ABSTRACTS

MIKLÓS SEBŐK

The Theoretical Principal-Agent Model of Representative Democracy

The article presents the canonical version of the principal-agent model of representative democracy. Following the conventions of the review article genre, key concepts are discussed including the delegate-representative-trustee typology and the consequences of the contractual relations such as asymmetric information, moral hazard and adverse selection. Based on these concepts the delegation chain is presented as the general model of representative democracy. Three phases of the chain are scrutinized in more detail. The electoral connection between citizens and parties, the separation of powers between the branches and parties and bureaucratic delegation are singled out as pivotal elements. The Conclusion highlights such anomalies of the principal-agent framework as multilevel and complex contracts, between-election responsiveness and representation as advocacy.

Keywords: Representative democracy, principal-agent theory, delegation, separation of powers

ANDRÁS KÖRÖSÉNYI – VERONIKA PATKÓS

Liberal and Illiberal Populism: The Political Leadership of Berlusconi and Orbán

The paper compares the political leadership of Silvio Berlusconi and Viktor Orbán. Besides giving a descriptive comparison of the Italian and Hungarian political leaders, the paper focuses on three questions: (1) the nature of their populism; (2) the quality of the changes induced by their policy; and (3) the type of their leadership. The paper concludes that both leaders introduced a new era in politics, but Orbán has been more effective in transforming policy means and priorities and also in adjusting the institutional settings (polity). Unlike Berlusconi, he has become a founder of a new regime; a democracy with authoritarian elements. While Berlusconi can be characterized as a trans-active leader, Orbán has turned out to be a transformational leader. Both of them are populist leaders in terms of substance, as well as process and linkage, but the ideological nature of their populism is rather different. While Berlusconi represents liberal populism, Orbán represents an illiberal one.

Keywords: Leadership, populism, illiberalism, Berlusconi, Orbán
BALÁZS KISS
Political Community in Ninety Minutes. The Cognitive, Evaluative and Emotional Dynamics of Identity Change at a Political Rally

The paper unites three approaches mostly lacking synergy so far. The first is Henri Tajfel’s claim that social identity has three components: knowledge, emotion and evaluation. The second is the so-called emotional or affective turn in social sciences in general and in political science in particular. Finally, the third is the recent interest in the crowds and crowd behaviour in sociology. The research underpinning the paper focused on a political rally in Budapest in 2013, which was meant to be a mass event in order to unite and mobilize the fragmented political left half year before the parliamentary elections but concluded in a passionate anger by the crowd against the leader of Hungarian Socialist Party, the biggest leftist organization in Hungary.

Tajfel’s claim draws the analyst’s attention to the interdependence on and interference between the three aspects in developing and changing political identities. The dynamics of the interference between the discourses and the emotions in creating, strengthening as well as weakening identities are presented by applying the theory of interaction ritual chains by Randall Collins and the shame/anger theory by Thomas Scheff.

Keywords: Political identity, political community, mass rally, emotions, crowd

ANDRÁS BÍRÓ-NAGY
Central European MEPs and Their Roles. Behavioural Strategies in the European Parliament

This paper aims to help better understand the role orientations of the Central European Members of the European Parliament, the factors that influence their strategies, and the relationship between their roles and activities. Based on the results of a quantitative survey research into MEPs from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia in the 2009–2014 term, I argue that it is possible to explain the political roles of MEPs by the attitudes towards politics and policy, and the territorial focus of representation (European vs. national level). Due to the internal mechanisms of the EP and its position in the multi-level governance system of European politics, these two dimensions represent dilemmas that all MEPs face, when it comes to the efficient use of their scarce resources: time and energy. This study demonstrates that socio-demographic factors, attitudes and political socialization all have an influence on what roles MEPs choose. The length of time spent in the EP, age, previous
political experience, party affiliation, left-right self-definition and career ambitions are important factors that can explain the political behaviour of MEPs. The Central European MEPs’ focus on politics vs. policy and European vs. national arena has different roots. Orientation towards politics and policy largely depends on previous political experience and future career ambitions. Focus on the European or the national level is best explained by age, party affiliation and left-right self-definition.

**Keywords:** European Parliament, elite research, political roles, Central European MEPs, political behaviour