ABSTRACTS

Veronika Patkós–Zsófia Papp
THE MACRO-LEVEL DETERMINANTS OF NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNING.
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Covering the largest sample of countries to date, this study examines the effect of three country-specific factors on the tone of electoral campaigns across Europe: the type of democracy, party system fragmentation and the polarization of the electorate. We use an original dataset of statements made by political actors during 18 electoral campaigns in 9 European countries. Our multinomial logit model suggests that, on the one hand, consensual and more polarized democracies increase the likelihood of neutral campaign tone as opposed to negativity. On the other hand, party system fragmentation facilitates positive campaign messages. At the same time, our study does not support a generalizable effect for the usual suspect of the literature. Consequently, the individual level determinants of negative campaign depend on the country context.

Keywords: campaign tone, negative campaign, Europe, campaign, elections

Zoltán Kmetty–Andrea Szabó
THE ROAD TO FIDESZ
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION PATHS TO PARTY CHOICE
AMONG HUNGARIAN STUDENTS

Several publications have been published on the party election of Hungarian students in the last decade. These analyses suggest that the paths of young people to parties may be related to the composition of the family of origin, the socio-cultural environment, the peer group’s design, and the socialisation mechanisms of the school system. However, few studies have examined the dimensions of socialization dynamically and analyzed how a young person is associated with a particular party through political socialization pathways.

Our research uses complex SEM (Structural Equation Modelling) models to draw the typical paths that lead to Fidesz with high statistical probability. We assume that sufficient time has passed since the regime change to develop a typical pathway to the dominant party based on party identification. Our results show that religiosity is a crucial factor in the attachment to Fidesz among Hungarian students.
university students. At the same time, conservatism defined along values do not play a role, but positioning on the left-right axis is an essential discriminatory factor.

Keywords: political socialization, political identity, party choice, Fidesz, university students

Balázs Böcskei
GOVERNING POPULISM
FIDESZ’S HOSTILE AND IDENTITY-CONSTRUCT POPULISM

The term “populism” is often interpreted as an idiosyncrasy of illiberal, authoritarian and other adjective-equipped non-liberal democracies. Approaches like this tend to neglect the difference between democracy types and identify liberal democracy as “the” democracy while populism is interpreted as an anti-democratic, anti-pluralist and anti-liberal concept. After conceptualizing the notion of populism, the study investigates how the categories of “we” and “they” are filled with content in the case of the populism of Hungary’s governing right-wing, thus also discussing Fidesz’ populism as a political logic and discourse. After that, it analyzes Fidesz’ and the right-wing government’s enemy construction processes, including their methods and interpretations. Finally, the study concludes that Fidesz’ populist discourse and political logic increasingly replaced the pre-2010 exclusive variant by exclusionary populism after the party got into government.

Keywords: Fidesz, Inclusionary Populism, enemy construction, language politics, identity politics

Rudolf Metz
THE GOOD, THE BAD AND THE UGLY POPULIST LEADER
CAN WE UNDERSTAND POPULISM AS CHARISMATIC RELATIONSHIP?

Although political scholars have recognized the “direct” and “symbolic” relationship between leader and followers in populist politics, often associated with the presence of charisma, we still cannot answer the questions of why and how many citizens are able to follow widely rejected populist leaders while others are entirely rejected? The scientific discourse on populism cannot compromise whether charismatic leadership would be an integral part of populist politics. To resolve this debate, the present study begins by taking account of the counter-arguments and critiques raised by students of populism, pointing out their weaknesses. I argue that charisma is indeed compatible with populism. In contrast to the vast majority of populism literature, according to
Weberian understanding charisma is an exceptional emotional relationship in which a particular leader is truly considered superhuman by his followers. Then I unfold the antagonistic emotional relations that surround populist leaders. I call for the help of the concept of moral panic and euphoria as an extension of the theory of charismatic leadership, through which we can interpret the dynamics of populist politics. The study concludes by proposing a new research agenda. The follower-centric models and tools of leadership studies allow us to decide to what extent populist politics is determined empirically by the charismatic relationships explored on a theoretical level.

Keywords: Populism, Charismatic Leadership, Moral Panic, Moral Euphoria, Follower-centric Leadership Models

Zoltán Bretter
CARL SCHMITT – THE SHEET MUSIC OF ILLIBERAL DEMOCRACY

This study is of a mixed genre, in a „crossover“ style. The genre is imposed, as we have to be on dialectical standby when discussing “the Political” (das Politische), the apolitical, de-politicization (first part) and politics on the other hand. My method is neither a philological analysis, nor a historical-political description exclusively, while it contains both approaches, with the aim not to give a definition, but rather to map theoretically illiberal democracy, following in the footsteps of Carl Schmitt (second part).

Keywords: Carl Schmitt, illiberal democracy, liberalism, romanticism, leader