HYBRID REGIMES IN MODERN TIMES: Between Democracy and Autocracy

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MA Programme in Political Science (1 year and 2 years)
Winter semester 2018 (4 credits, 8 ECTS credits)

Class meetings:
Tuesdays, 17:20-19:00 and Wednesdays, 15:30-17:10

Office hours:
Wednesdays, 13:00-15:00 and Thursdays, 10:00-12:00 (by appointment via email)

Introduction

Hybrid regimes that alloy democratic rules with authoritarian governance are the most widespread political systems in the world at the beginning of the 21st century. Conventional accounts describe them as defective democracies or competitive authoritarian regimes. Alternative views point to the genuine features and functions of these regimes that cannot be reduced to those of half-democracies or half-autocracies. In fact, hybrid regimes are puzzling in several ways: (1) their establishment and sustainability have been unexpected either by the school of democratization/transitology or by the school of (new) authoritarianism; (2) neither democratic institutions (e.g. elections) nor autocratic institutions (e.g. dominant parties) function in a conventional way there; and (3) contrary to the expectations of stability, hybrid regimes have demonstrated a variety of (within-type) dynamics.

In this course, we will seek to unpack the category of hybrid regimes and explore the following questions: What are the origins of hybrid regimes? What are the specifics of their institutional functionality in comparison with democracies and/or autocracies? What determines their durability and dynamic nature? We will review the major research approaches that analyze the political regimes in the ‘grey zone’ between democracy and autocracy and further link these approaches to the broader literature on statehood, economic development and social order. We will identify ‘who governs’ in hybrid regimes and by which means (coercion, patronage, ideology, Internet, among others) the power is exercised and maintained. Also, we will look at how governments interact with business elites, civil society, as well as with their regional neighbors and international community. Finally, we will identify the ways the study of hybrid regimes can inform contemporary policies and practices in the democratization processes. This course offers an opportunity to study the current landscape of hybrid regimes in Eastern Europe and Eurasia in depth and with a worldwide comparative perspective.
Most of our focus will be on the post-Soviet area, where some of the most obvious examples of hybrid regimes may be found. In addition, hybrid regimes from Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia will be included in comparison. Although our readings will include empirical material from countries, our approach will be thematic. In addition to seminar sessions, the course integrates exercises of a simulation game and role playing in order to let students experience real-life political processes in hybrid regimes and expose them to contemporary challenges of promoting democracy and good governance in the 21st century.

No prior knowledge is assumed. Students are expected to be present at all seminars and to come prepared. If you are unable to attend class, you should notify me via e-mail prior to the session.

**Learning outcomes**

At the end of the course, you will

- gain the understanding of the differences between hybrid, democratic and authoritarian regimes;
- become familiar with the major research schools dealing with hybrid regimes, their (normative) premises as well as their strengths and weaknesses;
- accumulate the knowledge about the actors, institutions and processes responsible for establishment, functioning, and dynamics of hybrid regimes;
- understand the interaction mechanisms between actors and structures as well as the links between global and local in hybrid regimes;
- know specifics of East European and Eurasian hybrid regimes relative to the hybrid regimes in other world regions;
- learn how to identify empirical puzzles and how to address them with theoretical knowledge and methodological tools;
- be skilled in ‘translation’ of research findings into practical policy recommendations.

**Course requirements and assessment**

Regular attendance is required. Students are also required to read the assigned material, and participate in the discussions and working groups. The final grade will be composed as follows:

- Active in-class participation – 10%
- Two review papers/presentations – 30%
- Research presentation – 25%
- Final paper – 35%

Active class participation is expected and graded. Some guidelines: participate regularly, make
informed contributions, refer to the readings, focus on the main analytical points, formulate clearly, respond to others in the discussion, and demonstrate critical engagement. Note that the quality of your contributions would count more than their quantity.

Each student presents and writes two review papers on the topics of our weekly seminars. The task is to review the literature on a particular (sub-)topic, summarize the main streams in contemporary research dealing with this (sub-)topic, critically engage with the main arguments of the streams, and conclude with your own evaluation of their strength and weakness, identifying the venues for future research. The presentation should be no longer than 20 minutes and will be followed by a 10-min Q&A. The presentation should be put in writing (no more than 1000 words long (everything included) and submitted by Friday 23:59 in the week the presentation was done. The preparations for the review presentations/papers should include additional literature to the required readings.

Each student will design a research project dealing with a specific puzzle and question related to hybrid regimes. Against the background of contemporary research students are asked to formulate 2 hypotheses and with reference to methodological rules select the cases of hybrid regimes, either within a region or across the world or across the time, to test these hypotheses. The aim is to get first-hand experience with the research on hybrid regimes. The research project can be done on one of the (sub-)topics the review presentation/paper was done. The research project will be presented as a PowerPoint presentation of 15 minutes maximum (plus 10-15 minutes of the follow-up Q&A). The guidelines for the research design and presentation will be introduced in the first session of the first week. The presentations will be scheduled to the end of the semester (after week 9). No regular classes in weeks 11 and 12. Students should receive the approval of the instructor on their chosen topic for the research design by 01.03. This approval is mandatory.

The final paper will contain the final version of the research design, applied and tested empirically for the selected cases of hybrid regimes. It should be no more than 2,500 words long (without references, but including possible appendices). Details will be introduced in the first session of the first week.

Please note that for all assessments, late submission, and violation of the word or time limit will result in a lower grade. Plagiarism is not acceptable and will be punished according to the departmental rules.

**Deadlines:**

1. Choose the seminars you are going to present review papers – by 15.01
2. Get the approval of the (sub-)topic for the review presentation/paper – one week prior to the session in which you are going to present
3. Submit the presentation in writing (review paper) – by Friday 23:59 in the week the presentation is done
4. Get the approval of the topic for the research presentation – by 01.03
5. Submit the final paper – by 08.04

Reading material
All the course material is available in electronic form. The syllabus only contains the required readings. Suggestions for further reading will be made in class.

Course schedule

PART I: CONCEPTS AND MEASURES
In weeks 1-3 we will review approaches to conceptualize and measure hybrid regimes. Democracy-rooted approached will be contrasted with autocracy-rooted approaches. Furthermore, approaches that handle these regimes as a genuine regime type will be considered.

Week 1 – Introduction: topics, requirements and orga (09.-10.1)
The sessions in the first week introduces students to the topics of the course, explains course requirements and clarifies all organizational issues. In these sessions we will start to explore the conceptual question: what hybrid regimes are (and aren’t).

Readings:

Week 2 – What is hybrid regime? Democratic and authoritarian paradigms (16-17.1)
Sessions in week 2 will be devoted to the approaches to hybrid regimes that are rooted in the concepts of democracy and/or autocracy.

Readings:
Week 3 – What is hybrid regime? Genuine perspective (23.-24.1)
In week 3 we will discuss weaknesses and strengths of the democratic and authoritarian perspectives on hybrid regimes and explore novel approaches to deal with these regimes as a genuine regime type.

Readings:


PART II: FUNCTIONING AND IN-/STABILITY
In weeks 4-10 we will analyze the specifics in functioning of hybrid regimes that make these regimes endure or fail.

Week 4 – Why do some hybrid regimes survive while the other collapse? Conditions of revolutionary breakdowns and stability (30.-31.01)
In week 4 we will address the puzzle of stability and breakdown of hybrid regimes. In particular, we will elaborate debates between so called diffusion-centered and structural explanations.

Readings:


Week 5 – Why do autocrats need formal democratic institutions? Elections, Legislatives and Constitutions and authoritarian practices (06.-07.02)
In week 5 we will deal with interactions of formal democratic institutions and authoritarian practices. We will look at some examples how elections, legislatives and contribute to the stability of hybrid regimes.
**Readings:**


**Week 6 – Sources and mechanisms of patronage (13.-14.02)**

In week 6 we will deal with sources and mechanisms of patronage the incumbent rulers in hybrid regimes use to coopt their clients.

**Readings:**


**Week 7 – Repress or not repress? Coercion and civil society (20.-21.02)**

Sessions in week 7 discuss the benefits and pitfalls of repression politics in hybrid regimes and the ways non-democratic incumbent rulers learned to manage civil society. In addition, we will also review the protest strategies of opposition and civil society in hybrid regimes.

**Readings:**


**Week 8 – Powers of media, symbols and ideas? Internal sources of legitimation (27.-28.02)**

Sessions in week 8 explore how media propaganda and ideologies contribute to stability of hybrid regimes.

*Readings:*


**Week 9 – External legitimation (06.-07.03)**

In week 9 we will overview the external factors that contribute to or undermine the legitimacy of incumbents in hybrid regimes.

*Readings:*


**Week 10 – Authoritarian modernization mission impossible? Sources of bad governance and mechanism of policy-making (13.-15.03)**

In the final regular sessions in week 10, we will deal with policy-making, bad governance and modernization attempts in hybrid regimes.

*Readings:*


**PART III: PRACTICAL APPLICATION**

No REGULAR classes in week 11 and 12. Instead, we will reserve one afternoon for the presentations and discussions of the student research projects.

**Week 11 – Students’ Presentations, Open Questions, Topics of Students’ Interest**

**Week 12 – Students’ Presentations, Open Questions, Topics of Students’ Interest**