

ABSTRACTS

Béla Greskovits

THE FRAGILE EQUILIBRIUM OF CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN THE “GREAT TRANSITION” OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

The paper is an edited version of the lecture given at the Bibó-award ceremony. It differentiates among three types of East Central European capitalist democracies: the neoliberal system of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the embedded neoliberalism of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, and the neocorporatist capitalism of Slovenia. By applying and further developing the theory of Karl Polanyi I consider the market economy, on one hand, and the institutions of the welfare state aiming at sustaining social cohesion, on the other, as the cornerstone institutions of the new capitalist models. These institutions are in inherent tensions with each other and these conflicts are supposed to be attenuated or coordinated by the political sphere, more precisely the governments – if they are capable to do so. The coordination might be in peril if the political sphere is not able to provide a responsible and responsive mode of governance. There is in fact a relationship that links the disequilibrium between responsibility and responsiveness to the two illnesses of democracy: the disinterest of citizens in politics and the conscious dismantling of democratic institutions. The new combinations of bad governance and ill democracies that emerged in the ECE region after the global economic crisis might undermine the prospects of the new capitalist systems.

Keywords: varieties of capitalism, Karl Polanyi, responsible and responsive governance, democratic backsliding

Adrienn Tóth – Gabriella Ilonszki

PARTIES OR VOTERS? THE OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES OF FEMALE CANDIDATES IN SINGLE MEMBER DISTRICTS 1998–2010

The article aims to explore the reasons of female political under-representation in Hungary in a yet under-researched area that is in candidate nomination in

single member districts. The research question is whether it is party nomination strategies or the voters' attitudes that explain women's low presence.

By utilising the supply and demand model as well as the personal vote conceptual background the analysis covers the four parliamentary elections between 1998 and 2000 concerning the two largest parties, MSzP and Fidesz. The demand for female candidates is very low in both parties and a gendered candidate nomination context prevails although the range and dynamics of discrimination are different in the two parties. Overall, female candidates appear in smaller proportions, in less advantageous nomination structures and among worse opportunity conditions than their male counterparts. In face of the parties' gendered nomination strategies the presence of a modest personal gender vote remains an interesting phenomenon. Still, the electoral performance of the nominating party has the largest impact on the electoral results of individual candidates in SMDs. Further research is necessary to clarify the nature of supply constraints that prospective female candidates have to face.

Key words: Candidate nomination, gendered nomination context, supply and demand, personal vote

Zsófia Papp – Zorigt Burtejin

THE EFFECTS OF CHANGING ELECTION RULES AND THE CHANGING POLITICAL CONTEXT ON CAMPAIGN PERSONALISATION.
THE LESSONS OF A NATURAL EXPERIMENT

This paper aims at capturing how the recent changes of Hungary's mixed-member electoral system altered the candidates' personal vote-seeking strategies. Based on the literature, our main hypothesis is that the growing role of the majoritarian tier increases the incentives for personalization. By utilizing the data from two consecutive waves of the Comparative Candidate Survey, we show that the average level of campaign personalization decreased from 2010 to 2014. Semi-structured interviews with nine campaign experts confirm that on the short run the political constraints were more important in determining the personalisation of campaign strategies than the institutional settings.

Keywords: Campaign, personalization, electoral system, candidates, national elections

Veronika Patkós

SELF-JUSTIFICATION AND WISHFUL THINKING IN VOTERS' DECISIONS
IN THE 2014 ELECTIONS

This paper investigates cognitive biases in voters' thinking employing an experimental method. It aims at mapping the relationships in voters' mind between the perceived quality and the winning probability of the chosen party, and also how that connection influenced the act of voting itself. The research replicates two former researches on a sample of Hungarian voters surveyed during the 2014 elections. Regan and Kilduff (1988) showed that voters attribute significantly higher winning chances to the chosen party after voting than immediately beforehand, while Frenkel and Doob (1976) found that voting enhances not only perceived winning probabilities, but also the attractiveness of the party. However, the present research did not find such a relationship. The act of voting does not have an effect either on winning probabilities, or on the attractiveness of parties. However, there is a relationship between perceived winning probabilities and attractiveness of parties. Even though the applied experimental design is not adequate to explore the exact causal mechanism, the paper provides arguments to both possibilities. On the one hand, there is a wishful thinking effect present, meaning that voters think very optimistically about winning chances of the supported party, and, on the other hand, voters engage in anticipatory rationalization: they see the supported party as less attractive when it is not likely to win and more attractive if it has good winning chances.

Keywords: Electoral behaviour, rationalisation, wishful thinking, self-justification, experimental method

Gabriella Szabó – Márton Bene – Anna Antal – Attila Farkas
GET OUT! RADICAL RIGHT-WING MEDIA IN THE NETWORK
OF THE HUNGARIAN MEDIA SPHERE

This study identifies and examines the positions of the radical right media within the general network structure of the media sphere in Hungary. We suggest a case study approach in which the media networks of four controversial political topics of the year 2014 are explored. To compose the networks, we concentrate on the interaction ties that are defined here as direct, and explicit citations or hyperlinks to the content of other media products. The empirical test of ideal typical networks reveals that the radical right products stay under the radar of the mainstream media. The results indicate that the concept of

media influence in radicalisation of politics should be reworked. To do so, Hungary is an excellent illustrative case as a country in which the radical right-wing Jobbik party won 20.54 per cent of the votes in the 2014 parliamentary election that cemented its status as by far the largest radical right group in Central Europe.

Keywords: Media, radical right, network analysis, public sphere, Hungary

Ervin Csizmadia

POLITICAL AND PARTY DEVELOPMENT: A HISTORY-BASED OVERVIEW
OF THE LITERATURE

The paper reviews the path of the two key phrases of political science which appeared in the 1960s – political development and party development – in the decades since. It finds that the political development school was the mainstream in political science for a long period. Later, however, this role was taken over by other schools of thought. Following the 60s, the direction of research in the field of political development changed: the study of American Political Development (APD) and Central Eastern European political development appeared. The author also finds that the 60s are also the starting point in the research on parties; however, the direction of interest changes significantly later in that area as well to the study of party organizations or the representative functions of parties for example. The author states in his conclusion that revisiting earlier texts may prove useful for today's political and party research as well.

Key words: Political development, party development, paradigms, continuity and change, transition