Beyond Neoliberalism? Financialisation, Middle-Class Pronatalism, and Hungary’s New Regime of Social Reproduction

Lecturer: Dorit Geva
(Central European University, Budapest)

Moderation: Ayse Dursun
(IPW | Universität Wien)

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Abstract
Returning to analyses of Thatcherism which identified how neoliberalism intensified authoritarian tendencies of the state, this essay examines Hungary’s Viktor Orbán, and his cultivation of a new form of authoritarian and hyper-nationalist neoliberalism, which I call ordonationalist. With particular emphasis placed on tracing resurgence of the national state, ordonationalism points to the neoliberal intensifications, but also the ruptures to neoliberalism through post-neoliberal “advances,” exemplified by the Hungarian state. Ordonationalism combines: 1. A newly empowered nationalist state invested in flexibilising domestic labour and controlling access to domestic capitalist accumulation; 2. The national state is captured by political actors as a means towards controlling the state and access to domestic capital accumulation; 3. A novel regime of social reproduction, linking financialisation, flexibilisation of labour, steep decline in supporting social reproduction, and dedicating state resources to enabling consumption as a source of social reproduction. This project is hegemonic. However, the contradictions between radical neoliberalization and radical nationalism generate ever-more instances where an authoritarian state “needs” to step in to solve crises generated by its contradictions.

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