THE EXPANDED STORY OF THE

HUNGARIAN QUOTA PROPOSALS OF 2007

Actors, Relations, Perceptions and Motivations

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores a more comprehensive story of the Hungarian quota proposals of 2007 than its last phase, the outsider campaign which was known to the general public before. I use social network analysis and oral history method to understand the formation process, and to identify the involved actors and their motivations. I find that the proposers, Sándor and Magyar initiated the quota connected to their political motivations, i.e. electoral considerations. Although the proposals failed in the Parliament, I argue that the misperceptions about the vote bringing ability of the quota led to a successful awareness-raising campaign. This campaign additionally reveals some underlying reasons of women NGOs' weak lobbying capacity, such as their low degree of organization and their civil activists' keeping a distance from party-politics. I finally reason that the civic involvement in this case shows opportunities for co-operation along issue-based politics and feminist-rethinking of politics within women NGOs' alternative public sphere.

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INTRODUCTION

> It was good to show that [the quota] is not a lost issue.
> A civil and a political coalition could be established.
> (Hanna)

Only if we examine the full length process of the quota formation, we can comprehend how a gender issue can emerge on the political agenda in the Hungarian context. The emergence of quotas is an under-studied area in the quota literature. There are numerous studies about different types of quotas and their impact (Dahlerup, 1998, 2005, 2006; Matland, 2006; QuotaProject, 2010), however, not much is discussed about the process how they emerge, especially if they are not adopted. With my thesis, I would like to contribute to filling this research gap with the study of the failed Hungarian case of 2007.

So far the last phase of the quota proposals was known to the general public and was researched (Ilonszki, 2008, Barlanginé, 2009). According to this version two Members of Parliament (MP) of the Alliance of Free Democrats (*Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége*, SZDSZ), namely Klára Sándor and Bálint Magyar proposed two amendments to modify the constitution and the electoral law. The T/3060 proposal aimed to change the Hungarian constitution to ensure that both sexes are represented at least in 1/3 proportion within the government. The T/3066 proposal aimed to change the election rules so as to ensure 50% for both sexes in a zipper system[1] on every electoral party list and at least 1/3 of under-secretary positions for both sexes. The proposals failed after a six-month debate and intensive campaign in November 2007.

In my thesis I reveal the earlier phases of the proposals by using two innovative methods for researching the formation process, social network analysis and oral history. Therefore new aspects of the formation process will be highlighted e.g. the relationship

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[1] The zipper system represents one sex alternating the other on party lists (as defined on www.quotaproject.org).

between the politicians and women NGOs. By applying comprehensive models and comparative analysis for the Hungarian case, certain lacking elements break surface as well, like the co-operation with members of the academy.

According to my hypothesis the Hungarian quota proposals' formation and campaign were based on misperceptions of all players involved and hence the quota was not adopted. However, I argue that the campaign managed to thematize the quota and the 'women in politics' issue for a broader public.

The misperceptions play an important role in learning what kinds of motivations lead to a gender quota's emergence and what kind of expectations are present in the formation and campaign process. I argue that in the Hungarian case the proposers acted in parallel within the politics where they failed to form an alliance and outside of politics where they managed to build a broad supporters' base. The proposers could not achieve their political goals, either the explicit one, i.e. the adoption of the quota, or the less explicit one, i.e. the stabilization of their party, SZDSZ. Nevertheless, the case shows that there is space for bringing gender issues into political discourse in co-operation with the women NGOs. The co-operation between civil activists and politics is possible in accordance with issue-based politics and feminist re-thinking of the public sphere.

In Chapter One I review academic literature about gender policy-making and quota adoption cases and models. In Chapter Two, I present the social network analysis and oral history methods which I use to explore the roles, the motivations and the perceptions of the different actors. In Chapter Three, I analyze the quota's network to learn which actors were incorporated, who the initiators were and to which model the Hungarian case is similar. In Chapter Four I study the proposers' motivations. In Chapter Five, I examine why the proposers initiated an outside campaign. In Chapter Six, I analyze the outside campaign. In

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my conclusion I provide further ideas on and suggestions stemming from my research findings.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> Gender quotas take a wide range of forms in countries around the world. The mere presence of the measures, however, does not explain why they have been adopted. (Krook, 2009:19)

While the literature on quotas is overwhelmed by analyses of different quota types, for example, by their impact and implementation, but the process of gender quotas' emergence is not much unexplored. Consequently, failed cases, such as the Hungarian one, have not been explored in detail. Hence I try to fill this gap with my thesis. Because of the lack of research and models on gender quota emergence, I need to set the Hungarian case against similar policy-making processes to understand and to place it in the relevant topical area. Examination of the Hungarian quota proposals formation is important because it can reveal possible ways how different actors can co-operate for achieving a gender quota. Moreover, this research can create a co-operation pattern for other gender-related policies.

In this chapter I present the three theoretical models and approaches on which I base my analysis. First I review what kinds of models exist for policy-making on gender issues in the European Union (EU) and in Hungary. Secondly, I identify the basis of comparison, a state or a region where the quota adoption happened in a similar context as in Hungary. Finally, I review Krook's and Caul's comprehensive models on gender quota adoption. In all three parts I look for the possible actors and for their relations.

1.1. Personalized Gender Policy Making Network

First I review the general gender related policy making process in the EU and in Hungary to learn a pattern of the possible actors and their relations. The comprehensive policy of gender equality in the EU is gender mainstreaming. Woodward (2004) claims that on this

policy-making field there is a 'velvet triangle' in the EU, which I define as the personal network model:

> Here the 'velvet' refers to the fact that almost all of the players are female in a predominantly male environment. The 'triangle' refers to the actors who come respectively from the organizations of the state, of civil society and, in this case, universities and consultancies. (Woodward, 2004:84)

These actors build informal, personalized networks, which are fundamental and necessary because they aim to achieve change in a hostile environment (Woodward, 2004). This is similar to the aim of gender quota adoption in a dominantly male environment. I am interested whether there are also such co-operational networks on gender issues in Hungary and whether the politicians, member of the civil society and academics were involved in the quota formation process.

When studying gender mainstreaming policies in Hungary Krizsán and Zentai (2006) find a completely different pattern. Instead of personalized networks, the task still remained even in 2006 to create pre-requisites for a gender mainstreaming policy and to make the policy decisions transparent. "Substantive policy-making is seen as a technical issue and the preserve of technocrats, it rarely enters political debate and rarely involves societal actors." (Krizsán & Zentai, 2006:148). It means that the Hungarian gender policy-making process was lacking the existing channels and networks among different kinds of actors. Therefore the quota proposals of 2007 were a chance to form a gender policy network and to connect different actors. Due to its originality, it was the initiators who could decide which actors they want to include. Hence, I have to study who the initiators were, which kinds of actors were involved in the formation process and what kinds of networks were formed. Based on the EU's personal network model, I look for personal relations in the Hungarian quota formation process as well. Therefore the nodes of the network are individuals. I will prove with social network analysis method that Sándor and Magyar were the initiators, they built up the network and they played the leading role in the network as well. They tried to mobilize more

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actors to gain broader support for their quota proposals which they connected to their political motivations. To prove the latter statement, I look for similar cases in order to identify the political motivations. Then I compare the Hungarian case with them.

1.2. Comparison with Latin-America

To find a basis of comparison, I have to identify the proposed quota type and the political context. At the time of the quota proposals' submission, Hungary was 95th on the list of 137 states ranked by the proportion of women in Parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union, May 2007). So Hungary's 10.4% representation rate placed the country into the last third of the world rank order.

Taking into consideration women's low proportion in politics and the proposals' aim, i.e. 50% in every electoral list in zipper system which would have resulted approximately 30% women in the Parliament, the Hungarian case fits into Dahlerup and Freidenwall's (2005) fast track model. The authors differentiate between incremental track and fast track. The incremental track means gradual increase in women's political representation with strong women's movement both in the civil sphere and within parties, which serve as power bases for women. It is typical for the Nordic countries. Contrary to this, fast track means a sharp increase of women in politics. The authors argue that fast track is the new model how quotas are introduced in the 1990s and 2000s. This model's main examples are the Latin-American states.

As Araújo and García (2006) studied the political and institutional context of the Latin-American quota policies, they found as background the democratization process and the economic recession. The background is similar in Hungary in 2007 as well. Hungary became a democracy after half a century of communist regime in 1990 and the country faced economic recession in 2007.

In Latin-America confirming democracy, "new political players – as in the case of women – tend to broaden the basis of legitimacy in the political crisis" (Araújo and García, 2006:88). In these cases "the initial process relied on some core players(…) [o]ne can find female members of political parties, especially congresswomen, in the leading role" (Araújo and García, 2006:93) and women's movements played a secondary role. In Hungary the party of the proposers, SZDSZ faced a political crisis. SZDSZ got shrinking popular support on the elections in 2006. It was a governing party in coalition with MSZP, which got into a deep moral crisis after the elections in 2006[2], which also effected the reputation of SZDSZ negatively. Due to the vote decline and the moral crisis, SZDSZ needed to renew the party and to make a sharp distinction from the coalition partner (MSZP). Hence SZDSZ was looking for new political issues.

As a result, Magyar and Sándor brought up the quota proposals. Because of the similarities to Latin-American states in the type of the quota and the political context, I look for the same actors in Hungary as those which played an important role in Latin-America, namely female members of the party in leading position and women coalitions in politics. In the Latin-American cases the relationship between the women's movement and the proposers is secondary. To compare the Hungarian case with the Latin-American quota adoption, I have to study the relations of the core-players, Sándor and Magyar to other female MPs and to the civil society. I should also pay attention to the hierarchy of the relations between different actors. In Latin-America the politicians are primarily important players and the civil society played a secondary role. If the Hungarian case fits into this model, it supports my assumption about the connection between the quota proposals and the political motivations of the

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[2] In fall 2006 a record of a confidential party meeting was leaked out in which the Prime Minister, Ferenc Gyurcsány admitted that the whole electoral campaign was based on lies so as to regain the political power. As a reaction, several demonstrations turned violent in Budapest and the legitimacy of the government was strongly questioned.

proposers to regain votes for the party. To locate the Hungarian case into the range of political motivations, I review the possible motivations according to Krook's quota adoption model.

1.3. Quota Adoption Models

Existing adoption models reflect on the roles and the motivations of the included actors. these models' developers also look for explanation for quotas' emergence. Reviewing different case studies on quota adoption, Krook (2009) and Caul (2001) analyze the different influential factors for the adoption.

Krook (2009) collects different actors, motivations and campaigns based on case studies and she elaborates an inclusive model which helps to locate individual cases in a larger context. In her model there are three possible actors for proposing a quota: civil society actors, state actors and international/transnational actors. She categorizes "women's policy agencies, national leaders, governing coalitions, members of parliament, party leaders, and judges in national and local courts" (Krook, 2009:29) into the state sphere. According to that in the Hungarian case the proposers are located in this sphere because at that time they are members of the governing coalition, members of the Parliament (MPs) and they are also party leaders because both Sándor and Magyar are executives and members of the National Council of SZDSZ. Therefore I review only the parts of Krook's model, in which the proposers are members of state actors.

The state actors can play different roles in the formation process. They can be the sources of the quota proposals, but also the target of civil and transnational actors. Identifying their role is important so as to find their motivations. Krook (2009) lists the following motivations for state actors: principle stands, electoral considerations, empty gestures, promotion of other political ends, extension of representational guarantees, international pressure and transnational learning. One or more of these can be present in a quota campaign

simultaneously. Here, I summarize the main characteristics of the different motivations according to Krook's analysis (2009) "principle stands" are present "when women's groups pursue quotas out of beliefs (…), elites undertake repeated quota reform (…), party and state actors (…) redefine citizenship" (Krook, 2009:30); "electoral considerations" feature when political forces react to their competitors' quota; and "empty gestures" refer to cases if there is no real chance for the adoption but a political actor can demonstrate her/his commitment to women's rights. "In these cases, leaders enthusiastically embrace gender quotas because they believe that these policies will not personally affect them [or] will never be implemented" (Krook, 2009:30). Promotion of other ends is mainly present when the politicians connect their political goal with the quota adoption while making sure that the new actors do not change the system. Extension of representational guarantees is typical when the difference has already been recognized and the gender quota is linked to empowerment of other groups based on religion, race, ethnicity, etc.. Quota as a reaction for international pressure serves as a legitimacy basis for a newly established regime. Transnational learning occurs when women's groups learn from each other across borders.

I focus on the political motivations of the proposers because my aim is to find how the quota could get into the political agenda, how the quota campaign was formed and who the incorporated members were with what kind of relations to each others. The presence of principle stands is fortunate but it does not explain the forms and the reasons of political co-operations in gender issues which I would like to study through the quota case. Therefore based on the proposers' perception about SZDSZ's political situation, the quota proposals' vote-bringing capacity and the chance for adoption, I further argue that the two political motives in the Hungarian case were electoral considerations and empty gestures. According to that, the proposers connected their political goals, i.e. to gain more votes to the quota proposals. The question remains why they turned to outside of politics and built a network of

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non-politicians while they failed to form a strong coalition within politics to achieve the quota adoption. I argue that they turned to non-political actors because they could not achieve the renewal of SZDSZ' politics within the party. To prove this argument, I analyze SZDSZ according to Caul's (2001) model. This model focuses on party quotas and encompasses three main factors which correlate positively with a party quota adoption. These are the following: presence of a gender quota in the political system, women's presence in the highest decision-making body of the party and leftist values. Although Sándor and Magyar proposed an electoral gender quota, not a party quota, I think the analysis of these factors in SZDSZ is useful because the proposers first wished to introduce the quota within their party. With the analysis of these factors I can study why the quota failed within the party and how the proposers turned to the broader public.

According to the literature I reviewed above, there are four main spheres from where actors are recruited into a gender policy-making process and into a quota campaign: political actors, members of academia, civil society and transnational/international actors. In my analysis I reveal all spheres' role in the Hungarian case. To identify the actors of different spheres, I use the most inclusive terms and I base the categories on formal belonging. I use the terms politicians for members of parliament and party members. Members of academy are the professors of different universities in different positions. Speaking about the members of academy in gender issues means those feminist researchers who are engaged in gender sensitive researches. I use the term women NGOs for the Hungarian women's organizations because, as Fábián (2009) studied, there is a wide scale in organized characteristic of women's groups in Hungary and my aim is to include every kind of organizations. I use the term civil activist for the person who acts in the civil society sphere if she belongs to one or more women's group in the civil society. I use the term transnational and international

changeably like Woodward (2004) because the importance of both forms is to differentiate from domestic actors.

In sum, to understand the emergence of the quota proposals in Hungary in 2007, I have to find the actors who were involved in the formation process, their relations and the initiators' motivation. I argue that Sándor and Magyar initiated the quota proposals and built up its network. The primary importance of the political actors and the secondary importance of the civil society show that they connected their political motivations to the quota proposals. Their political motivations were to regain votes for SZDSZ. Since the party was not receptive for the gender quota, they turned to the broader public to gain support for the quota proposals.

To find the network and the role of the politicians, I use social network analysis. To find the proposing politicians' motivations, how they are remembering their role now and the relations between the different spheres, I use oral history method.

2. METHODOLOGY

I used social network analysis and oral history method to prove my argument about the Hungarian gender quota proposals formation. In this chapter first I present how I used social network analysis, then how I applied oral history method. I describe what kind of questions I answer with the methods and the ways I work with them. I highlight the difficulties as well.

2.1. Social Network Analysis

I used social network analysis to identify who belongs to the quota network and who the initiators were. I base my analysis on Scott's Social Network Analysis Handbook (2000) and on . My research has two phases. In the first phase I define the members of the network while in the second phase I analyze the relations among them and their positions within the network.

The basis of my research is the webpage of the quota proposals (www.noikvota.hu) on which there is a public list of supporters. This list contains 465 individuals and 98 organizations. It was set up before Sándor and Magyar submitted the proposals in the Parliament. Therefore it is a good starting point to find the people who were involved or played an important role in the formation process.

As I learned from my interviewees, there were two ways to get into the list. One should register by her/himself or one was registered by one of the proposers. However, other people also registered as supporters but are missing on the list. This list can still serve as a starting point because the interviewees were not limited to this list in naming the important people.

Before I started the first phase of the interviews, I had to convert the organizations into individuals because I was interested in personal relations to find the co-operational actors

from different spheres and to find the initiators. Therefore the nodes of the network are individuals. It was possible to convert the organizations into individuals because they are small organizations of which the leader or representative is clearly identifiable. I found the representative of the organizations on Internet or I used the databases of umbrella organizations of which they are members.

To identify who belongs to a policy-network, three different approaches can be used. The positional approach is used to select which actors are important because of their positions (Scott, 2006:55). The reputational approach defines the member of a network according to which actors are defined by others to be important (Scott, 2006:56). The decisional approach tries to identify important decision-making processes and the actors who participated in these processes (Scott, 2006:57).

Kriesi (1982) suggests using a combination of the three approaches. I used them in the following way: Since I took one decision, the quota proposals, I used the decisional approach. I incorporated the two proposers into the network according to their position and I asked my interviewees according to the reputational approach about whom they held important.

I surveyed 25 people whom I chose randomly from the list of supporters. My key question was: Who do you think played a key role in the formation of the quota proposal in 2007? I asked this without a list or any suggestion. The latter means that I did not ask explicitly about someone if she/he was not mentioned. I conducted the interviews face-to-face or on the phone. It was important that all interviewees should answer my questions immediately. I recorded the answers immediately. To limit the network, I had to count how many times each individual was mentioned.

In the second phase of the social network analysis, I conducted face-to-face 11 interviews with the members of the network. I asked my interviewees about the date when they first heard about the proposals, events they participated, the activities they were involved

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in and the relations among each others (see Appendix 1). I asked the non politician interviewees whether they want me to use their own name or a pseudo-name. As two of the interviewees chose a pseudo-name, I gave all of my interviewees pseudo-names except for the two proposers whose identity is well-known, therefore they are present with their real name.

By analyzing the data, I define the network and I find how many of the possible ties were present in the network (density), which means how much the network was connected. I also look for the most central actor. According to the dates when they first heard about the proposals I can find the initiators as well.

2.2. Oral History

In the second phase of my social network analysis I conducted face-to-face interviews. I connected then with oral history interviews. I needed additional qualitative data so as to identify how the proposals emerged and to learn about the relations of the different actors as well as their perception on their own role and on each others. In addition, my aim was to get to know the motives of the proposers and how they connected the quota issue with their political aims. I had to go beyond the public documents to get this information. Hence I had to ask the actors personally. This is the reason why I made semi-structured interviews with the members of the network one-by-one face-to-face.

I designed the oral history part of the interviews based on Ritchie's (1995) guidance. I asked my interviewees in a semi-structured way about three main topics: the quota, the formation process and the different actors' role. I did not prepare a questionnaire but a list of themes and questions (See Appendix 2). I let my interviewees uninterruptedly talk because I was interested in the stories they brought up and the frames they used. Therefore I tried to ask broad questions and only specify them if the interviewee asked me to do so. If an interviewee did not mention an element I was interested in, I asked about it particularly.

All the interviews were difficult interview situations because of power-relation: I had the reverse problem as in most oral history projects in which the interviewees need to be encouraged to talk and the interviewer is in a highly privileged position. In my case I had to make myself be accepted as a researcher. It was difficult because all my interviewees have higher status than me since they are experts as politicians, as professors or as activists from whom I already learned a lot. Henceforward I positioned myself as a learner but as a learner with strong knowledge basis about the topic. I had to be very well prepared for the interviews. I think the first structured part helped me to show that I am prepared and I did research on the available sources.

The most difficult interview situations were the interviews with the two politicians. Giving interview is a political tool and in such situations the aim of the interviewer is to go beyond the rehearsed stories (Fontana and Frey, 2003). I think my pro-quota position helped me to find the way how to get important, original information, because given my supporter stance the interviewees could have the feeling that I respect them for these initiatives.

Technically, I interviewed my interviewees once. Some of the interviewees I had already interviewed in the first phase of my research. However, I did not interview the politicians and most of the other interviewees. The interviews lasted between 50 minutes and 2 hours. I conducted the interviews at the workplace of the interviewed person or in a calm place where we could talk confidentially. I recorded the interviews and conducted them in Hungarian since Hungarian was the mother tongue for all involved in the interviewing exercise.

My research is categorized as an intrinsic case study because my main aim is to understand this only one case (Stake, 2003) and to conclude on the findings of this specific case. Through analyzing the interviews I explore the Hungarian quota proposals' formation

and learn the relations and perceptions of the interviewees about the case and about their own role and about each others.

In exploring the story, I have to pay attention to the construction of the interviewees' memory. I have to distinguish between facts and their construction. Studying memory is not about facts but about the meanings (Sangster, 1998). The facts are in my research the proposals, the events which happened, the list of supporters and the published sources from 2007 either in a written or in a multimedia form. Besides exploring the quota formation, my aim is to find how the formation process and the different parts of its history are constructed by the interviewees.

Sangster (1998) also draws attention to the fact that memory is always shaped by many factors. Because the case happened three years ago, I had to take into consideration how the interviewees' memories were shaped since then. In my case it could be an important shaping factor that we already know that the proposals failed. That can cause disappointment and it can prove sceptic opinions. The other main shaping factor could be how the relations have changed since then between the actors. It was always difficult for the interviewees to recall the personal relations from that time. Some got to know each others better, some had an argument and some have not met since then. Also the changes in politics can have an effect on one's memory. The proposers are not members of SZDSZ any more and the party could not pass the threshold and enter Parliament at the last elections. These all can be projected back to the formation process. Nevertheless, I can gain the necessary information only by interviewing technique. Consequently, I can base my analysis on the interview materials, but I should be aware of these possible shaping factors. I consider my interviewees as experts, therefore I analyse their stories and discourses used by them as given.

Upon collecting the qualitative material by the oral history method, in the analysis process I use critical frame analysis devised by Verloo-Lombardo (2007), in order to grasp the

perceptions about the different relations and roles of different actors. After I identify the frames, I have to contextualize them as all debates take place in a geographical location and in a political context. Different political actors and interest representatives try to orient a debate into various directions according to certain captions, and position it into a broader context with its framing. For instance, in quota debates the following four frames are applied: role model, justice, interests of women, women's different relationship to politics (Phillips, 1995). In the Hungarian debate the gender quota was first claimed based on women's human rights, so it can be categorized in the justice frame.

3. SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

I argue that Sándor and Magyar initiated the quota proposals and they played a central role in founding the network. As initiators they connected their political motivations with the quota proposals. With the network analysis I define the members of the network, the central role of the politician and I find the initiators. I also find the hierarchy between the politicians and the civil network.

3.1. Network Identification

To find the boundaries of the network and the initiators, I categorized the list of supporters according to their profession which was indicated in the list of supporters. As a result, I created categories of supporters according to an attribute, their profession. I did not have the categories in advance, but after I reviewed the actors I found the following categories: art, academy, civil activism, business, media, politics and others. This list shows how diverse the list of supporters is. The majority of the supporters are "outsiders", who are not connected to gender issues neither as experts nor as civil activists, and a lot of Hungarian celebrities are present. It shows that the aim of the composition of this list was to open the issue to a broader public.

This categorization plays an important role in setting the standard about who belongs to the network. There is a clear divide between the civil activists and the others. Non activists did not mention any activists except for one person who can be categorized as a member of academia and as an activist as well. All activists mentioned activists except for one person.

The most mentioned actor is one of the proposers: Sándor, who was mentioned 24 times. Only one person did not mention her as an important actor. The second most frequently mentioned actor was the other proposer Magyar of 21 times.

Then there is a sharp decline. The next actors are the activists who were 6, 4, 3, 2 times or once mentioned. Because activists were only mentioned by activists and I interviewed 9 activists (one of them did not mention any activists), I draw the line at being mentioned twice. So if an activist was mentioned twice or more, she belongs to the network.

Besides the activists, only one more actor was mentioned more than once in the surveys. Although I asked for individuals, the MSZP was also mentioned as a party or as the coalition partner of the proposers' party, SZDSZ. There were assumptions about negotiations within the governing coalition. Because it was mentioned 8 times, I should pay attention to it. The problem was that no individuals could be identified. So I have to ask the proposers if they pre-negotiated this issue within the coalition. If they did, I should also ask to whom they were talking personally. Because of that and to double-check the first phase, I provide an open list to my interviewees in the second phase questionnaire. They can add anyone to this list. I also ask specially about MSZP.

After I identified the network, as a next step I should conduct at least 10 interviews with the two proposers and with 8 activists who belong to a nationwide umbrella organization, the Hungarian Women's Lobby. I set up the criteria if someone is mentioned by at least two activists and by at least one of the politicians as well, I add this person to the network and I interview this person in the second phase. As a result of the interviews, I added one more person to the interviewees, another activist who belongs to another main nationwide organization, to the Alliance of Hungarian Women.

In the composition of the network, the lack of politicians was remarkable. Despite the supposed role of the MSZP, from which party only one person, Zita Gurmai[3] was mentioned several times and was qualified as a network member according to the criteria detailed above. Gurmai was perceived as a person who played an important role, but except for the politicians no one was in personal contact with her. Therefore I did not include her into the network.

As I learned from the interviews, one of the reasons for the lack of politicians is the existence of two different networks: a non-connected civil activists' and a politicians' network. However, the interviewees told me that the network of the politicians was more important. All interviewees, including the proposers as well, expressed the same about the primary importance of the politicians' network and about the secondary importance of the civil network. The politicians also reported about inter-party meetings with female MPs. It is the pattern of Latin-America as well. It supports my argument that the politicians connected their political aims to the quota proposals.

I limit my analysis to the civil network because finally the two individual proposers submitted the proposals, not an inter-party female network. The politicians had a greater role in the Parliamentary process when the proposals had already been formed and submitted. Therefore the relations between the proposers and the civil activists are in the center of my analysis and I analyze the role of the other actors from other spheres through their perceptions.

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[3] Zita Gurmai, Member of the European Parliament, active in women's rights and gender issues in the EU

3.2.   Central Actors and Initiators

Klára [Sándor] liked to be in control (Eszter)

Nonetheless, the question remains how much she was actually in control of the process. After I identify the network, I look for the most central actor and for the initiators. In the questionnaire which I used to study the network, I asked about three main topics: the date when they first heard about the proposals, events they participated, the activities they were involved in and the relations among each others (see Appendix 1). I analyze the involvement into events and activities to get to know how intensive the network's activity was and who the most active member of the network was. I analyze the relations among the actors to find the central actor of the network and the dates to find the initiators.

According to the events and activities the network members participated, I got a 2-mode data (person X activity/event) (see Appendix 3). The relation between the individuals means that they were involved in the same activities or events. I evaluate the events and activities together because they have the same relevance in this case. They both show us who were involved in the same kind of activities. The events help activists to remember activities of 3 years ago.

This network shows how intense the civil activists and the proposers were mobilized because the tie means the involvement in the same activity. The density of the network shows how many ties of the possible ties are present. First I transformed the 2-mode data into 1-mode data and I dichotomized it with the threshold value > 0 because I was interested in all contacts, not only in tight ties. The density of this network is 74,5%. It means that 74,5% of the possible ties (if everyone was involved in the same activity or event) are present. I evaluate this value as signifier for a high mobilization, as 74,5% in a 11 member network based on the common events and activities means that in 74,5% the members of the network

were involved in the same activity at least once. However, I also understand this value as a signifier for lack of one outstanding event or activity, because 100% would mean that there would have been at least one event or activity in which all members participated. The two proposers participated in the most activities (Magyar:19, Sándor:16 from the possible 21 while the average value of the activists:5), which means that they were most involved in the activities.

In the second part of my questionnaire I asked about the personal contacts. The analysis based on this data shows the personal ties, which are tighter than participating in the same event because it means direct contact (e-mail, phone or personal meeting). However, it was more difficult for the interviewees to remember precisely and it was also difficult to distinguish between this and other cases in which they were working together. I also asked the interviewees to rank the relations according to intensity. In the basis matrix I used the ranked values but some of the interviewees could not or could only partly rank the others. In these cases I used the middle-value not to distort the value of the ties relating to the values of the whole network. Since I used the rank number, the lower value means the tighter ties. The whole weighted, directed matrix is the following:
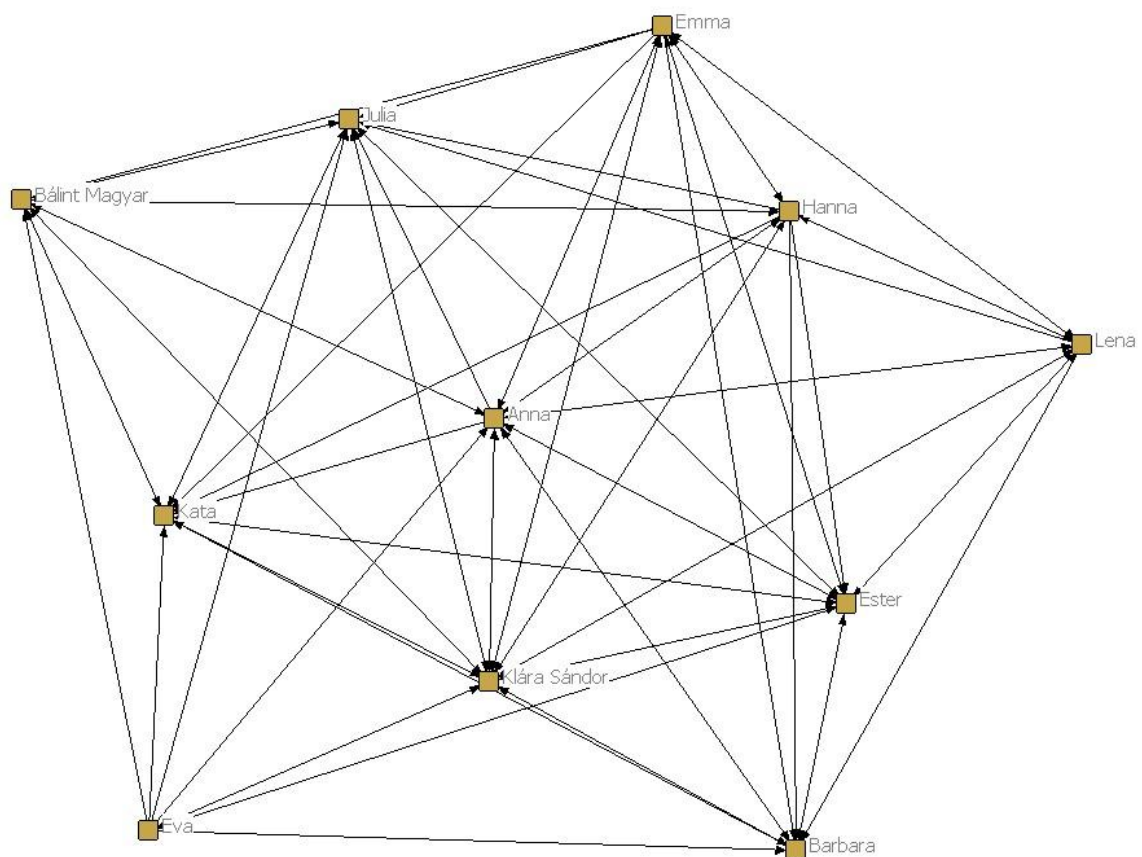
Figure 1 Actors' direct contacts, direct weighted network, drawn with NetDrawn

It can be immediately seen that a lot of ties are present. The density according to the dichotomized (>0) network is 69%, which means that 69% of the possible ties are present. It is a high value taken into consideration that it is a directed network in which the maximum ties are double than in a non-directed network and it is a network of 11 people. The number of the nodes in the network is inversely proportional to high density. Generally both characteristics decrease the number of the possible ties.

When examining who the central actor in this network is, I find the following results. By using the dichotomized data I conclude that Sándor is the absolute central actor with 100% in- and 100% out-degree. She could reach everyone and everyone could reach her. The network centralization is 34% both for out- and in-degrees. So she is a central actor in a not so much centralized network. She is not only a central actor but she is the main bridge/gatekeeper (See Appendix 4) among the actors as her Nbetweenness value is the

greatest, 28,5. It means that she can transfer or block information in 28,5% of her maximum possibilities. In this case I evaluate betweenness as a bridge since the network is about co-operation and co-work for the quota proposals. It means that Sándor was in contact with everyone and she could transfer information most successful. According to both centrality and betweenness, Sándor is the most central actor in the network.

Interestingly, Magyar did not play such a central role in this network. According to the civil activists' assumption Magyar and Sándor divided the tasks and Sándor was more in charge for civil activists. Magyar's active role in the events and activities and his lacking central role in personal contacts support this assumption. Summarizing the findings in the two different representations of the networks, based on participation and personal contacts, I state that Sándor and Magyar played the key role in the network. It means that they played the most active and intensive role in the network, they had contact to the most network-members (Sándor had contact to all of them) and therefore they possessed the most information as well as they were the engine of the network and of the co-operation. Magyar was more active than Sándor, who had more direct and personal contact to the activists, though.

After I identified the main actors, Sándor and Magyar, the question remains which role they played and whether they acted as initiators. I should study the dates which the actors identify as a starting point. According to setting the starting date of the proposals, I differentiate among Magyar, Sándor, three activists and the others. The idea of quotas for women within the party (SZDSZ) can be traced back generally to the 1990s, but the direct premise of the proposals of 2007 goes back to 2003. As I concluded from the interviews their first space was the party, then a referendum idea came up. The proposals in the Parliament were the last version of their quota idea. As Magyar and Sándor mentioned the earliest dates (2003), I claim that they played the initiators' role in the network. It proves that Sándor and

Magyar established the network to gain support to their initiative, therefore their motivations, relations to the other actors and perceptions about other spheres should be studied.

When analyzing the quota network, I conclude that not only were Sándor and Magyar the two central actors, but they also initiated the quota proposals. According to what I based my research on, i.e. the supporters' list, I found that the second most important network is that of the civil actors while the network of politicians was perceived as the most important one. Based on this finding, the Hungarian quota proposal shows the same pattern as the Latin-American model in which political aims were the leading elements of the quota proposals (Araújo & Garcia, 2003). Therefore, I argue that in the Hungarian case Sándor and Magyar connected their political aims to the quota since they initiated the quota proposals and built up the second most important supporters' network with women NGOs and civil activists. In the next chapter I examine their possible political motivations.

4. POLITICAL MOTIVATIONS FOR PROPOSING THE QUOTA

> It [thematizing the quota] could merely (…) not only stabilize and increase voters' strata but, if you did it with adequate intensity, it could also bring votes from others. In spite of this it could not break through anywhere (laugh) (Magyar)

I argue that the political aims of the proposers were electoral considerations connected with empty gestures according to Krook's terms (2009). By analyzing the interviews I focus on the Parliamentarian political position of SZDSZ, then on the perception of the quota as a possible vote maximizing issue, finally on the estimation of the adoption. I analyze the politicians' and civil activists' perceptions based on the interviews.

From the interviews I identified four different stages of the quotas. Chronologically first Sándor and Magyar aimed to adopt a quota within SZDSZ, secondly they turned to the women civil activists with a proposal for a referendum, thirdly they tried to build an inter-party coalition in the Parliament and finally they turned to a broader public after submitting the proposals as a private member's legislative motion in the Parliament.

4.1. Political Position of SZDSZ in the Parliament

> 2007 is again the period when [popularity of] SZDSZ fell very much. (Hanna)

As Krook claims, electoral considerations are often present if a party tries to overcome "a dramatic decrease in popularity" (Krook, 2009:32). SZDSZ is a party which has been rooted in the resistance movement of the socialist Hungary. The party gained less and less Parliamentary seats since 1990. At the elections in 2006 SZDSZ got only 4,66% of the votes

and 1,55% on the joint SZDSZ-MSZP list. That was the lowest electoral outcome in the history of SZDSZ. As a result, some party members started to look for new issues around which a wider voters' base could be created. How seriously the party was perceived to be in crisis is shown by the frame used by Magyar in telling me the story of the formation process. He started to talk about the party's declining electoral result:

> I have to start the story from earlier, in 1998 SZDSZ performed poorly on the elections (Magyar)

Magyar's starting sentence shows how crucial the electoral results were perceived in SZDSZ, which is not surprising because SZDSZ only reached votes around the threshold since 1998. Since then the stake of the election for the party equaled with their survival.

As an activist formulated why she thought the proposers initiated the quota:

> SZDSZ needed an issue. Then there was a party crisis, one of the party crises. SZDSZ stood on around 4% at that time. Anna

For a party which struggles for political existence, it is the main aim to gain new votes. One way to secure more votes is by articulating new issues. In the next part I analyze why Sándor and Magyar thought that the quota could bring new votes for SZDSZ from other parties.

4.2. Quota for Votes

> I do not think that it [the quota] would have brought those kinds of extras for her otherwise she would have stood for the distiller law. I have heard that she did the whole [campaign] to build her political career, but with a woman quota law... I do not know, currently in Hungary with that issue... maybe but then she misperceived it very much. (Kata)

Contrary to the civil activist's opinion about the popularity of the quota, for Magyar it seemed to be politically appropriate for extending SZDSZ voters. Magyar and Sándor

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commissioned representative population surveys about the quota perceptions in Hungary since 2003. They found two politically interesting aspects of the question: One is the great receptivity within the SZDSZ voters and the other one is its great support in the wider society independently from political preferences. The data proved for Magyar, who managed political campaigns before, that not only SZDSZ voters would support this issue, but even voters of other parties. Based on this, Magyar thought that with a strong campaign SZDSZ could strengthen its voters' base and could even gain new votes from outside. According to the population survey, it was not a politically dangerous topic since more than 50% of the whole society supported it and because the topic was not dividing along party lines, it was a cross-cutting issue. The table below shows what percent of the Hungarian population agreed with the following statement: "One should achieve that at least one-third of the MPs be women by amending the electoral law."
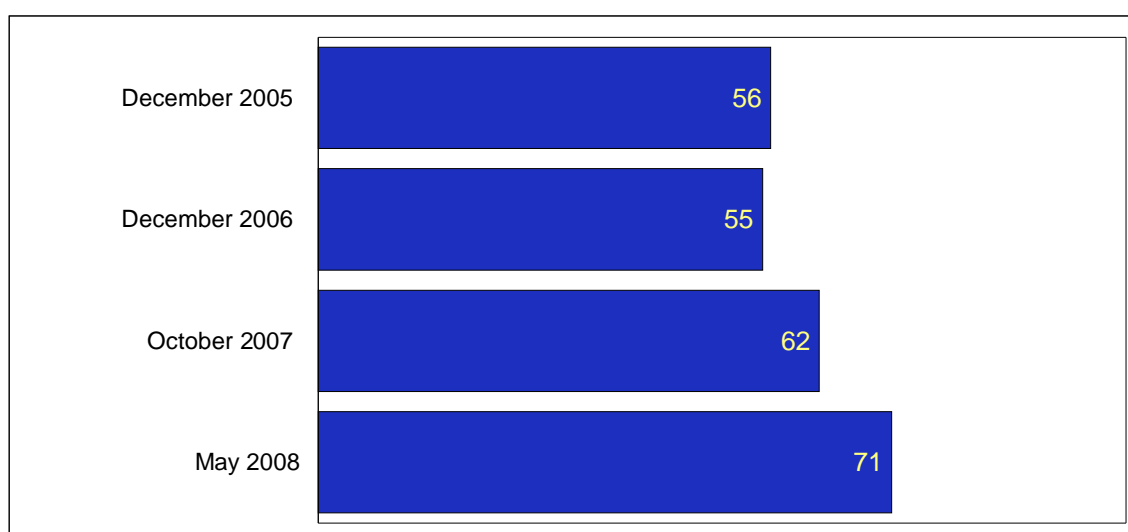
Figure 2 Quota supporters in the Hungarian Society (Source: Medián)

According to survey results, even more than half of the population agreed with gender quota originally and the campaign raised the support further. However, the same increase does not appear in SZDSZ's popularity which stagnates around 1-2% at that time (Tárki1,

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Gallup1). Despite the great quota support in the population, the proposals failed. I analyze in the next part whether the proposers reckoned a chance for adoption at all.

4.3. The Chance for Adoption

> The standard for success of a politician – for example Bálint Magyar and Klára Sándor – is not how many of their proposals are outvoted, but how many proposals they can find alliance for and how many of them they can implement in the legislation. (*Népszabadság*, Dr. Marianna Nagy, August 8, 2007)

As Nagy's public criticism shows, building political alliance for the quota proposals was quite problematic in the Parliament. I argue that the proposers' electoral considerations were connected with empty gestures. In other words, the proposers were aware that the quota proposals would fail. Nevertheless, they worked a lot to achieve the adoption. As I limit my research to the formation process, I am not going into details about the failure, but I analyze how the proposers estimated the chance of the adoption. The proposers emphasized the importance of the conciliation in the preparatory phase before they submitted the proposals.

> We started a debate within the parliamentary group if the party or its parliamentary group should submit this proposal. As next the conciliation followed first with the female members of the socialist parliamentary group (…). It turned out that they didn't want to submit the proposal. (…) They didn't want to appear with names on it. (…) On a debate on civil invitation the socialists announced that they join and they are going to vote for it and they support it as well as on a similar public event at which the representative of Fidesz, Mrs. Pelcz (…) announced the same. (Sándor)

> first we tried a multi-party conciliation (Magyar)

The proposers tried to find alliance for the quota proposals in the Parliament. However, they were aware of the empty gestures of the others. They knew that other parties did not support the proposals seriously; rather, it was politically impossible for them to oppose it.

> Interviewer: And when did this large support volatilize?
> Sándor: Which large support?
> Interviewer: Well, you said that both large parties[4] supported it.
> Sándor: Well, truly, that didn't exist ever. (…) those with whom we had been working together, of course they would have liked it. But the majority of the large parliamentary group has always been against it but they couldn't really say anything.

In spite of the public support of some political actors, the Parliamentarian parties did not articulate a clear, unitary support statement while some members of the same party represented a supportive stand, others an opponent opinion. By analyzing the quota proposals' Parliamentarian debate Barlanginé describes that "the majority of the speakers supported the proposals' principle base – the enhancement of women's public role – but not the measure – the quota system." (Barlanginé, 2008:156). This and the "the parallel media statements in which several women politicians argued against the quota, created a special situation." (Barlanginé, 2008:153). Conflicting opinions of individual members of the same parties made multiple interpretations possible. This situation reflects on the parties' lack of commitment, though. Eventually, the large parties ordered votes of conscience for their MPs.

> [speaking about the conscience vote] But we also knew it was how they shuffled. (…) but a much bigger proportion of them voted for it than we thought in advance as we submitted the proposals. (Sándor)

As Sándor's evaluation of the result shows, the proposers never reckon enough support for the proposals to be adopted. Moreover, the proposers were even surprised to learn that their proposals received more supportive votes than they originally expected according to the failure scenario. Therefore I claim that empty gesture motives were present in the campaign and it was the voters who were the primary targets of their message. In the next chapter I analyze why they initiated an outsider[5] campaign.

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[4] MSZP – Hungarian Socialist Party, one of the governing parties with 48% of the Parliamentary seats and Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Union, the largest oppositional party with 42% of the Parliamentary seats

[5] In lobbying literature a campaign is categorized as outsider if it speaks to the broader public and insider if the lobbyists try to influence the political decision makers directly.

5. THE FAILURE OF SZDSZ' INTERNAL RENEWAL

> The introduction of the quota is a question of conscience – says MP Klára Sándor (SZDSZ), who would improve women's chances to enter the Parliament by modifying the electoral law. The case's piquancy is that her own parliamentary group can fail the proposals.(*Népszabadság*, Ónody-Molnár, May 10, 2007)

Ónody-Molnár presents the ambiguous situation into which Sándor and Magyar found themselves after submitting the proposals in the Parliament. As a consequence of the lack of unanimous support of their party, their aim became not only to build a coalition in the Parliament with other parties but to convince their own fellow party members. To understand why the proposers submitted the proposals and through which they raised the issue in outside of politics, I have to study how they tried to adopt a quota within the party and how they turned to outside. As I traced back the quota proposals' formation based on the interviews, three different stages could be differentiated. First the idea came up in the proposers' party (SZDSZ) between 2003-2005, but the party members reacted ambiguously. On the second stage the referendum idea was formed at the end of 2006. The proposers initiated a meeting with civil activists to offer cooperation on a referendum about the quota. Because the civil activists were not responsive, the referendum idea changed and that of the amendments emerged. Those were the final version of the proposals. Sándor and Magyar submitted them in May 2007 and the Parliamentarian vote occurred in November 2007. I limit my research until the proposals' first presentation speech by Sándor[6] because I am interested in the emergence of the proposals and this was completed as it became a topic on the agenda of the Parliamentary session. That means that the quota question has become a part of the political discourse.

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[6] October 16, 2007. 22:15

I argue that the failure of gaining support for gender quota from the party does not come immanently from the party's specific features, but it shows that the party was not able to renew itself since the quota emergence within the party can be perceived as an attempt to redefine SZDSZ's mission statement. Consequently, the proposers turned to outside of the party and acted without a strong party support. However, the main space of their activity remained the political sphere, they needed external support since their main political aim was to achieve the voters.

SZDSZ was the space where the quota idea first emerged. Magyar and Sándor defined the starting point differently. Magyar dated the quota proposals to the 1990s. His attention was drawn to gender equality issues by Mária Kóródi who was an MP between 1990 and 2006 and who co-submitted the first bill[7] on gender equality with Péter Hack in 2001, which failed in the Parliament. The quota topic emerged within the party several times but it could never gain enough support to become a primary issue.

The direct premise of the quota proposals stems from 2003 according to the narrative of both Sándor and Magyar.

> Already in 2003. But then not on a legislative level yet. Finally we decided at that time that this issue should be initiated and then we tried first in SZDSZ. (Sándor)

> In 2003 we already brought up the question of the women's quota with Klára Sándor [within the party] (Magyar)

2003 is the year when the two proposers started to work together on a gender quota within SZDSZ. This is the year when Sándor became a member of the presidency of the main decision making committee of the party, the National Council. Her promotion into the leading body of the party could facilitate the emergence of the quota issue according to Caul (2001). He identifies three factors which influence the adoption of a party gender quota: presence of a

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[7] T/3804 2001. February

gender quota in the political system, women's presence in the highest decision-making body of the party and leftist values (Caul, 2001).

In the Hungarian political system MSZP has had a gender quota since 1999, which is a positive influential factor for a quota adoption in SZDSZ. Women's presence in the highest decision-making body also correlates to the party's support for a gender quota, so Sándor's role can be perceived as a positive factor. Her role is particular because she is not only present as a woman, but as a representative of gender issues. She thematized gender issues as she became a member of the National Council in 2003 and she was working on the issue further when she became an executive in 2005. Sándor led a Women's Equality Cabinet, but she alone was perceived to be the representative of gender issues within the party by two other female party members as well according to the interviews of the feminist web-magazine, *Tűsarok*[8]. However, Caul (2001) does not differentiate between women's presence in the highest decision-making body and a woman who stands for gender issues. I think Sándor's role should be perceived as a strong indicator for receptiveness for gender issues within SZDSZ.

As Caul (2001) writes about the third influential factor, the leftist values, he argues that the new cleavages in politics are drawn according to issues like minority rights and gender issues. In his research he argued that the more leftist a party is the more open it is for gender equality issues (Caul, 2001). In SZDSZ the issue was ideologically formed according to how Sándor and Magyar expanded the traditional liberal understanding of freedom and they put the emphasis on the "quality of freedom". As Magyar formulated:

> after the transition the basic question is the quality of the freedom. Besides of the formal freedom rights, if you can claim these rights de facto and quasi the access to these rights (…) (Magyar)

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[8] http://www.tusarok.org/rovatok/cikk.php?id=1008, 2005. Nov. 11.
http://www.tusarok.org/rovatok/cikk.php?id=1073, 2005. Dec. 11.

This freedom perception reconciled the liberal thinking with the quota logic. This thinking was represented in SZDSZ by Sándor and Magyar who wrote a political program on the basis of the "quality of freedom". This did not become the mainstream freedom perception in SZDSZ. Moreover, there was a dividing line along the "radical liberal" and the "social liberal" approach within SZDSZ as several interviewees named the two wings. Sándor and Magyar belonged to the latter. The existence of the social liberal party group confirms that the so called leftist values (Caul, 2001) were present in SZDSZ. However, because of the presence of two main approaches toward to a party quota, the debate on the quota can be perceived not only as a political debate between these two approaches but also as a power struggle between the different wings of the party. Finally, Sándor and Magyar did not manage to make the party adopt a gender quota either as a party quota or to make the quota issue part of the party's official policy. This means that the party did not agree on how Sándor and Magyar tried to renew the party's ideology. The partial presence of gender issues as "leftist values" (Caul, 2001) could have played a catalyst role in the party quota adoption, but only an ambiguous party decision was made.

> in November 2005 (…) a resolution was made according to which the National Council asked the parliamentarian group of the party to introduce a proposition in order to create an adequate gender balance. Supposedly, the members of the National Council did not to know what they were voting about because as we submitted the proposals [in 2007] some noticed [the proposals] with great surprise whereas the National Council's resolution existed. (Sándor)

It shows that Sándor and Magyar did not gain enough support for an exact measure to introduce a party gender quota, but they gained legitimacy for acting in the Parliament. Nonetheless, this mandate was ambiguous because it was not a clear statement, but rather a general and fuzzy resolution. This weakened the proposals in 2007 as Sándor refers to that in the quote above.

In this chapter I argued that the proposers tried to bring up the topic in their party (SZDSZ). With thematizing the gender quota Sándor and Magyar perceived the issue as a

symbol for the renewal of the party, which eventually failed. Nevertheless, they achieved a weak resolution about the gender quota. As a result, multiple perceptions were present in SZDSZ. On the one hand, some party members, like Emese John and members of the party's youth group, the New Generation (*Új Generáció*) did not perceive the resolution as a mandate for Sándor and Magyar to represent the quota as a party issue. On the other hand, Sándor and Magyar perceived it as a legitimate basis for proposing the quota issue in the broader political sphere. Therefore, Sándor and Magyar turned to a broader political sphere and built up an outsider campaign. In the next chapter I analyze the main actors, their relations and perceptions of the outsider campaign.

6. SEARCHING FOR ALLIES

> 2007 was the last moment when this issue could emerge
> and SZDSZ did not fight for their surviving (Emma)

This campaign was not exceptional because the proposers tried to speak directly to the broader public and tried to build new voter basis, but it was exceptional because they did so through an issue. Based on this case I argue that in the Hungarian political system there is a sphere of issue based politics and it is connected to the civil society sector. That is why even though the quota proposals failed in the Parliament, the proposals themselves are still perceived positively by most of my interviewees. Although the proposers did not achieve the gender quota adoption, they managed to bring a gender issue into mainstream politics and into the broad public sphere by building a large-scale outsider campaign.

Therefore this case shows a new paradigm of politics in Hungary. Various authors, such as Török (2003), claim that the Hungarian public sphere is primarily based on party politics logic and the party cleavages are the primarily compass in opinion-making. In addition, Ilonszki and Lengyel (2009) argue that everyday-life and professional issues are also politicized.

In the quota case the proposers moved out from their usual party-politics space, embracing a broader range of actors. Such a move from the two politicians can be understood in the frame of the feminist re-thinking of the political sphere. As Squires (1999) argues the feminist 'the personal is political' claim questioned two main elements of politics: power and "the correlation between politics and the public sphere" (Squires, 1999:23). She problematizes the binary division between public and private and suggests a tripartite set-up: the state, civil society and the personal. The role of civil society is categorized as private as it

is opposed to the state, but as public as it is opposed to the personal. The feminist re-thinking could change the existing rejection of co-operation between politics and the civil sphere in Hungary. If both politicians and civil activists change their attitude to politics, the civil society can fulfill its role of interest aggregating, interest representation and consultancy in policy-making decisions. I argue that issue-based politics would be exactly a way to achieve this stage. Hence, in my analysis I focus on the external campaign and on the actors' perception about the quota proposals and the supporting campaign. I explore the relation between the sphere of politics, academy, transnational and civil society. Although, the academy and civil sphere cannot be sharply divided in the gender field since many gender experts or teachers are also active in different women NGOs (Pető, 2006), for the sake of being cognitively clear I use this division. I focus on the relation between politics and the civil society more in detail as this network turned out to be the most important from the broad basis of supporters. I base the analysis on the perceptions of the interviewees: both the politicians and the activists.

6.1. International Actors

> There is also a kind of international pressure in this issue. It leaves its mark on Hungary's democratic image how few women are in the Parliament. (SR)

The international support was important in framing the quota issue. International agreements serve as norm pressure for a state in gender issues (Dahlerup, 2006). By analyzing states' compliance with EU gender non-discriminatory policies at workplace, Vleuten (2003) claims that a state complies if double pressure is exercised on it from the sub-national civil and from the international sphere, hence sub-national civil and international actors are partners in pressing a state. However, I argue that in the Hungarian case the international legitimacy was necessary to the proposers' legitimacy.

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Since Hungary had a quota for women in the non-democratic socialist regime, as is described by Matland and Montgomery (2003) in the Central Eastern European context, gender quotas in democratic settings cannot be interpreted in the same manner. Instead, a sharp differentiation is needed to be applied in the present case. International support showed that there is no antagonism between democracy and the quota. Moreover, the quota is an internationally accepted and broadly used tool. In the Hungarian case, the international actors' supportive role can be connected to two main spheres, the civil society and politics.

The international civil support came from a European umbrella organization, the *European Women's Lobby* (EWL) which contained 4000 women organizations at that time. EWL is the main civil partner of the European Union in gender issues. Therefore it plays a norm-owner role in the EU.

The political support came from an inter-governmental organization and from liberal party leaders. The UN's CEDAW Committee supported the quota with a letter which is important because CEDAW served as an international reference for the quota in the campaign. The main quota frame also stems from CEDAW. Sándor framed the quota as a human rights issue in her first speech in the Parliament: "We are speaking about more than half of the Hungarian citizens' human rights". But in the interview Sándor also emphasized the importance of the international liberal support in a form of "statements, letters, supporting letters of a lot of liberal leaders" (Sándor). The liberal international support was particularly important for the proposers since they received the strongest criticism from the party, as Magyar recalls, "within SZDSZ, despite international support, we were blamed to have betrayed the liberal values."

These examples prove that the international support's main target was to strengthen the proposers through demonstrating that a quota is an internationally accepted tool which is in accordance with democracy, human rights and liberal values.

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6.2. Academy

> She [Sándor] wanted to collect materials very quickly. The material means good practices not only about the quota, but how it became a political will and how it can be implemented. (Hanna)

I argue that the knowledge transfer from gender experts to politics did not occur in the traditional way, via working groups or consultancy, but through Sándor's double positions. She acts as a politician and an academic as well.

The period between 2005 and end of 2006 was the time of the preparation work. Sándor told me about a group within the party, the Cabinet of Women's Equality which dealt with gender issues. But she did not create a working group especially on quota. She consulted some gender experts and she studied the literature on quotas and on international examples of implementation by herself. If I compare it with the European Union's gender policy-making, Sándor's position in the intersection of academy and politics causes a special Hungarian situation.

In the European Union there is a 'velvet triangle' in gender issues which consists of politicians, activists and members of academy (Woodward, 2004). In the Hungarian case the academia has only a symbolic significance on the list of supporters since gender experts were not involved in the formation process. This sector is a completely missing factor in the formation process unless Sándor is considered a politician and an academic as well. This means that the gender knowledge transfer happened only partly in the Hungarian case through Sándor's own activity as she acquired the knowledge by herself. Consequently, in the campaign and public debate the Hungarian gender experts did not have the chance to substantially support the quota even if they were present on the list of supporters.

6.3. Women NGOs and Civil Activists

> The civic culture and the open polity, then represent the great and problematic gifts of the West. (Almond and Verba, 1989:7)

In this part I analyze the role of the women civil sphere in the quota campaign. Although the women NGOs and activists role was regarded as secondary by the proposers as well as by the civil activists in comparison to the role of the politicians who indeed voted about the proposals, the cooperation between the civil activists and the proposers was the most intensive among the supporters. The civil activists were involved on two stages. First some civil activists (three persons from my sample: Anna, Emma, Hanna) participated in a meeting about the referendum idea in a narrow circle. This occasion was the politicians' first contact with the civil activists. Secondly, the politicians contacted the women civil sphere after they submitted the proposals and they mobilized the civil activists for supporting the campaign, which also means that Sándor and Magyar started the campaign without consultation with the women NGOs.

In my view the quota proposals represent a case which brings to light how the cooperation between politicians and NGOs is possible. I argue that there are no existing channels and networks in gender policy-making in Hungary because the civil activists, as they told in the interviews, are not ready to take part in politics and politicians are not ready to include them, which can be seen as a consequence of the politicians' and civil activists' perception about each others. I argue that in the quota proposals' case the politicians could mobilize the women NGOs because civil activists perceived the quota proposals as a feminist issue, not as a party-political one and they could stay in their own sphere. Therefore, I argue that issue based politics and the feminist rethinking of the political sphere could converge in gender policy-making. However, as a very first step the women NGOs should consolidate organizationally to be able to act as an ally in politics. To prove my argument, I analyze the

politicians' and the civil activists' perception about politics, each other and their own roles in the quota proposals' formation. Finally I analyze the case as an inverse lobbying action to prevail the imperfection of the cooperation because of the organizational weakness of the women NGOs.

According to Almond and Verba the different political cultures consists of "parochial, subject and participant" (Almond and Verba, 1989:16) elements and in the "civic culture participant political orientations combine with and do not replace subject and parochial orientations." (Almond and Verba, 1989:30). Török classifies the Hungarian political culture as civic culture with some special characteristic (Török, 2003). Consequently, the Hungarian civil society belongs to the participant element of the political culture. Women's civil society in Western democracies serves as a lesson for that

> women first started occurring when second wave feminism led to women getting organized and demanding better representation. Organized lobbying groups both inside and outside political parties provided women with the experience and power base necessary to become serious aspirants for office (…) (Matland and Montgomery, 2003:34-35)

and that

> Pressure from women's organizations and other groups is necessary for the successful implementation of quotas. (Dahlerup, 1998).

The aim of this sub-chapter is to analyze the role of the women's civil sphere in the Hungarian case and to highlight how the lack of strong NGOs influences the cooperation between politics and the civil sphere. By analyzing women's movements and women's political participation in Hungary, Pető and Szapor argues that

> [t]he difference between Hungary and many Western countries lay in the strength of the civil society. […] Moreover, in1990, women's political participation was also crippled by the heritage of the state feminist period, a drastically decreased participation of women in public life, expressed both in the number of women politicians and the lack of civil society. […] So it is only a question of time before we get to know if a concept of alternative public sphere contributes to transforming gendered power structures by opening windows of opportunity to Hungarian women in the third Millenium. (Pető and Szapor, 2004:179-180).

Fábián also draws attention to the phenomenon that civil activists are not willing to participate in the existing sphere of politics, instead, they create an alternative public sphere.

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Skepticism surfaced about the quality and sustainability of citizen participation, especially in light of Central and Eastern European governments' tendency to neglect, mute or disregard a diversity of views. Women's activists' rejection of political participation may substantiate these fears. Although these women's views replicated to some extent to confines of conventional electoral politics, I suggest that they also reflected in essence their unfavorable access to power. Women's groups' insistence on creating an alternative public sphere challenged the hegemony of conventional politics and cultural and social norms: Women's groups have become nuisances in the public life in Hungary. (Fábián, 2009:161)

Also my civil activist interviewees perceived politics, the politicians and the cooperation very negatively in general. Vice versa the politicians had negative perceptions about the civil activists.

Politics has this very bad reputation which I also subscribe (…). Those should spend time with politicians who has two mothers, so they are simply not a pleasant company, they are nerve-racking, bounder, dark, those of them whom I see. Obviously, there are, I can name five exceptions. So the life is simply too short to rub the shoulder together with them. (Eszter)

In Hungary there has not been evolved even the most minimal norms for professional cooperation with civil organizations. (…)You are going there, they listen to you and they do what they originally wanted. (Julia)

I have very bad experience with civil activists. (Magyar)

The views show that the relationship between politicians and civil activists can be categorized everything but a partnership. Besides being disappointed in politics, the civil activists define the essence of being civil to be separated from politics. Eszter's sharp opinion about the separation summarizes how civil activists think.

I am a participant of the civil movement because I am interested in principle questions, I am only interested in practice if it influences us. So how pitiable are the parties among each others… I am untouched by that. (Eszter)

It highlights the sharp dividing line between the civil activists and politics. This remark also presents the other side of the civil activists' self-definition, i.e. the commitment to principles. To be value-based is contrary to the civil activists' perception about politics, which is a party based sphere with deep cleavages where the main aim is to gain the possible maximal power. Therefore, women NGOs does not enter the field of politics. When the question arises after all, I argue, the women's civil sphere did support two SZDSZ politicians' quota proposals because the civil activists perceived the issue as a feminist one rather than a party-political one. To show the contrast between the two attempts of working with the civil

activists, I present how the civil society did not support an earlier initiative, the referendum of the proposers. The primary reason for rejection was because they wanted to avoid supporting a party.

> Bálint [Magyar] wanted not only a referendum, but he wanted the civil organizations to submit it and that's what we particularly didn't hold a good idea, with a party in the background (Anna)

> We liked it very much that they raised this issue, but we were not sure if it is good for civil activists if they stand for SZDSZ, neither were we sure if such a campaign is fortunate and it should be done this way, so we had every kind of worries. (Hanna)

Although the civil activists supported the quota idea, they rejected the direct cooperation with a party. This particular case shows that the civil activists are not willing to enter the sphere of politics. When they perceived the quota as a party-political issue, they did not stand for it despite the absolute supporting attitude toward to the content.

Whereas cases usually show that women NGO's can be divided for quota supporters and opponents (Dahlerup, 2006: 299). Such a civic divide was absolutely absent in Hungary. Opponent voices came from the sphere of politics by amendments which tried to ridicule the proposals or make them impossible (Papp, 2008) and by different articles in the media mainly by Emese John from SZDSZ and Ibolya Dávid from MDF (Hámor, 2008). The Hungarian women NGOs unanimously supported the proposals. Contrary to the referendum initiative which they perceived as providing political support for a party, the civil activists stood for the private member's legislative motion:

> They [the politicians] submitted it as private member's legislative motion. It did not seem to be an initiative of a party, it was possible to support it. (Kata)

Although in the Parliament the two party-politicians submitted the proposals, formed in a way that the civil activists could support. The three Hungarian nation-wide women NGOs[9] of different orientations announced a joint statement which was one of their very rare

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[9] Namely, these are
i) Hungarian Women's Lobby (Magyar Női Érdekérvényesítő Szövetség) – a feminist women's organization,

joint statements[10]. The civil activists not only supported the quota, but they supported it without criticism. I argue that they supported it because they perceived it as a feminist issue, not a political one. Understanding the issue as a feminist one was possible for the civil activists first because of the content, secondly, because they stayed in the alternative public sphere in the campaign, and finally because of the perceptions about the proposers as credible feminist politicians.

I argue that the content of the proposals were in accordance with the civil society's principles. The Hungarian quota proposals can be categorized as electoral quotas since the quota would have been regulated in the constitution and in the electoral law. They attempted to regulate the party lists' composition of 50% for each sex in zipper system which would have resulted around 30% women in the Hungarian Parliament due to Hungary's mixed electoral system. Taken into consideration Hungary's actual 10,4% women MPs' share and MSZP's weak, hardly implemented 20% women quota, it was a strong claim. According to Magyar the proposers were ready for two kinds of compromises: to place women only in 1/3 of the party lists on the first elections, but at least in every third place, and to define 20 or 25 years for the law's full implementation. As MSZP seemed to be more willing to support a lower, 30% quota, the civil activists were debating whether they should support a less strong, but more feasible quota compared to the original proposals.

> Following the proposals one of the main questions emerged if a less than 50% quota were to be supported. (…) It may be good, but it is a job of the politicians. (…) Anyhow we were beating around the bush, we realized that it is a human rights issue in which we as civil activists should adopt a point of view that it is not equal to have first 30-40% and it will evolve (…) so it would be very important to take a stand on 50% (Lena)

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ii) Association of Hungarian Women (Magyar Nők Szövetsége) – a social democratic and socialist women's organization, and

iii) Hungarian Married Women's Thousand-Year Association (Magyar Asszonyok Ezredévi Szövetsége) – a conservative women's organization (Fábián, 2009)

[10] Besides supporting the quota, these three organizations publicly opposed prostitution (2004) and the time-decrease on maternity leave (2009) together.

Here the same pattern of the civil activists' self-definition is described, according to which the civil activists should represent ideas and principles and it is not their task to achieve a political compromise. Therefore, the civil activists decided to stand for the maximum which can be reached. By reason of the strong content, which fully matches the women NGOs principle basis, the civil activists could support the proposals. According to several civil activists the necessity of the quota was always present in the civil society, but they never managed to thematize it. It is in full accord with the NGOs' lack of being embedded nationally. As Lang writes (1997), the NGOs in Eastern-Europe rather join to transnational movements than to thematize national issues. As I heard from my interviewees, in Hungary there are spaces for women NGOs in the field of work and violence against women which are the main transnational issues as well. Consequently, women's political representation became a secondary issue within the civil society. Not surprisingly, the quota campaign did not become a central issue of the civil activities at the time, either, although the civil society supported the proposals.

> As a point of honor, we should stand for it but it was impossible to put more into it. Since the few organizations which are active in some fields, they think that the very little energy can not be transferred to something else in any minute. (Hanna)

This slight self-criticism also shows that the proposals were an unexpected action of the proposers since the civil activists could not immediately focus on them. The civil supporters were held secondary by both the politicians and the civil activists themselves as their contribution was much limited for various reasons.

> Since there is no movement, (…) the civil activists participated to the best of their ability, but to the best of their ability (Sándor)

> We tried to mobilize the organizations. (…) However, this did not evoke such a strong reaction. (Emma)

> If there is an issue, we can cooperate, but at the same time everyone is occupied by her own organization so much that life goes on. (…) There are always the same people, around 50-100 persons who are active in women's issues. (Emma)

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Partly because she [the civil activist] has work to do all day, so I understand, but then… then let's say that we do a virtual women's movement in Hungary and then everything is fine. (Eszter)

The cooperation with the civil activists was not prepared: except for the narrow circle meeting about the referendum, they were not incorporated in the formation, only in the campaign. Therefore they were not able to switch their focus onto the quota. The proposers' expectation of the civil sphere to support the quota proposals was an extra burden for the civil activists. Nevertheless, the politicians managed to gain their support. However, the civil activists remained in their alternative public sphere both in their actual activities and ideologically. So the types of their activity were the same as in other campaigns:

A lot of people organized events and several of them wrote articles as well. (Lena)

The civil activists also reckoned that through the quota issue their alternative public sphere's gender system could appear in the mainstream public sphere challenging the existing male norms:

Since the reality of women, in which women live, from the everyday to the unique situation, simply does not appear in political decisions. The man is the norm. Life has no such a field where it would not be like that. There is no objective science, no objective law, no objective history… Accordingly, there is no field of life and reality which would not have another reality in which women live and this does not appear at all. (Julia)

Therefore the civil activists were committed to the quota idea and they perceived the two politicians as representatives of feminists in politics.

At long last, a credible person since Klári [Sándor] is credible, isn't she? She herself is an emancipated woman, a successful politician. She embodies neither the worst fears of the quota supporters nor of opponents in any sense. (Hanna)

Anyway, in both cases [speaking about political motivations] I think as she said what she said, she was serious about it. So she really thought that the quota was important (…) and that it is a human rights issue. (Julia)

 "everyone respected Bálint [Magyar] very much, namely because he is one of the very few woman-friendly politicians.

Bálint [Magyar] is a very enlightened very normal person. (Eszter)

I guess on the one hand SZDSZ was looking for an issue, on the other hand Klára Sándor became quite strong and she as a feminist pushed some issues like that. (Emma)

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All civil actors think highly of Sándor who is regarded as a credible feminist politician who managed to thematize a feminist issue. Magyar was also reckoned as a "women-friendly politician" which label in this case is considered a positive one. From the views above it is evident that whether the proposers were also politically motivated became secondary, however, the question was still present as the last quote suggests.

In sum, the politicians were perceived by the civil activists to be credible, feminist MPs, who could adapt the alternative public sphere's norms to mainstream politics. Hence, I argue that there is a possibility for cooperation between party-politics and the women's civil society. The issue-based politics in accordance with the feminist rethinking of politics could lead to change in the gender policy-making process of Hungary.

Nonetheless, it would be too idealistic to conclude that it was the prototype of a successful cooperation between civil society and politicians. The relations are not proven to be stable and the actors were disappointed about each other's role, in light of the failure. Moreover, Magyar did not seek contact with these civil activists for the latest version of the quota proposals, a new referendum[11], instead, he worked with a newly founded civil group only. I argue that the mutual disappointment stems from the misperceived exchange goods of the politicians and of the civil society, which goods are the basis of cooperation in lobbying. I think the quota case can be perceived as an inverse lobbying action. I categorize it as inverse because it was not the activists who initiated the proposals and targeted the politicians, but the politicians needed the civil society's support to legitimize their initiative and their support in the outsider lobbying campaign. These roles are not exceptional in a long-term relationship, but the Hungarian quota case indicated a test for cooperation. As Buholzer (1998) writes, in a lobbying situation the following exchange goods are possible to be offered for the politicians

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[11] A gender quota referendum was proposed by a civil organization Women in the Field (*Nők a Pályán*) in cooperation with Magyar in September 2009

according to different capacities: votes, legitimacy, money, information and renouncement to use market power. In the Hungarian quota case the civil society could offer information and legitimacy, but no votes. As long as the proposers did not need information, they needed legitimacy from women NGOs as norm-owners, but the NGOs could not perform the expected votes. Buholzer (1998) moreover maintains that the capacity for offering votes depends on the degree of organization. Along a similar logic, when Magyar explains why he does not cooperate with the existing civil organizations in the newly emerging quota referendum, he categorizes the civil organizations as following:

> There is [an organization] which has significant membership but it is not really active, the Association of Hungarian Women. (…) There are other women's organizations which affect one-two dozen people but essentially they do not have membership or extra support. (Magyar)

Magyar's description of the civil players presents that his main problem is the lack of organization and ability for mobilization in the sector. As I argued above about politicians' political motivations, I claimed these were electoral considerations. Therefore, the failure of the realization of the possible votes which the civil society could have brought caused the disappointment for the politicians. On the other hand, for the civil activists the disappointment originated from the failure of an effective insider lobbying campaign of the politicians, and the failure of building a political coalition for the issue.

Nevertheless, the case shows that the cooperation in gender issues is possible between the civil society and the politics. The civil activists are not ready to stand for a party but they are willing to actively support an issue fitting into their norms which are present in their alternative public sphere. However, the quota proposals' failure proved that the women NGOs can provide support in values but they are too weak to provide enough support for the desired votes as exchange goods. Therefore I claim that the prerequisites are organizational consolidations for the civil society to be able to act as a partner in gender policy making by fulfilling its role of interest aggregating, interest representation and consultancy.

CONCLUSIONS

In my thesis I revealed a new story of the Hungarian quota proposals with two innovative methods, social network analysis and oral history. Three other strategies preceded the proposals in the Parliament in 2007. First, Sándor and Magyar aimed to adopt a quota policy within SZDSZ, but they achieved only an ambiguous decision. Secondly, the politicians turned to the women civil activists with a proposal for a referendum, but the co-operation did not come into existence. Thirdly, the proposers attempted to build an inter-party coalition in the Parliament which was not successful before the submission, however, the proposers were working on for gaining MPs of other parties parallel to the outsider campaign. Finally they turned to a broader public after submitting the proposals as a private member's legislative motion in the Parliament, which was known as the story of the quota proposals until now.

I proved that in the quota campaign the central actors and initiators were the two proposers, Sándor and Magyar, who established a network to gain support to their proposals and led the campaign. As a next step, I studied their motivations, relations to the other actors and perceptions about other spheres. The Hungarian case's similarity to the Latin-American ones, i.e. there were a primary important political network and a secondary important civil network, predicted political motivation.

Using Krook's (2009) terms, electoral motivations and empty gestures were present in the Hungarian case. Electoral motivations played an important role since Sándor and Magyar aimed to strengthen the voters' base and to gain new voters because SZDSZ' performance on the last elections was poor and the proposers perceived the quota as an issue through which

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these goals can be achieved. In assessing the chance for adoption, empty gestures appeared as Sándor and Magyar were aware of the lack of support from the Parliamentarian parties.

In gender issues and for quota adoption the politicians can co-operate with international, sub-national civil and academy actors according to the literature (Krook, 2009, Dahlerup 2006, Woodward, 2004). As Magyar and Sándor built the outsider campaign, they needed international support to legitimize their frame of the quota as a human rights issue in accordance with democracy and to strengthen their position within the party from where the strongest criticism came. The academy was partly present since Sándor is also an academic, but the proposers did not incorporate the academic gender experts substantially, only symbolically on the supporters' list.

According to my research, the co-operation with the Hungarian women NGOs was strongest outsider co-operation. The Hungarian women's civil sphere was unanimously supportive to the quota proposals. It leads to two significant findings. First, the question raises if they agreed with the quota, why they did not initiate it. The lack of own initiation is consistent with Lang's (1997) results that women NGOs are not embedded enough to initiate a local issue, but they rather join to transnational movements where the main issues are work and violence against women. Secondly, the women NGOs achieved to be norm-owners in gender issues in Hungary since 1989 and the co-operation with them for politicians is necessary for their legitimacy.

The supportive role of the women NGOs was a completely new aspect since they are known as opponents, the "nuisances in the public life" (Fábián, 2009:161). The co-operation is not possible because of the attitude of both the politicians and the civil activists. The politicians devaluate the civil actors and the civil activists identify the essence of being civil as the distinction from party-politics. The quota case represents how the co-operation is still possible. I argued in my thesis that the civil actors gave their support because they perceived

the issue as a feminist, not as a party-political one. They could do so since the content was supportable, the women NGOs could stay in their alternative public sphere and the civil activists perceived the politicians as credible feminist politicians. This shows that a co-operation is possible in gender issue in Hungary if the politicians act on an issue-based way instead of a party-politics logic and the civil activists can stay in their alternative public sphere. The importance of the politicians' credibility shows that because of the distance of the party-political and civil sphere the civil activists evaluate party-politics and politicians according to their own values and they do not detect the party-politics logic. Partly therefore their lobbying capacity is weak. The other main factor of the women NGOs' weakness is their degree of organization. Since it correlates with offering votes as exchange goods (Buholzer, 1998), for electoral motivations, as in the quota case, the women NGOs cannot be a strong ally. The misperception about achieving electoral aims through a gender issue can be understood by studying the perceptions of citizens about gender issues in Hungary. However, they sympathize with the quota idea and with the claim to bring more women into the Parliament, gender issues do not influence their electoral decision as it could be witnessed on the first Hungarian Parliamentary elections after the quota proposals in 2007. In 2010 the women proportion in the Parliament even decreased by 9%. Therefore I argue that because of the misperception about the vote bringing capacity of the gender quota, it got into the political agenda. However it failed, the outsider campaign achieved that an electoral result cannot be evaluated without mentioning women's proportion in the Parliament which was the case at all in previous elections. This awareness-raising result can be a first step for adoption, "a toe in the doorway".

In my thesis I focused on the actors, perceptions and motivations in the outsider campaign, but to disclose the entire story and the party-political processes, I suggest studying the insider campaign for further research.

APPENDICIES

Appendix 1: Social Network Analysis Questionnaire

Please, think of the quota proposals in 2007.

1. When did the idea of the quota proposal come up?

    I note the answer

2. What were the direct antecedents of the case?

    I note the answer

3. Please indicate in the list below on which event you participated.

    ☐ Negotiations within SZDSZ about the quota

    ☐ First meeting on the referendum

    ☐ Second meeting on the referendum

    ☐ First meeting on the legal proposal

    ☐ Inner-coalition negotiation

    ☐ Public lecture about the quota, where:…………………………………

    ☐ Parliament's Committee meeting

    ☐ Press conference of the umbrella organizations

    ☐ Vote in the Parliament

    ☐ Others:………………………………………………

4. Please indicate below in which kind of work you participated.

☐ Creating a proposal for referendum

☐ Creating the final version of the proposals

☐ Organizing event(s)

☐ Public lectures about quota

      o   as lecturer

      o   as audience

☐ Contacting politicians

☐ Contacting experts

☐ Contacting supporters

☐ Others:……………………………………………

5. Could you please skim through the names of the list below? I will ask questions about the relations between you and the persons. But first I would like to ask you to add to list the most important persons from MSZP who played a key role in the formation of the quota proposals, if you consider anyone important.

6. Now think of the whole formation process. Is there anyone who played a key role but is not on the list? (Could you please add her/him?)

	Please indicate the 1., 2., 3. most important actors	Who told you first about the quota proposals?	With whom did you speak about the proposals?	Whom did you meet because of the quota?
Sándor Klára				
Magyar Bálint				
Anna				
Eszter				
Kata				
Julia				
Barbara				
Lena				
Emma				
Hanna				

7. Please mark the persons according to the question. If there are more people who you would mark, please rank them (1., 2., …). You can indicate as many people as you want to. (I will orally add the next sentence: If you think you had two or more people with whom you had the same intense contact, you can give the same number to them.)

	Who called you? (phone, mobile, skype, chat)	Whom did you call? (phone, mobile, skype, chat)	Who contacted you per email?	To whom did you write an email?	With whom were you in most intensive contact?
Sándor Klára					
Magyar Bálint					
Anna					
Eszter					
Kata					
Julia					
Barbara					
Lena					
Emma					
Hanna					

Designed with help of Jurja's Questionnaire (2010).

In the previous part I was looking for the facts about the proposals in 2007. Now I would like to ask you about your personal opinion. From my previous interviews and from the documents I got to know that it was the end of a long way as the proposals were submitted in the Parliament.

FORMATION		
Could you please tell me how the qouta got from an idea to the submission of the proposals?		
QUOTA		
How do you personally define the quota?		
What is the aim of the quota? Why is it necessary?		
OWN ROLE		
Could you please recall when you first thought Hungary needs the gender quota. Why?		
Why did you think in 2007 that Hungary needs the gender quota?		
What kind of reaction did the proposals generate?		
	politically	
	in a personal circle	
	in the party / coalition	
	in plublic	
	with whom you shared it	
Whit kind of positive and negative impacts the proposals had?		
	for gender issues	

	for the party	
	for politics	
	for your political career	
	for your personal life	
Would you do it again with your current knowledge?		
Why (not)? What would you do differently?		

	Negotiations within SZDSZ about the quota	First meeting on the referendum	Second meeting on the referendum	First meeting on the legal proposal	Inner-coalition negotiation
Klára Sándor	1			1	1
Bálint Magyar	1	1	1	1	1
Anna		1	1		
Eszter					
Kata					
Julia					
Barbara					
Lena					
Emma		1	1		
Hanna	1	1			
Eva		1	1	1	

	Public lecture about the quota	Parliament's Committee meeting	Press conference of the umbrella organizations	Vote in the Parliament	Press Conference
Klára Sándor	1	1	1	1	1
Bálint Magyar	1	1	1	1	1
Anna					
Eszter	1		1	1	1
Kata	1				1
Julia			1		
Barbara	1			1	
Lena	1	1		1	
Emma	1	1		1	
Hanna					
Eva		1	1	1	

	International support	Background conciliations	Creating a proposal for referendum	Creating the final version of the proposals	Organizing event(s)
Klára Sándor	1	1		1	1
Bálint Magyar	1	1	1	1	1
Anna			1		
Eszter					1
Kata					
Julia					
Barbara					1
Lena					
Emma					
Hanna					
Eva					1

	Public lectures about quota as lecturer	Public lectures about quota as audience	Contacting politicians	Contacting experts	Contacting supporters	Opinion forming within the Hungarian Women's Lobby
Klára Sándor	1		1	1	1	
Bálint Magyar	1		1	1	1	
Anna						
Eszter	1	1			1	
Kata	1	1				1
Julia			1			1
Barbara	1			1		
Lena	1	1				1
Emma						
Hanna						
Eva			1		1	

	Betweenness	nBetweenness
Klára Sándor	12,83333	28,51852
Bálint Magyar	0,75	1,666667
Anna	2,75	6,111111
Eszter	6,75	15
Kata	1,5	3,333333
Julia	0	0
Barbara	0,25	0,555556
Lena	0,25	0,555556
Emma	0,25	0,555556
Hanna	0,666667	1,481481
Eva	0	0

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