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CENTRE FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES
INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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I. Main activities of the Institute in 2019

In 2019, The Institute for Political Science of HAS Centre for Social Sciences reinforced its leading role in the regional and national research arena of political science.

In The Democratic Efficacy and the Varieties of Populism in Europe (DEMOS) research project led by the Institute, the theoretical foundations have been established and based on the international literature and empirical analysis, the ideal-typical patterns of the processes of populist public policy making have also been explored. The results of the research were presented by our team at the 2019 ESPAnet Conference in Stockholm and the manuscript containing a summary of the findings has been submitted by the authors, Attila Bartha, Zsolt Boda and Dorottya Szikra to the academic journal, *Policy and Politics*.

On 4 April, the Centre for Social Sciences hosted a conference in honour of András Körösenyi, where former students, friends and colleagues presented their works. Körösenyi is not simply one of the most cited Hungarian political scientists, but his research, spanning three decades, has contributed to areas as diverse as Hungarian politics, the theory of democracy and politics, research into political elites, political leadership and electoral behaviour. The conference attempted to showcase the variety of and breadth of his oeuvre.

In 2019, the researchers of the Institute published 87 scientific publications of which 10 articles were published in leading international journals (listed in the SSCI) with a combined impact factor of 11.012 and the highest value of 3.066. Addressed to a non-academic readership, the Institute published a 180-page collection of studies, entitled „Hibrid rezsimek: A politikatudomány X-aktái” címmel [Hybrid regimes: The X-files of political science]. In the volume, the Institute’s researchers and university-based researchers discuss the different dimensions of recent political changes in Hungary and beyond. The Institute publishes the *Hungarian Political Science Review*, the only refereed/peer-reviewed political science journal in Hungary.

Until August 2019 researchers of the Institute presented 76 papers at international and 63 papers at domestic conferences. In 2019, The Institute for Political Science of HAS Centre for Social Sciences hosted the annual conference of the Comparative Agendas Project. At this highly successful event, more than 80 participants presented their research findings in 7 parallel sections and 18 panels. The purpose of the conference was to share the results of the most recent ongoing research on public policy within the CAP network. An international array of speakers included experts from the USA, China and many Western-European countries and represented leading universities and research institutes, including the University of North Carolina, the University of Barcelona, SciencePo Paris, Aarhus University, the Catholic University of Leuven, and the University of Edinburgh.

Until 31 August 2019, researchers of the Institute submitted 12 international and 3 domestic research grant proposals. Furthermore, the Institute’s researchers have secured several

individual, conference and research grants (e.g. Bolyai, Sasakawa, and Ernst Mach research grants).

I. Outstanding research and other results in 2019

a) Outstanding research results

Participation, representation, party orientation – Election research 2018

Following the schedule established by the research plan, the third year of the four-year research programme has seen the processing and the dissemination of the data. The databases that we created have led to two doctoral dissertations as well as multiple MA theses. A member of the research team attended a prestigious academic summer school in 2019 to learn about the most recent advances in panel data analysis, which substantially contributed to the processing of our dataset. The panel analysis revealed that the party identification and rational choice models are applicable to the Hungarian electorate. The research conducted before and after the 2018 parliamentary elections showed that party identification was the most powerful explanatory factor, but it also demonstrated that there are certain societal groups, especially among the more educated urban citizens, where the rational choice model works better.

Surveying the Protesters: Testing the Cultural Perception of Interviewees by Protesters and Standardizing Methodology

Our researchers conducted questionnaire-based protest-surveying on two occasions: as part of an international research cooperation extending to nine countries, we examined the first global climate strike, and the second global climate strike as well on 24 May in Budapest. The results of the first data collection were published in a research report. Both Hungarian and international findings indicate that young women are over-represented in the climate movement. The results of the first data wave as well as the methodology of questionnaire-based protest research have been disseminated at a Hungarian and an international conference.

Personal Accountability: the Electoral Influence of Representatives' Actions

The main research question of the project concerns the "pork barrel" form of electoral district representation, in other words, we ask whether increased government expenditure at any given district really increases the government's share of the votes after the next municipal elections. The 2019 findings of the research indicate that the allocation of the EU structural funds significantly influences the success-rate of the governing party's representatives at the next elections. This is especially true in municipalities whose mayor represents the governing party. As regards the representation of municipal public policy interests in Parliament, we have established that the local agricultural profile had a positive influence on the number of agriculture-related questions submitted by the representatives. The agricultural questions increased the number of votes for the representatives in elections where agriculture was presented as a central question (in 2002) and during major transformations of political power (2010).

Political Sophistication and Party Bias

The project examines three characteristics of "smart voters" as factors that might strengthen political bias. Our findings indicate that interest in politics and news consumption strengthen bias, whereas education has no such effect. Therefore, the downside to being interested and well-informed in politics, which are both vital to the functioning of democracy, is that they lead to biased decisions.

Political Communication in Hungary, 1990-2015

2019 sees the closing of this project, therefore the year was mostly spent publishing the final results and presenting them at domestic and international conferences. The volume describing the processes in political communication between 2006 and 2015, entitled "A centralizáció évei. Politikai kommunikáció Magyarországon, 2006 - 2015" [The Years of Centralisation: Political Communication in Hungary, 2006–2015] was published in February. The comprehensive overview of the project was finalised before the end of summer and will be published by L'Harmattan Publishing House this year. The most important results of the research was that it has identified a shift in Hungarian political communication from an elite and media-centred communication to electoral-segment-specific and personalised means of communication. This tendency corresponds in many respects to the processes observed in other democratic countries, or at least it is well-captured by the models developed there.

Political Communication on Facebook

The foundations of this research programme were established in a doctoral dissertation successfully defended this year. During the past half-year, a study has been written about the types of contents that evoke reaction to Hungarian politicians' Facebook profiles. The research utilised text mining methodologies to process a database of more than 38000 posts. The results have been presented at the Tokyo Poltext workshop as well. The results indicate that during the campaign corruption-related contents spread quickly over Facebook; the posts on migration, however, surprisingly, spawn more limited user activity. The results, furthermore, indicate an inverse theme-setter impact, i.e. the politicians' posts that voice their party's themes spur less reaction than their responses to the opposing party's themes. The international visibility of the project is ensured by CamforS cooperation.

Sectoral Voting

This research project is a joint endeavour of the University of Basel and IPS. Its aim is to explain electoral behaviour on the basis of the job market and political clientelism. Sectoral voting is significant in countries where the job-market-related party preferences are dominant. If political clientelism is strong at certain economic areas, sectoral voting is even more probable. In 2019, our team lay the theoretical foundations of the research and elaborated the data-collection methodology of the empirical research.

Right-wing Populist Electoral Winning Formulas

The research aims to investigate the electoral behaviour that sustains the Austrian right-wing populism from the perspective of the suppliers, i.e. the political parties. The research has reached the conclusion that the radical right wing Austrian FPÖ party has reached long-term success as a result of its ability to adapt to the changing political landscape. The project identified four components of a successful strategy in the consent-seeking democracy of Austria, these include narrow political competition, demand for change in society, the broadening of FPÖ's expert policy making profile, and the general right-wing shift in political affairs.

The Norm-following and Norm-setting Strategies of Political Elites

Even though Hungary experienced a Western-style political transition, this did not lead to a shared attitude to Europe by the elites. The research has demonstrated that during the past 30 years the elite's late Kádár-regime norm-following attitude, which proved dominant throughout the transition as well, was later challenged by a new, alternative elite's norm-setting image of Europe. The data show that instead of one image of Europe (and its anti-Europe counterpart) we have two opposing images of Europe. The research has led to the conclusion that further

research is needed into the international political orientation of the domestic elites, and the author wishes to continue the project.

Algorithmed Public Spheres, 2017-2019

This is a joint research project of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw and IPS. The aim is to explore the operation and political significance of the automatized social media profiles (so-called 'bots'), whose purpose is to influence public opinion, from a Central-Eastern-European perspective. The Polish data, collected from Twitter during the campaign of the 2019 European Parliament elections, suggests that a significant number of bots utilise retweets and faves, but there are also many sophisticated automates, which rely on replies and quotations, as means of influencing digital publicity. The analysis has concluded that bot-technologies are becoming more sophisticated and show a high-level of cooperation between humans and the algorithms.

Journalistic Role Performance

As part of the project, joining a consortium led by the Chilean Valparaíso University, IPS endeavours to map the changes in journalistic roles. 2019 saw the publication and dissemination of the results of the first wave of the research. The most important steps include: a publication in the *International Journal of Press/Politics* and a volume currently under preparation, to be published by Routledge, as well as a panel at the conference of the International Communication Association. The project concluded that the differences in journalists' roles in the world have less to do with regional or cultural patterns and much more to do with the political and economic environment of the media.

Political Realism

The research has two major thematic focuses: a sub-project supported by an NKFIH-grant focused on the "realistic turnaround" of contemporary domestic political thinking. In addition, several studies have been published on the classic issues of contemporary realist political theory (the relationship between morality and politics). The research is a complex group project, its outstanding result so far is Zoltán Gábor Szűcs's English-language monograph to be published soon by a British university press, as well as a publication in a prestigious journal.

Judicial Constraints on Legislation in Central Europe (JUDICON)

The research examined the role of constitutional courts, as well as their influence on legislation in the framework of an international, comparative project, since in the past few years major tensions between parliamentary majorities and constitutional courts directed observers' attention to the relationship between legislation and constitutional adjudication in Central and Eastern Europe. In the second, empirical phase of the project researchers from approximately 20 countries will participate.

The Return of Weberian Leaders

Plebiscitary leader democracy, as a way to understand current political trends in democracies, promises new, alternative approaches compared to populism and hybrid-regime research in political theory and empirical research. The most outstanding result of the project in 2019 has been a paper published in *East European Politics and Society*.

Comparative Agendas Project (CAP)

The project is currently processing every single Hungarian interpellation of all time, including the text, its major data, as well as consolidation into a database and a corpus. Our initial results appear to confirm our hypothesis that in authoritarian regimes (i.e. state socialism) interpellations tend to concern local issues in much higher proportions than in more democratic periods. The database will be among the largest worldwide, both in terms of its temporal scope

and item number. This project also explores the dynamics of different regimes' political agendas, currently the processing of data is underway.

The Role of East-Central European Countries in the Cold War, 1945–1991

The research aims to examine the role of East-Central European countries in the formation of the policies of the Soviet Bloc, as well as how they shaped the relations between the East and the West during the Cold War. The latest studies indicate that the role of East-Central European countries in the formation of the policies of the Soviet Bloc, as well as in the relations between the East and the West was much more significant than had been previously thought. The relations between Moscow and its allies and the countries of the Bloc, as well as those between the Bloc countries themselves followed a much more complex pattern than is commonly held nowadays both in the East and the West. The results of the systematic examination of the archival sources so far seem to confirm the above thesis.

Legitimacy and the Motivations to Collective Action: Factors Influencing Tax Morale

Our research has demonstrated that there is a connection between government legitimacy and the readiness to pay taxes (as well as the commitment to decent tax paying, also known as tax morale), of which precise description still requires further research. The early results indicate that government legitimacy seems to influence tax compliance and tax morale. The data shows that the public services offered by the government are seen by taxpayers as guarantees that their contributions are spent on introducing/developing services that are useful to them. Decreasing legitimacy means that the guarantees are jeopardised, which can, in turn, lead to weakened commitment and compliance.

The Europeanisation of Hungarian Public Policy

The research has demonstrated that there is no correlation between the Hungarian government's attitude to the EU and the proportion of legislation with a European origin; there have not been major differences in this respect between the Socialist and the Fidesz governments. Another important result is that in Hungary Europeanisation has had a negligible effect on the formal quality of law-making. The stability of the laws shows no significant correlation with either the presence of EU keywords, or their actual EU origins, or with proactive government behaviour. Only EU legal competences have a demonstrable effect on the quality of Hungarian law-making, but even this is significantly limited. The probability of not altering laws is significantly higher only in those areas where the EU enjoys exclusive legal competence. When it comes to Hungary, only trade policy and international agreements formed as part of EU foreign policy can be regarded as such areas of public policy.

Populist Moment or Populist Era? A Comparative Study of Western and Eastern Populism

The purpose of our research is to explore those public policy phenomena that have contributed to the strengthening of populism. The project follows a mixed methodological research design. The cross-country comparisons are based on a database built from data provided by international surveys (ESS, TIMBRO, V-DEM). The dependent variable of the analysis was the readiness to vote for populist parties. From among the available explanatory variables, we used variables of (1) policy making success; (2) the polarisation of preferences; and (3) the institutional characteristics of public policy making processes. In addition to the above analysis, we conducted more detailed, qualitative research with respect to selected countries (these included Greece, Lithuania, Hungary, and Turkey). A key insight offered by the research was that technocratic government, which tends to prioritise success in policy, while neglecting public opinion, tends to be advantageous to the spread of populism. Success in policy making, majority preferences and populist voting choices show no clear correlation; these factors only

lead to the strengthening of populism under certain procedural and discursive conditions. Such a constellation can occur, if resentment towards democratic institutions (in the name of efficiency) becomes general, or when socio-cultural divisions are deepened through the discursive processes of enemy-creation.

Regional developmental capacities in the European peripheries: Managing foreign investments and EU funds in Eastern and Southern Europe

In the NUTS2 regions of the five countries covered by the project (Poland, Hungary Romania, Portugal, and Spain), we have found that during the 2003–2016 period the added value of foreign investments (dependent variable) shows a significant negative association with the quality of the regional institutions, while there is no statistically significant relationship between EU funds spent in the regions (total EU funds per capita spent through the Cohesion Policy) and the dependent variable. However, the initial level of development (in terms of GDP/capita), and the regional competitiveness index are positively related to the added value of investments. The results thus contradict the assumed positive relationship between the quality of institutions and that of investments. The country-level analysis revealed that among the three Central-European countries, in Hungary and Romania the added value of aided foreign investments was significantly lower than the average added value of all foreign investments, whereas in Poland the added value of aided foreign investments significantly exceeded that of all other foreign investments. These findings suggest that the three countries have very different industrial policies. So far, only Poland has succeeded in directing state aid to foreign investments with greater added value. In Hungary, this does not feature as a strategic objective, while in Romania the weak institutional capacities hinder such a development.

Mechanisms of Legitimation in Hybrid Regimes

In our research we examined the theoretically relevant legitimating mechanisms of hybrid regimes through the example of Singapore. We have shown that Singapore’s legitimacy relies on a complex legitimising toolkit, in which, besides the economic and welfare success achieved (output legitimisation), the ideology and discourse of meritocracy also plays a significant part, as well as the strategic timing of elections (input legitimation). A further element of the legitimising strategy concerns the participation of the citizens in processes of public policy, or rather the perception of participation (process legitimation). We also highlight how the different types of legitimation mutually strengthen each other.

b) Science and Society

Dissemination of the research output of the Institute for Political Science has reached a broader audience than in previous years. Written for a non-academic readership, “Hibrid rezsimék: A politikatudomány X-aktái” [Hybrid regimes: The X-files of political science] was launched at the 90th Festive Book Week and its major findings have been reported on by the media.

The Institute’s blog, launched in 2017, aims to present our research projects in a concise and accessible manner. According to our data, many of our blog posts are followed by thousands of readers and are regularly featured in university courses.

All the important news, job advertisements, research results, conferences, jointly organised events at the Centre for Social Sciences are posted on the Institute’s website. The English and Hungarian profiles of the researchers are updated regularly at <https://politikatudomany.tk.mta.hu/en/>.

News of the Institute and political science, job openings, internships, research results, as well as conferences are also shared on the Institute's Facebook profile, which is currently liked by 1886 people and followed by 1933 people.

III. Domestic and international R&D relations in 2019

The members of the Institute were organizers of several prestigious domestic and international conferences and they contributed to numerous international research projects.

In the IPS lecture series this year, among others, Stefaan A. J. Walgrave (University of Antwerp), Andres Moles, Jennifer McCoy (Georgia State University), Alexander Baturó (Dublin City University) introduced their research.

The POLTEXT text mining project conducted its artificial intelligence operations in collaboration with SZTAKI. In cooperation with the Budapest University of Technology and Economics and the HAS CSS Institute for Legal Studies the research group also held a joint workshop on "The Ontology and Networks of Legal Texts: Logical and Text Mining Analyses"

The Institute hosted four guest researchers this year.

One researcher of the institute is the current chair of NISPAcee as well as the vice-president for Eastern-European Affairs in IRSPM. Another colleague of ours has become a member of the chairing committee of the Political Sociology division of the European Sociological Association. Another IPS fellow is steering committee-member at the Comparative Candidates Survey project. Two researchers serve as management committee-members of the Cost Action 17135 (Constitution-making and deliberative democracy) project.

Several researchers of the Institute participate in graduate and PhD programs as lecturers (e.g. at Corvinus University of Budapest and ELTE). In 2019, our fellows held courses at Rajk László College for Advanced Studies, Széchenyi István College for Advanced Studies and Bibó István College for Advanced Studies.

IV. Brief summary of national and international research proposals, winning in 2019

By the end of the period under review, most proposals submitted by the Institute have not been decided on yet. The list below contains the winning projects.

- In the EU-COST, CA 18205 grant programme Tibor Valuch won support, for a project entitled "WORCK - Worlds of Related Coercions in Work", from September 2019 to September 2023.
- Miklós Sebők won an international conference support grant (MTA NKSZ-37/2019) for his project "Public Policy Agendas in International Comparison".
- Veronika Patkós won NKA funding (203137/3603) for the publication of a volume entitled "Szekértáborharc?" [Trench Warfare?].
- Dániel Oross and Dániel Mikecz have won support for their project proposal, entitled "Mobilization and Narratives of Contemporary Climate Activism among Austrian and Hungarian Youth" from Stiftung Aktion Österreich-Ungarn.
- Funded by MTA INKP grant, three of our researchers participated at international conferences: Dániel Oross presented a paper at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops; András Szántó participated at the ECPR General Conference, while Dániel Mikecz presented his research project, entitled Social Movements and Nonviolent Protests.

V. List of important English language publications in 2019

- Bene, Márton, Szabó, Gabriella: Bonded by Interactions: Polarising Factors and Integrative Capacities of the News Media in Hungary. *Javnost – The public* Vol. 26 No. 3 309-329. p. IF: 0.860
- Bene, Márton: Sharing Is Caring! Investigating Viral Posts on Politicians' Facebook Pages During the 2014 General Election Campaign in Hungary. In: Lilleker, D. et al (Eds): *Social media campaigning in Europe*. London, Routledge, 2019, 117-137.
- Bíró-Nagy, András: The Career Paths of Central European MEPs. Political Experience and Career Ambitions in the European Parliament. *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 19. No. 1. p. 88-114. IF: 0.382
- Böcskei, Balázs, Molnár Csaba: The radical right in government? - Jobbik's pledges in Hungary's legislation (2010-2014), *East European Politics*, Vol. 35. No. 1 1-20. p IF: 0.817
- Hermann, Zoltán, Kóspasz Marianna: Educational policies and the gender gap in test scores: a cross-country analysis, *Research Papers in Education*. 1-22. p. DOI:
- Körösényi, András: The Theory and Practice of Plebiscitary Leadership: Weber and the Orban regime. *East European Politics and Societies* Vol. 33 No. 2 280-301. p. IF: 0.5
- Matuszewski, Paweł, Szabó Gabriella: Are Echo Chambers Based on Partisanship? Twitter and Political Polarity in Poland and Hungary. *Social Media and Society* Vol 5. No. 2. 1-14. p.
- Medve-Bálint, Gergő, Vera Šćepanović: 'EU Funds, State Capacity and the Development of Transnational Industrial Policies in Europe's Eastern Periphery'. *Review of International Political Economy*, online first. doi: 10.1080/09692290.2019.1646669 IF: 2.800
- Norocel, Cristian, Szabó Gabriella: Mapping the discursive opportunities for radical-right populist politics across Eastern Europe. *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol 66. No. 1. 1-7. p., IF: 1.636
- Papp, Zsófia: Votes, money can buy. The conditional effect of EU Structural Funds on government MPs' electoral performance. *European Union Politics*, Vol. 20 No. 4. 543–561 p. Online first, July 25, 2019. IF: 2.914
- Sebők, Miklós; Boda Zsolt: The Hungarian Comparative Agendas Project In: Frank, R Baumgartner; Christian, Breunig; Emiliano, Grossman (Eds.) *Comparative Policy Agendas: Theory, Tools, Data* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019. Paper: 11: The Hungarian Agendas Project , 9 p.
- Sebők, Miklós, Attila Horváth, Ágnes M. Balázs: Electoral Reforms, Entry Barriers and the Structure of Political Markets: A Comparative Analysis. *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 58. No. 2 741-768. p.