defined. This holds that populism is “an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people” (Mudde, 2004: 543). Mudde (2004: 544) also argues that “populism is moralistic rather than programmatic”, being based as an ideology around normative distinctions rather than programmatic ones - the core to this being the conflict between elites and the people.

An updated version of this definition is adopted by Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser (2017), which is also useful for setting the framework of this study. They extend Mudde’s original definition to classify populism as “a thin-centered ideology” (Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017: 25) in addition to the previously listed characteristics. By this they understand populism as having no complex or comprehensive corpus of ideas or policies underpinning it, but instead being formed in combination with aspects of other ideologies (Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017: 25). In this they build upon the work of Stanley (2008) in defining populism as a “thin” ideology, in contrast to more comprehensive ideologies such as conservatism, liberalism or socialism. Stanley (2008: 102) otherwise premises the conceptual core of populism around similar characteristics to Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser: “the existence of two homogeneous units of analysis: ‘the people’ and ‘the elite’”; “the antagonistic relationship between the people and the elite”; “the idea of popular sovereignty” and “the positive valorisation of ‘the people’ and denigration of ‘the elite’.”

While popular sovereignty is not explicitly mentioned by Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser as a core characteristic of populism, it can be understood as an example of the expression of the general will, and in this sense their definition and Stanley’s definition are much the same. A slightly different - although largely similar - definition is offered by Albertazzi and McDonnell (2007: 6-7), who offer four core principles of populism: “the people are one and are inherently ‘good’”; “the people are sovereign”; “the people’s culture and way of life are of paramount value” and “the leader and party/movement are one with the people”. Where their definition differs is in the focus upon the importance not just of the people as a unit of analysis, but also as

something explicitly separate from the general will, with both being core components of right-wing populism as will be discussed in the following section. However, for setting the general scope of the study this final definition offered by Albertazzi and McDonnell (2007) will be used, although the works of Stanley (2008) and Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser (2017) will be referred to when relevant in discussions of whether each of the case studies are truly populist.

There is of course a weakness in the approach of defining populism as a “thin ideology”, yet also conducting a study which splits populist parties based upon ideological categorisation. Such an approach to the study suggests that these parties hold ideological interests, and that their policy-making is at least in part based upon ideological beliefs, and therefore calls into question whether it is fair to classify them based purely on a “thin ideology”, or whether they constitute distinct ideological units themselves. Indeed, scholars such as Aslanidis (2015: 89) suggest that the lack of ideological coherence within the populist party family prevents populism from constituting a fully fledged ideology, and that therefore it must be better understood as a discourse rather than an ideology.

The aforementioned critique is a fair one, and one that is important to note before moving further with this study. By way of rebuttal, it is notable that Stanley (2008: 108) explicitly states that populism is able to be a component part of a party’s ideological appeal to varying degrees, and that it can be understood as a bolt-on to a full ideology with varying degrees of salience over time. Therefore in the case of the two party groupings, what is on show is effectively two original ideologies (national conservatism and centrism) in combination with populism, rather than two distinct forms of populism (centrist populism and right-wing populism being terms of convenience, not clearly defined classifications).

It is however potentially possible to discern a “thick” aspect of populism, as suggested by Neuner and Wratil (2020: 7-8), who see the “thin” aspects as the underlying ideas behind the political positions of a party, and the “thick” as specific populist approaches to policy. While there is merit in this approach, it should not change the definition offered for the scope of this study, as it is still the “thin” aspects which ultimately drive the “thick” policies in the explanation offered. However, it is worth noting for the analysis phase of the research, as it may help to explain unexpected patterns in the communications analysed, as one would expect that concrete policies are more likely to be mentioned than vague ideals, and therefore could reasonably be expected to result in higher scores on specific foundations.

Populist Typologies: Right-wing and Centrist

This study considers two different kinds of populist parties in power in CEE: right-wing populists, and so-called centrist populists. In order to categorise the six parties used as case studies, it is necessary to firstly outline the nature of these two kinds of populism, starting with right-wing populism. As a starting point for defining right-wing populism, it is worth referring to the concept of the populist radical right advanced by Mudde (2007: 28) who distinguishes them from traditional conservative parties not just due to their populism, but also due to their nativism and lack of a neoliberal

socioeconomic agenda. While it can be debated as to whether PiS, Fidesz and the SDS fit the traditional categorisation of the “extreme right”, their policy positions do align with this definition, as will be covered in the section discussing the chosen case studies.

Right-wing populism is characterised as being different from traditional right-wing ideology by seeking to appeal to those seen as being on the “losing side” of social processes, rather than protecting vested interests as conservatism does (Langenbacher and Schellenberg, 2011: 13). It adopts the people-centric character of populism in order to challenge existing political institutions and actors by claiming that they fail to adequately meet the needs of the people, and are therefore unfit for purpose (Langenbacher and Schellenberg, 2011: 15-16). As well as mobilising anti-system feeling, right-wing populism also seeks to create a sense of “identity crisis” within society, and agitates for a return to previous conditions - an aspect that is similar to traditional conservatism, although often with a far more nativist and exclusionary bent (Langenbacher and Schellenberg, 2011: 17). It can also be assessed as a form of what Eatwell and Goodwin (2018: 48) refer to as national populism, described as “an ideology which prioritizes the culture and interests of the nation, and which promises to give a voice to people who feel that they have been neglected, even held in contempt, by distant and corrupt elites”.

However, the populist right seeks to differentiate itself from the far right when mobilising nativist sentiments by talking in terms of ethnopluralism rather than being outwardly derogatory towards minority ethnic groups (Mudde, 2019a). It seeks in effect to create a form of ethnocracy, by discouraging immigration and encouraging repatriation, with non-native groups treated as a security threat as part of an authoritarian approach to the organisation of society - based also upon hierarchy, punishments for real or perceived deviancy and the imposition of “moral” or “traditional” education (Mudde, 2019a). For right-wing populists, the enemy is whoever is seen to be acting against the interests of the people, and by extension the nation, be they economic or political elites or even discrete groups (Mudde, 2019a). Gender ideology is also seen as a threat, due to a belief that traditional gender roles should be reinforced and that any attempt to deviate from this is an attack on the traditional family, and therefore by extension the values of the nation (Mudde: 2019b). While the “them” and “us” divide can shift over time to focus on different groups, overall the political approach of the populist right remains the same, combining authoritarianism, anti-elitism, nativism and social conservatism (Mudde, 2019a).

It should be noted that while the so-called centrist populist parties covered adopt elements of right-wing populist discourse in their approaches, they can be classified into a separate distinct party family due their weaker attachment to specific ideologies. Instead of adopting the more radical rhetoric of the right, they instead combine populist approaches with more moderate positions, being conceptualised as “anti-establishment reform parties” (Hanley and Sikk, 2016: 522-523). Rather than taking up positions traditionally associated with the left or right of the political spectrum, centrist populist parties instead rely on technocratic approaches to government (Reiser and Hebenstreit, 2020: 575). In essence, their claim to rule on behalf of the people and to be conducting policies in accordance with the general will

is based upon holding relevant expertise, allowing for the bypassing of traditional political institutions and a lack of concern for ideology (Bustikova and Babos, 2020: 497-498). This means that at times they may adopt the same stances as the populist-right, but that they do so purely out of political expediency rather than as part of a comprehensive ideological position or due to deep rooted convictions - for example, when responding to issues of immigration, gender or sexuality - in order to gain the maximum possible electoral benefit.

Explaining Support for Populists

The majority of work discussing determinants of support for right-wing populist parties has focused upon traditional explanations for voting behaviour. Oesch (2008: 351-353) splits these explanations into three groups: economic explanations, based upon protectionism and fears of welfare competition; cultural explanations, such as fears of the impact of immigration on national culture and an exclusionary attitude towards citizenship; and alienation based explanations, such as protest voting and social disorganisation. Very similar explanations are also highlighted when discussing demand-side and supply-side factors driving support for the populist right. For the former, economic anxiety, rising inequality, reactions to immigration and cultural backlash are highlighted, while for the latter charismatic leadership and party positioning are considered key drivers (Mols and Jetten, 2020: 3-8).

Economic factors are given primacy by a number of authors. Colantone and Stanig (2018: 217) find economic distress to be a driver of support for right-wing populism, with similar findings related to the effects of economic globalization identified by Dippel, Gold and Heblch (2015: 35). This is built upon by Eichengreen (2019), who argues that economic concerns, particularly around socio-economic inequality, play a role in driving support for populism, but that there also remains a cultural component explaining voter motivations. This links into the cultural explanations put forward by other authors, as does the work of Margalit (2019) who argues that the economic impact on voter behaviour is modest and that it is instead an artefact of cultural explanations – for example economic insecurity being perceived due to cultural insecurity.

Other authors put forward cultural explanations for support for populist parties. Using PiS as one of their case studies, Marchlewska et al. (2018: 159-160) find that collective narcissism and associated prejudicial behaviours play a role in driving support for populist parties, particularly when the notion of in-group disadvantage is advanced by parties and their leaders. Another perspective is advanced by Norris and Inglehart (2019), based around the concept they term “cultural backlash”. In their view, this takes the form of a multi-stage process, beginning with the shift from materialist to post-materialist values (Norris and Inglehart, 2019: 32-35). At the same time as this shift in values, structural social changes took place due to higher levels of education, urbanization and ethnic diversity (Norris and Inglehart, 2019: 35-42). According to their explanation, the combination of these factors not only reinforced support for progressive parties and causes, but also stoked a reaction from social conservatives resulting in the generation of support for authoritarian populism (Norris and Inglehart, 2019: 43-49).

Political inefficacy - real or perceived - is also identified as a factor driving voters to support populist parties. Magni (2017: 101) finds that angry individuals motivated by perceived low levels of political efficacy are more likely to support populist or anti-establishment parties, while support for sovereignist ideas (a core part of populism) tend to be predicted by the same factor, alongside partisan cues and conspiratorial thinking (Basile, Borri and Verzichelli, 2020: 249). Another factor identified which strongly predicts support for populist parties is self-perceived “economic, cultural and political vulnerability” (Spruyt, Keppens and Van Droogenboeck, 2016: 344) which ties into the explanations put forth by Oesch (2008) and Mols and Jetten (2020). However, there are few explanations offered which consider support for populism to be an emotional reflex, beyond the work of Rico, Guinjoan and Anduiza (2017: 455) suggesting it is motivated in part by anger. Therefore while there are aspects of the ingroup/loyalty and fairness/reciprocity that can be seen in parts of the explanations, they rely more strongly upon concrete factors rather than intuitions.

Party Positions and Policies

In order to get a feel for the respective positions of the six parties chosen as case studies on the political spectrum, it is worth consulting the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (Bakker et al., 2020). The most recent version of the survey was conducted in 2019, tracking parties' positions on European integration and ideology, as well as on a number of policy dimensions and with regard to a series of party characteristics, using information provided by experts. As the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (henceforth referred to interchangeably as the CHES) has been running since 1999 and the 2019 survey represents the sixth iteration (Chesdata, 2021) with previous editions successfully cross-validated against other sources (Polk et al., 2017: 3), and therefore a degree of confidence can be established regarding the validity of using it to ascertain an overview of the positions of the parties studied. While it is by no means a perfect measure due to being based on subjective, rather than objective, criteria, for the purposes of this research it serves as a useful barometer with which to identify expected trends when discussing the differing language used by each party to communicate with the public through the prism of Moral Foundations Theory. However, it is worth noting those limitations, and considering cases where party positioning according to the CHES does not appear to match their policy platforms - as is discussed in this section in the case of Fidesz.

Views on European integration could be suggested to be a good proxy for the likelihood of a high score on the loyalty/ingroup foundation, due to the tendency for Euroscepticism to be tied to nationalism, itself a strong expression of preference for the ingroup. To an extent, the positions of the parties according to the CHES map across the centrist/right-wing divide between the populist parties studied: GERB and OL'aNO view European integration more favourably, and PiS and Fidesz less favourably. However, the SDS take a more positive view than ANO 2011, although the main aspect of European integration opposed by the Slovenian party is that of asylum policy, which ties into the expected preference for the loyalty/ingroup foundation expected on the right.

Yet it is worth noting that overall, only GERB (on the pro-integration side of the ledger), Fidesz and PiS (both on the anti-integration side) hold views strongly different from the mainstream in their respective countries. It is true that ANO 2011 looks more favourably than the average Czech party on the economic aspects of integration (suggesting a more laissez-faire economic approach) and the SDS is an outlier in Slovenia regarding asylum policy (showing a disdain for that facet of integration comparable to the extreme right SNS), but overall it seems that attitudes to European integration within the group of case studies are less aligned than would be expected. Instead, it is worth considering ideological leanings in more detail to identify potential trends in the MFT analysis.

When ideological positioning is considered, a clear alignment can be seen with the previously described distinction between the centrist and right-wing populists. Fidesz and the SDS occupy a space on the ideological spectrum between right-wing and far-right, with PiS comfortably right-wing. GERB and OL'aNO are best described as centre-right, with ANO 2011 more of a truly centrist party. However, when economic ideology is considered a very different picture appears. While the centrist populists

have a consistent approach both in political and economic terms ideologically, only the SDS remains on the right economically of the right-wing populists. Fidesz is considered to be centre-left economically, with PiS more traditionally left-wing in economic terms.

This distinction would be expected to be replicated when assessing party communications against the MFT matrix. If previous patterns hold true, PiS and Fidesz would be expected to score higher on the care/harm and fairness/proportionality foundations due to holding more traditionally left-wing stances on the economy, whereas the SDS would be expected to look like a more extreme variant of a conservative party in MFT terms. However, if the MFT foundations are impacted predominantly by social and cultural values rather than economic values, one would expect the traditional left-right divide to emerge, as Fidesz, PiS and SDS are all strongly traditionalist and authoritarian, as well as ascribing greater salience to such issues than the three centrist populist parties.

Even when accounting for the ideological centre ground in each of the respective states studied, the patterns identified above remain. GERB, ANO 2011 and OL'aNO all occupy the centre ground in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia respectively, while Fidesz, PiS and SDS occupy the most rightward spaces in their respective party systems with the exception of extreme-right parties (Mi Hazank were not included for Hungary, but Konfederacja and the SNS occupy the same spaces in Poland and Slovenia respectively). Yet the divergence between economic values and social and cultural values remains for Fidesz and PiS, even when placed in national context. Fidesz is the most left-wing Hungarian party in economic terms (although it focuses mainly on social and cultural issues over economic issues), while the same is almost true of PiS - only the left-wing Lewica party outflanks it to the left in economic terms. On the flipside, in economic terms the SDS is an outlier in Slovenia's political arena considering how far to the right it leans, unlike the other two right-wing populist parties studied.

In terms of policy, the divides between the two party groupings are limited to a number of particular dimensions. Both groups tend to look less than favourably upon immigration and multiculturalism, although the latter is a more salient issue for the right-wing populist grouping, and when accounting for national political contexts PiS, Fidesz and the SDS take tougher stances compared to ANO 2011, OL'aNO and GERB. With this in mind, one would expect the right-wing populists to score higher on the ingroup/loyalty foundation, much like traditional conservative parties have tended to in previous analyses of parties using MFT.

On economic issues, the split in the right-wing populist group remains, although Fidesz aligns more with the SDS than PiS regarding redistribution and tax cuts, and with PiS more on deregulation, government intervention and protectionism. Meanwhile the three centrist populist parties maintain a relatively consistent line, with GERB being slightly more pro-market than ANO 2011 and OL'aNO, particularly when considering the political centre ground in Bulgaria. However, overall there is nothing regarding economic policy that would change previous assumptions about where the parties would fall on the MFT foundations, with Fidesz and PiS consistently mixing left-wing economics with right-wing cultural values.

When considering other policy dimensions, clear divides between the centrist populist parties and the right-wing populist parties continue to appear. On environmental issues, once domestic political contexts are accounted for, there is a clearer anti-environmentalism bent for the right-wing party trio, with the centrist trio tending to adopt middle of the road views regarding the environment (though ANO 2011 leans to the right). Similarly, when considering attitudes to the urban/rural divide Fidesz, PiS and the SDS form a relatively homogenous pro-rural triumvirate, with the centrist parties being more balanced in their views. In abstract terms the same divide is also clear when considering attitudes to Russian interference, which is more salient for the right-wing populists overall, although it diminishes in importance when contextualised - suggesting it is influenced more by (real or presumed) vulnerability to Russia than ideological beliefs.

However, the aforementioned policy dimensions are likely to have limited effect on the results of the MFT analysis. While environmentalism is generally linked with more traditionally left-wing values, the difference between the two groups is not expected to be large enough to have a major effect on any of the foundations. The same is likely to be true of attitudes to the urban/rural divide, although it may have a small effect on fairness/proportionality if the urban/rural cleavage in domestic politics is aligned with socioeconomic cleavages. Finally, the historic context regarding Russia within the region likely makes attitudes to Russian interference too “noisy” to be a reliable indicator of anything on the MFT scale. Yet that is not to say that other policy dimensions do not have reasonable predictive power, as a number of others tie neatly into the MFT framework due to their linkage with the liberal/authoritarian divide.

Overall, the right-wing populist parties are far more socially conservative (particularly when accounting for context), look much more favourably on the role of religion in politics, and have stronger stances on law and order - though the latter is nonetheless an issue of some importance to the centrist populists. Taken in concert, one would expect these political stances to correlate with a higher score on the authority/respect and sanctity/purity foundations for Fidesz, PiS and the SDS compared to ANO 2011, OL’aNO and GERB, replicating the observed liberal/conservative split in earlier studies using MFT. Similarly, the strong opposition to minority rights and heavy reliance on anti-Islam rhetoric by the right-wing populist parties contrasts strongly with the neutral views on minority rights and Islam of the centrist populists (or even slightly positive views in the case of GERB), suggests they would be expected to score higher on the loyalty/ingroup foundation. The aforementioned themes also align with attitudes to nationalism amongst the parties studied, another likely proxy for the loyalty/ingroup score, although OL’aNO are more nationalist than the average Slovak party so could be reasonably expected to also score slightly higher on the loyalty/ingroup foundation than ANO 2011 and GERB. In these regards, Fidesz, PiS and the SDS fit reasonably well with the definitions put forward by Mudde (2007: 28) for what constitutes a radical right party, with their emphasis on nativism.

There are also issues which do not provide discernible trends for the two groupings. The topic of decentralisation is one, with SDS’ favourable outlook on the concept

diametrically opposed to the pro-centralisation views of Fidesz and PiS. On the people vs elite dimension there is dissension within the centrist populist grouping, as OL'aNO is far more pro-people than GERB and ANO 2011, and on the topic of corruption there is a real divide between the SDS (who see corruption as a major issue) and Fidesz (who attribute little importance to it as an issue). Unsurprisingly for a group of populist parties, anti-establishment rhetoric is very important regardless of whether they are centrist or right-wing, with one exception in the form of GERB - both overall, and in the context of the Bulgarian party system. This could be attributed in part due to their time in power, which combined with a more moderate approach to begin with has led to a softening of anti-establishment rhetoric so as not to draw fire upon themselves, so to speak.

While the Chapel Hill Expert Survey is incredibly useful for providing a baseline snapshot of political positioning, it does have limitations in that it is based upon a subjective interpretation of party attitudes. One of the best examples of a case meriting further consideration is that of Fidesz's economic position. According to the Chapel Hill Expert Survey, Fidesz are considered to be left-leaning economically, yet a murkier picture appears when assessing their actual policies and objectives in the economic sphere during their period in power from 2010 to the present day. While in some aspects Fidesz is undoubtedly statist, there are also aspects of the party's economic policy which conform more with traditional right-wing liberal economic orthodoxy.

In support of the statement that Fidesz is left-leaning economically there are a number of policies that can be cited. The combination of sectoral "mega taxes", the nationalisation of private pension accounts, creation of public works programmes and provision of increased welfare benefits for families (Tacconi, 2018) would not look out of place in the manifesto of a left-wing political party. However, at the same time Fidesz has introduced a flat income tax alongside rounds of punitive austerity, which have resulted in redistribution favouring the rich over the poor, and both of which are policies more traditionally associated with right-wing economics (Scheiring, 2020: 6-7). This inconsistency can be explained by Fidesz's overarching economic model, which seeks to meet dual objectives often considered incompatible - creating a friendly environment for business, and prioritising the interests of Hungarians (and by extension Hungarian companies) above all else.

This model has been described as a form of authoritarian capitalism, which has been built by securing the support of domestic economic elites (by acting against the interests of multinational economic actors), but also keeping corporation tax low enough to remain attractive to foreign investment (Scheiring, 2018). The bargain that Fidesz has struck effectively allows them to adopt an interventionist stance combining protectionism and economic nationalism, while not completely losing the confidence of business. This best of both worlds approach can be ascribed to what Petsinis (2020) terms "artificial anti-capitalism", which can be seen as a strategic choice by Fidesz to cover off the advance of Jobbik, who had previously adopted a set of similar economic policies.

Research Methods

Study Focus, Aim and Conceptualisation

This study focuses upon right-of-centre populist parties in Central and Eastern Europe, and the language they use in their communications. The parties studied are split into two sub-groups for the purposes of the research: the centrist populist parties, and the right-wing populist parties. The independent variables being studied are the five foundations of the Moral Foundations scale (care/harm, fairness/cheating, loyalty/betrayal, authority/subversion and sanctity/degradation), with the research undertaken aiming to identify a distinctive Moral Foundations “pattern” for the parties studied, both for right-of-centre populists as a whole and for the two previously mentioned sub-groups.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The primary research question is therefore: is it possible to identify a distinctive Moral Foundations “pattern” in the communications of right-of-centre populist parties in Central and Eastern Europe? This primary question can then be broken down into two sub-questions, replacing “right-of-centre” with either “centrist” or “right-wing” to align with the subgroups used. Additionally, it can be applied at the level of the individual parties studied, although with limited reference points with which to work it is harder to ascertain findings at such a level. In terms of a primary hypothesis, it is proposed that overall right-of-centre populist parties will display a Moral Foundations “pattern” in line with the findings for conservatives in their communications, with the exception of the care/harm and fairness/cheating foundations where they will appear to have more in common with the findings for liberals (in the American sense of the word). As a sub-hypothesis, it is also proposed that the difference from traditional conservatives will be more pronounced for the right-wing populist party grouping than the centrist-populist party grouping.

Research Design

This research takes the form of a few-N case study, looking at six particular cases: ANO 2011 in the Czech Republic, Fidesz in Hungary, GERB in Bulgaria, OL’ANO in Slovakia, PiS in Poland and the SDS in Slovenia. The case studies were selected as part of a Most-Similar-System-Design (MSSD), with all of the parties chosen in power at the time the research commenced, having been described as populist and right-wing or centre-right in their political positioning (Kyle and Meyer, 2020: 19-21; Devlin and Mordecai, 2019; Dinev and Bankov, 2021; Downes, 2020), and being in post-communist EU member states (ensuring a degree of similarity in their political contexts, as well as their ideologies). Throughout the research the findings for each of the case studies will be considered individually as well as part of the collective findings, with the application of the existing Moral Foundations Theory to their communications in order to generate new knowledge. Moral Foundations Theory has not been previously applied in the context of Central and Eastern European politics, and therefore this research serves as a first point of reference in that regard.

Operationalisation and Research Methods

Choosing how to assess the parties studied against the Moral Foundations posed a degree of challenge. The use of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ) created for research of this nature was given consideration first and foremost, however the usage of the MFQ would have required arranging a large number of interviews across multiple countries, and therefore was not a feasible path for this research to take. Therefore an alternative approach was adopted based on the usage of Moral Foundations Dictionaries (MFDs) and the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) software, which has previously been used for research using Moral Foundations Theory. Instead of interviewing voters, party communications were used as a proxy to understand how the parties studied solicited support from voters through the lens of Moral Foundations Theory. This takes the form of calculating the frequency (per 100 words) with which words attributed to each of the Moral Foundations by the MFDs occur in text in order to identify trends.

However, identifying the most suitable party communications to be analysed posed a significant degree of challenge. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic access to physical campaign materials was effectively out of the question, as travelling to access archives was not possible in light of the circumstances. Consideration was then given to the use of social media posts as content for analysis, in line with some of the previous research conducted using Moral Foundations Theory. Yet this too raised issues which would have limited the study, as not all of the selected case studies were present on the social media platforms that could be potentially used (primarily Facebook and Twitter) raising questions around comparability. Additionally, developing the technical skills needed in order to collect the data required would have likely proven to be impractical in the timeframe of the research due to the difficulty in accessing historical social media posts due to the nature of the sites themselves.

Following consultation with supervisors, consideration was given to using records of speeches from the European Parliament. This would have solved problems regarding the availability and comparability of data, but would not have been appropriate for the aims of the study, as it would not be an appropriate proxy for how parties communicated with their voters. Instead, news articles from the websites of the parties studied in the thirty days preceding election day were selected as the body of text to be analysed. While this selection contained a large degree of variability in terms of the number, subjects and length of articles to be analysed, it ensured that a basic degree of comparability could be ensured across the research, and that the findings would be based on material of a consistent nature. This was something that was particularly important to ensure given the use of a theory that analyses specific word usage, as Moral Foundations Theory does.

For the analysis, two Moral Foundations Dictionaries were used: the original MFD created by Graham, Haidt and Nosek (2009) as part of the initial development of Moral Foundations Theory, and the refined MFD 2.0 developed by Frimer et al. (2019). The MFD 2.0 was developed by members of the same team that worked on the original MFD, but seeks to expand the dictionary to be more similar in size to the dictionaries normally used for linguistic analysis. Therefore the MFD 2.0 offers an

opportunity to more closely examine each of the foundations, with Frimer et al. (2019) finding that it additionally offers greater validity. However, the decision was taken to conduct analysis using both MFDs in order to ensure comparability with previous research using Moral Foundations Theory which used the original MFD in order to generate results. The MFD 2.0 does however offer greater opportunities for more in-depth analysis of word usage, so is therefore a valuable tool for the second stage of this research. Therefore, the use of both MFDs rather than just one ensures the robustness of the results in two different ways, with the original MFD being used to provide consistency and comparability, and the MFD 2.0 used to provide a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of specific word usage patterns.

Limitations of the study and resulting adaptations

The core limitation of the study regards the use of non-English language source materials. Given the sheer volume of text collected for analysis it was impractical to seek to translate them manually in the time frame available, and therefore a Machine Translation (MT) approach was opted for. While the quality of MT is continually improving, it remains an imperfect tool and cannot be reasonably expected to replace human translation in a great deal of circumstances. However, the nature of the research conducted removes some of the barriers to using MT. As the MFDs score only individual words rather than sentences, the need for MT to produce flowing, grammatically perfect expressions is removed - instead, it needs only to correctly translate each individual word.

Originally consideration was given to translating the MFDs first and then applying them to the raw source material, however this posed a number of challenges. First and foremost, the grammatical rules of the languages in which the party communications were written are heavily case- and/or gender-based, meaning that a single word in an English language MFD could conceivably correspond to twenty or more words when translated, a process that would increase complexity and prove incredibly time consuming. In addition, the need to be able to analyse precise word usage in order to draw out common themes for each party on each of the foundations would have necessitated re-translation into English if the MFDs themselves were originally translated into another language.

Therefore, the decision was taken to translate all of the text collected from analysis of the news articles on party websites using MT rather than translating the MFDs. Of course, this increased the possibility for translation errors to adversely affect the results of the research, so a quality assurance procedure was introduced in order to check translation validity. Translations were firstly conducted using the DeepL translator, which was chosen due to being considered the most accurate MT software available (DeepL, 2020). This is in part due to it being trained using the Linguee database that primarily gathers translation pairs by analyses of documents published by the European Union, which provides a large corpus of thematically similar and accurate text in the languages covered by the study (Smolentceva, 2018). The same text was then analysed using Google Translate, and highlighted words contained within the MFD 2.0 (chosen for this exercise due to being wider in scope) that were present in one translation but not the other. These words were then quality checked against bilingual dictionaries to ensure the most accurate word was

chosen, so as to reduce error in the findings due to incorrect translation. Edited translations were then run through the LIWC program to generate the analysis that is presented in totality in this research. This resulted in a small number of changes, as detailed in the table below:

**Table 1:
Manual checks of the original DeepL translations and resulting changes**

Party	Manual Checks	Changes
ANO 2011	28	15
Fidesz	332	269
GERB	61	23
OL'aNO	40	15
PiS	37	12
SDS	98	56

While the number of changes in isolation may seem high, there are mitigating factors to consider even before looking at the size of the data samples used in the study. A significant proportion of the changes that were made were simply to deal with issues such as DeepL choosing “organisation”, “organisations” and “honour”, which Google Translate instead translated as “organization”, “organizations” and “honor”. The latter words are scored by the MFDs while the former are not, meaning that by making that change a more accurate result could be calculated during the analysis. However, this involved making a large number of changes to the original translation. For example in the case of Fidesz alone changes to “organisation” and “organisations” accounted for around 200 of the 269 edits made, and while the absolute number was lower for the other parties studied, a similar trend remained - only the translations for GERB and PiS did not present issues of this nature requiring correction. Ultimately, the largest effect of these edits on the results for any of the foundations in the final analysis was an increase of 0.04 (equivalent to an additional word contained in the MFD being used once in every 2,500 words), suggesting it had limited impact on the results themselves, but was a useful validation exercise nonetheless.

In terms of sample size, there are obvious limitations. By standardising the data collection across the case studies based upon time periods rather than selecting a specific number of articles or a predefined word count, there is of course a wide variation between the parties studied in the amount of material available for analysis. The exact figures used for the analysis in this research are contained in the table below, with reference to both the number of articles and words analysed:

Table 2: Time periods studied for each party with accompanying article and word counts

Party	Collection Period	Article Count	Word Count
ANO 2011	21/09/2017 to 19/10/2017	14	15,331
Fidesz	09/03/2018 to 07/04/2018	540	189,541
GERB	05/03/2021 to 02/04/2021	462	167,519
OL'aNO	30/01/2020 to 26/02/2020	13	8,713
PiS	13/09/2019 to 11/10/2019	84	17,904
SDS	04/05/2018 to 01/06/2018	124	74,631

It is clearly apparent from looking at the data presented in the table that Fidesz and GERB have a far greater corpus of text available for analysis, with the SDS also having significantly more than ANO 2011, OL'aNO and PiS, even while having less than half the amount of the firstly mentioned parties. However, given the nature of the analysis this should not be expected to have a major impact on the findings of the research. All of the analysis conducted will focus on the frequency with which words are used as a percentage, rather than in raw terms, therefore creating a degree of comparability. Additionally, taking this approach is less problematic when trying to ensure consistency than any alternative would be. Attempting to standardise word or article counts across the parties studied would create greater data validity issues, as it would require using different time periods and therefore remove a core component of the comparability needed to conduct the study.

Analysis and Findings

Overall Summary

The first analysis of the data collected from party webpages took place using the modified versions of the translations provided by DeepL, following comparison with alternative translations and appropriate edits being made. Two versions were produced for PiS: v1 refers to the party as Law and Justice in the analysis, and v2 refers to it as PiS. This is due to the moral foundations dictionaries used scoring the words “law” and “justice” which lead to skewed results for PiS on the fairness foundation due to the literal translation of the party’s name. The numbers indicate the frequency with which words on each foundation can be found in the text analysed, per 100 words. For example, a score of 0.50 on the care foundation would represent 1 in every 200 words used in the communications of the relevant party being included in the care component of the MFD 2.0.

Table 3: Individual party scores using the MFD 2.0

Party	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity
ANO 2011	0.66	0.62	0.65	0.63	0.33
GERB	0.58	0.10	0.69	0.75	0.37
OL’aNO	0.93	0.48	0.79	0.88	0.21
Fidesz	0.71	0.23	1.16	0.94	0.27
PiS v1	0.54	2.65	0.93	0.79	0.14
PiS v2	0.56	0.42	0.95	0.81	0.15
SDS	0.62	0.35	0.79	0.81	0.15

The high score on the fairness foundation for the first PiS calculation is an obvious outlier and should be discounted due to the “Law” and “Justice” source of error noted previously, but there are also other slight extremes on the other foundations. GERB’s fairness score is significantly lower than the rest (particularly when contrasted with the other centrist populist parties), while Fidesz and PiS, the latter in both versions, have significantly higher scores on the loyalty foundation than the other parties studied. However, in order to discern trends it is worth considering the average breakdown for the two party groupings, shown below (v1 and v2 refer to the PiS version used for calculation):

Table 4: Average party grouping scores using the MFD 2.0

Grouping	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity
Centrist	0.72	0.40	0.71	0.75	0.30
Right v1	0.62	1.08	0.96	0.85	0.19
Right v2	0.63	0.33	0.97	0.85	0.19

When looking at the trends for the two groups of parties, a clearer pattern emerges. The loyalty and authority foundations stand out as the preserve of the right-wing populist parties, while the care and fairness foundations seem to be the domain of the centrist populists (notwithstanding the skewed result in the calculation of the first version). This is in line with the previous findings of research using moral foundations theory that care and fairness are more important to those who lean left and loyalty and authority to those who lean right (Graham, Haidt and Nosek, 2009: 1033). However, the same analysis found that sanctity was significantly more important to the right than the left, and yet the results above show the inverse relationship to be true. Considering that of the right-wing populist parties studied only Fidesz scored comparably to the centrist populist parties on the sanctity foundation, this is an area that needs to be studied further by considering which words and phrases were identified in the analysis. However, before doing so it is worth assessing the same data presented above, but using the original Moral Foundations Dictionary:

Table 5: Individual party scores using the original MFD

Party	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity
ANO 2011	0.34	0.08	0.40	0.56	0.12
GERB	0.18	0.03	0.50	0.50	0.09
OL'aNO	0.42	0.10	0.57	0.57	0.06
Fidesz	0.43	0.05	1.33	0.45	0.07
PiS v1	0.33	1.32	0.67	1.58	0.04
PiS v2	0.33	0.22	0.69	0.46	0.04
SDS	0.31	0.12	0.74	0.46	0.04

It is worth noting that using the original MFD results in the outlier value for PiS being transferred across two foundations, as the word "law" is accounted for as part of the authority foundation rather than in the fairness foundation as with the MFD 2.0. Overall, a pattern can be identified across the foundations, with the original MFD generally scoring the right-wing populist parties higher than the centrist populist parties on all foundations other than authority and sanctity. This is borne out by the averages of the party groupings, as shown below:

Table 6: Average party grouping scores using the original MFD

Grouping	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity
Centrist	0.31	0.07	0.49	0.54	0.09
Right v1	0.36	0.50	0.91	0.83	0.05
Right v2	0.36	0.13	0.92	0.46	0.05

As expected with the use of a smaller dictionary, the averages and absolute values are noticeably lower for each foundation than in the analysis using the MFD 2.0. The only exception comes on the loyalty foundation for the right-wing populist parties, which is in large part due to the outsize Fidesz score on that foundation, as well as the SDS scoring comparably on both analyses. This is an area that merits further consideration and will be covered in depth in the next section, looking at the actual language used and how it compares between the individual parties studied and the two groupings as a whole. The same is true of the sanctity foundation, which continues to defy expected patterns based on previous research with moral foundations theory. It is also worth noting that using the original MFD results in an inversion of the expected pattern on all foundations except loyalty, although it can be argued that the differences are small enough between the averages of the two groups on the other four foundations so as not to be overly significant.

With regards to the original hypotheses put forward, challenges to their validity are presented by both of the analyses conducted. When the MFD 2.0 is used, there appears to be a degree of validity in the hypothesis that “right-of-centre populist parties will display a Moral Foundations “pattern” in line with the findings for conservatives in their communications, with the exception of the care/harm and fairness/cheating foundations where they will appear to have more in common with the findings for liberals”, at least for the centrist populist grouping where the scores on the care foundation are comparable to those on the loyalty and authority foundations. However, the same is not true for the right-wing populist grouping when the MFD 2.0 is used, nor for either grouping when the original MFD is used. In both analyses it is apparent that a greater premium is being put on the care foundation than would be expected from traditional conservative parties, but the same effect is not evident for fairness - and certainly not evident to the extreme that could have been expected. Additionally, the remarkably low scores on the sanctity foundation do not tally with expectations, considering similar scores would be expected to those observed on the loyalty and authority foundations.

While the findings for the sanctity foundation remain somewhat of a mystery, there could potentially be an explanation for the slightly lower than expected scores on the care and fairness foundations. As was previously highlighted, the two foundations are given greater preference in Western societies due to their individualizing nature (Federico et al., 2013: 591). While the degree of cultural difference between the countries included in the study and Western Europe is not as large as could be observed in other cases, accounting for such an effect would bring the findings for the care foundation at least in line with the original hypothesis. However, like the

sanctity foundation the scores for the fairness foundation remain significantly lower than would have been expected even when accounting for potential differences in cultural context.

The second original hypothesis to be tested by this research was that “the difference from traditional conservatives will be more pronounced for the right-wing populist party grouping than the centrist-populist party grouping”. When measuring this on the three foundations that are most important to traditional conservatives a mixed pattern emerges. The loyalty foundation is more important to the right-wing populist grouping and the sanctity foundation to the centrist populist grouping across both analyses, while the scores on the authority foundation give a slight edge to the centrist populist grouping when the original MFD is used, and to the right-wing populist grouping when the MFD 2.0 is used. However, the difficulties in identifying a settled pattern for the care and fairness foundations across the two analyses makes it difficult to ascertain whether this hypothesis is correct. If the data from the MFD 2.0 is used then there is a weak case to be made in favour of the hypothesis, but the opposite is true when considering the results arising from the use of the original MFD.

Virtues and Vices

One of the ways in which the usage of different foundations by the parties studied can be assessed further is by looking at the scores for the vice and virtue aspects of each foundation. The concepts of virtue and vice aspects were developed by Graham, Haidt and Nosek (2009) as part of the original MFD and allow for classification of words related to each of the foundations into positive (virtue) or negative (vice) concepts. For example, in the case of the original MFD words such as “safe”, “care” and “sympathy” form part of the virtue aspect of the care foundation, while words such as “harm”, “exploit” and “attack” form part of the vice aspect (Graham, Haidt and Nosek, 2009). Considering the scores on each foundation through the prism of the virtue and vice aspects is therefore useful in order to see whether the parties studied speak about the foundations in positive or negative tones, and whether there is an identifiable difference in approach depending on their ideological leanings. The tables below show the virtue and vice scores for each foundation using the MFD 2.0, starting with the care foundation:

Table 7: Individual party scores on the care foundation using the MFD 2.0

Party	Virtue	Vice	Care (total)
ANO 2011	0.45	0.21	0.66
GERB	0.52	0.06	0.58
OL'aNO	0.76	0.17	0.93
Fidesz	0.42	0.29	0.71
PiS v1	0.42	0.12	0.54
PiS v2	0.43	0.13	0.56
SDS	0.48	0.14	0.62

**Table 8:
Average party grouping scores on the care foundation using the MFD 2.0**

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Care (total)
Centrist	0.58	0.15	0.72
Right v1	0.44	0.18	0.62
Right v2	0.44	0.19	0.63

Considering the data presented above for the care foundation, it is clear that the centrist populists focus more on the virtue aspect than the right-wing populists (therefore speaking in more positive and altruistic terms) while the right-wing populist parties focus more on the vice aspect (focusing on potential sources of harm) than the centrist populist parties. However, for both groupings the virtue aspect is more important - only the proportion of the score on the care foundation differs. Additionally, the higher average score on the vice aspect for the right-wing populist parties is entirely due to Fidesz scoring twice the other parties in the grouping, so may be of limited significance. Indeed, when the results using the original MFD are considered (see below) it becomes apparent that the high vice score for Fidesz accounts for most of the difference for this foundation, suggesting that there is either a slight edge for the centrist populist parties (with the MFD 2.0) or similar levels of importance for both groupings (with the original MFD).

Table 9: Individual party scores on the care foundation using the original MFD

Party	Virtue	Vice	Care (total)
ANO 2011	0.19	0.15	0.34
GERB	0.14	0.04	0.18
OL'aNO	0.32	0.10	0.42
Fidesz	0.24	0.19	0.43
PiS v1	0.24	0.09	0.33
PiS v2	0.24	0.09	0.33
SDS	0.22	0.09	0.31

Table 10:**Average party grouping scores on the care foundation using the original MFD**

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Care (total)
Centrist	0.22	0.10	0.31
Right v1	0.23	0.12	0.36
Right v2	0.23	0.12	0.36

The outlier nature of Fidesz on the vice aspect of the care foundation (effectively the harm part of the full care/harm foundation name) will be covered in more depth when looking at the linguistic choices used in more depth at a later stage. However, it is clear overall that along with OL'aNO's outsized virtue score (which also merits further investigation) it represents an outlier, and that the difference between the two groupings is almost non-existent using the original MFD. A similar trend can be identified on the fairness foundation, as shown below:

Table 11: Individual party scores on the fairness foundation using the MFD 2.0

Party	Virtue	Vice	Fairness (total)
ANO 2011	0.51	0.11	0.62
GERB	0.09	0.01	0.10
OL'aNO	0.26	0.19	0.45
Fidesz	0.17	0.06	0.23
PiS v1	2.58	0.07	2.65
PiS v2	0.35	0.07	0.42
SDS	0.29	0.06	0.35

Table 12:**Average party grouping scores on the fairness foundation using the MFD 2.0**

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Fairness (total)
Centrist	0.30	0.10	0.40
Right v1	1.01	0.06	1.08
Right v2	0.27	0.06	0.33

Using the MFD 2.0, the virtue and vice scores on the care foundation reveal relative consistency across the two groupings, with the centrist populist parties scoring slightly higher on both when the skewed PiS data is ignored. However, there is a great degree of variance within both groupings which will need further assessment. Most striking are the significantly lower than average scores for GERB and Fidesz (the former on both virtue and vice, the latter on just virtue), which could be explained in part by lower levels of corruption salience for the two parties, although PiS would be expected to score lower for the same reason. Similarly, ANO 2011 and OL'aNO are outliers on the virtue and vice aspects respectively, scoring much higher than would be expected - which could potentially be related to the same trend around corruption. However, as will be shown in the following section, it is difficult to ascertain any significant differences in the language used by GERB and Fidesz compared to the other parties studied on the fairness foundation. That being said, the picture is clouded further when using the original MFD for analysis in place of the MFD 2.0:

**Table 13:
Individual party scores on the fairness foundation using the original MFD**

Party	Virtue	Vice	Fairness (total)
ANO 2011	0.06	0.02	0.08
GERB	0.03	0.00	0.03
OL'aNO	0.08	0.02	0.10
Fidesz	0.04	0.01	0.05
PiS v1	1.30	0.02	1.32
PiS v2	0.20	0.02	0.22
SDS	0.09	0.03	0.12

Table 14: Average party grouping scores on the fairness foundation using the original MFD

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Fairness (total)
Centrist	0.06	0.01	0.07
Right v1	0.48	0.02	0.50
Right v2	0.11	0.02	0.13

The virtue and vice scores on the fairness foundation using the original MFD are somewhat different from those generated using the MFD 2.0. While the average vice scores remain relatively similar across the party groupings, the average of the virtue score has been inverted, with the right-wing populist parties now scoring higher. This is driven by PiS (using the adjusted data) becoming an outlier on the virtue aspect, on which ANO 2011's score has also fallen significantly - the reasons behind this will be covered in the linguistic analysis section, when comparing the two dictionaries. GERB and Fidesz are no longer as clear outliers as they were (although they maintain the lowest scores on both aspects of the foundation) while OL'aNO's score on the vice aspect is more consistent with the other parties in its grouping with the use of the original MFD than with the MFD 2.0.

A more consistent pattern can be identified when looking at the loyalty foundation, which was the only foundation to score as expected with both the original MFD and the MFD 2.0 (the right-wing populist parties scoring higher on both). Using the MFD 2.0 the virtue and vice aspects are relatively consistent across the parties studied, with the virtue aspect accounting for the entirety of the loyalty foundation in the cases of all but OL'aNO and PiS. Even in the latter two cases, the vice dimension contributes such a small amount so as not to be particularly significant, as seen in the tables below:

Table 15: Individual party scores on the loyalty foundation using the MFD 2.0

Party	Virtue	Vice	Loyalty (total)
ANO 2011	0.65	0.00	0.65
GERB	0.69	0.00	0.69
OL'aNO	0.78	0.01	0.79
Fidesz	1.16	0.00	1.16
PiS v1	0.92	0.01	0.93
PiS v2	0.94	0.01	0.95
SDS	0.79	0.00	0.79

Table 16:**Average party grouping scores on the loyalty foundation using the MFD 2.0**

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Loyalty (total)
Centrist	0.71	0.00	0.71
Right v1	0.96	0.00	0.96
Right v2	0.96	0.00	0.97

On the other hand, the original MFD produces a more mixed picture. While the overall trend remains the same, the split between the virtue and vice dimensions for the loyalty foundation is more pronounced. Despite lower scores overall (unsurprising considering the original MFD has a smaller scope), the vice scores increased for all of the parties studied except for OL'aNO. Also of note is the increase in the Fidesz score, which is out of line with the decreases seen for the other parties - only the SDS remains relatively comparable, and in both cases is driven by an increase on the vice dimension which merits further study in the textual analysis section that follows this one. However, the overall trend remains clear. The right-wing populist parties not only rely more heavily on the loyalty foundation than the centrist populist parties, but are also more prone to invoke the vice dimension.

**Table 17:
Individual party scores on the loyalty foundation using the original MFD**

Party	Virtue	Vice	Loyalty (total)
ANO 2011	0.34	0.06	0.40
GERB	0.47	0.03	0.50
OL'aNO	0.56	0.01	0.57
Fidesz	0.87	0.46	1.33
PiS v1	0.65	0.02	0.67
PiS v2	0.67	0.02	0.69
SDS	0.64	0.10	0.74

Table 18: Average party grouping scores on the loyalty foundation using the original MFD

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Loyalty (total)
Centrist	0.46	0.03	0.49
Right v1	0.72	0.19	0.91
Right v2	0.73	0.19	0.92

In the overall analysis, the authority foundation showed mixed results. The expectation would have been for the right-wing populist parties to outscore the centrist populist parties, yet according to the MFD 2.0 analysis only ANO 2011 scored significantly lower than Fidesz, PiS and the SDS. Where a slight distinction can be made is in the virtue and vice dimensions, with the latter showing higher scores for the right-wing populist parties, although it must be stated that in absolute terms the figure remains very small (as shown in the tables below), representing a difference in word frequency of 1 word per every 2,500. However, despite the low scores on the vice aspect of the authority foundation for both groupings, there is a clearly discernible trend to support the assertion that the right-wing populists lean more heavily on this aspect than the centrist populists.

**Table 19:
Individual party scores on the authority foundation using the MFD 2.0**

Party	Virtue	Vice	Authority (total)
ANO 2011	0.61	0.02	0.63
GERB	0.74	0.01	0.75
OL'aNO	0.82	0.06	0.88
Fidesz	0.85	0.09	0.94
PiS v1	0.75	0.04	0.79
PiS v2	0.77	0.04	0.81
SDS	0.72	0.09	0.81

**Table 20:
Average party grouping scores on the authority foundation using the MFD 2.0**

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Authority (total)
Centrist	0.72	0.03	0.75
Right v1	0.77	0.07	0.85
Right v2	0.78	0.07	0.85

Despite the inversion of the overall scoring relationship when using the original MFD to score the parties on the authority foundation - that is to say, the centrist populist grouping scoring higher overall - the trend remains that the vice aspect is clearly more important to the right-wing populist parties. Using the original MFD the centrist populist parties all score near zero on the vice aspect, similar to PiS but significantly less than Fidesz and the SDS when accounting for the smallness of the absolute numbers. This is despite the overall score on the authority foundation falling more dramatically for the right-wing populist parties than the centrist populist parties when comparing the results using each MFD version.

**Table 21:
Individual party scores on the authority foundation using the original MFD**

Party	Virtue	Vice	Authority (total)
ANO 2011	0.55	0.01	0.56
GERB	0.50	0.00	0.50
OL'aNO	0.56	0.01	0.57
Fidesz	0.38	0.07	0.45
PiS v1	1.57	0.01	1.58
PiS v2	0.45	0.01	0.46
SDS	0.37	0.09	0.46

Table 22: Average party grouping scores on the authority foundation using the original MFD

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Authority (total)
Centrist	0.54	0.01	0.54
Right v1	0.77	0.06	0.83
Right v2	0.40	0.06	0.46

Finally, the virtue and vice aspects of the sanctity foundation. Sanctity was a foundation that produced what could be perceived as anomalous results, with the centrist populist grouping scoring higher than the right-wing populist grouping despite previous research showing that the sanctity foundation increased in importance as you move rightwards across the political spectrum (Graham, Haidt and Nosek, 2009: 1033). When splitting the values across the virtue and vice aspects of the foundation the pattern is clarified, but still remains somewhat of a curiosity. Using the MFD 2.0 the centrist populist parties and right-wing populist parties score almost equally on the virtue aspect, with the difference being made up almost entirely of the vice aspect. This is apparent at the party level, where even the outliers of each grouping (OL'aNO and Fidesz respectively) remain consistent on the vice aspect, with the differences being solely made up by the virtue aspect.

Table 23: Individual party scores on the sanctity foundation using the MFD 2.0

Party	Virtue	Vice	Sanctity (total)
ANO 2011	0.18	0.15	0.33
GERB	0.24	0.13	0.37
OL'aNO	0.03	0.18	0.21
Fidesz	0.23	0.04	0.27
PiS v1	0.11	0.03	0.14
PiS v2	0.12	0.03	0.15
SDS	0.10	0.05	0.15

Table 24:**Average party grouping scores on the sanctity foundation using the MFD 2.0**

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Sanctity (total)
Centrist	0.15	0.15	0.30
Right v1	0.15	0.04	0.19
Right v2	0.15	0.04	0.19

Despite much lower scores on the sanctity foundation overall, the same pattern is apparent when using the original MFD. With the exception of ANO 2011, the scores on the vice aspect of the sanctity foundation all conformed to a small range of 0.01 to 0.03 (the difference between an occurrence once in every 10,000 words, and thrice in every 10,000 words), despite the slight edge to the centrist populist grouping on the foundation. Even ANO 2011's outlier value of 0.07 was not particularly high, against an average of 0.04 for the centrist populist parties on the vice aspect when using the original MFD. The gap between the groupings on the virtue aspect of the sanctity foundation is also increased compared to the MFD 2.0, but not by a particularly significant amount. However, it does confirm the need for further investigation through looking at specific word usage to understand the unexpected results for this foundation.

**Table 25:
Individual party scores on the sanctity foundation using the original MFD**

Party	Virtue	Vice	Sanctity (total)
ANO 2011	0.05	0.07	0.12
GERB	0.08	0.01	0.09
OL'aNO	0.03	0.03	0.06
Fidesz	0.06	0.01	0.07
PiS v1	0.02	0.02	0.04
PiS v2	0.02	0.02	0.04
SDS	0.02	0.02	0.04

Table 26: Average party grouping scores on the sanctity foundation using the original MFD

Grouping	Virtue	Vice	Sanctity (total)
Centrist	0.05	0.04	0.09
Right v1	0.03	0.02	0.05
Right v2	0.03	0.02	0.05

Party-by-Party Analysis

To better understand the scores on the different MFT foundations, it is worth analysing the most commonly used words by each of the parties studied. As some of the results generated by the original calculations were unexpected, honing in on the individual terms driving them is a useful exercise to assess whether or not the outlier scores are in fact an artefact of the arbitrary nature of the MFD. In this section, the five most common words found in each foundation will be listed for each party, as well as the five most common words overall. Alongside this, any words that occur frequently which are significantly different to the general norm will be picked out and analysed with reference to their use in context, so as to determine if their preponderance is purely a result of repeated references to a specific issue. The first party to be considered will be ANO 2011, using the MFD 2.0 firstly, and then the original MFD for reference as well. The process will then be repeated for all parties before a brief summary and discussion of the results of the six parties studied collectively. It is worth noting that due to the lower overall scores on the foundations when using the original MFD that the textual analysis is likely to be of less use when establishing common themes in the communications of the parties, but it remains a worthwhile exercise to identify areas of crossover.

ANO 2011

For ANO 2011, clear patterns can be established on each of the foundations. The care foundation is focused primarily on concepts of health (over a quarter of the total when including other healthcare related terms) and aid (over 15% when including all forms of “to help”). Fairness is mainly framed around concepts of legality, as the plentiful mentions for “law”, “laws” and “rights” attest to, contributing over 60% of the total instances of words scoring on the foundation. It is these references to “law” and “laws” that drive the outsize fairness score identified earlier, suggesting that it is a relatively true representation of ANO 2011’s communication in terms of MFT. The case of loyalty is notable, as ANO 2011 prefers to talk about companies (almost half of the total word usage on the foundation) rather than the country, or indeed other forms of group - an outlier as we will later see. When discussing the authority foundation, ANO 2011 mainly speaks of concepts of protection and institutions, but direct references to crime are limited. ANO 2011’s discourse rooted in the sanctity foundation is not overly linked to religion - not unexpected considering the Czech political context, characterised by a high degree of secularization (Havlíček and Lužný, 2013) - but instead focuses on corruption, as well as strong messaging around health once again. Overall, ANO 2011’s use of words in the MFD 2.0 is mainly predicated on three areas, business, the law, and healthcare, an unsurprising set of concepts for a centrist populist party adopting a technocratic appeal (Havlík, 2019: 378-380).

Table 27: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for ANO 2011 using the MFD 2.0

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Health 18.10%	Law 38.61%	Company 37.38%	Protection 13.40%	Raw 20.75%	Company 8.64%
2	Damage 7.62%	Laws 15.84%	Group 12.15%	Submitted 10.31%	Waste 13.21%	Law 8.42%
3	Helped 6.67%	Rights 6.93%	Country 11.21%	Prime Minister 9.28%	Corruption 11.32%	Health 4.10%
4	Fighting 5.71%	Fraud 4.95%	Companies 9.35%	Control 7.22%	Diseases 7.55%	Laws 3.46%
5	Help 4.76%	Compensation Fair Justice 3.96%	Together 6.54%	Institutions Protected 4.12%	Religious 5.66%	Protection Group 2.81%

Breaking things down further, there are a number of words used by ANO 2011 which are relatively uncommon amongst the other parties studied. One such word is “damage”, which is unusually frequent. Half of the occurrences of it in ANO 2011’s communication can be explained by reference to a bill enacted in order to protect fisherman from damage caused by protected cormorants, suggesting that it is not in fact a core part of their communication but instead purely coincidental that it is frequently used. Similarly, the word “submitted” (part of the authority foundation) occurs far more frequently for ANO 2011 than for the other parties studied, but this is predominantly due to discussion of the work of each ANO 2011 deputy during the previous parliament, which involved submission of amendments. Finally, the most common word on the sanctity foundation being “raw” can be explained by the fact that every usage of the word was followed by “material” or “materials”. Therefore a large part of the high score for ANO 2011 on the foundation can be explained by the inability of the MFD 2.0 to distinguish between meanings of the word “raw”, which in this case is wholly used to indicate something unprocessed in nature, rather than any more negative connotation.

Comparing the findings for ANO 2011 using the original MFD to those using the MFD 2.0 it is also possible to highlight a number of key patterns. On the care foundation the references to damage and fighting remain, but the focus is moved away from healthcare towards a more generic concept of protection, arguably a less emotive topic. The strong focus on the law (linked to the discussion of the work of each ANO

2011 deputy in the previous parliament) moves across from the fairness foundation to the authority foundation when the original MFD is used, although the high score for concepts of justice shows that there remains a degree of consistency there. This shift also explains the previously identified significant decrease in ANO 2011's score on the virtue aspect of the fairness foundation when comparing the results from the use of the MFD 2.0 with those from the use of the original MFD. For the loyalty foundation the discussion moves away from companies and the country to more generic groups, with the dominance of the term "member" due to the previously mentioned discussion about the work of each ANO 2011 deputy. Finally, for sanctity the dominant terms refer to notions of cleanliness and ill health, a very different dynamic to that previously observed when the MFD 2.0 was used. Overall the importance given to the law in ANO 2011's communication remains, but with the smaller corpus of words to consider there is an understandable skew towards more functional terms - rather than emotive terms - when the original MFD is used.

Table 28: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for ANO 2011 using the original MFD

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Protection 25.00%	Fair Justice 33.33%	Member 42.31%	Law 45.35%	Diseases 21.05%	Law 15.79%
2	Damage 15.38%		Group 16.67%	Submitted 11.63%	Sickness Churches Clean Cleaned 10.53%	Member 13.36%
3	Fighting 11.54%	Unfair 16.67%	Foreign Joint Together 8.97%	Control 8.14%		Group Protection 5.26%
4	Care Protected 7.69%	Injustices Justified 8.33%		Position Order Traditional 3.49%		Submitted 4.05%
5						

Fidesz

The patterns of language adopted by Fidesz for each of the foundations have a number of similarities to those of ANO 2011, but unsurprisingly for a party from the right-wing populist grouping, also contain a high degree of variation. The care foundation is once again heavily focused on healthcare with "health" and other related terms making up around 30% of the total, with references to help and fighting as with ANO 2011. Similarly, the fairness foundation is solidified around references to the law and to rights, although the words "blackmail" and "lying" stand out as somewhat distinctive. However, the loyalty foundation shows a clear divergence as

Fidesz relies heavily on the concepts of family and nation, with words relating to the latter making up almost half of the party's score on the foundation. The authority foundation is also a source of difference, speaking less of institutions and protection and instead of matters of order and leadership. This can in part be explained by the fact that Fidesz is a strongly authoritarian party, as well as the party effectively becoming a personal vehicle for the political power of Viktor Orbán (Metz and Oross, 2020: 146-147). On the sanctity foundation there is an expected finding, with references to faith and religion (specifically Christianity) making up around 60% of the party's score on this foundation. The limited references to corruption (less than 5% of the total) align with the Chapel Hill Expert Survey findings about the lack of salience corruption holds as an issue for Fidesz (Bakker et al., 2020). The overall picture for Fidesz is characterised predominantly by references to order, the nation and families, a combination that would be expected of a nationalist right-wing populist party running for a third term in power (Bayer, 2018).

Table 29: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for Fidesz using the MFD 2.0

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Health Help	Law 20.42%	Country 26.49%	Order 15.10%	Christian 16.00%	Country 8.53%
2	7.73%	Rights 17.05%	Family 8.82%	Prime Minister 13.56%	Church 11.62%	Order 5.26%
3	Care 7.21%	Justice 9.05%	Countries 8.64%	Protect 7.91%	Food 8.38%	Prime Minister 4.72%
4	Fight 6.25%	Blackmail 6.11%	Families 6.50%	Leader 5.45%	Churches 6.67%	Family 2.84%
5	Hospital 5.95%	Lying 4.63%	Organizations 6.07%	President 5.37%	Corruption Faith 3.62%	Countries 2.78%

In terms of patterns unique to Fidesz, there are a number of words used which stand out from the norm due to their presence in the top five most used words on each foundation. Two words used frequently from the fairness foundation stand out: “blackmail” and “lying”. The use of “blackmail” is varied throughout Fidesz’s communication, often referring to the migrant crisis but being attributed to a number of different actors, chief among them George Soros - a common target of Fidesz antipathy (Plenta, 2020: 521-522). On the other hand, the references to lying focus

upon the perceived untrustworthiness of the Hungarian opposition, both generally and in relation to individual politicians such as former Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány. In this regard there is a clear example of the othering at the core of populist discourse which is somewhat absent from ANO 2011's communication, which is much more technocratic in nature. The other outliers are somewhat less significant however. The frequent references to "food" which is the third most referenced word on the sanctity foundation can be attributed purely to discussions of prices, quality and the broader agricultural sector, a relatively mundane and technical set of issues. Overall, the only term standing out when assessing the totality of Fidesz's communication across all the foundations is "order". While this is not unexpected, it is useful to reconfirm the usage is linked to the concept of social order, rather than being used to describe an order being given. What the deeper analysis shows is that while there are frequent references to "social order", a large proportion of the uses of the term instead come as part of the phrase "in order", or in reference to Christian Orders. Therefore while the use of "order" fits expectations, one must be wary of confirmation bias when assessing just how accurate the scoring is.

Similarly to ANO 2011, when considering the most frequently used words with the original MFD there are some notable changes. Firstly, on the care foundation the references to healthcare (a concept for which terms were added in the MFD 2.0) are replaced with a more general series of references to care and protection. Interestingly "attacks" joins "fight" as one of the most used words on the care foundation for Fidesz, suggesting a more negative framing of topics in the framework of their communications, which results in the previously identified high vice score on the foundation. As previously mentioned, with "law" being counted as part of the authority foundation in the original MFD there is substantial change in the specific words used on the fairness foundation, although the overriding theme of justice remains, and positive visions of fairness ("fair" and "equal") are given greater prominence. The overriding nationalist sentiment of the loyalty foundation is also still apparent using the original MFD, with particular emphasis given to topics of immigration and perceived foreign influence, alongside the continued focus on families. It is the addition of immigration and related terms when the original MFD is used that explains the increase in the score on the loyalty foundation for Fidesz, showing that it is a valid increase that reflects the nature of the party's communication. The main themes also remain the same on the authority foundation, with the most frequently used words remaining relatively consistent in spite of the redeployment of law to that foundation by the MFD 2.0 (which explains the previously unexplained increase when switching to the use of the original MFD), and the original MFD not scoring specific leadership roles ("leader" is preferred to "president" and "prime minister"). For sanctity the heavy focus is on religion, illustrating more so than the use of the MFD 2.0 did that there is a strong religious element to the discourse of Fidesz, as would be expected from a right-wing populist party. Indeed, the overall picture for Fidesz when looking at word usage through the prism of the original MFD is not too dissimilar to the picture when using the MFD 2.0 for analysis. This is not unexpected, but slightly different from ANO 2011 where the focus is more on functional rather than emotive words, particularly when comparing the results from the two MFDs.

Table 30: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for Fidesz using the original MFD

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Protect 20.99%	Justice 40.19%	National 19.49%	Order 29.01%	Church 47.66%	National 9.91%
2	Care 10.39%	Constant 11.21%	Immigration 10.61%	Leader 10.47%	Churches 27.34%	Order 7.48%
3	Fight 8.99%	Equal 9.35%	Family 7.94%	Law 7.53%	Gross 4.69%	Immigration 5.40%
4	Protection 7.60%	Justified 4.67%	Foreign 7.31%	Illegal 7.21%	Austerity Sterilisation Cleaning Saint	Family 4.04%
5	Attacks 5.89%	Exclusion Fair 3.74%	Families 5.85%	Position 6.75%		Protect 3.92%

GERB

The analysis for GERB is skewed somewhat by the circumstances of the 2021 Bulgarian parliamentary election, taking place as it did during the Covid-19 pandemic. As a result, the most commonly used words on a number of foundations unsurprisingly are related to the pandemic, limiting the validity of the data to a degree. The care foundation provides clear evidence of this, with four of the five most common words used relating to healthcare, accounting for almost half of the total themselves - although the general focus on healthcare on this foundation is not unusual regardless of circumstance. On the other hand, the words used on the fairness foundation differ considerably in their general theme from the focus on the law as observed in the cases of ANO 2011 and Fidesz, with more emphasis on a general notion of trust. The loyalty foundation blends concepts, with the most commonly used word being “country” but only narrowly ahead of coalition, with a concept of cooperation a standout theme. For the authority foundation the emphasis is on the role of the leader, unsurprising considering Boyko Borisov’s personalised style of leadership and control of GERB (Bankov, 2020: 47-48), with some reference to order. As previously mentioned on the care foundation, the pandemic situation had an effect in skewing results, and this is also evident on the sanctity foundation where the words “pandemic” and “epidemic” stand out. However, there remains a strong focus on religion, somewhat surprisingly for a centrist populist party but potentially attributable to the importance of the Orthodox Church in Bulgarian politics

and society (Krasteva, 2015: 440-442). The overall pattern for GERB is quite balanced however, with four concepts emerging in the five most commonly used words: leadership, country, health and partnership (indicated by “coalition” and “together”). While there are a large number of references to “country”, the lack of references to other notions linked to nationalism are in line with what would be expected of a party of GERB’s type, as are the other key overall focuses identified.

Table 31: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for GERB using the MFD 2.0

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Health 22.38%	Trust 29.83%	Country 20.54%	Leader 31.81%	Pandemic 20.00%	Leader 9.55%
2	Care 11.30%	Law 13.26%	Coalition 19.19%	Prime Minister 6.77%	Church 7.36%	Country 5.77%
3	Help 9.43%	Fair 8.84%	Together 14.48%	Order 6.14%	Epidemic 5.60%	Coalition 5.39%
4	Hospital 7.67%	Equal 7.18%	Company 6.06%	Institutions 5.51%	Waste Monastery 4.00%	Health 5.11%
5	Healthcare 6.32%	Lawyer 4.97%	Community 5.39%	President 4.57%		Together 4.07%

When considering which words used by GERB stand out as unusual and require a degree of further scrutiny there are a number which can be easily identified. Three of the aforementioned words constitute high scorers on the fairness foundation: “trust”, “lied” and “equal”. The use of the word trust merits further study to ensure that it is referring to the action of trusting in another, rather than referring to an organisation (e.g. the National Trust) or to a financial entity. Closer analysis shows that GERB’s use of trust is in the intended sense, as is the way that it uses the word “equal” to refer to notions of equality in almost all the cases it appears. The oft-repeated use of “coalition” also merits comment, although in the majority of cases it refers to GERB’s electoral coalition rather than looking forward towards the government formation process. There are also two relatively uncommon words that appear in the top five most commonly used for sanctity foundation: “waste” and “monastery”. The latter can be explained by the frequency with which GERB politicians publicised their visits to monasteries during the campaign, as well as mentions of work undertaken during the previous parliament to build tourism facilities and improve transport links for monasteries. While the use of “waste” could be in order to create ideas of wastefulness and inefficiency as a part of GERB’s campaign rhetoric, closer

examination reveals that this is not the case. Instead, the majority of the references are to waste management and matters of that ilk, suggesting that in this aspect of their communication GERB is more interested in demonstrating competency than making an appeal to voters' moral intuitions and emotions.

The familiar trends from the analyses of ANO 2011 and Fidesz are also present for GERB when comparing the findings using the original MFD to those of the MFD 2.0. Firstly, the care foundation moves away from references to healthcare (with the main health related terms not included in the original MFD), as in the cases of ANO 2011 and Fidesz. However, the emphasis for GERB is less on the general notion of protection as with the two previously analysed parties, and instead on the more generic concept of care. This may be partly explained by the circumstances of the GERB case study, taking place during the Covid-19 pandemic, but is an interesting point to note regardless. On the fairness foundation the references to trust are no longer scored, so the emphasis becomes once again about general concepts of fairness and equality. This is in keeping with the findings for ANO 2011, but slightly different to Fidesz, suggesting a degree of commonality in the centrist populist grouping. The loyalty foundation for GERB is characterised by the use of a varied use of words when studied through the prism of the original MFD, with the most frequently used being "national". However, unlike in the case of Fidesz there does not seem to be a current of exclusionary nationalism running through GERB's discourse for the loyalty foundation, though there is undoubtedly more attention paid to nationalism than in the case of ANO 2011. For the authority foundation the major focus when using the original MFD appears to be on leadership, which matches the findings of the same exercise using the MFD 2.0 and is likely linked to Boyko Borisov's personalisation of his party (Bankov, 2020: 47-48). There is a degree of unexpectedness on the sanctity foundation as well, with GERB frequently using words associated with religiosity such as "church", "holy" and "churches". However, as previously discussed this is more likely a case of national context dictating language use and issue salience rather than a matter of ideological positioning. When looking at GERB's results overall, it is clear that there is a great degree of consistency between the most common words used when analysing using both the original MFD and the MFD 2.0, more so than is visible for the other parties studied so far.

Table 32: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for GERB using the original MFD

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Care 34.82%	Fair 25.81%	National 30.81%	Leader 47.92%	Church 30.26%	Leader 18.25%
2	Protection 8.95%	Equal 20.97%	Together 20.38%	Order 9.25%	Clean 14.47%	National 11.74%
3	Fight 8.63%	Justice Reasonable 11.29%	Community 7.58%	Leadership 4.39%	Holy 11.84%	Together 7.77%
4	Safety 7.35%		Family 6.52%	Authorities 4.27%	Gross Churches 7.89%	Care 4.92%
5	Protected 5.43%	Preference Constant 4.84%	United 4.38%	Law 2.85%		Order 3.52%

OL'aNO

OL'aNO's positioning as the most rightward leaning of the centrist populist parties according to the Chapel Hill Expert Survey make it an intriguing case study when conducting deeper word usage analysis, as it would be expected to mix traits found across the two groups. However, when looking at the care foundation it is an outlier compared to the parties previously analysed, with the main focus on matters of family - the two most commonly used terms being "child" and "mother". On the fairness foundation the legalistic approach adopted by ANO 2011 and Fidesz is visible, though that in itself is something which has already been shown to cut across groups, as seen by it being a commonality between the two aforementioned parties. With regards to the loyalty foundation, the trend from the care foundation continues with a heavy focus on family matters, and much less reference to ideas of the nation - instead, looking more to inclusionary concepts of togetherness and cooperation. Similarly, on the authority foundation the family bent is clear once again, with relatively limited reference to governance, perhaps to be expected considering OL'aNO's rise from a recently founded outsider party (Brunnerová, 2019: 107) to power. The sanctity foundation is skewed somewhat by the fact that only a small number of words scoring on it occur in the corpus of OL'aNO's communication, but of those that do the emphasis is on corruption with limited reference to religion. Overall the core of OL'aNO's communication in MFT terms is based around the concept of family, with the four most common words used being "child", "family", "father" and "mother", followed by the complementary term "protection". This is a slightly unexpected outcome considering the nature of OL'aNO's ideological

positions, but could perhaps be explained by the small sample size compared to the other parties studied.

Table 33: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for OL’aNO using the MFD 2.0

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Child 31.03%	Rights 16.67%	Family 26.09%	Father 15.00%	Corruption 47.37%	Child 9.09%
2	Mother 13.79%	Law 11.90%	Families 13.04%	Protection 12.50%	Corrupt Cursed Cursing Disgusted Divorce Gross Horror Clean Decency Pure	Family 6.06%
3	Care 10.34%	Robbed Justice 9.52%	Together 10.14%	Ruling 8.75%		Father Mother
4	Fight Benefits 4.60%		Coalition Country 8.70%	Order 5.00%		Protection 3.37%
5		Fraud 7.14%		Leaders Police 3.75%		

In terms of the more unusual, OL’aNO specific words used more frequently when compared to the other parties a number stand out. Firstly, on the care foundation the word “benefits” scores highly (though in absolute terms occurs only 4 times, showing the small body of text to work with for OL’aNO). The presence of the word can be taken to have multiple meanings: either to benefit, or discussing welfare benefits. In this case the occurrences of the word all point to the latter, and as such the intended use of the word for scoring on the care foundation. The fairness foundation also has a pair of slight outliers scoring highly in “robbed” and “fraud”, which have been relatively uncommon for the other parties studied - the latter appearing in ANO 2011’s five most common words on the foundation, but making up a smaller proportion. The use of “robbed” is almost entirely for the purpose of criticising the outgoing Smer government, which links into the heavy focus on corruption and promise of a new politics on which OL’aNO’s political message is based (Mrva and Lopatka, 2020). Similarly the use of “fraud” is in much the same vein, focusing upon particular situations in which Smer and their associates are said to have defrauded the Slovak people, setting up the anti-elite and people-centred discourse at the core of populism. The combination of these words as well as others consisting of a similar theme explains the high vice score for OL’aNO on the fairness foundation here, showing that it is in effect a result of their attempt to make it clear that they represent a break from the political establishment. Finally, “protection” takes up the spot as the

fifth most common word used by OL'aNO which scores on the MFT foundations using the MFD 2.0, suggesting that it is part of the overall family centred approach to communication. However, closer examination shows that 60% of the uses of the word "protection" actually refer to data protection rather than the protection of children and families. Therefore while the overriding theme running throughout OL'aNO's communication in MFT terms is that of family, "protection" is not as closely linked to that theme as first thought.

The findings for OL'aNO when looking at specific word usage within the original MFD are somewhat skewed by the small sample size. This is particularly apparent when looking at the fairness and sanctity foundations, where so few words are scored that multiple words which are used a single time show up amongst the lists of the most frequently used. On the fairness foundation this represents a divergence from the previous findings using the MFD 2.0, although one which can be explained by the switch of the term "law" to the authority foundation, with "justice" the most commonly used word and the overriding theme. For the sanctity foundation the effect is lessened, as while the removal of "corruption" from the foundation when the original MFD is used changes the main theme, there is a high degree of commonality in the other words used, with the effect of the small sample size clear to see. On the other foundations, there remains a high degree of consistency between the MFD 2.0 and the original MFD. The care foundation no longer features references to children, but is still mainly based around the notion of care (with the outlier value for protection covered in the previous paragraph, which explains the unexpectedly high virtue score that was previously identified). On the loyalty and authority foundations the overriding theme remains that of family, with very limited reference to concepts of nationalism, again in keeping with the findings using the MFD 2.0. Indeed, apart from the absence of "child" from the original MFD the overall results are almost identical when either MFD is used. This is likely in part due to the small sample size as previously noted, but also provides a degree of assurance that the findings for OL'aNO when looking at the most frequently used word on each foundation are relatively robust. There is a comparison to be made to their fellow centrist-populist party ANO 2011 in that they avoid the nationalism which tends to characterise the approaches of the right-wing populist parties, although the overall focus on the family rather than healthcare is perhaps a more value-driven approach than a technocratic approach.

Table 34: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for OL'aNO using the original MFD

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Protection 27.03%	Justice 44.44%	Family 36.00%	Father Mother	Disgusted Gross Sickness Clean Cleansing Pure	Family 11.39%
2	Care 24.32%	Bias Exclusion Equally Impartial Impartiality	Families 18.00%			21.43%
3	Fight 10.81%		Together 14.00%	Law 8.93%		7.59%
4	Guardian Sympathies Sympathy		National 12.00%	Order 7.14%		Protection 6.33%
5		5.41%	11.11%	Communists Group 4.00%		Father's Leader 5.36%

PiS

Having completed the set of centrist populist parties with OL'aNO, it is now time to return to the right-wing populist parties with PiS. One would expect the Polish party to most closely resemble Fidesz in the style of communication it chooses, with the two parties the most similar in ideological terms amongst those studied according to the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (Bakker et al., 2020). However, while the more minute level of analysis highlights a number of similarities, there are also some points of divergence. This is apparent from the start when considering the care foundation, which has a heavy focus on healthcare - a la Fidesz - but also mixes in references to safety and children. The fairness foundation is also somewhat different, with the main emphasis being on the notion of trust alongside references to the law, as well as some discussion of the concept of equality. Yet the loyalty foundation returns to the familiar pattern expected from a right-wing populist party, focusing almost evenly upon terms relating to the family and the nation, just as could be observed in the case of Fidesz. When considering that PiS was a governing party running for re-election (Cienski and Wanat, 2019) it should also be no surprise that the authority foundation is based primarily around positions and power and the act of government, although there are also references to tradition and order. Finally, the sanctity foundation for PiS is one big outlier overall. Dignity is the main concept covered, with elements of religious discourse ("faith" and "sacred"), but it is somewhat unique amongst the case studies and merits further dissection. For PiS the overall picture is relatively clear, with the main emphasis being upon three areas: positions of power (related to experience of governing), families and the nation. This fits the profile one

would expect from a right-wing populist party with experience of governing, and is indeed relatively similar to the core tenets of Fidesz's discourse when MFT is applied.

Table 35: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for PiS using the MFD 2.0

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Care 19.59%	Trust 23.29%	Family 20.36%	Prime Minister 39.72%	Dignity 42.31%	Prime Minister 11.11%
2	Health 18.56%	Law 15.07%	Country 17.96%	President 16.31%	Waste Disgusting Faith Sacred 7.69%	Family 6.75%
3	Fight 8.25%	Equal 12.33%	Families 16.17%	Tradition 7.80%		Country 5.95%
4	Benefit Child Safe	Justice 10.96%	Countries 7.78%	Govern 4.26%		Families 5.36%
5	5.15%	Fair Trusted 5.48%	Nation 7.19%	Order Authorities 3.55%		President 4.56%

For PiS, there are a small number of commonly used words which stand out as unusual when compared to the other parties studied. On the care foundation the word “safe” stands out as somewhat unique, being mainly used to refer to the concept of a safe Poland, comparable to its Western neighbours. Interestingly, despite the main area referenced on the care foundation for PiS being healthcare, there is little link between that and the concept of safety. The fairness foundation is also slightly unusual in the emphasis it puts on concepts of trust (“trust” and “trusted”) and equality (“equal”). For trust, PiS speaks of it as a two way process between themselves as a governing party and the Polish people, in an example of populist people-centred discourse (Ekström, Patrona and Thornborrow, 2018: 10). However, PiS discussion of equality is somewhat different to what would be expected of a left-wing or liberal party, focusing upon two main areas: equality of opportunity (through welfare), and equality within the European Union (predominantly with regards to payments to farmers through the Common Agricultural Policy). It is also a slight surprise to see PiS be the only party, particularly in the right-wing populist grouping, to have “tradition” score highly on the authority foundation. The term is used almost exclusively to refer to traditional values and ways of life, which would be expected by a party with the ideological profile of PiS, yet surprisingly was used sparingly by both Fidesz and the SDS. As previously

mentioned, the use of “dignity” as the most common word on the sanctity foundation is unusual, but it makes total sense when combined with the rest of the rhetoric used by PiS, often being adopted alongside tradition and values. It is also worth noting that the use of “waste” by PiS is not to denote waste being produced, but rather time being wasted, a semantic difference that likely lessens the effect of the word use in MFT terms.

The effect of the use of the original MFD instead of the MFD 2.0 for PiS varies across the foundations. On the care foundation the headline result remains the same, with the most commonly used word remaining “care”. While the removal of “health” and “child” from the MFD has an effect on the most commonly used words, overall the general theme remains the same, being that of caring and protection, although “fight” is given greater sway. Similarly, once the words “trust” and “law” are removed by the switch of MFD the most commonly used words on the fairness foundation remain relatively similar to those observed using the MFD 2.0, with equality and justice key issues - suggesting that the outlier value for the virtue score on the fairness foundation is accurate. The loyalty foundation remains heavily focused upon concepts of family and nation, in keeping with the ideological profile of PiS and fitting with what was observed for Fidesz previously. However, the authority foundation is an area of significant change, with “class” the most frequently used word - a term not used in the MFD 2.0. This is somewhat surprising, but represents the tendency for PiS to discuss itself as a party of the middle class, as well as occasional references to wishing for Poland to no longer be considered second-class in a European context. The removal of “Prime Minister” and “President” also contribute to a sense of change when considering the results for the foundation, but overall the focus on tradition and societal hierarchy can still be seen. Finally, it is once again difficult to discern anything meaningful from the sanctity foundation due to the small sample size, as was the case for OL’aNO. In totality, the findings for PiS using the original MFD are relatively similar to those using the MFD 2.0, with the focus being upon families, social hierarchy, nationalism and care, even if the exact words used are slightly different.

Table 36: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for PiS using the original MFD

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Care 32.76%	Equal 23.08%	Family 28.57%	Class 25.00%	Disgusting Sacred	Family 11.22%
	Fight 13.79%	Justice 20.51%	Families 22.69%	Law Tradition 13.75%		28.57%
3	Guard Safe 8.62%	Reasonabl e Fair 10.26%	Nation 10.08%		Serve 8.75%	Exploitation Profaning Cleanest 14.29%
4			Together 5.88%	Care 6.27%		
5	Caring 5.17%	Constant Fairly 5.13%	Solidarity 4.20%	Authorities Order 6.25%	Nation 3.96%	

Party-by-Party Analysis: SDS

The final party to be analysed in more depth is the SDS. The Slovenian party belongs to the same party family as Fidesz and PiS (being a right-wing populist party), and as such could be reasonably expected to use similar words in MFT terms to those parties. However as was shown in the previous section considering the language used by PiS in their communications, there is no guarantee of this being the case, particularly as on a number of the areas covered in the Chapel Hill Expert Survey the SDS could be considered to be the most mainstream member of their party grouping (Bakker et al., 2020). Looking firstly at the care foundation, there is a clear linkage to Fidesz and PiS in the language used by the SDS, with the main focus being on healthcare - alongside some limited references to children. The fairness foundation for the SDS also draws upon similar concepts to Fidesz and PiS, being predominantly based around notions of the law and rights, with some reference also to the concept of trust. For the loyalty foundation, the clearer parallel can be drawn with Fidesz rather than PiS, with the main focus being on “country” and “countries”, as well as references to family. Interestingly, the fourth highest scorer on the authority foundation for the SDS is “companies”, a result more in line with the findings for ANO 2011 and GERB than their fellow populist right-wing parties. The authority foundation for the SDS is heavily based upon concepts of law and order, more so than in either of the cases of Fidesz and PiS, although the most commonly referred to term is “president”, which is in keeping with what has been observed in the majority of the parties studied across the two groups. However, the biggest outlier compared to all of the other parties studied comes on the sanctity

foundation. While frequent mentions of topics relating to corruption and faith are not unusual on this foundation, there are significant scores for a number of unexpected terms which merit further consideration - the word “food” chief among them. Overall, the main areas of reference for the SDS are country, law and health, although in individual terms it is “president” and the accompanying concept of leadership which stands out as the most commonly used word in the framework of MFT.

Table 37: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for the SDS using the MFD 2.0

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Health 14.53%	Law 26.92%	Country 18.06%	President 18.26%	Food 13.21%	President 5.46%
2	Care 10.41%	Laws 10.38%	Countries 11.37%	Illegal 8.22%	Corruption Faith 6.60%	Country 5.31%
3	Help 8.46%	Rights 8.85%	Family 11.04%	Police 7.89%		Law 3.44%
4	Child 3.69%	Justice 7.69%	Companies 7.86%	Order 5.59%	Gross Dignity Christian Body 5.66%	Countries 3.34%
5	Safe Healthcare Patients 3.25%	Trust 5.38%	Together 7.19%	Protection 4.44%		Health 3.30%

As previously mentioned, the SDS have some peculiarities regarding their word usage, particularly on the sanctity foundation. However, the first notable outlier comes on the authority foundation with the use of “illegal”, a term that was not used particularly often by the other parties studied. For the SDS, references to illegality are focused mainly on the topic of illegal migration, with some limited references to more general illegality. This is unsurprising considering the party has sought to make political capital out of the refugee crisis, with Slovenia’s border consisting largely of the external Schengen border and therefore the country becoming a key transit route (Dockery, 2018). Beyond “illegal”, the other frequently used words which seem to be specific to the SDS are all found on the sanctity foundation as previously highlighted. The first of these words to be analysed further is “food”, which is the most frequently used word on the foundation and yet one for which a high score was completely unexpected. It is notable that the SDS discuss food in a variety of ways in their communication, cutting across multiple themes including agriculture, healthy living, and the provision of essential services. However, it is difficult to note any particular emotive appeal surrounding the use of the word “food” in the communication of the

SDS. The frequency with which the word “gross” is used is also slightly misleading, as in all but one of the cases it is used to refer to gross salaries, pensions or amounts, only once referring to a “gross insult”. Additionally, the same can be said for the uses of the word “body”, which rather than referring to the human body (as would be intended when discussing sanctity) it is instead only used to refer to governmental bodies. Therefore while the sanctity foundation for the SDS looks to have a slightly obscure list of most commonly used words, closer examination shows that this is a case of dual meanings presenting a problem.

Looking at the word usage of the SDS on the basis of the original MFD, a clearer pattern less complicated by outliers and dual meanings is presented. Firstly, on the care foundation the overall emphasis remains on the word “care” itself, in keeping with the strong focus on healthcare identified when using the MFD 2.0. The care foundation is also characterised by a positive overall outlook for the SDS when using the original MFD, with words such as “peace” and “safe” being frequently used. Similarly, on the fairness foundation the emphasis remains on the concept of the law despite the word “law” itself switching to the authority foundation, with “justice” the most commonly used word. General notions of equality and fairness are also frequently seen, ideals that fit well with the expected right-wing populist party discourse. The combination of nationalism and focusing on families on the loyalty foundation is apparent, as it was for PiS and Fidesz, showcasing an area of commonality for the right-wing populist parties that is perhaps not felt as acutely for the centrist populist parties. As previously mentioned, “law” moves to the authority foundation when the original MFD is used, and in the case of the SDS becomes the most frequently used term as part of a general focus on law and order as part of their discussion through the prism of this foundation. The only outlier for the SDS when compared to the other two parties in the right-wing populist grouping comes through the word usage on the sanctity foundation, where the focus remains on notions of disease rather than any evocative religious imagery, with the most commonly used term being somewhat misleading as discussed previously (“gross”). However, overall the most commonly used words in MFT terms for the SDS fit near perfectly into the established pattern for right-wing populist parties, focusing upon nationalism, law and order, families and care.

Table 38: Most commonly used words on each foundation and overall for the SDS using the original MFD

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Sanctity	Overall
1	Care 20.69%	Justice 22.22%	National 26.26%	Law 21.15%	Gross 22.22%	National 11.81%
2	Protection 11.64%	Equal 11.11%	Family 11.87%	Illegal 15.11%	Diseases 18.52%	Law 5.69%
3	Peace 9.05%	Fair 7.78%	Together 7.73%	Order 10.27%	Clean Cleaned Innocent Purely 7.41%	Family 5.34%
4	Protect 7.76%	Reasonable 6.67%	Member 6.12%	Class 6.95%		Illegal 4.05%
5	Safe 6.47%	Fairly 5.56%	Nation 5.94%	Authorities 3.93%		Care 3.88%

Summary

To conclude this section, it is worth summarising the common themes that emerge from the analysis of the most commonly used words by the parties studied on each of the foundations. Firstly, there will be discussion of the common themes emerging when the MFD 2.0 is used across the party groupings, before the same exercise is conducted using the results from the analysis conducted using the original MFD. Once the themes emerging through the use of each of the MFDs in isolation has been discussed, there will then be a summary discussion about the most common themes emerging in terms of word usage across the two MFDs used, as well as how they fit with the expected areas of commonality based upon non-MFT analyses of centrist-populist and right-wing populist parties, as well as populist parties more generally.

Using the MFD 2.0, there are a number of universal themes that emerge for all of the parties studied in terms of the words they most commonly use. Working through the foundations in order, the first to note is regarding the care foundation. As identified in the party-by-party analysis conducted, the topic of healthcare is given great importance by almost all of the parties studied, with OL'aNO the only real exception. This is of course unsurprising, as healthcare is a topic that would be expected to come to the fore in any electoral campaign, but it shows how the populist parties are not simply a crude caricature, caring only for popular, anti-system and anti-establishment forces. The same is true to an extent for the finding for the fairness foundation, with all of the six parties studied focusing mainly upon the concepts of law, justice and rights. However, references to equality while present do not score as

highly, a finding that could be argued to be in keeping with what would be expected of parties on the right of the political spectrum, although a different pattern can be found when the original MFD is used (as we will be discussed in this section). The loyalty foundation is characterised for all of the parties studied by frequent references to the notion of the country, in keeping with the expectation that nationalism would play a role in the rhetoric of the parties studied, though it does vary in importance from party to party. As with the care foundation, the authority foundation also sees OL'aNO as a slight outlier, with the emphasis of the other parties being predominantly upon positions of power. This may be due to the small sample size, but can also be explained by context, with OL'aNO a young party that had not previously entered government (Brunnerová, 2019: 107), unlike the others studied. Finally, there are no universal themes which emerge for the parties studied on the sanctity foundation using the MFD 2.0.

In terms of the commonalities between the parties within the same groupings, it is clear that at least when using the MFD 2.0 there are a greater degree of shared traits between the right-wing populist parties than there are between the centrist populist parties. The latter grouping only displays a common theme on the loyalty foundation, that of togetherness, although the frequency with which companies and the notion of business are mentioned on the same foundation is comparable for ANO 2011 and GERB, with OL'aNO once again proving an outlier. However, the right-wing populist parties have far much more in common when their word use is studied across the foundations. On the care foundation both Fidesz and PiS make frequent references to fighting and the need to fight, although it should be noted this is much less common in the discourse used by the SDS. The loyalty foundation for all three parties in the grouping is characterised by a strong focus on the twin themes of family and country, as one would expect of right-wing populist parties, and the same is true of the heavy emphasis all three place on terms related to order on the authority foundation. There is also a shared tendency to discuss the sanctity foundation in terms of religion, with this characteristic particularly pronounced in the case of Fidesz. Unsurprisingly, this all leads to the overall themes for the three parties being relatively similar, with the most commonly used words scored by the MFD 2.0 referring primarily to terms related to nationalism, as well as emphasising positions of power. The former is to be expected and fits the typology one would expect from right-wing populist parties, basing their appeal around nationalism and nativism (Mudde, 2007: 28), while the latter fits well with the specific cases studied. Fidesz, PiS and the SDS are all parties which are constructed around a strong leader, who in effect uses them as their own personal electoral vehicles (Metz and Oross, 2020: 146-147; Stanley, 2020: 180; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec, 2019: 156). Therefore, it is to be expected that in their communications they are likely to emphasise those individuals (Viktor Orban, Jaroslaw Kaczynski and Janez Jansa) as well as the positions of power that they hold, as part of their appeal to voters.

Switching to the original MFD, there are a mixture of patterns that can be spotted when considering the words most frequently used by the parties studied, some consistent with the observations using the MFD 2.0, and some very different. Looking at the universal themes that can be seen in the data, the common theme for the care foundation is care itself, which acts in effect as a proxy for healthcare due to the absence of the directly related words for that theme ("health", "healthy",

“healthcare” etc) from the original MFD. The concept of fighting is also given greater significance by all of the parties studied, although it is not as consistently important for them as the theme of care is. On the fairness foundation there is once again an example of switching between related concepts as the scope of the MFD changes, with the concept of justice highly important to all of the parties studied, on a foundation which was dominated by law and related terms using the MFD 2.0. Instead, it is the authority foundation which plays that role when the original MFD is used, with the focus for all of the parties being upon concepts of law and order. However, unlike the MFD 2.0 the original MFD results in a pattern of words relating to cleanliness being visible across the most common words used by all of the parties on the sanctity foundation. The words used are relatively generic however, and therefore discerning any further meaning from the word choice on the sanctity foundation is near impossible, particularly with the issues around small sample sizes.

Following on from the universal themes, there are also themes that are visible for the specific party groupings – reflecting the results when the MFD 2.0 was used. Firstly, for the centrist populist parties there is the relatively high usage of the notion of protection on the care foundation. However, as previously noted this may in fact be a false friend, with references to data protection being counted as part of the scoring on the care foundation, even if due to the context in which they are placed they are unlikely to have much effect – if any – in terms of making an emotional appeal to the reader. However, on the loyalty foundation the frequent references to togetherness continue for the centrist populist parties, suggesting a more positive and inclusionary approach to the ingroup/outgroup divide than is likely to be found for the right-wing populist parties, in keeping with expectations that the latter group would be more likely to invoke the “them” and “us” divide (Mudde, 2019a). For the right-wing populist parties the first area of common ground when the original MFD is used can be found on the fairness foundation, with the concept of equality frequently referenced by the three parties in the grouping. This could potentially be linked to the tendency for right-wing populist parties to adopt traditionally left-wing welfare policies aimed at voters from less wealthy socio-economic backgrounds (Afonso, 2015: 288), and is an example of how the populist-right differs from traditional conservatives, who would be less likely to focus their energies on discussing equality. Similar to the findings when the MFD 2.0 is used, on the loyalty foundation the right-wing populist parties mainly use words referring to the nation and the family, in keeping with the established ideological and discursive priors for the party family (Mudde, 2019a; Mudde, 2019b). Another area where Fidesz, PiS and the SDS conform with expectations is on the authority foundation, with a vague notion of hierarchy running throughout the most common words used by each of the parties. However, this finding is of limited significance as it is unclear whether all the parties are reinforcing hierarchies (as would be expected from traditional conservative parties) or criticising them from their word usage alone. Overall, the established pattern continues for the right-wing populist parties as the most commonly used words scored on the MFD for them are focused upon the clear themes of family and nation, core building blocks of their ideological profiles.

Having considered the findings regarding the most commonly used words on each of the foundations with both the MFD 2.0 and the original MFD across the two party

groupings, there are a number of areas of commonality which should be the main takeaways from this analysis. In terms of universal themes across the parties studied, there are three which stand out across the two different MFDs used. The first is regarding the care foundation, which is characterised by a high degree of importance being given to the concept of healthcare (and care more generally) by all of the parties studied. Secondly, for all of the parties studied there is a common theme irrespective of the version of the MFD used regarding the focus on justice and associated words on the fairness foundation. This is linked to the third and final universal theme identified by analysis of the party communications, regarding the high frequency with which law and related concepts are referred to by all of the parties studied. This is true regardless of which version of the MFD is used, however it is worth noting that the effect is not immediately apparent when comparing them side-by-side, as “law” and related terms are found on the fairness foundation when using the MFD 2.0, and on the authority foundation when using the original MFD.

There are also areas of commonality across the two MFDs used for both the centrist populist and the right-wing populist party groupings. Interestingly, the key commonalities are mainly focused on one foundation – the loyalty foundation – where the two groupings prescribe high levels of importance to two very distinct sets of themes. For the centrist populist parties, the shared theme running through the most commonly used words on the loyalty foundation is togetherness, usually indicated by the usage of the word “together” itself. This is in stark contrast to the two areas of commonality identified on the same foundation for the right-wing populist parties, which instead focus upon the twin themes of family and nation. There is a potential explanation for this phenomena in the respective ideological positioning of the two groupings. While the centrist populist parties studied are all considered to be right-of-centre (largely due to their economic positioning and varying degrees of social conservatism), their centrist nature would suggest a desire to be seen as somewhat of a “catch-all” party (Engler, 2020: 320-321). Such an approach would put a heavy emphasis on coalition-building and being seen as welcoming and inclusive to middle-ground voters. In contrast, the right-wing populist parties are likely to have built their ideological appeals around appealing to nativism and social conservatism, and as such a strong emphasis to voters about the importance of the nation and the family is to be expected (Mudde, 2019a; Mudde, 2019b). Indeed, the third area of commonality identified is linked to this, with it noted that the most commonly used words overall by the right-wing populist parties as scored by the two MFDs are focused upon the topics of nation and family, suggesting that they rely heavily upon aspects of the loyalty foundation in their discourse – building on the ingroup/outgroup divide as part of their political strategies. As such, it could be suggested that a feeling of belonging is more important to supporters of right-of-centre populist parties in Central and Eastern Europe than any particular ideational theme. While the precise parameters dividing the ingroup from the outgroup differ for the two party groupings, the same phenomenon can be observed, with supporters prioritising being on what they perceive as “the right side” over coherent ideology.

An unexpected trend was identified in the original analysis when considering the sanctity foundation, with the centrist populist party grouping scoring higher on average than the right-wing populist party grouping regardless of which version of the MFD was used. Considering that the expectation based upon previous research

using Moral Foundations Theory was that the score for the sanctity foundation would increase as the parties being studied moved rightwards across the political spectrum, this is a finding that merits further scrutiny. As previously noted in this section of the analysis, there is a limited degree of comparability between the parties studied in terms of word usage for the sanctity foundation, but a closer study reveals general trends which may go some way to explaining the unexpected results.

When the MFD 2.0 is used, it is possible to identify a pattern in terms of the nature of the words primarily used by the respective groupings. For the right-wing populist parties, the primary word usage for the virtue aspect of the sanctity foundation is primarily focused around notions of faith, while the vice aspect of the foundation is instead focussed mainly upon corruption, particularly when false friends such as “gross” are accounted for. In contrast, the centrist populist parties tend to have a broader range of word usage for the sanctity foundation, with less of a focus on religion (though it remains present as a key topic), and more of a focus on matters of cleanliness and health. This broader palate, as it were, may explain why the score for the sanctity foundation is unexpectedly higher for the centrist populist parties, particularly considering the design of the research and the false friends discussed in the previous section. A very similar pattern can be identified when the original MFD is used, which suggests that it is the key underlying factor creating the difference in the scores on the sanctity foundation.

Therefore the results for the sanctity foundation should be taken with caution - it cannot be stated that centrist populist parties utilise the sanctity foundation more in their communication with certainty, but it also cannot be stated that the opposite is true as per the original hypothesis before the research was conducted. The wide variety of words ascribed to the foundation in both the original MFD and the MFD 2.0 have an unintended effect when utilising the MFDs for textual analysis of this nature, as the “scores” generated are not the result of repeated references to common themes (as identified on other foundations), but rather a collection of a large number of less common words and phrases. The “broader palate” explanation as highlighted above may explain the unexpected deviation from the expected results in this case, being an artefact of the MFDs rather than a provable outlier.

Conclusion

Moral Foundations Theory provides a useful lens through which to study party communication, but in the case of populist parties in Central and Eastern Europe it has proven to have limitations. It was possible to ascertain some of the expected findings of the research, namely that right-wing populist parties combine high scores on the loyalty and authority foundations with slightly higher than expected scores on the care foundation (though the scores for the fairness and sanctity foundations confounded expectations) when party communications are analysed using the MFD 2.0 and the original MFD. The secondary hypothesis regarding the degree of deviation expected to be observed when comparing the parties studied to traditional conservative parties was also proven to be lacking in validity for both party groupings. A weak effect in support of the view that the right-wing populist grouping would show more deviation than the centrist populist grouping was evident when the MFD 2.0 was used, but the use of the original MFD resulted in the trend pointing in the opposite direction. Therefore the lack of consistency across the two MFDs combined with the continued outlier case of the sanctity foundation combined to make verification of the secondary hypothesis impossible.

Despite the previously observed challenges, the use of Moral Foundations Theory in this context still provided a number of useful findings. After switching focuses from the macro level to the micro level and looking at word usage, it was possible to identify trends in communication patterns across the different moral foundations for the two party groupings studied. From this micro-level analysis of the most commonly used words on each of the foundations by the six parties studied it is possible to create thematic “pen-portraits” for both the right-wing populist and centrist populist groupings, as well as right-of-centre populists in the region more generally. While this was not the original aim of the research, it is nonetheless valuable new knowledge which has been generated and which contributes to existing scholarship regarding populism in Central and Eastern Europe.

Centrist populist parties in Central and Eastern Europe have a relatively diverse range of themes in their communication, at least from the perspective of Moral Foundations Theory. Healthcare is a common theme for these parties and dominates their communication in terms of the care foundation, as well as references to fighting for better results. The concepts of justice and a strong commitment to the law are the main themes they draw upon when discussing concepts contained within the fairness foundation. When discussing the loyalty foundation they primarily concern themselves with notions of togetherness, rather than discussing more exclusionary positions. In terms of the authority foundation they display a rigid commitment to law and order, but they lack a strong consistent theme for the sanctity foundation. As a result they are typified by a relatively traditional conservative approach focusing upon law, order and justice combined with elements of a more centrist, “big-tent” approach which seeks to build voter coalitions around relatively generic mainstream issues such as healthcare.

Right-wing populist parties, as expected, have a great degree in common with the centrist populist parties of the region when considering the themes present in their communication. They too focus heavily upon healthcare (care), justice (fairness), law

(fairness/authority) and order (authority), but they also bring in other distinct themes which mark them out as a separate grouping. In the framework of the fairness foundation they tend to discuss equality more frequently than the centrist populist parties, and when they discuss loyalty their focus is upon the twin concepts of family and nation. They are more likely to invoke notions of hierarchy in their communications when they invoke the loyalty foundation, and they often couch their usage of the sanctity foundation in terms of references to religion and associated language. Therefore while the standard template for a populist party in Central and Eastern Europe seems to apply to them (a focus on healthcare, law, order and justice) they do not adopt the elements of the big-tent approach observed in the communication of the centrist populist parties. Instead they remain more traditionally conservative, building their appeal around notions of family, nation, hierarchy and religion, while also speaking more about equality than would be expected from mainstream conservative parties.

Therefore, while the use of Moral Foundations Theory was not able to entirely reproduce the findings expected at the start of the research, it still proved an invaluable tool for analysing the communications of the parties studied and therefore how they seek to appeal to the moral intuitions of their voters. It should be noted that the majority of the findings of the research were in line with expectations, and those unexpected findings can be understood by the limitations of Moral Foundations Theory in this context. The variety of the words included on each of the foundations (and particularly the sanctity foundation) mean that when conducting research of this nature it is not always possible to accurately ascertain “scores” on each of the foundations. What may appear to be a higher score for a certain party grouping on a certain foundation (e.g. the centrist populist grouping on the sanctity foundation) may not be entirely as it appears, especially when a common theme cannot be identified in the words used on that foundation. In this regard, there is a potential issue with the use of the MFDs for textual analysis when a “broader palate” is adopted for a specific foundation – that is to say, no coherent common theme emerges in terms of word usage, but a large number of unrelated scoring words are present (the issue for the sanctity foundation in this case).

Further research using the theory in the context of populism in Central and Eastern Europe ought to focus on two particular aspects: understanding voter motivations through analyses of survey responses and physical campaign materials, and developing a greater understanding of how domestic political contexts shape scores on each of the foundations. Research into the former would prove valuable for validating the findings of this study, while further enquiry into the latter may help to clarify the outliers observed during this research, particularly around the sanctity foundation. It would also be worthwhile to replicate this study for those parties where the available sample size was smaller than was ideal (mainly OL’ANO and ANO 2011, plus PiS to an extent) using other material - for example manifestos or speeches from party leaders - in order to check if the sample size effect had a noticeable impact on the results.

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