ABSTRACTS

ILONSZKI, GABRIELLA – VAJDA, ADRIENN
Reconceptualising Representation.
Women’s Representation in the Abortion Issue (2000, 2011)

The empirical analysis of women’s substantive representation is still relatively underdeveloped, particularly in new democracies. The article aims to fill in this gap, demonstrating how women’s substantive representation has evolved in Hungary by analysing two concrete legislative initiatives. These are the amendment of Act LXXIX / 1992 on the Protection of Foetal Life (also known as abortion law) in 2000, and Article II of the new constitution (Fundamental Law) of Hungary in 2011. As Article II declares that the foetus shall be protected from the moment of conception this might have opened the abortion debate again.

The article first reconsiders the concept of representation. As the party based representation concept has been increasingly under challenge it is justified to broaden the focus and observe who claims that she represents women and how this process is taking place. In this vein the article investigates both the parliamentary and the extra-parliamentary context. Also, it distinguishes the two analytically distinct parts of representation, the process and the outcome, arguing that substantive representation might occur even if the outcome does not serve women’s interests.

Analysis of the parliamentary speeches of Members of Parliament regarding the two cases as well as media, civic organisation, and public opinion responses reveal that the substantive representation of women has declined. At the parliamentary level representative claims have become increasingly gender-neutral and anti-feminist; in contrast, gender-conscious attention and approaches have declined. Although the majority of the public remains supportive of women’s self-determination, and civic engagement in this area has increased, their impact remains peripheral in the context of highly gendered institutions. From a theoretical perspective the article’s first major finding is that descriptive representation and substantive representation are closely linked as they are both structured by the gendered context. Substantive representation is constrained by “sheer numbers” that originate in gendered institutions while gendered institutions themselves constrain the representative opportunities of all actors involved. The second important finding is that a shrinking gender divide can be observed. In the first initiative some women appeared as active participants in presenting gender conscious and feminist representative claims. In the second initiative a female perspective could not be heard at all:
ABSTRACTS

women either did not participate in the ‘official’ parliamentary context or were advocates of the conservative party line. Women with women’s representative claims have been pushed out of the official arena.

**Keywords:** substantive representation, demand representation, the process and output of representation, discriminative institutions, gender neutral, anti-feminist

BENE, MÁRTON

From sharing to vote. The influence of Facebook campaign on the electoral results of individual candidates during the Hungarian general elections of 2014

While there is much speculation in public and academic discourse regarding the effects of Facebook as a campaign tool on electoral success, this question has been little investigated empirically to date. A recent study attempts to bridge this gap by empirically investigating how candidates’ Facebook use during the Hungarian general election campaign of 2014 influenced their electoral results. While previous studies have mostly focused on the effects of Facebook adoption, the present work applies a performance-oriented approach: it investigates whether success in the Facebook sphere is associated with electoral success rather than the effects of Facebook use in general. It hypothesizes that the effects of a Facebook campaign arise from a two-step flow effect: it is not the direct followers who are influenced by candidates’ Facebook campaigns, but their friends who are reached by the shares of candidates’ posts. The database contains three of the most voted-for candidates owning Facebook pages from all single-member districts (N = 183). The study investigates whether the average number of shares per post posted during the last two weeks of the campaign is associated with a gain in candidates’ personal vote. To reject alternative explanations, the effects of other Facebook performance variables, such as average number of likes and comments are also examined.

**Keywords:** Facebook, virality, sharing, political communication, campaign, personal vote, two-step flow
The two faces of a party organisation: The inner tensions of movement parties illustrated by the example of the Five Star Movement

Following the disintegration of the Italian party system and in parallel with the global financial crisis, the populist Five Star Movement became a dominant player on the Italian political palette. Not only power relations within the Parliament have changed, but a new party model has also appeared on the scene, whose viability generated a vigorous scientific debate. In light of the theory of Herbert Kitschelt’s movement parties (Kitschelt, 2006) and the „three faces” theory of Katz and Mair (1993), the paper examines the internal organizational tensions that can derive from a party model in which the party’s individual components are only loosely defined. The analysis, based on party documents and 19 semi-structured qualitative interviews with party representatives, demonstrates that the coexistence of a charismatic leader and autonomous local organizations without intermediary mechanisms is sustainable only to a limited extent, as in many cases it leads to the escalation of intra-organizational conflicts. The study also points to the inherent internal tensions of movement parties by presenting the Five Star Movement, questioning the sustainability of similar organizations and highlighting the challenges concerning their governmental capacities.

**Keywords:** populism, Italian party politics, direct democracy, movement parties, Five Star Movement

The media-representation of the post-1990 Hungarian political elite. A text mining analysis based on cover pages of daily papers

This article relies on text mining methodology in order to establish the media-representation rankings of the post-1990 Hungarian political elite. We use a new database of two daily newspapers in order to gauge the observed front-page frequency of the named entities associated with the Hungarian positional political elite. Our results are strikingly similar for the political and the business daily paper in the sample: the Top 10 list of the most frequently mentioned politicians over a 24-year period shows a 90 per cent overlap (both lists include five prime ministers). The breakdown of aggregated data to electoral cycles confirms the pre-eminent role of prime ministers in general, and the representational leadership of Viktor Orbán, a two-time prime minister during this period, in particular. Furthermore, our analysis shows that the representation
of female members of the political elite remained consistently below 10 per cent during the period in question.

**Keywords:** media-representation of politicians, positional political elite, text mining, media studies

---

HARKÁNYI, ÁDÁM MÁTÉ

The faces of strategic voting

Strategic voting is one of the concepts of political science which is widely used by the media, and has changed significantly over the past two decades. Research into strategic voting – with the increase in the number of proportional and mixed electoral systems through democratization processes and numerous electoral reforms – is less and less focused on the plurality-majority systems. Of course, growing researcher interest was associated with expanding the concept and exploring the wider range of institutional incentives and voter motivations behind it. We have come to know many new faces of strategic voting.

The aim of this study is to present the conceptual changes, the relevance of some of the features of the electoral systems, and the various possible motives for strategic voting, in other words, the different faces of strategic voting. Due to the growing domestic interest in this topic, it is important to review the context of ticket splitting and strategic voting, as well as to present some of the most important findings of previous research.

**Keywords:** voting behavior, strategic voting, voter motivations, information asymmetry, electoral system, split-ticket voting