

The political logic of the Orbán regime

András Körösnéyi – **Gábor Illés** – Attila Gyulai

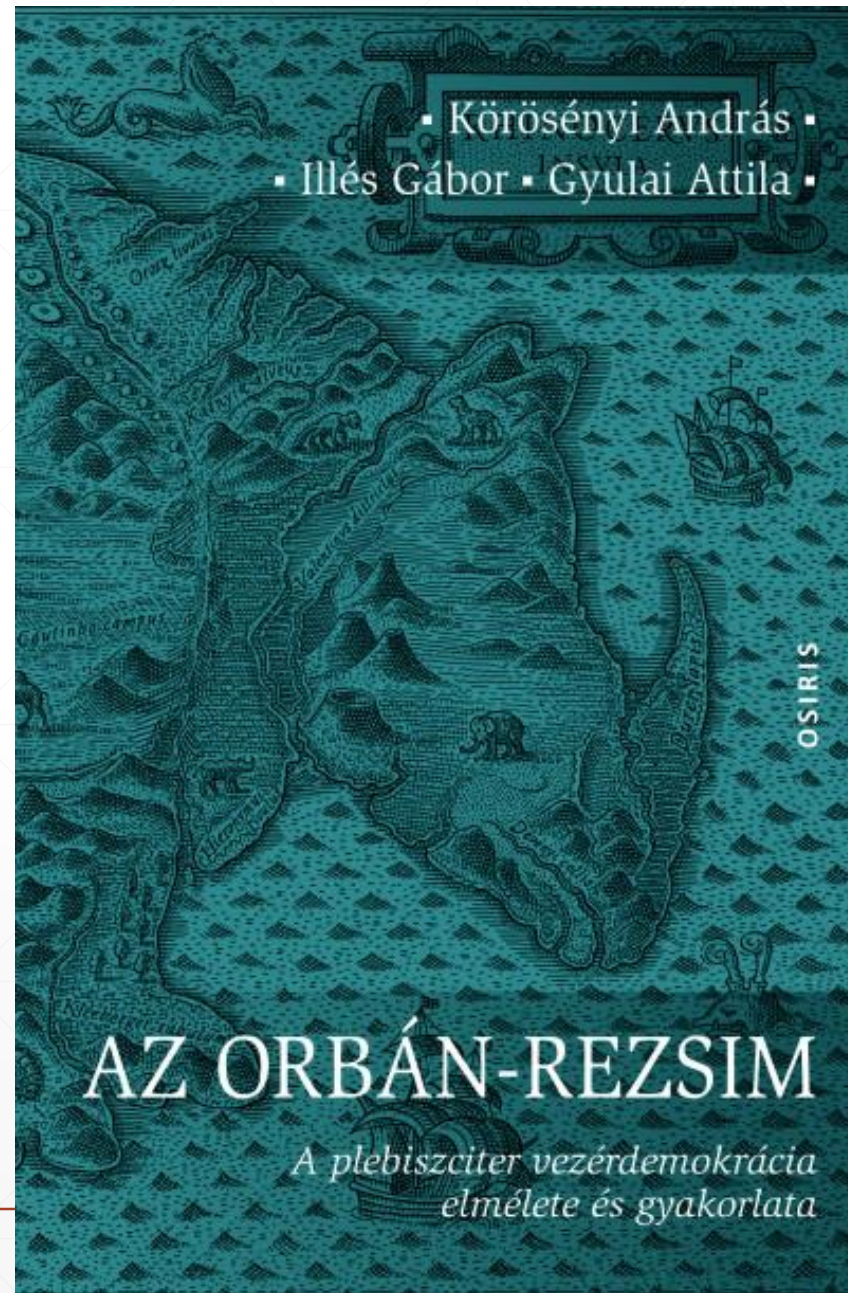


Routledge Advances in European Politics

THE ORBÁN REGIME

PLEBISCITARY LEADER DEMOCRACY IN THE MAKING

András Körösenyi, Gábor Illés
and Attila Gyulai



• Körösenyi András •
• Illés Gábor • Gyulai Attila •

OSIRIS

AZ ORBÁN-REZSIM

*A plebiszciter vezérdemokrácia
elmélete és gyakorlata*

The outline of the book

- Chapter 1. Introduction: the major approaches to the Orbán regime and an alternative
 - Chapter 2. Plebiscitary leader democracy in theory and in practice
 - **Chapter 3. The primacy of politics: maintaining the capacity to act**
 - Chapter 4. Reconstructing the polity: constitutional tinkering and institutional reorganisation
 - Chapter 5. The informal side of reconstructing the polity
 - **Chapter 6. Bricolage and realism in public policy-making**
 - Chapter 7. Concluding remarks: the implications of plebiscitary leader democracy
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I. The primacy of politics

- Creating and recreating the capacity to act through
 - drawing favorable lines of antagonism (Laclau and Mouffe 2001; Laclau 2005)
 - ruling the political agenda
 - Flexibility over ideology
 - „governing is the art of ruling the moment” (G. Fodor 2015)
 - Political considerations trump policy-plans and institutional design (polity)
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II. Political practices

- **Constructing charisma**

- Manufactured charisma (Green 2010) vs. „virtual” charisma (Illés 2022)
 - Role of storytelling, myths in constructing the charismatic bond (Willner 1984)
 - Inserting issues into the „populist myth” (Casullo 2020) of freedom fight
 - E.g. campaign against NGO-s, migrant relocation
 - „Exceptionalisation”
 - Magnifying crisis-perceptions / reinterpreting crises
 - E.g. refugee crisis in 2015; COVID-19 crisis
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II. Political practices

- **Selective responsiveness**

- „Feeling out” out popular predispositions and forming them (Illés–Körösényi 2023)
 - Forming decision-making preferences through framing (Körösényi et al. 2022)
 - E.g. the Russian aggression against Ukraine
 - Forming attitudes through long-term propaganda exposure
 - E.g. attitudes regarding the EU (Bíró-Nagy 2022)
 - Maintaining unpopular policies
 - E.g. building of sports facilities; preferential treatment of religious schools; voting rights for Hungarians living abroad
 - Unpopularity/resistance and oppositional challenges might result in „responsiveness by yielding”
 - E.g. Sunday shutdown of stores, Budapest bid for 2024 Olympics, internet tax
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II. Political practices

- **Bricolage** (Carstensen 2011; 2016)
 - Combining heterogenous ideas and various logics in policy-making
 - Ideational incoherence in social and family policies (Szikra 2014; Bartha et al. 2020)
 - Mixing statist (Appel–Orenstein 2018; Bluhm–Varga 2019) and neoliberal (Bohle–Greskovits 2018) economic policies
 - Electoral logic, clientelist logic, international institutional logic, etc.
 - Muddling through+flexible relationship towards policy-planning
 - Fit with the primacy of politics
 - *pace* the importance of enrichment (Magyar 2016; Magyar–Madlovics 2020): political logic
 - *pace* the importance of ideology (Enyedi 2023): at most a „quasi-ideology” (realism)
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III. Conclusion: implications of the political logic

- Politics of reconstruction (Skowronek 1997; 2004): conflicts of authority, institutional change, **elite change**, discursive change
 - (Neo-)prebendalism (Csillag and Szelényi 2015; Szelényi 2016): flexibilizing **property relations**
 - Effects on society
 - Heterogenous policy ideas → **heterogenous social coalition** (Enyedi–Tardos 2018; Scheiring 2020; Huszár 2022)
 - Identity politics: **polarization of perception** (Patkós 2018)
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