

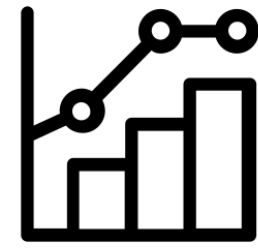
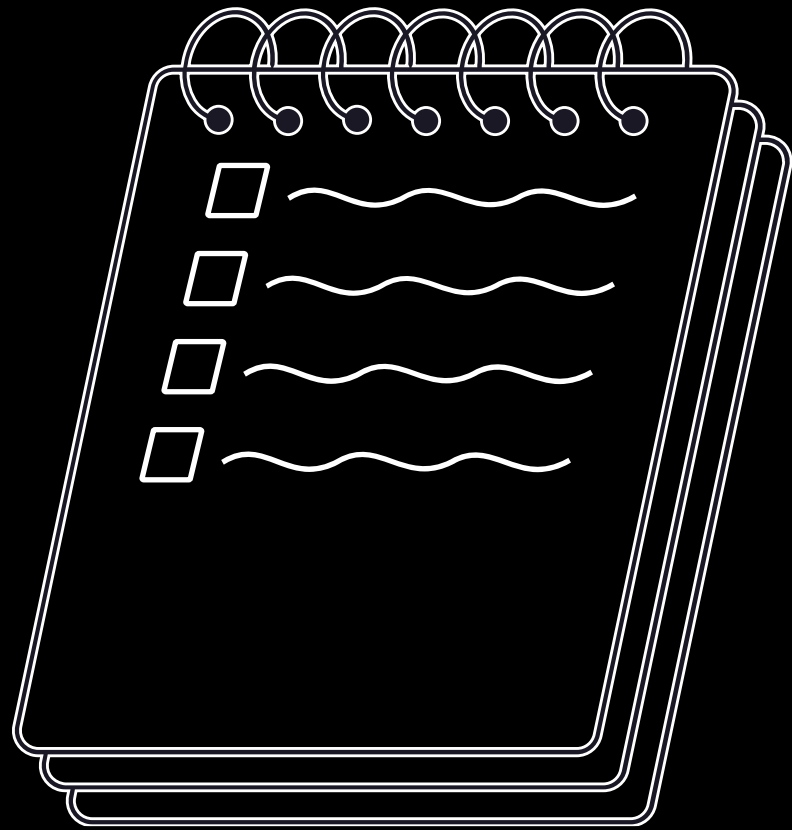
The Impact of Populist Strategy:

a Temporal Social Network Analysis of
Civil Society Media and Mass Media
in Post-Communist Hungary (1990–2020)

MÁTYÁS Máté,
ESR 14

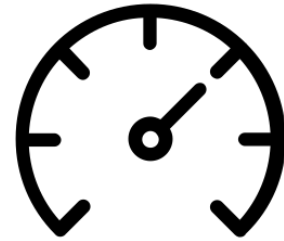


OUTLINE



1. Results and the original hypothesis

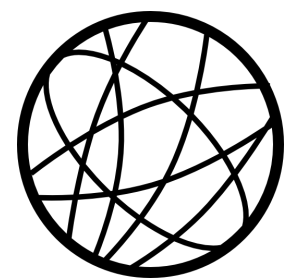
02



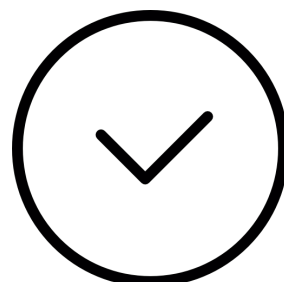
2. Methods



3. Findings

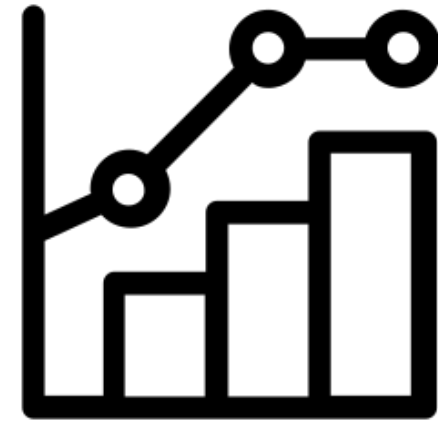


4. Conclusion and significance



5. My progress with FATIGUE





1

Results and the original hypothesis



RESEARCH QUESTION

How has the party system under populism affected civil society and the media system in post-communist Hungary?

HYPOTHESIS

During the period of party system under populism, **interpersonal interaction networks** among individuals in civil society and the media system in Hungary experienced **sudden, lasting structural changes** compared to previous years

DATA AND METHODS IN BRIEF

interpersonal collegial networks of the most influential civil society media and mass media outlets' editors-in-chief

RESULT

Expectation:

capturing the **formation** of a massive pro-Fidesz civil society & media network

Outcome:

capturing the dismantling and breakdown of the independent & opposition civil society & media





2

Methods



QUALITATIVE DESK RESEARCH

- Scholarly literature,
- data collection (ownership history & networks, reach),
- news & media reports,
- outreach to journalists & researchers

TEMPORAL SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

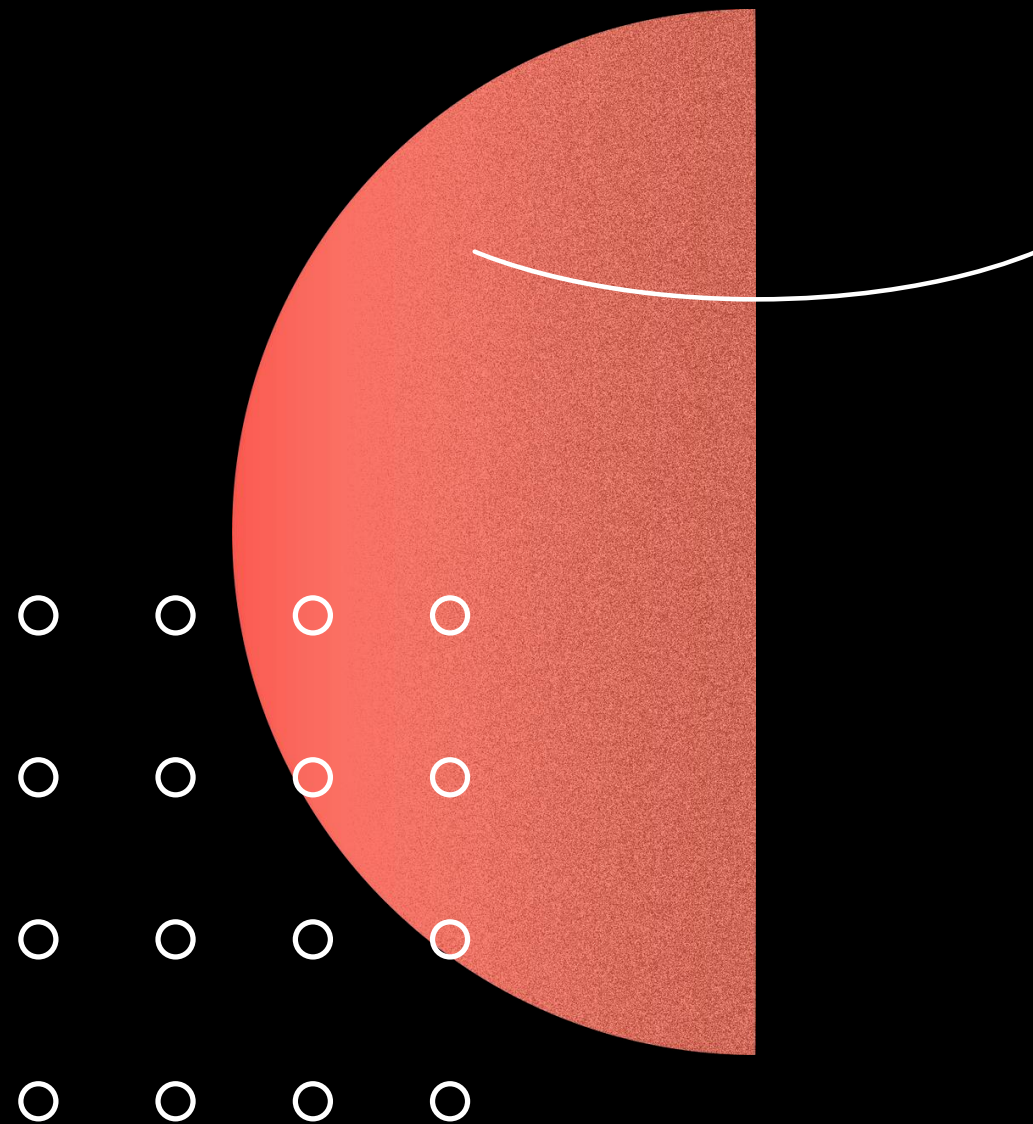
Analysing the collegial (interpersonal) networks among the editors-in-chief of the largest (2010–2020) civil society & mass media outlets 1990–2020









QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWING

A dozen of semi-structured, approx. hour-long interviews with civil society & mass media journalists



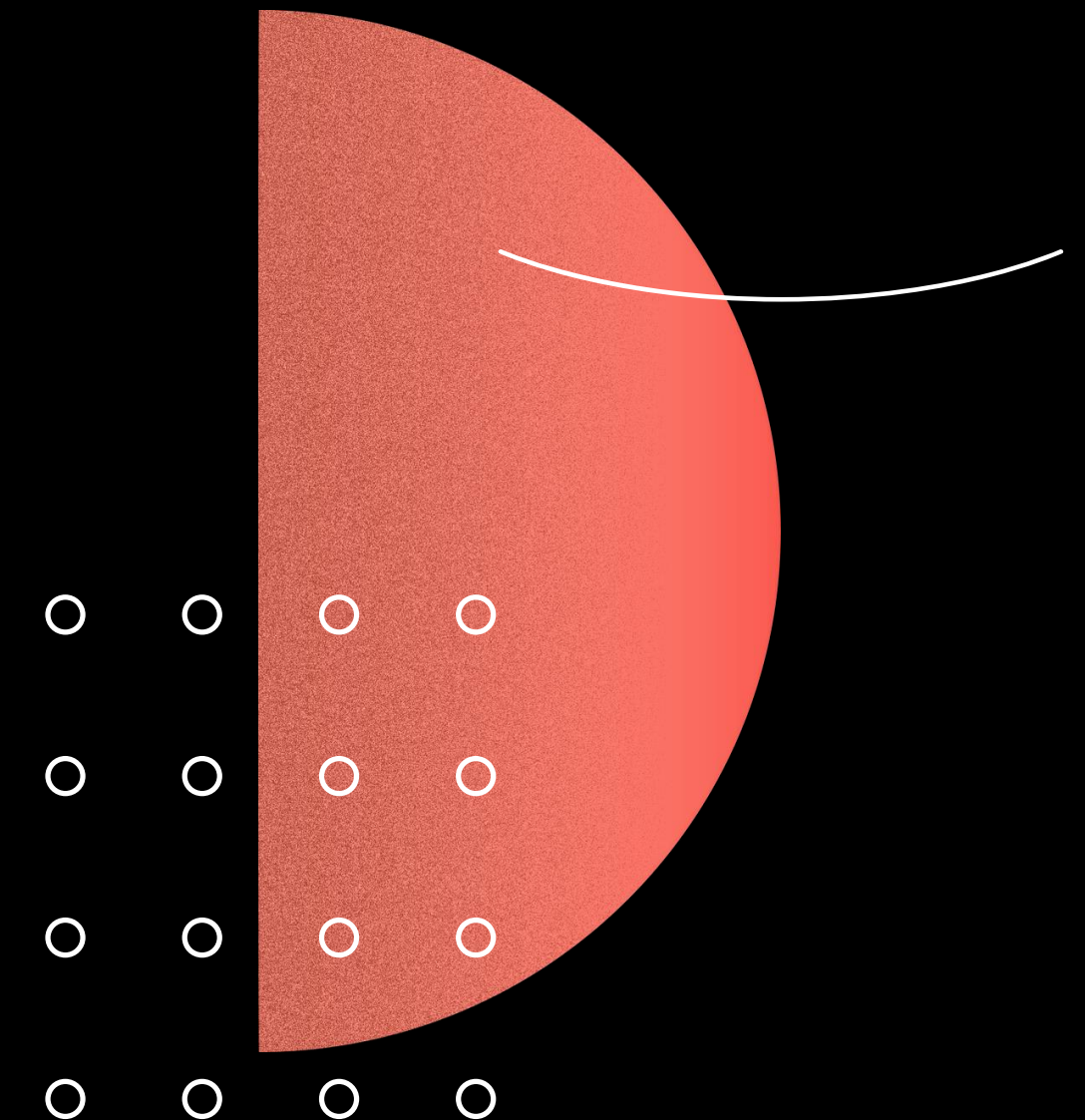
The “most impactful” civil society and mass media outlets in 2010–2020



	Type of organisation	Type of media
	private	TV
	private	TV
	private	online
	private	online
	civil society	radio
	civil society	radio
	mixed (civil society-supported private organisation)	radio
	civil society	online

The main characteristics of the selected outlets

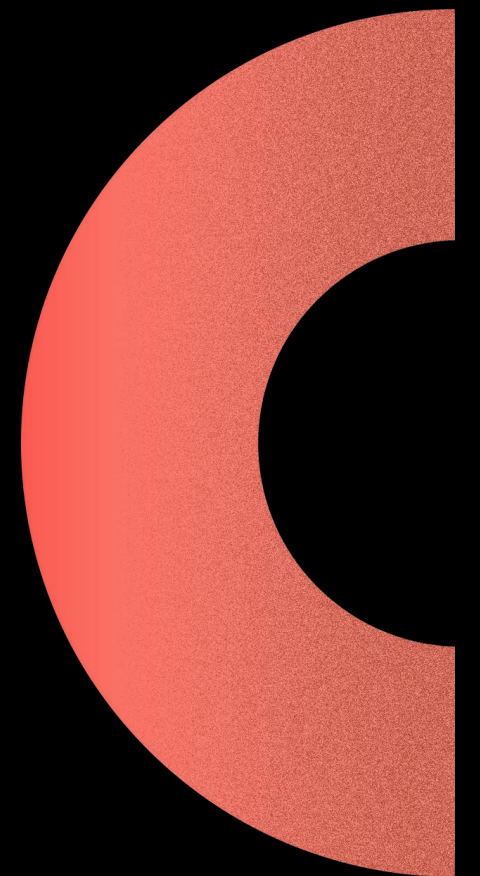
Name of the outlet	Organisation type	Ownership change in 2011–2020	Change in journalism (methods, coverage)	Number of editors-in-chief
TV2	private	YES (2015)	YES	5
RTL Klub	private	NO	NO	1
Origo.hu	private	YES (2014 – 2015)	YES	6
Index.hu	private	YES (multiple)	YES	6
Tilos Rádió	civil society	NO	NO	N/A (1)
Mária Rádió	civil society	NO	NO	1
Klubrádió	Mixed (civil society-supported private organisation)	NO (broadcasting licence withdrawn 2020–2021)	NO	2
Átlátszó.hu	civil society	NO	NO	1



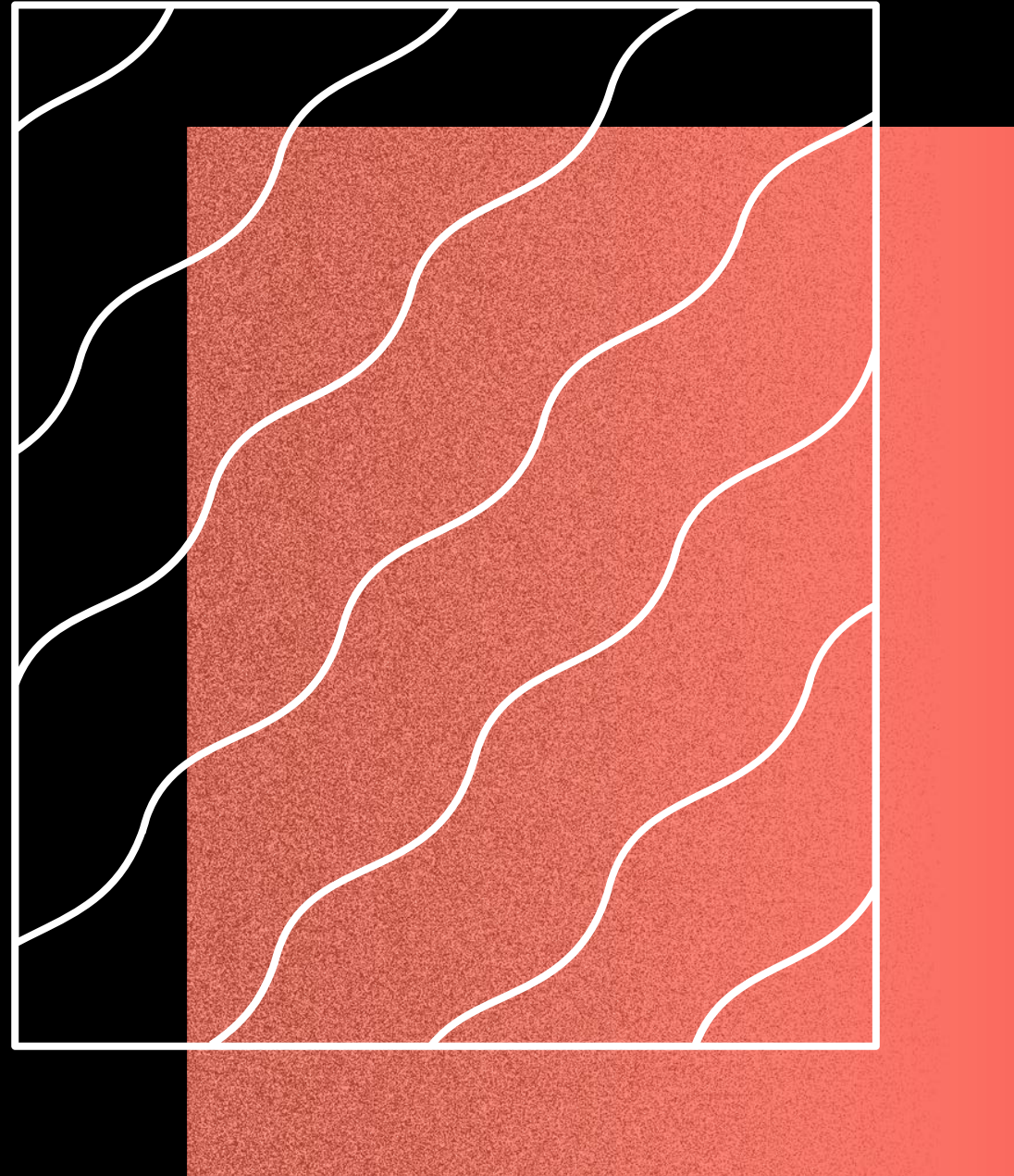
THE UNITS OF ANALYSIS AND DATA FOR SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

Name of the editor-in-chief	Time in position (between 2010 – 2020)	Selected for position at
BODOKY Tamás	since 2011	Átlátszó
DUDÁS Gergely	2013 – 2017	Index
DULL Szabolcs	2019 – 2020	
MÉSZÁROS Zsófia	2011 – 2013	
SZOMBATHY Pál	2020	
TÓTH-SZENESI Attila	2017 – 2019	
UJ Péter	2000 – 2011	Klubrádió
PATAKI Gábor	since 2014	
VICSEK Ferenc	2010 – 2014	Mária Rádió
PRONTVAI Vera	since 2016	
GÁBOR László	since 2017 and 2015, respectively	Origo and TV2
GYÖRGY Bence	2016 – 2017 and 2010 – 2015, respectively	
GAZDA Albert	2011 – 2013	Origo
PÁLMAI L. Ákos	2014 – 2017	
SÁLING Gergő	2013 – 2014	
WEYER Balázs	2000 – 2011	RTL Klub
KOTROCZÓ Róbert	since 2001	
DÁVID Ferenc	since 2002	Tilos Rádió
AZURÁK Csaba	2015 – 2016	TV2
KŐHEGYI Anna	2016 – 2017	
TÓTH Tamás Antal	2017 – 2019	

- Their career histories between 1990 and 2020
- Ties (connections, interrelationships) exist if two people share membership of the same professional organization for the majority of a calendar year
- Excel spreadsheet + R software packages:
 - sna
 - tsna
 - ndtv



The overview of the applied methods



The political economic context of civil society and the media system in Hungary (1990–2020)

Sample selection

The four largest civil society media outlets and the four largest private mass media outlets (2010–2020) (Tilos Rádió, Mária Rádió, Klubrádió, Átlátszó.hu, and TV2, RTL Klub, Origo.hu, Index.hu, respectively)

Investigating the structures of the collaborative network among the editors-in-chief of the same outlets using temporal social network analysis (1990–2020)





3

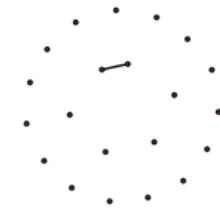
Findings



Temporal social network analysis: visual



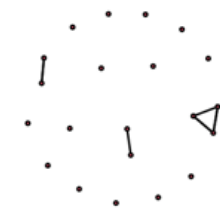
t=1990



t=1993.75



t=1997.5



t=2001.25



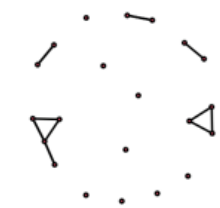
t=2005



t=2008.75



t=2012.5



t=2016.25

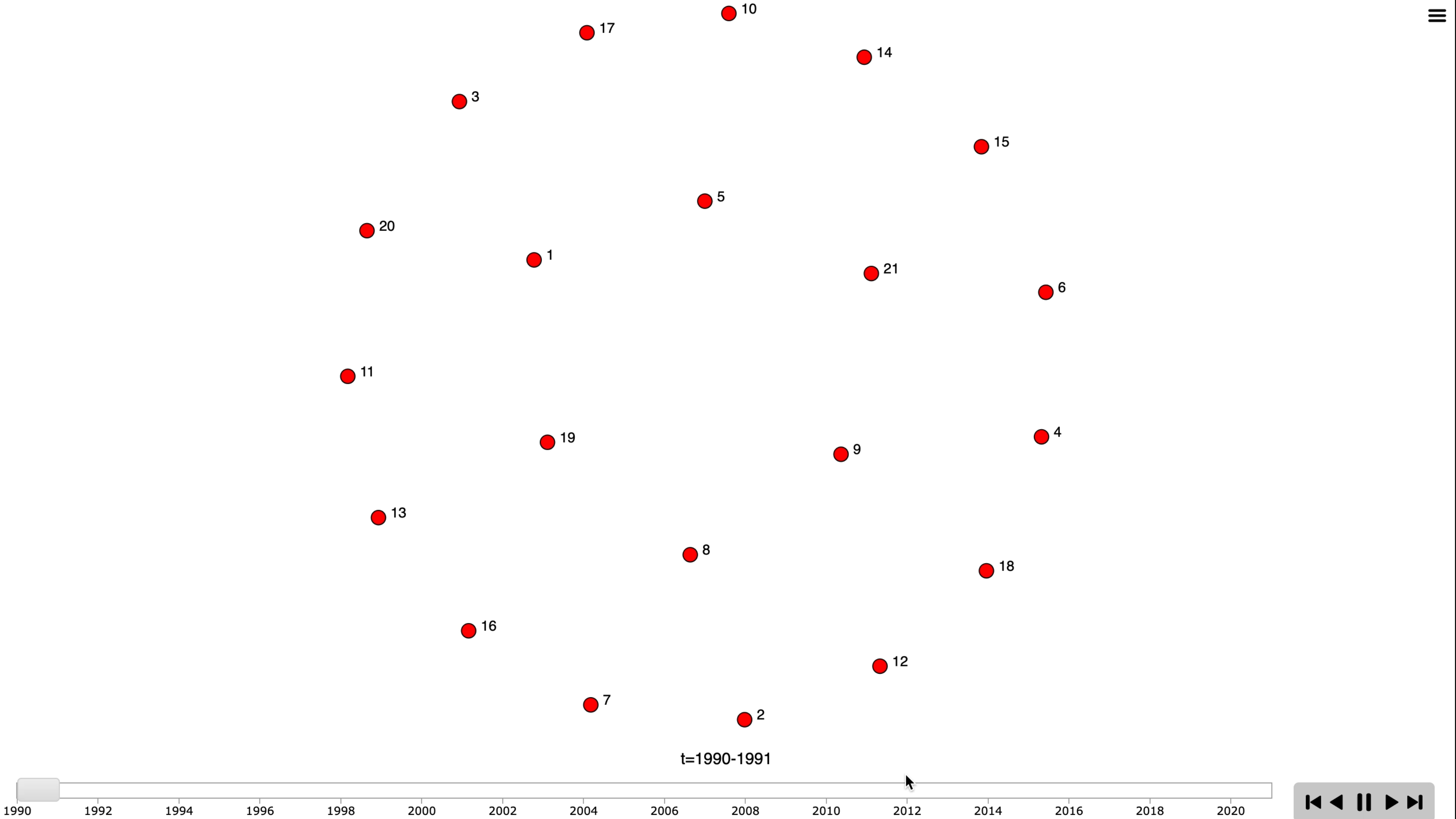


t=2020

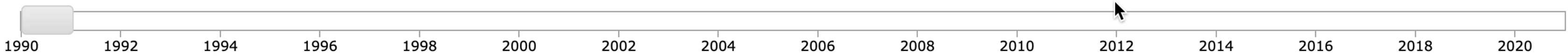
The temporal social network
(html file)

The temporal social network
(backup video)

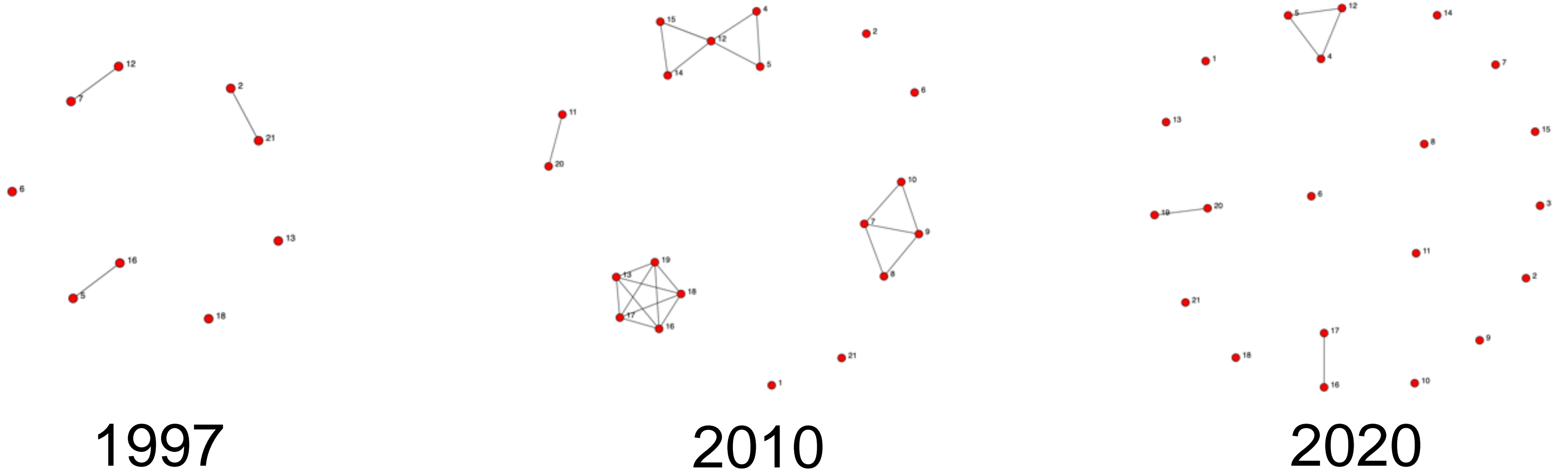




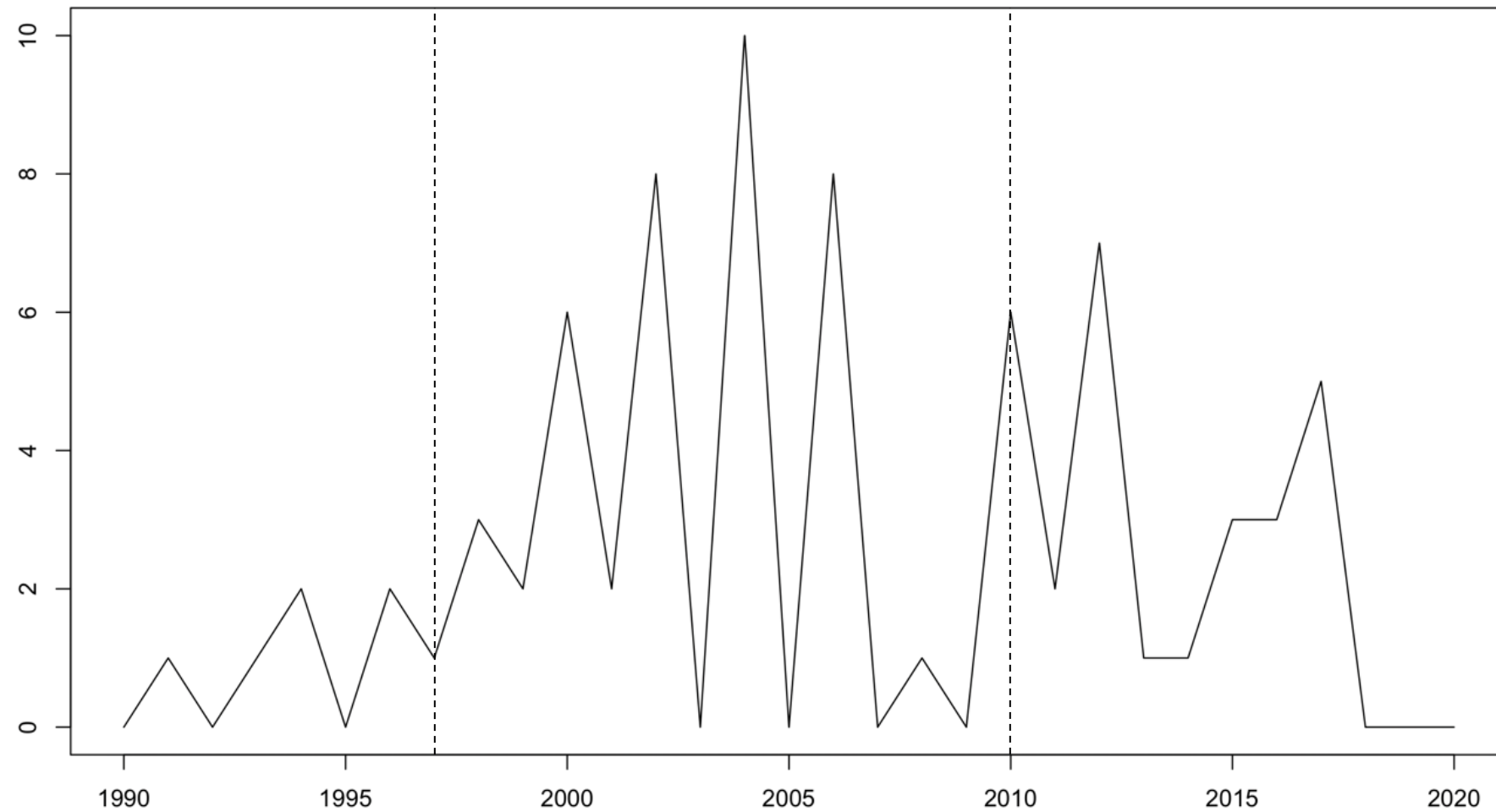
$t=1990-1991$



Temporal social network analysis: visual

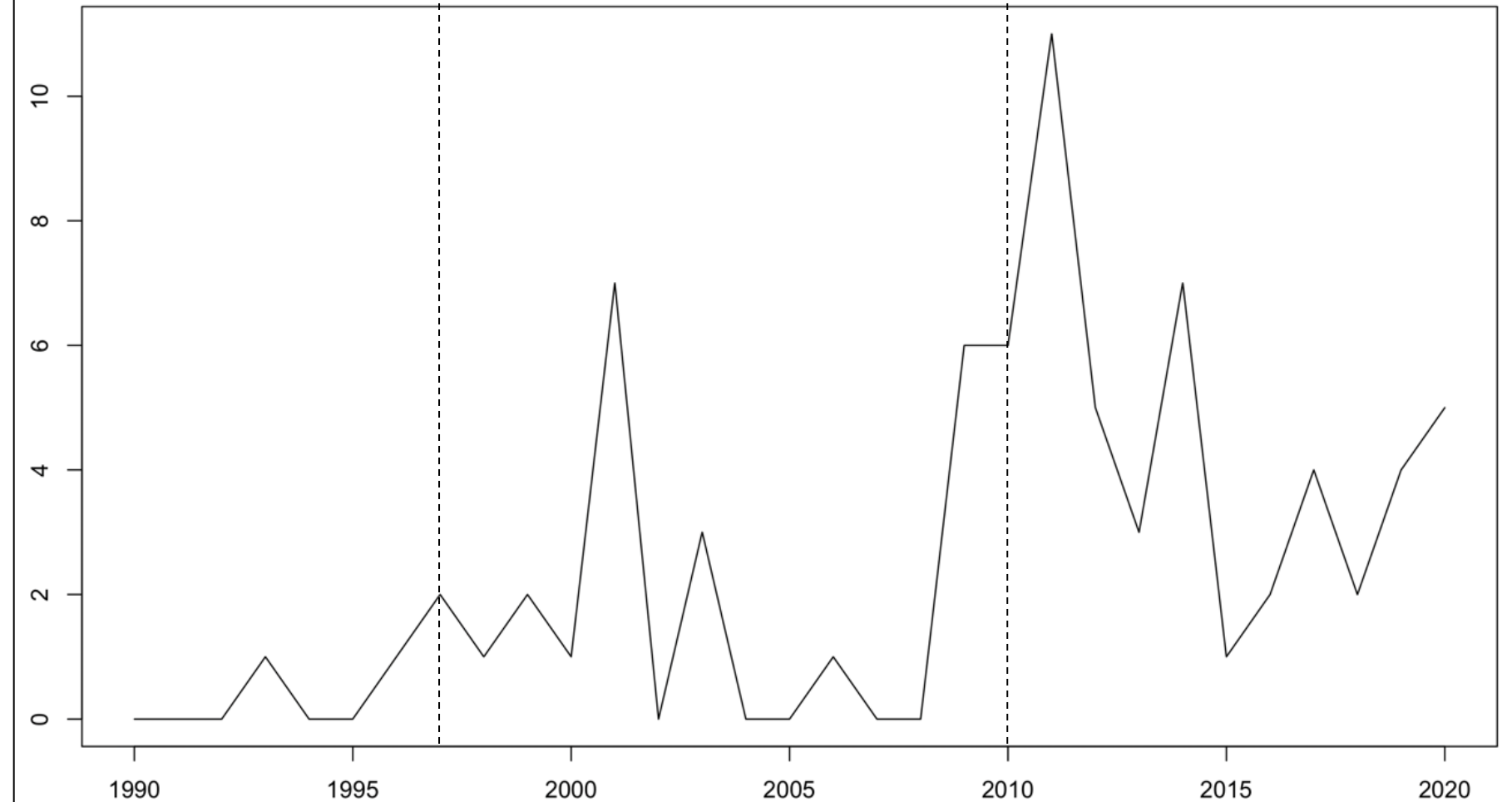


Temporal social network analysis: quantitative



Tie (edge, interrelationship) **formation** counts in the temporal social network by year (1990 – 2020).

Vertical axis: number of ties formed; horizontal axis: year.

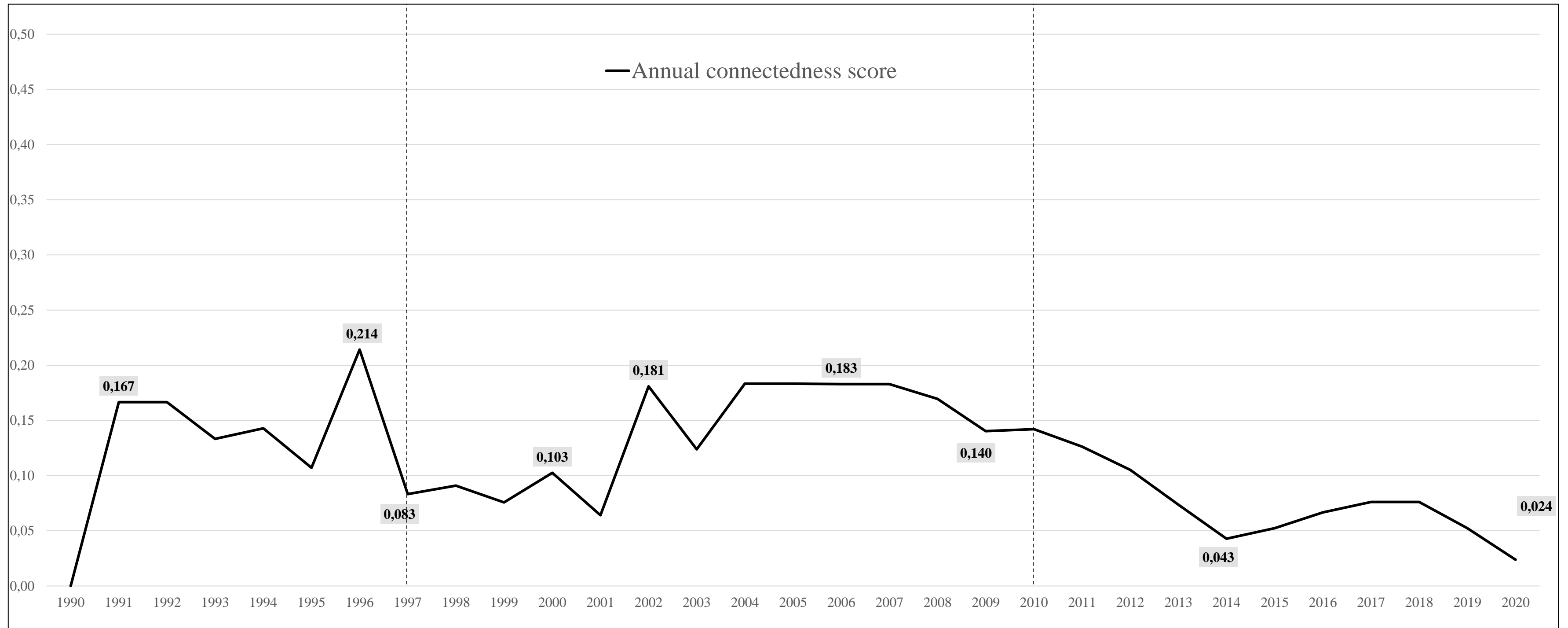


Tie (edge, interrelationship) **dissolution** counts in the temporal social network by year (1990 – 2020).

Vertical axis: number of ties dissolved; horizontal axis: year.



15 Temporal social network analysis: quantitative



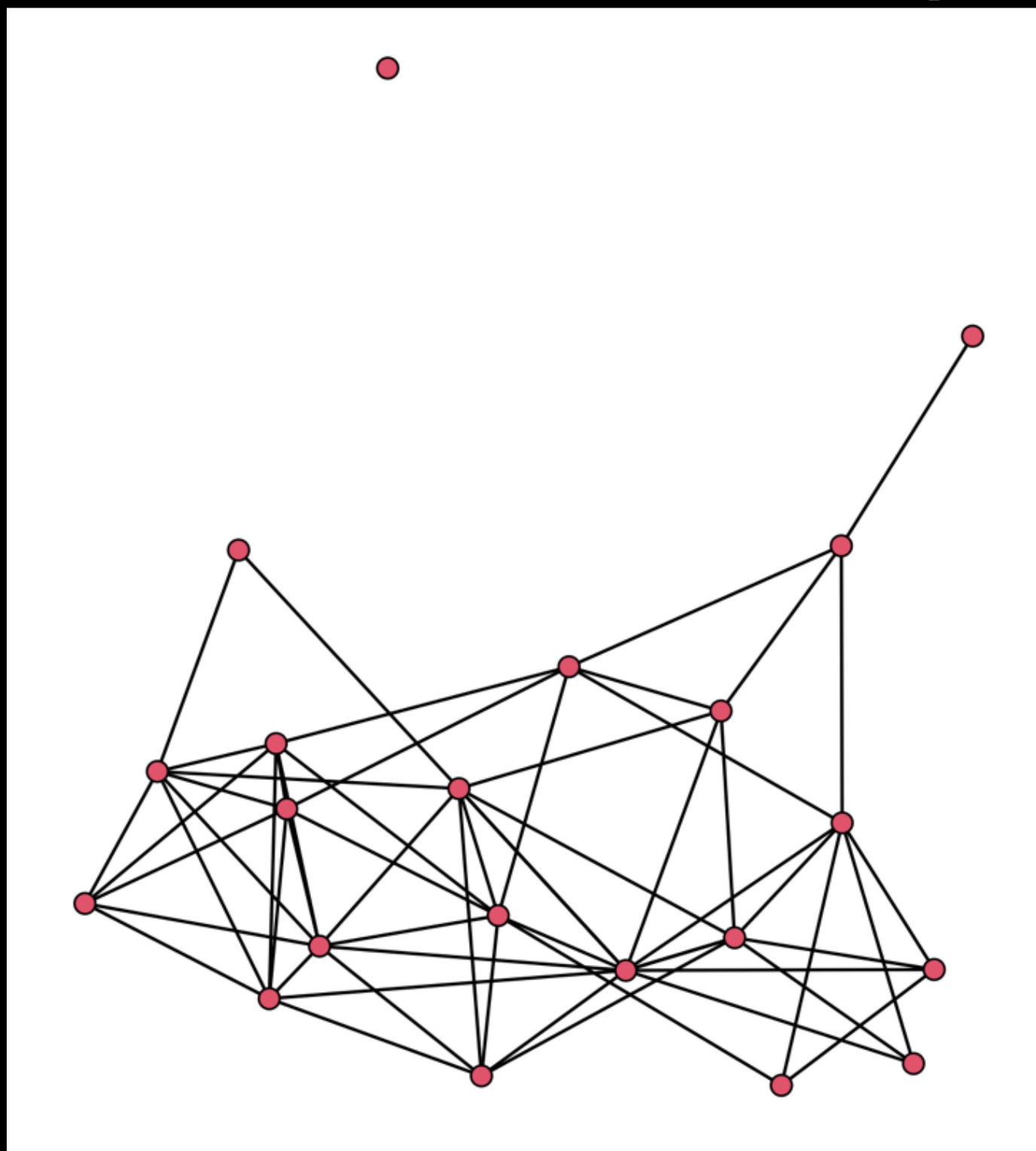
The annual connectedness values charted



This research is part of a project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 765224.



16 Static social network analysis

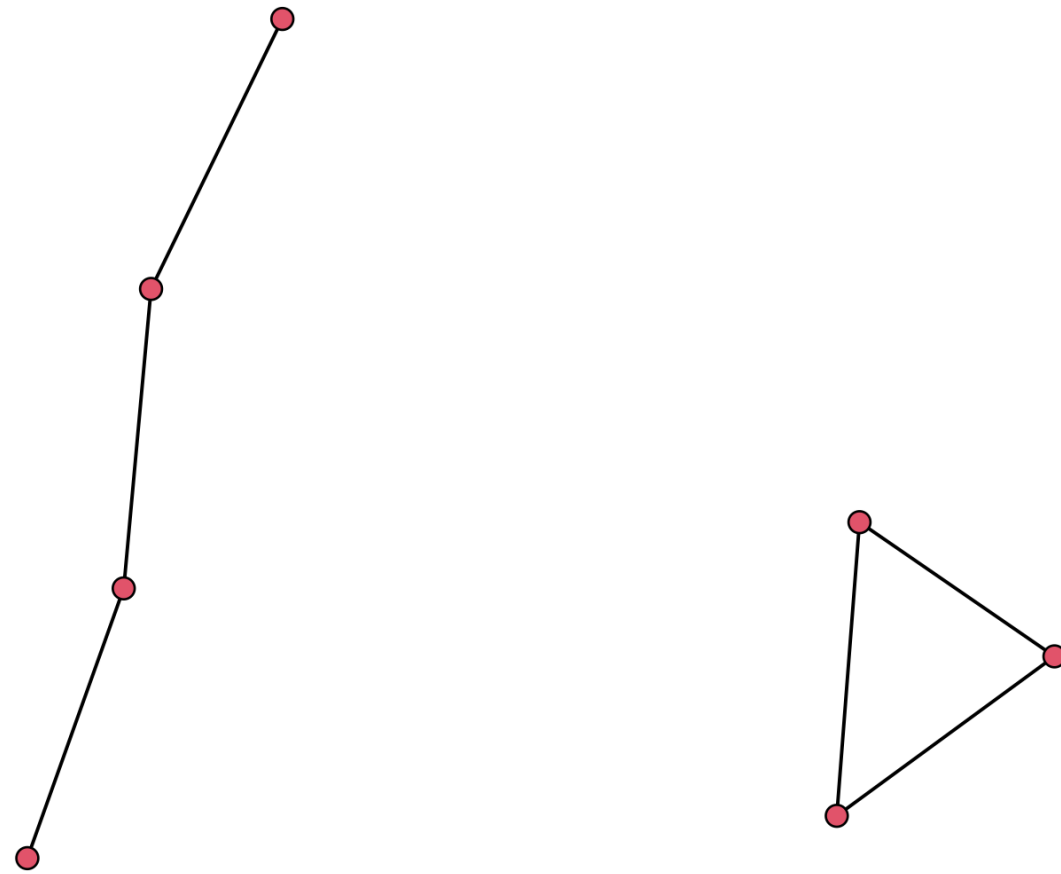


All interrelationships throughout the entire period of observation, 1990 – 2020 among the selected editors-in-chief as a static social network

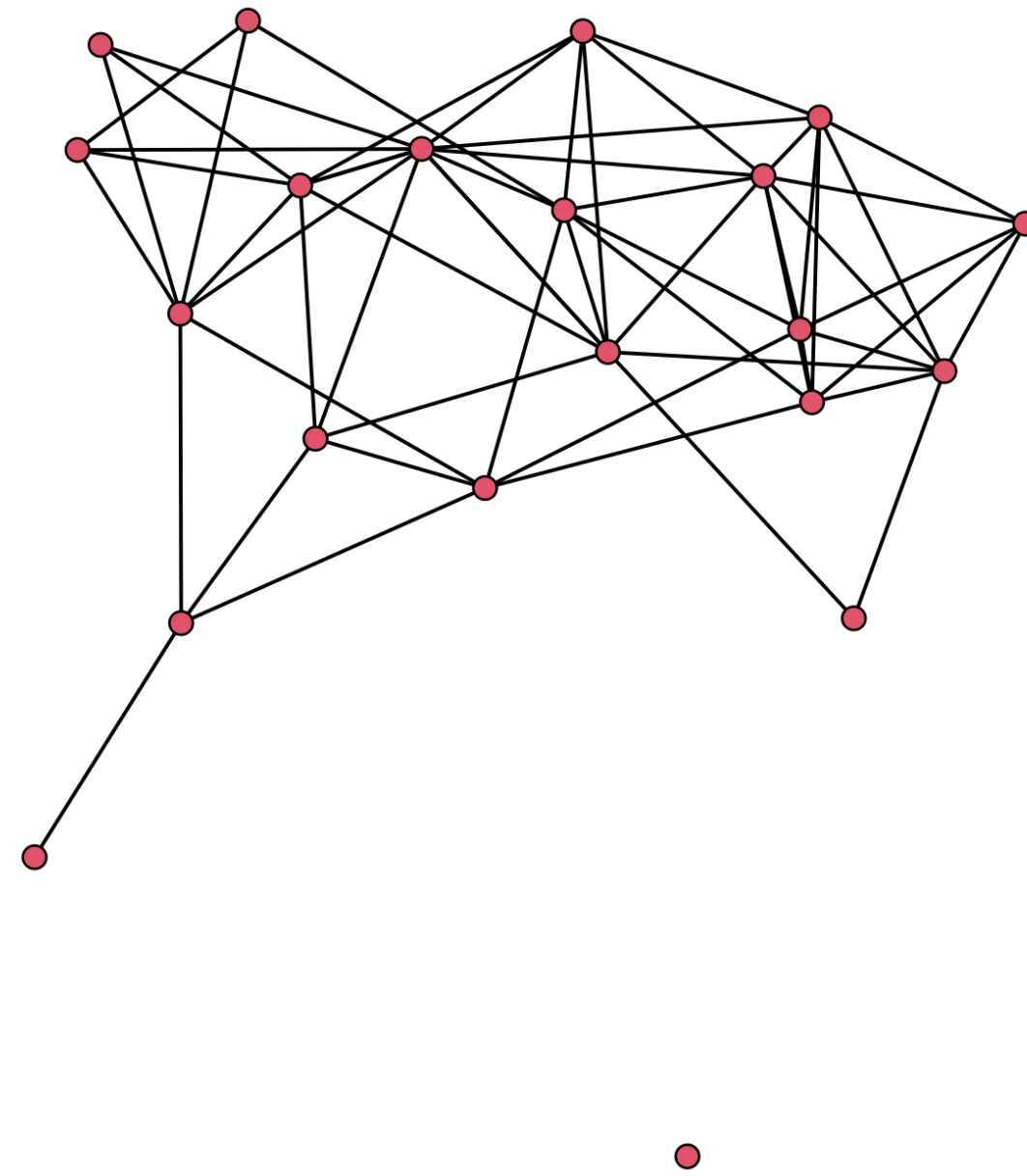
	Name	Degrees	Stress centrality score	Betweenness centrality score
1	PÁLMAI L. Ákos	12	214	64.699392000
2	WEYER Balázs	9	118	44.224007000
3	SZOMBATHY Pál	6	98	39.013484000
4	VICSEK Ferenc	4	76	36.566667000
5	DULL Szabolcs	8	104	34.368455000
6	AZURÁK Csaba	7	76	32.960458000
7	GAZDA Albert	9	84	18.434241000
8	KOTROCZÓ Róbert	5	56	17.969332000
9	UJ Péter	7	56	15.133394000
10	BODOKY Tamás	7	30	15.043860000
11	DUDÁS Gergely	7	44	13.096825000
12	GYÖRGY Bence	8	46	12.226768000
13	TÓTH-SZENESI Attila	7	44	12.125397000
14	SÁLING Gergő	6	28	3.921053000
15	KŐHEGYI Anna	4	10	2.700000000
16	TÓTH Tamás Antal	3	8	1.516667000
17	PRONTVAI Vera	0	0	0.000000000
	PATAKI Gábor	1	0	0.000000000
	DÁVID Ferenc	2	0	0.000000000
	GÁBOR László	3	0	0.000000000
	MÉSZÁROS Zsófi	5	0	0.000000000



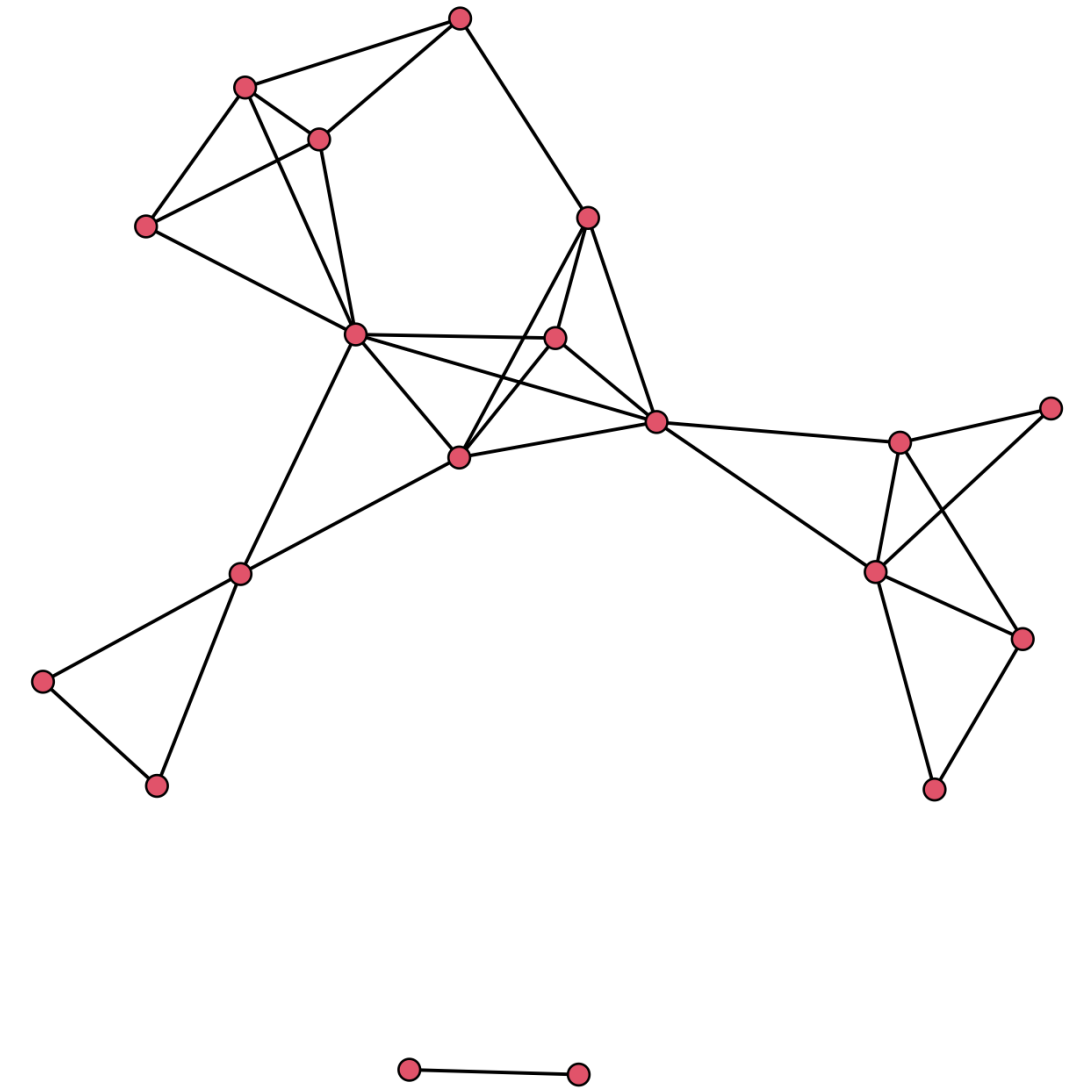
Static social network analysis



1990–1997



1998–2010



2011–2020



	Degrees	Stress centrality	Betweenness
Bodoky Tamás	2	2	2
Weyer Balázs	2	2	2
Vicsek Ferenc	2	0	0
Kotroczó Róbert	2	0	0
Gazda Albert	2	0	0
Uj Péter	1	0	0
Szombathy Pál	1	0	0
Prontvai Vera			
Pataki Gábor			
Dávid Ferenc			
György Bence			
Gábor László			
Azurák Csaba			
Kőhegyi Anna			
Tóth Tamás Antal			
Sáling Gergő			
Pálmai L. Ákos			
Mészáros Zsófia			
Dudás Gergely			
Tóth-Szenesi Attila			
Dull Szabolcs			

1990–1997

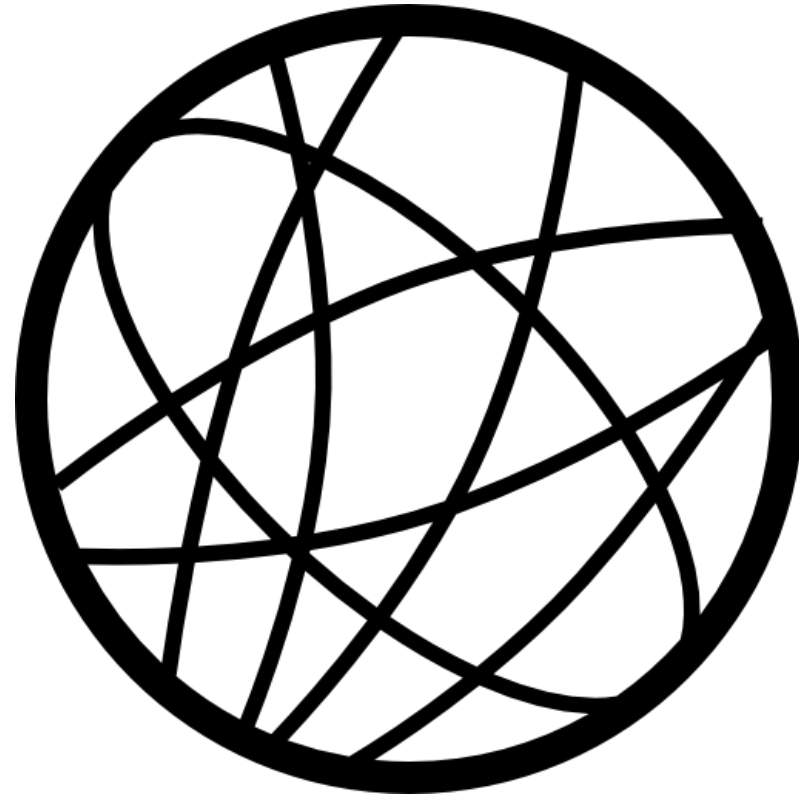
	Betweenness	Stress centrality	Degrees
Prontvai Vera	0	0	0
Vicsek Ferenc	18.361111	38	4
Pataki Gábor	0	0	1
Dávid Ferenc	0	0	2
Bodoky Tamás	6.80119	15	7
Kotroczó Róbert	10.559524	28	5
György Bence	6.848413	23	8
Gábor László	0	0	3
Azurák Csaba	16.630159	38	7
Kőhegyi Anna	1.198413	5	4
Tóth Tamás Antal	1.233333	4	3
Weyer Balázs	21.084921	51	9
Gazda Albert	9.890476	39	9
Sáling Gergő	2.054762	14	6
Pálmai L. Ákos	31.507143	86	12
Uj Péter	6.579762	25	7
Mészáros Zsófia	0	0	5
Dudás Gergely	6.652381	22	7
Tóth-Szenesi Attila	6.652381	22	7
Dull Szabolcs	16.835714	50	8
Szombathy Pál	19.110317	49	6

1998–2010

	Betweenness	Stress centrality	Degrees
Prontvai Vera	0	0	0
Vicsek Ferenc	0	0	1
Pataki Gábor	26	48	5
Dávid Ferenc	12.5	31	4
Bodoky Tamás	28	54	4
Kotroczó Róbert	0	0	0
György Bence	0.53	2	4
Gábor László	15.03	35	5
Azurák Csaba	55.53	100	6
Kőhegyi Anna	9	13	4
Tóth Tamás Antal	2.2	6	4
Weyer Balázs	2.2	6	4
Gazda Albert	0	0	3
Sáling Gergő	0	0	2
Pálmai L. Ákos	0.5	1	3
Uj Péter	0	0	2
Mészáros Zsófia	0	0	2
Dudás Gergely	2.4	4	3
Tóth-Szenesi Attila	0	0	1
Dull Szabolcs	0	0	2
Szombathy Pál	46.1	75	7

2011–2020





4

Conclusion and significance: civil society, media, and populism in Hungary





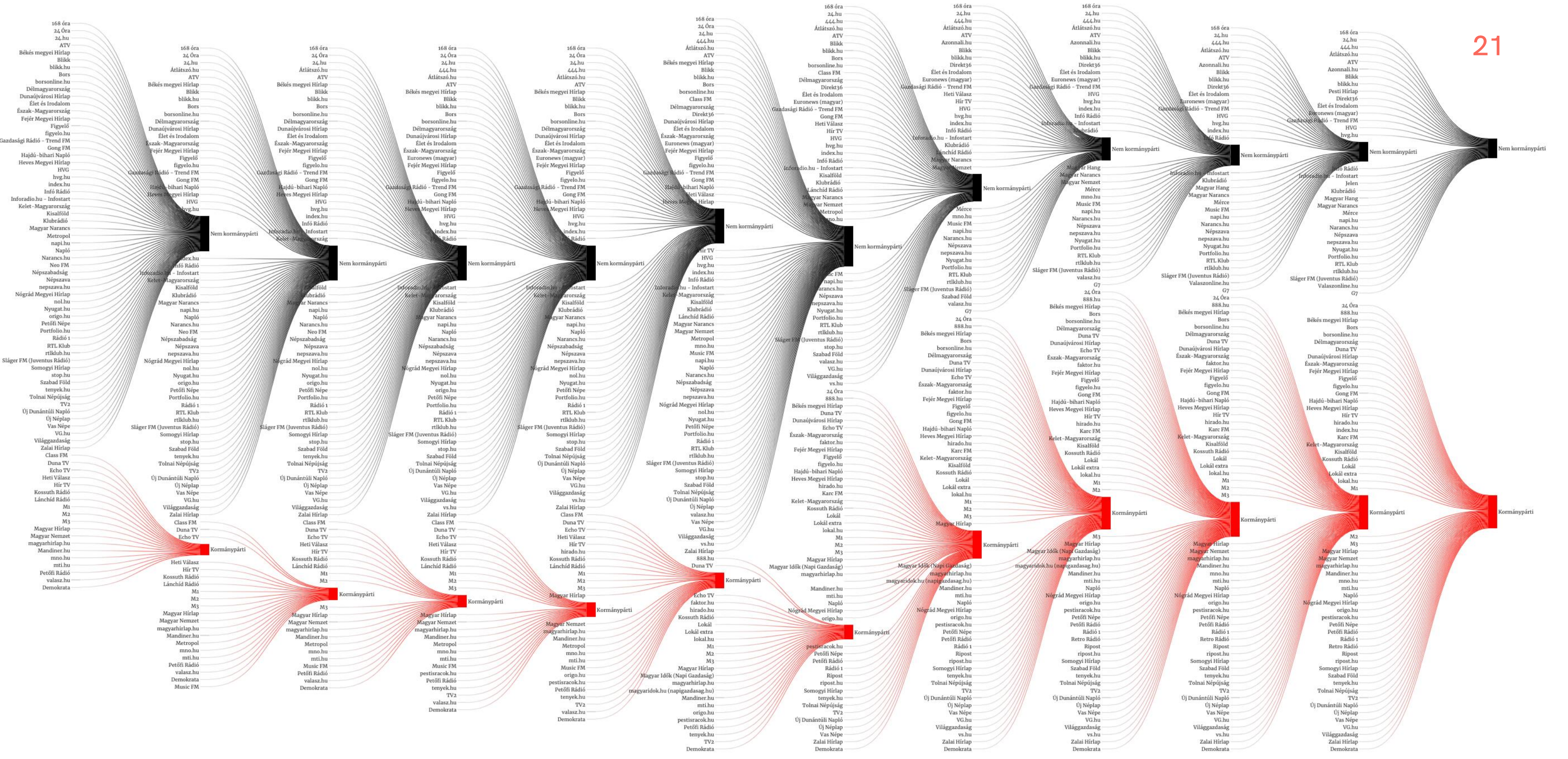
CONCLUSION: ADDING INSULT TO INJURY

The dispersal of the collegial network among some of the most influential Hungarians suggests that mass and civil society media were ineffective in countering Fidesz's centralization.

While civil society presented an important survival strategy for independent commercial media and proved to be remarkably resilient, it, too, failed to come together against a common threat.

Ultimately, 2010–2020, more organisations and outlets are serving fewer people, a dwindling audience.
They are in competing instead of coordinating.





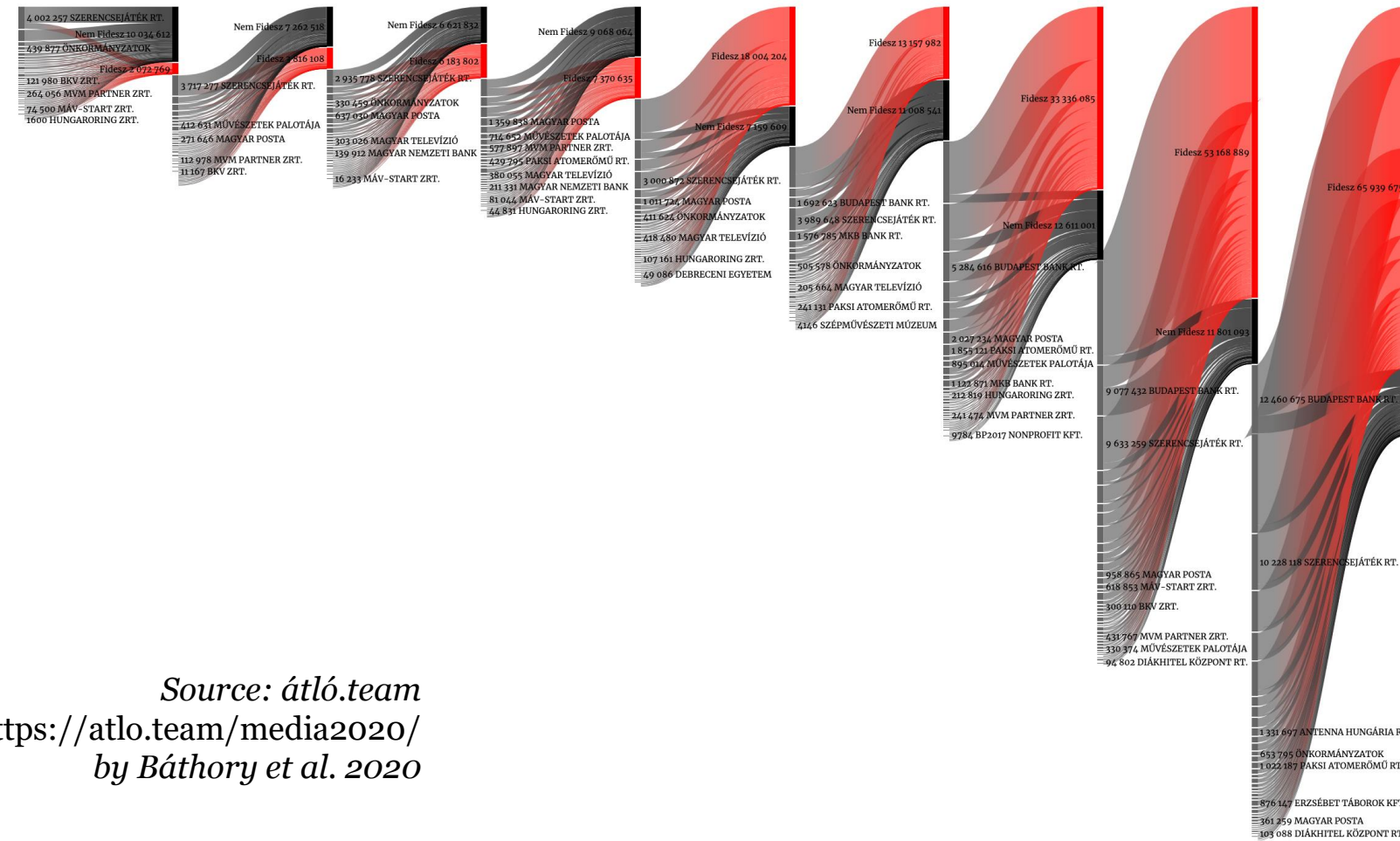
Source: átló.team
<https://atlo.team/media2020/>
 by Báthory et al. 2020



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Az ötven legnagyobb állami hirdető reklámköltései 2010 és 2018 között
 State advertising expenditures by the largest 50 state advertisers 2010–2018



Source: *átló.team*
<https://atlo.team/media2020/>
 by Báthory et al. 2020



- Anti-Fidesz messages, themes, frames (e.g. Borkai & Szájer scandals, Pegasus, and Völner corruption affairs, etc.) only **sporadically** permeate social discourses
- Topics that would favour the opposition **fail** to dominantly enter the agenda (domestic violence, cost of living, Roma minority issues, etc.) despite macro-crises (COVID–19, inflation crisis, war in UKR)
- No more trade union, church, education, small or big business, local party organisation support — even their referendum is to be held with delay

Even non-issues, like the “townhall affair” shape the agenda considerably



UJ Péter: “DUDÁS Gergely has betrayed me, his professionalism is questionable.”

Source:

<https://24.hu/media/2018/01/31/u-j-peter-dudas-gergely-elarult-hozzaertese-pedig-megkerdojelezheto/>

“People working at independent and opposition media
“...could drown each other in a teaspoon of water.”

— personal conversation with a professional



Ideational vs. stylistic-discursive vs. socio-cultural vs. strategic

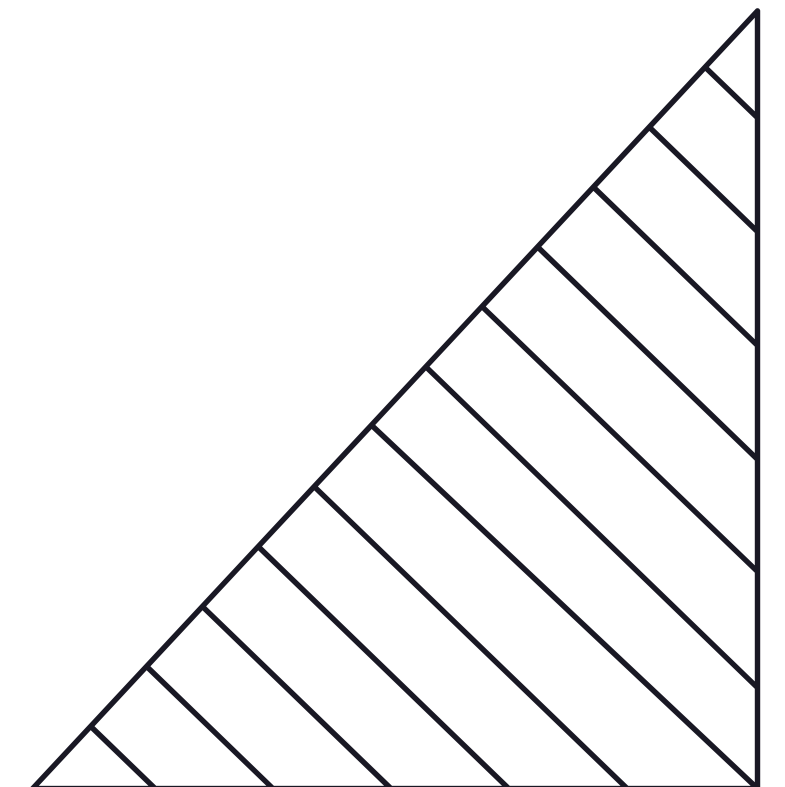
The strategic essence:
building up your network WHILE hampering
or even destroying your opponents'
Fidesz's "social movement" strategy

Democratic or authoritarian?
Can be both.

It's not "the economy, stupid!" — but
connections to society, communication
channels

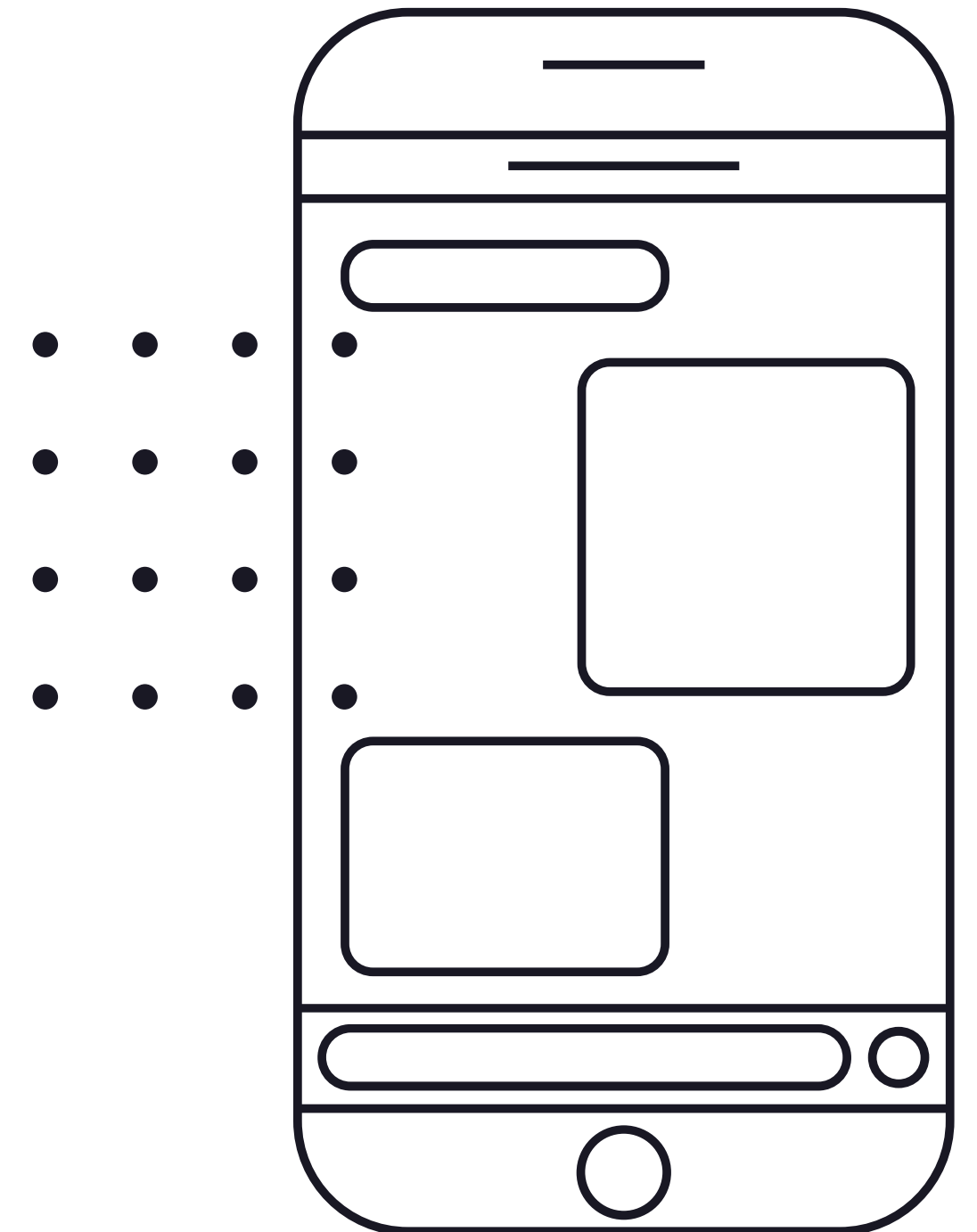
International significance,
parallels, and effects:
POL, SVN, MKD
+ RUS, TUR
+ USA, GBR, FRA

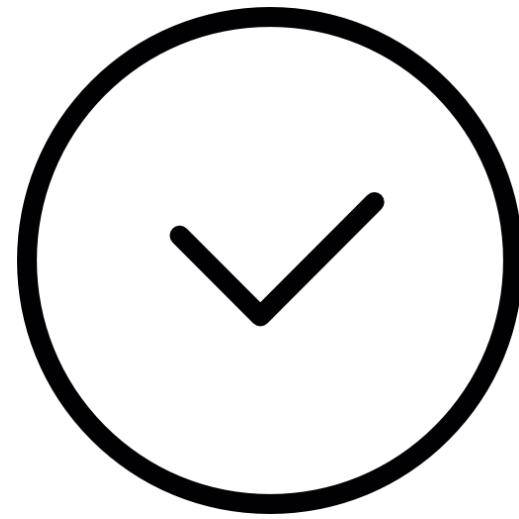
POPULISM



LIMITATIONS

- Sample selection — what is not included, may be even more important: *“the great replacement”* in civil society & media
- Transparency & data availability (--> policy paper)
- No internet use and social media, limited radio
- The layer of “organisation” in civil society and media: activists, founders, owners, CEOs
- Financial flows
- More sophisticated quantitative and more qualitative data





5

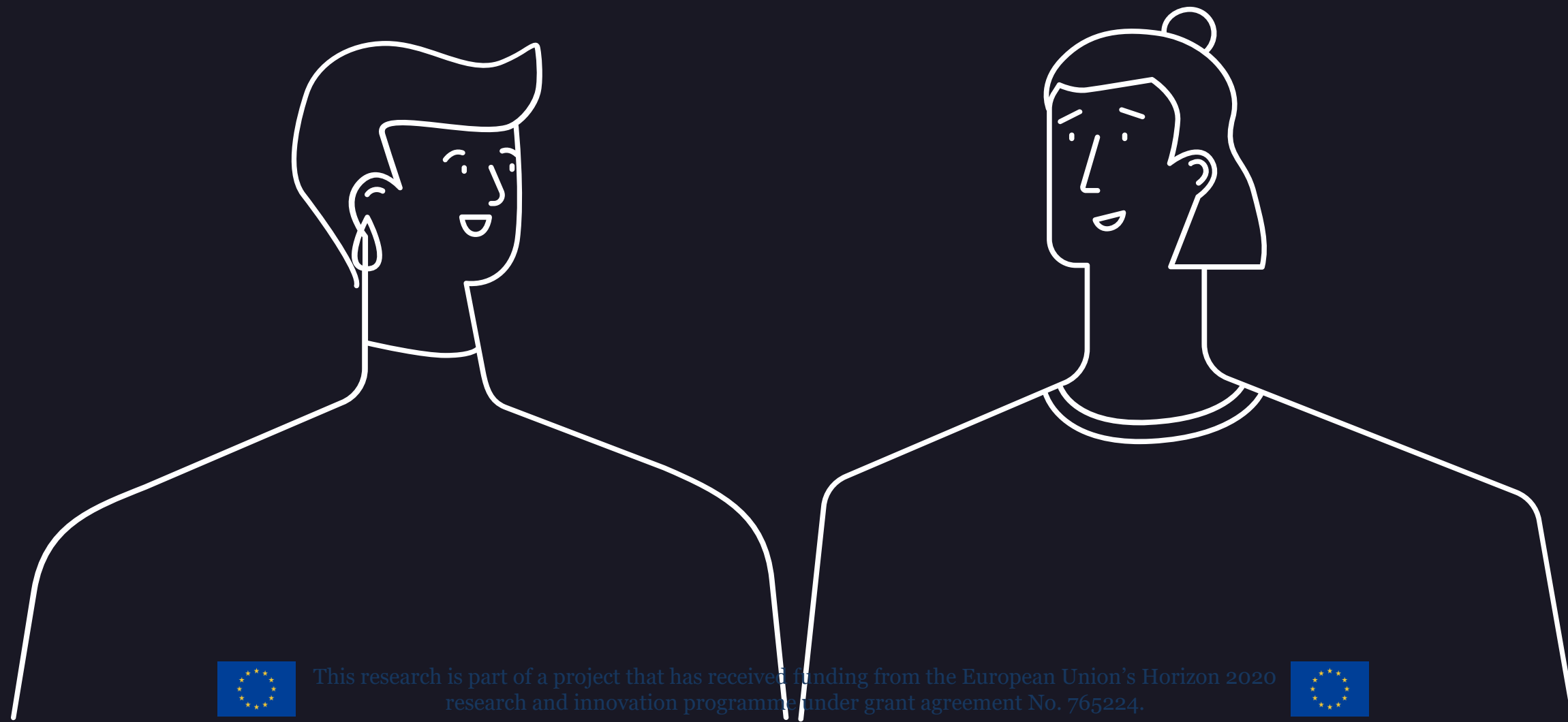
My progress during FATIGUE



NEW SKILLS, NEW OPPORTUNITIES

- Social network analysis
- Networking — journalists, renowned academics
- Academic research:
 - Conferences, workshops
 - Publishing
 - Interviewing, teaching
- Taking FATIGUE further: online & media policies, blockchain & civil society, politics (DAOs)

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Thank you
for your attention



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