ABSTRACTS

ZSÓFIA PAPP

Written Questions of Local Issues in the Hungarian Parliament.
The role of career-related variables related to the election system in the representation of local issues

The article investigates the effects of career-related variables tying national representatives to Single Member Districts (SMDs) on representing local issues in parliament under mixed-member electoral rules. Mandate type, SMD candidacy and nominal level legislative experience will explain the number of locally relevant written questions. Permitting multiple candidacies, three different mandate types, considerable variation in terms of career consistency, and twenty years of experience with applying mixed electoral rules, Hungary is a convenient choice to model system effects. The main lesson from the data is that asking locally relevant questions is considered a tool rather for unsuccessful SMD candidates to represent local aspects in the legislature than SMD representatives within the period under investigation (2010–2013). Furthermore, members with more significant SMD experience will also engage in local questioning especially if they hold nominal level positions.

Keywords: Parliamentary questioning, shadowing, mixed-member electoral system, local representation, Hungary, SMD candidacy

ZOLTÁN SZENTE

Political Orientation of the Judges of the Constitutional Court 2010–2014

The study examines whether political influences can be identified in the operation of the Hungarian Constitutional Court between 2010 and 2014, when the governing coalition had a two-thirds majority in Parliament. It analyses how far the political orientations of the constitutional judges influenced their decision-making in this period, comparing the political preferences, attitudes and ideologies of the individual judges to the positions of the political camp which nominated them.

Keywords: The relationship between politics and constitutional court membership, constitutional court, political preferences of constitutional judges, the independence of constitutional jury, data of the empirical research, 2010–2014
PÉTER BAJOMI-LÁZÁR
The Colonization of the Media. Why Do Certain Central and East European Governments Respect the Freedom of the Press and Why Don’t Others?

Why is the situation of the freedom of the press worse in Central and Eastern Europe in general than in Western Europe? Why does the situation of the freedom of the press differ in the different Central and East European countries and why in various periods? I try to find an answer to these questions by exploring the interrelationships between party systems and media systems. When studying the first question I argue that the young parties of young democracies miss the sources necessary to party building and party organisation which is substituted by the colonisation and exploitation of the state and the media. The occupation of the media explains why the situation of the freedom of the press is worse in general in the East than in the West. I explain the variations of the freedom of the press that can be observed in space and time within the Central and East European region by the various patterns of the colonization of the media: the more centralised the decision-making mechanisms of the governing parties are the greater is the probability of the one-party colonization of the media, and the more decentralised are their decision-making mechanisms the larger is the probability of multi-party colonization. The one-party colonization of the media restricts the freedom of the press more than its multi-party colonization. In other words: in the post-communist context the weaker the government is the stronger the media would be.

Keywords: Cartel party, clientelism, party systems, freedom of the press

NÓRA MIKLÓS – RÉKA PÁLINKÁS
Ideology and Value in the Thinking of Pensioners in Budapest
Abstract

Our research project focuses on pensioners who are usually out of scope of political psychological researches. The present paper is a pilot study for this project, the aim of which is to get a better understanding about the elderly’s thinking and opinion formation regarding societal, political and ideological issues. Literature on the investigation of ageing from the societal engagement point of view was surveyed, bearing in mind also the influencing role of the special socio-historical context.

Paper-and-pencil-based data collection in groups was performed in 2011 and 2012. 195 subjects from Budapest between the age of 60 and 86 (M= 70.74, SD=5.96) participated in this study.
Besides the traditional ideological self-placements, a 48-item scale (which is still under development) on the complex contents of left-right ideologies was included in the questionnaire.

Results show a shift toward the political left as well as toward conservatism, which resembles the literature, regarding both ageing processes and contextual factors.

Two factors – Order and State Intervention, Religion and National Sentiment – were revealed with exploratory factor analysis, of which only religion correlated positively with the left-right and liberal-conservative self-placement. Interestingly, order and state intervention did not show correlation with any of the self-placements in political orientation.

Further information about pensioners’ political opinion formation can be gained from the investigation on the systematic pattern of missing values. It can be concluded that there are issues (e.g. immigrants, Jews, dual citizenship, Hungarians beyond the border), which are important to political actors and to public opinion but not to pensioners.

Revealing pensioners’ political thinking dimensions and ideological positions can bring us closer to ask them relevantly about their views as well as to understand their opinion about politically important issues.

**Keywords:** Left-Right ideology, Liberal-Conservative ideology, pensioners, political opinion formation

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The article investigates the relationship between the work of Thucydides and political realism understood as political theory (not as the theory of IR). By addressing some general problems in reading Thucydides, I argue that the conventional reading of the Melian Dialogue (i.e. as the justification of the thesis “might makes right”) is untenable. However, if we ask the question concerning the relationship between Thucydides and political realism differently, a “moderate realist” reading seems plausible, meaning that Thucydides’s work is an example of realism, but not in the sense of conventional interpretation. To underpin this thesis, at the end of the article I try to elaborate some linkages between The Peloponnesian War and contemporary realist political theory.

**Keywords:** Realism, political theory, Thucydides
ABSTRACTS

LEVENTE NAGY
Calculations of Proportions and the Election System of Canada

Election is perhaps the most widespread institution of universal nature of modern democracies inseparable from the democratic political systems. The election is the general technique of the transfer of power, the selection of the political elite and the taking into task of leaders and their removal, and in this sense it is not only a specific mediating mechanism between the individual – community and society – and political power but it is also legitimating the decision-makers and the political system. The extent of accepting and making the authority accepted largely depends on the proportionateness of the election and to what extent is the party preferences and political articulation of the society reflected in the elected body. Hence measuring the proportionateness of the election systems is also a basic task. This paper presents the most important indices of proportionateness. Next it presents the election results of Canada between 1935 and 2011 and maps the changes in the differences of the proportionateness indices. With this we wish to point out that understanding the indices of proportionateness is at least as important to the proper analysis and assessment of any election system as the power relations among the parties figuring in the given system or knowing the election formulae transforming valid votes into mandates.

Keywords: Perfect proportions, deviation from proportionateness, effective number of parties, index of proportionateness, measuring of proportionateness.