

### **Zsófia Papp: Policy responsiveness under mixed-member electoral rules. The substantive representation of rural interests in the Hungarian Parliament**

Members of Parliament are generally regarded as ‘single-minded seekers of re-election’: activities carried out by them serve the purpose of gathering votes. Policy responsiveness is considered an effective tool of representing the aggregated interests of a well-defined group of voters. Given the information scarcity about voter opinion, the profile of the constituency might serve as a shortcut legislators can use in calibrating their parliamentary work. However, electoral rules may affect how MPs react to differences in district profiles. This paper asks the question whether or not legislators in a mixed-member electoral system react to the profile of the constituency on the course of their parliamentary work, and if yes, whether the magnitude of their reaction is dependent upon what type of mandate they hold. I answer these questions by using data on Hungarian MPs’ parliamentary questions, committee assignments and the socio-demographic profile of the constituencies regarding agriculture for three consecutive electoral terms (1998-2010). I find that the increasing share of the agricultural population increases the frequency with which MPs ask agricultural questions, as well as the likelihood of membership in the Agricultural Committee. Furthermore, in the case of high-profile activities no difference was found between SMD and list MPs indicating that in a mixed system with multiple candidacy the electoral incentive overwrites those created by the institutions.

### **Eszter Galgóczi: Does hate speech influence people’s attitude?**

The 2015-2016 migration crisis has caused a lot of turbulence in most European countries. Hungary and its prime minister, Viktor Orbán, has struck a particularly critical tone towards non-European asylum seekers. The government initiated a massive billboard campaign throughout the country primarily targeting refugees, appealing to the people’s most basic fears. Most opposition parties and the left-leaning media has criticized this billboard campaign and categorized it as a form of hate speech. The aim of my paper is to identify the effects of hate speech on people’s attitudes towards ethnic and religious minorities. To understand the effects of hate speech I designed a survey-experiment model. Among the experimental subjects who received stimuli (hate speech panels), significant changes have been observed, suggesting that regardless of any demographical data intermediate information (information received between the original state and the output point) has changed their attitudes.

### **Adrienn Vajda: Female candidates and the 2018 parliamentary election in Hungary**

Electoral systems, elections and representation. Studying women’s parliamentary representation these three areas are usually observed: which type of electoral systems are favourable for women? Do political parties nominate female candidates? How successful female candidates are at elections? And finally, does women’s representation happen in the parliament? The gender literature does not provide unequivocal answers rather it raises further questions. For example, it does matter what we mean under representation which can be – using Hanna Pitkin’s typology – formalistic, symbolic, descriptive or substantive. The recent gender literature deals with women’s descriptive (numerical) representation, with their substantive representation (when the representative acts for and in the interest of the represented) and furthermore with the connection of these two types of women’s representation.

Although the number of female MPs is ‘traditionally’ low in the Hungarian National Assembly (it is around 10 percent since democratic transition) my presentation connects to women’s descriptive representation. I deal with the relevant political parties’ nomination strategies and female candidates’ electoral chances during the election of the member of parliament in 2018. Political parties are gatekeepers at the period of nomination when they determine the possibility of appearance of women’s issues in parliaments and the persons who may act for women. Basically, we can assume that women’s substantive representation is done primarily by women,

therefore I deal with female candidates and the following questions: where (in single-member districts and/or on national list) were female candidates nominated and by which parties? Did political parties ensure real chances to win parliamentary seat for women? And were any differences between the performances of female and male candidates, so women reached significantly lower vote share?

### **Dániel Róna: Economic voting in Hungary**

According to the main hypothesis of the economic voting literature, economic performance – and its perception – determines the popularity of the government. The presentation examines the correlation between economic perception and incumbent party vote share in Hungary based on time series analysis.

Utilizing survey data about the perceived financial situation of the household and the country (both retrospective and prospective), the detailed description of the respondent's wealth and social status, and attitudes towards the government the analysis will be able to chart the voters motivation behind reward or punishment. Finally, the presentation explores the importance attached to economic issues in the recent Hungarian election campaign in 2017-2018.

### **Éva Ványi: Understanding the politicization of bureaucrats in Hungary. The background of the highly politicized senior civil service in Hungary**

The top level of civil servant system in East Central Europe is highly politicized. It is also true in Hungary even though there are laws about separation of politics and executive administration. The paper will present the political and institutional reasons behind politicization process: why bureaucrats change regularly when the government changes and why do they come from to the ministerial offices when “their own” party or coalition wins the election. To answer the question it needs to be examined who the members are of the top senior civil service, what kind of qualification they have and what about their career path. The paper covers the 1990-2014 period, which is the entire post-communist experience and thus it may add new results to the theoretical questions about institutionalization and consolidation. The results came from a database that contains biographical data of the members of the top senior civil service. Preliminary findings suggest that state secretaries are highly qualified technocrats but their jobs are always influenced by political imagines.