

# ON-LINE APPENDIX

## Revenge of the Radical Right

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# Revenge of the Radical Right



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## Abstract

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What explains the success and failure of radical right parties over time and across countries? This article presents a new theory of the radical right that emphasizes its reactive nature and views it as backlash against the political successes of minorities and concessions extracted on their behalf. Unlike approaches that focus on competition between the extreme and mainstream parties, the theory stresses the dynamics between radical right and non-proximate parties that promote minority rights. Most notably, it derives the salience of identity issues in party politics from the polarization of the party system. The theory is tested with a new party-election-level dataset covering all post-communist democracies over the past 20 years. The results provide strong support for the theory and show that the rise and fall of radical right parties is shaped by the politics of minority accommodation.

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[radical right parties](#)

[ethnic minorities](#)

[coalitions](#)

[polarization](#)

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## **ON-LINE APPENDIX: Revenge of the Radical Right**

The online appendix is referenced in the paper.

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## List of Radical Right Parties.

<b><i>Radical Right Parties</i></b>	
Albania	PBK - BK – Balli Kombëtar [National Front Party] PBKD - Balli Kombëtar Demokrat [Democratic National Front Party]
Bulgaria	BNRP – Bălgarska nacionalna radikalna partija – [Bulgarian National Radical Party] NSA – Nacionalen sayuz Ataka – [National Union Attack, which includes BNRP {Attack Coalition}]
Croatia	HDZ – Hrvatska demokratska zajednica [Croatian Democratic Union] HSP – Hrvatska stranka prava [Croatian Party of Rights] HSP-ZDS - Hrvatska stranka prava - Zagorska demokratska stranka HSP-HKDU - Hrvatska stranka prava - Hrvatska Kršćanska Demokratska Unija
Czech R.	SPR-RSČ – Sdružení pro republiku – Republikánská strana Československa (Sládek) RMS – Republikáni Miroslava Sládka – [Republicans of Miroslav Sládek] NS – Národní strana [National Party] NDS - Národně demokratická strana - [National Democratic Party] DSS / DS - Dělnická strana / Dělnická strana sociální spravedlnosti [Workers' Party]
Estonia	ERSP – Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatus Partei [Estonian National Independence Party] EK – Eesti Kodanik [Estonian Citizens] ERKL – Eesti Rahvuslaste Keskliit [Estonian Nationalists Central League] PE – Parem Eesti [Right Estonia] EIP – Eesti Iseseisvuspartei [Estonian Independence Party] Isamaa - Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit [Pro Patria and Res Publica Union]
Hungary	MIÉP - Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja [Hungarian Justice and Life Party] MIÉP-Jobbik - [MIÉP- Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom - Movement for a Better Hungary] Jobbik – Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom [Movement for a Better Hungary]
Latvia	TB – Tēvzeme un Brīvībai [For Fatherland and Freedom] TB/LNNK - Apvienība Tēvzeme un Brīvībai /LNNK - Alliance For Homeland and Freedom / LNNK - Latvijas Nacionālās Neatkarības Kustība [Latvian National Independence Movement]
Lithuania	LKDS/LT)S - Jaunoji Lietuva susivienijimas uz vieninga Lietuva [Young Lithuania - For United Lithuania] LNP-JL – Lietuviu Nacionaline Partija -"Jaunoji Lietuva" [Lithuanian National Party – Young Lithuania] LlaS - Lietuvos laisvės sąjunga [Lithuanian Liberty Union] LNDP – Lietuvos nacionaldemokrato partija [Lithuanian National Democratic Party]
Macedonia	VMRO-DPMNE - Vnatreška Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija – Demokratska Partija za Makedonsko Nacionalno Edinstvo [Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] VMRO-DP - Vnatreška Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija – Demokratska Partija
Poland	SN – Stronnictwo Narodowe [National Party] Party X - Partia X PWN-PSN - Polska Wspólnota Narodowa - Polskie Stronnictwo Narodowe [Polish National Commonwealth - Polish National Party] ROP – Ruch Odbudowy Polski [Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland] LPR – Liga Polskich Rodzin [League of Polish Families] LPR - Liga Prawicy Rzeczypospolitej [The League of the Right of the Republic (League of Polish Families (LPR) + Real Politics Union + Right of the Republic)]
Romania	PUNR – Partidul Unității Naționale a Românilor [Party of Romanian Unity] PRM – Partidul (Popular) România Mare [Party for Greater Romania] PNG - Partidul Noua Generație - Creștin Democrat [New Generation Party] PP-DD - Partidul Poporului – Dan Diaconescu [People's Party – Dan Diaconescu]

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Serbia	SRS – Srpska radikalna stranka [Serbian Radical Party] NS - Nova Srbija [New Serbia] SPO – Srpski pokret obnove [Serbian Renewal Movement]
Slovakia	PSNS – Pravá Slovenská národná strana [Real Slovak National Party] SNS – Slovenská národná strana [Slovak National Party]
Slovenia	SNS – Slovenska nacionalna stranka [Slovenian National Party]
Ukraine	KUN – Kongres Ukraiins'kikh Natsionalistiv [Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists] Rukh - Narodnyi Rukh Ukrainy [The People's Movement of Ukraine] Svoboda - [Freedom]

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## List of Election Sources

The vote shares for the electoral results are culled from multiple sources. When there was a discrepancy between multiple sources, I checked the official results from the country's statistical or electoral offices. Adam Carr's election source often provides direct links to country-specific official documents.

List of major databases consulted to determine vote shares:

- 1) Psephos, Adam Carr's Election Archive; <http://psephos.adam-carr.net>
- 2) Project on Political Transformation and the Electoral Process in Post-Communist Europe, University of Essex; <http://www.essex.ac.uk/elections/>
- 3) Political Data Yearbook, European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook; <http://www.politicaldatayearbook.com>
- 4) Election Results Archive; Binghamton University; <http://cdp.binghamton.edu/era/index.html>
- 5) Baltic Voices, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde; <http://www.balticvoices.org>
- 6) European Election Database; [http://www.nsd.uib.no/european\\_election\\_database/](http://www.nsd.uib.no/european_election_database/)
- 7) Election Resources; <http://electionresources.org/eastern.europe.html>

## SECTION I – Radical Right Parties

### Classification of Radical Right Parties

#### Section I.i Grid Group: Theory

The party classification system used in the manuscript is derived from the grid-group theoretical framework developed by anthropologist Mary Douglas (Douglas and Wildawsky 1982). Two ideological dimensions define this typology - radical nationalism and radical socio-cultural conservatism – and these dimensions correspond to two modes of social control, *grid* and *group*. Radical right parties are classified as being high on grid and high on group, or high on one of these two dimensions and ‘neutral’ on the second dimension. Using this logic of party classification, radical right parties are either highly nationalistic and/or highly socially conservative.

If a party scores high on one dimension and low on the other dimension, however, it is not defined as a radical right party. This framework is particularly helpful in deciding whether some of the former unreformed communist parties (red-brown parties) should qualify as radical right parties. For example, the Czech communist party is not coded as a radical right party because it scores very low on the grid dimension as a result of its advocacy for gender equality and access to abortion.

*GRID*: The policy positions of radical right parties are captured by authoritarian social and cultural conservatism. In its pure form, it has no ethnic basis. A political party scoring high on social authoritarianism dimension might campaign against accommodating gay and lesbian couples, or against abortion. Similarly, a party that promotes law and order, along with obedience to authority, religious or secular, would be classified as high on the grid dimension.

*GROUP*: The second dimension captures nationalism and is therefore associated with exclusionary appeals based on ethnicity. It conceptualizes identity in terms of ‘the ethnic other’ and is grounded in a distinction between the in-group from the out-group. A party that propagates nationalism on behalf of the titular nationality would score high on the group dimension.

The classification of ethno-liberal parties mirrors this topology. Ethno-liberal parties are those that score low on both grid and group or they score low on one of these two dimensions and ‘neutral’ on the second dimension. Small East European socially liberal parties embrace multiculturalism and the protection of minorities, and are often advocates of Roma rights. Even though multiculturalism is a universalistic position, it implies that social-liberal parties support policies that would elevate the Roma from poverty and reduce their social exclusion. Small socially liberal parties in Eastern Europe are both rare and recent.

A party that propagates nationalism on behalf of the titular nationality would qualify as a radical right party, whereas a party making cross-ethnic appeals and demanding minority rights would be coded as an ethno-liberal party. Small economically and socially liberal parties generally support policies of minority accommodation, as do ethnic and some green parties. Some of the policies that ethno-liberal parties promote, include: minority autonomy in schooling, elevation of the minority language to the status

of the official language, quotas for ethnic minorities in parliament, positive discrimination, preferential treatment of minorities in civil service hiring practices, state resources channeled to address minority grievances and preferential economic policies that disproportionately benefit minorities.

### **Section I.ii - Grid Group: Measurement**

In defining radical right parties, I have relied on three sources of information: (1) expert surveys, (2) ideology communicated through web pages of radical right parties and (3) comparison with classification in the scholarly literature on radical right parties.

#### **Section I.ii.a - Grid Group: Measurement - Expert Surveys**

The position of the parties on group and grid was determined using three expert surveys: Party Policy in Modern Democracies (PPMD; Laver and Benoit 2004), Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CH-H; Baker et al. 2013) and Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project (DALP; Kitschelt 2011).

The group dimension is defined as a policy position of the party on: “nationalism” (PPMD), on “ethnic minorities” (CH-H) and “national identity” (DALP). The grid dimension is defined as a policy position of the party on: “social” issues (PPMD), on “social lifestyle” (CH-H) and on “traditional authority, institutions and customs” (DALP). The expert estimates of party positions are in listed in Table A1. The full description of the questions from each of the three expert surveys and their respective scales follows Table A1.

The position of each party is relative to the position of other parties, since the experts evaluate all parties in a given party system. Radical right parties are those with the highest grid/group scores relative to other parties in the same country.



**Table A1: Classification of Radical Right Parties Based on Expert Surveys**

Country	Parties	2003-04 PPMD		2008-09 DALP		2002 & 2006 & 2010 CH-H		
		Group	Grid	Group	Grid	Group	Grid	Galtan
Albania	PBK - BK PBKD							
Bulgaria	BNRP NSA			8.77	8.00	NA & 8.17 & 9.55	NA & 9.40 & 9.30	
Croatia	HDZ HSP HSP-ZDS HSP-HKDU	19.00	15.00	8.25	8.31			
Czech R.	SPR-RSČ RMS NS NDS DSS / DS	19.20	15.90					
Estonia	ERSP EK ERKL PE EIP Isamaa	19.10	14.60	8.67	7.89	NA & 7.60 & NA	NA & 6.50 & NA	
Hungary	MIÉP MIÉP-Jobbik Jobbik	19.80	19.00			NA	NA	9.69
Latvia	TB TB/LNNK	19.30	14.50	8.69	7.23	NA & 9.75 & 9.22	NA & 7.50 & 8.13	
Lithuania	LKDS/LTJS LNP-JL LlaS LNDP					NA	NA	8.60
						NA	NA	8.75
Macedonia	VMRO-DPMNE VMRO-DP	17.50	17.30	6.27	7.33			

Country	Parties	2003-04		2008-09		2002 & 2006 & 2010		
		PPMD		DALP		CH-H		
		Group	Grid	Group	Grid	Group	Grid	Galtan
Poland	SN Party X PWN-PSN ROP LPR LPR (Prawica)	19.00	19.10	7.36	8.50	NA & 9.00 & 8.09	NA & 10.00 & 9.58	
Romania	PUNR PRM PNG PP-DD	19.60	18.70	9.21	8.93	NA & 9.63 & 8.71	NA & 9.75 & 8.9	
Serbia	SRS NS SPO	18.70	16.80	9.00	8.80			
				8.40	8.50			
		13.50	13.80					
Slovakia	PSNS SNS	19.40	16.10	9.85	8.46	NA & 9.83 & 9.93	NA & 9.08 & 8.93	8.62
Slovenia	SNS	17.10	11.70	9.80	5.54	NA & NA & 8.91	NA & NA & 9.25	
Ukraine	KUN Rukh Svoboda							

Note: Empty cells means that data are not available in the expert surveys (parties were not included in the survey).

*Sources:*

PPMD – Party Policy in Modern Democracies, 2004-2005.

DALP – Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project, 2008-2009.

CH-H - Chapel Hill Expert Survey, 2002-2010.

### **PPMD – Party Policy in Modern Democracies.**

Source: Benoit, Kenneth and Michael Laver. *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. Expert survey scores of policy positions of political parties in 47 countries. 2004-2005. Data collected in 2004-2005.

Group: Nationalism

Strongly promotes a cosmopolitan rather than a \_\_\_ national consciousness, history, and culture (1)

Strongly promotes a \_\_\_ national rather than a cosmopolitan consciousness, history, and culture (20)

Grid: Social

Favours liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, and euthanasia (1)

Opposes liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, and euthanasia (20)

Scale: 1-20; where 20 = high group / grid

### **DALP - Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project**

Source: Kitschelt, Herbert. *Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project*. July 20, 2011 [Dataset].

Durham, NC: Duke University. Expert survey. Data collected in 2008-2009.

Group: National Identity

Party advocates toleration and social and political equality for minority ethnic, linguistic, religious, and racial groups and opposes state policies that require the assimilation of such groups to the majority national culture (1)

Party believes that the defense and promotion of the majority national identity and culture at the expense of minority representation are important goals (10)

Grid: Traditional Authority, Institutions, Customs

Party advocates full individual freedom from state interference into any issues related to religion, marriage, sexuality, occupation, family life, and social conduct in general (1)

Party advocates state-enforced compliance of individuals with traditional authorities and values on issues related to religion, marriage, sexuality, occupation, family life and social conduct in general (10)

Scale: 1-10; where 10 = high group / grid

### **CH-H – Chapel Hill Expert Survey**

Source: Ryan Bakker, Catherine De Vries, Erica Edwards, Liesbet Hooghe, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks,

Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, Milada Anna Vachudova. 2013. Measuring party positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999–2010. *Party Politics*, forthcoming.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, EU Center of Excellence. Data collected in 2002-2010.

Group: Ethnic Minorities

Position towards ethnic minorities: Strongly supports more rights for ethnic minorities (0)

Position towards ethnic minorities: Strongly opposes more rights for ethnic minorities (10)

Grid: Social Lifestyle

Position on social lifestyle (e.g. homosexuality): Strongly supports liberal policies (0)

Position on social lifestyle (e.g. homosexuality): Strongly opposes liberal policies (10)

Galtan: This policy position was added when Grid or Group is not available in the survey.

Position of the party in year in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. “Libertarian” or “Postmaterialist” parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage, or greater democratic participation (0)

“Traditional” or “authoritarian” parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues (10)

Scale: 0-10; where 10 = high group / grid

### **Section I.ii.b - Grid Group: Measurement – Ideology communicated through web-pages and internet**

I have consulted the web-pages and Facebook profiles of parties in order to determine whether the grid/group classification appears compatible with party ideology as communicated through media. Table A2 provides a list of party web-pages and indicates if the party or its leader have a Facebook presence.

This source was particularly useful in classifying recently emerged parties or parties that might be considered borderline cases. For example, the new Romanian party, Partidul Poporului – Dan Diaconescu (PP-DD), lists its policy goals and ideological preferences on its website (Source: <<http://www.partidul.poporului.ro>>). The website states: “Romania's ethnic parties will not be able to participate in elections.” This speaks directly to the group dimension, and is a clear attack on the Hungarian ethnic party whose voters are Romanian citizens with full rights. The party is coded as high on the group dimension. Another doctrinal statement of the party relates to the grid dimension: “Emergency rejuvenation of the population and increasing the number of inhabitants of Romania.” This statement relates to state’s role in regulating sexual behavior of its citizens, and indicates a high degree of intrusion into social issues. The party is thus coded as high on the grid dimension.

**Table A2: Web Page and Facebook Presence of Radical Right Parties**

Country	Parties	Party Web page	Facebook Page (Like)
Albania	PBK - BK	<a href="http://www.ballikombit.org/">http://www.ballikombit.org/</a>	Yes
	PBKD		Yes
Bulgaria	BNRP		
	NSA	<a href="http://www.ataka.bg">http://www.ataka.bg</a>	No
Croatia	HDZ	<a href="http://www.hdz.hr">http://www.hdz.hr</a>	Yes
	HSP	<a href="http://www.hsp.hr">http://www.hsp.hr</a>	Yes
	HSP-ZDS		
	HSP-HKDU		
Czech R.	SPR-RSČ	<a href="http://republikani.webnode.cz">http://republikani.webnode.cz</a>	No
	RMS		
	NS		
	NDS		
	DSS / DS	<a href="http://delnicka.strana.sweb.cz">http://delnicka.strana.sweb.cz</a>	No
Estonia	ERSP		
	EK		
	ERKL		
	PE		Yes
	EIP	<a href="http://www.iseseisvupartei.ee">http://www.iseseisvupartei.ee</a>	Yes
	Isamaa	<a href="http://www.irl.ee/">http://www.irl.ee/</a>	Yes
Hungary	MIÉP		
	MIÉP-Jobbik		
	Jobbik	<a href="http://www.jobbik.com">http://www.jobbik.com</a>	Yes
Latvia	TB		
	TB/LNNK	<a href="http://www.tb.lv">http://www.tb.lv</a>	Yes
Lithuania	LKDS/LTJS		
	LNP-JL	<a href="http://www.jaunalietuviai.lt">http://www.jaunalietuviai.lt</a>	Yes (leader)
	LlaS		
	LNDP	<a href="http://www.lndp.lt">http://www.lndp.lt</a>	No
Macedonia	VMRO-DPMNE	<a href="http://vmro-dpmne.org.mk">http://vmro-dpmne.org.mk</a>	Yes
	VMRO-DP	<a href="http://www.vmro-dp.org.mk/">http://www.vmro-dp.org.mk/</a>	Yes
Poland	SN	<a href="http://www.polskpartianarodowa.org">http://www.polskpartianarodowa.org</a>	No
	Party X		
	PWN-PSN	<a href="http://www.pwn.waw.pl">http://www.pwn.waw.pl</a>	No
	ROP		
	LPR	<a href="http://www.lpr.pl">http://www.lpr.pl</a>	No
	LPR (Prawica)		
Romania	PUNR		
	PRM	<a href="http://prm-central.ro">http://prm-central.ro</a>	No

	PNG	<a href="http://www.png.ro">http://www.png.ro</a>	No
	PP-DD	<a href="http://www.partidul.poporului.ro">http://www.partidul.poporului.ro</a>	Yes (leader)
Serbia	SRS	<a href="http://www.srpskaradikalnastranka.org.rs">http://www.srpskaradikalnastranka.org.rs</a>	Yes
	NS	<a href="http://www.nova-srbija.org/">http://www.nova-srbija.org/</a>	Yes (regional)
	SPO	<a href="http://www.spo.rs/index.php">http://www.spo.rs/index.php</a>	Yes
Slovakia	PSNS		Yes
	SNS	<a href="http://www.sns.sk">http://www.sns.sk</a>	Yes
Slovenia	SNS	<a href="http://www.sns.si">http://www.sns.si</a>	Yes (leader)
Ukraine	KUN	<a href="http://cun.org.ua">http://cun.org.ua</a>	Yes
	Rukh	<a href="http://www.nru.org.ua">http://www.nru.org.ua</a>	Yes
	Svoboda	<a href="http://www.svoboda.org.ua">http://www.svoboda.org.ua</a>	Yes

### **Section I.ii.c - Grid Group: Measurement – Comparison with Other Classifications**

I have also compared my classification of parties to five prominent classifications of radical right parties in the scholarly literature: Ramet (1999), Mudde (2000), Minkenberg (2002), Mudde (2007) and Pop-Eleches (2007). Table A3 summarizes these comparisons. The authors use different labels for radical right parties and focus on different policies. Ramet (1999) classifies highly nationalistic parties as “radical right” parties and movements. Mudde (2000, 2007) uses “extremist right” and “populist radical right” label to underscore the anti-establishment appeal of the parties. Minkenberg (2002) differentiates between three different types of parties and social organizations /movements in the radical-right family: racist-ethnocentrist, fascist-authoritarian and religious-fundamentalist. Finally, Pop-Eleches (2010) uses the label “extreme-nationalist” to denote parties that promulgate ethnic appeals and are non-ideological/personality driven parties.

A closer examination of these party classifications revealed seven borderline cases. These borderline cases were classified by only some of the other authors as “extreme”. If there was any doubt about whether the party ideology was sufficiently high on “group” issues, it was excluded from the radical right category. If the movement/social organization was not a party, it was also excluded from the radical right party family.

Latvia: *Popular Movement for Latvia* (TKL-ZP, Siegerist party). Classified as an extreme nationalist party in Pop-Eleches (2010). Classified as a "bizarre" extreme right party and borderline Latvian extreme right party in Mudde (2000). The leader Siegerist was in favor of selling land to foreigners and was not strongly anti-Russian (Jeffries, 2004).

Poland: *Realpolitik Union*. Classified as an extreme nationalist party in Pop-Eleches (2010). Marginal political party. Its main political platform is mostly focused on economic issues (UPR program: <<http://www.upr.org.pl/main/index.php?strid=1&katid=79>>). *Confederation of Independent Poland* (KPN). Classified as a radical right party in Ramet (1999), as racist-ethnocentrist in Minkenberg (2002) and extreme nationalist in Pop-Eleches (2010). Patriotic party formed in 1979. KPN displayed moderation and inclusiveness not typical for extremist parties (Hockenos 1993; Pankowski 2010). *National Rebirth of Poland*. Classified as a radical right organization in Ramet (1999). Classified as a fascist-authoritarian right social movement organization in Minkenberg (2002). Marginal movement. Crossover between a social movement and a political party (web: <<http://www.nop.org.pl>>). *Christian National Union* (ZChN). Classified as a religious-fundamentalist party/organization in Minkenberg (2002). Classified as a national-populist party in Pop-Eleches. Classified as a mainstream radical right organization in Ramet (1999).

Romania: *Socialist Workers Party* (PSM). Classified as a party of radical continuity in Ramet (1999). Classified as a racist-ethnocentrist party in Minkenberg (2002). Classified as a radical left party in Pop-Eleches (2010). Neo-socialist nationalistic party.

Ukraine: *UNA-UNSO*. Classified as a radical right movement in Ramet (1999). Pan-Slavic political/social movement.

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Pop-Eleches, Grigore. 2010. “Throwing Out the Bums: Protest Voting and Unorthodox Parties after Communism.” *World Politics* 62(2): 221-260.

Hockenos, Paul. 1993. *Free to Hate: The Rise of the Right in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*. New York: Routledge.

Rafal Pankowski. 2010. *The Populist Radical Right in Poland: The Patriots*. New York: Routledge.

Jeffries, Ian. 2004. *The Countries of the Former Soviet Union at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century*. London: Routledge.



**Table A3: Comparative Classification of Radical Right Parties**

Country	Parties	1999 Ramet	2000 Mudde	2002 Minkenberg	2007 Mudde	2010 Pop-Eleches
Albania	PBK - BK PBKD					national populist (PBK)
Bulgaria	BNRP NSA	RR	ER			extreme nationalist
Croatia	HDZ HSP HSP-ZDS HSP-HKDU	RR (fraction) RR	ER (fraction) ER		P-RR	national populist extreme nationalist
Czech R.	SPR-RSČ RMS NS NDS DSS / DS		ER	racist-ethnocentrist		extreme nationalist
Estonia	ERSP EK ERKL PE EIP Isamaa		ER  ER  NC			national populist
Hungary	MIÉP MIÉP-Jobbik Jobbik	RR	ER	racist-ethnocentrist	P-RR	extreme nationalist
Latvia	TB TB/LNNK					national populist national populist (LNNK)
Lithuania	LKDS/LTJS LNP-JL LlaS LNDP					extreme nationalist
Macedonia	VMRO-DPMNE VMRO-DP					national populist (VMRO)
Poland	SN Party X PWN-PSN ROP LPR	M-RR	ER(fraction) ER	racist-ethnocentrist fascist-authoritarian religious-fundamentalist	P-RR	national populist national populist

LPR (Prawica)						
Romania	PUNR	RR	ER	racist-ethnocentrist		national populist
	PRM	RR	ER	fascist-authoritarian	P-RR	extreme nationalist
	PNG					new/centrist populist
	PP-DD					
Serbia	SRS	RR	ER			
	NS					
	SPO					
Slovakia	PSNS					extreme nationalist
	SNS	RR	ER		P-RR	extreme nationalist
Slovenia	SNS	RR	ER			extreme nationalist
Ukraine	KUN	RR	ER			
	Rukh					
	Svoboda					

RR: radical right party  
 ER: extreme right party  
 P-RR: populist radical right party  
 M-RR: mainstream radical right party  
 NC: national conservative party

Table A4 lists vote shares for the radical right parties over time and by party since the first (foundational) elections.

**Table A4: Election Results and Vote Shares for the Radical Right Parties**

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	7 <sup>th</sup>
Albania	4.97 1996 PBK	2.30 1997 PBK	2.40 2001 PBK	0.60 2005 PBKD	0.34 2009 PBK		
Bulgaria	1.13 1991 BNRP	0.54 1994 BNRP	0.18 1997 BNRP	0.07 2001 BNRP	8.14 2005 Ataka	9.36 2009 Ataka	
Croatia	50.00 1992 HDZ & HSP	47.51 1995 HDZ & HSP	31.85 2000 HDZ & HSP- HKDU	6.37 2003 HSP - ZDS	3.50 2007 HSP	3.00 2011 HSP	
Czech Rep	5.98 1992 SPR- RSC	8.01 1996 SPR- RSC	3.09 1998 SPR- RSC	1.08 2002 RMS	0.17 2006 NS	1.14 2010 DSS	
Estonia	11.50 1995 Isamaa & EK	16.10 1999 Isamaa	8.40 2003 Isamaa & EKRP	1.70 2007 IRL & EKRP	0.40 2011 EIP		
Hungary	1.59 1994 MIEP	5.47 1998 MIEP	4.37 2002 MIEP	2.20 2006 MIEP- Jobbik	16.67 2010 Jobbik		
Latvia	11.99 1995 TB	14.37 1998 TB- LNNK	5.39 2002 TB- LNNK	6.94 2006 TB	7.67 2010 NA+TB- LNNK		
Lithuania	4.01 1996 LNP-JL	2.77 2000 LNP-JL	0.28 2004 LNP-JL	1.75 2008 JL	0.63 2012 JL		

Macedonia	0.00 1998	0.00 2002	6.10 2006 VMRO- NP	0.24 2008 VMRO- NP	2.51 2011 VMRO- NP		
Moldova	0.00 1994	0.00 1998	0.00 2001	0.00 2005	0.00 2009	0.00 2010	
Montenegro	0.00 2001	0.00 2002	0.00 2006	0.00 2009	0.00 2012		
Poland	2.85 1993 PARTY X & PWN- PSN	5.63 1997 ROP & PWN- PSN	7.87 2001 LPRodz	8.00 2005 LPRodz	1.30 2007 LPR	0.07 2011 NDP- Samoobr ona-AL	
Romania	8.82 1996 PRM & PUNR	19.48 2000 PRM	15.12 2004 PRM & PNG	5.42 2008 PRM & PNG	13.98 2012 PP-DD		
Serbia Montenegro, FRY	8.60 2000 SRS	35.27 2003 SRS & SPO-NS	28.59 2007 SRS	29.46 2008 SRS	4.63 2012 SRS		
Slovakia	7.93 1992 SNS	5.40 1994 SNS	9.07 1998 SNS	6.98 2002 SNS- PSNS	11.73 2006 SNS	5.07 2010 SNS	4.55 2012 SNS
Slovenia	3.22 1996 SNS	4.39 2000 SNS	6.27 2004 SNS	5.40 2008 SNS	1.80 2011 SNS		
Ukraine	1.25 1994 KUN	1.00 1998 KUN	0.00 2002	0.36 2006 Svoboda	0.76 2007 Svoboda	10.45 2012 Svoboda	

## SECTION II – Ethno-liberal Parties

Table A5 lists ethno-liberal (ethnic and social liberal parties). The vast majority of parties are ethnic parties. Four socially liberal parties are/were present in ethnically homogeneous countries: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. However, even in these three cases, socially liberal parties advocated minority protection and accommodation under the umbrella of cosmopolitanism.

**Table A5: List of Ethno-liberal (ethnic and socially liberal) Parties**

<i>Country</i>	<i>Primary Appeal</i>	<i>Minority</i>
<b>Albania</b>		
PMDN- Human Rights Party	ethnic	Greeks
UHRP - United for Human Rights Party	ethnic	Greeks
PBDNJ - United Human Rights Party	ethnic	Greeks
HRPP - Human Rights Protection Party	ethnic	Greeks
<b>Bulgaria</b>		
DPS - Movement for Rights and Freedoms	ethnic	Turks
<b>Croatia</b>		
SDS - Serb Democratic Party	ethnic	Serbs
SNS - Serb People Party	ethnic	Serbs
I - The Independent Democratic Serb Party	ethnic	Serbs
<b>Czech Republic</b>		
ODA (only 1992-6) - Civic Democratic Alliance	socially-liberal + ethnic	cosmopolitan, Sudeten Germans
<b>Estonia</b>		
EUPR - Estonian United People's Party	ethnic	Russians
Constitution - Constitution Party	ethnic	Russians
VEE - Russian Party in Estonia	ethnic	Russians
<b>Hungary</b>		
SZDSZ - Alliance of Free Democrats	socially liberal + ethnic	cosmopolitan, Roma, Jews
<b>Latvia</b>		
TSP - National harmony Party	ethnic	Russians
PCTVL - For Human Rights in United Latvia	ethnic	Russians

**Lithuania**

AWPL - Electoral Action of Poles ethnic Poles

**Macedonia**

DPA - Democratic Party of Albanians ethnic Albanians

BDI (DUI) - Democratic Union for Integration ethnic Albanians

**Moldova**

none

**Montenegro**

HGI - Croatian Civic Initiative ethnic Croats

HGI - BS - Croatian Civic Initiative - Bosniak Party ethnic Croats, Bosniaks

**Poland**

UW - Freedom Union socially liberal cosmopolitan

MN - German Minority ethnic Germans

**Romania**

UDMR - Democratic Union of Hungarians ethnic Hungarian

**Serbia**

SVM - Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians ethnic Hungarians

MK - Hungarian Coalition ethnic Hungarians

**Slovakia**

MK - Hungarian Coalition ethnic Hungarians

SMK - Party of the Hungarian Coalition ethnic Hungarians

Most-Hid - Bridge ethnic Hungarians

**Slovenia**

LDS - Liberal Democracy of Slovenia socially liberal cosmopolitan

**Ukraine**

SDPU - Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (since 2002) ethnic Russians

KPU - Communist Party (since 2006) ethnic Russians

### SECTION III – Electoral Systems

**Table A6: Determinants of the Electoral Support for the Radical Right Parties  
(IV: Electoral Thresholds)**

Censored regression with random effects, DV: log of total vote shares for the radical right parties

	(M1)	(M2)	(M3)	(M4)	(M5)	(M6)	(M7)	(M8)
<b>Ethno-liberal party in coalition (t-1)</b> (1=participated)	.463** (.189)	.478** (.187)	.471*** (.184)	.483*** (.183)	.460** (.184)	.421** (.210)	.517*** (.200)	.465** (.199)
<b>Ethno-liberal party vote share (t-1)</b>	.222*** (.078)	.223*** (.078)	.225*** (.076)	.236*** (.088)	.274*** (.088)	.184** (.084)	.226*** (.078)	.230*** (.077)
<b>Radical right party in coalition (t-1)</b> (1=participated)	.594** (.256)	.778*** (.261)	.516** (.251)	.537** (.247)	.718*** (.252)	.496* (.284)	.531** (.268)	.513* (.271)
<b>Radical right party vote share (t-1)</b>	.672*** (.087)	.589*** (.091)	.691*** (.085)	.688*** (.084)	.613*** (.087)	.690*** (.099)	.728*** (.092)	.707*** (.095)
<b>Electoral threshold</b>	-.086 (.099)	-.015 (.101)	-.059 (.097)	-.055 (.102)	.038 (.106)	-.054 (.113)	.055 (.102)	.086 (.102)
<b>Size of the titular majority</b>		1.206** (.489)			1.188** (.510)			.674 (.541)
<b>Economic Volatility (elect. cycle)</b>			.058** (.026)	.147*** (.053)	.148** (.060)	.067** (.029)		.047* (.027)
<b>EU membership (1=member)</b>				.247 (.248)	.122 (.215)			
<b>Interaction: EU * Econ. Volatility</b>				-.116* (.060)	-.114* (.060)			
<b>Years since the 1<sup>st</sup> election</b>					.004 (.017)			
<b>Wealth - GDP/PC (t-1)</b>						.086 (.176)		
<b>Unemployment (t-1)</b>						-.008 (.010)		
<b>Disproportionality</b>							.0264* (.0155)	.014 (.017)
<b>Constant</b>	-.202 (.192)	-5.741** (2.312)	-.341* (.197)	-.531** (.235)	-5.689** (2.232)	-.985 (1.575)	-.475* (.244)	-3.092 (2.323)
<b>Sigma (u)</b>	.234 (.177)	.129 (.217)	.211 (.176)	.259 (.171)	.138 (.204)	2.72e-16 (.182)	2.02e-16 (.176)	2.19e-17 (.152)
<b>Sigma (e)</b>	.662*** (.061)	.664*** (.061)	.645*** (.060)	.622*** (.058)	.630*** (.058)	.667*** (.058)	.644*** (.057)	.631*** (.056)

<b>Number of elections</b>	93	93	93	93	93	80	76	76
<b>Number of countries</b>	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
<b>Log Likelihood</b>	-91.93	-88.61	-89.54	-87.75	-84.84	-76.52	-71.04	-68.88
<b>Chi2</b>	107.5	143.5	118.7	114.7	157.5	157.2	163.1	168.7
<b>AIC</b>	197.9	193.2	195.1	195.5	193.7	173.0	158.1	157.8
<b>Censored Observations</b>	14	14	14	14	14	12	11	11
<b>Uncensored Observations</b>	79	79	79	79	79	68	65	65

Standard errors in parentheses; \* p< .10, \*\* p< .05, \*\*\* p< .01