

# The career of the term „Gipsy crime” in Hungarian political campaigns

**OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting**

Extremism and the Roma and Sinti in Europe: Challenges, Risks, Responses

*October 5, 2011*



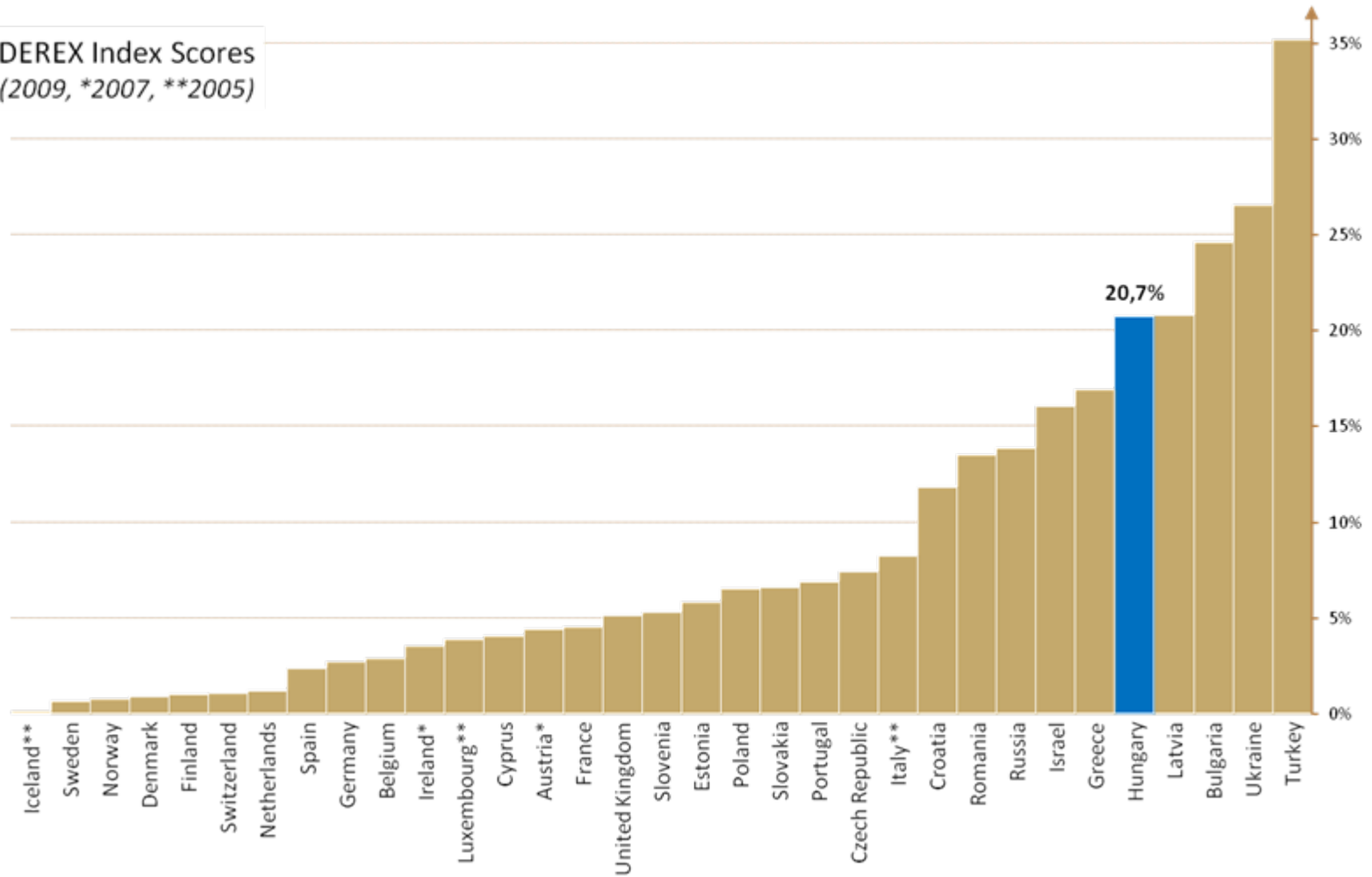
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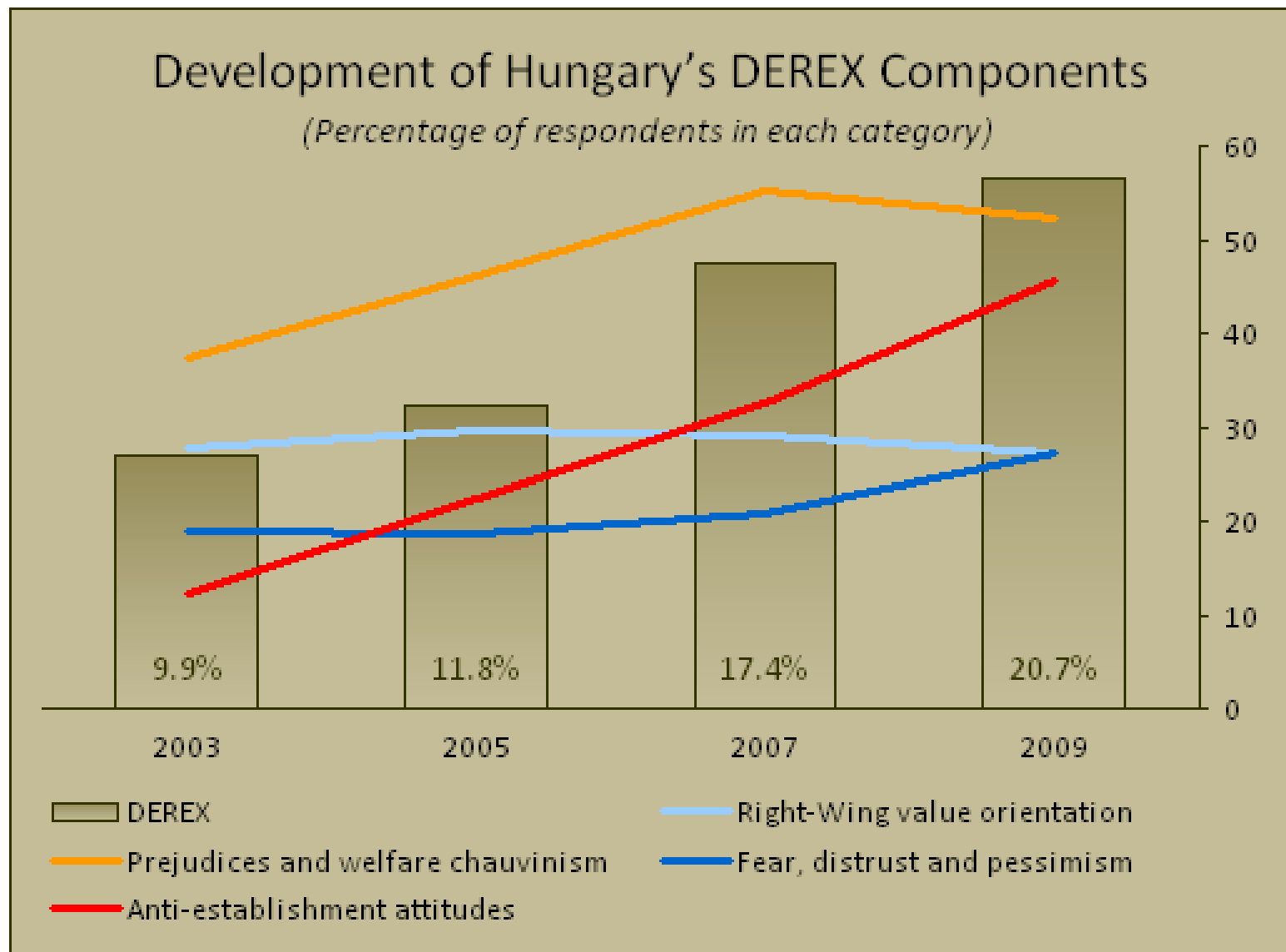
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# Demand for Right-Wing Extremism Index: international comparison

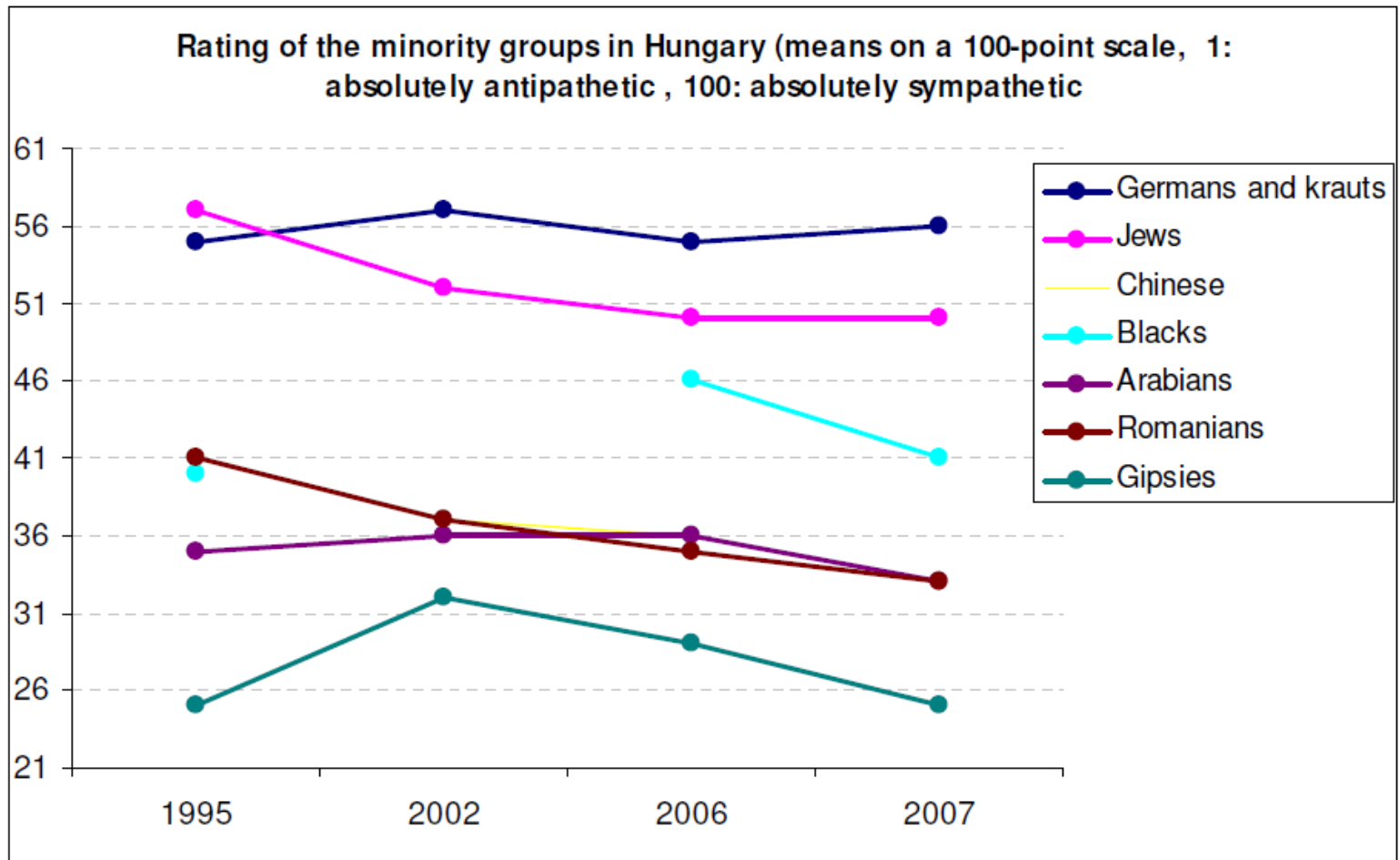
DEREX Index Scores  
(2009, \*2007, \*\*2005)



# Development of the Hungarian components



# Main target: the Roma

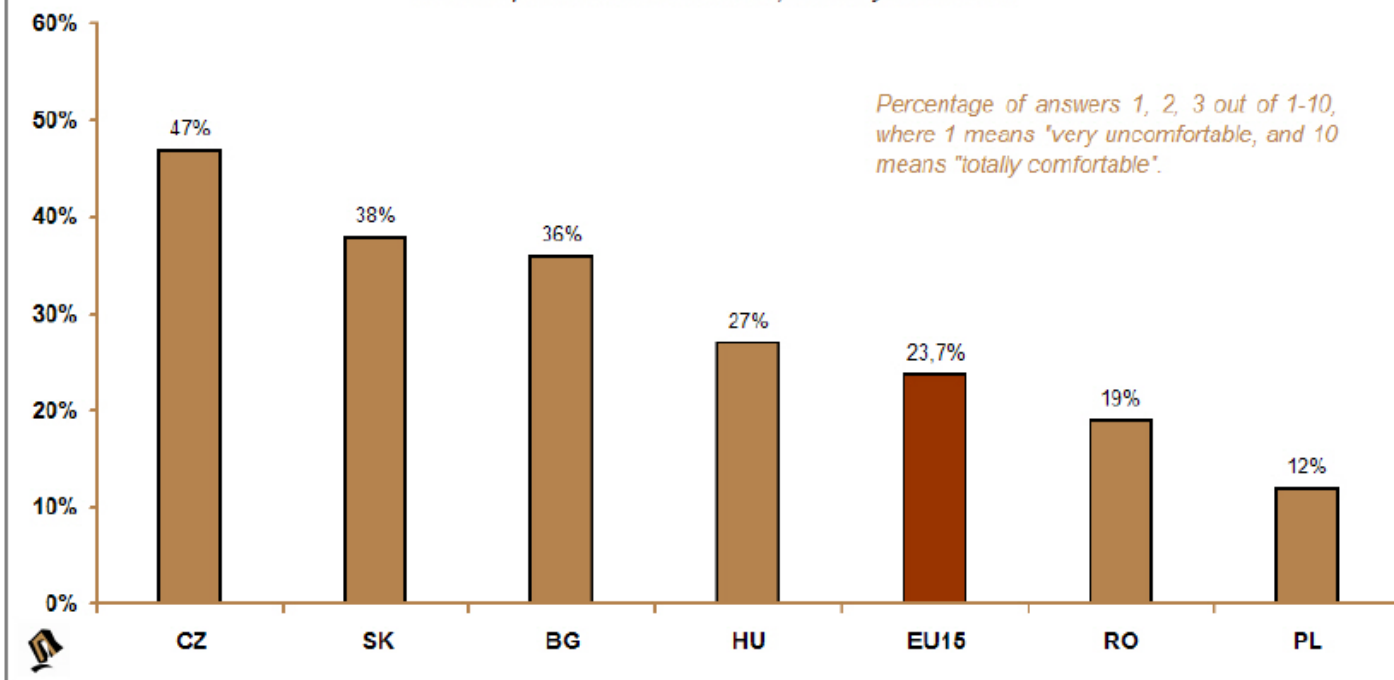


Source: Medián



### How would you personally feel about having a Roma as a neighbour?

Source: Special Eurobarometer 296, February-March 2008



# Percentage of Roma in Hungary

*The ratio of Roma population in the Eastern-European countries.*

	2003 estimate based on the figures of the 2001 census (%)	Estimates of the actual ratio (%)	Estimates of the actual number of Roma (thousand people)
Bulgaria	4.6	≈10	700-800
Czech Republic	0.3	≈3	250-300
Hungary	4.0	≈6	550-600
Romania	2.5	≈10	1800-2800
Slovakia	1.6	≈9	480-520

Source: Mizsei, 2006<sup>4</sup>

*Most researchers' estimations for the percentage of Roma vary from 6% to 10% of the population*



# Percentage of Roma in Hungary -perceived

*The ratio of Roma population within the total population  
as per the respondents' estimates (%)*

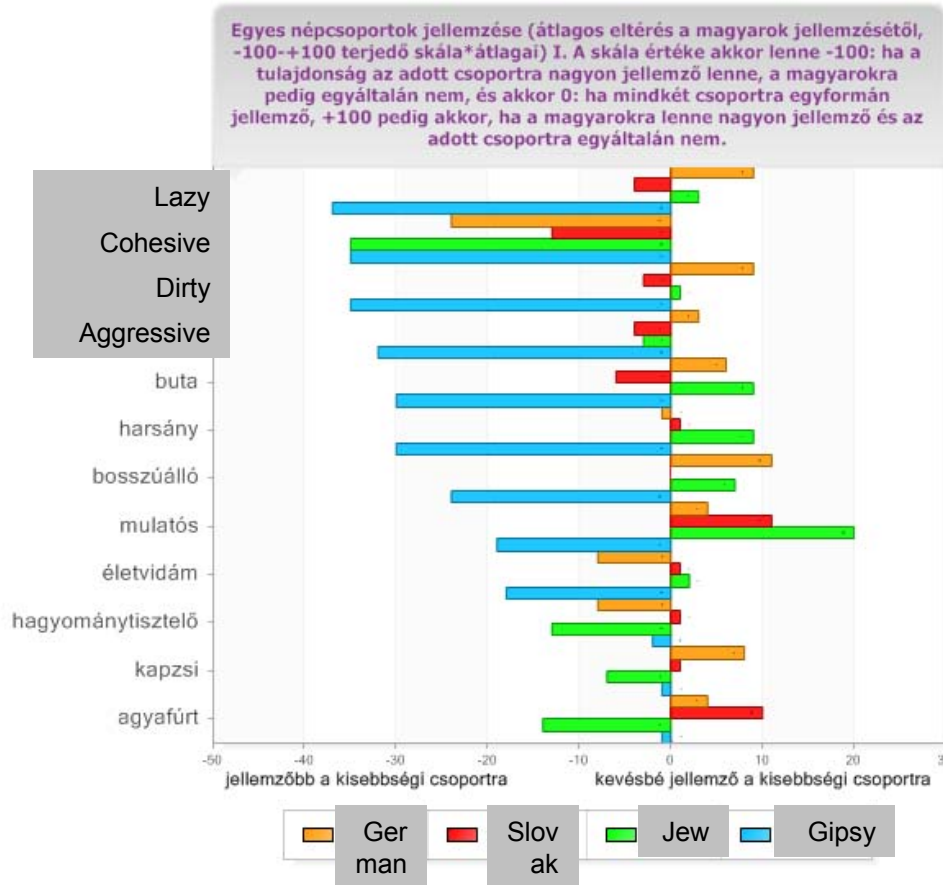
Twenty years ago	12.35
At present	22.40
Within twenty years	35.35

*Source: Székelyi- Örkény-Csepeli (2001)*





# The stereotypes of Roma



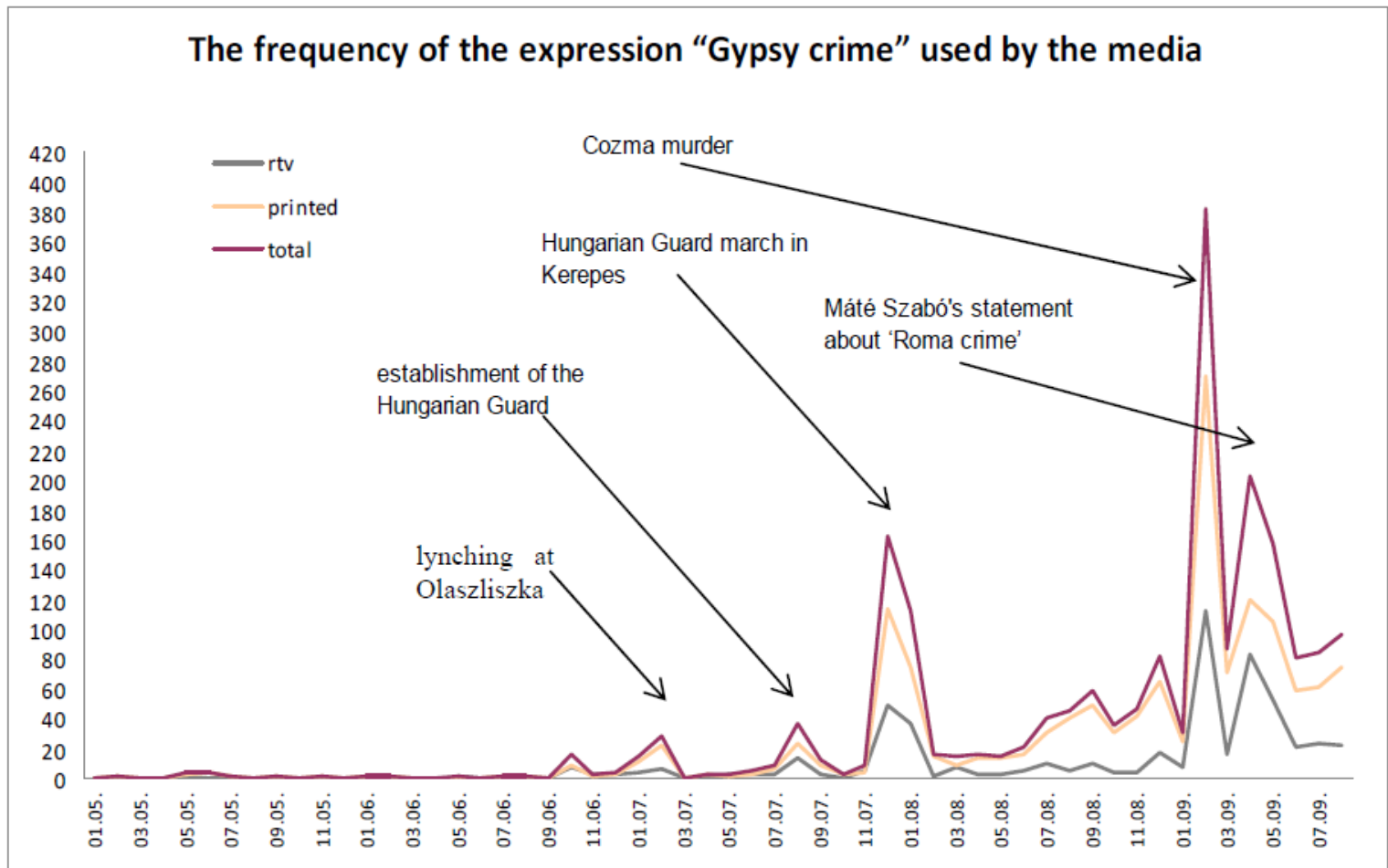
Source: Median



The Ant and the Cricket (Mórícka, 2008)



# „Gypsy crime” in the media



Source: Political Capital's calculations, based on Observer database



# The „Guard-phenomenon”: „fighting against Gipsy crime”



# The Guard-phenomenon

- Prejudices in Eastern Europe are generally linked to strong anti-establishment attitudes. This is blatantly obvious in the region's "guard" phenomenon, where right-wing parties support the formation of paramilitary organizations that openly question the



Bulgaria

- These groups practically call for an alternative state organization.
  - Bulgaria's National Guard organization came first in the summer of 2007,
  - followed by the Hungarian Guard (*Magyar Gárda*) in autumn 2007
  - and the Czech National Guard early 2008
- The West's extreme right-wing groups therefore do not really threaten democratic stability, while their Eastern European counterparts might.



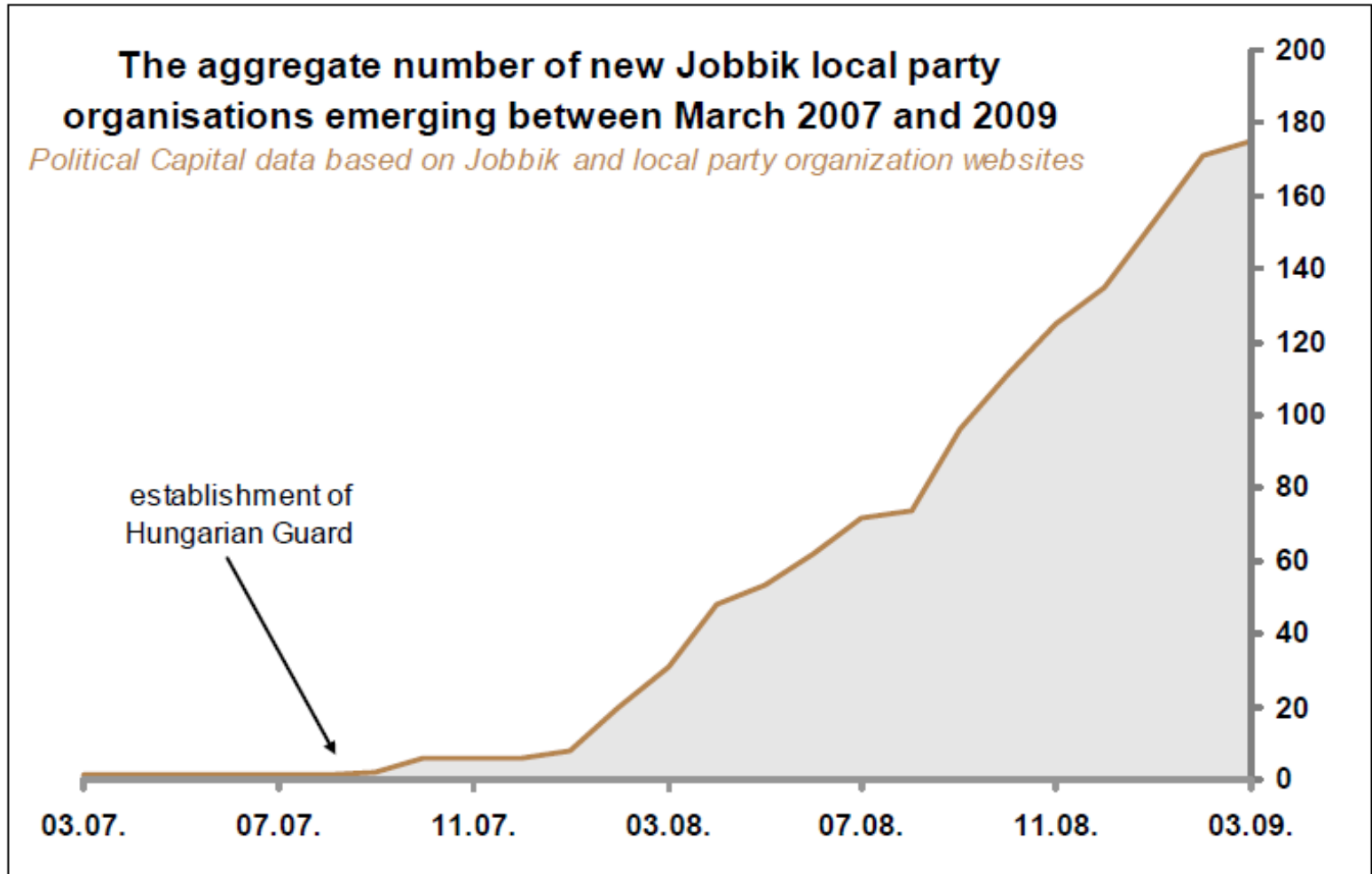
Czech Republic



Slovakia



# Guard as a sufficient recruiting tool





... And the result:

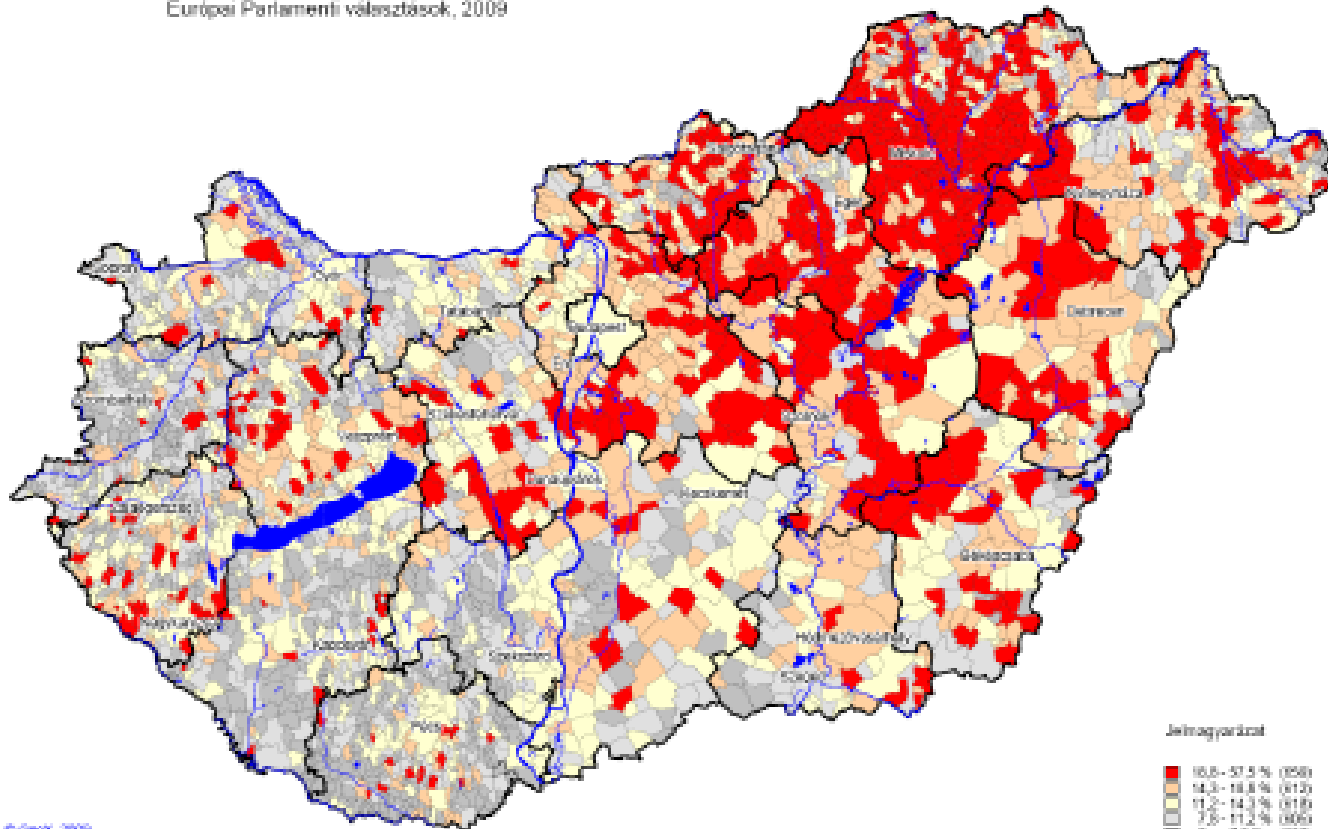


Jobbik's success: 14,8% of the votes on the 2009 EP election (triple of the previous estimations), 16,7% on the parliamentary elections in 2010



# Distribution of Jobbik votes in Hungary: 2009

JOBBIKra leadott szavazatok az érvényes szavazatok százalékában  
Európai Parlamenti választások, 2009

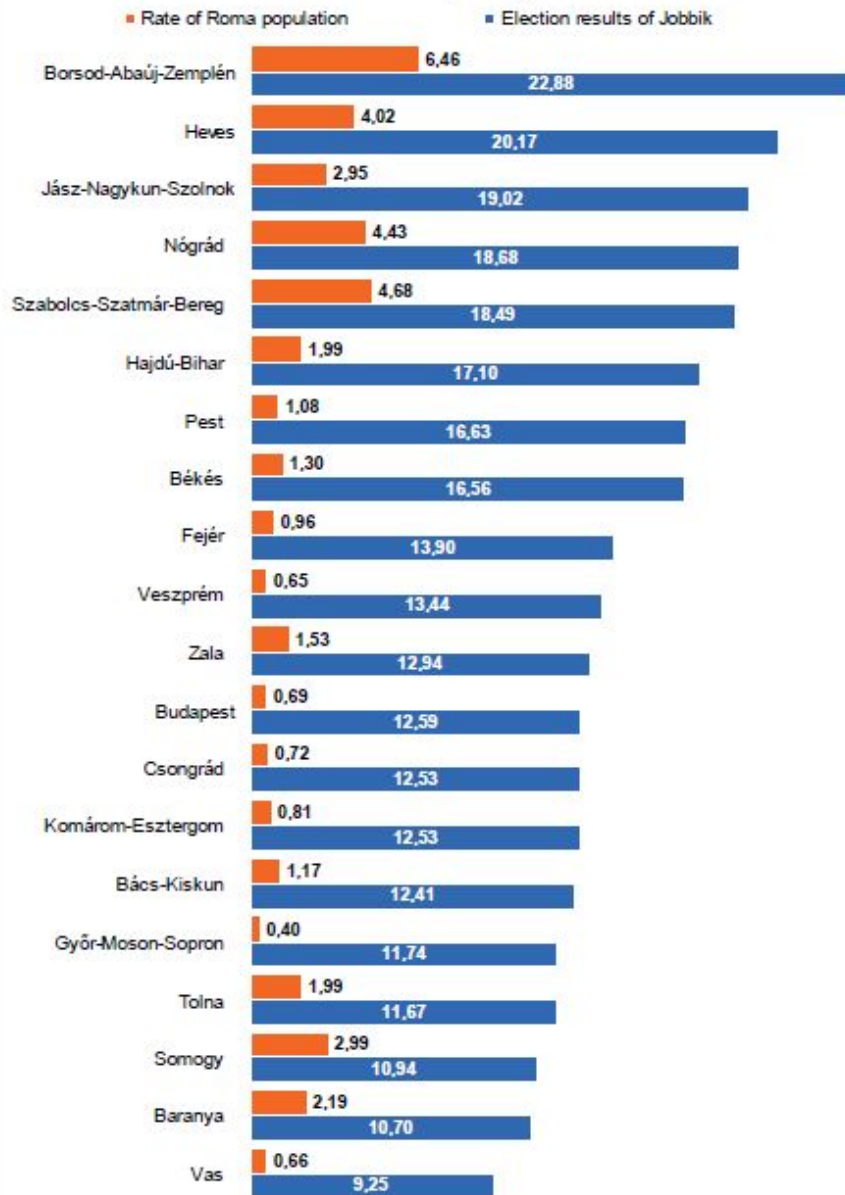


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The election results of Jobbik and the rate of population consider themselves Roma in Hungarian counties (%)

Source: OVB (EP2009), KSH



Strong correlation ( $R=0.8$ ) between the ratio of the Roma on county level (%) and Jobbik results (%)

# „Gypsy crime exists” -2010 municipality elections campaign

YouTube

jobbik cigánybűnözés



Keresés

Böngészés

Fel

Van cigánybűnözés - a félelem helyett válaszd a Jobbikot!

DerBergfuhrer

2 videó

Feliratkozás



Tetszik



+ Hozzáadás

Megosztás



77.740



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yIgdVxBwP1A>





# „Gipsy crime exists” -2010 municipality elections campaign

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# „Gipsy crime” as successful mobilization strategy



Anti-Roma March in Helyőszalonta



Better Future Civil Guard rally in Gyöngyöspata

**ÖSSZEFOGÁS A CIGÁNYTERROR ELLEN**  
**GYÖNGYÖSPATA**



**DEMONSTRÁCIÓ**

**BESZÉDET MOND:**  
**VONA GÁBOR ÉS**  
**SNEIDER TAMÁS**  
**A BESZÉDEK UTÁN**  
**FÁKLYÁS FELVONULÁS.**

**2011.03.06. 17.00**

**HELYSZÍN:**  
**GYÖNGYÖSPATA,**  
**FŐ TÉR PATAVÁR PANZIÓ ELŐTT**

GYÖNGYÖSPATA JOBBIK  
ALAPSZERVEZET



**JOBBIK**  
MAGYARORSZÁGÉRT  
MOZGALOM

„Joint effort against Gipsy terror” - Gyöngyöspata



# The new mayor of Gyöngyöspata

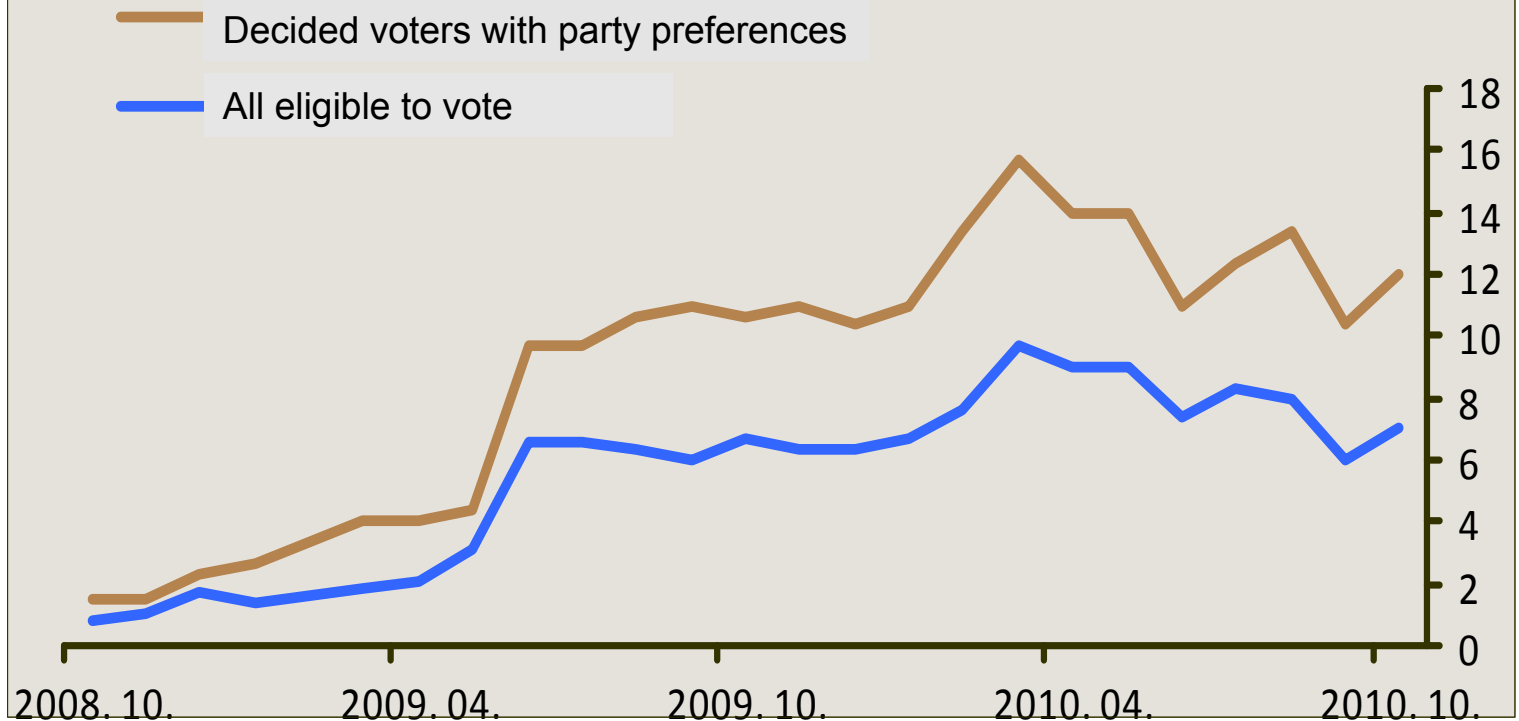


Successful field experiment: provoking conflicts → Inviting Guards → Winning elections (Oszkár Juhász)



## Jobbik's support in the previous two years

(%, average of data of Medián, Szonda-Ipsos, Századvég, Tárki polling institutes)



*Chances for further political growth:*

- Continuing austerity measures, increasing social conflicts
- Falling popularity of the governmental party Fidesz and the lack of left-wing opposition





# „Gipsy Crime” as the Synonym of Truth

- The slogan targets two enemies at the same time: the political elite and Roma
  - The Roma are responsible for most violent crime
  - BUT politicians, policy egg-heads and opinion-leaders are lying to the people and want to cover this truth from the People (or they are behind this process...)



- Jobbik is the only one who dares to deal with this problem and expressing the truth

*„This is not prejudice, this is experience, this is the truth. But there was total silence on this topic, and Jobbik and the Hungarian Guard had the historical role to break this silence” Gábor Vona, president of Jobbik, 2009*

- **Perfect term for populist political mobilization**

Thank you for your  
attention!

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