ABSTRACTS

Balázs Kiss
EMOTIONS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Although emotions have always been present in politics, political science and political theory tend not to deal with them, not to study their role in political processes. Recently more and more studies have started to advance what is sometimes called the affective or emotional turn of social sciences in general, and in political science in particular. The paper first gives an overview of the traditional and still prevailing approaches to emotions. Then, after summing up the probable background of the emotional turn, it will map the recent efforts to revaluate the status and importance of emotions in politics and political science. A short introduction into the affective paradigm (George E. Marcus), the action theory and identity theory approaches (Jack Barbalet and Mabel Berezin) and the emotions management approach (Philippe Braud) as well as the political movement analyses may help notice new aspects of political developments.

Keywords: Emotions, political theory, political psychology, theory of democracy, movements

Gábor Szabó
SUBJECT OR CITIZEN?

The aim of the paper is to make clear distinction between legitimacy and loyalty. The long history of theories of justice provides considerable viewpoints for this study. Political power can ensure loyal subjects for itself without providing institutional channels for managing peacefully the interest- and value-conflicts, and without seeking mutual advantages for the members of society. The modern state’s bases of legitimacy are either merely ideological or democratic. A responsible citizen never could be satisfied with a rule or system of power based on purely ideological assumptions. The analysis is also trying to demonstrate the factors threatening and challenging democratic legitimacy, both on the level of institutions and the attitudes of individuals. The character of an influential politician, the elite, and the majority of citizens are all integral parts
of a desirable democratic ethos. The system based on democracy and the rule of law is far from being perfect, but this is the only way to respect the members of a modern political community as moral agents with human dignity.

**Keywords**: Legitimacy, democratic ethos, justice, obedience, following the rules, morality, political philosophy

Attila Antal

**POLITICAL AND LEGAL CONSTITUTIONALITY IN HUNGARY**

One of the major hypotheses of the paper is on the basis of the antecedents in the domestic academic literature that the constitutional development of the period after the Hungarian system change can be described by the legal and political constitutionality categories of Richard Bellamy. Between 1989 and 2010 it was the *legal constitutionality* paradigm of the left liberal side which was dominant in Hungary, the reflection of which in the theory of democracy is Bruce Ackerman’s *fundamentalism of basic rights*. The process of drawing up a constitution which started in 2010, is the 12th amendment of the 1989 Constitution, and ultimately the four amendments of the approved Fundamental Law represent a sharp breakage compared to the earlier period and it has brought to the surface the concept of the right, namely *political constitutionality* which had been in a subordinate position ever since the system change (which would correspond to Ackerman’s *monist* concept within the approach of the theory of democracy). Ever since the new Fundamental Paw has entered into force, the struggle between these two paradigms have obtained unprecedented dimensions and representatives of both camps regard the other one’s views as illegitimate and they think it is exclusively their solution that would be ‘constitutional’ and consequently the other camp’s one is ‘unconstitutional’. The other main hypothesis of the paper (which may be a novelty in the domestic literature) is that to the emergence of some kind of consensus between the two understandings of constitutionality a *common framework of constitutional interpretation* will be needed which would simultaneously pay attention to legal and political constitutionality and would not consider its own concept, full of grievances of that camp as absolute. This is to which the present paper wishes to contribute.

**Keywords**: Political constitution, legal constitution, constitutionality, constitution-making, system change, division of public law
ABSTRACTS

Attila Ágh

The constant change of the relationship between politics and policy is a substantial dimension of the permanently renewed, future-oriented definition of the EU. This dual, asymmetrical relationship has appeared in the EU through a series of paradoxes. Its present stage can be characterized by the relative decomposition of the EU policy system, by its transitory reconfiguration and chaotic situation. The present future-oriented definition of the EU includes, however, the description of the alternative futures of the EU that may lead from the present chaotic situation to a new balanced system of the EU policies by 2020.

Keywords: Systems of Union politics and policy, Old and New Europe, global crisis, crisis of transformation, crisis of creativity, strategic planning of the Union

Balázs Szabó
VOTERS OF THE NEW PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES: THE BUDAPEST CASE

In 2010, two new parties, the green LMP and the far-right Jobbik gained seats in the Hungarian parliament with the support of a quarter of the voters. There are strong similarities between the spatial feature of their voting base and that of their Western counterparts. The greens are strong in the capital and other big cities, including their suburban zone, while the far-right supporters are mainly located in the deprived industrial regions of the country. The article focuses on Budapest where the figures for party preferences are available at the level of electoral wards, thus a detailed picture of the voters’ social structure can be drawn. The green voters are concentrated in the inner quarters, the villa quarters with high prestige and the newly built parts of the city, i.e. in residential areas inhabited by upper classes, mobile youth, and intellectuals. The far-right supporters live in the old outer working class zones, some large high-rise housing estates, and the lowest prestige inner city quarters. These differences between the geographical and social structure of the two parties’ voting base fit remarkably well the pattern that is typical in Western cities. This similarity seems to indicate the emergence of the new materialist-post-materialist cleavages in Hungary, too, especially in the case of the green voters. Most of them belong to the new young middle class committed to post-materialist values. By contrast, the Jobbik gains its supporters from the downgrading lower class, those who are responsive to its racist, anti-democratic, and anti-establishment rhetoric.

Keywords: Green, extreme right, voter behaviour, Budapest
This paper examines the Hungarian national parties in local governments: through the analysis of the local elections between 1994 and 2010 I try to answer three research questions: First, what factors influence the appearance of national parties on local level? Second, where are the ‘party representative’ dominant actors? Finally, whether proportions of parties in local governments are in connection with confidence in parties or with the settlements’ social-economic condition?

Furthermore (as part of a qualitative research) I made interviews with mayors and local representatives about their opinion on the presence of party representatives. Are these political actors a blessing or a curse in local governments? And the main question: Are national parties needed on local level or are they not necessary in local politics?

**Keywords:** Parties, autonomous model, integration model, local government