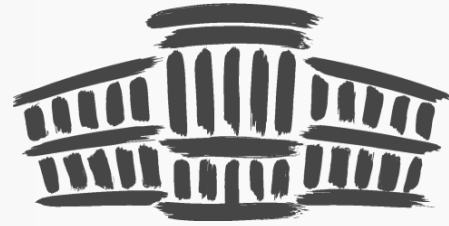


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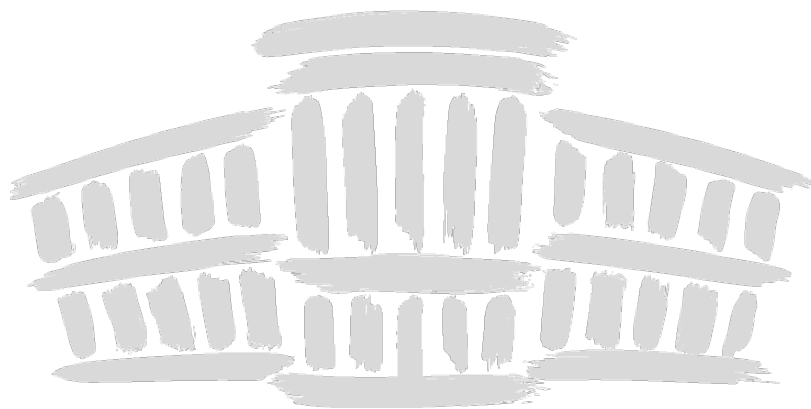
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**VRIJEDNOSNE ORIJENTACIJE NOVIH NARAŠTAJA
ZBORNİK RADOVA ZNANSTVENIH KONFERENCIJA
UČITELJSKOG FAKULTETA NA MAĐARSKOM
NASTAVNOM JEZIKU**

**VALUE SYSTEM OF YOUNGER GENERATIONS
BOOK OF SELECTED PAPERS OF THE HUNGARIAN
LANGUAGE TEACHER TRAINING FACULTY'S
SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCES**



**УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У НОВОМ САДУ УЧИТЕЉСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ НА МАЂАРСКОМ НАСТАВНОМ ЈЕЗИКУ У СУБОТИЦИ
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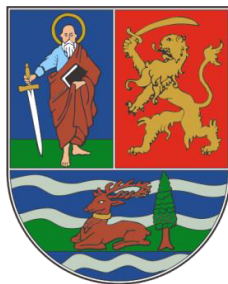
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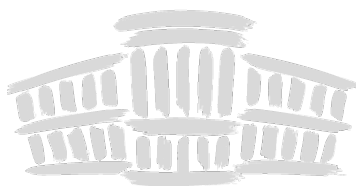
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THE VOTER PREFERENCES OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION IN HUNGARY BETWEEN 2010 AND 2020

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Summary

Since the general elections of 2010 and the victory of the Fidesz-KDNP coalition, the Hungarian party system has gone through several changes. While Fidesz-KDNP dominated the popular polls the whole period, it struggles to increase its support with the generation under the age of 30.

The parties that become prevalent or were founded after 2010 are trying to position themselves as a “new generational party” and they actively fight for this age group. At first part of the 2010s Jobbik seemed to be the choice of most young Hungarians, but after the appearance of the Momentum Movement in 2017 there is a clear shift toward them in popularity. Additionally, Momentum was established by politicians of similar age, which also helped them to gain the sympathy of the youth. This paper showcases how the party structure of Hungary and the party preferences of the Hungarians under 30 has developed in the century between 2010 and 2020.

Keywords: voter preference, Hungarian politics, Hungarian Elections, Voter Behaviour, Youth Politics

1. Introduction

2010 marks a great shift in the Hungarian political scene. The cycle between 2006 and 2010 have brought turbulent political conflicts across Hungary. The coalition of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) have faced several challenges during this period and their right-wing opposition, Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Alliance (Fidesz) and Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP) took every chance to build up and prepare for their change of regime in 2010.

The first crisis arose after a voice recording of Ferenc Gyurcsány, the prime minister of Hungary between 2004 and 2009, was publicised. It contained a speech of Gyurcsány given to his party, where he used strong language to describe the state of the country and government. This speech, historicized as the *Őszöd speech*, ignited a number of violent protests in 2006.

The next challenge for the government was the three referendums in 2008 initiated by Fidesz-KDNP. The questions dealt with social issues and policies, such as university student fee or free healthcare. The government lost these referendums and had to back down on these reforms. At the same time, the economic crisis of 2007-2008 hit Hungary hard, also damaging the public image of the ruling MSZP-SZDSZ coalition. After these events, in 2009 Ferenc Gyurcsány stepped down as he lost his majority support in the Parliament. In the remaining one year, a crisis management government, led by Gordon Bajnai reigned.

The 2010 general elections were a landslide victory for Fidesz-KDNP. The right-wing coalition won 173 seats out of the 386, making it a two-third majority. This coalition since then remains in power and maintains the first place in the case of popularity among the voters. However, Fidesz-KDNP struggles to increase its support under the age 30 and it remains the right-wing coalition’s worst age group.

The general elections in 2010 not only changed the dynamic between the two biggest party, MSZP and Fidesz, but also gave opportunity to new parties. In the first twenty years after the change of regime in 1990, the regime changing politicians and parties dominated Hungarian politics across all fields. Two new anti-establishment party won seats at the 2010 elections. The far-right Jobbik party and the green Politics can be Different (LMP) party. In values and ideology, the two party shared little in common, but both of them were against globalization, big corporations and neoliberal economic governance. These new parties provided new approaches and ideas which were appealing for the younger generation.

Since 2010 the party structure and composition on the oppositional side went through several additional transformations. One of the most influential was the creation of Momentum Movement in 2017. This party was born from a civic movement, which started a campaign for a referendum about Budapest's bid for the 2024 Olympic Games. Eventually the government and the local government of Budapest backed off from the applications. Momentum since then concentrates on younger generations and try to win their support.

This paper gives a summary about the decade between 2010 and 2020, concerning the “new generational parties” and their support below the age of 30. The examination of these parties can highlight the change of dominant worldviews and political preferences of the youth, and reveal how the support of these parties changed.

The publicly available surveys and polls in Hungary usually does not contain specifics about age. The paper uses for the measurement of party preference the data from the Active Youth studies, which is an all-embracing research initiation, analysing the social and political status of the Hungarian university students. The three main “challengers” for the sympathy of the youth, Jobbik, LMP and Momentum are examined in separate chapters. Finally, a comparison is made to reflect on the changes through the ten years of Hungarian parties and their relation to the youth.

2. Jobbik

Jobbik's name is a wordplay in Hungarian. It refers to the right side and to a better position. Jobbik is not the first party that has embraced right-wing radical views (Juhász – Krekó – Molnár 2010). Far-right, right-wing extremism and radical right-wing are just a few of the numerous names describing a complex political group or ideology. Political scientists across the world tried to make the best description about this subject, but it is hard to come to a consensus, as national characteristics and anomalies are hard to integrate into a complex definition (Juhász – Krekó – Molnár 2014). Nonetheless, there are commonly shared attributes between far-right parties. Anti-establishment position, which means they criticize the classical political elite. Extreme nationalism and chauvinism towards their home country. Xenophobia in relations to ethnicities and other nationalities. Homophobia and resent of sexual minorities. Their fascination with authoritarianism (Karácsony - Róna 2010).

Jobbik in its early history had most of these characteristics to a varying degree. Jobbik's first electoral success was the European Elections in 2009, where it gained the 14,77% of the votes, but its first real breakthrough in Hungarian politics was their results in the 2010 Hungarian general elections. Jobbik gained 16,67 % of the votes, making them the third strongest party in Hungary. At the following 2014 and 2018 parliamentary elections Jobbik increased their support. In 2014 Jobbik earned 20,69 % and in 2018 19,06 % of the votes. 2018 was another important step for Jobbik, as it became the second strongest party in the Parliament. However, after 2018 the support of Jobbik started to decline as its president, Gábor Vona stepped down and did not take his seat in the Parliament. Also, a part of the party split off, making a new party named Our Homeland Movement (Mi Hazánk Mozgalom) (Várnagy 2019). The split happened, because Jobbik went through a long process of deradicalization, named “*cuteness campaign*” by Hungarian political science scholars and by the media. Jobbik tried to apply a calmer and more moderate image and declared itself to be a people's party (Róna 2017). Mi Hazánk Mozgalom do the opposite of this and try to regain the more radical and far-right elements, which was used by Jobbik in the past.

Jobbik's new position is a result of a long process initiated by Gábor Vona. After 2018 the party's official position regarding anti-Semitism and the cooperation with the left-wing parties changed gradually. The politicians of Jobbik publicly distanced themselves from their previous statements which contained radical or hateful content (Kalmar 2020). For example, László Bíró, who is a member of Jobbik was supported by the united opposition (Jobbik, LMP, Momentum, MSZP, DK, Párbeszéd) for the mid-term election in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county's 6th electoral district for a void

representative seat in October of 2020. László Bíró apologized for his hateful posts on social media, made by him years ago, where he made racist statements aimed at Jewish people (444.hu 2020). Another interesting factor in Jobbik's new political position is its relation to the rest of the opposition. Jobbik in the past strongly opposed the parties with socialist and liberal ideologies, however its gestures towards the left and liberal side, such as the apologies for their previous racist statements, made Jobbik more acceptable for the rest of the opposition. During the local elections in 2019 Jobbik cooperated with the rest of the opposition in numerous cases (László – Molnár 2019) and for the general elections in 2022 Jobbik announced that they will take part in the opposition's primary elections (HVG.hu 2020).

It is still questionable how the liberal and left-wing voters respond to the alliance with Jobbik. Bringing up the example of the mid-term election in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county again, the compromised candidate, László Bíró, could not win against the candidate of Fidesz-KDNP. In 2018 the parties of the opposition ran separately and altogether earned the 48,81 % of the voters, while in 2020 the six party supported one candidate, but he only earned the 46,27 % of the votes. This could be an indication that the left-wing and liberal voters don't accept a controversial candidate as easily, even if it means a loss against the governing parties.

Jobbik's success fascinated the Hungarian political scientist community throughout the decade. One element, which stands out and the topic of my paper, is its popularity in the youth population. The age group of 18-29 could also be divided in the case of Jobbik. Among the youngest adults, between the ages 18 and 21 Jobbik was supported by 32 % in the period of 2011-2012, while in the age group of 22-29 it was 22 %. For the whole population it was 18 %. Concerning the university students, it was 37 % for 18-21 and 27 % for 22-29 (Róna – Sörös 2012). Szabó and Kern in their study called the young politically active population *kuruc.info generation and Critical Mass generation* (Szabó – Kern 2011). *Kuruc.info* refers to an important radical right-wing news site, which was an important platform for Jobbik and *Critical Mass* refers to a cyclist movement with environmentalist messages. The *Critical Mass generation* was used for the voters of LMP.

Róna and Sörös used multiple youth researches for their conclusion about the youth and Jobbik. According to their deduction, Jobbik was favoured by the youth, because it provided an anti-establishment worldview, was active and innovative on social media sites and on the internet. Also, the subculture surrounding Jobbik was attractive, because the young people could be part of an active community with their own traditions and symbols. The theory that the economic crisis and the far-right values influenced the youth to sympathize with Jobbik was falsified by Róna and Sörös (Róna – Sörös 2012.).

After the 2014 elections, during the *cuteness campaign* Jobbik seemed to maintain their support among the youth. A moderation could be observed concerning the thinking and communication style of the Jobbik sympathizers. Róna in his study also noted, that Jobbik was conscious and strategic. The party targeted the youth well and it paid off (Róna 2017).

The 2018 general election made Jobbik the second strongest party in the Parliament, however the inner fractions and the exit of prominent Jobbik politicians made the party's popularity polls fall significantly. In the 2019 European Elections Jobbik gained only 6,34 % of the votes, while at the 2018 general elections 19,06 %. The appearance of Momentum Movement and the general decline of Jobbik's support made Jobbik lose this age group to Momentum. In 2015 Jobbik stood at 20% with university students, but in 2019 at only 14%. From first place within this demographic group Jobbik have fallen back to third.

3. LMP

Politics Can be Different party was born from several green and environmentalist non-governmental organization. The party's main values were sustainability, integration, direct democracy and non-violence (Fábián 2010). Similarly to Jobbik, LMP won its first parliamentary seats in 2010 with 7,48 % of the votes. LMP maintained this level of support during the decade, however in 2012-2013 some members of LMP left the party to found their own (Párbeszéd Magyarországért). The difference between the groups was about the relation concerning the parties and politicians of the past decade of 2000s. Those who remained in LMP said that one of their main principle is keeping themselves away from the political actors of the past, such as Ferenc Gyurcsány, while the splitting faction claimed it is necessary to defeat the Fidesz-KDNP coalition.

After 2018 elections, where LMP gained the 7,06 % of the votes, LMP faced a large wave of inner conflicts again. The two previous co-presidents of the party have left and at the 2019 European Elections LMP gained 2,18 % of the votes, earning no representative seats into the European Parliament. (Republikon – 2020)

The young LMP voters were named Critical Mass generation by Szabó and Kern. András Keli investigated further the voter group of LMP. The sample used by his study was focusing on university students in 2011-2012. Among the university students in the analysed year of 2011, LMP was second to Jobbik with 18%. András Keli found that LMP voters are more urban and have a better family background, then the supporters of other parties. LMP also attracted more woman, then man. The attitude of LMP voters was apolitical and pessimistic. They expressed little intent on engaging in traditional political actions or even on elections. However, they were open for new forms of activism, such as the Critical Mass movement. LMP voters were also critical towards the establishment. One of their main issue is environmental protection and green solutions (Keli 2012). In 2013 during the split, LMP lost some supporters and only 8 % of the university students preferred it, but in 2015 it gained back its second position with 14 %. In 2019 LMP stands at the fourth place with 9 % (Szabó 2019). The gallops of the Medián public opinion researcher institute in 2018 measured 3 % support between the ages of 18-25 and 5 % support in 2020 between the ages of 18-29 in the whole population. It clearly visible that LMP is overrepresented among university students.

4. Momentum Movement

Momentum Movement started as a non-governmental organization in 2015. Momentum launched a campaign called Nolimpia, which was a referendum initiation for the citizens of Budapest. It would have been about Budapest's application for the 2024 Olympic Games. Momentum was against it, because they claimed that Hungary is financially not prepared for it and the government is too corrupt to trust them with the organization of such event. They started to gather signings for the call of a referendum. It was a success for them, as the government and the city of Budapest backed off before Momentum could hand down the singings. (Republikon 2020). In the 2018 elections Momentum did not succeed to get into the Hungarian parliament, but after the collapse of Jobbik and LMP, Momentum gained 9,9% at the 2019 European Elections. This made the party a significant political force in Hungary and the main party of the youth on the oppositional political field.

Momentum in its earliest incarnation was a very youth-oriented organization. The membership only contained people between the age of 20-34. They were very politically conscious and came from a family background, where discussing politics was the norm. Another important factor is their high education level, as every interviewee had some form of higher education (Angyal – Fellner – Fényes 2017).

The latest Active Youth study measured 16% support with university students. It makes Momentum tie with Fidesz for the first place. In the Medián gallops in 2018 Momentum stood 10 % in the 18-25 age group and 11 % in the 18-29 age group in 2020. It makes Momentum currently the second strongest party among this population layer.

5. Conclusion

The 2010s brought radical changes into Hungarian party system. These changes shook up the young people of Hungary too, as new parties grappled for their vote. The emergence of Jobbik at the first glance suggests that the Hungarian youth was radicalized, but the empirical studies have shown that there is more to it, such as Jobbik effort to win this age group and its online presence.

LMP and Jobbik seems to lose their position as the main parties of the youth. This could be explained by their integration to the political structure, as they spent 10 years in Hungarian politics. Meanwhile, the new contender, Momentum can be fresher and more attractive for the juvenile.

It is important to note that Fidesz increased its support among university students from 2015 to 2019 (Szabó 2019) from 12% to 16%. Moreover, Fidesz is just relatively weaker, compared to its own popularity in other age groups, but still the most popular party in the ages between 18 and 29. In the February of 2020 Fidesz had the sympathy of 34 % of 18-29 voters according to the gallop of Medián and 40 % of all age groups.

The apolitical tendencies and pessimistic democracy views of the youth decreased between 2015 and 2019. In 2015 47 % of the university students agreed upon the statement that democracy compared

to other political systems is the best. In 2019 it went up by 11 % to 58 %. It is mostly attributed to the moderation of Jobbik (Szabó 2019). This could be a positive sign for future Hungarian politics as the next generation's values will determine the direction of the country's political life in the future decades. Without positive attitude towards democracy it is difficult to remain optimistic about politics or care about it at all. The study of the youngest of voters is very crucial to understand where our society stands at that given moment and to understand their needs and values. Also, Political Science can understand through them the roots of these emerging new, what is their background and where are they heading to.

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