ABSTRACTS

DOBOS GÁBOR – GYULAI ATTILA – PÓCZA KÁLMÁN
Political positions and networks of judges. Dissenting opinions of Constitutional Court judges in politically relevant matters between 1990 and 2015

The study investigates three phases in the activity of the Hungarian Constitutional Court through an analysis of dissenting opinions added to majority decisions in politically relevant cases. Dissenting opinions reveal individual judicial behaviour which, according to the attitudinal model, might be linked to the political position of the parties that nominated the judges. Beyond examining individual decision-making, the article applies network-analysis to identify whether patterns in dissenting opinions might be differentiated according to political positions and a left-right partition. According to our findings, political blocs did not emerge and become dominant after 2010; rather, this phenomenon was already present during the second phase of the Court (1999–2010) as the judges could be differentiated along the political positions they adopted in their dissenting opinions. During the third phase (2010–2015), the network of judges proved to be less polarised, and beyond a left-right position a separation between old and new judges also emerged.

**Keywords:** Constitutional Court, dissenting opinion, network, attitudinal model

KÖNCZÖL, MIKLÓS
‘Family voting’: Two possible interpretations of ‘proxy voters’

In the last decade, the proposal to abolish the lower age limit for suffrage, with parents voting as proxies on behalf of their children (‘family voting’), has been raised in Hungarian constitutional scholarship. This proposal is part of the effort to find institutional solutions to problems related to sustainability. Arguments supporting it go, however, beyond the issue of sustainability, and raise fundamental questions of legal and political theory. This paper examines the proposal with a focus on the concept of ‘representation’, which can be interpreted in at least two ways in the context of family voting. That, then, allows for two different (but not unrelated) arguments in favour of the proposal. The first one is based on the notion that parents’ extra votes do not violate the prin-
principles of equal and direct suffrage. In contrast, I argue that parental voting cannot be considered as merely expressing children’s preferences, and that persons who are regarded as unable to make a decision themselves cannot be represented in this way. The second argument gives up the claim of equal and direct suffrage, and seeks to justify the proposal by saying that parents’ extra votes are necessary for the sufficient representation of children’s interests. Such an argument can find support in the notion that parents are better situated to represent their children’s interests than the average voter. Here, I focus on three characteristics often mentioned in scholarship: parents’ privileged access to information, their shared interests with their children, and their selflessness. It is shown, however, that these arguments are either irrelevant or unconvincing, and therefore that the second line of argument, too, fails to provide adequate justification for family voting.

**Keywords:** political representation, suffrage, constitutional law, family voting

JANKY BÉLA

The political economics of the social security system. A brief history of attempts at rational explanation

This paper provides a non-exhaustive survey of the political economy literature on intergenerational redistribution. We concentrate on the explanations of the emergence, persistence and some specific features of pay-as-you-go public pension systems. The major question of the surveyed literature is how to explain the popularity of a social security system which reduces the welfare of the median voter. After a short survey of the history of the field, we present four models which represent four distinct approaches to the problem, and belong to four different periods of the history of the research program. The studies presented here highlight the possible roles of rigid institutions, an implicit intergenerational contract, intergenerational altruism and uneven lobbying capacities in shaping modern social security systems. The major novel feature of our perspective is the strong emphasis on the analysis of empirical foundations of behavioral assumptions of political economy models.

**Keywords:** pay-as-you-go pension systems, intergenerational redistribution, gerontocracy, new political economy, rational voter
ABSTRACTS

GÁL RÓBERT IVÁN – MEDGYESI MÁRTON
The welfare state: redistribution among age groups?

In our study, we attempt to provide new empirical evidence about the claim that the welfare state is primarily an institution of life-cycle financing, while its poverty-reducing and income-equalizing role is weaker. In order to support this statement, we use regression analysis to separate the relative importance of economic status and age in the distribution of welfare expenditures and revenues. Our results confirm our expectations: age is considerably more important than economic status in explaining access to welfare expenditures. This result is obtained both based on comparison of the coefficients of the regression equations and the variances explained by age and economic status. This observation has a number of consequences for the examination of the welfare system, of which we are discussing one politically relevant element: if the welfare system actually finances a life-cycle through the transfer of resources between age groups, then the statements about elderly-bias in public expenditures and “gerontocracy” have to be reconsidered.

**Keywords:** targeting of welfare benefits, intergenerational transfers, poverty, welfare state, gerontocracy

DESEWFFY TIBOR – MEZEI MIKES – NASZÁLYI NATÁLIA
Harry Potter, or the political philosophers’ stone? Popular culture and political activism

In our study, we briefly review the literature on mass media effects and the fandom universe. We examine the differences in the values of Harry Potter fans with multiple techniques: online questionnaires and with data from their Facebook activity. We showed a positive connection between socio-political ideological values, a high level of public interest and the degree of Harry Potter fandom-affinity through our analysis.

**Keywords:** political values, fans, popular culture, Facebook, digital data

KACZIBA PÉTER
Network science approaches to International Relations

The increasing complexity of the international sphere and of interactions at the international level challenges the traditional methodological possibilities of the International Relations (IR) discipline. The dramatic increase in the number of state and non-state actors and the accelerated interactions of technical innovations and globalization require the development of new methodological
tools that can trace and analyze international complexity. Of these methodological possibilities, this study focuses on the disciplinary application of network science: it examines the history, the essential bibliographical milestones, methodological alternatives, as well as the opportunities and limitations of the network science approach to International Relations. The primary purpose of this paper is to briefly present the most important trends of the network approach in the field of international studies.

Keywords: network research, international relations, social network analysis, methodology