

## 1. Project data

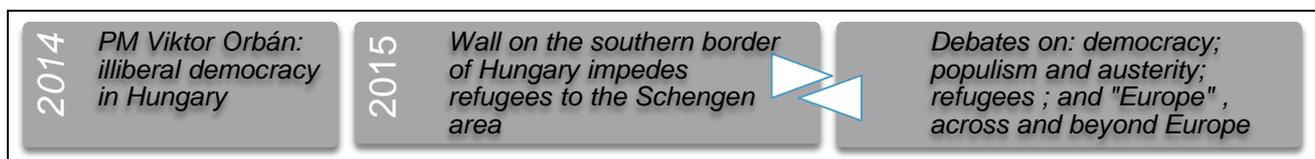
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Project title: **Politics and rhetoric of democracy in Hungary between 1980 and 2020**

Site: **University of Helsinki, Department of Political and Economic Studies (UH, DPES)**

Date: **28.9.2015**

## 2. Rationale



*This research project studies politics and transition in Hungary between 1980 and 2020 through radical democratic theory and conceptual-discursive rhetorical analysis.* Democratic transition became a paradigm and policy for transformation from one system to another, though literature started from an enquiry into democracy (O'Donnell & Schmitter 1986, Carothers 2002). Democracy has no fixed definition but is an evolving concept and praxis, intertwined with other understandings and discursive connections. The emergence of populism, and deliberative and participatory turn in democratic theory challenge also *our current practice and understanding of democracy* (recently, Urbinati 2014, Mudde & Rovira-Kaltwasser 2013; Parkinson & Mansbridge 2012, Grönlund et al. 2014). In radical political theory, democracy is premised on the notion of politics and the political (Marschart 2005) and refers to the roles of disagreement and antagonism or consensus and compromise (Rancière; Mouffe; Rosanvallon), pluralism, alternatives, and undecidability (Balibar; Derrida), populism and political identities (Laclau 2005), and critique of totalitarianism (Arendt, Lefort; c.f. Breaugh et al. 2015; Tonder & Thomassen 2005; Norval 2007). *The divided, conflictual politics in Hungary makes it an excellent case to study and challenge democratic theory and praxis.*

*Political transformation is always tied to the opening and closing of the horizon of possibility (Koselleck), and is a discursive rather than a merely administrative process.* Rather than studying the institutional reforms or functioning of democracy, *the project puts Hungary's transition into a historical and discursive framework.* What, if anything, was democracy thought to mean? What other things were implied? Transition was also expressed in *metaphors* of the "return to Europe" and the "rebirth of nations". In fact, the Hungarian case invites us to reflect on democracy and the political today, and the transnational transfer of ideas that shape Europe. This study builds a **groundbreaking model of studying the fluid notions of democracy and its interconnections to the political and Europe.** Conceptual historians generally focus on one concept and discourse theorists in one period. Yet, the concepts gain their meaning relationally and temporally. The theoretical and methodological contribution, **"tropological political analysis"**, provides the link between the study of political concepts and political discourses, through rhetoric (Palonen, forthcoming). Often, rhetoric is understood not as mere eloquent speech, persuasion or figures of speech. However, when we regard tropes as "moves" constitutive of new meaning, the power of "tropological politics" can be realised. In a forthcoming article, the PI argues that "the tropes we think with matter" and combines the work of Ernesto Laclau and Quentin Skinner to study constitutive transformations on a conceptual-discursive field (Palonen, forthcoming). In Hungary, the dissident intellectuals in the 1980s and politicians in the 1990s–2010s have sought to transform the discursive field by introducing new concepts (*catachresis*) and changing the normative value of existing concepts (*paradiastole*). Seeing tropes as discursive moves, where political movements articulate, represent and contest particular positions, is central to politics. It sheds light on the representation processes and rhetorical redescription (Laclau 2005, 2014; Skinner 2002). While *understanding* the above mentioned contemporary examples may seem impossible or futile, they can be *explored and explained* through political logics (Glynos and Howarth 2007) or the proposed rhetorical approach (see section 4).

In the CEE region, Hungary presents a special case, as it had a civil society with a dissident tradition (unlike the Czech Republic) yet did not have an overarching belief (such as the Catholic Church in Poland). This is why it is interesting for studying democracy, pluralism and antagonism. Democratic process with reforms and opposition started already in the 1980s, and the findings in Hungary are related to transitions in Asia and Latin America. On the basis of the existing literature we can argue:

**1) *The transition to democracy in Hungary started as an intellectual process and the strategies or values of dissidents were crucial for the institutional design*** (Bozóki 2009, Renwick 2011). Dissident publications or *samizdats* existed in Hungary in the 1970s (e.g. Csizmadia 1994), but they gained a wider circulation, with *Bibó István Emlékkönyv* [Book in Memory of Istvan Bibo] published in 1980 and the underground press gearing up to launch the widest-read publication *Beszélő* [The Speaker] from 1981. They voiced alternatives and initiated a broad reflection on democracy and politics, Central Europe and liberalism (e.g. Laczó 2013). Intellectuals had a crucial role in politics in the region; and György Konrád's *Anti-politics* highlights some of the dilemmas in this transition, on the relationship between democracy and the political (Bozóki 1999; Falk 2003). Dissidents organised into democratic and national oppositions, and participated in roundtable talks with the Communists. The PI's research on philosopher Ágnes Heller points out how contested intellectuals get heard domestically: if not directly, then through the foreign media – today as in the 1980s.

**2) *Transition was supposed to bring with it a strong civil society, and it was assumed that there was one in Hungary, with dissident traditions.*** Free elections were held in 1990, but despite the varied groups of dissidents, transformation of the dissidents into politicians in the 1990s led to the professionalization of politics (Ilonszki and Schwarcz 2013): politicians and apolitical masses became distinct. In 2005, Korkut argued that the positive effect of democratization on civil society has been taken for granted (Korkut 2005, 149), and Rose-Ackerman (2005) urged public participation. The Hungarian case challenges a unidirectional “transition”, yet the linear metaphor is still present (e.g. the “bumpy road” and “backsliding” of democracy, Ágh 2014, 2013). The democratization process in Hungary is viewed through consolidation of democracy (Lengyel and Ilonski 2010, cf. Herman 2015), or the constitution (Jenne and Mudde 2012), but is rarely studied through discourses/concepts (good governance, Hajnal and Pál 2013; liberalism, Korkut 2012).

**3) *Instead of engaging people, transition was articulated on the symbolic level as a break with the past.*** Street-naming and memorials, architecture, and politics of the past are considered symbolic revolutionary acts in Hungary – where revolutions themselves carry symbolic value (e.g. Nyssönen 1999; Palonen 2006, 2008, 2014). At Imre Nagy's reburial, a student politician, Viktor Orbán gave a historic speech that marked the 1989 revolution. In 1998-2002, his government articulated a new era through films, architecture and exhibitions, and concepts. In 2010, Orbán's Fidesz, “an outlawed protest movement in the Kádár era” (Szabó 2011), returned to power in a historic landslide victory, claiming a “revolution at the voting booths” after belief in democracy had been questioned by the lying prime minister case (Palonen 2012). Revolution also presented rhetorical-historical continuity (Palonen 2011). With a two-thirds majority, Fidesz started rewriting the Constitution and changing memorials and street names. Interwar memorials were revived and a memorial to the WWII “German Occupation” of Hungary was erected in 2014, provoking debate and a counter-memorial. The reform of media law and the constitutional reforms strengthened dominance of the strongest political party. In the summer of 2014, months after a large-scale election victory, Orbán denounced liberal democracy. A year later, a wall on the southern border of Hungary blocked the flow of refugees to Hungary and the Schengen area. No revolution is a total break (Laclau and Mouffe 1985), and authoritarianism easily prevails in the age of democratization (Krastev 2011).

**4) *In the stark polarisation between the so-called political Left and Right, they constructed themselves against each other rather than through policies or ideologies from the late 1990s.*** From

the 2000s, deep polarisation made it difficult for anyone to claim a non-partisan position. Having experienced it during the parliamentary elections in spring 2002, the PI theorised polarisation in her PhD in 2006, becoming perhaps the first to describe it in international literature (Palonen 2009, cf. Körösenyi 2013; Cox and Gallai 2013). Laclau’s theory of hegemony provided tools to explain the deadlock through the logic of polarisation (for logics, Howarth and Glynos 2007; Palonen 2012). Her early work sheds light on: the political situation in 1995-2006, and up to 2010; and dissident politicians such as former Budapest Mayor Gábor Demszky and Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. The wider question of democracy and transition would require focus on the 1980s and the present.

**(5) There is transfer of ideas in Europe – and ‘Europe’ exists through articulation.** The research is motivated by the PI’s previous research on Europe: (1) her *research on Hungarian intellectuals* in 2014 in a project funded by the Academy of Finland (AF), *Asymmetries in European Intellectual Space* indicated that the transition must be considered from the perspective of concepts and discourses, and asymmetrical transfer in time and space; and (2) her *study of “Europe”* in cultural policy (Palonen 2010, 2013, 2015), artistic work on Europe, and *teaching on history and memory in Europe*, which offer background study on the concept that exists through imagination and practices, (3) theoretical and practical work on local participatory democracy. Besides confer the idea of Europe as a space of transfer, and point to the premise in this research project that Hungary is not an isolated case, but actually should be studied not only as a CEE transitional country but in the context of European transnational cooperation and politics that includes the transfer of ideas in the European Parliament, among the party groups and the media. While detailed research into this phenomenon falls out of the scope of this particular project, the idea can be highlighted through collaboration.

### 3. Objectives and expected results

Using a novel combination of rhetoric, conceptual history, transfer and discourse analysis under the heading **tropological political analysis**, this study will contribute to political theory, European and post-communist studies. It enables a historical and discursive analysis of democratization and is attentive to the flows, transfers and fluidity of the concepts used, and their effects on future policies, institutions and political dynamics. **The aims of this project are:**

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | Learn from the Hungarian experience of democracy 1980-2020 through political theory and conceptual, rhetorical analysis. | <i>Transition to democracy and its connection to populism</i>     |
| 2 | Review how Hungary under PM Viktor Orbán stands out as a case for the problems of democracy in Europe at large.          | <i>Reflection on immigration, Europe and democracy, transfer.</i> |
| 3 | See the distinction between liberal, radical and “illiberal” democracy, and connections to democratic praxis and theory. | <i>Transforming or debated concept of democracy.</i>              |
| 4 | Learn about transfer and democratic transitions, and recent rethinking of democracy in Europe and beyond.                | <i>Transfer and transition: future of Europe and democracy.</i>   |

**The research questions are:** *How did understandings of democracy and the political shape politics in the 1980s? How do they shape it now – as intentional/preconscious political moves? What kinds of conceptual transformations and transfers with discursive effects took place from 1980 to 2020? The questions are operationalised on four themes:*

Theme	<b>Forty years of democracy in Hungary</b>	<b>Tropological analysis</b>
1	Which perceptions of democracy emerged in the 1980s-2010s? How are they visible in practices, institutions, policies and political rhetoric?	<i>Conceptual history</i>
2	How is democracy mapped onto other concepts? How does it emerge as practices? How are these understandings related to other concepts? What has been understood by “Europe” – related to “fortress”, “multiculturalism”, “freedom”, “pluralism” or other terms?	<i>Discourse theory</i>

3	Where do ideas come from and how do they transform? <i>The Hungarians were not working in vacuum</i> , but were influenced by Czech and Polish colleagues on Central Europe, American & Western political scientists and transitologists. Later political discourses have been influenced by the EU & Russia, manifestations & negations of Europe.	<i>Conceptual transfer and its effects on the discursive field</i>
4	How do these concepts and transformations read theoretically in terms of public contestation and populism, consensus and compromise, agonism/antagonism, politics/police, counter-democracy, and which logics of democracy they entail?	<i>Political theory, logics in postfoundationalist analysis</i>

**Expected scientific and societal impacts, usability and breakthroughs of the research:** The research yields *new knowledge* on the Hungarian case: it shows what often is discussed as distinct process of transition, politics or policies in a wider continuum and context. It also puts *political science in contact with democratic theory and praxis*, exploring perceptions of democracy, and *enhancing radical democratic theory*. For *comparative politics*, the research opens up a framework for studying discursive and conceptual changes as politics, and offers *a new perspective to transitions*. Comparative value of this project will be realised in the networks in Central Europe and in democratic transition in Latin America and Asia, through conferences and an edited volume.

The very initial **hypothesis** is that *there are consequences to the polity of understanding democracy in a particular way*, e.g. we could discover, give grounding and explanation to the following:  
 (1) Overlooking the way in which democracy is an ever-evolving ethos, the Hungarians took it for granted, polarised the political space following an antagonistic model of politics and democracy, and now are in a situation where consensus is impossible, increasingly not even within the political camp.  
 (2) Instead of democracy, the debate has been on material issues, freedom as an abstract concept and nationhood. Materially-defined Europe reappeared in the case of immigrants. Amnesia about Hungary's own refugee past and even emigration in the 2000s is strong, as the metaphor of Hungary includes either the people living within the frontiers of the state or the ethnic Hungarians living in neighbouring areas.  
 (3) Transfer analysis shows: similar ideas of anti-intellectualism, nativism, and populism appear elsewhere.

The study takes a broad 40-year perspective. *The period from the 1980s to today is still reachable through today's politicians and intellectuals and their immediate predecessors*. The project has value to scientists, the general public and policy-makers dealing with democracy and the political:

1) The study develops *a new innovative theoretical-methodological approach for studying conceptual-discursive transformation and politics*. *Tropological political analysis* (based on a theoretical article, Palonen forthcoming) will be developed, operationalised and exported worldwide, with potential for scientific breakthroughs. It is reflexive about spatial transformations (discourse as a web of meanings) and temporal transformations (conceptual change), refuting claims of ahistoricity which some forms of discourse analysis have faced. The novelty here is to unite them into a single framework, enabling reflection on the discursive effects of conceptual change and interaction between hitherto distinct fields in the field of interpretive political analysis. It shows the connections between different modes of analysis and regenerating science. The methodological potential will be realised with MA & PhD students at DPES, a methods course book, and through scientific networks.

2) *Sensitivity to transfer enables reflection on other contexts and the evolving notion and praxis of democracy*. Hungary works as a case with "force of example" (Flyvbjerg 2006). As a Hungarianist and Europeanist with a background as a transnational discourse theorist, and extensive networks with colleagues across Europe, from the post-totalitarian countries of Spain, Greece, Italy, to the UK, and the Nordic countries, where democracy is being rethought. On the CEE region, she cooperates with Slavists and comparative political scientists, and with students and colleagues from Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. Each bear insights for radical and institutionalised democracy.

3) Social impacts of the research are pertinent. *It provides urgent reflection on what happened* with: (1) the "revolutions of 1989" or the transition that started in the 1980s and carries post-communist legacies (Schöpflin 1993) even today; and (2) the controversial policies in the 2010s, e.g. the treatment of refugees and constitutional reforms. The project also shows: (3) how the situation reached the current point, and (4) what happens next (-2021). The research period includes the Hungarian elections in 2018 and marks anniversaries for 1989, the 1990 elections and the *samizdats*.

## Critical points for success, alternative implementation strategies

Risk	Grounding	Alternative
Theme: too broad a topic	Discussion on democracy is everywhere, and discursive links are wide. Is it realistic to study? Brave, overarching analysis is needed. Poststructuralist discourse theory enables both detailed micro- and macro-level research.	Reduce the number of issues covered or aim at providing a clear overall picture in the books and few articles. Some articles or chapters look more deeply at particular cases & debates. Stick to key concepts.
Timescale: long period	Management of the material in a study covering four decades that seeks to pay attention to words, concepts, processes and practices is risky.	Stick to the plan, but select the <i>moments</i> , fora and actors. Consult secondary analysis, peers, interviewees, and research assistant.
Interviews	Recording the reflections of still-available figures is important for cultural and political history. However: (A) Interviewees fail to be available, communicate or trust the interviewer; (B) Interviewing becomes time-consuming.	(A) Interviews are not necessarily the core of this project; secondary material can be used. Networking helps towards being taken seriously. (B) Applying further funding to cover staff interviews and dissemination.
Disciplining the discipline	Mainstream political scientists fail to cooperate with the postfoundational researcher (e.g. finally scholars agree about Fidesz being populist). <i>New ideas take time to sink in</i> . Positive signs: Laclauian populism analysis moves to the mainstream (e.g. populismus.gr); interpretive analysis is interesting for political scientists even in the US (recent feedback highly encouraging).	Seek initially different outlets for journal articles, or more area studies and history audiences. Interact with colleagues, e.g. UH provides great <i>collaboration</i> with mainstream political scientists (e.g. see collaboration at the DPES), to find a common language. <i>Publish in formats that are enduring and available to wider audiences. Disseminate the process.</i>
Ambitious mobility plan	The PI plans to resume the role of transnational academic, but with her renewed roots in Finland it can be taxing to her and her family. Budapest and most locations are easily accessible from Finland, with prior networks for the family.	Beyond fieldwork, trips contribute to dissemination and networks. The length and number of trips can be negotiated without risk. Openness in the plan for finding the best location and timing for the family and research.
New method	The research develops and tests “tropological political analysis”.	If coding and analysis is unsuccessful a related method will be adopted.
Transforming political field	The research seeks to address pertinent problems – would the research question lose its relevance if politics in Hungary transforms?	The plan includes analysis of the 2018 elections. Sudden events related to Europe or democracy can be integrated.

**Publication plan:** The project has a systematic dissemination plan, including communication across the academic community and with the general public. There are three new scientific articles each year and three books: a methods book, initially in Finnish (B1); a book for specialised audience (B2) and a more general audience (B2) and an edited volume (EV1). The plan (see below) spans process dissemination to engagement with the general public. See timetable in section 6.

Purpose	Location	Period	Audience	Theme
Process dissemination	Personal website blogs.helsinki.fi/epalonen, twitter account	2016-2021	Colleagues, students and general public	Hungarian and European politics, democracy, methodological innovations and research-based insights regularly (micro)blogged
Pre- and post-publication peer engagement	Pre-POST, Research gate, Academia.edu, open peer review	2017-2021	Scientific community	Research design, method and findings, comparative work

<i>Academic conferences, enhancement and networking</i>	IPSA, ECPR, PSA, FPSA, ASEAN, ISA; NOPSA, ENIUGH Budapest	2017-2021 2017/20 2017	Scientific community, discourse theorists, political scientists	Theory, method and comparative and transfer connections Political science, area studies, IR, World History
<i>Academic journal articles: dissemination of research results</i>	<i>Journal of Democracy;</i> <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies;</i> <i>East European Politics and Societies and Cultures;</i> <i>Transit;</i> <i>Nationalities Papers;</i> <i>Constellations;</i> <i>Contemporary Political Theory;</i> <i>Journal of Political Ideologies;</i> <i>Distinktion;</i> <i>Poetics;</i> <i>Transit.</i>	2017-2021	Scientific Community of political theorists, discourse theorists, political scientists, democracy theorists, CEE specialists,	E.g. Tropological political analysis; Building “democracy”: conceptual-discursive mapping; the Hungarian dissident movement in the 1980s; “Democratizing” the regime: analysis of Hungarian politicians in the 1990s; The discursive construction of democracy in post-communist Hungary; Democracy – the forgotten name of the game in the 1990s?; Hungary – fortress of Europe?; Orbán’s second transition; Hungarian elections 2018; “Democracy” and the political in Hungary 1980–2020; Future of democracy in Europe
<i>Books: Monograph generating an overall reflection on the research</i>	B1. Vastapaino, Gaudeamus; B2: Verso, Polity;  B3: Routledge, Cambridge	2017  2019  2021	Students & colleagues; Theorists, activists; Pol. Sci. and analysts, public Scientists & practitioners	B1: Discourse theory as method (Finnish, later translation?); B2: <i>Contested Democracy in Hungary;</i>  B3: <i>Forty years of democracy in Hungary</i>  EV1: <i>Rhetoric and politics of democracy – a comparative study</i>
<i>Collective work: edited collection</i>	EV1: Palgrave, ECPR press	2021		
<i>Public articles and talks, invited appearances and networking with policy-makers</i>	Public talks at Think corner UH, Finnagora BP, etc.; <i>politiikasta.fi</i> , <i>openDemocracy</i> , <i>Transit online</i> , etc.	2016-2021	General public, media, MPs, MEPs, policy-makers	Hungarian and European politics, elections in 2018, anniversaries of key dates, democracy, East-West, participatory and deliberative democracy in Hungary

The research insights will be communicated through research trips and conferences, and through popularised and academic publication in key and open access journals. The research process is largely microblogged, with publication targeting the general public planned in Finnish and English. As with previous translations into Hungarian, the PI hopes to reach that audience through, for example, *Politikatudomány szemle* [Political Science Review] and *2000*. Artistic collaboration may be considered, offering another possibility for dissemination and analysis.

#### 4. Research methods and material, support from research environment

***Tropological political analysis as method:*** The proposed research is based in the *postfoundationalist* and *interpretive framework in political science* (Bevir 2010). As “explanans” going beyond hermeneutics, it can also include the notion of logics, understood in the everyday notion of logic rather than an iron law (Glynos and Howarth 2007). The anti/postfoundationalist perspective behind rhetoric, conceptual history, discourse theory and transfer is reflexive about meaning, transformation and flows. The methodological approach draws from: (1) conceptual analysis (and history of ideas, Skinner); (2) discourse/hegemony theory (Laclau 2014); and (3) conceptual transfer or transfer of ideas (Espagne 1999; Casanova 1999/2004). They have traditionally been seen as distinct, but all focus on meaning-making: Skinner on rhetorical redescription and Laclau on the constitutive role of rhetoric (Skinner 2002; Laclau 2005, 2014; Palonen forthcoming). As an active spatial concept, transfer can be related

to rhetorical moves and redescriptions (Skinner) and the logics in rhetorical tropes (Laclau). Reflection on asymmetries of transfer is crucial, as the UH's AF project shows.

***The research will show exactly how the operationalizing of particular conceptions of democracy and the political has wider discursive effects.*** For Laclau (2014), practices are discursive as they produce meanings. The emphasis is on concepts and discourse, but practices are not disregarded as often claimed. Although the research focuses on logics behind rhetorical tropes, processes are not automatic. For example, Orbán's reforms made public criticism difficult, and the Socialists and the Liberals are now fragmented and reluctant to connect with emerging political movements. The political elites have institutionalised (Ilonszki and Schwarcz 2014). In tropological terms, we could see that elites are in the usual metonymical position of representing the political parties (with symbolic and economic incentive) rather than catachrestically renewing the political field. Institutionalisation has discursive effects and fosters a particular perspective to democracy.

A ***coding pattern*** suitable for tropological political analysis exploring the discursive field (the connected meanings) will be developed with the research assistant hired for 2017. Considering the hypothetical absences, key search terms could be chance and transformation rather than democracy.

**Materials and data management plan:** Research data consists of ***key published writings***, *samizdats* and political speeches, published interviews, and emerging literature by key actors in Hungarian politics from the 1980s to the present. Memoirs and ***interviews*** (see table) present a longitudinal perspective<sup>1</sup>, as each period includes rather different data sources because of the trends of the era. The research process will include providing a more detailed research management plan along the guidelines of the Finnish Social Science Data Archive. Copyright issues will be clarified and negotiated when generating a digitalised reference database on the university server. Selective corpus will be managed through data management and analysis software Atlas.ti (unless better software is available to tackle the spatial analysis). The research webpage and Twitter account are part of the data-management plan, enabling transparency and distributing publicly-available data. Interviews can be made publicly available, in tapes/videos or text, online and later in video-on-book format (VOB).

Subject	Source or type of material	Storage and availability
<b>Dissident 1980s:</b>	OSA, Budapest: archived interviews, Radio Free Europe, <i>Bibó emlékkönyv</i> , <i>Beszélő</i>	University server, publicly-available data linked through webpage
<b>The 1990-2000s:</b>	News: EMIS database, HVG databases, newspaper archives, magazines <i>Magyar Narancs</i> (liberal), <i>Magyar Demokrata</i> (right), <i>HVG</i> (neutral?), key journals	University server; copyrighted in commercial databases (e.g. EMIS), restricted; links to newspapers and reading-lists shared and stored online
<b>The 2010s:</b>	As above, strongly supplemented by online magazines and, increasingly, social media	University server; links gathered online to the research web page
<b>As a reflection, 1980s-present:</b>	Recorded and transcribed interviews: Dissident intellectuals: e.g. <i>János Kis</i> , <i>Gaspár Miklós Tamás</i> , <i>Miklós Haraszti</i> , <i>György Konrád</i> , <i>Sándor Csóori</i> , <i>Ágnes Heller</i> . Memoirs: notes from books will be also loaded in electronic format.	Stored on University server (not OneDrive for Business); when available for publishing, published on a website throughout the project and as an e-book or VOB, with rights to the interviewees.

**The tangible research environment:** The proposed research will be located at the Department of Political and Economic Studies (DPES), UH, which is an excellent academic environment for the project, presenting the connection between politics, administration and global democracy – as well as

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs have emerged as a form of discussion on the particular routes and beliefs during the transition in Hungary. While memoirs and interviews require a special treatment to be considered reliable sources, they contribute to the contemporary discursive space and the long history of the transition.

political history and European Studies (see below *collaboration*). In addition, there **are great opportunities for building the PI's own research team**: several junior colleagues are in regular contact and many take part in the open research seminar Theoretical Studies in Politics. The DPES also hosts the PI's eight PhD students, open research seminar and advanced methods course. Teaching on the methods course could be outsourced, so *the overall teaching workload would not constitute more than 5% of working time*.

**The UH and the partner institutions offer excellent facilities for the duration of the project:** *The use of office space and library research facilities, UH and international* (e.g. IWM, Vienna; East Anglia, Roskilde, Glasgow, and Thessaloniki); Library and database facilities at the CEU and HAS.

**UH research management support:** funding, insurance, maintenance of the network server by UH throughout the 5-year period. *Public outreach* would be done through the Faculty of Social Sciences, AI and the UH's Think Corner, with the university's excellent crew. *UH support for international exchange:* Erasmus and other programmes enable academic visits to Finland by colleagues.

**International support:** *POST (postjournal.org)* a postmodern peer-reviewed journal with pre-reviewed publications, edited by Charlotte Fridolfsson and PI and to be launched in 2016: technical support from Linköping university (hub of OA publishing in Sweden).

**National research infrastructures:** ESS, eLib and FSD will be consulted.

## 5. Ethical issues

Interviews with public intellectuals will be recorded for research purposes at the disposal of the researcher. If/when they are transcribed and translated, the interviewees will be sent a copy. A written agreement will precede publication of parts of the interviews in the public domain. Anonymity will be granted. Interpretation is always prone to debate: the research process is made tangible and transparent in the publications and through the webpage, without compromising the anonymity of interviewees and informants, who are made aware of the process.

## 6. Implementation: schedule, budget, distribution of work

**Research process schedule:** The research first tackles the contemporary phenomenon, writing an article on the acute situation in Hungary in the 2010s and *testing* the method. It then sets the initial *timeline* for the 40-year period research and for the research. To cover the 40-year period, there will be simultaneously an intensive and systematic gathering, selection and analysis the primary materials from particular periods and thematic reflection and enhancement with secondary literature (see themes on p.4. Related events are reminders for public dissemination of research-based ideas.

Year	Theme	Period	Research visits	Deliverables	Related events
2016	Method, context	2010s	East Anglia, Glasgow, Linköping	A1-2 (articles)	1956 Revolution – 60 years in October
2017	Theme 1	1980s	Budapest; Roskilde	B1 (book), A3-5	Russian Revolution and Finnish independence – 100 years
2018	Theme 2	1990s	Budapest; Brighton, Thessaloniki	A6-9	Hungarian elections 2018
2019	Theme 3	2000s	Vienna; US	A10-13	EP elections 1989 – 30 years
2020	Theme 4	2010s	Vienna;	B2, A14-16	Bibó (1980), 1990 elections
2021	Writing up	overall	Argentina;	B3, EV1, A17	<i>Beszélő</i> (1981)

**Budget:** The project budget includes the Hungarian country profile at the EMIS database, with great coverage of journals and newspapers from the 1990s. Research assistant (Hungarian-speaking social science and history students are available, N.N.) will be hired to help gather and manage the data for 24 months in 2017-18. Other costs include travel allowance with family and OA publication costs.

Budget 2016-2021	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total

Salaries, research assistant (N.N.)	0	18 856	19 848	0	0	0	38 704
Indirect employee costs	0	10 559	11 115	0	0	0	21 674
<i>Total overheads share</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>27 356</i>	<i>28 796</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>56 152</i>
Materials (literature and copies)	200	600	200	200	200	200	1 600
Equipments (computer and video)	1 600	500	0	0	0	0	2 100
Services (proofreading and EMIS)	1 600	2 000	2 400	2 600	2 600	3 000	14 200
Travel expences (conferences, visits)	2 000	5 000	5 000	5 000	5 000	4 000	26 000
Other costs (OA, family travel)	3 000	10 000	7 000	10 000	10 000	5 000	45 000
<b>Total costs</b>	<b>8 400</b>	<b>74 871</b>	<b>74 359</b>	<b>17 800</b>	<b>17 800</b>	<b>12 200</b>	<b>205 430</b>
<b>of which 70 % is applied from the Academy</b>							<b>143 801</b>

## 7. Research team, collaboration

This project draws on the PI's experiences and expertise but constitutes a new chapter. The PI is an experienced scholar with a BA in *Contemporary East European Studies from SSEES/UCL, London*, and an MA and PhD from *Essex, programme on Ideology and Discourse Analysis*. She wrote her PhD while a fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna and the Collegium Budapest. Located mainly in Finland since 2008, she has become a versatile and well-networked scholar. She has attained a wide knowledge of relevant subjects while working as:

**Senior Lecturer** in three distinct fields: Public Administration and Organization Studies and currently Political Science (DPES, UH) and Cultural Policy Research (at its core in Finland, University of Jyväskylä, UJ). (Acting lectureships are highly competitive temporary contracts typical of Finnish universities.)

**Researcher** in three projects funded by the Academy of Finland: on *intellectual history and transfers* in Europe (political history, UH, 2012-2016), *populism* (cultural studies, UJ, 2012-2016), and *nationalism* (political science, UJ, 2007-2009).

**Postdoctoral researcher** in two one-year projects in Finland on topics unrelated to her PhD (urban politics and populism), and during 3-month research visits or fellowships at five institutes, including Institutes for Advanced Study (IAS): Collegium Budapest, Helsinki Collegium; with DAAD funding at *the Humboldt University*, AF funding at Northwestern University, Illinois, US.

The Laclauian poststructuralist discourse theoretical framework has been the constant dynamic for the PI. She teaches it yearly at the DPES, UH, and often also at other universities (open, UJ and Uni. of Lapland). As part of the team of six university pedagogues and social scientists in the UH's *Helsinki Challenge*, she develops *WeQ Pedagogy – a new postfoundationalist pedagogical approach* for teaching contested and taboo subjects and 21<sup>st</sup> century higher education. She is now the Political Science coordinator of the MA programme in Democracy and Global Transformations at the DPES.

The PI has dedicated much of her postdoctoral time to making science accessible (dissemination of research and enduring electronic formats) and science policy reachable for the wider society of academics. ***She holds major positions of trust in the national academic community:***

**Vice-Board Member of Finnish Federation of Learned Societies (FLS, 2015-2017)**

**Board Member of Finnish Association for Scholarly Publishing (2015-2017)**

Board member of the *Finnish Political Science Association (FPSA 2008-)*; FPSA representative at the *FLS* (2009-); founding editor of FPSA's *Politiikasta.fi* online magazine for academic analysis to public (2012-14); *Editor of the Finnish PSA book series* (2014-) developing open access publishing;

Founding president of the *Finnish Society for Cultural Policy Research* 2012 and 2015, member of editorial board of *Kulttuuripolitiikka* journal, to be launched in 2015.

Founding editor of *POST – A Nordic Journal of Politics*, with Charlotte Fridolfsson, launched in 2016, published through Linköping University, based on networks of poststructuralist/foundational/modern political analysis and theory at the Nordic PSA, and pilots a new way of publishing 'pre-' & 'post-' the review process.

The PI organises and co-organises conferences, workshops and panels, e.g. the local organisation committee of the major international conference *Crossroads in Cultural Studies in 2014* in Tampere.

She keynoted in an *International Conference of Cultural Policy Research*, and has given a number of conference presentations and organised panels and workshops at ECPR, IPSA, NOPSA, PSA, ISA, BISA, FPSA etc. She works as a referee for funding bodies (e.g. ESRC, UK; Finnish Cultural Foundation) and academic journals, and examined a PhD thesis (pre-examination and board).

She has published in major international journals and in international edited volumes at top publishing houses; has edited a volume in a Finnish journal; has had publications translated into Hungarian. She is a contributing editor of three volumes of the AF projects coming to an end in 2016. Furthermore, successful in her conceptions of populist dynamics and analysis of Laclau in recent conferences, she is finishing articles with the AF project support. Although she receives positive referee comments, her dissatisfaction with the rather outdated science publishing and “neutral” journal rankings, prompted her to seek transforming the system – with some progress.

In Finland, the PI has disseminated research-based ideas as the Editor of *Ydin*, a highly-regarded alternative magazine (2008-09), has engaged as a chair person of two civic associations (2009-2012), and is involved in her local community, building a *model of participatory planning and democracy* for a multifunction local centre and library to be finished in October 2016 (2012-16). She has written on the future of local democracy and is a commentator on democracy, populism and Europe.

As a fluent Hungarian-speaker and international researcher outside the muddle of Hungarian politics, the PI can offer insights which few others can. Impartiality is a skill needed for the study of thoroughly politicised contexts such as Hungary.

At the age of 38 – very early in the Finnish context – and after *a maternity leave (27.4.13-10.3.14)*, it is her last chance to apply for a personal fellowship at the Academy of Finland.

#### **National and international collaboration:**

The **partners** are top experts in their fields, and each bring their own strong expertise to the project:

Prof. **András Bozóki** (CEU, Hungary): intellectuals and Hungary, post-communist political elites, transition;  
Prof. **Alan Finlayson** (East Anglia, UK): rhetoric analysis discourse theory, contemporary political theory;  
Permanent Fellow **Ivan Krastev** (IWM, IAS, Vienna): democracy and (Central and Eastern) Europe;  
Dr. **Umut Korkut** (Glasgow Caledonian University, UK): politics in Hungary, comparative politics in Europe;  
Dr. **Katalin Miklóssy** (Aleksanteri Institute, UH, Finland): history in Hungary and the CEE region prior 1989;  
Prof. **Yannis Stavrakakis** (Aristoteles Uni., Thessaloniki, Greece): discourse, populism, political subjectivity

Research visits and potential joint publications reinforce these connections. They help to focus the overarching project on Hungary 1980-2020 and network on the topics. (See application form for details.)

**In Hungary**, the collaboration besides the CEU includes: András Körösnéyi, Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA); Kálmán Pócsa, Pázmány Péter Catholic University (PPCU) fellow at the MTA; and Emeritus Prof. Márton Szabó (Miskolcs, ELTE). In the politicised context, each represents different shades. The project would renew the PI’s contacts with the junior researchers at the MTA.

**In the DPES** there is collaboration with colleagues in Political Science [e.g. Prof. Mikko Mattila on the EU, Prof. Anne Holli on Gender and Parliaments and Academy Research Fellow (ARF) Dr Hanna Wass on voter behaviour; Asst Prof. Tero Erkkilä on European governance and policies; Prof. Teivo Teivainen on global democracy and Latin America, and Senior Lecturer Sergei Prozorov on subjectivity and transition], and Political History [Senior Lecturer Marja Jalava on intellectuals and Dr Johanna Rainio-Niemi on Austria and consensus, AF project 2012-16]. The DPES also hosts the UH *Network for European Studies*; and next door, the *Aleksanteri Institute*, hub of East European Studies, houses Dr Katalin Miklóssy working on Socialist Hungary and several colleagues working on Russia. In the Faculty the PI has established collaboration with ARF Dr Juha Herkman on populism and media. Culture and media would be in an important role for rhetorical change. **Nationally**, there is collaboration in cultural studies with Dr Urpo Kovala and Dr Tuija Saresma in UJ; and Prof. Erkki Sevänen at the U. of Eastern Finland, and on democracy in JU with Prof. Marja Keränen’s AF project on *Superdemocracy* (2013-17) and FiDiPro Prof. Niilo Kauppi’s project *Transformations of Concepts and Institutions in the European Polity* (2015-19) thematically.

**The discourse theory networks:** A former student of Ernesto Laclau (1930-2014) at Essex University and Northwestern University, the PI represents the established younger generation emphasising Laclau's later work on rhetoric and populism (Laclau 2005, 2014, e.g. ECPR 2015 panel "The Legacy of Ernesto Laclau"), with a background in conceptual/intellectual history from the Jyväskylä networks. **Nordic networks** with the PI, Charlotte Fridolfsson (Linköping, Sweden) and Allan Dreyer Hansen (Roskilde, Denmark) were initiated at NoPSA 2009, and after Gothenburg 2014 there are concrete plans for publications and a new journal (*POST*), an ECPR workshop and the third tri-annual workshop at NoPSA 2017. The network meetings are visited by colleagues from the region and beyond. A **network on populism** was established with Populismus.gr, an EU-funded project led by Yannis Stavrakakis at the Aristoteles University in Thessaloniki, Greece (keynoting at Jyväskylä 2016). Mark Deveney's new AHRC-funded project in Brighton, UK, builds on it. **In Latin America**, the PI collaborates, e.g. on populism with Paula Biglieri in Buenos Aires, and on politics and memory with Mercedes Barros in Cordoba, Argentina. Research visits of 1-4 weeks to these locations offer the opportunity to discuss, collaborate and disseminate research beyond conferences.

## 8. Researcher training and research careers

**Supervisory arrangements:** The PI works as a *primary supervisor for eight PhD students*, and runs her own open *seminar* for PhD students and postdocs Theoretical Studies in Politics (TSP). Seven of them are realistically gaining their PhDs in 2016-2021, one already in 2015. Some of them would be affiliating to the project directly as pre/postdocs: Mr. Halil Gürhanli on politics and populism in Turkey, Ms. Ruta Kazlauskaite-Gürbüz on politics of the past in Lithuania/Poland and Ms. Anna Kutkina on Ukraine. Of the four students who have contacted her in September 2015 to do a PhD, at least an Italian student working on identity and democracy in Hungary could join the supervised Finnish, Ukrainian, Turkish and Lithuanian PhD students. The PI also mentors as postdocs Dr Suvi Kansikas on Soviet transition and foreign policy, Dr Anna Björk (from UJ) on voice and voting, and prospectively Ms. Kanerva Kuokkanen (PhD 2015?) on participatory governance. In addition, there are quite a few other advanced PhD students in the network on Theoretical Studies.

**Promoting equality:** The project (1) *promotes equality by giving an opportunity to women to be supervised and mentored* in a predominantly male-dominated field in Finland (although the TSP seminar is mixed, for a long time it has served as a support base for women and anti/postfoundational theorists); (2) *enables long-term research and international mobility* to a female academic who in the precarious pre- and post-doc period and as a young mother has juggled many projects – so that she can focus and claim a place for herself and the next generation in the male-dominated fields of Laclauian discourse theory, political theory and science, and reach out to the international publics on Hungary, democracy and Europe (*after three years of intensive traveling to conferences and meeting colleagues, her motto emerged: collaborate & be acknowledged*); and (3) through the *POST* journal, *promotes equality by giving voice and opening up debate on alternative interpretations beyond the mainstream* of science and offers fast access to research-based ideas in a truly mixed community.

## 9. Mobility plan (for more exact timetable see 6, for thematic see above 7)

**Hungary: fieldwork in Hungary**, the primary research context, altogether *9 months of visits* to different institutions in Budapest for interviews and research; other resources such as UH's Erasmus programmes with ELTE and Pázmány Peter (PPCU) universities for *visits of colleagues to Helsinki*.

**Austria: 10-month visit** to the *IWM, Vienna* – Institute for Advanced Study, the most inspiring centre for discussion on Europe and CEE, globally; close proximity to Budapest; application is submitted for a fellowship 9/2019-6/2020, IWM board's decision and invitation is pending.

**US: 2-month research** visit to *the Wilson Centre*, in Washington, DC, planned for 2019: planned to discuss dissidents and democracy, even transition. **New School New York**, is an alternative Virag Molnar has been contacted initially, but arrangements/application could only be done later. Despite their differences both places are veritable hubs of transfer of ideas in between the US and the world and have also been important for Hungarian intellectuals.

**UK, Denmark, Sweden, and Greece: 1-4 week visits for research input and dissemination** with contacts in the discourse theory networks, mainly (2016-2021). The first visits in 2016 are to Glasgow discuss the timeline of 1980-2020 in Hungary; and the ‘topological political analysis’ method at the University of East Anglia. Next visits between fieldwork in Hungary will be again on discourse theory to Linköping, Roskilde, Brighton, and Thessaloniki, and to the *alma mater*.

**Argentina and Chile:** Dissemination, testing, and future-planning visit planned for summer 2021 to U. Buenos Aires and U. Cordoba, Argentina, in the Latin American heartland of Laclau’s theory.

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