



CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES
ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Citizens and State Surveillance in Hungary and Romania

The Importance of Personality

Paul Tap

palgrave
macmillan

Central and Eastern European Perspectives on International Relations

Series Editors

Michał Onderco

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Rotterdam, The Netherlands

Monika Sus

Center for International Security

Hertie School

Wrocław, Poland

CEEPIR, the foundational book series of the Central and East European International Studies Association (CEEISA), is an interdisciplinary forum for scholarship that straddles traditional and novel approaches, advancing cutting-edge scholarship in global international relations.

The series invites proposals in the spirit of epistemological and methodological pluralism and in a range of traditional and innovative formats: research monographs, edited collections, textbooks and Pivots which aim at succinct and timely scholarly interventions.

The editorial focus is twofold:

(1) The CEEISA book series retains its long-standing objective to sustain and showcase excellent research in and on Central and Eastern Europe. We are interested in innovative scholarly perspectives on contemporary social and political transformations in the region, in how knowledge is produced about such transformations, and in how Central and Eastern Europe interacts with the wider European and global contexts. We are interested in advancing the scholarly discussion between Central and Eastern Europe and the discipline more broadly. In cooperation with CEEISA, we maintain a subseries of works which received distinction of excellence by the Association (e.g. the best doctoral dissertation, the best paper at the CEEISA convention, the best thematic panel).

(2) We seek in particular outstanding empirical work which advances conceptual and methodological innovation in International Relations theory, European Studies and International Political Sociology, particularly when related to Central and Eastern Europe. We welcome novel research techniques and approaches that explore diverse sites and engage diverse challenges of contemporary world politics.

As a devoted team dedicated to excellence and timeliness in the editorial and peer review process, we rely on the support of Palgrave Macmillan, and liaise with the *Journal of International Relations and Development* to develop a platform for scholars who can reinvigorate existing research in global international relations.

For a correct copy of the proposal form, please contact Isobel Cowper-Coles, Editor for International Studies, at isobel.cowpercoles@palgrave.com

Paul Tap

Citizens and State Surveillance in Hungary and Romania

The Importance of Personality

palgrave
macmillan

Paul Tap
Department of International Studies and Contemporary History
Babes-Bolyai University Cluj
Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ISSN 2947-7980 ISSN 2947-7999 (electronic)
Central and Eastern European Perspectives on International Relations
ISBN 978-3-031-84942-8 ISBN 978-3-031-84943-5 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-84943-5>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2025

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

If disposing of this product, please recycle the paper.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book reflects the research conducted during my PhD studies between 2021 and 2024. My interest in the topic of this book was born long before. In 2016 I became a student of Security Studies at Babes-Bolyai University Cluj, Romania. The decision to choose that specialization was motivated mostly by my interest in espionage and intelligence agencies, which had arisen due to novels and historical accounts coupled with James Bond movies and more than questionable Internet information. Shortly after I started my life as a student in Security Studies, I realized that in reality, this specialization has almost nothing to do with the spectacular accounts that I envisaged. I quickly understood that most of the things I would learn about espionage would be from a theoretical standpoint at best. I decided not to give up on my choice and pursued other topics within the same area.

My decision to stick with this choice led to other unexpected opportunities. In 2018 I met my future BA thesis supervisor, Sergiu Gherghina. I had issues finding a topic for my thesis but after exchanging several messages with him we found a solution. The topic that we agreed to write about in my thesis did not rank too highly in my personal preferences, but I accepted it as a way to finish my studies. After six months of research under Sergiu's supervision, however, I discovered that I found pleasure in doing research and writing.

Over the following years, Sergiu continued to mentor me and also supervised my MA and PhD thesis. In the process, I broadened my horizon of knowledge about political science and continued to improve my

writing style. In June 2021, I was looking for a subject for my PhD studies having decided to pursue them. Sergiu explained that I must find something which I have a genuine interest in, since for the next three years I would be busy with it. At this point I went back to my initial motivation to enroll in a Security Studies program, and I decided to focus on surveillance. Although it is challenging to write anything about intelligence since this field is often shrouded in mystery and secrecy and even the data we have access to is limited and somehow questionable, after three years I managed to wrap up my findings into this book.

This outcome would not have been possible without my supervisor, Sergiu Gherghina. I want to take this opportunity to thank him not only for coordinating my PhD thesis—upon which the current book is based—but for supervising every academic activity I have undertaken in the seven years which have passed since our collaboration began. Next, I want to thank Claudiu Marian, the director of the Department of International Studies and Contemporary History, Babes-Bolyai University Cluj, Romania, for all his support throughout years. Special thanks go to Colin Cumming, who carefully and proficiently proofread this book. As much as one might enjoy the process of writing, it is always a challenge to write in another language. Colin provided very useful advice on improving my writing style and managed to make the content of the book sound more natural. I am also grateful to the editorial committee at Palgrave Macmillan and to Isobel Cowper Coles, who made the process of publishing this book smooth. Last but not least, I want to thank all the people and friends who taught me something—not necessarily related to academic life—and especially my parents and my sister, whose love and unconditional support made all of this possible.

November 2024

Cluj

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
2	Theoretical Foundations of Surveillance	17
3	Personality and State Surveillance	43
4	A Historical Overview of State Surveillance in Hungary and Romania	85
5	Hungary: Personality, Community, and Gender	127
6	Romania: Personality, Information, and Media	155
7	Conclusions	187
	Index	205

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 3.1	An overview of the acceptance of state surveillance	72
Fig. 5.1	Degree of acceptance of surveillance in Hungary	128
Fig. 5.2	The effects on the acceptance of surveillance in Hungary	134
Fig. 6.1	Degree of acceptance of surveillance in Romania	156
Fig. 6.2	The effects on the acceptance of surveillance in Romania	161
Fig. 6.3	Adjusted predictions of conscientiousness	168
Fig. 6.4	Adjusted predictions of extraversion	169

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	Hungary and Romania MSSD	66
Table 5.1	Correlations with the acceptance of surveillance in Hungary	131
Table 6.1	Correlations with the acceptance of surveillance in Romania	158



CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Surveillance has existed for as long as human history. Over the centuries, organizations or individuals have used it as a means to understand the societal realities around them. The major purpose of surveillance, regardless of era, has always been the collection of data to serve the specific objectives of specific entities. Another factor that has remained constant through the centuries is the major element targeted by surveillance: the individual (Hughes-Wilson 2017; Andrew 2018; Crowdy 2006). Although the contemporary understanding of surveillance has reached beyond the traditional perspective that was linked mostly to security objectives, the individual remains the most important actor in this process. Different entities can supervise the individual at the moment he/she is perceived as representing a threat to national security—and here, we talk about state surveillance. In this case, the latter has one major purpose, which is to quickly pinpoint the threat, to obliterate it, and to achieve security objectives (Andrew et al. 2020; Warner 2014). However, the individual cannot be associated solely with negative activities that render him/her subject to supervision, but some entities that conduct state-wide surveillance may seek to improve specific marketing policies that could (for example) help companies to strengthen their sales strategies. In this case, surveillance has nothing to do with achieving national security objectives, but is conducted in order to build efficient strategies that could help individuals to make

better decisions when choosing a specific product (Ball and Webster 2003; Ball et al. 2012).

The relation between surveillance and the individual is not limited by the two aforementioned objectives: national security and strategic marketing. Another domain in which surveillance can be conducted is the welfare system of every country. This kind of supervision is conducted so that the authorities may understand the conditions under which some individuals live, and how specific sectors of society may be improved in order to help individuals to live better lives. Many examples can be listed in this category, ranging from how rural education systems work to the ways in which ethnic or national minorities are integrated in society, and to the national health system or the safety and security of specific regions. Regardless of the domain being discussed, the individual continues to be the most important actor who is targeted by surveillance, since without him/her, no policies, plans, or strategies would be needed to ensure that they can live better lives (Ball and Webster 2003; Slobogin 2007). The last major objective in the conducting of surveillance refers to the ‘entertainment’ sector. In this context, the individual continues to play the key role as the actor subject to supervision, but the aim of the act is the desire of specific agencies to collect personal information about the target in order to learn private details of their life. This kind of supervision is mostly reserved for celebrities or influential individuals, since they are often seen as public figures or role models, so the general public are interested in the details of their lives (Ball and Webster 2003). Even though this kind of surveillance does not necessary serve any kind of “noble” purpose, it exists and refers to a specific form of surveillance.

Following this overview, the relation between surveillance and the individual cannot be neglected or diminished since both are interconnected, influence one another, and do not really exist as individual factors. However, since it would be difficult to analyze individuals’ attitudes towards every domain wherein contemporary surveillance is conducted, this book focuses on explaining the relation between individuals and state surveillance—which is performed mostly to achieve national security objectives. Large bodies of research have explained the relation between individuals and state surveillance in terms of what leads individuals to accept state surveillance, and what state institutions’ policies, strategies, and values should be in order to conduct efficient surveillance within a given society. Accordingly, three major bodies of research explain this relation by respectively focusing on (1) institutional matters, (2) technological

infrastructures, and (3) specific contexts (Nakhaie and de Lint 2013; Trüdinger and Steckermeier 2017; Kininmonth et al. 2018; Nam 2019; Wester and Giesecke 2019; Westerlund et al. 2020; Viola and Laidler 2022).

The first body of research, which focuses on institutional matters, observes that in order to persuade individuals to cooperate and to accept a degree of surveillance in their lives, the state's institutions have to be characterized by four features. First, they have to be trustworthy. In other words, they have to get the job done, to not go beyond the pre-established legal frameworks that regulate how surveillance has to be conducted, and to be able to instill into individuals the idea that their safety and well-being is achieved mostly because of the efficiency of their actions. Second, they have to be transparent (Vatcha 2007; Trüdinger and Steckermeier 2017; Nam 2019). This component refers less to the specific ways of conducting surveillance and more to the paths open to individuals to interact with surveillance institutions¹ and to have access to the laws that regulate those institutions' activities and the practical details of how they are being applied. Third, the institutions have to promote safety assurances that the collected data will not be misused. Individuals will become more likely to accept state surveillance when they believe that the state's intuitions can protect the private data they collect on the individuals. If they do not believe this to be true, then they are more likely to oppose state surveillance. Fourth, in terms of the degree of intrusiveness and human rights infringements, individuals are less likely to accept state surveillance when its practices are perceived to violate their fundamental rights (Thompson et al. 2020; Westerlund et al. 2020; Wester and Giesecke 2019).

The second body of research concentrates on the relevant technological infrastructures. Although interest in the relations between state surveillance, technologies, and individuals is not new, it has gained momentum in recent decades, and technology is now the most important way to conduct state surveillance. The prior studies that explain individuals' acceptance of state surveillance by referring to technological infrastructures take two major directions. The first approach shows that individuals' degree of acceptance of state surveillance increases when they perceive the surveillance technologies as efficient in achieving their aims (Gurinskaya 2020; Kininmonth et al. 2018; Cayford et al. 2019; Friedewald et al. 2016; Offermann et al. 2016; Sousa and Madensen 2016). For instance, if the

¹The book uses *surveillance institutions* and *intelligence agencies* as interchangeable terms and concepts.

CCTV systems positioned in some places have led to a decrease in criminal activities in those areas over time, then people will be more likely to accept them because they help to build confidence and to make those places feel safer. The second approach is linked to the values that govern the surveillance institutions, i.e., their underlying respect for human rights. In this respect, individuals become more open to the idea of accepting surveillance when the technological infrastructures are not installed by the state in places where they could violate individuals' privacy, such as in or near private properties (Zhang et al. 2019; Sousa and Madensen 2016; Offermann et al. 2016; Gurinskaya 2020).

The third body of research explains individuals' acceptance of state surveillance from the perspective of specific contexts. Here, the institutional values or the technological infrastructures still play a role in individuals' acceptance of state surveillance, but are considered to be of 'secondary importance'. Here, specific contexts refer to crisis situations that demand specific intervention from the state's institutions. In recent decades, some well-known cases have arisen that belong to this category. For instance, the 9/11 terror attacks on the United States heralded a new era in the field of state surveillance in the sense that individuals became more open to the idea of accepting surveillance for the higher purpose of achieving national security (Vlcek 2007; Trüdinger and Steckermeier 2017; Simone 2009). A more recent example has been the COVID-19 pandemic that was mostly managed by state institutions through intensified surveillance policies that sometimes violated basic human rights. The major point made by this body of research is that individuals are more likely to accept state surveillance in times of significant security threats. Under such conditions (e.g., a global pandemic, terror attacks) individuals are more likely to sacrifice their rights and liberties for the sake of security—and as a result, to accept more state surveillance (Ahmed et al. 2020; Cho et al. 2020; Morley et al. 2020; Alsyounf et al. 2021; Westerlund et al. 2021).

All these bodies of research explain the relation between individuals and state surveillance by underlining that surveillance is accepted due to external factors such as institutional actions and values, technological efficiency, or contextual threats. However, what all these bodies of research appear to have overlooked is an explanation of the individual acceptance of state surveillance with reference to the internal psychological mechanisms that shape individuals' views of external realities—the prior research has only taken account of external facts to explain what determines acceptance of surveillance.

The present book aims to fill this gap in the literature by answering the research question: *how do the personality traits of individuals influence the acceptance of state surveillance?* This is a relevant question, since no study to date has explained the role of the internal mechanisms that shape individuals' views of the external realities of state surveillance. Here, state surveillance is not described by a holistic approach of the concept (since contemporary surveillance is a multi-faceted process that is used in many places and sectors of society, as was briefly outlined above), but instead is described as a process through which the state's institutions strive to achieve national security objectives. This definition is in line with the traditional understanding of state surveillance—which is surveillance performed to fulfill specific national security objectives. The personality of individuals is measured in this book using the Big Five personality traits, one of the most frequently used taxonomies in the social sciences.

To answer the research question, this book focuses on two cases: Hungary and Romania. These cases are analyzed comparatively using the most similar systems design. Both countries are typical cases for studying individuals' attitudes towards state surveillance, for several reasons. The first of these is their respective authoritarian regimes and positioning under the ex-Soviet sphere of influence. It is well known that one of the major tools used by authoritarian regimes to enforce their dominance over society is an extremely aggressive and intrusive surveillance machinery. In all cases, this instills into subject individuals the feeling that their movements are always watched and controlled, and that if they want to do something against the will of the regime, they will most likely be discovered and punished (Dunnage 2006; Levina 2017; Richterova 2018; Linz 2000; Topak 2017; Fonio 2011). For this reason, it is important to understand how the personality traits of individuals from two ex-communist countries may influence their positions regarding state surveillance.

Second, both countries embraced democratic regimes after the 1989 revolutions, and democratic reforms were directed towards the intelligence sectors. Although the new democratic authorities strived to democratize the intelligence agencies' practices, these continued to be misused by political actors after 1989, and many corruption scandals related to these agencies have appeared in the years since (Rusu 2017; Svenonius and Tarasova 2021; Matei and Bruneau 2011; Clark 2017). It is therefore important to explore Hungarian and Romanian attitudes towards state surveillance in general, since the democratization of their countries has to some extent failed to ensure the trustworthy and transparency of the

respective national intelligence agencies in charge of conducting surveillance activities. Third, no study to date has analyzed Hungary and Romania comparatively from this perspective. This is not only an important task because the present book will show how personality influences individuals' acceptance of state surveillance for national security objectives, but also because it advances a holistic understanding of the factors that could influence this acceptance, by testing other socio-demographic variables (see Chap. 3). In addition, both cases are under-studied so far in the surveillance literature, so this book also contributes to the body of literature in general.

The relevance of the present timeframe is also important for studying individuals' attitudes towards state surveillance since the data was collected in the short space of time that has passed since the global COVID-19 pandemic. The impact of that worldwide crisis on individuals' attitudes towards state surveillance has already been extensively documented as most of the world's governments enforced surveillance policies and practices in order to try to gain control over the spread of the virus (Ahmed et al. 2020; Cho et al. 2020; Morley et al. 2020; Amit et al. 2020). Some of these practices, although arguably justifiable, infringed some of the basic established rights of individuals (e.g., freedom of movement, the right to privacy), and because of this, many people became aware of the state's capacity to impose supervision within its society. Hungary and Romania were no exceptions to this rule, and citizens in both countries faced severe restrictions and intensified surveillance during the COVID-19 pandemic. This is another important factor that boosts this book's relevance in the study of state surveillance since a plethora of factors impacted individuals' attitudes towards state surveillance in general. The data for the analysis set out here is provided by two national representative surveys that were conducted in July and November 2022 in Romania and Hungary respectively. Roughly 1000 respondents completed the surveys in each case. The data were analyzed using quantitative approaches—statistical analysis (correlations, bivariate and OLS analyses).

1.1 THE RELEVANCE OF THE BOOK: THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The book presents two categories of contributions that make it worth reading: theoretical and empirical. To start with the theoretical contributions, the book has two major elements that the author believes will be of interest to the audience: the original analytical framework, and the application of the most similar systems design to comparatively analyze the two cases (Hungary and Romania). The originality of the analytical framework is that it combines two major bodies of research: political psychology and surveillance studies. Even though this is by no means the first attempt to mix different bodies of research in order to shape an analytical framework, it is uncommon to combine elements of political psychology with elements from surveillance studies in order to formulate testable hypotheses that could explain individuals' attitudes towards specific political and social phenomena.

In this case, the analytical framework tests the potential impact of the Big Five personality traits on individuals' acceptance of state surveillance. The analytical framework contains five hypotheses—one for every personality trait (the independent variables)—and the theoretical arguments for the expected effects were built by extracting the elements that define the effects from the literature about the Big Five personality traits along with the ways they may lead individuals to perceive external political and social phenomena. When talking about acceptance of state surveillance (the dependent variable in this book), the analytical framework mainly included literature from surveillance studies. The two bodies of research were combined in such a way as to generate logical theoretical expectations that indicated that some personality traits are likely to generate some attitudes of acceptance/rejection towards state surveillance (see Chap. 3 for more details).

In addition to these main effects, the book tests for the impact of six control variables that are expected to influence acceptance of state surveillance: engagement in the community's life, the subjective level of information, age, education, gender, and TV consumption. Although some of these variables are standardized, they have not been analyzed together before, thus increasing the originality of the present analytical framework. The most similar systems design is not a unique approach, since this way of comparatively analyzing cases is common in the social sciences. However, there are two major reasons why readers may find the

methodological approach adopted in the present book interesting. First, it provides an example of how this kind of approach can be used to conduct scientific research. Although many studies have explained this at the theoretical level, some researchers may find a practical example of how this can be done in practice to be helpful. Second, the model provides several factors that render Hungary and Romania suitable for the most similar systems design. They can be used as examples of which socio-political characteristics could be used to define other cases in Eastern Europe, and how to use them either partially or in full to conduct similar research.

Moving on to the empirical contributions, the objective of this book is twofold. On the one hand, this is the first attempt to explain how the personality traits of individuals influence their acceptance of state surveillance for national security objectives. Although both the relation between personality traits and individuals' attitudes towards workplace surveillance and how personality influences individuals' positions regarding other practices related to intrusion into their private life have been studied before, to date, no scholar has tried to explain how an individual's personality influences their acceptance of state surveillance for the purpose of reaching national security objectives. The relevance of this topic primarily lies in the fact that, unlike previous research that studied this relation from a relatively narrow perspective, such as workplace surveillance or privacy concerns, the present study's approach is much more global (Sayre and Dahling 2016; Junglas et al. 2008), since it explains individuals' attitudes towards state surveillance according to their personality traits at the mass level. In other words, the book explains how individuals from Hungary and Romania perceive state surveillance at the highest possible level—which is the array of practices which are implemented by the state's institutions to achieve national security objectives. This approach goes beyond the limited perspective of how personality traits explain individuals' attitudes towards workplace surveillance, or their specific privacy concerns—which are factors that could raise individuals' awareness of surveillance activities.

The literature on state surveillance in post-communist societies is still fairly scarce, although in the last few years some studies have addressed this matter to some extent (Svenonius and Björklund 2018; Pop-Eleches and Tucker 2013; Budak et al. 2012). After engaging in this debate, the book brings three main relevant contributions to the broader field of study. First, the book focuses on Hungary and Romania, marking the first attempt to compare these two cases of state surveillance. Therefore, it

advances knowledge in the sense that it discusses the similarities and differences between two ex-communist countries in the field of state surveillance after more than 30 years have passed since their democratization processes were initiated. Second, although there are some relevant studies in the field, not enough studies have presented how state surveillance was conducted in Hungary and Romania starting from the establishment of the communist regime in both countries through until the present day (Stan 2007; Uitz 2005; Wisser and Blanco-Rivera 2016; Clark 2017; Stan and Zulean 2018). The book also presents the historical evolutions of state surveillance in both countries, describes the contemporary intelligence agencies, and shows how the respective state surveillance apparatuses and intelligence agencies in Hungary and Romania have been portrayed by their national medias. Third, the book presents the attitudes of individuals in each of these ex-communist countries towards state surveillance—a process well known for its repressive nature and intensity under the previous regimes. This is relevant not only in terms of the knowledge advanced regarding the current state of the art of state surveillance in Hungary and Romania, but also from the perspective of understanding how the attitudes of individuals from two ex-communist countries are formed and persist regarding a political and social phenomenon that is impossible to avoid in the contemporary world.

Based on these lines of argument, there are several reasons why reading this book is worthwhile. The audiences that could be interested in it are wide-ranging, including academics (students, researchers, and professors), practitioners, and individual lay readers who have a particular interest in at least one of the topics that this book approaches. As the book falls into the “research” category, many academics could use it as material for improving their knowledge in this field or as a starting point for addressing other research questions. Some students may wish to use it as study material, and some field experts or even policy-makers could find parts of the book relevant in shaping policies or procedures in the field of surveillance.

For individuals who do not occupy an academic position and are not practitioners in this field, there is another reason why this book might be of interest: the abundance of information it provides on state surveillance in general and about the cases of Hungary and Romania in particular. The book presents an overview of the historical evolution of state surveillance and traces its metamorphoses over time. It also underlines how surveillance has become a multi-faceted practice nowadays, and also clarifies different concepts such as surveillance in general, state surveillance, and

personality. It further advances a literature review that describes the relation between individuals and state surveillance, and which considers different perspectives on the particularities of authoritarian supervision. In addition, it extensively discusses the selected cases of Hungary and Romania from the standpoint of how state surveillance was conducted in different eras (authoritarian through to democratic), and the major challenges these two states faced in democratizing their intelligence sector after the 1989 revolutions, including the modern image of these agencies along with many other aspects of their operations. Therefore, many components of this book could interest a wide range of readers, regardless of their professions. The next section sets out the structure of the book, so that readers of this introduction can make their choice regarding which part(s) of the book may be of particular interest to them.

1.2 STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

This introduction is followed by Chap. 2, which has two aims. First, it clarifies the key concept that functions as the cornerstone of the book: state surveillance. Second, it provides a literature review of what factors influence individuals to accept state surveillance. The chapter is divided into five sections (divided into several sub-sections) and conclusions. The first section discusses the historical evolution of state surveillance in general terms. It starts with the first documented examples of state surveillance, which can be traced back to Antiquity, and then presents how this process developed through history by underlining some particularly impactful eras (e.g., the First World War, the Second World War, the Cold War, and the post-Cold War period). This section is followed by the conceptual clarification of surveillance, starting with an overview of the definitions presented in the literature followed by an explanation of how state surveillance is defined in the book. After that, the major features and types of contemporary surveillance are presented, followed by a presentation of how state surveillance is conceptualized. The next section presents a literature review on the relationship between individuals and their acceptance of state surveillance. The section focuses on the three main debates from the literature to date that have attempted to explain what determines individuals to accept state surveillance. These are (1) institutional matters, (2) technological infrastructures, and (3) specific contexts. The Conclusions section brings together the major lessons generated by this chapter.

Chapter 3 focuses on the analytical framework of the book. It is divided into seven sections and conclusions. The first section is dedicated to the conceptual clarification of personality, and it focuses on (1) the conceptualization of personality in general, (2) the presentation of the Big Five personality traits taxonomy, and (3) how individuals' personalities impact upon their political and social participation. This is followed by a general discussion of how personality can be linked with acceptance of state surveillance, and of the possible elements that justify how acceptance of state surveillance can be determined by the personality of individuals. After this, the analytical framework of the book is presented, which advances the theoretical arguments for every hypothesis set out in the book—one for each personality trait from the Big Five taxonomy—by combining two major bodies of literature, political psychology, and surveillance studies. The following section presents the theoretical arguments concerning the six control variables which could impact the acceptance of state surveillance alongside the personality of individuals: the individuals' level of engagement in their communities, their level of subjective information, their age, education, and gender, and their TV consumption.

After the presentation of these elements, the following section underlines how Hungary and Romania are suitable for analysis via the most similar systems design. The next section justifies the temporal relevance of the book and emphasizes the COVID-19 pandemic as a period that brought increased interest in surveillance studies. This section is divided into two sub-sections: the first discusses how the COVID-19 pandemic affected the ways in which the world's governments reshaped their policies and practices to allow increased surveillance in order to try to control the spread of the virus; the second focuses on the cases of Hungary and Romania to explore how state surveillance was conducted during this period. The next section focuses on the data and variable operationalization, and explains how the data for the analysis were collected as well as how the control, dependent, and independent variables of the book were coded. After this, the particularities of the methods used for data analysis are presented. The conclusions summarize the major findings of this chapter.

Chapter 4 has six sections and conclusions. It presents an overview of authoritarian surveillance, and the emerging challenges faced by new democracies after the end of the Cold War in seeking to reform their intelligence sectors, with a particular focus on the cases of Hungary and Romania. The first section discusses the major features of authoritarian