

Hybrid Regimes Between the Poles of Democracy and Autocracy

SM Politische Institutionen

Cigdem Celik

Winter term 2023/24

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Course description

At the onset of the 21st century, hybrid regimes, characterized by the amalgamation of democratic principles and authoritarian government, have become the prevailing political systems on a global scale. According to conventional narratives, these political systems are often characterized as either flawed or illiberal democracies or competitive authoritarian regimes. Alternative perspectives highlight the inherent characteristics and operations of these political systems, which cannot be simplified as either semi-democratic or semi-autocratic. Hybrid regimes present a perplexing phenomenon in multiple respects. (a) The emergence and endurance of these regimes have defied the predictions of both the democratization/transitology school and the authoritarianism school. (b) Neither democratic institutions, such as elections, nor autocratic institutions, such as dominant parties, operate in a traditional manner within these regimes. (c) In contrast to the anticipated instability, hybrid regimes have exhibited diverse dynamics within their respective categories.

Throughout the course, the objective will be to thoroughly analyze and deconstruct the concept of hybrid regimes. In addition, it will be focused on the following questions in order to shed light on the issue:

1. What are the historical antecedents of hybrid regimes?
2. . What are the distinctive characteristics of their institutional functionality when compared to democracies and/or autocracies?
3. What factors contribute to the stability and dynamic nature of the subject in question?

This course aims to examine primary research methodologies used in the analysis of political regimes in the 'grey area' between democracy and autocracy. Additionally, the course will also make connections between these methodologies and the broader literature on the state, economic development, and social order.

Prerequisites

No prior knowledge is assumed. Some basic skills of qualitative research design and methodology is desired. As the medium of instruction will be English, students should be able to comprehend and express themselves in English.

Assignments and Grading

Term paper (70%), Presentation (30%)

Each participant should prepare and present one of the core readings as a presentation of approximately 15 minutes. The topics or papers will be distributed within the first two weeks of classes. Presentation slides must be sent to the instructors via email a day before the presentation.

At the end of the course, each student is to submit a paper of 3500 word max.

Schedule

Part 1: Basic Concepts and Measures

Week 1:

1. Introduction (November 6, 12:00-13:30)

Required Readings

Levitsky, S., & Way, L. A. (2020). The New Competitive Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy*, (1), 51-65.

Morlino, Leonardo (2009). "Are there hybrid regimes? Or are they just an optical illusion?" *European Political Science Review* 1(02): 273-296.

2. What is hybrid regime? Democratic and authoritarian paradigms. (November 6, 14:00-15:30)

Required Readings

Cassani, A. (2014). "Hybrid what? Partial consensus and persistent divergences in the analysis of hybrid regimes." *International Political Science Review* 35(5): 542-558.

Levitsky, S. and L. A. Way (2002). "The rise of competitive authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51-65.

Merkel, Wolfgang (2004). "Embedded and Defective Democracies." *Democratization* 11, 5: 33-58.

Part 2: Question of Functioning and In/stability

At the second part, our analysis will focus on examining the particular factors that contribute to the durability or failure of hybrid regimes.

Week 2:

- 3. The puzzle of stability and breakdown of hybrid regimes: Why do some hybrid regimes survive while the other collapse?** (November 13, 12:00-15:30)

Required Readings

Bunce, V. J. and S. L. Wolchik (2010). "Defeating Dictators. Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62(1): 43-86.
Way, L. A. (2008). "The real causes of the color revolutions." *Journal of Democracy* 19(3): 55- 69.

Week 3

- 4. Why do autocrats need formal democratic institutions? Elections, Legislatives, Constitutions and authoritarian practices ?** (November 20, 12:00-15:30)

Required Readings

Magaloni, Beatriz (2006) *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Selected Chapters 7 and 8.
Smyth, Regina (2020) *Elections, Protest, and Authoritarian Regime Stability Russia 2008–2020*. Cambridge University Press. Selected chapters.

Week 4:

- 5. Sources and mechanisms of patronage?** (November 27, 12:00-15:30)

Required Readings

Magaloni, Beatriz. (2008) Credible Power Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule, *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 4 (2008): 715–741. doi: 10.1177/0010414007313124
Hale, H. E. (2014). *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, Ch 1.

Week 5

- 6. Repress or not repress? Coercion and civil society ?** (December 04, 12:00-13:30)

Required Readings

Gel'man, Vladimir. 2015. "The politics of fear: how the Russian regime confronts its opponents." *Russian Politics & Law* 53(5-6): 6-26.

Rogov, K (2018) The Art of Coercion: Repressions and Repressiveness in Putin's Russia, *Russian Politics* 3, 151-174. 10

Way, L. A. and S. Levitsky (2006). "The dynamics of autocratic coercion after the Cold War." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39(3): 387-410.

7. Powers of media, symbols and ideas? Internal sources of legitimation (December 04, 14:00-15:30)

Required Readings

Gerschewski, Johannes (2018). "Legitimacy in Autocracies. Oxymoron or Essential Feature?" *Perspectives on Politics*, 16, 3, 652-665.

von Soest, Christian and Grauvogel, Julia (2017), *Identity, Procedures and Performance: How Authoritarian Regimes Legitimize their Rule*, in: *Contemporary Politics*, online first, 1-19

Week 6

8. External Environment and Actors (December 11, 12:00-15:30)

Required Readings

Escribà-Folch, A. and J. Wright (2015). *Foreign Pressure and the Politics of Autocratic Survival*, OUP Oxford. Chapter 3.

Yakouchyk, K. (2019). "Beyond Autocracy Promotion: A Review." *Political Studies Review* 17(2): 147-160

Kneuer, M., et al. (2019). "Playing the regional card: why and how authoritarian gravity centres exploit regional organisations." *Third World Quarterly* 40(3): 451-470.gravity

Week 7

9. Authoritarian modernization mission impossible? Sources of bad governance and mechanism of policy-making (December 18, 12:00-15:30)

Required Readings

Gel'man, Vladimir (2017): *Political foundations of bad governance in post-Soviet Eurasia: towards a research agenda*, *East European Politics*, DOI: 10.1080/21599165.2017.1348350

Sebok, M. (2019). *The Comparative Agendas of Hybrid Regimes - A Research Agenda*. Budapest: Hungarian Policy Agendas Project

Week 8

10. Civil Society and Opposition: Strategies and Successes Stories (January 08, 12:00-15:30)

Required Readings

Ekiert, G. and R. Foa (2011). "From Myth to Reality: Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe." *Civil Szemle* 8(1-2): 90-+.

- Esen, B. and S. Gumuscu (2019). "Killing Competitive Authoritarianism Softly: The 2019 Local Elections in Turkey." *South European Society and Politics* 24(3): 317-342
- Frantz, E. (2018). "Voter turnout and opposition performance in competitive authoritarian elections." *Electoral Studies* 54: 218-225.
- Wahman, M. (2011). "Offices and policies - Why do oppositional parties form pre-electoral coalitions in competitive authoritarian regimes?" *Electoral Studies* 30(4): 642-657.
- Gandhi, J. and E. Ong (2019). "Committed or Conditional Democrats? Opposition Dynamics in Electoral Autocracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(4): 948-963