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# ABSTRACTS

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## POST-COMMUNIST MANAGERIALISM: THE REMAKING OF THE ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In this paper we explore what – if anything – is unique in the nature of economic institutions and social structure of post-communist societies.

Our point of departure is David Stark's proposition: it may be teleological and misleading to think about post-communism as transition from state socialism towards a well defined destination – namely liberal capitalism.

We develop a theory of *post-communism* which perceives this social formation as *managerial capitalism*. We offer first a sketch what the economic institutions of this new system may be. We develop an outline of the *political economy of post-communist managerialism*: an economic system in which diffuse property relation, the absence of identifiable owners of corporate assets coexists with capital and labor markets. Next we try to offer a few empirically testable hypotheses concerning the dynamics of *social structure* of the emergent new society: 1) We will show that the incumbents of command positions of post-communist economy are composed by those who were already in managerial positions before the fall of communism. 2) We will demonstrate – that contrary to the expectation of the political capitalism theory, which anticipated the making of a nomenklatura bourgeoisie the incumbents of these positions are usually not owners, the basis of their power and privilege is not property of wealth, but professional expertise. 3) We also will show that the managerial elite resembles in many ways the members of the new politocracy and of the cultural elites. The new power elite of post-communist formation is not composed by owners, but the technocracy-corporate managerial elite and the new politocracy constitutes – to put it with Bourdieu – its dominant fraction, with the humanistic and social science elite intellectuals as its dominated fraction.

While we will show that the ruling elites of post-communism do have an interest to reproduce the uniquely diffuse property relations upon which post-communist managerialism is based and it may have an interest *not* to promote the development of identifiable owners, or a propertied grand bourgeoisie, such a class still can emerge and post-communist managerial capitalism may eventually converge with capitalism of the West European or North American type.

CS. KISS, LAJOS-GALLÓ, BÉLA

#### ON AESTHETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL IMAGE

In the paper an attempt is made to construe the meaning of image in politics. On the basis of the theory of dramaturgic action, the study finds the "scene" metaphor suitable for explaining the mentioned problem and sets up an original conceptual framework. According to this concept the political image is one of the functional problem of political identification. The process of identification involves cognitive, normative and aesthetical dimensions which can guarantee the authenticity of the political actors (organizations and politicians) only together. Though the cognitive and normative dimensions are very important, but the crucial moment in the process of gaining the voters falls to the aesthetical dimension. The fundamental tenet of the paper is that the image is to be considered as part of the aesthetical dimension of political action and identification and the political actors play their roles according to the rules of dramaturgic action and communicative logic. The image can be represented both in narrative and iconic ways and practically it is composed of technological, historical and current political elements. Using this conception and putting the "scene" metaphor concretely, the authors, on the basis of making interviews with the party leaders and of analyzing documents and presentations, studied the image of an Hungarian party called Alliance of Free Democrats and the image of its politicians between 1990 and 1994.

FÁBIÁN, GYÖRGY-KOVÁCS, LÁSZLÓ IMRE

#### THE TYPOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND THE HUNGARIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM

There are a lot of reasons for the necessity of rethinking the classification of electoral systems. One of them is that the new East-Central European electoral systems – among them especially the Hungarian one – couldn't be classified on the basis of the traditional typologies. The new developmental trends in the changes of electoral systems raise the question of rethinking the classification as well.

This paper gives an overview of some classification problems of electoral systems. There are a lot of attempts to classify electoral systems that differ from each other in purposes, in criteria and in points of view. The purpose of this study is to discuss the merits and limits of these classifications and to propose a new approach to the issue.

The authors prefer those classifications which discuss the point in a continuum, and as complexly as possible. As a consequence we propose to include a new point of view, to take the pairs of notions – “parity-disparity” and “proportionality-disproportionality” – and their linkage point into consideration. Using this point of view it would be possible to take the simplicity of taking part in the electoral competition into consideration. From this point of view the Hungarian system is strong and disproportional.

On the basis of the plurality-proportional dichotomy there are opinions saying that the Hungarian system is a plurality one, and there are views which regard the system as a proportional one. In our opinion this system could be regarded neither as a proportional, nor as a plurality one, and couldn't be regarded as a “mixed system” in the traditional sense of this notion. Within the so called “mixed systems” we must distinguish “proportional mixed”, “plurality mixed” and “intermediate mixed” systems. The new Hungarian system doesn't belong to any of these categories. We suggest that such systems form a new type of the “mixed systems”, a consistent “combined” system that differs from the traditional “mixed” systems, because it doesn't consist of the mixture of the proportional and the plurality systems, but it means a new quality. And this conclusion determines the possibilities of the reform of the Hungarian electoral system, the problem that has been discussed in the closing part of the paper.

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