ABSTRACTS

Luca Kristóf


This article examines social continuity and discontinuity in the Hungarian political, economic and cultural elites between 1988 and 2009. Analysing several quantitative databases comprising two decades, I follow the most important trends up to the present. I differentiate between three types of social processes in the elite: (i) long-term social continuity; (ii) discontinuity related to elite circulation during the system change; (iii) long-term social changes not related to elite circulation during the system change. I argue that elite segments differed not only in the extent of circulation during the system change but a long-term divergence between them can also be observed.

Keywords: Elite, continuity, discontinuity, system change

Tamás Polgár

THE MOVERS OF DOUBT. FACTORS INFLUENCING VOTER ATTITUDES RELATED TO DEEPENING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN SCANDINAVIA

Though acceding to the European Union is still not on the agenda due to the clear majority of voters and political parties in Norway, the mainstream parties and the majority of voters have accepted and by and large regard advantageous the membership of their country in the EU in Sweden and Denmark. At the same time, attitudes that can be considered sceptical in many respects in relation to integration all over Scandinavia cannot be simply reduced to the support or rejection of membership due to the complex nature of the EU. In this paper I explore in what direction and to what extent do structural, ideological and contextual factors influence voters’ attitudes related to deepening integration on the basis of the European Election Survey (EES) of 2009 and of the data of the Norwegian Election Survey also of 2009, and, in the case of the two EU-members what are the perceptions concerning the current functioning of the EU. Results show that the autonomous effect of the traditional left and right self-classification has less influence than assumed by the majority of the literature, as in Norway it is primarily structural factors, whereas in the two
other countries it is also other ideological and contextual factors that play at least as important role in many cases.

Keywords: European Union, Scandinavia, voters’ attitudes, EP election, Euro-scepticism

Péter Gedeon
MARKET AND DEMOCRACY: FRIENDS OR FOES?

The paper examines theories on the relationship of market and democracy. Four theorems may be distinguished: (1) The necessity theorem: market (M) is the necessary condition of democracy (D) ([M→D]+). (2) The inequality theorem: market undermines democracy ([M→D]+). (3) The optimality theorem: democracy is the optimal condition of market ([D→M]+). (4) The disability theorem: democracy undermines market ([D→M]−). My question is whether these theorems include or exclude each other. After the reconstruction of the four theorems I examine the six possible combinations of them. My conclusion is that the theory stating that market and democracy mutually reinforce each other is compatible with the theory discussing the conflicts between market and democracy: the two theories do not constitute a logical contradiction. This analysis may assist in understanding why the relationship of capitalism and democracy proved to be relatively stable: the selectivity of democracy and the political restrictions of market do not undermine, do not eliminate economic and political freedom, but sustain it in a modified form.

Keywords: Market, democracy, capitalism, political freedom, political equality, market inequalities

Viktor Kiss
THE LOGIC(S) OF POLITICS. ERNESTO LACLAU AND THE REORGANISATION OF THE CRITIQUE OF IDEOLOGY

The present paper embarks on reconstructing Ernesto Laclau’s theoretical system by putting the issues of ideology into the focus instead of the approach of discourse theory which may be considered as a general one. In my view it is the deconstruction of Marxism that is in the centre of Laclau’s theoretical project, which is concluded by the finding that essentially the policy leading to the horrors of Stalinism and to that of the radical Left that has become inadequate by now was nothing else but the specific position of Marxism in the criticism of ideology. I am of the view that Laclau has laid the foundations of social theory to his own approach to the criticism of ideology by linking Gramscian political theory and a ‘post-modern’ social theory rooted in Althusser and Lacan. According to the main thesis of the paper Ernesto Laclau’s criticism of ideology builds on identifying par excellence politics with ideology, in
contrast to the Marxian position which he wishes to overcome and which had constructed the political as the elimination of ideology. As I present it in the final part of the paper, Laclau offers the analysis of the criticism of ideology of contemporary political practices from this starting point. His aim is to find the political logic(s) created by the crisis of the ‘social’, to explore their limitations and consequences. The paper presents two of them in detail, namely the logic of “hegemonic re-articulation” present from the 80s on as a response to the situation of the multiplication of “new antagonisms”, which has led to the “anti-democratic offensive” hallmarked by Margaret Thatcher and George Bush. And the second is the populist logic becoming vigorous in the years two thousand and which is emerging from the situation of globalisation and “fragmented social demands”.

Keywords: Ideology, post-Marxism, populism, articulation, discourse, post-modern social theory, political identity, globalisation

Rudolf Tamás Metz
THE LEADERS’ OLD-NEW INSTRUMENTS. THE FUNCTION OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN DEMOCRACY

The political or social movements, which have embodied the utopia of anti-politics, are born with enormous expectations and leave even bigger disappointment, when they pass away with their unfinished business. This normative burden and the depoliticized perception keep the sociological social movement theory in captivity, which prevent creating a realistic overview of collective actions. Hence I make an attempt with the means of political theory to elucidate its role and function in the political process and democracy. According to my presupposition the three rival theories of democracy – deliberative–participatory, neoclassical – and leader democracy (Pakulski–Körösényi 2012) – could be connected to the special forms of direct democracy, such as classical direct – referendum – and the so-called “protest-democracy” (Sartori 1999). Thus various concepts of movement could be set up and compared to point out their differences, the limits of deliberative and neoclassical theory and the real nature of movements, which is fundamentally political. Therefore the initial hypothesis is that leader democracy – with its limitations – could apprehend this phenomenon, so in contrast to the horizontal and bottom-up approaches the main statement of this paper is that the direction of these actions is typically vertical and top-down, and the political movements are just one of the leaders’ instruments.

Keywords: Theories of democracy, social movement theory, direct democracy, leadership, political movement