

Borbáth, Endre; Gessler, Theresa

**Article — Published Version**

## How Do Populist Radical Right Parties Differentiate their Appeal? Evidence from the Media Strategy of the Hungarian Jobbik Party

Government and Opposition

**Provided in Cooperation with:**  
WZB Berlin Social Science Center

*Suggested Citation:* Borbáth, Endre; Gessler, Theresa (2023) : How Do Populist Radical Right Parties Differentiate their Appeal? Evidence from the Media Strategy of the Hungarian Jobbik Party, Government and Opposition, ISSN 1477-7053, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Vol. 58, Iss. 1, pp. 84-105,  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2021.28>

This Version is available at:  
<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/240925>

**Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:**

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

**Terms of use:**

*Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.*

*You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.*

*If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.*



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

# **Appendix – How Do Populist Radical Right Parties Differentiate their Appeal? Evidence from the Media Strategy of the Hungarian Jobbik Party**

Endre Borbáth and Theresa Gessler

Appendix A: Dictionary for populism and nativism .....	1
Appendix B: Additional figures and tables .....	8
Appendix C: Content based transformation of nativism and populism .....	12
Appendix D: Distribution of documents classified with a proportional measure .....	14

Replication material available at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/NYMEP5>

## Appendix A: Dictionary for populism and nativism

In the current appendix we present further details of the dictionary we constructed. First in table 1 we list the terms we include to detect anti-elitism, people-centrism and nativism. As discussed in the paper, we classify documents as populist if they include at least one word from each of the two dimensions of populism: anti-elitism and people-centrism. We classify documents as nativist, when they include at least one term from the nativism dictionary.

Table 1: Terms in the dictionary

Concept	Source	Hungarian	English (approximate translation)
Anti-elitism	Previous Literature	antidemokratikus*	anti-democratic*
		arrog*	arrogant*
		árulás*	traitor*
		áruló*	betrayal*
		botrány*	scandal*
		bürokr*	bureaucratic *
		elit	elite
		félrevezet*	deceive*
		gyáva*	coward*
		hatalom*	rule*
		hazug*	liar*
		igazság	just
		igazságot	the just
		igazságtalan	unjust
		korrupt	corrupt
		magánérdek*	private interest*
		meghátr*	retreat*
megtéveszt*	deceive*		

		oligarch*	oligarch*
		propagand*	propagand*
		^rendszer[^(es)]+	“system” or order, but not “regular”
		rezsim*	regime*
		szégye*	shame*
	Manifesto	csalás*	cheating*
		ellop*	steal*
		elszámol*	hold to account*
		lop*	steal*
		mentelm*	immunity*
		rendszer	system
	Context Specific	diktát*	dictat*
		maffiakormány*	mafia government*
		maffiaállam*	mafia state*
		megalku*	opportunist*
		offshore*	offshore*
		politikus bűn*	politician crime*
		politikusbűn*	politician crime*
		önkény*	arbitrariness*
		visszaél*	misuse*
People-centrism	Previous Literature	^nemzeti*\$[^(együtmködés)] +	national*, but not national cooperation
		állampolgár*	citizen*
		dolgozó ember*	working people*
		egyszerű ember*	simple people*
		magyar ember*	Hungarian people*

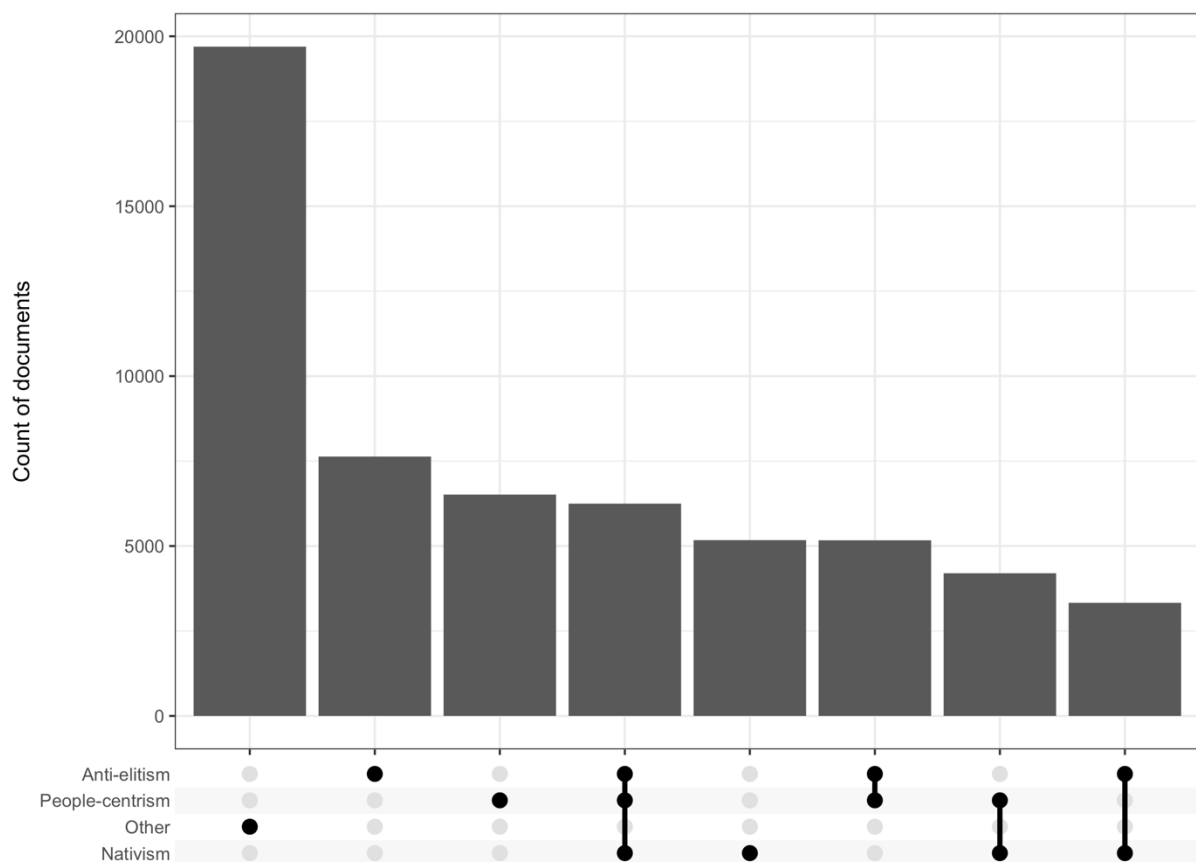
		normális ember*	normal people*
		rengeteg ember*	multitude of people*
		tisztességes ember*	honest people*
		nép	folk
		referend*	referend*
		szavazóbáz*	voter base*
		választóink*	our voters*
	Manifesto	konzultá*	consult*
		néphez	for the people*
		népnek	to the people*
		néppel	with the people
		népszavaz*	people's vote*
		választók	voters*
	Context Specific	népakar*	popular will*
		polgárikezdemény*	citizen initiative*
		választói akarat*	voters' will*
		választók akarat*	the voters' will*
Nativism	Previous Literature	anyaország*	motherland*/ homeland*
		arab*	arab*
		betelepítés*	resettlement*
		bevándorl*	immigrant*
		cigány*	gipsy*
		elcigányos*	To become populated by gypsies
		határ	border
		határa	to the border

	határon	on the border
	határt	border
	határzár*	border fence*
	határőr	border guard
	holokauszt*	holocaust*
	idegen	foreign/foreigner
	idegenek	foreigners
	izrael*	Israel*
	kóser	kosher*
	menekült*	refugee*
	migráns*	migrant*
	muszlim*	Muslim*
	zsidó*	jew*
Manifesto	demográfia*	demography*
	elcsatolt terület*	detached territory*
	Kárpát-medence*	Carpathian Basin*
	magyarság*	Hungarians/Hungarianism *
	szegreg*	segregate*
	Trianon*	Trianon*
Context Specific	elcigányos*	becomes populated by gypsies*
	elszakított magyar*	detached Magyar*
	elszakított nemzet*	detached nation*
	elszakított ország*	detached country*
	elszakított terület*	detached country*
	Fehér ember*	White man*

	Gárda*	Guard*
	holokam*	holofiction*
	Horthy*	Horthy*
	néger*	nigger*
	roma	Roma
	turul*	turul*

In our operationalization, nativism and populism are not mutually exclusive concepts. The same document might be classified as both nativist and populist if it contains terms from the respective dictionary. Empirically, we indeed observe a certain overlap in our classification of documents, as shown by figure 1 (also see table 1, appendix B). In general, documents that are classified as both populist and nativist are included in both our nativism and populism measure.

Figure 1: Number of documents classified based on the dictionaries (binary classification)



One concern relates to the possibility to empirically distinguish between nativism and populism. For instance we include the term “nemzeti” (national) and “nép” (folk) in our dictionary of people-centrism, even though they might also be included in a dictionary of nativism. Although conceptually ambiguous, empirically this decision only affects the level of populism, but not the conclusions we draw about its distribution over time or across platforms. To show this, we include below figure 1 and figure 2 replicated from the paper with a dictionary where we do not include the following terms for people-centrism: “nép”, “népnek”, “néppel”, “néphez”, “népakar\*”, “nép akar\*”, “nemzeti\*”

Figure 2: Documents with a nativist and populist appeal on the different platforms

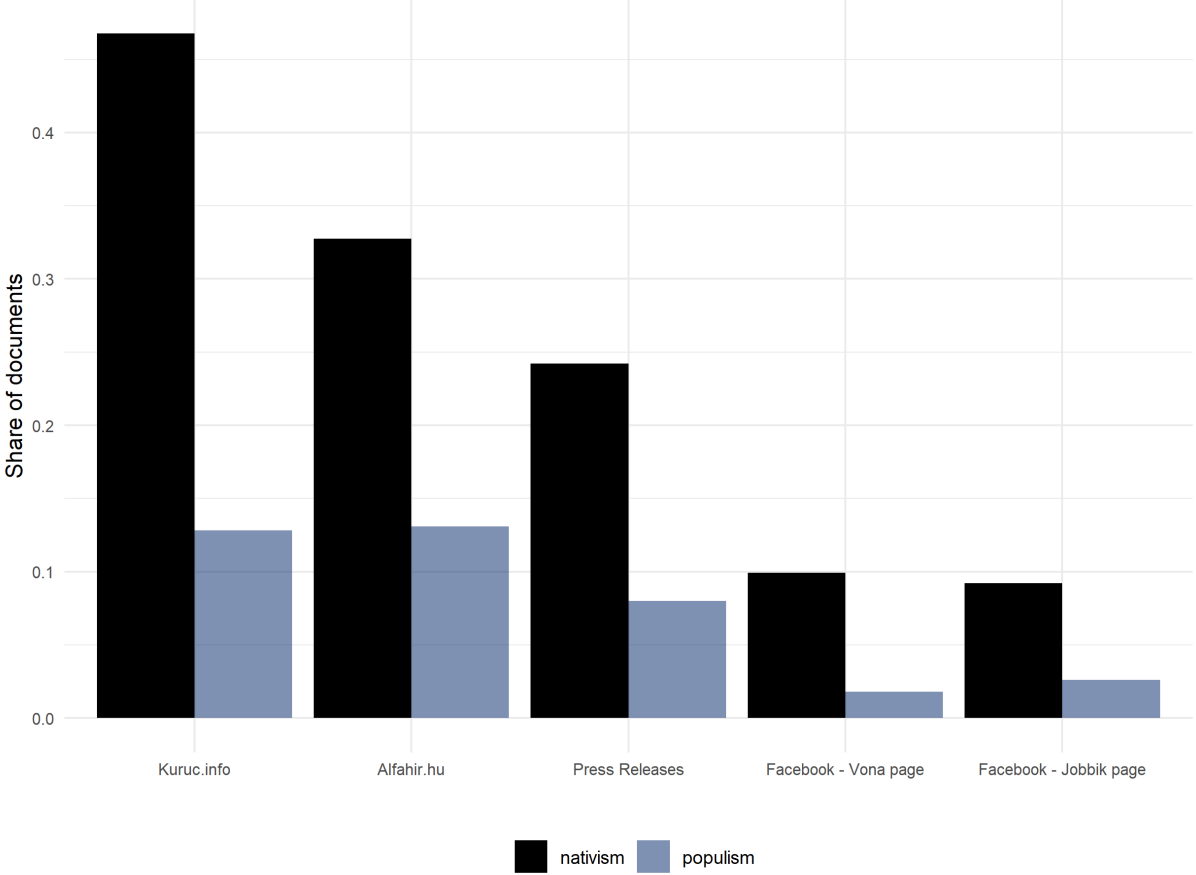
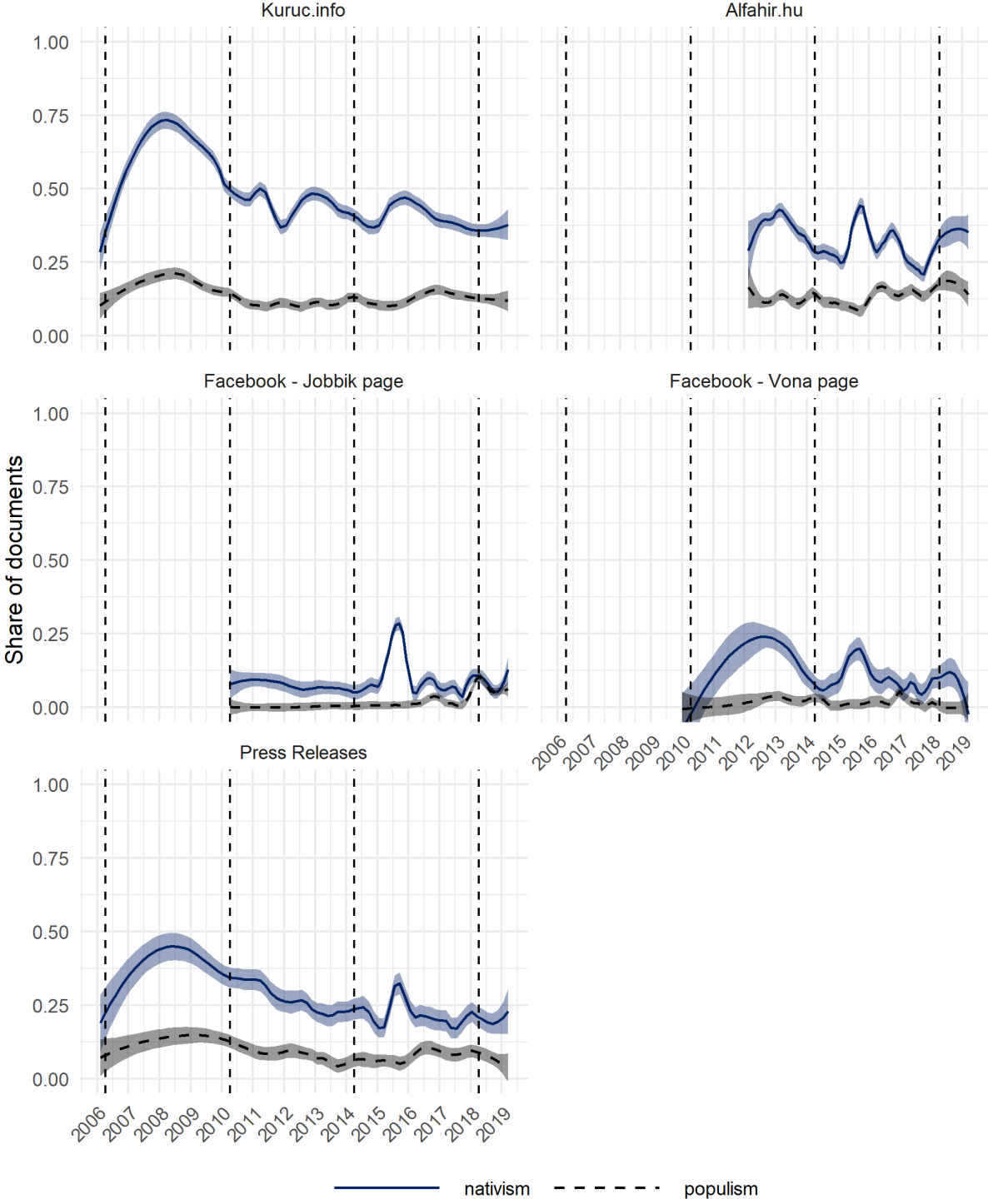




Figure 3: The share of documents over time with a populist or nativist appeal on the different platforms



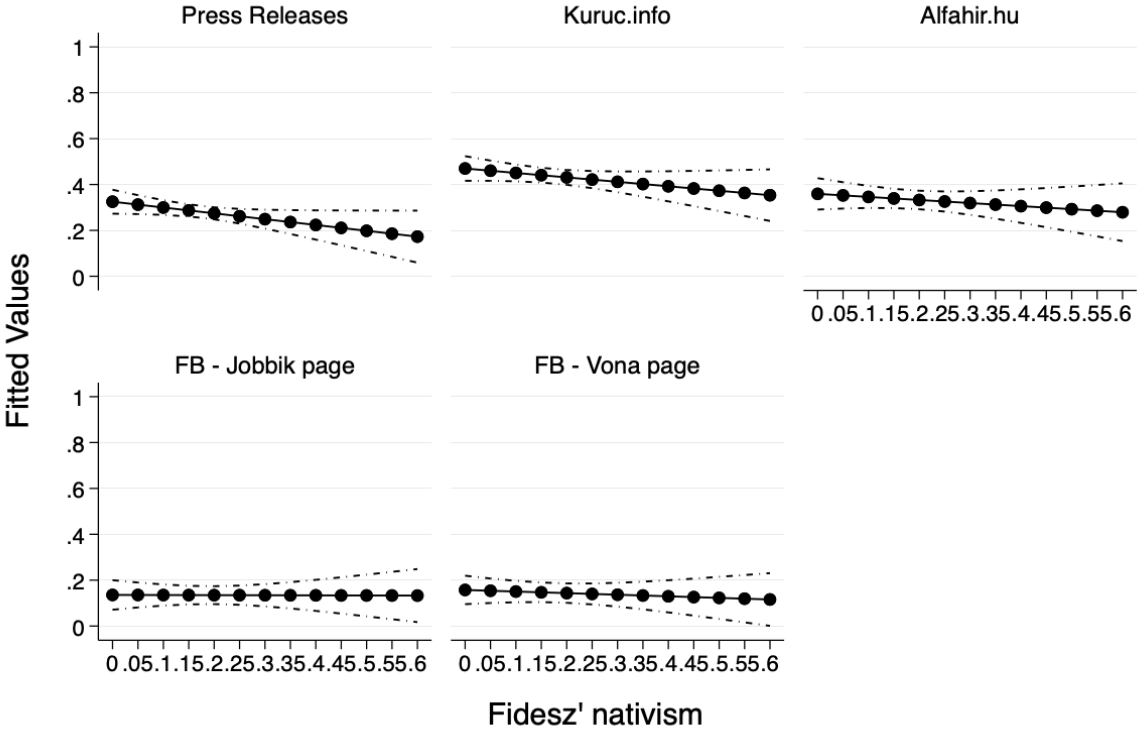
Note: The coloured line represents the LOESS smoother we apply on all documents within a corpus and its associated 95 percent confidence interval. The dashed vertical reference lines represent the dates of the national parliamentary elections.

## Appendix B: Additional figures and tables

Table 1: Descriptive features of the five corpuses

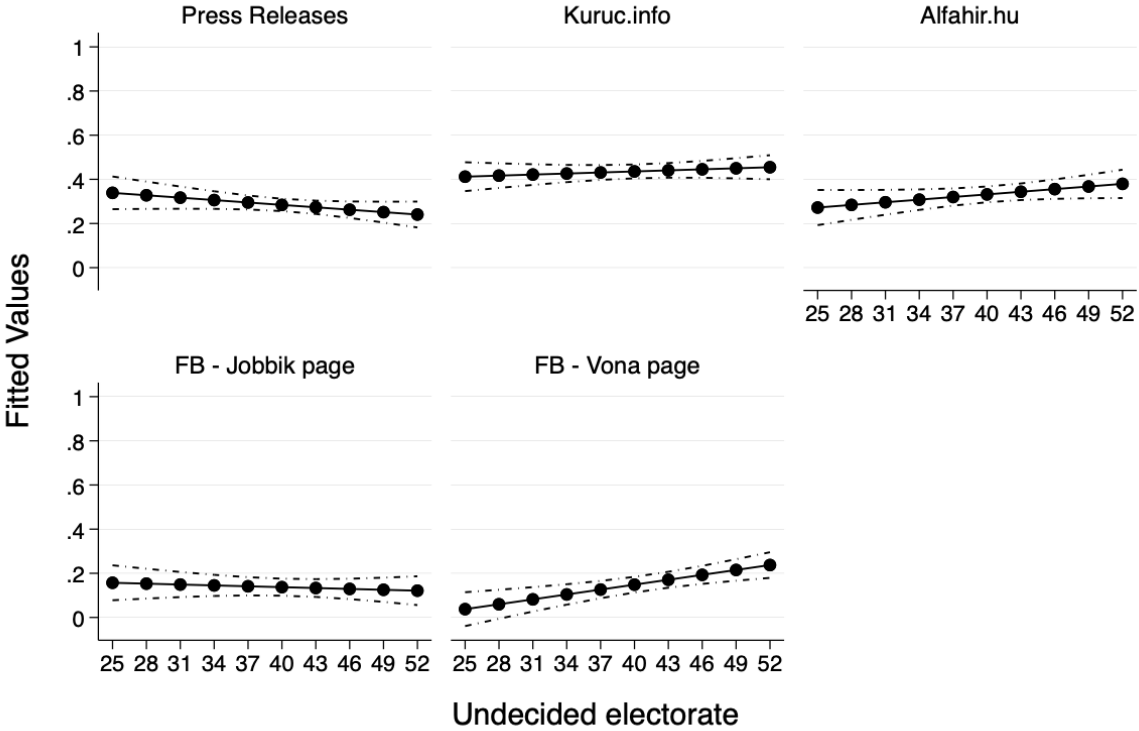
Period	Kuruc.info	Alfahir.hu	Facebook - Jobbik page	Facebook - Vona page	Press Releases
First observation	01.02.2006	18.02.2012	07.04.2010	02.01.2010	06.02.2006
Last observation	14.03.2019	15.03.2019	15.03.2019	15.03.2019	15.03.2019
<b>Corpus characteristics</b>					
Total number of documents	21977	17432	7481	3485	7582
Average length of document (# of words)	689	599	66	92	233
<b>Number of classified documents (share in corpus in parenthesis)</b>					
Populist	5521 (25%)	4362 (25%)	293 (4%)	113 (3%)	1095 (14%)
Nativist	10281 (47%)	5708 (33%)	690 (9%)	346 (10%)	1837 (24%)
<b>Co-occurrence (share in corpus in parenthesis)</b>					
Populism and Nativism	3767 (17%)	2014 (12%)	36 (0%)	39 (1%)	355 (5%)

Figure 1: Marginal effects of Fidesz' nativism on Jobbik's nativism



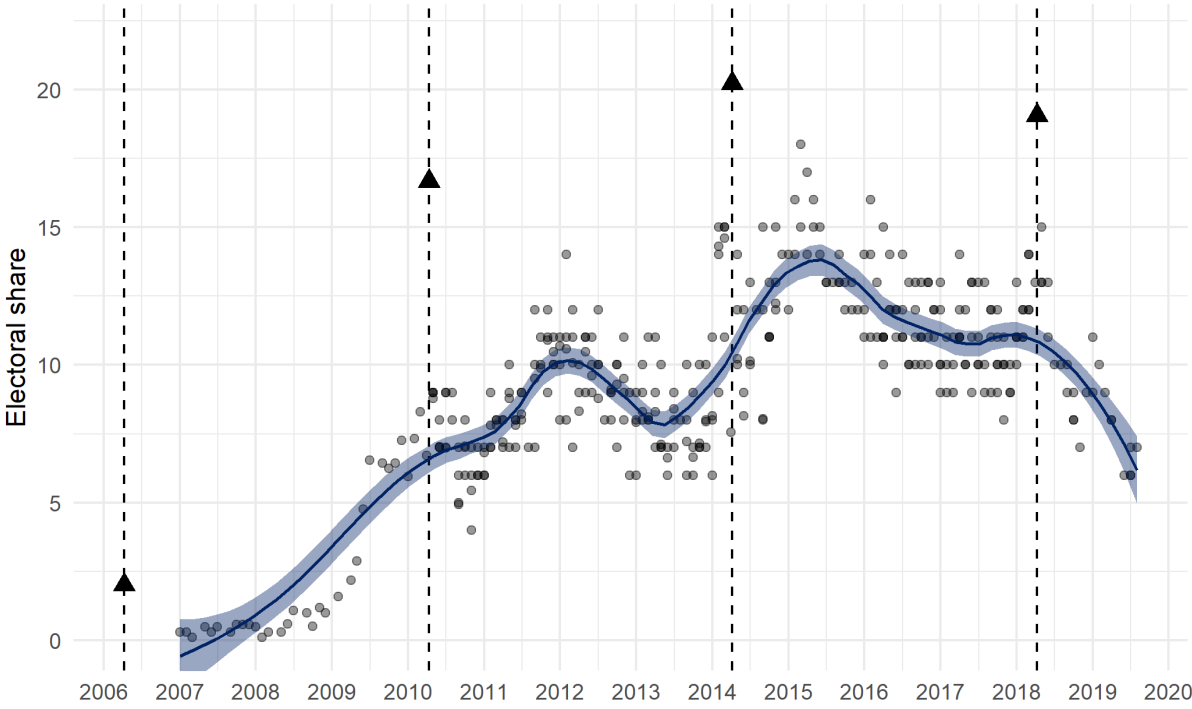
Note: The marginal effects figure is estimated based on the two-way interaction shown in model 2 in table 1 in the main text.

Figure 2: Marginal effects of the share of undecided voters on Jobbik’s nativism



Note: The marginal effects figure is estimated based on the two-way interaction shown in model 3 in table 1 in the main text.

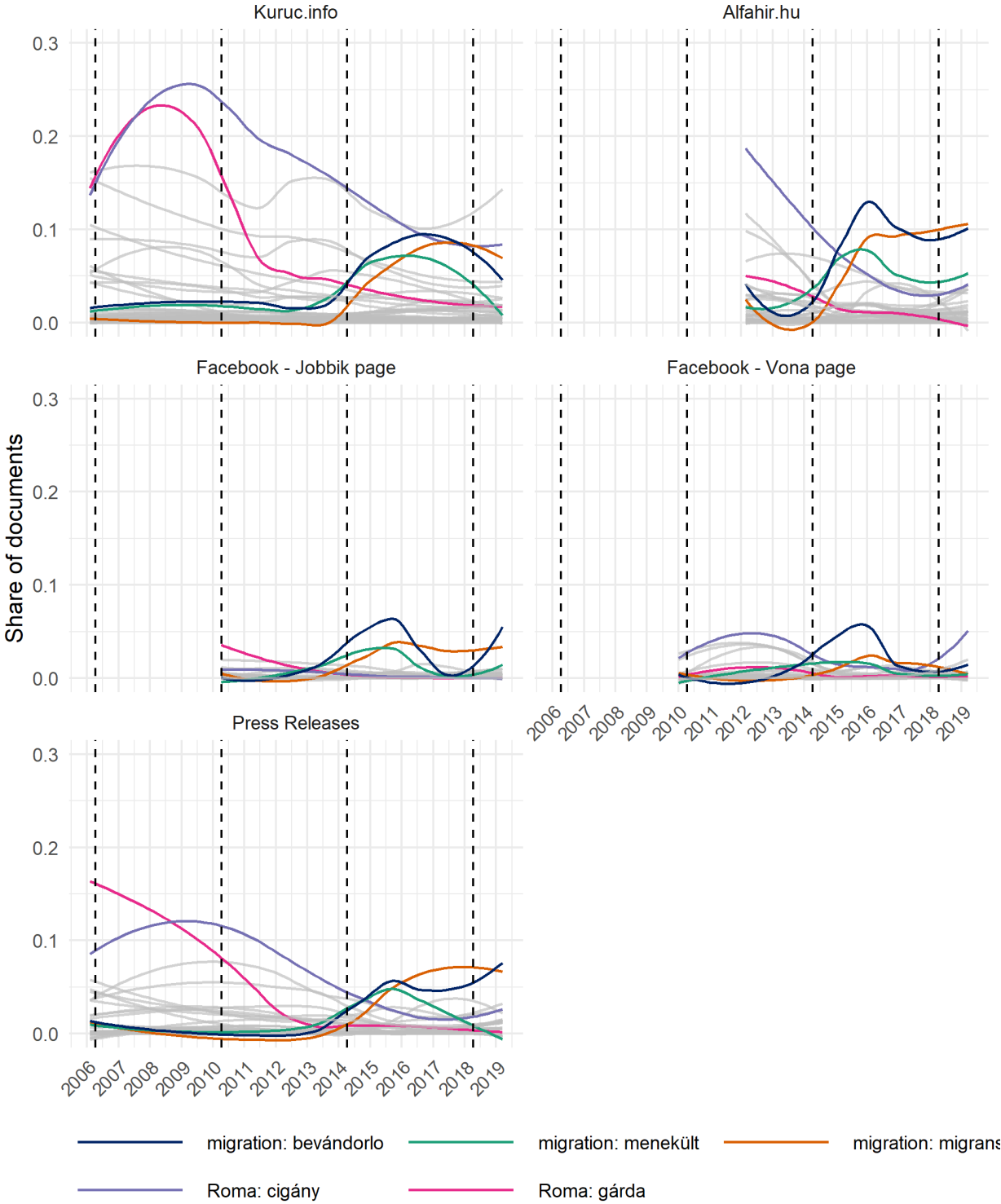
Figure 3: Electoral share of Jobbik in public opinion polls and national elections



Note: The vertical reference lines show the four national parliamentary elections Jobbik contested (in 2006 in a coalition with MIÉP), the triangles show the vote share the party achieved.

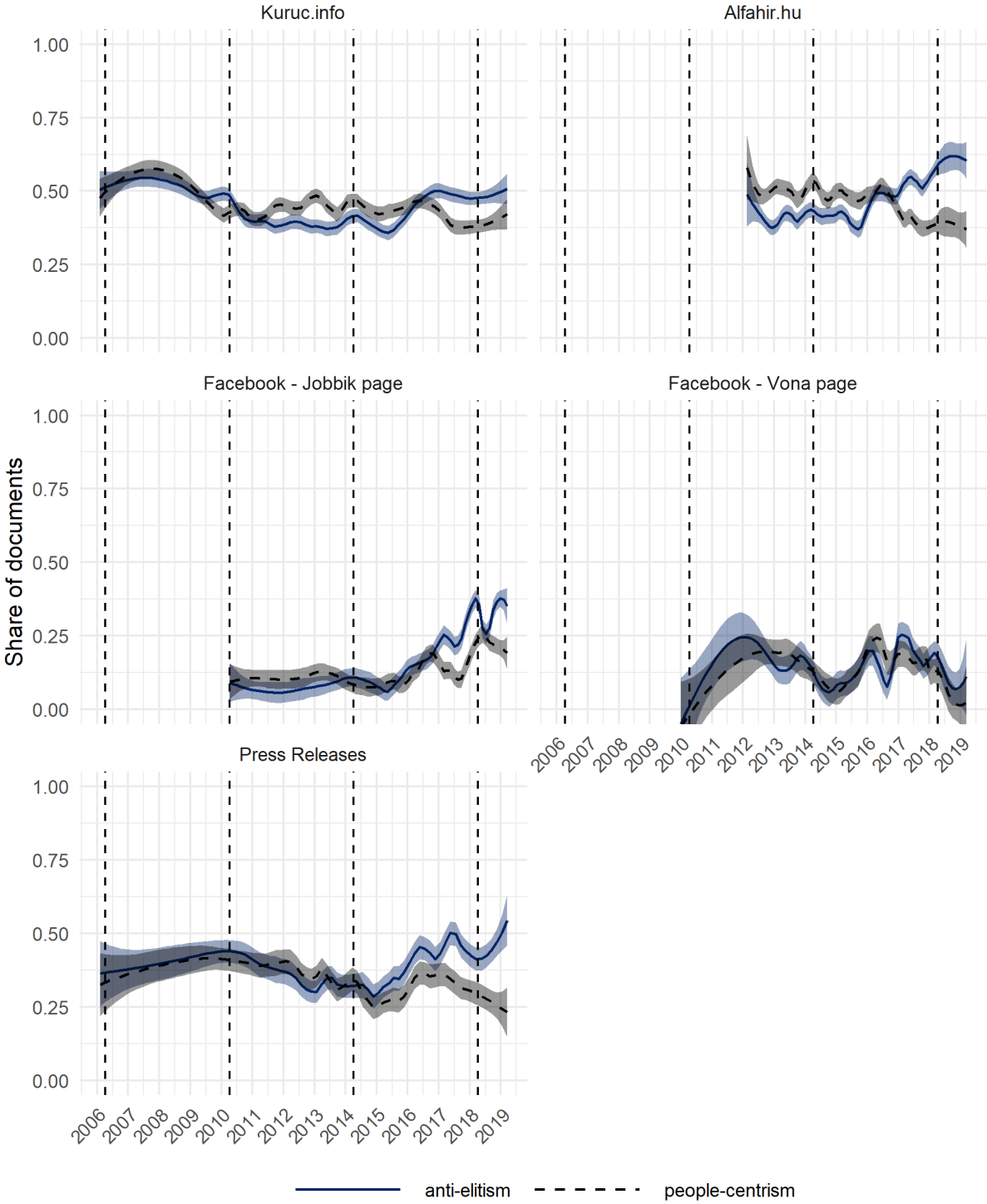
**Appendix C: Content based transformation of nativism and populism**

Figure 1: Over time prevalence of the most prevalent keywords associated with anti-Roma and anti-immigration mobilization



Note: The coloured line represents the LOESS smoother we apply on all documents within a corpus. The dashed vertical reference lines represent the dates of the national parliamentary elections.

Figure 2: Over time prevalence of documents classified as having a people centrist or an anti-establishment appeal



Note: The coloured line represents the LOESS smoother we apply on all documents within a corpus and its associated 95 percent confidence interval. The dashed vertical reference lines represent the dates of the national parliamentary elections.

**Appendix D: Distribution of documents classified with a proportional measure**

Figure 1: Documents with a nativist and populist appeal on the different platforms

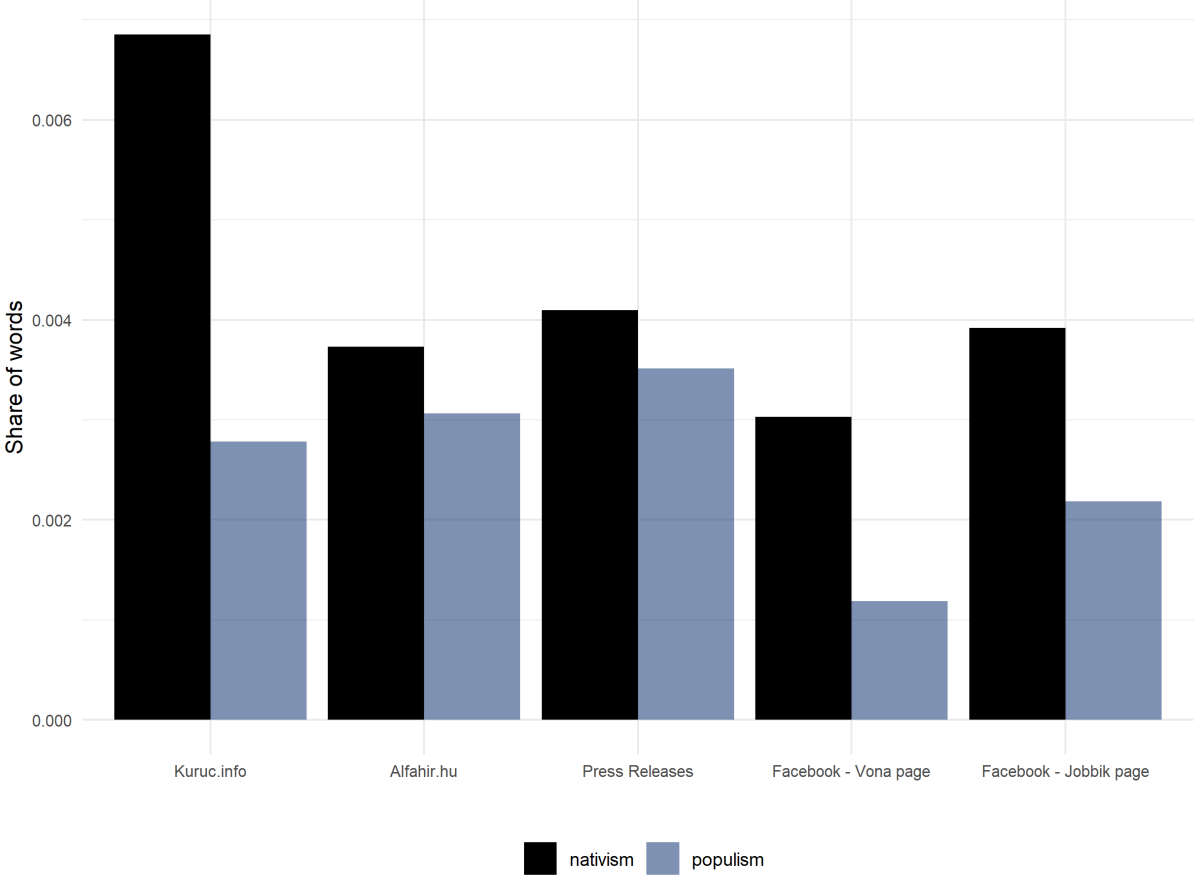
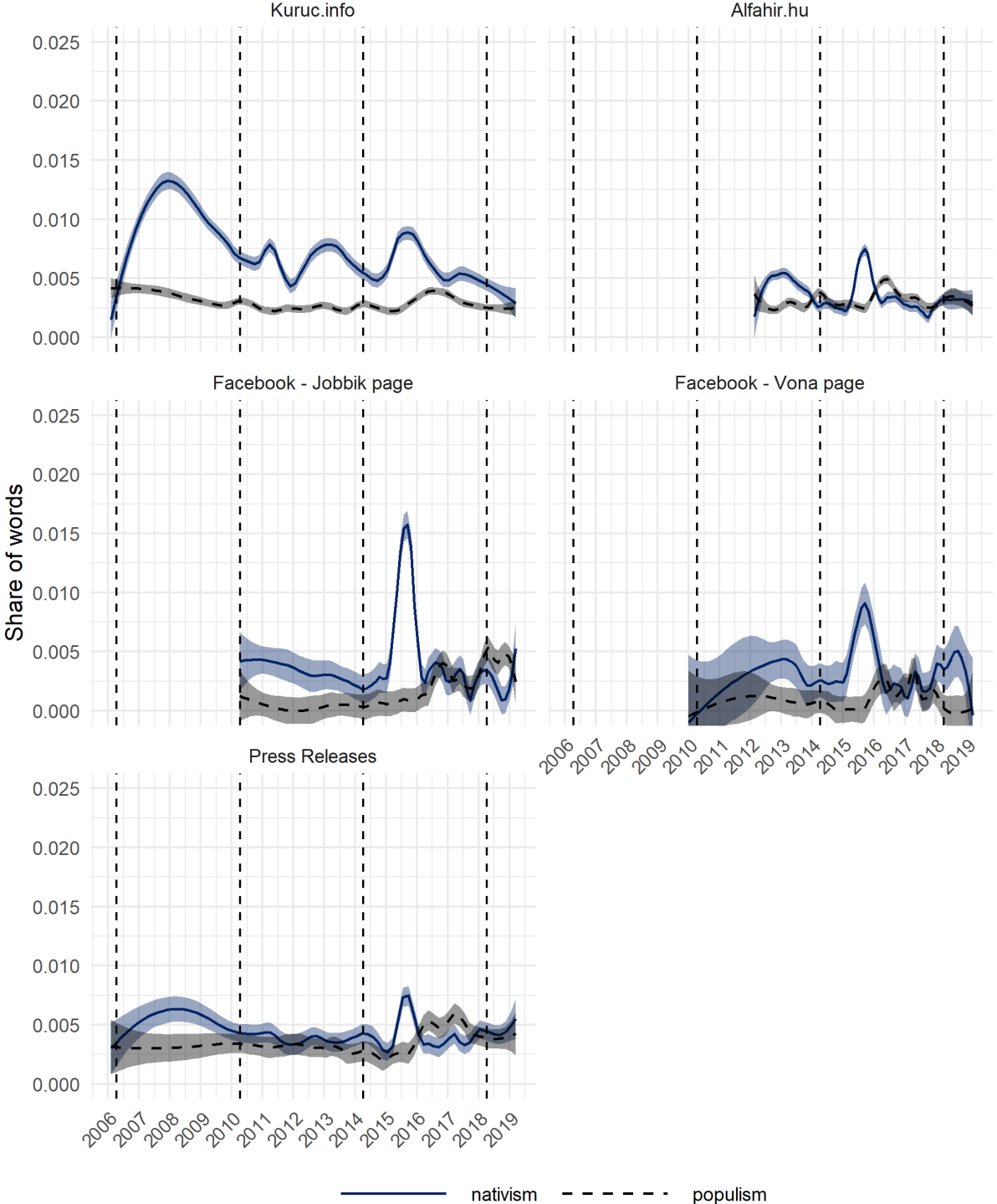




Figure 2: The share of documents over time with a populist or nativist appeal on the different platforms



Note: The coloured line represents the LOESS smoother we apply on all documents within a corpus and its associated 95 percent confidence interval. The dashed vertical reference lines represent the dates of the national parliamentary elections.